



CONTEXT OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN BANGLADESH



Department of Population Sciences
University of Dhaka

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CONTEXT OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN BANGLADESH



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MESSAGE

Child Marriage is one of the root causes of the vulnerability of many socio-demographic indicators of Bangladesh. Reducing Child Marriage is a major concern all over the world and Bangladesh is no exception. I am happy to know that the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka is going to publish a report on the “Context of Child Marriage and Its Implications in Bangladesh”. As a country with a high prevalence of child marriage, this study is a timely intervention to address this issue.

The United Nations Population Fund's (UNFPA) effect to improve the capacity of the national institute is very much appreciative. I believe that conducting such an important study through the experts of a public university is a unique initiative of UNFPA. The experience and lessons learned by the department will be an asset for the future capacity development of the faculties at University level. At the same time ministries would also be benefited from the research and national level capacity development. As the data was collected on the consequences of child marriage on education, health, employment and overall wellbeing, concerned ministries and departments of the Government of Bangladesh should be able to utilize the findings to formulate as well as implement future programmes to support ending child marriage. I strongly believe that this study would encourage other faculty members of different departments to take initiatives to conduct such national level research in their respective fields. The Ministry will always try to support our brilliant academics to conduct and improve the quality and capacity of teaching and research.

My sincere thanks to the UNFPA for providing financial and technical support to the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka for conducting this important survey. I take the Opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the officials from the Secondary & Higher Education Division, Ministry of Education, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dhaka, faculty members of the Department of Population Sciences for putting their intellectual and technical committee and the project team led by Mr. Bellal Hossain, Team Leader and Dr. Md. Aminul Haque, Project Director deserves special thanks for their relentless efforts in finalizing this report.

I hope this report will be useful for the researchers, planners, policy makers and development partners who will reformulate as well as execute effective policy measures for achieving the goals outlined by the Honorable Prime Minister of Bangladesh to end child marriage

(Md. Sohorab Hossain)

MESSAGE



I am delighted to note that the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka is going to publish the research report on the Context of Child Marriage and Its Implications in Bangladesh. It gives me pleasure to write that this research has conducted by the Department of Population Sciences at the University of Dhaka. Bangladesh is a country which had a very high prevalence of child marriage. However, due to various initiatives taken by the Government of Bangladesh and NGOs the occurrence of child marriage has declined substantially in recent years. Despite the progress achieved so far in preventing child marriage in Bangladesh, child marriage is an important concern because of the wide range of consequences it has on the lives of females. The consequence includes discontinuation of education, lower possibility of labor force participation, perpetuation of poverty malnutrition, higher risk of maternal and child mortality and poor overall wellbeing. In this context, conducting a large-scale comprehensive study on child marriage bears great significance. I am sure, the findings of this study will provide a better understanding about the causes and consequences of child marriage in Bangladesh. More significantly, the study will also provide important guidelines for policy makers, NGOs and development partners in designing and implementing effective intervention programmes to prevent child marriage in Bangladesh.

I would like to express my thanks to UNFPA Bangladesh for providing generous support to conduct this study. I hope that their support to the University of Dhaka will continue in future for addressing population issues in one hand and for capacity building on the other. I also congratulate the faculties of the Department of Population Sciences for conducting such an important study on child marriage in Bangladesh.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke.

(Professor Dr. Md. Aktaruzzaman)
Vice-Chancellor

MESSAGE



The Department of Population Sciences was established on 17 November 1998 under the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Dhaka with a view to making skilled and trained human resources in the field of Population, health and development. The department has undergraduate, masters, and post-graduate degree programs. Along with its academic programs, the department has strong faculty with expertise to conduct research on contemporary, national-level issues to meet gaps in the field.

Bangladesh has one of the highest rates of child marriage prevalence in the world. In 2014, the prevalence rate of child marriage was 59.0 percent in Bangladesh. Every year millions of young girls get married as children. Child marriage exerts a wide range of implications on those who marry, including discontinuation of education; lowered possibility of labour force participation; perpetuation of poverty and malnutrition; higher risk of maternal and child mortality; as well as on their families and communities. Considering the significance of the issue, the Department conducted the in-depth study on the context of child marriage and its implications in Bangladesh.

The findings of the study highlight the context of child marriage and major challenges for reducing the prevalence of it. Results of this study examined child marriage from a multi-dimensional perspective and generated evidence for formulating effective policies and strategies to deal with the issue. To know the deeper roots of child marriage, the study collected data from ever-married women and their families: husbands, fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, fathers, and mothers.

The findings of this report and its policy recommendations will be very useful for the government, donor agencies, NGOs, and researchers to understand the complex dynamics of child marriage and design policies to end it. It will provide context in order to implement existing programs related to child marriage and to design new initiatives to stop child marriage. We hope this study will provide more in-depth insights for future program formulation and effective implementation by academics, researchers, program personnel and the ministries of our government.

The successful completion of the child marriage study was made possible by the contributions of a number of agencies and individuals. I would like to express my gratitude to the faculty members of the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka for their every effort for the research. Special thanks to the Ministry of Education, University Grants Comissions for their extended hands in the process of approving the project. I sincerely appreciate the generous financial support provided by UNFPA, Bangladesh to the Department of Population Sciences for this research and hope that their support will continue in the future.

Prof. Md. Aminul Haque, PhD
Chairperson & Project Director
Department of Population Sciences
University of Dhaka

MESSAGE



Child marriage, the marriage of a person before the age of 18 years, is a violation of their human rights, as outlined in several International Human Rights Treaties and national laws of Bangladesh. Child marriage denies girls the right to decide if, when and whom to marry, constitutes discrimination based on age and gender and adversely affects girls' education, health and overall wellbeing. It also perpetuates the cycle of poverty and both in the immediate and long-term, results in negative physical, emotional and social wellbeing for the child bride and her family.

Bangladesh has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world and as a result a high rate of adolescent fertility. A practice which mostly reflects social norms and is accepted in many parts of Bangladesh, child marriage is common across the urban-rural as well as the income-group divide, even though the incidence is often exacerbated by poverty levels. Ending child marriage, a key priority for the Government of Bangladesh, will not only help Bangladesh realize the priorities detailed in the country's 7th Five Year Plan but also achieve targets detailed in the Sustainable Development Goals of Agenda 2030. As such UNFPA supports the Government of Bangladesh, civil society and academia to end child marriage, to protect the human rights of girls, promote their aspirations and ensure a gradual transition into adulthood.

UNFPA's support to the Department of Population Sciences of University of Dhaka, to conduct the study 'Context of Child Marriage and its Implications in Bangladesh', is part of our effort to strengthen the institution's capacity to conduct quality research which can in turn inform evidence based policy and programme development. UNFPA has provided both financial and technical assistance to the Department of Population Sciences to conduct this study under a project titled 'Strengthening the Capacity of Teaching and Research Facilities at the Department of Population Sciences'. This support to the University of Dhaka was also made possible by the generous funding made available through the Department for International Development (DFID) of the United Kingdom and the European Union. We look forward to seeing UNFPA's support to the Department of Population Sciences resulting in increased capacity to conduct research and generate evidence on key issues on population dynamics which are fundamental to the development of Bangladesh.

UNFPA wishes the Department well in further analyzing the wealth of data that has been generated through this survey to publish additional research products and articles which can be accessible by academic and development communities globally.

Iori Kato

Iori Kato

Representative a.i.
UNFPA

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|---|
| AIDS | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| BDHS | Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey |
| BDT | Bangladeshi Taka |
| BBS | Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics |
| BALIKA | Bangladesh Association for Life Skills, Income, and Knowledge for Adolescents |
| BNCC | Bangladesh National Cadet Corps |
| CS | Case Study |
| CM | Child Marriage |
| CSPRO | Census and Survey Processing System |
| DPS | Department of Population Sciences |
| DPSDU | Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka |
| DC | District Commissioner |
| EA | Enumeration Area |
| EMW | Ever-Married Women |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GO | Government Organization |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| HH | Households |
| IDI | Indepth Interview |
| ICRW | International Center for Research on Women |
| ICDDR,B | International Centre for Diarrheal Diseases Research, Bangladesh |
| IPPF | International Planned Parenthood Federation |
| IMPS | Integrated MultiPurpose Sample |
| KII | Key Informant Interviews |
| MR | Menstrual Regulation |
| MICS | Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey |
| NGO | Nongovernmental Organization |
| NIPORT | National Institute of Population Research and Training |
| PSU | Primary Sampling Unit |
| PIB | Press Information Bureau |
| SVRS | Sample Vital Registration System |
| TFR | Total Fertility Rate |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| USAID | U.S. Agency for International Development |
| UN | United Nations |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UNO | Upazila Nirbhahi Officer |
| US | United States |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Bangladesh has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world at 59 percent (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2016). Every year, millions of young girls get married as children, which has a wide range of implications throughout their lives, including discontinuation of education; lowered possibility of labour force participation; perpetuation of poverty and malnutrition; higher risk of maternal and child mortality; and more. Considering the significance of the issue, the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka (DPSDU) with support from UNFPA conducted an in-depth study on the context of child marriage and its implications in Bangladesh during the period from August 2015 to December 2016.

The objective of this study was to examine child marriage from a multi-dimensional perspective to generate evidence for formulating effective policies, strategies and programmes to deal with the problem. This objective was achieved through collecting data from six categories of respondents via face-to-face interviews using structured questionnaires. The categories of the respondents are: ever-married women, husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father, and mother. Qualitative data were collected from various stakeholders and different categories of respondents through in-depth Interviews (IDI). The major findings of this study are presented below.

Community and Household Characteristics

- More than half (58.7%) of the respondents are engaged in agriculture as a primary occupation. Access to electricity is high (85.3%) and tube-well is the predominant (70.9%) source of drinking water.

Characteristics of Respondents

- More than one-fourth (27%) of the ever-married female respondents have no formal education; 26.1 percent have primary education, 37.1 percent achieved secondary/Dakhil education, and only about 10 percent attended higher secondary and above education.
- Around 90 percent (88.1%) of the ever-married women are housewives.
- More than half (55.5%) of the other respondents (husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father, and mother) have no formal education and about one-fourth (23.7%) of other respondents had primary education; only 1.9 percent of other respondents had higher than secondary education.

Understanding and Practices of *Purdah* System

- Concerning the understanding of maintaining *purdah*, 77 percent of ever-married women consider *purdah* as wearing *burkha*, whereas only 7 percent consider *purdah* as mental purity. More than 70 percent (71.5%) of husbands and 57.9 percent of mothers define *purdah* as modesty in behaviour.
- Ever-married women report that how they practiced *purdah* changed with marriage. Before marriage, the majority of ever-married female respondents practiced *purdah* through modesty in dress (73.9%). After marriage, 74 percent of respondents say they practice *purdah* by wearing a *burkha*.

Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage

- More than 90 percent (93%) of the respondents report that members of their community strongly believed that marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family.
- About three-fourths (73.8%) of the respondents report that their community perceives women and girls' principal functions to be reproductive.
- More than 70 percent (71.4%) of respondents perceive that girls earn their identity and social status through marriage in their communities.

Attitude towards Age of Child

- About 80 percent (78%) of all respondents agree that a person less than 14 years of age is a child.
- About 85 percent ever-married women consider a person under age 14 to be a child.
- Qualitative findings showed that most of the participants consider 12-15-year old girls and younger as children. Some respondents only consider girls less than 5 years old to be children. Changes like physical appearance, mental maturity, biological change and religious perspectives are used to justify the definition or understanding of childhood, regardless of the girl's age.

Attitude towards Age at Marriage of Girls

- More than 90 percent (93.5%) of respondents believe that age 18 and above is the suitable age for girls' marriage.
- Qualitative findings show that participants have the perception that girls earn their identity through marriage; as such, unmarried older girls could bring bad reputation and unmarried older girls become the subject of social gossip. Additionally, perceptions are strong that girls were born to be homemakers. These attitudes towards girls' marriage appear to exert strong influence on the child marriage in Bangladesh.

Prevalence of Child Marriage

- Among the ever-married female respondents, 67 percent were married before age 18. There is substantial variation in child marriage by district with the highest rate in Kurigram (91%) and the lowest rate in Moulvibazar (45%).

Causes of Child Marriage

- The place of residence is an important determinant of child marriage, which is reflected in the proportion of child marriage in rural (70.9%) and urban areas (57%).
- Low education is another major correlate of child marriage. The highest (77.7%) proportion of child marriage was found among ever-married women with no formal education compared to 7.4 percent for women with above higher secondary education.
- Parents' education is another correlate of child marriage. The rate of child marriage was 73.7 percent among the ever-married women whose mothers were not educated compared to 27.4 percent whose mothers had education higher secondary and above level. Similar findings were also found from the level of father's education. The rate of child marriage was 75.4 percent among the ever-married women whose fathers were not educated compared to 41.3 percent whose fathers had education higher secondary and above.

- Poverty also appears to be important factor for child marriage. The respondents from the poorest wealth quintile show the highest (81.4%) level of child marriage compared to other wealth quintiles.
- Lack of social security and protection for the girls plays an important role in the prevalence of child marriage. For instance, the prevalence of child marriage was 69 percent where eve-teasing/sexual harassment happened frequently.
- Dowry has both a direct and indirect role on child marriage. Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides.

Consequences of Child Marriage

- An overwhelming majority (85.2%) of the women discontinued education because of child marriage.
- Slightly less than half of the ever-married women (43%) who were working before marriage could not continue their work due to child marriage.
- Unplanned first pregnancy occurred more among ever-married women who had been married as children.
- Child marriage resulted in high prevalence of Menstrual Regulation (MR) or induced abortion (4.8% among ever-married women who got married as a child vs. 4.3% among ever-married women who got married as adult), incidence of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage (9.9% among ever-married women who got married as child vs. 8.4% among ever-married women who got married as adult), stillbirth (6.4% among ever-married women who got married as child vs. 4.4% among ever-married women who got married as adult), and neonatal death (8.6% among ever-married women who got married as child vs. 5.5% among ever-married women who got married as adult).
- Child marriage also contributed to low quality of marital life (e.g. freedom of speech, decision making, divorce, conflict, abuse, sexual violence, and physical violence and torture).

Stakeholders' Role in Preventing Child Marriage

- An overwhelming majority (85.2%) of the ever-married women think that men can make a meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage.
- More than half of the respondents believe that men can refrain themselves from getting married to a child in addition to informing law enforcement agencies and locally elected bodies when a child is being offered for marriage. A substantial proportion of respondents think that men can engage in various activities to reduce child marriage, including prohibiting child marriage of girls within their own families, encouraging girls' education, socially isolating someone who marries a child, and preventing sexual harassment.
- About 60 percent (61%) of all respondents believe that parents can jointly take responsibility to prevent child marriage with some variation across different types of respondents.
- Qualitative findings strongly indicate that government officials at all levels have been continuously working to create awareness among people about the negative consequences of child marriage to prevent it. However, stronger partnerships and coordination are needed between the Zila and Upazila administration; local government bodies; marriage registrars; social, political, cultural, religious leaders; and development workers in order to prevent child marriage.

The findings of this study clearly show that child marriage is influenced by a multiplicity of causes. For this reason, a multi-dimensional approach is needed to prevent child marriage in Bangladesh and to minimize the negative consequences of child marriage. More specifically, concerted efforts are needed from all levels-individual, community, institutional, state and policy-to affect the context of child marriage in Bangladesh.

Chapter 1

Introduction

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Marriage is an important social institution and plays a vital role both at the individual and societal levels in maintaining reproduction and social harmony. Although marriage is often treated as a celebration, for girls who are married before reaching adulthood, marriage is a violation of human rights and correlated with mental, physical, and reproductive health problems. Child marriage is defined by experts and for the purpose of this report as marriage before 18 for girls (UNICEF, 2005; ICRW, 2007). The prevalence of child marriage is very high in most developing countries likely due to a complex series of causes and drivers including poverty and adverse social norms. Globally, one in seven women aged 20-24 years is married before age 15, and one-third of this same group of women is married before age 18 (Amin, 2011). Half of total child marriages occur in South Asia, and most of them take place in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Nepal (Raj et al. 2009; Amin 2011; UNFPA 2012).

Bangladesh has received significant attention for its very high rate of child marriage, though prevalence rates have fallen over time. The Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) 2014 shows that the rate of child marriage (among the women who are currently aged between 20-24 years) has declined to 58.6 percent from that of 73.3 percent in 1993 (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2016). The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) data also shows the declining trend of child marriage. The MICS 2012-2013 shows that 52.3 percent women (who are currently aged between 20-24 years) were married before 18 years, compared to 64.1 percent of 20-24 years old in 2006 (BBS, 2014). It is important to note that both BDHS and MICS calculate the child marriage rate by placing both unmarried and married women who are aged between 20-24 years at the denominator. The child marriage rate will be much higher if we consider only ever-married women as the denominator. For example, our calculation of child marriage rate by placing only ever married women as the denominator shows that the percentage of women aged 20-24 who were first married by age 18 years was 84 percent in 1993 and it has declined to 69.4 percent in 2016 (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2016). The child marriage rate in Bangladesh is declining, albeit slowly.

Along with the declining trend in child marriage, there has been an increase in median age at first marriage among women in Bangladesh, though the change has occurred more slowly. In 1993-94, the median age at first marriage among women aged 20-49 was 14.4 years. This figure increased to 15 years in 1999-2000, 15.3 years in 2007, 15.8 years in 2011, and 16.1 years in 2014 (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2016). Thus, despite gains, it is apparent that a large number of girls are still marrying below the age of 18.

1.2 Knowledge Gaps in Existing Child Marriage Literature

There are four major sources for estimating rates of child marriage in Bangladesh. These sources are: (1) Sample Census conducted by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS 2012); (2) Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) conducted by the National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT); (3) Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) conducted by the BBS (2015a); and (4) Sample Vital Registration System (SVRS) (BBS, 2015b) conducted by BBS. The prevalence data on child marriage produced by these four sources are representative either at national, divisional, and/or district level

(please see the Matrix-1 where we have provided a summary comparison of these data sources). These sources have collected predominantly quantitative data on the prevalence of child marriage. However, child marriage was not the primary focus of these surveys and thus, these surveys have limitations as to what extent they can be used to understand and assess the causes and consequences of child marriage. The following section critically evaluates the strengths and limitations of these data sources, setting the background for this important research on the context of child marriage in Bangladesh conducted by the Department of Population Sciences (DPS), University of Dhaka.

The Sample Census (2011) provides a broad picture of demographics in Bangladesh by collecting national-, divisional-, and district-level representative data on variables such as fertility, mortality, migration, nuptiality, and more, including child marriage. The BBS used the question on “age at first marriage (completed years)” to assess the prevalence of child marriage or what percentage of women got married before reaching 18, but further questions to assess the causes as well as consequences of child marriage are not present. Particularly important is that child marriage occurs in a specific context of Women parental house (poverty, social security, etc.), but the Sample Census data do not provide any information on child brides’ natal family. This additional information cannot be accessed through other data sets as the Sample Census only collected quantitative data via a structured questionnaire and the data has not been triangulated with any other sources. As is common in collecting data on sensitive topics, the issue of ‘error in age reporting’ should also be considered in assessing the Sample Census data (BBS, 2012).

The MICS (2012-2013) provides national-, divisional- and district-level representative data on the prevalence of child marriage. The survey contains data from 55,200 households from all the 64 districts with a representative sample size and sampling design (BBS, 2015a). The MICS asked the following question to women (15-49 years): “How old were you when you started living with your (first) husband?” In the context of Bangladesh, this question may not serve as a good proxy for age at first marriage. First, cohabitation outside marriage is not socially or culturally acceptable (Ahmad, 1986; Amin, 1998). Secondly, although child marriage is more common among older cohorts, and median age of marriage was even lower in years past, there is anecdotal evidence that girl children are often married, but stay in their parents’ home until attaining an agreed-upon age. Thus, age at first cohabitation may not correlate well with age at first marriage in the Bangladeshi social and cultural context. Similar to the census discussed above, the MICS collects data on child marriage along with other variables, such as breastfeeding, water and sanitation, child mortality, maternal and newborn health, contraception, HIV/AIDS, child development, and more. The MICS does not specifically aim to identify causes and consequences of child marriage. The MICS data on socio-economic variables can be used to identify factors and drivers associated with child marriage, but it does not have any direct questions on causes or consequences of child marriage. Further, the survey does not include any questions relating to social norms, values, practices, or gender beliefs and construction that likely influence child marriage. Again, like the census, information on a woman’s parents and socioeconomic status of her family is missing and cannot be triangulated with other sources.

Matrix-1: Comparison of the Key Methodology and Variables Used in Different Child Marriage Related Research in Bangladesh

| Key Issues | BBS | BDHS | MICS | PIB and ICDDR,B | DPSDU |
|---|-----|------|------|------------------|-------|
| Methodological | | | | | |
| Representativeness | | | | | |
| National level | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Divisional level | Yes | Yes | Yes | No | No |
| District level | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes |
| Data Collection Method | | | | | |
| Quantitative | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Qualitative | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Causes and Consequences of CM has been Focused as Main Concern | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |
| Questionnaire Content | | | | | |
| Defined marriage as 'cohabitation' | No | Yes | Yes | No | No |
| Explored causes of child marriage using direct question | No | No | No | Yes ¹ | Yes |
| Explored consequences of child marriage using direct question | No | No | No | Yes ² | Yes |
| Explored causes of child marriage from the bride's natal household perspectives | No | No | No | No | Yes |
| Explored social norms, values and practices related to child marriage | No | No | No | No | Yes |
| Explored gender beliefs and construction influencing child marriage | No | No | No | No | Yes |
| Explored intergenerational gaps in perception towards child marriage | No | No | No | No | Yes |
| Explored men's and Women attitude towards child marriage | No | No | No | No | Yes |

The BDHS provides national- and divisional-level representative data on the prevalence of child marriage since 1993 (Mitra et al., 1994). The latest wave of BDHS data was collected in 2014 (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2016). The primary focus of the BDHS is to collect information on certain demographic and health aspects, i.e. fertility, contraception, infant mortality, and child health. The data are not representative at the district level. With respect to child marriage, the BDHS suffers from the same problem as the MICS in that its approach to child marriage does not adequately address the Bangladeshi social and cultural setting. It uses the same question for assessing age at marriage as is used by the MICS (How old were you when you started living with your (first) husband?). Additionally, like the MICS and census, the BDHS also does not provide in-depth, direct questions on the causes and consequences of child marriage, so child marriage cannot be directly linked to Women education and health outcomes. The survey did not include any question relating to social norms, values, practices, gender beliefs, and construction that are influencing child marriage. However, the BDHS does collect wide-ranging information on socio-economic variables, which can be used by researchers to identify the determinants of child marriage. Again, these socio-economic variables are not necessarily the 'true' determinants of child marriage because child marriages take

¹ The causes are explored via a structured questionnaire, but the 'responses' of the questions are not offered verbatim to respondents, but kept in an abstract form in the questionnaire.

² The consequences have been addressed in a partial way. The study did not collect any information on the consequences of child marriage on reproductive health or gender relations.

place in the socio-economic context of child brides' natal families, information on which is again missing. Socio-economic data collected in BDHS are on in-laws' family. Finally, the survey collected only quantitative data by using a structured questionnaire; it was not triangulated with any other sources.

The Sample Vital Registration System (SVRS) implemented by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS, 2015b) collects data on the frequency of marriage and marriage dissolution, along with some characteristics of the parties. From these data, reports are published with extracted macro-level indicators of marriage including the crude marriage rate, general marriage rate, age-specific marriage rate, mean age at marriage by sex, and some marital dissolution indicators including the crude divorce rate, general divorce rate, age-specific divorce and separation rate by sex. However, SVRS does not provide detailed or disaggregated information on the context in which a child is getting married and the consequences that women endure during their lifetime as a result of child marriage. Thus, using the SVRS data is not feasible to carry out further analysis to identify determinants and consequences of child marriage in Bangladesh.

More focused studies of child marriage have recently been undertaken in Bangladesh. Namely, the International Centre for Diarrheal Disease, Bangladesh (ICDDR, B) and Plan International published their findings from a nationally representative survey covering child marriage: "Child Marriage in Bangladesh: Findings from a National Survey" (2013). The survey covers 90 randomly selected rural Unions from a total of 4,044 rural Unions (lowest local administrative level unit in rural area) and another 90 urban Wards from a total of 2,420 urban Wards (lowest local administrative level in urban area) in Bangladesh. The spatial distribution of the selected wards and unions is not reported and, so it is unknown whether all 64 districts are represented. Moreover, while the methodology section of this study reports that a semi-structured questionnaire was used in this study, this questionnaire was not included in the study report. One strength of the study is that it directly asks questions regarding causes of child marriage, which are then grouped into broad categories. For example, one question regarding the main reasons for child marriage of a girl included these possible responses: (1) 'religious belief'; (2) 'lack of social security'; (3) 'family tradition'; (4) 'family problem'; (5) 'social pressure for marriage'. While this is an improvement over MICS or DHS, there is little specificity and the meanings of those responses may vary from person to person. As in the above-discussed surveys, a primary limitation of the study is that it collected data on socio-economic status from the Women in-laws house, not from their natal families at the time of their marriages. Thus, the study used in-laws' socio-economic status as proxy indicators of girls' natal family for identifying determinants of child marriage. The study focused primarily on causes and does not explore in depth the consequences of child marriage on outcomes such as reproductive health and gender relations. Finally, although the icddr,b study collected qualitative data, the focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted only with community leaders and adolescent boys, not parents, prospective in-laws or women themselves.

A 2015 Human Rights Watch study provides in-depth analysis of the contributing factors and harmful consequences of child marriage (Human Rights Watch, 2015). They identify several factors contributing to child marriage including poverty, natural disasters, lack of access to education, social pressure, harassment, intimidation, and dowry. They also identify common, harmful consequences of child marriage as including early termination of education, early pregnancy, lack of access to family planning, health problems, domestic abuse, violence including rape and abandonment.

Although the Human Rights Watch Report (2015) provides better insights about the causes and consequences of child marriage, it was based on qualitative data only. In addition to the lack of quantitative data, the report does not provide district-level analysis to identify differential patterns in child marriage. The report also focused less on exploring social norms and values, and traditional gender roles in driving child marriage in Bangladesh.

1.3 Contribution of the Study

In the context of the above-mentioned limitations of the studies summarized in the Matrix-1, the Department of Population Sciences (DPS), University of Dhaka, with support from UNFPA, conducted this study on child marriage in order to fill some data gaps. It should be mentioned here that despite having limitations of the studies conducted earlier, they are very good sources of data on prevalence of child marriage at the national, divisional, and district levels. Thus, the DPS study did not aim to provide further information on the prevalence of child marriage, but rather to collect more systematic data on the causes and consequences of child marriage. The UNFPA-commissioned, DPS study is unique and adds the following contributions to the picture of child marriage in Bangladesh: (1) consideration of social norms, values and practices, and gender beliefs and construction, in addition to general socio-economic variables, such as education and poverty as drivers of child marriage; (2) inter-generational gaps in attitude towards child marriage; (3) assessment of men's and Women attitudes towards child marriage; and (4) consequences of child marriage on education, reproductive health, and gender roles and relations.

1.4 Organization of the Report

This report is outlined as follows. Chapter 2 presents existing evidences on the causes and consequences of child marriage. Chapter 3 elaborates methodology of the study. Chapters 4 to 13 describe the findings of the study. Finally, Chapter 14 illustrates discussion, conclusion and policy recommendations.

Chapter 2

Evidences in Literature on Causes and Consequences of Child Marriage

CHAPTER 2 : EVIDENCES IN LITERATURE ON CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD MARRIAGE

2.1 Introduction

The high prevalence of child marriage in Bangladesh raises the question of what are the determining factors of child marriage and to what extent the consequences of child marriage would affect children's lives. Previous research shows that child marriage is determined by many causes including education, employment, wealth status, and gender norms and values (Gyimah, 2009; Kamal, 2011; USAID, 2012; Ferdousi, 2013; Haque et al., 2014; Kamal et al., 2014). Earlier research has also reported a wide range of consequences of child marriage on the lives of women including negative impact on their education, career, health, and marital life (Ahmed and Naher, 1987; Sarkar, 2009; Myers and Harvey, 2011; Ahmed et al., 2013; Ferdousi, 2013). A more extended review of the extant research on the causes and consequences of child marriage is presented below.

2.2 Causes of Child Marriage in Bangladesh

Child marriage is determined by a multiplicity of causes due to the multi-dimensional nature of social phenomena. Thus, various components of the social structure determine the occurrence of child marriage to a large extent. More specifically, education, employment status, financial condition, demographic and cultural factors such as birth cohort and religion play an important role in the occurrence of child marriage (Gyimah, 2009; Kamal, 2011; USAID, 2012; Amin et al., 2013; Verma and Srinivasan, 2014).

2.2.1 Education

Previous research shows that Women education is one of the major determinants of child marriage (Ikamari, 2005; Lisa et al., 2007; Ali, 2013; Kamal et al., 2014). Lower educated women are more likely to have been married as children than their higher educated counterparts, partially due to low awareness of the negative consequences of child marriage. Lower educated women also suffer from social insecurity due to their lower social status. Families of lower educated women appear to be more subject to social pressures that advocate for arranging marriage for daughters earlier, as there are perceived problems associated with arranging marriage as girls become older (Mensch et al., 2005; Lisa et al., 2007; icddr,b and Plan International, 2013). These factors also exert similar influence on the occurrence of child marriage in the case of lower education for males (Kamal et al., 2014).

The lack of education for girls as a risk factor for child marriage has been well documented. In a UNICEF study of 42 countries, women between the ages of 20 and 24 who attended primary school were less likely to marry by age 18 than women without a primary education (Hervish and Feldman-Jacobs, 2011). The main difficulty is that the decision by a girl or her parents to marry early is likely to be itself a function of the girl's education potential. Girls who are perceived to have lower education scenarios because they may be weaker academically face smaller expected losses in future earnings and thereby have lower incentives to continue to study as compared to girls who are academically stronger. These girls may be more willing to marry early, or their parents may be more inclined to have them marry early (Nguyen and Wodon, 2012).

Kamal and Hasan (2013) observed that Women's level of education appeared to be the most single significant determinant that negatively influenced child marriage. Each additional level of education for both women and men lowered the probability of child marriage significantly, though the effect of husband's education appeared to be somewhat weaker than that of women. The higher the post-primary education among women, the lower the probability of child marriage. Moreover, the higher the level of education among husbands, the lower the likelihood of child marriage among their wives. It is likely that a woman with higher education will spend a longer period in school. Additionally, women with higher educational attainment may have higher occupational aspirations and would want to have jobs suitable for them rather than getting married earlier (Kamal, 2012).

Ali (2013) argued that ignorance of the dangers and harms brought on by child marriage is one of the most important factors causing the propagation of the practice. Lack of education is the driving force behind the ignorance of the negative consequences of child marriage. Moreover, Sing and Samara (1996) ascertained that in every country, women with at least some secondary schooling were less likely to get married at a young age than women with less education. Women education, by and far, appeared as the most single significant determinant in the timing of marriage. The higher the education, the lower was the risk of child marriage. Higher education of the respondent was strongly associated with lower probability of child marriage and lower probability of delayed consummation of marriage (Choe et al., 2005; ICRW, 2012).

2.2.2 Employment

Research has shown a two-way relationship between the age at marriage (more specifically child marriage) and labour force participation. Firstly, labour force participation before marriage worked as a protective factor against child marriage (Chowdhury and Trovato, 1994; icddr,b and Plan International, 2013). In addition, out-of-labour-force girls have a higher risk of having child marriage compared to their employed counterparts (Chowdhury and Trovato, 1994; Amin, 2011; icddr,b and Plan International, 2013; Kamal et al., 2014). The mechanism through which unemployed women become more vulnerable to child marriage is that they have lower participation in their family-decision making processes and thus are likely less able to resist being married off as children. On the other hand, their employed counterparts enjoy higher status in their society and have greater role in the decision-making process. As a result, they are in a stronger position to postpone their marriages and focus more on their careers (Atkinson et al., 1986; Amin et al., 1998; Jain et al., 2011; icddr,b and Plan International, 2013; Liana et al., 2011). Secondly, research has shown that child marriage either pushed the girls to discontinue their job after marriage (icddr,b and Plan International, 2013) or child marriage restricts the girls' participation in the labour force (Grown et al. 2005; Parsons, 2015). Child marriage restricts female labor force participation given the lower levels of educational attainment which in turn affects employment opportunities and the nature and terms of their employment (Grown et al. 2005). Young married girls who do not complete their schooling also lack the knowledge base and the marketable skills needed for formal work, and are confined to informal or home-based type work, typically characterized by inferior working conditions and lower (or nonexistent) incomes (Parsons, 2015). Child marriage can reduce labor force participation by significantly increasing the barriers to employment posed by Women reproductive roles, such as early childbearing, short birth spacing, and higher number of children (Parsons, 2015). Child marriage also affects labor force participation due to the adverse health impacts of early and frequent pregnancies (Prata et al. 2010; Koblinsky et al. 2012; UNFPA 2014).

2.2.3 Poverty

Lower financial condition of women emerges as a common predictor of child marriage in all studies (Chowdhury, 2004; Ferdousi, 2013). More specifically, a higher rate of poverty is associated with a higher prevalence of child marriage all over the world in general and for Bangladesh in particular, where the vast majority of people live in poverty (Brown, 2012; Kamal, 2012). Citing poverty, parents choose to forgo the expenditure of higher education for their daughters, and lower educational attainment is correlated with higher incidence of child marriage. This situation is further compounded by the fact that as age of the bride increases, so too do expected dowry payments in Bangladesh. The projected increased cost of marrying off an older girl may lead poor parents to arrange their daughters' marriage at relatively younger ages. Because of higher expenditure related to education, dowry, and daily living, in many cases, poor parents consider their daughters to be a financial burden, which motivates them to arrange marriage as early as possible (Mathur et al., 2003; Birech, 2013; Blomgren, 2013; Ferdousi, 2013; icddr,b and Plan International, 2013).

Moreover, Ali (2013) argues that poverty is by far the most obvious and prevalent reason for child marriage, particularly for girls. It is both a cause and effect of child marriage because some parents feel that the feeding and maintenance of a girl is economically not fruitful as she is not likely to bring any income to the household. Again, in underdeveloped countries in particular, poor parents cannot afford to educate their children resulting in illiteracy and ignorance, which fuels the cycle of poverty. Bhanji and Punjani (2014) note that that a young girl in a poor family is often regarded as an economic burden while marrying her to an older man is believed to bring social as well as financial benefits to the poor family. Poor parents often state that the only way to guarantee a secure future for their daughters is to marry them off (ICRW, 2005). Hence, Haque et al., (2014) argue that chronic lack of income severely affects household decision-making and may result in girls being viewed as an economic burden. The higher costs of raising children and the negative perception about girls' potential to earn pushes girls out of their homes and into marriage (Myers and Harvey, 2011). Women and girls who marry as children "are more likely to be poor and to remain poor." While many parents marry off their children believing that it will be in their daughter's and family's best interests, child marriage is in fact responsible for reinforcing cycles of poverty (Evenhuls and Burn, 2014).

According to Verma and Srinivasan (2014) in Bangladesh poor families marry off their daughters at the earliest opportunity, because they perceive a girl child as a financial burden on the family. In this case marriage is considered as a simple cost cutting technique used by families to save on marriage and dowry expenses. They argue that poor families become eager to marry off daughters at the earliest, especially when they receive offers of marriage from 'good' prospects. For girls dropping out of school because their families are unable to meet the cost of education, marriage is the only option to acquire economic security and avoid becoming a financial burden on their families.

2.2.4 Birth Cohorts

Apart from socioeconomic factors, demographic characteristics also exert strong influence on the occurrence of child marriage. For instance, earlier research shows that older birth cohorts have higher prevalence of child marriage than the recent birth cohorts (Kamal et al., 2014). Norms around family traditions of earlier marriages and gender roles-such as where women are seen as the sole agent of the household maintenance, child rearing, and higher practice of sacrificing self-interest to family desires are likely reasons for this generational divide. In line with evolving traditions, recent birth cohorts have greater participation in the family decision making process and enjoy more freedom in implementing their own desires (Jahan, 1975; Chen, 1993; Chowdhury, 2004). Consequently, these factors essentially

lead to differences in the prevalence of child marriage across birth cohorts. Kamal et al., (2014) showed using analyses by year-of-birth cohort and year-of-marriage cohort that women in Bangladesh are in transition with regard to the timing of marriage. For instance, women who were born in later cohorts and those married in recent years were more likely to postpone marriage compared with their older counterparts. This may be partly attributed to the higher educational attainment of younger women as compared with their older counterparts. These findings are similar to those of earlier studies conducted using national survey data from Bangladesh (Islam and Mahmud, 1996; Islam and Ahmed, 1998; Kamal, 2011) and other developing countries like those of sub-Saharan Africa and Nepal (Gupta and Mahy 2003; Arayal, 2007). Young women have better access to modern amenities such as electricity, good communication, higher/quality education, and easy access to mass media. However, relatively older women were raised with more restrictive social and family norms and thus their personal choices and beliefs were not valued or taken into consideration with respect to marriage and other household issues. So, women who were born earlier are more likely to marry as teenagers compared to the women in the youngest cohort (Zahangir, 2011)

2.2.5 Cultural Factors

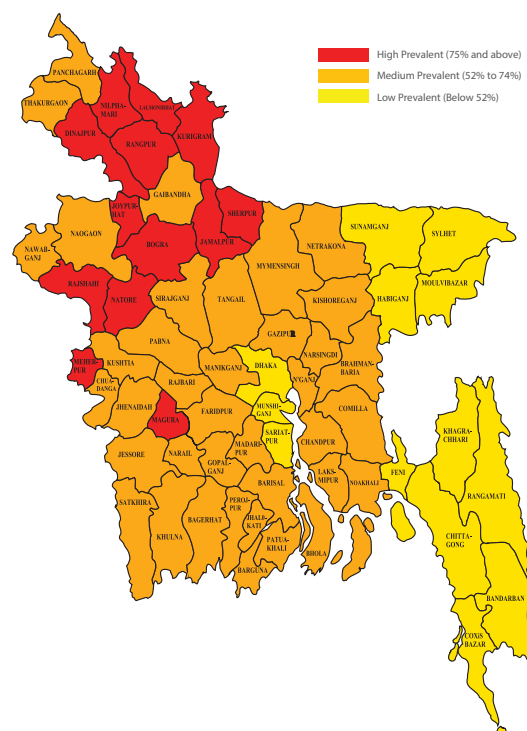
Along with socioeconomic and demographic factors, cultural factors are also correlated with higher prevalence of child marriage (Chowdhury, 2004; Mensch et al., 2005; Amin et al., 2013). For example, religion plays an important role in determining the levels of child marriage in a society (Kamal et al., 2014). The rate of child marriage is on average higher in Muslim countries (Sarkar, 2009). Part of the reason might be the encouragement of preserving virginity and marriage by Islam, resulting in higher rates of child marriage (icddr,b and Plan International Bangladesh, 2013). Kamal and Hassan (2013) describe how cultural factors have an impact on the timing of marriage. In particular, they show how the greater risk of child marriage among Muslim women as compared with their non-Muslim counterparts reflects cultural norms and traditional beliefs along with the societal structure of Bangladesh. Early age at marriage among Muslim women is a consequence of parent-arranged marriages and patriarchal family structures, which typically lead to marriage at young ages for girls. Religion is an indicator of faith and culture. These variables plausibly reflect the family values that a woman would have grown up with, and which would influence how she evaluates the costs and benefits of marrying or remaining single. Muslim women are more likely to be married as children than women of other faiths. (Sarkar, 2009; Kamal, 2011).

According to Ali (2013), adherence to misconceived notions of religion and discriminatory traditional and customary practices is another reason for child marriage. Various studies outline some of these misconceptions and we highlight some notable findings here. Girls are often forced into marriages, yet accept marriage as their allotted fate because in Islam, the elders in the family are highly respected; they may advocate marriage of young children, especially girls, in their families believing that a union will keep their daughters safe (Bhanji and Punjani, 2014). Ahmed (1986) examined the changing pattern of marriage and family formation in the socio-cultural and economic context of Bangladesh by conducting a critical review of previous studies. The author reveals that the negative attitude towards daughters among Hindus could contribute to a high prevalence of child marriage in this ethnic group. However, there is no evidence of a high prevalence of child marriage among the Hindu community, according to the more recently conducted studies (Raj et al., 2009; Kamal et al., 2014). Negative social and religious norms prolong and can help to justify early and forced marriages. For myriad cultural, religious and practical reasons, in many countries the importance of preserving family 'honour' and girls' virginity is such that parents push their daughters into marriage well before they are ready. Girls may also be married to older men in the belief that a husband will provide a safeguard against 'immoral' or 'inappropriate' behaviour (Myers and Harvey, 2011). The primary role of girls, once they have reached puberty, is seen as to produce children and care for the household as opposed to men whose primary role is to provide for the family financially. As a result, in many countries women are often thought to be ready for marriage at an earlier age than men (Evenhuls and Burn, 2014).

Certain traditional beliefs and cultural practices may lead to higher rates of child marriage. ICRW's report (2012) on 'Asia Child Marriage Initiative: Summary of Research in Bangladesh, India and Nepal' shows parents and their children consider marriage necessary and inevitable. Furthermore, study participants believe it is the parents' responsibility to marry off their daughters and protect their chastity until they are married. Child marriage ensures honourable discharge from this duty. Parents who delay the marriage of their daughters are seen as failing in their parental responsibilities and may face adverse comments or stigma by community members. A report by Plan International, Bangladesh (2013) shows that traditional norms and their concomitant social pressure is one of the main causes for child marriage. Marriage for girls is seen as necessary and inevitable, and a daughter's marriage is one of the main parental responsibilities. Given these factors, parents feel it is time to discharge their 'responsibility' and marry off their daughter once a girl attains puberty. There is a range of local beliefs in Bangladesh that contribute to the practice of child marriage. Where child marriage is prevalent there is strong social pressure on families to either conform or face ridicule, disapproval or family shame. Local perceptions regarding an ideal age of marriage are tied to economic factors such as dowries, bride price, etc. According to the Forum on Marriage and the Rights of Women and Girls (2000) report, in many communities the loss of virginity in girls before marriage is the worst shame that can be brought upon a family. For this reason and to control a girl's sexuality, girls are married to prevent pre-marital sex or pregnancy.

2.2.6 Region

There is substantial variation in child marriage across divisions in Bangladesh. For instance, findings from the 2014 Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey showed that among ever-married women, Rajshahi has the highest rate of child marriage in 2014 (77.4%) followed by Rangpur (75.1%), Khulna (75.0%), Barisal (72.2%), Dhaka (68.8%), Chittagong (65.1%), and Sylhet (52.8%) (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2016). Within division, there is also district-level variation in the prevalence of child marriage. The following map shows the district-level variation in the rate of child marriage (BBS, 2015a).



Despite the large-scale variation in child marriage across divisions and districts, limited attention has been given in earlier research in exploring the possible causes of the variation. Existing literature suggests that the regional variation in child marriage can be attributed to the differences in socioeconomic conditions (e.g., education, employment and income) (Amin, 2011; USAID, 2012; ICDDR'B and Plan International, 2013; Kamal et al., 2014). Regional variation in child marriage could arise due to other reasons such as social insecurity, threat, and child trafficking. The incidence of these phenomena is not equal across regions or divisions in Bangladesh.

2.2.7 Social Insecurity

Another important reason for the higher prevalence of child marriage is social insecurity of young females. Research shows that parents fear for their daughters' safety and honour both at home and in public places. Higher incidence of sexual and other violence against girls and women may motivate parents to arrange child marriage of their daughters (Ali, 2013; Ferdousi, 2013). Human Rights Watch (2015) found that in Bangladesh harassment and intimidation also played a major role in driving child marriage. Unmarried adolescent girls often faced unwanted advances and threats, including the threat of abduction from suitors. Parents, feeling unable to protect their daughters and with no prospect of help from police or local authorities, see marriage as a solution. Families were also influenced by social pressures from their neighbors in communities where the onset of puberty in a girl is seen as a signal that it is time for her to marry. Moreover, Ali (2013) argues that many people think marriage is a way to protect their daughters from sexual abuse or illicit sexual contact. Similarly, Ali (2013) notices that sexual harassment is a phenomenon newly recognized as being the cause behind child marriage of girls. This particular reason cuts across social boundaries, in as much as girls in the middle and higher echelons of social and economic strata may also find themselves as targets of sexual harassment while in public places, for example on the way to and from school or work, etc. Child marriage is seen as a preventative measure to protect girls' chastity and sexuality upon which rests the family's honour and respect. Chowdhury (2004) shows that in many cases parents turn to child marriages to secure a future for their daughters. Situations of insecurity and acute poverty can prompt parents to resort to child marriage as a protective mechanism or survival strategy.

2.2.8 Dowry

The rising prominence of dowry adds an additional dimension of vulnerability among the poor. In Bangladesh, dowry is traditionally paid by a girl's parents to the husband or his family. The practice of dowry is relatively higher among the poor. Those who committed to pay dowry for their daughter's marriage try to pay the amount at any cost because there are negative consequences of failure to pay dowry after marriage on their daughters' conjugal lives (Chowdhury, 2010). In Bangladesh, dowry payments were made illegal by the Dowry Prohibition Act 1980, but are still prevalent in varying degrees in most parts of the country (Chowdhury, 2004). The statute is gender neutral, but the demand for dowry is generally from the groom's side. The amount of dowry or bride price is usually significantly smaller when it is a child-marriage than a youth marriage (Blanchet, 1996). Hence, it makes sense for the poor father of a girl to marry her off at an early age in order to avoid paying a huge dowry amount (Ali, 2013). In addition, to minimize the ceremonial costs, parents sometimes try to arrange the marriage of two sons or daughters at a time, even if the younger one is not yet of marriageable age (Ahmed, 1986).

2.2.9 Attitude towards Girls

Girls are generally perceived differently than boys by their family and society (Chowdhury, 2004). Many people in Bangladesh society, like others, believe that girls are born to be homemakers and that they

earn their identity through marriage (Jensen and Thornton, 2003; Field and Ambrus, 2008; Jisun, 2016). In addition, society put less importance on girls' education and career and believe that reproductive functions are the main functions in girls and Women lives. Poor parents consider their daughters a burden because arranging their marriage requires lots of money and investing in a girl's education does not bring any positive outcome for parents (Brown, 2012; Plan International, 2013). If parents do not arrange marriage for their daughters at a young age, then parents see it as a source of shame and believe that it may bring bad reputation for them. Nasurullah et al., (2014) examined knowledge and attitude towards child marriage among women married as children in slum areas of Pakistan. Though this study was conducted in Pakistan, it has implications in the context of Bangladesh as both countries have some similarities in their culture. They noticed that majority of the participants were unaware about the negative health consequences of child marriage and they appeared satisfied by the decision of their parents of marrying them before age 18. The study revealed that strong influence of culture and community perceptions, varying interpretation of religion, and protecting family honor played a role in the continuation of child marriage practice in Pakistan. The authors recommended that raising awareness of the negative health outcomes of child marriage, implementing and enforcing strict laws against child marriage practice, promoting civil, sexual and reproductive health rights for women could help eliminate child marriage in Pakistan.

2.2.10 Natural Disaster

Bangladesh's geo-physical location makes it vulnerable to frequent and sometimes extreme natural disasters, including cyclones, floods, storm surges, river bank erosion, earthquakes, droughts, tornados, and salinity intrusion, which cause widespread loss of life and property damage. The country typically experiences at least one major disaster a year and loses over three percent of its gross domestic product (GDP) every year due to natural disasters, while holding the highest disaster mortality rate in the world (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2010). These disasters have a wide range of consequences including exerting strong influence on the occurrence of child marriage. For instance, Human Rights Watch (2015) found that families' anticipation of losing their land and homes to river erosion contributed directly to decisions by some families to marry their girls at young ages. Many families also struggled with frequent flooding which destroyed their crops, sometimes several times a year, creating a constant battle for survival for many poor families. Regular flooding keeps families extremely poor and may drive decisions about schooling and marriages for their children.

2.2.11 Lessons from the Literature Review

Taking in the full findings of the literature discussed above, it is apparent that child marriage is driven by multiplicity of factors. In Bangladesh, these include gender discrimination, social attitudes and customs towards girls, desperate poverty, natural disasters, and climate change (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Social context, attitudes, and norms shaped by fear of rape, sexual violence, unwanted pre-marital pregnancies, family shame or dishonour, fear of homelessness, and hunger or starvation are stated by parents and children as legitimate reasons for child marriage (World Vision, 2013). In addition, poverty, weak legislative frameworks and enforcement, and lack of alternative opportunities for girls (especially education) are all major drivers of child marriage that are strengthened by the fear and anxiety symptomatic of fragile contexts (World Vision, 2013). Parents and girls may resort to child marriage as a protection against both real and perceived risks. Religion and socioeconomic contexts also play a role. Characteristics with high correlation to child marriage include being Muslim, being in the poorest wealth index, being uneducated and unemployed, living in a rural area, having more children, and preferring more children or undecided fertility (Islam and Gagnon, 2014).

2.3 Consequences of Child Marriage in Bangladesh

Child marriage may result in a wide range of consequences for women such as denial of education, domestic violence and abuse, lower labour force participation rates, perpetuation of gender inequality, higher prevalence of divorce, abandonment, and separation, perpetuation of poverty, poor quality of marital life, and facilitating sexual exploitation. Hence UNFPA (2012:4) argue that “child marriage robs girls of their girlhood, entrenching them and their future families in poverty, limiting their life choices, and generating high development costs for communities.” Bangladesh’s high rate of child marriage compared to other South Asian countries has at least four adverse consequences according to one study. These include: early age at child birth and adverse health consequences both for mother and child, denial of education, violation of human rights, and unequal gender relations (Jones, 2010).

2.3.1 Demographic Consequences

2.3.1.1 Fertility Related Consequences

Earlier studies show a strong association between child marriage and early pregnancy, partly because girls are pressured to prove their fertility soon after marrying and have little access to information on reproductive health. These women are less able to carry their pregnancy to term (Doskoch, 2013; Kamal and Hassan, 2013). Using DHS data from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan, Doskoch (2013) observes that child marriage is associated with unintended pregnancy, low levels of contraceptive use, and limited use of maternal health services. In at least three of the countries, and sometimes in all four, women who had married before age 18 were more likely than those who had married later to have had an unintended pregnancy, to have had multiple unintended pregnancies, and to have not used contraceptives before their first live birth.

2.3.1.2 Limited Role in Contraceptive Decision Making

Women who marry as children are less likely to use contraception as women married late are more likely to have knowledge of contraception as a result of having had a higher education (Sarkar 2009). Similarly, Doskoch’s 2013 study referenced above shows that child marriage is correlated with low levels of contraceptive use and limited use of maternal health services in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan.

2.3.1.3 Higher Rate of Child Mortality

Child marriage induced adolescent pregnancy increases the risk of child mortality. A UNICEF report shows that if a mother is under the age of 18 years, her baby’s chance of dying in the first year of life is 60 percent higher than that of a baby born to a mother older than 19 years (UNICEF, 2007). Update in addition, the Bangladesh Maternal Mortality and Health Care Survey 2010 reported that neonatal, infant and under-five mortality rates are higher among the adolescent mothers than the mothers whose age is 20-29 years (NIPORT, Measure Evaluation, and icddr,b, 2012). The chance of low birth weight infants is also higher among the adolescent mothers which is an important contributing factor to higher neonatal mortality rates.

2.3.1.4 Higher Rate of Maternal Mortality and Other Health Consequences

Girls who marry and give birth before their bodies are fully developed are more at risk of death, injury, and illness in childbirth. In 2007, UNICEF reported that a girl under the age of 15 is five times more likely to die during pregnancy and childbirth than a woman in her 20s (UNICEF, 2007). According to Ali (2013), the families of child brides are not only unaware that partaking in the harmful tradition will lead to poverty, but they are also in the dark about the potential harm to a child bride’s health. The girls that are pressured and forced into child marriage are sometimes very young and are almost always not physically, sexually, or mentally prepared for the responsibilities a marriage brings. A newlywed bride is pressured to have sex and bear children immediately after the wedding ceremony regardless of her physical maturity (Ali 2013).

Girl children who marry young are subject to severe health problems associated with pregnancy and childbirth (Jain et al., 2011; Nguyen and Wodon 2012; Birech 2013). Child marriage is associated with maternal mortality, sexually transmitted diseases, cervical cancer, and other harmful consequences (UNICEF, 2001; ICRW, 2007). The sexual and reproductive health of married girls is significantly poorer than that of their unmarried counterparts. Girls and women who marry early and with little or no schooling often have limited awareness of their rights and lack the knowledge and confidence to negotiate safer sex, including condom use. Young married girls are more likely to contract HIV than their unmarried counterparts as a result of their heightened sexual exposure, often with an older spouse who by virtue of age is more at risk of being HIV positive (Myers and Harvey, 2011). ICRW's 2007 report, 'Child Marriage in Southern Asia,' shows that girls married as adolescents are often forced into early childbearing, which has long been a risk to young mothers; it often leads to debilitating injuries, infant death, malnutrition and even maternal death. Girls married at young ages are more likely to experience multiple pregnancies, recurrent miscarriage and termination of pregnancy, and pregnancy and delivery related complications. They are also more likely than women married at older ages to be malnourished, suffer frailties, be unable to achieve healthy pregnancies, be unable to look after their children and family because of poor physical and mental health, and be susceptible to sexually transmitted diseases, fistula, and poor sexual health. The majority of young brides have limited access to contraception and reproductive health services and information. They are exposed to early and frequent sexual relations and to repeated pregnancies and childbirth before they are physically mature and psychologically ready. Obstetric fistula is one of the most devastating consequences, affecting over two million girls and young women globally (UNFPA, 2012).

2.3.2 Socioeconomic Consequences of Child Marriage

2.3.2.1 Denial of Education

Denial of education is one of the major socioeconomic consequences of child marriage in Bangladesh (Field and Ambrus, 2008; Jones, 2010; Jain et al., 2011; Lee-Rife et al., 2012). Girls may be denied education as investment in education for young girls may be seen as a waste of money since they will work in another household after marriage (UNICEF 2001). Another path towards lower educational attainment is that burdens such as early childbearing and household chores are imposed upon girls, making attending school difficult (Frances and Black, 2000). Parents may not be able to afford to maintain their daughters' educational expenditures, and husbands prefer not to send girls to school so that they can have superiority and full control over their wives. A study in Bangladesh by Human Rights Watch (2015) showed that for girls who were still studying at the time of their engagement or marriage, child marriage ended their studies in all but a few cases. Even families who wished to support their daughters' education after their marriages were largely unable to do so.

Field and Ambrus (2008), using data from rural Bangladesh, explore the hypothesis that women attain less schooling as a result of social and financial pressure to marry young. They found that each additional year that marriage was delayed was associated with 0.22 additional years of schooling and 5.6 percent higher literacy. Ferdousi (2013) shows that child marriage is repeatedly cited as a significant factor impeding the realization of the right to education. With child marriage, many girls drop out of school. Child marriage often results in rights to education being taken away, which undermines girls' self-confidence and decision-making power, and denies them the opportunity to become economically independent. Girls who marry as adolescents attend fewer years of school and have lower social status in their husbands' families. These consequences are exacerbated by the fact that the children of young and illiterate mothers tend to face the same cycle of childhood deprivation and damage experienced by their mothers. Similar findings are found in Jain et al. (2011) and UNICEF (2001).

2.3.2.2 Lower Rate of Labour Force Participation

Child marriage leads to lower participation of young girls in the labour market as most men hold the patriarchal beliefs that engaging female in labour force is a 'necessary evil' as it negatively affects household honour and prestige and threatens masculinity (Banks, 2013). Women likely also have lower labour force participation due to lack of higher education. Because of child marriage, young girls experience early pregnancy and many health complications, which also work as a deterrent to employment (Plan International Bangladesh, 2013; Haque et al., 2014).

2.3.2.3 Higher Rate of Gender Inequality

Child marriage also leads to higher rate of gender inequality in our society. Women married as children have limited roles in family decision-making processes. Because of lower educational attainment and lower rate of labour force participation, women married as children are disadvantaged in terms of taking decision about education and health care of their own and their children. This is also true in the case of household purchases. On the other hand, women married as adults are in a better position to play a role in decision making with their husbands. Surveys that attempt to disentangle household decision making show that women who were married as children are less likely to have joint or individual decision-making power over household purchases or visiting friends and relatives. Women autonomy is poor in child marriage respondents because the rate of husbands' taking decisions alone is high compared to adult-married women (Bhattacharjee and Das, 2011; USAID, 2012; Plan International Bangladesh, 2013; Haque et al., 2014).

2.3.2.4 Perpetuation of Poverty

The occurrence of child marriage leads to continuation of poverty in the lives of millions of women. In most cases, young girls cannot continue their education due to child marriage. Early exit from education is associated with high rates of unemployment among married women and a lower chance of developing skills for participating in income-generating activities. Consequently, girls married as children cannot play a crucial role in their household maintenance and fall in the poverty trap throughout their life span (UNICEF 2007; USAID, 2012).

2.3.2.5 Domestic Violence, Abuse, and Quality of Marital Life

Another negative outcome of child marriage in Bangladesh is the higher incidence of domestic violence. Domestic violence may include beating, torture, humiliation, rape, abuse, and even murder in some cases. Earlier research shows that cultural factors also contribute to higher rates of domestic violence in Bangladesh. For example, wife beating and suffering from domestic violence are considered acceptable by many younger females who were married early in Bangladesh. In addition, domestic violence is not socially recognized as a crime, which further intensified the suffering of young females and thus continues as a significant threat to their security (Kabir, 1999).

A report by World Vision UK (2013), 'Exploring early marriage in fragile states,' shows that women who marry young are more likely to be beaten or threatened, and are more likely to believe that their husbands might be justified in beating or raping them. For that reason, sexual and gender-based violence is higher among this group. Abuse is a daily reality for many married girls; women who marry younger are more likely to be beaten or threatened and to believe that a husband might be justified in beating his wife (Myers and Harvey, 2011). Violence is a major consequence of child marriage in South Asia where married adolescents are highly vulnerable to abuse including physical, sexual, psychological

and economic violence (UNICEF, 2005; IPPF, 2006; ICRW, 2007; Levine et al., 2009; World Vision, 2013). In India, young women who married before age 18 are twice as likely to report being beaten, slapped or threatened by their husbands than girls who married later. Also, they are three times as likely to report having been forced to have sex without their consent in the previous six months (ICRW, 2007). Recent research in Bangladesh reveals that girls regularly face domestic violence if they fail to meet household and sexual demands and expectations from husband and family members (Johnston and Naved, 2008; Das et al., 2016; Hossain, 2016).

2.3.2.6 Higher Prevalence of Divorce, Abandonment, and Separation

Divorce and subsequent remarriage occur at higher rates in rural areas than in urban areas. Dowry is often cited as cause of divorce. One potential explanation is that women married as children cannot resist the continuous demand for dowry from their husband, which leads to divorce (Ahmed and Naher, 1987; Sarkar, 2009). Amin et al., (2006) adds that girls from poor families have fewer suitors and are more likely to agree to hasty proposals that result in mismatches and bad marriages. Abuse, polygamy, divorce, and widowhood are common among poor married girls, especially those from female-headed households.

2.3.3 Psychological Consequences

Le Strat et al (2011) finds that child marriage is associated with a broad range of psychiatric disorders. These associations seem to be independent of socio-demographic factors, because the magnitude and significance of the associations remains almost unchanged when controlling for those factors or were significant only with controlling for them. In the context of child marriage, psychological and emotional stress are linked to forced sexual relations and denial of freedom and personal development as household chores now become a priority (Jain et al., 2011). Early-married girls are at higher risk of psychological disorders as these girls will be denied the right to freely express their views and the right to be defended against harmful traditional practices that in turn increase risk of lifetime and recurrent psychiatric disorders. The overall lifetime and 12-month rates of psychiatric disorders are higher for women who married as children (before the age of 18 years), compared with women who married as adults (Ahmed et al., 2013). Jain et al., (2011) argue that mental and emotional stress in girl brides was high because they are not old enough or mature enough to cope with maternal, marital, or in-law issues.

2.4 Legal and Policy Framework

Bangladesh has a pluralist legal system, in which common law, statutory law, and customary and religious law operate to regulate most aspects of life, including marriage. The minimum statutory age for marriage is 18 years for girls and 21 years for boys, according to the Child Marriage Restraint Act (CMRA) 2017 (GoB, 2017). It should be mentioned here that this Act replaces the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929. According to the CMRA 2017, any person arranging, performing or 'contracting' a child marriage, can be convicted of an offence, with a penalty of six months of imprisonment or a fine of BDT 10,000/-or both, if s/he attempts to arrange the same marriage which has been prevented in the first instance. Parents can be convicted for a maximum of two years of imprisonment and a minimum of six months of imprisonment or a fine of BDT 50,000/-or both if they permit or 'negligently' fail to prevent their child from being married. If any adult male or female is marrying an under age female or male, he or she will be punished with an imprisonment up to 2 years or a fine up to BDT 100,000/- or both. The new law has increased the punishment for committing or assisting in child marriage. The punishment

provision has also covered the marriage registrars who directly get involved in child marriage. The marriage registrars can be convicted for a maximum of two years of imprisonment and a minimum of six months of imprisonments or a fine of BDT 50,000/-or both and the license of the marriage registrar will also be cancelled. If an impending child marriage is brought to a court's notice, it can be prevented through an injunctive Court Order. However, the Child Marriage Restraint Act-2017 has a Special Provision that allows a boy or a girl to get married before reaching the statutory age limit. The major concerns of civil society and Women rights activists regarding this law is the Special Provision that allows marriage under the statutory minimum age. As per section 19 of the Act, a child marriage would not be considered an offense if it was directed by the court order with the consent of parents or legal guardian for the 'best interest of the girl'.

In 2004, the Birth and Death Registration Act was amended to make it mandatory for the bride and groom to have a birth certificate before a marriage can be registered. In addition to specifying a minimum age for marriage, statutory law criminalizes the giving and taking of dowry, which is subject to prosecution under the Dowry Prohibition Act 1980 (GoB, 1980). The Act defines 'dowry' as 'any property or valuable security' given or agreed to be given as consideration for the marriage, by one party to another party to a marriage, or their parents (or any other person).

Verma and Srinivasan (2014) argue that poor implementation of birth and marriage registration systems, lack of enforcement of the child marriage prevention law; poor public awareness and knowledge on the need to register all births and marriages, and lack of clarity regarding the registration process were other reasons for the continuation of child marriage in Bangladesh. They report that the enforcement of child marriage prevention laws and compulsory registration of birth and marriage are weak, and punitive measures against those violating the legal age at marriage or issuing false birth certificates to legitimize marriages involving minors are not stringent enough to deter families and community leaders from breaking the law.

2.5 Conclusion

Child marriage has wide-ranging implications for girls and women in Bangladesh. Child marriage binds girls within gender roles and exacts high costs in the form of adverse educational and health consequences. The fate of women in Bangladesh is unlikely to be changed without eliminating child marriage. However, in order to adopt effective intervention strategies for preventing child marriage, documentation of the multidimensional causes and consequences of child marriage is a sine qua non. Although extensive research has been conducted on child marriage in Bangladesh, these studies have several limitations that reinforce the need for large-scale comprehensive research on child marriage in the context of Bangladesh.

Chapter 3

Research Questions and Methodology

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Questions

The study aims to investigate child marriage from multiple dimensions with a view to recommend effective policies and strategies to deal with the problem. The study aims to answer the following questions:

- What socio-economic factors affect child marriage?
- How are social norms, values and practices related to child marriage?
- How do gender beliefs and construction influence child marriage?
- Are there any inter-generational gaps in perception towards child marriage?
- What are men's attitude towards child marriage?
- How can men be involved in the prevention of child marriage?
- What are Women attitude towards child marriage?
- How does birth registration affect child marriage?
- How do different stakeholders (Kazi/marriage registrars, religious leaders, school teachers, members of locally elected bodies, government officials, etc.) perceive their role in preventing child marriage?
- What are the consequences of child marriage on girls' education and health?
- What are the consequences of child marriage on gender roles and relations?
- How does child marriage affect the stability and quality of marital life?

3.2 Methodological Approach, Methods of Data Collection and Types of Respondents

This study adopted a sequential mixed-methods approach with a cross-sectional study design. Quantitative data was collected first, followed by qualitative data. Quantitative data was collected via face-to-face interviews by using a structured questionnaire. The qualitative data was collected through in-depth interviews (IDs) with key informants and case study (CS) with victims of child marriage. The following table shows the different methods of data collection and its corresponding respondent type:

Table 3.1: Respondent-wise Data Collection Tools

| Types of Respondents | Type of data Collected |
|---|------------------------|
| Ever-married women aged 49 years and below | Quantitative |
| Men (Husband, Father-in-law, and Father) | Quantitative |
| Women (Mother and Mother-in-law) | Quantitative |
| Parents of a sub-set of women who married in last 5 years | Quantitative |
| Community survey | Quantitative |
| Marriage registrars | Qualitative |
| Locally elected body members (Union Parishad, Zila and Upazila) | Qualitative |
| School/Madrasah teachers | Qualitative |
| Religious leaders | Qualitative |
| Case study on victims of child marriage | Case Study |
| GO-NGO agencies working on child marriage | Qualitative |

The quantitative survey was conducted in three phases. A detailed flow chart on the implementation of these three phases of quantitative data collection can be found in appendix-A. The first phase involved selecting the enumeration areas (EAs) and listing the households for getting eligible respondents. In the second phase, interviews were conducted among the following respondents:

- (1) Ever-married women aged 49 years and below;
- (2) Men (Husband, and Father-in-law); and
- (3) Women (Mother-in-law).

In the third and final phase, interviews were held with the following respondents:

- (1) Parents of a sub-set of women who got married in last 5 years;
- (2) Men (Father);
- (3) Women (Mother).

3.3 Study Area, Sample Size and Sampling

3.3.1 Study Area

District selection for this study was not random. The following three issues were considered for selecting the districts: (1) prevalence of child marriage; (2) disaster-induced risk for child marriage; and (3) trafficking-induced risk for child marriage. The districts with high and low child marriage rates were selected by using the normal distribution of the prevalence of child marriage according to MICS 2012-2013 (BBS, 2015a). The standardized z-score for each of the districts was calculated based on the percentage distribution of women who got married before reaching 18. The standardized z-scores were then plotted in a graph to find out top and bottom 5 percent of the districts (which falls below and above of z-score ± 1.96). The following table (table-3.2) shows the distribution of districts belonging to the top and bottom 5 percent category (above z-score of +1.96 and below z-score of -1.96).

Table 3.2: Distribution of the Study Area Based on High and Low Prevalence of Child Marriage

| Bottom 5% District (13) | | | Top 5% District (12) | | |
|-------------------------|------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------|---------------------|
| District | Division | % of Child Marriage | District | Division | % of Child Marriage |
| Moulvibazar | Sylhet | 29.1 | Joypurhat | Rajshahi | 83.5 |
| Madaripur | Dhaka | 32.6 | Chapai Nawabganj | Rajshahi | 82.5 |
| Khagrachhari | Chittagong | 36.8 | Nilphamari | Rangpur | 82.4 |
| Chittagong | Chittagong | 38.7 | Sherpur | Dhaka | 82.2 |
| Sylhet | Sylhet | 40.3 | Jamalpur | Dhaka | 81.9 |
| Sunamganj | Sylhet | 41.4 | Rajshahi | Rajshahi | 79.3 |
| Habiganj | Sylhet | 42.0 | Kurigram | Rangpur | 78.1 |
| Feni | Chittagong | 42.3 | Dinajpur | Rangpur | 78.0 |
| Bandarban | Chittagong | 44.3 | Lalmonirhat | Rangpur | 77.9 |
| Rangamati | Chittagong | 44.5 | Bogra | Rajshahi | 77.1 |
| Dhaka | Dhaka | 47.8 | Kushtia | Khulna | 76.2 |
| Munshiganj | Dhaka | 48.4 | Magura | Khulna | 75.7 |
| Cox's bazar | Chittagong | 51.8 | | | |

Limitations of district selection based on high and low child marriage rates include: (1) the approach failed to include any district from Barisal division as the division's child marriage rate is at a moderate level in the context of the whole country; and (2) there is high geographic proximity of the districts which were included (for example, Moulvibazar, Sunamganj, and Habiganj are neighbouring districts and they all belong to Sylhet region). As a result, we reduced the number of districts from each of the proximate areas (Chittagong Hill Tracts region, Sylhet region, Northern region, etc.) as socio-cultural differences among these districts are assumed to be low.

There is emerging evidence that child marriage varies in the context of environmental disaster and in areas that have high rates of human trafficking. To address these issues, we oversample districts from disaster and trafficking prone districts. Table 3.3 shows the final configuration of the sample accounting for the above-mentioned issues. In this sample, we included districts from all divisions, districts from disaster prone areas, and districts from trafficking areas. Initial selection of districts according to top and bottom 5% of the high and low child marriage area yielded 25 districts; the final sample is 14.

Table 3.3: Distribution of the Final Study Area

| District | Division | Prevalence of Child Marriage* | Reasons for Selecting this District |
|------------------|------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Chapai Nawabganj | Rajshahi | 82.5 | High child marriage |
| Nilphamari | Rangpur | 82.4 | High child marriage |
| Sherpur | Dhaka | 82.2 | High child marriage |
| Kurigram | Rangpur | 78.1 | High child marriage |
| Magura | Khulna | 75.7 | High child marriage |
| Satkhira | Khulna | 74.0 | High child marriage and trafficking |
| Jhalkathi | Barisal | 71.5 | High child marriage and disaster |
| Moulvibazar | Sylhet | 29.1 | Low child marriage |
| Khagrachhari | Chittagong | 36.8 | Low child marriage |
| Chittagong | Chittagong | 38.7 | Low child marriage |
| Habiganj | Sylhet | 42.0 | Low child marriage |
| Dhaka | Dhaka | 47.8 | Low child marriage |
| Cox's Bazar | Chittagong | 51.8 | Low child marriage and disaster and trafficking |
| Bhola | Barisal | 58.7 | Low child marriage and disaster |

* According to MICS 2012-2013 (BBS, 2015)

3.3.2 Sample Size for Quantitative Survey

The primary objective of the quantitative survey is to produce statistically reliable estimates regarding the causes and consequences of child marriage for the selected districts of the country by urban and rural divide. The following formula was used to estimate the required sample size for this research:

$$n = \frac{z^2 p (1 - p) \times deff}{e^2 \times m}$$

Where,

n = Sample size

z = the standard normal deviate, set at 1.96 at 5% level for a two-tailed test which corresponds to 95% confidence level

p = proportion of teenage women who have begun child bearing

deff = Design effect
e = Margin of error
m = Eligible respondents per household

We let p equal 30.2 (where p is the proportion of teenage women who have begun childbearing) (NIPORT, Mitra and Associates and ICF International, 2013). The value of $deff$ (design effect) was taken as 1.5. The number of eligible women per household was considered to be 1 and the response rate was assumed to be 95 per cent. The resulting number of households required for each district was 500, which allowed a maximum margin of error of ± 5 percent in estimating the proportion of teenage women who have begun childbearing.

The sample size was increased to 510 households for each district to ensure 30 selected households from each cluster. This target was not achieved in Sherpur, Magura, Jhalokati, Khagrachhari, and Moulvibazar as there were fewer than the required number of PSUs available. The individual district is the domain of estimation and the sample size was determined to address the minimum requirement for the number of sample households.¹ There was no need for increasing the sample based on the population of the district; proportional allocation by district was not used. Thus, the total number of required household size for the study is 7140 (510 households in each district for 14 districts). With one selected woman per household, the total sample size for ever-married women (Respondent Type 1, please see Appendix A) is 7140 from the selected 14 districts. For reporting national-level results, sample weights are used. A more detailed description of the sample weighting can be found in Appendix B.

To better understand family attitudes towards child marriage, for a subsample of female respondents the study samples three categories of men by relational tie to the selected woman respondent and two categories of women, also by relational tie to the selected ever-married respondent: (1) husband; (2) father-in-law (Respondent Type 2); and (3) father (Respondent Type 4); (4) mother-in-law (Respondent Type 2); and (5) mother (Respondent Type 4). The total sample size for family members of the ever-married female respondent is 2380, or one-third of the ever-married women sample size. The family sample is equally distributed among husbands, fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law; mothers; and fathers (for details please see the appendix A).

Data were also collected from selected parental households to identify the socio-economic causes of child marriage from the natal household perspective. To determine the sample size for parental households, we calculated the proportion of marriages that took place within the last five years by using BDHS 2011. The BDHS 2011 showed that Chittagong had the highest proportion of marriages that took place in the last five years, which was 0.227. Thus, the sample size for this type of respondent (Respondent Type 3) was 1621 (7140×0.227).

The study also collected quantitative data from each of the selected enumeration areas (for enumeration area, please see section 3.4.3). A community survey was conducted in each of the selected enumeration area via a structured questionnaire.

¹ A study domain refers to a major segment, i.e. subpopulation of the population for which separate estimations are required. It can consist of a geographical area such as region, district or major population centre (Reference: Statistical Office of the United Nations, "Handbook of Household Surveys, Revised Edition", (paras. 4.6, 4.7), Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 31, United Nations, New York, 1984).

However, for most of the respondent categories, we ended up with a smaller sample size than the calculated. The reason behind interviewing fewer respondents for husband, father-in-law, father, mother, and mother-in-law was the non-availability of the respondents at their household during the survey period. The data collection team attempted twice to reach these respondents for interviewing. Ever-married women were also asked to disclose whether their marriage was taken place within the last 5 years from the survey time or not. Only 1011 ever-married women reported that their marriages took place within last 5 years and thus the address of their natal household was collected for interviewing their parents. From the list of these 1011 parental addresses, we were able to reach 965 parents.

Table 3.4: Distribution of Calculated and Collected Sample Size for Quantitative Survey

| Types of Respondents | Reasons for Selecting this District | |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| | Calculated | Collected |
| Ever-married women | 7140 | 7163 |
| Husband | 476 | 473 |
| Father-in-law | 476 | 451 |
| Father | 476 | 373 |
| Mother | 476 | 394 |
| Mother-in-law | 476 | 466 |
| Parents of women who married in last 5 years | 1621 | 965 |
| Community survey | 218 | 218 |
| Total | 11,359 | 10,503 |

3.3.3 Sampling Strategy for Quantitative Survey

The selected 14 districts of the country (table 3.3) were defined as the sampling strata. A stratified cluster sampling approach was used for the selection of the survey households from each of the districts. To select the households, Integrated Multi-Purpose Sample (IMPS) Design, prepared by the BBS was used for this study. The BBS had a total 2012 EA across the country from where data for SVRS is being collected. The average number of households for each of these EAs was 120. An EA was considered as the primary sampling unit (PSU) for this study. Different districts had different numbers of EAs. Seventeen (17) EAs were selected randomly from each of the selected districts that had more than 17 EAs. On the other hand, all the EAs were selected from those districts that had less than or equal to 17 EAs (table 3.5). The 'rural-urban' ratio for each district was followed in selecting EAs from the selected districts. A complete household listing was performed in the selected EAs to prepare the list of eligible respondents. Based on the household listing, 30 households were selected randomly from where 30 ever-married women were interviewed.

Table 3.5: Distribution and Selection of EA from Each of the Selected Districts

| District | # of EAs Available | # of EAs Selected | | |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| | | Rural | Urban | Total |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 19 | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| Nilphamari | 23 | 14 | 3 | 17 |
| Sherpur | 13 | 11 | 2 | 13 |
| Kurigram | 30 | 15 | 2 | 17 |
| Magura | 11 | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Satkhira | 24 | 15 | 2 | 17 |
| Jhalkathi | 14 | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Moulvibazar | 32 | 14 | 2 | 16 |
| Khagrachhari | 13 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Chittagong | 107 | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| Habiganj | 37 | 15 | 2 | 17 |
| Dhaka | 140 | 4 | 13 | 17 |
| Cox's bazar | 20 | 14 | 3 | 17 |
| Bhola | 32 | 15 | 2 | 17 |
| Total | 515 | 158 | 60 | 218 |

3.3.4 Sample Size for Qualitative Survey

The study collected qualitative data through in-depth interview both from the local and national level to triangulate the quantitative data. This study collected qualitative data from the following different respondents (table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Distribution of Qualitative Sample Size

| Types of Respondents | Sample Size |
|---|-------------|
| Family members of the women who married as a child within the last 5 years | 42 |
| Family members of the women who married as an adult within the last 5 years | 22 |
| Women who married as a child within the last 5 years | 78 |
| Women who married as an adult within the last 5 years | 32 |
| Marriage registrars | 9 |
| Locally elected body members (Union Parishad, Zila and Upazila)/Karbari | 15 |
| School/Madrasah/College teachers | 14 |
| Religious leaders | 9 |
| GO-NGO agencies working on child marriage | 9 |
| Men who married a child within the last 5 years | 7 |
| Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) | 5 |
| Total | 242 |

3.3.5 Data Collection Tools Development

The study collected both quantitative and qualitative data. All questionnaires were conducted face-to-face by a trained enumerator. Questionnaires were tailored to respondent type, resulting in four types of instruments: (1) household survey; (2) ever-married women; (3) husbands and family members (fathers, fathers-in-law, husbands, mothers, and mothers-in-law); and (4) community survey. All questionnaires are available in Appendix C.

The household questionnaire addressed the following topics: sources of water for drinking and household purpose; access to toilet facilities; housing materials used; household assets and land properties; and household ownership of various livestock. The questionnaire for ever-married women included the following topics: background characteristics; mass-media use; marriage-related social norms and values prevailing in the respondent's community; attitude towards marriage; their own marriage-related issues; dowry issues; freedom regarding mobility and *purdah* system; marital stability and quality of marital life; consequences of marriage on education and employment; consequences of marriage on reproductive outcomes; and consequences of marriage on gender roles and relations.

The questionnaire for other respondents (husbands, father-in-law, mother-in-law, fathers, and mothers) covered the following issues: background characteristics; mass media use; marriage-related social norms and values prevailing in the respondent's community; attitudes towards marriage; and dowry issues. The questionnaire for the community survey included the following aspects: infrastructure and communication systems to and from the Thana headquarter; occupation of the population; access to electricity; existence of different social and cultural clubs; distance of various social institutions from the community; social security issues (sexual harassment, trafficking, gender based violence, and acid throwing); and prevailing marriage related social norms and values.

The above questionnaires were developed in three phases. First, the core research team drafted the English version of the questionnaire on the basis of the review of existing literature and research questions of this study. Secondly, members of the technical committee validated the drafted English version. A technical committee was formed to support this study; Please see Appendix D for technical committee members. At this stage, the English questionnaire was translated into Bengali. Thirdly, the Bengali questionnaire was finalized by incorporating inputs received from the enumerators during their training for data collection and pre-test. The study followed a sequential mixed-methods approach and thus qualitative data collection tools were developed on the basis of the preliminary findings of quantitative data.

3.3.6 Recruitment of Enumerators, Training, Pre-test of the Questionnaire and Fieldwork

A total of 62 enumerators (all female) and 14 supervisors (all male) were recruited to carry out the data collection process (please see Appendix D). Each data collection team consisted of four or five enumerators and a supervisor. Each team was given the responsibility of completing the data collection process for a single district and the supervisor of that team was responsible for monitoring the data collection process and ensuring quality of the collected data. The recruitment criteria for enumerators and supervisors was that they had at least graduate level education, prior experience in similar kinds of research projects, and intention of staying three to four months in the field for the purpose of data collection process. The study also recruited seven university graduates as research assistants who were responsible for ensuring the quality of the collected data and helping the core research team to oversee the data collection process. The completion of the recruitment process of both enumerators and supervisors was immediately followed by a one-day training on the household listing process. The data

collection teams were trained on how to conduct the household listing by using a simple matrix from the selected PSUs. The completed household lists were then entered into a digital database and used for randomly selecting the required number of ever-married women from each of the selected PSUs.

The completion of the household listing process was then followed by a seven-day training on how to collect survey data by using a structured questionnaire. The training included how to approach the selected respondents, how to conduct the interview, orientation on the data collections tools, mock interviews and pre-test. The final fieldwork started in September 2015 and was completed in two phases. In the first phase, interviews were conducted among the ever-married women and their husbands, fathers-in-law, and mothers-in-law from the selected PSUs. During this phase, women who got married within the last five years were identified and if their parents were living within the same PSU or nearby then data were also collected from their parents at this stage. Otherwise data from the parents of those women who got married within the last five years were collected in the second phase. All quantitative data collection was completed by the third week of January 2016.

3.3.7 Quality Control of Quantitative Data Collection

Three-stage quality control mechanisms were in place to ensure the quality of the collected data. In the first stage, supervisors, research assistants, and core research team members would spot check the completed questionnaire in the field and, if necessary, asked the enumerators to re-interview the respondents. Secondly, all completed questionnaires were cross-checked by other enumerators. Twenty percent of the cross-checked questionnaires were then verified by the supervisors. The supervisors then sent the questionnaires to the research assistants. In the third stage, research assistants verified at least five percent of the questionnaires that had been verified by the supervisors. The core research team members also randomly verified the collected questionnaires at this stage.

3.3.8 Data Processing and Analysis Plan

The filled-in questionnaires were periodically returned to the computer lab at the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka, for data processing while fieldwork was ongoing. Simultaneous processing allowed researchers to receive feedback on the quality of the collection of data at field level and to make adjustments, if required, while still in the field. Data processing consisted of office editing, coding of open-ended questions, data entry, and editing of inconsistencies found by the computer programme. The data was processed by four data entry operators and three data entry supervisors. Data processing was carried out using the Census and Survey Processing System (CSPro), a joint software product of the U.S. Census Bureau, ICF International, and Serpro S.A. Qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews were recorded by using a digital audio-recorder and transcribed. The transcripts were then word-processed for analysis by using qualitative data analysis software Nvivo (version 10) and a thematic analysis was performed. Eight (8) research assistants were involved in developing the coding of the qualitative data; the codes were then framed into themes.

3.3.9 Technical Support for this Study

A national technical committee (please see Appendix E) was formed to provide technical support to the core research team to implement this study. The role of the technical committee was to review the study proposal. They provided feedback on the proposal and methodology including questionnaire content, sampling, and sample design. They also provided feedback on the preliminary findings of this study. The study proposal was also approved by the academic committee of the Department of Population Sciences, University of Dhaka, and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), Bangladesh Country Office.

4

Chapter

Community and Household Characteristics

CHAPTER 4 : COMMUNITY AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Key Findings

Community and Household Characteristics

- The majority of respondents (35.3%) use Car/Bus/Three-Wheeler Auto-Rickshaw as their main transport to commute to the nearest Thana, followed by CNG/Baby taxi (21.6%), rickshaw/van (20.6%), and other transport (12.8%).
- Farming is the primary occupation for more than half (58.7%) of the community members.
- About 85 percent (85.3%) of community members have access to electricity. Among the districts, Khagrachhari has the lowest percentage of community members with access to electricity.
- The source of drinking water among the majority of in-laws' households (70.9%) is tube well.
- Slightly more than one-third of the households have pit toilets, another one-third of households have water sealed/slab toilets. More than one-third of the households share a toilet with other households.
- In natal households of the ever-married women, tube well is the main source of drinking water (89.4%).
- Among ever-married Women natal households, 47.5 percent have pit latrines. About 20 percent households share toilets with other households.

Community Child Marriage-Related Findings

- About one-third of community respondents mentioned that their communities are facing several problems in sending girls to school including the problem of sexual harassment, occurrence of human trafficking, sexual violence, rape, and acid throwing.
- Almost all respondents (98.2%) mentioned that the perception, that marrying off girls is a religious responsibility, strongly prevail in their community.
- More than 95 percent (96.8%) of respondents mentioned that child marriage happened in their locality either in many cases or always (60.6% and 36.2% respectively).

4.0 Introduction

This section presents various aspects of community and household characteristics of the study area by district and divisional levels. The community findings presented in this chapter are summaries of responses from using the community questionnaire (please see Appendix C Questionnaire for Data Collection Part Four Community Questionnaire). Ever-married Women in-laws' household-related findings presented here are generated from the survey of ever-married women (please see Appendix C Questionnaire for Data Collection Part One Ever-Married Women Questionnaire). Ever-married Women natal household related findings are generated from the survey among parents of women who got married within the last 5 years from the survey period (please see Appendix C Questionnaire for Data Collection Part Three Socio-Economic Questionnaire).

4.1 Community Characteristics

4.1.1 Transportation System in the Community

The majority of the community members use car/bus/three-wheeler auto-rickshaw as their main transport to commute to the nearest Thana (35.3%) followed by CNG/Baby taxi (21.6%), rickshaw/van (20.6%), and other transport (12.8%). A small percentage of community members use motorcycles, bicycles, or boats. There is some variation by district in the use of main transport to commute to the nearest Thana. For example, 94.1 percent of respondents in Chapai Nawabganj report car/bus/three-wheeler auto-rickshaw as their main transport to commute to the nearest Thana whereas this percentage is only 5.9 in the case of Chittagong. Similarly, 68.8 percent of respondents in Chittagong say that CNG/baby taxi was the main transport to commute to the nearest Thana whereas only 5.9 percent of respondents mentioned this in the case of Habiganj. (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Percentage Distribution of Main Types of Transport Used by the People of the Community to Commute to the Nearest Thana by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n=17) | Satkhira (n=17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Main Transport Used to Commute to Nearest Thana | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Car/Bus/Three-Wheeler Auto-Rickshaw | 64.7 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 17.6 | 88.2 | 21.4 | 45.5 | 76.5 | 54.5 | 0.0 | 94.1 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 35.3 |
| Motorcycle | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 14.3 | 27.3 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.2 |
| Bicycle | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| Boat | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| By foot | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 35.7 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.0 |
| Rickshaw/Van | 11.8 | 35.3 | 5.9 | 52.9 | 0.0 | 21.4 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 27.3 | 25.0 | 0.0 | 23.5 | 58.8 | 15.4 | 20.6 |
| CNG/Baby taxi | 17.6 | 68.8 | 35.3 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 7.1 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 75.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 61.5 | 21.6 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 47.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 64.7 | 23.5 | 23.1 | 12.8 |

4.1.2 Primary Occupations

More than half of community members (58.7%) report their occupation as farming. Other common occupations include fishing (11%), production of goods (11.5%), day labourers (11.5%), and animal husbandry (4.1%). District-level variation in occupation is present as well, with more than 90 percent of the community engaged in farming in Magura, but only 35.3 percent in Chittagong. In addition, Bhola had the highest percentage engaged in animal husbandry (23.5%); Jhalokati had the highest percentage of fishing (14.3%); Khagrachhari had the highest percentage of production of goods (36.4%); and Dhaka had the highest percentage of day labourers (64.7%) (Table 4.2).

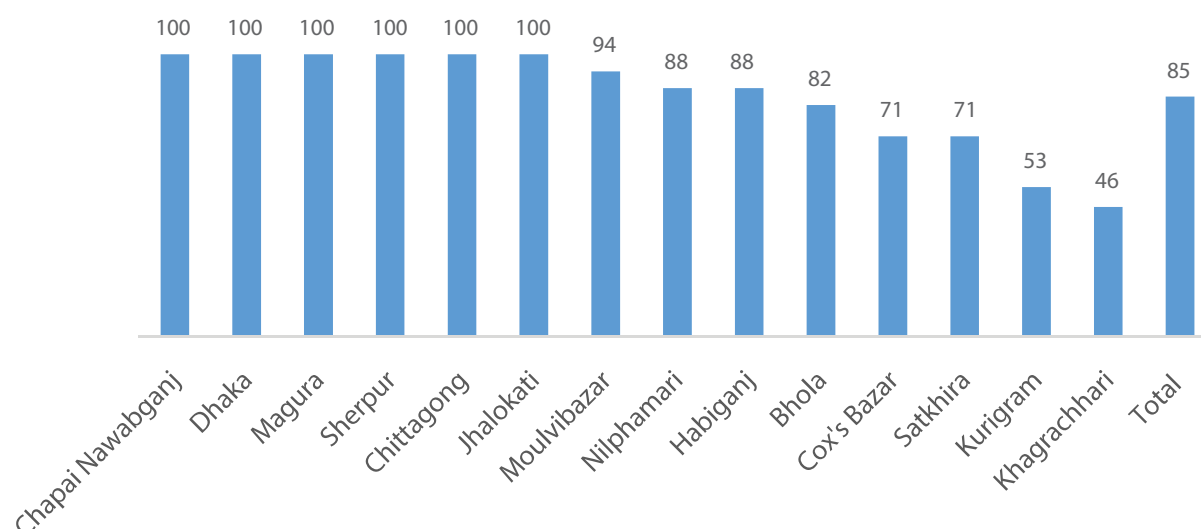
Table 4.2: Percentage Distribution of Main Occupation of Community Member's by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n= 17) | Satkhira (n= 17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Occupation of Community Members | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Farming | 64.7 | 35.3 | 64.7 | 5.9 | 88.2 | 50.0 | 54.5 | 76.5 | 90.9 | 56.3 | 47.1 | 76.5 | 41.2 | 84.6 | 58.7 |
| Animal husbandry | 23.5 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.3 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.1 |
| Fishing | 11.8 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 3.5 | 11.8 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 11.8 | 7.7 | 11.0 |
| Production of goods | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 21.4 | 36.4 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 25.0 | 29.4 | 11.8 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 11.5 |
| Day labourer | 0.0 | 47.1 | 0.0 | 64.7 | 0.0 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 7.7 | 11.5 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 23.5 | 0.0 | 3.2 |

4.1.3 Access to Electricity by Community Members

Community survey participants reported that 85.3 percent of the community members had access to electricity. Districts in which all community members had access to electricity are Chittagong, Dhaka, Jhalokati, Magura, Chapai Nawabganj, and Sherpur. Among all districts, Khagrachhari had the lowest rate of electricity access (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Percentage of Respondent's Access to Electricity among Community Members by District



4.1.4 Existence of Different Types of Organizations in the Community

Credit associations and NGOs are known in many communities, with about 60 percent of community members in each district reporting the existence of credit associations/NGOs, with the highest percentage prevailing in Bhola (100%) and the lowest percentage in Kurigram (11.8%). On average about half the respondents in each community reported the availability of community associations. In Kurigram, 100 percent of respondents know of community associations whereas only 21.4 percent know about them in Jhalokati. About one-fourth of community members mentioned having a village club/Kishori club with the highest percentage reporting this in Habiganj (70%) and the lowest percentage in Kurigram (5.2%). Only a small proportion of the community respondents know of the existence of debating/sports/music club and BNCC/girl guides with slight district-level variation (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Percentage Distribution of Existence of Different Types of Organization in the Community by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n=17) | Satkhira (n=17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Organizations in Community | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Village club/Kishori Club | 29.4 | 50.0 | 29.4 | 11.8 | 70.0 | 14.3 | 50.0 | 5.9 | 18.2 | 62.5 | 17.6 | 35.3 | 50.0 | 7.7 | 24.3 |
| Community association | 52.9 | 50.0 | 47.1 | 76.5 | 50.0 | 21.4 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 90.9 | 25.0 | 29.4 | 35.3 | 37.5 | 76.9 | 46.3 |
| Debating/sports/Music club | 5.9 | 16.7 | 11.8 | 58.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 16.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 29.4 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.6 |
| Credit Associations/NGOs | 100.0 | 33.3 | 94.1 | 94.1 | 20.0 | 78.6 | 66.7 | 11.8 | 90.9 | 25.0 | 58.8 | 94.1 | 68.8 | 84.6 | 59.6 |
| BNCC/Girls' Guide | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 15.4 | 3.7 |

4.1.5 Distance to the Nearest Social and Other Institutions from the Community

The community survey included questions on distance to the nearest social, cultural and other institutions. Social and cultural organizations are located at the highest average distance from the community (7.99 kilometers), followed by boy's high school (7.17 kilometers), law enforcement offices (6.09 kilometers), girl's high school (4.88 kilometers), nearest station (4.84 kilometers), cyclone shelter (4.12 kilometers), marriage registrar's office (3.01 kilometers), combined high school (1.70 kilometers), Madrasah (1.53 kilometers), and primary school (0.42 kilometers). There is considerable district-level variation in distance to the nearest social/other institutions from the community. For example, Khagrachhari's primary school is 2.19 kilometers from the community while Nilphamari's is in the community (0.06 kilometers) (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Distribution of Distance (in Kilometer) to the Nearest Social and Other Institutions from the Community by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n=17) | Satkhira (n=17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Madrasah | 0.24 | 1.29 | 1.59 | 0.18 | 1.21 | 1.57 | 5.13 | 0.71 | 0.82 | 3.54 | 1.39 | 2.29 | 0.94 | 1.66 | 1.53 |
| Primary School | 0.06 | 0.65 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.07 | 2.19 | 0.45 | 0.00 | 1.10 | 0.82 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.31 | 0.42 |
| Boys' High School | 5.59 | 9.81 | 24.28 | 0.18 | 16.79 | 5.07 | 4.77 | 5.91 | 1.27 | 0.75 | 6.53 | 6.65 | 3.88 | 5.46 | 7.17 |
| Girls' High School | 5.82 | 6.24 | 7.53 | 0.00 | 6.71 | 3.07 | 11.33 | 4.72 | 2.48 | 1.06 | 3.57 | 6.76 | 4.41 | 5.69 | 4.88 |
| High (Both Boys' and Girls') School | 0.88 | 1.35 | 1.71 | 0.00 | 1.08 | 1.29 | 7.60 | 1.74 | 0.78 | 1.98 | 1.65 | 1.41 | 2.41 | 1.62 | 1.70 |
| Cyclone Centre | 2.18 | 6.00 | 0.53 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 5.40 | 0.00 | 30.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 25.67 | 5.57 | 0.00 | 4.12 |
| Marriage Register Office | 2.94 | 2.24 | 2.59 | 0.12 | 2.35 | 1.93 | 8.33 | 2.99 | 2.27 | 6.00 | 3.65 | 3.71 | 1.94 | 2.54 | 3.01 |
| Law Enforcement | 5.76 | 5.53 | 8.00 | 0.29 | 6.10 | 3.29 | 5.77 | 6.53 | 4.36 | 10.19 | 5.82 | 7.12 | 7.41 | 8.69 | 6.09 |
| Social/cultural organizations | 5.76 | 15.88 | 12.18 | 0.41 | 8.92 | 3.80 | 9.86 | 5.24 | 6.55 | 14.04 | 5.76 | 7.53 | 7.18 | 8.69 | 7.99 |
| Nearest Station | 3.12 | 2.53 | 9.35 | 0.24 | 1.92 | 3.21 | 3.55 | 3.35 | 3.96 | 7.75 | 4.06 | 3.33 | 16.57 | 4.54 | 4.84 |

4.1.6 Risk of Natural Disaster in the Community

About half the respondents report the risk of tornado in their locality, followed by risks of floods, droughts, river erosion, and cyclone. District-level variation in the risk of natural disaster is clearly evident (Table 4.5). Jhalokati, Moulvibazar, Kurigram and Magura are reported as having the highest risk to flood and Nilphamari, Chapai Nawabganj and Bhola are among the lowest risks to flood. Cox's Bazar, Kurigram and Moulvibazar are among the highest risks to river erosion and Habiganj, Satkhira and Sherpur are among the lowest risks to river erosion. Bhola and Cox's Bazar report the highest risk of cyclone, and Sherpur and Nilphamari, the highest risk of drought.

Table 4.5: Percentage Distribution of Risk of Natural Disaster in the Community by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n=17) | Satkhira (n=17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Risks of Natural Disaster | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Flood | 11.8 | 36.4 | 76.5 | 0.0 | 31.3 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 88.2 | 81.8 | 100.0 | 33.3 | 25.0 | 41.2 | 61.5 | 43.6 |
| River Erosion | 52.9 | 27.3 | 82.4 | 0.0 | 18.8 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 64.7 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 22.2 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 23.1 | 26.1 |
| Cyclone | 94.1 | 27.3 | 94.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 85.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 29.4 | 7.7 | 26.1 |
| Tornado | 82.4 | 81.8 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 31.3 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 54.5 | 41.7 | 22.2 | 33.3 | 88.2 | 100.0 | 47.7 |
| Drought | 11.8 | 9.1 | 58.8 | 0.0 | 68.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 72.7 | 33.3 | 77.8 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 31.2 |

4.1.7 Security Issues in the Community

About one-third of the community survey respondents reported that their communities are facing problems in sending girls to school including problem of sexual harassment, occurrence of human trafficking, sexual violence, and acid throwing (Table 4.6). More than half of the community respondents in Cox's Bazar and Magura mentioned problems of sending girls to school whereas these percentages were very low in the cases of Habiganj and Sherpur. More than 80 percent of community members mentioned the incidence of sexual harassment in their locality (very few/sometimes/always) with the highest percentage of sexual harassment always found in Cox's Bazar. About 15 percent of community members mentioned the occurrence of human trafficking in their community with the highest percentage prevailing in Magura, which was not initially flagged as a high-trafficking community. About two-thirds of community respondents mentioned the occurrence of sexual violence in their community with the highest percentages found in Bhola and Habiganj. About five percent of community members report that acid throwing occurs in their community with the highest percentage prevailing in Magura. Among both ever-married women and community respondents, the incidence of sexual harassment in their locality shows substantial district-level variation (Table 4.7). There are also differences in the ever-married Women sample versus the community level reports of human trafficking, sexual violence, and sexual harassment. In some cases, the ever-married Women reports are higher, and in some cases, the community respondents report higher levels.

Table 4.6: Percentage Distribution of Reported Problems Sending Girls to School and Security Issues Community (from community survey) by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|---|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n=17) | Satkhira (n=17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Face Problems to Sending Girls to School (yes) | 11.8 | 17.6 | 76.5 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 28.6 | 45.5 | 0.0 | 72.7 | 75.0 | 47.1 | 29.4 | 17.6 | 7.7 | 30.7 |
| Sexual harassment happened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 94.1 | 94.1 | 29.4 | 58.8 | 94.1 | 50.0 | 54.5 | 29.4 | 45.5 | 50.0 | 82.4 | 82.4 | 47.1 | 84.6 | 64.7 |
| Sometimes/Always | 0.0 | 5.9 | 64.7 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 35.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 45.5 | 43.8 | 5.9 | 11.8 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 17.0 |
| Occurrences of Human Trafficking | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 5.9 | 5.9 | 23.5 | 17.6 | 11.8 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 45.5 | 12.5 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 17.6 | 7.7 | 12.8 |
| Sometimes/Always | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 6.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 1.9 |
| Occurrences of Sexual Violence or Rape | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 100.0 | 11.8 | 47.1 | 41.2 | 100.0 | 28.6 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 72.7 | 43.8 | 70.6 | 82.4 | 41.2 | 69.2 | 52.3 |
| Sometimes | 0.0 | 5.6 | 41.2 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 64.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 37.6 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 13.3 |
| Occurrences of Acid Throwing | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 5.9 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 4.1 |
| Sometimes | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.9 |

Table 4.7: Prevalence of Security Issues in the Community (from ever-married Women survey) By District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Sexual harassment happened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 65.7 | 68.0 | 22.6 | 26.2 | 32.9 | 34.3 | 39.1 | 52.2 | 30.5 | 35.8 | 39.6 | 40.4 | 38.5 | 89.3 | 43.4 |
| Sometimes/Always | 32.1 | 14.0 | 60.9 | 6.6 | 28.8 | 33.3 | 17.7 | 19.0 | 30.9 | 16.7 | 39.4 | 9.5 | 44.5 | 8.1 | 21.2 |
| Human trafficking happened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 3.4 | 11.6 | 26.0 | 17.5 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 1.1 | 9.0 | 9.2 | 2.4 | 19.8 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 10.3 |
| Sometimes/Always | 0.3 | 0.5 | 16.7 | 3.0 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 8.3 | 0.6 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 2.5 |
| Sexual violence happened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 81.2 | 17.5 | 36.0 | 23.2 | 32.5 | 14.7 | 32.6 | 17.3 | 39.1 | 21.2 | 44.6 | 13.5 | 24.5 | 89.0 | 30.3 |
| Sometimes/Always | 9.6 | 0.6 | 26.5 | 4.8 | 16.0 | 9.6 | 10.1 | 7.9 | 2.3 | 4.0 | 22.1 | 1.6 | 6.2 | 1.9 | 7.4 |

4.1.8 Perceptions regarding Marriage in the Community

An overwhelming majority of the respondents report that there are strong or moderately strong community perceptions of marriage. Many of these perceptions are associated with low female empowerment, including ideas such as marriage gives protection against sexual abuse, marriage is the means to protect girls' sexual desire, marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family, girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage, girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty, girls should be married when they look grown up, girls should be married as soon as a suitable groom can be found. Alternate perceptions include ideas such as, girls should be married off when their physical maturation is complete, girls should be married off after completing secondary education, girls should be married off after they are economically independent. However, there is substantial variation in community perceptions by district. More specifically, 65.1 percent of respondents perceive that it is common in their community to believe that marriage gives protection against sexual abuse, with the highest percentages reported in Chittagong and Kurigram. Concerning religion, almost all respondents (98.2%) mentioned that the perception that marrying off girls is a religious responsibility is strong in their community, with the highest percentage in Nilphamari and the lowest percentage in Habiganj. Detailed findings of the perceptions regarding marriage in the community are in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Percentage of Respondent's Perceptions regarding Marriage in the Community by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n= 17) | Satkhira (n= 17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| Marriage gives protection against sexual abuse | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 5.9 | 100.0 | 94.1 | 70.6 | 0.0 | 78.6 | 36.4 | 100.0 | 36.4 | 75.0 | 88.2 | 94.1 | 64.7 | 46.2 | 65.1 |
| Moderately prevailed | 94.1 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 23.5 | 88.2 | 7.1 | 45.5 | 0.0 | 63.6 | 18.8 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 35.3 | 38.5 | 30.3 |
| Marriage is the means to control girls' sexual desire | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 35.3 | 94.1 | 88.2 | 70.6 | 5.9 | 57.1 | 18.2 | 94.1 | 18.2 | 75.0 | 23.5 | 100.0 | 41.2 | 30.8 | 56.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 64.7 | 5.9 | 11.8 | 23.5 | 94.1 | 42.9 | 81.8 | 5.9 | 72.7 | 25.0 | 70.6 | 0.0 | 58.8 | 61.5 | 42.2 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 94.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 94.1 | 92.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 94.1 | 100.0 | 98.2 |
| Moderately prevailed | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 1.8 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 17.6 | 82.4 | 82.4 | 76.5 | 35.3 | 71.4 | 36.4 | 23.5 | 72.7 | 62.5 | 94.1 | 100.0 | 52.9 | 38.5 | 61.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 82.4 | 17.6 | 17.6 | 23.5 | 64.7 | 28.6 | 36.4 | 76.5 | 27.3 | 37.5 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 41.2 | 38.5 | 35.8 |
| Girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 17.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 7.7 | 4.1 |
| Moderately prevailed | 64.7 | 100.0 | 11.8 | 35.3 | 11.8 | 64.3 | 18.2 | 82.4 | 63.6 | 62.5 | 76.5 | 76.5 | 82.4 | 7.7 | 55.5 |
| Girls should be married when they look grown up | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 11.8 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 29.4 | 18.2 | 0.0 | 52.9 | 5.9 | 17.6 | 7.7 | 11.9 |
| Moderately prevailed | 82.4 | 100.0 | 17.6 | 58.8 | 23.5 | 92.9 | 54.5 | 70.6 | 81.8 | 75.0 | 47.1 | 70.6 | 82.4 | 38.5 | 63.8 |
| Girls should be married as soon as suitable grooms can be found | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 29.4 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 29.4 | 0.0 | 42.9 | 72.7 | 35.3 | 90.9 | 18.8 | 64.7 | 58.8 | 58.8 | 7.7 | 35.8 |
| Moderately prevailed | 64.7 | 100.0 | 58.8 | 64.7 | 52.9 | 50.0 | 27.3 | 64.7 | 9.1 | 81.3 | 29.4 | 41.2 | 41.2 | 53.8 | 54.6 |
| Girls should be married off when their physical maturation is complete | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 94.1 | 17.6 | 70.6 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 88.2 | 63.6 | 0.0 | 70.6 | 23.5 | 35.3 | 23.1 | 38.1 |
| Moderately prevailed | 5.9 | 82.4 | 11.8 | 70.6 | 82.4 | 85.7 | 81.8 | 11.8 | 27.3 | 93.8 | 23.5 | 58.8 | 64.7 | 69.2 | 54.1 |
| Girls should be married off after completing secondary education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 11.8 | 0.0 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 57.1 | 54.5 | 0.0 | 36.4 | 18.8 | 35.3 | 82.4 | 23.5 | 7.7 | 23.4 |
| Moderately prevailed | 88.2 | 100.0 | 76.5 | 64.7 | 88.2 | 42.9 | 27.3 | 100.0 | 63.6 | 75.0 | 23.5 | 17.6 | 70.6 | 38.5 | 64.2 |
| Girls should be married off after they are economically independent | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Strongly prevailed | 23.5 | 0.0 | 23.5 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 64.3 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 18.2 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 82.4 | 0.0 | 23.1 | 18.3 |
| Moderately prevailed | 70.6 | 94.1 | 11.8 | 82.4 | 41.2 | 35.7 | 81.8 | 41.2 | 45.5 | 62.5 | 23.5 | 17.6 | 52.9 | 53.8 | 50.5 |

4.1.9 Occurrence of Child Marriage and its Prevention Mechanisms in the Community

The occurrence of child marriage is perceived as very common. Overall, 96.8 percent of respondents mentioned that child marriage happened in their locality either in many cases or always (60.6% and 36.2% respectively). Respondents from Kurigram and Chapai Nawabganj report more often that child marriage occurs “always” compared to other districts. Fewer than half of the elected members campaign or participate in publicity events to prevent child marriage. Representatives from Satkhira are the most likely to participate in such activities and elected members from Chapai Nawabganj and Habiganj, the least likely. About one third of respondents mention that some organizations are working in their locality to prevent child marriage, with the highest percentage reported from Jhalokati. An overwhelming majority of the respondents mentioned that there were systems of arbiter/justice/panchayats in their community (96.3%) (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Percentage Distribution of Occurrence of Child Marriage and Its Prevention Mechanisms in the Community by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=218) |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Bhola (n=17) | Chittagong (n=17) | Cox's Bazar (n=17) | Dhaka (n=17) | Habiganj (n=17) | Jhalokati (n=14) | Khagrachhari (n=11) | Kurigram (n=17) | Magura (n=11) | Moulvibazar (n=16) | Nawabganj (n=17) | Nilphamari (n=17) | Satkhira (n=17) | Sherpur (n=13) | |
| How often child marriage happened in your locality? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Very few | 58.8 | 70.6 | 23.5 | 52.9 | 88.2 | 57.1 | 81.8 | 11.8 | 18.2 | 93.8 | 11.8 | 94.1 | 58.8 | 69.2 | 60.6 |
| Always | 41.2 | 23.5 | 0.0 | 41.2 | 11.8 | 35.7 | 9.1 | 88.2 | 81.8 | 6.3 | 88.2 | 0.0 | 41.2 | 15.4 | 36.2 |
| Elected members who works for campaign/publicity to prevent child marriage in locality (yes) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 35.3 | 23.5 | 29.4 | 35.3 | 11.8 | 50.0 | 36.4 | 58.8 | 27.3 | 81.3 | 11.8 | 88.2 | 94.1 | 30.8 | 44.5 |
| Organization who works to prevent child marriage in locality (yes) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 11.8 | 17.6 | 70.6 | 23.5 | 0.0 | 85.7 | 18.2 | 11.8 | 27.3 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 58.8 | 58.8 | 23.1 | 32.6 |
| System of Arbiter/Justice/Panchayats in Area/village/locality (yes) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 100.0 | 82.4 | 94.1 | 94.1 | 94.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 88.2 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 96.3 |

4.2 Ever-Married Women In-laws' Household Characteristics

This section presents ever-married Women in-laws' household-related characteristics.

4.2.1 Household Water Facilities

The source of drinking water for the majority of households (70.9%) is tube well, followed by piped inside dwelling (14.9%), and piped outside dwelling (9.8%). There is no substantial variation in the sources of drinking water across districts. Slightly lower percentages report having tube wells in Khagrachhari, Moulvibazar and Satkhira. Cooking water sources across districts are similar to the sources of drinking water, with higher percentage use of surface water such as a river, dam, lake, pond, stream, or canal (10.3%). The majority of households use tube well water (42.6%) for other household activities as well (Table 4.10). Overall about two-third households shared drinking water and cooking water with other households. This pattern was also consistent in the case of sharing of water for other household activities. In all three cases, there is substantial variation across districts in sharing drinking water, cooking water, and sharing water for other household activities (Table 4.10).

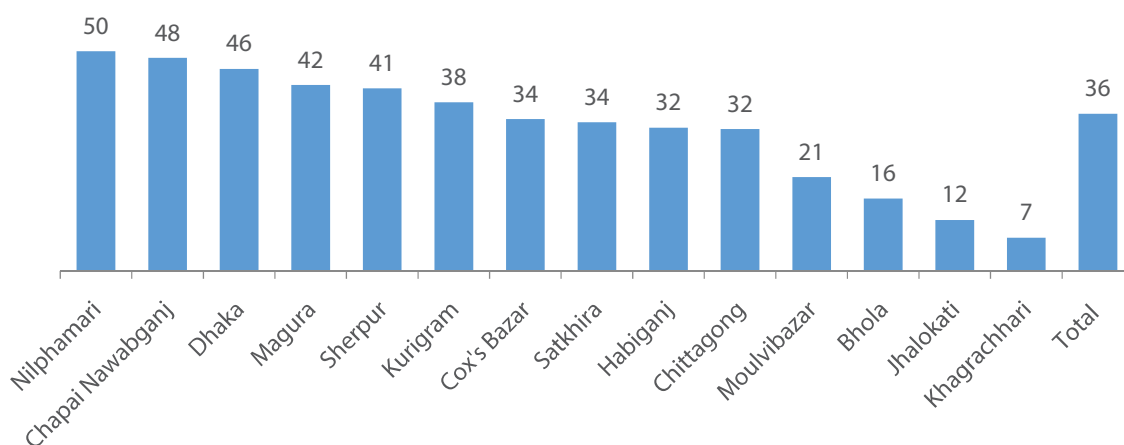
4.2.2 Household Sanitation Facilities

The type of toilet and toilet-sharing situations were discussed in the Women survey. Slightly higher than one-third of the households have pit toilets, another one-third of households have water sealed/slab toilets, and 17.7 percent of households have open pit toilets; only 10.4 percent of households had flush toilets. Most households in Bhola, Cox's Bazar, Kurigram, Magura, Nilphamari, and Sherpur have pit latrines. Most households in Chittagong, Dhaka, Habiganj, Jhalokati, Moulvibazar, and Satkhira have water sealed or slab toilets. In Khagrachhari and Chapai Nawabganj, most toilets are open pit (Appendix Table 1). Overall, more than one third of the households shared a toilet with other households, and there is substantial variation in toilet-sharing across divisions (Figure 4.2).

Table 4.10: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's In-laws Household's Water System by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Source of Drinking Water | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Piped into dwelling | 0.3 | 16.8 | 1.1 | 47.0 | 3.8 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 7.2 | 3.0 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 14.9 |
| Piped outside dwelling | 0.0 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 32.3 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 5.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 7.8 | 13.3 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 9.8 |
| Tube well | 99.7 | 78.5 | 96.9 | 18.7 | 95.5 | 93.5 | 56.0 | 99.8 | 98.5 | 75.3 | 83.2 | 99.2 | 73.0 | 99.0 | 70.9 |
| Surface water (river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal) | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 38.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.8 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 18.7 | 0.0 | 3.7 |
| Source of Cooking Water | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Piped into dwelling | 0.3 | 18.0 | 1.7 | 47.6 | 4.8 | 6.9 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 7.8 | 4.0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 4.2 | 15.7 |
| Piped outside dwelling | 0.0 | 3.9 | 0.8 | 33.1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 4.9 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 7.5 | 14.0 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 10.0 |
| Tube well | 85.8 | 67.0 | 95.0 | 18.7 | 77.1 | 14.3 | 53.6 | 99.8 | 95.8 | 70.0 | 76.2 | 98.9 | 42.8 | 95.5 | 61.7 |
| Surface water (river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal) | 14.0 | 11.1 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 17.6 | 78.3 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 4.8 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 54.2 | 0.0 | 10.3 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 40.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.9 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 2.4 |
| Source of water for other household activities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Piped into dwelling | 0.5 | 17.9 | 2.2 | 47.6 | 6.8 | 9.6 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 7.5 | 4.0 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 4.2 | 15.9 |
| Piped outside dwelling | 0.0 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 33.1 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 4.1 | 0.2 | 3.8 | 6.5 | 10.0 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 9.6 |
| Tube well | 10.8 | 32.3 | 72.1 | 18.7 | 33.9 | 13.8 | 47.2 | 92.1 | 80.9 | 38.2 | 52.4 | 96.0 | 23.6 | 95.5 | 42.6 |
| Surface water (river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal) | 88.6 | 47.3 | 24.0 | 0.7 | 59.1 | 75.7 | 9.7 | 7.2 | 13.7 | 40.3 | 33.1 | 1.8 | 75.1 | 0.0 | 29.9 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 38.6 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 7.5 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 |
| Sharing the source of Drinking Water (yes) | 98.4 | 75.0 | 78.6 | 47.8 | 66.3 | 92.2 | 86.5 | 44.2 | 63.4 | 63.5 | 69.2 | 50.1 | 86.9 | 54.5 | 65.7 |
| Sharing the source of Cooking Water (yes) | 98.1 | 74.1 | 78.0 | 48.6 | 67.0 | 71.0 | 86.9 | 44.2 | 64.1 | 61.1 | 65.3 | 50.1 | 84.1 | 54.4 | 64.6 |
| Sharing the source of water for others household activities (yes) | 96.6 | 73.7 | 63.8 | 48.6 | 68.4 | 66.8 | 86.9 | 46.3 | 64.1 | 64.1 | 49.1 | 50.4 | 83.3 | 54.4 | 63.0 |

Figure 4.2: Percentage of Ever-Married Women's Household that Share Toilet by District



4.2.3 Housing Characteristics

For housing characteristics, information was collected on the main materials of exterior walls, roof, and floors as well as on household ownership. Brick/cement/concrete are the primary materials used for exterior walls (42.1%), roof (20.9%), and floors (38.2%). Tin is also used as a main material for exterior walls (33%), and roof (71.8%). More than 60 percent of households use soil/mud as the

main material for floors (Table 4.11). Overall, 64 percent of households own their houses, followed by rented houses (16.8%), and other (18.7%) (Table 4.11). Among districts, Chittagong and Dhaka have the highest percentages of rented houses, 16.3% and 53.7%, respectively.

Table 4.11: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's In-laws Household's Housing Conditions by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Main materials of exterior walls | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Brick/cement/concrete | 13.2 | 46.7 | 22.0 | 70.4 | 38.8 | 25.7 | 5.6 | 9.9 | 35.7 | 47.2 | 62.9 | 17.6 | 52.0 | 10.1 | 42.1 |
| Tin | 83.6 | 16.0 | 3.1 | 29.5 | 45.1 | 66.1 | 11.7 | 86.0 | 45.2 | 13.9 | 1.0 | 36.3 | 2.6 | 84.4 | 33.0 |
| Wood/bamboo | 2.1 | 23.5 | 39.0 | 0.0 | 7.2 | 7.3 | 48.9 | 2.4 | 4.2 | 11.5 | 11.8 | 42.6 | 11.2 | 3.9 | 13.1 |
| Polyethylene/board | 0.0 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Soil/mud | 0.3 | 13.3 | 34.5 | 0.1 | 7.7 | 0.0 | 33.5 | 0.0 | 9.5 | 27.1 | 24.1 | 0.0 | 29.7 | 0.3 | 10.7 |
| Others | 0.8 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 5.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 1.3 | 1.0 |
| Main materials of roof | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Brick/cement/concrete | 2.1 | 23.7 | 8.7 | 51.7 | 7.9 | 13.3 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 9.2 | 11.8 | 22.5 | 2.1 | 14.2 | 1.6 | 20.9 |
| Tin | 96.3 | 73.3 | 59.8 | 47.9 | 90.5 | 86.2 | 76.1 | 98.7 | 90.0 | 86.6 | 73.5 | 95.3 | 31.7 | 97.1 | 71.8 |
| Wood/bamboo | 0.5 | 1.3 | 2.5 | 0.4 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 5.6 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.1 |
| Polyethylene/board | 0.5 | 0.0 | 15.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Soil/mud | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Others | 0.5 | 1.3 | 13.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 17.2 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 53.4 | 0.6 | 5.3 |
| Main materials of floor | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Brick/cement/concrete | 11.3 | 45.8 | 16.4 | 80.8 | 24.7 | 27.2 | 6.7 | 7.9 | 23.0 | 33.2 | 32.1 | 11.9 | 24.7 | 13.6 | 38.2 |
| Tin | 2.6 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 4.9 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 1.3 |
| Soil/Mud | 86.0 | 52.9 | 82.5 | 18.5 | 73.3 | 72.8 | 88.4 | 90.6 | 75.5 | 65.7 | 66.9 | 87.1 | 74.2 | 85.8 | 60.5 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Household ownership | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Own | 83.4 | 82.1 | 8.9 | 45.3 | 90.5 | 82.5 | 91.4 | 70.6 | 87.0 | 83.1 | 29.8 | 86.6 | 57.0 | 49.0 | 64.5 |
| Rent | 5.5 | 16.3 | 1.1 | 53.7 | 2.7 | 9.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 2.3 | 7.5 | 1.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 2.6 | 16.8 |
| Others | 11.1 | 1.6 | 90.0 | 1.0 | 6.8 | 7.8 | 8.6 | 28.9 | 10.7 | 9.4 | 68.9 | 13.2 | 42.8 | 48.4 | 18.7 |

4.2.4 Household Possessions

Among different types of assets, most of the households have access to electricity, almirah, mobile phone, and fan. A small percentage of households have solar energy, TV, computer, laptop, or air conditioning. There is substantial variation in assets across districts, with Dhaka district having the highest percentages of most assets. This pattern is also consistent across various types of vehicle ownership. Overall, 74.4 percent households have homestead land, 36.9 percent households have non-homestead land, and 60.6 percent households have their own livestock. There is substantial variation in ownership of homestead and non-homesteads land across districts as shown below (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's In-laws Household Possessions by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Types of asset | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Electricity | 55.2 | 89.2 | 49.3 | 98.6 | 81.5 | 73.2 | 21.0 | 31.0 | 79.0 | 68.7 | 80.6 | 69.8 | 56.1 | 80.0 | 75.4 |
| Solar energy | 16.8 | 0.6 | 11.0 | 0.9 | 9.5 | 16.1 | 34.4 | 26.9 | 1.6 | 18.1 | 1.1 | 4.4 | 23.2 | 4.0 | 8.6 |
| IPS or generator | 0.4 | 3.7 | 3.2 | 10.0 | 0.9 | 3.1 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 0.3 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 3.7 |
| Almirah or wardrobe | 60.4 | 76.1 | 42.8 | 80.5 | 42.9 | 44.2 | 28.6 | 8.2 | 36.0 | 52.9 | 50.7 | 60.4 | 38.8 | 13.2 | 55.9 |
| Radio | 2.2 | 1.2 | 2.0 | 2.9 | 1.6 | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.7 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 3.8 | 5.7 | 1.6 | 2.4 |
| TV | 22.1 | 60.7 | 15.2 | 80.3 | 32.6 | 40.9 | 12.3 | 20.4 | 40.8 | 46.9 | 39.8 | 32.9 | 39.5 | 31.0 | 48.1 |
| Mobile phone | 96.1 | 96.4 | 96.3 | 93.6 | 92.5 | 96.3 | 93.9 | 96.2 | 95.8 | 96.0 | 94.6 | 91.2 | 96.2 | 92.0 | 94.8 |
| Land phone or telephone | 0.6 | 2.1 | 1.7 | 6.6 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 0.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 2.2 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 2.6 |
| Computer or laptop | 0.7 | 5.5 | 2.5 | 15.8 | 3.6 | 5.2 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 5.1 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 6.3 |
| Freeze | 7.4 | 36.2 | 10.2 | 57.7 | 18.9 | 23.9 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 10.8 | 20.3 | 10.8 | 3.8 | 6.3 | 8.7 | 25.9 |
| DVD or VCD | 1.3 | 5.7 | 2.0 | 4.4 | 2.6 | 5.7 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 6.5 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 3.3 |
| Fan | 46.5 | 85.2 | 39.5 | 94.3 | 73.6 | 65.0 | 20.2 | 30.0 | 74.9 | 64.0 | 75.1 | 59.3 | 60.9 | 60.8 | 70.2 |
| AC | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 3.4 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.3 |
| Water pump | 1.7 | 13.4 | 5.2 | 0.7 | 4.9 | 6.2 | 4.2 | 5.9 | 5.5 | 2.6 | 5.0 | 8.1 | 6.1 | 6.1 | 5.4 |
| Types of vehicles | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Car/truck/microbus | 21.1 | 14.8 | 14.6 | 17.8 | 13.3 | 17.4 | 5.5 | 5.7 | 15.5 | 6.9 | 8.6 | 14.0 | 13.8 | 16.2 | 2.3 |
| Autorickshaw/autobike/ three-wheeler auto-rickshaw/ CNG/easybike | 21.1 | 14.8 | 14.6 | 17.8 | 13.3 | 17.4 | 5.5 | 5.7 | 15.5 | 6.9 | 8.6 | 14.0 | 13.8 | 16.2 | 2.3 |
| Rickshaw/Van | 0.5 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 12.3 | 3.3 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 3.8 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 12.9 |
| Bicycle | 10.3 | 9.7 | 13.5 | 8.4 | 13.1 | 9.1 | 9.8 | 3.1 | 6.1 | 10.7 | 5.1 | 0.5 | 3.2 | 6.6 | 66.9 |
| Motor cycle/Scrutar | 20.9 | 23.4 | 27.1 | 47.5 | 27.5 | 30.5 | 56.4 | 9.3 | 15.6 | 28.9 | 16.7 | 15.1 | 15.9 | 12.2 | 20.7 |
| Boat/engine boat | 5.6 | 1.3 | 10.1 | 5.0 | 9.2 | 16.8 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 11.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 2.7 |
| Have any Homestead Land | 84.7 | 85.4 | 65.7 | 53.1 | 94.6 | 83.9 | 90.2 | 71.8 | 86.6 | 86.1 | 72.2 | 82.8 | 75.1 | 67.5 | 74.4 |
| Have any non-homestead land | 42.7 | 30.1 | 24.5 | 28.8 | 42.1 | 48.8 | 53.6 | 40.7 | 39.7 | 38.3 | 40.6 | 47.8 | 42.6 | 47.7 | 36.9 |
| Have livestock (yes) | 85.5 | 53.5 | 48.5 | 17.6 | 75.8 | 74.2 | 85.8 | 89.3 | 82.8 | 68.6 | 83.5 | 82.1 | 91.8 | 78.9 | 60.6 |

4.3 Ever-Married Women Natal Household Characteristics

As discussed in the literature review and background, a significant limitation of most surveys of child marriage is the lack of information on Women natal homes and socioeconomic situation. Here, we present the same characteristics as described for in-laws' houses but for the ever-married respondents' natal homes. Data was collected from ever-married Women natal households by surveying parents of women who got married within the last 5 years from the date of the interview for this study (please see Appendix C Questionnaire for Data Collection Part Three Socio-Economic Questionnaire). We present the data in this sub-section (4.3) by division as the natal household's geographic location was not necessarily confined within the selected study district.

4.3.1 Household Water Facilities

A majority of natal households, though a slightly higher percentage than in-laws' households, receive water via tube well (89.4%), followed by piped into dwelling (4.7%), and piped outside dwelling (1.6%). There is no substantial variation in the sources of drinking water across districts except in the case of Dhaka division. Cooking water source across divisions is also similar to the sources of drinking water except that a higher percentage of households use surface water - river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal - (11.3%). The majority of the households use tube well water (55.5%) for other household activities (Table 4.13). Approximately two-thirds of households share drinking water and cooking water with other households. This pattern is also seen in sharing of water for other household activities. There is substantial variation across divisions in sharing drinking water, cooking water, and water for other household activities (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Natal Household's Water Facilities by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=60) | Chittagong (n=257) | Rajshahi (n=78) | Khulna (n=133) | Barisal (n=122) | Sylhet (n=128) | Rangpur (n=127) | Mymensingh (n=60) | Total (n=965) |
| Source of Drinking Water | | | | | | | | | |
| Piped into dwelling | 36.7 | 3.5 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 5.5 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 4.7 |
| Piped outside dwelling | 6.7 | 1.2 | 6.4 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.6 |
| Tube well | 55.0 | 86.4 | 89.7 | 87.7 | 98.4 | 89.8 | 99.2 | 98.3 | 89.4 |
| Surface water (river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal) | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0 | 2.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Others | 1.7 | 8.9 | 1.3 | 8.5 | 0.8 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.0 |
| Source of Cooking Water | | | | | | | | | |
| Piped into dwelling | 36.7 | 6.6 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 7.0 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 6.0 |
| Piped outside dwelling | 6.7 | 1.6 | 6.4 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 |
| Tube well | 53.3 | 74.3 | 87.2 | 69.9 | 68.9 | 77.3 | 99.2 | 96.7 | 77.8 |
| Surface water (river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal) | 3.3 | 8.2 | 2.6 | 27.1 | 27.9 | 10.2 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 11.3 |
| Others | 0.0 | 9.3 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 |
| Source of water for other household activities | | | | | | | | | |
| Piped into dwelling | 35.0 | 7.0 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 8.6 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 6.1 |
| Piped outside dwelling | 6.7 | 1.6 | 3.8 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 |
| Tube well | 40.0 | 57.2 | 65.4 | 48.9 | 13.1 | 40.6 | 96.9 | 96.7 | 55.5 |
| Surface water (river/dam/lake/pond/stream/canal) | 16.7 | 24.1 | 26.9 | 47.4 | 83.6 | 43.8 | 3.1 | 1.7 | 33.1 |
| Others | 1.7 | 10.1 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.5 |
| Sharing of Drinking Water (yes) | 53.3 | 72.8 | 61.5 | 68.4 | 95.1 | 61.7 | 25.2 | 46.7 | 63.5 |
| Sharing of Cooking Water (yes) | 53.3 | 70.4 | 60.3 | 68.4 | 87.7 | 58.6 | 25.2 | 45.0 | 61.3 |
| Sharing of water for other household activities (yes) | 51.7 | 67.7 | 44.9 | 69.9 | 85.2 | 60.9 | 26.8 | 45.0 | 59.7 |

4.3.2 Household Sanitation Facilities

Among ever-married Women natal households, 47.5 percent have pit latrines, 27.4 percent of households have water sealed/slab toilets, and 20.9 percent households have open pit toilets; only 2.1 percent households have flush toilets. The majority of the latrines in Dhaka and Khulna are water sealed/slab. The majority of the latrines in Dhaka, Rajshahi and Barisal, Rangpur and Mymensingh are pit latrines (Table 4.14). About 20 percent households share toilets with other households with the highest percent prevailing in Rajshahi and the lowest percentage in Chittagong division.

Table 4.14: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Natal Household's Sanitation Facilities by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=60) | Chittagong (n=257) | Rajshahi (n=78) | Khulna (n=133) | Barisal (n=122) | Sylhet (n=128) | Rangpur (n=127) | Mymensingh (n=60) | Total (n=965) |
| Types of Toilet | | | | | | | | | |
| Flush latrine | 5.0 | 2.7 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.1 |
| Water sealed/slab | 41.7 | 23.7 | 29.5 | 43.6 | 23.0 | 35.9 | 11.8 | 13.3 | 27.4 |
| Pit latrine | 45.0 | 44.4 | 37.2 | 30.1 | 62.3 | 32.0 | 73.2 | 63.3 | 47.5 |
| Open pit | 8.3 | 26.5 | 25.6 | 24.1 | 13.9 | 25.8 | 11.0 | 21.7 | 20.9 |
| River/canal/field | 0.0 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 1.3 |
| Hanging latrine/bamboo | 0.0 | 0.8 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Others | 5.0 | 2.7 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.1 |
| Toilet sharing (yes) | 35.0 | 18.3 | 37.2 | 21.1 | 18.9 | 13.3 | 21.3 | 31.7 | 21.9 |

4.3.3 Housing Characteristics

Primary materials used for exterior walls and the roof in ever-married Women natal households is tin (39%), followed by brick/cement/concrete and wood/bamboo. Soil/mud was the main material for floors among households (74.1%) followed by brick/cement/concrete (24.2%). Among all divisions Dhaka had the highest percentage of using brick/cement/concrete as main materials for exterior walls and floors. Regarding household ownership, 85.6 percent of households own their houses, and 4.2 percent live in rental houses. Rangpur division had the highest percentage of household ownership and Dhaka division had the lowest percentage of household owners (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Natal Household's Housing Characteristics by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=60) | Chittagong (n=257) | Rajshahi (n=78) | Khulna (n=133) | Barisal (n=122) | Sylhet (n=128) | Rangpur (n=127) | Mymensingh (n=60) | Total (n=965) |
| Main materials of exterior walls | | | | | | | | | |
| Brick/cement/concrete | 51.7 | 30.4 | 57.7 | 41.4 | 15.6 | 39.1 | 11.0 | 8.3 | 30.8 |
| Tin | 45.0 | 9.7 | 10.3 | 32.3 | 73.0 | 35.9 | 66.9 | 88.3 | 39.0 |
| Wood/bamboo | 3.3 | 27.2 | 11.5 | 5.3 | 9.0 | 9.4 | 20.5 | 0.0 | 14.2 |
| Polyethylene/board | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Soil/mud | 0.0 | 32.7 | 20.5 | 17.3 | 0.8 | 14.8 | 0.0 | 3.3 | 15.0 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Main materials of roof | | | | | | | | | |
| Brick/cement/concrete | 26.7 | 11.7 | 17.9 | 9.0 | 3.3 | 10.2 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 9.4 |
| Tin | 71.7 | 75.1 | 79.5 | 63.9 | 95.1 | 89.8 | 97.6 | 95.0 | 82.4 |
| Wood/bamboo | 1.7 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.6 |
| Polyethylene/board | 0.0 | 3.9 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 1.2 |
| Soil/mud | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Others | 0.0 | 6.2 | 1.3 | 24.8 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.3 |
| Main materials of floor | | | | | | | | | |
| Brick/cement/concrete | 56.7 | 29.6 | 28.2 | 27.8 | 10.7 | 26.6 | 7.1 | 15.0 | 24.2 |
| Tin | 1.7 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 1.5 |
| Soil/Mud | 41.7 | 68.5 | 71.8 | 70.7 | 87.7 | 70.3 | 91.3 | 85.0 | 74.1 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Household ownership | | | | | | | | | |
| Own | 70.0 | 73.2 | 85.9 | 91.7 | 90.2 | 94.5 | 96.9 | 88.3 | 85.6 |
| Rent | 25.0 | 3.1 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 5.7 | 3.9 | 0.0 | 3.3 | 4.2 |
| Others | 5.0 | 23.7 | 14.1 | 5.3 | 4.1 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 8.3 | 10.2 |

4.3.4 Household Possessions

For household assets, in Dhaka division most of the households have access to electricity, almirah or wardrobe, TV, mobile phone, fan, and refrigerator. This pattern is also seen in other divisions though in some cases the percentages having a refrigerator, or a TV are relatively lower. Very few households have access to a car. Overall, 49.6 percent households have homestead land, 48.7 percent households have non-homestead land and 79.5 percent households have livestock. There is substantial variation in ownership of homestead and non-homestead land across districts (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Natal Household's Possessions by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=965) |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=60) | Chittagong (n=257) | Rajshahi (n=78) | Khulna (n=133) | Barisal (n=122) | Sylhet (n=128) | Rangpur (n=127) | Mymensingh (n=60) | |
| Types of asset | | | | | | | | | |
| Electricity | 91.1 | 61.7 | 75.6 | 68.2 | 65.0 | 64.2 | 47.4 | 67.9 | 64.9 |
| Solar energy | 1.8 | 18.3 | 1.3 | 10.9 | 17.9 | 23.3 | 9.5 | 12.5 | 13.9 |
| IPS or generator | 3.6 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 |
| Almirah or wardrobe | 83.9 | 61.7 | 47.4 | 35.7 | 58.1 | 56.7 | 25.0 | 35.7 | 50.8 |
| Radio | 1.8 | 0.4 | 3.8 | 0.8 | 6.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 |
| TV | 69.6 | 36.3 | 35.9 | 38.8 | 19.7 | 32.5 | 22.4 | 19.6 | 33.2 |
| Mobile phone | 82.1 | 96.7 | 93.6 | 89.1 | 96.6 | 95.0 | 97.4 | 94.6 | 94.2 |
| Land phone or telephone | 5.4 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.8 |
| Computer or laptop | 12.5 | 2.5 | 1.3 | 5.4 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 0.0 | 3.3 |
| Freeze | 44.6 | 20.8 | 6.4 | 10.1 | 12.0 | 18.3 | 0.9 | 3.6 | 14.5 |
| DVD or VCD | 7.1 | 8.3 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 4.2 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 3.7 |
| Fan | 89.3 | 58.3 | 67.9 | 64.3 | 55.6 | 58.3 | 39.7 | 60.7 | 59.3 |
| AC | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| Water pump | 1.8 | 9.2 | 7.7 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 5.0 | 9.5 | 3.6 | 6.0 |
| Types of vehicles | | | | | | | | | |
| Car/truck/microbus | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.2 | 8.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Autorickshaw/autobike/ three-wheeler auto-rickshaw/CNG/ easybike | 16.7 | 9.7 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 16.7 | 8.3 | 0.0 | 8.3 | 4.1 |
| Rickshaw/Van | 33.3 | 16.1 | 8.0 | 16.3 | 20.8 | 4.2 | 17.7 | 8.3 | 14.5 |
| Bicycle | 33.3 | 45.2 | 94.0 | 80.0 | 33.3 | 41.7 | 82.3 | 79.2 | 72.0 |
| Motor cycle/Scooter | 0.0 | 32.3 | 8.0 | 7.5 | 20.8 | 33.3 | 6.3 | 8.3 | 12.6 |
| Boat/engine boat | 16.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 16.7 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.1 |
| Have any homestead land (yes) | 31.7 | 50.6 | 48.7 | 53.4 | 60.7 | 44.5 | 44.1 | 56.7 | 49.6 |
| Have any non-homestead land (yes) | 33.8 | 46.4 | 50.9 | 50.0 | 54.8 | 42.9 | 52.6 | 54.7 | 48.7 |
| Have livestock (yes) | 40.0 | 75.9 | 85.9 | 88.0 | 81.1 | 78.1 | 88.2 | 88.3 | 79.5 |

Chapter 5

Characteristics of Respondents

CHAPTER 5 : CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Key Findings

- Among ever-married women, 73 percent live in rural areas with the highest percentage living in Satkhira, Moulvibazar and Nilphamari and the lowest percentage living in Dhaka.
- One-fourth of the ever-married women are aged below age 25, and 40 percent aged 25-34, and the remaining one-third are aged 35-49 years.
- More than one-fourth of the ever-married women have no education, 26.1 percent have primary education, 37.1 percent have secondary/Dakhil education, and only about 10 percent have higher secondary and above education.
- Among ever-married women respondents, 83.4 percent are Muslims and the remaining 16.6 percent are followers of other religions.
- Two-thirds of the ever-married women report that their birth have been registered. The rate of birth registration was highest in Khagrachhari (98.9%) and lowest in Kurigram (41.4%).
- Ever-married women living in rural areas have lower access to media (50.3%) than ever married women in urban areas (75%).
- Around 90 percent of the ever-married women are housewives.
- More than half of 'other respondents' have no education and about one-fourth of 'other respondents' have primary education; only 1.9 percent of other respondents' have higher than secondary education.

5.0 Introduction

This section presents background characteristics of the ever-married women and other respondents (husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father, and mother). Background characteristics include ever-married Women age, marital status, education, educational institutions, religious status, religiosity, occupation, and status of birth registration.

5.1 Ever-Married Women Characteristics

5.1.1 Summary Characteristics of Ever-Married Women

Among ever-married women, 73 percent live in rural areas, with the highest percentage in rural areas of Satkhira, Moulvibazar and Nilphamari and the lowest percentage in rural areas of Dhaka (Table 5.1). One-fourth of the ever-married women are aged below age 25, and 40 percent aged 25-34, and the remaining one-third are aged 35-49 years. The age distributions of ever-married women across districts are similar, having the highest percentages in the 25-29 age group and the lowest percentage in the 15-19 age group. More than 95 percent of the ever-married women are currently married with an almost identical distribution across districts (Table 5.1).

Concerning education, more than one-fourth of the ever-married women have no education, 26.1 percent have primary education, 37.1 percent have secondary/Dakhil education, and only about 10 percent have higher secondary and above education. Nevertheless, there is substantial variation in educational attainment of the respondents by district. For example, Khagrachhari has the highest percentage of respondents with no education (50.8%) whereas Jhalokati has the lowest percent of no education (7.3%). Almost all respondents (99%) studied in general educational institutions (Table 5.1). Among ever-married female respondents, 83.4 percent are Muslims and the remaining 16.6 percent are

followers of other religions. Among the ever-married women in Bhola, Cox's Bazar, Kurigram, Chapai Nawabganj and Sherpur more than 90 percent are Muslims, more than 80 percent are Muslims in Dhaka, Habiganj, Jhalokati and Nilphamari. In Khagrachhari, about one-third ever-married women are Muslims. We construct a measure of religiosity using questions regarding their frequency of prayer, perceived importance of religious works, and whether they make religious donations. The categories of the composite scale (low, moderate and high) reflect the degree of the religiosity that respondents exercise. Using this measure of religiosity, more than half of the ever-married women report that they are highly religious, one-fourth are moderately religious, and about 18 percent are not religious. There is substantial variation in the levels of religiosity across districts (Table 5.1).

Two-thirds of the ever-married women reported that their birth have been registered. The rate of birth registration of ever-married women was the highest in Khagrachhari (98.9%) and the lowest in Kurigram (41.4%). Only 1.4 percent of women had their births registered just after birth and more than half of them completed the registration within last 10 years (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Background Characteristics of Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 91.0 | 66.4 | 89.1 | 39.1 | 92.1 | 63.6 | 62.9 | 92.3 | 84.0 | 94.4 | 87.4 | 93.7 | 94.4 | 86.0 | 72.8 |
| Urban | 9.0 | 33.6 | 10.9 | 60.9 | 7.9 | 36.4 | 37.1 | 7.7 | 16.0 | 5.6 | 12.6 | 6.3 | 5.6 | 14.0 | 27.2 |
| Age (in years) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13-14 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| 15-19 | 6.9 | 3.2 | 12.0 | 5.7 | 5.4 | 4.6 | 7.1 | 10.1 | 7.7 | 4.6 | 10.8 | 8.2 | 6.5 | 8.4 | 6.5 |
| 20-24 | 17.5 | 16.8 | 20.1 | 17.9 | 18.3 | 13.3 | 17.2 | 21.7 | 17.7 | 16.4 | 16.6 | 20.3 | 17.6 | 11.7 | 17.6 |
| 25-29 | 20.9 | 22.0 | 21.8 | 16.7 | 19.4 | 17.0 | 25.1 | 20.4 | 17.7 | 19.6 | 19.1 | 23.5 | 22.4 | 23.0 | 20.1 |
| 30-34 | 18.3 | 20.9 | 16.2 | 24.1 | 17.8 | 22.5 | 19.1 | 17.5 | 18.5 | 18.8 | 17.1 | 20.3 | 16.3 | 18.8 | 20.0 |
| 35-39 | 20.4 | 17.4 | 12.3 | 15.5 | 15.6 | 19.3 | 12.7 | 13.1 | 13.1 | 17.4 | 13.3 | 11.1 | 16.6 | 15.9 | 15.5 |
| 40-44 | 9.8 | 11.6 | 9.5 | 10.5 | 12.0 | 14.7 | 11.2 | 10.5 | 13.1 | 13.9 | 12.3 | 9.2 | 10.5 | 9.4 | 11.1 |
| 45-49 | 6.3 | 8.2 | 7.5 | 9.6 | 11.3 | 8.7 | 7.5 | 6.6 | 12.3 | 9.4 | 9.3 | 6.6 | 9.9 | 12.9 | 9.0 |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Currently Married | 96.6 | 96.0 | 92.2 | 95.2 | 93.9 | 95.9 | 96.2 | 95.8 | 96.2 | 93.0 | 94.0 | 97.4 | 96.6 | 94.2 | 95.3 |
| Others | 3.4 | 4.0 | 7.8 | 4.8 | 6.1 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 3.8 | 7.0 | 6.0 | 2.6 | 3.4 | 5.8 | 4.7 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 28.6 | 19.5 | 40.1 | 23.6 | 30.7 | 7.3 | 50.8 | 32.0 | 24.8 | 33.9 | 22.8 | 27.7 | 17.8 | 50.2 | 27.0 |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 36.0 | 21.5 | 27.6 | 20.2 | 35.2 | 32.1 | 24.8 | 27.4 | 27.9 | 30.4 | 30.6 | 38.3 | 24.1 | 19.7 | 26.1 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 26.5 | 48.0 | 29.5 | 39.6 | 29.6 | 44.0 | 19.5 | 33.3 | 39.7 | 30.4 | 38.6 | 29.0 | 50.5 | 23.9 | 37.1 |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 6.6 | 8.6 | 1.4 | 8.1 | 2.3 | 9.6 | 4.1 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 3.5 | 5.0 | 2.9 | 4.9 | 3.2 | 5.8 |
| Above higher secondary/Alim | 2.4 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 8.6 | 2.3 | 6.9 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 4.0 |
| Educational Institution | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| General | 100.0 | 99.3 | 97.6 | 98.8 | 98.3 | 99.5 | 99.2 | 99.2 | 100.0 | 98.8 | 98.5 | 94.6 | 100.0 | 97.9 | 98.8 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.7 | 2.4 | 1.2 | 1.7 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 5.4 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 1.2 |
| Religious Status | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslim | 96.0 | 76.5 | 94.7 | 87.9 | 86.4 | 84.3 | 33.3 | 92.5 | 78.2 | 69.7 | 96.2 | 85.5 | 76.0 | 94.5 | 83.4 |
| Others | 4.0 | 23.5 | 5.3 | 12.1 | 13.6 | 15.7 | 66.7 | 7.5 | 21.8 | 30.3 | 3.8 | 14.5 | 24.0 | 5.5 | 16.6 |
| Religiosity | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not religious | 11.6 | 18.3 | 61.2 | 18.6 | 13.1 | 6.4 | 15.0 | 11.4 | 6.9 | 22.0 | 17.0 | 24.8 | 10.3 | 6.5 | 17.9 |
| Moderately religious | 30.9 | 36.1 | 8.9 | 26.1 | 19.2 | 10.6 | 32.6 | 36.1 | 13.7 | 12.1 | 17.3 | 30.3 | 18.5 | 32.5 | 25.4 |
| Highly religious | 57.5 | 45.7 | 29.9 | 55.3 | 67.6 | 83.0 | 52.4 | 52.5 | 79.4 | 66.0 | 65.7 | 44.9 | 71.2 | 61.0 | 56.6 |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Housewife/Homemaker | 96.8 | 92.5 | 94.3 | 84.9 | 94.0 | 87.1 | 50.1 | 88.6 | 92.5 | 87.1 | 95.3 | 87.7 | 84.2 | 89.0 | 88.1 |
| Professional/Technical | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Admin/managerial | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Clerical Workers | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| Sales Worker | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 4.2 | 2.5 | 0.2 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| Service Worker | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Agriculture, Forest and Fisheries | 0.5 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 34.2 | 1.1 | 2.0 | 5.7 | 1.3 | 5.0 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.6 |
| Production, Transport labourers and others | 0.8 | 5.1 | 3.3 | 13.0 | 2.6 | 6.0 | 10.8 | 8.9 | 3.4 | 4.7 | 2.9 | 5.1 | 12.3 | 7.0 | 7.3 |
| Registration of Birth | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes, birth was registered | 42.7 | 73.6 | 62.4 | 59.5 | 74.9 | 85.3 | 98.9 | 41.4 | 85.5 | 77.2 | 48.1 | 67.8 | 92.5 | 59.7 | 66.9 |
| No, birth was not registered/Don't Know | 57.3 | 26.4 | 37.6 | 40.5 | 25.1 | 14.7 | 1.1 | 58.6 | 14.5 | 22.8 | 51.9 | 32.2 | 7.5 | 40.3 | 33.1 |
| Time of Birth Registration | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Just after birth | 1.2 | 0.6 | 2.7 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 4.8 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 3.1 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 1.4 |
| Within last one year | 16.7 | 2.4 | 10.3 | 3.1 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 0.4 | 12.2 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 10.4 | 3.5 | 0.9 | 6.0 | 4.0 |
| Within last five years | 35.2 | 64.7 | 48.4 | 53.4 | 31.3 | 22.2 | 11.4 | 36.0 | 29.9 | 36.5 | 60.9 | 25.3 | 20.0 | 58.2 | 42.7 |
| Within last ten years | 45.7 | 32.3 | 37.7 | 41.3 | 65.7 | 74.6 | 87.5 | 46.6 | 67.0 | 59.7 | 25.5 | 69.6 | 78.4 | 33.7 | 51.6 |
| Others | 1.2 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 |

5.1.2 Educational Attainment of Ever-Married Women

Women in urban areas are on average more educated than in rural areas. For instance, in rural areas, 31.2 percent ever-married women have no education compared to 22.3 percent in urban areas. The proportion of women with no formal education increases with age suggesting that older cohorts have relatively lower educational attainment than more recent cohorts. Similarly, the proportion of women with no education is higher among the lower wealth quintiles and consequently, the proportion of having higher education is higher among the richer wealth quintiles. District-level variation in education shows that Khagrachhari, Sherpur, Cox's Bazar and Moulvibazar have the highest percentages of no education among ever-married women, and Jhalokati, Chittagong, Chapai Nawabganj and Satkhira have the lowest percentage of ever-married women with no education (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Percentage Distribution of Educational Attainment of the Ever-Married Women by Background Characteristics

| Variables | No Education | Primary/ Ebtedayee | Secondary/ Dakhil | Higher secondary/ Alim | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | Total (n=7163) |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| Place of Residence | | | | | | |
| Rural | 31.2 | 29.5 | 33.4 | 4.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 22.3 | 23.4 | 38.3 | 8.9 | 7.1 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 13 -14 | 5.9 | 41.2 | 52.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (13) |
| 15 -19 | 6.9 | 25.6 | 57.6 | 8.8 | 1.1 | 100.0 (469) |
| 20 -24 | 9.4 | 30.3 | 47.3 | 8.1 | 4.9 | 100.0 (1261) |
| 25 -29 | 18.6 | 29.7 | 41.8 | 5.5 | 4.4 | 100.0 (1437) |
| 30 -34 | 29.8 | 28.1 | 32.8 | 4.8 | 4.4 | 100.0 (1434) |
| 35 -39 | 39.9 | 27.2 | 24.6 | 5.0 | 3.4 | 100.0 (1112) |
| 40 -44 | 51.1 | 25.0 | 18.3 | 3.5 | 2.1 | 100.0 (795) |
| 45 -49 | 56.8 | 22.8 | 17.6 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 100.0 (643) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 47.5 | 31.9 | 19.1 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 39.4 | 32.5 | 25.3 | 2.2 | 0.6 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 26.6 | 31.1 | 37.0 | 4.3 | 1.0 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 17.4 | 25.5 | 46.3 | 6.8 | 4.0 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 11.9 | 17.6 | 46.2 | 12.8 | 11.5 | 100.0 (2196) |
| District | | | | | | |
| Bhola | 29.0 | 35.3 | 26.5 | 6.9 | 2.4 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 18.0 | 22.2 | 47.1 | 9.6 | 3.1 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 41.6 | 26.5 | 28.4 | 1.4 | 2.2 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 24.2 | 19.5 | 39.8 | 8.4 | 8.0 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 29.6 | 36.5 | 29.8 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 7.1 | 29.5 | 44.0 | 10.8 | 8.5 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 49.2 | 26.6 | 19.8 | 3.7 | 0.8 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 31.8 | 27.3 | 33.2 | 4.9 | 2.8 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 24.3 | 26.5 | 39.7 | 5.1 | 4.3 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 33.8 | 28.9 | 30.7 | 4.1 | 2.5 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 19.4 | 28.0 | 42.0 | 6.7 | 3.9 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 26.1 | 36.5 | 31.8 | 3.1 | 2.5 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 18.0 | 24.1 | 50.0 | 5.3 | 2.5 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 47.5 | 20.8 | 24.6 | 3.7 | 3.5 | 100.0 (308) |

5.1.3 Occupation of Ever-Married Women

Table 5.3 presents occupations of ever-married women which include housewife; professional/technical; administration/managerial; clerical workers; service workers; agriculture, forest, and fisheries; and production, transport, and labourers and others. A vast majority of the respondents are housewives both in rural and urban areas (89.1% and 82.3% respectively). Only a small percentage of respondents are engaged in agriculture and production sectors in rural and urban areas. Distribution of occupations by age shows similar patterns across all age groups with the highest concentration in the category of housewife. Among currently married women, housewife is the most commonly reported occupation (88.6%), followed by employment in agriculture, forest and fisheries and production, transport and day labour (Table 5.3)

The distribution of occupation by education level shows that the vast majority of ever-married women are housewives in all categories of education. However, the proportion of housewives in the category of above higher secondary education is comparatively lower (61% compared to 80.4% in no education category). On the other hand, there is an inverse-U relationship between wealth quintile and percentage of women listing their occupation as housewife meaning that a lower percentage of ever-married women from poorest, second, and richest quintiles reported their occupation as housewife while a higher percentage of ever-married women from the middle and fourth quintiles reported their occupation as housewife. There is district-level variation in the percentage of women not in the labour force with the highest percent of housewives not in the labour force in Bhola (96.9%) and the lowest percent of housewives not in the labour force in Khagrachhari (53.1%).

Table 5.3: Percentage Distribution of Occupation of the Ever-Married Women by Background Characteristics

| Variables | Housewife/ Homemaker | Professional/ Technical | Admin/ managerial | Clerical Workers | Sales Worker | Service Worker | Agriculture, Forest and Fisheries | Production, Transport labourers and others | Total (n=7163) |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---|---|-------------------|
| Place of Residence | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 89.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 82.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 9.8 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Age | | | | | | | | | |
| 13-14 | 88.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 100.0 (13) |
| 15-19 | 89.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 7.4 | 100.0 (469) |
| 20-24 | 89.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 6.6 | 100.0 (1261) |
| 25-29 | 87.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 4.4 | 5.6 | 100.0 (1437) |
| 30-34 | 86.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 4.0 | 6.6 | 100.0 (1434) |
| 35-39 | 85.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 0.1 | 4.5 | 6.2 | 100.0 (1112) |
| 40-44 | 85.9 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 6.3 | 100.0 (795) |
| 45-49 | 86.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 4.5 | 6.8 | 100.0 (643) |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | | | |
| Currently Married | 88.6 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 5.4 | 100.0 (6825) |
| Others | 59.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 2.3 | 1.5 | 0.3 | 9.3 | 26.7 | 100.0 (338) |
| Education | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 80.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.0 | 9.0 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 91.9 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 2.6 | 5.1 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 92.3 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 4.8 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher | 82.5 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 3.4 | 4.9 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 7.7 | 100.0 (417) |
| secondary/Alim | | | | | | | | | |
| Above higher | 61.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.0 | 21.5 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 9.2 | 100.0 (287) |
| secondary/Fazil/Kamil | | | | | | | | | |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 83.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 8.6 | 7.4 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 85.6 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 5.4 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 90.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 5.2 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 89.9 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 0.1 | 0.7 | 6.1 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 86.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 1.7 | 3.6 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 7.8 | 100.0 (2196) |
| District | | | | | | | | | |
| Bhola | 96.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 92.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 5.7 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 94.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 3.1 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 82.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 15.2 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 93.9 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.8 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 2.5 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 85.5 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 1.7 | 5.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 6.6 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 53.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 32.9 | 10.3 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 88.2 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 8.8 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 92.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 86.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 5.5 | 4.9 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 93.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 1.2 | 3.9 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 87.6 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 4.5 | 5.3 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 83.9 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 12.5 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 89.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 6.5 | 100.0 (308) |

5.1.4 Access to Mass Media by Ever-Married Women

Table 5.4 presents media exposure of ever-married women based on their access to newspaper, radio, television, and Internet. Women living in rural areas have lower access to media (50.3%) than that of urban areas (75%). Access to television is the most common source of media both in rural and urban areas. Access to media is fairly consistent across the age distribution with access to television being the most common, followed by newspaper, radio and Internet. One notable exception is that among older respondents access to Internet is much lower than younger respondents. There is an inverse association between exposure to media and level of education; lower-educated women have lower exposure to media and consequently higher educated women have higher access to media in all three categories. In addition, there is substantial variation in exposure to media across wealth categories. Ever-married women belonging to the richest wealth quintile have the highest exposure to media (92.2%), and the lowest quintile have the lowest exposure to media (23.2%). This pattern is consistent across all four categories of media: newspaper, radio, television and Internet. District-level variation shows that respondents living in Dhaka have the highest exposure to media and those living in Khagrachhari have the lowest exposure to media. The trend of access to newspaper, radio, television and Internet is similar across districts with the exception of Dhaka where the percentages of exposure to newspaper and Internet are much higher compared to other districts (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Access to Mass Media by Background Characteristics

| Variables | Types of Mass-Media | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-------|------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| | Newspaper | Radio | Television | Internet | Any Media | |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | |
| Rural | 4.0 | 2.9 | 48.0 | 1.5 | 50.3 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 12.1 | 4.6 | 74.0 | 4.8 | 75.5 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 13-14 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 70.6 | 0.0 | 70.6 | 100.0 (13) |
| 15-19 | 5.5 | 3.8 | 51.3 | 2.5 | 54.0 | 100.0 (469) |
| 20-24 | 7.2 | 4.5 | 57.0 | 4.0 | 59.7 | 100.0 (1261) |
| 25-29 | 6.3 | 3.7 | 56.2 | 4.0 | 58.2 | 100.0 (1437) |
| 30-34 | 7.1 | 3.0 | 55.5 | 2.6 | 57.2 | 100.0 (1434) |
| 35-39 | 6.8 | 3.1 | 54.5 | 0.8 | 56.6 | 100.0 (1112) |
| 40-44 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 55.1 | 0.7 | 57.2 | 100.0 (795) |
| 45-49 | 4.0 | 1.9 | 56.6 | 0.6 | 58.0 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Education | | | | | | |
| No Education | 0.0 | 1.0 | 40.5 | 0.1 | 41.3 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 1.8 | 2.6 | 50.6 | 0.4 | 52.1 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 7.8 | 4.9 | 64.8 | 2.6 | 68.0 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 22.9 | 8.5 | 80.2 | 9.3 | 83.8 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 54.2 | 6.8 | 86.9 | 25.5 | 91.2 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth Q uintile | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 0.8 | 1.7 | 21.4 | 0.1 | 23.2 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 1.4 | 2.7 | 32.3 | 0.3 | 34.1 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 3.2 | 3.4 | 59.8 | 0.6 | 62.7 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 6.3 | 4.0 | 73.5 | 2.1 | 75.9 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 20.2 | 5.0 | 90.7 | 9.2 | 92.2 | 100.0 (2196) |

| Variables | Types of Mass-Media | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|------------------|---------------------|-------|------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| | Newspaper | Radio | Television | Internet | Any Media | |
| District | | | | | | |
| Bhola | 2.7 | 3.3 | 32.7 | 0.6 | 35.5 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 10.0 | 5.3 | 79.8 | 3.7 | 80.6 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 8.0 | 3.3 | 22.9 | 3.3 | 28.8 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 19.3 | 3.9 | 88.3 | 8.4 | 89.6 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 5.5 | 1.6 | 49.8 | 1.4 | 50.4 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 6.2 | 2.9 | 58.3 | 3.1 | 60.4 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 3.1 | 2.9 | 36.2 | 1.4 | 39.3 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 2.8 | 2.8 | 27.3 | 0.6 | 29.7 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 7.9 | 2.0 | 63.2 | 2.0 | 65.2 | 100.0(262) |
| Moulvibazar | 4.7 | 1.6 | 64.5 | 4.3 | 65.4 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 6.9 | 11.0 | 74.1 | 3.5 | 76.7 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 3.3 | 2.0 | 61.6 | 0.6 | 62.7 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 4.5 | 4.1 | 60.6 | 0.8 | 64.1 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 4.2 | 0.8 | 58.3 | 0.8 | 58.3 | 100.0 (308) |

5.2 Other Respondents' Characteristics

This section presents background characteristics of other respondents (husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father, and mother). Background characteristics include respondents' age, marital status, education, educational institutions, religious status, religiosity, occupation, and status of birth registration.

5.2.1 Summary Characteristics of Other Respondents

The majority of the other respondents (77.1%) were living in rural areas. District-level analysis shows that Sylhet has the highest percentage of other respondents living in rural areas (90.6) and Dhaka has the lowest percentage of other respondents living in rural areas (44.6%). Among other respondents, 4.8 percent are below age 30, 10.2 percent are aged 30-39, 22 percent are aged 40-49, 26.9 percent are aged 50-59, 20.4 percent are aged 60-69 and the remaining 15.6 percent are aged 70 and above. There is some variation in age distribution by division among other respondents. For instance, Chittagong division has the highest percentage of other respondents aged 70 and above (19.9%), followed by Barisal, Sylhet, Khulna, Rangpur and Dhaka (Table 5.5).

Among other respondents, 82.6 percent are currently married, and 16.0 percent are widowed. The highest percent of currently married other respondents were from Rajshahi division (89.5%) and lowest from Sylhet division (75.6%). Sylhet division has the highest percentage of widowed (22.6%) and Rajshahi division had the lowest percentage of widowed (9.9%) (Table 5.5). More than half of the other respondents have no education and about one-fourth of other respondents have primary education; only 1.9 percent of other respondents had higher than secondary education. There is substantial variation in education by district. For example, among other respondents, Mymensingh division has the highest percentage of no education (71.1%) and Barisal has the lowest percentage of no education (42.6%). Similarly, Dhaka has the highest percentage of above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil education (6.5%), whereas Sylhet has the lowest percentage in this case (0.3%). Among those with some education, almost all had studied in general educational institutions (Table 5.5).

Overall, 81.9 percent of the other respondents are Muslim, 16.1 percent are Hindu, and 1.8 percent are Christian. Rajshahi division has the highest percentage of Muslims (93.6%) and Chittagong division has the lowest percentage (72.2%). Sylhet division has the highest percentage of Hindus (23.3%), whereas Rajshahi division has the lowest (6.4%). Khulna division shows the largest percentage of highly religious other respondents (78%) and Chittagong division shows the lowest percentage of highly religious other respondents (47.2%) (Table 5.5).

There is significant occupational concentration among other respondents; about two-thirds are involved in production, transport, day labour, and other, followed by agriculture, forest and fisheries, administration/managerial, clerical works, professional/technical and sales workers. District-level variations are clearly evident in all types of occupations of the other respondents. Dhaka has the highest percentage of professional/ technical occupations, Barisal has the highest percentages of administration/ managerial occupations, Rangpur has the highest percentage of agriculture, and Dhaka also has the highest percentage of production, transport labourers, and others (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 also shows that 64 percent of the births of other respondents were registered. Khulna division shows the highest percentage of birth registration whereas Rajshahi division shows the lowest percentage. Less than one percent of the births were registered just after birth, and more than one-fourth of the births were registered within five years of birth.

Table 5.5: Percentage Distribution of Background Characteristics of Other Respondents by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=139) | Chittagong (n=472) | Rajshahi (n=171) | Khulna (n=318) | Barisal (n=303) | Sylhet (n=287) | Rangpur (n=308) | Mymensingh (n=159) | |
| Respondent Type | | | | | | | | | |
| Father in-Law | 12.2 | 21.6 | 19.3 | 21.1 | 20.1 | 23.3 | 21.4 | 23.9 | 20.9 |
| Mother in-Law | 21.6 | 21.4 | 19.3 | 20.8 | 24.8 | 23 | 22.1 | 17 | 21.6 |
| Husband | 24.5 | 21.4 | 21.1 | 21.4 | 20.1 | 23 | 22.1 | 24.5 | 21.9 |
| Father | 17.3 | 18.2 | 19.9 | 19.2 | 15.5 | 15.3 | 17.2 | 15.1 | 17.3 |
| Mother | 24.5 | 17.4 | 20.5 | 17.6 | 19.5 | 15.3 | 17.2 | 19.5 | 18.3 |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 44.6 | 68.2 | 74.3 | 81.8 | 73.3 | 90.6 | 87.0 | 89.3 | 77.1 |
| Urban | 55.4 | 31.8 | 25.7 | 18.2 | 26.7 | 9.4 | 13.0 | 10.7 | 22.9 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | |
| Below 30 | 6.5 | 4.0 | 5.3 | 2.8 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 6.2 | 6.9 | 4.8 |
| 30-34 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 1.8 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.9 | 1.3 | 2.5 |
| 35-39 | 8.6 | 6.1 | 9.4 | 9.4 | 8.3 | 3.5 | 7.8 | 12.6 | 7.7 |
| 40-44 | 7.9 | 8.5 | 11.7 | 8.8 | 5.6 | 8.0 | 9.7 | 8.2 | 8.4 |
| 45-49 | 13.7 | 13.1 | 15.2 | 15.7 | 10.6 | 12.2 | 15.3 | 14.5 | 13.6 |
| 50-54 | 12.2 | 13.1 | 21.1 | 14.8 | 14.5 | 12.2 | 15.3 | 10.7 | 14.1 |
| 55-59 | 17.3 | 11.4 | 11.7 | 11.9 | 10.2 | 13.6 | 14.3 | 17.0 | 12.8 |
| 60-64 | 15.1 | 11.9 | 7.6 | 10.1 | 14.5 | 15.7 | 9.4 | 9.4 | 11.8 |
| 65-69 | 5.0 | 9.3 | 5.8 | 7.2 | 11.6 | 11.1 | 7.8 | 6.3 | 8.6 |
| 70 and above | 10.8 | 19.9 | 10.5 | 15.7 | 17.8 | 17.1 | 11.4 | 13.2 | 15.6 |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | | | |
| Currently married | 78.4 | 79.9 | 89.5 | 85.8 | 82.8 | 75.6 | 88.0 | 82.4 | 82.6 |
| Separated | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 1.9 | 0.8 |
| Deserted | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Divorced | 1.4 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Widowed | 19.4 | 18.2 | 9.9 | 12.9 | 16.5 | 22.6 | 11.0 | 15.7 | 16.0 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 46.8 | 57.6 | 61.4 | 58.2 | 42.6 | 54.4 | 56.2 | 71.1 | 55.5 |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 18.7 | 22.9 | 22.2 | 19.8 | 33.0 | 24.4 | 27.9 | 12.6 | 23.7 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 23.0 | 14.4 | 14.6 | 18.2 | 19.8 | 18.8 | 12.3 | 11.9 | 16.4 |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 5.0 | 3.8 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 6.5 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 3.0 | 0.3 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.9 |

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|--|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=139) | Chittagong (n=472) | Rajshahi (n=171) | Khulna (n=318) | Barisal (n=303) | Sylhet (n=287) | Rangpur (n=308) | Mymensingh (n=159) | |
| Educational Institution | | | | | | | | | |
| General | 98.6 | 98.0 | 100.0 | 99.2 | 100.0 | 99.2 | 98.5 | 100.0 | 99.1 |
| Technical /vocational school | 1.4 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| NGO/Community | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Kawmi/Hafjee | 0.0 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Religious Status | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslim | 89.2 | 72.2 | 93.6 | 77.7 | 86.8 | 76.7 | 86.0 | 91.8 | 81.9 |
| Hindu | 10.8 | 19.5 | 6.4 | 21.4 | 12.9 | 23.3 | 14.0 | 8.2 | 16.1 |
| Buddhist | 0.0 | 8.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 |
| Christian | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Religiosity | | | | | | | | | |
| Not religious | 14.4 | 27.5 | 18.1 | 7.5 | 9.2 | 18.8 | 12.7 | 4.4 | 15.4 |
| Moderately religious | 30.9 | 25.2 | 11.7 | 14.5 | 22.4 | 12.2 | 31.2 | 28.3 | 21.9 |
| Highly religious | 54.7 | 47.2 | 70.2 | 78.0 | 68.3 | 69.0 | 56.2 | 67.3 | 62.7 |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | | |
| Professional/Technical | 5.0 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Admin/managerial | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 0.3 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 3.6 |
| Clerical Workers | 7.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 4.3 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 3.8 | 2.7 |
| Sales Worker | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| Agriculture, Forest and Fisheries | 7.9 | 27.5 | 31.0 | 23.3 | 17.8 | 31.4 | 39.0 | 37.1 | 27.4 |
| Production, Transport labourers and others | 76.3 | 65.3 | 62.6 | 67.9 | 70.3 | 66.2 | 54.5 | 52.8 | 64.5 |
| Registration of Birth | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes, birth was registered | 56.8 | 72.7 | 35.7 | 87.7 | 55.4 | 64.8 | 53.6 | 56.6 | 63.6 |
| No, birth was not registered/Don't Know | 43.2 | 27.3 | 64.3 | 12.3 | 44.6 | 35.2 | 46.4 | 43.4 | 36.4 |
| Time of Birth Registration | | | | | | | | | |
| Just after birth | 0.0 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Within last one year | 1.3 | 0.9 | 4.9 | 1.4 | 4.2 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 1.1 | 1.7 |
| Within last five years | 40.5 | 24.5 | 60.7 | 20.1 | 13.7 | 14.0 | 35.2 | 65.6 | 27.4 |
| Within last ten years | 58.2 | 72.9 | 32.8 | 76.7 | 80.4 | 83.3 | 60.6 | 33.3 | 69.3 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 0.7 |

5.2.2 Educational Attainment of Other Respondents

There are considerable differences in the educational attainment of other respondents across their place of residence, age, and wealth quintile. More specifically, more than half of the other respondents in rural areas have no education and only 3.1 percent have higher secondary and above education. On the other hand, 47.8 percent of the other respondents in urban areas have no education and 8.6 percent have higher secondary and above education. Age-specific distribution of education among other respondents shows that the proportions of no education among older age groups are higher compared to younger age groups. And consequently, the proportions of higher education are higher among younger age groups compared to older age groups. In addition, there is also variation in educational attainment by wealth quintiles among other respondents. Other respondents belonging to the poorest wealth quintile have the highest percentage of no education and their counterparts in the richest wealth quintiles have the highest percentage of having above higher secondary education (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Percentage Distribution of Educational Attainment of Other Respondents by Background Characteristics

| Variables | Educational Attainment | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | No Education | Primary/ Ebtedayee | Secondary/Dakhil | Higher secondary/ Alim | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | |
| Respondent Type | | | | | | |
| Father in-Law | 53.9 | 27.1 | 16 | 2 | 1.1 | 100 (451) |
| Mother in-Law | 75.8 | 17.2 | 6.2 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 100 (466) |
| Husband | 34.5 | 24.1 | 29 | 7.6 | 4.9 | 100 (473) |
| Father | 51.7 | 24.4 | 19.6 | 1.9 | 2.4 | 100 (373) |
| Mother | 62.4 | 26.4 | 10.9 | 0.3 | 0 | 100 (394) |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | |
| Rural | 57.8 | 23.9 | 15.2 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 100.0 (1663) |
| Urban | 47.8 | 23.1 | 20.6 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 100.0 (494) |
| Age | | | | | | |
| Below 30 | 28.8 | 31.7 | 31.7 | 4.8 | 2.9 | 100.0 (104) |
| 30 -34 | 17.0 | 30.2 | 41.5 | 3.8 | 7.5 | 100.0 (53) |
| 35 -39 | 47.0 | 27.7 | 17.5 | 4.8 | 3.0 | 100.0 (166) |
| 40 -44 | 51.6 | 24.2 | 18.7 | 3.3 | 2.2 | 100.0 (182) |
| 45 -49 | 60.2 | 22.4 | 13.9 | 2.4 | 1.0 | 100.0 (294) |
| 50 -54 | 62.0 | 23.0 | 12.8 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 100.0 (305) |
| 55 -59 | 58.8 | 17.3 | 19.5 | 2.5 | 1.8 | 100.0 (277) |
| 60 -64 | 57.6 | 25.5 | 12.5 | 2.4 | 2.0 | 100.0 (255) |
| 65 -69 | 57.8 | 22.7 | 15.7 | 3.2 | 0.5 | 100.0 (185) |
| 70 and above | 60.7 | 24.1 | 12.2 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (336) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 73.5 | 16.2 | 8.8 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 100.0 (431) |
| Second | 67.8 | 22.0 | 9.0 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 100.0 (432) |
| Middle | 59.4 | 23.7 | 15.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 100.0 (431) |
| Fourth | 44.7 | 30.8 | 20.4 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 100.0 (432) |
| Richest | 32.3 | 25.8 | 28.8 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 100.0 (431) |

5.2.3 Occupation of Other Respondents

Here, we examine the distribution of other respondents' occupation by place of residence, age, marital status, education and wealth quintile. More specifically, the percentages of other respondents engaged in production, and transport sector as labourers, clerical workers, administration/managerial, and professional/technical are higher in urban areas than rural areas. Age-specific analysis shows that younger cohorts are more likely to be working in administration/managerial positions than older cohorts. Notably, more than half the currently married other respondents are employed in production and transport sectors as labourers. Their counterparts in the separated category are the most likely to be working in administration/managerial sectors (Table 5.7). Consistent with expectations, other respondents with higher education have higher percentages of engaging in professional/technical education and those with lower education are more likely to be involved in production, transport and other sectors and labourers. Other respondents in the wealthiest category are more likely to be found in professional/technical and administration/managerial sectors. In addition, other respondents in the poorest category have a higher percentage of working in agriculture, forest and fisheries sectors.

Table 5.7: Percentage Distribution of Occupation of Other Respondents by Background Characteristics

| Variables | Occupation | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------------|
| | Professional/ Technical | Admin/ managerial | Clerical Workers | Sales Worker | Agriculture, Forestand Fisheries | Production, Transport labourers and others | |
| Respondent Types | | | | | | | |
| Father in-Law | 0.7 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 35.9 | 61 | 100 (451) |
| Mother in-Law | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0 | 10.5 | 87.8 | 100 (466) |
| Husband | 3 | 9.5 | 5.5 | 0.8 | 37.2 | 44 | 100 (473) |
| Father | 2.4 | 4 | 4.3 | 0.8 | 43.4 | 45 | 100 (373) |
| Mother | 0.3 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 10.7 | 84.3 | 100 (394) |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 1.1 | 2.8 | 2.2 | 0.6 | 30.3 | 63.0 | 100.0 (1663) |
| Urban | 1.8 | 6.1 | 4.7 | 0.0 | 17.6 | 69.8 | 100.0 (494) |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| Below 30 | 1.9 | 7.7 | 5.8 | 0.0 | 29.8 | 54.8 | 100.0 (104) |
| 30-34 | 5.7 | 5.7 | 9.4 | 0.0 | 17.0 | 62.3 | 100.0 (53) |
| 35-39 | 1.8 | 7.8 | 4.2 | 3.0 | 16.3 | 66.9 | 100.0 (166) |
| 40-44 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 0.5 | 26.4 | 64.8 | 100.0 (182) |
| 45-49 | 1.7 | 4.1 | 2.4 | 0.7 | 34.7 | 56.5 | 100.0 (294) |
| 50-54 | 2.0 | 4.3 | 3.6 | 0.3 | 32.8 | 57.0 | 100.0 (305) |
| 55-59 | 1.1 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 0.0 | 36.8 | 54.5 | 100.0 (277) |
| 60-64 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 25.9 | 70.2 | 100.0 (255) |
| 65-69 | 0.5 | 2.2 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 27.6 | 68.1 | 100.0 (185) |
| 70 and above | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 16.4 | 82.4 | 100.0 (336) |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | |
| Currently married | 1.5 | 4.2 | 3.1 | 0.6 | 31.6 | 59.0 | 100.0 (1782) |
| Separated | 0.0 | 11.1 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 27.8 | 55.6 | 100.0 (18) |
| Deserted | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 40.0 | 60.0 | 100.0 (5) |
| Divorced | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 14.3 | 85.7 | 100.0 (7) |
| Widowed | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 5.8 | 93.0 | 100.0 (345) |
| Education | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 0.2 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 29.0 | 67.8 | 100.0 (1198) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 0.4 | 3.3 | 3.5 | 0.6 | 27.2 | 65.0 | 100.0 (511) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 2.3 | 7.1 | 5.1 | 0.6 | 26.6 | 58.5 | 100.0 (354) |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 7.4 | 14.8 | 16.7 | 0.0 | 13.0 | 48.1 | 100.0 (54) |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 30.0 | 12.5 | 10.0 | 0.0 | 10.0 | 37.5 | 100.0 (40) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 0.0 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 39.9 | 56.8 | 100.0 (431) |
| Second | 0.5 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 0.7 | 34.5 | 60.9 | 100.0 (432) |
| Middle | 1.4 | 3.7 | 1.6 | 0.2 | 27.1 | 65.9 | 100.0 (431) |
| Fourth | 1.9 | 3.5 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 24.1 | 66.9 | 100.0 (432) |
| Richest | 2.8 | 7.4 | 5.8 | 0.5 | 11.4 | 72.2 | 100.0 (431) |

5.2.4 Access to Mass Media by Other Respondents

Considerable variation exists in the access to media among other respondents by place of residence, age, education, and wealth quintile. More than two-thirds of other respondents have access to any media in urban areas compared to half of the other respondents in rural areas. This is consistent across each of the four types of media: newspaper, radio, television, and Internet. Age-specific analysis shows that younger cohorts of the other respondents have higher access to media than older cohorts in each of the four categories of media. Concerning education, other respondents with higher education have more access to media than their counterparts with lower education. This pattern is also consistent across wealth quintiles: other respondents in the richer categories of wealth quintiles have higher access to media compared to their counterparts in the poorer categories (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Percentage Distribution of Access to Mass Media of Other Respondents by Background Characteristics

| Variables | Access to Media | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|------------|----------|-----------|-------------------|
| | Newspaper | Radio | Television | Internet | Any Media | |
| Respondent Types | | | | | | |
| Father in -Law | 10.0 | 3.8 | 50.1 | 0.0 | 53.0 | 100 (451) |
| Mother in -Law | 1.5 | 0.9 | 37.6 | 0.2 | 38.2 | 100 (466) |
| Husband | 26.6 | 7.6 | 74.0 | 7.4 | 77.2 | 100 (473) |
| Father | 13.9 | 3.2 | 59.2 | 0.8 | 62.5 | 100 (373) |
| Mother | 1.0 | 1.5 | 44.7 | 0.0 | 45.4 | 100 (394) |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | |
| Rural | 9.2 | 3.5 | 49.4 | 0.9 | 51.5 | 100.0 (1663) |
| Urban | 16.4 | 3.4 | 66.2 | 4.9 | 68.4 | 100.0 (494) |
| Age | | | | | | |
| Below 30 | 21.2 | 11.5 | 75.0 | 9.6 | 78.8 | 100.0 (104) |
| 30-34 | 37.7 | 3.8 | 77.4 | 22.6 | 84.9 | 100.0 (53) |
| 35-39 | 13.3 | 3.6 | 65.7 | 3.0 | 65.7 | 100.0 (166) |
| 40-44 | 12.6 | 3.8 | 55.5 | 3.3 | 57.7 | 100.0 (182) |
| 45-49 | 7.5 | 3.4 | 56.5 | 1.0 | 56.8 | 100.0 (294) |
| 50-54 | 5.6 | 2.3 | 53.1 | 0.3 | 54.4 | 100.0 (305) |
| 55-59 | 14.8 | 4.7 | 55.2 | 0.7 | 59.9 | 100.0 (277) |
| 60-64 | 11.4 | 3.5 | 55.7 | 0.0 | 58.0 | 100.0 (255) |
| 65-69 | 7.6 | 1.6 | 40.5 | 0.0 | 41.6 | 100.0 (185) |
| 70 and above | 7.1 | 1.8 | 36.0 | 0.0 | 38.4 | 100.0 (336) |
| Education | | | | | | |
| No Education | 0.1 | 2.0 | 42.0 | 0.1 | 42.3 | 100.0 (1198) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 8.0 | 3.7 | 60.7 | 0.6 | 62.8 | 100.0 (511) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 34.7 | 5.4 | 71.8 | 3.7 | 78.8 | 100.0 (354) |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 66.7 | 5.6 | 87.0 | 13.0 | 90.7 | 100.0 (54) |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 82.5 | 25.0 | 85.0 | 37.5 | 95.0 | 100.0 (40) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 3.5 | 2.1 | 31.6 | 0.5 | 32.9 | 100.0 (431) |
| Second | 4.9 | 2.3 | 35.4 | 0.2 | 38.0 | 100.0 (432) |
| Middle | 7.4 | 4.2 | 51.5 | 0.7 | 53.1 | 100.0 (431) |
| Fourth | 12 | 4.9 | 67.4 | 1.9 | 70.1 | 100.0 (432) |
| Richest | 26.5 | 3.9 | 80.3 | 5.8 | 82.6 | 100.0 (431) |

Chapter 6

Purdah System, Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage

CHAPTER 6 : *PURDAH* SYSTEM, SOCIAL NORMS AND VALUES RELATED TO MARRIAGE

Key Findings

- Among ever-married women 77.4 percent consider *purdah* to be wearing a *burkha*; only 7.4 percent consider *purdah* as mental purity.
- Among husbands, 71.5 percent consider modesty in behaviour as *purdah*. Among mothers, 57.9 percent have the same understanding of *purdah*.
- Lower-educated, ever-married women and other respondents emphasize wearing a *burkha*, scarf, *nekaab*, and not appearing before unknown males as part of *purdah*. Their counterparts with higher education put greater emphasis on modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, and mental purity.
- Before marriage, the majority of ever-married women report having practiced modesty in dress (73.9%). After marriage, the majority of the ever-married women practice *purdah* by wearing a *burkha*.
- Overall, 93 percent of respondents report that their society strongly believes that marrying off girls is a religious responsibility of parents and families.

6.0 Introduction

Purdah, which literally means curtain, is a set of social expectations or norms guiding Muslim and Christian Women behaviour (Yusuf, 2014) that is subject to many different interpretations and understandings in Bangladesh. It may refer to the physical segregation of living space, as well as the covering of body and face. In broader terms, it also may refer to beliefs and values about expected or normative behaviour of women, restrictions on their movements, or requirements for their respectful and deferential demeanour. *Purdah* may include a set of norms that govern the behaviour of women in the presence of males within the home and outside in public areas (Amin, 1997; Desai and Temsah, 2014). The concept also governs the proper behaviour towards male and female elders, demanding respect and deference due to their superior status. Thus, a daughter-in-law will cover her head even in the presence of her mother-in-law, and an adolescent daughter will assume a respectful posture when her father arrives. Traditional patterns of social control encompassed in the *purdah* system enhanced the social status of the families of women who observed *purdah*, as well as provided the basis for higher personal status of individual women. The traditional observance of *purdah* was generated and maintained by a distinctive sexual division of labour, and the status and condition of rural families contributed to the form of *purdah* observed in earlier periods of Bangladesh. However, with the advent of modernization and urbanization the nature of practicing *purdah* is also changing. The practice of *purdah* and maintaining certain norms and values likely exert strong influence on the occurrence of child marriage in Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 2004).

6.1 Understanding the *Purdah* System

This section presents understanding about the *purdah* system by respondent category, district, place of residence, age, education, and wealth status.

6.1.1 Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent Type

The highest percentage of respondents, 77.8 percent, of all categories associate *burkha* with *purdah*, followed by modesty in dress (67.3%), modesty in behaviour (63.6%), scarf (53.4%), *nekaab* (36%), not appearing before an unknown male (21.9%), restricted interaction with opposite sex (15.2%), women should not go outside for work (10.5%), and mental purity (7.6%). (Table 6.1). Nevertheless, there is considerable variation in the understanding of *purdah* by respondent type. For instance, among ever-married women, 77 percent understood *purdah* as wearing *burkha* whereas only 7 percent consider *purdah* as mental purity. Among husbands, 71.5 percent understand modesty in behaviour as *purdah* whereas only 57.9 percent mothers had the same understanding about *purdah* (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Percentage Distribution of Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent Type

| Understanding of ' <i>purdah</i> ' | Respondent Category | | | | | | Total (n=9,320) |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7,163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 77.4 | 79.4 | 80.8 | 74.7 | 78.2 | 80.9 | 77.7 |
| Scarf | 54.5 | 45.9 | 52.6 | 48.6 | 52.0 | 51.0 | 53.4 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 36.8 | 30.6 | 35.8 | 32.3 | 34.0 | 34.9 | 36.0 |
| Modesty in dress | 66.0 | 72.0 | 70.0 | 72.2 | 74.4 | 70.2 | 67.3 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 63.0 | 69.4 | 62.9 | 71.5 | 64.7 | 57.9 | 63.6 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 14.0 | 18.1 | 16.4 | 19.5 | 16.4 | 16.6 | 14.8 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 20.1 | 26.2 | 35.8 | 25.1 | 23.5 | 28.6 | 21.9 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 14.5 | 15.9 | 17.5 | 16.8 | 21.6 | 17.1 | 15.2 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.6 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 9.1 | 19.5 | 15.5 | 14.0 | 13.5 | 11.0 | 10.5 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 7.4 | 7.6 | 6.5 | 6.6 | 10.0 | 11.0 | 7.6 |
| Others | 0.0 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 1.8 | 0.3 |

6.1.2 Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondents Districts

There were considerable differences in understanding of the *purdah* system by district. For example, a vast majority of the respondents in all districts understood *burkha* as *purdah* except Khagrachhari where majority of the respondents mentioned modesty in dress as the *purdah* system. Table 6.2 showed that Sherpur had the highest percentage of ever-married women (98.4%) who understand wearing *burkha* as maintaining *purdah* and Khagrachhari had the lowest percentage (31.8%). Another notable finding is that 30.5 percent of respondents in Jhalokati and 25.2 percent in Kurigram considered mental purity as the best *purdah*.

Table 6.2: Percentage Distribution of Understanding the *Purdah* System among Ever-Married Women by Districts

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total n=7163 |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Understanding of '<i>purdah</i>' | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 95.6 | 75.4 | 87.1 | 72.1 | 73.2 | 76.8 | 31.8 | 88.4 | 88.0 | 79.2 | 75.6 | 80.6 | 77.5 | 98.4 | 77.4 |
| Scarf | 92.4 | 48.2 | 43.6 | 59.1 | 26.5 | 56.6 | 16.8 | 53.0 | 59.1 | 60.2 | 53.6 | 57.4 | 62.2 | 68.8 | 54.5 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 87.7 | 61.0 | 75.6 | 19.8 | 21.1 | 45.7 | 11.7 | 26.5 | 11.9 | 62.9 | 15.1 | 27.5 | 31.3 | 20.1 | 36.8 |
| Modesty in dress | 81.7 | 50.9 | 32.1 | 46.4 | 72.3 | 87.2 | 84.0 | 97.2 | 94.7 | 76.7 | 71.3 | 83.8 | 77.6 | 82.5 | 66.0 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 91.6 | 71.0 | 33.0 | 42.3 | 49.9 | 82.3 | 62.2 | 95.8 | 85.9 | 68.3 | 60.3 | 75.3 | 57.7 | 74.1 | 63.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 69.0 | 6.1 | 12.1 | 2.7 | 22.0 | 33.2 | 6.9 | 23.5 | 7.6 | 10.2 | 21.3 | 5.1 | 20.5 | 8.3 | 14.0 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 79.5 | 16.5 | 22.5 | 5.4 | 35.0 | 61.8 | 6.4 | 15.5 | 15.6 | 18.5 | 16.1 | 14.7 | 17.5 | 27.2 | 20.1 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 78.7 | 4.1 | 8.4 | 5.3 | 10.9 | 20.6 | 4.0 | 27.8 | 17.0 | 11.1 | 19.3 | 4.3 | 30.1 | 8.3 | 14.5 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.3 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 3.9 | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 39.0 | 8.3 | 8.0 | 2.3 | 9.1 | 29.2 | 3.6 | 11.9 | 10.8 | 3.6 | 8.0 | 6.4 | 13.2 | 4.8 | 9.1 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 3.7 | 3.1 | 1.8 | 9.5 | 3.1 | 30.5 | 0.5 | 25.2 | 1.3 | 4.4 | 7.6 | 5.9 | 6.8 | 5.2 | 7.4 |

6.1.3 Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Place of Residence

In rural areas, the majority of ever-married women define *purdah* as wearing a *burkha* (79.9%), followed by modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, wearing a scarf, wearing a *nekab*, not appearing before an unknown male, having no interaction with the opposite sex, and not going outside for work. This pattern is also consistent in urban areas. There is no significant difference in the understanding of *purdah* among other respondents as compared to the ever-married women (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Percentage Distribution of Understanding the *Purdah* System by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | |
| Understanding of 'Purdah' (EMW) | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 79.9 | 70.8 | 77.4 |
| Scarf | 57.0 | 47.6 | 54.5 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 40.5 | 26.9 | 36.8 |
| Modesty in dress | 68.3 | 59.9 | 66.0 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 63.9 | 60.7 | 63.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 16.1 | 8.4 | 14.0 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 22.3 | 14.2 | 20.1 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 16.5 | 9.3 | 14.5 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 10.3 | 6.1 | 9.1 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 6.4 | 10.2 | 7.4 |
| Understanding of 'purdah' Other Respondents | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 79.9 | 74.7 | 78.7 |
| Scarf | 51.1 | 46.0 | 49.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 35.5 | 26.5 | 33.5 |
| Modesty in dress | 73.3 | 66.1 | 71.7 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 65.6 | 65.5 | 65.5 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 18.2 | 15.0 | 17.5 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 29.3 | 23.6 | 28.0 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 19.4 | 11.5 | 17.6 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 14.4 | 16.2 | 14.8 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 7.4 | 10.7 | 8.2 |
| Others | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.3 |

6.1.4 Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Age

The pattern of understanding of the *purdah* system across age groups is also similar to that of place of residence. For example, other respondents aged 30-34 have the highest percentage (86.5%) of understanding *purdah* as wearing a *burkha* whereas a similar understanding was lowest among other respondents aged 35-39. Overall, there was a pattern in understanding *burkha*: higher percentage of respondents, either ever-married women or other respondents in older ages consider *purdah* as wearing a *burkha*, scarf, and *nekab* as compared to younger cohorts. On the other hand, higher percentage of respondents (ever-married women or others) considers modesty in behaviour and mental purity as *purdah* (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4: Percentage Distribution of Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2,157) |
|--|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Understanding about ' <i>purdah</i> ' (Other Respondents) | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 76.0 | 86.5 | 73.9 | 80.1 | 78.2 | 81.2 | 81.1 | 81.0 | 77.0 | 75.5 | 78.7 |
| Scarf | 49.0 | 59.6 | 49.7 | 49.7 | 52.4 | 51.5 | 51.3 | 48.2 | 46.4 | 47.5 | 49.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 32.7 | 32.7 | 29.7 | 35.4 | 27.6 | 35.3 | 31.3 | 36.4 | 36.6 | 36.1 | 33.5 |
| Modesty in dress | 76.0 | 61.5 | 71.5 | 70.7 | 74.5 | 76.6 | 72.0 | 65.6 | 74.3 | 68.7 | 71.7 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 74.0 | 53.8 | 62.4 | 66.9 | 69.0 | 65.0 | 66.9 | 60.5 | 71.0 | 62.7 | 65.5 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 20.2 | 9.6 | 15.8 | 12.7 | 20.1 | 19.8 | 16.7 | 13.8 | 23.0 | 17.3 | 17.5 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 28.8 | 23.1 | 26.7 | 26.0 | 27.9 | 28.4 | 25.5 | 29.6 | 33.3 | 27.8 | 28.0 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 17.3 | 21.2 | 9.1 | 14.4 | 19.7 | 20.8 | 16.0 | 19.0 | 18.6 | 18.2 | 17.6 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.7 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 13.5 | 9.6 | 10.3 | 12.2 | 10.9 | 14.2 | 15.6 | 16.2 | 20.2 | 19.1 | 14.8 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 6.7 | 3.8 | 13.9 | 11.0 | 9.2 | 9.6 | 6.9 | 4.3 | 7.7 | 6.9 | 8.2 |
| Others | 1.0 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.5 | 2.1 | 1.3 |
| Understanding about ' <i>purdah</i> ' (EMW) | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=464) | 20-24 (n=1247) | 25-29 (n=1423) | 30-34 (1424) | 35-39 (1104) | 40-44 (n=793) | 45-49 (637) | | | Total (n=7,163) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 71.6 | 81.0 | 79.5 | 78.3 | 78.4 | 76.4 | 72.8 | 74.0 | | | 77.4 |
| Scarf | 51.7 | 56.6 | 58.4 | 54.7 | 54.2 | 53.0 | 51.5 | 51.8 | | | 54.5 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 38.5 | 34.2 | 41.0 | 39.1 | 36.5 | 34.9 | 34.2 | 32.8 | | | 36.8 |
| Modesty in dress | 66.0 | 64.3 | 65.2 | 65.7 | 64.5 | 68.0 | 67.4 | 67.8 | | | 66.0 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 56.5 | 60.8 | 63.2 | 64.2 | 61.1 | 64.4 | 60.3 | 67.0 | | | 63.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 9.2 | 16.9 | 13.1 | 14.1 | 13.0 | 14.6 | 15.0 | 13.3 | | | 14.0 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 14.2 | 17.3 | 20.2 | 21.1 | 19.2 | 22.6 | 18.2 | 19.8 | | | 20.1 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 0.0 | 16.7 | 15.7 | 15.3 | 12.9 | 14.9 | 14.5 | 11.9 | | | 14.5 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 1.5 | | | 0.6 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 0.0 | 12.5 | 8.5 | 9.7 | 9.1 | 8.6 | 7.8 | 9.3 | | | 9.1 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 0.0 | 2.2 | 5.4 | 7.7 | 7.7 | 10.6 | 8.5 | 7.7 | | | 7.4 |

6.1.5 Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Education

Understanding of the *purdah* system by education showed another distinct pattern: while lower educated ever-married women and other respondents put more emphasis on wearing *burkha*, scarf, *nekab*, and not appearing before an unknown male; their counterparts with higher education gave greater emphasis on modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, and mental purity (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Percentage Distribution of Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Education

| Variables | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
|---|----------------------------------|---|--|---|---|---------------------------|
| Understanding of '<i>purdah</i>' (EMW) | | | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 77.0 | 79.2 | 80.4 | 64.6 | 60.0 | 77.4 |
| Scarf | 51.2 | 54.0 | 58.5 | 53.1 | 44.2 | 54.5 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 34.0 | 37.8 | 40.7 | 28.3 | 25.8 | 36.8 |
| Modesty in dress | 67.0 | 69.3 | 61.9 | 70.3 | 69.7 | 66.0 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 62.0 | 63.9 | 62.0 | 67.0 | 68.4 | 63.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 13.3 | 15.1 | 14.3 | 13.7 | 8.1 | 14.0 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 19.1 | 22.3 | 21.0 | 16.5 | 10.1 | 20.1 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 12.8 | 15.2 | 15.1 | 17.7 | 12.0 | 14.5 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 7.1 | 11.4 | 9.7 | 8.4 | 3.7 | 9.1 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 6.4 | 6.9 | 7.6 | 9.7 | 13.2 | 7.4 |
| Understanding of '<i>purdah</i>' (Other Respondents) | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 80.6 | 79.1 | 74.0 | 64.2 | 79.5 | 78.7 |
| Scarf | 50.2 | 52.5 | 47.1 | 39.6 | 48.7 | 49.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 32.2 | 37.9 | 31.1 | 32.1 | 38.5 | 33.5 |
| Modesty in dress | 68.8 | 73.6 | 75.7 | 81.1 | 87.2 | 71.7 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 62.7 | 66.9 | 70.9 | 77.4 | 71.8 | 65.5 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 16.7 | 19.1 | 16.6 | 28.3 | 12.8 | 17.5 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 27.9 | 30.2 | 26.3 | 22.6 | 23.1 | 28.0 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 17.5 | 19.3 | 15.7 | 20.8 | 12.8 | 17.6 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 1.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 13.8 | 17.8 | 13.1 | 11.3 | 28.2 | 14.8 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 6.5 | 7.5 | 14.3 | 5.7 | 15.4 | 8.2 |
| Others | 0.9 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 1.3 |

6.1.6 Understanding the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Wealth Quintile

This pattern of identifying wearing a *burkha* as the primary understanding of *purdah* followed by modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, wearing a scarf, wearing a *nekaab* and not appearing before an unknown male was also consistent across all categories of wealth quintiles. There are a few exceptions; in poorest quintile 17 percent define *purdah* as no interaction with the opposite sex, an answer given only by 7.2 percent in the case of the richest wealth quintile. Furthermore, among other respondents, higher percentages of other respondents in the poorest wealth quintile consider modesty in dress and modesty in behaviour as *purdah* compared to their counterparts in the richest wealth quintile (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Percentage Distribution of Understanding about the *Purdah* System by Respondent's Wealth Quintile

| Variable | Wealth Quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Understanding of 'purdah' (EMW) | | | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 82.3 | 76.0 | 75.9 | 77.0 | 77.0 | 77.4 |
| Scarf | 53.2 | 52.1 | 51.3 | 55.7 | 57.6 | 54.5 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 39.8 | 35.2 | 40.7 | 36.7 | 33.9 | 36.8 |
| Modesty in dress | 73.9 | 76.6 | 72.7 | 64.8 | 53.2 | 66.0 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 70.3 | 69.0 | 69.3 | 61.9 | 53.1 | 63.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 17.0 | 18.2 | 16.9 | 15.8 | 7.2 | 14.0 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 22.4 | 24.5 | 25.6 | 19.9 | 13.3 | 20.1 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 19.8 | 19.8 | 16.4 | 13.4 | 8.7 | 14.5 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 9.1 | 12.4 | 12.1 | 9.1 | 5.6 | 9.1 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 7.3 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 6.3 | 9.1 | 7.4 |
| Understanding of 'purdah' (Other respondents) | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 81.2 | 78.9 | 75.5 | 78.4 | 79.7 | 78.7 |
| Scarf | 47.6 | 49.2 | 45.0 | 50.7 | 57.3 | 49.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 32.3 | 32.5 | 31.7 | 33.7 | 37.3 | 33.5 |
| Modesty in dress | 75.2 | 73.5 | 75.3 | 70.9 | 63.4 | 71.7 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 67.7 | 67.1 | 65.0 | 69.3 | 58.5 | 65.5 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 16.2 | 19.5 | 15.6 | 21.2 | 14.9 | 17.5 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 25.5 | 30.4 | 31.9 | 27.2 | 24.8 | 28.0 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 21.8 | 18.3 | 20.7 | 15.1 | 12.0 | 17.6 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.5 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 12.8 | 16.9 | 15.2 | 12.1 | 17.2 | 14.8 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 9.0 | 8.6 | 5.8 | 9.1 | 8.3 | 8.2 |
| Others | 1.2 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 2.6 | 1.3 |

6.2 Practice of *Purdah* System

This subsection presents findings related to the practice of *purdah* by respondent type, district, place of residence, age, education, and wealth quintile.

6.2.1 Practice of the *Purdah* System by Respondent Type

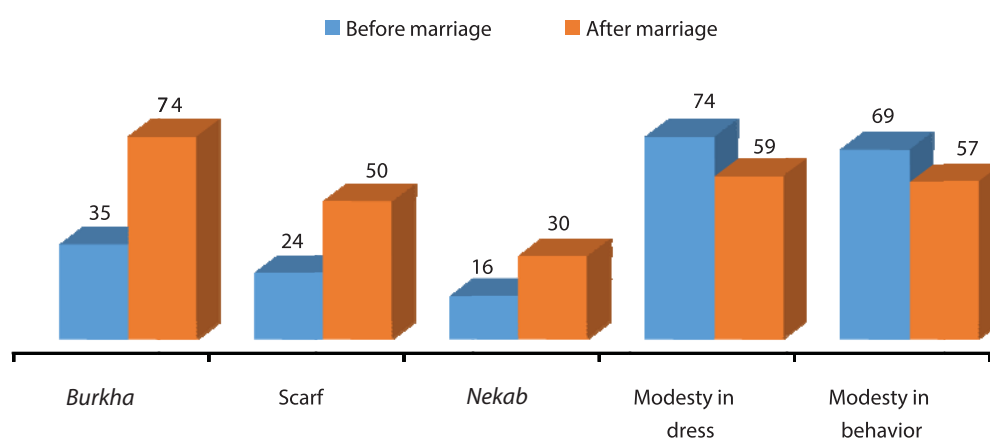
Overall, about two thirds of the respondents (ever-married women, mother-in-law, mother) practiced *purdah* by modesty in dress, followed by modesty in behaviour, wearing *burkha*, scarf, *neka*, not appearing before an unknown male, restricted interaction with the opposite sex, no interaction with the opposite sex, not going outside for work, and maintaining mental purity. Nevertheless, there is variation in the practice of *purdah* among three female categories of respondents: ever-married women, mothers-in-law, and mothers. For example, among ever-married women, the majority practiced *purdah* by modesty in dress whereas among mothers-in-law and mothers, the majority practiced wearing *burkha* (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Percentage Distribution of Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent Type

| Variables | Respondent Category | | | Total (n=8023) |
|--|---|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Ever-Married Women Before Marriage at Natal House (n=7163) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Practice of 'Purdah' | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 60.8 | 73.1 | 71.4 | 61.1 |
| Scarf | 44.3 | 51.7 | 45.7 | 44.2 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 26.9 | 32.1 | 30.1 | 27.0 |
| Modesty in dress | 65.9 | 70.7 | 66.1 | 65.3 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 63.2 | 61.2 | 56.4 | 61.9 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 11.6 | 13.4 | 15.3 | 11.7 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 14.8 | 20.3 | 20.9 | 15.2 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 13.1 | 15.1 | 15.8 | 13.1 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 8.0 | 11.2 | 7.9 | 8.0 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 3.9 | 2.8 | 8.9 | 4.0 |
| Others | 0.0 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 0.1 |

Moreover, many ever-married women describe differences in how they viewed *purdah* before and after marriage (Figure 6.1). For example, before marriage, the majority of the ever-married women said they practiced modesty in dress (73.9%), followed by modesty in behaviour, wearing *burkha*, scarf, or a *neka*, restricted interaction with the opposite sex, not appearing before an unknown male, no interaction with the opposite sex, not going outside for work, and maintaining mental purity. After marriage, the majority of the ever-married women said they practice *purdah* by wearing a *burkha*, followed by modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, wearing a scarf, not appearing before an unknown male, restricted interaction with opposite sex, and no interaction with opposite sex.

Figure 6.1: Percentage Distribution of Practice of *Purdah* System among Ever-Married Women



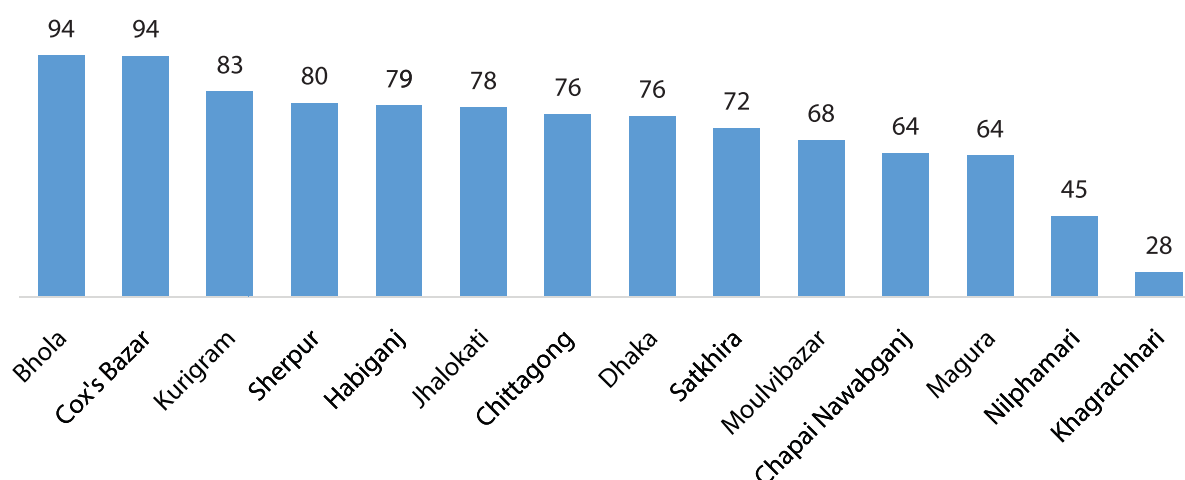
6.2.2 Practice of *Purdah* System by Ever-Married Women by District

An analysis of practicing *purdah* by district shows that the majority of the ever-married women in Bhola, Chittagong, Cox's Bazar, Dhaka, Habiganj, Moulvibazar and Satkhira use *burkha* for maintaining *purdah* (Table 6.8). On the other hand, a majority of the respondents in Jhalokati, Khagrachhari, Kurigram, Magura, Chapai Nawabganj and Nilphamari follow modesty in dress to practice *purdah*. There are also subtle differences in wearing *burkha* across districts (Figure 6.2).

Table 6.8: Percentage Distribution of Practice of *Purdah* System by Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Types of ' <i>purdah</i> ' maintained by the natal family before marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 91.2 | 70.7 | 93.3 | 52.6 | 70.3 | 63.8 | 30.0 | 72.3 | 22.1 | 66.2 | 36.3 | 25.3 | 63.7 | 84.2 | 60.8 |
| Scarf | 88.6 | 55.8 | 40.8 | 39.9 | 30.1 | 52.6 | 24.2 | 39.8 | 18.5 | 40.1 | 32.3 | 27.2 | 53.6 | 63.8 | 44.3 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 86.3 | 46.9 | 74.8 | 7.1 | 21.1 | 45.0 | 16.5 | 14.2 | 2.1 | 41.0 | 6.0 | 6.5 | 24.9 | 12.4 | 26.9 |
| Modesty in dress | 94.5 | 43.3 | 15.0 | 56.3 | 71.2 | 89.4 | 87.4 | 97.6 | 92.6 | 56.7 | 75.2 | 87.0 | 65.9 | 87.9 | 65.9 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 96.3 | 62.3 | 22.9 | 49.2 | 52.5 | 88.6 | 69.9 | 95.4 | 84.7 | 58.1 | 64.8 | 81.0 | 46.0 | 79.7 | 63.2 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 70.6 | 5.4 | 6.3 | 2.0 | 16.9 | 28.2 | 5.2 | 21.9 | 5.1 | 5.4 | 18.0 | 3.9 | 10.7 | 5.7 | 11.6 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 85.7 | 14.6 | 13.6 | 2.8 | 20.8 | 30.7 | 2.1 | 7.5 | 3.9 | 10.8 | 18.3 | 8.8 | 9.1 | 22.5 | 14.8 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 84.0 | 3.7 | 4.9 | 5.4 | 13.3 | 32.2 | 6.2 | 11.2 | 13.9 | 10.4 | 12.2 | 5.8 | 24.1 | 3.0 | 13.1 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 2.2 | 1.0 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 45.0 | 5.8 | 9.0 | 2.1 | 8.3 | 29.4 | 0.5 | 8.1 | 2.2 | 8.8 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 8.2 | 5.4 | 8.0 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 3.3 | 2.3 | 0.7 | 2.7 | 1.0 | 16.1 | 1.0 | 14.1 | 0.6 | 6.7 | 3.8 | 2.8 | 1.7 | 8.6 | 3.9 |

Figure 6.2: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women Wearing *Burkha* in Their In-Laws' House as Part of Practicing *Purdah*



6.2.3 Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent's Place of Residence

A majority of the other respondents in both rural and urban areas used *burkha* for practicing *purdah*, followed by modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, wearing a scarf or *nekab*, not appearing before an unknown male, restricted interaction with the opposite sex, not going outside for work, and mental purity. Urban practices of *purdah* follow a similar pattern, but each response is slightly less common overall (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9: Percentage Distribution of Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent's Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence | | |
|--|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Types of ' <i>purdah</i> ' maintained by the natal family before marriage (Ever-Married Women) | Rural (n=5215) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 63.2 | 54.3 | 60.8 |
| Scarf | 45.9 | 40.1 | 44.3 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 28.9 | 21.7 | 26.9 |
| Modesty in dress | 66.8 | 63.6 | 65.9 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 64.1 | 60.6 | 63.2 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 13.5 | 6.4 | 11.6 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 16.6 | 10.1 | 14.8 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 14.2 | 9.9 | 13.1 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 9 | 5 | 8.0 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 3.8 | 4.1 | 3.9 |
| Types of ' <i>purdah</i> ' maintained by the Mother and Mother- In- Law | Rural (n=670) | Urban (n=190) | Total (n=860) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 73.2 | 69.1 | 72.3 |
| Scarf | 49.0 | 48.9 | 48.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 32.5 | 26.6 | 31.2 |
| Modesty in dress | 68.9 | 67.6 | 68.6 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 58.5 | 60.6 | 59.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 15.6 | 9.6 | 14.3 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 21.9 | 16.0 | 20.6 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 16.5 | 11.7 | 15.4 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.1 | 1.1 | 0.4 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 9.7 | 9.6 | 9.7 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 6.0 | 4.3 | 5.6 |
| Others | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.4 |

6.2.4 Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent's Age

Age-specific analysis of practicing *purdah* shows that younger women practice modesty in dress and modesty in behaviour to a larger extent whereas older women showed greater use of *burkha*, scarf, and *nekab*. This pattern was also similar in the case of practicing *purdah* by husbands' families (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Percentage Distribution of Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent's Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=860) |
|---|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Practice of ' <i>purdah</i> ' (Mother, Mother-In-Law) | Below 30 (n=5) | 30-34 (n=17) | 35-39 (n=89) | 40-44 (n=93) | 45-49 (n=147) | 50-54 (n=139) | 55-59 (n=101) | 60-64 (n=107) | 65-69 (n=59) | 70 and above (n=103) | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 80.0 | 70.6 | 64.8 | 70.7 | 74.8 | 75.5 | 67.0 | 81.1 | 67.8 | 70.9 | 72.3 |
| Scarf | 60.0 | 41.2 | 34.1 | 50.0 | 53.1 | 52.5 | 47.0 | 53.8 | 47.5 | 48.5 | 48.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 60.0 | 35.3 | 17.0 | 32.6 | 29.3 | 33.1 | 28.0 | 38.7 | 35.6 | 33.0 | 31.2 |
| Modesty in dress | 100.0 | 47.1 | 67.0 | 66.3 | 67.3 | 75.5 | 63.0 | 64.2 | 76.3 | 71.8 | 68.6 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 100.0 | 23.5 | 63.6 | 59.8 | 59.9 | 65.5 | 61.0 | 51.9 | 61.0 | 52.4 | 59.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 60.0 | 11.8 | 15.9 | 13.0 | 13.6 | 16.5 | 11.0 | 13.2 | 15.3 | 13.6 | 14.3 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 60.0 | 23.5 | 19.3 | 19.6 | 19.0 | 21.6 | 22.0 | 21.7 | 15.3 | 21.4 | 20.6 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 40.0 | 17.6 | 11.4 | 18.5 | 19.0 | 13.7 | 10.0 | 21.7 | 15.3 | 10.7 | 15.4 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 40.0 | 5.9 | 6.8 | 7.6 | 7.5 | 8.6 | 9.0 | 11.3 | 13.6 | 14.6 | 9.7 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 0.0 | 5.9 | 13.6 | 8.7 | 5.4 | 7.2 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 1.0 | 5.6 |
| Others | 80.0 | 70.6 | 64.8 | 70.7 | 74.8 | 75.5 | 67.0 | 81.1 | 67.8 | 70.9 | 1.4 |

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|--|--|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=464) | 20-24 (n=1247) | 25-29 (n=1423) | 30-34 (1424) | 35-39 (1104) | 40-44 (n=793) | 45-49 (637) | | | |
| Types of 'purdah' maintained by the natal family before marriage (Ever-Married Women) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 70.5 | 68.6 | 67.3 | 63.4 | 60.5 | 58.6 | 51.5 | 52.0 | | | 60.8 |
| Scarf | 44.7 | 50.2 | 47.6 | 45.7 | 44.9 | 42.7 | 37.0 | 41.0 | | | 44.3 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 23.2 | 29.0 | 30.8 | 29.1 | 27.2 | 24.0 | 23.2 | 22.2 | | | 26.9 |
| Modesty in dress | 61.3 | 64.5 | 66.4 | 61.7 | 63.7 | 68.3 | 71.6 | 69.5 | | | 65.9 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 52.5 | 55.5 | 62.8 | 60.8 | 61.3 | 67.6 | 66.6 | 67.5 | | | 63.2 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 0.0 | 15.2 | 10.7 | 13.2 | 10.8 | 11.1 | 11.8 | 9.6 | | | 11.6 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 6.9 | 13.4 | 16.0 | 15.3 | 12.9 | 16.2 | 15.3 | 14.0 | | | 14.8 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 15.7 | 12.4 | 14.6 | 12.1 | 11.7 | 15.2 | 13.3 | 11.7 | | | 13.1 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.8 | | | 0.5 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 0.0 | 10.5 | 7.9 | 6.9 | 7.7 | 8.5 | 7.8 | 8.5 | | | 8.0 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 0.0 | 1.7 | 3.6 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 5.9 | 4.3 | 5.3 | | | 3.9 |

6.2.5 Practice of Purdah System by Respondent's Education

Breaking down the practice of *purdah* by education shows that the majority of natal families use *burkha* across all categories of education, followed by modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, scarf, *nekab*, not appearing before an unknown male, no interaction or restricted interaction with the opposite sex, not going outside for work, and mental purity. This pattern of practicing *purdah* by education is also consistent among other respondents (Table 6.11). However, there are slight variations in using *burkha* for practicing *purdah* between husband's family and other respondents.

Table 6.11: Percentage Distribution of Practice of Purdah System by Respondent's Education

| Variables | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------------------------|---|---|---|--|------------------------|
| Types of 'purdah' maintained by the natal family before marriage (Ever-Married Women) | | | | | | |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 55.1 | 63.0 | 64.2 | 59.0 | 54.6 | 60.8 |
| Scarf | 38.9 | 45.0 | 48.3 | 46.6 | 36.5 | 44.3 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 22.2 | 29.6 | 30.0 | 24.3 | 17.2 | 26.9 |
| Modesty in dress | 68.1 | 68.9 | 62.0 | 64.2 | 70.9 | 65.9 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 64.4 | 65.0 | 60.4 | 65.0 | 66.2 | 63.2 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 11.1 | 12.7 | 11.4 | 12.8 | 7.2 | 11.6 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 14.4 | 17.2 | 14.6 | 12.8 | 7.3 | 14.8 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 10.4 | 14.6 | 13.6 | 16.8 | 11.2 | 13.1 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 6.7 | 9.5 | 8.1 | 8.7 | 3.7 | 8.0 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 3.4 | 4.2 | 3.9 | 3.2 | 6.4 | 3.9 |
| Practice of 'purdah' (Mother, Mother-In-Law) | No Education (n=599) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=184) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=72) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=2) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=3) | Total (860) |
| <i>Burkha</i> | 69.1 | 81.3 | 74.6 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 72.3 |
| Scarf | 45.4 | 56.6 | 57.7 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 48.9 |
| <i>Nekab</i> | 29.2 | 36.8 | 32.4 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 31.2 |
| Modesty in dress | 67.9 | 68.7 | 73.2 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 68.6 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 56.8 | 62.6 | 67.6 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 59.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 12.7 | 18.7 | 15.5 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 14.3 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 19.7 | 24.2 | 19.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 20.6 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 14.9 | 15.9 | 18.3 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 15.4 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 8.2 | 13.7 | 11.3 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 9.7 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 4.3 | 8.8 | 8.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.6 |
| Others | 1.2 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.4 |

6.2.6 Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent's Wealth Quintile

The distribution of practicing *purdah* by wealth quintile also shows patterns similar to that of practicing *purdah* by education with a few exceptions (Table 6.12). Among other respondents, the percentages of wearing *burkha*, scarf, and *nekaab* are higher among the richest wealth quintile than the poorest wealth quintile. On the other hand, the percentages of other respondents in the poorest wealth quintile were higher in practicing modesty in dress, modesty in behaviour, not appearing before an unknown male, and restricted interaction with the opposite sex than their counterparts in the richest wealth quintile (Table 6.12).

Table 6.12: Percentage Distribution of Practice of *Purdah* System by Respondent's Wealth Quintile

| Variable | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Types of ‘purdah’ maintained by the husband’s family (Ever-Married Women) | | | | | | |
| Burkha | 64.9 | 59.2 | 59.7 | 60.3 | 60.6 | 60.8 |
| Scarf | 42.1 | 43.1 | 43.8 | 45.7 | 45.5 | 44.3 |
| Nekab | 29.0 | 27.4 | 31.9 | 28.8 | 21.3 | 26.9 |
| Modesty in dress | 72.7 | 76.2 | 68.9 | 65.9 | 55.2 | 65.9 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 69.8 | 69.6 | 69.1 | 62.3 | 53.3 | 63.2 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 14.4 | 15.9 | 14.1 | 13.5 | 5.0 | 11.6 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 16.6 | 19.7 | 17.9 | 14.7 | 9.5 | 14.8 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 13.4 | 18.6 | 15.1 | 12.0 | 9.3 | 13.1 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 7.0 | 10.9 | 10.5 | 8.4 | 4.9 | 8.0 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 5.1 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 4.3 | 3.1 | 3.9 |
| Practice of ‘purdah’ (Mother, Mother-In-Law) | Poorest (n=165) | Second (n=166) | Middle (n=176) | Fourth (n=184) | Richest (n=169) | Total (n=860) |
| Burkha | 63.6 | 78.9 | 66.7 | 72.8 | 79.6 | 72.3 |
| Scarf | 43.0 | 47.0 | 41.4 | 54.9 | 58.1 | 48.9 |
| Nekab | 29.1 | 30.7 | 27.0 | 29.3 | 40.1 | 31.2 |
| Modesty in dress | 75.2 | 70.5 | 74.7 | 66.3 | 56.3 | 68.6 |
| Modesty in behaviour | 64.8 | 54.8 | 63.8 | 57.6 | 53.9 | 59.0 |
| No interaction with opposite sex | 14.5 | 16.9 | 14.9 | 15.2 | 9.6 | 14.3 |
| Not appearing before unknown male | 20.6 | 27.1 | 21.8 | 17.4 | 16.2 | 20.6 |
| Restricted interaction with opposite sex | 17.6 | 12.7 | 17.2 | 16.3 | 13.2 | 15.4 |
| Not sending girls to coeducation schools | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.4 |
| Women should not go outside for work | 10.9 | 9.6 | 6.9 | 11.4 | 9.6 | 9.7 |
| Mental purity is the best <i>purdah</i> | 4.8 | 9.6 | 4.6 | 4.9 | 4.2 | 5.6 |
| Others | 0.6 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 1.8 | 1.4 |

6.3 Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage

This section presents social norms and values related to marriage by respondent types.

6.3.1 Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage by Respondent Type

Overall 69 percent of respondents reported that members of their society strongly believed that girls were born to be homemakers. All categories of respondents are high in the perceptions that girls earn their identity and social status through marriage; reproductive functions are the principle functions of girls' and Women lives; girls need more security than boys; grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip; younger girls are more attractive; men look for religious brides; and men look for those girls who are good in household chores (Table 6.13).

More than half of the respondents in both categories (ever-married women and other respondents) have the belief that parents of unmarried girls are seen as cause of societal shame, parents must give more dowry for arranging the marriage of older girls, older unmarried girls might get a bad reputation, girls could not have a respectful life without marriage, younger girls are more malleable and can be controlled easily, and younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity (Table 6.13).

Table 6.13: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevailing Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage as Reported by Respondents Type

| Strongly prevailed social norms and values in the society | Respondent Category | | | | | | Total (9320) |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 69.2 | 65.9 | 70.6 | 63.0 | 71.3 | 75.9 | 69.2 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 71.0 | 72.3 | 73.2 | 70.0 | 72.9 | 74.6 | 71.4 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 74.5 | 72.1 | 73.6 | 65.5 | 71.6 | 75.9 | 73.8 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 86.7 | 85.6 | 84.3 | 84.4 | 86.3 | 89.8 | 86.6 |
| Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 57.7 | 55.0 | 58.2 | 52.2 | 53.9 | 65.7 | 57.5 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 57.3 | 58.8 | 62.9 | 54.3 | 62.5 | 68.3 | 58.2 |
| Grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 67.7 | 71.4 | 70.2 | 66.6 | 72.9 | 75.1 | 68.5 |
| Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 59.4 | 60.3 | 65.0 | 61.3 | 67.8 | 73.1 | 60.7 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 59.1 | 57.6 | 58.4 | 64.5 | 63.5 | 63.5 | 59.6 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 93.1 | 92.7 | 91.6 | 91.5 | 93.8 | 96.7 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 65.4 | 67.0 | 66.5 | 64.1 | 67.3 | 66.8 | 65.6 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 75.0 | 72.7 | 78.5 | 67.2 | 76.7 | 79.2 | 74.9 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 60.1 | 53.9 | 61.2 | 49.7 | 62.7 | 65.7 | 59.7 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 53.1 | 60.3 | 58.4 | 51.4 | 61.7 | 66.0 | 54.5 |
| Men look for educated brides | 60.6 | 66.3 | 63.3 | 66.0 | 69.4 | 68.5 | 62.0 |
| Men look for religious (who practices purdah) brides | 86.9 | 87.8 | 88.0 | 84.1 | 89.0 | 88.6 | 87.0 |
| Men look for those girls who are good in household chores | 88.7 | 89.4 | 88.8 | 85.2 | 90.1 | 91.4 | 88.7 |

6.3.2 Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage by District

There are substantial variations in social norms and values related to marriage by district. In Cox's Bazar, Dhaka, Moulvibazar, Chapai Nawabganj and Sherpur, more than 80 Percent of respondents strongly believed that girls are born to be homemakers (Table 6.14). On the other hand, less than 50 percent of respondents in Jhalokati, Khagrachhari, Kurigram and Magura reported that this idea strongly prevails in their society. Similar patterns are also noticed with regard to the perceptions that girls earned their identity and social status through marriage; reproductive functions were the principle functions in girls' and Women lives; grown up unmarried girls are the subject of social gossip; and girls could not have a respectful life without marriage (Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevailing Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their District

| Strongly prevailed social norms and values in the society | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 29.7 | 60.6 | 80.2 | 87.0 | 66.8 | 41.4 | 45.2 | 49.6 | 34.0 | 93.2 | 89.4 | 79.0 | 66.2 | 80.1 | 69.2 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 36.6 | 68.4 | 65.9 | 72.5 | 80.9 | 70.2 | 47.6 | 51.7 | 63.7 | 94.9 | 93.7 | 83.5 | 72.6 | 86.4 | 71.0 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 61.8 | 76.0 | 75.7 | 81.8 | 79.7 | 49.2 | 49.4 | 65.5 | 32.5 | 96.2 | 85.8 | 85.6 | 67.4 | 80.2 | 74.5 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 85.5 | 77.7 | 76.0 | 93.0 | 94.1 | 84.3 | 49.9 | 89.4 | 81.8 | 97.0 | 93.0 | 89.5 | 91.9 | 92.4 | 86.7 |
| Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 53.3 | 40.3 | 72.7 | 73.4 | 58.6 | 48.2 | 37.7 | 43.4 | 37.5 | 62.1 | 84.6 | 59.2 | 54.5 | 50.0 | 57.7 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 50.0 | 57.2 | 79.5 | 50.3 | 75.6 | 41.4 | 31.3 | 54.5 | 39.3 | 67.4 | 88.0 | 57.3 | 55.8 | 56.4 | 57.3 |
| Grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 61.0 | 46.5 | 74.5 | 72.3 | 84.0 | 56.5 | 46.0 | 68.7 | 42.6 | 90.7 | 88.5 | 64.3 | 68.5 | 95.4 | 67.7 |
| Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 61.3 | 32.3 | 73.0 | 63.8 | 60.0 | 59.5 | 47.3 | 59.5 | 42.3 | 70.8 | 88.5 | 57.9 | 59.5 | 93.2 | 59.4 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 78.6 | 55.8 | 31.9 | 56.2 | 70.2 | 67.9 | 58.3 | 70.9 | 62.2 | 83.2 | 40.6 | 70.6 | 49.7 | 47.8 | 59.1 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 87.2 | 90.6 | 85.1 | 96.6 | 96.2 | 95.7 | 71.7 | 97.1 | 94.5 | 98.6 | 94.0 | 98.0 | 89.9 | 95.8 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 39.7 | 56.0 | 60.8 | 81.5 | 69.0 | 71.4 | 42.5 | 42.5 | 58.2 | 79.3 | 77.6 | 77.7 | 51.2 | 73.8 | 65.4 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 45.2 | 52.6 | 73.6 | 93.2 | 80.7 | 66.2 | 52.7 | 84.6 | 85.2 | 81.7 | 90.4 | 59.1 | 77.9 | 79.7 | 75.0 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 41.3 | 51.3 | 76.9 | 81.3 | 55.3 | 38.0 | 46.3 | 55.6 | 35.0 | 56.4 | 83.0 | 30.3 | 54.7 | 62.8 | 60.1 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 37.9 | 23.1 | 54.7 | 62.6 | 70.4 | 50.7 | 58.1 | 57.3 | 55.1 | 77.9 | 82.3 | 39.6 | 46.0 | 54.6 | 53.1 |
| Men look for educated brides | 82.4 | 47.9 | 53.2 | 57.4 | 82.6 | 59.3 | 51.3 | 53.7 | 86.5 | 83.7 | 61.6 | 66.6 | 49.3 | 54.2 | 60.6 |
| Men look for religious (who practices purdah) brides | 83.0 | 79.4 | 83.9 | 96.6 | 89.3 | 86.3 | 40.4 | 94.9 | 92.9 | 95.8 | 92.6 | 82.0 | 83.8 | 84.6 | 86.9 |
| Men look for those girls who are good in household chores | 87.4 | 75.9 | 82.5 | 95.7 | 91.2 | 94.2 | 53.1 | 97.3 | 84.4 | 97.7 | 92.4 | 95.6 | 87.9 | 99.2 | 88.7 |

6.3.3: Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage by Place of Residence

Most of the social norms and values related to marriage are equally prevalent in both rural and urban areas among both ever-married women and other respondents (Table 6.15). For instance, about 70 percent of ever-married women and other respondents both in rural and urban areas report the following ideas strongly prevailed in their communities: that girls were born to be homemakers; girls earns their identity and social status through marriage; reproductive functions are the principle functions of girls and women; girls need more security than boys; grown-up, unmarried girls are subject to social gossip; younger girls are more attractive; men look for religious brides; and men look for those girls who are good in household chores (Table 6.15).

Table 6.15: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevailing Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage as Reported by Respondents by Their Place of Residence

| Strongly prevailed social norms and values in the society | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Others) | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 69.8 | 67.6 | 69.2 | 70.6 | 63.8 | 69.0 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 73.1 | 65.4 | 71.0 | 73.4 | 69.4 | 72.5 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 76.1 | 70.3 | 74.5 | 72.9 | 67.0 | 71.6 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 87.4 | 84.9 | 86.7 | 86.8 | 83.2 | 86.0 |
| Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 58.4 | 55.9 | 57.7 | 58.2 | 52.2 | 56.8 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 62.1 | 44.5 | 57.3 | 63.0 | 54.5 | 61.1 |
| Grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 70.5 | 60.2 | 67.7 | 73.5 | 62.8 | 71.0 |
| Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 61.9 | 52.6 | 59.4 | 67.0 | 58.9 | 65.2 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 57.8 | 62.5 | 59.1 | 61.5 | 60.9 | 61.4 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 93.1 | 93.1 | 93.1 | 93.6 | 91.7 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 65.2 | 65.8 | 65.4 | 66.8 | 64.4 | 66.2 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 74.7 | 75.6 | 75.0 | 75.8 | 70.6 | 74.6 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 60.3 | 59.6 | 60.1 | 59.7 | 53.4 | 58.2 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 55.4 | 46.9 | 53.1 | 60.9 | 53.6 | 59.2 |
| Men look for educated brides | 61.3 | 58.8 | 60.6 | 67.8 | 62.3 | 66.5 |
| Men look for religious (who practices <i>purdah</i>) brides | 86.1 | 89.3 | 86.9 | 87.7 | 86.4 | 87.4 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 89.5 | 86.6 | 88.7 | 90.3 | 83.8 | 88.8 |

6.3.4: Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage by Age

In most cases, there is a similar trend by age in reporting the extent to which social norms and values prevail in our society such as girls are born to be homemakers; girls need more security than boys; grown-up, unmarried girls are the subject of social gossip; older, unmarried girls may have a bad reputation; marrying off girls is a religious responsibility of parents and family; younger girls are more attractive; and men look for religious brides (Table 6.16). This pattern of attitudes towards girls and their marriage are also identical by age among other respondents (Appendix Table 2). This similar trend of reporting on the above-mentioned norms and values by age among both ever-married women and other respondents indicates that irrespective of age, these norms and values are strongly embedded in our society, which likely has a wide range of consequences on the lives of millions of girls and women of Bangladesh.

Table 6.16: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevailing Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Age

| Strongly prevailed social norms and values in the society | Age (in years) | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 72.3 | 68.9 | 68.3 | 68.8 | 70.0 | 67.7 | 70.5 | 71.2 | 69.2 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 87.1 | 67.1 | 72.1 | 69.1 | 70.6 | 69.8 | 73.0 | 76.0 | 71.0 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 89.3 | 66.9 | 74.3 | 74.8 | 75.0 | 74.4 | 74.4 | 78.5 | 74.5 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 93.1 | 85.1 | 87.7 | 88.0 | 85.2 | 85.5 | 87.5 | 87.5 | 86.7 |
| Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 75.4 | 59.1 | 61.7 | 56.6 | 57.9 | 54.9 | 55.1 | 58.9 | 57.7 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 80.7 | 55.3 | 60.0 | 57.8 | 57.1 | 53.3 | 57.7 | 58.4 | 57.3 |
| Grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 70.0 | 66.9 | 70.6 | 66.4 | 67.2 | 66.0 | 68.0 | 69.6 | 67.7 |
| Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 68.7 | 63.4 | 58.8 | 58.8 | 58.6 | 59.0 | 59.2 | 61.1 | 59.4 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 49.6 | 52.7 | 59.6 | 62.2 | 56.9 | 62.1 | 59.8 | 54.8 | 59.1 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 100.0 | 91.2 | 94.5 | 92.4 | 94.4 | 91.0 | 92.4 | 94.6 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 78.3 | 65.2 | 67.1 | 61.7 | 67.0 | 62.5 | 65.6 | 71.4 | 65.4 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 76.9 | 74.0 | 76.3 | 73.9 | 74.6 | 73.7 | 75.3 | 77.9 | 75.0 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 69.6 | 60.7 | 61.6 | 59.3 | 59.4 | 58.7 | 60.6 | 61.7 | 60.1 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 72.0 | 57.6 | 52.4 | 53.3 | 50.7 | 51.7 | 51.4 | 59.8 | 53.1 |
| Men look for educated brides | 40.4 | 54.1 | 64.5 | 60.5 | 59.2 | 59.0 | 61.8 | 62.7 | 60.6 |
| Men look for religious (who practices <i>purdah</i>) brides | 100.0 | 85.7 | 87.5 | 85.6 | 87.5 | 86.7 | 87.2 | 88.6 | 86.9 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 100.0 | 88.7 | 90.6 | 86.3 | 88.6 | 87.7 | 88.9 | 91.7 | 88.7 |

6.3.5 Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage by Education

Perceptions are relatively constant across respondent type by level of education, but there is substantial within-respondent type variation across education level (Table 6.17 and Appendix Table 3). In general, respondents with lower education were found to have higher percentages of reporting strongly prevailing traditional social norms and values such as girls are born to be homemakers, girls earn their identity and social status through marriage, reproductive functions are the principle functions of girls and women lives, parents have to give more dowry for older girls, girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty, and marrying off girls before age 18 is the key to maintaining a family's honour. As a corollary, a greater percentage of more educated women report strongly prevailing social norms and values that are conducive to Women education, career, and future such as parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage, men look for educated brides, men look for wives with earning ability, daughters are as worthy as sons are because they can earn and take care their parents, and they are sources of emotional support (Table 6.17 and Appendix Table 3).

Table 6.17: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevailing Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Education

| Strongly prevailed social norms and values in the society | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|----------------|
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 76.9 | 70.3 | 65.4 | 57.2 | 62.6 | 69.2 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 76.2 | 73.2 | 67.7 | 61.0 | 66.9 | 71.0 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 79.6 | 75.4 | 73.8 | 62.2 | 58.2 | 74.5 |
| Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 61.8 | 59.2 | 55.7 | 48.0 | 53.5 | 57.7 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 62.7 | 59.2 | 55.2 | 49.7 | 39.0 | 57.3 |
| Grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 74.0 | 68.8 | 64.6 | 56.9 | 63.6 | 67.7 |
| Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 68.0 | 59.1 | 55.4 | 48.2 | 55.8 | 59.4 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 56.3 | 59.6 | 58.5 | 67.1 | 68.0 | 59.1 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 92.7 | 93.7 | 93.0 | 91.6 | 94.3 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 66.7 | 64.8 | 64.6 | 61.5 | 73.3 | 65.4 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 75.7 | 73.2 | 76.7 | 69.2 | 74.5 | 75.0 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 62.4 | 56.8 | 60.5 | 59.9 | 62.3 | 60.1 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 55.6 | 54.3 | 51.2 | 47.3 | 53.8 | 53.1 |
| Men look for educated brides | 58.1 | 62.0 | 62.3 | 54.1 | 61.9 | 60.6 |
| Men look for religious (who practices purdah) brides | 86.2 | 86.8 | 86.7 | 89.2 | 91.7 | 86.9 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 88.4 | 89.0 | 87.7 | 91.7 | 93.4 | 88.7 |

6.3.6 Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage by Wealth Quintile

We find three general trends regarding the relationship between social norms and wealth quintile of ever-married women and other respondents: (1) social norms and values which prevail equally across all wealth quintiles; (2) social norms and values which prevail more strongly in the lower wealth quintiles; and (3) social norms and values which prevail more strongly among the higher wealth quintiles (Table 6.18 and Appendix Table 4). For instance, social norms and values that are reported as prevailing equally strongly across all wealth quintiles are: girls earn their identity and social status through marriage; girls need more security than boys; parents of grown-up, unmarried girls are seen as a cause of societal shame; parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage; marrying off girls is a religious responsibility of parents and their family; younger girls are more attractive; and younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity.

Nevertheless, respondents in the lower wealth quintiles showed higher percentages of reporting strongly prevailing social norms and values such as daughters are a burden to their parents (42.0%); investing in girls' education does not bring any positive outcome for parents (24.0%); parents have to give more dowry for arranging the marriage of older girls (60.0%); society gives value to grown-up, educated girls (38.0%); society gives value to grown-up, employed girls (43.0%); girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty (21.0%); girls should be married as soon as suitable grooms are available (62.0%); girls should be married off when their physical maturation is complete (42.0%); and girls should be married after completing secondary education (32.0%) (Table 6.18 and Appendix Table 4). It is important to note the apparent contradiction in some of these perception statements - respondents mention that their society holds the notion that investing in girls' education does not bring any positive outcome for parents while at the same time holding the notion that society gives value to grown-up, educated girls and society gives value to grown-up, employed girls. Finally, the third category of higher percentages of strongly prevailing social norms and values across the richest wealth quintile respondents include girls are born to be homemakers, girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage, younger girls are more attractive, younger girls are more malleable and easily controlled, more educated women and girls are difficult to controlled, younger girls are more fertile, and men look for religious brides (Table 6.18 and Appendix Table 4).

Table 6.18: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevailing Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Strongly prevailed social norms and values in the society | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 68.1 | 65.6 | 66.9 | 66.5 | 74.8 | 69.2 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 70.0 | 70.4 | 72.3 | 71.4 | 70.8 | 71.0 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 75.0 | 71.7 | 74.0 | 72.6 | 77.2 | 74.5 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 83.5 | 85.5 | 87.6 | 86.7 | 88.5 | 86.7 |
| Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 54.8 | 56.6 | 58.7 | 57.4 | 59.3 | 57.7 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 60.8 | 60.8 | 64.0 | 58.9 | 48.5 | 57.3 |
| Grown-up, unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 71.0 | 70.2 | 70.5 | 66.6 | 63.8 | 67.7 |
| Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 64.9 | 65.3 | 60.6 | 57.6 | 53.9 | 59.4 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 58.7 | 59.4 | 59.0 | 59.1 | 59.1 | 59.1 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 91.1 | 92.4 | 91.8 | 93.7 | 94.9 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 59.7 | 61.1 | 63.2 | 66.1 | 71.3 | 65.4 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 70.4 | 69.4 | 73.5 | 74.5 | 81.3 | 75.0 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 56.1 | 53.4 | 56.1 | 61.2 | 67.3 | 60.1 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 53.4 | 53.5 | 54.3 | 53.5 | 51.7 | 53.1 |
| Men look for educated brides | 58.7 | 61.7 | 62.7 | 60.8 | 59.6 | 60.6 |
| Men look for religious (who practices purdah) brides | 83.9 | 85.3 | 84.2 | 86.3 | 91.4 | 86.9 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 87.3 | 88.5 | 88.4 | 87.0 | 90.7 | 88.7 |

Chapter 7

Attitudes Towards Age of Child and Girls' Age at Marriage

CHAPTER 7 : ATTITUDES TOWARDS AGE OF CHILD AND GIRLS' AGE AT MARRIAGE

Key Findings

- Around 80 percent (78%) of all respondents consider people younger than 14 years of age to be children. About 85 percent of ever-married women consider 14 years and below to be a child whereas among their counterparts with above higher secondary education, this perception was held by 57.3 percent of respondents.
- More than 90 percent (93.5%) of respondents believe that 18 years and above is the suitable age for girls to marry. Both ever-married women and other respondents with higher education show higher percentages of reporting age 18 and above as the suitable age for girls' marriage.
- Qualitative findings reveal that most informants consider girls younger than 12-15 years old to be children. Some respondents only consider girls younger than 5 years old to be children. Changes like physical appearance, mental maturity, biological change and religious perspectives were used to justify the definition of childhood.

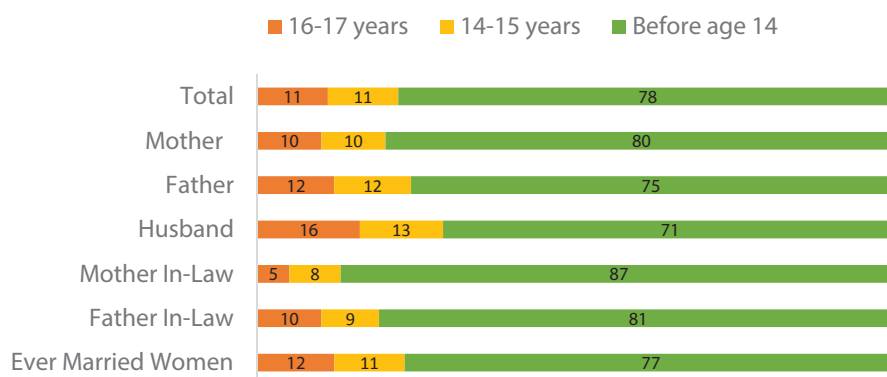
7.0 Introduction

This section presents findings related to respondents' beliefs about the definition of childhood and the suitable age for girls' marriage. Findings related to attitudes and perceptions towards what age constitutes a child and is a suitable age for girls' marriage are presented disaggregated by different socioeconomic and demographic characteristics.

7.1 Attitudes Towards the Definition of Childhood

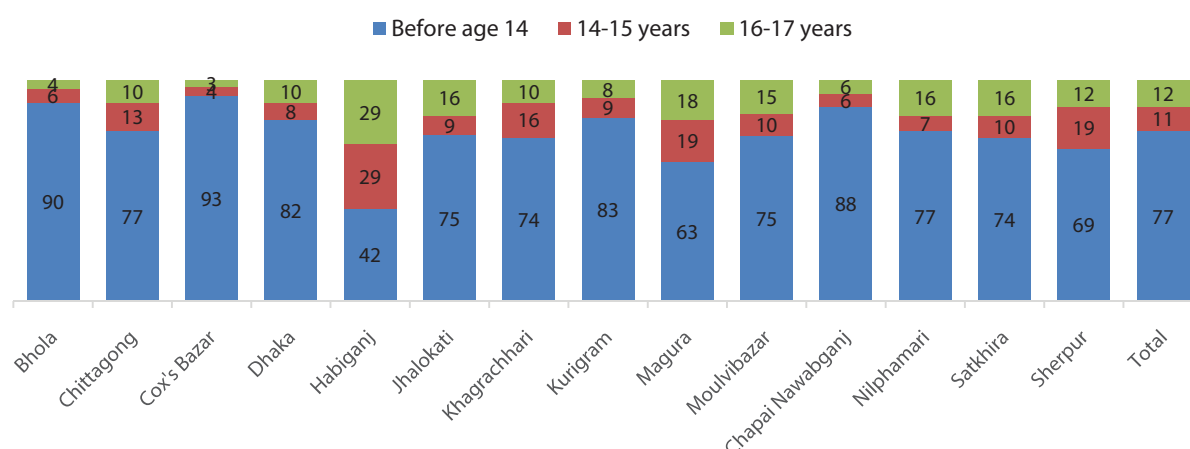
Respondents perceive children to be rather young, with most respondents only willing to call girls under the age of 14 a child (Appendix Table 5). Overall, 78 percent of respondents believe that less than 14 years of age constitutes a child while only 11 percent report that someone aged 14-15 years is a child and the remaining 11 percent consider a person aged 16-17-years to still be a child. Opinions about who is a child by respondent type are in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Percentage of Respondent's Attitude towards who is a Child by Type of Respondents



There is significant variation by district in definitions of a child (Appendix Table 6). More than 90 percent of respondents in Bhola and Cox's Bazar reported that less than 14 years of age was a child whereas in Habiganj only 42.1 percent of respondents did the same (Figure 7.2). However, the variations in attitudes towards who is a child did not vary by respondent's place of residence (Appendix Table 7). Older respondents are more likely to consider only people below age 14 as children. Younger women are more likely to perceive people below the age of 18 as still children (Appendix Table 8).

Figure 7.2: Percentage of Respondent's Attitude towards who is a Child among Ever-Married Women by Districts

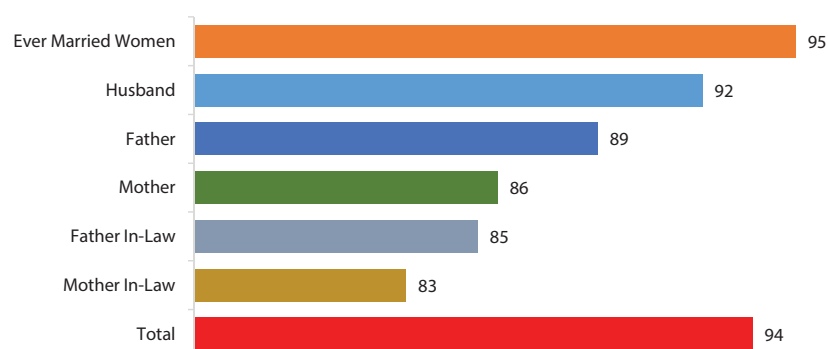


Women with higher education levels are more likely to consider those above 14 years as children. More than eight tenths (84.5%) of ever-married women considered those under the age of 14 to be a child. Their counterparts with higher secondary education listed 14 as the age below which a person is a child only 57.3 percent of the time, and were much more likely to say that 15-18 year olds were children. This is also true in the case of other respondents (Appendix Table 9). All respondents from the higher wealth quintiles had a lower percentage of considering a child as a person below 14 years, compared to their counterparts in the lower wealth quintiles (Appendix Table 10).

7.2 Attitudes towards Suitable Age for Girls' Marriage

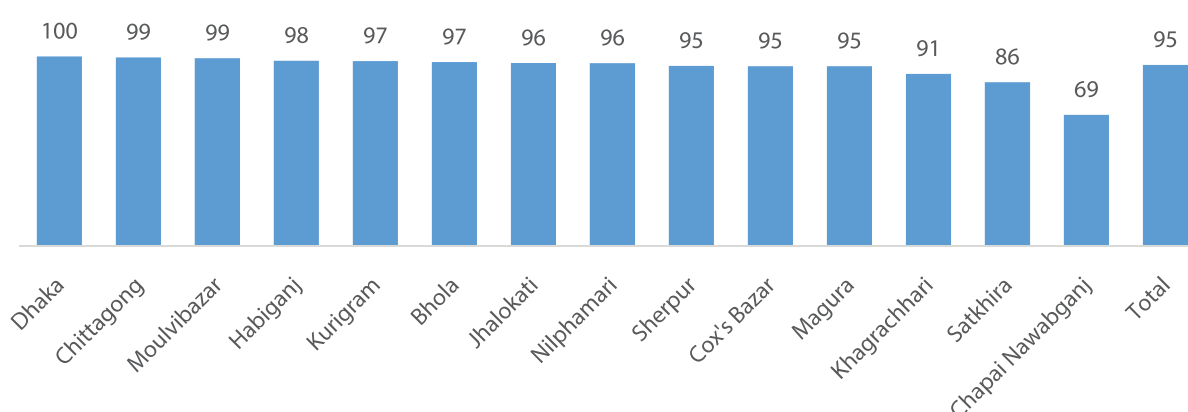
Overall, 93.5 percent of respondents believe that age 18 and above is the suitable age for girls to marry. This belief is highest among ever-married women, followed by husbands, fathers, mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3: Percentages of Respondents who Considered 18 Years and Above as the Suitable Age for Girls' Marriage



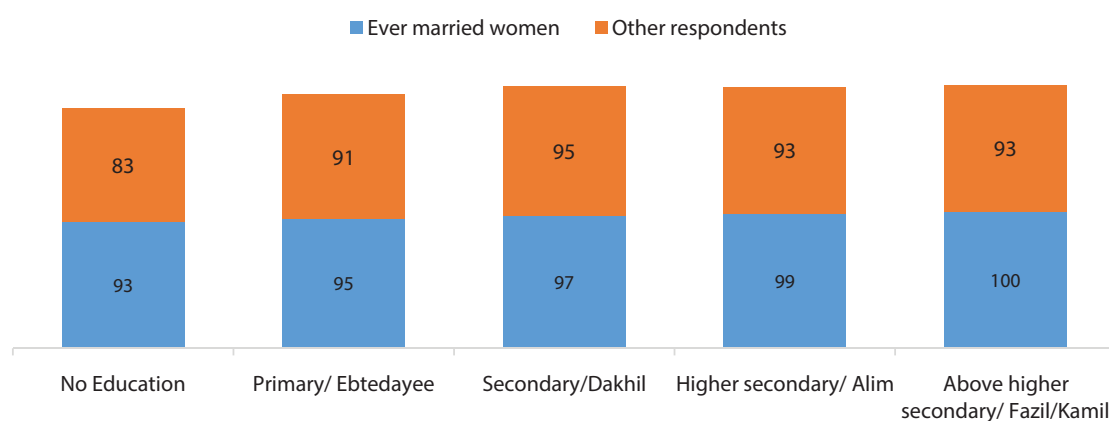
There is substantial variation in attitudes towards the suitable age for marriage by district (Appendix Table 11). More than 90 percent of respondents in all districts except Chapai Nawabganj and Satkhira believe that age 18 and above is the suitable age for girls' marriage (Figure 7.4). There is also slight variation in attitudes by place of residence (Appendix Table 12). Ever-married respondents in urban areas were more likely to view 18 as the suitable age for marriage than those in rural areas (98% and 94.4% respectively). This pattern is also seen among other respondents (Appendix Table 12). Among the other respondent category, younger respondents (age below 30 years) were more likely to see age 18 years and above as the suitable age for marriage than older respondents. Moreover, around 95 percent ever-married women aged 15-49 years believed that 18 years and above is the suitable age for marriage while only 64.3 percent of ever-married women aged 13-14 years held the same idea (Appendix Table 13).

Figure 7.4: Percentages of Ever-Married Women Who Considered 18 Years and Above as Suitable Age of Girls' Marriage by District



More educated and wealthier respondents-both ever-married and other-are more likely to believe that 18 is the appropriate age for marriage. (Figure 7.5 and Appendix Table 14).

Figure 7.5: Percentages of Respondents Who Considered 18 Years as Suitable Age of Girls' Marriage by Respondents Types and Education



There were clear differences in the findings between the quantitative and qualitative surveys in relation to the appropriate age for marriage. The participants of the in-depth interviews reported that girls between the ages of 13 and 15 are suitable for marriage. Although parents seem to know the legal age for marriage, their understanding of the social acceptability is more in line with current age-at-first-marriage rates. We explore the reasons for this discrepancy between the qualitative and quantitative findings in section 11.2.

Chapter 8

Perceived Causes, Consequences, and Benefits of Child Marriage

CHAPTER 8 : PERCEIVED CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES, AND BENEFITS OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Key Findings

Perceived Causes of Child Marriage

- Among ever-married women, 79 percent of the respondents mentioned the availability of suitable grooms as a cause of child marriage.
- Women with no education are more likely to mention the availability of suitable grooms (78% versus 69%) and fear of eloping (54% versus 49%) as causes of child marriage compared to their more educated counterparts.

Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage

- Ever-married women perceive early pregnancy as a consequence (91%), followed by child mortality (84%) and maternal mortality (81%).

Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage

- About one-third of all respondents mentioned that there is no benefit of child marriage with the highest percentage reported by husbands (37.8%).
- About 40 percent of the respondents in all categories see avoiding social stigma as a benefit of child marriage.

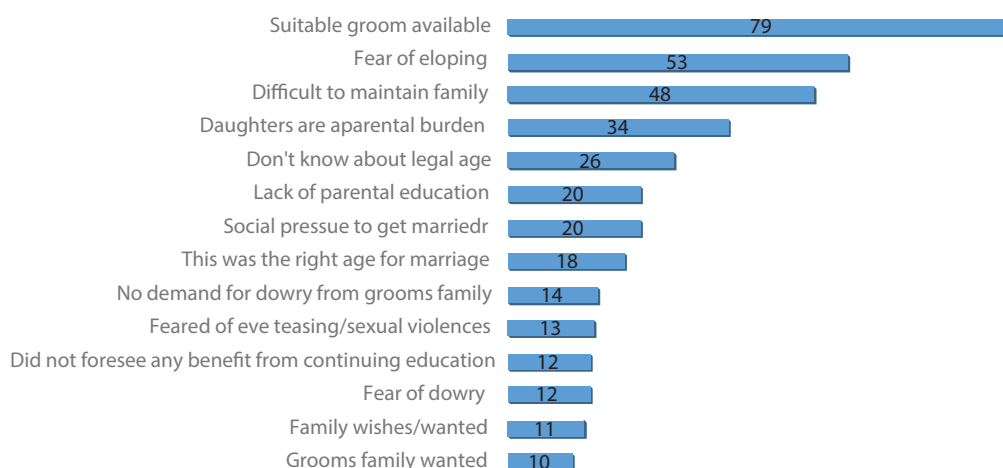
8.0 Introduction

This section presents the perceived causes of child marriage as well as the perceived consequences and benefits of child marriage by respondent type, district, place of residence, age, education, and wealth.

8.1 Perceived Causes of Child Marriage

A majority of the respondents see the availability of suitable grooms, fear of eloping to get married, financial insolvency to feed and maintain a family, social pressure, lack of knowledge about the right age of marriage, and lack of parental education as causes of child marriage (Appendix Table 15). Among ever-married women a majority of respondents mentioned the availability of suitable grooms, followed by fear of elopement, financial difficulties, considering daughters as a parental burden, lack of knowledge about the legal age of marriage, lack of parental education, social pressure, and no demand for dowry from the groom's family (Figure 8.1) as the causes of child marriage. The trend in reporting the perceived causes of child marriage by other respondents is similar, with slight variations in some cases (Appendix Table 15).

Figure 8.1: Percentage of Respondent's 1 Perceived Causes of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women



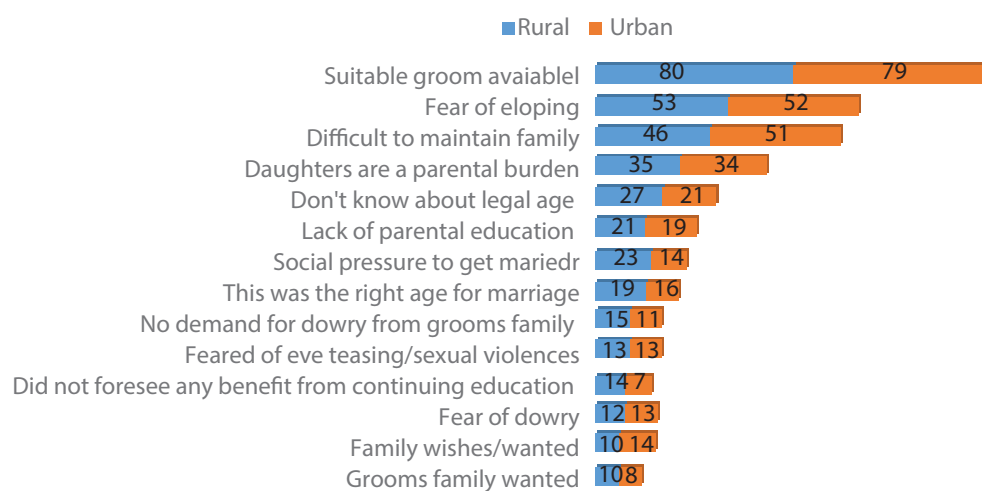
Half of ever-married female respondents in Khagrachhari do not know the legal age of marriage, whereas this percentage was much lower in Cox's Bazar, Moulvibazar, Chapai Nawabganj and Satkhira. Among all districts, Bhola had the highest percentage of reporting social pressure (63.8%) and fear of sexual harassment (67.6%); Bhola, Kurigram and Nilphamari have the highest percentages of reporting fear of trafficking; Bhola, Jhalokati and Satkhira have the highest percentage of reporting fear of abduction/kidnapping; Nilphamari has the highest percentage of reporting difficulties in feeding and maintaining the family as the perceived cause of child marriage (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Causes of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Causes of child marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total 7163 |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Do not know about legal age | 30.5 | 22.2 | 13.9 | 31.6 | 15.3 | 20.7 | 50.0 | 39.4 | 46.4 | 14.4 | 13.5 | 23.8 | 13.5 | 24.0 | 25.7 |
| Suitable groom available | 72.0 | 84.0 | 76.7 | 84.0 | 94.1 | 65.4 | 61.6 | 81.3 | 82.0 | 80.6 | 81.0 | 62.0 | 70.7 | 79.5 | 79.4 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 5.5 | 4.1 | 9.9 | 24.1 | 8.0 | 11.3 | 5.3 | 18.1 | 18.1 | 8.1 | 6.6 | 27.2 | 18.7 | 5.6 | 13.7 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 18.6 | 3.4 | 18.0 | 11.1 | 13.7 | 5.6 | 5.4 | 19.2 | 10.0 | 2.6 | 18.9 | 33.6 | 16.6 | 8.9 | 12.3 |
| Fear of eloping | 73.3 | 24.7 | 53.9 | 43.1 | 57.0 | 79.0 | 69.6 | 73.8 | 58.5 | 77.7 | 50.0 | 59.5 | 64.2 | 65.3 | 53.1 |
| Fear of trafficking | 8.6 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 4.2 | 1.6 | 4.5 | 0.7 | 1.8 | 1.2 | 3.4 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.5 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 23.0 | 1.7 | 2.0 | 2.8 | 1.1 | 7.2 | 1.8 | 4.2 | 0.9 | 4.1 | 0.1 | 1.3 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 3.4 |
| Daughters were considered' parental burden | 43.0 | 29.3 | 25.7 | 34.1 | 23.2 | 28.0 | 22.9 | 54.3 | 31.8 | 64.9 | 48.6 | 37.0 | 23.8 | 16.1 | 34.4 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 69.5 | 45.7 | 46.9 | 40.4 | 36.8 | 45.5 | 22.3 | 38.3 | 67.5 | 65.6 | 39.7 | 83.2 | 50.8 | 47.5 | 47.7 |
| Groom's family wanted the marriage | 12.7 | 13.8 | 2.9 | 5.2 | 3.5 | 17.7 | 5.3 | 12.4 | 15.1 | 4.1 | 6.5 | 15.1 | 15.0 | 16.8 | 9.6 |
| Fear of dowry | 4.0 | 14.4 | 4.3 | 12.2 | 8.5 | 4.6 | 0.4 | 35.6 | 4.4 | 15.0 | 9.5 | 9.8 | 12.5 | 13.9 | 12.0 |
| Social pressure to got married | 63.8 | 8.0 | 22.5 | 16.1 | 2.1 | 19.7 | 3.2 | 35.9 | 26.5 | 15.6 | 36.6 | 16.1 | 27.0 | 24.8 | 20.2 |
| Family wishes/wanted the marriage | 6.3 | 16.6 | 2.1 | 11.5 | 5.5 | 17.0 | 2.5 | 21.4 | 5.6 | 17.1 | 15.3 | 5.5 | 9.2 | 9.4 | 11.4 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 5.9 | 2.8 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 12.3 | 21.2 | 3.2 | 5.7 | 4.8 | 23.3 | 4.4 | 6.9 | 10.2 | 12.0 | 6.5 |
| Completed education | 1.6 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 7.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| This was right age of marriage | 41.9 | 17.8 | 6.1 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 24.9 | 17.0 | 34.6 | 17.5 | 21.0 | 49.8 | 19.6 | 18.1 | 12.9 | 18.5 |
| Lack of parental education | 46.1 | 11.0 | 9.2 | 14.3 | 7.9 | 22.8 | 21.8 | 41.0 | 14.5 | 41.7 | 32.9 | 20.8 | 18.8 | 19.4 | 20.4 |
| Feared sexual harassment/ physical harassment | 67.6 | 2.1 | 5.5 | 8.5 | 7.3 | 46.8 | 0.7 | 20.2 | 14.7 | 11.2 | 9.3 | 9.1 | 23.4 | 3.5 | 13.2 |
| Others | 2.7 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 1.1 | 0.1 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 3.0 | 4.5 | 5.3 | 2.3 | 1.6 |

Some perceived causes of child marriage are equally reported both in rural and urban areas including the availability of suitable grooms, fear of eloping, considering daughters as a burden, fear of dowry, lack of parental education, and fear of sexual harassment (Appendix Table 16). Issues that are different based on the place of residence include the lack of knowledge about the legal age of marriage, no demand for dowry from the grooms' family, social pressure, and considering it was the right age for marriage which were higher in rural areas than urban areas (Figure 8.2). Similar trends are also found in the case of other respondents by place of residence.

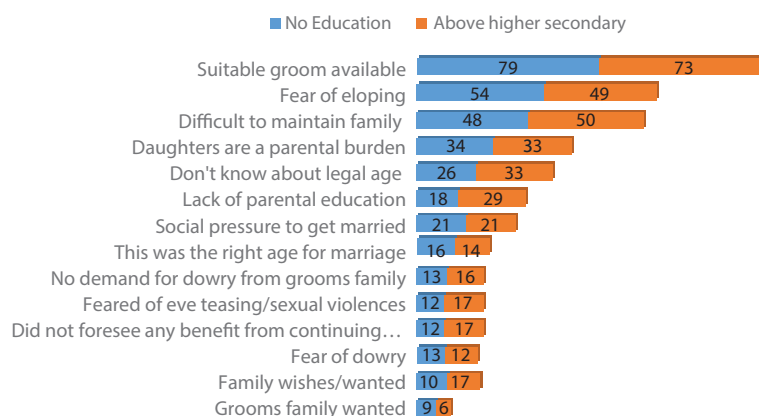
Figure 8.2: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Causes of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence



Younger respondents were more likely to report the following reasons for child marriage: they do not see any benefit from continuing education, fear of elopement, groom's family wanted, and it was the right age for marriage. A higher percentage of respondents in the older age cohort reported daughters are a parental burden, and the lack of parental education as causes of child marriage (Appendix Table 17).

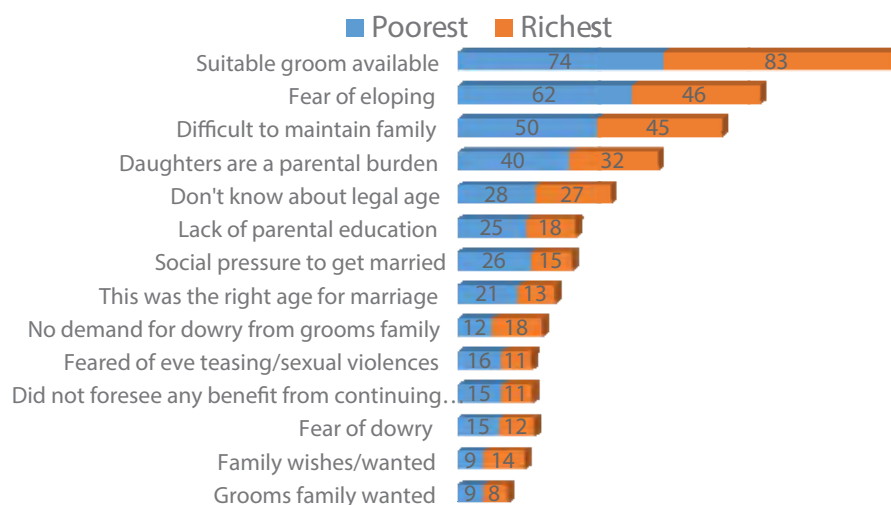
Variations in the perceived causes of child marriage among ever-married women by education are shown in detail in the appendix (Appendix Table 18). Notably, higher percentages of women with no education report causes of child marriage as the availability of suitable grooms, right age of marriage, and fear of eloping as compared to their more educated counterparts (Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Causes of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Education



Ever-married women across all wealth quintiles had similar perceptions about the causes of child marriage including the lack of knowledge about the legal age of marriage, the availability of suitable grooms, and fear of dowry (Appendix Table 19). However, those from the poorest wealth quintile had higher percentages than those from the richest quintile on causes such as fear of eloping, considering daughters as a parental burden, difficulties in feeding and maintaining the family, social pressure, lack of parental education, and fear of sexual harassment (Figure 8.4).

Figure 8.4: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Causes of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile



8.2 Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage

All categories of respondents are familiar with some negative consequences of child marriage. The five most commonly reported adverse consequences are early pregnancy, child mortality, maternal mortality, malnutrition, obstetric complications, and anemia (Table 8.2). All ever-married women note the consequences of early pregnancy and many ever-married women and other respondents are aware that child mortality, maternal mortality, malnutrition, obstetric complications, premature birth, anemia, divorce, depression, and high rate of widowhood are common consequences. Other respondents were more likely to report population explosion and an increase in maternal morbidity as consequences.

Table 8.2: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage as Reported by All Respondent Types

| Consequences of child marriage | Respondent Category | | | | | | Total (n=9320) |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Early pregnancy | 100.0 | 58.5 | 60.5 | 59.2 | 65.7 | 68.6 | 91.2 |
| Child mortality | 99.3 | 31.7 | 27.7 | 34.7 | 31.6 | 32.4 | 83.5 |
| Maternal mortality | 93.0 | 42.1 | 43.3 | 46.9 | 34.9 | 31.9 | 80.7 |
| Malnutrition | 70.8 | 50.8 | 49.4 | 49.7 | 43.7 | 42.1 | 65.4 |
| Obstetric complications | 46.3 | 45.9 | 46.6 | 51.4 | 44.5 | 43.4 | 46.3 |
| Premature birth | 27.4 | 18.4 | 14.2 | 19.2 | 13.4 | 15.8 | 24.9 |
| Anemia | 14.5 | 29.0 | 30.5 | 34.9 | 37.3 | 33.4 | 18.7 |
| Divorce | 7.1 | 7.8 | 7.3 | 8.9 | 12.6 | 4.8 | 7.3 |
| Depression/ mental problem | 3.6 | 5.8 | 4.7 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 7.4 | 4.2 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 1.6 | 2.9 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 1.7 |

| Consequences of child marriage | Respondent Category | | | | | | Total (n=9320) |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| School dropout | 0.6 | 17.3 | 12.2 | 23.5 | 13.7 | 12.2 | 4.2 |
| Unhappy marital life | 0.2 | 32.8 | 30.5 | 36.8 | 33.2 | 30.9 | 7.8 |
| Violence and torture | 0.1 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 16.3 | 16.4 | 15.8 | 3.6 |
| Increases the trend of suicide | 0.1 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 2.4 | 1.5 | 0.4 |
| Cannot have work as low level of education | 0.1 | 2.2 | 1.5 | 4.2 | 2.7 | 2.6 | 0.7 |
| Population explosion | 0.0 | 23.7 | 24.0 | 27.1 | 28.7 | 28.1 | 6.1 |
| Increases maternal morbidity | 0.0 | 27.9 | 30.0 | 29.0 | 33.2 | 35.5 | 7.2 |
| Socio economic status of bride's family will be improved | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.1 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 2.1 | 1.3 | 0.2 |

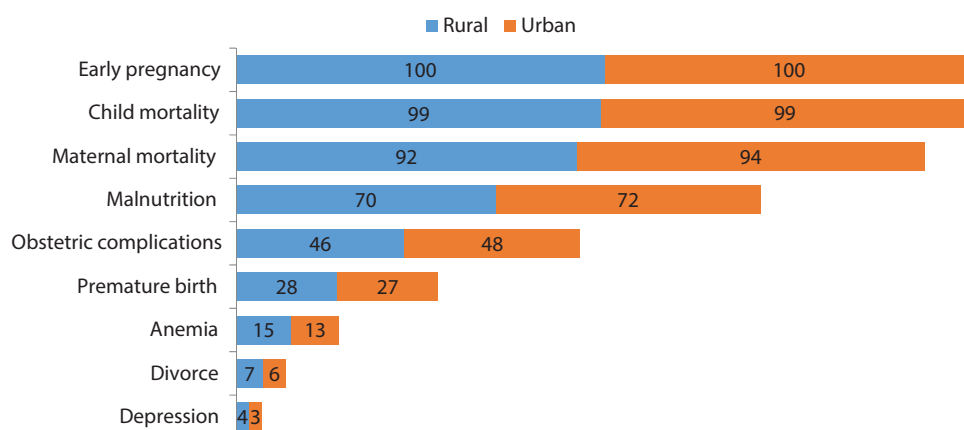
Respondents in all districts note that early pregnancy and child mortality are often a consequence of child marriage. More than 90 percent of respondents, in all districts, except Cox's Bazar, Habiganj, and Khagrachhari mentioned maternal mortality as a consequence of child marriage. Two-thirds of respondents in Khagrachhari mentioned maternal mortality. Reporting malnutrition as a consequence of child marriage was the highest in Kurigram (95.6%) and the lowest in Cox's Bazar (34.4%) (Table 8.3). Other major consequences of child marriage that are not universally known and thus show significant district-level variation are obstetric complications, premature birth, anemia, and divorce. Respondents in Kurigram had the highest percentage (86.1%) of reporting obstetric complications as a consequence of child marriage and Khagrachhari had the lowest percentage (14.4%). District-level variation can also be seen albeit to a lesser extent in noting depression/mental health problems, higher rate of widowhood, school drop-out, unhappy marital life, and violence and torture (Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total 7163 |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Early pregnancy | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Child mortality | 99.8 | 99.5 | 92.7 | 99.7 | 99.2 | 99.8 | 97.8 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 99.8 | 99.4 | 99.8 | 99.7 | 100.0 | 99.3 |
| Maternal mortality | 99.2 | 94.0 | 66.9 | 96.1 | 83.0 | 96.6 | 75.2 | 99.3 | 98.1 | 98.2 | 93.0 | 98.2 | 96.5 | 89.9 | 93.0 |
| Malnutrition | 91.2 | 63.5 | 34.4 | 68.7 | 53.1 | 83.2 | 35.1 | 95.6 | 79.4 | 92.9 | 69.5 | 93.5 | 75.6 | 72.6 | 70.8 |
| Obstetric complications | 75.0 | 33.2 | 17.4 | 38.6 | 29.7 | 68.5 | 14.4 | 86.1 | 35.0 | 76.4 | 47.5 | 80.4 | 43.9 | 48.1 | 46.3 |
| Premature birth | 58.9 | 9.3 | 7.8 | 21.2 | 17.4 | 51.1 | 4.6 | 65.6 | 13.2 | 53.6 | 24.8 | 65.8 | 20.7 | 24.4 | 27.4 |
| Anaemia | 37.5 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 9.9 | 7.7 | 32.6 | 1.9 | 34.8 | 5.4 | 33.6 | 10.6 | 44.5 | 7.1 | 13.1 | 14.5 |
| Divorce | 22.3 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 22.0 | 0.2 | 14.7 | 1.1 | 17.1 | 1.9 | 28.7 | 2.9 | 6.0 | 7.1 |
| Depression/ Mental problem | 8.6 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 11.9 | 0.2 | 7.0 | 0.2 | 8.2 | 0.5 | 15.9 | 1.0 | 3.8 | 3.6 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 6.3 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 0.1 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 8.3 | 0.4 | 2.0 | 1.6 |
| School dropout | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.6 |
| Unhappy marital life | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Violence and torture | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Increases the trend of suicide | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |

An almost equal percentage of respondents in rural and urban areas note the negative consequences of child marriage as early pregnancy (100%), child mortality (99%), premature birth (27%), and higher rate of widowhood. However, slight differences were found in reporting consequences of child marriage on obstetric complication and anemia (Figure 8.5 with more detail in Appendix Table 20).

Figure 8.5: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence



Among ever-married women, there were no substantial differences in reporting perceived consequences of child marriage by age, in relation to early pregnancy (100%), child mortality (more than 95%), maternal mortality (more than 90%), malnutrition (about 85%), obstetric complications (about 45%), and premature birth (about 30%). However, there are considerable differences in reporting the perceived consequences of child marriage by age among other respondents (Appendix Table 21). Older cohorts showed a relatively lower percentage of mentioning perceived consequences in several areas including early pregnancy, child mortality, maternal mortality, obstetric complications, and anemia.

Among the ever-married women, the perceived negative consequences of child marriage were higher among those who had relatively higher education than their counterparts with lower education except in reporting early pregnancy, which was mentioned by all respondents irrespective of their education. With respect to other consequences, 98.7 percent of ever-married women with above higher secondary education note maternal mortality compared to 89.2 percent of ever-married women with no education. Similarly, 89.5 percent of ever-married women with above higher secondary education mention malnutrition compared to 62.9 percent of their counterparts with no education. The percentage of respondents with above higher secondary education reporting obstetric complications is more than twice that of ever-married women with no education (37.3% and 75.1% respectively). This is also true in the case of mentioning premature birth as the consequence of child marriage. This pattern of reporting related to perceived consequences of child marriage was also similar among the other respondents though to a lesser extent; meaning that the percentage of those reporting negative consequences of child marriage, irrespective of education, were lower among other respondents than ever-married women (Appendix Table 22).

Similar to education, there were substantial variations in the perceived consequences of child marriage by respondents' wealth quintile, except when reporting early pregnancy. Overall, ever-married women who belong to the richer wealth quintiles had higher percentages of reporting perceived negative consequences of child marriage than their counterparts with poorer wealth quintiles, with a few exceptions. For instance, 96 percent of ever-married women in the richest wealth quintile mentioned maternal mortality as a perceived consequence of child marriage compared to 88.8 percent of ever-married women in the poorest wealth quintile. However, ever-married women in the poorest wealth quintile had higher percentages of reporting obstetric complications, premature birth, and anemia as the perceived consequences of child marriage than their counterparts in the richest wealth quintiles (Appendix Table 23).

8.3 Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage

Overall, about one-third of all respondents report no benefits of child marriage. Husbands are the most likely to see no benefit (37.8%), followed by fathers-in-law, ever-married women, fathers, mothers, and mothers-in-law (Table 8.4). About 40 percent of the respondents in all categories mention the benefit of avoiding social stigma. Other commonly reported benefits include reduction in parents' burden, parents can see their children get married before they die, girls can avoid being sexually harassed, and parents have to pay less dowry. This pattern is consistent across all categories of respondents.

Table 8.4: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage as Reported by All Respondents

| Benefits of child marriage | District | | | | | | Total (n=9320) |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 24.0 | 25.2 | 27.3 | 22.6 | 19.4 | 21.2 | 23.9 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 13.2 | 12.0 | 18.2 | 13.0 | 8.9 | 8.2 | 13.0 |
| Avoid social stigma | 39.3 | 39.0 | 44.3 | 38.5 | 39.9 | 45.4 | 39.8 |
| Avoid abduction | 2.7 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 3.0 | 1.8 | 2.6 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 10.6 | 12.2 | 10.6 | 11.3 | 16.7 | 14.5 | 11.1 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 37.3 | 35.2 | 41.2 | 38.2 | 38.5 | 39.0 | 37.6 |
| Removed from sexual harassment | 15.4 | 14.7 | 13.9 | 17.7 | 18.1 | 17.9 | 15.6 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 13.5 | 9.8 | 11.3 | 14.1 | 11.6 | 11.2 | 13.0 |
| No advantages | 38.8 | 35.2 | 26.9 | 37.8 | 31.5 | 27.6 | 37.2 |
| Don't Know | 1.2 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 1.0 |

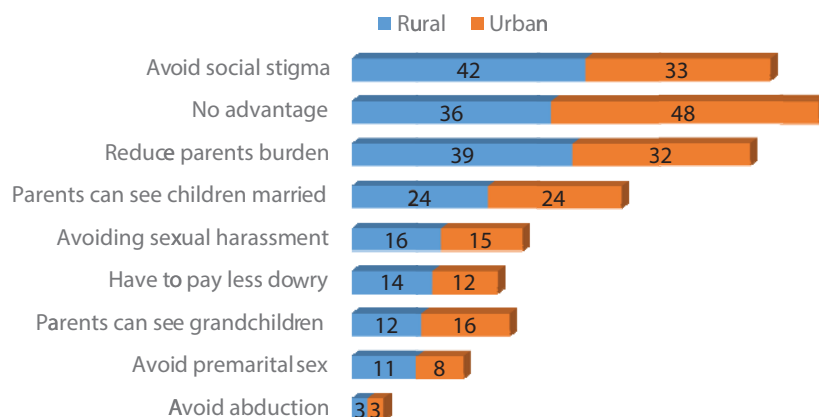
There is considerable variation in the perceived benefits of child marriage by district (Table 8.5). For instance, 93 percent of respondents in Bhola report the benefit of avoiding social stigma, but only 10 percent in Jhalokati identified this as a benefit. The highest percentage of respondents who reported there were no advantages to child marriage were from Jhalokati (80%), followed by respondents in Cox's Bazar, Nilphamari, Chittagong, Dhaka, Sherpur, Moulvibazar, Habiganj, Sathkhaira, Khagrachhari, Chapai Nawabganj, Kurigram, Magura and Bhola, to a lesser extent.

Table 8.5: Percentage of Responent's Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Districts

| Benefits of child marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total 7163 |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 27.1 | 9.6 | 11.9 | 31.2 | 55.5 | 1.6 | 19.3 | 37.0 | 39.8 | 18.8 | 15.7 | 3.0 | 23.8 | 34.4 | 24.0 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 5.7 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 22.2 | 21.2 | 0.7 | 5.1 | 19.7 | 30.4 | 9.6 | 14.4 | 1.4 | 14.5 | 21.4 | 13.2 |
| Avoid social stigma | 93.3 | 10.9 | 20.8 | 41.1 | 24.1 | 9.6 | 47.7 | 85.0 | 49.9 | 46.6 | 59.1 | 16.0 | 41.1 | 42.6 | 39.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 12.2 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 2.6 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 2.5 | 4.2 | 6.5 | 3.6 | 1.0 | 0.2 | 5.2 | 1.0 | 2.7 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 9.9 | 2.3 | 3.3 | 9.2 | 2.6 | 5.4 | 11.8 | 24.0 | 24.4 | 23.7 | 16.3 | 2.5 | 21.3 | 12.0 | 10.6 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 56.6 | 24.8 | 14.2 | 37.4 | 30.6 | 9.8 | 33.4 | 63.6 | 52.0 | 54.5 | 63.7 | 29.0 | 37.8 | 22.7 | 37.3 |
| Removed from sexual harassment | 83.1 | 6.0 | 3.0 | 11.3 | 3.1 | 5.5 | 4.6 | 26.6 | 31.5 | 25.5 | 15.7 | 4.1 | 20.8 | 0.3 | 15.4 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 28.6 | 14.9 | 3.0 | 8.6 | 9.4 | 6.0 | 2.7 | 44.4 | 6.6 | 14.2 | 17.8 | 11.0 | 13.9 | 4.0 | 13.5 |
| No advantages | 0.7 | 63.1 | 66.8 | 41.8 | 30.6 | 80.4 | 24.9 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 34.1 | 13.4 | 63.2 | 28.0 | 39.2 | 38.8 |
| Don't Know | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 5.2 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 1.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 1.2 |

There are some differences in the perceived benefits of child marriage by respondents' place of residence (Appendix Table 24). The majority of the respondents in rural areas report the benefits of avoiding social stigma, reducing parental burden, paying less dowry, and avoiding premarital sex. Consequently, a higher percentage of respondents in urban areas mentioned there were no advantages in child marriage (Figure 8.6).

Figure 8.6: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

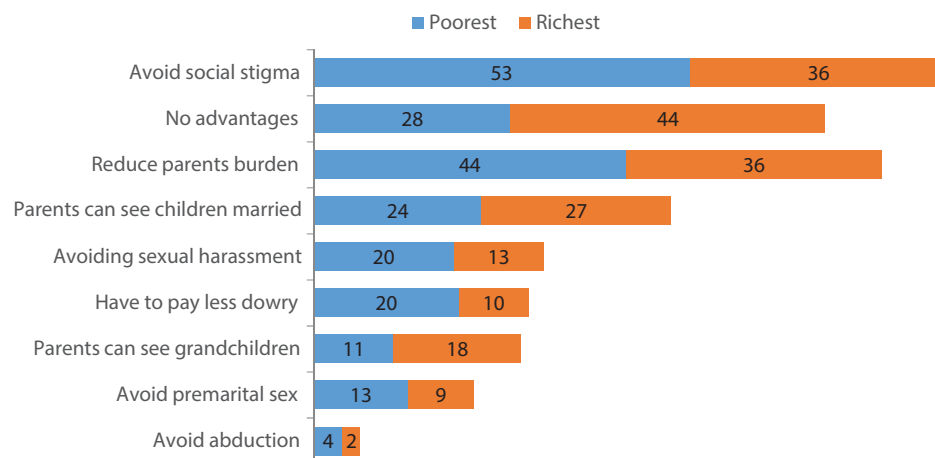


Ever-married women perceive several benefits to child marriage including reduction in parental burden, parents can see their children get married before they die, avoiding social stigma, and escaping sexual harassment; but these differences are not more pronounced across age groups (Appendix Table 25). On the other hand, there are substantial differences in reporting perceived benefits of child marriage by age for other respondents. For instance, 44.1 percent other respondents aged below 30 see the benefit of child marriage as a reduction in parents' burden compared to 35 percent in the case of their counterparts aged 70 and above. Younger respondents are also more likely to list benefits such as avoiding social stigma, avoiding sexual harassment, and having to pay lesser dowry.

Consistent with expectations, higher educated respondents have lower percentages of reporting benefits of child marriage in most cases (Appendix Table 26). Ever-married women with no education are more likely to report benefits of child marriage such as avoiding premarital sex, having to pay less dowry, reduction in parental burden, and avoiding social stigma. More than half of respondents with higher education see no advantages in child marriage compared to only one-third of their counterparts with no education.

Women in the lowest wealth quintile are more likely to report benefits of child marriage than their counterparts in the richest wealth quintile. These benefits mentioned included avoiding social stigma, reduction in parents' burden, escaping sexual harassment, having to pay less dowry, and avoiding premarital sex (Figure 8.7). Parents' expectation of seeing their child get married before they die is equally prevalent in all wealth quintiles (Appendix Table 27).

Figure 8.7: Percentage of Respondent's Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile



Chapter 9

Types and Patterns of Marriage

CHAPTER 9 : TYPES AND PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE

Key Findings

- Overall, 70 percent (70.2%) marriages are arranged by the family with consent from the respondents. A much smaller percentage of marriages are arranged by the family but without consent from the respondents (17%), or are mutually chosen by the parties and the family approved (7.6%).
- The youngest respondents are more likely to have eloped than the oldest (8% versus 3%).
- The percentage of mutually chose each other and family approved-type marriages is higher in urban areas than rural areas, whereas family chose but I did not agree-type marriages are more common in rural areas than urban areas.
- The proportion of marriages arranged by the family but without consent from the respondents is seven times higher among respondents with no education compared to their counterparts with higher education.
- More than half of the respondents' in-laws' houses are located within the same Upazila/Zila/Town (53.8%).
- Among the ever-married women, 12.6 percent had a kin relationship with her husband at the time of marriage.
- About one quarter of the respondents (27.8%) report that their husbands' families had a better socioeconomic status than their own families.
- More than 75 percent (77.3%) of women report that their marriages were registered at the time of marriage. Registration of marriage at the time of marriage is higher (83% versus 70%) among women who have above higher secondary education than women with no education.
- Around 50 percent of the respondents name their father as the decision maker for their marriage and 72.7 percent report that fathers were their guardians at the time of marriage.
- Only 3 percent of marriages occurred from eloping. Despite this, qualitative findings show that fear of eloping is one of the major causes of child marriages in the Bangladesh context. Parents often fear that grown-up daughters would elope if they have the opportunity. A perceived increasing trend of love affairs between boys and girls in some communities increased this fear. Though many of the participants actually never experienced it, a single actual incident of eloping may lead to many higher incidences of child marriage.

9.0 Introduction

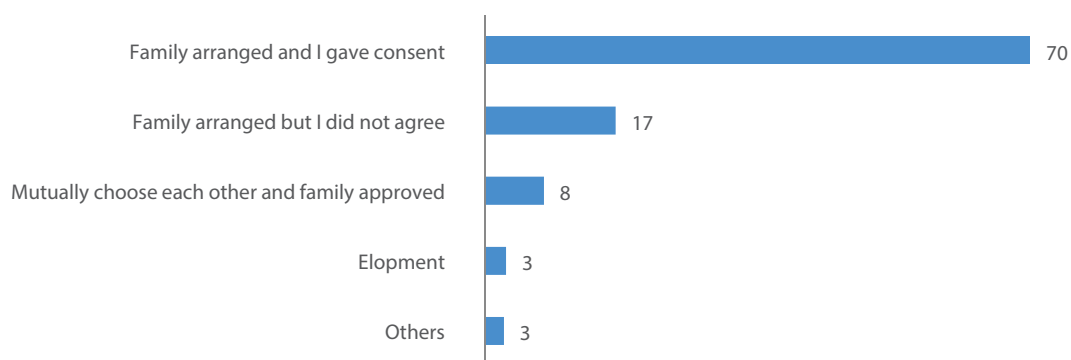
In Bangladesh, marriage is a civil contract between two adult persons of the opposite sex for union, procreation, and legalizing children. In Bangladeshi society, families play an important role in arranging girls' marriages. The guardians at the time of marriage, who are usually the decision-makers regarding marriage, plays an important role. This section presents findings related to the types of first marriage among ever-married women in terms of family choice and Women consent and the types of

marriage arrangement by district, age, education, and wealth quintile. We also present information on the locations of in-laws' house at the time marriage and kin relationship with the husband before marriage, socioeconomic status of husbands' family, the status of marriage registration, decision-maker of the marriage, guardian at the time of marriage, and whether the woman was menstruating before marriage.

9.1 Types of Marriage

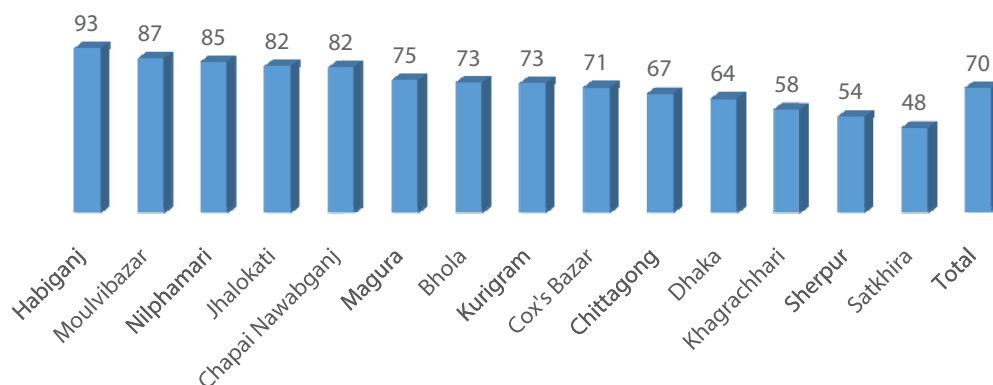
Overall, 70 percent (70.2%) of marriages were arranged by the family with consent¹ from the respondents. A much smaller percentage of marriages were arranged by family but without the consent from the respondents (17%) or where the parties mutually choose each other and the family approved (7.6%). It is notable that only 3 percent of marriages occurred from eloping (Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1: Percentage of Types of Marriage Occurred among Ever-Married Women



However, there is considerable variation in the type of marriage by district (Appendix Table 28). For instance, Figure 9.2 shows that 93 percent of marriages in Habiganj were arranged by the family with consent from the respondents, compared to only 48 percent in Satkhira.

Figure 9.2: Percentages of Marriage That Happened by Family Choice with Consent from the Respondents (Ever-Married Women)

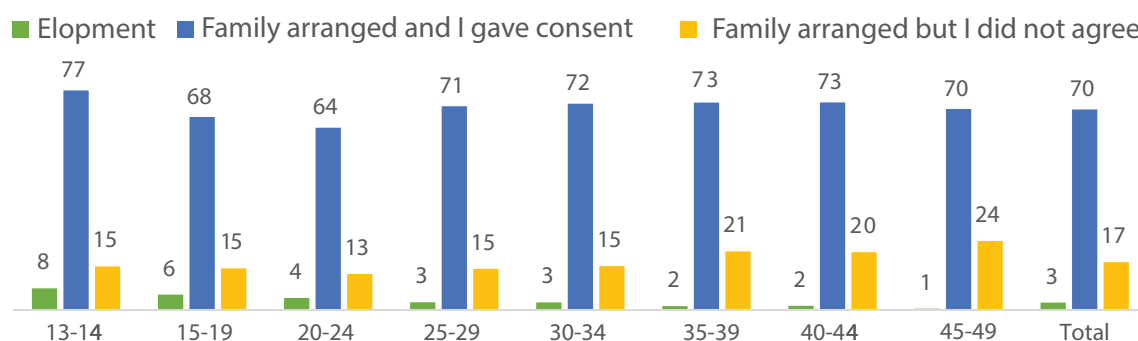


¹ The concept of 'consent' should be interpreted with caution. Section 375 of the Bangladesh Penal Code refers to 14 years as the age at which a girl can give consent to sexual relations and thus 14 years can be considered as a girls' age of consent. However, the agency which girls have to give consent to a marriage which has been arranged by their parents is questionable. In practice, when parents bring proposals for their daughters, the daughters normally accept it and this 'agreement' is the accepted cultural practice. Parents in Bangladeshi society normally do not expect their daughters to go against decisions taken by their parents.

There is also a rural-urban divide in the type of marriage. The percentage of mutually chose each other and family approved-type marriages is higher in urban areas compared to rural areas, whereas family chose but I did not agree-type marriages are more prevalent in rural areas than urban areas (Appendix Table 29).

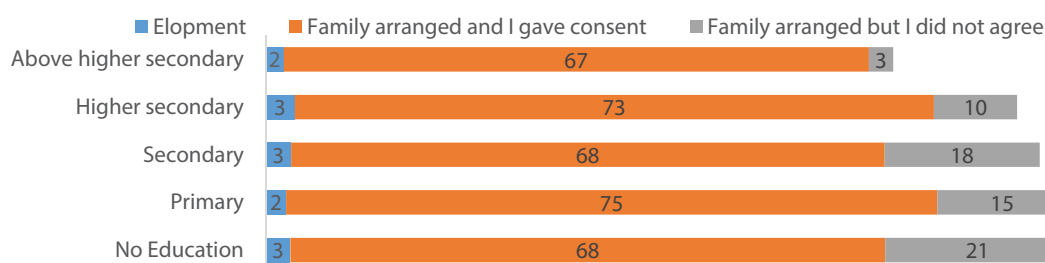
Although 70 percent of the marriages in all age groups were arranged by the family with consent from the respondents (Appendix Table 30), older respondents were slightly more likely to be married by family arrangement without their consent-24 percent of marriages among women aged 45-49 compared to 15 percent among women aged 15-19 (Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3: Percentage of Respondent's Types of Marriage Arrangements among of Ever-Married Women by Their Age



It is noteworthy that the proportion of marriages arranged by the family but without consent from the respondents was seven times higher among respondents with no education than those with higher education (Figure 9.4 with more detail in Appendix Table 31).

Figure 9.4: Percentage of Respondent's Types of Marriage Arrangements among Ever-Married Women by Their Education

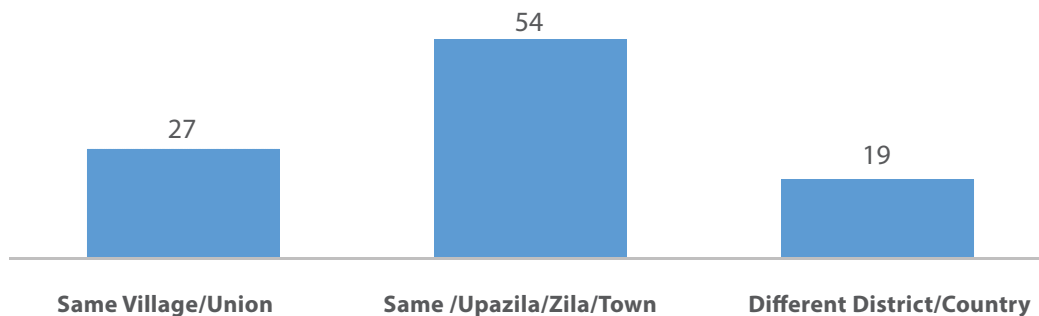


Some differences are seen in the type of marriage by wealth quintiles. More specifically, the occurrence of marriage in which the couple mutually chose each other and family approved was 11.4 percent among the richest wealth quintile compared to only 6.6 percent among the poorest wealth quintile (Appendix Table 32).

9.2 Location of In-Laws House at the Time of Marriage

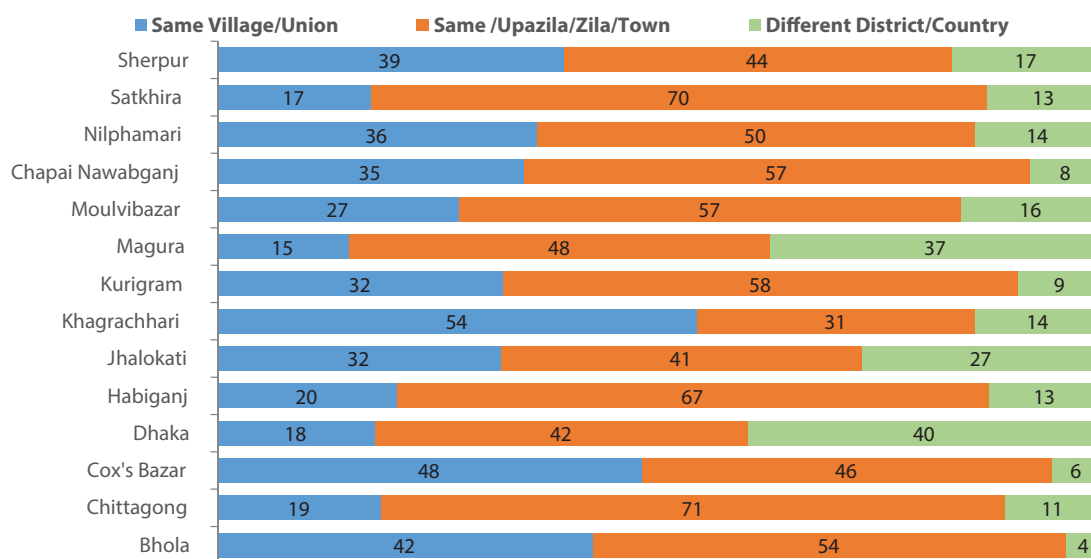
More than half of the respondents' in-laws' houses were located within the same Upazila/Zila/Town (53.8%), followed by within the same village/union (26.8%), and different district/country (19.4%) (Figure 9.5).

Figure 9.5: Percentage of Respondent's Location of In-Laws' House at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women



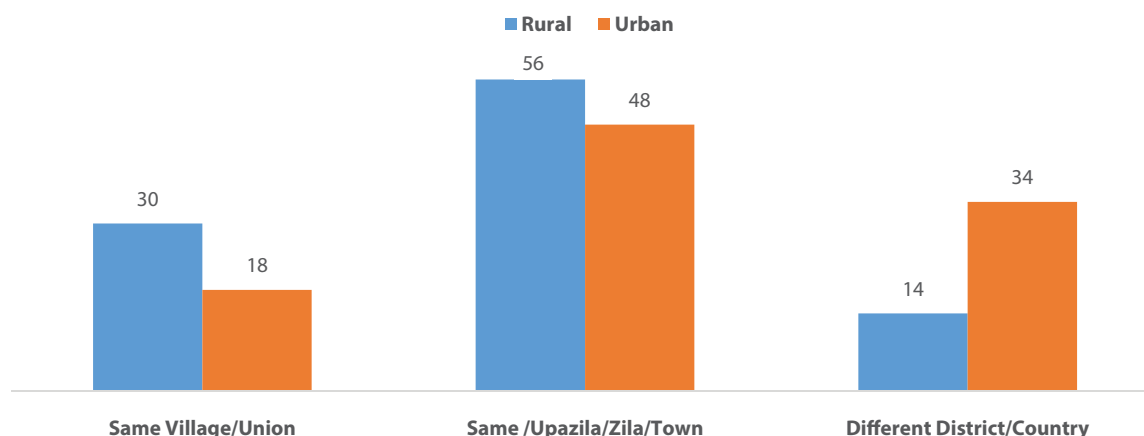
In general, substantial district-level variations were noticed in the location of in-law's house by district as shown in Figure 9.6. The location of in-laws houses within the same Upazila/Zila/town is the highest in Chittagong (70.5%) and the lowest in Khagrachhari (31.5%).

Figure 9.6: Percentage of Respondent's Location of In-Laws' House at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District



Women in rural areas are more likely to have their in-laws living in a different place than their natal home. The percentage of in-laws' house location in different districts/country was 34 percent in urban areas compared to 14 percent in rural areas (Figure 9.7).

Figure 9.7: Percentage of Respondent's Location of In-Laws' House at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

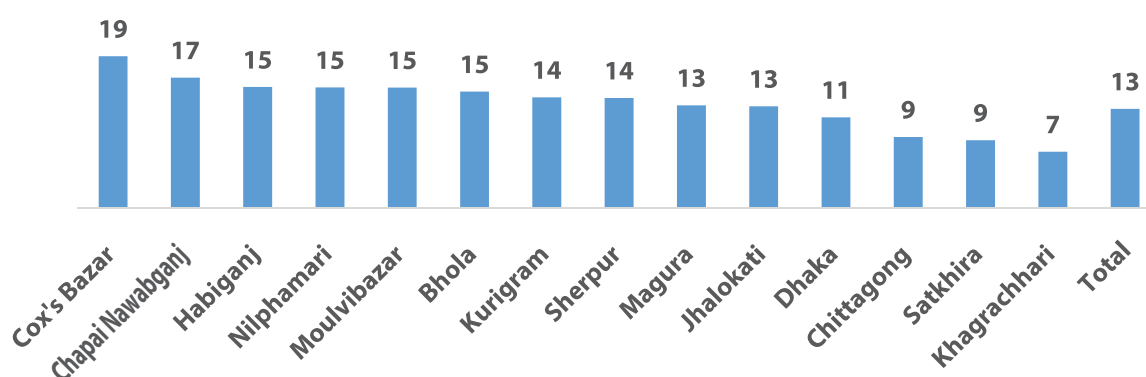


Older cohorts of women were more likely to marry a person located in the same Upazila/Zila/town than the younger cohorts of women, and conversely, younger cohorts were more likely to marry a person from a different district/country. (Appendix Table 33). More educated women were more likely to marry a person from a different district/country compared to women with no education. This is also true in the case of women in the richest wealth quintile compared to women in the poorest wealth quintile (Appendix Tables 34-35).

9.3 Kin Relationship with the Husband at the Time of Marriage

Among ever-married women, 12.6 percent had a kin relationship with their husband at the time of marriage, though this varied substantially by district. The proportion of having a kin relationship with their husband at the time of marriage was highest in Cox's Bazar and lowest in Khagrachhari (Figure 9.8). Urban-rural differences and differences by wealth quintile were small (Appendix Table 36). Younger women are more likely to have had a kin relationship with their husbands at the time of marriage than older women (Appendix Table 37). Women with higher education had a slightly higher percentage of having kin relations with the husband at the time of marriage than their counterparts with lower education (Appendix Table 38).

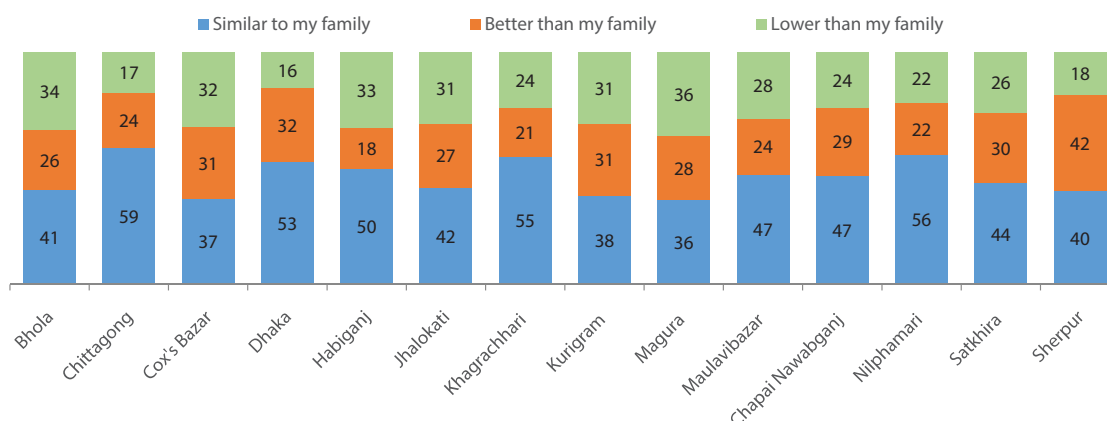
Figure 9.8: Percentage of Respondent's Kin Relationship with the Husband at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District



9.4 Socio-economic Status of the Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage

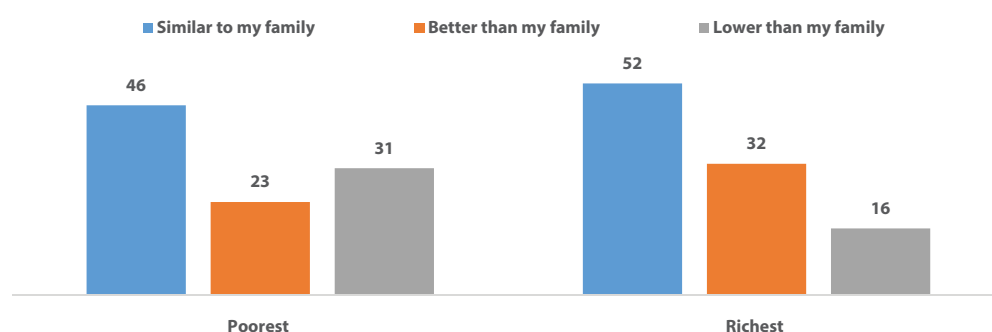
About half of the respondents (48.8%) say that their husbands' families were of similar socioeconomic status to their families at the time of marriage. About one quarter say their husbands had a better socioeconomic status than their natal families' (27.8%) and a quarter say the husbands had a lower socioeconomic status than their natal families (23.4%). There is significant district-level variation in this metric (Figure 9.9).

Figure 9.9: Percentage Distribution of Socio-economic Status of Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District



Among husbands' families, those in rural areas are slightly less wealthy and older respondents are more likely to report similar socioeconomic status between theirs and their husbands' families at the time of marriage (Appendix Table 40 & 41). Higher educated women are less likely to report having married into more wealthy families than their own (Appendix Table 42) while respondents in the lowest wealth quintile are more likely to have married into more wealthy families (Figure 9.10).

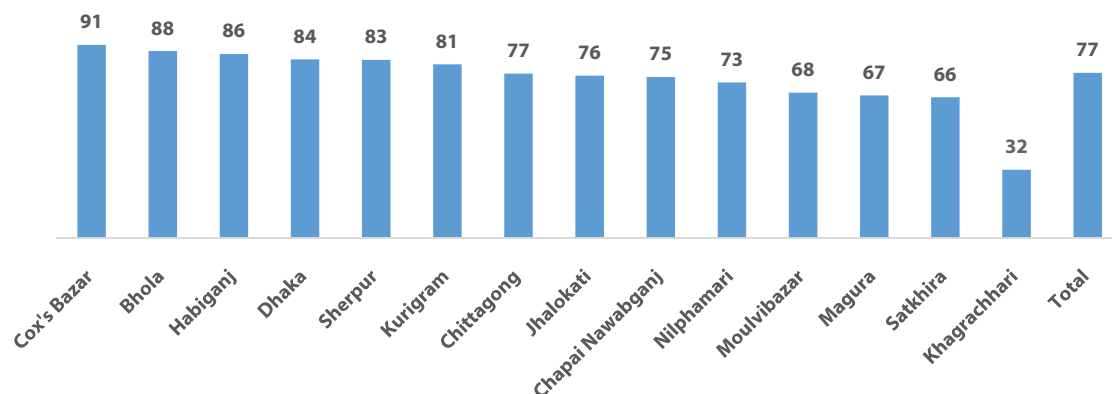
Figure 9.10: Percentage Distribution of Socio-economic Status of the Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Wealth Quintile



9.5 Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage

Overall, 77.3 percent women say that their marriages were registered at the time of marriage (Appendix Table 43) with significant variation by district. Cox's Bazar has the highest percentage of marriage registration at the time of marriage and Khagrachhari, the lowest (Figure 9.11). Women living in urban areas are slightly more likely to have had their marriage registered at the time of marriage than those in rural areas (77.3% and 76.4% respectively) (Appendix Table 44).

Figure 9.11: Percentage of Respondent's Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District



Status of marriage registration by age shows women in the younger age groups are more likely to have had their marriage registered at the time of marriage, indicating a rapid increase in marriage registration at the time of marriage over time (Figure 9.12). Registration of marriage at the time of marriage was higher among women who have above higher secondary education (Figure 9.13) and women from richer wealth quintiles (Figure 9.14).

Figure 9.12: Percentage of Respondent's Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Current Age

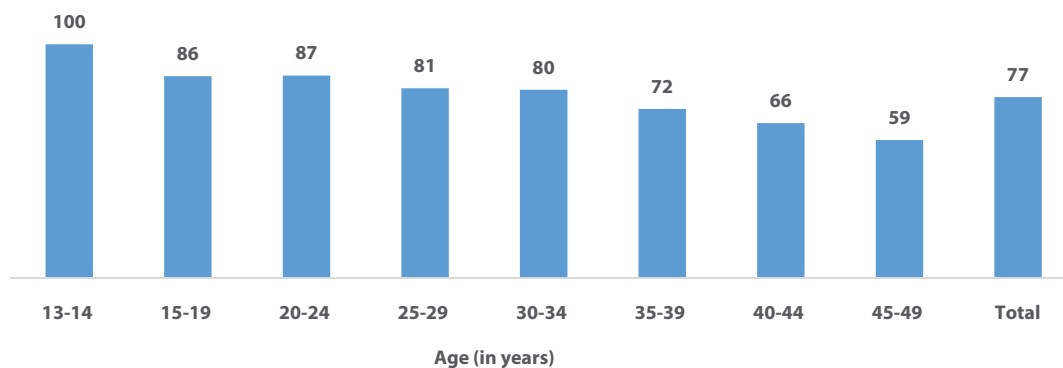


Figure 9.13: Percentage of Respondent's Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Education

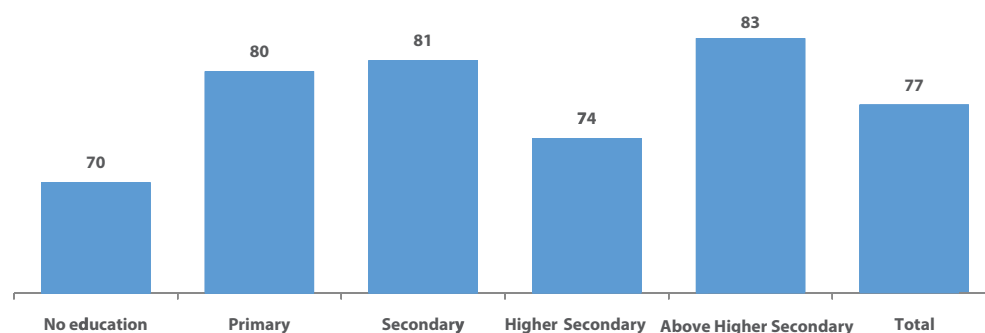
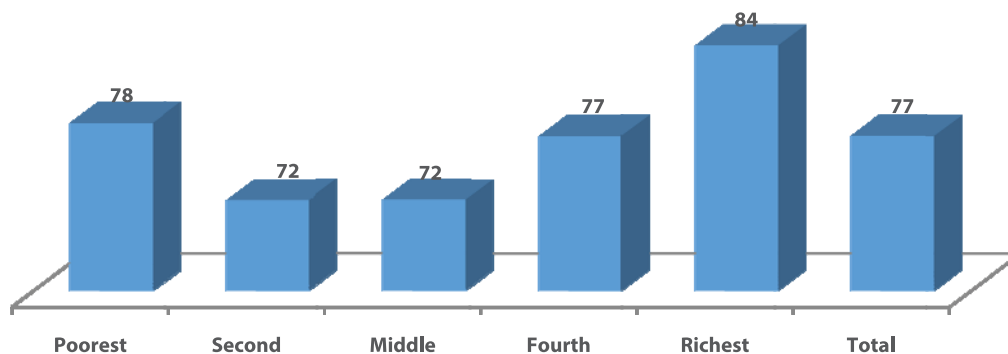


Figure 9.14: Percentage of Respondent's Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Wealth Quintile



9.6 Decision Maker of Marriage

In most districts, respondents are most likely say to that their father had the ultimate decision-making power over their marriage, followed by parents together, mother alone, brother, self, and others (Appendix Table 45). Satkhira has the highest percentage reporting the father as the decision-maker (60.9%) and Moulvibazar has the lowest percentage of mentioning the father as the decision-maker (27.7%) (Figure 9.15). In rural areas, the percentages of those reporting the father, parents and brother as the decision makers were higher than in urban areas (Figure 9.16 & Appendix Table 46).

Figure 9.15: Percentage of Respondent's Decision-Maker of the Marriage at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

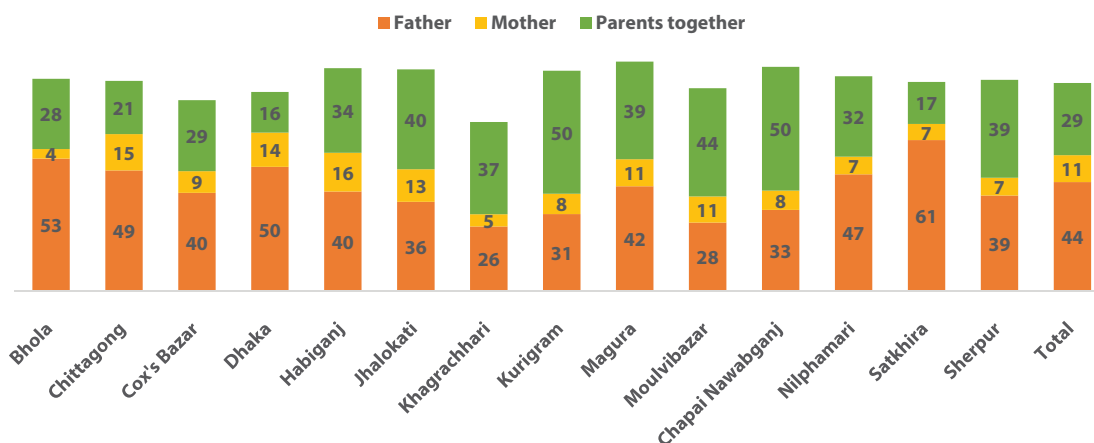
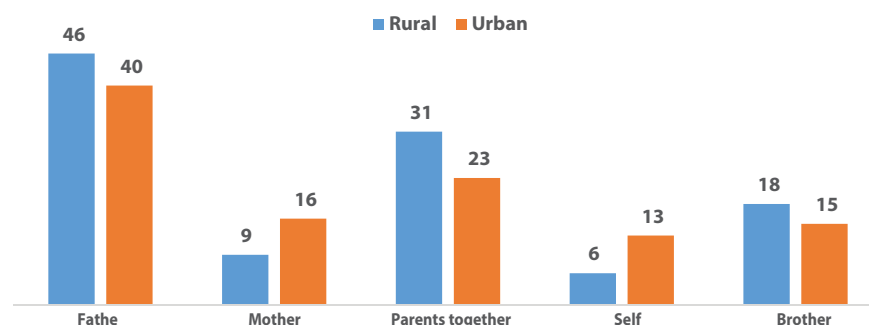


Figure 9.16: Percentage of Respondent's Decision Maker of Marriage at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Place of Residence

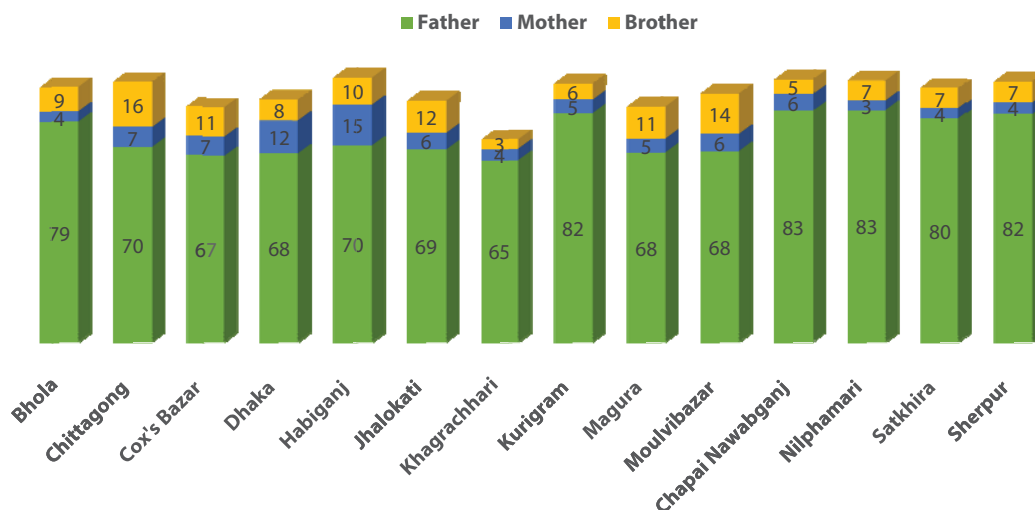


Women in younger age groups are more likely to name themselves as the ultimate decision-maker around marriage and less likely to name their father, mother, and brother. This pattern suggests an increasing trend of autonomy for women over time (Appendix Table 47). Women with above higher secondary education have the highest percentage of reporting self as the decision maker of their marriage (15%) and their counterparts with no education are least likely to report self (Appendix Table 48).

9.7 Guardian at the Time of Marriage

Among ever-married women, 72.7 percent report that their fathers were their guardians at the time of marriage, followed by brother (9.5%), mother (7.5%), and the remaining 10.3 percent of respondents name other guardians such as sister, grandfather, and grandmother (Appendix Table 50). More than 75 percent (75.8%) of respondents in rural areas name their father compared to 64.3 percent in urban areas. In urban areas, 5.7 percent name their mother as their guardian compared to 12.4 percent in urban areas (Appendix Table 51). Detail by district is in Figure 9.17.

Figure 9.17: Percentage of Respondent's Guardian at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

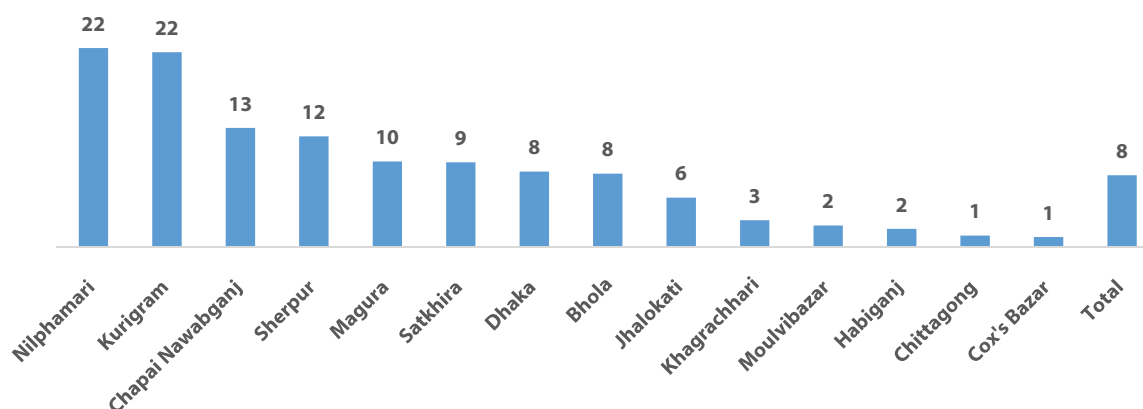


The differences in reporting guardianship across age groups are not pronounced except in the case of reporting a brother as the guardian. Only 5.9 percent of ever-married women aged 15-19 mentioned their brother as their guardian at the time of marriage compared to 10.3 percent of women aged 45-49 (Appendix Table 52). Moreover, among women who had above higher secondary education/Fazil/Kamil are more likely to name their father and mother as their guardian at the time of marriage (Appendix Table 53). Those in the poorest wealth quintiles are more likely to name their father than those in the richest wealth quintile (73.2% and 67.7% respectively) (Appendix Table 54).

9.8 Started Menstruation after Marriage

Among the ever-married women, 92 percent say that their menstruation began before marriage (Appendix Table 55). While a small proportion overall of women say their menstruation began after marriage, there are substantial differences in the timing of menarche by district. As shown in Figure 9.18, Kurigram had the highest percentage of women who had experienced the beginning of menstruation after marriage and Cox's Bazar had the lowest percentage.

Figure 9.18: Percentage of Respondents Who Started Menstruation after Getting Married as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District



Rural-urban differences are small and are available in Appendix Table 56. Older female respondents, those with less education, and those in the lower wealth quintiles are more likely to report having begun menstruation after marriage (Appendix Table 9.19 and Figure 9.20).

Figure 9.19: Percentage of Respondents Who Started Menstruation after Getting Married as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Education

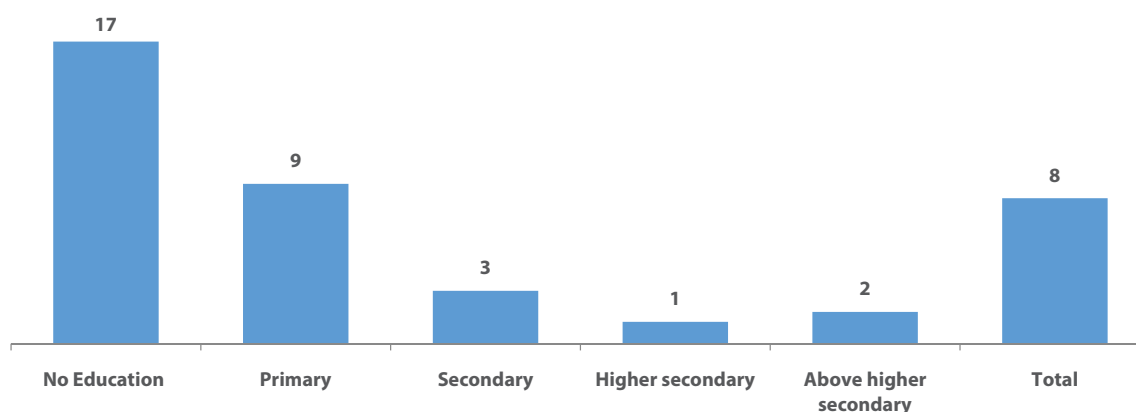
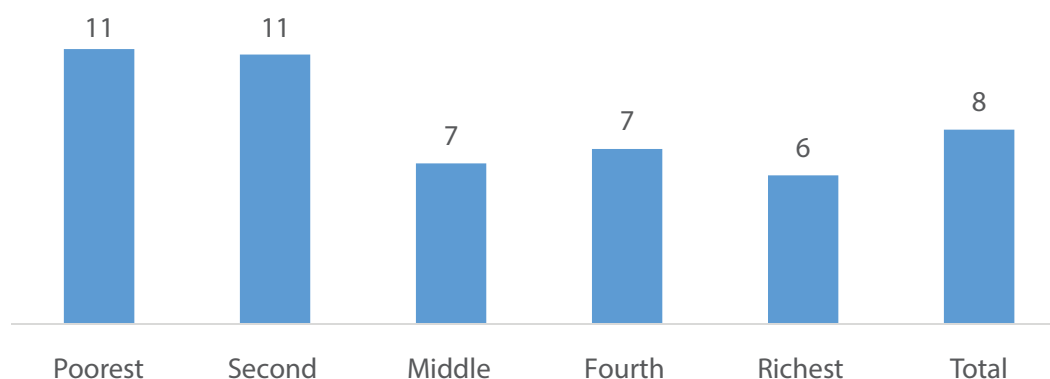


Figure 9.20: Percentage of Respondents Who Started Menstruation after Getting Married as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Their Wealth Quintile



Chapter 10

Dowry

CHAPTER 10 : DOWRY

Key Findings

- More than half the respondents in all categories believe that older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides. This belief is more prevalent in rural areas (60% of ever-married women) than urban areas (45.4%).
- More than 95 percent of respondents in all categories know that dowry was a punishable crime.
- Overall, half the respondents in all categories report having participated in a dowry transaction during marriage.
- The practice of dowry is much higher among respondents with no education (48% versus 23%) than their educated counterparts.
- The poorest people practice dowry at a lower rate than the richest people (35% versus 55%).
- Qualitative findings reveal lower levels of awareness about the legal aspects of dowry; the transaction of dowry is considered a custom. Parents gave dowry either willingly or unwillingly to ensure a better future and the girl's security in the husband's home even though the bride's family was poor. When parents were unable to pay dowry, some grooms' families delayed the marriage and sometimes cancelled the marriage.

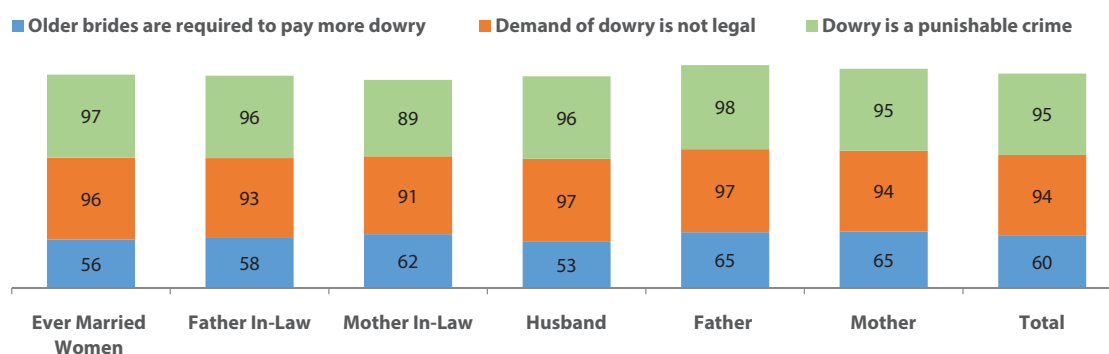
10.0 Introduction

This section presents attitudes and knowledge regarding dowry by respondent type, district, place of residence, age, education, and wealth quintile. In addition, it also presents the transaction of dowry by respondent type, district, place of residence, age, education, and wealth quintiles.

10.1 Attitude and Knowledge Regarding Dowry

More than half the respondents in all categories believe that older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides, with the highest percentage prevailing among fathers and mothers, and the lowest percentage prevailing among husbands (Figure 10.1). More than 95 percent of respondents in all categories report that dowry is a punishable crime, and a similar percentage of respondents note that the demand for dowry is not legal.

Figure 10.1: Percentage of Respondent's Attitudes and Knowledge Regarding Dowry by All Respondents



There are substantial differences in knowledge and attitude towards dowry by district (Table 10.1). For instance, Habiganj has the highest percentage and Khagrachhari has the lowest percentage of believing that older brides are required to pay more dowry. On the other hand, responses regarding the demand for dowry as legal and dowry as a punishable crime also vary across districts but the extent of variation is less than the variation in knowledge patterns (Table 10.1). In rural areas, 60 percent of ever-married women and a majority of other respondents believe that older brides are required to pay more dowry compared to 45.4 percent in urban area (Appendix Table 58).

Age-specific analysis of attitudes and knowledge regarding dowry shows that younger ever-married women are slightly more likely to believe that older brides are required to pay more dowry. However, this same age cohort also had slightly higher percentages of knowledge that dowry is a punishable crime. This is also true in the case of other respondents (Appendix Table 59).

Table 10.1: Percentage of Respondent's Attitudes and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among Ever-Married Women by District

| Attitude and Knowledge Regarding Dowry | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 67.5 | 72.3 | 79.6 | 32.1 | 81.9 | 45.9 | 15.8 | 64.3 | 40.1 | 57.4 | 74.7 | 57.3 | 67.8 | 43.4 | 56.0 |
| No | 32.5 | 27.7 | 20.4 | 67.9 | 18.1 | 54.1 | 84.2 | 35.7 | 59.9 | 42.6 | 25.3 | 42.7 | 32.2 | 56.6 | 44.0 |
| Demand for dowry is legal | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 0.5 | 3.9 | 5.8 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 1.8 | 6.0 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 8.0 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 1.6 | 3.0 |
| No | 99.5 | 93.7 | 90.3 | 97.6 | 96.4 | 98.2 | 88.7 | 97.6 | 95.8 | 97.1 | 90.5 | 95.8 | 95.3 | 97.4 | 95.5 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 2.5 | 3.9 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 1.0 | 1.4 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 98.9 | 97.2 | 90.8 | 97.9 | 99.1 | 98.6 | 91.7 | 98.7 | 95.8 | 98.1 | 97.2 | 91.8 | 94.6 | 96.1 | 96.7 |
| No | 0.8 | 1.4 | 4.5 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 2.7 | 0.3 | 2.3 | 5.8 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 1.8 |
| Could not tell | 0.3 | 1.5 | 4.7 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 3.4 | 2.3 | 1.5 |

Education is associated with higher rates of knowledge that dowry is a punishable crime among all respondents. In addition, more educated respondents are less likely to believe that older brides are required to pay more dowry (Table 10.2).

Table 10.2: Percentage of Respondent's Attitudes and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among Ever-Married Women by Education

| Attitudes and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among EMW | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------|
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | |
| Yes | 63.4 | 59.9 | 53.3 | 43.3 | 23.0 | 56.0 |
| No | 36.6 | 40.1 | 46.7 | 56.7 | 77.0 | 44.0 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | |
| Yes | 3.3 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 4.2 | 3.0 |
| No | 93.5 | 95.4 | 96.8 | 97.4 | 95.5 | 95.5 |
| Do not know | 3.2 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 1.5 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | |
| Yes | 95.0 | 96.3 | 97.8 | 98.1 | 98.3 | 96.7 |
| No | 1.7 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.7 | 1.8 |
| Cannot tell | 3.4 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.5 |

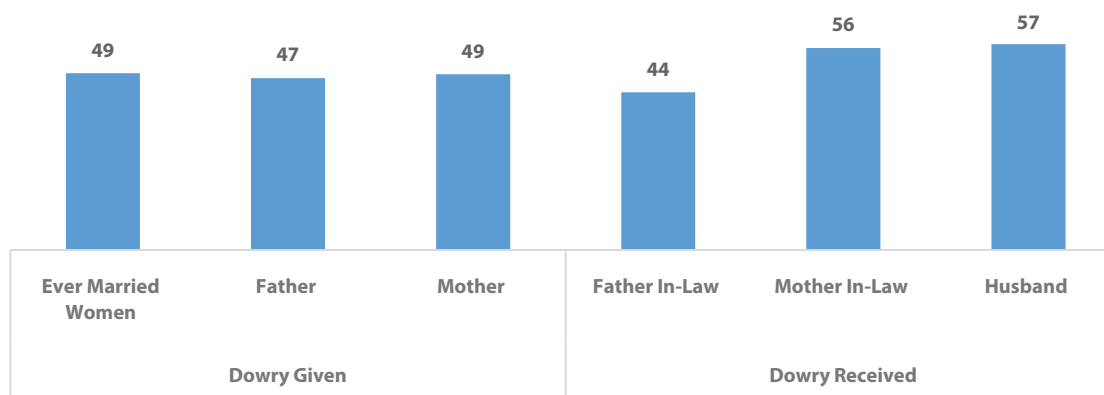
| Attitudes and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among EMW | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---|----------------|
| Attitudes and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among Other Respondents | | | | | | |
| Yes | 65.0 | 59.7 | 52.0 | 29.6 | 42.5 | 60.3 |
| No | 35.0 | 40.3 | 48.0 | 70.4 | 57.5 | 39.7 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | |
| Yes | 3.4 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 3.7 | 2.5 | 2.9 |
| No | 92.4 | 95.7 | 98.6 | 94.4 | 95.0 | 94.3 |
| Do not know | 4.2 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 2.8 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | |
| Yes | 92.7 | 95.9 | 98.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 94.8 |
| No | 2.5 | 1.6 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 |
| Cannot tell | 4.8 | 2.5 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.4 |

Moreover, a majority of the ever-married women in the poorest wealth quintile believed that older brides were required to pay more dowry compared to their richest counterparts (Appendix Table 60).

10.2 Transaction of Dowry

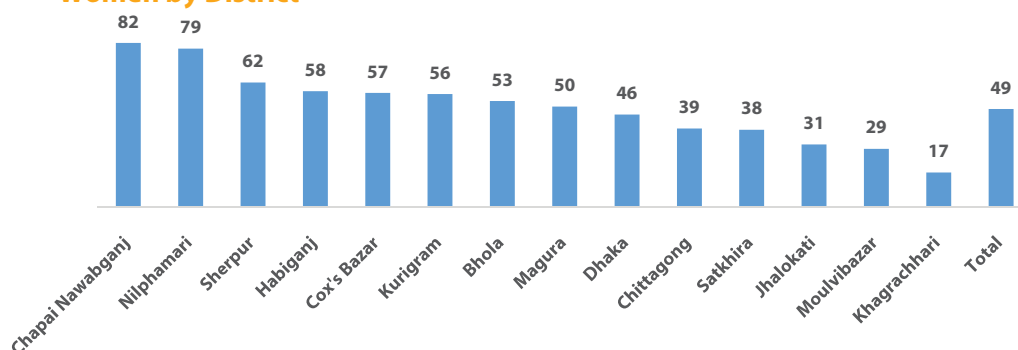
Overall, half the respondents in all categories report that they did engage in a dowry transaction during marriage. However, the reported percentages of those who gave dowries were slightly lower than those who said they received dowries, suggesting some underreporting in receiving dowry (Figure 10.2).

Figure 10.2: Percentage of Respondents who Transacted Dowry by Type of Respondent



Transaction of dowry is prevalent in all districts with substantial variation. For instance, Chapai Nawabganj has the highest percentage of dowry transaction whereas Khagrachhari has the lowest percentage (Figure 10.3). More than half the respondents in rural areas gave dowry whereas only about one-third of respondents in urban areas report that they engaged in dowry transactions at the time of marriage (Appendix Table 61).

Figure 10.3: Percentage of Respondent's Transaction of Dowry as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District



Along other dimensions, the practice of giving dowry is more prevalent among younger women than their older counterparts (Appendix Table 62). The practice of dowry is more prevalent among respondents who have no education, have only primary and secondary education compared to respondents with higher secondary and above higher secondary education (Figure 10.4). On the other hand, the practice of dowry is much less among the poorest wealth quintile compared to other wealth quintiles (Figure 10.5).

Figure 10.4: Percentage of Respondent's Transaction of Dowry as Reported by Different Respondents by Education

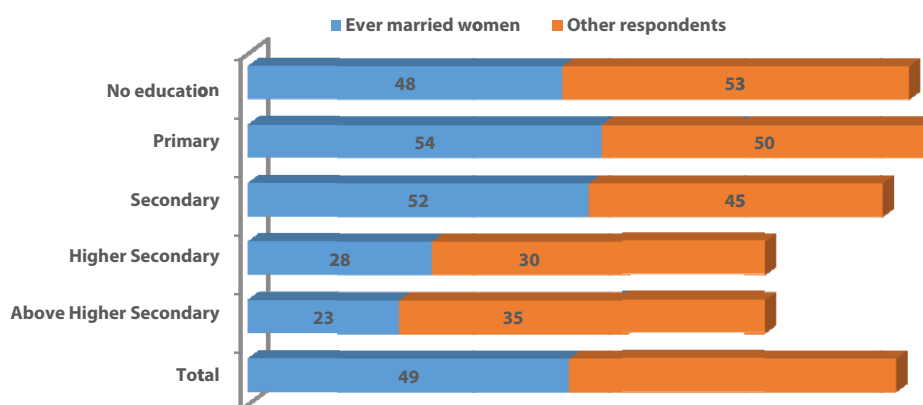
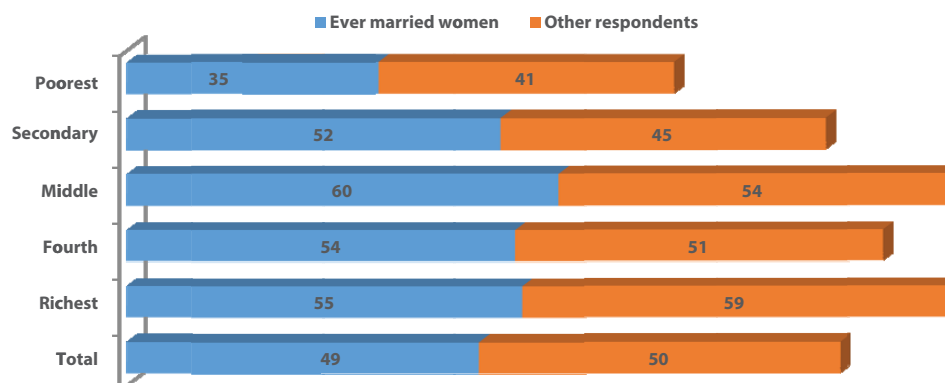


Figure 10.5: Percentage of Respondent's Transaction of Dowry as Reported by Different Respondents by Wealth Quintile



Chapter 11

Differentials of Child Marriage

CHAPTER 11 : DIFFERENTIALS OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Key Findings

- More than 65 percent (67%) of ever married women were married before age 18, with the highest rate of child marriage in Kurigram (91%) and the lowest rate in Moulvibazar (45%).
- Child marriage is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas (80% and 57% respectively).
- Child marriage is more common among ever-married women with no education (77.7%) and among the poorest wealth quintile (81.4%).
- Child marriage is less prevalent among those who consider it a punishable offense than those who don't (67% vs. 84%).
- Ever-married women who identify themselves as conservative in terms of practicing *purdah* are slightly more likely to be married as children (68.7%) than those who are less conservative (65.4%) and those who are liberal (62.4%).
- Child marriage is more common when the women already had a kin relationship with their husbands (76.1%).
- More than 75 percent (76.5%) of ever-married women believe that birth registration can help in preventing child marriage.
- The prevalence of child marriage is higher among those who had given dowry compared to those who did not give dowry (72% and 63%, respectively).
- Only 1.6 percent of ever-married women believe that environmental/climatic factors contributed to their child marriage.
- Father's education appears to be an important determinant of child marriage. Child marriage is less prevalent (28.6%) when the father's education is above higher secondary and more prevalent (66.5%) in the case of fathers who have no education.
- Child marriage is 69 percent in areas where sexual harassment is considered common compared to 53.7 percent in localities where it did not happen at all (35.5% of the ever married-women reported that sexual harassment did not happen at all in their locality).
- Child marriage is 63.1 percent among those respondents whose parents were highly conservative in terms of practicing *purdah* compared to 40 percent among those whose parents did not practice *purdah*.

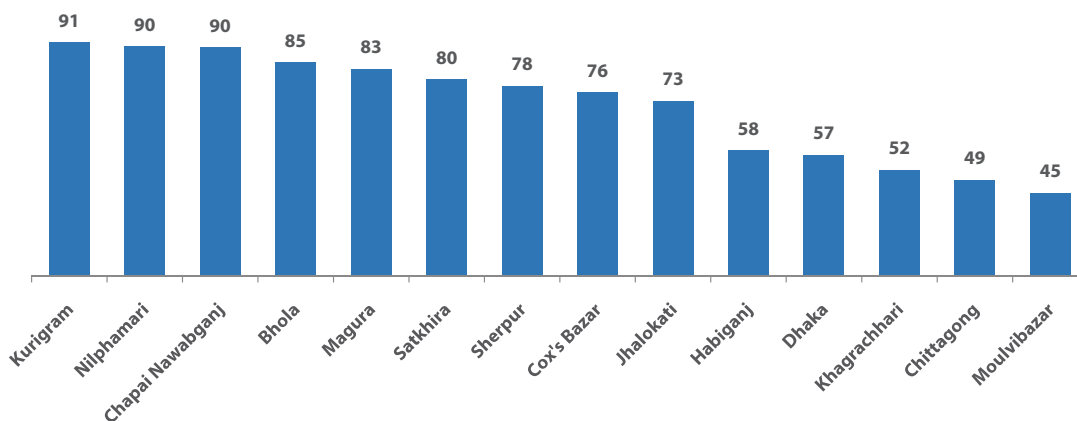
11.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings related to the prevalence of child marriage by knowledge regarding child marriage, place of residence, age, education, and wealth quintile by district. It also presents the prevalence of child marriage by level of social security, socioeconomic characteristics, media exposure, attitude towards who is a child, kin relationship with husband at the time of marriage, socioeconomic status of husbands' family, identity of the decision maker and the guardian. The last section of this chapter discusses knowledge and practice regarding birth registration and marriage registration by district, place of residence, age, education, and wealth index. Thereafter, the prevalence of child marriage across birth registration, marriage registration, *purdah* system and practice of dowry are presented.

11.1 Prevalence of Child Marriage

The prevalence of child marriage among ever-married women is 67 percent. There is substantial variation in child marriage by district with the highest rate in Kurigram and the lowest rate in Moulvibazar (Figure 11.1).

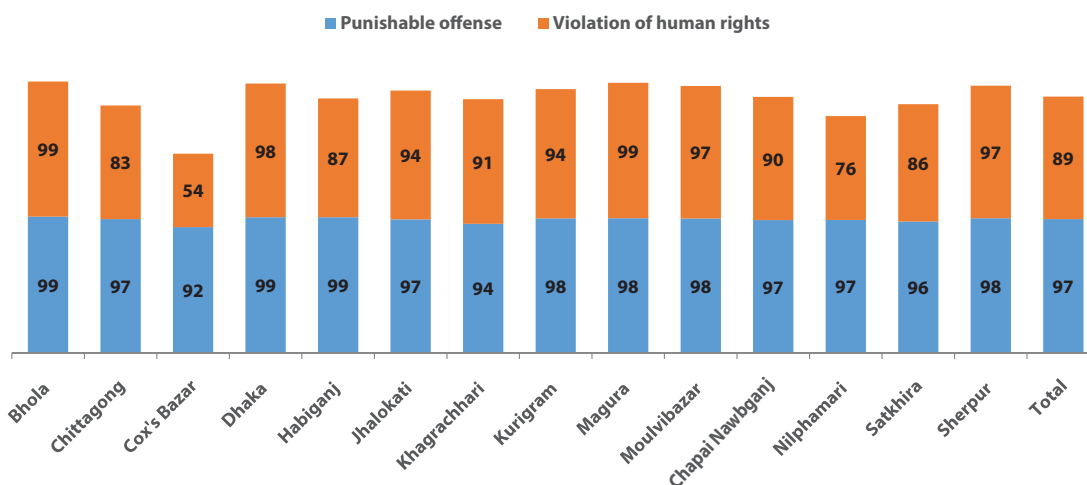
Figure 11.1: Prevalence of Child Marriage by District



11.2 Knowledge regarding Child Marriage

An overwhelming majority of respondents know that child marriage is a punishable offense (97.4%) with slight variations across districts (Appendix Table 63). Among the ever-married women, 89.4 percent know that child marriage was a violation of human rights with the highest percentage reporting from Magura and the lowest percentage from Cox's Bazar (Figure 11.2).

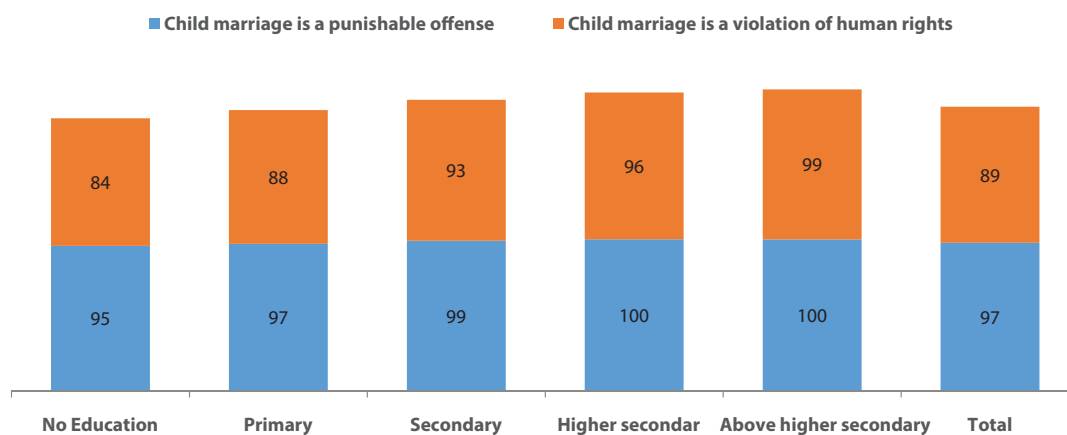
Figure 11.2: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who have Knowledge about Child Marriage by District



There is no significant difference in the level of knowledge around child marriage as a punishable offense by place of residence, although a higher percentage of respondents in urban areas (94.4%) report that child marriage is a violation of human rights compared to those in rural areas (87.6%) (Appendix Table 64). In general, respondents in all age groups know that child marriage is a punishable offense and a violation of human rights except the youngest respondents (13-14 years) (Appendix Table (65).

Women with higher levels of education are more likely to consider child marriage as a punishable offense and violation of human rights than women with lower levels of education (Figure 11.3). Similarly, ever-married women belonging to the richer wealth quintiles are more likely to consider child marriage a punishable offense and violation of human rights than ever-married women belonging to the lower wealth quintiles (Appendix Table 66).

Figure 11.3: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who have Knowledge about Child Marriage by Education



In accordance with the quantitative data show that the participants have sufficient knowledge regarding the legal consequences of child marriage. However, despite having sufficient knowledge regarding the legal consequences of child marriage, the participants justified marrying off their daughters below the age of 18 for the following reasons:

- Poverty
- Backbiting¹
- Social pressure
- Personal factors (family issues, security concerns, dowry)
- Traditional practice

11.3 Child Marriage: In-Laws Household Perspective

This section presents the prevalence of child marriage among ever married women living with their in-laws and other characteristics such as social security status, socioeconomic status, media access, purdah system, social norms and values, location of in-laws' house, kin relationship with the husband, family decision-maker at the time of marriage and birth and marriage registration. In addition, differentials in child marriage from natal/parental household's perspective are also presented.

11.3.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics and Child Marriage

The prevalence of child marriage is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas (80% and 57% respectively). Age-specific analysis of child marriage shows that, contrary to expectation, in most districts, ever-married women in the younger age groups are more likely to have been married as children than older respondents. For instance, in Bhola, the prevalence of child marriage among the oldest

¹ 'Backbiting' works as social pressure because people say negative things about grown-up unmarried woman behind their back. Thus, to avoid any backbiting, parents arrange marriages for their young daughters.

cohort (45-49) was 87.0 percent compared to 96.2 percent among ever-married women aged 15-19. A slightly higher spousal age gap is observed in marriages in which one party was a child at the time of marriage in all districts except for Kurigram and Chapai Nawabganj. The prevalence of child marriage among respondents with a spousal age gap of 6-7 years was 67.9 percent compared to 71.2 percent in the case of respondents with a spousal age gap of 10 years and above (Table 11.1).

Table 11.1: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among the Ever-Married Women by Socio-Economic Characteristics of Their in-Laws' Household by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 85.2 | 50.3 | 76.8 | 63.3 | 57.2 | 78.3 | 45.5 | 91.4 | 85.5 | 44.9 | 90.3 | 90.4 | 80.0 | 80.8 | 70.9 |
| Urban | 85.3 | 47.3 | 69.2 | 52.9 | 71.4 | 65.8 | 64.6 | 91.4 | 71.4 | 55.0 | 86.0 | 83.3 | 80.8 | 60.5 | 57.0 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13-14 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 15-19 | 96.2 | 73.0 | 90.7 | 79.4 | 87.5 | 100.0 | 89.5 | 95.6 | 100.0 | 76.5 | 97.7 | 96.8 | 93.3 | 92.3 | 88.9 |
| 20-24 | 72.7 | 45.9 | 65.8 | 61.8 | 66.7 | 67.9 | 48.9 | 87.9 | 80.4 | 42.6 | 83.6 | 88.3 | 75.6 | 70.3 | 65.8 |
| 25-29 | 84.8 | 48.4 | 66.7 | 45.0 | 48.8 | 63.2 | 40.9 | 91.3 | 76.1 | 37.5 | 87.0 | 85.4 | 69.2 | 74.3 | 61.0 |
| 30-34 | 88.4 | 50.8 | 74.1 | 49.8 | 44.3 | 75.0 | 60.8 | 88.8 | 81.6 | 41.4 | 91.0 | 87.2 | 80.3 | 79.3 | 63.4 |
| 35-39 | 91.0 | 53.5 | 88.6 | 51.7 | 59.4 | 76.2 | 50.0 | 96.7 | 82.4 | 47.7 | 88.7 | 92.9 | 80.5 | 73.5 | 67.0 |
| 40-44 | 81.1 | 41.6 | 78.8 | 61.6 | 53.7 | 78.1 | 53.3 | 87.8 | 91.2 | 46.2 | 89.8 | 94.3 | 91.7 | 79.3 | 67.1 |
| 45-49 | 87.0 | 47.4 | 88.9 | 76.7 | 72.0 | 68.4 | 45.0 | 100.0 | 81.3 | 54.3 | 91.9 | 100.0 | 91.3 | 82.5 | 74.9 |
| Spousal Age Gap | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than 5 years | 77.6 | 35.8 | 67.7 | 38.8 | 48.9 | 63.5 | 46.0 | 87.2 | 83.9 | 33.3 | 85.3 | 83.7 | 73.4 | 73.7 | 58.7 |
| 6-7 years | 81.9 | 47.0 | 75.4 | 58.5 | 58.1 | 72.7 | 47.6 | 94.3 | 82.8 | 40.8 | 92.2 | 93.2 | 79.8 | 80.8 | 67.9 |
| 8-9 years | 86.0 | 52.4 | 81.2 | 58.7 | 62.3 | 78.9 | 58.5 | 98.6 | 83.3 | 58.5 | 92.3 | 93.7 | 78.1 | 83.7 | 71.0 |
| 10 years and above | 91.1 | 56.1 | 79.2 | 65.4 | 61.3 | 79.5 | 68.8 | 89.7 | 82.7 | 53.0 | 90.9 | 93.6 | 85.3 | 81.4 | 71.2 |
| Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 94.4 | 63.2 | 86.1 | 73.4 | 66.2 | 93.3 | 50.7 | 95.9 | 92.3 | 60.8 | 91.2 | 98.1 | 94.0 | 83.2 | 77.7 |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 93.4 | 61.4 | 78.0 | 72.6 | 62.2 | 81.2 | 59.1 | 97.6 | 91.8 | 41.6 | 95.0 | 95.1 | 81.3 | 86.9 | 76.6 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 82.2 | 47.1 | 65.1 | 57.2 | 53.8 | 80.2 | 55.8 | 92.8 | 83.5 | 39.5 | 92.8 | 87.3 | 80.4 | 74.0 | 65.1 |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 36.0 | 14.0 | 20.0 | 29.9 | 0.0 | 38.1 | 27.3 | 50.0 | 27.3 | 7.7 | 65.0 | 20.0 | 39.1 | 40.0 | 28.5 |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 11.1 | 0.0 | 20.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 21.4 | 33.3 | 25.0 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 25.0 | 41.7 | 0.0 | 7.4 |
| Mother's Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 92.3 | 56.8 | 81.5 | 69.0 | 68.7 | 88.0 | 49.0 | 91.2 | 90.0 | 55.6 | 92.6 | 98.1 | 85.8 | 81.3 | 73.7 |
| Literate | 90.1 | 53.5 | 75.2 | 57.8 | 60.6 | 79.1 | 78.1 | 96.3 | 87.5 | 44.2 | 90.5 | 93.1 | 81.8 | 69.0 | 71.3 |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 77.6 | 37.6 | 67.5 | 49.3 | 46.4 | 70.6 | 54.5 | 83.9 | 72.0 | 35.3 | 76.5 | 82.9 | 75.8 | 75.0 | 58.4 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 48.1 | 33.7 | 57.1 | 29.2 | 46.2 | 65.4 | 25.0 | 70.6 | 66.7 | 29.2 | 94.7 | 60.0 | 61.4 | 57.1 | 46.7 |
| Higher secondary and above | 66.7 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 12.5 | 25.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 83.3 | 0.0 | 27.4 |
| Father's Education | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 93.3 | 53.1 | 87.5 | 65.0 | 65.4 | 88.2 | 51.5 | 94.7 | 92.5 | 65.8 | 93.3 | 96.5 | 89.7 | 85.9 | 75.4 |
| Literate | 87.7 | 62.7 | 73.1 | 68.3 | 65.7 | 88.0 | 75.8 | 95.6 | 86.3 | 50.6 | 92.4 | 94.8 | 81.3 | 60.7 | 75.6 |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 89.2 | 52.5 | 77.4 | 65.4 | 64.0 | 78.6 | 42.6 | 88.9 | 86.9 | 38.8 | 84.8 | 85.6 | 79.8 | 81.8 | 68.7 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 76.6 | 46.0 | 65.0 | 40.7 | 45.2 | 69.7 | 42.1 | 88.8 | 72.1 | 31.9 | 91.4 | 82.5 | 76.0 | 73.1 | 58.1 |
| Higher secondary and above | 54.5 | 7.7 | 64.3 | 25.2 | 26.7 | 55.6 | 66.7 | 75.9 | 33.3 | 36.4 | 63.2 | 76.9 | 66.7 | 45.5 | 41.3 |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 90.9 | 70.0 | 79.7 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 91.7 | 56.7 | 95.3 | 90.9 | 48.5 | 80.8 | 98.8 | 74.3 | 83.3 | 81.4 |
| Second | 89.2 | 62.6 | 74.6 | 53.6 | 68.3 | 74.4 | 52.3 | 92.6 | 86.6 | 65.5 | 96.6 | 96.6 | 79.5 | 85.5 | 78.5 |
| Middle | 87.9 | 54.7 | 76.3 | 62.5 | 56.9 | 80.0 | 41.9 | 92.0 | 91.4 | 38.8 | 91.3 | 90.1 | 83.3 | 75.0 | 71.5 |
| Fourth | 70.4 | 41.8 | 79.2 | 69.7 | 53.5 | 75.9 | 39.3 | 68.9 | 78.1 | 44.3 | 91.7 | 78.9 | 82.6 | 65.6 | 66.0 |
| Richest | 46.7 | 43.7 | 60.0 | 54.5 | 54.4 | 51.3 | 100.0 | 70.0 | 55.6 | 35.0 | 81.6 | 68.8 | 71.9 | 40.0 | 53.2 |
| Religion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslim | 85.9 | 54.6 | 77.2 | 58.4 | 62.0 | 77.1 | 74.1 | 92.0 | 87.7 | 51.2 | 89.5 | 91.8 | 83.3 | 80.6 | 71.2 |
| Others | 64.3 | 31.8 | 66.7 | 49.2 | 41.4 | 51.5 | 41.9 | 80.6 | 66.1 | 31.7 | 92.3 | 81.5 | 70.9 | 41.2 | 48.3 |

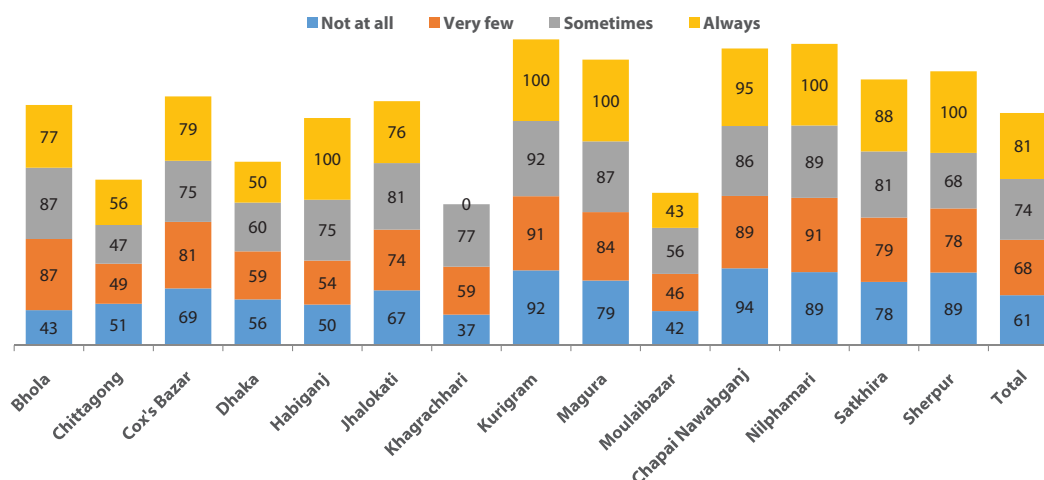
The highest prevalence of child marriage is among ever-married women with no education (77.7%), followed by primary education/Ebtedayee (76.6%), secondary education/Dakhil (65.1%), and higher secondary education (28.5%). District-level variation in child marriage across each of the education categories is also evident. The higher prevalence of parents with higher education levels in a district is associated with lower prevalence of child marriage in that district. For example, in cases where mothers had no education, the occurrence of child marriage was more than double compared to the cases where mothers had higher secondary and above education (Table 11.1).

The prevalence of child marriage is the highest among the poorest wealth quintile (81.4%), followed by second (78.5%), middle (71.5%), fourth (66%), and the richest (53.2%), though there is significant variation by district. The prevalence of child marriage was higher among Muslims (71.2%) compared to the followers of other religions (48.3%) (Table 11.1).

11.3.2 Social Security Issues and Child Marriage

We examine three components of social security that are associated with child marriage: sexual harassment², human trafficking and sexual violence³/rape. On all three measures, where girls are considered to be less safe, i.e. higher rates of sexual harassment, human trafficking and sexual violence/rape, there is an associated higher rate of child marriage in the locality (Appendix Table 67 and Figure 11.4, 11.5 and 11.6). For instance, Figure 11.4 showed that the prevalence of child marriage was much lower where sexual harassment did not happen at all compared to the places where it occurred always. Similarly, higher incidence of human trafficking and higher occurrence of sexual violence/rape were found to be associated with higher rates of child marriage with few exceptions.

Figure 11.4: Prevalence of Child Marriage by Ever-Married Women's Perceptions regarding Occurrence of Sexual Harassment in Their Locality by District



² Sexual Harassment includes behavior such as unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other conduct of a sexual nature. It is conduct that affects a person's employment or education or interferes with a person's work or educational performance or creates an environment that a reasonable person would find it intimidating, hostile or offensive (Source: http://sexualviolence.ucdavis.edu/faq_svsa.html).

³ Sexual Violence means physical sexual acts without the consent of the other person or when the other person is unable to give consent. Sexual violence includes sexual assault, rape, domestic violence, dating violence and stalking (Source: http://sexualviolence.ucdavis.edu/faq_svsa.html).

Figure 11.5: Prevalence of Child Marriage by Ever-Married Women's Perceptions regarding Incidence of Human Trafficking in Their Locality by District

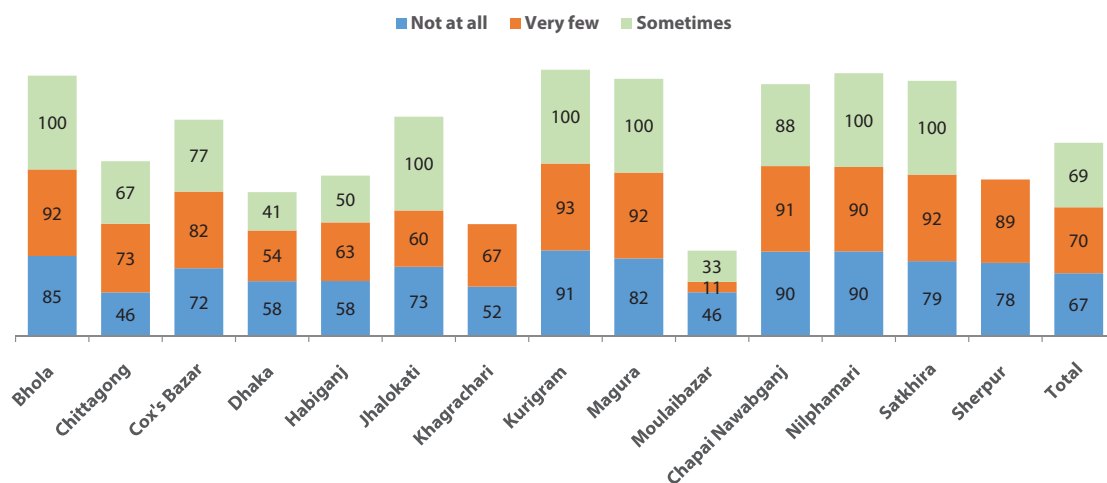
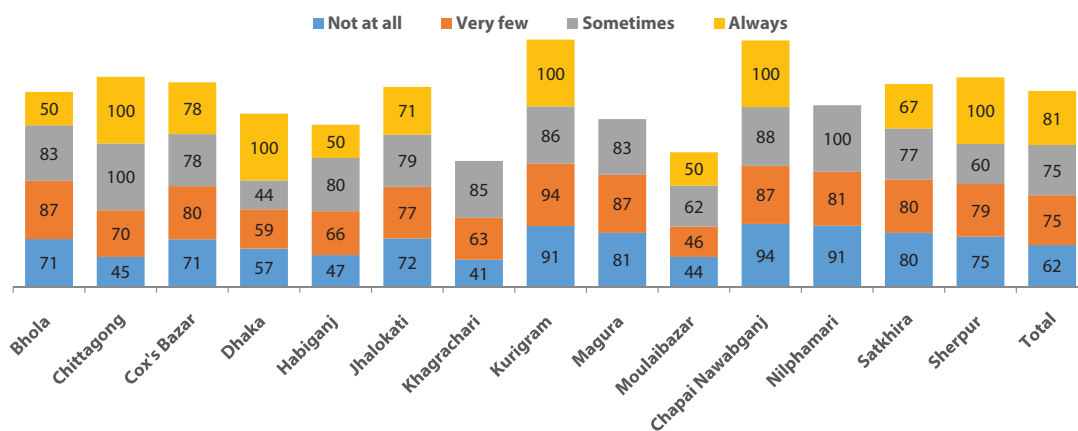


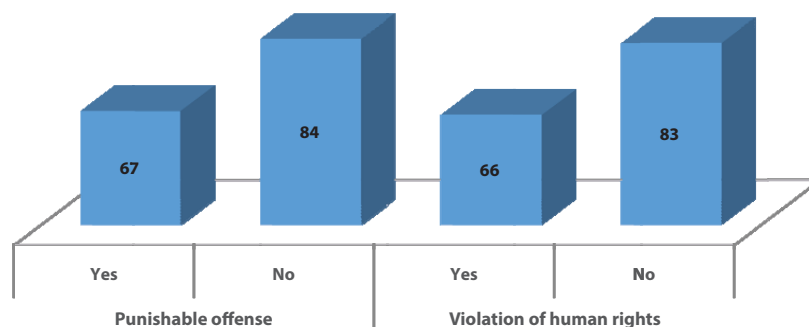
Figure 11.6: Prevalence of Child Marriage by Ever-Married Women's Perceptions regarding Occurrence of Sexual Violence in Their Locality by District



11.3.3 Child Marriage by Knowledge regarding Child Marriage

Child marriage rates are higher among respondents who do not consider child marriage a violation of human rights or a punishable offense (Figure 11.7).

Figure 11.7: Prevalence of Child Marriage by Ever-Married Women's Knowledge about Child Marriage



11.3.4 Mass Media Exposure and Child Marriage

Mass media exposure, or those who had ever read a newspaper, listened to radio, watched television, or used the internet report a lower prevalence of child marriage compared to those who with no access to these media. Detailed analysis of exposure to media by frequency of use showed that increasing use of access to media is associated with lower child marriage rates (Table 11.2).

Table 11.2: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among the Ever-Married Women by Mass Media Exposure by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Ever Read any Newspaper | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 60.9 | 36.3 | 45.2 | 37.8 | 45.8 | 58.3 | 52.1 | 80.9 | 62.5 | 31.0 | 77.6 | 63.1 | 74.6 | 48.1 | 48.3 |
| No | 90.2 | 62.0 | 80.9 | 69.7 | 64.8 | 87.6 | 52.6 | 96.8 | 92.2 | 53.9 | 92.5 | 96.1 | 83.7 | 81.2 | 76.8 |
| Read Newspaper in Last Week | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Daily | 0.0 | 0.0 | 20.0 | 26.4 | 14.3 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 66.7 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 22.3 |
| At least once in a week | 40.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 | 37.5 | 36.4 | 50.0 | 25.0 | 50.0 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 81.8 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 40.0 | 46.2 |
| More than once in a week | 60.0 | 20.5 | 44.4 | 35.1 | 20.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 25.0 | 37.5 | 0.0 | 77.8 | 0.0 | 54.5 | 66.7 | 34.3 |
| Not at all | 64.8 | 39.8 | 50.0 | 43.8 | 50.0 | 60.2 | 59.0 | 85.2 | 69.8 | 32.7 | 77.4 | 64.3 | 75.8 | 50.0 | 53.6 |
| Ever Listen Radio | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 83.3 | 46.3 | 65.0 | 50.0 | 57.6 | 70.5 | 55.0 | 89.8 | 79.5 | 43.4 | 87.7 | 89.0 | 79.4 | 61.2 | 64.0 |
| No | 87.6 | 63.5 | 77.5 | 60.0 | 60.7 | 85.7 | 37.8 | 94.7 | 92.1 | 49.2 | 91.0 | 92.1 | 82.5 | 81.6 | 71.3 |
| Listen Radio in Last Week | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Daily | 83.3 | 30.0 | 60.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 90.0 | 80.0 | 75.0 | 100.0 | 65.5 |
| At least once in a week | 66.7 | 18.2 | 100.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 90.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 57.4 |
| More than once in a week | 75.0 | 37.5 | 66.7 | 42.4 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 50.0 | 87.5 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 53.3 |
| Not at all | 83.3 | 47.3 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 57.8 | 70.7 | 54.7 | 91.0 | 79.8 | 43.2 | 88.0 | 89.2 | 80.1 | 59.6 | 64.4 |
| Ever Watch Television | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 81.9 | 47.2 | 69.9 | 56.1 | 57.6 | 70.4 | 52.5 | 91.2 | 80.9 | 43.9 | 88.9 | 90.1 | 80.1 | 74.6 | 65.0 |
| No | 93.5 | 89.5 | 80.9 | 88.5 | 76.9 | 95.5 | 50.0 | 92.3 | 93.5 | 57.9 | 95.6 | 93.1 | 83.6 | 84.3 | 85.3 |
| Watch Television in Last Week | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Daily | 72.3 | 44.9 | 51.4 | 53.3 | 53.4 | 63.4 | 47.2 | 83.3 | 78.2 | 36.3 | 88.7 | 85.2 | 77.2 | 72.0 | 57.7 |
| At least once in a week | 83.3 | 64.8 | 91.7 | 53.0 | 60.4 | 66.7 | 46.7 | 100.0 | 87.5 | 55.0 | 86.7 | 92.5 | 82.1 | 83.3 | 71.9 |
| More than once in a week | 94.1 | 43.4 | 75.0 | 65.3 | 63.0 | 81.0 | 58.8 | 91.9 | 76.5 | 48.6 | 93.2 | 90.7 | 85.1 | 78.6 | 70.5 |
| Not at all | 85.5 | 51.1 | 75.4 | 63.9 | 58.9 | 75.0 | 54.8 | 91.9 | 87.3 | 51.5 | 88.6 | 93.6 | 80.5 | 79.2 | 73.9 |
| Ever Used Internet | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 33.3 | 35.1 | 33.3 | 31.9 | 20.0 | 55.6 | 40.0 | 83.3 | 33.3 | 22.2 | 85.7 | 0.0 | 60.0 | 0.0 | 35.5 |
| No | 85.5 | 49.8 | 78.1 | 60.1 | 60.2 | 73.9 | 52.8 | 91.1 | 84.3 | 47.5 | 90.0 | 90.5 | 80.8 | 78.8 | 68.9 |
| Used Internet in Last Week | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Daily | 100.0 | 55.6 | 33.3 | 35.0 | 20.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 16.7 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 75.0 | 0.0 | 39.2 |
| At least once in a week | 0.0 | 37.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 24.2 |
| More than once in a week | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 32.4 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 27.0 |
| Not at all | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 20.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 39.2 |
| Any Media Exposure | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 76.5 | 46.2 | 63.2 | 55.9 | 54.9 | 67.8 | 48.2 | 87.2 | 78.3 | 41.5 | 88.5 | 87.6 | 78.7 | 73.6 | 61.5 |
| No | 89.7 | 61.2 | 80.7 | 66.1 | 61.6 | 80.6 | 55.5 | 93.0 | 91.7 | 51.4 | 92.6 | 94.2 | 83.0 | 83.6 | 77.5 |

11.3.5 Purdah System, Social Norms and Values and Child Marriage

This section presents findings related to practicing *purdah*, social norms and values, and child marriage.

11.3.5.1 Practice Regarding Purdah System and Child Marriage

The respondents of the study were asked how *purdah* is practiced by women in their natal household. A range of responses including wearing a *burkha*, scarf, *neka*, wearing modest clothes, modesty in

behaviour, no or restricted interaction with the opposite sex or unknown males, not sending girls to co-education schools, not going outside for work were taken into account. Respondents mentioning none of these responses were considered to be liberal. Those who mentioned one to two options were categorized as less liberal. Lastly, women who responded positively to three or more options were considered to be conservative. The Cronbach alpha is 0.54 for this scale (Cronbach, 1951; DeVellis, 2012).

Two patterns of relationship have been observed between practice of *purdah* and the prevalence of child marriage. Firstly, the overall prevalence of child marriage is highest among ever-married women who are conservative (68.7%), followed by less liberal (65.4%), and liberal (62.4%). This pattern of relationship exists in the following districts: Bhola, Chittagong, Khagrachhari, Moulvibazar, Satkhira, and Sherpur. On the other hand, the following districts have the reverse relationship between practice of *purdah* and the prevalence of child marriage: Cox's Bazar, Dhaka, Jhalokati, Magura, Chapai Nawabganj, and Nilphamari (Table 11.3). In these districts, the prevalence of child marriage is higher among those natal households which are categorized as liberal in terms of the practice of *purdah* followed by less liberal and conservative.

Table 11.3: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among the Ever-Married Women by Practice of *Purdah* System in Their Natal Household by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Liberal | 0.0 | 0.0 | 90.9 | 65.9 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 50.0 | 40.0 | 62.4 |
| Less Liberal | 66.7 | 44.4 | 75.0 | 60.0 | 59.4 | 72.2 | 45.4 | 93.5 | 84.8 | 42.2 | 91.5 | 91.1 | 79.2 | 94.5 | 65.4 |
| Conservative | 85.4 | 51.5 | 76.0 | 46.9 | 57.8 | 73.7 | 68.3 | 91.0 | 78.7 | 48.7 | 87.8 | 87.6 | 82.8 | 76.9 | 68.7 |

11.3.5.2 Social Norms and Values and Child Marriage

The respondents were asked about their social perceptions on a range of issues⁴. The respondents were asked to report on the strength of these perceptions in their society in categories such as strongly, moderately or do not prevail. We have found that there are strongly prevailing social norms and values associated with child marriage. Social norms and values seen as promoting child marriage include: girls are considered a parental burden; unmarried, grown-up girls are considered a social and familial failure and shame; girls are considered less worthy than boys; young girls are more attractive, energetic and easily manageable; girls are born for household and reproductive activities; and girls' child marriage is considered a religious obligation and necessary for their personal security. For example, the prevalence of child marriage is 72.6 percent among those who reported that the perception that girls are considered a parental burden strongly prevailed in their society, compared to 60 percent among their counterparts who mentioned that such perceptions did not prevail. District-level variation is shown in Table 11.4.

⁴ A total of 51 items were used to assess the prevailing social norms and values regarding marriage in the society. Using these, an exploratory factor analysis was employed to identify underlying dimensions of social norms and values regarding child marriage. Before the factor analysis was carried out, the inter-item consistency reliability of these fifty-one variables was tested. The Cronbach alpha for the scale was 0.88, indicating the scale to be good. Principle Component Analysis yields 38 items under seven factors that explain 60 percent of the matrix variance. According to practical significance criteria (Hair et al., 1995), individual item factor loadings have to exceed 0.4, and one factor should include at least two items. These practical significant criteria were also met in the exploratory factor analysis. The higher the values of these seven factors, the more negative attitudes prevail in the society about girls.

The prevalence of child marriage is 69 percent among those who reported the perception that unmarried, grown-up girls are a social and familial failure, or a source of shame is a strongly prevailing norm, compared to 53 percent among those where this perception does not prevail. In Bhola, child marriage rates are 100 percent among respondents who have strong perceptions about girls being considered less worthy than boys compared to 75.6 percent among those who do not hold this perception.

The prevalence of child marriage is substantially higher among those respondents who mentioned that the perception that 'young girls as more attractive, energetic and manageable' is held strongly in their society (67%) than those who mentioned that such norms and values do not prevail in their society (52%). Similarly, the prevalence of child marriage is 67 percent among those respondents who mentioned that the perception that 'girls are born for household and reproductive activities' is held strongly in their society than those who mentioned that it did not prevail in their society (47.4%). This trend of child marriage prevalence is also true in the case of the perception that 'marriage of girls is a religious obligation and necessary for their personal security' (Table 11.4).

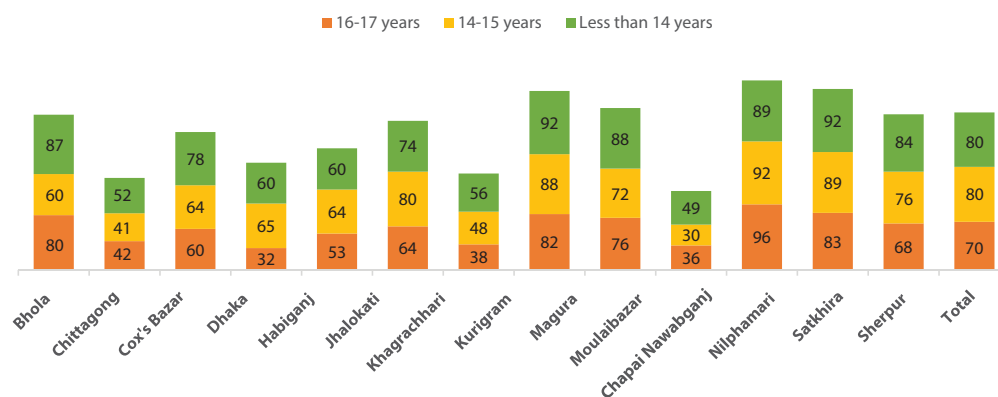
Table 11.4: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Social Norms and Values in Their Society by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Girls are considered as burden and they should get married whenever they look physically matured | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 60.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 80.5 | 42.6 | 70.6 | 51.3 | 60.5 | 70.0 | 50.3 | 88.4 | 81.2 | 44.4 | 96.0 | 90.7 | 78.3 | 74.3 | 61.4 |
| Strongly prevailed | 87.0 | 60.6 | 76.6 | 63.5 | 56.3 | 79.5 | 56.8 | 94.2 | 86.6 | 45.9 | 89.3 | 89.4 | 81.4 | 81.4 | 72.6 |
| Unmarried, grown-up girls are considered a social and familial failure and source of shame | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 57.8 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 88.9 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 53.3 |
| Moderately prevailed | 76.6 | 46.4 | 69.0 | 49.5 | 54.1 | 68.5 | 55.0 | 94.1 | 80.4 | 52.6 | 85.7 | 89.8 | 78.4 | 40.0 | 61.7 |
| Strongly prevailed | 87.1 | 51.0 | 77.1 | 59.6 | 58.6 | 76.2 | 49.3 | 90.7 | 86.1 | 44.9 | 89.9 | 90.4 | 80.6 | 78.5 | 68.8 |
| Girls are less worthy than boys | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 75.6 | 53.6 | 66.7 | 33.3 | 58.5 | 65.1 | 50.0 | 90.8 | 83.3 | 36.4 | 72.4 | 90.5 | 88.2 | 40.0 | 68.5 |
| Moderately prevailed | 87.7 | 49.2 | 75.5 | 53.8 | 56.4 | 74.3 | 53.6 | 91.0 | 83.2 | 46.8 | 90.3 | 89.8 | 77.6 | 79.0 | 66.5 |
| Strongly prevailed | 100.0 | 39.6 | 80.8 | 60.6 | 63.2 | 80.6 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 83.3 | 50.0 | 92.2 | 100.0 | 83.0 | 80.0 | 68.4 |
| Younger girls are more attractive, energetic and easily manageable | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 10.0 | 0.0 | 75.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 83.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 52.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 81.1 | 49.3 | 68.4 | 57.3 | 76.5 | 69.4 | 60.6 | 86.1 | 80.7 | 29.2 | 100.0 | 91.8 | 78.7 | 65.2 | 67.3 |
| Strongly prevailed | 88.2 | 49.3 | 76.9 | 57.3 | 56.7 | 74.8 | 46.8 | 92.2 | 84.4 | 46.4 | 89.3 | 88.2 | 80.9 | 80.2 | 67.1 |
| Male prefer less to marry uneducated and unemployed girls | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 82.5 | 50.4 | 68.0 | 41.7 | 53.5 | 69.1 | 34.7 | 92.7 | 82.0 | 45.0 | 81.8 | 92.9 | 77.6 | 76.5 | 64.6 |
| Moderately prevailed | 85.5 | 49.0 | 76.3 | 57.3 | 63.7 | 75.2 | 55.9 | 90.9 | 83.7 | 45.1 | 92.2 | 87.0 | 81.3 | 78.1 | 66.8 |
| Strongly prevailed | 100.0 | 54.8 | 86.4 | 89.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 71.4 | 100.0 | 88.9 | 60.0 | 90.7 | 0.0 | 75.5 | 75.0 | 82.3 |
| Girls are born for household and reproductive activities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 57.1 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 47.4 |
| Moderately prevailed | 77.3 | 43.0 | 70.5 | 55.5 | 36.8 | 70.5 | 57.1 | 84.3 | 76.4 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 88.2 | 75.7 | 53.8 | 66.4 |
| Strongly prevailed | 88.4 | 49.8 | 77.7 | 57.2 | 59.3 | 75.3 | 49.7 | 93.5 | 86.1 | 45.3 | 89.5 | 90.1 | 81.0 | 80.1 | 67.3 |
| Girls' marriage is considered as family responsibility due to religious obligations and social security | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 71.4 | 24.1 | 92.9 | 80.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 57.9 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 55.6 |
| Strongly prevailed | 85.2 | 49.9 | 75.3 | 56.9 | 58.4 | 73.6 | 51.0 | 91.4 | 83.5 | 45.3 | 89.6 | 90.0 | 80.3 | 78.0 | 67.3 |

11.3.6 Attitude towards who is a Child and Child Marriage

The definition of a child given by respondents is a predictor of child marriage (Appendix Table 68). For example, among those who consider age 18 is the cut off age for a child, the prevalence of child marriage is 62.5 percent compared to 70 percent in the case of those who considers only people aged under 14 years as a child. District-level variation on attitudes towards who is a child is presented in Figure 11.8.

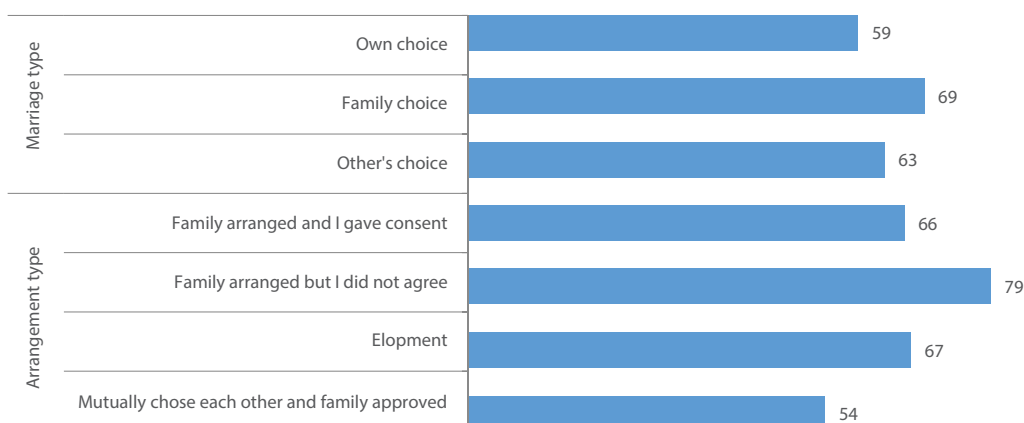
Figure 11.8: Prevalence of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Attitude towards who is a Child by District



11.3.7 Types and Patterns of Marriage and Child Marriage

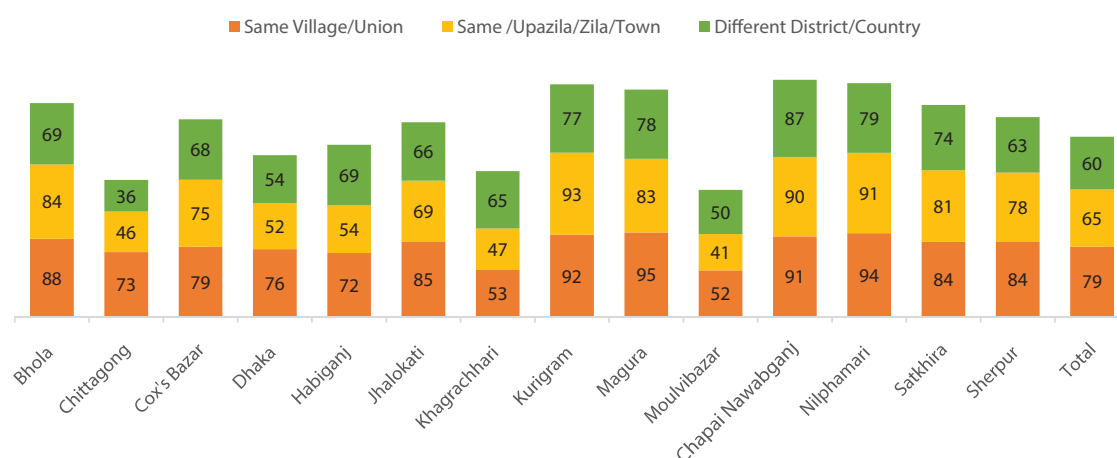
Respondents who report that their marriage was their own choice are less likely to have been married as children (59%), while 69 percent of marriages arranged by families were child marriages; among marriages that occurred through other's choice (mainly forced and mass marriages), 63 percent were child marriages (Figure 11.9). Marriages arranged with the woman's consent are less likely to have been child marriages (66%) than without the woman's consent (79%). As noted earlier, only 3.0 percent marriages occurred from elopement, but 67 percent of these were child marriages. Moreover, among the marriages that took place through mutual choice of both the parties with family approval, 54 percent are child marriages. In summary, although child marriage is prevalent in all types of marriages, it is more prevalent in arrangements where the woman was not afforded an opinion (Appendix Table 69).

Figure 11.9: Prevalence of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Occurrence and Arrangement of Their Marriage Type



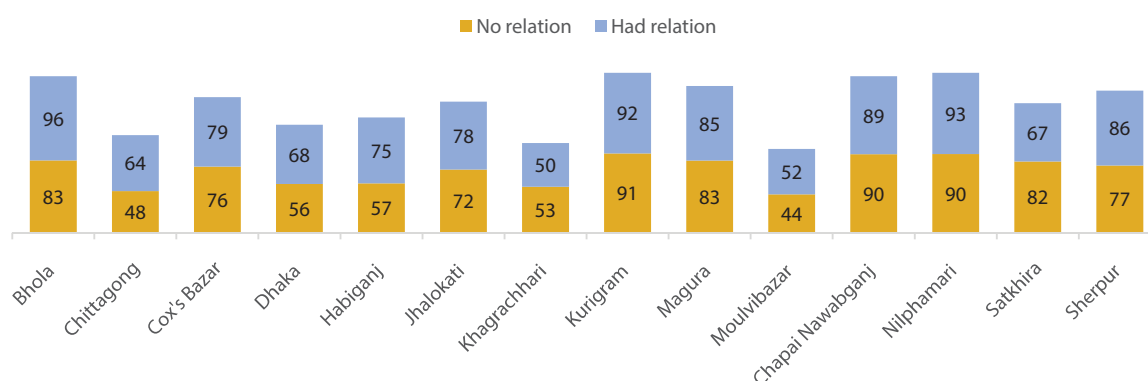
Distance to in-laws' house from the natal house at the time of marriage is inversely related to child marriage. Among marriages that occurred within the same village/union, 79 percent were child marriages, followed by about 65 percent of child marriages in the case of same Upazila/Zila/town, and about 60 percent of child marriages in the case of different district/country (Appendix Table 70). District-level variations in child marriage by location of in-law's house at the time of marriage are apparent and shown in detail in Figure 11.10.

Figure 11.10: Prevalence of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by the Location of Their In Laws House by District



The prevalence of child marriage is the lowest in the cases where there was no kin relationship with husband at the time of marriage. For example, 76.1 percent of marriages were child marriages when the women had a kin relationship with the husband compared to 66.2 percent in the case of no kin relationship with the husband (Appendix Table 71). District-level variations in child marriage by kin relationship are pronounced (Figure 11.11).

Figure 11.11: Prevalence of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Kin Relationship with Husband before Marriage by District

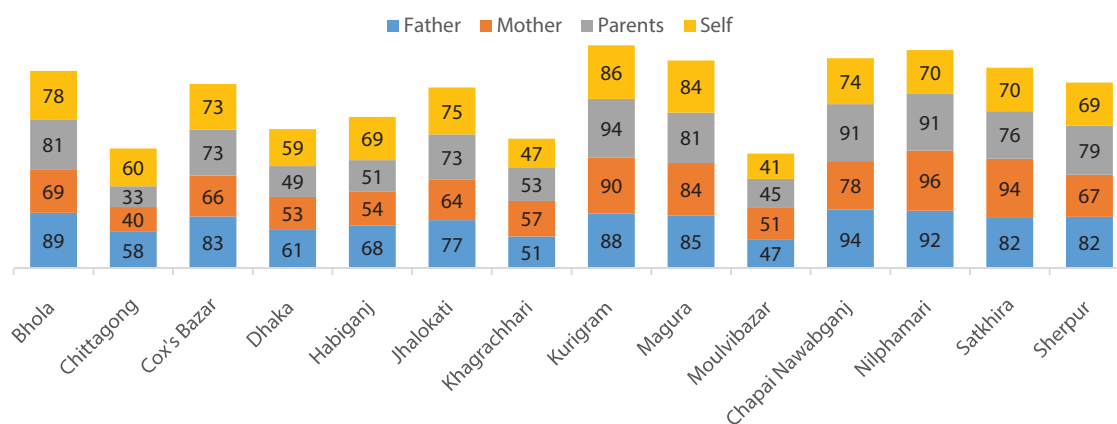


There are small differences in the prevalence of child marriage when comparing husbands' and wives' natal socioeconomic status. The prevalence of child marriage was 71.3 percent where the husband's socioeconomic status is lower, followed by 67.1 percent when the husband's socioeconomic status was better, and 65.8 percent when the two families had a similar socioeconomic status (Appendix Table 72).

11.3.8 Decision Makers of Marriage and Guardian at the Time of Marriage and Child Marriage

As noted above, about 85.0 percent of ever-married women reported that the decision makers regarding their marriage were father, mother or both parents, and a small portion of ever-married women had a sister or grandparents as the decision-makers. Among the first three categories (father, mother, both parents) the occurrence of child marriage was the highest in the cases where father was the decision maker (82.4%), followed by both parents (78.7%) and mother (67.4%). The occurrence of child marriage is even higher (about 85%) in the cases where grandparents were the decision-maker (Appendix Table 73). District-level variation in child marriage by decision-maker is in Figure 11.12.

Figure 11.12: Prevalence of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by the Decision Makers of Their Marriage by District



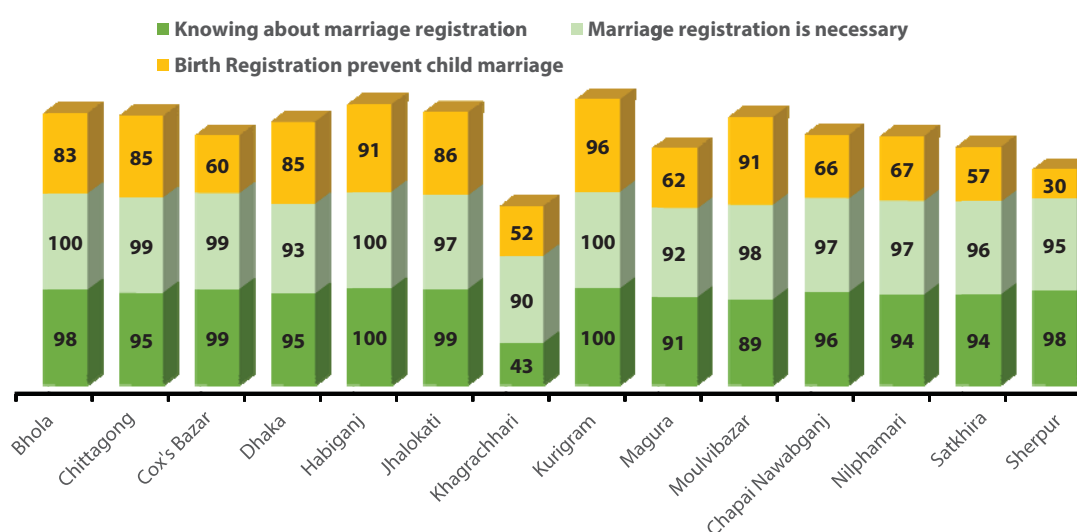
11.3.9 Birth Registration, Marriage Registration and Child Marriage

11.3.9.1 Knowledge Regarding Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage

Overall, more than 90 percent of the ever-married women know about marriage registration and believe that marriage registration is necessary (Figure 11.13). They mentioned several important reasons for marriage registration including legal action could be taken when necessary, the marriage is legally protected, receiving *denmahar* if divorced and child support can be claimed (Appendix Table 75). In Islam, a *denmahar* is a mandatory payment, in the form of money or possessions paid or promised to be paid by the groom or by the groom's father to the bride at the time of marriage that legally becomes her property.

Perhaps more importantly, 76.5 percent of ever-married women report that birth registration can help to prevent child marriage. Kurigram has the highest percentage (95.5%) and Sherpur has the lowest percent of reporting that birth registration prevents child marriage (29.5%). There is no significant variation by place of residence and age in knowledge regarding the role of birth and marriage registration in preventing child marriage (Appendix Tables 76-77).

Figure 11.13: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Knowledge regarding Birth and Marriage Registration by District

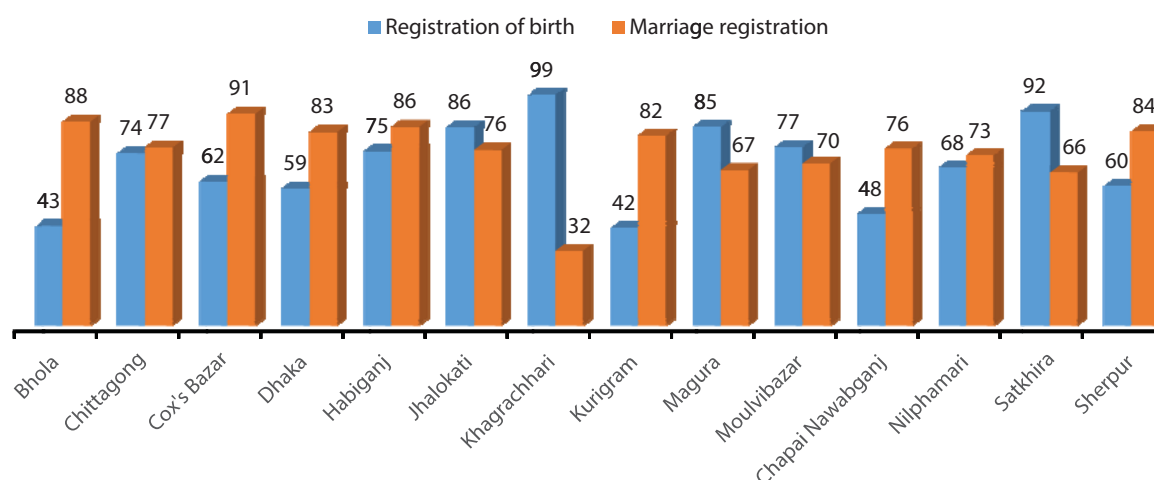


Higher educated, ever-married women are more likely to know about marriage registration, to believe that marriage registration is necessary and to believe that birth registration prevents child marriage compared to lower educated women (Appendix Table 78). Similarly, ever-married women belonging to the richest wealth quintile are more likely to know about marriage registration and to believe that birth registration prevents child marriage compared to their counterparts in the poorest wealth quintile (Appendix Table 79).

11.3.9.2 Practice of Birth and Marriage Registration

Among ever-married women, 66.9 percent report that their births were registered. However, 42.7 percent registered their birth within the last five years and 51.7 percent registered within the last ten years, corroborating the finding that a smaller percentage of women's births were registered just after birth (1.3%). Birth registration is less common than marriage registration (77.4%) and there is substantial variation in both measures across districts (Figure 11.14).

Figure 11.14: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Practice of Birth and Marriage Registration by District



Birth registration and marriage registration are slightly higher in urban areas than rural areas (Appendix Table 80) and younger respondents are more likely to have registered their births and marriages compared to their older counterparts (Appendix Table 81). Higher educated and wealthier, ever-married women were more likely to register both births and marriages (Appendix Table 82-83).

11.3.9.3 Child Marriage by Knowledge and Practice regarding Birth and Marriage Registration

Those with no knowledge on the requirement of registration of marriage are more likely to have been married as children compared to those with having knowledge (86% and 69% respectively). The prevalence of child marriage is lower among those who believe that birth registration prevents child marriage compared to those who do not think so (86% and 64%, respectively). Similarly, the prevalence of child marriage is lower among those whose birth is registered compared to those whose birth is not registered (74% and 64%, respectively). The prevalence of child marriage is also higher among those whose marriage is registered compared to those whose marriage is not registered (68% and 63%, respectively). The high prevalence of child marriage among those who registered their marriages raises questions about the legality of these marriages and possible falsification of birth certificates or other strategies to ensure the marriage was recognized. More investigation is needed into these strategies. District-level variation in the prevalence of child marriage by status of birth registration is outlined in Table 11.5.

Table 11.5: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Knowledge and Practice regarding the Role of Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Know about marriage registration | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 85.2 | 50.8 | 76.6 | 57.4 | 59.4 | 73.3 | 62.5 | 91.2 | 83.5 | 45.8 | 89.2 | 89.9 | 80.8 | 78.5 | 68.4 |
| No | 80.0 | 17.0 | 66.7 | 54.4 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 44.8 | 0.0 | 79.2 | 42.5 | 100.0 | 95.8 | 75.9 | 57.1 | 52.4 |
| Marriage registration is necessary | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 85.2 | 51.2 | 76.8 | 57.7 | 59.4 | 73.6 | 67.0 | 91.2 | 85.3 | 45.7 | 88.9 | 89.9 | 80.7 | 78.6 | 68.8 |
| No | 0.0 | 16.7 | 100.0 | 43.7 | 0.0 | 60.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 40.0 | 100.0 | 88.9 | 80.0 | 66.7 | 50.3 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 71.4 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 80.0 | 85.7 |
| Birth Registration prevent child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 83.1 | 47.1 | 74.3 | 53.7 | 58.2 | 72.6 | 46.2 | 91.3 | 79.6 | 44.5 | 86.9 | 87.9 | 77.9 | 68.5 | 63.7 |
| No | 93.4 | 67.0 | 83.2 | 78.7 | 46.7 | 76.5 | 50.0 | 89.5 | 88.8 | 52.9 | 92.9 | 96.3 | 81.7 | 82.0 | 80.5 |
| Do not know | 100.0 | 50.0 | 73.7 | 75.2 | 83.3 | 72.7 | 68.2 | 100.0 | 84.2 | 60.0 | 98.0 | 95.1 | 89.5 | 83.0 | 77.8 |
| Birth is registered | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Birth was registered | 75.5 | 47.7 | 73.8 | 53.5 | 58.5 | 74.0 | 52.3 | 87.6 | 81.5 | 45.1 | 86.2 | 89.7 | 80.3 | 77.0 | 64.1 |
| Birth was not registered/ Don't know | 91.9 | 53.8 | 81.7 | 62.7 | 62.1 | 67.7 | 100.0 | 93.8 | 92.1 | 45.7 | 92.7 | 91.6 | 82.9 | 80.3 | 74.2 |
| Marriage is registered | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 84.6 | 53.7 | 75.6 | 56.5 | 58.8 | 75.3 | 71.6 | 90.9 | 86.8 | 50.2 | 87.6 | 90.4 | 81.7 | 78.0 | 68.7 |
| No/Don't know | 86.7 | 34.7 | 86.7 | 60.9 | 62.7 | 66.0 | 43.7 | 92.7 | 76.7 | 34.0 | 96.8 | 90.1 | 78.2 | 78.0 | 63.2 |

11.3.10 Dowry and Child Marriage

The prevalence of child marriage is higher among those who believe that older brides are required to pay more dowry (72% and 62%, respectively), and among those who believe dowry is legal. However, there are substantial variation across districts (Table 11.6). The prevalence of child marriage is lower among those who believe that dowry was a punishable crime compared to those who did not think so (67% and 71%, respectively). District-level variation in child marriage were clearly evident across each of

the categories of knowledge and perceptions of dowry. Moreover, the prevalence of child marriage was higher among those who had given dowry compared to those who did not give dowry (72% and 63%, respectively) (Table 11.6).

Table 11.6: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Knowledge, Attitude and Practice regarding Dowry by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 89.2 | 49.3 | 76.6 | 68.6 | 61.8 | 76.8 | 65.9 | 93.0 | 87.5 | 45.2 | 91.5 | 91.9 | 82.3 | 80.3 | 71.6 |
| No | 76.0 | 49.4 | 77.5 | 51.8 | 47.3 | 69.9 | 50.0 | 87.6 | 80.1 | 45.3 | 83.8 | 88.7 | 76.7 | 76.7 | 62.1 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 100.0 | 50.0 | 84.2 | 48.1 | 71.4 | 50.0 | 75.0 | 81.8 | 80.0 | 40.0 | 96.9 | 83.3 | 75.0 | 80.0 | 70.2 |
| No | 84.8 | 49.2 | 76.3 | 57.1 | 59.1 | 73.5 | 50.4 | 91.3 | 83.2 | 45.1 | 88.8 | 90.4 | 80.2 | 78.5 | 67.2 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 50.0 | 71.4 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 61.5 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 75.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 90.0 | 66.7 | 73.7 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 84.7 | 49.8 | 75.8 | 57.2 | 59.2 | 73.2 | 52.1 | 90.9 | 82.7 | 44.9 | 89.6 | 90.9 | 80.3 | 77.7 | 67.3 |
| No | 100.0 | 37.5 | 93.3 | 46.4 | 66.7 | 66.7 | 75.0 | 100.0 | 85.7 | 100.0 | 88.9 | 86.4 | 66.7 | 80.0 | 71.0 |
| Cannot tell | 0.0 | 25.0 | 76.5 | 100.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 52.9 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 77.8 | 93.8 | 85.7 | 72.0 |
| Conditions regarding the marital exchange (Groom's Family) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Did not give dowry | 82.2 | 49.1 | 74.7 | 54.8 | 58.7 | 76.1 | 46.7 | 89.9 | 81.7 | 44.9 | 91.7 | 89.7 | 81.4 | 81.9 | 63.2 |
| Gave dowry | 87.2 | 49.7 | 78.3 | 60.0 | 59.6 | 66.7 | 79.5 | 92.3 | 84.5 | 46.5 | 89.4 | 90.4 | 79.1 | 76.1 | 71.8 |

11.3.11 Natural Disaster and Child Marriage

Overall, only 1.6 percent of the ever-married women believe that environmental or climatic factors contributed to their child marriage. This perception is the highest in Cox's Bazar, which was followed by Kurigram, Bhola, Chittagong, Magura, Chapai Nawabganj, and Satkhira. In addition, only 0.9 percent of the respondents believe that environmental/climatic factors contributed to their daughter's child marriage with the highest percent prevailing in Cox's Bazar. District-level variation is shown in Figures 11.15 and 11.16.

Figure 11.15: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Reporting that Environmental/Climate Factors Caused Their Own Child to be Married as a Child

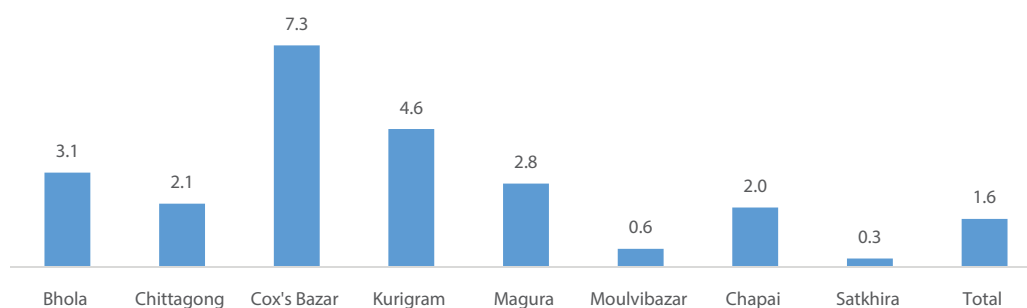
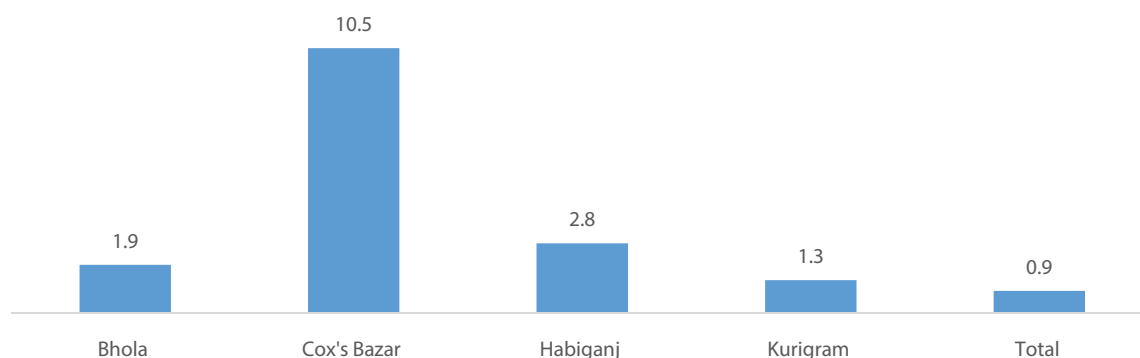


Figure 11.16: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Reporting that Environmental/Climate Factors Caused Their Own Marriage as Children by District



11.4 Child Marriage: Natal Household's Perspective

This section discusses child marriage in the respondent's natal household with respect to social security, parent's exposure to mass media, *purdah* system, social norms and values, birth registration, marriage registration, and dowry obtained through the interviews with women's parents. The natal households were selected by asking ever-married women who were married within the last five years to provide contact information of their parents/guardians. From this list of currently married women who were married in the last five years of the survey, 767 parents (373 father and 394 mother) were interviewed from natal households. In the case where the father and mother of one woman were interviewed, their responses are treated as a single data point. Thus, the sample size reported in this section has reduced to 681 parents.

11.4.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics and Child Marriage

Better socioeconomic conditions are associated with lower prevalence of child marriage in Bangladesh. There were mixed findings in terms of prevalence of child marriage and place of residence. For example, the prevalence of child marriage was higher in rural areas of Dhaka and Rajshahi division compared to urban areas. In contrast, the prevalence of child marriage was higher in urban areas of Chittagong, Khulna, Barisal, Sylhet, Rangpur and Mymensingh than their respective rural areas (Table 11.7).

Higher education of father and mother is associated with lower prevalence of child marriage. The prevalence of child marriage among ever-married women is 28.6 percent when the father's education was above higher secondary, compared to 66.5 percent when the father has no education. A similar pattern holds for mothers' education as well. In addition, the prevalence of child marriage was lower when parents belonged to the richest wealth quintile. The prevalence of child marriage in the richest wealth quintile is 39 percent compared to 70.6 percent in the poorest wealth quintile. Also, Muslims have higher prevalence of child marriage with substantial variation at division level. The prevalence of child marriage among Muslims is highest in Rajshahi division and lowest in Dhaka division (Table 11.7).

Table 11.7: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by the Socio-Economic Characteristics of Their Parents by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Place of Residence | | | | | | | | | |
| Rural | 40.9 | 45.0 | 82.1 | 63.4 | 54.8 | 23.1 | 56.7 | 47.4 | 53.7 |
| Urban | 33.3 | 52.6 | 80.6 | 67.9 | 67.2 | 42.7 | 77.6 | 69.0 | 60.6 |
| Father's Education | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 50.0 | 42.5 | 94.7 | 85.7 | 68.4 | 45.8 | 85.7 | 55.6 | 66.5 |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 100.0 | 68.0 | 100.0 | 54.5 | 58.3 | 33.3 | 72.7 | 50.0 | 63.0 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 0.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 72.7 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 25.0 | 66.7 | 43.5 |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 14.3 |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 28.6 |
| Mother's Education | | | | | | | | | |
| No Education | 33.3 | 53.2 | 77.8 | 59.3 | 75.0 | 54.3 | 84.8 | 65.4 | 62.1 |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 40.0 | 39.1 | 50.0 | 66.7 | 65.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 66.7 | 48.8 |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 33.3 | 40.0 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 33.3 | 40.0 | 0.0 | 43.6 |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 ⁵ |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | | | | | | |
| Poorest | 33.3 | 61.5 | 100.0 | 85.7 | 66.7 | 56.3 | 79.5 | 73.3 | 70.6 |
| Second | 50.0 | 45.8 | 75.0 | 71.4 | 71.4 | 55.6 | 83.3 | 58.8 | 64.7 |
| Middle | 80.0 | 40.6 | 87.5 | 78.9 | 59.1 | 42.9 | 57.1 | 44.4 | 56.2 |
| Fourth | 55.6 | 63.6 | 80.0 | 63.3 | 65.0 | 31.3 | 44.4 | 75.0 | 60.3 |
| Richest | 17.4 | 40.5 | 77.8 | 45.0 | 44.4 | 11.8 | 50.0 | 33.3 | 39.0 |
| Religion | | | | | | | | | |
| Islam | 40.5 | 56.6 | 81.5 | 71.3 | 65.4 | 42.6 | 75.3 | 64.3 | 62.5 |
| Others | 0.0 | 25.7 | 80.0 | 41.2 | 45.5 | 30.0 | 55.0 | 33.3 | 37.3 |

The link between parental socio-economic status and daughter's age at marriage is explored through qualitative data. Poverty appears to be a significant factor in determining age at marriage. Poor families consider their daughters to be an economic burden, and want to be relieved through arranging their marriage as early as possible. Families that are unable to fulfill the needs of their children often married off their daughters at an early age to ensure their future security, and to reduce the need to support an additional person in their own households. There are other factors that are reported as a cause for child marriage, such as:

- Lack of parental education
- Unwillingness of children to attend school
- Discontinuation of schooling
- Parent's negative attitude towards investing in girls' education
- Preference for a less educated girl by the groom's family
- Religious beliefs and practices

⁵ The interpretation of this number is that the prevalence of child marriage among ever-married women is 100.0 percent when the mother's education was above higher secondary. This finding is contradictory with other attributes of education. This happened as among the mother category, only one woman had education above higher secondary and her daughter was married as a child. Thus, this figure should be used with caution.

11.4.2 Social Security in the Natal Household Area and Child Marriage

Social security issues such as sexual harassment, human trafficking, sexual violence/rape, and incidence of acid throwing exert a strong influence in promoting child marriage. For example, the prevalence of child marriage in parental locality where sexual harassment happened always is 69 percent compared to 53.7 percent in localities where it did not happen at all. However, there is divisional variation in this case. For instance, the prevalence of child marriage is 100 percent in Dhaka division where sexual harassment happens always compared to 35.7 percent in localities in the same division where sexual harassment does not happen at all (Table 11.8).

Table 11.8: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Perceived Social Security in Natal Household Area by Division

| Variables | Divisions | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| How often sexual harassment happened in your locality? | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 35.7 | 46.4 | 66.7 | 77.8 | 50.0 | 37.5 | 86.4 | 0.0 | 53.7 |
| Very few | 31.6 | 45.3 | 79.4 | 59.6 | 62.3 | 32.4 | 66.7 | 63.0 | 56.4 |
| Sometimes | 41.7 | 65.6 | 85.7 | 68.4 | 75.0 | 58.8 | 60.0 | 0.0 | 65.2 |
| Always | 100.0 | 45.5 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 69.0 |
| How often human trafficking happened in your locality? | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 41.7 | 46.4 | 77.1 | 67.1 | 63.5 | 40.5 | 71.9 | 60.4 | 57.8 |
| Very few | 12.5 | 63.6 | 100.0 | 68.2 | 66.7 | 25.0 | 71.4 | 0.0 | 62.2 |
| Sometimes | 50.0 | 60.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 56.3 |
| Always | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 |
| How often sexual violence/rape happened in your locality? | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 50.0 | 41.7 | 60.0 | 73.5 | 75.0 | 28.9 | 71.0 | 50.0 | 53.7 |
| Very few | 25.0 | 57.9 | 91.7 | 65.1 | 58.6 | 51.9 | 72.7 | 60.9 | 62.5 |
| Sometimes | 40.0 | 65.0 | 75.0 | 57.9 | 66.7 | 53.3 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 58.8 |
| Always | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50 |
| How often the incident of throwing acid happened in your locality? | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 37.5 | 46.7 | 80.0 | 67.9 | 63.5 | 32.0 | 71.3 | 60.4 | 57.2 |
| Very few | 20.0 | 73.3 | 100.0 | 64.7 | 66.7 | 80.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 68.5 |
| Sometimes | 100.0 | 75.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 80 |
| Always | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 20 |

Qualitative findings reveal that security threats are prevalent across the region to a varied extent. Security threats appear to be a significant factor in the occurrence of child marriage in high prevalence regions. However, the meaning of social security varies. Sexual harassment, sexual violence/rape, abduction, fear of eloping, and fear of losing family honor are security aspects that appear to be related to child marriage. The factors that encourage child marriage and the factors that discourage child marriage are summarized below:

Factors encouraging child marriage:

- Sexual harassment of girls on the way to school
- More attractive younger girls are more vulnerable to sexual harassment
- Harassment through mobile phones (prank calls etc.)
- Perceived parental fear of sexual harassment
- Parental fear about their girls' involvement in affair romantic relationship
- Parental fear about girls' marriage without their consent
- Sexual harassment, sexual abuse/rape etc., makes parents afraid of losing family honor

- Poor people have more fear about their family honor
- Badmouthing of younger girls by neighbors is also a shameful event for parents
- Younger girls also sometimes indirectly force their parents to marry off them to their desired partner, when the girl has chosen her life partner

Factors discouraging child marriage:

- Better socialization helps boys and girls to stay together and co-education systems help them to protect themselves
- Awareness at the local government level about sexual harassment and the strict implementation of law

11.4.3 Mass Media Exposure and Child Marriage

Parents' mass media exposure is associated with lower prevalence of child marriage among ever-married women. Overall, the prevalence of child marriage is 53.6 percent among those who had exposure to any media compared to 63.4 percent among those who do not have exposure to media. This pattern is consistent for each of the four sources of media: newspaper, radio, television, and the internet. Division-level variation is substantial. Among those who have exposure to any media, the prevalence of child marriage was the highest in Rajshahi (84%) and the lowest in Dhaka division (27.3%) (Table 11.9).

Table 11.9: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Parents' Exposure to Mass Media by Division

| Variables | Divisions | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Have you ever read any newspaper/magazine? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 0.0 | 50.0 | 80.0 | 44.4 | 53.3 | 11.8 | 42.9 | 42.9 | 39.8 |
| No | 45.9 | 49.6 | 81.5 | 70.9 | 64.9 | 46.5 | 75.9 | 63.4 | 61.8 |
| Read Newspaper in Last Week | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 43.6 | 49.0 | 82.5 | 69.0 | 63.5 | 43.0 | 74.2 | 61.4 | 60.2 |
| Yes | 0.0 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 32.0 |
| Have you ever listened to radio? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 28.6 | 42.7 | 79.3 | 63.6 | 61.7 | 41.1 | 68.6 | 58.8 | 55.0 |
| No | 50.0 | 58.8 | 83.3 | 71.0 | 64.3 | 37.5 | 77.8 | 61.3 | 62.7 |
| Listen Radio in Last Week | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 37.2 | 49.7 | 80.7 | 66.7 | 62.5 | 40.2 | 71.6 | 60.4 | 58.3 |
| Yes | 33.3 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 |
| Have you ever watched television? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 32.5 | 46.6 | 79.6 | 65.5 | 61.1 | 40.5 | 71.1 | 57.1 | 56.8 |
| No | 66.7 | 58.5 | 90.0 | 69.2 | 65.7 | 35.7 | 71.4 | 65.0 | 63.0 |
| Watched Television in Last week | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 57.1 | 52.9 | 75.9 | 74.2 | 60.3 | 48.9 | 77.6 | 62.1 | 63.0 |
| Yes | 28.1 | 47.2 | 86.7 | 62.1 | 67.7 | 30.2 | 61.5 | 57.9 | 53.6 |
| Have you ever used internet? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 |
| No | 37.0 | 49.4 | 81.0 | 66.0 | 62.9 | 40.2 | 71.1 | 60.4 | 58.1 |
| Used Internet in Last Week | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 37.0 | 49.4 | 81.4 | 66.0 | 62.9 | 40.2 | 71.1 | 60.4 | 58.2 |
| Yes | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 |
| Overall Media Exposure in Last Week | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 61.5 | 53.1 | 77.8 | 73.3 | 60.0 | 48.8 | 77.6 | 63.0 | 63.4 |
| Yes | 27.3 | 47.3 | 84.4 | 62.7 | 67.6 | 31.1 | 61.5 | 57.1 | 53.6 |

11.4.4 *Purdah* System, Social Norms and Values and Child Marriage

This section presents findings related to the prevalence of child marriage in relation to knowledge and practice regarding the *purdah* system, and social norms and values.

10.4.4.1 Knowledge and Practice Regarding the *Purdah* System and Child Marriage

Parents who are conservative in practicing *purdah* also have a higher prevalence of child marriage for their daughters compared to those parents who are liberal. Table 11.10 shows that the prevalence of child marriage is 63.1 percent among those whose parents were conservative in terms of practicing *purdah* compared to 40 percent of those whose parents are liberal in this regard. There are considerable variations in the prevalence of child marriage by division and practice of *purdah*. For example, among more conservative parents in terms of practicing *purdah*, the prevalence of child marriage was the highest in Rajshahi (81%) and the lowest in Dhaka (35.0%) (Table 11.10).

Table 11.10: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Parents' Practice of *Purdah* System by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka n=46 | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Liberal | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 40.0 |
| Less liberal | 50.0 | 60.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 49.6 |
| Conservative | 35.0 | 49.3 | 81.0 | 66.7 | 62.9 | 38.4 | 72.3 | 62.2 | 63.1 |

11.4.4.2 Social Norms and Values and Child Marriage

Various social norms and values in the natal household are correlated with higher rates of child marriage. These include: seeing girls as a burden; that girls should get married whenever they look physically mature; considering unmarried, grown-up girls as social and familial failure and shame; considering girls less worthy than boys; considering younger girls as more attractive; and believing that girls are born for household and reproductive works. For example, the prevalence of child marriage is 59.5 percent among those ever-married women whose parents hold the value that unmarried, grown-up girls are a social and familial shame compared to 36.4 percent among those whose parents do not believe so. However, this prevalence varies across districts. For example, Rajshahi had the highest percentage of child marriage (85%) in those natal households which strongly held the perception that unmarried grown up girls are a social and familial shame while Dhaka, had the lowest percentage of child marriage (38.1%) even though the same perception prevailed (Table 11.11).

Similarly, respondents who strongly perceive that girls are less worthy than boys have the highest percentage of child marriage (53.6%). There is variation in child marriage across divisions based on the perception that girls were less worthy than boys. In addition, in parental households where the perception that males have a preference for uneducated and unemployed girls, girls are born for household and reproductive activities, and girls' marriage is a family responsibility due to religious obligations and social security strongly prevailed, are more likely to promote child marriage (Table 11.11).

Table 11.11: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Social Norms and Values in Natal Household Area by Division

| Social Norms and Values | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Girls are considered as burden and they should get married whenever they look physically matured | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 34.8 | 34.7 | 60.0 | 56.9 | 48.8 | 40.5 | 65.6 | 55.0 | 48.8 |
| Strongly prevailed | 39.1 | 62.4 | 85.7 | 76.1 | 76.1 | 39.1 | 80.6 | 66.7 | 66.8 |
| Unmarried, grown-up girls are considered as social and familial failure and shame | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 14.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 36.4 |
| Moderately prevailed | 25.0 | 48.8 | 50.0 | 63.4 | 55.6 | 42.9 | 72.2 | 0.0 | 55.0 |
| Strongly prevailed | 38.1 | 52.3 | 84.9 | 67.9 | 65.6 | 39.5 | 71.1 | 64.4 | 59.5 |
| Girls are less worthy than boys | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 14.3 | 50.0 | 58.3 | 47.6 | 25.0 | 68.4 | 50.0 | 46.3 |
| Moderately prevailed | 47.8 | 54.5 | 80.6 | 68.1 | 71.7 | 42.0 | 70.4 | 63.9 | 61.1 |
| Strongly prevailed | 26.1 | 36.4 | 87.5 | 62.5 | 37.5 | 36.4 | 85.7 | 50.0 | 53.6 |
| Younger girls are more attractive, energetic and easily manageable | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 77.8 | 46.5 | 50.0 | 75.0 | 54.8 | 20.0 | 78.6 | 33.3 | 58.6 |
| Strongly prevailed | 27.8 | 50.9 | 82.5 | 62.3 | 67.2 | 42.3 | 69.1 | 64.3 | 58.2 |
| Males' lower preference on uneducated and unemployed girls | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 30.0 | 31.8 | 75.0 | 59.4 | 50.0 | 37.1 | 71.9 | 50.0 | 51.9 |
| Moderately prevailed | 29.0 | 52.8 | 81.6 | 70.2 | 71.7 | 41.5 | 69.8 | 62.8 | 59.8 |
| Strongly prevailed | 100.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 62.5 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 69.7 |
| Girls are born for household and reproductive activities | | | | | | | | | |
| Do not prevail | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Moderately prevailed | 60.0 | 58.6 | 33.3 | 51.6 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 | 37.5 | 49.5 |
| Strongly prevailed | 34.1 | 48.0 | 83.9 | 72.7 | 67.2 | 40.7 | 75.0 | 65.0 | 59.9 |
| Girls' marriage is considered as family responsibility due to religious obligations and social security | | | | | | | | | |
| Moderately prevailed | 100.0 | 61.5 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 63.2 |
| Strongly prevailed | 35.6 | 48.6 | 81.0 | 65.3 | 63.6 | 40.2 | 71.1 | 60.4 | 58.0 |

In line with the quantitative findings, the study also explored the dynamics of social norms, values, and beliefs through the qualitative component. The qualitative findings also supported the findings of the themes presented in the quantitative analysis. The factors related to social norms, values and beliefs that encourage child marriage and those factors that discourage child marriage are summarized below:

Factors encouraging child marriage:

- Absence of equal rights
- Seeing daughters as less worthy than sons
- Considering daughters as burden
- Social perceptions that younger girls are more beautiful
- Pressure from the groom's family to marry younger girls
- Paying less dowry for younger girls
- Believing that adult girls are harder to control
- Young girls are loyal to in-laws
- People's discomfort regarding women working outside the household
- Low requirements (less education, wealth, beauty) for brides by the groom

Factors discouraging child marriage:

- Understanding the importance of equal rights
- Considering girls an asset

- Considering the legal age of marriage along with physical growth
- Increasing awareness
- Considering the legal age of marriage along with beauty
- Perceiving adult girls as mature and better household managers
- Parental awareness on various issues related to child marriage
- High requirements (more education, employment, wealth, and beauty) for brides by the groom

11.4.5 Attitude on who is a Child and Child Marriage

The majority of respondents (father/mother/both parents) considered persons under 18 to be children and those who consider a child to be one who is of much younger age show a higher prevalence of child marriage in some divisions. For example, the prevalence of child marriage was 68.4 percent in Mymensingh among those who consider age 14 years and below a child compared to 25 percent among their counterparts who consider 16-17 years a child. Nevertheless, child marriage was equally prevalent in Chittagong in all three categories of age used to define children (Table 11.12).

Table 11.12: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Parent's Attitude on who is a Child by Division

| Parent's Attitude towards who is a Child | Divisions | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|--|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Before 14 years | 37.0 | 49.6 | 79.6 | 70.3 | 61.7 | 36.7 | 69.8 | 68.4 | 44.6 |
| 14-15 years | 33.3 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 75.0 | 83.3 | 62.5 | 75.0 | 33.3 | 59.7 |
| 16-17 years | 42.9 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 47.6 | 50.0 | 30.4 | 85.7 | 25.0 | 59.8 |

11.4.6 Birth and Marriage Registrations and Child Marriage

The prevalence of child marriage is higher among the respondents who know about marriage registration compared to those who do not know. However, the prevalence varies across divisions. For example, the prevalence of child marriage is the highest in Rajshahi (81.4%), followed by Rangpur (73.1%), Khulna (67.8%), Barisal (63.5%), Mymensingh (60.9%), Chittagong (52.6%), Sylhet (42.7%) and Dhaka (37.8%). The prevalence of child marriage is higher among the respondents who think it is necessary to register the marriage and the prevalence varies across the division. Substantial divisional-level variation is also found in the prevalence of child marriage among those who believe that marriage registration is necessary because the marriage is legally protected, legal action could be taken, could receive *denmahar* if divorced and children's expenditure could be claimed (Table 11.13).

Table 11.13: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Parent's Knowledge regarding Birth and Marriage Registration by Division

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Do you know about marriage registration? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 37.8 | 52.6 | 81.4 | 67.8 | 63.5 | 42.7 | 73.1 | 60.9 | 60.2 |
| No | 0.0 | 31.8 | 0.0 | 42.9 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 25.0 | 50.0 | 30.4 |
| Do you think it is necessary to register a marriage? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 39.5 | 53.8 | 81.0 | 67.4 | 64.3 | 42.7 | 72.7 | 62.8 | 60.6 |
| No | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 75.0 | 0.0 | 41.7 |
| Don't Know | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 33.3 | 50.0 |
| Why Registration of Marriage is Important? | | | | | | | | | |
| Marriage is legally protected | 82.4 | 56.3 | 89.4 | 71.7 | 79.2 | 48.6 | 67.7 | 70.4 | 69.6 |

| Variables | Division | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Legal action can be taken if necessary | 64.7 | 52.1 | 53.2 | 85.0 | 90.6 | 71.4 | 62.9 | 63.0 | 68.0 |
| Received denmahar if divorced | 70.6 | 35.2 | 23.4 | 53.3 | 75.5 | 65.7 | 64.5 | 55.6 | 53.2 |
| Children's expenditure can be claimed if divorced | 47.1 | 29.6 | 29.8 | 16.7 | 32.1 | 28.6 | 48.4 | 7.4 | 30.1 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.9 | 8.1 | 3.7 | 1.9 |

Marriage registration is an effective means through which the age of a bride is recorded and laws prohibiting child marriage enforced. However, the qualitative data shows that the marriage registration process can be manipulated through different ways. These are:

- Manipulating birth registration process
 - ✓ Changing the spelling of name
 - ✓ Using manual birth registration
- Manipulation of marriage registration
 - ✓ Changing the place of marriage
 - ✓ Completing the marriage without registration
 - ✓ Providing a bribe

11.4.7 Dowry and Child Marriage

Knowledge and attitudes about dowry are highly correlated with the practice of dowry and child marriage. For example, the prevalence of child marriage is 63.6 percent among those whose parents think that older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides compared to 48.4 percent among those whose parents do not think so. Among those who think that parents of older brides are required to pay more dowry, the prevalence of child marriage was the highest in Rajshahi division which was followed by Rangpur, Khulna, Barisal, Mymensingh, Chittagong, Dhaka and Sylhet (Table 11.14).

The prevalence of child marriage is lower in households in which parents see dowry as illegal versus legal (58% and 77%, respectively). Similarly, the prevalence of child marriage is lower in natal households in which parents believe giving dowry is a punishable offense, with substantial division-level variation (Table 11.14). In connection with this, the prevalence of child marriage is lower in those natal households in which parents did not give dowry compared to their counterparts who had given dowry (Table 11.14).

Table 11.14: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Their Parent's Knowledge, Attitude and Practice regarding Dowry

| Variables | Divisions | | | | | | | | Total (n=681) |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Dhaka (n=46) | Chittagong (n=157) | Rajshahi (n=59) | Khulna (n=97) | Barisal (n=89) | Sylhet (n=88) | Rangpur (n=97) | Mymensingh (n=48) | |
| Do you think that parents of older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 54.5 | 55.8 | 84.8 | 72.1 | 69.2 | 48.4 | 72.6 | 56.3 | 63.6 |
| No | 20.8 | 34.1 | 69.2 | 55.6 | 58.0 | 19.2 | 68.6 | 68.8 | 48.4 |
| Is it legal to demand dowry for marriage? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 0.0 | 75.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 83.3 | 76.5 |
| No | 37.8 | 49.3 | 83.6 | 65.6 | 62.9 | 38.8 | 71.1 | 56.1 | 58 |
| Don't Know | 0.0 | 44.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 41.7 |
| Do you know that dowry is a punishable offence? | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 38.6 | 49.0 | 80.7 | 66.0 | 62.8 | 39.1 | 71.6 | 60.0 | 58 |
| No | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 69.2 |
| Can't tell | 0.0 | 57.1 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 54.5 |
| Status of Given Dowry | | | | | | | | | |
| Did not give dowry | 47.6 | 38.5 | 80.0 | 74.1 | 58.0 | 32.5 | 69.2 | 58.3 | 52.4 |
| Gave dowry | 28.0 | 60.8 | 81.6 | 53.8 | 69.2 | 45.8 | 71.8 | 61.1 | 63.9 |

Chapter 12

Stakeholders' Role in Preventing Child Marriage

CHAPTER 12 : STAKEHOLDERS' ROLE IN PREVENTING CHILD MARRIAGE

Key Findings

- Most ever-married women (85.2%) believe that men can make meaningful contributions towards preventing child marriage.
- More than half the respondents said that men can refuse to get married to a child, and many believe that men can take certain steps to prevent child marriage, such as informing the law enforcement agencies and/or locally elected bodies, prohibiting child marriage within their own family, encouraging girls' education within their family, socially boycotting someone who has committed a child marriage and contributing towards preventing sexual harassment in their communities.
- About 70 percent of respondents believe that parents can jointly play a key role in preventing child marriage with some variations across other respondents.
- More ever-married women in urban areas than rural areas believe that men can make meaningful contributions to prevent child marriage.
- Qualitative findings show that key community stakeholders can play a pivotal role in preventing child marriage in Bangladesh. For example, local elected representatives and social leaders can work towards creating awareness among the people in their communities about the negative consequences of child marriage. Locally elected leaders should work towards ending malpractice in birth registration. Marriage registrars should be made aware of the negative impact of child marriage and can play an important role by checking legal documents to ensure that no child marriage is registered by them.
- Other initiatives that key community stakeholders can take to prevent child marriage in their localities include following up on the child's situation after a child marriage has been stopped, ensuring social security with the involvement of other local stakeholders, engaging local stakeholders in the strict implementation of laws, engaging NGOs in community engagement and participation, and establishing local level collaboration between government and non-government stakeholders.

12.0 Introduction

This section presents findings related to respondents' views on what stakeholders' role should be in preventing child marriage, particularly the role of men, by respondent type and district.

12.1 Men Involvement in Preventing Child Marriage

Most respondents (85.2%) believe that men can make a meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage with considerable variations by respondent type. For example, the majority of fathers (93.0%) believe that men can make meaningful contributions towards preventing child marriage and to a lesser extent this is believed by husbands, mothers, fathers-in-law, and ever-married women. Considering ways to prevent child marriage by men, more than half (54.3%) of all respondents mentioned that men can refrain from getting married to a child. The respondents also mentioned that men can prevent child marriage by informing the law enforcement agencies and/or the locally elected bodies, prohibiting

child marriage within their families, encouraging girls' education within their families, socially boycotting someone who has committed a child marriage and contributing towards preventing sexual harassment in their communities. These answers were also common for strategies for other types of stakeholders. About 70 percent of the respondents believe that parents can jointly play a key role in preventing child marriage with some variations across other respondents (Table 12.1).

Table 12.1: Percentage Distribution of Perceptions regarding Role of Male in Preventing Child Marriage by Respondent Type

| Variables | Respondent Category | | | | | | Total (n=9320) |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 84.5 | 85.8 | 80.5 | 92.0 | 93.0 | 87.1 | 85.2 |
| No | 15.5 | 14.2 | 19.5 | 8.0 | 7.0 | 12.9 | 14.8 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from getting married to a child | 56.7 | 53.6 | 44.7 | 51.8 | 42.1 | 37.1 | 54.3 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 50.2 | 51.8 | 53.5 | 62.2 | 57.1 | 47.1 | 51.3 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 51.6 | 53.1 | 45.5 | 62.7 | 49.9 | 50.3 | 51.9 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 40.0 | 38.1 | 37.7 | 38.5 | 38.0 | 44.4 | 39.8 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 23.6 | 10.9 | 13.1 | 14.5 | 9.2 | 11.8 | 20.8 |
| Socially boycott someone who | 6.2 | 6.5 | 4.0 | 6.7 | 8.6 | 5.9 | 6.3 |
| has committed a child marriage | 1.9 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 1.8 |
| Preventing sexual harassment | | | | | | | |
| Others | 2.5 | 2.1 | 2.4 | 3.9 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 2.5 |
| Persons who can play a key role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | |
| Father | 20.2 | 26.4 | 27.7 | 26.6 | 20.6 | 14.5 | 21.0 |
| Mother | 3.4 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 1.3 | 2.9 |
| Parents jointly | 62.6 | 48.8 | 55.6 | 55.0 | 53.9 | 64.2 | 60.9 |
| Others | 13.8 | 24.2 | 15.2 | 17.3 | 24.7 | 20.1 | 15.2 |

At the district level, Bhola has the highest percentage and Cox's Bazar has the lowest percentage of respondents reporting that men could make meaningful contributions in preventing child marriage (99% and 54%, respectively). There are also district level variations regarding effective strategies. More than sixty percent of ever-married women believe that parents can jointly play a key role in preventing child marriage with substantial variations at district level (Table 12.2).

Table 12.2: Percentage Distribution of Perceptions regarding Role of Male in Preventing Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Districts

| Variables (EMW) | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Men can make meaningful contributions in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 99.2 | 71.3 | 54.3 | 93.3 | 98.9 | 94.9 | 64.8 | 89.5 | 79.8 | 95.4 | 67.2 | 79.2 | 91.2 | 94.5 | 84.5 |
| No | 0.8 | 28.7 | 45.7 | 6.7 | 1.1 | 5.1 | 35.2 | 10.5 | 20.2 | 4.6 | 32.8 | 20.8 | 8.8 | 5.5 | 15.5 |
| Men's role to prevent child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from getting married to a child | 32.7 | 60.3 | 38.4 | 71.9 | 57.0 | 26.0 | 70.9 | 55.0 | 45.1 | 63.0 | 56.7 | 21.1 | 42.6 | 81.3 | 56.7 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 78.3 | 41.8 | 21.3 | 51.4 | 34.1 | 61.9 | 40.3 | 68.6 | 62.9 | 49.7 | 54.8 | 66.3 | 45.8 | 24.3 | 50.2 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 78.0 | 36.1 | 20.0 | 49.4 | 28.6 | 40.6 | 44.9 | 72.4 | 64.2 | 60.3 | 49.1 | 76.2 | 64.2 | 51.9 | 51.6 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 32.6 | 24.1 | 47.3 | 44.0 | 42.8 | 34.8 | 44.8 | 21.7 | 32.7 | 78.7 | 41.2 | 9.7 | 42.5 | 74.9 | 40.0 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 22.7 | 15.3 | 13.2 | 33.1 | 18.0 | 36.2 | 15.7 | 38.2 | 16.0 | 29.3 | 9.1 | 12.1 | 30.1 | 1.7 | 23.6 |
| Socially boycott someone who has committed a child marriage | 33.0 | 7.1 | 9.9 | 1.4 | 6.9 | 3.8 | 4.6 | 2.0 | 8.0 | 5.1 | 3.1 | 1.7 | 11.7 | 0.5 | 6.2 |
| Preventing sexual harassment | 0.9 | 3.0 | 4.9 | 1.3 | 6.5 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 0.2 | 1.9 |
| Others | 0.9 | 0.0 | 10.1 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 20.5 | 1.3 | 10.1 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 6.6 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 2.5 |
| Persons playing a key role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Father | 33.9 | 12.4 | 26.5 | 15.8 | 17.0 | 21.1 | 33.7 | 8.8 | 15.3 | 13.4 | 4.5 | 9.8 | 35.3 | 81.2 | 20.2 |
| Mother | 0.3 | 2.4 | 1.4 | 7.6 | 2.9 | 9.2 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 1.0 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 0.3 | 3.4 |
| Parents jointly | 60.5 | 68.1 | 58.8 | 72.5 | 75.5 | 45.0 | 56.2 | 78.8 | 49.6 | 78.3 | 55.1 | 53.6 | 41.7 | 14.6 | 62.6 |
| Others | 5.3 | 17.1 | 13.4 | 4.1 | 4.5 | 24.8 | 10.1 | 11.2 | 31.3 | 4.6 | 39.3 | 34.8 | 20.9 | 3.9 | 13.8 |

Ever-married women in urban areas are more likely to believe that men can make meaningful contributions to preventing child marriage than women in rural areas, but the reverse holds true for other respondents. Consistently, all respondents (ever-married women and others) believe that parents jointly can make a meaningful contribution to prevent child marriage (Appendix Table 84). Among ever-married women, women aged 15 years and above are more likely to mention that men can make meaningful contributions to prevent child marriage compared to younger women who are aged between 13-14 years, while among other respondents, more younger respondents (aged below 30 years) mention that men can make meaningful contributions to prevent child marriage compared to older respondents. The top three ways to contribute to the prevention of child marriage, as mentioned by all respondents, are: men could refrain from getting married to a child; inform locally elected bodies; and inform law enforcement agencies (Appendix Table 85).

Concerning education, 92.0 percent of ever-married women with above higher secondary education believe that men can make meaningful contributions towards preventing child marriage compared to 80.0 percent of ever-married women with no education. For example, 72.0 percent of the ever-married women with above higher secondary education believe that men could refrain from getting married to a child compared to 54.0 percent of their counterparts with no education (Appendix Table 86). Ever-married women and other respondents in all categories of education believe that parents can jointly play a meaningful role in preventing child marriage, followed by father and then mother.

Women belonging to richer wealth quintiles are more likely to name men as those who can make a meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage than women in the poorer wealth quintiles (Appendix Table 87). For example, the majority of ever-married women in the richest wealth quintile (70.0%) believe that men could refrain from getting married to a child compared to 52% of their

counterparts in the poorest wealth quintile. The majority of ever-married women and other respondents in all wealth quintiles believe that parents can jointly make meaningful contributions in preventing child marriage.

12.2 Major Stakeholders and Their Role in Preventing Child Marriage

12.2.1 Major Stakeholders

Participants in the qualitative study identified different stakeholders who can prevent child marriage. The list of different stakeholders identified is presented below.

| Locally Elected Leaders | Social Leaders (non-elected) | Socially Influential Personalities | Local Officials |
|--|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ward Member Union Parishad Chairman Upazilla Chairman Upazilla Vice Chairman City Corporation/ Municipality Commissioner | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sardar Karbari (in Khagrachari District) Political leaders | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School/Madrasa/ College Teachers Imam Community Worker Development worker Journalist | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> DC UNO Law enforcing agency officials Marriage Registrars Sub marriage registrars Court personnel and lawyers Notary Public |

12.2.2 Major Stakeholders' Role in Preventing Child Marriage

Qualitative interviews identified different roles of different stakeholders to prevent child marriage. These roles are:

- Creating awareness about the consequences of child marriage
- Ending malpractices regarding birth registration
- Ending sub-contracts of marriage registration by the licensed marriage registrars
- Training locally elected leaders to prevent child marriage
- Following up on the child's situation after a child marriage has been stopped
- Engaging local level community members
- Ensuring social security with the involvement of key local stakeholders
- Engaging local stakeholders in the strict implementation of the law
- Collaboration between Government and Non-government stakeholders

12.3 Perceptions regarding Necessary Initiatives to Prevent Child Marriage

Participants of the qualitative interviews stated that the following initiatives should be taken to prevent child marriage:

- Ensuring girls have access to higher education
- Decreasing the cost of education
- Creating employment opportunities for girls
- Providing financial incentives and assistance to poor and vulnerable girls as well as their families
- Limiting the use of cell phone at an early age

Chapter 13

Consequences of Child Marriage

CHAPTER 13 : CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Key Findings

- Among ever-married women, only 30 percent were studying at the time of first marriage; 43.3 percent were not studying. Parental poverty was the most pronounced reason for discontinuation of education (40%).
- Those who were in school at the time of their first marriage are less likely to have been married as children compared to those who were not (32% and 36% respectively). Discontinuation of education is much higher (85%) among ever-married women who had been married as children than those who married as adults (54%).
- Qualitative findings also show large-scale discontinuation of education after marriage. Most respondents does not consider it necessary to go to school because their husbands and in-laws does not expect them to continue studying. They found it difficult to continue in school while also performing household responsibilities.
- About half the ever-married women involved in income-generating activities were not able to continue their work after marriage. Qualitative findings also reveal the negative impact of child marriage on the employment status of women. Different trigger factors such as bad academic results, discontinuation or disruption of studies, different family issues including the lack of cooperation from husbands and the non-supportive environment in the in-laws' household are responsible for the temporary or permanent unemployment after child marriage, which ultimately reduces the women's capability to earn money.
- Women who were married as children are more likely to report an unplanned first pregnancy compared to those married as adults (21% and 10.8%, respectively).
- The prevalence of MR/induced abortion is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than an adult marriage (4.8% and 4.3%, respectively).
- The incidence of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than those who had an adult marriage (9.9% versus 8.4%).
- The occurrence of stillbirth is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than those who had an adult marriage (6.4% versus 4.4%). The incidence of neonatal mortality was higher for those married as children (8.6% versus 5.5%).
- Post-neonatal mortality was higher among ever-married women who were married as children than those who married as adults (3.2% and 1.8%, respectively) and the same is true for under-five mortality (3.8% and 1.3%, respectively).
- Qualitative findings also revealed a higher occurrence of stillbirth and neonatal deaths among those who had a child marriage. Participants attributed the incidence of stillbirth and higher child mortality to early pregnancy as women were not biologically mature enough to have children.
- Qualitative findings also highlighted wider impact of child marriage on maternal mortality and morbidity. For instance, informants claimed that women experienced complications during and after childbirth due to child marriage. The most common problems during childbirth were prolonged labour, caesarian birth and poor health after childbirth, long term complications, weakness, back pain and nutritional problems.

- Marital stability is slightly lower among those who were married as children than as adults (95% vs. 98.2%). Low quality of marital life is more prevalent among those who married as children than as adults (45.8% and 34.8%, respectively).
- Qualitative findings also showed that child marriage has a negative impact on women's empowerment in general and on their freedom of speech and decision-making in particular. In addition, those who were married as children have a higher risk of divorce, conflict due to dowry, and poor quality of marital life including abuse, sexual violence, and physical violence and torture.

13.0 Consequences of Child Marriage

This section presents the school enrolment status of ever-married women before and after marriage and the consequences of child marriage on employment, reproductive health including miscarriage, induced abortion, stillbirth, child mortality, women's empowerment, as well as stability and quality of marital life.

13.1 Consequences of Child Marriage on Education

13.1.1 School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women before Getting Married

Among the ever-married women, only 30 percent were studying when they married, and 43.3 percent had discontinued their studies before the time of their first marriage; the remaining 27 percent never attended school (Table 13.1). Chapai Nawabganj has the highest percentage and Moulvibazar the lowest percentage of ever-married women respondents who were studying at the time of their first marriage (Figure 13.1). Among those who stopped going to school before marriage, 12.5 percent had stopped schooling less than 6 months before marriage, 12.3 percent between 6 months and 1 year, 15.8 percent 1 to 2 years before, 26.4 percent 3 to 4 years before, and 33.1 percent more than 5 years before their marriage. The majority note parental poverty as the reason for discontinuation of education (40.%). Other reasons for discontinuation of education include long distance from home to school, involvement in income-generating activities, helping with household chores, looking after siblings, helping in agricultural production, sexual harassment and security threats. Among those who were in education at the time of their first marriage, 13.2 percent were in primary, 61.6 percent in secondary, 15.9 percent in higher secondary, and 9.2 percent in above higher secondary. There are substantial variations in the above findings by district (Table 13.1).

Figure 13.1: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who were Studying at the Time of Their First Marriage by District

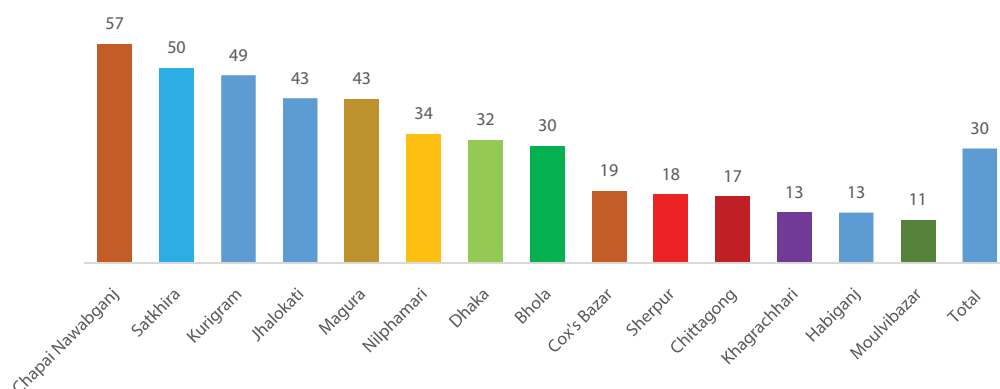


Table 13.1: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Woman's School Enrolment Status before Getting Married by Districts

| Variables (EMW) | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokati (n=217) | Khagrachhari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Moulvibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Studying at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 30.3 | 17.3 | 18.7 | 31.9 | 13.1 | 42.7 | 13.2 | 48.6 | 42.5 | 11.3 | 56.6 | 33.5 | 50.4 | 17.8 | 29.7 |
| No | 41.2 | 63.3 | 41.2 | 44.5 | 56.1 | 50.0 | 36.1 | 19.5 | 32.6 | 55.0 | 20.6 | 38.8 | 31.8 | 32.0 | 43.3 |
| Never Attended School | 28.5 | 19.4 | 40.1 | 23.6 | 30.8 | 7.3 | 50.8 | 31.9 | 24.9 | 33.8 | 22.8 | 27.7 | 17.8 | 50.2 | 27.0 |
| Stopped going to school before (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Up to 6 Month | 10.3 | 16.1 | 16.2 | 12.4 | 7.2 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 13.5 | 9.4 | 2.9 | 22.0 | 24.5 | 14.2 | 2.0 | 12.5 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 20.5 | 8.8 | 16.9 | 15.0 | 11.6 | 9.2 | 7.3 | 13.5 | 17.6 | 6.8 | 13.4 | 13.6 | 11.5 | 11.1 | 12.3 |
| 1 to 2 years | 19.9 | 15.5 | 20.3 | 14.5 | 16.9 | 14.7 | 12.5 | 14.6 | 27.1 | 17.1 | 8.5 | 12.9 | 16.9 | 12.1 | 15.8 |
| 3 to 4 years | 24.4 | 28.1 | 23.0 | 26.1 | 23.3 | 29.4 | 21.9 | 32.6 | 25.9 | 22.4 | 23.2 | 21.8 | 27.7 | 43.4 | 26.4 |
| 5 years and above | 25.0 | 31.5 | 23.6 | 32.0 | 41.0 | 39.4 | 52.1 | 25.8 | 20.0 | 50.7 | 32.9 | 27.2 | 29.7 | 31.3 | 33.1 |
| Reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Long distance from home to school | 30.3 | 24.2 | 10.2 | 23.3 | 29.1 | 12.3 | 27.4 | 31.2 | 14.6 | 23.4 | 16.7 | 14.1 | 7.9 | 20.1 | 22.0 |
| Parental poverty | 34.5 | 43.8 | 33.1 | 43.7 | 44.3 | 51.5 | 64.3 | 39.4 | 46.0 | 42.4 | 57.2 | 53.6 | 60.0 | 39.6 | 45.0 |
| Involvement in income generating activities | 1.5 | 3.4 | 1.1 | 8.9 | 1.3 | 6.8 | 3.2 | 4.0 | 4.2 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 2.7 | 3.8 | 2.2 | 4.3 |
| Eve teasing or Sexual Harassment | 9.6 | 1.8 | 9.5 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 3.9 | 0.5 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 2.3 |
| Security threat | 4.4 | 4.3 | 10.1 | 1.1 | 4.0 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 3.0 |
| Looking after younger siblings | 21.9 | 21.9 | 7.4 | 17.7 | 11.4 | 12.4 | 14.0 | 14.2 | 19.2 | 14.3 | 8.6 | 9.2 | 11.7 | 3.5 | 15.9 |
| Helping in household work | 56.7 | 13.2 | 10.3 | 33.2 | 11.8 | 35.6 | 20.7 | 31.1 | 35.4 | 32.1 | 42.5 | 11.1 | 35.8 | 3.9 | 24.8 |
| Helping in agricultural production | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 3.2 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 4.6 | 2.9 | 1.2 |
| Other | 17.6 | 23.3 | 42.5 | 28.8 | 29.2 | 28.3 | 10.0 | 26.6 | 36.7 | 35.4 | 10.8 | 35.6 | 32.4 | 41.3 | 28.0 |
| Level of schooling at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Primary | 17.4 | 4.0 | 17.9 | 5.0 | 12.1 | 4.3 | 11.1 | 22.2 | 13.8 | 14.3 | 27.2 | 31.0 | 11.1 | 3.7 | 13.2 |
| Secondary | 58.3 | 51.5 | 67.2 | 52.6 | 65.5 | 70.7 | 63.9 | 68.3 | 74.3 | 61.9 | 63.4 | 58.7 | 72.8 | 66.7 | 61.6 |
| Higher Secondary | 20.9 | 31.7 | 10.4 | 21.6 | 13.8 | 18.5 | 22.2 | 8.6 | 8.3 | 14.3 | 7.1 | 6.3 | 11.5 | 14.8 | 15.9 |
| Above Higher secondary | 3.5 | 12.9 | 4.5 | 20.7 | 8.6 | 6.5 | 2.8 | 0.9 | 3.7 | 9.5 | 2.2 | 4.0 | 4.7 | 14.8 | 9.2 |

Urban women are more likely to have been in school at the time of their first marriage than women in rural areas (34% and 28%, respectively). Nevertheless, findings related to the timing of leaving school before marriage and reasons for discontinuation of study were similar in rural and urban areas. More ever-married women were either in primary or secondary schools at the time of their first marriage than their counterparts in urban areas (Appendix Table 88).

Younger respondents are more likely to have been studying at the time of their first marriage compared to their older cohorts. In addition, the likelihood of having discontinued their education five years or more before marriage is much higher among older respondents. Younger respondents are more likely to cite parental poverty as their reason for the discontinuation of studies before marriage, than older cohorts (Appendix Table 89).

A higher percentage of ever-married women with higher secondary and above higher secondary education were in school at the time of their first marriage than their counterparts with either primary

or secondary education. A higher number of less educated women overall had also left school five or more years before marrying than more educated respondents. Three-fourths of the ever-married women with primary education were in primary school at the time of their marriage suggesting that a vast majority of them could not continue education after marriage (Appendix Table 90).

Women belonging to the richer wealth quintile are more likely to have been in school at the time of first marriage than their counterparts in the poorer wealth quintiles. Of those who stopped their education before marriage, richer women had stopped schooling a fewer years before marriage. Unsurprisingly, ever-married women in the poorest wealth quintile are more likely to cite parental poverty as their reason for stopping study than those in the richest wealth quintile. The reasons given for leaving school that are noted across wealth quintiles include: sexual harassment, security threat, and helping in household work (Appendix Table 91). Although the majority of ever married women in both in the poorest and the richest wealth quintiles were studying at secondary level at the time of marriage, the percentage of ever-married women studying at primary level was higher among the poorest wealth quintile than in the richest wealth quintile. Those from richer quintiles were more likely to be studying at the higher secondary or above higher secondary education at the time of their first marriage (Appendix Table 91).

The prevalence of child marriage by school enrolment status at the time of their first marriage showed that those who were in school when they were given in marriage are slightly less likely to have been married as children compared to those who were not studying at the time of their first marriage (32% and 36% respectively). Child marriage was higher among those who stopped going to school many years before marriage compared to those who stopped shortly before marriage. For instance, child marriage was 23.4 percent among those who stopped going to school 5 years or more before marriage compared to 15.4 among those who stopped studying only six months or less before marriage. Common reasons for leaving school among those married as children include parental poverty, helping with household chores, long distance from home to school, and looking after younger siblings. More than three-fourths of those who had a child marriage were studying at secondary level at the time of marriage (Appendix Table 92).

Qualitative findings show that many girls had discontinued their education before their marriage. There are several cases in the data where a woman who was married as a child never attended school. Many of these women came from poor backgrounds and lived in rural areas. Those who had discontinued school had done so because their parents did not have the financial ability to meet school expenses and let them continue to attend school. Some of these girls found work and some stayed at home. Those who were working had spent their earnings in household expenses and those who were not working were assisting mothers in household work. In both cases when parents found suitable grooms they married off their daughters.

13.1.2 School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women after Getting Married

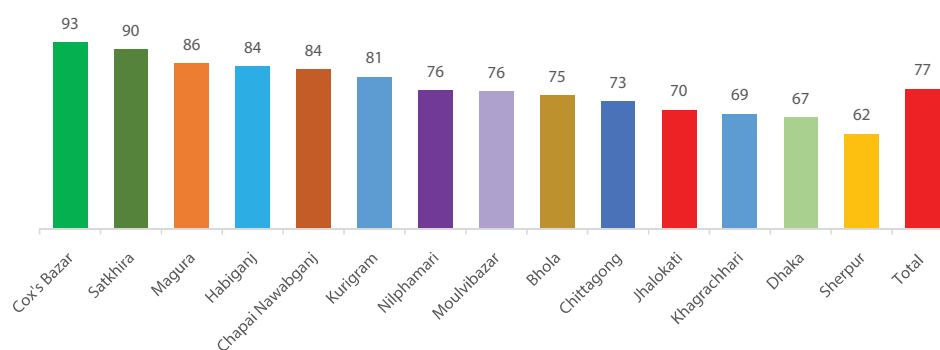
Child marriage has significant consequences on the educational attainment of ever-married women. Discontinuation of studies was much higher (85.2%) among ever-married women who were married as children than those married as adults (53.8%). Among those women who were married as children, the most common reasons for leaving school cited were: it was very much expected by the husband and in-laws, was not allowed to study by the husband and in-laws, and could not manage both household chores and study (Table 13.2).

Table 13.2: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women after Getting Married by Child Marriage

| Variables | Child Marriage Status | | Total (n=2124) |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| | Child Marriage (n=1550) | Adult Marriage (n=574) | |
| Consequence of study after (first) marriage | | | |
| Continued | 14.8 | 46.2 | 23.3 |
| Discontinued | 85.2 | 53.8 | 76.7 |
| Time of discontinuation of study after (first) marriage | | | |
| Immediately | 82.2 | 67.1 | 79.3 |
| Within One year | 17.8 | 32.9 | 20.7 |
| Reasons of discontinuation of your study after marriage | | | |
| I thought it was no more required | 43.7 | 45.2 | 44.0 |
| It was very much expected by my husband and in-laws | 45.2 | 28.7 | 42.1 |
| I was not allowed to do so by my husband and in laws | 42.4 | 31.6 | 40.4 |
| Couldn't manage both HH work and studying | 18.4 | 32.4 | 21.0 |
| Others | 3.4 | 6.4 | 3.9 |

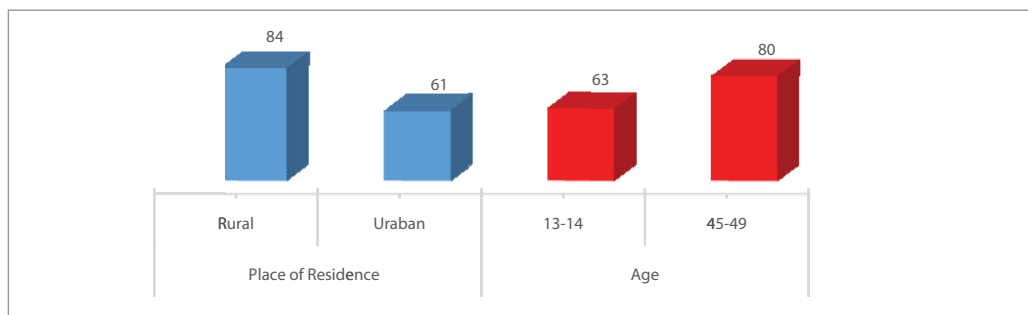
Overall, 77 percent ever-married women discontinued their studies after their marriage. This rate varies across districts. For example, Cox's Bazar had the highest rate of discontinuation from studies after marriage and Sherpur had the lowest rate of discontinuation (Figure 13.2). Among the ever-married women who discontinued their studies after marriage, 80 percent discontinued their studies immediately after marriage. The rate of discontinuation of studies immediately after marriage also varies by districts. Kurigram had the highest rate of discontinuation immediately after marriage (93%) followed by Moulvibazar, Nilphamari, Khagrachhari, Cox's Bazar, Chapai Nawabganj, Magura, Dhaka, Bhola, Satkhira, Sherpur, Jhalokati, Habiganj, and Chittagong (39%). District-level variations are also evident in reported reasons for the discontinuation of studies after marriage (Appendix Table 93).

Figure 13.2: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who Discontinued their Study after Marriage by District



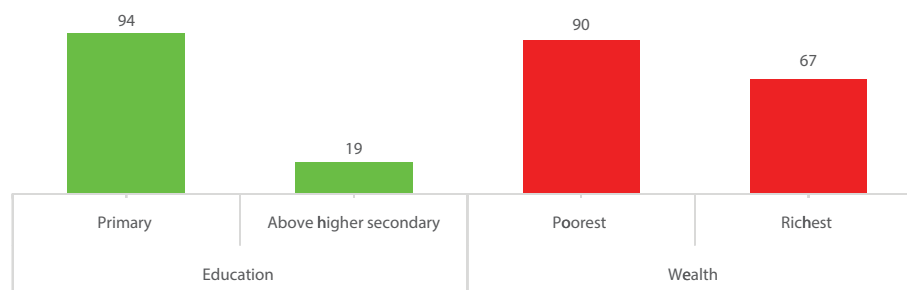
Women living in rural areas have higher rates of discontinuation from studying both overall and immediately after marriage than women in urban areas. There are slight variations in the reasons for leaving school after marriage by place of residence. For example, higher percentages of ever-married women in rural areas mentioned that they discontinued their studies because their husbands and in-laws expected it and they were unable to manage both household work and study (Appendix Table 94). Younger cohorts were less likely to have left school, but interestingly, if they left school, they were more likely to have done so immediately after marriage. Younger respondents were also less likely to believe school was not required after marriage than older respondents (Appendix Table 95).

Figure 13.3: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who Discontinued Study after Marriage by Place of Residence and Current Age



The discontinuation of studies was the highest among ever-married women with primary/Ebtedayee education and the lowest among those who had above higher secondary education (Figure 13.4). Among the ever-married women with primary education, the dominant cause cited for leaving was they were not allowed to study by their husbands and in-laws (47%). Among women with higher secondary education, the most common reason was they thought further education was not required (54%) (Appendix Table 96).

Figure 13.4: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who Discontinued Study after Marriage by Education and Wealth Quintile

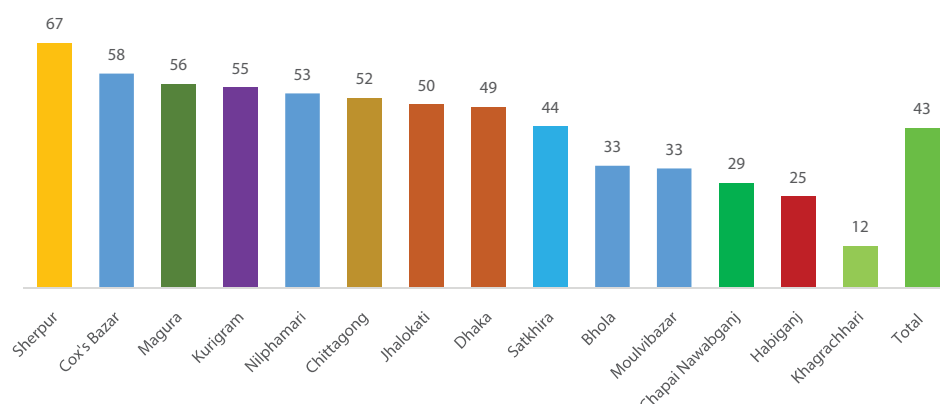


Women from poorer wealth quintiles were more likely to have discontinued their studies, both overall and immediately after marriage compared to those from higher wealth quintiles (Figure 13.4). In the poorest wealth quintile, the most cited cause for leaving school was that they were not allowed to study by their husbands or in-laws (54.6%). For ever-married women in the richest wealth quintile, they left because they thought further education was not required (57.4%) (Appendix Table 97). Qualitative findings confirm that one of the most adverse consequences of child marriage is the discontinuation of education.

13.2 Consequences of Child Marriage on Employment

Child marriage also had significant consequences on the employment of ever-married women. Among ever-married women, only 6.2 percent were involved in income-generating activities at the time of marriage with the highest percentage prevailing in Khagrachhari (19.1%) and the lowest percentage in Habiganj and Chapai Nawabganj (1.8%) (Appendix Table 98). About half the ever-married women who were involved in income-generating activities were not able to continue their work after marriage. The highest percentage of discontinuation of work after marriage was reported in Sherpur and the lowest percentage in Jhalokati (Figure 13.5).

Figure 13.5: Percentage of Ever-Married Women who Discontinued Working after Marriage by District



Qualitative findings also confirm the negative impact of child marriage on employment of women. Different trigger factors such as bad academic results, discontinuation or disruption of education, different family issues including lack of cooperation from husbands, and non-supportive environment in the in-laws household are cited in the qualitative study as causing temporary or permanent labour force detachment after child marriage.

13.3 Consequences of Child Marriage on Reproductive Health

13.3.1 Child Marriage and Unplanned First Pregnancy

Women who were married as children are more likely to report an unplanned first pregnancy than those married as adults (21% and 10.8%, respectively). There were substantial variations in unplanned first pregnancy by district. Table 13.3 shows that Sherpur has the highest prevalence of unplanned first pregnancy (36.3%), and Habiganj has the lowest prevalence (6.2%). There is a small rural-urban divide in unplanned first pregnancy (17.4% and 18.6%, respectively). Unplanned first pregnancy was higher among ever-married women who had their first pregnancy before 15 years of age than those who had their first pregnancy after age 18 (40.7% and 9.4%, respectively). Ever-married women with no education had the highest prevalence of unplanned first pregnancy (19.5%), followed by primary/Ebtedayee, secondary/Dakhil, and higher secondary and above. Ever-married women in poorer wealth quintiles also had a higher incidence of unwanted pregnancy than their counterparts in the richer wealth quintiles (Table 13.3).

Table 13.3: Percentage Distribution of Unplanned First Pregnancy by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | First Pregnancy Was Unplanned | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|------|--------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 79.0 | 21.0 | 100.0 (4601) |
| Adult Marriage | 89.2 | 10.8 | 100.0 (2162) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 80.5 | 19.5 | 100.0 (365) |
| Chittagong | 93.8 | 6.2 | 100.0 (1105) |
| Cox's Bazar | 89.2 | 10.8 | 100.0 (343) |
| Dhaka | 78.5 | 21.5 | 100.0 (1565) |
| Habiganj | 97.8 | 2.2 | 100.0 (418) |
| Jhalokati | 73.8 | 26.2 | 100.0 (210) |

| Variables | First Pregnancy Was Unplanned | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Khagrachhari | 90.7 | 9.3 | 100.0 (257) |
| Kurigram | 74.8 | 25.2 | 100.0 (436) |
| Magura | 71.9 | 28.1 | 100.0 (249) |
| Moulvibazar | 83.0 | 17.0 | 100.0 (352) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 80.7 | 19.3 | 100.0 (374) |
| Nilphamari | 76.5 | 23.5 | 100.0 (361) |
| Satkhira | 77.3 | 22.7 | 100.0 (437) |
| Sherpur | 63.7 | 36.3 | 100.0 (292) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 82.6 | 17.4 | 100.0 (4948) |
| Urban | 81.4 | 18.6 | 100.0 (1815) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 59.3 | 40.7 | 100.0 (778) |
| 15-17years | 78.0 | 22.0 | 100.0(2559) |
| 18 years and above | 90.6 | 9.4 | 100.0 (3426) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 80.5 | 19.5 | 100.0 (1879) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 81.4 | 18.6 | 100.0 (1801) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 83.7 | 16.3 | 100.0 (2476) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 84.1 | 15.9 | 100.0 (364) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 84.0 | 16.0 | 100.0 (243) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 78.2 | 21.8 | 100.0 (1034) |
| Second | 81.4 | 18.6 | 100.0 (1105) |
| Middle | 84.7 | 15.3 | 100.0 (1278) |
| Fourth | 81.2 | 18.8 | 100.0 (1293) |
| Richest | 83.8 | 16.2 | 100.0 (2053) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 73.8 | 26.2 | 100.0 (2054) |
| 15-17years | 83.2 | 16.8 | 100.0 (2548) |
| 18 years and above | 89.2 | 10.8 | 100.0 (2162) |
| Total | 82.2 | 17.8 | 100.0 (6764) |

13.3.2 Child Marriage and Experience of MR/Induced Abortion

The prevalence of MR/induced abortion is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than an adult marriage (4.8% and 4.3%, respectively). In addition, there were substantial variations in MR/induced abortion by district. Table 13.4 shows that Jhalokati has the highest percentage and Cox's Bazar has the lowest percentage of MR/induced abortion (19.0% and 1.2%, respectively). The prevalence of MR/induced abortion was higher in urban areas than rural areas (6.2% and 4.1%, respectively). The occurrence of MR/induced abortion by education showed that ever-married women with higher secondary/Alim education had the highest rate of MR/induced abortion (5.8%), followed by primary/Ebtedayee, above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil, secondary/Dakhil, and no education. Ever-married women in the richer wealth quintiles had a higher incidence of MR/induced abortion compared to their counterparts in poorer wealth quintiles. The occurrence of MR/induced abortion was highest among those who had their first pregnancy below 15 years of age (5.9%), followed by the age at first pregnancy being 18 years and above (4.3%), and 15-17 years (3.8%) (Table 13.4).

Table 13.4: Percentage Distribution of Experience of MR/Induced Abortion by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Experience of MR/Induced Abortion | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 4.8 | 95.2 | 100.0 (4601) |
| Adult Marriage | 4.3 | 95.7 | 100.0 (2162) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 5.2 | 94.8 | 100.0 (365) |
| Chittagong | 3.9 | 96.1 | 100.0 (1105) |
| Cox's Bazar | 1.2 | 98.8 | 100.0 (343) |
| Dhaka | 4.7 | 95.3 | 100.0 (1565) |
| Habiganj | 1.4 | 98.6 | 100.0 (418) |
| Jhalokati | 19.0 | 81.0 | 100.0 (210) |
| Khagrachhari | 3.5 | 96.5 | 100.0 (257) |
| Kurigram | 8.5 | 91.5 | 100.0 (436) |
| Magura | 3.6 | 96.4 | 100.0 (249) |
| Moulvibazar | 5.4 | 94.6 | 100.0 (352) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 4.5 | 95.5 | 100.0 (374) |
| Nilphamari | 6.1 | 93.9 | 100.0 (361) |
| Satkhira | 1.8 | 98.2 | 100.0 (437) |
| Sherpur | 2.7 | 97.3 | 100.0 (292) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 4.1 | 95.9 | 100.0 (4948) |
| Urban | 6.2 | 93.8 | 100.0 (1815) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 3.7 | 96.3 | 100.0 (1879) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 5.4 | 94.6 | 100.0 (1801) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 4.6 | 95.4 | 100.0 (2476) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 5.8 | 94.2 | 100.0 (364) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 5.3 | 94.7 | 100.0 (243) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 3.3 | 96.7 | 100.0 (1034) |
| Second | 3.9 | 96.1 | 100.0 (1105) |
| Middle | 4.5 | 95.5 | 100.0 (1278) |
| Fourth | 5.4 | 94.6 | 100.0 (1293) |
| Richest | 5.4 | 94.6 | 100.0 (2053) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 5.9 | 94.1 | 100.0 (2054) |
| 15-17years | 3.8 | 96.2 | 100.0 (2548) |
| 18 years and above | 4.3 | 95.7 | 100.0 (2162) |
| Total | 4.6 | 95.4 | 100.0 (6764) |

13.3.3 Child Marriage and Experience of Miscarriage

The prevalence of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than those who had an adult marriage. In addition, there were substantial variations in spontaneous abortion/miscarriage by district. Jhalokati has the highest percentage and Khagrachhari has the lowest percentage of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage (13.4% and 6.4%, respectively). The prevalence of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage is higher in rural areas than urban (9.7% and 8.5%, respectively). In general, ever-married women with lower education and those from lower wealth quintiles report higher rates of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage than their counterparts with higher education and from higher wealth quintiles. The occurrence of spontaneous abortion/miscarriage is the highest among those who had their first pregnancy before 15 years of age (10.5%), followed by 15-17 years of age (9.4%), and older than 18 (8.4%) (Table 13.5).

Table 13.5: Percentage Distribution of Experience of Miscarriage by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Experience of Spontaneous Abortion/Miscarriage | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|------------|-------------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 90.1 | 9.9 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 89.4 | 10.6 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 91.4 | 8.6 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 87.7 | 12.3 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 92.9 | 7.1 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 92.3 | 7.7 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 86.6 | 13.4 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 93.6 | 6.4 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 90.2 | 9.8 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 87.4 | 12.6 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 86.9 | 13.1 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 89.5 | 10.5 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 90.1 | 9.9 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 86.7 | 13.3 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 90.3 | 9.7 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 91.5 | 8.5 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 89.3 | 10.7 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 90.4 | 9.6 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 94.5 | 5.5 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 89.5 | 10.5 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 89.2 | 10.8 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 90.1 | 9.9 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 90.8 | 9.2 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 90.9 | 9.1 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 91.2 | 8.8 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 89.5 | 10.5 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17years | 90.6 | 9.4 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Total | 90.6 | 9.4 | 100 (7163) |

13.3.4 Child Marriage and Experience of Stillbirth

The occurrence of stillbirth is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than those who had an adult marriage with substantial variation by district. Habiganj had the highest percentage and Dhaka had the lowest percentage of stillbirth (12% and 2.9%, respectively). The prevalence of stillbirth was higher in rural areas than urban areas (6.6% and 3.5%, respectively). Ever-married women with no education have the highest rate of stillbirth and their counterparts with above higher secondary education have the lowest incidence of stillbirth (8.6% and 2.1%, respectively). Ever-married women in the poorer wealth quintiles have a higher incidence of stillbirth compared to their counterparts in the richer wealth quintiles. The occurrence of spontaneous stillbirth is the highest among those who had their first pregnancy before 15 years (7.8%). This was followed by 15-17 years of age at first pregnancy (5.4%) and 18 years and above (4.4%) (Table 13.6).

Table 13.6: Percentage Distribution of Experience of Stillbirth by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Had Stillbirth | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------|--------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 93.6 | 6.4 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 95.6 | 4.4 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 90.5 | 9.5 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 95.5 | 4.5 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 93.9 | 6.1 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 97.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 88.0 | 12.0 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 94.9 | 5.1 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 95.1 | 4.9 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 92.1 | 7.9 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 92.0 | 8.0 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 92.2 | 7.8 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 94.5 | 5.5 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 93.1 | 6.9 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 94.4 | 5.6 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 93.5 | 6.5 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 93.4 | 6.6 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 96.5 | 3.5 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 91.4 | 8.6 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 94.1 | 5.9 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 95.7 | 4.3 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 97.9 | 2.1 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 91.8 | 8.2 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 92.8 | 7.2 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 93.6 | 6.4 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 93.8 | 6.2 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 96.9 | 3.1 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 92.2 | 7.8 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17years | 94.6 | 5.4 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 95.6 | 4.4 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Total | 2912.5 | 187.5 | |

13.3.5 Child Marriage and Neonatal Mortality

Child mortality is highly correlated to child marriage. The prevalence of neonatal mortality is higher among ever-married women who had been married as children than as adults, with variations by district. Sherpur had the highest percentage and Chittagong had the lowest percentage of neonatal mortality (14.9% and 4.8%, respectively). The incidence of neonatal mortality is higher among ever-married women living in rural areas than those living in urban areas (Table 13.7). Ever-married women with no education have much higher rates of neonatal mortality than their counterparts with above higher secondary education (13.3% and 1.7%, respectively). Ever-married women in the poorer wealth quintiles report a higher prevalence of neonatal mortality compared to their counterparts in the richer wealth quintiles. The occurrence of neonatal mortality is the highest among those who had their first pregnancy below 15 years of age (10.6%), followed by 15-17 years (7.1%) and 18 years and above (5.5%) (Table 13.7).

Table 13.7: Percentage Distribution of Neonatal Mortality by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Had Neonatal Mortality | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|------|--------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 91.4 | 8.6 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 94.5 | 5.5 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 93.4 | 6.6 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 95.2 | 4.8 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 91.3 | 8.7 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 94.1 | 5.9 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 91.0 | 9.0 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 92.6 | 7.4 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 89.1 | 10.9 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 90.6 | 9.4 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 89.7 | 10.3 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 89.8 | 10.2 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 91.0 | 9.0 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 93.1 | 6.9 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 93.3 | 6.7 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 85.1 | 14.9 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 91.7 | 8.3 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 94.4 | 5.6 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 86.7 | 13.3 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 91.8 | 8.2 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 95.6 | 4.4 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 97.6 | 2.4 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 98.3 | 1.7 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 89.8 | 10.2 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 90.2 | 9.8 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 92.3 | 7.7 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 95.4 | 4.6 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 89.4 | 10.6 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17years | 92.9 | 7.1 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 94.5 | 5.5 | 100.0 (2356) |

13.3.6 Child Marriage and Infant Mortality

The prevalence of infant mortality is higher among ever-married women who had a child marriage than those who had an adult marriage (3.2% and 1.8%, respectively), with considerable variation by district. For instance, Habiganj has the highest percentage and Dhaka the lowest percentage of infant mortality (6.1% and 0.7%, respectively). The occurrence of infant mortality is higher among ever-married women living in rural areas than those living in urban areas (Table 13.8). Ever-married women with lower education have much higher rates of infant mortality than their counterparts with higher education. Ever-married women in the poorest wealth quintile report the highest prevalence of infant mortality compared to their counterparts in the richest wealth quintile (4.9% and 1.1%, respectively). The occurrence of infant mortality is the highest among those who had their first pregnancy below 15 years (4.1%), followed by 15-17 years (2.4%) and 18 years and above (1.8%).

Table 13.8: Percentage Distribution of Experience of Post-Neonatal Mortality by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Had Infant Mortality | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----|--------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 96.9 | 3.2 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 96.0 | 4.0 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 98.1 | 1.9 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 95.3 | 4.7 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 99.3 | 0.7 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 93.9 | 6.1 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 94.0 | 6.0 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 96.6 | 3.4 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 96.3 | 3.7 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 97.3 | 2.7 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 95.4 | 4.6 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 98.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 96.3 | 3.7 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 98.1 | 1.9 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 97.4 | 2.6 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 97.0 | 3.0 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 98.1 | 1.9 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 95.1 | 4.9 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 96.7 | 3.3 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 98.6 | 1.4 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 99.0 | 1.0 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 95.1 | 4.9 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 95.7 | 4.3 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 96.8 | 3.2 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 98.9 | 1.1 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 95.9 | 4.1 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17years | 97.6 | 2.4 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (2356) |

13.3.7 Child Marriage and Under-Five Mortality

Under-five mortality is low overall, but is notably higher among women who were married as children than as adults (3.79% and 1.32%, respectively). Cox's Bazar has the highest percentage and Satkhira has the lowest percentage of under-five mortality (8.4% and 0.9%, respectively). The occurrence of under-five mortality is higher among ever-married women living in rural areas than those living in urban areas (Table 13.9). Ever-married women with no education (6.7%) and those from the poorer wealth quintiles (4.9%) report higher rates of under-five mortality than their counterparts with higher education (1%) or from the richer wealth quintiles (1.3%). The occurrence of under-five mortality is highest among those who had their first pregnancy below 15 years of age (4.5%), followed by 15-17 years of age at first pregnancy (3.2%), and 18 years and above at first pregnancy (1.3%).

Table 13.9: Percentage Distribution of Under-Five Mortality by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

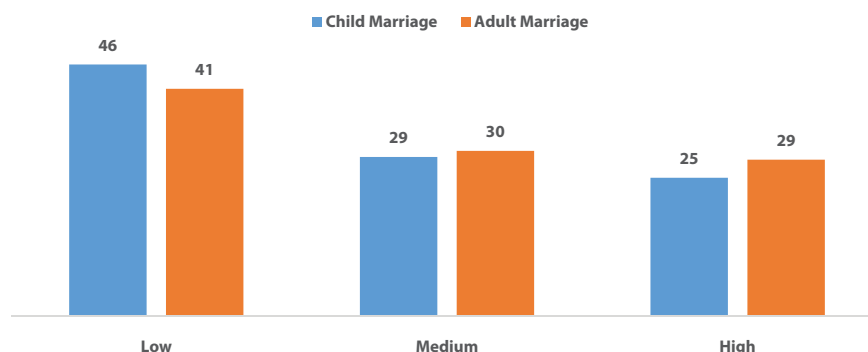
| Variables | Experience of Having Under-Five Mortality | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-----|--------------|
| | No | Yes | Total (n) |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 98.7 | 1.3 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Districts | | | |
| Bhola | 96.0 | 4.0 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 97.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 91.6 | 8.4 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 98.5 | 1.5 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 94.4 | 5.6 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 96.3 | 3.7 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 95.1 | 4.9 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 98.0 | 2.0 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 98.5 | 1.5 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 96.3 | 3.7 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 96.0 | 4.0 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 99.1 | 0.9 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 96.1 | 3.9 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of Residence | | | |
| Rural | 96.6 | 3.4 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 93.3 | 6.7 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/ Ebtedayee | 97.8 | 2.2 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 98.5 | 1.5 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/ Alim | 99.8 | 0.2 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 95.1 | 4.9 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 95.6 | 4.4 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 96.8 | 3.2 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 97.3 | 2.7 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 98.7 | 1.3 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Age at First Pregnancy | | | |
| Below 15 years | 95.5 | 4.5 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17years | 96.8 | 3.2 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 98.7 | 1.3 | 100.0 (2356) |

13.4 Consequences of Child Marriage on Women Empowerment

We constructed an index to describe female empowerment using five questions on women's participation in decision-making process related to their own healthcare, major household purchases, child healthcare, visits to family or relatives, and cooking. The response options of these items were '1', if the decision was taken by the women herself and '0', if the decision was taken by someone else. The value of each of these items was added and the theoretical value of this index ranged between '0' to '5' where '0' means not at all empowered and '5' means highly empowered. This scale reflects the degree of control that women are able to exercise through making decisions in their households. Reliability analysis was conducted and the Cronbach alpha of this scale was 0.68.

Women who were married as children are more likely to be found in the low-empowerment category than their counterparts who were married as adults (Figure 13.6). As a corollary, ever-married women who married as children are less likely to show high levels of empowerment. There is also nuance based on the age of marriage, with women married younger than 15 years having lower levels of empowerment than those married between 15 and 17 (Table 13.10).

Figure 13.6: Percentage of Types of Female Empowerment by Marital Status



Satkhira has the highest percentage of ever-married female respondents in the low empowerment category and Dhaka has the lowest percentage. Consistent with the literature, ever-married women living in rural areas are more likely to have low empowerment scores using our metric than those living in urban areas. Lower education and poorer wealth quintiles were found to be associated with higher prevalence of low level empowerment among ever-married women compared with their respective counterparts with above higher secondary education and richer wealth quintiles. In addition, Muslim ever-married women had a higher percentage of low levels of empowerment than the followers of other religions (Table 13.10).

Table 13.10: Percentage Distribution of Level of Empowerment of Ever-Married Women by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Level of Empowerment | | | Total (n) |
|------------------------------|----------------------|--------|------|--------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Child Marriage | | | | |
| Child Marriage | 45.8 | 29.0 | 25.2 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 41.4 | 30.1 | 28.5 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Age at first Marriage | | | | |
| Below 15 years | 46.0 | 29.9 | 24.1 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17 years | 45.7 | 28.3 | 26.0 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 41.4 | 30.1 | 28.5 | 100.0 (2356) |
| District | | | | |
| Bhola | 49.5 | 38.5 | 12.0 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 44.1 | 23.4 | 32.5 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 60.6 | 24.4 | 15.0 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 27.0 | 31.7 | 41.3 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 46.3 | 36.6 | 17.1 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 38.2 | 26.3 | 35.5 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 30.1 | 28.5 | 41.4 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 64.4 | 25.1 | 10.5 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 29.1 | 39.4 | 31.5 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 56.6 | 29.0 | 14.4 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 51.5 | 28.1 | 20.4 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 54.5 | 23.0 | 22.5 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 66.2 | 21.4 | 12.4 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 42.6 | 46.0 | 11.4 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of residence | | | | |
| Rural | 48.2 | 29.9 | 21.9 | 100.0 (5214) |

| Variables | Level of Empowerment | | | |
|---|----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | Total (n) |
| Urban | 34.0 | 27.9 | 38.1 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | | |
| No Education | 40.2 | 33.5 | 26.3 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 45.7 | 29.1 | 25.2 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 48.3 | 27.0 | 24.7 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 40.7 | 26.6 | 32.6 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 32.9 | 28.3 | 38.8 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | |
| Poorest | 53.7 | 29.8 | 16.5 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 47.2 | 30.3 | 22.5 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 48.8 | 28.7 | 22.5 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 46.2 | 27.8 | 26.1 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 34.4 | 30.1 | 35.5 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Occupation | | | | |
| Housewife/Homemaker | 46.4 | 30.0 | 23.6 | 100.0 (6309) |
| Professional/Technical | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 (3) |
| Admin/managerial | 25.9 | 31.1 | 43.0 | 100.0 (7) |
| Clerical Workers | 39.3 | 21.3 | 39.5 | 100.0 (48) |
| Sales Worker | 19.2 | 21.4 | 59.3 | 100.0 (85) |
| Service Worker | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (1) |
| Agriculture, Forest & Fisheries | 30.6 | 21.1 | 48.3 | 100.0 (187) |
| Production, Transport labourers& others | 29.5 | 26.8 | 43.7 | 100.0 (525) |
| Religion | | | | |
| Muslim | 44.7 | 29.7 | 25.7 | 100.0 (5974) |
| Others | 42.8 | 27.8 | 29.3 | 100.0 (1189) |
| Total | 44.4 | 29.4 | 26.3 | 100.0 (7163) |

The analysis of qualitative data reveals that ever-married women who were married as children suffer psychologically due to lack of freedom. Some women report that this lack of freedom was most acute when they were newly married and needed family members' support most. During this time, they had to live according to others' will and were not permitted to go anywhere without their husband's or in-laws' permission. A few married women who were married as children report feeling loved by their in-laws and husbands and therefore, did not have any such issue in their lives. Stakeholders reported several child marriage cases where severe psychological abuse of the girls by their husbands and in-laws took place. In addition, qualitative findings shed light on the lower levels of decision-making power in their in-laws' household and lack of freedom of speech of child brides.

13.5 Consequences of Child Marriage on Stability and Quality of Marital Life

This section presents findings related to the consequences of child marriage on marital stability and quality of marital life.

13.5.1 Child Marriage and Marital Stability

We construct a dichotomous measure of marital stability based on the number of times a respondent was married. Respondents who married only once (regardless of whether that marriage was still in effect) are labeled as having marital stability. Respondents who had married more than once are identified as lacking marital stability.

By our measure, women married as children enjoy slightly less marital stability; 95.8 percent of the ever-married women who had a child marriage had marital stability compared to 98.2 percent of their counterparts who had an adult marriage. In addition, within child marriage, marital stability is even lower among those who were married before 15 years than those who were married between 15 and 17 years of age (Table 13.11).

Dhaka has the highest percentage of ever-married women reporting marital stability (98.6%) and Sherpur has the lowest (92.3%). Ever-married women living in rural areas are less likely to report marital stability than their counterparts living in urban areas. Higher educational attainment is also associated with higher marital stability. For example, among ever-married women with above higher secondary education, almost all (99.8%) reported marital stability compared to 93.6 percent of their counterparts with no education. Similarly, ever-married women in the richest wealth quintile have higher marital stability than their counterparts in the poorest wealth quintile (Table 13.11).

Marital stability also varies substantially across occupational categories. The highest percentages of respondents reporting marital stability are found among ever-married women involved in professional/technical, admin/managerial, and service workers, whereas clerical workers have the lowest percentage of reporting marital stability (Table 13.11). The percentage of respondents reporting marital stability was lower among Muslims than the followers of other religions (Table 13.11).

Table 13.11: Percentage Distribution of Status of Marital Stability by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Level of Marital Stability | | Total (n) |
|---|----------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Stable | Not Stable | |
| Child Marriage | | | |
| Child Marriage | 95.8 | 4.2 | 100.0 (4807) |
| Adult Marriage | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (2356) |
| District | | | |
| Bhola | 98.1 | 1.9 | 100.0 (379) |
| Chittagong | 98.1 | 1.9 | 100.0 (1168) |
| Cox's Bazar | 95.9 | 4.1 | 100.0 (359) |
| Dhaka | 98.6 | 1.4 | 100.0 (1689) |
| Habiganj | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (442) |
| Jhalokati | 96.1 | 3.9 | 100.0 (217) |
| Khagrachhari | 96.6 | 3.4 | 100.0 (267) |
| Kurigram | 95.6 | 4.4 | 100.0 (456) |
| Magura | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (262) |
| Moulvibazar | 96.3 | 3.7 | 100.0 (373) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 90.5 | 9.5 | 100.0 (399) |
| Nilphamari | 95.8 | 4.2 | 100.0 (379) |
| Satkhira | 95.9 | 4.1 | 100.0 (465) |
| Sherpur | 92.3 | 7.7 | 100.0 (308) |
| Place of residence | | | |
| Rural | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (5214) |
| Urban | 97.7 | 2.3 | 100.0 (1949) |
| Education | | | |
| No Education | 93.6 | 6.4 | 100.0 (1936) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 96.7 | 3.3 | 100.0 (1870) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (2654) |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (417) |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 99.8 | 0.2 | 100.0 (287) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | |
| Poorest | 94.3 | 5.7 | 100.0 (1079) |
| Second | 95.0 | 5.0 | 100.0 (1147) |
| Middle | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (1364) |
| Fourth | 97.1 | 2.9 | 100.0 (1377) |
| Richest | 98.6 | 1.4 | 100.0 (2196) |
| Age at first Marriage | | | |
| Below 15 years | 94.0 | 6.0 | 100.0 (2115) |
| 15-17 years | 97.3 | 2.7 | 100.0 (2692) |
| 18 years and above | 98.2 | 1.8 | 100.0 (2356) |
| Occupation | | | |
| Housewife/Homemaker | 96.8 | 3.2 | 100.0 (6309) |
| Professional/Technical | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (3) |
| Admin/managerial | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (7) |
| Clerical Workers | 91.0 | 9.0 | 100.0 (48) |
| Sales Worker | 99.0 | 1.0 | 100.0 (85) |
| Service Worker | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 (1) |
| Agriculture, Forest& Fisheries | 93.8 | 6.2 | 100.0 (187) |
| Production, Transport labourers& others | 95.4 | 4.6 | 100.0 (525) |
| Religion | | | |
| Muslim | 96.2 | 3.8 | 100.0 (5974) |
| Others | 99.0 | 1.0 | 100.0 (1189) |
| Total | 96.6 | 3.4 | 100.0 (7163) |

13.5.2 Child Marriage and Quality of Marital Life

We constructed a scale to describe the quality of marital life among the ever-married women regarding their relationship with their husbands and in-laws. We measured the quality of marital life among ever-married women, using the extent to which the respondents agree on twelve questions related to their marital life. These questions included: husband threatened to divorce; husband waits for his parents and family members' approval in making major decisions; husband treated them badly because of their inability to give birth to a child; afraid of the husband and maintained distance with him; husband is exploitative; husband becomes angry when I speak with other males; husband makes negative comments about my parents; husband humiliates me in front of others; husband assaults me physically and has had sexual intercourse with me by force. The response options of these items were '1' if they agreed, '2' if they neither agreed nor disagreed, and '3' if they disagreed. Among all ever-married women, the vast majority disagreed with these statements. The higher value of the scale represents the better quality of marital relationship. Reliability analysis was conducted and the Cronbach alpha of this scale was 0.83. There are differences in the quality of marital life among ever-married women based on their type of marriage, district, place of residence, education, wealth, age at marriage, occupation, and religion. Ever-married women who were married as children lower overall scores of marital quality, and are more likely to have a "low" score than their counterparts who were married as adults (45.8% and 34.8%, respectively). District-level variation shows that Habiganj has the highest percentage of reporting low quality of marital life and Magura has the lowest percentage (15.2%). Ever-married women living in rural areas are more likely to have low quality of marital life scores than their counterparts living in urban areas. The percentage of ever-married women reporting low quality of marital life is the lowest among those with above higher secondary education and the highest among those who had no education (24.6% and 46.3% respectively). Similarly, ever-married women in the richest wealth quintile have the lowest percentage of reporting low quality of marital life and their counterparts in the poorest wealth quintile have the highest percentage (28.9% and 57.4%, respectively). There are substantial variations in the quality of marital life across various categories of occupation. Among Muslims, the percentage of ever-married women reporting low quality of marital life is higher than the followers of other religions.

Table 13.12: Percentage Distribution of Level of Quality of Marital Life by Child Marriage and Other Socio-Economic Characteristics

| Variables | Level of Quality of Marital Life | | | Total (n) |
|---|----------------------------------|--------|------|------------|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Child Marriage | | | | |
| Child Marriage | 45.8 | 27.4 | 26.8 | 100 (4539) |
| Adult Marriage | 34.8 | 30.6 | 34.5 | 100 (2287) |
| District | | | | |
| Bhola | 50.7 | 42.9 | 6.4 | 100 (366) |
| Chittagong | 55.2 | 17.5 | 27.3 | 100 (1121) |
| Cox's Bazar | 42.7 | 27.8 | 29.4 | 100 (332) |
| Dhaka | 22.7 | 36.3 | 41 | 100 (1607) |
| Habiganj | 69.9 | 19.5 | 10.6 | 100 (416) |
| Jhalokati | 41.7 | 35.8 | 22.4 | 100 (208) |
| Khagrachhari | 32.7 | 27.6 | 39.6 | 100 (256) |
| Kurigram | 75.2 | 21.2 | 3.6 | 100 (437) |
| Magura | 15.2 | 27.8 | 57 | 100 (252) |
| Moulvibazar | 29.2 | 38.1 | 32.7 | 100 (347) |
| Chapai Nawabganj | 49.2 | 21.5 | 29.4 | 100 (375) |
| Nilphamari | 27.9 | 36.3 | 35.9 | 100 (369) |
| Satkhira | 26.5 | 30.6 | 42.9 | 100 (449) |
| Sherpur | 78.7 | 14.8 | 6.5 | 100 (290) |
| Place of residence | | | | |
| Rural | 45.3 | 27.8 | 26.9 | 100 (4980) |
| Urban | 33.6 | 30.4 | 36.1 | 100 (1846) |
| Education | | | | |
| No Education | 46.3 | 22.9 | 30.8 | 100 (1768) |
| Primary/Ebtedayee | 44.1 | 28.8 | 27.1 | 100 (1801) |
| Secondary/Dakhil | 41 | 31.2 | 27.8 | 100 (2570) |
| Higher secondary/Alim | 34.5 | 31.1 | 34.4 | 100 (407) |
| Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil | 24.6 | 33.9 | 41.5 | 100 (280) |
| Wealth Quintile | | | | |
| Poorest | 57.4 | 24.3 | 18.3 | 100 (1011) |
| Second | 49.3 | 25.8 | 24.9 | 100 (1078) |
| Middle | 46.8 | 27.2 | 26 | 100 (1307) |
| Fourth | 41.1 | 29.7 | 29.3 | 100 (1316) |
| Richest | 28.9 | 31.9 | 39.1 | 100 (2113) |
| Age at first Marriage | | | | |
| Below 15 years | 46.3 | 25.6 | 28.1 | 100 (1974) |
| 15-17 years | 45.5 | 28.8 | 25.8 | 100 (2566) |
| 18 years and above | 34.8 | 30.6 | 34.5 | 100 (2287) |
| Occupation | | | | |
| Housewife/Homemaker | 43.1 | 28.1 | 28.8 | 100 (6121) |
| Professional/Technical | 88.5 | 0 | 11.5 | 100 (3) |
| Admin/managerial | 22.7 | 33.9 | 43.4 | 100 (6) |
| Clerical Workers | 27 | 40.2 | 32.8 | 100 (43) |
| Sales Worker | 22.1 | 28.9 | 49 | 100 (80) |
| Service Worker | 37 | 27.9 | 35.1 | 100 (163) |
| Agriculture, Forest& Fisheries | 35.4 | 33.6 | 31 | 100 (411) |
| Production, Transport labourers& others | | | | |
| Religion | | | | |
| Muslim | 31.7 | 30.1 | 38.3 | 100 (1155) |
| Others | 42.1 | 28.5 | 29.4 | 100 (6826) |
| Total | | | | |

Qualitative findings reveal that in many cases, child marriage result in abandonment and divorce. Child brides in poor households are most vulnerable to abandonment and those whose marriages are still intact do not necessarily enjoy a high quality of marital life. Many women who were married as children say that they do not have significant responsibilities, but are engaged in many chores and labour. Being young, they say, leads to their husbands or in-laws to be inconsiderate and consequently their husbands and in-laws do not treat them well. Women married as children report that everything in the household is controlled by their mother-in-law, father-in-law, and husband. Many women say that their in-laws were not kind to them, rather were exploited by their in-laws because they were young.

Chapter 14

Discussion, Conclusions & Policy Recommendations

CHAPTER 14 : DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

14.0 Introduction

Bangladesh has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world. Every year millions of young girls in Bangladesh get married as children, which has a wide range of negative consequences throughout their lives. These may include discontinuation of education, lower possibility of labour force participation, perpetuation of poverty, malnutrition, and higher risk of maternal and child mortality. The objective of this study was to examine child marriage from a multi-dimensional perspective in order to generate a sound basis for effective policies and strategies to deal with the problem. This objective was achieved by collecting data from six categories of respondents via face-to-face interviews using structured questionnaires: ever-married women, husbands, fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, fathers, and mothers. In addition, qualitative data was collected from women, parents, in laws, and stakeholders through focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and in-depth Interviews.

14.1 Discussion

This research was guided by several key questions according to research objectives. Discussion on the research findings are presented below in line with the research questions of this study.

What are the socioeconomic factors that affect child marriage?

The quantitative findings of this study suggest that a host of socioeconomic factors including women's educational attainment, wealth status, and exposure to media, religion, *purdah* system, and practice of dowry exert a strong influence on the probability of child marriage. We show that the prevalence of child marriage among ever-married women belonging to the poorest wealth quintile is higher compared to their counterparts in the richest wealth quintile. The higher prevalence of child marriage in poorer wealth quintiles is consistent when considering both in-laws' household and natal household contexts. Lower education is associated with higher prevalence of child marriage. The link between lower education and child marriage is highlighted in several ways. Firstly, lower educated people are not aware of the negative consequences of child marriage. Even if they are aware of the negative consequences, they are not in a position to play a pivotal role in decision-making regarding the timing or other aspects of their marriage. Secondly, lower educated parents do not see the value of a girl in their family and society and thus they stop sending their daughters in school. At the same time parents feel social pressure to arrange marriages for their daughters who are not going to school anymore. Finally, lower education among the girls decrease their chances of participating in the labour market, which exacerbates the situation of these girls and could translate into higher child marriage.

The impact of parental education on child marriage is further confirmed by the qualitative findings. Participants from the qualitative component report that due to lack of education, parents are not aware of the negative consequences of child marriage. These findings are consistent with previous research conducted by Ali (2013), icddr,b and Plan International (2013), Kamal et al. (2014), Human Rights Watch (2015) . Another important dimension revealed in the qualitative data is the assertion that some girls are unwilling to attend school. Although parents were interested in providing support for their daughters' higher education, girls themselves were not interested in going to school, leading to drop out. In this context, parents are reluctant to keep their unmarried daughters at home without continuing education. Hence, they arrange marriages for their daughters.

The quantitative findings of this study clearly show that poverty is one of the major factors that contribute to the higher prevalence of child marriage. Poverty restricts parents' ability to bear educational and other expenditure for their daughters, to resist social pressure to arrange marriage for their daughters at younger ages, and to collect sufficient funds to be given as dowry for arranging their daughter's marriage at older ages. These factors motivate parents to give their daughters in marriage when they are still children. Qualitative findings reinforce this view of poverty as an important driver of child marriage. Poor parents arrange the marriages of their daughters at younger ages because of the economic burden of supporting children. Poor parents often cannot bear the cost of education of their children, which leads to discontinuation of education. Thereafter, parents feel family and social pressure to arrange marriages for their daughters. Thus, poverty affects child marriage in many ways. Poverty pushes families to discontinue their daughters' education which in turn creates social pressure on the family to not keep unmarried girls, who are not attending school, at home. As a result, parents arrange marriages for their daughters, who are still below 18 years. Furthermore, qualitative findings show that although parents are aware of the child marriage law, they are reluctant to follow the law mostly due to poverty. Relatedly, previous research shows that in most cases parents consider their daughters a burden due to the expenditure associated with education, dowry, and daily living, which motivates them to arrange marriage as early as possible (Ali, 2013; Ferdousi, 2013; ICDDR'B and Plan International, 2013).

Quantitative findings of this study showed that the prevalence of child marriage is higher among those who believed that older brides were required to pay more dowry than those who did not think so. The practice of dowry is illegal in Bangladesh (Dowry Prohibition Act 1980) and more than 95 percent of respondents of this study know that dowry is a punishable crime and that demand for dowry is not legal. However, giving dowry has been found a common practice when arranging marriages for their daughters. This raises the question of why younger brides are required to pay less in dowry and older brides are required to pay more dowry. Qualitative finding showed that there is a commonly shared perception that younger brides are more attractive and easier to control. For this reason, the demand for younger brides is higher among grooms and their families. And in the case of younger brides, grooms and their families expect less dowry. Consequently, more dowry is required to arrange a girl's marriage at an older age because in most cases people believe that older brides are not controllable and also less attractive. Consistent with this finding, Human Rights Watch (2015) shows that parents arranged child marriage for their daughters because the demand for dowry is lower at younger ages. Similar findings are also reported by Ali (2013) and Blanchet (1996).

Social insecurity is another pivotal factor that drives child marriage. Quantitative data reveals that higher social insecurity, measured in terms of sexual harassment, human trafficking and sexual violence/rape is associated with a higher prevalence of child marriage. Victimization of girls is especially problematic because not only is the event traumatic, but victimization may also lessen acceptance of the girl in the society. Thus, the fear of insecurity among parents about their daughters facilitates higher occurrence of child marriage in Bangladeshi society. Similar findings are also reported by Human Rights Watch (2015). In addition, they also find that parents arranged marriage of minority girls as a result of harassment or threats including threats of abduction or even assault.

Qualitative findings confirm the role of social insecurity in driving child marriage. Parents become concerned regarding the security and safety of their daughters. In some cases, parents do not feel good sending their daughters to school due to fear of sexual harassment and sexual violence. Due to this fear, there is evidence of discontinuation of education, which might eventually lead to child marriage. Qualitative data also shows that in high-prevalence districts, there is higher perceived risk of girls being the victim of sexual harassment on the way to school and girls being disturbed or harassed through mobile phones. On the other hand, in low-prevalence child marriage districts, better socialization helps boys and girls to stay together and a co-education system helps them to protect themselves. In these districts, local government is also very aware about sexual harassment and followed strict implementation of laws.

Qualitative and quantitative data show opposite effects of exposure to mass media on the prevalence of child marriage. In the quantitative data, ever-married women who had exposure to media were less likely to have been married as children than those with no access to media. Parental exposure to media also appears to exert a positive impact on the lower prevalence of child marriage via disseminating knowledge among women and parents about the various negative consequences of child marriage. Some media programmes also emphasize more on investing for girls' education and career, which eventually contributes to decreasing the prevalence of child marriage. On the other hand, qualitative data show that watching television, using a cell phone, and access to internet are perceived to increase rates of child marriage. Participants mentioned that by watching TV serials and other entertainment programmes, girls become influenced to develop romantic relationships with boys; use of cell phone and internet allows girls to connect with boys, leading to child marriage.

Among cultural factors, religion was found exert extensive impact on the occurrence of child marriage. Quantitative data show that Muslims have a higher prevalence of child marriage than the followers of other religions. Qualitative data also show that religion exerts a strong influence on the occurrence of child marriage. Religious leaders such as Imams sometimes promote child marriage by arguing that girls should be married as early as possible and even before reaching biological maturity to be able to have children and enter into a sexual relationship, though this was less commonly reported in low-prevalence districts. Researchers have attributed the higher prevalence of child marriage among Muslims to the encouragement of preserving virginity and marriage by Islam. These studies show that Muslim women are more likely to be married as children than women of other religions (icddr,b and Plan International Bangladesh, 2013; Kamal and Hassan, 2013). Another plausible explanation for the higher prevalence of child marriage among Muslim women is the practice of the *purdah* system. We find that child marriage prevalence is the highest among ever-married women who are conservative in terms of the practice of *purdah*. This was also true in the case of practicing *purdah* before marriage in the natal household. Practicing *purdah* in some cases works as a deterrent for women's empowerment in the sense that it restricts women's mobility and interaction in society, particularly in the cases of wearing *burkha*, no interaction with opposite sex, not appearing before unknown male, not sending girls to coeducation schools and restricted interaction with opposite sex.

How are social norms, values and practices related to child marriage?

Quantitative findings show that social norms and values related to marriage exert a strong influence on the occurrence of child marriage in Bangladesh. These include: girls earn their identity and social status through marriage; grown-up, unmarried girls are the subject of social gossip; older, unmarried girls may

get a bad reputation; girls cannot lead a respectful life without marriage; parents of grown-up, unmarried girls are seen as a societal shame; marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family; daughters are a burden to their parents because arranging their marriage requires lots of money; parents have to give more dowry for fixing the marriage of older girls; girls should be married as soon as suitable grooms can be found; and girls should be married earlier for their safety. These norms and values are so strongly embedded in our society that they might discourage parents and guardians of girls to invest in girls' higher education and help them to enter the labour market. On the demand side, the higher occurrence of child marriage is associated with norms such as younger girls are more attractive; younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity; younger girls are more malleable and can be controlled easily; and men look for those girls who can manage household chores. Due to these prevailing norms and values, parents and guardians arrange marriage of younger girls.

Qualitative findings highlight a number of norms that exert influence on child marriage rates. In high-prevalence districts, older unmarried girls are thought to have a bad reputation, and are a source of social gossip. Still there are many people in the society who believe that girls earn their identity through marriage. In low-prevalence districts there is more evidence of freedom of speech and expressing positive attitudes towards the rights of women compared to the high-prevalence districts. Another important finding of the qualitative part is people's perception that girls were born to be homemakers. There is no doubt that such norms, values and practices in the society promote child marriage to a large extent.

How do gender beliefs and construction influence child marriage?

Traditional beliefs and gender construction also promote child marriage to a large extent in Bangladesh. Various gender beliefs and construction such as girls are born to be homemakers, reproductive functions are the principle functions of girls' and women's lives, investing in girls' education does not bring any positive outcome for parents, girls need more security than boys, and girls do not need education for successful marital life strongly prevailed in Bangladesh. These attitudes are associated with a higher occurrence of child marriage. However, it should be noted here that the existence of these gender norms, values and construction are not unidimensional. The findings show that Bangladeshi society hold some opposing views with regards to gender norms and construction. For example, while society holds the notion like daughters are a burden to their parents and investing in girls' education does not bring any positive outcome for parents, it also holds the notion that society values grown-up, educated, and employed girls. These notions also vary according to place of residence, education and wealth. The analysis shows that addressing these gender beliefs and construction is crucial to preventing child marriage in Bangladesh. However, the biggest challenge in this case is that this stereotype-mindset of the society is not possible to change overnight. Change within society usually takes place gradually. For this reason, along with various intervention programmes such as advocacy and awareness building, initiatives should be undertaken to bring desired change in social norms and values through investment in education, employment, eradication of poverty, and ensuring social security. This is clearly evident in the disaggregated analysis of the social norms and values by education and wealth quintile. These findings were also unique in this study because none of the earlier research in Bangladesh has explored these aspects.

Qualitative data reveals that people perceive investing in girls' education would not bring any benefit for the parental family since girls leave their natal home after marriage. Their husbands and in-laws will be getting their income after they complete their education and start working. This perception exists

strongly in districts where there is a high-prevalence of child marriage, suggesting that attitudes around girls' education have a strong impact on the occurrence of child marriage. In addition, in most cases parents consider daughters a burden whereas they do not have such a perception about their sons. As a result, parents arrange their daughters' marriage at early ages. Relatedly, in high-prevalence districts, there is an apparent absence of equal rights; daughters are not seen as worthy as boys. On the other hand, low-prevalence districts are characterized by giving importance of equal rights both to boys and girls, and not considering girls as a burden.

Are there any inter-generational gaps in perception towards child marriage?

The findings show that there are generational gaps in terms of the norms and attitudes towards child marriage. Ever-married female and husband respondents were more likely to consider 18 years the cut-off age for childhood than their parents. Attitudes around child marriage also differ by age group. A higher percentage of ever-married women mention the following four perceived causes of child marriage more often than their parental generation: did not see any benefit from continuing education, fear of elopement, daughters are a parental burden, and family wish/desire. Parental generation respondents were more likely to mention four different perceived causes of child marriage: fear of trafficking, social pressure to arrange daughter's marriage, fear of sexual harassment, and fear of dowry.

Respondents and their parents are aware of different negative consequences of child marriage. For example, higher percentages of ever-married women and husbands mention the negative consequences of child marriage as early pregnancy, child mortality, maternal mortality, malnutrition, obstetric complications and premature births, than the parental generation. A higher percentage of the parental generation reported consequences including anemia, divorce, depression, higher rate of widowhood, school dropout, violence and torture, unhappy marital life, lack of employment, and population explosion than ever-married women and husbands.

Moreover, inter generational gaps are also evident in the perceived benefits of child marriage. Higher percentages of ever-married women and husbands report several benefits of child marriage than their parental generation, such as parents can see their children and grand children before they die and being required to pay less dowry. On the other hand, parental generation respondents are more likely to mention avoiding social stigma, avoiding abduction, avoiding premarital sex, reducing parental burden, and avoiding the risk of sexual harassment as perceived benefits.

What are men's attitudes towards child marriage?

The vast majority of husbands, fathers, and fathers-in-law report that that in their society it is strongly believed that girls earn their identity and social status through marriage. A substantial portion of the male respondents (husbands, fathers, and fathers-in-laws) believes girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty. Moreover, about three-fourths of the male respondents mentioned that it is commonly believed in their society that marrying off girls before 18 years is key to maintaining family honour. Regarding attitudes towards the suitable age for girls' marriage, about 12 percent of the male respondents believe that below 18 years is the suitable age for girls' marriage. The majority of the male respondents believe that the availability of suitable grooms, fear of elopement, and financial hardship are the major reasons for child marriage in Bangladesh. For perceived consequences of child marriage, male respondents are more likely to see obstetric complications, anemia, divorce, depression, school drop-out, unhappy marital life, violence and torture, not getting work due to low education as the consequences than female respondents. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of the male respondents

understand that child marriage is a violation of human rights and a punishable offense. The fact is that despite having this understanding men still play a key role in perpetuating the practice of child marriage either by marrying a child or arranging a child marriage as a father or father-in-law. The main reason behind the existence of this contradictory behaviour is the belief (and the reality) among men that they can avoid the punishments associated with child marriage by using different means.

How can men be involved in the prevention of child marriage?

Findings of this study suggest that men could make a meaningful contribution to prevent child marriage in Bangladesh. There are several ways through which men can contribute to preventing child marriage. First of all, child marriage is the interplay of cumulative decisions made both by men and women. At the individual level, men can refrain from getting married to a child. At the family level, men can play a crucial role in preventing child marriage within their families by sharing their knowledge and opinions about the negative consequences of child marriage and can convince their family members to not engage in child marriage. They can also work to facilitate female education within their families. At the societal level, men can work to create awareness about the negative consequences of child marriage within their communities, and create social pressure to prevent child marriage in their society. Men should also work in their society to prevent sexual harassment, human trafficking, and sexual violence/rape, which will contribute to ensuring higher social security for girls and a sense of confidence among parents. This will motivate parents to delay the marriage for their daughters in order to avert the negative consequences of child marriage. Finally, when men see any child marriage occurring in their community they can inform law enforcement agencies and locally elected bodies for taking legal initiatives to prevent the child marriage. However, once a marriage is arranged in reality it is difficult to prevent that child marriage due to the possible negative impact it may have on that child's future. For this reason, they argue that child marriages could be prevented if people were made more aware of the negative consequences of such marriages, and if there was stricter law enforcement.

What are women's attitudes towards child marriage?

A vast majority of ever-married women, mothers, and mothers-in-law perceive that there is a strong belief in their societies that girls earn their identity and social status through marriage. A substantial portion of the ever-married women, mothers, and mothers-in-law report that girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty. Moreover, about three-fourths of female respondents mentioned that the perception that marrying off girls before 18 years is key to keeping family honour was strongly prevalent in society. Regarding attitudes towards the suitable age for girls' marriage, about 13 percent of the female respondents believe that below 18 years is the suitable age for a girl's marriage. The majority of female respondents (ever-married women, mothers, and mothers-in-laws) believe that availability of suitable grooms, fear of elopement, and financial hardship are the major reasons for child marriage in Bangladesh. The percentage of female respondents who mention early pregnancy, child mortality, maternal mortality and malnutrition as the perceived consequences of child marriage are higher than male respondents (husbands, fathers, and fathers-in-law). Furthermore, a vast majority of the female respondents consider child marriage to be a violation of human rights and a punishable offense. The study did not reveal any major differences between men and women in terms of their attitudes toward child marriage.

How does the practice of birth registration affect child marriage?

Birth registration and marriage registration are considered important mechanisms to prevent child marriage. Quantitative findings show that although an overwhelming majority of the respondents knew about birth registration, about one-third of respondents' births were not registered. Consistent with expectation, it was found that those who had registered their births were more likely to have a lower prevalence of child marriage suggesting that ensuring accurate registration of birth could become an important way to prevent child marriage. In connection with this it should be mentioned that about 80 percent of respondents' marriages were registered, and a large number of those marriages were in fact child marriage. This finding suggests manipulation of the age during birth registration and/or failure of strict implementation of marriage registration rules and regulations. In Bangladesh, elected representatives in the local government are responsible for giving birth certificates and they try to maintain good relations with people due to voting politics. As a result, when people come to them for birth registration certificates they may give birth certificates according to requests made by the guardians. However, it is very important to ensure accurate registration of birth for prevention of child marriage. The importance of accurate birth registration in preventing child marriage in Bangladesh was also highlighted by Plan International Bangladesh (2013) based on their research findings on child marriage in Bangladesh.

Qualitative findings also confirm the existence of malpractice in the registration of births and production of fake documents. There is evidence of making fake documents, falsifying signatures, manipulating online registration, and getting an affidavit by court. Sometimes even the digital birth certificate is tampered with by editing the scanned paper. Qualitative findings clearly show that local elected representatives help people acquire manipulated birth certificates sometimes with bribes and sometimes without bribes. The qualitative data also reveal additional methods of malpractice such as changing the place of marriage, finalizing the marriage without registration and then completing the registration subsequently when the bride reaches 18 years, and providing bribes to marriage registrars.

How do different stakeholders perceive their role in preventing child marriage?

One of the major strengths of this study is the collection of a wide range of data on child marriage from various stakeholders such as locally elected leaders, social leaders, socially influential persons, and local officials. In general, the qualitative data suggests that key community stakeholders can play a pivotal role in preventing child marriage in Bangladesh. For example, local elected representatives such as Chairman, UP members, and others can work to create awareness about the negative consequences of child marriage. In addition, social leaders and religious leaders also can play a pivotal role in creating awareness to prevent child marriage. Qualitative study participants suggest that local elected leaders should be engaged to stop malpractice in birth registration. Marriage registrars should be made aware of the negative impact of child marriage and can play an important role by checking legal documents to ensure that they are not complicit in registering child marriages. Stopping sub-contracting of marriage registrars is as another strategy to prevent child marriage in the locality. In some cases where a child marriage was not permitted in the locality, child marriages were registered by the court using an affidavit. Participants of the study suggest stopping this practice could have considerable impact on preventing child marriage. Among other initiatives that stakeholders can take to prevent child marriage in their locality include following-up on the child marriage that was prevented, engaging local community members to create awareness regarding child marriage, ensuring social security with the

involvement of local stakeholders, engaging local stakeholders in strict implementation of laws, engaging NGOs in preventing child marriage, and establishing local level collaboration between government and non-government stakeholders.

What are the consequences of child marriage on girls' education?

Child marriage has broad consequences on the educational attainment of ever-married women. An overwhelming majority of ever-married women were not able to continue their studies despite their willingness to continue once they got married. In Bangladesh society, the stereotypical role of women is that they will become engaged with household activities and family maintenance once they marry. For this reason, in most cases, a woman's in-laws and husband do not want them to continue their studies after marriage. In other cases where husbands and in-laws permit women to continue their studies, it becomes difficult for them to do so while performing household responsibilities. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that in most cases women start childbearing within the first year of their marriage due to expectations of the husband and family pressure. Together, the ultimate consequence of child marriage is the discontinuation of education for young females. Similar findings were also reported in previous research in the context of Bangladesh (Field and Ambrus 2008; Jain et al., 2011; Lee-Rife et al., 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2015).

What are the consequences of child marriage on girls' health?

Both quantitative and qualitative findings of this study show that the prevalence of unplanned first pregnancy, MR/induced abortion, abortion/miscarriage, and stillbirth is higher among women who married as children compared to those who married as adults. Young brides feel the pressure to have children even though they are not physically mature enough to start childbearing. Due to the unequal power relations in the in-laws' household and women's limited role in household decision-making, young brides are not in a position to postpone childbearing or to better access reproductive and other health services. This is further supported in the data by the fact that women married as children have low levels of contraceptive use and limited use of maternal health services in Bangladesh (Sarkar, 2009; Daskoch, 2013). Furthermore, the prevalence of neonatal mortality, infant mortality, and under-five mortality are higher among ever-married women who had child marriage.

What are the consequences of child marriage on gender roles and relations?

Child marriage is found to have severe consequences on gender roles and relations. More specifically, ever-married women married as children were found to have lower levels of empowerment than those who were married as adults. Both quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that women married as children have lower participation in household and personal decision-making related to their own health care, major household purchases, child health care, visits to family or relatives, and cooking. The level of female empowerment in Bangladesh is very low compared to developed countries, likely due to characteristics such as a higher prevalence of gender inequality and being a male-dominated society (Ara, 2002; Haider, 2012). The level of empowerment among women married as children is even lower than other women because these women tend to have relatively low educational attainment, low rates of labour force participation, and consequently higher economic dependence on their husbands and in-laws. Furthermore, the lack of adequate knowledge and awareness about their own rights and limited interaction with various service providers from GO-NGOs together creates a situation where women married as children are not in a position to play an equal role in decision-making processes even at the family level, let alone at societal and national levels. Although some of the previous studies look into the consequences of child marriage on women's role in decision-making (USAID, 2012; Plan

International Bangladesh, 2013; Haqueet al., 2014), none had examined the impact of child marriage on women empowerment so rigorously. Thus, the findings of this study related to the consequences of child marriage on gender roles and relations are a unique contribution to the existing research on child marriage.

How does child marriage affect the stability and quality of marital life?

Ever-married female respondents who were married as children have lower marital stability and low quality of marital life in Bangladesh. Women married as children undergo various hardship throughout their conjugal life including continuous threat of divorce, abuse, i.e., verbal assault, physical assault, psychological torture, and forced sexual intercourse. Marital stability and quality of marital life was even worse among ever-married women who had no education, belonged to the poorest wealth quintile, and lived in rural areas. The low level of marital stability and poor quality of marital life for women married as children is associated with their lower educational attainment, lack of participation in the labour force, financial dependency, and even lower socioeconomic status of their parents in some cases. In connection with this, Kabir (1999) and World Vision UK (2013) argue that cultural factors also contribute to exacerbate the poor quality of marital life including beating, torture, humiliating, and abuse among ever-married women. Beating wives and suffering from domestic violence is considered acceptable by many younger females who married early in Bangladesh.

Qualitative findings also clearly reveal that child marriage affects the stability and quality of marital life to a large extent. Participants note that child marriage leads to increased risk of divorce, increased risk of conflict due to demand for dowry, and leads to divorce due to diminished attractiveness of the bride over time. In addition, participants believe that child marriage is associated with unhappy marital life due to sexual violence, physical violence and torture, and less decisive positions about family planning.

14.2 Limitations of the Study

- Contextualizing child marriage is a challenging task given its multi-dimensional nature. It is not possible to examine every facet of such a complex issue within the scope of this study.
- The quantitative data has been presented by using cross-tabulation but the rates produced through cross-tabulations have not been tested by using a significant test.
- The amount of data generated by this study is significant, but analyzing every element of it not possible in one report. Therefore, more independent effort is required to conduct indepth analysis of the data for further dissemination.
- Having diverse regional, social and cultural contexts in the country, the findings of this study may differ from others. Therefore, any generalization based on the findings of this study should be made with caution.

14.3 Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

The findings of this study clearly illustrate that the occurrence of child marriage is influenced by a multiplicity of causes. For this reason, a multi-dimensional approach is needed to prevent child marriage in Bangladesh and to minimize the negative consequences of child marriage. More specifically, concerted efforts are needed from all levels-individual, community, institutional, state, and policy-to have an impact on rates of child marriage in Bangladesh.

Mobilizing gatekeepers to create an enabling environment

- Ensuring meaningful engagement of different stakeholders (parliament members, administrators at Union and Upazila level, media personnel, marriage registrars, teachers, religious leaders, and development workers) for creating an enabling environment to change the mindset, gender construction, and stereotypical attitudes (e.g. male attitude, inter-generational communication crisis, patriarchy, and notions regarding age of child) of the society towards women.
- Inclusion of gender sensitive curricula at school level.

Ensuring girls' education

- Higher secondary education for girls must be made compulsory to prevent girls' discontinuation from education.
- Families with economic vulnerabilities should be provided financial support to keep girls in school.
- Further research should be carried out to explore if the cost of education is related to the discontinuation from education and child marriage.

Creating employment opportunities for girls

- Employment opportunities should be created for girls after completing education.
- Women-friendly, local income-generating activities should be increased so that girls can become financially empowered and thereby delay their marriage.

Eradicating poverty

- Initiatives should be undertaken to support economically vulnerable families through enhancing social protection systems with the goal of eradicating poverty
- Special attention should be given to girls coming from families with disability, female-headed families, families without working or wage-earning adults, and families from hard-to-reach areas.

Taking measures against sexual harassment

- Since socialization at the family level can play an important role in reducing the incidence of sexual harassment, and other forms of gender based violence, focus should be given on creating awareness about sexual harassment and the consequences of sexual violence among parents, children and other relations.
- To ensure social security for girls at the societal level, effective strategies should be taken to build awareness among community members by increasing vigilance and monitoring by local government bodies.
- Law enforcement agencies should take proper and immediate action against all types of sexual harassment (e.g., stalking, eve-teasing, indecent proposals, sexual violence, trafficking).
- Young people, especially young men, should be made aware of the content in the anti-sexual harassment guidelines issued by the high court; with a special focus to prevent harassment of girls using mobile phones.

Ensuring an effective birth registration system

- Ensuring an effective birth registration system is a sine qua non for preventing child marriage in Bangladesh. Complete birth registration needs to be ensured by local government within the stipulated time (i.e., within 45 days after birth).
- Sometimes, parents may obtain manipulated birth certificates. In this case, local stakeholders (i.e., village leaders, teachers and religious leaders) can play an important role in motivating parents to get accurate birth certificates for their children.
- Strong punitive measures should be taken against the producers of fake and tampered documents related to birth certificate.

Eliminating malpractice in marriage registration

- Local government bodies, local stakeholders, and administrations at Upazila level need to be vigilant in preventing malpractice in marriage registration.
- Exemplary actions should be taken against marriage registrars who are involved with the process of marriage registration manipulation.

Managing negative consequences of child marriage

- Since child marriage has many negative social, economic, demographic, psychological, cultural, and health impacts, appropriate measures should be taken to manage the hazards related to child marriage.
- Initiatives should be undertaken to prevent early and unplanned pregnancies and keep married girls in school.

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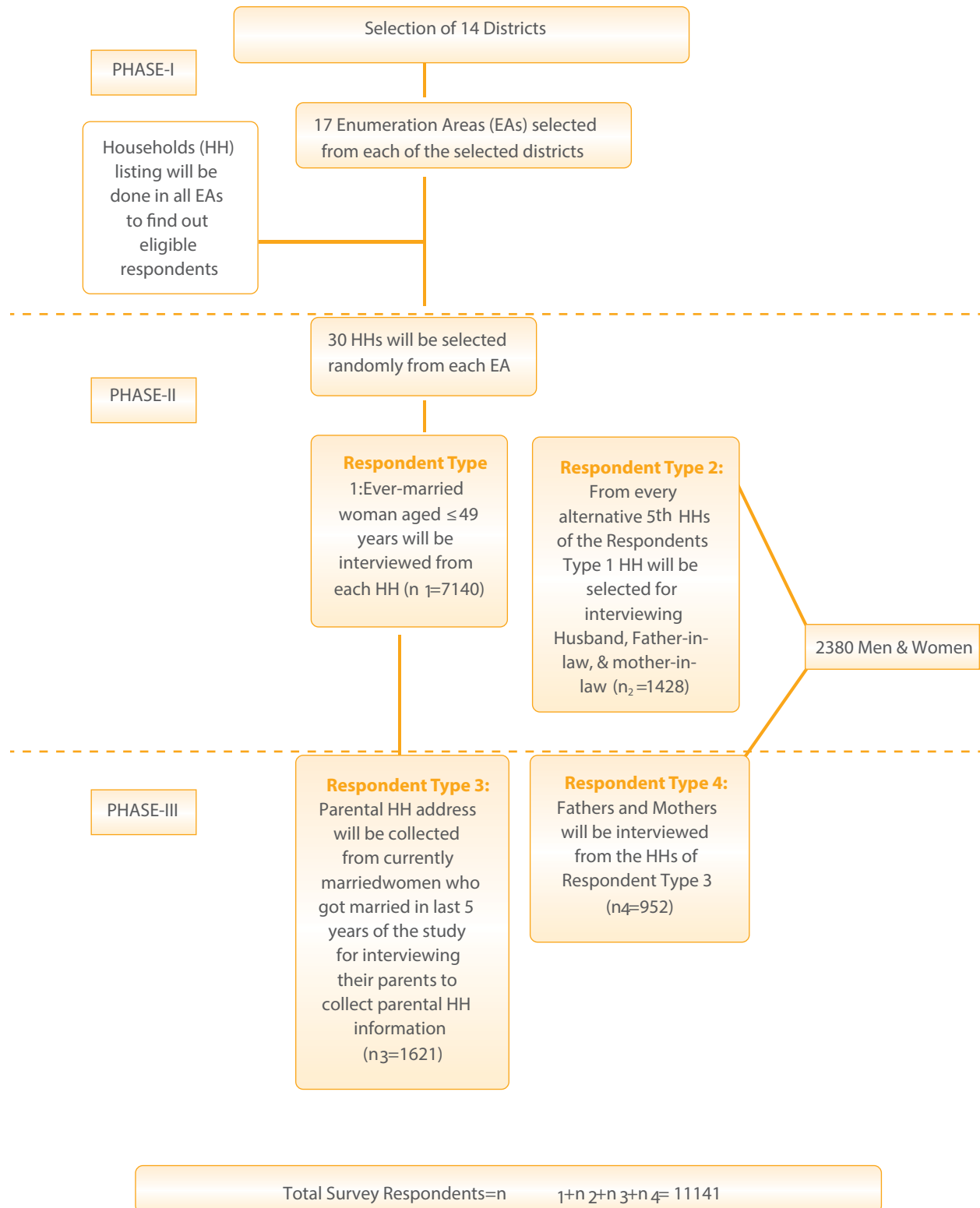
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List of Appendices

Appendix-A: Flow Chart for Implementing the Study



Appendix B: Calculation of Sample Weight

Since the study was administered by allocating equal numbers of households to each of the districts, different sampling fractions were used in each district as the sizes of the districts varied. For this reason, sample weights were calculated and these are used in the subsequent analyses of the data.

The weight is the reciprocal of the sampling probabilities employed in selecting the number of sample households in that particular sampling stratum h and PSU:

$$W_{hi} = \frac{1}{f_{hi}}$$

The term f_{hi} , the sampling fraction for the i -th sample PSU in the h -th stratum, is the product of the probabilities of selection at every stage in each sampling stratum:

$$f_{hi} = P_{1hi} \times P_{2hi}$$

Where P_{shi} is the probability of selection of the sampling unit at stage s for the i -th sample PSU in the h -th sampling stratum. Based on the sample design, these probabilities were calculated as follows:

$$P_{1hi} = \frac{n_h \times M_{hi}}{M_h}$$

n_h = number of sample PSUs selected in stratum h

M_{hi} = number of households in the 2015 IMPS sample frame for the i -th sample PSU in stratum h

M = total number of households in the 2015 IMPS sample frame for stratum h

$$P_{2hi} = \frac{K}{M_{hi}}$$

M_{hi} = number of households listed in the i -th sample PSU in stratum h

K = number of household planned to be studied, typically 30 with exception for Sherpur, Magura, Jhalokathi, Khagrachari and Moulavibazar

A final component in the calculation of sample weights takes into account the eligible respondents per household. In this study, this is assumed to be one eligible respondent per household and hence make no inflation over the final sample size.

The design weights for the households were calculated by multiplying the inverse of the probabilities of selection for each enumeration area. These weights were then standardized (or normalized), one purpose of which is to make the weighted sum of the interviewed sample units equal to the total sample size at the aggregate level. Normalization is achieved by dividing the full sample weights by the average of these weights across all households at the aggregate level. This is performed by multiplying the sample weights by a constant factor equal to the unweighted number of households at the national level divided by the weighted total number of households

Sample weights were appended to the data set, and analyses were performed by weighting with this sample weights.

Appendix-C.1: Community Questionnaire

| | | | |
|---|--|--|----------|
| Division | | | |
| RMO | | | |
| District | | | |
| Thana | | | |
| Mouza No. | | | |
| EA No. | | | |
| Union | | | |
| Ward No. | | | |
| INTERVIEWER VISITS | | | |
| | | FINAL VISIT | |
| DATE | | | |
| INTERVIEWER'S NAME | | | |
| INTERVIEWER'S CODE | | | |
| RESULT* | | | |
| *RESULT CODES: 01 COMPLETED 02 INCOMPLETED 88 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) | | | |
| NAME OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED | | POSITION SEX ELECTED OFFICIAL 1 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> MALE...1 <input type="checkbox"/> RELIGIOUS LEADER 2 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE...2 <input type="checkbox"/> TEACHER/EDUCATOR 3 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> MARRIAGE REGISTRAR 4 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> SERVICE HOLDER 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> BUSINESS PERSON 6 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIAL 7 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER _____ 88 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> (SPECIFY) | |
| SUPERVISOR | | FIELD EDITOR | |
| NAME | | NAME | |
| DATE | | DATE | |
| | | OFFICE EDITOR | KEYED BY |
| | | | |

INFORMED CONSENT

আসসালামুআলাইকুম/আদাব,

আমার নাম.....। আমি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ থেকে এসেছি। পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ “বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের কারণ ও এর ফলাফল” শীর্ষক একটি গবেষণা কর্ম পরিচালনা করছে। এ জরিপে বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের হার, এর কারণ, ফলাফল, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ের উপর বিস্তারিত তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে।

আপনি যদি অনুমতি দেন তাহলে আপনার সাথে আমি কিছু সময় কথা বলতে চাই। আমি আপনাকে আশ্বাস দিচ্ছি যে, আপনি যা বলবেন তা গোপন রাখা হবে। আপনার অংশগ্রহণ সম্পূর্ণভাবে আপনার ইচ্ছাবীন, আপনি ইচ্ছা করলে কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর নাও দিতে পারেন। আমি আশা করবো আপনি এই জরিপে অংশ গ্রহণ করবেন, কারণ আপনার মতামত অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। আপনার মতামতের ভিত্তিতে সরকার শিশু বিবাহ প্রতিরোধের লক্ষ্যে নানা পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করবেন।

আপনি কি আমাদের জরিপ সম্পর্কে আর কিছু জানতে চান? আমি কি এখন সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করতে পারি?

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়েছেন ১ *সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণ শুরু করুন

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়নি ২ *ধন্যবাদ জানিয়ে শেষ করুন

সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণকারীর স্বাক্ষর.....

সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করার সময় ঘণ্টা মিনিট

Section 1: Characteristics of the Community

| QN | Questions | Answer | Response /code | SKIP |
|------|--|--|---|------|
| 101. | What types of transport are generally used by the people to reach the nearest thana? | Car/Bus/Tempoo..... 1 Motor cycle 2 Motor boat 3 Bicycle 4 Cow cart 5 Boat..... 6 By foot 7 Rickshaw/Van..... 8 Train..... 9 CNG/Baby taxi..... 10 Others (specify) 88 | <div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div> | |
| 102. | What is the main occupation of this community people? | Farming 1 Animal husbandry 2 Fishing 3 Business 4 Production of goods..... 5 Day labourer 6 Job..... 7 Others (specify) 88 | | |
| 103. | Does this village/community have electricity? | Yes..... 1 No..... 2 | <div><div></div></div> | |
| 104. | Does this village/community have the following organizations? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Village club/Kishori Club.....A Community associationB Debating/sports/Music club.....C Micro credit union /NGOs..... D BNCC/Girls' Guide..... E Others (specify)X | <div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div><div></div></div> | |
| 105. | Please mention the name of organizations: do these exist in your area/village? If exists, write "00" or if does not exit, ask how far these from your area/village? (Don't know = 98) | | | |
| | A.Distance to Madhrasha | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | B. Distance to Primary School | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | C. Distance to boys' High School | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | D. Distance to girls' High School | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | E. Distance to (both boys' and girls') High School | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | F. Distance to Cyclone Centre | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Not applicable99 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | G. Distance to Marriage Register Offic | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | H. Distance to the office of law enforcement | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | I. Distance to the office of social/cultural organizations | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |
| | J. Distance to the nearest boat/bus/rail station | Mile 1 <div><div></div><div></div></div> Kilometer 2 <div><div></div><div></div></div> | | |

| Section 1: Characteristics of the Community | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|------|
| QN | Questions | Answer | Response /code | SKIP |
| 106. | Is there any environmental hazard/risk in your village/area/locality? | Flood A River Erosion B Cyclone C Tornado D Drought E Salinity F Land Erosion G Other (Specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Does any problem face sending the girls to school in your locality? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 108. | How often eve teasing/sexual harassment happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 109. | How often human trafficking happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 110. | How often sexual violence/rape happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 111. | How often the incident of throwing acid happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 112. | What is your societal perception on the following issues? 1=Strongly prevailed 2=Moderately prevailed 3=Do not prevail [Ask all the items to the respondent] | | | |
| | Marriage gives protection against sexual abuseA | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Marriage is the means to control girls' sexual desireB | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family;C | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriageD | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married as soon as they reach pubertyE | | | |
| | Girls should be married when they look grown up F | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married as soon as suitable grooms can be foundG | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married off when their physical maturation is completeH | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married off after completing secondary education I | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married off after they are economically independentJ | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 113. | How often child marriage (marriage before 18) happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Always 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> → | 115 |
| 114. | How often did this occurrence happen in your locality in last six months? | Number | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 115. | Do you know any elected member engaged in campaign/publicity to prevent child marriage in your locality ? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| Section 1: Characteristics of the Community | | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------|--|------|
| QN | Questions | Answer | Response /code | SKIP |
| 116. | Do you know any organization who works to prevent child marriage in your locality? | Yes1 No2 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> → 118 | |
| 117. | Which organizations do works? | Yes1 No2 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 30px; height: 15px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 118. | Does your area/village/locality have any system of Arbiter/Justice/Panchayat? | Yes1 No2 | | |

Ending time of the interview

Hours

Minutes

End the interview by giving thanks to the respondent

Appendix-C.2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR EVER MARRIED WOMEN

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Division | <input type="text"/> |
| RMO | <input type="text"/> |
| District | <input type="text"/> |
| Thana | <input type="text"/> |
| Mouza | <input type="text"/> |
| EA | <input type="text"/> |
| Union | <input type="text"/> |
| Ward No. | <input type="text"/> |
| Household No. | <input type="text"/> |
| Name of the Household Head | <input type="text"/> |
| Name of the Respondent | <input type="text"/> |
| Q.N. of Father/Mother/Father in law/Mother in law/Husband | <input type="text"/> |
| Mobile No. | <input type="text"/> |

INTERVIEWER VISITS

| | | FINAL VISIT | |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| DATE | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | |
| INTERVIEWER'S NAME | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | |
| INTERVIEWER'S CODE | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | |
| RESULT* | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | |
| *RESULT CODES: 01 COMPLETED 02 INCOMPLETED 88 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) | | | |
| SUPERVISOR | | FIELD EDITOR | |
| NAME <input type="text"/> | NAME <input type="text"/> | OFFICE EDITOR | KEYED BY |
| DATE <input type="text"/> | DATE <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

INFORMED CONSENT

আসসালামুআলাইকুম/আদাব,

আমার নাম.....। আমি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ থেকে এসেছি। পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ "বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের কারণ ও এর ফলাফল" শীর্ষক একটি গবেষণা কর্ম পরিচালনা করছে। এ জরিপে বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের হার, এর কারণ, ফলাফল, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ের উপর বিস্তারিত তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে।

আপনি যদি অনুমতি দেন তাহলে আপনার সাথে আমি কিছু সময় কথা বলতে চাই। আমি আপনাকে আশ্বাস দিচ্ছি যে, আপনি যা বলবেন তা গোপন রাখা হবে। আপনার অংশগ্রহণ সম্পূর্ণভাবে আপনার ইচ্ছাবীন, আপনি ইচ্ছা করলে কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর নাও দিতে পারেন। আমি আশা করবো আপনি এই জরিপে অংশ গ্রহণ করবেন, কারণ আপনার মতামত অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। আপনার মতামতের ভিত্তিতে সরকার শিশু বিবাহ প্রতিরোধের লক্ষ্যে নানা পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করবেন।

আপনি কি আমাদের জরিপ সম্পর্কে আর কিছু জানতে চান? আমি কি এখন সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করতে পারি?

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়েছেন ১ *সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণ শুরু করুন

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়নি ২ *ধন্যবাদ জানিয়ে শেষ করুন

সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণকারীর স্বাক্ষর.....

সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করার সময় ঘণ্টা মিনিট

SECTION 1: BASIC HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|------|--|---|--|------|
| 101. | What is the main source of drinking water of your household? | Piped into dwelling 1 Piped outside dwelling 2 Tube well 3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/ 4 Other (specify) 88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 102. | What is the main source of cooking water of your household? | Piped into dwelling 1 Piped outside dwelling 2 Tube well 3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/ 4 Other (specify) 88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 103. | What is the main source of water for your household activities (i.e. washing cloth, washing cooking utensils, and bathing, etc.)? | Piped into dwelling 1 Piped outside dwelling 2 Tube well 3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/ 4 Other (specify) 88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 104. | Does your family share the source of water with others? 1=YES, 2=NO, 99=NOT APPLICABLE [Ask all the questions to the respondent] | Drinking water A Cooking water B Water for household activities C | <div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 105. | What kind of toilet facility do members of your household usually use? | Flush latrine 1 Water sealed/slab 2 Pit latrine 3 Open pit 4 River/canal/field 5 Hanging latrine/bamboo 6 Other(specify) 88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 106. | Does your family share the toilet with others? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 107. | Does your household have the following items? [Ask all the items to the respondent] | | | |
| | Electricity | A | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Solar panel | B | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | IPS/Generator | C | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Almirah/Waredrobe | D | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Radio | E | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Television | F | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Mobile phone | G | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Land phone/Telephone | H | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Computer/Laptop | I | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Refrigerator/Freeze | J | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | DVD/VCD player | K | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Electric fan | L | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Air Conditioner | M | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Water pump | N | <div> <div></div> </div> | |

SECTION 1: BASIC HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|------|---|--|---|------|
| 108. | Main material of the exterior walls | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Tin 2 Wood/bamboo 3 Polyethylene/board 4 Soil/Mud 5 Other(specify) 88 | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; width: 100px;"><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div></div> | |
| 109. | Main material of the roof | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Tin 2 Wood/bamboo 3 Polyethylene/board 4 Soil/Mud 5 Other(specify) 88 | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; width: 100px;"><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div></div> | |
| 110. | Main material of the floor | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Wood/bamboo 2 Soil/Mud 3 Other(specify) 88 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | |
| 111. | Does your household/any member of your family have the following items? [Ask all the questions to the respondent] [If don't have any item then go to next question] | Car/Truck/ Microbus A Auto rickshaw/ Auto bike/Tempu/CNG/Easy bike B Rickshaw/Van C Bicycle D Motor-cycle/scooter E Boat/Boat with engine F | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; width: 100px;"><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div></div> | |
| 112. | Does your household have any Livestock (i.e. cow-buffalo, goat, hen/duck, pigeon, Koel, etc)? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | |
| 113. | Who is the owner of the household where you live? | Own 1 Rented 2 Other(specify) 88 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | |
| 114. | Does your household own any homestead land? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-top: 5px;"><div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100px;"></div><div style="font-size: 10px;">→</div></div> | 116 |
| | Please specify the amount of homestead land. | Decimal | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; width: 100px;"><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div></div> | 118 |
| 116. | Does your household own any cultivable land (without homestead)? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-top: 5px;"><div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 100px;"></div><div style="font-size: 10px;">→</div></div> | |
| 117. | Please specify the amount of non-homestead land. | Decimal | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; width: 100px;"><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div></div> | |
| 118. | How many bedrooms room does your household have? | Rooms | | |
| 119. | Does any member of your household have bank account? [NGO bank account is not included] | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | |

SECTION 2: RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|--|---|--|------------------------|------|
| 201. | When you were born? | Year | <input type="text"/> | |
| | | Month | <input type="text"/> | |
| 202. | What is your current age? | Years | <input type="text"/> | |
| 203. | Was your birth registered? | Yes, birth was registered 1 No, birth was not registered 2 Do not know whether birth was registered or not 3 Do not know about the birth registration 4 | <input type="text"/> → | 204 |
| 203a. | When your birth was registered? | Just after birth 1 Within last one year 2 Within last five years 3 Within last ten years 4 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 204. | What is your current marital status? | Currently married 1 Separated 2 Deserted 3 Divorced 4 Widowed 5 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 205. | Have you ever studied? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> → | 210 |
| 206. | Where did you study? | School 1 Madrasa 2 Other (specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> → | 211 |
| 207. | What type of educational institution you have attended? [Dakhil, Alim, Fazil, or kamil will contain within "General" code] | General 1 Technical /vocational school 2 NGO/Community 3 Kawmi/Hafjee 4 Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> → | 211 |
| 208. | What is your level of educational attainment? | Primary/Ebtedayee 1 Secondary/Dakhil 2 Higher secondary/Alim 3 Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 209. | What is your total year of schooling? | Years | <input type="text"/> | |
| 210. | Are you able to give signature? [Question No. 210 is only applicable for those respondent who said "No" in question No. 205] | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| [If Currently Separated, Deserted, Divorced or Widowed then Go to Question No. 214] | | | | |
| 211. | What is the current age of your husband? | Years | | |
| 212. | What is the level of educational attainment of your husband? | No education 1 Can only able to give signature 2 Primary/Ebtedayee 3 Secondary/Dakhil 4 Higher secondary/Alim 5 Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil 6 Do not know 97 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 213 | What is your husband's main occupation at present? | USE CODEBOOK | <input type="text"/> | |

SECTION 2: RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|--|--|---|----------------------|------|
| [The remaining questions of this section will be applicable for all the respondents] | | | | |
| 214 | What is your main occupation at present? | USE CODEBOOK | <input type="text"/> | |
| 215 | What is your religion? | Muslim 1 Hindu 2 Buddhist 3 Christian 4 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 216 | How often do you pray? | Regularly 1 Sometimes 2 Very few 3 Not at all 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 217 | How much religion is important in your life? | Very important 1 Somewhat important 2 Not too important 3 Not at all important 4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 218 | Does your family/household give zakat? [Only for Muslims] | Yes 1 No 2 Not applicable. 99 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 219 | Do you often help poor people (like- cash, food, cloths)? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 220 | Do you donate sometimes for any institution (school, mosque, madrasa, hospital, temple, church and orphanage)? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |

SECTION 3: MEDIA ACCESS and EXPOSURE

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|-----|---|---|---|------|
| 301 | Have you ever read any newspaper/magazine? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> →</div> | 304 |
| 302 | How often did you read newspaper/magazines in last week? | Daily 1 At least once in a week 2 More than once in a week 3 Not at all 4 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 303 | What types of news you generally read in newspaper/magazine? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Economics A Opinion B Sports C Entertainment D Feature E Science and Technology F Life style G Editorial H Crime I Politics J Education K Job circular L Other(specify) X | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 304 | Have you ever listened to radio? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> →</div> | 307 |
| 305 | How often did you listen to radio in last week? | Daily 1 At least once in a week 2 More than once in a week 3 Not at all 4 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 306 | What types of programs you generally listen to radio? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | News A Sports B Interview C Educational D Social E Drama F Other(specify) X | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 307 | Have you ever watched television? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> →</div> | 311 |
| 308 | How often did you watch television in last week? | Daily 1 At least once in a week 2 More than once in a week 3 Not at all 4 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 309 | What types of television channel you generally watch? | USE CODEBOOK | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 310 | What types of programs you generally watch in television? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | News A Drama B Movie/Music C Sports D Entertainment E Mega serial F Shopping/Cocking G Talk show H Other(specify) X | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/><input type="checkbox"/></div> | |
| 311 | Have you ever used internet? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> →</div> | 314 |
| 312 | How often did you use internet in last week? | Daily 1 At least once in a week 2 More than once in a week 3 Not at all 4 | | |

SECTION 3: MEDIA ACCESS and EXPOSURE

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip | | | |
|---|--|---|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| 313 | What types of activities you generally do by browsing the internet? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Read newspaper A Check email B Use facebook C Search job D Entertainment E Other(specify)..... X | | | | | |
| [If the answers of the questions 301, 304, 307 and 311 are "No" then question 314 is not applicable] | | | | | | | |
| 314 | What types of news/program you generally read/listen/browse/watch in newspaper/magazine, radio, internet, and television? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Newspaper/ Magazine | Radio | Internet | Television | Response/ code | Skip |
| | Marriage related A | | | | | | |
| | Child marriage related B | | | | | | |
| | Legal age of marriage related C | | | | | | |
| | Consequences of child marriage related D | | | | | | |
| | Education related E | | | | | | |
| | Population related F | | | | | | |
| | Family planning related G | | | | | | |
| | Dowry relate H | | | | | | |
| | Women's violence related I | | | | | | |
| | Health/Reproductive health related J | | | | | | |
| | Other (specify) X | | | | | | |

SECTION 4: SOCIAL NORMS AND VALUES RELATED TO MARRIAGE

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|------|---|----------------|--------------------------|------|
| 401. | What is your societal perception on the following issues? 1=Strongly prevailed 2=Moderately prevailed 3=Do not prevail [Ask all the items to the respondent] | | | |
| | Girls are born to be home makers | 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls and women lives | 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should participate in income earning activities as boys and men do | 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should learn daily household chores at early stage for their better marital life | 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Daughters are as worthy as sons are because they can earn and take care of their parents | 6 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Daughters are as worthy as sons because they are a source of mental support to their parents | 7 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Daughters are a burden to their parents because arranging their marriage requires lots of money | 8 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Spending money in girls' education does not bring any positive outcome for parents | 9 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls need more security than boys | 10 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 11 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 12 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Grown up unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 13 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 14 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Educated girls bring social respects for their parents | 15 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 16 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Society gives value to grown up educated girls | 17 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Society gives value to grown up employed girls | 18 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Marriage gives protection against sexual abuse | 19 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Marriage is the means to control girls' sexual desire | 20 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 21 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 22 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married once she think she is eligible to marry | 23 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty | 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married when they look grown up | 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married as soon as suitable grooms can be found | 26 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married off when they are physically matured | 27 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married off after completing secondary education | 28 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married off after they are economically independent | 29 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Younger girls are more attractive | 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 31 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Younger girls are more energetic | 32 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | More educated girls and women are difficult to control | 33 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Younger girls are more fertile | 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Younger girls' are more likely to have sexual purity | 35 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Educated girls are more likely to manage the family | 36 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men do not want to marry older girls | 37 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Parents do not want to married off their sons with older girls | 38 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men like educated brides | 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men like employed brides | 40 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men emphasize on those bride who have earning ability | 41 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men can be benefited by marrying the girls with higher social status | 42 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men like religious (who practices purdah) brides | 43 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 44 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Husband's age should be higher than wife's age | 45 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Husband's socio-economic condition should be better than wife's socio-economic condition | 46 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls do not need education for successful marital life | 47 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Marrying off girls before eighteen is the key to keeping family's honor | 48 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls should be married earlier for their safety | 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Girls' education will be disrupted if married before eighteen | 50 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Parents have to pay less dowry for fixing marriage before eighteen | 51 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

[illegible]

SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|------|---|--|---|------|
| 508. | <p>According to you, what are the consequences of girls' marriage before eighteen?</p> <p>[Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him]</p> | <p>Early pregnancy A</p> <p>Child mortality B</p> <p>Maternal mortality C</p> <p>Malnutrition D</p> <p>Obstetric complications E</p> <p>Premature birth F</p> <p>Anemia G</p> <p>Divorce H</p> <p>Depression/ Mental problem I</p> <p>Higher rate of widowhood J</p> <p>School dropout K</p> <p>Unhappy marital life L</p> <p>Violence and torture M</p> <p>Increases the trend of suicide N</p> <p>Cannot have work as low level of education O</p> <p>Population explosion P</p> <p>Increases maternal morbidity Q</p> <p>Socio economic status of bride's family will be improved R</p> <p>Other(specify) X</p> | <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> | |
| 509. | <p>According to you, what are the benefits from girls' marriage before eighteen?</p> <p>[Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him]</p> | <p>Parents can see children being married before they die A</p> <p>Parents can see grandchildren before they die B</p> <p>Avoid social stigma C</p> <p>Avoid abduction D</p> <p>Avoid premarital sex E</p> <p>Reduce parent's burden F</p> <p>Get rid of eve teasing G</p> <p>Have to pay less dowry H</p> <p>No advantages I</p> <p>Do not know J</p> | <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> | |
| 510. | <p>Do you think men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage?</p> | <p>Yes 1</p> <p>No 2</p> | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <div style="margin: 0 10px;">→</div> </div> | 512 |
| 511. | <p>According to you, what type of role men can play?</p> <p>[Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him]</p> | <p>Men can restrain from getting married of a child A</p> <p>Inform locally elected bodies B</p> <p>Inform law enforcement agencies C</p> <p>Prohibit child marriage within family D</p> <p>Encourage girls education within family E</p> <p>Socially boycott someone committed child marriage F</p> <p>Preventing eve teasing G</p> <p>Other(specify) X</p> | <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> | |
| 512. | <p>In your opinion, who can take the main role to prevent child marriage?</p> | <p>Father 1</p> <p>Mother 2</p> <p>Parents jointly 3</p> <p>Girl herself 4</p> <p>Grand-parents (Paternal family) 5</p> <p>Grand-parents (Maternal family) 6</p> <p>Community people 7</p> <p>Religious leaders/Teachers 8</p> <p>Locally elected chairman/member 9</p> <p>Marriage register/kazi 10</p> <p>Law enforce agency 11</p> <p>NGO workers 12</p> <p>Groom himself 13</p> <p>Local administration 14</p> <p>Other(specify) 88</p> | <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> | |

SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|------|--|--|--|------|
| 513. | How many daughters do you have? [If you have no daughter, then go to Question No. 601] | Daughters | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 514. | How many of your daughters are married now? [If any one of your daughters is not married, then go to Question No. 520] | Daughters Married | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 515. | At what age your daughter got married? [If any one of your daughters is not married before age 18 in the Question No. 515, then go to Question No. 519] | Daughter 1 = Years Daughter 2 = Years Daughter 3 = Years Daughter 4 = Years Daughter 5 = Years | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 516. | What was the reason behind your daughters' child marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Didn't know about legal age A Suitable groom was available B There were no demand for dowry from groom's family C Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education D Feared of eloping for love affairs E Feared of trafficking F Feared of abduction/kidnapping G Daughters were considered as parental burden H It was difficult for me to maintain my family I Grooms family pressure J | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| | | Feared of dowry K Social pressure to got married L Feared of eve teasing/sexual harassment/physical harassment M Religious belief to got married N There was lack of peace and stability in family life O Completed education P This was right age of marriage Q Girl's father died R Girl's father was seriously sick S Girl's father was abroad and I was alone T Girl was physically/mentally disable U Feared of throwing acid V Feared of killing W Other(specify) X | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 517. | Was there any environmental/climatic factor or calamity that contributed to child marriage of your daughter? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> → | 519 |
| 518. | What was the environmental/climatic cause that contributed to child marriage of your daughter? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Homelessness due to flood A Homelessness due to river erosion B Homelessness due to cyclone C Loss of all social networks D Loss of livelihoods due to flood E Loss of livelihoods due to river erosion F Loss of livelihoods due to cyclone G Loss of livelihoods due to drought H Due to salinity crop production was disrupted I Other(specify) X | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |

SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|---|---|--|---|------------|
| 519. | Do you have any unmarried daughter? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="display: inline-block; border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="display: inline-block; width: 100px; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-top: 5px;"></div> | 601 |
| 520. | At what age you are planning to marry your unmarried daughter? | Years | | |
| [If in the question No. 520, planning to arrange marriage after 18 years, then go to question No. 601] | | | | |
| 521. | What will be the reason behind your daughters' child marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Do not know about legal age A Suitable groom is available B There are no demand for dowry from groom's family C Do not foresee any benefit from continuing education D Fear of eloping for love affairs E Fear of trafficking F Fear of abduction/kidnapping G | <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> </div> | |
| | | Daughters are considered as parental burden ... H It is difficult for me to maintain my family I Have to pay more dowry for grown up daughter J Social pressure to got married K Fear of eve teasing/sexual harassment/physical harassment L Religious belief to got married M There is lack of peace and stability in family life N Completed education O This is right age of marriage P Girl's father died Q Girl's father lives in abroad R Girl is not good in study S Fear of killing T Fear of throwing acid U Other(specify) X | <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 2px;"></div> </div> | |

SECTION 6: MARRIAGE HISTORY

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|-------|---|---|--|------|
| 601. | How was your (first) marriage happened? | Own choice 1 Family choice 2 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 602. | How was your (first) marriage arranged? | Own Choice: Mutually chose each other and family approved 1 Eloping marriage 2 You chose and he agreed 3 Husband chose and I gave consent 4 Family Choice: Family chose and I gave consent 5 Family chose but I was not agreed 6 Husband chose and I did not give consent 7 Others: Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully 8 Local community arranged marriage forcefully 9 Mass marriage 10 Others (specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 603. | At the time of your (first) marriage where were your husband's family? | Same village 1 Same union 2 Same upazila/thana 3 Same district 4 Same town 5 Different district 6 Others (specify) 7 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 604. | Was there any blood relation with your (first) husband? | No relation 1 Cousin 2 Sister's brother in law 3 Brother's brother in law 4 Others (specify) 88 Family choice 2 Other (specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 605. | How was the socio economic condition of your husband's family at the time of your (first) marriage? | Similar to my family 1 Better than my family 2 Lower than my family 3 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 606. | Was your (first) marriage registered? | Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 607. | What was your age at first marriage? | Years | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 608. | Do you think, you got (first) married early, late or at right age? | Early 1 Right Age 2 Late 3 Do not know 4 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 609. | What was your husband's age at the time of your first marriage? | Years | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 610. | How many times you got married? [If got married only one time, Go to 612] | Times | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 611. | If got married more than once, how old were you in your each marriage? | Age at second marriage Age at third marriage Age at fourth marriage | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 612. | How many times your (first) marriage was continued? | Months | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 612a. | What is the duration of your marital life? [If got married more than once, count total marital life including all] | Years Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |

SECTION 6: MARRIAGE HISTORY

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|-------|---|--|--|------|
| 613. | How old were you when you started living with your first husband? |Years | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 614. | Are you living with your husband at present? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> —————→ | 618 |
| 615. | Does your husband marry more than once? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 616. | How many wives does your husband currently have (including you)? | Number | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 617. | What is your order among his co-wives? | Order | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 618. | Was your father alive at the time of your (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 619. | Was your mother alive at the time of your (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 620. | Were you living with your step mother at the time of (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 Not applicable 99 | | |
| 621. | Were you living with your step father at the time of (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 Not applicable 99 | | |
| 622. | Who took the decision of your (first) marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Father A Mother B Parents jointly C Daughter herself D Grand-parents(Paternal family) E Grand-parents(Maternal family) F Brother G Sister H Community people I Others (Specify) X | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 623. | Who was the main guardian at the time of marriage? | Father 1 Mother 2 Brother 3 Sister 4 Grandfather(Paternal family/ Maternal family) 5 Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) 6 Others (specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 624. | When Did you experience your first menstruation? | Before marriage 1 After marriage 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 624a. | How old were you when you experience your first menstruation? |Years | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|--|---|--|--|------|
| [Go to 607. Question No. 625 is applicable only if in 607 she got married before age 18. Otherwise go to 628] | | | | |
| 625. | What was the reason behind your early marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Parents did not know about legal age A Suitable groom was available B There were no demand for dowry from groom's family C Parents did not foresee any benefit from continuing education D I took decision to elope E Feared of abduction/kidnapping F Daughters were considered as parental burden G It was difficult for me to maintain my family H Groom's family wanted I Feared of more dowry J Social/family pressure to get married K Feared of eve teasing/sexual harassment/physical harassment Religious belief to get married M There was lack of peace and stability in family life N Completed education O Parents thought that this is right age of marriage P Girl's father died Q Girl's father was sick R Girl's father was in abroad and mother was alone S Feared of throwing acid T Feared of killing U Other(specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 626. | Was there any environmental/climatic caused to your child marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 | ➔ | 628 |
| 627. | What was the environmental/climatic factor that contributed to your child marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Homelessness due to flood A Homelessness due to river erosion B Homelessness due to cyclone C Displacement and loss of all social networks D Loss of livelihoods due to flood E Loss of livelihoods due to river erosion F Loss of livelihoods due to cyclone G Loss of livelihoods due to drought H Disruption of crop production due to salinity I Others (specify) X | | |
| 628. | What was the educational attainment of your father at the time of your (first) marriage? [Educational attainment of your father/step father who were present at the time of your marriage] | No education 1 Can only able to give signature 2 Primary 3 Secondary 4 Higher secondary 5 Above higher secondary 6 Not applicable 99 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

SECTION 6: MARRIAGE HISTORY

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|------|--|--|--|------|
| 629. | What was your father's occupation at the time of your (first) marriage | USE CODEBOOK 99= Not applicable | <input type="text"/> | |
| 630. | What was the highest educational attainment of your mother at the time of your first marriage? [Educational attainment of your mother/step mother who were present at the time of your marriage] | No education 1 Can only able to give signature 2 Primary 3 Secondary 4 Higher secondary 5 Above higher secondary 6 Not applicable 99 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 631. | What was your mother's occupation at the time of your (first) marriage | USE CODEBOOK 99= Not applicable | <input type="text"/> | |
| 632. | How many siblings did you have (at the time of your (first) marriage)? [Total number of siblings (including step brother/sister) with whom you were living at the time of your marriage] | Brothers Sisters | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 633. | What is your birth order? | order | <input type="text"/> | |
| 634. | Among your brothers what is the highest level of educational attainment? [Use 99 code if respondents have no brother] | No education 1 Can only able to give signature 2 Primary 3 Secondary 4 Higher secondary 5 Above higher secondary 6 Not applicable 99 Other (specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 635. | Among your sisters what is the highest level of educational attainment? [Use 99 code if respondents have no sister] | No education 1 Can only able to give signature 2 Primary 3 Secondary 4 Higher secondary 5 Above higher secondary 6 Not applicable 99 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 636. | What was your husband's occupation at the time of your (first) marriage? | USE CODEBOOK | <input type="text"/> | |
| 637. | Do you think birth registration can prevent child marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 638. | Were you asked to show your birth certificate at the time of your marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 639 | How often eve teasing happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="text"/> | |

| SECTION 6: MARRIAGE HISTORY | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|---|--|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
| 640. | How often human trafficking happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 641. | How often sexual violence/rape happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 642. | Do you know that child marriage is a punishable offense? | Yes 1 No 2 Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 643. | Do you know that child marriage is a violation of human rights? | Yes 1 No 2 Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 644. | Do you know about any organization who works to prevent child marriage in your locality? | Yes 1 No 2 Do not know 97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |

| SECTION 7: DOWRY | | | | | |
|---|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response code | | | Skip |
| | What were the conditions regarding your marital exchange? | Bride's Family | Groom's Family | | |
| 701. | Dowry A | | | | |
| | Gold/Ornaments B | | | | |
| | Dower/denmohor C | | | | |
| | Number of guests to be entertained D | | | | |
| | Others E | | | | |
| [If the respondents answer either C, D or E, at Groom's family in the question No.701, then go to 709] | | | | | |
| 702. | What were demanded as dowry? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Money A | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Capital for business B | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Gold C | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Land D | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | TV E | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Radio F | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Refrigerator G | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | CNG/auto rickshaw H | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sewing machine I | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Furniture J | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Car K | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Smart phone/Mobile Phone L | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Motorcycle M | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Bicycle N | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Flat O | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sending groom abroad P | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Arranging jobs to groom Q | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Homestead animals R | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Others (specify) X | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |

SECTION 7: DOWRY

| QN. | Questions | Response code | | Skip |
|------|--|---|---|------|
| 703. | Could your parents pay committed amount of dowry? | Yes, fully paid 1 Yes, partially paid 2 No 3 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | 706 |
| 704. | What was the mode of payments? | All at a time 1 In installments 2 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 705. | How did your family manage the money/other dowry? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Selling land A Selling assets (e.g. ornaments, furniture, etc.) B Loan from institution (i.e. Bank/NGOs) C Loan from individual (i.e. money lender) D Selling cows/goats selling trees F Loan from relatives G Mortgaging land H Helps from others I Family savings J Others (specify) X | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 706. | What were the consequences of failing to pay the dowry timely according to condition? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Verbal abuse A Threat of divorce B Threat of marrying again C Deprivation from food D Stop talking E Physical violence F Threat of sending to parental house G Divorce H Others (specify) X | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 707. | Did your husband/groom's family demand subsequent dowry? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 708. | What was your feeling for arranging your marriage in exchange of dowry? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | It is normal A I feel humiliated B I did not want to marry in such a way but my parents/guardian compelled me C It was painful to see parents suffering for paying my dowry D Others (specify) X | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 709. | Do you think that parents of older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides? | Yes 1 No 2 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 710. | Is it legal to demand dowry for marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 97 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 711. | Has any of your marriage initiatives failed for not agreeing to pay dowry at all? | Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 97 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |
| 712. | Do you know that dowry is a punishable offence? | Yes 1 No 2 Can not tell 3 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <input type="checkbox"/> </div> <div style="border-top: 1px solid black; width: 50px; margin-left: 10px;"></div> </div> | |

SECTION 8: MOBILITY AND PURDAH

| QN. | Questions | Response code | | | | Skip |
|--------------------------|---|--|--|---|--|------|
| 801. | How was your mobility before marriage? 1= Agree 2= Neither agree nor disagree 3= Disagree [Ask all the items to the respondent] | Had to seek permission from parents/guardian for going to most of the places (except going to school, neighbor's house)..... A | | | | |
| | | I could go most of the places (except going to school, neighbor's house) I wish to if but with someone's accompany B | | | | |
| | | I could go to most of the places alone (except going to school, neighbor's house)..... C | | | | |
| 802. | Has any restriction in your mobility been imposed after your marriage? 1= Agree 2= Neither agree nor disagree 3= Disagree [Ask all the items to the respondent] | Have mobility as before marriage A | | | | |
| | | Have more mobility than before marriage..... B | | | | |
| | | Have restricted mobility as before marriage C | | | | |
| | | Have more restricted mobility after marriage D | | | | |
| | | Have to seek permission from husband or in-laws for going anywhere E | | | | |
| 803. | What is your understanding about 'purdah'? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Burka A | | | | |
| | | Scarf B | | | | |
| | | Nekab C | | | | |
| | | Modesty in dress up D | | | | |
| | | Modesty in behavior E | | | | |
| | | No interaction with opposite sex F | | | | |
| | | Not appearing before unknown male G | | | | |
| | | Restricted interaction with opposite sex H | | | | |
| | | Not sending girls to co-education schools I | | | | |
| | | Women should not go outside for work J | | | | |
| | | Mental purity is the best purdah K | | | | |
| Others (specify) X | | | | | | |
| 804. | What kinds of 'purdah' are maintained by- 1). Yourself (before married)? 2). Other female members of your natal family (before married)? 3). Other female members of your husband's family? | Yourself (Before married) | Natal Family (Before married) | Husband's Family [If currently not staying at husband's family, use 99 code] | [If have any answerst hen place A, B, C, D, etc. Otherwise keep it blank] | |
| | Burka A | | | | | |
| | Scarf B | | | | | |
| | Nekab C | | | | | |
| | Modesty in dress up D | | | | | |
| | Modesty in behavior E | | | | | |
| | No interaction with opposite sex F | | | | | |
| | Not appearing before unknown male G | | | | | |
| | Restricted interaction with opposite sex..... H | | | | | |
| | Not sending girls to co-education schools I | | | | | |
| | Women should not go outside for work J | | | | | |
| | Mental purity is the best purdah K | | | | | |
| | Others (specify) X | | | | | |

[illegible]

SECTION 10: MARRIAGE, EDUCATION and EMPLOYMENT

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|--|---|--|---|------------------|
| 1001 | Were you studying at the time of your (first) marriage? (Check Question 205 for School Attendance) | Yes 1 → No 2 Never Attended School 97 → | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | 1004 1012 |
| [If “No” in question No. 1001, then after filling 1002 and 1003, go to 1012] | | | | |
| 1002. | How long before your (first) marriage you had stopped going to school/college? | Months | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1003. | What were the reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Long distance from home to school A Parental poverty B Involvement in income generating activities C Eve teasing/Sexual Harassment D Security threat (rape, trafficking, abduction) E Looking after younger siblings F Helping in household works G Helping in agricultural production H Other (specify) X | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1004. | What class were you in at the time of your (first) marriage? | Class | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1005. | What happened to your study after your first marriage? | Continued 1 Discontinued 2 → | | 1008 |
| [If “Continued” in question No. 1005, then after filling 1006 and 1007, go to 1010] | | | | |
| 1006. | Why did you continue your study after marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Continued my studies because I thought I still needed education A Continued my studies because my husband and in-laws family wanted B Continued my studies because I had support from my husband and in laws C Other (specify) X | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1007. | Who bore the expenses of your education after marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Self A Parents B Husband C In-laws family D Others (specify) X | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1008. | What were the reasons for discontinuation of your study after marriage? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | I thought it was no more required A I was not allowed to do so by my husband B I was not allowed to do so by my in laws family members C Couldn't manage both HH works and study simultaneously D Other (specify) X | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1009. | How long after your (first) marriage you discontinued study? [Write “00” if less than one month] | Months | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | |
| 1010. | Were you getting any scholarship or stipend to attend school/college at the time of your (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 → | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto;"></div> | 1012 |

SECTION 10: MARRIAGE, EDUCATION and EMPLOYMENT

| QN. | | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|-------|---|--|--|------|
| 1011. | What kind of scholarship was it? | Merit scholarship 1 Upobritti (Girls Stipend) 2 Trust fund 3 Bank scholarship 4 Other (specify) 88 | | |
| 1012. | Were you a member of any social, cultural organization/group at the time of your (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 → | | 1015 |
| 1013. | What type of organization/program it was? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Village club/Kishori Club A Community association B Debating/sports/Music club C Micro Credit Associations/NGOs D BNCC/Girls' Guide E Other (specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1014. | Did you continue your membership after marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 | | |
| 1015. | Were you doing any work for cash or kind at the time of your (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 → | | 1101 |
| 1016. | What kind of work were you mainly doing at the time of your (first) marriage? | USE CODEBOOK | | |
| 1017. | Did you continue working after your (first) marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 | | |

SECTION 11: MARRIAGE and HEALTH

| QN. | | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|---|---|---|--|------|
| 1101. | Did you face any health problem within five years of your (first) marriage? [If married more than once, consider the problem of your all marital life] [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Sexual organ related problems A Contraceptive use related problems B Pregnancy related problems C Delivery related problems D Tension and stress E Mental depression F Excessive bleeding during menstruation G Anemia H Weakness I No problem faced at all J Others(specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| [If "Continued" in question No. 1005, then after filling 1006 and 1007, go to 1010] | | | | |
| 1102. | How many times have you conceived? | Numbers | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 1103. | When did you first conceive after your (first) marriage? | Months | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 1103a. | How old were you at the time of your last pregnancy? | Years | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 1104. | Was your first pregnancy planned? | Yes 1 No 2 → | | 1106 |

SECTION 11: MARRIAGE and HEALTH

| QN. | | Response /code | Response code | Skip | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--------------------|---|--|-------------------|--|--|--|--------------------|--|--|--|-------------------|--|--|--|--------------------|--|--|--|-------------------|--|--|--|-------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1105. | What was the reason for planned pregnancy? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1106. | What was the reason for unplanned pregnancy? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Did not know how to use of contraceptives A For not using contraceptives B Contraceptive failure C Unavailability of contraceptives D Others (specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1107. | How many times have you experienced unplanned pregnancy? | Numbers | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| [If “Continued” in question No. 1005, then after filling 1006 and 1007, go to 1010] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1108. | Have you ever experienced to MR/abortions/pregnancy termination | Yes 1 No 2 | —————→ | 1110 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1109. | How many MR/abortions/pregnancy terminations did you have? | <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 30%;">Number of MR/abortions/pregnancy termination</th> <th style="width: 20%;">Order of pregnancy</th> <th style="width: 20%;">At what age MR/abortions/pregnancy termination occurred</th> <th style="width: 30%;"></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>First termination</td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Second termination</td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Third termination</td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Fourth termination</td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Fifth termination</td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Sixth termination</td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/><input type="text"/><input type="text"/></td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table> | Number of MR/abortions/pregnancy termination | Order of pregnancy | At what age MR/abortions/pregnancy termination occurred | | First termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | Second termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | Third termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | Fourth termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | Fifth termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | Sixth termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | |
| Number of MR/abortions/pregnancy termination | Order of pregnancy | At what age MR/abortions/pregnancy termination occurred | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| First termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Second termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Third termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fourth termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Fifth termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sixth termination | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1110. | Have you ever had a pregnancy that: [Ask all the items to the respondent] | Spontaneously Aborted(Miscarried) A Ended in a stillbirth B Child died during pregnancy C Not applicable X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1111. | Interval in between births : Between 1st and 2nd birth Between 2nd and 3rd birth Between 3rd and 4th birth Between 4th and 5th birth Between 5th and 6th birth [Use code “99” for the respondents who are pregnant at first time/conceived only once] | months months months months months 99 Not applicable | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| [Questions No. 1112 to 1116 are not applicable for the respondents who never gave a birth] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1112. | At what age your first child was born? | Years | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1113 | Did any of your children die before reaching age five? | Yes 1 No 2 | —————→ | 1115 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

SECTION 11: MARRIAGE and HEALTH

| QN. | | Response /code | Response code | Skip | | | |
|--|---|--|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1114. | Detail information on child mortality (under five years-aged) | | | | | | |
| | Order of children | Sex of Child M=1 F=2 | | | Neonatal (within 28 days of birth) | Post Neonatal (1-11 months) | 1-5 years of birth |
| | Child 1 | | | | | | |
| | Child 2 | | | | | | |
| | Child3 | | | | | | |
| | Child 4 | | | | | | |
| | Child 5 | | | | | | |
| 1115. | Among your children how many sons and daughters are alive now? | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> Sons Daughters </div> | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> </div> | | | | |
| 1116. | How many children did you have before reaching age 18? | Numbers | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |
| 1117. | | Have (a/another) child 1 Nomore/none 2 Says she can't get pregnant 3 Don't know 4 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex-grow: 1; border-bottom: 1px solid black; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; right: -5px; top: -5px;">→</div> </div> </div> | 1120 | | |
| 1118. | How many children do you want in future ? | Numbers | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |
| 1119. | How many of these children would you like to be boys and girls ? | Boys Girls No sex preferene | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |
| [Go to Question No. 1201 for the respondents who never gave a birth] | | | | | | | |
| 1120. | Did you ever have obstructed labor during any of your child births? | Yes 1 No 2 Not applicable 3 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex-grow: 1; border-bottom: 1px solid black; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; right: -5px; top: -5px;">→</div> </div> </div> | 1122 | | |
| 1121. | How many times did you face obstructed labor | Times | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |
| 1122. | Did you develop any of the following morbid conditions after your child birth? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Uterine Prolapse (sliding of uterus from its normal position) A Urinary incontinence (involuntary leakage of urine during any physical activity) B Vesicovaginal Fistula (abnormal opening between bladder and vagina) C None of the above D Others (specify)..... X | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex-grow: 1; border-bottom: 1px solid black; position: relative;"> <div style="position: absolute; right: -5px; top: -5px;">→</div> </div> </div> | 1201 | | |
| Do you face any of the following problems or disabilities for having any of the above morbid conditions? | | | | | | | |
| 1123. | A= Who have UterineProlapse | Backache 1 Urinary problem 2 Painful sexual intercourse 3 Others (specify)..... 88 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |
| | B= Who have Stress Incontinence | Experience involuntary leakage of urine during any physical activity..... 1 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |
| | C=Who have VVF | Experience involuntary leakage of urine 1 Experience involuntary leakage of stools 2 Urinary tract infections 3 Secondary infertility 4 | <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></div> | | | | |

SECTION 12: MARRIAGE, GENDER ROLES and RELATIONS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | | Response code | Skip |
|-------|--|---|-------------|--|--------------------------|------|
| 1201. | What were the expectations from you after marriage from in-laws family? [Ask all the items to the respondent] | By Husband | By In- laws | Reasonability of assigned duty 1= Reasonable 2= Moderate 3= Not reasonable | | |
| | Caring the elder members.....A | | | | | |
| | To look after my husband B | | | | | |
| | To look after other family members.... C | | | | | |
| | To cook for household members.....D | | | | | |
| | To assist in cooking E | | | | | |
| | To help in household work F | | | | | |
| | To share outside workwith husband (e.g. daily grocery shopping, working in agriculture, etc.) G | | | | | |
| | Should not refuse to do any work or take any responsibility H | | | | | |
| 1202. | What happens if you fail to fulfill any of the above expectations ? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Verbal abuse A | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Threat of divorce B | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Threat of marrying again C | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Deprivation from food D | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Stop talking E | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Physical violence F | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Not applicable G | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Others (specify) X | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1203. | How do you spend your leisure time? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Spend time with my friends A | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Spend time with husband B | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Gossiping with family members C | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Playing with children D | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Gossiping with neighbors E | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sewing cloths F | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Listen to music G | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Watch television H | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Watch movies I | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Read books J | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sleeping K | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Don't get leisure time L | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Others (specify) X | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1204. | Do you depend on your husband for the following activities? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Cooking A | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Washing cloths B | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Taking care of belongings C | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Spending money for yourself D | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sharing joys and sorrows E | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Bringing necessary things from market F | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Going to market G | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Going to movie theaters H | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Going to physician or health centers I | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Taking care of children J | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Not dependent K | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Not applicable L | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Others (specify) X | | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

SECTION 12: MARRIAGE, GENDER ROLES and RELATIONS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|--------|--|--|--|-------------|
| 1205. | Who usually decides how the money you earn will be used? [If not involved with earning, use code "99"] | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 Not applicable 99 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1206. | Who usually makes decisions about health care for yourself | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1207. | Who usually makes decisions about making major household purchases? | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1208. | Who usually makes decisions about visits to your family or relatives? | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1209. | Who usually makes decisions about your child health care? | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 Not applicable 99 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1210. | Do you go to a health centre or hospital alone or with your young children? | Yes, alone 1 Yes, with children 2 No 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 12011. | Who usually makes decision about cooking? | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1212. | Who usually makes decision about own children's studies? [If no children, use code "99"] | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 Not applicable 99 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1213. | Have you or your husband used any contraceptive methods in the last 12 months ? [If husband is not alive or live in abroad, use code ' 99 '] | Yes 1 No 2 Not applicable 99 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | 1216 |
| 1214. | Who takes the decision for using birth control method in the last 12 months? | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 Not applicable 99 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 1215. | Who is using method for birth control in the last 12 months? | Respondent 1 Husband 2 Respondent and husband jointly 3 Someone else 4 Not applicable 99 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |

SECTION 12: MARRIAGE, GENDER ROLES and RELATIONS

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Response code | Skip |
|---|---|---|--|------|
| [Question No. 1216 is not applicable for those respondents who are Separated, Deserted, Divorced or Widowed] | | | | |
| 1216. | <p>In what ways you are dependent on your in-laws?</p> <p>[Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him]</p> | <p>For cooking food A</p> <p>Doing household chores B</p> <p>Taking care during sickness C</p> <p>Giving medicine D</p> <p>Financial support E</p> <p>Looking after children F</p> <p>Getting necessary things for me from market G</p> <p>Accompanying me for visiting friends/relatives H</p> <p>Cannot depend on them for anything I</p> <p>Not applicable J</p> <p>Others (specify) X</p> | <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> | |
| 1217. | <p>In what ways you will describe your relationship with your in-laws?</p> <p>[Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him]</p> | <p>Mutual understanding A</p> <p>Cooperative B</p> <p>Source of emotional support for me C</p> <p>Look after me in all possible ways D</p> <p>Not supportive E</p> <p>Not caring F</p> <p>Indifferent towards me G</p> <p>Always remain fearful about my in-laws abuse H</p> <p>Exploitative I</p> <p>Not applicable J</p> <p>Others (specify) X</p> | <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> <div><input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/></div> | |

Ending time of the interview

Hours Minutes

End the interview by giving thanks to the respondent

Appendix-C.3: Schedule for Assessing Household Socio-Economic Characteristics

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Division | <input type="text"/> |
| RMO | <input type="text"/> |
| District | <input type="text"/> |
| Thana | <input type="text"/> |
| Mouza | <input type="text"/> |
| EA | <input type="text"/> |
| Union | <input type="text"/> |
| Ward No. | <input type="text"/> |
| Household No. | <input type="text"/> |
| Name of the Household Head | <input type="text"/> |
| Name of the Respondent | <input type="text"/> |
| Q.N. of Father/Mother/Father in law/Mother in law/Husband | <input type="text"/> |
| Mobile No. | <input type="text"/> |

INTERVIEWER VISITS

| DATE | | FINAL VISIT | |
|---|--|---------------------------|--|
| <input type="text"/> | | <input type="text"/> | |
| INTERVIEWER'S NAME | | INTERVIEWER'S CODE | |
| <input type="text"/> | | <input type="text"/> | |
| RESULT* | | RESULT* | |
| <input type="text"/> | | <input type="text"/> | |
| *RESULT CODES: 01 COMPLETED 02 INCOMPLETED 88 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) | | | |
| | | | |
| SUPERVISOR | | FIELD EDITOR | |
| NAME <input type="text"/> | | NAME <input type="text"/> | |
| DATE <input type="text"/> | | DATE <input type="text"/> | |
| OFFICE EDITOR | | KEYED BY | |
| <input type="text"/> | | <input type="text"/> | |

INFORMED CONSENT

আসসালামুআলাইকুম/আদাব,

আমার নাম.....। আমি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ থেকে এসেছি। পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ “বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের কারণ ও এর ফলাফল” শীর্ষক একটি গবেষণা কর্ম পরিচালনা করছে। এ জরিপে বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের হার, এর কারণ, ফলাফল, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ের উপর বিস্তারিত তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে।

আপনি যদি অনুমতি দেন তাহলে আপনার সাথে আমি কিছু সময় কথা বলতে চাই। আমি আপনাকে আশ্বাস দিচ্ছি যে, আপনি যা বলবেন তা গোপন রাখা হবে। আপনার অংশগ্রহণ সম্পূর্ণভাবে আপনার ইচ্ছাধীন, আপনি ইচ্ছা করলে কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর নাও দিতে পারেন। আমি আশা করবো আপনি এই জরিপে অংশ গ্রহণ করবেন, কারণ আপনার মতামত অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। আপনার মতামতের ভিত্তিতে সরকার শিশু বিবাহ প্রতিরোধের লক্ষ্যে নানা পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করবেন।

অপনি কি আমাদের জরিপ সম্পর্কে আর কিছু জানতে চান? আমি কি এখন সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করতে পারি?

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়েছেন ১ *সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহন শুরু করুন

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়নি ২ *ধন্যবাদ জানিয়ে শেষ করুন

সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহনকারীর স্বাক্ষর.....

সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করার সময় ঘণ্টা মিনিট

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Skip |
|------|---|---|------|
| 101. | What is the main source of drinking water of your household? | Piped into dwelling 1 Piped outside dwelling 2 Tube well 3 Surface water (river/dam/Lake/pond/stream/canal/ 4 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 102. | What is the main source of cooking water of your household? | Piped into dwelling 1 Piped outside dwelling 2 Tube well 3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/ 4 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 103. | What is the main source of water for your household activities (i.e. washing cloth, washing cooking utensils, and bathing, etc.)? | Piped into dwelling 1 Piped outside dwelling 2 Tube well 3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/ 4 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 104. | Does your family share the source of water with others? 1=YES, 2=NO, 99=NOT APPLICABLE [Ask all the questions to the respondent] | Drinking water A Cooking water B Water for household activities C | |
| 105. | What kind of toilet facility do members of your household usually use? | Flush latrine 1 Water sealed/slab 2 Pit latrine 3 Open pit 4 River/canal/field 5 Hanging latrine/bamboo 6 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 106. | Does your family share the toilet with others? | Yes 1 No 2 | |
| 107. | Does your household have the following items? [Ask all the items to the respondent] | Electricity A Solar panel B IPS/Generator C Almirah/Wardrobe D Radio E Television F Mobile phone G Land phone/Telephone H Computer/Laptop I Refrigerator/Freeze J DVD/VCD player K Electric fan L Air Conditioner M Water pump N | |

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Skip |
|------|--|---|------------|
| 108. | Main material of the exterior walls | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Tin 2 Wood/bamboo 3 Polyethylene/board 4 Soil/Mud 5 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 109. | Main material of the roof | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Tin 2 Wood/bamboo 3 Polyethylene/board 4 Soil/Mud 5 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 110. | Main material of the floor | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Wood/bamboo 2 Soil/Mud 3 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 111. | Does your household/any member of your family have the following items? [Ask all the questions to the respondent] [If don't have any item then go to next question] | Car/Truck/ Microbus A Auto rickshaw/ Auto bike/ Tempu/CNG/Easy bike B Rickshaw/Van C Bicycle D Motor-cycle/scooter E Boat/Boat with engine F | |
| 112. | Does your household have any Livestock (i.e. cow-buffalo, goat, hen/duck, pigeon, Koel, etc)? | Yes 1 No 2 | |
| 113. | Who is the owner of the household where you live? | Own 1 Rented 2 Other 88 (specify) | |
| 114. | Does your household own any homestead land? | Yes 1 No 2 | 116 |
| 115. | Please specify the amount of homestead land. | decimal | |
| 116. | Does your household own any cultivable land (without homestead)? | Yes 1 No 2 | 118 |
| 117. | Please specify the amount of non-homestead land. | decimal | |
| 118. | How many bedrooms does your household have? | | |
| 119. | Does any member of your household have bank account? [NGO bank account is not included] | Yes 1 No 2 | |
| 120. | How often eve teasing happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | |
| 121. | How often the incidence of girl trafficking happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | |

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | Skip |
|------|---|---|------|
| 122. | How often the incidence of sexual violence happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | |
| 123. | How often the incidence of acid throwing happened in your locality? | Not at all 1 Very few 2 Sometimes 3 Always 4 | |

Ending time of the interview
 Hours Minutes

End the interview by giving thanks to the respondent

Appendix-C.4 : Interview Schedule for Other Respondents (Father In-Law, Mother In-Law Husband, Father and Mother)

| | |
|--|--|
| Division | |
| RMO | |
| District | |
| Thana | |
| Mouza | |
| EA | |
| Union | |
| Ward No. | |
| Household No. | |
| Name of the Household Head | |
| Name of the Respondent | |
| Q.N. of Father/Mother/Father in law/Mother in law/Husband | |
| Mobile No. | |

INTERVIEWER VISITS

| | | | |
|---|--|---------------|----------|
| | | FINAL VISIT | |
| DATE | | | |
| INTERVIEWER'S NAME | | | |
| INTERVIEWER'S CODE | | | |
| RESULT* | | | |
| *RESULT CODES: 01 COMPLETED 02 INCOMPLETED 88 OTHER _____ (SPECIFY) | | | |
| SUPERVISOR | | FIELD EDITOR | |
| NAME | | NAME | |
| DATE | | DATE | |
| | | OFFICE EDITOR | KEYED BY |
| | | | |

INFORMED CONSENT

আসসালামুআলাইকুম/আদাব,

আমার নাম.....। আমি ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ থেকে এসেছি। পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ "বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের কারণ ও এর ফলাফল" শীর্ষক একটি গবেষণা কর্ম পরিচালনা করছে। এ জরিপে বাংলাদেশে শিশু বিবাহের হার, এর কারণ, ফলাফল, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ের উপর বিস্তারিত তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে।

আপনি যদি অনুমতি দেন তাহলে আপনার সাথে আমি কিছু সময় কথা বলতে চাই। আমি আপনাকে আশ্বাস দিচ্ছি যে, আপনি যা বলবেন তা গোপন রাখা হবে। আপনার অংশগ্রহণ সম্পূর্ণভাবে আপনার ইচ্ছাধীন, আপনি ইচ্ছা করলে কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর নাও দিতে পারেন। আমি আশা করবো আপনি এই জরিপে অংশ গ্রহণ করবেন, কারণ আপনার মতামত অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। আপনার মতামতের ভিত্তিতে সরকার শিশু বিবাহ প্রতিরোধের লক্ষ্যে নানা পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করবেন।

আপনি কি আমাদের জরিপ সম্পর্কে আর কিছু জানতে চান? আমি কি এখন সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করতে পারি?

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়েছেন ১ *সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণ শুরু করুন

উত্তর দিতে রাজী হয়নি ২ *ধন্যবাদ জানিয়ে শেষ করুন

সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণকারীর স্বাক্ষর.....

সাক্ষাৎকার শুরু করার সময়

ঘণ্টা মিনিট

| SECTION 1: BASIC HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| 101. | What is the main source of drinking water of your household? | Piped into dwelling.....1 Piped outside dwelling.....2 Tube well.....3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/.....4 Other(specify).....88 | | |
| 102. | What is the main source of cooking water of your household? | Piped into dwelling.....1 Piped outside dwelling.....2 Tube well.....3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/.....4 Other(specify).....88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 103. | What is the main source of water for your household activities (i.e. washing cloth, washing cooking utensils, and bathing, etc.)? | Piped into dwelling.....1 Piped outside dwelling.....2 Tube well.....3 Surface water (river/dam/ Lake/pond/stream/canal/.....4 Other(specify).....88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 104. | Does your family share the source of water with others? 1=YES, 2=NO, 99=NOT APPLICABLE [Ask all the questions to the respondent] | Drinking water.....A Cooking water.....B Water for household activities.....C | <div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 105. | What kind of toilet facility do members of your household usually use? | Flush latrine.....1 Water sealed/slab.....2 Pit latrine.....3 Open pit.....4 River/canal/field.....5 Hanging latrine/bamboo.....6 Other(specify).....88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 106. | Does your family share the toilet with others? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 107. | Does your household have the following items? [Ask all the items to the respondent] | | | |
| | Electricity..... | A | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Solar panel..... | B | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | IPS/Generator..... | C | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Almirah/Wardrobe..... | D | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Radio..... | E | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Television..... | F | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Mobile phone..... | G | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Land phone/Telephone..... | H | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Computer/Laptop..... | I | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Refrigerator/Freeze..... | J | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | DVD/VCD player..... | K | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Electric fan..... | L | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Air Conditioner..... | M | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| | Water pump..... | N | <div> <div></div> </div> | |
| 108. | Main material of the exterior walls | Brick/Cement/concrete.....1 Tin.....2 Wood/bamboo.....3 Polyethylene/board.....4 Soil/Mud.....5 Other(specify).....88 | <div> <div></div> <div></div> </div> | |

| SECTION 1: BASIC HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|------------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| 109. | Main material of the roof | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Tin 2 Wood/bamboo 3 Polyethylene/board 4 Soil/Mud 5 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 110. | Main material of the floor | Brick/Cement/concrete 1 Tin 2 Wood/bamboo 3 Soil/Mud 5 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 111. | Does your household/any member of your family have the following items? [Ask all the questions to the respondent] [If don't have any item then go to next question] | Car/Truck/ Microbus A Auto rickshaw/ Auto bike/ tempoo/CNG/Easy bike B Rickshaw/Van C Bicycle D Motor-cycle/scooter E Boat/Boat with engine F | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 112. | Does your household have any Livestock (i.e. cow-buffalo, goat, hen/duck, pigeon, Koel, etc)? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 113. | Who is the owner of the household where you live? | Own 1 Rented 2 Other(specify) 88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 114. | Does your household own any homestead land? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> → | 116 |
| 115. | Please specify the amount of homestead land. | decimal | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 116. | Does your household own any cultivable land (without homestead)? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> → | 118 |
| 117. | Please specify the amount of non-homestead land. | decimal | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 118. | How many bedrooms does your household have? | Rooms | <input type="text"/> | |
| 119. | Does any member of your household have bank account? [NGO bank account is not included] | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="text"/> | |

| SECTION 2: RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| 201. | When you were born? |YearMonth | <input type="text"/> | |
| 202. | What is your current age? |Year | <input type="text"/> | |
| 203. | Was your birth registered? | Yes, birth was registered1 No, birth was not registered2 Do not know whether birth was registered or not3 Do not know about the birth stration4 | <input type="text"/> → | 204 |
| 203a. | When your birth was registered? | Just after birth1 Within last one year2 Within last five3 Within last ten years4 Other (specify)88 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 204. | What is your current marital status? | Currently married1 Separated2 Deserted3 Divorced4 Widowed5 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 205. | Have you ever studied? | Yes1 No2 | → | 210 |
| 206. | Where did you study? | School1 Madrassa2 Other (specify)88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> → | 211 |
| 207. | What type of education institution you have attended? [Dakhil, Alim, Fazil, or kamil will contain within "General" code] | General1 Technical /vocational school2 NGO/Community3 Kawmi/Hafjee4 Do not know97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> → | 211 |
| 208. | What is your level of educational attainment? | Primary/Ebtedayee1 Secondary/Dakhil2 Higher secondary/Alim3 Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil4 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 209. | What is your total year of schooling? |Year | | |
| 210. | Are you able to give signature? [Question No. 210 is only applicable for those respondent who said "No" in question No. 205] | Yes1 No2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| [If Currently Separated, Deserted, Divorced or Widowed then Go to Question No. 212] | | | | |
| 211. | What is the level of educational attainment of your husband/wife? | No education1 Can only able to give signature2 Primary/Ebtedayee3 Secondary/Dakhil4 Higher secondary/Alim5 Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil6 Do not know97 Other (specify)88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 212. | What is your main occupation at present? | USE CODE BOOK | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 213. | What is your religion? | Muslim1 Hindu2 Buddhist3 Christian4 Other (specify)88 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |

| SECTION 2: RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| 214. | How often do you pray? | Regularly.....1 Sometimes.....2 Very few.....3 Not at all.....4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 215. | How much religion is important in your life? | Very important.....1 Somewhat important.....2 Not too important.....3 Not at all important.....4 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 216. | Does your family/household give zakat? [Only for Muslims] | Yes.....1 No.....2 Not applicable.....99 | | |
| 217. | Do you often help poor people (like- cash, food, cloths)? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 218. | Do you donate sometimes for any institution (school, mosque, madrasa, hospital, temple, church and orphanage)? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 219. | What is your understanding about 'purdah'? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Burka.....A Scarf.....B Nekab.....C Modesty in dress up.....D Modesty in behavior.....E No interaction with opposite sex.....F Not appearing before unknown male.....G Restricted interaction with opposite sex.....H Not sending girls to co-education schools.....I Women should not go outside for work.....J Mental purity is the best purdah.....K Others (specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 220. | What types of 'purdah' are maintained in your family/household? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Burka.....A Scarf.....B Nekab.....C Modesty in dress up.....D Modesty in behavior.....E No interaction with opposite sex.....F Not appearing before unknown male.....G Restricted interaction with opposite sex.....H Not sending girls to co-education schools.....I Women should not go outside for work.....J Mental purity is the best purdah.....K Others (specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| SECTION 3: MEDIA ACCESS and EXPOSURE | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|--|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| 301. | Have you ever read any newspaper/magazine? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 304 |
| 302. | How often did you read newspaper/magazines in last week? | Daily.....1 At least once in a week.....2 More than once in a week.....3 Not at all.....4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 303. | What types of news you generally read in newspaper/magazine? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Economics.....A Opinion.....B Sports.....C Entertainment.....D Feature.....E Science and Technology.....F Life style.....G Editorial.....H Crime.....I Politics.....J Education.....K Other(specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 304. | Have you ever listened to radio? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 307 |
| 305. | How often did you listen to radio in last week? | Daily.....1 At least once in a week.....2 More than once in a week.....3 Not at all.....4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 306. | What types of programs you generally listen to radio? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | News.....A Sports.....B Interview.....C Educational.....D Social.....E Drama.....F Other(specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 307. | Have you ever watched television? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 311 |
| 308. | How often did you watch television in last week? | Daily.....1 At least once in a week.....2 More than once in a week.....3 Not at all.....4 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 309. | What types of television channel you generally watch? | USE CODEBOOK | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 310. | What types of programs you generally watch in television? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | News.....A Drama.....B Movie/Music.....C Sports.....D Entertainment.....E Mega serial.....F Shopping/Cocking.....G Talk show.....H Other(specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 311. | Have you ever used internet? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 314 |

| SECTION 3: MEDIA ACCESS and EXPOSURE | | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------|-------|----------|------------|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | | | SKIP |
| 312. | How often did you use internet in last week? | Daily.....1 | | | | |
| | | At least once in a week.....2 | | | | |
| | | More than once in a week.....3 | | | | |
| | | Not at all.....4 | | | | |
| 313. | What types of activities you generally do by browsing the internet? | Read newspaper.....A | | | | |
| | | Check email.....B | | | | |
| | | Use facebook.....C | | | | |
| | | Search job.....D | | | | |
| | | Entertainment.....E | | | | |
| | | Other(specify).....X | | | | |
| [If the answers of the questions 301, 304, 307 and 311 are “No” then question 314 is not applicable] | | | | | | |
| 314. | What types of news/program you generally read/listen/browse/watch in newspaper/magazine, radio, internet, and television? | Newspaper/ Magazine | Radio | Internet | Television | |
| | [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | | | | | |
| | Marriage related.....A | | | | | |
| | Child marriage related.....B | | | | | |
| | Legal age of marriage related.....C | | | | | |
| | Consequences of child marriage related.....D | | | | | |
| | Education related.....E | | | | | |
| | Population related.....F | | | | | |
| | Family planning related.....G | | | | | |
| | Dowry related.....H | | | | | |
| | Women's violence related.....I | | | | | |
| | Health/Reproductive health related.....J | | | | | |
| | Other(specify).....X | | | | | |

| SECTION 4: SOCIAL NORMS AND VALUES RELATED TO MARRIAGE | | | |
|--|---|-----------------|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response / code | SKIP |
| 401. | What is your societal perception on the following issues? 1=Strongly prevailed 2=Moderately prevailed 3=Do not prevail [Ask all the items to the respondent] | | |
| | Girls are born to be home makers | 1 | |
| | Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 2 | |
| | Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls and women lives | 3 | |
| | Girls should participate in income earning activities as boys and men do | 4 | |
| | Girls should learn daily household chores at early stage for their better marital life | 5 | |
| | Daughters are as worthy as sons are because they can earn and take care of their parents | 6 | |
| | Daughters are as worthy as sons because they are a source of mental support to their parents | 7 | |
| | Daughters are a burden to their parents because arranging their marriage requires lots of money | 8 | |
| | Spending money in girls' education does not bring any positive outcome for parents | 9 | |
| | Girls need more security than boys | 10 | |
| | Parents of grown up unmarried girls seen as cause of societal shame | 11 | |
| | Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 12 | |
| | Grown up unmarried girls are subject of social gossip | 13 | |
| | Older unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 14 | |
| | Educated girls bring social respects for their parents | 15 | |
| | Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 6 | |
| | Society gives value to grown up educated girls | 17 | |
| | Society gives value to grown up employed girls | 18 | |
| | Marriage gives protection against sexual abuse | 19 | |
| | Marriage is the means to control girls' sexual desire | 20 | |
| | Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 21 | |
| | Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 22 | |
| | Girls should be married once she think she is eligible to marry | 23 | |
| | Girls should be married as soon as they reach puberty | 24 | |
| | Girls should be married when they look grown up | 25 | |
| | Girls should be married as soon as suitable grooms can be found | 6 | |
| | Girls should be married off when they are physically matured | 27 | |
| | Girls should be married off after completing secondary education | 28 | |
| | Girls should be married off after they are economically independent | 29 | |
| | Younger girls are more attractive | 30 | |
| | Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 31 | |
| | Younger girls are more energetic | 32 | |
| | More educated girls and women are difficult to control | 33 | |
| | Younger girls are more fertile | 34 | |
| | Younger girls' are more likely to have sexual purity | 35 | |
| | Educated girls are more likely to manage the family | 36 | |
| | Men do not want to marry older girls | 37 | |
| | Parents do not want to married off their sons with older girls | 38 | |
| | Men like educated brides | 39 | |
| | Men like employed brides | 40 | |
| | Men emphasize on those bride who have earning ability | 41 | |
| | Men can be benefited by marrying the girls with higher social status | 42 | |
| | Men like religious (who practices purdah) bribes | 43 | |
| | Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 44 | |
| | Husband's age should be higher than wife's age | 45 | |
| | Husband's socio-economic condition should be better than wife's socio-economic condition | 46 | |
| | Girls do not need education for successful marital life | 47 | |
| | Marrying off girls before eighteen is the key to keeping family's honor | 48 | |
| | Girls should be married earlier for their safety | 49 | |
| | Girls' education will be disrupted if married before eighteen | 50 | |
| | Parents have to pay less dowry for fixing marriage before eighteen | 51 | |

[illegible]

| SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|--|--|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | | SKIP |
| 508. | In your opinion, what are the consequences of girls' marriage before reaching age 18? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Early pregnancy A Child mortality B Maternal mortality..... C Malnutrition D Obstetric complications E Premature birth F Anemia G Divorce H Depression/ Mental problem I Higher rate of widowhood J School dropout K Unhappy marital life..... L Violence and torture..... M Increases the trend of suicide N Cannot have work as low level of education..... O Population explosion..... P Increases maternal morbidity Q Socio economic status of bride's family will be improved R Other (specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| 509. | In your opinion, what are the benefits from girls' marriage before reaching age 18? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Parents can see children married before they die A Parents can see grandchildren before they die B Avoid social stigma C Avoid abduction D Avoid premarital sex E Reduce parent's burden F Removed from eve teasing G Have to pay less dowry..... H No advantages I Do not know..... J | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| 510. | Do you think men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage? | Yes 1 No 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> → | | 512 |
| 511. | In your opinion, what type of role men can play? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Men can restrain from getting married of a child A Inform locally elected bodies B Inform law enforcement agencies..... C Prohibit child marriage within family..... D Encourage girls education within family..... E Socially boycott someone committed child marriage..... F Preventing eve teasing..... G Other (specify) X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| 512. | In your opinion, who can take the main role to prevent child marriage? | Father 1 Mother 2 Parents jointly 3 Girl herself 4 Grand-parents (Paternal family)..... 5 Grand-parents (Maternal family)..... 6 Community people 7 Religious leaders/Teachers..... 8 Locally elected chairman/member 9 Marriage register/kazi 10 | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

[illegible]

SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE

[illegible]

SECTION 6: DOWRY

| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
|---|---|----------------------------------|---|------|
| [Questions for Husband, Father in-law and Mother in-law] | | | | |
| 601. | What items demanded by you as the conditions regarding your son's marital exchange? | | | |
| | Dowry..... A | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Gold/Ornaments..... B | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Dower/denmohor C | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Number of guests to be entertained D | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Others..... X | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 602. | What were demanded as the conditions regarding your son's marital exchange? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Money A | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Capital for business B | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Gold C | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Land D | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | TV E | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Radio..... F | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Refrigerator G | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | CNG/auto rickshaw..... H | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sewing machine I | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Furniture J | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Car K | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Smart phone/Mobile phone L | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Motorcycle M | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Bicycle N | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Flat O | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Sending groom abroad P | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Arranging jobs togroom Q | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Homestead animals..... R | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Others (specify)..... X | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 603. | Did your family get committed amount of dowry? | Yes, fully paid 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 605 |
| | | Yes, partially paid 2 | | |
| | | No 3 | | |
| | | | | |
| 604. | What was the mode of payments? | All at a time 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | In installments..... 2 | | |
| 605. | Do you think that parents of older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides? | Yes 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | No 2 | | |
| 606. | Is it legal to demand dowry for marriage? | Yes 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | No 2 | | |
| | | Don't know..... 97 | | |
| 607. | Do you know that dowry is a punishable offence? | Yes..... 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | No 2 | | |
| | | Can't tell 3 | | |
| [Questions for Mother and Father of the Ever married Women] | | | | |
| 608. | What were demanded as the conditions regarding your daughter's marital exchange? | | | |
| | Dowry A | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Gold/Ornaments B | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Dower/denmohor C | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Number of guests to be entertained D | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | Others X | | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| SECTION 6: DOWRY | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|------------------------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| [If the respondents answer either C, D or E in the question No.608, then go to 616] | | | | |
| 609. | What were demanded as dowry? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Money.....A Capital for business.....B Gold.....C Land.....D TV.....E Radio.....F Refrigerator.....G CNG/auto rickshaw.....H Sewing machine.....I Furniture.....J Car.....K Smart phone/Mobile phone.....L Motorcycle.....M Bicycle.....N Flat.....O Sending groom abroad.....P Arranging jobs to groom.....Q Homestead animals.....R Others (specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 610. | Could your parents pay committed amount of dowry? | Yes, fully paid.....1 Yes, partially paid.....2 No.....3 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | 613 |
| 611. | What was the mode of payments? | All at a time.....1 In installments.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 612. | How did your family manage the money/other dowry? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Selling land.....A Selling assets (e.g. ornaments, furniture, etc.).....B Loan from institution(i.e. Bank/NGOs).....C Loan from individual(i.e. money lender).....D | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | Selling cows/goats.....E Selling trees.....F Loan from relatives.....G Mortgaging land.....H Helps from other.....I Family savings.....J Others (specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 613. | What were the consequences of failing to pay the dowry timely according to condition? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | Verbal abuse.....A Threat of divorce.....B Threat of marrying again.....C Deprivation from food.....D Stop talking.....E Physical violence.....F Threat of sending to parental house.....G Divorce.....G Others (specify).....H | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 614. | Did groom's family demand subsequent dowry? | Yes.....1 No.....2 | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 615. | What was your feeling for arranging your daughter's marriage in exchange of dowry? [Do not read answers for the respondents, Probe her/him] | It is normal.....A I feel humiliated.....B I did not want to marry in such a way but my parents/guardian compelled me.....C It was painful to see parents suffering for paying my dowry.....D Others (specify).....X | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| SECTION 6: DOWRY | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|------|
| QN. | Questions | Response /code | | SKIP |
| [If the respondents answer either C, D or E in the question No.608, then go to 616] | | | | |
| 616. | Do you think that parents of older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides? | Yes1 No2 | <input type="text"/> | |
| 617. | Is it legal to demand dowry for marriage? | Yes1 No2 Don't know97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 618. | Has any of your daughter's marriage initiatives failed for not agreeing to pay dowry at all? | Yes1 No2 Don't know97 | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| 619. | Do you know that dowry is a punishable offence? | Yes1 No2 Can't tell3 | <input type="text"/> | |

Ending time of the interview

Hours

Minutes

End the interview by giving thanks to the respondent

Appendix D: List of Technical Committee Members

পপুলেশন সায়েন্সেস বিভাগ

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

ঢাকা-১০০০, বাংলাদেশ



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2. **Professor Dr. M Kabir**, Department of Statistics, Jahangirnagar University
3. **Dr. Abu Jamil Faisel**, Country Representative, EngenderHealth, Bangladesh
4. **Dr. Sajeda Amin**, Senior Associate, Population Council, New York
5. **Professor Nitai Chakraborty**, Department of Statistics, Biostatistics, and Informatics, DU
6. **Professor Dr Syed Shahadat Hossain**, Institute of Statistical Research and Training, DU
7. **Ms. Ayesha Khanam**, President, Bangladesh Mahila Parishad
8. **Ms. Ayesha Banu**, Associate Professor, Department of Women and Gender Studies, DU
9. **Dr. Noor Mohammad**, Executive Director, PSTC
10. **Dr. Quamrun Nahar**, Acting Director, Centre for Population, Urbanization and Climate Change, ICDDR, Bangladesh
11. **Dr. Fariha Haseen**, Assistant Professor, Department of Public Health, BSMMU
12. **Dr. Selina Amin**, Senior Adviser, Health System, MaMoni Project, Save the Children, Bangladesh
13. **Mr. Md. Rafiqul Islam Sarker**, Director (Research), NIPORT
14. **Mr. A. B. M. Zakir Hossain**, Director, Department of Women Affairs, Ministry of Women and Child Affairs
15. **Mr. A. K. M. Ashrafal Haque**, Deputy Director, Industry and Labour Wing & Project Director, Monitoring Sample Vital Registration System, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
16. **Mr. Md. Mashud Alam**, Director, Demography and Health Wing & Project Director, Population and Housing Census 2011, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
17. **Dr. Shantana Halder**, Chief, Population Planning and Research Unit, UNFPA Bangladesh
18. **Dr. Eshani Ruwanpura**, Adolescent and Youth Specialist, UNFPA Bangladesh
19. **Mr. Mahboob-E-Alam**, National Programme Officer, Population Planning and Research Unit, UNFPA Bangladesh
20. **Ms. Roshni Basu**, Gender and Development Advisor, UNICEF
21. **Ms. Humaira Aziz**, Director, Women and Girls' Empowerment, CARE-Bangladesh
22. **Ms. Jannatul Ferdous Ruma**, Advisor, Child Protection, Plan International, Bangladesh
23. **Ms. Mira Mitra**, Freelance Consultant

Appendix E: Research Team for Household Listing, Data Collection, Data Editing, and Data Entry

Research Assistants

1. Akkur Chandra Das
2. Hasna Hena Sara
3. Mohammad Nasir Uddin
4. Mostafizur Rahman
5. Rashed Ali
6. Shafayat Sultan
7. Sohel Rana
8. Syeda Rukhsana Ashrafi
9. Syful Islam
10. Tahmina Akter Happy
11. Tasmiah Nuzhath
12. Zakiul Alam

Listing & Survey Supervisors

1. Abdus Salam
2. Abul Kalam Azad
3. Aulad Hossain
4. Habibur Rahman
5. Hadiuzzaman Manju
6. Kamal
7. Khalilur Rahman
8. Md Abdul Razzak
9. Mosharof Hossain
10. Nahidul Islam
11. Nurul Islam
12. Pintu Chakma
13. Sirazul Islam
14. Shariful Islam

Listers and Survey Interviewers

1. Afroza Akter
2. Aklima Begum Akhi
3. Aklima Khatun

4. Amana Akter
5. Amina
6. Anita Barai
7. Bilkis Akhter
8. Erin Akther
9. Fahima Khatun
10. Farida Yasmin Bhupon
11. Farida Yesmin
12. Flora Tripty Ratna
13. Halima Akter
14. Hosna Akter Plabon
15. Hosneara
16. Humayra Akter
17. Jesmin Akter Banu
18. Joya Happy Mollick
19. Kanig Akter Jhuma
20. Karima Khatun
21. Khan Mansura
22. Kohinur Akter
23. Laboni Yesmin
24. Laki
25. Lutfun Nahar
26. Mahbuba Akhter Doya
27. Mahbuba Khanom
28. Mahmuda Hoque
29. Mahmuda Siddika
30. Mahmuda Sultana
31. Marium Akter Bristy
32. Mazmuma Khatun
33. Mitali Paul
34. Mitra Saha
35. Morgina Khatun
36. Mosome Khatun

37. Murshida Begum
38. Nasrin Sultana Dithy
39. Nazma Begum
40. Nazmun Naher
41. Prity Sorkar
42. Razia Khatun
43. Roksana Parvin Rozi
44. Rozi Afrin
45. Sadia
46. Sadia Bushra
47. Sajeda Yasmin
48. Sammi Nawas
49. Sanjina Ali
50. Sayeda Masuda Akter
51. Selina Khanam
52. Shahnaz Parvin
53. Shahnaz Shirin
54. Shahriar Afroj
55. Shaila Alam Nipa
56. Shamima Akter
57. Shamima Jannat
58. Shamsun Nahar Luna
59. Sultana Razia (Rana)
60. Tanuja Khanom
61. Toskina Begum
62. Wurmi Akter
63. Yeasmin Akter
64. Zakia Akter
65. Zohora Begum
66. Zoly Parvin

Computer Programmer

1. Mohammad Sazzad Hasan
2. Sanjit Roy
3. Md Faridul Islam
4. Shishir Paul

Data Entry Operators

1. Ibne Zayed
2. Mithun Bepari
3. Ripon Barman
4. Ubaidul Islam

Administrative Support Staff

1. Mohammad Rezaul Karim
2. Kazi Tajfihur Rahman
3. Md. Rabiul Awal
4. Md. Gulzar Hossain
5. Md. Chad Ali

Appendix F

Appendix Tables

Appendix Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Household Sanitation System of the Ever-Married Women's In-Laws' Household by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Types of Toilet | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Flush latrine | 1.1 | 16.8 | 1.7 | 26.1 | 2.7 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 5.1 | 2.3 | 7.1 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 10.4 |
| Water sealed/slab | 8.7 | 44.3 | 10.6 | 49.8 | 40.4 | 53.9 | 16.1 | 19.3 | 23.6 | 40.8 | 27.6 | 12.1 | 32.8 | 8.4 | 33.6 |
| Pit latrine | 73.1 | 29.3 | 44.0 | 22.3 | 29.8 | 36.4 | 30.0 | 45.4 | 40.7 | 23.6 | 25.1 | 54.1 | 31.1 | 75.0 | 35.3 |
| Open pit | 15.0 | 8.6 | 32.0 | 1.8 | 23.5 | 8.3 | 50.6 | 32.2 | 33.8 | 20.9 | 36.8 | 15.8 | 32.4 | 12.7 | 17.7 |
| River/canal/field | 0.3 | 1.1 | 10.6 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 2.2 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 2.9 | 6.0 | 10.3 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 2.1 |
| Hanging latrine/ bamboo | 1.8 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 6.7 | 2.3 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.9 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

Appendix Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevalled Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage among Other Respondents by Age

| Strongly Prevalled Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage | Age (in years) | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|--|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 65.4 | 66.0 | 71.7 | 66.5 | 72.4 | 67.2 | 66.8 | 73.3 | 65.9 | 69.6 | 69.0 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 69.2 | 79.2 | 71.1 | 71.4 | 70.7 | 72.8 | 71.8 | 75.7 | 69.2 | 75.0 | 72.5 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 68.3 | 83.0 | 69.9 | 71.4 | 69.4 | 65.6 | 71.5 | 74.9 | 72.4 | 76.2 | 71.6 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 84.6 | 86.8 | 89.2 | 87.9 | 84.7 | 83.9 | 86.6 | 87.5 | 88.1 | 83.6 | 86.0 |
| Parents of grown-up, unmarried seen as cause of societal shame | 56.7 | 52.8 | 60.2 | 60.4 | 55.1 | 59.0 | 54.5 | 54.9 | 56.8 | 56.8 | 56.8 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 57.7 | 64.2 | 63.9 | 62.6 | 60.5 | 63.0 | 59.2 | 60.8 | 60.0 | 60.4 | 61.1 |
| Grown-up, unmarried are subject of social gossip | 69.2 | 64.2 | 74.7 | 73.6 | 71.8 | 69.8 | 71.8 | 67.5 | 73.5 | 70.5 | 71.0 |
| Older, unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 65.4 | 69.8 | 71.7 | 67.6 | 65.6 | 64.9 | 64.3 | 60.4 | 64.9 | 64.3 | 65.2 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 66.3 | 62.3 | 68.7 | 63.7 | 63.3 | 61.6 | 59.9 | 61.6 | 56.8 | 56.5 | 61.4 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 89.4 | 98.1 | 95.2 | 94.0 | 91.8 | 94.8 | 92.1 | 93.7 | 93.5 | 92.0 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 63.5 | 64.2 | 68.7 | 58.8 | 65.3 | 64.9 | 68.2 | 73.7 | 60.5 | 68.2 | 66.2 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 73.1 | 69.8 | 73.5 | 76.9 | 79.6 | 76.7 | 73.3 | 74.5 | 73.5 | 70.8 | 74.6 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 53.8 | 58.5 | 56.6 | 57.7 | 60.2 | 57.0 | 57.0 | 61.6 | 57.3 | 58.9 | 58.2 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 53.8 | 56.6 | 59.0 | 59.3 | 59.5 | 60.3 | 55.2 | 62.4 | 53.5 | 64.0 | 59.2 |
| Men look for educated brides | 69.2 | 67.9 | 63.3 | 67.0 | 71.8 | 64.6 | 68.2 | 67.1 | 67.6 | 61.6 | 66.5 |
| Men look for religious brides (e.g., practice <i>purdah</i>) | 81.7 | 90.6 | 88.0 | 84.6 | 88.4 | 89.8 | 87.7 | 89.8 | 83.8 | 86.6 | 87.4 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 81.7 | 88.7 | 88.0 | 87.4 | 90.5 | 90.2 | 89.2 | 89.4 | 88.1 | 89.3 | 88.8 |

Appendix Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevalled Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage among Other Respondents by Education

| Strongly Prevalled Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 75.2 | 67.9 | 52.8 | 57.4 | 57.5 | 69.0 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 76.5 | 69.7 | 65.0 | 63.0 | 67.5 | 72.5 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 76.1 | 70.8 | 60.2 | 64.8 | 55.0 | 71.6 |
| Girls need more security than boys | 86.0 | 87.1 | 85.0 | 85.2 | 80.0 | 86.0 |
| Parents of grown-up, unmarried seen as cause of societal shame | 59.8 | 56.4 | 50.6 | 42.6 | 47.5 | 56.8 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 64.0 | 60.5 | 56.2 | 44.4 | 45.0 | 61.1 |
| Grown-up, unmarried are subject of social gossip | 73.5 | 71.2 | 65.0 | 66.7 | 52.5 | 71.0 |
| Older, unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 66.6 | 66.1 | 60.5 | 61.1 | 57.5 | 65.2 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 57.8 | 66.5 | 65.3 | 61.1 | 70.0 | 61.4 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 93.2 | 92.6 | 94.9 | 90.7 | 87.5 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 68.2 | 66.3 | 59.6 | 66.7 | 65.0 | 66.2 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 76.5 | 74.0 | 73.2 | 68.5 | 50.0 | 74.6 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 60.7 | 57.5 | 54.0 | 57.4 | 32.5 | 58.2 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 60.1 | 57.5 | 60.5 | 57.4 | 45.0 | 59.2 |
| Men look for educated brides | 65.3 | 67.1 | 68.4 | 72.2 | 72.5 | 66.5 |
| Men look for religious brides (e.g., practice <i>purdah</i>) | 87.6 | 88.5 | 84.5 | 92.6 | 87.5 | 87.4 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 89.2 | 88.3 | 88.4 | 87.0 | 90.0 | 88.8 |

Appendix Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Strongly Prevalled Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage among Other Respondents by Wealth Quintile

| Strongly Prevalled Social Norms and Values Related to Marriage | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
|--|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Girls are born to be homemakers | 65.4 | 68.5 | 71.7 | 67.4 | 72.2 | 69.0 |
| Girls earn their identity and social status through marriage | 65.2 | 68.5 | 76.6 | 77.1 | 75.2 | 72.5 |
| Reproductive functions are the principal functions in girls' and Women lives | 73.8 | 67.6 | 73.8 | 69.0 | 73.8 | 71.6 |
| Girls should participate in income earning activities as boys and men do | | | | | | |
| Girls need more security than boys | 82.6 | 85.9 | 88.2 | 86.1 | 87.0 | 86.0 |
| Parents of grown-up, unmarried seen as cause of societal shame | 50.1 | 57.2 | 61.7 | 56.9 | 58.2 | 56.8 |
| Parents have to give more dowry for fixing marriage of older girls | 55.5 | 59.5 | 66.1 | 61.8 | 62.4 | 61.1 |
| Grown-up, unmarried are subject of social gossip | 69.8 | 73.1 | 71.0 | 69.7 | 71.5 | 71.0 |
| Older, unmarried girls may experience bad reputation | 64.7 | 65.5 | 64.7 | 66.4 | 64.5 | 65.2 |
| Parents are respected for employing their daughters before marriage | 61.7 | 61.8 | 60.3 | 60.9 | 62.2 | 61.4 |
| Marrying off girls is a religious responsibility for parents and family | 93.0 | 91.7 | 92.1 | 93.8 | 95.1 | 93.1 |
| Girls cannot have a respectful life without marriage | 62.2 | 61.1 | 68.9 | 66.9 | 72.2 | 66.2 |
| Younger girls are more attractive | 71.7 | 72.9 | 74.9 | 76.9 | 76.8 | 74.6 |
| Younger girls are more malleable and can be easily controlled | 52.0 | 56.0 | 61.3 | 58.8 | 63.1 | 58.2 |
| Younger girls are more likely to have sexual purity | 56.1 | 58.8 | 59.2 | 62.0 | 59.9 | 59.2 |
| Men look for educated brides | 68.0 | 66.2 | 64.7 | 65.7 | 68.0 | 66.5 |
| Men look for religious brides (e.g., practice <i>purdah</i>) | 87.7 | 80.6 | 86.8 | 89.4 | 92.6 | 87.4 |
| Men look for those girls who are engaged with family affairs | 88.2 | 83.8 | 89.1 | 91.9 | 91.2 | 88.8 |

Appendix Table 5: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards who is a Child by Respondent Type

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | Respondent Types | | | | | | Total (n=9320) |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Before age 14 | 77.2 | 81.4 | 86.7 | 71.0 | 75.3 | 79.9 | 77.6 |
| 14-15 years | 11.1 | 9.1 | 8.2 | 12.7 | 12.3 | 9.9 | 10.9 |
| 16-17 years | 11.6 | 9.5 | 5.2 | 16.3 | 12.3 | 10.2 | 11.4 |
| 18 years and above | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |

Appendix Table 6: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards who is a Child among Ever-Married Women by District

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Before age 14 | 90.0 | 77.1 | 93.3 | 82.4 | 42.1 | 74.8 | 73.8 | 82.7 | 63.2 | 74.8 | 87.7 | 76.8 | 74.0 | 68.8 | 77.2 |
| 14-15 years | 5.8 | 13.2 | 3.3 | 7.9 | 28.7 | 9.2 | 16.5 | 8.8 | 19.2 | 9.7 | 6.3 | 7.1 | 9.9 | 18.5 | 11.1 |
| 16-17 years | 4.2 | 9.6 | 3.1 | 9.8 | 29.0 | 15.6 | 9.4 | 8.6 | 17.6 | 15.5 | 6.0 | 15.8 | 15.9 | 12.3 | 11.6 |
| 18 years and above | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.1 |

Appendix Table 7: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards who is a Child among All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondent) | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Before age 14 | 78.4 | 74.3 | 77.2 | 78.9 | 79.1 | 79.0 |
| 14-15 years | 10.4 | 12.8 | 11.1 | 10.5 | 9.9 | 10.4 |
| 16-17 years | 11.1 | 12.8 | 11.6 | 10.6 | 10.9 | 10.7 |
| 18 years and above | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

Appendix Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards who is a Child among All Respondents by Age

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | Current Age of Other Respondents | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | Total (n=2157) | |
| | Before age 14 | 76.9 | 67.9 | 71.7 | 77.5 | 75.9 | 80.0 | 78.7 | 80.4 | 82.7 | 84.5 | 79.0 |
| | 14-15 years | 11.5 | 15.1 | 10.2 | 13.2 | 9.9 | 11.1 | 11.9 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 7.1 | 10.4 |
| | 16-17 years | 11.5 | 17.0 | 18.1 | 9.3 | 14.3 | 8.9 | 9.4 | 9.8 | 7.6 | 8.3 | 10.7 |
| | 18 years and above | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | Current Age of Ever-Married Women | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | Total (n=7163) | |
| | Before age 14 | 69.2 | 79.3 | 75.0 | 75.5 | 78.9 | 75.2 | 78.0 | 82.7 | | 77.2 | |
| | 14-15 years | 15.4 | 11.3 | 11.0 | 12.2 | 10.0 | 11.5 | 12.2 | 8.7 | | 11.1 | |
| | 16-17 years | 15.4 | 9.4 | 13.6 | 12.2 | 11.0 | 13.1 | 9.7 | 8.4 | | 11.6 | |
| | 18 years and above | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | | 0.1 | |

Appendix Table 9: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards who is a Child among All Respondents by Education

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | Education of Ever-Married Women | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Before age 14 | 84.5 | 77.8 | 76.5 | 59.7 | 57.3 | 77.3 |
| 14-15 years | 9.3 | 11.2 | 11.6 | 14.6 | 11.9 | 11.1 |
| 16-17 years | 6.1 | 10.9 | 11.7 | 25.7 | 30.8 | 11.5 |
| 18 years and above | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | Education of Other Respondents | | | | | |
| | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
| Before age 14 | 84.6 | 78.3 | 67.2 | 59.3 | 50.0 | 79.0 |
| 14-15 years | 9.3 | 10.0 | 13.0 | 14.8 | 20.0 | 10.4 |
| 16-17 years | 6.2 | 11.7 | 19.8 | 25.9 | 30.0 | 10.7 |
| 18 years and above | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

Appendix Table 10: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards who is a Child among All Respondents by Wealth Quintile

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child (EMW) | Wealth Quintile of Ever-Married Women's In-Laws' Household | | | | | |
|--|--|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| Before age 14 | 83.8 | 79.1 | 77.1 | 75.4 | 74.3 | 77.2 |
| 14-15 years | 8.5 | 11.6 | 10.8 | 10.8 | 12.4 | 11.1 |
| 16-17 years | 7.6 | 9.2 | 12.0 | 13.7 | 13.1 | 11.6 |
| 18 years and above | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child (Others) | Wealth Quintile of Other Respondents Household | | | | | |
| | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| Before age 14 | 84.0 | 81.0 | 80.5 | 73.8 | 75.4 | 79.0 |
| 14-15 years | 10.2 | 11.3 | 8.6 | 10.6 | 11.1 | 10.4 |
| 16-17 years | 5.8 | 7.6 | 10.9 | 15.5 | 13.5 | 10.7 |
| 18 years and above | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

Appendix Table 11: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards Suitable Age for Girls' Marriage among Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Appropriate Age of Marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Below 18 | 3.2 | 0.7 | 5.3 | 0.2 | 2.5 | 3.7 | 9.4 | 2.6 | 5.3 | 1.1 | 30.9 | 3.7 | 13.7 | 5.2 | 4.6 |
| Age 18 and above | 96.8 | 99.3 | 94.7 | 99.8 | 97.5 | 96.3 | 90.6 | 97.4 | 94.7 | 98.9 | 69.1 | 96.3 | 86.3 | 94.8 | 95.4 |

Appendix Table 12: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards Suitable Age for Girls' Marriage among All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondent) | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Appropriate Age of Marriage | | | | | | |
| Below 18 | 5.6 | 2.0 | 4.6 | 14.3 | 8.7 | 13.0 |
| Age 18 and above | 94.4 | 98.0 | 95.4 | 85.7 | 91.3 | 87.0 |

Appendix Table 13: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards Suitable Age for Girls' Marriage among All Respondents by Age

| Variables | Age of Other Respondents | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Appropriate Age of Marriage | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Below 18 | 5.8 | 9.4 | 15.1 | 12.1 | 9.5 | 9.8 | 9.0 | 14.1 | 15.1 | 22.3 | 13.0 |
| Age 18 and above | 94.2 | 90.6 | 84.9 | 87.9 | 90.5 | 90.2 | 91.0 | 85.9 | 84.9 | 77.7 | 87.0 |
| Variables | Age of EMW | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | |
| Appropriate Age of Marriage | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Below 18 | 35.7 | 6.6 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 6.1 | | | 4.6 |
| Age 18 and above | 64.3 | 93.4 | 96.2 | 95.8 | 95.5 | 95.8 | 95.6 | 93.9 | | | 95.4 |

Appendix Table 14: Percentage Distribution of Attitude towards Suitable Age for Girls' Marriage among All Respondents by Wealth

| Variable | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Appropriate Age of Marriage (EMW) | | | | | | |
| Below 18 | 6.0 | 6.8 | 6.6 | 4.8 | 1.4 | 4.6 |
| Age 18 and above | 94.0 | 93.2 | 93.4 | 95.2 | 98.6 | 95.4 |
| Appropriate Age of Marriage (Other Respondents) | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| Below 18 | 16.0 | 14.1 | 12.3 | 12.3 | 10.2 | 13.0 |
| Age 18 and above | 84.0 | 85.9 | 87.7 | 87.7 | 89.8 | 87.0 |

Appendix Table 15: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Causes of Child Marriage by Respondent Type

| Causes of child marriage | Respondent Category | | | | | | Total (n=9320) |
|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Ever-Married Women (n=7163) | Father In-Law (n=451) | Mother In-Law (n=466) | Husband (n=473) | Father (n=373) | Mother (n=394) | |
| Do not know about legal age | 25.7 | 21.3 | 19.1 | 27.1 | 25.7 | 20.9 | 25.0 |
| Suitable groom available | 79.4 | 79.8 | 75.5 | 76.3 | 78.8 | 75.1 | 78.9 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 13.7 | 8.9 | 6.5 | 9.0 | 11.3 | 9.9 | 12.6 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 12.3 | 10.4 | 8.8 | 9.0 | 7.0 | 8.7 | 11.5 |
| Fear of eloping | 53.1 | 52.2 | 55.7 | 59.5 | 51.2 | 47.3 | 53.2 |
| Fear of trafficking | 2.5 | 1.3 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 3.1 | 2.6 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 3.4 | 1.8 | 4.7 | 4.5 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 3.5 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 34.4 | 25.1 | 27.1 | 30.9 | 30.6 | 31.8 | 33.2 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 47.7 | 43.6 | 43.2 | 48.4 | 47.7 | 46.3 | 47.3 |
| Groom's family wanted | 9.6 | 12.0 | 9.9 | 13.9 | 12.1 | 8.4 | 10.0 |
| Fear of dowry | 12.0 | 7.6 | 9.5 | 12.2 | 14.2 | 7.9 | 11.6 |
| Social pressure to get married | 20.2 | 20.0 | 20.9 | 22.2 | 22.0 | 26.0 | 20.6 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 11.4 | 9.3 | 6.7 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 8.4 | 10.6 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 6.5 | 7.1 | 6.2 | 7.7 | 6.2 | 8.4 | 6.6 |
| Completed education | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 1.3 | 0.9 |
| This was right age for marriage | 18.5 | 30.4 | 30.8 | 29.2 | 26.3 | 25.2 | 20.8 |
| Lack of parental education | 20.4 | 27.1 | 23.0 | 31.6 | 26.8 | 22.4 | 21.7 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 13.2 | 12.2 | 14.8 | 16.6 | 11.3 | 14.2 | 13.4 |
| Others | 1.6 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 1.7 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 1.6 |

Appendix Table 16: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Causes of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondent) | | Total (n=2157) |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | |
| Do not know about legal age | 27.5 | 20.9 | 25.7 | 22.0 | 25.6 | |
| Suitable groom available | 79.7 | 78.7 | 79.4 | 77.0 | 77.3 | 77.1 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 14.7 | 10.9 | 13.7 | 9.5 | 7.3 | 9.0 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 14.5 | 6.5 | 12.3 | 9.6 | 6.3 | 8.8 |
| Fear of eloping | 53.4 | 52.1 | 53.1 | 52.6 | 56.4 | 53.5 |
| Fear of trafficking | 2.2 | 3.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 3.0 | 2.7 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 3.2 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 3.7 | 4.7 | 3.9 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 34.5 | 34.1 | 34.4 | 30.5 | 23.9 | 29.0 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 46.4 | 51.4 | 47.7 | 47.1 | 41.4 | 45.8 |
| Groom's family wanted | 10.3 | 7.9 | 9.6 | 10.7 | 13.4 | 11.3 |
| Fear of dowry | 11.7 | 12.9 | 12.0 | 10.9 | 7.9 | 10.2 |
| Social pressure to get married | 22.6 | 13.8 | 20.2 | 24.0 | 15.6 | 22.1 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 10.5 | 14.0 | 11.4 | 8.0 | 6.9 | 7.8 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 6.8 | 5.5 | 6.5 | 7.3 | 6.5 | 7.1 |
| Completed education | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| This was right age for marriage | 19.3 | 16.2 | 18.5 | 28.8 | 27.6 | 28.6 |
| Lack of parental education | 20.8 | 19.1 | 20.4 | 26.3 | 26.2 | 26.3 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 13.1 | 13.2 | 13.2 | 13.2 | 16.6 | 14.0 |
| Others | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 1.9 |

Appendix Table 17: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Causes of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Current Age

| Causes of child marriage | Age (Other Respondents) | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|--|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Do not know about legal age | 23.1 | 21.2 | 24.2 | 26.9 | 25.9 | 23.0 | 24.6 | 18.6 | 21.1 | 19.7 | 22.8 |
| Suitable groom available | 73.1 | 73.1 | 80.6 | 73.1 | 77.5 | 80.0 | 73.9 | 78.3 | 78.4 | 77.3 | 77.1 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 4.8 | 9.6 | 16.4 | 7.1 | 8.2 | 8.2 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 10.8 | 9.0 | 9.0 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 6.7 | 7.7 | 8.5 | 9.9 | 8.5 | 8.2 | 9.1 | 7.5 | 11.4 | 9.6 | 8.8 |
| Fear of eloping | 67.3 | 65.4 | 47.3 | 54.4 | 54.6 | 58.4 | 50.7 | 54.2 | 48.1 | 49.3 | 53.5 |
| Fear of trafficking | 2.9 | 5.8 | 5.5 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 2.3 | 4.3 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.7 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 6.7 | 5.8 | 4.2 | 3.8 | 5.1 | 3.0 | 3.3 | 5.5 | 3.8 | 1.8 | 3.9 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 36.5 | 34.6 | 29.7 | 28.0 | 32.4 | 30.8 | 27.2 | 28.1 | 26.5 | 24.8 | 29.0 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 39.4 | 59.6 | 44.8 | 42.9 | 47.1 | 43.3 | 51.4 | 47.0 | 44.3 | 43.9 | 45.8 |
| Groom's family wanted | 10.6 | 25.0 | 12.7 | 14.3 | 8.2 | 11.1 | 9.4 | 12.3 | 13.0 | 9.9 | 11.3 |
| Fear of dowry | 10.6 | 7.7 | 10.9 | 14.8 | 8.9 | 11.8 | 12.7 | 9.9 | 10.8 | 5.1 | 10.2 |
| Social pressure to get married | 29.8 | 28.8 | 26.1 | 22.5 | 24.9 | 21.3 | 20.7 | 22.9 | 21.6 | 15.5 | 22.1 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 7.7 | 11.5 | 9.7 | 8.2 | 5.8 | 5.9 | 9.1 | 6.3 | 10.3 | 8.1 | 7.8 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 7.7 | 13.5 | 10.3 | 8.2 | 6.1 | 4.9 | 5.8 | 6.7 | 9.2 | 6.9 | 7.1 |
| Completed education | 1.0 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 2.5 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| This was right age for marriage | 31.7 | 17.3 | 24.8 | 34.1 | 29.0 | 28.5 | 26.4 | 27.7 | 33.0 | 27.8 | 28.6 |
| Lack of parental education | 32.7 | 28.8 | 21.8 | 35.2 | 26.6 | 23.0 | 28.3 | 22.9 | 21.6 | 27.5 | 26.3 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 18.3 | 25.0 | 12.1 | 13.2 | 13.3 | 16.4 | 14.1 | 13.8 | 11.4 | 11.9 | 14.0 |
| Others | 1.0 | 1.9 | 3.6 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 0.5 | 1.8 | 1.9 |
| Causes of child marriage | Age (EMW) | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | |
| Do not know about legal age | 0.0 | 27.4 | 25.7 | 26.8 | 25.7 | 24.4 | 27.6 | 22.5 | | | 25.7 |
| Suitable groom available | 81.3 | 76.6 | 78.6 | 79.4 | 79.3 | 79.9 | 80.5 | 81.3 | | | 79.4 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 11.9 | 15.0 | 13.3 | 12.8 | 14.7 | 13.1 | 14.3 | 13.4 | | | 13.7 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 33.3 | 11.6 | 12.8 | 13.8 | 12.0 | 11.1 | 12.5 | 10.4 | | | 12.3 |
| Fear of eloping | 64.3 | 51.9 | 54.6 | 53.1 | 51.7 | 55.2 | 52.7 | 50.5 | | | 53.1 |
| Fear of trafficking | 6.5 | 2.0 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 2.6 | 2.3 | 1.7 | 2.8 | | | 2.5 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 0.0 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 3.5 | 3.7 | 4.6 | 2.1 | 2.7 | | | 3.4 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 16.5 | 36.4 | 35.4 | 34.2 | 35.8 | 31.9 | 31.4 | 36.8 | | | 34.4 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 43.9 | 50.5 | 48.9 | 46.7 | 49.1 | 47.3 | 43.5 | 48.7 | | | 47.7 |
| Groom's family wanted | 15.0 | 10.1 | 10.9 | 9.2 | 9.5 | 8.6 | 11.4 | 8.0 | | | 9.6 |
| Fear of dowry | 6.9 | 11.4 | 12.8 | 12.9 | 12.2 | 10.8 | 11.8 | 11.0 | | | 12.0 |
| Social pressure to get married | 21.3 | 25.9 | 20.1 | 19.9 | 19.4 | 20.1 | 19.0 | 20.4 | | | 20.2 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 8.7 | 8.6 | 12.3 | 11.3 | 11.2 | 11.5 | 9.2 | 15.2 | | | 11.4 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 0.0 | 4.9 | 6.8 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 6.9 | 6.5 | 7.5 | | | 6.5 |
| Completed education | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.4 | | | 0.8 |
| This was right age for marriage | 24.2 | 19.7 | 18.9 | 18.0 | 18.4 | 19.1 | 17.4 | 18.1 | | | 18.5 |
| Lack of parental education | 2.6 | 16.3 | 21.7 | 21.1 | 20.2 | 22.7 | 20.2 | 15.9 | | | 20.4 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 9.9 | 13.8 | 13.8 | 11.0 | 13.4 | 16.1 | 13.6 | 10.1 | | | 13.2 |
| Others | 0.0 | 3.6 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 0.5 | | | 1.6 |

Appendix Table 18: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Causes of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Education

| Causes of child marriage | Education | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Do not know about legal age | 25.6 | 25.0 | 26.0 | 22.7 | 32.7 | 25.7 |
| Suitable groom available | 78.6 | 78.0 | 81.2 | 81.9 | 73.2 | 79.4 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 13.0 | 13.4 | 14.4 | 11.8 | 16.0 | 13.7 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 11.9 | 13.4 | 11.5 | 10.6 | 17.1 | 12.3 |
| Fear of eloping | 54.5 | 54.7 | 52.4 | 46.3 | 48.6 | 53.1 |
| Fear of trafficking | 2.1 | 3.0 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 2.6 | 2.5 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 3.1 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 2.4 | 3.7 | 3.4 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 33.7 | 34.0 | 34.7 | 38.6 | 32.8 | 34.4 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 48.1 | 49.7 | 45.8 | 48.4 | 49.7 | 47.7 |
| Groom's family wanted | 9.1 | 8.8 | 10.6 | 12.5 | 5.6 | 9.6 |
| Fear of dowry | 12.7 | 11.2 | 11.6 | 14.3 | 12.3 | 12.0 |
| Social pressure to get married | 21.3 | 18.3 | 20.7 | 20.4 | 20.5 | 20.2 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 10.3 | 9.4 | 12.3 | 16.7 | 16.8 | 11.4 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 5.9 | 8.1 | 5.5 | 8.4 | 5.9 | 6.5 |
| Completed education | 0.8 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 0.8 |
| This was right age for marriage | 16.4 | 19.7 | 19.7 | 18.1 | 14.0 | 18.5 |
| Lack of parental education | 18.5 | 20.0 | 20.5 | 24.5 | 28.9 | 20.4 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 11.5 | 15.3 | 12.4 | 13.8 | 16.7 | 13.2 |
| Others | 1.6 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 2.3 | 0.6 | 1.6 |
| Other Respondents | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
| Do not know about legal age | 23.1 | 20.6 | 23.7 | 29.6 | 23.1 | 22.8 |
| Suitable groom available | 78.2 | 75.9 | 75.4 | 79.6 | 69.2 | 77.1 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 8.4 | 10.8 | 8.8 | 9.3 | 5.1 | 9.0 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 8.9 | 10.0 | 8.8 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 8.8 |
| Fear of eloping | 53.0 | 51.2 | 60.2 | 51.9 | 41.0 | 53.5 |
| Fear of trafficking | 2.5 | 3.3 | 2.5 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 2.7 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 4.1 | 4.3 | 2.8 | 3.7 | 2.6 | 3.9 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 29.2 | 27.8 | 29.4 | 27.8 | 35.9 | 29.0 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 45.9 | 44.7 | 46.3 | 48.1 | 46.2 | 45.8 |
| Groom's family wanted | 9.7 | 12.2 | 15.5 | 11.1 | 10.3 | 11.3 |
| Fear of dowry | 10.2 | 10.0 | 9.9 | 13.0 | 10.3 | 10.2 |
| Social pressure to get married | 22.6 | 22.5 | 20.3 | 16.7 | 23.1 | 22.1 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 7.3 | 7.3 | 9.6 | 9.3 | 10.3 | 7.8 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 5.9 | 7.8 | 10.5 | 7.4 | 5.1 | 7.1 |
| Completed education | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| This was right age for marriage | 28.8 | 27.3 | 30.2 | 27.8 | 23.1 | 28.6 |
| Lack of parental education | 23.0 | 27.1 | 32.8 | 42.6 | 35.9 | 26.3 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 11.1 | 16.9 | 16.9 | 22.2 | 23.1 | 14.0 |
| Others | 1.9 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 1.9 |

Appendix Table 19: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Causes of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Wealth Quintile

| Causes of child marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Do not know about legal age | 27.9 | 26.5 | 21.8 | 25.2 | 27.0 | 25.7 |
| Suitable groom available | 73.8 | 78.5 | 79.8 | 78.9 | 82.7 | 79.4 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 12.2 | 10.4 | 11.5 | 13.3 | 17.8 | 13.7 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 15.5 | 11.9 | 11.9 | 12.8 | 11.0 | 12.3 |
| Fear of eloping | 62.4 | 60.6 | 53.3 | 50.4 | 46.1 | 53.1 |
| Fear of trafficking | 2.9 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 2.5 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 4.2 | 4.0 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 3.1 | 3.4 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 39.9 | 34.9 | 34.9 | 33.0 | 32.0 | 34.4 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 50.1 | 52.3 | 50.0 | 44.9 | 44.6 | 47.7 |
| Groom's family wanted | 9.0 | 9.2 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 8.4 | 9.6 |
| Fear of dowry | 14.8 | 11.5 | 10.7 | 11.2 | 12.3 | 12.0 |
| Social pressure to get married | 26.2 | 22.7 | 22.8 | 19.8 | 14.6 | 20.2 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 9.1 | 9.2 | 12.3 | 9.5 | 14.4 | 11.4 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 7.2 | 7.6 | 6.6 | 6.7 | 5.2 | 6.5 |
| Completed education | 1.0 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.8 |
| This was right age for marriage | 21.4 | 19.4 | 19.8 | 22.6 | 13.1 | 18.5 |
| Lack of parental education | 24.5 | 21.2 | 19.3 | 22.1 | 17.5 | 20.4 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 15.5 | 15.3 | 13.6 | 12.9 | 10.8 | 13.2 |
| Others | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 0.9 | 1.6 |
| Other Respondents | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| Do not know about legal age | 28.5 | 25.8 | 22.0 | 19.5 | 18.1 | 22.8 |
| Suitable groom available | 74.8 | 78.2 | 78.7 | 73.7 | 80.0 | 77.1 |
| There was no demand for dowry from groom's family | 8.6 | 6.7 | 10.2 | 10.5 | 8.8 | 9.0 |
| Did not foresee any benefit from continuing education | 12.4 | 7.7 | 9.5 | 7.4 | 7.2 | 8.8 |
| Fear of eloping | 54.0 | 53.1 | 53.4 | 57.0 | 50.0 | 53.5 |
| Fear of trafficking | 3.3 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 2.7 |
| Fear of abduction/kidnapping | 4.0 | 3.9 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 3.9 |
| Daughters were considered as parental burden | 30.6 | 27.4 | 27.8 | 28.1 | 30.9 | 29.0 |
| It was difficult for me to feed and maintain my family | 48.1 | 46.4 | 47.3 | 41.6 | 45.3 | 45.8 |
| Groom's family wanted | 11.7 | 8.4 | 11.8 | 11.9 | 12.8 | 11.3 |
| Fear of dowry | 15.0 | 8.1 | 10.0 | 9.8 | 8.1 | 10.2 |
| Social pressure to get married | 27.8 | 21.6 | 21.6 | 20.5 | 19.1 | 22.1 |
| Family wishes/wanted | 7.7 | 6.7 | 7.0 | 7.2 | 10.2 | 7.8 |
| There was lack of peace and stability in family life | 6.5 | 7.9 | 5.3 | 8.6 | 7.2 | 7.1 |
| Completed education | 0.0 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 1.2 |
| This was right age for marriage | 33.4 | 29.2 | 26.9 | 27.0 | 26.3 | 28.6 |
| Lack of parental education | 24.3 | 27.4 | 26.0 | 25.6 | 28.1 | 26.3 |
| Fear of sexual harassment/physical harassment | 12.1 | 13.5 | 13.2 | 14.4 | 16.5 | 14.0 |
| Others | 1.2 | 0.7 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.3 | 1.9 |

Appendix Table 20: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondents) | | |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Consequences of child marriage | | | | | | |
| Early pregnancy | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 63.4 | 58.1 | 60.8 |
| Child mortality | 99.2 | 99.4 | 99.3 | 32.0 | 30.2 | 31.6 |
| Maternal mortality | 92.5 | 94.3 | 93.0 | 38.2 | 47.4 | 40.3 |
| Malnutrition | 70.5 | 71.8 | 70.8 | 47.4 | 47.4 | 47.4 |
| Obstetric complications | 45.8 | 47.6 | 46.3 | 46.1 | 48.2 | 46.5 |
| Premature birth | 27.5 | 27.2 | 27.4 | 15.4 | 19.6 | 16.3 |
| Anaemia | 15.1 | 12.7 | 14.5 | 35.1 | 25.3 | 32.9 |
| Divorce | 7.4 | 6.2 | 7.1 | 8.1 | 8.7 | 8.2 |
| Depression/ mental problem | 3.6 | 3.5 | 3.6 | 6.6 | 4.5 | 6.1 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 2.3 |
| School dropout | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 15.2 | 18.8 | 16.0 |
| Unhappy marital life | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 33.7 | 30.2 | 32.9 |
| Violence and torture | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 15.2 | 14.0 | 14.9 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.6 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 2.6 |
| Population explosion | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 27.1 | 23.1 | 26.2 |
| Increases maternal morbidity | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 31.8 | 27.7 | 30.9 |
| Socioeconomic status of bride's family will be improved | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.6 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 1.1 |

Appendix Table 21: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Current Age

| Consequences of child marriage | Age (Other Respondents) | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|---|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Early pregnancy | 61.5 | 78.4 | 66.9 | 69.2 | 68.7 | 61.6 | 62.8 | 54.5 | 56.8 | 56.8 | 62.2 |
| Child mortality | 34.6 | 45.1 | 32.5 | 31.9 | 31.3 | 30.2 | 34.7 | 32.5 | 31.4 | 26.5 | 31.6 |
| Maternal mortality | 52.9 | 43.1 | 44.0 | 36.8 | 37.1 | 41.6 | 37.9 | 40.4 | 39.5 | 40.2 | 40.3 |
| Malnutrition | 47.1 | 45.1 | 50.0 | 45.1 | 42.9 | 48.2 | 49.1 | 51.8 | 48.6 | 45.8 | 47.4 |
| Obstetric complications | 52.9 | 52.9 | 47.0 | 46.7 | 46.3 | 45.9 | 49.5 | 45.9 | 47.0 | 42.0 | 46.5 |
| Premature birth | 20.2 | 21.6 | 19.3 | 15.9 | 16.0 | 17.7 | 17.7 | 12.5 | 16.8 | 13.7 | 16.3 |
| Anaemia | 38.5 | 37.3 | 30.1 | 33.0 | 34.4 | 37.4 | 33.2 | 36.9 | 26.5 | 26.5 | 32.9 |
| Divorce | 4.8 | 9.8 | 4.8 | 8.8 | 7.1 | 8.9 | 10.5 | 9.4 | 11.4 | 6.3 | 8.2 |
| Depression/ mental problem | 8.7 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 8.8 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 5.1 | 4.3 | 8.6 | 5.4 | 6.1 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 1.0 | 2.0 | 1.2 | 3.3 | 2.4 | 3.3 | 1.8 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.3 |
| School dropout | 23.1 | 29.4 | 13.9 | 23.1 | 15.6 | 13.4 | 17.3 | 13.7 | 17.3 | 11.6 | 16.0 |
| Unhappy marital life | 30.8 | 37.3 | 36.7 | 37.9 | 33.3 | 34.4 | 32.5 | 30.2 | 34.6 | 28.0 | 32.9 |
| Violence and torture | 22.1 | 21.6 | 17.5 | 14.8 | 14.6 | 16.4 | 14.8 | 12.9 | 10.3 | 13.7 | 14.9 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 1.9 | 5.9 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 0.3 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 1.6 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 5.8 | 3.9 | 2.4 | 3.8 | 2.4 | 1.3 | 2.9 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 1.8 | 2.6 |
| Population explosion | 21.2 | 31.4 | 27.7 | 31.3 | 28.6 | 23.0 | 26.4 | 27.1 | 29.7 | 21.4 | 26.2 |
| Increases maternal morbidity | 30.8 | 39.2 | 35.5 | 28.0 | 29.9 | 35.7 | 30.7 | 34.1 | 28.1 | 24.7 | 30.9 |
| Socioeconomic status of bride's family will be improved | 0.0 | 2.0 | 0.6 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.8 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.1 |
| Consequences of child marriage | Age of EMW | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | |
| Early pregnancy | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | | | 100.0 |
| Child mortality | 100.0 | 97.6 | 99.3 | 99.2 | 99.4 | 99.6 | 99.5 | 99.1 | | | 99.3 |
| Maternal mortality | 83.3 | 87.5 | 93.6 | 92.6 | 94.9 | 93.0 | 93.7 | 91.2 | | | 93.0 |
| Malnutrition | 53.5 | 65.9 | 71.3 | 71.3 | 74.0 | 71.5 | 68.9 | 67.0 | | | 70.8 |
| Obstetric complications | 27.9 | 42.6 | 48.5 | 47.6 | 47.7 | 46.6 | 43.9 | 41.2 | | | 46.3 |
| Premature birth | 21.4 | 26.7 | 28.6 | 27.7 | 27.5 | 27.1 | 25.4 | 28.3 | | | 27.4 |
| Anaemia | 14.5 | 12.6 | 15.0 | 16.0 | 14.9 | 13.3 | 12.2 | 15.1 | | | 14.5 |
| Divorce | 0.0 | 6.7 | 7.7 | 7.5 | 7.8 | 6.1 | 5.3 | 7.4 | | | 7.1 |
| Depression/ mental problem | 0.0 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 4.2 | | | 3.6 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 0.0 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 0.9 | 1.8 | | | 1.6 |
| School dropout | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 1.3 | | | 0.6 |
| Unhappy marital life | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.7 | | | 0.2 |
| Violence and torture | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.7 | | | 0.1 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.6 | | | 0.1 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | | | 0.1 |

Appendix Table 22: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Education

| Consequences of child marriage | Education | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Early pregnancy | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Child mortality | 98.7 | 99.3 | 99.4 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.3 |
| Maternal mortality | 89.2 | 92.3 | 95.2 | 94.7 | 98.7 | 93.0 |
| Malnutrition | 62.9 | 69.7 | 73.3 | 84.3 | 89.5 | 70.8 |
| Obstetric complications | 37.3 | 45.6 | 48.1 | 59.7 | 75.1 | 46.3 |
| Premature birth | 22.9 | 27.2 | 27.2 | 37.0 | 48.5 | 27.4 |
| Anaemia | 10.7 | 14.6 | 14.4 | 19.6 | 32.2 | 14.5 |
| Divorce | 4.2 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 11.0 | 22.5 | 7.1 |
| Depression/ mental problem | 1.5 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 7.1 | 12.3 | 3.6 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 0.4 | 1.4 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 4.9 | 1.6 |
| School dropout | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 0.6 |
| Unhappy marital life | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 1.0 | 0.2 |
| Violence and torture | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Other Respondents | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
| Early pregnancy | 61.1 | 63.3 | 63.6 | 59.3 | 72.5 | 62.2 |
| Child mortality | 29.4 | 33.3 | 34.2 | 40.7 | 40.0 | 31.6 |
| Maternal mortality | 38.2 | 44.1 | 39.8 | 53.7 | 42.5 | 40.3 |
| Malnutrition | 45.8 | 49.4 | 49.4 | 48.1 | 52.5 | 47.4 |
| Obstetric complications | 44.1 | 47.6 | 49.4 | 61.1 | 60.0 | 46.5 |
| Premature birth | 15.5 | 16.5 | 18.1 | 16.7 | 22.5 | 16.3 |
| Anaemia | 32.0 | 35.1 | 31.9 | 35.2 | 35.0 | 32.9 |
| Divorce | 8.2 | 7.5 | 9.9 | 5.6 | 7.5 | 8.2 |
| Depression/Mental problem | 4.8 | 6.9 | 6.8 | 16.7 | 17.5 | 6.1 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 2.5 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 2.3 |
| School dropout | 13.0 | 15.7 | 22.6 | 29.6 | 32.5 | 16.0 |
| Unhappy marital life | 30.7 | 33.5 | 39.3 | 38.9 | 25.0 | 32.9 |
| Violence and torture | 12.4 | 14.1 | 22.0 | 27.8 | 22.5 | 14.9 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 1.5 | 1.2 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 7.5 | 1.6 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 1.6 | 1.8 | 4.5 | 9.3 | 20.0 | 2.6 |
| Population explosion | 25.1 | 25.5 | 29.4 | 33.3 | 30.0 | 26.2 |
| Increases maternal morbidity | 30.5 | 29.4 | 32.8 | 40.7 | 32.5 | 30.9 |
| Socioeconomic status of bride's family will be improved | 0.7 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| Others | 1.1 | 1.4 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 1.1 |

Appendix Table 23: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Consequences of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Wealth

| Consequences of child marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Early pregnancy | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Child mortality | 98.0 | 99.3 | 99.2 | 99.4 | 99.8 | 99.3 |
| Maternal mortality | 88.8 | 89.3 | 93.4 | 93.9 | 96.0 | 93.0 |
| Malnutrition | 69.5 | 67.5 | 71.1 | 70.0 | 73.6 | 70.8 |
| Obstetric complications | 50.5 | 45.6 | 45.2 | 46.4 | 45.2 | 46.3 |
| Premature birth | 32.2 | 28.0 | 28.1 | 24.3 | 26.4 | 27.4 |
| Anaemia | 17.6 | 15.1 | 16.0 | 12.1 | 13.1 | 14.5 |
| Divorce | 7.8 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 6.1 | 6.5 | 7.1 |
| Depression/ Mental problem | 3.8 | 3.9 | 3.6 | 3.0 | 3.7 | 3.6 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 1.7 | 1.6 |
| School dropout | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| Unhappy marital life | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Violence and torture | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Other Respondents | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| Early pregnancy | 62.6 | 58.2 | 61.9 | 60.9 | 67.3 | 62.2 |
| Child mortality | 33.3 | 29.0 | 28.3 | 36.6 | 30.9 | 31.6 |
| Maternal mortality | 38.4 | 35.0 | 42.9 | 41.7 | 43.6 | 40.3 |
| Malnutrition | 46.3 | 52.2 | 46.6 | 46.1 | 45.9 | 47.4 |
| Obstetric complications | 47.9 | 45.9 | 45.7 | 47.2 | 45.9 | 46.5 |
| Premature birth | 14.9 | 14.8 | 18.3 | 16.2 | 17.4 | 16.3 |
| Anaemia | 41.4 | 36.7 | 31.3 | 28.2 | 26.7 | 32.9 |
| Divorce | 9.1 | 7.7 | 10.0 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 8.2 |
| Depression/ Mental problem | 4.0 | 5.1 | 6.7 | 6.0 | 8.8 | 6.1 |
| Higher rate of widowhood | 2.3 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 3.0 | 2.3 |
| School dropout | 17.4 | 15.3 | 13.5 | 13.0 | 20.9 | 16.0 |
| Unhappy marital life | 36.0 | 29.9 | 31.1 | 35.0 | 32.5 | 32.9 |
| Violence and torture | 11.9 | 13.0 | 17.4 | 13.9 | 18.6 | 14.9 |
| Increases the likelihood of suicide | 1.4 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 1.6 |
| Cannot find work due to low level of education | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 4.6 | 2.6 |
| Population explosion | 27.9 | 26.5 | 22.0 | 26.2 | 28.3 | 26.2 |
| Increases maternal morbidity | 37.0 | 30.4 | 33.9 | 29.2 | 24.1 | 30.9 |
| Socioeconomic status of bride's family will be improved | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| Others | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 1.1 |

Appendix Table 24: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondent) | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 24.0 | 24.0 | 24.0 | 23.8 | 21.8 | 23.4 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 12.2 | 15.8 | 13.2 | 12.0 | 13.3 | 12.3 |
| Avoid social stigma | 41.7 | 33.0 | 39.3 | 42.7 | 36.8 | 41.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 2.7 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 2.4 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 11.4 | 8.3 | 10.6 | 13.5 | 10.9 | 12.9 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 39.4 | 31.8 | 37.3 | 39.7 | 34.1 | 38.4 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 15.7 | 14.6 | 15.4 | 17.0 | 14.0 | 16.3 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 14.1 | 11.7 | 13.5 | 12.1 | 10.1 | 11.6 |
| No advantages | 35.5 | 47.6 | 38.8 | 30.2 | 37.8 | 31.9 |
| Don't Know | 0.9 | 1.8 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.6 |

Appendix Table 25: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Benefits of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Current Age

| Benefits of child marriage | Age (Other Respondents) | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | Total (n=2157) |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 21.6 | 19.2 | 18.8 | 20.7 | 25.2 | 20.2 | 24.6 | 23.5 | 29.1 | 25.1 | 23.4 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 17.6 | 5.8 | 14.5 | 7.8 | 11.9 | 10.3 | 11.2 | 12.9 | 12.1 | 15.9 | 12.3 |
| Avoid social stigma | 42.2 | 44.2 | 39.4 | 42.5 | 50.3 | 42.7 | 40.9 | 39.2 | 40.7 | 34.1 | 41.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 2.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 2.6 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 2.4 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 13.7 | 11.5 | 13.9 | 17.3 | 14.3 | 11.3 | 13.4 | 10.2 | 11.5 | 12.6 | 12.9 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 44.1 | 40.4 | 28.5 | 42.5 | 44.6 | 38.4 | 36.6 | 39.6 | 37.4 | 35.0 | 38.4 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 22.5 | 23.1 | 14.5 | 16.2 | 16.7 | 16.2 | 14.9 | 18.0 | 15.9 | 14.4 | 16.3 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 16.7 | 13.5 | 6.7 | 12.3 | 15.3 | 13.6 | 10.1 | 12.9 | 10.4 | 7.8 | 11.6 |
| No advantages | 29.4 | 34.6 | 37.6 | 32.4 | 24.1 | 32.1 | 34.1 | 32.5 | 32.4 | 33.5 | 31.9 |
| Don't Know | 1.0 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Benefits of child marriage | Age (EMW) | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 25.69 | 22.63 | 21.65 | 23.47 | 25.53 | 23.15 | 22.90 | 30.29 | | | 24.0 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 12.78 | 13.15 | 12.33 | 12.86 | 12.49 | 13.57 | 13.96 | 15.21 | | | 13.2 |
| Avoid social stigma | 27.53 | 46.83 | 38.67 | 38.07 | 37.89 | 41.17 | 37.51 | 40.24 | | | 39.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 0.00 | 3.80 | 2.82 | 3.65 | 1.68 | 2.82 | 1.96 | 2.85 | | | 2.7 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 14.98 | 11.01 | 10.64 | 9.99 | 11.38 | 9.68 | 8.40 | 13.89 | | | 10.6 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 42.59 | 40.31 | 38.52 | 35.21 | 36.18 | 36.68 | 34.86 | 43.92 | | | 37.3 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 13.58 | 19.44 | 15.29 | 14.46 | 16.20 | 16.55 | 15.09 | 11.10 | | | 15.4 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 15.99 | 13.43 | 14.69 | 14.37 | 13.05 | 13.94 | 13.11 | 9.44 | | | 13.5 |
| No advantages | 28.84 | 30.31 | 40.28 | 39.05 | 40.76 | 39.07 | 41.85 | 33.25 | | | 38.8 |
| Don't Know | 4.33 | 2.04 | 1.15 | 1.78 | 1.20 | 0.43 | 0.62 | 1.03 | | | 1.2 |

Appendix Table 26: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Benefit of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Education

| Benefits of child marriage | Education | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 26.6 | 23.5 | 23.1 | 23.1 | 19.4 | 24.0 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 14.3 | 11.9 | 12.5 | 15.1 | 16.6 | 13.2 |
| Avoid social stigma | 43.0 | 39.2 | 37.7 | 35.4 | 35.5 | 39.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 2.1 | 3.0 | 3.3 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 2.7 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 12.2 | 9.8 | 10.3 | 9.7 | 8.8 | 10.6 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 42.6 | 37.3 | 34.6 | 35.5 | 29.5 | 37.3 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 15.1 | 15.3 | 15.2 | 17.4 | 15.8 | 15.4 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 14.0 | 13.9 | 13.0 | 12.9 | 12.2 | 13.5 |
| No advantages | 32.1 | 37.8 | 41.6 | 45.9 | 54.4 | 38.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 1.2 |
| Other Respondents | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 26.4 | 18.4 | 21.2 | 20.4 | 17.9 | 23.4 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 14.1 | 9.6 | 10.5 | 11.1 | 12.8 | 12.3 |
| Avoid social stigma | 46.3 | 34.3 | 36.7 | 38.9 | 28.2 | 41.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 2.2 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 2.4 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 13.8 | 13.5 | 9.6 | 16.7 | 2.6 | 12.9 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 41.0 | 36.5 | 35.9 | 31.5 | 17.9 | 38.4 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 16.9 | 15.5 | 16.4 | 16.7 | 10.3 | 16.3 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 11.8 | 12.0 | 11.9 | 9.3 | 2.6 | 11.6 |
| No advantages | 25.8 | 38.2 | 39.3 | 44.4 | 53.8 | 31.9 |
| Don't Know | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 |

Appendix Table 27: Percentage Distribution of Perceived Benefit of Child Marriage among All Respondents by Wealth Quintile

| Benefits of child marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Parents can see children married before they die | 23.7 | 25.9 | 18.9 | 23.5 | 26.7 | 24.0 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 11.3 | 13.3 | 9.7 | 10.3 | 18.0 | 13.2 |
| Avoid social stigma | 53.0 | 42.8 | 36.3 | 33.5 | 36.3 | 39.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 4.1 | 2.5 | 2.2 | 2.7 | 2.4 | 2.7 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 13.3 | 13.4 | 9.6 | 9.3 | 9.2 | 10.6 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 44.0 | 39.1 | 33.8 | 36.1 | 36.0 | 37.3 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 19.8 | 17.8 | 16.0 | 13.8 | 12.6 | 15.4 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 20.5 | 14.7 | 12.8 | 13.5 | 9.7 | 13.5 |
| No advantages | 27.8 | 32.8 | 40.7 | 41.8 | 44.3 | 38.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.5 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.2 |

| Other Respondents | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Parents can see children married before they die | 25.5 | 22.4 | 22.8 | 21.4 | 24.7 | 23.4 |
| Parents can see grandchildren before they die | 10.8 | 12.6 | 11.6 | 13.1 | 13.5 | 12.3 |
| Avoid social stigma | 53.3 | 41.8 | 40.5 | 33.6 | 37.7 | 41.3 |
| Avoid abduction | 3.1 | 2.1 | 3.5 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 2.4 |
| Avoid premarital sex | 14.4 | 13.1 | 11.4 | 14.7 | 10.9 | 12.9 |
| Reduce parents' burden | 40.8 | 37.1 | 39.5 | 38.5 | 36.3 | 38.4 |
| Removed from Sexual Harassment | 20.0 | 16.8 | 14.9 | 15.4 | 14.7 | 16.3 |
| Have to pay less dowry | 14.9 | 11.0 | 12.3 | 10.7 | 9.3 | 11.6 |
| No advantages | 24.3 | 29.7 | 30.2 | 36.8 | 38.6 | 31.9 |
| Don't Know | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.6 |

Appendix Table 28: Percentage Distribution of Arrangement of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Arrangement of your (first) marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Mutually chose each other and family approved | 5.5 | 5.1 | 10.1 | 12.7 | 3.6 | 8.3 | 13.2 | 4.6 | 6.8 | 5.9 | 5.5 | 3.7 | 5.4 | 8.1 | 7.6 |
| Elopement | 1.1 | 0.9 | 6.1 | 3.2 | 0.7 | 1.4 | 22.6 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 2.1 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 2.8 | 2.6 | 2.8 |
| Family chose and I gave consent | 73.1 | 67.0 | 70.7 | 64.1 | 92.6 | 82.5 | 58.3 | 73.0 | 74.5 | 86.9 | 81.7 | 85.0 | 48.1 | 54.4 | 70.2 |
| Family chose but I did not agree | 16.1 | 22.9 | 10.3 | 16.9 | 2.3 | 6.0 | 2.6 | 20.4 | 15.6 | 2.7 | 10.8 | 8.7 | 42.9 | 34.6 | 16.9 |
| Husband chose and I did not give consent | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Local community arranged marriage forcefully | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Others | 4.0 | 3.9 | 2.8 | 3.0 | 0.7 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 2.4 |

Appendix Table 29: Percentage Distribution of Arrangement of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Arrangement of your (first) marriage | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Mutually chose each other and family approved | 5.7 | 12.8 | 7.6 |
| Elopement | 2.3 | 3.9 | 2.8 |
| Family chose and I gave consent | 70.9 | 68.6 | 70.3 |
| Family chose but I was not agreed | 19.0 | 11.2 | 16.9 |
| Husband chose and I did not give consent | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Local community arranged marriage forcefully | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Others | 2.0 | 3.4 | 2.4 |

Appendix Table 30: Percentage Distribution of Percentage of Arrangement of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Arrangement of your (first) marriage | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Mutually chose each other and family approved | 0.0 | 9.2 | 15.4 | 8.0 | 8.2 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 7.6 |
| Elopement | 7.7 | 5.5 | 4.4 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 0.6 | 2.8 |
| Family chose and I gave consent | 76.9 | 67.6 | 63.9 | 71.3 | 72.3 | 72.6 | 72.7 | 70.4 | 70.2 |
| Family chose but I did not agree | 15.4 | 14.7 | 12.8 | 14.5 | 15.5 | 20.6 | 20.4 | 24.3 | 16.9 |
| Husband chose and I did not give consent | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Local community arranged marriage forcefully | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Others | 0.0 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.2 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 2.4 |

Appendix Table 31: Percentage Distribution of Arrangement of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Education

| Arrangement of your (first) marriage | Education | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Mutually chose each other and family approved | 5.2 | 5.4 | 8.6 | 11.0 | 24.4 | 7.6 |
| Elopement | 2.8 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 2.1 | 2.8 |
| Family chose and I gave consent | 68.4 | 74.9 | 68.2 | 73.4 | 67.2 | 70.2 |
| Family chose but I was not agreed | 21.2 | 14.9 | 17.8 | 9.6 | 2.8 | 16.9 |
| Husband chose and I did not give consent | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Local community arranged marriage forcefully | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Others | 2.2 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 3.5 | 2.4 |

Appendix Table 32: Percentage Distribution of Arrangement of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth

| Arrangement of your (first) marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Mutually chose each other and family approved | 6.6 | 4.8 | 6.3 | 6.0 | 11.4 | 7.6 |
| Elopement | 3.6 | 3.9 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 2.4 | 2.8 |
| Family chose and I gave consent | 70.5 | 71.6 | 72.2 | 69.4 | 68.8 | 70.3 |
| Family chose but I did not agree | 16.9 | 17.9 | 17.7 | 19.1 | 14.5 | 16.9 |
| Husband chose and I did not give consent | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Local community arranged marriage forcefully | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Others | 2.3 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.4 |

Appendix Table 33: Percentage Distribution of Location of In-Laws' House as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Location of law's house at the time of (first) marriage | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Same Village/Union | 35.7 | 35.0 | 25.4 | 26.4 | 23.2 | 25.7 | 30.8 | 29.7 | 26.8 |
| Same /Upazila/Zila/Town | 42.9 | 47.5 | 54.5 | 55.7 | 55.1 | 57.2 | 49.6 | 49.5 | 53.8 |
| Different District/Country | 21.4 | 17.5 | 20.1 | 17.9 | 21.7 | 17.1 | 19.6 | 20.8 | 19.4 |

Appendix Table 34: Percentage Distribution of Location of In-Laws' House as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Education

| Location of law's house at the time of (first) marriage | Education | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Same Village/Union | 35.0 | 32.0 | 20.9 | 17.0 | 8.0 | 26.8 |
| Same /Upazila/Zila/Town | 49.3 | 51.4 | 58.3 | 58.1 | 52.3 | 53.8 |
| Different District/Country | 15.8 | 16.6 | 20.8 | 24.9 | 39.7 | 19.4 |

Appendix Table 35: Percentage Distribution of Location of In-Laws' House as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Location of law's house at the time of (first) marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Same Village/Union | 41.9 | 33.5 | 28.2 | 24.3 | 16.7 | 26.8 |
| Same /Upazila/Zila/Town | 48.4 | 53.8 | 58.5 | 57.1 | 51.5 | 53.8 |
| Different District/Country | 9.7 | 12.7 | 13.3 | 18.6 | 31.7 | 19.3 |

Appendix Table 36: Percentage Distribution of Kin Relationship with Husband at the Time of Marriage as reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Kin Relationship with the husband | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| No relationship | 87.5 | 87.3 | 87.4 |
| Had relationship | 12.5 | 12.7 | 12.6 |

Appendix Table 37: Percentage Distribution of Kin Relationship with Husband at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Kin Relationship with the husband | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| No relationship | 84.6 | 85.5 | 84.4 | 86.8 | 89.5 | 88.5 | 88.7 | 88.0 | 87.4 |
| Had relationship | 15.4 | 14.5 | 15.6 | 13.2 | 10.5 | 11.5 | 11.3 | 12.0 | 12.6 |

Appendix Table 38: Percentage Distribution of Kin Relationship with Husband at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married by Women Education

| Kin Relationship with the husband | Education | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| No relationship | 88.2 | 86.0 | 87.5 | 87.5 | 90.6 | 87.4 |
| Had relationship | 11.8 | 14.0 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 9.4 | 12.6 |

Appendix Table 39: Percentage Distribution of Kin Relationship with Husband at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Kin Relationship with the husband | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| No relationship | 87.9 | 86.5 | 87.8 | 87.3 | 87.6 | 87.4 |
| Had relationship | 12.1 | 13.5 | 12.2 | 12.7 | 12.4 | 12.6 |

Appendix Table 40: Percentage Distribution of Socioeconomic Status of Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Socioeconomic status of husband's family | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Similar to my family | 47.5 | 52.4 | 48.8 |
| Better than my family | 27.5 | 28.4 | 27.8 |
| Lower than my family | 25.0 | 19.2 | 23.4 |

Appendix Table 41: Percentage Distribution of Socioeconomic Status of Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Socioeconomic status of husband's family | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Similar to my family | 30.8 | 45.6 | 49.6 | 47.4 | 49.8 | 50.4 | 47.1 | 50.4 | 48.8 |
| Better than my family | 46.2 | 37.1 | 30.6 | 29.2 | 26.5 | 22.6 | 27.4 | 24.1 | 27.8 |
| Lower than my family | 23.1 | 17.3 | 19.7 | 23.4 | 23.7 | 27.0 | 25.5 | 25.5 | 23.4 |

Appendix Table 42: Percentage Distribution of Socioeconomic Status of Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Education

| Socioeconomic status of husband's family | Education | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|----------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Similar to my family | 49.9 | 47.3 | 48.8 | 51.9 | 47.0 | 48.8 |
| Better than my family | 24.9 | 28.8 | 29.0 | 27.3 | 28.9 | 27.8 |
| Lower than my family | 25.1 | 23.9 | 22.2 | 20.8 | 24.0 | 23.4 |

Appendix Table 43: Percentage Distribution of Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Status of Marriage registration | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Yes | 87.6 | 77.0 | 90.5 | 83.6 | 86.2 | 76.0 | 31.8 | 81.4 | 66.8 | 68.1 | 75.4 | 72.8 | 65.9 | 83.4 | 77.3 |
| No | 12.4 | 23.0 | 9.5 | 16.4 | 13.8 | 24.0 | 68.2 | 18.6 | 33.2 | 31.9 | 24.6 | 27.2 | 34.1 | 16.6 | 22.7 |

Appendix Table 44: Percentage Distribution of Status of Marriage Registration at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Status of Marriage registration | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Yes | 76.4 | 79.7 | 77.3 |
| No | 23.6 | 20.3 | 22.7 |

Appendix Table 45: Percentage Distribution of Decision Maker of the Ever-Married Women's Marriage by District

| Decision maker of your (first) marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Father | 53.4 | 48.7 | 39.7 | 50.1 | 40.2 | 36.0 | 26.1 | 31.1 | 42.3 | 27.7 | 32.8 | 47.1 | 60.9 | 38.6 | 44.0 |
| Mother | 3.9 | 14.6 | 8.7 | 13.8 | 15.6 | 13.1 | 4.9 | 8.2 | 10.9 | 10.5 | 7.7 | 7.1 | 6.5 | 7.1 | 10.8 |
| Parents | 28.3 | 21.4 | 28.6 | 16.4 | 34.0 | 40.2 | 37.1 | 49.5 | 39.3 | 43.5 | 49.8 | 32.4 | 16.9 | 39.4 | 29.1 |
| Self | 2.8 | 5.8 | 12.3 | 9.8 | 2.6 | 5.6 | 30.2 | 2.8 | 5.0 | 7.3 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 7.9 | 7.4 | 7.6 |
| Paternal Grandparents | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 0.1 | 4.0 | 8.4 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 6.3 | 1.4 | 2.6 |
| Maternal Grandparents | 1.8 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 4.6 | 0.7 | 3.3 | 4.7 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 1.9 | 2.7 | 1.1 | 2.3 |
| Brother | 18.9 | 27.0 | 15.8 | 8.3 | 17.6 | 39.9 | 7.5 | 21.2 | 32.0 | 25.6 | 11.1 | 12.2 | 16.7 | 9.0 | 17.3 |
| Sister | 1.1 | 5.2 | 1.5 | 2.2 | 3.2 | 8.9 | 0.5 | 1.7 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 4.1 | 0.9 | 2.7 |
| Area People | 0.6 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 10.1 | 2.5 | 1.2 | 9.4 | 2.7 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 6.9 | 0.1 | 1.9 |
| Others | 8.4 | 22.8 | 13.4 | 4.0 | 11.7 | 38.5 | 3.3 | 22.5 | 34.7 | 16.8 | 3.3 | 4.4 | 26.8 | 5.4 | 13.7 |

Appendix Table 46: Percentage Distribution of Decision Maker of the Ever-Married Women's Marriage by Place of Residence

| Decision maker of your (first) marriage | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Father | 45.6 | 39.8 | 44.0 |
| Mother | 9.1 | 15.6 | 10.8 |
| Parents | 31.4 | 23.0 | 29.1 |
| Self | 5.7 | 12.6 | 7.6 |
| Paternal Grandparents | 2.5 | 2.7 | 2.6 |
| Maternal Grandparents | 2.5 | 1.9 | 2.3 |
| Brother | 18.3 | 14.7 | 17.3 |
| Sister | 2.4 | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| Area People | 2.2 | 1.1 | 1.9 |
| Others | 15.0 | 10.3 | 13.7 |

Appendix Table 47: Percentage Distribution of Decision Maker of the Ever-Married Women's Marriage by Current Age

| Decision maker of your (first) marriage | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Father | 33.9 | 39.1 | 38.6 | 42.5 | 42.5 | 47.6 | 48.9 | 52.8 | 44.0 |
| Mother | 2.6 | 9.4 | 11.6 | 10.1 | 11.3 | 10.5 | 11.8 | 10.7 | 10.8 |
| Parents | 47.0 | 32.3 | 30.8 | 31.3 | 29.5 | 27.0 | 25.5 | 25.6 | 29.1 |
| Self | 10.1 | 12.9 | 13.8 | 8.3 | 7.1 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 2.0 | 7.6 |
| Paternal Grandparents | 6.4 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 2.3 | 4.3 | 2.6 |
| Maternal Grandparents | 0.0 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 1.6 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 3.1 | 2.3 |
| Brother | 6.7 | 10.3 | 17.4 | 15.4 | 18.8 | 20.0 | 18.0 | 17.8 | 17.3 |
| Sister | 0.0 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 3.8 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| Area People | 0.0 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 1.9 |
| Others | 6.4 | 12.8 | 14.1 | 14.5 | 12.0 | 12.8 | 15.6 | 15.4 | 13.7 |

Appendix Table 48: Percentage Distribution of Decision Maker of the Ever-Married Women's Marriage by Education

| Decision maker of your (first) marriage | Education | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Father | 43.7 | 47.3 | 44.1 | 34.5 | 37.8 | 44.0 |
| Mother | 11.9 | 9.6 | 10.0 | 12.5 | 17.0 | 10.8 |
| Parents | 25.9 | 28.9 | 31.0 | 33.3 | 28.5 | 29.1 |
| Self | 6.6 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 7.9 | 15.0 | 7.6 |
| Paternal Grandparents | 2.4 | 2.2 | 3.1 | 2.4 | 0.6 | 2.6 |
| Maternal Grandparents | 2.3 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 |
| Brother | 16.0 | 17.7 | 18.1 | 19.2 | 12.8 | 17.3 |
| Sister | 2.4 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 1.5 | 2.7 |
| Area People | 2.6 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 1.9 |
| Others | 12.5 | 12.8 | 15.3 | 17.3 | 9.2 | 13.7 |

Appendix Table 49: Percentage Distribution of Decision Maker of the Marriage of Ever-Married Women by Wealth

| Decision maker of your (first) marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| Father | 38.4 | 43.4 | 45.3 | 46.1 | 45.0 | 44.0 |
| Mother | 8.1 | 9.8 | 9.1 | 9.0 | 15.0 | 10.8 |
| Parents | 35.6 | 33.0 | 31.5 | 31.1 | 21.1 | 29.1 |
| Self | 7.8 | 6.5 | 6.6 | 6.7 | 9.2 | 7.6 |
| Paternal Grandparents | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.4 | 3.6 | 1.8 | 2.6 |
| Maternal Grandparents | 2.3 | 1.7 | 2.9 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| Brother | 17.7 | 18.7 | 20.4 | 16.0 | 15.3 | 17.3 |
| Sister | 1.5 | 2.1 | 3.9 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 2.7 |
| Area People | 2.5 | 3.9 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 1.9 |
| Others | 15.4 | 14.8 | 15.9 | 14.7 | 10.4 | 13.7 |

Appendix Table 50: Percentage Distribution of Guardian at the Time of Marriage of Ever-Married Women by District

| Guardian at the time of (first) marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n=379) | Satkhira (n=465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Father | 78.6 | 69.7 | 66.7 | 67.6 | 70.5 | 69.1 | 65.2 | 82.0 | 67.9 | 68.4 | 82.7 | 83.1 | 80.0 | 81.8 | 72.7 |
| Mother | 3.7 | 7.1 | 6.9 | 11.8 | 14.6 | 6.0 | 4.1 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 3.4 | 3.6 | 4.2 | 7.5 |
| Brother | 8.7 | 16.1 | 10.6 | 7.5 | 9.7 | 11.5 | 3.4 | 5.7 | 11.5 | 14.5 | 5.3 | 7.1 | 7.3 | 7.5 | 9.5 |
| Sister | 0.5 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 1.7 | 0.9 | 1.8 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.9 |
| Grandfather (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.8 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 2.0 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 3.0 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.1 |
| Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| Others | 6.9 | 5.3 | 13.9 | 8.2 | 3.8 | 10.1 | 26.2 | 6.1 | 12.6 | 9.7 | 3.0 | 4.0 | 7.3 | 5.2 | 7.8 |

Appendix Table 51: Percentage Distribution of Guardian at the Time of Marriage of Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Guardian at the time of (first) marriage | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Father | 75.8 | 64.3 | 72.7 |
| Mother | 5.7 | 12.4 | 7.5 |
| Brother | 9.4 | 9.5 | 9.4 |
| Sister | 0.4 | 2.2 | 0.9 |
| Grandfather(Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.1 |
| Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.4 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Others | 7.3 | 9.3 | 7.8 |

Appendix Table 52: Percentage Distribution of Guardian at the Time of Marriage of Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Guardian at the time of (first) marriage | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Father | 84.6 | 74.0 | 69.1 | 73.3 | 72.6 | 74.3 | 73.1 | 74.8 | 72.7 |
| Mother | 0.0 | 6.4 | 9.5 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 6.0 | 8.7 | 6.2 | 7.5 |
| Brother | 0.0 | 5.8 | 9.3 | 8.4 | 10.0 | 11.2 | 9.6 | 10.3 | 9.4 |
| Sister | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| Grandfather(Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.0 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 2.8 | 1.1 |
| Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.0 | 0.2 | 1.0 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Others | 15.4 | 11.9 | 10.1 | 9.3 | 7.1 | 5.6 | 6.5 | 4.0 | 7.8 |

Appendix Table 53: Percentage Distribution of Guardian at the Time of Marriage of Ever-Married Women by Education

| Guardian at the time of (first) marriage | Education | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Father | 69.7 | 74.8 | 73.8 | 69.9 | 72.6 | 72.7 |
| Mother | 7.8 | 6.7 | 7.4 | 7.7 | 11.1 | 7.5 |
| Brother | 10.4 | 9.0 | 9.2 | 8.9 | 9.4 | 9.4 |
| Sister | 1.5 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| Grandfather (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.9 | 0.0 | 1.1 |
| Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.6 |
| Others | 9.0 | 6.8 | 7.4 | 11.0 | 5.9 | 7.8 |

Appendix Table 54: Percentage Distribution of Guardian at the Time of Marriage of Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Guardian at the time of (first) marriage | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Father | 73.2 | 75.6 | 76.0 | 74.6 | 67.7 | 72.7 |
| Mother | 6.5 | 6.0 | 4.5 | 7.1 | 10.8 | 7.5 |
| Brother | 9.3 | 8.2 | 11.2 | 8.0 | 10.0 | 9.4 |
| Sister | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.7 | 0.9 |
| Grandfather(Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 1.1 |
| Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Others | 9.3 | 8.7 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 7.3 | 7.8 |

Appendix Table 55: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Menstruation Status after Marriage by District

| Time of first menstruation | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Before marriage | 91.8 | 98.7 | 98.9 | 91.6 | 98.0 | 94.5 | 97.0 | 78.3 | 90.5 | 97.6 | 86.7 | 77.8 | 90.6 | 87.7 | 92.0 |
| After marriage | 8.2 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 8.4 | 2.0 | 5.5 | 3.0 | 21.7 | 9.5 | 2.4 | 13.3 | 22.2 | 9.4 | 12.3 | 8.0 |

Appendix Table 56: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Menstruation Status after Marriage by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Time of first menstruation | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Before marriage | 91.7 | 92.9 | 92.0 |
| After marriage | 8.3 | 7.1 | 8.0 |

Appendix Table 57: Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women's Menstruation Status after Marriage by Current Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Before marriage | 92.3 | 96.6 | 95.6 | 96.2 | 92.9 | 89.4 | 85.2 | 83.0 | 92.0 |
| After marriage | 7.7 | 3.4 | 4.4 | 3.8 | 7.1 | 10.6 | 14.8 | 17.0 | 8.0 |

Appendix Table 58: Percentage Distribution of Attitude and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondents) | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | |
| Yes | 60.0 | 45.4 | 56.0 | 64.3 | 47.0 | 60.3 |
| No | 40.0 | 54.6 | 44.0 | 35.7 | 53.0 | 39.7 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | |
| Yes | 2.9 | 3.4 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 2.9 |
| No | 95.4 | 95.9 | 95.6 | 94.6 | 93.1 | 94.3 |
| Do not know | 1.7 | 0.7 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 3.6 | 2.8 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | |
| Yes | 96.5 | 97.3 | 96.7 | 95.1 | 93.7 | 94.8 |
| No | 1.8 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 1.8 |
| Do not know | 1.7 | 0.9 | 1.5 | 3.1 | 4.5 | 3.4 |

Appendix Table 59: Percentage Distribution of Attitude and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among All Respondents by Current Age

| Variables | Age of Other Respondents | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|--|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 51.0 | 56.6 | 60.2 | 59.3 | 61.9 | 61.0 | 57.8 | 60.4 | 62.7 | 63.1 | 60.3 |
| No | 49.0 | 43.4 | 39.8 | 40.7 | 38.1 | 39.0 | 42.2 | 39.6 | 37.3 | 36.9 | 39.7 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 1.9 | 0.0 | 3.6 | 4.9 | 2.4 | 3.9 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 3.0 | 2.9 |
| No | 97.1 | 98.1 | 94.6 | 93.4 | 96.9 | 93.1 | 96.0 | 96.1 | 93.5 | 89.6 | 94.3 |
| Do not know | 1.0 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 3.0 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 4.3 | 7.4 | 2.8 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 97.1 | 92.5 | 94.6 | 95.6 | 97.3 | 96.1 | 95.3 | 95.3 | 94.1 | 90.2 | 94.8 |
| No | 1.9 | 3.8 | 3.6 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 0.3 | 1.8 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 1.8 |
| Do not know | 1.0 | 3.8 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 3.6 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 4.3 | 7.7 | 3.4 |
| | Age of EMW | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 61.5 | 52.9 | 57.1 | 53.2 | 56.1 | 56.6 | 58.4 | 57.9 | | | 56.0 |
| No | 38.5 | 47.1 | 42.9 | 46.8 | 43.9 | 43.4 | 41.6 | 42.1 | | | 44.0 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 7.7 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 2.2 | | | 3.0 |
| No | 84.6 | 96.4 | 95.6 | 95.5 | 95.1 | 95.9 | 95.6 | 95.0 | | | 95.5 |
| Do not know | 7.7 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.1 | 2.8 | | | 1.5 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 100.0 | 97.0 | 96.0 | 97.2 | 96.0 | 97.6 | 97.4 | 95.5 | | | 96.7 |
| No | 0.0 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 1.7 | 2.6 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 2.2 | | | 1.8 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2.3 | | | 1.5 |

Appendix Table 60: Percentage Distribution of Attitude and Knowledge Regarding Dowry among All Respondents by Wealth Quintile

| Variable (Ever-Married Women) | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | |
| Yes | 64.2 | 60.8 | 66.0 | 58.9 | 41.4 | 56.0 |
| No | 35.8 | 39.2 | 34.0 | 41.1 | 58.6 | 44.0 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | |
| Yes | 2.8 | 3.5 | 3.2 | 3.7 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| No | 94.5 | 94.3 | 95.2 | 95.5 | 96.9 | 95.5 |
| Do not know | 2.7 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 0.8 | 0.7 | 1.4 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | |
| Yes | 94.5 | 95.0 | 96.9 | 97.7 | 97.7 | 96.7 |
| No | 2.7 | 1.9 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.8 |
| Do not know | 2.8 | 3.1 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 1.5 |
| Variable (Other Respondents) | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| Older brides are required to pay more dowry than younger brides | | | | | | |
| Yes | 63.3 | 62.7 | 60.8 | 65.0 | 49.7 | 60.3 |
| No | 36.7 | 37.3 | 39.2 | 35.0 | 50.3 | 39.7 |
| Demand of dowry is legal | | | | | | |
| Yes | 2.6 | 2.3 | 3.9 | 3.0 | 2.6 | 2.9 |
| No | 94.7 | 93.1 | 93.0 | 94.9 | 95.8 | 94.3 |
| Do not know | 2.8 | 4.6 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 2.8 |
| Dowry is a punishable crime | | | | | | |
| Yes | 94.9 | 93.3 | 93.5 | 94.9 | 97.2 | 94.8 |
| No | 1.2 | 2.5 | 3.0 | 1.9 | 0.5 | 1.8 |
| Do not know | 3.9 | 4.2 | 3.5 | 3.2 | 2.3 | 3.4 |

Appendix Table 61: Percentage Distribution of Transaction of Dowry as Reported by All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Transaction of Dowry | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondent's) | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|---|---------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Did not give/receive dowry | 44.1 | 70.0 | 51.2 | 48.0 | 56.7 | 50.0 |
| Gave/Received dowry | 55.9 | 30.0 | 48.8 | 52.0 | 43.3 | 50.0 |

Appendix Table 62: Percentage Distribution of Transaction of Dowry as Reported by All Respondents by Current Age

| Transaction of Dowry | Age of Other Respondents | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Did not give/receive dowry | 48.1 | 49.1 | 41.6 | 47.8 | 49.0 | 50.8 | 50.2 | 52.9 | 48.6 | 54.8 | 50.0 |
| Gave/Received dowry | 51.9 | 50.9 | 58.4 | 52.2 | 51.0 | 49.2 | 49.8 | 47.1 | 51.4 | 45.2 | 50.0 |
| | Age (EMW) | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | Total (n=7163) |
| Did not give/receive dowry | 28.6 | 46.9 | 48.0 | 45.5 | 50.5 | 54.0 | 56.9 | 63.3 | | | 51.2 |
| Gave/Received dowry | 71.4 | 53.1 | 52.0 | 54.5 | 49.5 | 46.0 | 43.1 | 36.7 | | | 48.8 |

Appendix Table 63: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge regarding Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Child marriage is a punishable offense | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 99.2 | 97.4 | 91.6 | 98.8 | 98.9 | 97.2 | 94.0 | 98.0 | 98.1 | 97.9 | 96.7 | 96.8 | 95.7 | 98.1 | 97.4 |
| No | 0.8 | 1.4 | 5.6 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 2.8 | 1.1 | 2.0 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 1.3 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 1.2 | 2.8 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 4.9 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 3.2 | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Child marriage is a violation of human rights | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 98.7 | 83.0 | 53.6 | 97.6 | 86.7 | 94.0 | 91.0 | 94.3 | 98.9 | 96.8 | 89.9 | 75.8 | 85.6 | 96.8 | 89.4 |
| No | 1.1 | 6.8 | 41.3 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 6.0 | 1.1 | 5.5 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 5.5 | 11.6 | 5.8 | 1.3 | 5.3 |
| Do not know | 0.3 | 10.3 | 5.0 | 2.2 | 12.4 | 0.0 | 7.9 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 1.9 | 4.5 | 12.6 | 8.6 | 1.9 | 5.2 |

Appendix Table 64: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge regarding Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Child marriage is a punishable offense | | | |
| Yes | 97.1 | 98.4 | 97.4 |
| No | 1.5 | 0.7 | 1.3 |
| Do not know | 1.4 | 0.9 | 1.3 |
| Child marriage is a violation of human rights | | | |
| Yes | 87.6 | 94.4 | 89.4 |
| No | 6.6 | 2.1 | 5.3 |
| Do not know | 5.8 | 3.5 | 5.2 |

Appendix Table 65: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge regarding Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Child marriage is a punishable offense | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 85.7 | 96.4 | 97.7 | 97.8 | 97.7 | 97.5 | 98.2 | 95.5 | 97.4 |
| No | 14.3 | 2.3 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 1.9 | 1.3 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 2.6 | 1.3 |
| Child marriage is a violation of human rights | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 85.7 | 87.2 | 90.2 | 89.1 | 90.9 | 90.7 | 90.7 | 83.8 | 89.5 |
| No | 14.3 | 8.1 | 5.0 | 5.6 | 4.6 | 5.3 | 4.4 | 5.9 | 5.3 |
| Do not know | 0.0 | 4.7 | 4.8 | 5.3 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 4.9 | 10.3 | 5.2 |

Appendix Table 66: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge regarding Child Marriage among Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Variable | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Child marriage is a punishable offense | | | | | | |
| Yes | 95.1 | 96.4 | 97.4 | 97.6 | 99.0 | 97.4 |
| No | 2.8 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 1.3 |
| Do not know | 2.1 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 0.4 | 1.3 |
| Child marriage is a violation of human rights | | | | | | |
| Yes | 82.0 | 87.4 | 85.9 | 90.6 | 95.6 | 89.4 |
| No | 12.0 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 4.5 | 1.6 | 5.3 |
| Do not know | 5.9 | 6.5 | 7.8 | 4.9 | 2.7 | 5.2 |

Appendix Table 67: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Prevalence of Social Security Issues as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Sexual Harassmenthappened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 42.9 | 50.7 | 69.5 | 56.1 | 49.7 | 67.1 | 37.4 | 91.6 | 79.2 | 41.8 | 94.1 | 89.5 | 77.5 | 88.9 | 61.3 |
| Very few | 87.1 | 49.1 | 81.5 | 58.8 | 53.8 | 74.3 | 58.7 | 90.7 | 83.8 | 45.5 | 88.6 | 90.9 | 78.8 | 78.5 | 67.8 |
| Sometimes | 87.3 | 47.3 | 74.9 | 59.6 | 74.6 | 81.4 | 76.6 | 92.1 | 86.7 | 56.4 | 85.6 | 88.6 | 80.9 | 68.0 | 74.4 |
| Always | 76.7 | 55.6 | 78.7 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 75.9 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 42.9 | 94.9 | 100.0 | 88.2 | 100.0 | 80.8 |
| Human trafficking happened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 84.9 | 46.1 | 71.8 | 58.1 | 58.2 | 73.5 | 52.3 | 90.9 | 82.3 | 46.3 | 89.5 | 89.9 | 79.5 | 77.6 | 66.5 |
| Very few | 92.3 | 73.3 | 81.7 | 54.1 | 62.5 | 60.0 | 66.7 | 92.7 | 91.7 | 11.1 | 91.3 | 90.0 | 92.3 | 88.9 | 70.4 |
| Sometimes | 100.0 | 66.7 | 76.7 | 40.8 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 33.3 | 87.5 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 68.8 |
| Always | 0.0 | 0.0 | 88.9 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 84.0 |
| Sexual violence happened in your locality | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not at all | 71.4 | 44.5 | 70.9 | 57.1 | 47.1 | 72.1 | 40.5 | 90.9 | 80.5 | 44.4 | 94.0 | 91.3 | 80.5 | 75.0 | 62.4 |
| Very few | 87.3 | 70.1 | 79.8 | 58.7 | 66.0 | 77.4 | 62.8 | 93.7 | 87.3 | 45.6 | 87.1 | 80.8 | 79.8 | 78.8 | 74.6 |
| Sometimes | 83.3 | 100.0 | 77.9 | 43.6 | 79.7 | 78.6 | 85.2 | 85.7 | 83.3 | 61.5 | 88.1 | 100.0 | 76.9 | 60.0 | 75.5 |
| Always | 50.0 | 100.0 | 77.8 | 100.0 | 50.0 | 71.4 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 81.0 |

Appendix Table 68: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Attitude towards who is a Child as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Cut-off Age for Considering a Girl as a Child | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| 16-17 years | 80.0 | 42.1 | 60.0 | 31.9 | 53.3 | 63.6 | 37.5 | 81.6 | 76.1 | 35.8 | 95.8 | 83.3 | 68.1 | 70.3 | 55.0 |
| 14-15 years | 60.0 | 40.8 | 63.6 | 65.1 | 64.2 | 80.0 | 47.6 | 87.5 | 72.0 | 30.3 | 92.0 | 88.9 | 75.6 | 80.4 | 63.0 |
| Less than 14 years | 86.8 | 51.6 | 77.7 | 59.6 | 60.2 | 74.2 | 55.8 | 92.4 | 88.4 | 49.2 | 89.0 | 92.2 | 83.8 | 79.5 | 69.9 |
| After 18 years | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 62.5 |

Appendix Table 69: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Types of Marriage Arrangements as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Occurrence of your (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Own choice | 76.9 | 58.0 | 67.2 | 51.2 | 81.0 | 72.7 | 45.4 | 80.6 | 78.3 | 36.4 | 80.0 | 66.7 | 64.1 | 65.6 | 58.9 |
| Family choice | 85.7 | 48.1 | 78.9 | 58.7 | 58.2 | 73.0 | 57.2 | 91.8 | 83.5 | 46.0 | 90.7 | 91.7 | 82.0 | 79.5 | 68.6 |
| Others | 100.0 | 75.0 | 0.0 | 16.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 62.5 |
| Arrangement of your (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mutually chose each other and family approved | 72.7 | 59.3 | 63.9 | 41.1 | 81.3 | 70.6 | 27.3 | 72.7 | 72.2 | 42.1 | 86.4 | 69.2 | 62.5 | 62.5 | 54.4 |
| Elopement | 100.0 | 50.0 | 73.7 | 73.9 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 58.6 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 33.3 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 69.2 | 75.0 | 66.7 |
| Family chose and I gave consent | 84.9 | 46.4 | 77.2 | 53.5 | 57.0 | 72.7 | 55.3 | 91.3 | 82.6 | 45.1 | 90.3 | 91.1 | 76.4 | 74.1 | 66.1 |
| Family chose but I did not agree | 89.7 | 52.3 | 88.6 | 77.3 | 100.0 | 76.9 | 85.7 | 94.5 | 87.8 | 77.8 | 93.0 | 97.0 | 88.4 | 88.6 | 78.6 |
| Husband/Husband's family married/arranged me/my marriage forcefully | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 |
| Local community arranged marriage forcefully | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 85.7 |
| Others | 80.0 | 65.2 | 77.8 | 68.6 | 75.0 | 66.7 | 28.6 | 100.0 | 80.0 | 37.5 | 50.0 | 80.0 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 68.1 |

Appendix Table 70: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Location of In Laws House at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Location of law's house at the time of (first) marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Same Village/Union | 87.8 | 72.8 | 78.9 | 76.0 | 71.8 | 84.8 | 52.5 | 92.5 | 94.9 | 52.1 | 90.5 | 94.0 | 84.4 | 84.2 | 79.0 |
| Same /Upazila/Zila/Town | 84.0 | 45.7 | 75.5 | 51.9 | 53.8 | 68.6 | 46.9 | 92.6 | 83.2 | 41.0 | 89.8 | 90.8 | 80.8 | 78.4 | 64.6 |
| Different District/Country | 69.2 | 35.8 | 68.4 | 54.3 | 68.5 | 66.1 | 64.9 | 77.3 | 78.4 | 50.0 | 87.1 | 78.8 | 73.7 | 62.7 | 59.5 |

Appendix Table 71: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Kin Relationship with Husband at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Relationship with the husband | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| No relation | 82.9 | 47.7 | 75.8 | 55.9 | 56.6 | 72.4 | 52.7 | 90.8 | 82.7 | 44.1 | 89.9 | 90.1 | 81.6 | 77.1 | 66.2 |
| Had relation | 82.9 | 47.7 | 75.8 | 55.9 | 56.6 | 72.4 | 52.7 | 90.8 | 82.7 | 44.1 | 89.9 | 90.1 | 81.6 | 77.1 | 66.2 |

Appendix Table 72: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Socioeconomic Status of Husband's Family at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Socioeconomic status of husband's family | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Similar to my family | 86.1 | 43.6 | 75.6 | 60.0 | 62.4 | 72.4 | 57.0 | 89.9 | 80.9 | 45.1 | 90.1 | 91.8 | 80.1 | 81.0 | 65.8 |
| Better than my family | 79.2 | 54.1 | 77.4 | 53.5 | 53.4 | 70.2 | 46.3 | 94.2 | 77.8 | 48.2 | 90.6 | 90.2 | 79.3 | 74.4 | 67.1 |
| Lower than my family | 87.8 | 61.5 | 76.8 | 55.2 | 58.0 | 76.6 | 47.5 | 89.9 | 89.4 | 44.0 | 88.4 | 86.6 | 82.5 | 81.5 | 71.3 |

Appendix Table 73: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Decision Maker of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Decision maker of your (first) marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Father | 89.0 | 58.5 | 83.0 | 61.5 | 68.2 | 77.2 | 50.9 | 87.9 | 84.6 | 46.6 | 94.0 | 92.2 | 81.9 | 82.4 | 71.5 |
| Mother | 68.5 | 39.7 | 65.5 | 52.9 | 54.2 | 64.5 | 56.9 | 89.6 | 83.9 | 51.3 | 77.7 | 96.5 | 93.7 | 67.4 | 58.7 |
| Both Parents | 81.0 | 33.3 | 73.3 | 49.4 | 50.8 | 72.9 | 53.0 | 94.0 | 80.9 | 45.3 | 91.2 | 90.6 | 76.0 | 78.7 | 66.7 |
| Self | 77.7 | 60.4 | 73.4 | 59.2 | 69.2 | 74.9 | 46.8 | 85.8 | 83.5 | 40.6 | 73.5 | 70.3 | 69.8 | 69.0 | 62.1 |
| Paternal Grandparents | 100.0 | 63.7 | 90.5 | 80.4 | 55.2 | 86.2 | 100.0 | 95.5 | 95.9 | 58.6 | 100.0 | 92.0 | 87.5 | 85.5 | 84.1 |
| Maternal Grandparents | 82.5 | 61.9 | 66.3 | 71.9 | 28.9 | 81.4 | 100.0 | 96.7 | 86.2 | 46.7 | 100.0 | 92.2 | 85.8 | 85.0 | 76.1 |
| Brother | 80.3 | 40.4 | 72.6 | 35.9 | 54.6 | 70.5 | 52.7 | 89.7 | 78.1 | 32.1 | 85.2 | 94.9 | 71.5 | 63.3 | 59.0 |
| Sister | 100.0 | 21.2 | 41.2 | 87.6 | 57.1 | 69.5 | 31.5 | 100.0 | 62.3 | 23.6 | 63.9 | 0.0 | 77.2 | 53.5 | 55.2 |
| Community people | 100.0 | 37.2 | 66.1 | 0.0 | 53.1 | 80.0 | 29.0 | 100.0 | 91.6 | 84.4 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 88.0 | 100.0 | 77.1 |
| Others | 83.7 | 27.0 | 70.5 | 50.1 | 66.8 | 78.0 | 61.5 | 93.2 | 84.5 | 46.8 | 78.0 | 78.3 | 75.9 | 83.1 | 61.4 |

Appendix Table 74: Percentage Distribution of Child Marriage by Guardian at the Time of Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Guardian at the time of (first) marriage | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Father | 85.8 | 49.8 | 80.2 | 57.1 | 62.3 | 75.0 | 50.9 | 91.8 | 82.5 | 46.2 | 90.5 | 90.9 | 81.3 | 79.6 | 69.1 |
| Mother | 76.9 | 47.0 | 54.2 | 54.5 | 50.0 | 61.5 | 63.6 | 86.4 | 84.6 | 52.2 | 91.7 | 92.3 | 100.0 | 61.5 | 59.8 |
| Brother | 83.9 | 46.9 | 81.8 | 41.1 | 39.4 | 65.2 | 66.7 | 91.3 | 79.3 | 31.1 | 68.4 | 100.0 | 74.2 | 57.1 | 56.7 |
| Sister | 100.0 | 28.6 | 100.0 | 94.7 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 33.3 | 100.0 | 68.9 |
| Grandfather (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 66.7 | 0.0 | 75.0 | 88.2 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 80.0 | 66.7 | 50.0 | 100.0 | 85.7 | 75.0 | 66.7 | 83.8 |
| Grandmother (Paternal family/ Maternal family) | 66.7 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 86.7 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 87.5 |
| Others | 82.6 | 55.6 | 67.4 | 60.6 | 92.3 | 75.0 | 53.7 | 85.2 | 90.6 | 58.1 | 90.0 | 66.7 | 72.7 | 93.8 | 67.7 |

Appendix Table 75: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge Regarding the Role of Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Know about marriage registration | 98.4 | 95.3 | 99.1 | 94.5 | 99.8 | 99.0 | 43.4 | 99.8 | 90.8 | 88.5 | 96.2 | 93.5 | 93.7 | 97.7 | 93.7 |
| Know that Marriage registration is necessary | 99.7 | 98.6 | 99.4 | 93.2 | 100.0 | 97.1 | 90.1 | 100.0 | 91.9 | 98.1 | 97.1 | 97.1 | 95.8 | 95.3 | 96.6 |
| Reasons for marriage registration | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Marriage is legally protected | 67.0 | 52.3 | 59.1 | 78.9 | 34.1 | 94.8 | 95.4 | 74.3 | 70.2 | 75.9 | 80.1 | 55.4 | 67.9 | 83.1 | 67.8 |
| Legal action can be taken if necessary | 87.6 | 41.2 | 52.3 | 78.7 | 82.0 | 94.1 | 73.5 | 69.5 | 80.5 | 90.8 | 72.0 | 80.5 | 61.7 | 74.4 | 70.5 |
| Received denmohor if divorced | 78.1 | 63.4 | 49.8 | 60.6 | 64.9 | 72.7 | 51.7 | 66.1 | 70.3 | 77.2 | 47.7 | 65.7 | 46.4 | 85.4 | 63.1 |
| Children's expenditure can be claimed if divorced | 34.8 | 42.8 | 16.3 | 58.6 | 36.3 | 16.2 | 21.5 | 52.3 | 23.0 | 37.7 | 20.6 | 17.1 | 28.8 | 17.6 | 37.9 |
| Others | 0.3 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.5 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 14.5 | 7.8 | 2.8 | 1.9 |
| Know that Birth Registration prevents child marriage | 83.0 | 84.7 | 59.7 | 84.8 | 90.6 | 86.1 | 51.6 | 95.5 | 62.3 | 90.8 | 65.7 | 67.0 | 56.6 | 29.5 | 76.5 |

Appendix Table 76: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge Regarding the Role of Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Know about marriage registration | 93.9 | 93.0 | 93.7 |
| Marriage registration is necessary | 96.4 | 97.3 | 96.7 |
| Reasons for marriage registration | | | |
| Marriage is legally protected | 66.9 | 70.9 | 67.8 |
| Legal action can be taken if necessary | 70.1 | 71.7 | 70.5 |
| Received denmohor if divorced | 63.3 | 63.2 | 63.1 |
| Children's expenditure can be claimed if divorced | 34.6 | 46.9 | 37.9 |
| Others | 2.4 | 0.8 | 1.9 |
| Birth Registration prevents child marriage | 73.6 | 84.0 | 76.4 |

Appendix Table 77: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge Regarding the Role of Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Know about marriage registration | 100.0 | 94.4 | 94.9 | 93.4 | 94.6 | 92.9 | 91.3 | 93.5 | 93.7 |
| Marriage registration is necessary | 92.3 | 97.9 | 98.0 | 95.7 | 97.4 | 96.6 | 95.1 | 95.3 | 96.6 |
| Reasons for marriage registration | | | | | | | | | |
| Marriage is legally protected | 56.3 | 71.9 | 68.8 | 68.5 | 70.3 | 62.5 | 66.1 | 69.2 | 67.8 |
| Legal action can be taken if necessary | 64.5 | 68.0 | 71.0 | 70.0 | 70.5 | 71.0 | 73.5 | 68.2 | 70.5 |
| Received denmohor if divorced | 45.3 | 53.6 | 62.6 | 63.6 | 65.3 | 65.5 | 64.8 | 61.5 | 63.1 |
| Children's expenditure can be claimed if divorced | 18.2 | 33.9 | 38.1 | 35.7 | 42.2 | 38.8 | 35.5 | 37.8 | 37.9 |
| Others | 14.9 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.9 |
| Birth Registration prevents child marriage | 38.5 | 72.8 | 78.1 | 78.4 | 77.1 | 76.7 | 77.1 | 69.4 | 76.4 |

Appendix Table 78: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge Regarding the Role of Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Education

| Variables | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Know about marriage registration | 89.9 | 94.8 | 94.5 | 97.1 | 99.3 | 93.7 |
| Marriage registration is necessary | 95.0 | 96.9 | 97.4 | 97.2 | 97.8 | 96.7 |
| Reasons for marriage registration | | | | | | |
| Marriage is legally protected | 64.3 | 64.4 | 70.0 | 81.1 | 75.2 | 67.8 |
| Legal action can be taken if necessary | 67.0 | 70.7 | 70.7 | 74.1 | 82.6 | 70.5 |
| Received denmohor if divorced | 65.2 | 64.5 | 60.9 | 61.3 | 68.1 | 63.1 |
| Children's expenditure can be claimed if divorced | 36.6 | 35.8 | 38.4 | 42.2 | 48.7 | 37.9 |
| Others | 2.3 | 2.4 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.9 |
| Birth Registration prevents child marriage | 65.3 | 75.3 | 82.2 | 89.2 | 84.8 | 76.4 |

Appendix Table 79: Percentage Distribution of Knowledge Regarding the Role of Birth and Marriage Registration on Child Marriage as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Variable | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| Know about marriage registration | 91.9 | 91.3 | 94.1 | 95.0 | 94.8 | 93.7 |
| Marriage registration is necessary | 97.9 | 94.8 | 95.4 | 97.2 | 97.4 | 96.6 |
| Reasons for marriage registration | | | | | | |
| Marriage is legally protected | 64.4 | 65.7 | 63.9 | 67.7 | 73.6 | 67.8 |
| Legal action can be taken if necessary | 69.2 | 71.3 | 68.0 | 67.2 | 74.3 | 70.5 |
| Received denmohor if divorced | 62.2 | 67.1 | 62.9 | 62.4 | 62.7 | 63.1 |
| Children's expenditure can be claimed if divorced | 30.5 | 29.3 | 32.9 | 38.4 | 48.3 | 37.9 |
| Others | 3.6 | 2.0 | 2.7 | 1.9 | 0.7 | 1.9 |
| Birth Registration prevents child marriage | 66.0 | 68.1 | 73.8 | 77.2 | 87.0 | 76.4 |

Appendix Table 80: Percentage Distribution of Practice of Birth and Marriage Registration as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Birth was registered | 66.3 | 68.5 | 66.9 |
| Time of birth registration | | | |
| Just after birth | 1.4 | 0.9 | 1.2 |
| Within last one year | 4.9 | 1.9 | 4.1 |
| Within last five years | 40.1 | 49.4 | 42.7 |
| Within last ten years | 53.2 | 47.8 | 51.7 |
| Others | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Marriage was registered | 76.6 | 79.7 | 77.4 |

Appendix Table 81: Percentage Distribution of Practice of Birth and Marriage Registration as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Current Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Birth was registered | 85.7 | 86.6 | 78.0 | 65.0 | 62.7 | 61.5 | 61.8 | 59.2 | 66.9 |
| Time of birth registration | | | | | | | | | |
| Just after birth | 0.0 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 0.5 | 1.2 |
| Within last one year | 25.0 | 12.0 | 5.5 | 3.4 | 2.1 | 2.9 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 4.1 |
| Within last five years | 50.0 | 47.9 | 51.4 | 41.6 | 41.6 | 37.3 | 37.9 | 34.6 | 42.6 |
| Within last ten years | 25.0 | 37.9 | 40.9 | 54.1 | 55.8 | 57.2 | 58.2 | 62.4 | 51.7 |
| Others | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.3 |
| Marriage was registered | 100.0 | 86.6 | 86.4 | 81.4 | 81.0 | 72.3 | 65.5 | 59.1 | 77.5 |

Appendix Table 82: Percentage Distribution of Practice of Birth and Marriage Registration as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Education

| Variables | Education | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Birth was registered | 55.7 | 64.8 | 72.2 | 82.4 | 83.1 | 66.9 |
| Time of birth registration | | | | | | |
| Just after birth | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 |
| Within last one year | 3.8 | 3.9 | 4.6 | 4.2 | 1.3 | 4.0 |
| Within last five years | 37.2 | 39.6 | 46.4 | 48.7 | 43.9 | 42.7 |
| Within last ten years | 57.6 | 55.0 | 47.1 | 46.9 | 53.0 | 51.7 |
| Others | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Marriage was registered | 69.9 | 80.4 | 80.7 | 74.3 | 82.7 | 77.4 |

Appendix Table 83: Percentage Distribution of Practice of Birth and Marriage Registration as Reported by Ever-Married Women by Wealth Quintile

| Registration of birth | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| Birth was registered | 57.5 | 65.1 | 70.6 | 72.2 | 66.8 | 66.9 |
| Time of birth registration | | | | | | |
| Just after birth | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Within last one year | 7.0 | 3.9 | 3.2 | 4.6 | 3.2 | 4.1 |
| Within last five years | 35.1 | 37.0 | 39.7 | 40.2 | 52.4 | 42.7 |
| Within last ten years | 56.0 | 57.8 | 56.0 | 53.4 | 42.8 | 51.7 |
| Others | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Marriage was registered | 78.1 | 72.4 | 71.8 | 77.0 | 83.6 | 77.5 |

Appendix Table 84: Percentage Distribution of Perceptions regarding Role of Men in Preventing Child Marriage as Reported by All Respondents by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence (EMW) | | | Place of Residence (Other Respondents) | | |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) | Rural (n=1663) | Urban (n=494) | Total (n=2157) |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 83.9 | 86.0 | 84.5 | 88.2 | 85.2 | 87.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 54.1 | 63.7 | 56.7 | 45.1 | 50.4 | 46.3 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 50.8 | 48.6 | 50.2 | 54.9 | 53.7 | 54.7 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 52.2 | 50.1 | 51.6 | 54.5 | 46.3 | 52.7 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 38.6 | 43.5 | 40.0 | 39.3 | 39.1 | 39.2 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 21.2 | 29.7 | 23.6 | 10.6 | 16.9 | 12.0 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 6.9 | 4.6 | 6.2 | 6.8 | 4.5 | 6.3 |
| Preventing sexual harassment | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.5 | 0.7 | 1.3 |
| Others | 3.0 | 1.4 | 2.5 | 2.1 | 3.6 | 2.4 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | |
| Father | 20.8 | 18.5 | 20.2 | 23.5 | 23.7 | 23.6 |
| Mother | 2.2 | 6.7 | 3.4 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Parents jointly | 62.1 | 64.1 | 62.6 | 55.3 | 55.3 | 55.3 |
| Others | 14.9 | 10.7 | 13.8 | 20.3 | 19.8 | 20.0 |

Appendix Table 85: Percentage Distribution of Perceptions regarding Role of Men in Preventing Child Marriage as Reported by All Respondents by Current Age

| Variables | Age of Other Respondents | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2157) |
|--|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Below 30 (n=104) | 30-34 (n=53) | 35-39 (n=166) | 40-44 (n=182) | 45-49 (n=294) | 50-54 (n=305) | 55-59 (n=277) | 60-64 (n=255) | 65-69 (n=185) | 70 and above (n=336) | |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 93.3 | 86.8 | 91.6 | 87.9 | 89.1 | 87.5 | 88.1 | 88.2 | 85.9 | 81.8 | 87.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 51.5 | 50.0 | 43.0 | 54.4 | 41.6 | 39.5 | 51.0 | 39.6 | 42.8 | 55.5 | 46.3 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 63.9 | 65.2 | 55.0 | 50.0 | 55.0 | 57.5 | 54.7 | 58.7 | 53.5 | 46.4 | 54.7 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 63.9 | 56.5 | 55.6 | 51.3 | 50.8 | 52.6 | 55.6 | 52.0 | 49.1 | 49.3 | 52.7 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 36.1 | 37.0 | 33.8 | 46.8 | 41.2 | 39.1 | 42.4 | 40.0 | 35.2 | 36.5 | 39.2 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 17.5 | 17.4 | 12.6 | 12.0 | 14.9 | 9.0 | 9.1 | 12.0 | 15.7 | 9.5 | 12.0 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 6.2 | 6.5 | 3.3 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 5.6 | 4.1 | 7.6 | 8.8 | 6.6 | 6.3 |
| Preventing Sexual Harassment | 2.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0.7 | 1.3 |
| Others | 2.1 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 2.6 | 2.4 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Father | 26.9 | 22.6 | 18.1 | 20.9 | 20.7 | 20.7 | 29.6 | 20.0 | 24.9 | 28.9 | 23.6 |
| Mother | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Parents jointly | 58.7 | 54.7 | 53.6 | 56.0 | 57.5 | 56.7 | 50.9 | 62.0 | 55.7 | 50.0 | 55.3 |
| Others | 14.4 | 22.7 | 25.8 | 22.3 | 20.4 | 21.0 | 18.4 | 18.1 | 18.3 | 20.1 | 20.0 |
| | Age of EMW | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | | | |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 69.2 | 82.9 | 84.1 | 84.3 | 84.3 | 85.2 | 85.8 | 84.7 | | | 84.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 47.5 | 60.9 | 55.6 | 56.9 | 58.0 | 55.3 | 54.4 | 58.6 | | | 56.7 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 41.6 | 49.9 | 49.2 | 50.7 | 51.3 | 52.1 | 49.5 | 46.7 | | | 50.2 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 37.5 | 52.1 | 52.2 | 54.5 | 47.3 | 53.6 | 50.3 | 52.2 | | | 51.6 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 37.3 | 38.2 | 41.5 | 39.1 | 39.6 | 40.9 | 40.3 | 39.2 | | | 40.0 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 8.5 | 21.9 | 26.3 | 22.0 | 25.4 | 22.9 | 22.9 | 21.2 | | | 23.6 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 9.7 | 4.0 | 6.7 | 5.8 | 5.8 | 7.3 | 6.6 | 6.6 | | | 6.2 |
| Preventing Sexual Harassment | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 1.4 | 2.1 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 3.3 | | | 1.9 |
| Others | 17.3 | 2.2 | 1.9 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.0 | 2.5 | | | 2.5 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Father | 7.7 | 20.3 | 21.0 | 19.1 | 18.5 | 21.4 | 20.7 | 22.1 | | | 20.2 |
| Mother | 7.7 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 3.5 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 3.4 | | | 3.4 |
| Parents jointly | 69.2 | 60.9 | 60.9 | 62.2 | 65.7 | 62.2 | 63.3 | 61.0 | | | 62.6 |
| Others | 15.4 | 16.5 | 15.7 | 15.2 | 11.9 | 12.5 | 11.7 | 13.5 | | | 13.8 |

Appendix Table 86: Percentage Distribution of Perceptions regarding Role of Men in Preventing Child Marriage as Reported by All Respondents by Education

| Variables | Education | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/ Kamil (n=287) | Total (n=7163) |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 80.0 | 83.2 | 87.3 | 88.0 | 92.0 | 84.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 54.0 | 50.9 | 58.7 | 69.8 | 71.7 | 56.7 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 47.5 | 51.9 | 49.3 | 57.4 | 53.7 | 50.2 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 51.4 | 50.2 | 51.8 | 57.8 | 51.7 | 51.6 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 39.5 | 38.6 | 39.3 | 39.7 | 57.5 | 40.0 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 17.5 | 22.9 | 25.6 | 23.7 | 44.8 | 23.6 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 5.8 | 6.3 | 6.8 | 5.8 | 4.2 | 6.2 |
| Preventing Sexual Harassment | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.9 |
| Others | 2.3 | 3.3 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 2.5 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | |
| Father | 24.7 | 19.6 | 18.0 | 17.7 | 17.8 | 20.2 |
| Mother | 3.0 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 6.5 | 5.2 | 3.4 |
| Parents jointly | 60.4 | 63.2 | 63.1 | 63.1 | 69.2 | 62.6 |
| Others | 11.9 | 14.1 | 15.7 | 12.7 | 7.7 | 13.8 |
| Other Respondents | No Education (n=1198) | Primary/Ebtedayee (n=511) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=354) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=54) | Above higher secondary/Fazil/ Kamil (n=40) | Total (n=2157) |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 83.6 | 89.8 | 95.5 | 96.3 | 90.0 | 87.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 45.2 | 41.5 | 50.9 | 67.3 | 63.9 | 46.3 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 52.3 | 55.0 | 58.9 | 61.5 | 66.7 | 54.7 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 52.1 | 48.7 | 56.5 | 67.3 | 63.9 | 52.7 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 39.4 | 38.9 | 37.3 | 46.2 | 47.2 | 39.2 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 8.5 | 13.8 | 18.0 | 19.2 | 19.4 | 12.0 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 5.1 | 7.2 | 7.7 | 7.7 | 13.9 | 6.3 |
| Preventing Sexual Harassment | 1.5 | 0.4 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.8 | 1.3 |
| Others | 1.8 | 3.5 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 2.4 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | |
| Father | 24.7 | 21.7 | 21.8 | 25.9 | 25.0 | 23.6 |
| Mother | 1.3 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.1 |
| Parents jointly | 53.6 | 58.1 | 56.8 | 61.1 | 50.0 | 55.3 |
| Others | 20.5 | 19.3 | 20.7 | 13.1 | 25.0 | 20.0 |

Appendix Table 87: Percentage Distribution of Perceptions regarding Role of Men in Preventing Child Marriage as Reported by All Respondents by Wealth Quintile

| Variables | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | Total (n=7163) |
| Ever-Married Women | | | | | | |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 77.8 | 83.4 | 82.9 | 84.8 | 89.1 | 84.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 52.4 | 47.4 | 50.9 | 51.6 | 69.6 | 56.7 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 51.1 | 51.0 | 44.8 | 49.5 | 53.0 | 50.2 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 55.6 | 51.8 | 52.2 | 53.9 | 48.2 | 51.6 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 37.6 | 40.9 | 37.5 | 40.7 | 41.5 | 40.0 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 19.0 | 21.2 | 19.1 | 24.1 | 29.0 | 23.6 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 6.5 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 7.1 | 4.0 | 6.2 |
| Preventing Sexual Harassment | 1.1 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.9 |
| Others | 4.4 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 2.5 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | |
| Father | 24.6 | 26.0 | 18.7 | 17.8 | 17.4 | 20.2 |
| Mother | 1.1 | 1.1 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 6.4 | 3.4 |
| Parents jointly | 60.7 | 57.3 | 60.3 | 64.1 | 66.8 | 62.6 |
| Others | 13.6 | 15.5 | 17.8 | 15.3 | 9.4 | 13.8 |
| Other Respondents | Poorest (n=431) | Second (n=432) | Middle (n=431) | Fourth (n=432) | Richest (n=431) | Total (n=2157) |
| Men can make meaningful contribution in preventing child marriage | 87.5 | 86.1 | 88.4 | 87.3 | 88.2 | 87.5 |
| Men's role in preventing child marriage | | | | | | |
| Men can refrain from marrying a child | 39.6 | 43.9 | 44.7 | 43.9 | 59.2 | 46.3 |
| Inform locally elected bodies | 52.1 | 59.6 | 54.5 | 55.6 | 51.6 | 54.7 |
| Inform law enforcement agencies | 56.1 | 50.9 | 51.6 | 51.6 | 53.2 | 52.7 |
| Prohibit child marriage within family | 37.7 | 37.2 | 39.2 | 36.2 | 45.8 | 39.2 |
| Encourage girls' education within family | 9.1 | 10.2 | 11.3 | 13.0 | 16.3 | 12.0 |
| Socially boycott someone who marries a child | 5.3 | 5.7 | 6.8 | 8.0 | 5.8 | 6.3 |
| Preventing Sexual Harassment | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 1.3 |
| Others | 1.9 | 3.5 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 2.4 |
| Person with primary responsibility to prevent child marriage | | | | | | |
| Father | 24.6 | 29.6 | 19.0 | 22.7 | 21.8 | 23.6 |
| Mother | 0.5 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 1.1 |
| Parents jointly | 54.8 | 51.6 | 56.6 | 53.7 | 59.9 | 55.3 |
| Others | 20.3 | 17.9 | 23.5 | 22.4 | 16.6 | 20.0 |

Appendix Table 88: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women before Getting Married by Place of Residence

| Variables | Place of Residence | | |
|--|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=5214) | Urban (n=1949) | Total (n=7163) |
| Continuation of study at the time of (first) marriage | | | |
| Yes | 28.1 | 33.8 | 29.6 |
| No | 42.3 | 46.0 | 43.3 |
| Never Attended School | 29.6 | 20.2 | 27.0 |
| Stopped going to school before (first) marriage | | | |
| Up to 6 months | 12.1 | 13.4 | 12.5 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 12.0 | 12.9 | 12.2 |
| 1 to 2 years | 15.7 | 16.0 | 15.8 |
| 3 to 4 years | 26.7 | 25.7 | 26.4 |
| 5 years and above | 33.6 | 32.0 | 33.1 |
| Reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage | | | |
| Long distance from home to school | 25.6 | 13.2 | 22.0 |
| Parental poverty | 44.9 | 45.4 | 45.0 |
| Involvement in income-generating activities | 3.3 | 6.7 | 4.3 |
| Eve teasing or Sexual Harassment | 2.7 | 1.6 | 2.3 |
| Security threat | 3.1 | 2.7 | 3.0 |
| Looking after younger siblings | 15.3 | 17.5 | 15.9 |
| Helping with household chores | 24.4 | 26.0 | 24.8 |
| Helping in agricultural production | 1.2 | 1.1 | 1.2 |
| Other | 26.1 | 32.7 | 28.0 |
| Level of schooling at the time of (first) marriage | | | |
| Primary | 16.2 | 6.5 | 13.2 |
| Secondary | 67.9 | 47.7 | 61.6 |
| Higher Secondary | 12.2 | 24.6 | 16.1 |
| Above Higher secondary | 3.7 | 21.1 | 9.1 |

Appendix Table 89: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women before Getting Married by Current Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Continuation of study at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 57.1 | 54.4 | 44.0 | 32.6 | 25.7 | 23.9 | 14.6 | 14.0 | 29.7 |
| No | 35.7 | 39.2 | 47.7 | 51.8 | 47.4 | 38.3 | 34.8 | 29.2 | 43.3 |
| Never Attended School | 7.1 | 6.4 | 8.3 | 15.7 | 26.8 | 37.9 | 50.6 | 56.8 | 27.0 |
| Stopped going to school before (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| Up to 6 months | 60.0 | 17.9 | 15.1 | 12.4 | 11.2 | 10.3 | 10.1 | 10.6 | 12.5 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 20.0 | 20.1 | 12.3 | 14.1 | 11.5 | 11.0 | 10.1 | 5.3 | 12.2 |
| 1 to 2 years | 0.0 | 17.4 | 16.4 | 14.0 | 19.3 | 15.5 | 13.7 | 10.1 | 15.7 |
| 3 to 4 years | 20.0 | 29.9 | 30.6 | 27.2 | 25.1 | 23.5 | 19.8 | 28.7 | 26.5 |
| 5 years and above | 0.0 | 14.7 | 25.6 | 32.4 | 32.9 | 39.7 | 46.4 | 45.2 | 33.1 |
| Reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| Long distance from home to school | 18.1 | 14.7 | 21.0 | 20.1 | 22.1 | 22.1 | 27.1 | 31.3 | 22.0 |
| Parental poverty | 67.6 | 42.8 | 53.1 | 48.8 | 45.0 | 41.1 | 35.3 | 29.0 | 45.0 |
| Involvement in income-generating activities | 0.0 | 2.6 | 7.8 | 5.3 | 2.9 | 2.2 | 3.6 | 2.1 | 4.3 |
| Eve teasing or Sexual Harassment | 0.0 | 3.6 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 2.3 |
| Security threat | 0.0 | 4.7 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 4.4 | 4.1 | 3.0 |
| Looking after younger siblings | 34.9 | 15.2 | 9.0 | 16.8 | 18.8 | 15.7 | 19.3 | 20.4 | 15.9 |
| Helping with household chores | 40.9 | 22.3 | 23.4 | 21.2 | 28.6 | 24.1 | 31.0 | 24.6 | 24.8 |
| Helping in agricultural production | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 2.9 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| Other | 15.6 | 29.3 | 25.3 | 27.6 | 26.2 | 32.7 | 31.0 | 29.0 | 28.0 |
| Level of schooling at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| Primary | 25.0 | 12.5 | 9.4 | 10.3 | 12.8 | 21.2 | 24.1 | 16.7 | 13.2 |
| Secondary | 75.0 | 69.8 | 60.4 | 67.9 | 59.0 | 51.5 | 48.3 | 70.0 | 61.6 |
| Higher Secondary | 0.0 | 16.9 | 21.2 | 9.9 | 14.1 | 19.7 | 16.4 | 12.2 | 16.0 |
| Above Higher secondary | 0.0 | 0.8 | 8.9 | 12.0 | 14.1 | 7.6 | 11.2 | 1.1 | 9.1 |

Appendix Table 90: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women before Getting Married by Education

| Variables | Education | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| | No Education (n=1936) | Primary/ Ebtedayee (n=1870) | Secondary/ Dakhil (n=2654) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=417) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/Kamil (n=287) | |
| Continuation of study at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Yes | 0.0 | 18.5 | 46.6 | 70.3 | 86.4 | 29.6 |
| No | 0.0 | 81.5 | 53.4 | 29.7 | 13.6 | 43.3 |
| Never Attended School | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 27.0 |
| Stopped going to school before (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Up to 6 months | 0.0 | 5.8 | 17.4 | 32.0 | 33.3 | 12.5 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 0.0 | 7.3 | 16.9 | 18.4 | 15.4 | 12.2 |
| 1 to 2 years | 0.0 | 10.5 | 21.2 | 16.0 | 23.1 | 15.8 |
| 3 to 4 years | 0.0 | 26.8 | 26.1 | 26.4 | 23.1 | 26.4 |
| 5 years and above | 0.0 | 49.7 | 18.3 | 7.2 | 5.1 | 33.1 |
| Reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Long distance from home to school | 0.0 | 21.4 | 22.5 | 21.9 | 24.6 | 22.0 |
| Parental poverty | 0.0 | 53.7 | 39.3 | 17.7 | 0.8 | 45.0 |
| Involvement in income-generating activities | 0.0 | 4.4 | 3.9 | 3.6 | 17.6 | 4.3 |
| Sexual harassment | 0.0 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 2.3 |
| Security threat | 0.0 | 3.6 | 2.5 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 3.0 |
| Looking after younger siblings | 0.0 | 16.9 | 15.9 | 5.6 | 13.7 | 15.9 |
| Helping with household chores | 0.0 | 27.5 | 23.8 | 10.1 | 5.6 | 24.8 |
| Helping in agricultural production | 0.0 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.2 |
| Other | 0.0 | 22.1 | 31.7 | 51.5 | 50.7 | 28.0 |
| Level of schooling at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Primary | 0.0 | 75.1 | 1.4 | 0.7 | 2.0 | 13.1 |
| Secondary | 0.0 | 21.6 | 94.4 | 18.8 | 4.0 | 61.7 |
| Higher Secondary | 0.0 | 2.4 | 4.0 | 74.4 | 25.7 | 16.0 |
| Above Higher secondary | 0.0 | 0.9 | 0.2 | 6.1 | 68.3 | 9.2 |

Appendix Table 91: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women before Getting Married by Wealth Quintile

| Variable | Wealth quintile | | | | | Total (n=2196) |
|--|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=1079) | Second (n=1147) | Middle (n=1364) | Fourth (n=1377) | Richest (n=2196) | |
| Continuation of study at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Yes | 21.4 | 20.0 | 25.0 | 33.8 | 39.0 | 29.6 |
| No | 31.0 | 41.6 | 47.0 | 46.4 | 46.1 | 43.3 |
| Never Attended School | 47.5 | 38.4 | 28.1 | 19.8 | 14.8 | 27.0 |
| Stopped going to school before (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Up to 6 months | 7.8 | 11.1 | 12.7 | 13.9 | 13.7 | 12.5 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 10.4 | 10.3 | 10.9 | 11.9 | 14.8 | 12.2 |
| 1 to 2 years | 15.8 | 13.4 | 15.0 | 18.5 | 15.6 | 15.8 |
| 3 to 4 years | 24.5 | 29.8 | 25.8 | 25.7 | 26.4 | 26.4 |
| 5 years and above | 41.5 | 35.4 | 35.6 | 30.0 | 29.5 | 33.1 |
| Reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Long distance from home to school | 16.6 | 19.1 | 23.6 | 26.2 | 21.4 | 22.0 |
| Parental poverty | 62.1 | 58.3 | 48.3 | 38.5 | 35.1 | 45.0 |
| Involvement in income-generating activities | 2.1 | 3.4 | 2.2 | 2.8 | 7.7 | 4.3 |
| Sexual harassment | 2.7 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 2.6 | 1.5 | 2.3 |
| Security threat | 6.0 | 2.0 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 2.0 | 3.0 |
| Looking after younger siblings | 13.9 | 15.5 | 16.2 | 13.2 | 18.4 | 15.9 |
| Helping with household chores | 28.0 | 26.7 | 24.4 | 21.3 | 25.4 | 24.8 |
| Helping in agricultural production | 1.9 | 2.5 | 0.9 | 1.6 | 0.4 | 1.2 |
| Other | 19.6 | 21.4 | 25.3 | 30.8 | 33.9 | 28.0 |
| Level of schooling at the time of (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Primary | 29.0 | 24.6 | 16.2 | 12.1 | 5.3 | 13.2 |
| Secondary | 66.2 | 66.2 | 71.1 | 64.0 | 54.1 | 61.6 |
| Higher Secondary | 3.0 | 8.3 | 10.0 | 20.0 | 22.0 | 16.1 |
| Above Higher secondary | 1.7 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 3.9 | 18.7 | 9.1 |

Appendix Table 92: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women before Getting Married by Child Marriage Status

| Variables | Child Marriage Status | | Total (7163) |
|--|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | Child Marriage (n=4807) | Adult Marriage (2356) | |
| Continuation of study at the time of (first) marriage | | | |
| Yes | 32.2 | 24.4 | 29.6 |
| No | 36.4 | 57.4 | 43.3 |
| Never Attended School | 31.3 | 18.2 | 27.0 |
| Stopped going to school before (first) marriage | | | |
| Up to 6 months | 15.4 | 8.7 | 12.5 |
| 6 months to 1 year | 15.0 | 8.6 | 12.2 |
| 1 to 2 years | 16.6 | 14.7 | 15.7 |
| 3 to 4 years | 29.6 | 22.3 | 26.4 |
| 5 years and above | 23.4 | 45.6 | 33.1 |
| Reasons for discontinuing school before your (first) marriage | | | |
| Long distance from home to school | 20.5 | 23.9 | 22.0 |
| Parental poverty | 48.3 | 40.8 | 45.0 |
| Involvement in income-generating activities | 3.1 | 5.9 | 4.3 |
| Eve teasing or Sexual Harassment | 2.6 | 2.1 | 2.3 |
| Security threat | 3.5 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| Looking after younger siblings | 15.1 | 17.0 | 15.9 |
| Helping with household chores | 26.9 | 22.2 | 24.8 |
| Helping in agricultural production | 1.1 | 1.4 | 1.2 |
| Other | 26.6 | 29.9 | 28.0 |
| Level of schooling at the time of (first) marriage | | | |
| Primary | 17.1 | 2.6 | 13.2 |
| Secondary | 76.6 | 21.4 | 61.6 |
| Higher Secondary | 6.0 | 43.0 | 16.1 |
| Above Higher secondary | 0.3 | 32.9 | 9.1 |

Appendix Table 93: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women After Getting Married by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=2124) |
|--|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Bhola (n=115) | Chittagong (n=202) | Cox's Bazar (n=67) | Dhaka (n=538) | Habiganj (n=58) | Jhalokathi (n=93) | Khagrachari (n=35) | Kurigram (n=221) | Magura (n=111) | Maulavibazar (n=42) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=225) | Nilphamari (n=127) | Satkhira (n=235) | Sherpur (n=55) | |
| Consequence of study after (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Continued | 25.2 | 27.2 | 7.5 | 32.7 | 15.5 | 30.1 | 31.4 | 19.0 | 14.4 | 23.8 | 16.4 | 23.6 | 9.8 | 38.2 | 23.2 |
| Discontinued | 74.8 | 72.8 | 92.5 | 67.3 | 84.5 | 69.9 | 68.6 | 81.0 | 85.6 | 76.2 | 83.6 | 76.4 | 90.2 | 61.8 | 76.8 |
| Time of discontinuation of study after (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Right After Marriage | 81.2 | 38.8 | 86.9 | 82.2 | 69.4 | 70.8 | 87.0 | 93.3 | 83.9 | 90.6 | 86.0 | 89.6 | 78.8 | 72.7 | 79.3 |
| Within One year | 18.8 | 61.2 | 13.1 | 17.8 | 30.6 | 29.2 | 13.0 | 6.7 | 16.1 | 9.4 | 14.0 | 10.4 | 21.2 | 27.3 | 20.7 |
| Reasons of discontinuation of your study after marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I thought it was no longer required | 33.3 | 44.3 | 24.9 | 67.0 | 36.3 | 49.0 | 45.1 | 25.8 | 62.9 | 18.9 | 52.0 | 20.7 | 28.0 | 51.7 | 44.0 |
| It was very much expected by my husband and in-laws | 72.6 | 42.7 | 40.2 | 22.9 | 58.5 | 58.3 | 51.7 | 48.7 | 44.0 | 51.9 | 42.1 | 65.3 | 37.7 | 19.8 | 42.1 |
| I was not allowed to do so by my husband and in laws | 68.3 | 29.9 | 60.9 | 17.4 | 36.5 | 34.6 | 43.0 | 52.7 | 41.9 | 53.3 | 49.5 | 52.0 | 49.4 | 14.2 | 40.4 |
| Couldn't manage both HH chores and studying | 13.1 | 20.4 | 16.3 | 13.7 | 31.9 | 27.9 | 15.1 | 22.7 | 32.7 | 19.9 | 7.8 | 20.2 | 40.7 | 17.0 | 21.0 |
| Others | 2.4 | 0.0 | 7.6 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 3.7 | 1.2 | 3.1 | 1.3 | 16.4 | 0.6 | 8.5 | 5.2 | 4.0 | 3.9 |

Appendix Table 94: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women After Getting Married by Place of Residence

| Variables (EMW) | Place of Residence (EMW) | | |
|--|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Rural (n=1466) | Urban (n=658) | Total (n=2124) |
| Consequence of study after (first) marriage | | | |
| Continued | 16.3 | 38.6 | 23.2 |
| Discontinued | 83.7 | 61.4 | 76.8 |
| Time of discontinuation of study after (first) marriage | | | |
| Right After Marriage | 80.6 | 75.4 | 79.3 |
| Within One year | 19.4 | 24.6 | 20.7 |
| Reasons of discontinuation of your study after marriage | | | |
| I thought it was no longer required | 42.8 | 47.9 | 44.0 |
| It was very much expected by my husband and in-laws | 43.5 | 37.9 | 42.1 |
| I was not allowed to do so by my husband and in laws | 43.4 | 31.2 | 40.4 |
| Couldn't manage both HH chores and studying | 21.5 | 19.5 | 21.0 |
| Others | 3.0 | 6.9 | 3.9 |

Appendix Table 95: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women After Getting Married by Current Age

| Variables | Age | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|--|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| | 13-14 (n=13) | 15-19 (n=469) | 20-24 (n=1261) | 25-29 (n=1437) | 30-34 (n=1434) | 35-39 (n=1112) | 40-44 (n=795) | 45-49 (n=643) | |
| Consequence of study after (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| Continued | 37.5 | 25.1 | 24.4 | 21.2 | 25.2 | 21.2 | 22.4 | 20.0 | 23.3 |
| Discontinued | 62.5 | 74.9 | 75.6 | 78.8 | 74.8 | 78.8 | 77.6 | 80.0 | 76.7 |
| Time of discontinuation of study after (first) marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| Right After Marriage | 80.0 | 83.9 | 79.8 | 77.9 | 78.2 | 80.7 | 74.4 | 77.8 | 79.3 |
| Within One year | 20.0 | 16.1 | 20.2 | 22.1 | 21.8 | 19.3 | 25.6 | 22.2 | 20.7 |
| Reasons of discontinuation of your study after marriage | | | | | | | | | |
| I thought it was no longer required | 28.7 | 43.1 | 42.4 | 47.3 | 43.5 | 42.9 | 52.0 | 35.8 | 44.0 |
| It was very much expected by my husband and in-laws | 65.0 | 40.2 | 42.4 | 41.7 | 38.4 | 46.9 | 38.4 | 51.4 | 42.1 |
| I was not allowed to do so by my husband and in laws | 46.3 | 47.0 | 42.3 | 33.2 | 43.8 | 42.8 | 22.9 | 48.8 | 40.4 |
| Couldn't manage both HH chores and studying | 32.7 | 17.8 | 21.0 | 22.1 | 18.3 | 21.7 | 28.1 | 23.3 | 21.0 |
| Others | 0.0 | 3.1 | 4.9 | 3.2 | 6.1 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 4.3 | 3.9 |

Appendix Table 96: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women After Getting Married by Education

| Variable | Education | | | | Total (2124) |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--------------|
| | Primary/ Ebte dayee (n=346) | Secondary/Dakhil (n=1237) | Higher secondary/ Alim (n=293) | Above higher secondary/ Fazil/ Kamil (n=248) | |
| Consequence of study after (first) marriage | | | | | |
| Continued | 6.1 | 11.5 | 44.0 | 81.5 | 23.3 |
| Discontinued | 93.9 | 88.5 | 56.0 | 18.5 | 76.7 |
| Time of discontinuation of study after (first) marriage | | | | | |
| Right After Marriage | 87.7 | 80.3 | 59.8 | 69.6 | 79.3 |
| Within One year | 12.3 | 19.7 | 40.2 | 30.4 | 20.7 |
| Reasons of discontinuation of your study after marriage | | | | | |
| I thought it was no longer required | 37.4 | 47.0 | 34.6 | 54.1 | 44.0 |
| It was very much expected by my husband and in-laws | 46.9 | 43.6 | 29.7 | 17.4 | 42.1 |
| I was not allowed to do so by my husband and in laws | 49.9 | 39.5 | 33.4 | 20.1 | 40.4 |
| Couldn't manage both HH chores and study | 17.8 | 18.9 | 38.8 | 30.8 | 21.0 |
| Others | 3.5 | 3.0 | 10.7 | 4.0 | 3.9 |

Appendix Table 97: Percentage Distribution of School Enrolment Status of Ever-Married Women After Getting Married by Wealth Quintile

| Variables | Wealth quintile | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Poorest (n=231) | Second (n=229) | Middle (n=341) | Fourth (n=466) | Richest (n=857) | Total (n=2124) |
| Consequence of study after (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Continued | 10.0 | 13.1 | 16.4 | 22.3 | 32.7 | 23.2 |
| Discontinued | 90.0 | 86.9 | 83.6 | 77.7 | 67.3 | 76.8 |
| Time of discontinuation of study after (first) marriage | | | | | | |
| Instant | 86.5 | 88.9 | 82.6 | 77.5 | 72.9 | 79.3 |
| Within One year | 13.5 | 11.1 | 17.4 | 22.5 | 27.1 | 20.7 |
| Reasons of discontinuation of your study after marriage | | | | | | |
| I thought it was no longer required | 27.4 | 29.4 | 37.5 | 45.4 | 57.4 | 44.0 |
| It was very much expected by my husband and in-laws | 54.6 | 53.8 | 52.5 | 40.2 | 29.8 | 42.1 |
| I was not allowed to do so by my husband and in laws | 50.5 | 53.9 | 48.9 | 42.8 | 26.4 | 40.4 |
| Couldn't manage both HH chores and studying | 18.5 | 24.1 | 22.5 | 25.8 | 17.2 | 21.0 |
| Others | 4.0 | 3.9 | 2.3 | 3.3 | 5.1 | 3.9 |

Appendix Table 98: Percentage Distribution of Involvement in Income-Generating Activities of Ever-Married Women before and after Getting Married by District

| Variables | District | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total (n=7163) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Bhola (n=379) | Chittagong (n=1168) | Cox's Bazar (n=359) | Dhaka (n=1689) | Habiganj (n=442) | Jhalokathi (n=217) | Khagrachari (n=267) | Kurigram (n=456) | Magura (n=262) | Maulavibazar (n=373) | Chapai Nawabganj (n=399) | Nilphamari (n= 379) | Satkhira (n= 465) | Sherpur (n=308) | |
| Involved with any kind of work for cash or kind at the time of (first)marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 2.1 | 5.0 | 6.7 | 8.9 | 1.8 | 8.3 | 19.1 | 2.4 | 6.5 | 11.8 | 1.8 | 4.5 | 5.2 | 1.9 | 6.2 |
| No | 97.9 | 95.0 | 93.3 | 91.1 | 98.2 | 91.7 | 80.9 | 97.6 | 93.5 | 88.2 | 98.2 | 95.5 | 94.8 | 98.1 | 93.8 |
| Continuation of work after marriage | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 66.7 | 48.3 | 41.7 | 50.7 | 75.0 | 50.0 | 88.5 | 45.5 | 44.4 | 67.4 | 71.4 | 47.1 | 56.0 | 33.3 | 56.5 |
| No | 33.3 | 51.7 | 58.3 | 49.3 | 25.0 | 50.0 | 11.5 | 54.5 | 55.6 | 32.6 | 28.6 | 52.9 | 44.0 | 66.7 | 43.5 |

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