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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CMPO	Child Marriage Prevention Officers
CMRA	Child Marriage Restraint Act
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSR	Centre for Social Research
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
MMR	Maternal Mortality Rate
MP	Madhya Pradesh
NCW	National Commission for Women
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NIPCCD	National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development
RGI	Registrar General of India
SMAM	Singulate Mean Age at Marriage
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UP	Uttar Pradesh
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Child Marriage scenario in India

Early marriage of children, particularly the girl child, is not an uncommon practice in over 40 countries, mainly in Sub-Sahara Africa and South and South-East Asia, including India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. A significant number of these countries are signatories to various international conventions and have guaranteed various rights of children, including the prescription of the legal minimum marriage at 18. In fact, Cameroon has gone a step ahead and prescribed 21 years as minimum age for the marriage of girls. In spite of this, a staggering 62 per cent of women are already married by the age of 18. According to a recent UNICEF report (2005) the percentage of girls aged between 15 and 19 years who are married in different countries is: Congo (74%), Niger (70%), Afghanistan (54%), Bangladesh (51%), Iraq (28%), while in Nepal 40% girls get married before they turn 15 years.

The problem of child marriage in India is a complex one because of religious traditions, social practices, economic factors and blind beliefs. Since there are no references available of child marriage in ancient India, it is difficult to trace the practices origins. Incidents of child marriage are restricted to few communities in northern states where child marriage more prevalent than in south. It is the advent of different forms of culture which came in from the northern borders which may have influenced various communities to resort to early marriages.

Incidents of child marriage were restricted to few communities in northern states where child marriage is more prevalent than in south. It is the advent of different forms of culture which came in from the northern borders which perhaps pushed various communities to resort to early marriages.

Despite the provisions of strong policies and Acts against Child Marriage, several reasons are ascribed to the continued practice of early marriage today. Prima facie, in most north Indian communities, festivals such as Akha Teej, Ganesh Chaturthi, Pipal Punyo, Phulera Duj and so on, are seen as auspicious times for child marriage practices. Besides, the married girl is considered better protected and less prone to sexual assaults as compared to her unmarried

counterparts. A strong reason is the economic consideration determining this practice. Practitioners argue that the child marriage is more, in the nature of betrothal rather than one leading to coital relations. A considerable time gap exists between the time of betrothal and 'send off' ceremony called 'gauna' or 'muklava'. Since the expenditure is split into two different occasions; child marriage is seen to be economically viable. There is also a fear that in communities with a wide gender gap, in terms of male-female ratio, competition for brides becomes inevitable at a later age, thereby ensuring a family at early childhood. Ironically, the community which openly canvases for the male child finds itself in at risk of bachelorhood, in case the boys are not married early, due to the likelihood of bachelors diminished status in societal ceremonies.

Besides all above reasons, another explanation for child marriage is 'Alliance between groups' (Claude-Levi-Strauss, 1969). Allied sections of some societies use betrothal to secure political or economic coalitions. The continuation of social relationships between families is also important.

These reasons and many other factors strongly condemn child marriage as a gross violation of child and human rights. It leaves deep scars on the child; physically, psychologically and emotionally. This practice also violates United Nations agreement on minimum age at

Child Marriage violates various United Nations standards related to children. Child Marriage violates important provisions of CEDAW & CRC

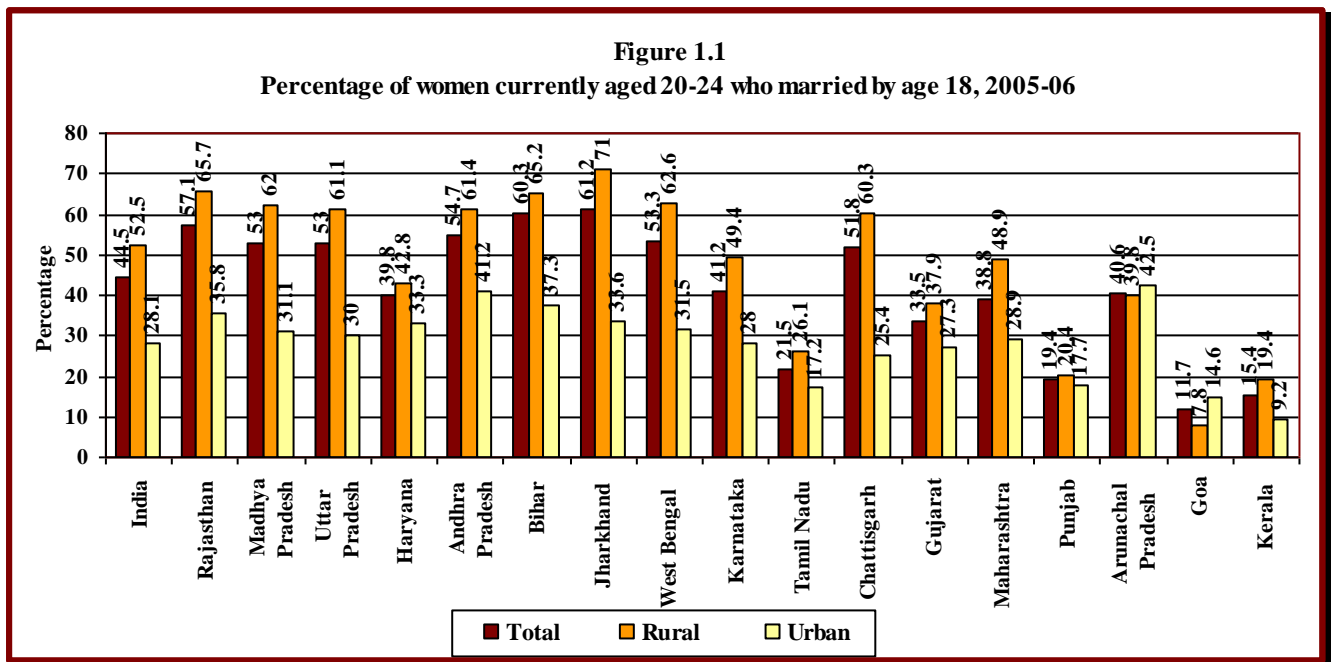
marriage and protection of children from sexual exploitation which have been enacted since 1948 including Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989), which confers many rights including freedom of expression (seeking and receiving information and ideas Article 13), Right not be separated from their parents against their will (Art. 9), Right to Education (Art. 28 & 29), the right to rest and leisure and to engage in play and recreational activities (Art. 31) and the Right to protection from Sexual exploitation and abuses (Art. 34). India is one of the signatories to this important convention

Yet, the status of girl child in India, particularly with reference to early marriages, remains dismal. It has shown little inclination to abate and has decreased only marginally. The practice is still prevalent in many parts of rural India, particularly in the States of Rajasthan,

Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh; however, there is a disparity within India. In comparison to Northern States of Rajasthan and Bihar where marriage of girls under 18 was as high as 68% and 71% respectively, the percentages in Kerala and Tamil Nadu in South of India were only 17% and 25 % respectively (Agence France-Press, Report in Push Journal, 21 Sept 2004).

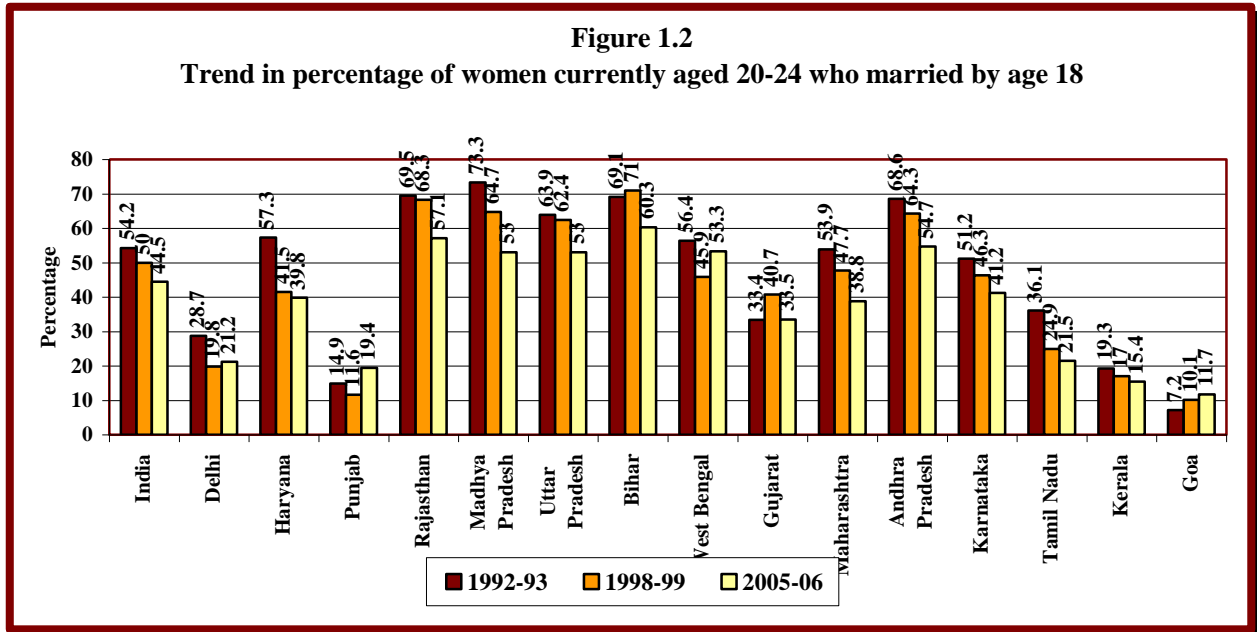
A statewise analysis done by the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) (2005-06) in this regard is given in figure 1.1. The recent survey shows the present reality in terms of currently married women who were married by the age of 18 years. The following figure shows the percentage of women who were married by the age of 18 years.

The NFHS-3 (2005-06) reported that 44 % of women in India married before the legal age of 18 years. In rural areas the proportion is 52 %.



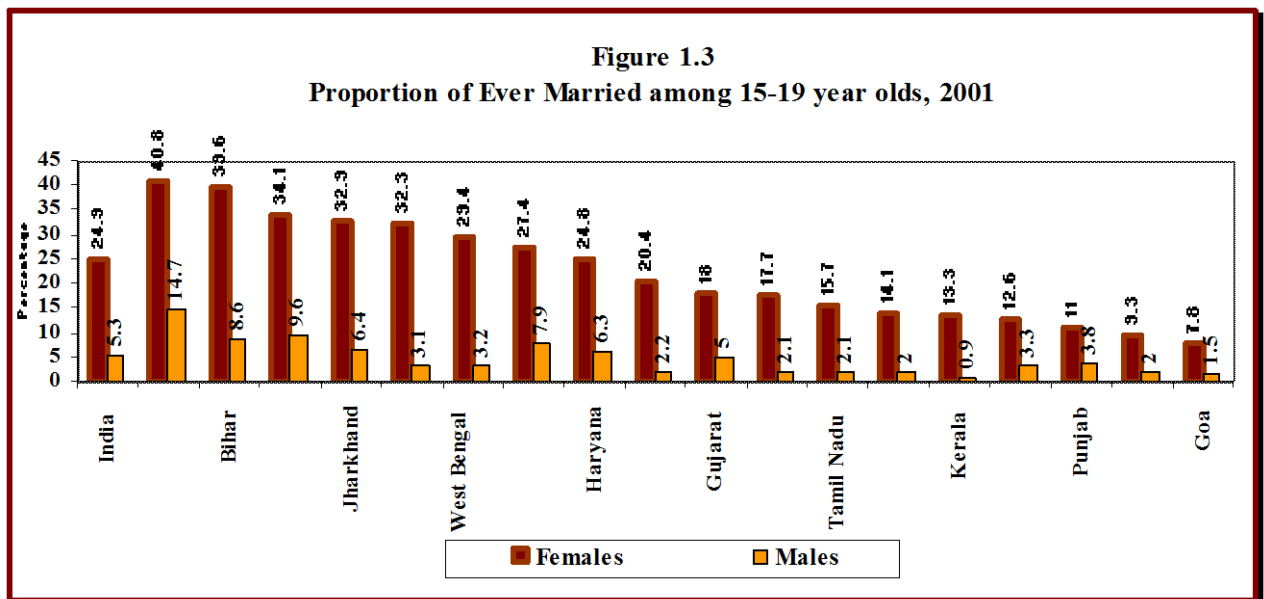
Source: NFHS-3, 2005-06

Over the last one and half decade there has been a 10 percent decline in the proportion of child marriage in India. The situation is similar in almost all the states in India, with exception in West Bengal and Punjab.



Source: NFHS-1, NFHS- 2 and NFHS- 3

There is also gender gap in child marriage. Practices. According to 2001 census data, among 15-19 years old, 25 percent of girls are already married, when compared to 5.3 percent of boys. In states like Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh more than 35 percent of girls are married at a very young age.

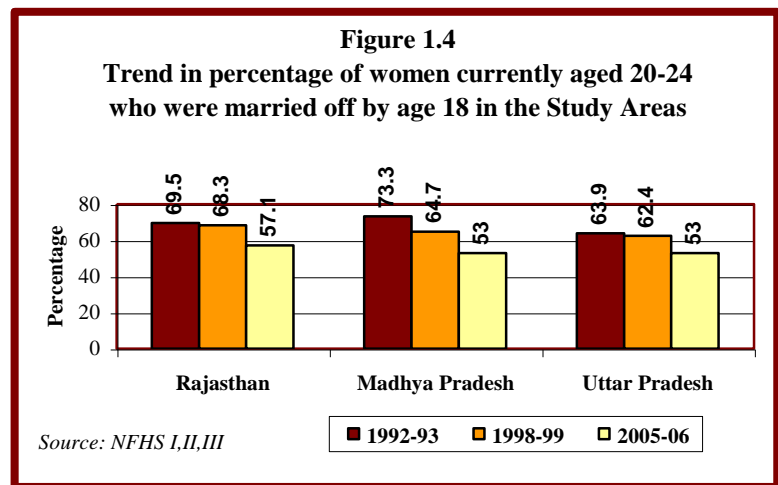


Source: RGI, 2001

When young girls get married, they generally are little informed about their situation; these vulnerabilities render them unable to question their parents. Soon after marriage, the child bride usually stays at her paternal home until she turns 18 years and is sent to her husband's house after *gauna*, that is, after she attains puberty. The proponents of early marriage therefore see no conflict between child marriage and the legal age of marriage for girls. But in reality, there can be no link between the legal age of marriage and the period of *gauna*, as the girl can attain puberty before the age of 18, at which she is sent to her husband's family. As the State (Rajasthan) Women and Child Department reports, nearly 30% of girls were married off at the age of 13 and 50% were mothers by the time they were 15. Thus, the *gauna* system cannot be the solution to the problems that arise from early marriages.

1.2 Situation in states studied: Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh

Rajasthan shows very high rates of child marriage cases every year. According to the NFHS-2 (1998-99) survey, 49% in age group of 15-19 were already married,



including 11% who were married but the *gauna* had not been performed. Rural-urban statistics reveal that in this age group 57% rural girls are already married compared to 27% in urban areas. Recent data from NFHS-3, 2005-06 shows that a total of 57.1% women aged 20-24 years were married by age 18 in Rajasthan. The urban-rural divide indicates 35.8% and 65.7% respectively. The situation in Uttar Pradesh (UP) is also similar to Rajasthan and other states. Even here, women are married at an early age. Traditional beliefs and practices lower the age of marriage for rural girls. According to NFHS in 1998-99, 32% of women age 15-19 were already married, and an additional 8% reported that they were married and *gauna* is yet to be performed. In rural areas, almost half of women between age 15-19 are already married. Older women are likely to have been married at young age. The proportion of women who marry young is declining rapidly, 62% of young women between age 20-24 in UP still marry

before reaching the legal minimum age of 18 years (NCW, 2004). Moreover, the recent NFHS-3 reports for UP indicates that 53.0% women aged 20-24 years were married by age 18. In the urban area 30.0% were married by 18 years and 61.1% in rural. Even Madhya Pradesh (MP) has a high incidence of child marriage cases: 53.0% women aged 20-24 years were married by age 18 in MP, with 31.1% in the urban setting and 62.0% in the rural areas (NFHS-3).

1.3 What sustains the practice of Child Marriage?

There are multiple reasons why child marriages still take place - the traditional mindset of the people and the deep-rooted beliefs of the families that hold girls as liability and a burden who should be married and sent to the husband's house as soon as possible. As the custom has

The median age at marriage varies from about 15 years in MP, Bihar, UP, Rajasthan, and Andhra Pradesh to 23 years in Goa [NFHS-2 (1998-99), Factsheet- India]

The female mean age at marriage is lowest in Madhya Pradesh (MP) (17.4 years) and highest in Goa (25.1 years). The mean age at marriage for females is less than 19 years in MP, Bihar, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh (UP), Andhra Pradesh and Haryana. 54% currently aged 20-24 married before 18 years, with 63% in rural areas and 33% in urban areas. [NFHS-1 (1992-93)]

been followed for centuries, there is an immense social pressure from the society to marry off children, especially girls, at a young age. Social pressure from within the community is one of the main reasons pressurizing parents into getting their children married so young. In light of this, the attack on two women government officials who had tried to stop child marriages should be seen in this context as it

shows the seriousness of the issue. In 1992, Bhanwari Devi, a saathin worker from Mahila Samakhya Programme dared to report a child marriage in a village in Rajasthan. In retaliation, she was attacked and gang raped in front of her husband by the upper caste men. Also in 2005, Shakuntala Varma, a supervisor under the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS) intervened to stop a child marriage, and was consequently threatened and attacked by some people resulting in her hands being severely injured. Such examples show the resistance to any steps taken to curb the practice of child marriage which is deep-rooted in Indian society.

Other reasons underlying the practice consist of the importance attached to virginity. Rural families consider the virginity of the girl as something very important and a matter of family honour. There is high amount of insecurity and anxiety related to safeguarding the virginity

Custom that has been followed since centuries and pressure from community forces parents to marry off children at a young age

of the girl. Marriage is considered to be 'safe' to keep the girl protected from unwanted sexual advances; without such security, a girl who is unmarried and no longer a virgin, is considered to ruin the family reputation. If a girl loses her 'virgin status' – whether through consensual sex or forced sexual assault- she is no longer considered suitable for marriage.

More the age of the girl, higher is the dowry the parents have to pay

Moreover, dowry is one of the key reasons for the existence of this practice. It has been observed that in many cases, greater dowry is demanded from parents of older girls. Hence, poverty-stricken parents are forced to marry their daughters to avoid such dowries. What is more, sometimes in families where there are many daughters, the parents conduct their marriages on the same day to save on extra expenditure. Child marriages continue due to poor implementation of the existing laws. Even though some people are aware about the law, they still practice child marriage. In addition, the lack of political will also enables this practice unabated.

1.4 Consequences of Child Marriage

Child marriage is linked to a series of negative consequences for young girls in society. Infact, "According to the 2001 census, nearly 300,000 girls under 15 years gave birth to at least one child... It reported that child brides often showed signs symptomatic of child sexual abuse and post-traumatic stress. Child marriages also limited girls' access to education and increased their health risks, since they had higher mortality rates and exposure to HIV/AIDs than girls married after 18" (*U.S. Department of State, Country Reports, 2006*). Child marriages have severe impact on the

"Premature pregnancy and motherhood are an inevitable consequence of child marriage. An estimated 14 million adolescents between 15 and 19 give birth each year. Girls under 15 are five times more likely to die during pregnancy and childbirth than women in their twenties"
[The State of the World's Children (SOWC) 2007, UNICEF]

overall health and development of the girls. Marrying early places girls at greater health risks- one of the greatest being early pregnancy and childbirth which give cause to serious reproductive health problems and contributes to high Maternal Mortality Rates (MMR) and Infant Mortality Rates (IMR).

◆ **Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR):** Reports reveal that MMR in India is still high with more than 100,000 women in India dying every year from causes related to pregnancy and childbirth. A woman dies every seven minutes in the country due to complications related to pregnancy. The Maternal Mortality Ratio for India (2001-03) is 301 per 100,000 live births. (Rediff News, March 7, 2007)

◆ **Complications during childbirth:** As girls are physically immature to bear a child. Childbirth causes a major threat to their health and life expectancy. Two million women worldwide suffer from obstetric fistula, a debilitating complication of childbirth especially common among physically immature girls (*ICRW, 2006*). According to The State of the World's Children Report (SOWC) 2007, South Asia Edition, "In India, one out of every three adult women is underweight and therefore at risk of delivering babies with low birthweight".

◆ **Infant Mortality Rate (IMR):** Child marriage not only affects the girl child alone but also the child born due to early pregnancy. The mother's young age and lack of proper

If a mother is under 18, her baby's chance of dying in the first year of life is 60 per cent greater than that of a baby born to a mother older than 19. Even if the child survives, he or she is more likely to suffer from low birth weight, under nutrition and late physical and cognitive development
[*The State of the World's Children (SOWC) 2007, UNICEF*]

nutrition lead to an improper growth of the baby. Sources indicate that the overall infant mortality rate declines sharply with increasing education of mothers, as expected, ranging from a high of 87 deaths per 1,000 live births for illiterate mothers to a low of 33 deaths per 1,000 live births for mothers who have at least

completed high school (NFHS 2 India).

◆ **Increase in STDs & HIV/AIDS cases:** Young women are married off to partners who are much older. In such marriages, women have less decision-making power in sexual behaviour and practices, increasing their risk of reproductive and sexually transmitted

infections. Young girls lack knowledge about use and usefulness of contraceptives which makes them vulnerable to infections like HIV/AIDS and other diseases.

◆ **Vulnerable to domestic violence:** A UNICEF study points out that India has one of the highest levels of domestic violence whereby 67% of women, who were married less than 18 years faced domestic violence. It has the highest levels of domestic violence cases among women compared to other countries like Zambia, South Africa, Cambodia, etc (*Early Marriage 2005, UNICEF*). Domestic violence is a major problem among adolescent girls who marry early. Women who marry younger are more likely to be beaten, threatened or sexually abused. They are sometimes more likely to believe that a husband might be justified in beating his wife. As previously mentioned, due to the age difference between the partners, young girls are more vulnerable and therefore susceptible to abuse.

67% of women, who were married less than 18 years faced Domestic Violence
[Early Marriage 2005, UNICEF]

◆ **Trafficking and sale of girls:** Child marriage also results in the trafficking of children for various purposes, including prostitution, labour and exploitation. Young girls are lured/forced into marriage for the purpose of selling them to other states. Rajib Haldar, Secretary, Prayas, says: “Trafficking of ‘married girls’ is rampant in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and even Kerala.” (*Infochange, Feb. 2007*). Also, a survey of victims of trafficking revealed that 71.8 per cent of the respondents were married when they were children (i.e., when they were less than 18 years of age). This suggests that child marriage is among the key factors that make women and children vulnerable to trafficking (*Report, Trafficking, 2002-2003, Final Report of Action Research on Trafficking in Women and Children, Volume I*).

◆ **Illiteracy among girls:** Child marriage denies schooling for girls and their right to education, necessary for their personal development and their effective contribution to the

Child marriage denies schooling for girls and their right to education which is necessary for their personal development and their effective contribution to the future wellbeing of the society

future wellbeing of the society. Sometimes, girls who prefer to go to school before or after marriage may not be allowed to pursue higher studies. Usually girls are pulled out of school putting an end to their

education and development. Lack of education among girls makes them vulnerable and hinders their individual development. Many parents believe that investment in a girl's education is a waste of money because ultimately she would have to get married and go away to the husband's house where she will take care of the household. Withdrawal from school in order to get her married limits her opportunities to become an informed and self-reliant individual. In many cases, the Married Girl Child (MGC) is also not allowed to socialize and to make friends outside her family.

Girls are not able to discuss issues related to pregnancy, childbirth and contraceptive use when they are married at young age, thus denying their basic reproductive rights

◆ **Lack of decision-making power:** Girls are not able to discuss issues related to pregnancy, childbirth and contraceptive use when they are married at young age, thus denying their basic reproductive rights.

1.5 Laws and policies dealing with Child Marriage

There are three main laws dealing with the issue of child marriages in India: **The Child Marriage (Restraint) Act, 1929, The Prevention of Child Marriage Act, 2004 and the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006.** According to the Acts, "child" means a person who, if a male, has not completed 21 years of age, and if a female, has not completed 18 years of age.

Central Laws related to Child Marriage in India

1. The Child Marriage (Restraint) Act, 1929
2. The Prevention of Child Marriage Act, 2004
3. Compulsory Registration of Marriages Act, 2006
4. Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006

State Initiatives against Child Marriage

1. The Himachal Pradesh Marriage Registration Act, 1996
2. Marriages (Registration and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1976- Karnataka
3. Rajasthan Compulsory Registration of Marriages Bill, 2002
4. Maharashtra Regulation of Marriage Bureaus and Registration of Marriages Act, 1998
5. Tripura Recording of Marriage Bill, 2003

Other Initiatives

1. Bal Vivah Virodh Abhiyan- National Commission for Women (NCW), April 2005

According to the Child Marriage (Restraint) Act, 1929, any person who performs, conducts or directs a child marriage commits an offence under the law. The offender can include the parents, relatives or even the pundit who performs the marriage. The offender can be punished up to 3 months imprisonment and fine, and the magistrate, on being informed can

stop the marriage. A close relative or a friend of the minor can get a report lodged at the police station to inform of a child marriage taking place.

Salient features of the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006

- (i) Child marriages to be voidable at the option of contracting party being a child**
- (ii) Provision for maintenance and residence to female contracting party to child marriage**
- (iii) Custody and maintenance of children of child marriages**
- (iv) Legitimacy of children born of child marriages**
- (v) Power of district court to modify orders issued under section 4 or section 5**
- (vi) Punishment for male adult marrying a child**
- (vii) Punishment for solemnising a child marriage**
- (viii) Punishment for promoting or permitting solemnisation of child marriages**
- (ix) Marriage of a minor child to be void in certain circumstances**
- (x) Power of court to issue injunction prohibiting child marriages**
- (xi) Offences to be cognizable and non-bailable**
- (xii) Appointment of Child Marriage Prohibition Officers**

Compulsory Registration of Marriages Act, 2006 and state initiatives

From the year 2006, all marriages need to be registered in India under the Compulsory Registration of Marriages Act, 2006. It states that every Indian citizen needs to register his or her marriage within ten days of their marriage, irrespective of religion. Such compulsory registration would be of critical importance to prevent child marriages in the country. The state governments in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Bihar, where child marriages are so rampant, have not taken any initiative to make registration of marriages compulsory. The Central Government has made it mandatory for all States to make registration of marriages compulsory saying that the states are in a better position to know the social structure and local conditions about their respective states. There are gaps in this law

as it has been left to State Governments to take initiative. Secondly, non-registration of minor's marriage does not render them automatically void. The Andhra Pradesh High Court decision upholding minor's marriage as legal has added to the problems of activism against child marriage.

Registration of marriages has been made compulsory in some states of India. The Himachal Pradesh Marriage Registration Act, 1996 came into force in 2004 making all marriages within the state compulsory to be registered. Karnataka has Marriages (Registration and Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1976, making registration of all marriages compulsory, Rajasthan has a Rajasthan Compulsory Registration of Marriages Bill, 2002. The government of Rajasthan has made it mandatory to register marriages of couples with the authorities in order for their marriage to be recognized by the law. It was declared that "... No marriage will be officially recognized unless couples have a certificate obtained after registering with the authorities... Couples who register their marriage will also benefit as they will be more mature when they marry" (*BBC News, 24th Oct, 2001*). Maharashtra has enacted the Maharashtra Regulation of Marriage Bureaus and Registration of Marriages Act, 1998, making Gram Sevaks the registrar. The legislative assembly of Tripura passed a Tripura Recording of Marriage Bill, 2003. Under the marriage laws in Goa, a civil registration is mandatory, and only registered marriages are considered valid.

Bal Vivah Virodh Abhiyan

In April 2005, the National Commission for Women (NCW) launched the Bal Vivah Virodh Abhiyan (Child Marriage Protest Program), a nationwide awareness program against child marriages with particular focus on the states of Rajasthan, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, and Uttar Pradesh. The NCW even published an advertisement in regional newspapers to generate awareness in the rural areas known for child marriages in the above states (*NCW, Chapter 10*).

The government reported that it prevented 200 child marriages in the Rajnandgaon district of Chhattisgarh, a district known for mass child marriages in April and May every year. A local NGO, MV Foundation, claimed to have prevented 2,321 child marriages in the state of Andhra Pradesh since 2000. (*U.S. Department of State, Country Reports, 2006*)

At present, an ambitious programme is underway to increase the value placed on girls in India, and thereby indirectly increase their age at marriage. The governments of Rajasthan, Karnataka and Haryana have established an incentive programme for low-income families. In Haryana, for example, a sum of money (Rs.2, 500 or US\$78) is set aside in a savings account for a girl at her birth. At the age of 18, if she is still unmarried, the girl is eligible to collect the accumulated sum of Rs. 25,000. This economic incentive to keep girls alive and postpone their marriage is supplemented by support for girls' education. The intention is to encourage parents to postpone marriage until daughters reach 18 and can use the grant for their dowry (*Early Marriage Child Spouses 2001, UNICEF*).

CHAPTER- II

OVERVIEW OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN INDIA

2.1 Review of literature

The problem of child marriage in India is a complex one because it is related with traditional and religious practices and some other social problems of dowry and child- widowhood. The origin of the custom is not fully known. There are many studies available on child marriage. Most of them are demographic in nature looking at the mean age at marriage as a proxy of child marriage and going into its correlates such as economic and educational backwardness of certain communities or families and some of their social and cultural characteristics. These studies do not go beyond simple associations or correlations with a view to find out the basic causes of the problems of child marriages. As a result we do not know the necessary and sufficient conditions under which child marriages came into vogue.

According to Saraswat (2006) “Child Marriages exist in feudal societies where the Nagnika concept was prevalent. Parents were made to believe that if they did not get their daughters married off before puberty, they would go to hell. Indian tradition places a high premium on virginity before marriage. This applies to women and to some extent men too. In a culture where premarital chastity is valued, one of the easiest ways of achieving this is to get the young girls married in their childhood”. Though, historically, this may have existed in all communities, with the advent of modernity the ruling classes gradually gave up this practice.

Early marriages, i.e. marriages below 18 years of age are of concern as they violate girls’ rights as individuals, truncate their childhood, and frequently deny them a say in the choice of their partner and timing of marriage. Early marriage circumscribes several rights of girl children outlined in the 1989 ‘Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)’, including the right not to be separated from their parents against their will (Art.9), the right to freedom of expression (including seeking and receiving information and ideas) (Art.13), the right to

education (Art.28 and 29), the right to rest and leisure and to engage in play and recreational activities (Art.31) and the right to protection from sexual exploitation and abuses (Art.34).

A number of social, health and economic disadvantages are associated with early marriage. While existing data do not draw conclusions regarding whether early marriage alone causes these adverse outcomes, it is likely that the links between early marriage, poverty, low educational attainment and other variables in diverse settings have found that married girls are likely to have frequent unprotected sexual relationships. According to Miller and Lester, 2003, “Marriage dramatically increases the likelihood and pressures of childbearing. The first-time mothers below the age 16, in addition to the normal risks and responsibilities of child bearing, face an increased risk of maternal and infant mortality” (Miller & Lester, 2003).

Furthermore, married girls typically have low levels of educational attainment, limited or even absent peer networks, restricted mobility and less access to mass media such as T.V., Radio and Newspapers as compared to boys or unmarried girls (Haberland & Bracken, 2004).

Girls who lack educational opportunities are more likely to marry early.

Researchers have observed that, the changes in marriage patterns, in relation to higher age at marriage and lower proportion of ever married at different ages has characterized several early demographic transitions in many developed societies. At the initial stage of demographic transitions, early and universal marriage slowly paved the way to later marriage which affected marital fertility (Coale, 1974).

In India, the age of marriage of girls has shown a marginal increase over the years. Nevertheless it continues to be much lower than the legal age and still a large number of girls continue to be married at very young ages (Karkal & Rajan, 1989).

The National and state specific study of NFHS (1993 & 1999) study of country as a whole and state specific has also indicated changes of age at marriage. In Uttar Pradesh low age at marriage is still common in scheduled castes, other backward castes and agricultural castes, e.g. Jat, Ahir, Gujar, Janwa. Overall, mean age at marriage has been showing a rising trend in

India and Uttar Pradesh in particular. A study conducted by The Institute of Health Management, Pachod (IHMP) with the help of International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) shows that girls who lack educational opportunities are more likely to marry early; however it was noticed that the imparting of life skills delayed this process of early marriages marginally. The study consisted of a year long life skill programme with a sample size of 1146 girls. Only nine per cent of these girls were married before the age of 18 as compared to 33 % in the control area (ICRW, 2006).

In some communities, child marriages, bound to religious practices, were in fact a thinly veiled form of child prostitution. In India young girls, known as Devadasi, are dedicated or married to a Hindu deity or temple in the hope that the God's will would bestow blessings and good fortune upon the families. The Devadasi are expected to provide sexual services to the priests and members of the higher castes. Though Devdasi cannot really be termed as child marriage as we normally understand, it does give some religious sanction to the practice of child marriage.

The continuance of Child Marriage practice present multiple challenges to the nation. "According to decades of research, child marriages contribute to virtually every social

Child marriages contribute to virtually every social problem that keeps India behind in women's rights. The problems include soaring birth rates, grinding poverty and malnutrition, high illiteracy and infant mortality, and low life expectancy, especially among rural women

problem that keeps India behind in women's rights. The problems include soaring birth rates, grinding poverty and malnutrition, high illiteracy and infant mortality, and low life expectancy, especially among rural women" (Burns, 1998). Child welfare activists are pushing for tougher legislation and enforcement.

But it is an arduous battle in a nation where much of the population is rural or poor, and the societal values are shaped by sparse resources, limited opportunities for women, and family traditions that are slower to change than those in India's more cosmopolitan urban centres. The reluctance of government intervention to check the practice of Child Marriage status from its reservation that it should not interfere in personal laws of various communities, particularly minorities. "It has been the consistent policy of the government not to interfere in the personal laws of the communities unless the initiative comes from the communities themselves", the government said in a statement. "The

Government is of the view that it is only through social and economic upliftment of these sections of the community that the practice can be eradicated” (Times of India, August 2006).

Studies have shown that early marriages tend to place the woman under male control with no choice over birth control, education, and health leading to a life of domestic and economic subservience. It is observed that children are put to work at an early age in most caste groups. To an extent, the economic value of child labour was a contributing factor to child marriages.

“Child marriage covers a myriad of social situations. There are betrothals of tiny boys and girls, some of them asleep, unaware of what is happening. Then two families may promise to arrange the marriage of their yet unborn children in case they happen to be of different sexes. Then, there are marriages of teenagers who consummate their relations a couple of years later, in comparison to those marriages which are consummated almost a decade and a half later” (Srivastava, 1983). Some of the studies on early childhood marriages conducted in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh show that there are economic and social compulsions which sustain the practice of child marriage. On one hand, “Ameliorative measures would have to ensure poverty alleviation approaches as well as suitable education strategies to raise people’s consciousness about some of the ill-effects of marrying children at an early age” (Dighe, 2004). On the other hand, major casual factors of child marriage which include religious beliefs, social pressures, economic factors and need to protect girl child from external influences have to be strongly addressed.

2.1.1 Child Marriage: A legal perspective

It is worthwhile highlighting important legislative measures taken in the last century to reduce early marriages in India. It is not entirely correct to assume that early marriage and early pregnancy enjoyed complete social approval in the pre-independence era. The forming of a variety of social legislations at this time shows that the initiatives for policy change were undertaken. The most laudable legislative measure, which is closer to people’s aspirations, was the ‘Child Marriage Restraint Act’ (CMRA), passed in 1929 that aimed at preventing child marriages.

For the success of CMRA, it is compulsory for marriages to be registered; however, there are number of legislations on the issue in the country that cut across community lines (Yadav, 2006).

- Under the “Special Marriage Act 1954”, which is valid for any Indian Citizen, irrespective of religion, each marriage is registered by marriage officers, especially appointed for the purpose.
- Registration of marriage is compulsory under the “Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872’. Under the Act, entries are made in the marriage register of the church, soon after the ceremony, along with the signatures of the bride groom, the bride, the officiating priest and witnesses.
- Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936, make necessary registration of marriages.
- In Muslim law, a marriage is regarded as a civil contract and the Qazi, or officiating Priest also records the terms of the marriage in a “Nikahnama”, which is handed over to the married couple.

Under Section 8 of the ‘Hindu Marriage Act, 1954’, there exists a provision for registration of marriages. However, it is left to the contracting parties to either solemnize the marriage before the sub-registrar or register it after performing the ceremony in conformity with Hindu beliefs.

Still, the Act makes the provision that the validity of the marriage will in no way be affected by omission to make the entry in the register. Therefore, only under the Hindu Personnel Law it is not compulsory to register the marriage.

In India, despite laws such as the amended CMRA, 1978 advocating 18 as the legal minimum age of marriage for females, a substantial proportion of girls continue to marry well before the stipulated age. Indeed, as recently as 2001, one in four adolescent girls aged 15-19 were already married (RGI, 2001).

In 2001, one in four adolescent girls aged 15-19 were already married
Source: RGI, 2001

2.1.2 Child Marriage: statistical overview

Data also indicates that 11.8% of girls are married by the age of 13 years, 26.1% by the age of 15 years, 54.2% by 18 years and 71.4% by the age of 20 years. 54.2 percent of women in the age group of 20-24 years get married before the age of eighteen years and this percentage is much higher in rural (63%) than in urban areas (33%)

[Source: NFHS Study]

The NFHS recently in 2005-06 has published statistics of early childhood marriages in various states (Figure 1.1 to 1.3 in chapter I). There has been little change from the time NFHS conducted its first study in 1992-93. The earlier studies of NFHS conducted in 1992-93 and 1998-99 indicated the status of marriage of 15-19 years of age. The Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM) for women has gone up by 3.4 years from 15.9 years in 1961 to 19.3 years in 1991. But still averages of 38.4 percent girls in the age group of 15-19 years get married. This percentage increases significantly in rural populations, where 44.7% of girls in the age group of 15-19 were married which was more than double the rate of their urban counterparts where the percentage was 21.3. The data also indicates that 11.8% of girls are married by the age of thirteen years, 26.1 percent by the age of fifteen years, 54.2 percent by 18 years and 71.4 percent by the age of twenty years. The medium age at marriage is 17.4 years in the 20-24 age cohorts. What is more disturbing is that almost 7 percent and 17 percent of girls are married before the age of thirteen and fifteen years respectively in the 15-19 age cohort. Currently, 54.2 percent of women in the age group of 20-24 years get married before the age of eighteen years and this percentage is much higher in rural (63%) than in urban areas(33%).

The second NFHS survey (NFHS-2) was conducted in 1998-99. It confirms the further rise in the age of marriage. The SMAM for women has gone up to 19.7 years in 1998-99 from 19.3 years in 1991. But still an average of 34% of women in the age group of 15-19 years are already married as against 38.4 percent as per NFHS 1. These proportions are higher in rural areas. The medium age at first marriage has risen in the last six years from 17.4 to eighteen years in the 20-24 age cohorts. Marriage at very early ages is becoming less common. As per NFHS 2, 4.7 percent (as against 7) and 14.3 percent (as against 17) of girls are married before the age of thirteen and fifteen years respectively in the 15-19 age cohort. The survey also shows that 50 percent of women currently aged 20-24 years were married before the age of eighteen years as against 54.2 as per NFHS 1. So, there is a decline by 4 percent in six

years. However, the urban-rural divide continues in the same way. The percentage marrying early is much higher in rural (58.6 percent) than in urban areas (27.9 percent).

The data also shows that 23.5 percent and 8.9 percent of women currently aged 20-24 years were married before the age of fifteen and thirteen years respectively. Therefore, in current context older women are more likely, than younger women to have married at an early age. Although this indicates that, the proportion of women who marry young is declining rapidly, half the women in the age group of 20-24 have married before reaching the legal minimum age of 18 years. The median age at first marriage for women, aged 20-49 in rural areas is only sixteen years- an age well below the legal minimum.

Another significant fact is that performance of child marriages is not uniform in all the states of India. About half of the women aged 25-49 were married before the age of fifteen in Madhya Pradesh (52.6%), Bihar (51.0%), Uttar Pradesh (49.7%), Andhra Pradesh (48.9%) and Rajasthan (47.8%). Moreover, one fifth of the women of these states –Madhya Pradesh (79.8%) and Rajasthan (81.5%) were married before reaching the legal minimum age of eighteen years.

According to IIPS & ORC Macro (2000;2001;2001a), in the State of Uttar Pradesh, 39.9% of age group 15-19 years are married in which 8% of girls are married by age 13 and 19.8% by the age of 15. Whereas, among the 87% of married women in the age group 20-24 years, 16.8% are married by the age of 13, 36% are married by the age of 15, and 62.4% are married by the age of 18. Within the age group of 25-29 years, 97.7% are married. Among these women, were 20.8% married by the age of 13 whereas 42.6% women were married by the age of 15 and 73.7% of them were married by the age of 18.

Table 2.1
Proportion of females married in adolescence by age, NFHS- 2 (1998-99)

	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years
India			
Proportion ever married	33.6	78.8	94.5
Percentage married by age 13	4.7	8.9	12.1
Percentage married by age 15	14.3	23.5	29.2
Percentage married by age 18	-	50.0	58.9
Percentage married in adolescence by age 20	-	67.1	74.9
Uttar Pradesh			
Proportion ever married	39.9	87.0	97.7
Percentage married by age 13	8.0	16.8	20.8
Percentage married by age 15	19.8	36.0	42.6
Percentage married by age 18	-	62.4	73.7
Percentage married in adolescence by age 20	-	76.5	86.7

Source: India: IIPS and ORC Macro, 2000; 2001; 2001a

2.1.3 Determinants of Child Marriage

◆ Social customs

In Mareille Abeille's study of the historical perspective of child marriage's, she examined the ancient texts to trace the development of this practice, which has greatly disadvantaged women. The religious rationale for child marriage practice probably explains the adherence to enduring such a practice till date. Abeille has noted the survival of the custom in certain parts of South India (Nagi, 1993).

Pressure to abide by societal norms was also cited as a reason for the persistence of early marriage. While these norms were clearly internalized by parents, neighbours and others in the community also exerted overt pressure on parents to get their daughters married at a young age.

In study sites, pressure to abide by societal norms was also cited as a reason for the persistence of early marriage. While these norms were clearly internalized by parents, neighbours and others in the community also exerted overt pressure on parents to get their daughters married at a young age. Such pressure included enquiring from parents why they were not getting their daughters married, passing unpleasant comments about the unmarried girl and her parents or bringing them proposals for marriage.

◆ Dowry & economic determinants

To avoid more expenditure by marrying daughters at a later age, parents prefer to marry them off at an early age. Therefore the system of dowry perpetuates child marriages

Apart from religious considerations, the other reason for child marriages among the higher caste is dowry. Traditionally, dowry was not prevalent among lower castes, most of whom followed the opposite custom of bride price. Most Brahmans also did not practice dowry, but in recent years this custom has extended itself among both higher and some lower castes. Even non-Hindu communities have not escaped from its evil influence. “It has been found that quantum of dowry increases with the age and educational level of the perspective brides. Some upper castes parents prefer to keep their daughters uneducated and marry them off young to avoid heavy dowry demand” (Nagi, 1993).

Parents who are poor and have more than one daughter often arrange the marriage of all their daughters collectively, in one ceremony, to reduce marriage costs. To avoid more expenditure by marrying her at a later age, parents prefer to marry her off at an earlier age. Therefore, the system of dowry perpetuates child marriages.

◆ Demographic determinants

Most of the studies on child marriage are demographic in nature, looking at the mean age at marriage and going into its correlates such as economic and educational backwardness of certain communities or families and some of their social and cultural characteristics etc. Even in the presence of these factors, the phenomenon of child marriage is absent in certain families or communities. The cases of child marriage vary from place to place and men to women because of demographic variety across/ throughout India.

◆ **Institution of patriarchy**

It is important to view the phenomenon of child marriage within the context of patriarchy. “Patriarchy has a strong hold on Indian Society. It operates at all levels on the basis of sex, age and caste and contributes in lowering the status of women in every possible manner. Stratification and differentiation on the basis of gender are integral features of Patriarchy in India” (Koeing & Foo, 1992).

Gender differences are reflected in the sexual division of labour between the productive and reproductive activities. The collective effect of patriarchy reinforces the subordination of women in the name of care, protection and welfare and makes them dependent on men throughout their lives. Child marriages for women, comparative seniority of husbands, and patrilocal residence upon marriage are thus the attributes of the patriarchal institution.

◆ **Lack of alternatives to Child Marriage**

Child marriage is often regarded as the only option. As Yadav (2006) has pointed out, “If young girls are not to be married off, alternative opportunities need to be provided to them. The fact is that there are no such constructive opportunities for them.”

Usually girls are withdrawn from schools because of marriage. They are denied the educational opportunities, which could help in developing their personality, autonomy, and employment skills. Division of labour based on sex ascribes household work to women, and as a consequence, school is less of a priority. Alternatives, if any at all, other than marriage are not provided to adolescent girls. From childhood, daughters are socialized to believe that marriage is the sole goal of their life and their own interests are subordinate to those of the family group.

From childhood, daughters are socialized to believe that marriage is the sole goal of their life and their own interests are subordinate to those of the family group

◆ **Lack of awareness of law**

Awareness about the Child Marriage Restraint Act is not widely known among women in India, particularly among women who belong to the disadvantaged sections of Indian society

One of the reasons for child marriages is that people to a large extent are not aware of the provisions of the law. The finding of NFHS 1992-93, India, is that the CMRA is not widely known among women in India,

particularly among women belonging to the disadvantaged sections of Indian society. There are no means of communication available to people to find out about the law. Illiteracy and legal illiteracy are the common features among rural people and more so among women. If people have no knowledge about the law, one can hardly expect them to abide by it.

◆ **Lack of Political Commitment**

There is a need for stronger political will to amend, enforce, or create awareness about the Indian laws and acts on child marriage. Women's interests are accorded less weight in the political process thus hindering any further improvement in their status. Over the last two decades, all political parties have stated their commitment to the improvement of women's status. However no serious efforts have been made either for better implementation of the legislation or for improvement of women's status. The government, in response to the demands of the international community, introduces frequent policy changes regarding the reproductive health of women. Nevertheless, budgetary provision for implementation of these policies restricts these efforts.

No serious efforts have been made either for better implementation of the legislation or for improvement of women's health. The government introduces frequent policy changes regarding the reproductive health of women but the budgetary provision for implementation of these policies is generally inadequate

◆ **Miscellaneous causes**

Among other factors, responsible for child marriages, Yadav (2006) observed, “tremendous pressure from older members of the Indian society like grandparents and also the community prevails on parents of children to marry off their young children. There is also the fear of not getting the suitable match if the marriage is delayed”.

2.1.4 Consequences of Child Marriage

Having discussed the multiple and diverse causes of child marriage, it is but obvious that the consequences are multiple and diverse in nature. World Health Organization declares, “There are multiple consequences of child marriage in terms of the health and the social and economic situation of adolescent girls. Early onset of sexual activity and the pressure on young married women to prove their fertility as soon as possible after marriage results in high rates of fertility” (WHO, 1999).

Indeed, the effect of child marriage is multifarious. It is a direct violation of children's right to personal freedom and growth, and specifically their right to decide their own age of marriage. The practice of Child Marriage takes a heavy toll on the physical, intellectual, psychological, and emotional state of the children involved. Several studies have reported that adolescents in general, and irrespective of marital status are poorly informed about sexual and reproductive health matters.

◆ **Level of education**

The level of educational attainment also has a bearing on the marriage age. The NHFS-II findings show that the majority of ever-married women in the age bracket 15-19 years are illiterate, the figure staying at 59%. Illiteracy declines with declining age, from 65 percent for women between 45-49 years to 42 percent for women between 20-24 years, but rises to 59 percent for women between 15-19 years (because illiterate women are more likely to marry at a young age than literate women). Even though the average figures on illiteracy are declining more than half of even the youngest ever married women continue to be illiterate.

A similar proportion of Hindu (59%) and Muslim (61%) women are illiterate but it is very low among Jain women (only 7%). Jain women are also more likely to have completed at least high school (54%) unlike women from other sects. Christian and Sikh women also have substantially higher literacy and educational levels than Hindu and Muslim women.

The literacy rate for ever-married women is the highest in Mizoram (90%), closely followed by Kerala (87%), and is lowest in Bihar (23%), Rajasthan (25%), and Uttar Pradesh (30%). The literacy rates increased rapidly in the northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya, and in the northern states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. Bihar and Rajasthan continue to have very low literacy among ever-married women. (NHFS-2)

The dropout rates in schools for both boys and girls, when correlated with the above, help in

59% of ever-married women in the age group of 15-19 years are illiterate. Majority of girls drop out by the time they reach the 9th or 10th standard

understanding the relationship between child marriages and illiteracy/low levels of education. The study and surveys show that the majority of girls drop out by the time they reach the 9th or 10th standard. The

lack of proper and complete education renders these women incapable of acquiring any skill

that could ensure them permanent employment. Needless to say, the lack of education also affects reproductive behaviour, use of contraceptives, health of the newborn child and proper care and hygienic practices.

◆ **Impact on health**

The health impact of such a retrograde practice as child marriage has, over the years, been very well documented and the readings are alarming as it has far-reaching effects on reproductive health of girls throughout their lives. Seen in this context, the lack of awareness is a matter of concern to all.

A boy from Kachauliya village of Tonk district, Rajasthan was married two years ago on *Akha Teej* – an auspicious day according to Hindu belief system, when several children get married in mass weddings. This boy was married along with his brother because their parents wanted to save on expenses. Since the child was too small (6 years) at the time of marriage to understand it's meaning, he did not resist. All the excitement related to marriage ceremony seemed fun to the little child. After marriage the bride stayed back with her parents and has not been sent to her marital home so far. The bride is now 6 years old.

After some days of his marriage the six year old boy came in contact with more grown up boys – about 16 to 20 years of age. They started teasing the little boy about his marital status and provided him with scarce knowledge about sex. This kind of teasing for a child, immature in physical and mental age affected his mind to an extent that he tried to seek sexual favours in a clandestine way from his equally immature child bride. Today the child is damaged psychologically and is lost in his own world, scared by the incidents of his post marriage days. He does not take any interest in studies or in any other activity leading to self development.

◆ **Lack of awareness about adverse health consequences**

“Child Marriages usually have profound adverse effects on the fertility, health and development of adolescent girls, low age of marriage is one of the important factors responsible for the high rates of maternal and child mortality and morbidity. However, adverse health consequences of early pregnancies or childbirth to young girls are not well known at the family level” (Jejeebhoy, 1999).

“On the contrary, young brides are pressurized to prove their fertility as soon as possible after the marriage and to produce children especially sons. “A young girl with minimal or no education, raised to be submissive and subservient, married to an older man, has little ability to negotiate sexual activity” (Khan, 1996).

As a result, if and when she suffers from any gynecological illness, or even if she dies due to early pregnancy and childbirth, her death is never attributed to her young age. It is accepted as a fact of life or god’s wish or fate.

◆ **High fertility rates**

“High fertility rate is attributed to an early marriage i.e. child marriage. The earlier a time a woman marries the more likely she is to give birth to a larger number of children, consequently placing a high demand on her health” (Bhat, 2005).

Early pregnancy, therefore, has a tendency to lead to larger families, with serious consequences for the health and well-being of the mother as well as her children. In addition to its harmful effects on the health of mothers and children, this phenomenon has universal implications for populations at large.

“About eight million adolescents aged 15-19 are already mothers and another 2 million are pregnant with their first child. Worse, about 5 million have experienced pregnancy by the time they are 16 years old” (Jejeebhoy, 1999)

“Adolescent fertility in India occurs mainly among married adolescents. As many as 36 percent of married adolescents aged 13-16 and 64 percent of those aged 17-19 are already mothers or are pregnant with their first child” (Jejeebhoy, 1999). This corresponds to 57 percent of all adolescent females aged 13-19. Moreover, adolescents contribute significantly to the total number of births in the country. A progressively larger share of all births in the country occurs to women aged 15-19: it was 11 percent in 1971, 13 percent in 1981, and 17 percent in 1992-93. The magnitude of teenage fertility in India is thus considerable. “About eight million adolescents aged fifteen to nineteen are already mothers and another two million are pregnant with their first child. Worse, about five million have experienced pregnancy by the time they are sixteen years old” (Jejeebhoy, 1999).

◆ **Reproductive and sexual health**

“As a result of child marriage, the girl child’s reproductive and sexual health are affected the most. These girls suffer from high rates of obstetric complications, intrauterine growth retardation, pregnancy induced hypertension, premature deliver, higher mortality rates, high incidence of RTIs and STI and fetal wastage (miscarriages or still births). The neonatal and infant mortality rates are also high along with incidences of premature delivery and low birth weight of the newborn child” (Bhat, 2005).

Now 16 years old from Saipura village of Jaipur, this girl was married at the tender age of six years to a boy who was five years older to her at the time of the marriage of her elder sister with a view to save on expenses of two weddings. She was sent to her marital home when she was only 10 years old and her husband 15 years old. The physical and mental vulnerability of the young couple led to repeated abortions. Today the girl is 16 years old, having frail health and is a mother of a sickly girl child.

This is a case of girl child marriage, in which the girl has emerged loser in all respects. She has lost her health, her childhood and the opportunities to develop skills for economic sustainability. Child marriage has put her in a position of complete subjugation in the marital home.

◆ **Maternal Mortality/Morbidity Rate (MMR)**

“In India, pre-adolescent and adolescent girls who constitute a sizable segment of its population, constitute a vulnerable group on account of practice of early marriages, potential exposure to a greater risk of morbidity and mortality” (Verma, 2004).

At the national level, adolescents account for a high proportion of maternal deaths. Yadav (2006) refer to a study from rural India which shows that “ 45 percent of all maternal deaths occur among women of age less than twenty four years and that 15 percent of these deaths are attributable to complications associated with child birth and pregnancy” (Yadav, 2006). The available evidence suggests that maternal deaths are considerably higher among adolescents than among older women. “For example, a hospital based study in Mumbai indicates that while the maternal mortality ratio among women aged 20-29 years was 138 per 1,00,000 live births, adolescents experienced considerably higher ratios of 206 per 1,00,000 live births” (Pachauri & Jamshedji, 1983). A community based survey, carried out in rural

Andhra Pradesh, suggests that adolescent mortality ratios are almost twice as high as those reported for women aged 25-29 years (1484 and 736 per 1,00,000 live births respectively).

Studies point out that levels of maternal morbidity are considerably higher among adolescents than among older women. They suffer from anaemia, high blood pressure and toxæmia, delayed or obstructed labour, complications in pregnancy and weight loss during lactation.

“Among adolescents, girls constitute a more vulnerable group, particularly in developing countries where they are traditionally married at an early age and exposed to greater risk of reproductive morbidity and mortality. In the developmental terms, it is a crucial period particularly with reference to reproductive health. The young women who are at the brink of womanhood constitute the most crucial segment of our population from the point of view of the quality of our future generation. It is a period of peak growth for boys and girls. Food and nutrient needs are proportionately higher during the growth spurt period” (Rawat, 2001).

The poor nutritional status of adolescent girls in India is well documented. It is found that

15% of all deaths of rural women aged 15-24 years are attributed to diseases of childbirth and pregnancy. Levels of maternal morbidity are considerably higher among adolescents than among older women. They suffer from anaemia, high blood pressure and toxæmia, delayed or obstructed labour, complications in pregnancy and weight loss during lactation

“Adolescent pregnancy is currently a significant public health problem. Childbearing can have a substantial impact on nutrient demands, specially for nutrients such as calcium that are required for bone development. Earlier age at first pregnancy has been associated with both lower cortical bone densities in midlife or later and persistent reductions in adult hip bone density. Thus, early childbearing may limit skeletal consolidation and increased calcium demands in adolescent” (Brien, 2003). For example, results of a community based study of fifty four pregnant tribal adolescents aged 13-19 years in Rajasthan revealed that 85 percent weighed less than 42 kg and 94 percent were anaemic. A south Indian study of forty seven adolescent girls aged 13-18 years revealed poor growth in all age groups; 73.5 percent of the girls were classified as anaemic. In yet another study carried out on 105 adolescent girls aged 10-18 years living in the slums of Gujarat, 98 percent were found to be anaemic.

NFHS shows that 35 percent of pregnant women under twenty years did not receive any antenatal care. Consequently, unlike in other countries, young women in India particularly in rural areas, experience slightly higher mortality rates than males, largely as a result of a high maternal mortality attributable to their poor reproductive health (Mumdani, 1998). 15 percent of all deaths of rural women aged 15-24 years are attributed to diseases of childbirth and pregnancy –the second largest cause of death following accidents and violence which account for 34 percent of all deaths and which may often be associated with child marriage and pregnancy.

◆ **Infant Mortality/Morbidity Rate (IMR)**

“The risks of early marriage are not just limited to the girl child alone, but also to the child that is born to her as a result of an early pregnancy. One in 15 children in India die before their first birthday as compared to 1 in 200 children across the industrialized world” (Agrawal & Mehra, 2004).

Premature birth, a major concern in case of an early pregnancy, leads to lack of nutritional requirements in the newborn child usually characterized by low birth weight and poor growth in the later years. According to NFHS, the neonatal mortality rate was 70.8 per 1000 live births among the infants of adolescent mothers compared to 44.8 among those of mothers aged 20-29 years.

◆ **STDs and HIV/AIDS**

Early marriage makes the individual vulnerable to sexual teasing, coercion and STIs, including HIV. In the cases of girls, they are severely affected owing to their lack of decision-making power in their own sexual, reproductive and productive lives.

NFHS-II indicates that among girls in the age groups of 15-24 years, the knowledge of STD and HIV/AIDS is very low

“Despite laws to the contrary it is seen early marriage continues to be the norm and once married there is a tremendous pressure on young wives to bear a child. Early sexual activity also exposes adolescents to a greater risk of contracting Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), including HIV/AIDS. Early marriage and pregnancy is one of the major causes of maternal mortality in India” (Yadav, 2006).

Adolescent's human rights to life, health and reproductive health are further compromised when their suffering due to STDs and HIV/AIDS is not comprehensively addressed. NFHS-II indicates that among girls in the age groups of 15-24 years, the knowledge of STDs and HIV/AIDS is very low; however epidemiological data on patients with AIDS suggest that in many cases HIV infections was acquired during adolescence and young women appear to be at greater risk of HIV infection than older women.

◆ **Impact on mental health**

Another consequence of child marriage on young girls is the severe ramifications it has on their mental health. The relationship between gender inequalities and negative mental health as its consequence, particularly depression and anxiety, has been well documented by health research. Recent WHO statistics show that mental health problems account for 11.5 percent of disability adjusted life years lost compared to 10.7 percent for cardiovascular diseases, 8.1 percent for maternal and parental conditions, 6.1 percent for STDs/HIV and 5.8 percent for cancer. In India, child marriage and cultural constraints on females roles have been associated with depression.

An 11-year-old boy from Lamba Hari Singh village, Tonk district, Rajasthan, was married when he was merely six months old. At the age of five years he was taken to his bride's place where he was offered money and gifts. The importance that he received at his in-laws place excited him and he felt elevated and proud of his marital status and relations. At the age of ten years he again visited his bride at her parental place. This time he did not find her and the environment up to his expectations. This has left him in a depressed state and today the boy is in a state of mental turmoil.

◆ **Social effects**

Child marriage adversely affects the well-being of the children involved in diverse ways, but more so for the bride, than the groom in the marriage. These girls deal with lesser autonomy, and are more susceptible to violence and sexual exploitation.

NFHS-II suggests that 24% of women in the age group 15-19 years do not participate in any decision-making. 45% of married women in the age group 15-19 years are not exposed to any form of media regularly. 61.1% justified at least one reason for wife beating. 15.4% reported that they had been physically mistreated since the age of 15

NFHS-II suggests that 24% of women in the age group 15-19 years do not participate in any decision-making as compared to women more than 30 years of age. The most significant information they lack is on methods of contraception, reproductive health and care. NHFS-II, data shows that 45% of married women in the age group 15-19 years are not exposed

to any form of media regularly. Women in rural areas have less access to any form of mass media than women in urban areas.

The patriarchal nature of society makes women, especially in the age group 15-19 years, highly susceptible to gender based violence. Of the women surveyed under NFHS-II in the age group 15-19 years, a large number, 61.1% justified at least one reason for wife beating. 15.4% reported that they had been physically mistreated since the age of 15.

The young married bride also faces sexual exploitation by the elders in her marital home. She is also burdened with the responsibilities of the entire family at this very young age and her education takes a backseat. The girls affected by child marriage are emotionally tormented since the boys who are married early often marry four to five times. Cases of wife beating and sexual abuse are also very high.

Child marriage is also responsible for the rise in trafficking of women. Studies in child trafficking have shown that child marriage is used as a legal instrument for committing illegal trafficking. A study conducted by HAQ, showed that girls from West Bengal were trafficked to remote regions such as Kashmir. A large number of girls were being trafficked from Bengal to J&K mainly for the purpose of marrying them to older men or forcing them into prostitution after marriage. Similarly, in South India the entire tradition of “Devdasi” is being used as a tool for the trafficking women.

Studies in child trafficking have shown that child marriage is used as a legal instrument for achieving illegal trafficking

2.1.5 Government policies and programmes

To fight with the menace of child marriage, the government has initiated many preventive and punitive steps. Few of the efforts include campaigns to promote awareness of the legal age at marriage, enforcement of the CMRA, 1978, registration of marriages, investment schemes, including the **Balika Samridhi Yojana**, intended to delay the age of marriage and change family and community attitudes towards girls and initiatives that may affect age at marriage, including educational and livelihoods programs that can provide socially accepted alternatives to marriage, increase girls capacities and self assurances and counter society's devaluation of girls.

The government has been depending on the CMRA, 1929, so far, to check this problem but child marriages have been taking place with impunity throughout the country, particularly in the heartland of states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Faced with

Government Policies & Programmes
1. National Health Policy 2002
2. National Education Policy 1986
3. National Youth Policy 2003
4. Population Policy 1999
5. Women Policy
6. Reproductive Child Health Programme
7. Integrated Population Development Programme
8. Women Development Programme
9. Adolescent Girls Scheme
10. Nehru Yuvak Kendra Sangathan
11. National Service Schemes
12. Balika Samridhi Yojna
13. Free Education for Girls
14. Girl Child Protection Scheme 2005

the need for a stronger law, the government introduced the 'Prevention of Child Marriage Bill' in the Rajya Sabha in 2004. It was later sent to a Parliamentary standing committee which heard out representations from various groups. Several of them argued in favour of a Bill that would abolish and not just prevent child marriage (Telegraph, March 2006).

The legally permissible age in India for marriage for boys and girls is 21 and 18 years respectively, but this is not strictly followed in most states. There are also conflicting legal provisions. For instance, though the CMRA of 1929 empowers the state to prevent child marriages, the exception to Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code allows a 15 year old girl to be a "wife" and "bear a child". The law must rectify this anomaly to strictly enforce the ban on child marriages (Tribune, April 2006).

According to the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006, the husband will be bound to pay maintenance to his former wife and children. If a girl below the age of 18 years has been married off without her consent, she will, for the first time have the choice to declare her marriage void.

Priests can no longer get away with chanting mantras and collecting 'dakshina' at a wedding. They must ensure that the bride and groom tying the knot are not minors. A priest could face two years in jail and be asked to pay Rs. 1 Lakh as fine. In fact, almost all adults involved in a child marriage could find the law breathing down their necks.

Since early marriage and early pregnancy are prevalent in the country, it is important to mention that the state and central government are not only conscious of the malaise but have consciously evolved policy frameworks and the programmes that directly and indirectly help to reduce the number of such marriages. This has implications on the reproductive health of the younger generation in the country.

Health is a state subject, yet in many cases the state government has been developing and implementing programmes on various issues within the overall framework of central policies. India being a vast country with a rich blend of tradition and cultural attributes, it is equally important to enable the states to give due consideration to such unique and diverse characteristics. In view of this, state governments have also attempted to develop policies within the overall guidelines of the central policy. This has been done so that all the policies and programs are implementable as well as realistic.

Few government policies of this area are :

- National Health Policy 2002
- National Education Policy 1986
- National Youth Policy 2003
- Population Policy 1999
- National Policy for Women Empowerment

Government has come up with a **National Charter for Children, 2003**, under which it is ensured that the tender age of children is not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength (Art. 39 e), and that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment (Art. 39 f). Underlying this charter, it becomes mandatory to secure for every child his/her inherent right to be a child and enjoy a healthy and happy childhood, to address the root causes that negate the healthy growth and development of children, and to awaken the conscience of the community in the wider societal context to protect children from all forms of abuse, while strengthening the family, society and nation. The charter also includes State and communities to undertake all appropriate measures to address the problems of infanticide and foeticide, especially of female child and all other emerging manifestations that deprive the girl child of her right to survive with dignity.

Besides, **National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (NPEW), 2001** ensures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl child and violation of her rights by undertaking strong measures- both preventive and punitive within and outside the family. These would relate specifically to strict enforcement of laws against prenatal sex selection and the practices of female foeticide, female infanticide, child marriage, child abuse and child prostitution etc. Removal of discrimination in the treatment of the girl child within the family and outside and projection of a positive image of the girl child will be actively fostered. Several other schemes also outline measures which directly and indirectly combat the evil of child marriage and empower adolescent and young girls to live with self respect and choices.

These include **Balika Samridhi Yojna** under which the main objectives of the government is to change negative attitudes of the family and community towards the girl child at birth and towards her mother, to improve enrolment and retention of girl children in schools, to raise the age at marriage of girls, and to assist the girl to undertake income generating activities.

Another such scheme is **Kishori Shakti Yojna** which seeks to empower adolescent girls, so as to enable them to take charge of their lives. The programme, through its interventions, aims at bringing about a difference in the lives of the adolescent girls. It seeks to provide them with an opportunity to realize their full potential and to help them gain a better understanding of their social environment and take initiatives to become productive members of the society.

This Govt. of India has also launched **Childline Service** during the year 1998-99. which is a 24 hours free phone service, accessed by a child in distress or an adult on his behalf by dialing the number 1098 on telephone. Child line provides emergency assistance to a child and subsequently based upon the child's need, the child is referred to an appropriate organization for long-term follow up and care.

It is observed that number of girls as against boys in certain states is declining which is a matter of great concern. Women are coerced to abort their female child. In such circumstances education of women needs to be used and effective means for their empowerment and education will prepare them to have a control over their lives. Understanding this concern, the Government of India has declared elementary education as a basic human right of every child. The Union Government of India has taken various steps to uplift the status of women by implementing various schemes including **free education for girls**.

In order to achieve and promote girls' education, which indirectly promotes awareness of basic rights, UGC (University Grants Commission) introduced a Post Graduate Indira Gandhi Scholarship for a single girl child with an aim to compensate direct costs of girl education to all levels. This was specially designed for such girls who happen to be the only girl child in their family.

Another effective scheme with a vision to protect the girl child from the social evils impeding in her healthy growth is **Girl Child Protection Scheme 2005**. The main objectives underlying this scheme includes elimination of prejudice against the girl child through direct investment from the Government, encouraging enrolment of the girl child in school and to ensure her education at least up to the Intermediate level and to get married only after

the age of 18 years (which is the prescribed statutory limit). It also aims to reduce the school drop out rate among the girls and to encourage parents to adopt family planning norms with two girl children. Other objectives are as follows:

1. To provide social and financial empowerment to the girl child
2. Eliminating all forms of discrimination against the girl child
3. Providing social and financial empowerment to the girl child
4. Removing negative cultural attitudes and practices against girls
5. Promoting and protecting the rights of the girl child and to increase awareness of her needs and potential.

Government programmes are also effective in these fields which are Reproductive Child Health Programme, Integrated Population Development Programme, Women Development Programme, Adolescent Girls Scheme, Nehru Yuvak Kendra Sangathan, National Service Schemes, etc.

Along with government policies and programmes the grassroots level non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have played an important role in working on various social issues. NGOs are close to the communities they serve and can, therefore, identify and respond appropriately to community needs and implement effective interventions to change social norms and risk-taking behaviour.

CHAPTER- III

THE STUDY

3.1 Need of the study

In a country rich in diversity, there exists practices and beliefs that needs to be understood and accepted as limitations of the Indian culture and tradition. Child marriage is one such practice, which is one of the most serious social maladies affecting the lives and future of India's youth. Child marriage, also known as early marriage, is a form of marital union of young children and adolescents or a practice in which the parents of a small child (even infants) arrange a future marriage with another child's parents. Many marriages during the middle ages were performed in the cradle itself.

Compared to boys, girls are severely affected due to this practice of child marriage. Due to gender discrimination in the society, girls are not allowed to go to school and remain illiterate; they are compelled to stay at home to do household work and take care of their siblings. They lack freedom of movement as compared to boys. Girls marrying early become pregnant at a young age and face major problems related to reproductive health. They face fatal consequences during and after child birth. According to UNICEF (2001) study, "Inadequate socialization, discontinuation of education, great physiological and emotional damage due to repeated pregnancies devastates these girls. If the husband dies, even before consummation, the girl is treated as a widow and given in *nata* (widow marriage) to a widower in the family. Officially she is then his wife, but in fact under the practice of *nata* she becomes the common property of all the men in the family". The lack of support system for the girls leads to their suffering and they tend to loose their identity.

According to a recent report by UNICEF (2005), almost 50% of women aged 20-24 are married by 18 years in India. Child marriage have been a practice since centuries and people practice it strictly as stated in Chapter I. Parents encourage the marriage of their daughters to relieve themselves of a financial burden and also assuming that they would lead a happy and comfortable life after marriage. However, they ignore the fact that girls, being young, have

lack of knowledge and maturity to cope up with a new life, in a new house being a wife, and face immense problem due to early marriage. State wise comparison of the data on under age marriages shows quite clearly that the worst on this parameter are the Hindi-speaking states. In Rajasthan, for instance, roughly one in 18 people below the legal age of marriage is already married. In Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Haryana, the ratio varies between 1 in 27 and 1 in 37. On the other end of the spectrum, down south in Kerala, only 1 in 123 people below the legal age is married.

There are not many research studies on this issue. So there is a need for a comparative study of different states with high prevalence rates of child marriage, which would help in identifying the similarities and differences in the factors leading to child marriage. There is also a need to identify the reasons for ineffective implementation of prevention of Child marriage laws. It is in this background that a joint study by NIPCCD and CSR was conducted in the three states: Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

3.2 Objectives

Major objectives of the study are:

1. To assess the prevalence and incidence of child marriages, specially related to the girl child, in the selected states
2. To analyse the various socio-economic and cultural factors leading to child marriage in the states studied.
3. To do a critical analysis of the existing constitutional and legal measures against child marriage and their implementation.
4. To suggest for the effective utilisation of the existing mechanism of prevention and fostering of alternative methods for prevention of child marriage.

3.3 Study areas

Research was carried out in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh where child marriages were grossly rampant.

3.4 Consultation meetings

Prior to even sample selection for the study, a National Workshop on ‘Child Marriage in India: Socio-legal and Human Rights Dimension’ was organized by NIPCCD in July 2006, which helped in gaining a comprehensive understanding of the child marriage scenario in the country through the human rights perspective. Considering the fact that hardly any research of this dimension had been undertaken in this field, the task was highly challenging and the methodology evolved was dynamic both for the problem and existing field situation. The quantitative research data was supplemented by qualitative data through adoption of focus group discussions. The initial consultation meetings with the partner institute helped NIPCCD in evolving a methodology to capture the field realities.

3.5 Research process

3.5.1 Source of Data

Both primary and secondary data sources were used in research and analysis. Primary data was obtained through interviews, focus group discussions, case studies and observations.

(a) Secondary information

The secondary sources of information were drawn from:

- Government departments for Statistical and Policy information
- Census of India
- National Family Health Survey (NFHS- I, II and III)
- Judgement /Acts relating to child marriage
- Research reports, books and articles
- Newspaper Clippings
- Websites

(b) Primary data

For collecting primary data, interview schedules were carefully prepared, pre-tested, coded and administered with 870 stakeholders as detailed below (refer table 2.1):

- Panchayat
- Families (Head of Households)

- Those married below 18 Years
- NGO's
- Police
- District Magistrates

Focus Group Discussion- Type of Respondent:

- Mother/Father
- Mother- in- law/Father- in- law
- Elder brothers/sisters
- Grandfather/Grandmother
- Uncle/Aunt (or other relatives)

3.5.2 Selection of sample

The study was carried out in two selected districts from each of the three States namely Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh where incidences of child marriage was high as per NFHS-2 data. Selection of districts was based on Rapid Health Survey (RCH-RHS) data of 1998-99 which is the only reliable district- wise data available for all the states under study. The data was arranged in ascending order of prevalence of child marriage for selecting the districts as under:

Table 3.1
District wise prevalence of Child Marriage in study areas

S. No	States	Districts	Prevalence of Child Marriages
1.	Madhya Pradesh	a) Shajapur	83.7% High Prevalence
		b) Bhopal	34.6% Low Prevalence
2.	Rajasthan	a) Tonk	78.3% High Prevalence
		b) Jaipur	44.0% Low Prevalence
3.	Uttar Pradesh	a) Varanasi	72.2% High Prevalence
		b) Meerut	14.4% Low Prevalence

(Annexure II)

It was felt that the observation gathered from high prevalence districts and low prevalence districts of child marriage would zero down on factors, which encourage or discourage the practice of child marriage.

Further, five villages from each district were selected using the purposive sampling method by researchers. Care was taken that the village provides a wide representation of religious and caste groups. The villages were also selected on the basis of geographical representation in the district. Some villages were selected that were nearing the urban areas and national highways and some villages from interior areas of the district were also chosen for the study. Stratified Random Sampling¹ technique was used to select a household. Those head of the

¹ Stratified Random Sampling, also sometimes called *proportional* or *quota* random sampling, involves dividing your population into homogeneous sub-groups and then taking a simple random sample in each sub-group.

households who were willing to offer their time to answer the questions were included in the survey. While selecting the household, caste and religion of that area were given due attention. The couple (who were married before the legal age of marriage) were selected randomly but consideration was paid to select those couples who were married recently (for five years). The heads of the Panchayat Samiti was interviewed in each surveyed village. NGOs working on the issue of child marriage for considerable time were included in the survey in each state. Police personnel mostly of the rank of Sub-Inspector from the nearest police station of the surveyed village were included in the sample. In-depth interview was conducted with Panchayat representatives, heads of families, couples who were married before 18 years, NGO representatives working on this issue, police personnel and District Magistrate. Separate groupings of men and women, consisting of around 30 members were formed for each Focus Group Discussion. The group consisted of: Mother/Father, Mother-in-law/Father-in-law, Elder brother/sister, Grandfather/Grandmother, Uncle/Aunt (or other relatives). A total of 30 Focus Group Discussions, 870 in-depth interviews were conducted in the three study states. The study was conducted between September- December, 2006. Data tools included in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions and Case Studies. The study also assessed the scenario of child marriage at three levels, first at the administrative level, second at the community level and third at the family level.

TABLE 3.2
SAMPLE SIZE

	MADHYA PRADESH		RAJASTHAN		UTTAR PRADESH		TOTAL
Districsts	SHAJAPUR <i>High Prevalence District</i>	BHOPAL <i>Low Prevalence District</i>	TONK <i>High Prevalence District</i>	JAIPUR <i>Low Prevalence District</i>	VARANASI <i>High Prevalence District</i>	MEERUT <i>Low Prevalence District</i>	6
Villages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beraksha • Mullakheri • Tilawat Govind • Sunera • Sundarari 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Misrode • Neelbar • Ratibar • Barkhera Nathu • Berkheri 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kacholiya-Malpura • Hathgi • Ganwar • Rajpura • Lamba Harisingh 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jamwa Ramgarh • Saipura • Indergarh • Lali • Saiwad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bhagwanpur • Sirgovardhanpur • Shivdaspur • Susuahi • Chhasi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mator • Daurala • Bhoorbaral • Uplahara • Chhajupur 	30
Focus Group Discussion	<p style="text-align: center;">1 FGD in each village Type of Respondents-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother/Father • Mother in law/Father in law • Elder brother/sister • Grandfather/Grandmother • Uncle/Aunt (or other relatives) <p style="text-align: center;">In- Depth Interview</p>						30
Panchayat	5 (1 Member from each village)						30
Family (Head of Household)	125 (25 / village)	125 (25 / village)	125 (25 / village)	125 (25 / village)	125 (25 / village)	125 (25 / village)	750
Those married below 18 Years	12 from each State						36
NGO'S	6 from each State						18
Police	10 from each State						30
District Magistrate	2 from each State						6
TOTAL INTERVIEW							870

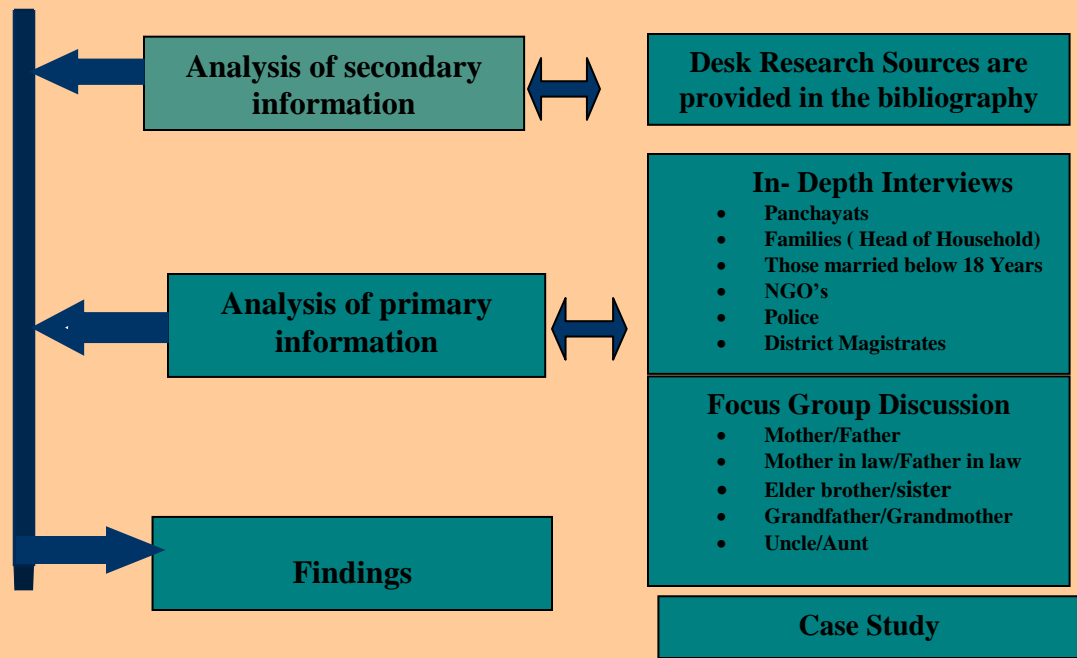
3.5.3 Research design and methodology

This study is based on situation analysis, which relies on a combination of focused group discussions (FGDs), structured questionnaires, and case studies. The objective was to probe about the attitude and beliefs regarding child marriage and initiatives of key institutional actors, such as police, government departments, and community workers (NGOs) and Panchayat members. Situational analysis in this context, is seen as a community “diagnostic” intervention that provided insightful information in areas of reform. For in depth interviews a pre-tested questionnaire was devised. Based on their response, a final questionnaire, with a structured format was prepared. Separate schedules were prepared for each informant. In each of the schedules, apart from capturing the socio- economic background of the respondents, the questionnaire focused on the prevalence and causes of child marriage in the surveyed areas. The awareness to legal provisions and implementation of the law to prevent child marriage, and the suggestions to make laws more effective were other aspects that were elicited. Specific questions were asked to the implementing agencies like Panchayat members, Police and District Magistrate about measures and action taken by them to curb the practice of child marriage in their areas. Separate guidelines were also prepared for conducting Focus Group Discussion which highlighted issues like causes of child marriage, attitude/views of community people towards child marriage, legal awareness among community people related to child marriage act. (Detail Schedule in Annexure). Interviewers were locally recruited and were given orientation to acquaint them with the interview guides.

Steps for analyzing and interpreting data

- Define data matrix
- Display frequencies of the variables, using statistical software like SPSS
- Make cross tabulations to check for inconsistencies
- Review basic objectives
- Plan initial tables
- Write down the results that emerge
- Illustrate results in tables and graphs
- Interpret results and assess critically
- Synthesize results in writing

Figure 3.1
RESEARCH DESIGN



CHAPTER- IV

SITUATION OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN THE STUDY AREAS

4.1 Causes of Child Marriage (social, cultural, historical)

The uniqueness of child marriages in the study areas in India, is that both the bride and the groom are underage unlike some other parts of the world/country where there is a huge age difference between the two, with usually the girl being the child bride. The consequences of such a union, where both the partners are tied in matrimony as children affect the life opportunities of both the sexes in a negative way, with the girls being the worst sufferers. Despite the official machinery geared against the practice and the various awareness campaigns being taken up from time to time, it still finds favour within the communities and the people. In Rajasthan, *Akha Teej*, is considered auspicious for marriages and a number of child marriages are solemnized in the state. What sustains the faith of the people to follow the practice which is a legal offence? Several reasons can be assigned to the prevalence of this practice.

Field observations and other sources identify two groups of people favoring child marriage:

- ◆ The practice of child marriage in the study areas can be attributed to the collective thought process. People are following the practice of child marriage because this is the way things have been done in their families and they consider it right. That the practice invites punishment from the law of the land is no deterrent for them.
- ◆ The other group following the practice is forced by limitations of the circumstances, which is true for people with weak economic conditions. Imagine a rural household with large family, little resources and few possessions. They survive at the bare minimum level. Their way of life has remained unchanged for generations. They are not interested in formal education (for various reasons) and hence for the grown up children, marriage is a sort of baptism: initiation into life and worldly affairs. The tough physical environment where struggle for survival with nature is an everyday occurrence, few things bring more joy and relief than occasions like marriage which symbolize the zest for life overpowering the mundane dullness of every day struggles.

Early marriages are favoured by them as they are assuring, i.e. at least one important aspect of life is taken care of.

Other common beliefs and perspectives that sustain and support the practice:

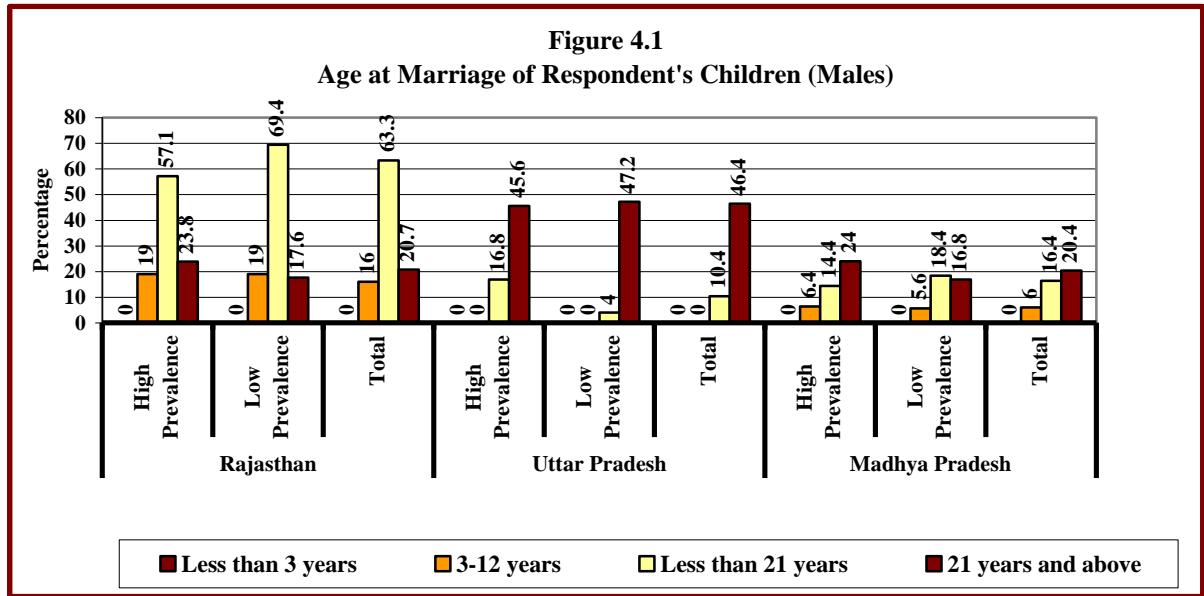
- ◆ Marrying children is considered an important duty by the parents and an important obligation for the attainment of *moksha*. People believe that religious scriptures prescribe early marriages for children and they try to do this at the earliest available opportunity.
- ◆ Also, strong caste ties and the rules of interaction, limit the availability of most suitable brides and grooms. So, as soon as parents come across a suitable match, they waste no time in solemnizing the marriage ritual. They negate the ill effects of the practice, as according to them, the consummation of marriage happens only when the couple is grown up (usually below the legal age for marriage).
- ◆ The economic reasons also have contributed in the acceptance and continuance of this practice. Usually, when the match is settled for the eldest child, the siblings are married at the same time to avoid the expense of inviting people again and again for other children.
- ◆ The feudal background of the state restricted access of education to masses, especially for girls. The prevailing gender biases prevent a girl child from acquiring any other skills except those complementing her biological capacity. Such biases and values favour early marriage.
- ◆ Children are married young to ensure their obedience and subservience within the family.
- ◆ Child marriage is also solemnised because people have their own ideas of fertility and childbearing capacity. Early marriage ensures full utilization of this capacity.

4.2 Prevalence and trend of child marriage in the study areas

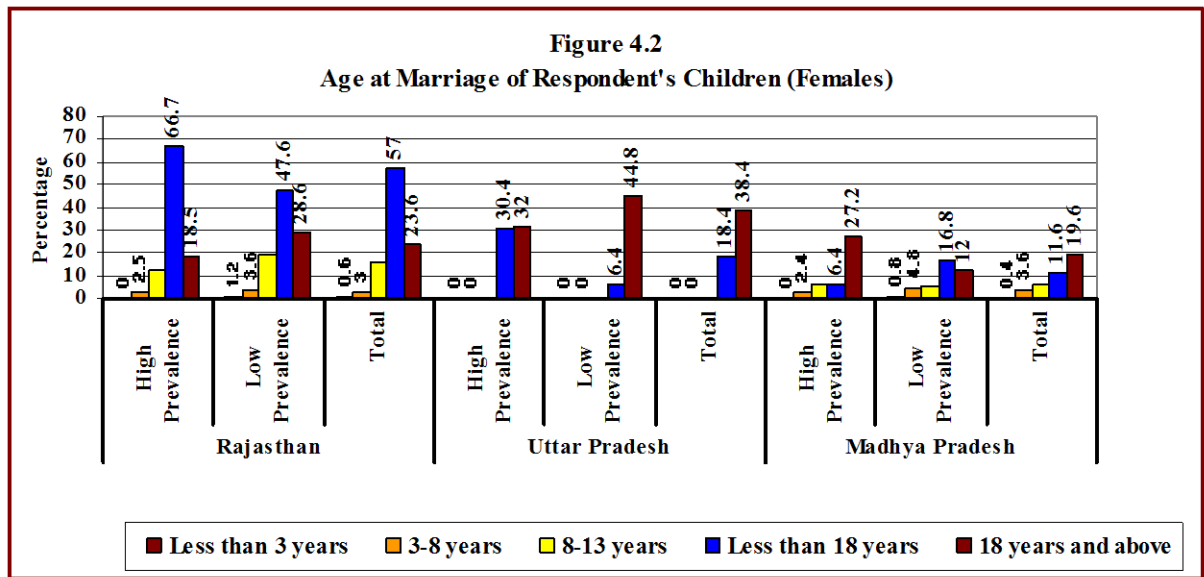
Regarding the age at marriage, in **Uttar Pradesh** (UP), the age of the children of respondents showed that in Varanasi, sons were married off when they were less than 21 years (16.8%) compared to 4% in Meerut. About 30.4% in Varanasi, and 6.4% in Meerut got their daughters married off when they were less than 18 years of age.

In **Madhya Pradesh** (MP), according to the respondents, 20.4% said that the age at marriage of their sons was above 21 years. 16.8% respondents in Bhopal said that their daughters were married off when they were less than 18 years. The age at marriage for 6% of the male children was 3-12 years and for 16.4%, were married when they were less than 21 years of age. The age at marriage for female children was shocking. 0.4% females were married when they were less than 3 years, 3.6% were married at the age of 3-8 years, 6% females got married at the age of 8-13 years, 11.6% when they were less than 18 years. In Bhopal district, 4.8% and in Shajapur 2.4% females got married at the age of 3-8 years. In Bhopal 5.6% and in Shajapur 6.4% females were married in the age group of 8-13 years.

In **Rajasthan**, as gathered from the field, about 66% of the people had married their sons and a similar percentage of respondents had married daughters. The data clearly indicates that the marriage age falls below the one legally defined for both the sexes. The trend is supported by both the study districts of Rajasthan. Of all the marriages in Tonk district, 82.4% of boys and 76.2% of girls are married below the prescribed age for marriage. Jaipur district presents a slightly better picture with about 24% of the boys and 29% of the girls married in accordance with the age prescribed by law.



Source: Primary Survey



Source: Primary Survey

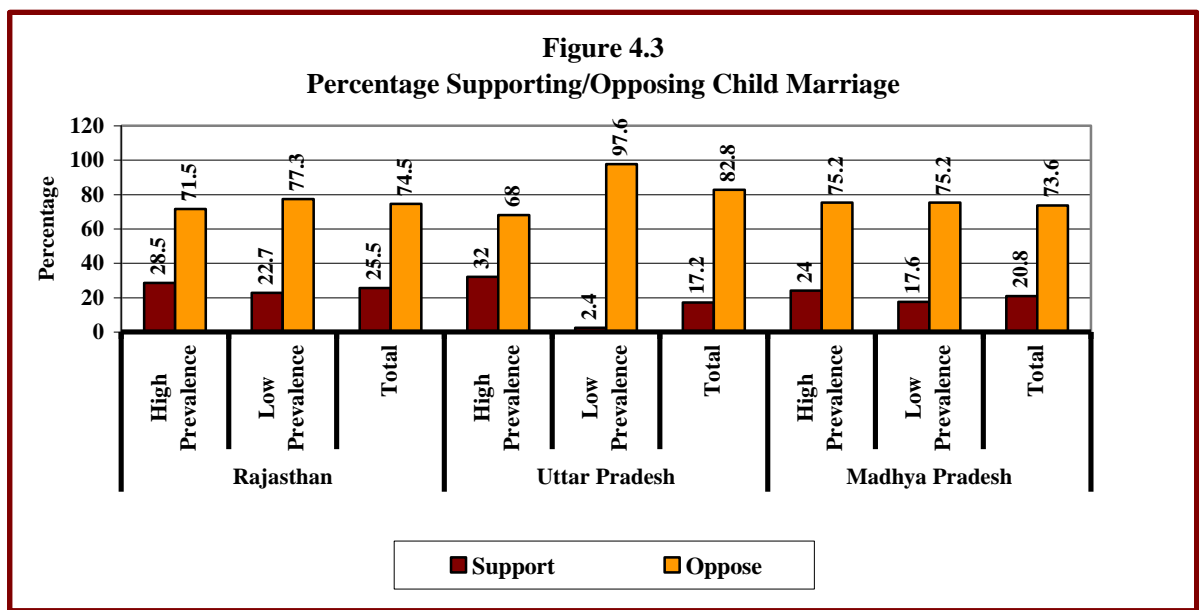
Most of the people go by the sentiments of their primary in-groups in matters relating to marriages. People show general apathy for the rule of law in this matter. The general indicators of development favour Jaipur district than Tonk and it gets reflected to some extent in the small population (sample) of both the sexes (which is higher than Tonk), which prefers to abide by the law of land in getting married.

Two factors contribute to avoidance of law; ignorance and submission to some other pressure. Child marriage as a practice still finds favour in particular geographical areas

In Meerut 97.6% and Varanasi 68% oppose child marriages. In Varanasi 32%, Tonk 29%, Jaipur 23% & Shajapur 24% support child marriages

because the social norms of the community prevail upon the individual. Social practices, especially the ones, which are contrary to the spirit of the law of the land, thrive on the support of the community people.

Though child marriages continue to be practiced steadily, but responses from the field has shown that people oppose the practice. The graph below gives the details of respondents' attitude towards this practice.



Source: Primary Survey

Results have shown that in UP, 82.8% do not support child marriage. Results from the two target districts reveal that in Meerut 97.6% and in Varanasi 68% do not support child marriages.

Even in Rajasthan, there are few supporters of child marriage in both the districts. Tonk has about 29% of population supporting child marriage compared to 23% in Jaipur.

However, in MP, most of the respondents oppose the practice (73.6%), but in Shajapur 24% support it.

With few people to support this ill practice, chances are that individuals, in times to come would get a fair chance of leading a meaningful and fulfilled life. But at the same time, it is

visible from the figure than there are also some people who support the practice despite its illegality. It might be due to the fact that they follow this custom so strictly that they are not able to move away from it whatsoever.

Furthermore, social practices are supported by norms enforced by the communities to which individuals belong. Social problems do not disappear with the framing of Laws and Acts. Laws and Acts are merely the first steps to address the problem formally. The interpretation and implementation of the law paves way for its effectiveness.

Table 4.1

Practice of Child Marriage in Respondent's Caste/Community						
States	Practice	Do not practice	Responses Received			
Rajasthan	8	66.7%	4	33.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	9	75.0%	3	25.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
Meerut	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	28	84.8%	4	12.1%	32	97.0%
Bhopal	11	100%	0	0.0%	11	100%
Shajapur	17	77.3%	4	18.2%	21	95.5%

Source: Primary Survey

The above table highlights that in UP, 75% of the respondent's caste/community practice the act of child marriage. District wise, in Varanasi 87.5% and in Meerut 50% practice it. Whereas in Rajasthan, more than three fourth of the respondents who were married as children agreed that the caste/community they belonged to practice child marriage.

Also, in MP, all the respondents from Bhopal (100%) and 77.3% from Shajapur said that child marriage is practiced in their respective caste/community.

When the NGOs were asked about the number of child marriages that takes place in a year, NGOs from both the districts of Rajasthan confirmed about 1-10 cases of child marriage in a year. But the numbers could be much more than this as in Rajasthan itself every year on *Akha Teej* day, thousands of marriages are held.

In Bhopal district of MP, 66.7% of NGOs said that 1-10 cases are reported. Four NGOs (66.7%) in UP said that the number of child marriage cases taking place in a year was between 1 to 10, while two NGOs (33.3%) said that the number varied from 11 to 20 cases per year.

The elected representatives are supposed to be role models to people whom they represent.

The elected representatives from all the three states were asked to share information related to the marriage age of their children. In Jaipur, the elected representative married his son before the legal age for marriage, whereas the elected representative from Tonk displayed a law-abiding behaviour in this matter. All the elected representatives from Tonk married their daughters when they attained the legal age of 18 years. In UP, 90% of the males and females respectively got married after attaining the legal age of marriage.

In MP, the situation was worse. Regarding the age of marriage of the sons, the Panchayat member in Shajapur (20%) said that his son got married when he was between 3-12 years and 20% in Bhopal and Shajapur each had married their sons when they were less than 21 years. Also, one Panchayat member (20%) had married his daughter at the age of 8-13 years whereas one in Bhopal had married his daughter when she was less than 18 years. The responses of the Panchayat members show that though they oppose child marriages openly but personally, they themselves get their children married before the legal age.

Regarding the number of complaints registered against child marriage on a monthly basis in the last five years, only a few personnel in Rajasthan responded to this query. Those who provided information said that they receive about 1-5 complaints, on an average, per month.

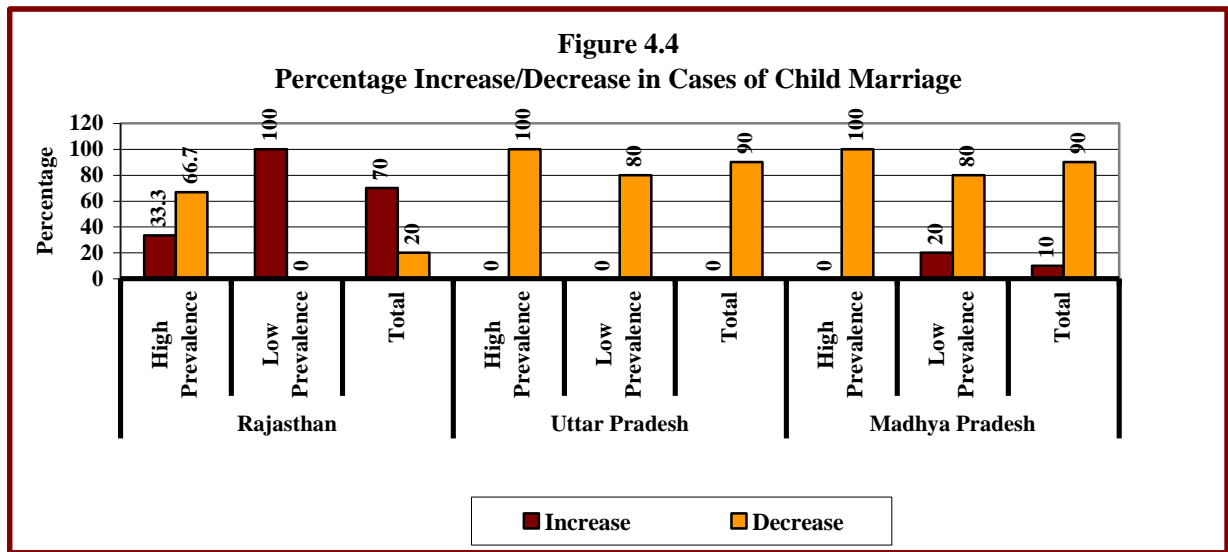
Even in UP, 9 respondents (90%) said that they receive 1 to 5 numbers of complaints on a monthly basis. In Bhopal, 60% said that 1-5 complaints have been registered and 40% in Shajapur said that they have registered 11-15 complaints per month. It can be concluded that

registered cases are comparatively less than the actual number of child marriages taking place in the districts.

When the police were asked regarding increase or decrease in the number of child marriage, general opinion for Rajasthan indicated an increase in the number of complaints lodged. All the police personnel in Jaipur agreed to an increase in the number of

Police respondents say that in Jaipur, child marriage cases have increased (100%) whereas in Tonk only 33.3% said so. In both UP & MP 90% respectively said that child marriage cases have decreased

complaints. A higher percentage of police respondents in Tonk believed that the number of cases of child marriage have reduced over a period. The following table highlights the percentage in the study areas:



Source: Primary Survey

In UP, 90% of the police respondents said that the number of complaints regarding child marriages has decreased. In Varanasi (100%) and in Merrut (80%) of police personnels said child marriage cass have decreased.

In Shajapur district (100%) and in Bhopal (80%) of the police personnels interviewed said that the complaints have decreased

As Vinay Kumar Srivastava (2006)² observed, “An important sociological fact about child marriages is that irrespective of legal prohibitions, the flouting of which leads one to simple imprisonment and fine, there is no secrecy, or clandestineness, about them. They are an open, public affair as marriages are generally in India.” In this context, the increasing number of complaints being lodged against child marriage over the years can be interpreted in the following ways:

- As an indication of growing consciousness amongst the masses about the ill effects of the practice and hence the increase in the number of formal complaints.
- Readiness of the police to address the problem
- Little change in ground reality i.e. people still continuing with the practice despite the formal prohibitions

The police personnel were asked to share information regarding the incidences of marriage registrations in their areas. According to all the police respondents in UP (100%), marriages are registered in the district.

Interestingly, all the police respondents from Jaipur (100%) informed that marriages are not registered in their area. About one third of the policemen from Tonk (33.3%) said that marriages are registered in their area.

In MP, 80% of the police respondents said that marriages are registered in the district. Since registration of marriage is not a mandatory obligation, few people opt for it. Mostly people apply for registration of marriage when they plan to move out of India.

In Jaipur (100%) and in Tonk (66.7%), police respondents said that marriages are not registered in the district. In Bhopal and Shajapur, 80% said that marriages are registered.

When the district magistrates were asked about the prevalence and custom of child marriage in the district, both the district magistrates in Rajasthan admitted that despite the framing of laws and other measures, the practice of child marriage finds acceptance with local people, especially in the rural areas.

In UP, two district magistrates told that child marriages are not practiced (100%) in the district. But, the facts/statistics reveal quite opposite results. In MP both the magistrates said (100%) that it is practiced.

² Srivastava, Vinay Kumar, *Cultural Traditions and Child Marriage*, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi 2006. This paper was presented on 13 July 2006 in a Workshop on Child Marriage in India: Socio-legal and Human Rights Dimension, organized by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, New Delhi.

In Tonk district of Rajasthan, the magistrate informed that there are few particular castes and communities, which indulged in the practice of child marriage whereas Jaipur district magistrate informed that various communities and castes indulged in the practice of child marriage.

In UP, there is no particular caste/community that practices child marriage, whereas in MP, one magistrate said child marriage was prevalent while another magistrate denied the same.

The district magistrate from Tonk informed that the preferred age for the child marriage of boys is less than 21 years and for girls it is less than 18 years.

In UP and MP, the district magistrates informed that the prevalent age-group for males is 21 years and above and for females it is 18 years and above.

Conclusions

- ◆ The prevalence of child marriage is a reality in all the three states. The age group as identified in the areas studied is below 21 years for boys and 18 years for girls
- ◆ Individually, less people agreed with the practice but admitted that their caste/community practices it. This explains to a great extent why the practice continues and how the collective consciousness subsumes the individual consciousness.
- ◆ The reported cases of child marriage are few. The reason being that individuals are guided by collective instincts. The enforcers and interpreters at the local level are products of the same socio-cultural milieu. They maybe using informal ways to stop the practice but formal means are put to use under extreme pressure
- ◆ Registration of marriages is not a norm but an exception in Rajasthan.

4.3 State initiatives

The government has taken some steps to check the practice of child marriage in the states of UP and MP. No information was available for the state of Rajasthan to be added in this section. Thus, the following part highlights some government initiatives taken in UP and MP and it analyzes whether such interventions have been able to curb the practice.

4.3.1 Uttar Pradesh

The alarming situation and number of complaints relating to atrocities of women received from Uttar Pradesh (the largest number from any state) forced the State Government to work harder in the field of protection of Child Rights and Violence against Women. State Commission for Women was established recently in 2005. The commission took up issues of child marriage and with the support of government schemes, organized campaigns, workshops and field activities regularly by mobilizing selected intellectual groups to carry out this movement in a systematic and planned way.

Uttar Pradesh government has initiated the recruitment of Child Marriage Prevention Officers to implement the laws and policies regarding child marriages. Special administrative measures as a means for ensuring implementation of legislative policies and protections were apparent in the state. “Mahila-Thanas” (All-women police stations) have been established to encourage women to register their complaints without any fear. The Government has made efforts to establish easily accessible Thanas at places where they are required most.

4.3.2 Madhya Pradesh

Despite formulation of various laws and legislations to check child marriages, it is continuing unabated in the tribal belts of Shajapur and Bhopal districts of Madhya Pradesh. The departments responsible for ensuring prevention of child marriage, such as the District Probation Office and police officials, have had limited effect.

Besides, politicians of the concerned districts, in particular those belonging to the tribal communities, do not effectively engage themselves with the prevention of child marriages primarily due to their own vested electoral gains. However, despite these setbacks, the MP Home Ministry, has intervened in numerous child marriages and has successfully stopped them.

In the year 2005, the office of the District Probation Officer of Bhopal was able to prevent the culmination of 128 child marriages and 5 FIRS were lodged with police pertaining to the conduction of child marriages. The office was also successful in forcibly stopping 62 child marriages, while another 62 of such marriages were prevented after counseling the parents of the concerned minor boys and girls.

In the year 2006, 13 child marriages were prevented, 4999 parents were given counseling against the evils of this kind of marriage and 218 awareness campaigns were organized to educate people about the evils of child marriage, with participation of 7773 people.

An inspector working in the Bhopal police division, on condition of anonymity, willingly related his own personal experience. According to him, once during a raid, in a remote tribal village, where a child marriage was performed, the villagers were non-cooperative and drove the police team out of the village with sharp-edged weapons. Even the local public representatives did not take a stand against the marriage.

The Home Ministry of Madhya Pradesh has launched a campaign by issuing a circular on 10 April, 2006, under which all district police chiefs have been instructed to maintain strict vigilance to prevent occurrence of child marriages under Anti Child Marriage Act.

CHAPTER- V

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREAS AND PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE STUDIED

5.1 Rajasthan

In Rajasthan, the study was carried out in ten villages. Out of ten , five villages were selected from **Jaipur District**, namely., Saipura, Lali, Sainwal, Indergarh and Jamwa Ramgarh and other five were selected from the **Tonk District**, namely Kachauliya, Rajpura, Hathgi, Ganwar and Lamba Hari Singh. The average population of the sampled villages was within the range of 5000 to 8000.

Villages near urban centres, like Lamba Hari Singh of Tonk district and Saipura & Jamwa Ramgarh of Jaipur district, showed more progress in terms of economic status of the villagers, literacy levels and in particular the level of awareness regarding illegality of child marriage. The incidence of child marriage was also less in these villages. An occupational shift was quite evident among the villagers as they were abandoning their traditional roles of farming and rapidly selling off their agricultural land or developing colonies on it. However, the main occupation of the villagers in the interiors continued to subsist on agriculture.

As far as the religious origin of the villagers is considered, 99.2% were Hindu and 0.8% Muslims. 48.8% of the villagers belonged to the SC/ST category, 22.4% are OBCs and the remaining belonged to other categories. All the sampled villages had caste groups ranging from the Meena, Jaat, Gurjar, Rajput, Berwa, Chamar and Maali.

5.2 Uttar Pradesh

In Uttar Pradesh (UP) , the study was carried out in 10 villages. Out of ten, five villages namely Bhagwanpur, Sir Govardhanpur, Shivdaspur, Susuahi and Chhasi were from the **Varanasi district** and from **Merrut district** five other villages, namely Mator, Daurala, Bhoorbaral, Uplahara and Chhajupur were selected. The average population of these villages ranged between 6000 to 8000.

Two villages, Daurala and Bhoorbaral of Merrut district showed more progress in terms of economic status and literacy levels of the villagers. Mostly people were aware of the ill-effects of child marriage and only few cases of child marriages were found. However, it was apparent that despite a high literacy level, they lacked awareness about illegality of child marriage. Occupation wise, most of the villagers were engaged in agriculture and allied activities, dairying and animal husbandry. People in interior villages like Chhasi of Varanasi district were engaged in agriculture and other traditional roles. They lacked awareness on the meaning and consequences of child marriage. The literacy level was low and the community resisted any exposure to a new ideology.

5.3 Madhya Pradesh

As in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, ten villages were selected from two districts, Bhopal and Shajapur. These were Misrode, Neelbar, Ratibar, Barkhera Nathu and Berkheri from the Bhopal district. And Beraksha, Mullakheri, Tilawat Govind, Sunera, Sundarari from Shajapur district. The overall literacy rate in state of Madhya Pradesh as compared to other states was low and men were more literate than women. As per the religious orientation of the villagers, 90% were Hindu ,9.6% Muslims and remaining 0.4% followed other religions. 34.4% of the villagers belonged to the SC/ST category, 41.6% are OBCs and the remaining 2.4% belonged to other categories. The village Sunera was situated 15 kms away from Shajapur district and was mainly Muslim dominated with the presence of Dalits and backward people.

5.4 Socio-Economic Profile

5.4.1 Profile of heads of the households (Family members)

In UP, Rajasthan and MP, interviews were conducted with 250, 254 and 225 heads of the households (family member) respectively. Amongst the respondents interviewed, 92.2 % in Rajasthan, 87.2% in UP and 90% in MP followed Hindu religion. A significant percentage of the respondents in all the three states of UP (39.6%), MP (34.4%) and Rajasthan (48.8%) belonged to the SC/ST category. Likewise, in MP, 41.6% and in UP, 19.6% and in Rajasthan , 22.4% of the respondents belonged to OBC category. Respondents belonging to ‘other’ categories were 40.8% in UP; 24% in MP and 28.7% in Rajasthan.

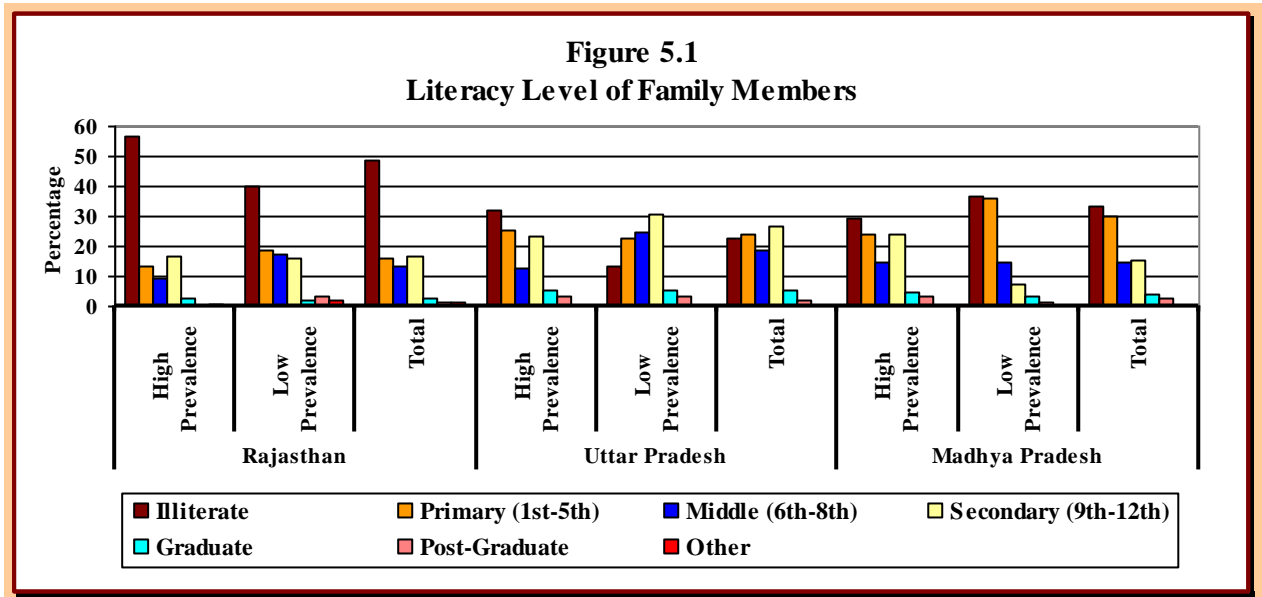
Male predominance, a characteristic feature of Indian rural society, was reflected by this study as the study had more male respondents than female respondents. Women's lack of freedom to speak could be one of the reasons of low participation in the study. In Rajasthan, only 3.1% respondents from both the districts were women as compared to 96.9% men. In UP 83.6% respondents were men and the rest 16.4% were women, whereas in MP 88.4% interviewed were men and 11.6% were women.

In Rajasthan, UP and MP, most respondents were in the age group of 30–50 years, their number being 56.3%, 50.8% and 54% respectively. In UP (90%), in MP (94.4%) and Rajasthan (96.9%) of the respondents were married.

The occupational structure in all the three states depicted an urbanization trend which is not only encroaching rural hinterland but also is also adversely affecting the rural living. The villagers earlier were either directly involved in agriculture and allied activities or had occupation that ensured self-sufficiency of the village. However, now with urban employment opportunities available in rural vicinity, villagers are migrating to urban areas for a number of reasons such as better remuneration in terms of cash, opportunity to break the shackles of caste and community, and modern living opportunities. For the study, the respondents were categorized according to their occupation as the “cultivators (people directly involved in farming activity) and “other workers” (people who are employed in urban areas as factory workers and construction labourers) .The study revealed that in the two districts of Rajasthan , about 55% of the respondents from Tonk and 48% respondents from Jaipur were “cultivators”. And the remaining 28% from Tonk and 43% respondents from Jaipur formed the “other workers” category. The situation was almost the same in UP and MP as well. Here, around 30.8% and 24.8% respectively are involved in other occupations while 20.4% and 46.8% respectively are cultivators.

Low rate of literacy is usually a distinctive feature of most of the villages in the northern states. Rajasthan too is no exception to low literacy rate. A sizeable percentage of the respondents, 48.4% fell in the illiterate category with only 2 - 5% of the respondents with higher education. In UP, analysis of the educational status of the sample size showed that 26.8% had studied till the secondary level (9-12th) while 24% have studied only till the primary level (1-5th). In Bhopal district , 36.8% were illiterate while 36% were educated till the primary level. In Shajapur district, 29.6% of the respondents were illiterate and 24% had

completed primary level and secondary level each. The educational level of the respondents is illustrated in the graph and table below: (Figure 5.1):



Source: Primary Survey

Table 5.1

States/Districts	Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level								
	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur	UP	Varanasi	Meerut	MP	Bhopal	Shajapur
Illiterate	123 48.4%	71 56.8%	52 40.3%	57 22.8%	40 32.0%	17 13.6%	83 33.2%	46 36.8%	37 29.6%
Primary (1-5th)	41 16.1%	17 13.6%	24 18.6%	60 24%	32 25.6%	28 22.4%	75 30.0%	45 36.0%	30 24.0%
Middle (6-8th)	34 13.4%	12 9.6%	22 17.1%	47 18.8%	16 12.8%	31 24.8%	36 14.4%	18 14.4%	18 14.4%
Secondary (9-12th)	42 16.5%	21 16.8%	21 16.3%	67 26.8%	29 23.2%	38 30.4%	39 15.6%	9 7.2%	30 24.0%
Graduate	6 2.4%	3 2.4%	3 2.3%	14 5.6%	7 5.6%	7 5.6%	10 4.0%	4 3.2%	6 4.8%
Post-Graduate	4 1.6%	0 0.0%	4 3.1%	5 2%	1 0.8%	4 3.2%	6 2.4%	2 1.6%	4 3.2%
Other	4 1.6%	1 0.8%	3 2.3%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Responses Received	254 100.0%	125 100.0%	129 100.0%	250 100.0%	125 100.0%	125 100.0%	249 99.6%	124 99.2%	125 100.0%

Source: Primary Survey

Village economies are typically labour intensive and patronise large family size. Hence, joint family system is a common feature of rural society. Traditional value system puts the onus of care of the elderly members, infirm relatives and the children. It is not unusual in villages to find several generations sharing same roof and hearth. In Rajasthan, about three fourth of the respondents (82% in Tonk district and 69% in Jaipur district) lived in the joint family set up. In Varanasi, 60% of the respondents were living in joint families while 55.2% in Meerut district lived in a nuclear set up. In Bhopal, 58.4% respondents had a joint family set up while 64% lived in a nuclear family. In Rajasthan, the average family size in terms of children for about half of the respondents at state level was between 4-6. In the Jaipur district, the number of children per family of the respondents was higher whereas in Tonk district, about half of the respondents had less than 3 children. Likely, in UP 56.4% and in MP 44% had 4-6 children in their families and 32.8% in UP and 44.4% in MP had less than 3 children.

The income status of the villagers reveal only partial picture of their economic status, as village economy does not always transact in monetary terms only but also in kind. In Rajasthan, most of the respondents (90%) and in UP 64% of the respondents belonged to the low-income group with average family monthly income less than or equal to Rs. 5000. Jaipur district of Rajasthan had about 18% respondents belonging to Rs. 5000-10000 income range. In MP, 51.6% of the respondents had income between 1000-3000 rupees.

The Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards are indicative of the economic status of any households. They are issued by the Government of India to identify poverty stricken families. In Rajasthan, a high number of respondents did not possess BPL cards whereas in UP 55.2% of the respondents in Varanasi districts had their cards while 88.8% in Meerut didn't had any indicative BPL cards. In MP, 61.6% of the respondents did not have BPL cards.

5.4.2 Profile of couples married below 18 years

From each state twelve couples were identified and interviewed for the study. In Rajasthan and UP, 11 of the respondent couple and in MP 10 respondents' couples belonged to the Hindu community. One couple each from Rajasthan and UP and two couples from MP

belonged to Muslim Community. The sample at the Rajasthan state level had fifty percent representation of the SC/ST respondents. One fourth of the respondents were from OBC category and rest belonged to the other category. Jaipur had two third of the respondents from the SC/ST category with one each from OBC and other category. Tonk had two respondents each from the various social categories.

In UP, 58.3% of the couple interviewed belonged to the OBC and 33.3% were from the SC/ST category. In MP, 41.6% of the respondents were from the SC/ST category, 16.6% from the OBC category and 41.6% from other categories.

In Rajasthan and UP, 58% and 50% of the couples respectively belonged to the age group 19-24 years. In Rajasthan, 8% belonged to 13-18 years and one third of the respondents were above 24 years of age compared to 50% in UP who are above 24 years.

As discussed above, the study found low literacy levels among the respondents. In Rajasthan one third of the respondents at the state level were illiterate and only 8% of the respondents were graduates. One fourth of them had educational skills up to primary level. Respondents from Tonk presented a better scenario in terms of educational level with 17% of the respondents being graduates and about 34% of the respondents' were educated above the primary level. About 50% of the respondents in Jaipur district were illiterate. Of the rest fifty percent, one third were educated till primary level, one third till middle level and the rest one-third till secondary level.

Even in UP, low literacy rates was seen in the responses received from those interviewed. 50% of those married below 18 years said that they were illiterate and 41.7% had studied only till the primary level (1-5th) standard. In Varanasi 62.5% of respondents were illiterate and in Meerut 75% had completed just the primary standard (1-5th).

In MP, 50% of respondents from Shajapur district had primary level education whereas in Bhopal 25% had education till the middle level (6th-8th std). In MP, none of the respondents had reached graduation and education was limited to secondary (9th-12th) level.

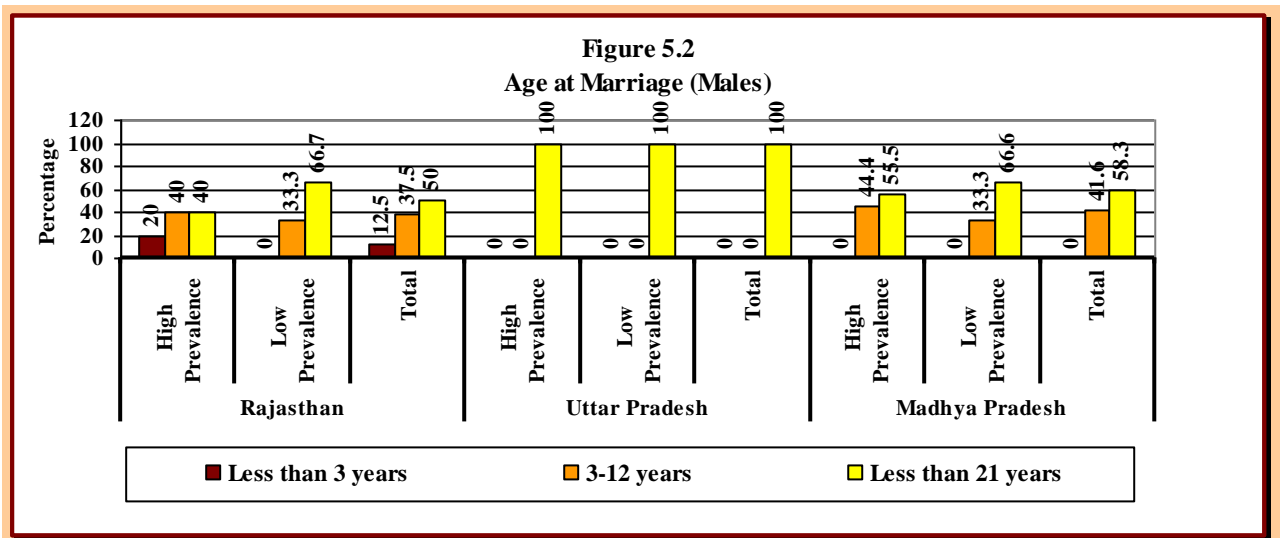
The low level of illiteracy and high prevalence of child marriage could be seen as a vicious circle. An early marriage limits the opportunities for education and self-development, whereas lack of education results in stubborn mindset and ignorance of the ill effects of child marriage.

Joint family set up was one of the dominant trends in Rajasthan, MP and UP .In Tonk district of Rajasthan only, about 17% of the respondents stayed in nuclear family set up and in Jaipur, all the respondents stayed in joint families. In MP, 83.3% of the respondents informed that they stayed in joint family set up. In Shajapur district all the respondents were part of joint families.

As far as the occupational scenario is concerned, in Rajasthan, about 50% of the respondents were into non-agricultural economic activity. One fourth of the respondents were non-workers and 17% were cultivators. A small percentage of them were involved in house hold industry. In Tonk, two third of the respondents were other workers. In Jaipur, about 50% of the respondents were non-workers.

In UP, most of the respondents, about 66.7% were working as agricultural labourers and 16.7% were shopkeepers. In MP, more than half of the respondents (58.3%) worked as agricultural labourers, 25% as cultivators and 16.6% as other workers.

In Rajasthan, 50% of the male respondents were married below 21 years of age and in UP and MP, 100% and 58.3% of the male respondents respectively, got married when they were below 21 years of age.

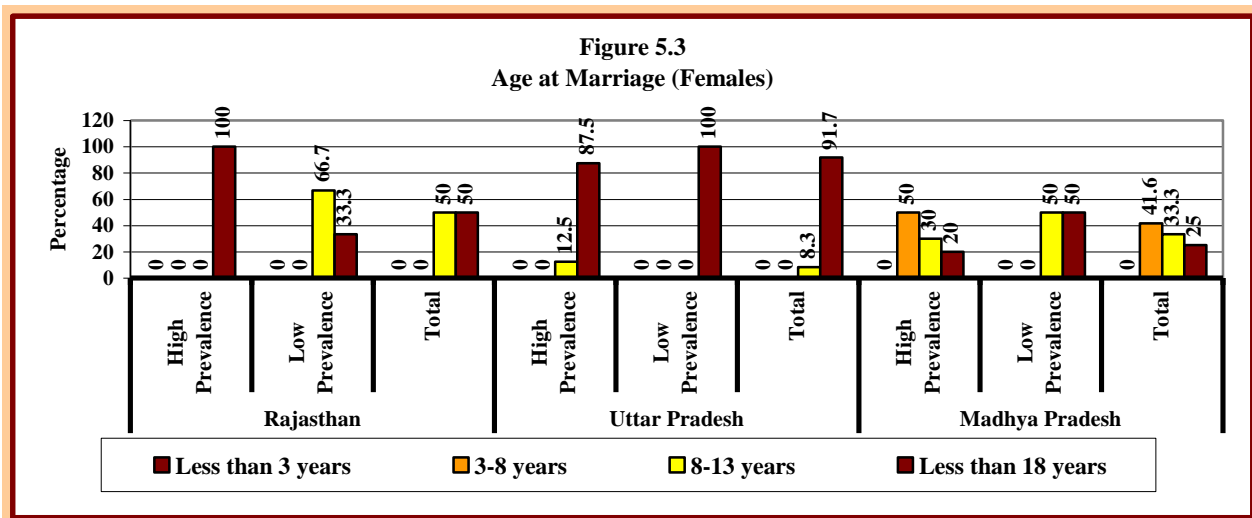


Source: Primary Survey

In Rajasthan, 37% of the respondents got married when they were below 12 years and one respondent was married below 3 years. Relatively speaking, male respondents from Tonk were married at a younger age. Tonk had 60% of such male respondents who were married

below 12 years of age whereas Jaipur had one third of such male respondents who were married below 12 years of age.

In MP, 41.6% male respondents got married when they were in the age group of 3-12 years.



Source: Primary Survey

Regarding the age at marriage of the female respondents, in Rajasthan 50%, in UP 91.7% and in MP 25% got married when they were below 18 years.

In Rajasthan, 50% of the female respondents got married below 13 years but above 8 years a Tonk had only one female respondent who was married below 18 years of age. Of the three female respondents from Jaipur two were married below 13 years of age and one was married when she was less than 18 years of age. In UP 8.3% of the female respondents got married when they were in the age group of 8-13 years. In Varanasi, 12.5% females got married between 8-13 years while 87.5% got married below 18 years. In Meerut, all the four respondents (100%) got married when they were less than 18 years of age.

In MP, 50% of the female respondents from Shajapur district were married at the age of 3-8 years and 30% were married between 8-13 years and 20% were married when they were less than 18 years. Similarly in Bhopal, 50% female respondents got married at the age of 8-13 years while the other 50% were married when they were less than 18 years.

5.4.3 Profile of Panchayat members

80% of the Panchayat members interviewed in UP and MP, and 100% in Rajasthan followed Hindu religion. About 60% of respondents in UP, 45% in Rajasthan and 30% in MP

belonged to the SC/ST category while 30% in UP and 50% in MP belonged to the OBC category.

In Rajasthan (45.5%) and MP (80%), were in the age group of 30 – 50 years. From Tonk district of Rajasthan, two third of the respondents were above 50 years in age while in Jaipur 37% of the respondents were below the age of 30 years. In UP, 60% of the respondents were in age group of 50 years and above and 40% belonged to the middle-age group, 30-50 years.

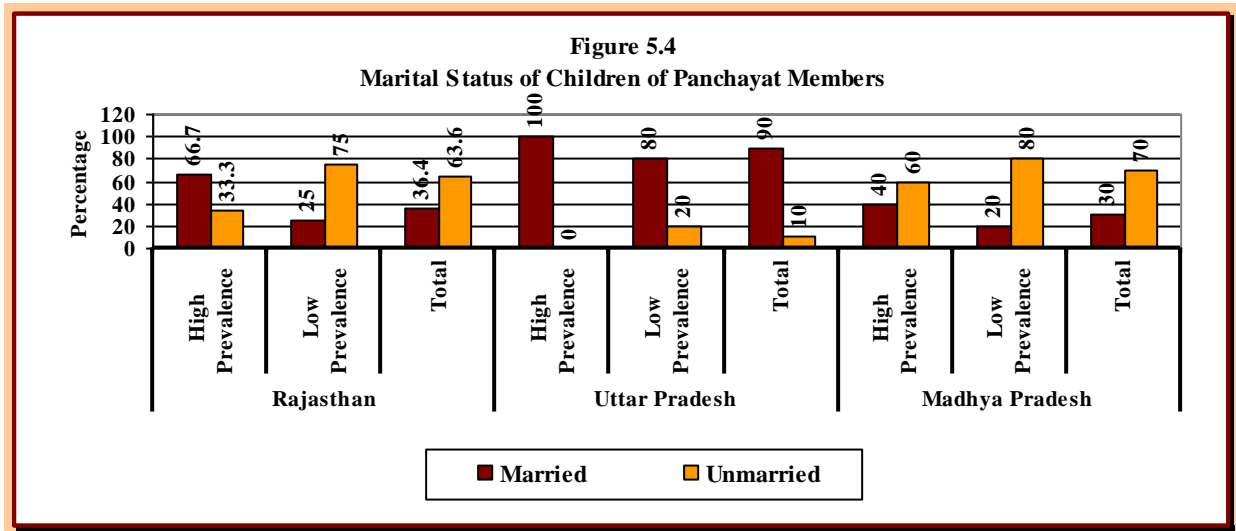
All the Panchayat members interviewed in UP and MP were married while one third of the panchayat members in Rajasthan were still single i.e., not married.

Education wise, in Rajasthan, three of the respondents had studied up to graduation and beyond. About 27% had poor educational skills, primary or below. In Tonk district, out of three respondents, two were educated till 12th and one was educated up to 5th. In Jaipur district had three respondents with educational skills above senior secondary. In UP, 60% of the respondents had studied till the secondary level while 3 respondents (30%) had studied only till class eighth. In MP, 30% of the Panchyati members were illiterates and 30% had studied till the secondary level. 20% of them had finished the primary level education while only one respondent (10%) was a graduate.

In Rajasthan, the elected representatives at the local level of the samples villages were involved in agriculture and related activities. This trend was reflected by all the villages from both the districts. In UP (80%) and MP (50%), of the Panchayat members worked as cultivators, while 40% in MP worked in other areas than agriculture.

When asked about the marital status of their children, in Rajasthan, nearly one third of the elected representatives of the studied area had married children. The data from the two districts reflects opposing trends. About two third of the elected representatives from Tonk district had their children married whereas in Jaipur more than three fourth of the respondents had unmarried children. Since, Jaipur had higher percentage of young elected representatives as compared to Tonk that probably explains the reason for higher percentage of respondents with unmarried children in Jaipur. In Varanasi district of UP, all the 5 respondents and 80% in Meerut district said that their children are married. Whereas in Bhopal and Shajapur

districts of MP, 80% and 60% respectively said that their children were unmarried while 20% in Bhopal and 40% in Shajapur responded that their child were married.



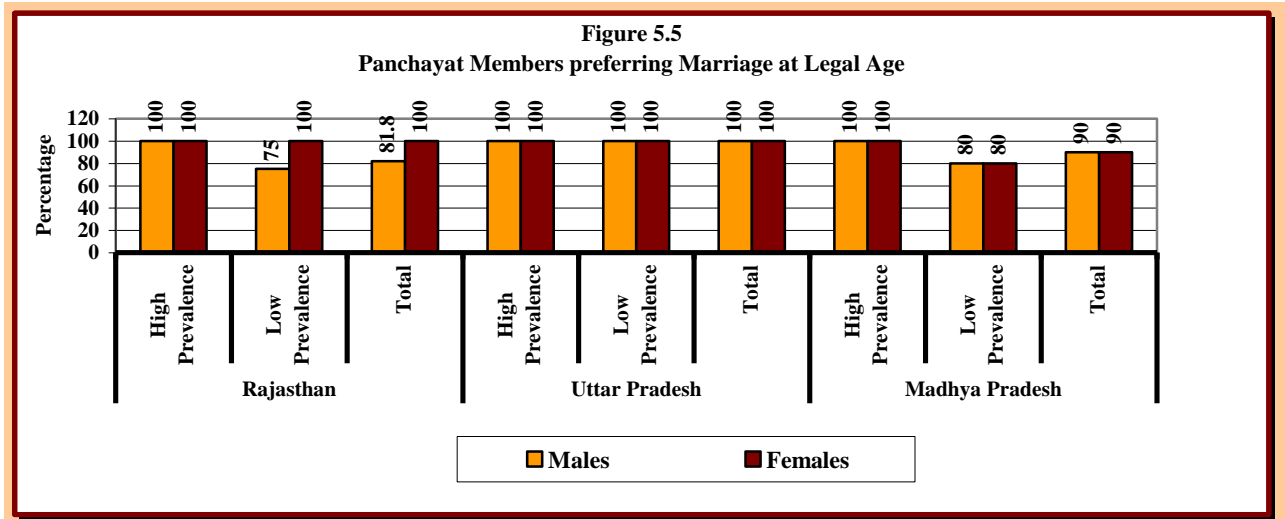
Source: Primary Survey

When asked about the right age at marriage for males, few responses were received for this question in Rajasthan. The political leadership desisted from giving any politically incorrect statement. Only 18% of the respondents agreed to share their views on this issue. From the responses received interesting trends were identified: all the respondents from Tonk believed that males should marry after the legal age of 21 years and in contrast, all the respondents from Jaipur were of the view that males should get married before attaining the legal age for marriage, which is 21 years. For the elected representatives it appeared that they owed their existence and survival in the system, especially at the local level, to parochial ties of caste, class, and beliefs and therefore avoided taking any strong views that went against the local sentiments. Regarding the right age at marriage for females, the response from Rajasthan showed that in both Tonk and Jaipur, all the elected representatives (who agreed to respond) agreed that the right age for the marriage of girls should be above 18 years.

Unlike the responses received in Rajasthan, all the Panchayat members in UP insisted on preferred age marriage of boys to be 21 years and above. Whereas in UP, all the Panchayat members said that they prefer girls to get married after the legal age of 18 years and above.

In MP, 100% all the respondents in Shajapur believed that males should get married when they are above 21 years and females above 18 years. However, in Bhopal only 80% of the

panchayati members prefer the marriage of males and females at legal age. Only one respondent in Bhopal said that males and females should marry before the legally approved age.



Source: Primary Survey

In Rajasthan, about 45% and in MP 70% of the respondents admitted that there were incidents of child marriage in their own caste and community. In Shajapur, 80% said that their caste/community did not practice child marriage. In Varanasi district of UP, 60% of the Panchayat members said that they practiced child marriage in their own caste and community and in Meerut a small 20% practice it. None of the respondents in both Rajasthan and UP supported child marriage, whereas in MP, 20% supported it. In UP and MP, all the respondents said that Gram Panchayat mainly exists in the districts and in Rajasthan only a small percentage of the respondents inform about the presence of Jati Panchayat in their village.

5.4.4 Profile of NGOs

In UP and MP only 3 NGOs (50% each) and in Rajasthan all the NGOs informed that their organization have been active for more than eleven years. In UP, all the NGO respondents said that they had more than 20 staffs in their organization while in Rajasthan, about one third of them had staff of less than five people and the rest had staff between six to ten people. In MP, 33.3% of the NGOs had staff of 6-10 people whereas another 33.3% had 10-20 employees.

In UP, 83.3% NGOs were working on issues related to education and 83.3% on women and child development. In Rajasthan, the trends in both the districts reveal that the sampled NGOs addressed integrated issues of women and child development, child rights, educational issues and to some extent health issues.

In MP, 66.7% of the NGOs focussed on women and child development issues, 50% on health issues, and 33.3% on child rights.

It was very interesting to learn about the various measures taken by the NGOs to handle incidence of child marriage in their area of work. In UP , almost all the NGOs believed in proactive action and regularly organized counseling sessions and awareness campaigns on the issues related to the child marriage. In the two districts of Rajasthan, all the NGOs interviewed worked against the occurrence of child marriage in their area by influencing and sensitizing the opinion leaders and by engaging the law enforcing agencies. About two third of them have also tried to convince the parents conducting the child marriage. Likewise, in MP all the NGO respondents work on the issue of child marriage by meeting and convincing the parents and other family members. Along with it 66.7% of the NGOs in MP, coordinated with the Police to stop any occurrence of Child marriage in the area and some 16.7% of NGOs try to stop the practice by speaking to opinion leaders.

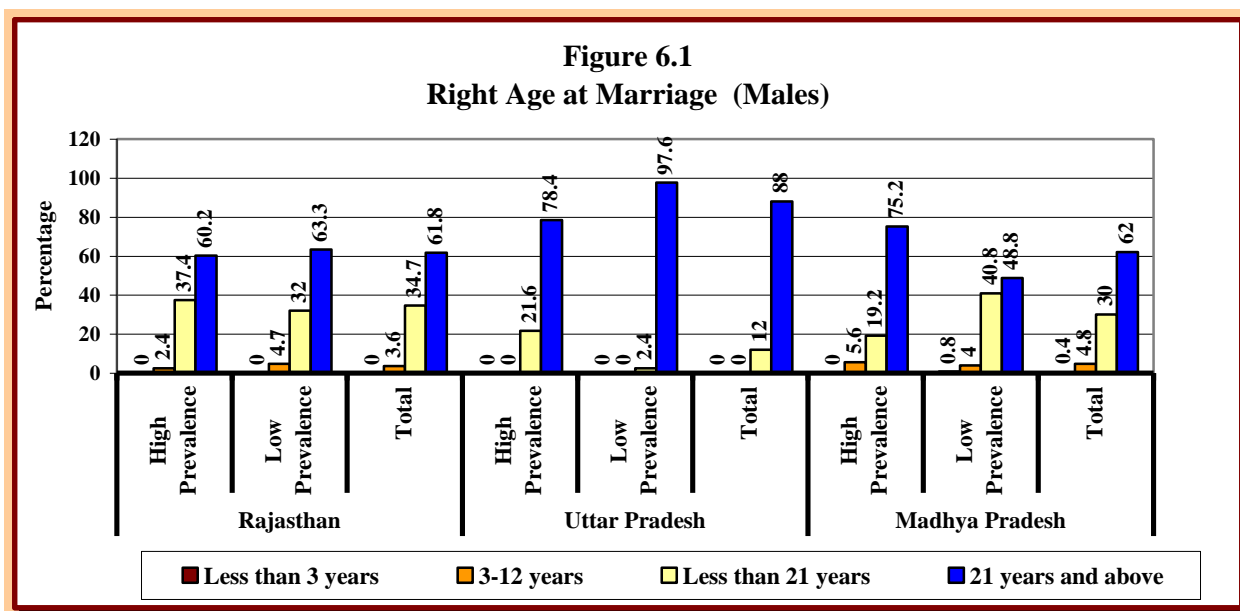
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND OUTCOME OF THE STUDY

6.1 Responses of the family head

In an effort to find out the main familial force behind child marriage, it was observed that in UP, the majority of respondents who have conducted the child's marriage were either the members of the child's immediate family or their own relatives. 34.4% respondents said that relatives of the child conducted the marriage and 25.6% said that the family members performed the child marriage. In Rajasthan, most respondents stated that it was usually the priest who officiates at child marriages. Some of them admitted that occasionally family members and relatives too officiated at child marriage. In MP, in most of the cases the priests (34.8%) performed the marriages along with relatives (30%) and family members (28%).

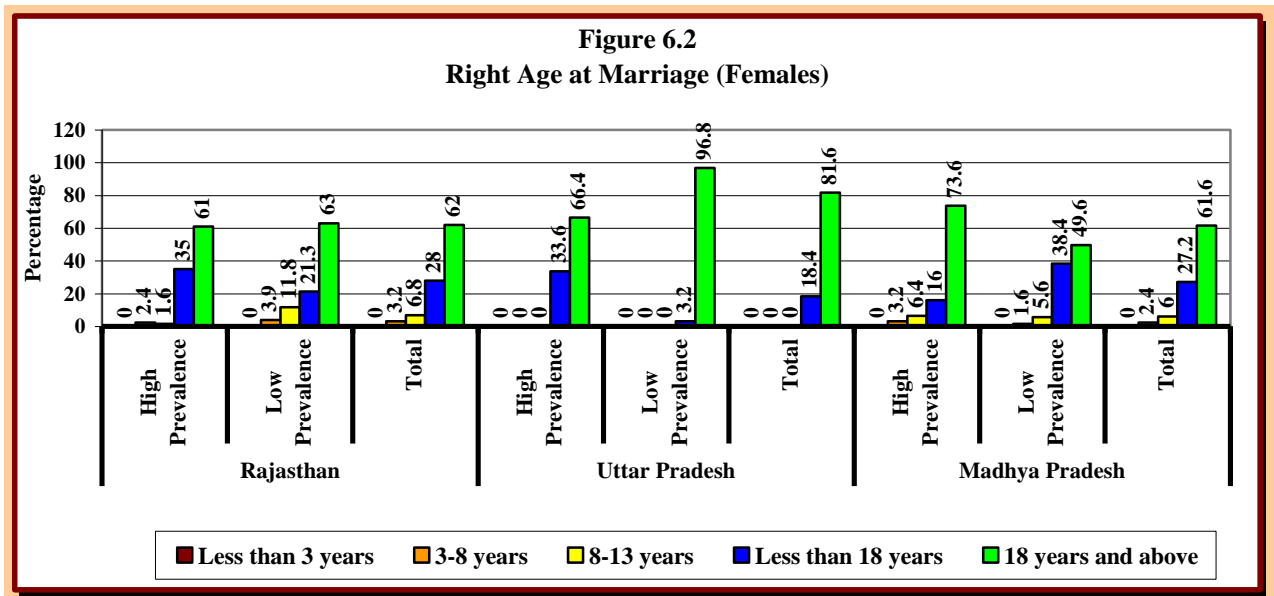
The acceptance of the practice of child marriage still finds favour with common people as is apparent from the opinions of the respondents in Rajasthan. About one third of the respondents did not agree with the legal age of marriage for boys and a slightly higher percentage of the respondents did not agree with the legal age of marriage for girls. About 60% of the population agreed that the legal age defined for marriage is the right age for the marriage of both boys and girls.



Source: Primary Survey

In UP, 88% of the respondents (78.4% in Varanasi and 97.6% in Meerut) believed that boys should get married at the legal age of marriage, i.e., 21 years and above. But at the same time, 12% (21.6% in Varanasi) responded that boys must get married when they are below 21 years.

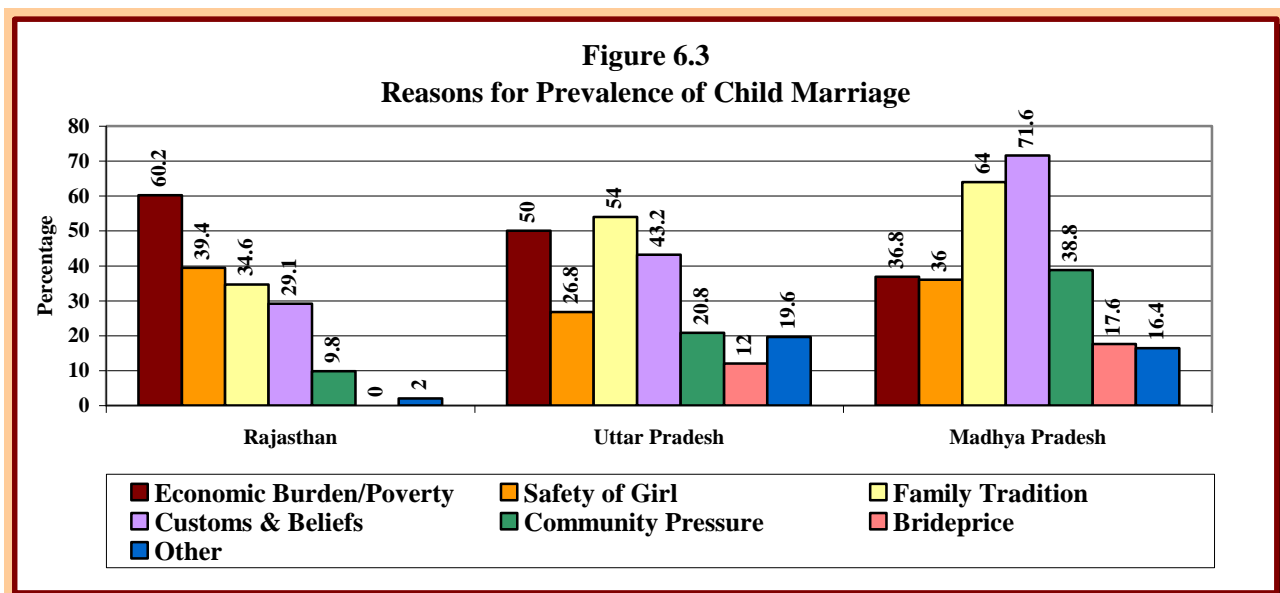
In Bhopal, only 48.8% of the respondents preferred marriage of boys above 21 years of age whereas in Shajapur, which shows a high prevalence of child marriages, 75.2% of the respondents wanted boys to get married after 21 years. In Bhopal, 0.8% want boys to be married below 3 years, 4% say 3-12 years is the right age for boys and 40.8% prefer marriage for boys when they are below 21 years. In Shajapur, 5.6% prefer marriage of males at 3-12 years while 19.2% wanted them to be married when they were less than 21 years. Responses from people regarding the age of marriage reflected that many prefer marriages of boys and girls when they are of the legal age of marriage. But, in reality boys and especially girls are forced into marriage at a very young age.



Source: Primary Survey

In response to the right age for marriage of girls, in UP, 81.6% prefer girls to get married when they are 18 years and above. In Varanasi, 33.6% believe that girls should get married before the legal marriage age of 18 years.

In MP, 49.6% in Bhopal and 73.6% of respondents in Shajapur supported marriage of girls when they are 18 years and above. In Bhopal, 38.4% say that girls should get married below 18 years and in Shajapur only 16% say the same.



Source: Primary Survey

As indicated in figure 6.3, poverty and family traditions have emerged as the major cause for continuation of this practice in all the study states. In Rajasthan, economic burden or poverty (60.2% of respondents) was the main cause to agree on child marriage practice. Safety of the girl, customs, beliefs and community pressure are also considered as contributing factors towards the continuation of the practice of child marriage. In Uttar Pradesh, family tradition (54%) was the major reason for the prevalence of child marriage, followed by the cause of poverty (50%) in this illegal practice. In MP, 71.6% of respondents attributed the existence of child marriage in the state to the strong customs, beliefs and old family traditions.

In Rajasthan, the practice of child marriage is a defining feature for certain castes and communities in particular geographical areas. Nearly 40% of the population informs that the caste/community, to which they belong, practices child marriage. In UP, 89.6% of the respondents deny the practice while 77.2% in MP still practice child marriages.

Talking about the incidence of child marriages in their own family, in Rajasthan, on an average, 44% informed that there have been incidences of child marriage in their family. The percentage of such families is higher for Tonk district.

In UP, 37.2% of respondents confirmed the occurrence of child marriage within their own family. The percentage was higher in Varanasi district with 60.8% of respondents saying that child marriages have occurred in their family. In MP, 61.6% said that there have been incidences of child marriage in their family.

6.2 Responses of those married below 18 years

The respondents who were themselves the victims of child marriage were probed to share their views on their understanding of 'marriage' at the time of their own marriage, about two third of them said that for them marriage was a time to celebrate. At the time of their marriage they did not understand what all it entailed. They participated in their marriage ceremony thinking of it as some celebration, an occasion to enjoy. For some, marriage meant being the centre of attraction and enjoying the privileged position without realizing its consequences.

In UP, 66.7% of those married below 18 years, marriage meant 'celebrating a festival', while for 41.7% it meant being the centre of attraction and for 25% it was an occasion to get new clothes. At district level, in Varanasi, for 87.5% marriage meant celebrating festivity and for 62.5% it meant being the centre of attraction. Due to their immaturity they were unable to realize that they are being married off and they believed it as some festival or other occasion. In MP, for 58.3% of the respondents, marriage meant an occasion to get new clothes and for 41.6% it meant celebrating a festivity.

Kamal Kishore, a 12 year old illiterate boy from Bercha village in Shajapur district, Rajasthan was married three years ago. The reason he got married for as told to the investigator was that he liked the new clothes, the *baaja* and sweets and was fond of his other friends who also got married in the previous year on Akshaya Tritya. Initially, he was not ready to talk to the investigator, but later on, the pretext of a joyride on the bike he agreed to talk. He told that he does not know anything about marriage and still he had not met her wife. He knew only that she will come to his house after 'gauna' which will take another two-three years. He said that his mother now wants to get his wife home so that she can help her in homely chores. He said that he did not know anything about marriage. It was his father and uncle who took him to the nearby town and got him some new clothes, shoes and sweets. They told him that he will be married in a few days and all of them will go to the nearby village in baraat and there they will eat a lot. He was excited by the idea and did whatever they said. Later, they took him to the temple and told him that if he will run away from the marriage or if he will go to play on that day then *bhagwan* (god) will get angry. And then he was a married man, even before he could understand the meaning of the word marriage. When the investigator wanted to talk to the parents of Kamal Kishore, they initially declined to talk. They were aware that people from the city come to the village nowadays and they talk ill about marriage. After much persuasion they got ready to talk to the investigator. When asked about the early marriage and the demerits of child marriage, they told that they also have been married in childhood. They questioned as to 'what is wrong with our lives? We are happy with our children'. Rather they told the investigator that why do they get involved in their matters? They also asked the investigator as to why he was not married yet?

When probed further, most respondents who were married before 18 years of age revealed that they did not wanted to be married so early. In Rajasthan, 83.3% revealed that they were not interested to get married so early. 50% of the respondents in Varanasi wanted to get married early. Likely, in Meerut district, 50% wanted an early marriage. In Bhopal, all the respondents said that they did not want to get married so early.

While in Shajapur, 71.4% said they did not want to get married. State and district-wise data is shown below for a clear view about the responses of those married below 18 years:

Table 6.1

States	Did they want to get married early?				Responses Received	
	Yes	No	Yes	No		
Rajasthan	2	16.7%	10	83.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	6	50.0%	6	50.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	2	16.6%	10	83.3%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	2	28.5%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%

Source: Primary Survey

As discussed before, being young and immature they were unable to make any decisions on their own. Parents of these children had the decision-making power with regard to their children's marriage. At an age when children need to go to school and play around, they are given the title of husband and wife, which brought along lack of freedom and development, especially for girls.

The real life story of 16 year old Sangeetha of Rajatalab, Varanasi highlights the disinterest of many such girls like her in getting married so early. “I belong to a family having five daughters without any son. My family is very poor and I am the eldest daughter. At the period of the incident I was in 8th standard. One of my relatives gave a proposal to my guardians regarding my marriage. At that time, my husband was 29 years old and it was his second marriage. His first wife died because of some serious disease before two years. As they weren’t demanding dowry from our guardian, the proposal was accepted without asking any question to me. I wasn’t in a position to express my interest and I felt myself helpless as my mother also not supported me. Then, I discussed this matter with my friends and neighbours. My stand was that I am ready to marry that person but not at that time. I wanted to continue my study upto metric and I would marry only after completing the age of 18 - 19 years. I needed someone’s help who could make my parents understand my thinking.

Fortunately, someone from our community informed an organization of my predicament. They started enquiring with the help of police but couldn’t get to me because of my parents refusal. On the eve of my marriage which happened on 2nd June 2006, they opposed. But as it was taking place in Bhairavnath Temple, Rajatalab, the people from our community supported my parents and the marriage was completed in a hurry.

After marriage, members of the voluntary organisation carried out an inquiry with the help of the police. My real age was hidden by my parents but when asked, I related the real story and refused to go with my husband at that time. With their attempt, my husband and his family members also agreed to keep my interest and my “Bidai” was postponed and because of fear of punishment they accepted my proposal to stay in my own home till my adulthood. I faced austicism from my relatives and parents but today I feel happy that my younger sisters are safe from child marriage.”

Child marriages are solemnised at a tender age when the child does not have the capacity to differentiate between wrong and right and is also not aware of the consequences of such a ritual. Moreover, the parent-child relationship is such that a child rarely questions the authority of the parents, in taking decisions about his/ her life. It is almost given in the Indian social system that till a child is under the care of his/her parents; they (the parents) feel it is

their prerogative to take important decisions regarding the life of the children. It is a common occurrence in the Indian context to find parents coercing their grown up (in legal terms), educated children, to marry persons of their (parents') choice. Not surprisingly, more than 50% of the respondents in Rajasthan who have undergone child marriage stated that they were not forced to marry. In Meerut district of UP, 75% said that they were not forced to get married while in Varanasi 50% of the respondents said that they were forced. Surprisingly, in both the districts of MP, all the respondents have said that they were forced to get married.

Among the parents, it was the father who asserted his will on the family. In occasional cases mothers also initiate child marriage. In UP, 41.7% of the respondents said that the father had forced the marriage while an equal number of respondents inform that the relatives also had an equal hand in forcing the marriage. In Varanasi district, all the respondents reveal that the father had forced the marriage, whereas in Meerut 80% said that it was the father while 20% say that relatives forced the marriage.

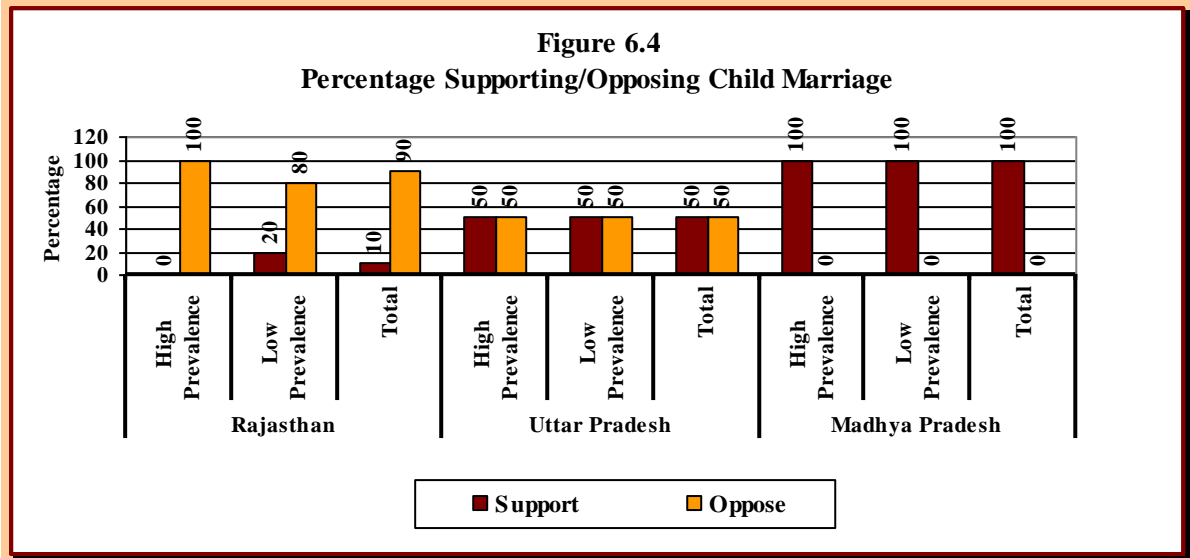
An interesting case study of a 21 year old boy from Badagaon Bazar of Varanasi, UP, narrates his story of being forced by his parents for getting married early, but was successful in the end of not getting into the trap of early marriage. "I am a student of computer engineering at the Godavasi Engineering College at Jalagaon, near Nasik in Maharashtra. My date of birth is 07.10.1986. My parents were blackmailing me emotionally and they had fixed my marriage for 14th of June, 2006. I could not lodge any complaint with the police, because they said that they would immolate themselves if I ever try to escape the marriage. If I kept silence, that would ruin my life. So I contacted my friends in Maharashtra, who told me about few social organizations. I wrote a letter and also mailed to an organizations. I was interested in marrying a girl of my choice and that too after getting a good job. This simple thing wasn't being understood by my parents and they wanted to sacrifice my career for their so-called prestige in the society. I felt that if any one wouldn't help me, I might have committed suicide. I wanted a solution in which the marriage would be cancelled and my parents also couldn't blame me for this."

"The organization understood my situation and supported me the way I wanted. With the help of media and police they succeeded in having my marriage cancelled. My family members hadn't been suffered physically a lot and I also was escaped from being trapped in the web of unwanted Child Marriage."

A typical feature of the child marriage practice in Rajasthan is that after the marriage ceremony the bride is not usually sent to the house of her in-laws immediately. Only one respondent from Tonk stated that the bride was sent to her marital home on the day of marriage itself, others informed that it is sometime after the marriage – usually when the girl is considered matured enough to handle the household chores, which is generally thought after her attaining puberty. In UP, 75% of the respondents in both Varanasi and Meerut were sent to the matrimonial home on the day of marriage. In MP, 83.3% informed that they were sent to the matrimonial home after few days/months of marriage and 16.6% were sent on the day of marriage.

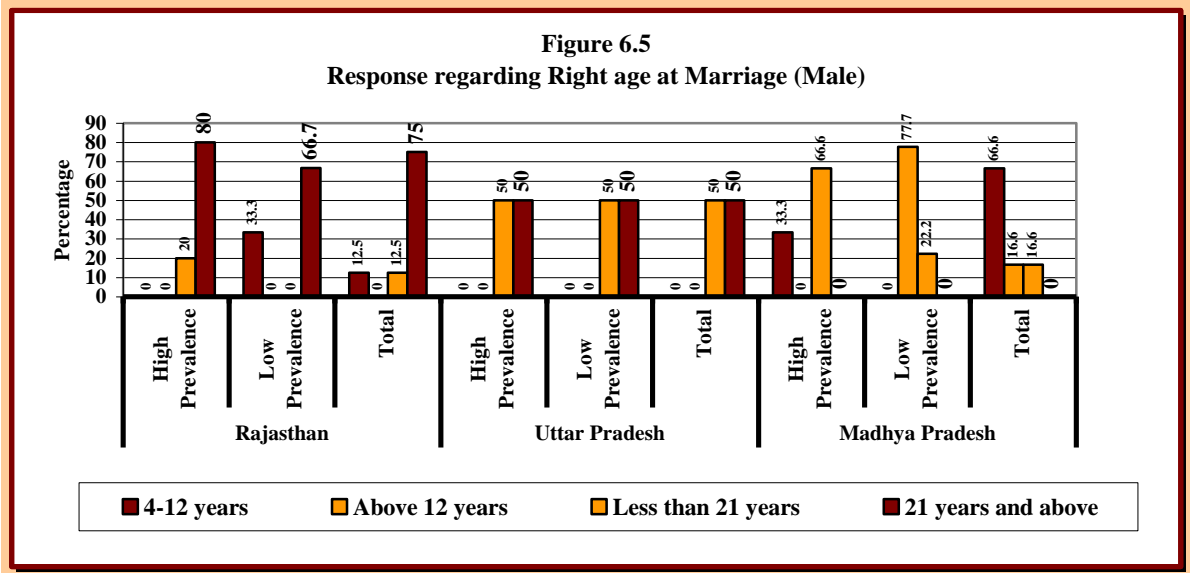
In Rajasthan, more than 50% of the respondents admitted that practice of child marriage was followed in their family. In Jaipur district 66.7% said that child marriages were followed in their family and in Tonk 50% said the same. Whereas in UP all the respondents informed that child marriages have been practiced in their family. Even in MP all the people interviewed said the same.

A large proportion of respondents who had themselves undergone marriage as a child were against the idea of child marriage. But there are some among them who supported the idea of child marriage. More number of respondents from Tonk district than Jaipur subscribe to this idea. Those against the practice of child marriage felt that early marriage had marred their life opportunities. In both Varanasi and Meerut, half of those interviewed said that they supported child marriage while the other half did not. In MP, all the respondents from both the districts said that they supported child marriage.

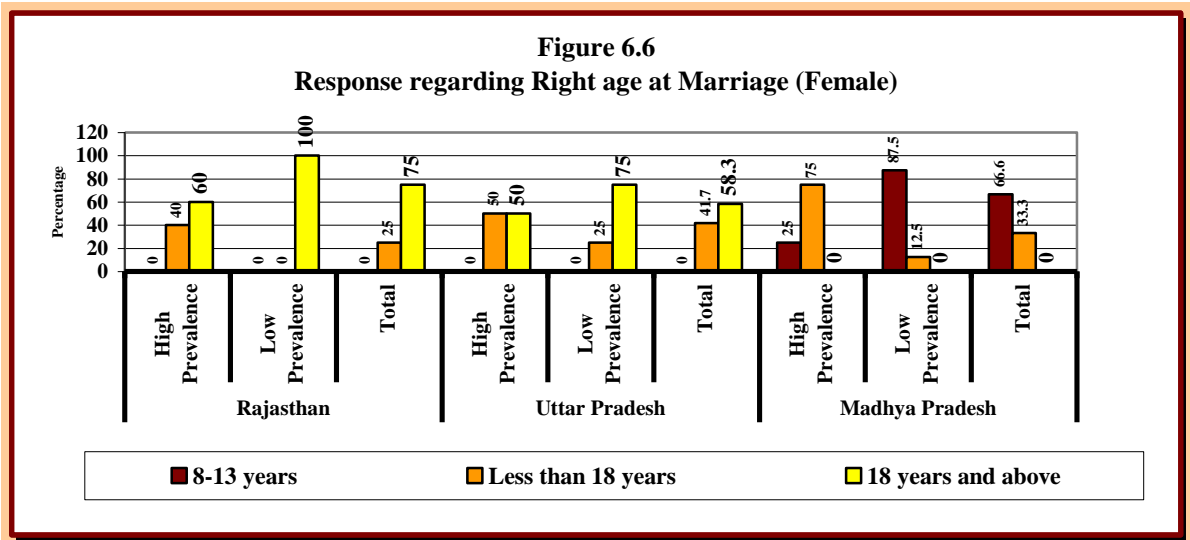


Source: Primary Survey

In Rajasthan, most of the male respondents agreed with the legal age as the right age for a male to marry, but some felt that early marriage is advisable. About one fourth of the male population who themselves were married early held this view. Interestingly all female respondents were of the view that males should get married only after 21 years of age. About three fourth of the male respondents believed that girls should be married after acquiring the legal age to marry. From Tonk district of Rajasthan 40% of the male respondents believed that girls should be married early. All female respondents from both the districts agreed that the girls should marry after attaining the legal age to marry. These particular tables related to the perception of the respondents regarding the right age for marriage of boys and girls shows a distinct gender trend. Female respondents have displayed a progressive orientation regarding the marriage age.



Source: Primary Survey



Source: Primary Survey

In Varanasi and Meerut districts of UP, 50% of respondents prefer the marriage of boys when they are less than 21 years while 50% want them to marry after 21 years. In Varanasi, 50% of the respondents said that they preferred girls to get married when they are less than 18 years. District wise, in Meerut, 87.5% prefer marriage of girls at the age of 8-13 years while 25% in Varanasi prefer the same age for girls' marriage. In Meerut, 25% prefer girls' marriage when they are less than 18 years. The respondents in MP had a different view and preferred the marriageable age for boys at 4-12 years, while 16.6% want them to be married after the age

of 12 and 16.6% when they are less than 21 years. Regarding the right age for marriage for girls, 66.6% preferred their marriage at the age of 8-13 years.

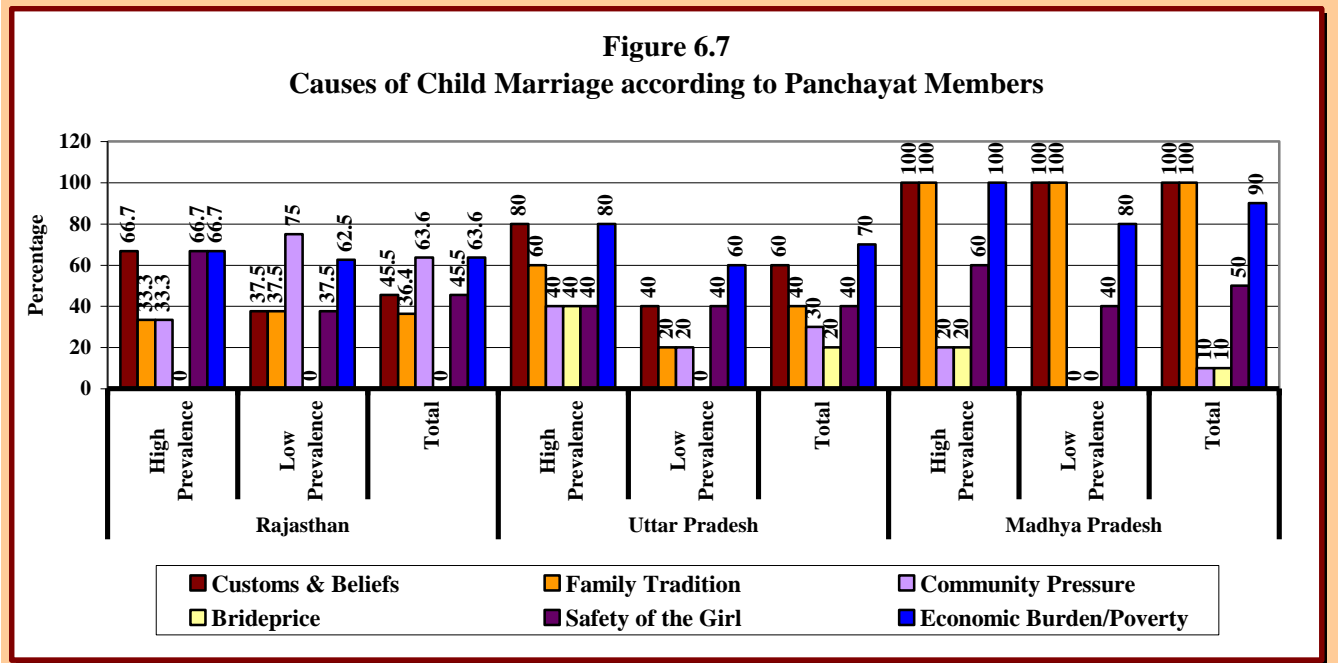
Mamta from a village named Rasulia Pathar in Bhopal said that she is 18 years old though she appeared to be 15 years old to the investigator. She said that she was 13 years old at the time of marriage and was studying in class VIIth. But she could not go to school after marriage as the village where she got married did not have any school. She told the investigator that she did not know anything about marriage then. She said that her mother told her that she was very young at the time of marriage and she was held in lap for the rituals of marriage. The same is the case of her elder sister and her father told her that his sisters were also married at around the same age.

She is now aware of the fact that child marriage is not good and if she would have been allowed to study, she would have cleared 10th or 12th class. Then she says she would have been able to get a government job or would have been teaching in the school. She now understands that if a girl is allowed to study rather than forced into a child marriage, it is better for her. She would have become independent and this would have lead her to a better life. She understands that a husband and a married life is not the guarantee of a happy life. She questions as to ‘what will happen to her if something happened to her husband tomorrow?’ She told the investigator that it is good that the government is now taking efforts to stop child marriages. This will help many girls to be saved from getting into the trap of child marriage.

6.3 Responses of the panchayat

Regarding the reasons for the persistence of the custom of child marriage in the society, the respondents gave multiple reasons as depicted Fig. 6.7.

In Rajasthan the most prominent reasons that surfaced was prevalence of poverty and community pressure which supported the continuation of the practice of child marriage.



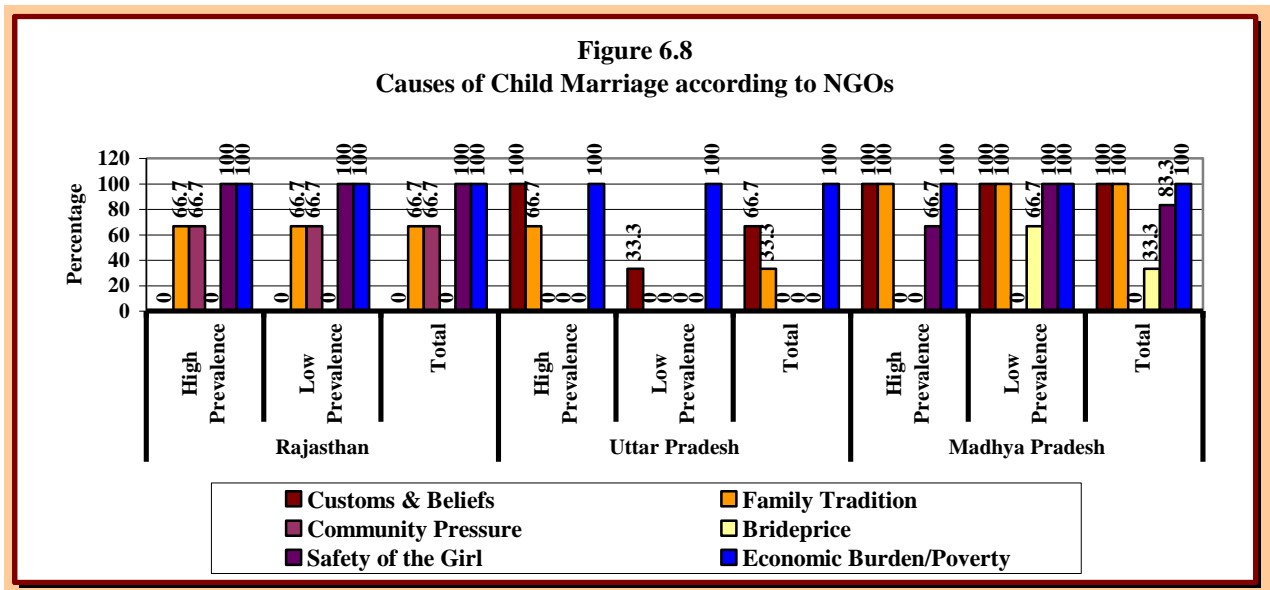
Source: Primary Survey

For 45% of the respondents in Rajasthan, safety of the girl child, strong customs and beliefs were earmarked as reasons for high incidence of child marriages in the state. Similar reasons of girl safety (40%), the traditional customs and beliefs (60%) were raised in UP. About 36% of the respondents in Rajasthan, 40% in UP and 100% in MP believed that family tradition was an important contributing factor towards the continuation of the practice. Bride price did not find mention by any of the respondents as a contributing reason in Rajasthan, while in UP 20% see brideprice as a reason for child marriage. In Varanasi district of UP as well as in MP, 80% and 100% respectively believed that customs and beliefs are contributing factors of child marriage.

6.4 Responses of the NGO

In both Rajasthan and UP, the NGOs working in the field unanimously assign poverty and safety of the girl child as the reasons for the continuation of the practice of child marriage. According to NGO respondents in Rajasthan, community pressure (66.7%) and family tradition (66.7%) were also the reasons of child marriage. In UP, 66.7% of NGO respondents stated that customs and beliefs also contribute towards the existence of the custom of child marriage.

In MP, all the respondents from NGO said that customs and beliefs, family tradition, poverty/ economic factors are the major reasons for the continuation of child marriage in the area. 83.3% said that safety of the girl is also a reason while 33.3% pointed that brideprice contributed to the persistence. The graph (Figure 6.8) illustrated below highlights the same:

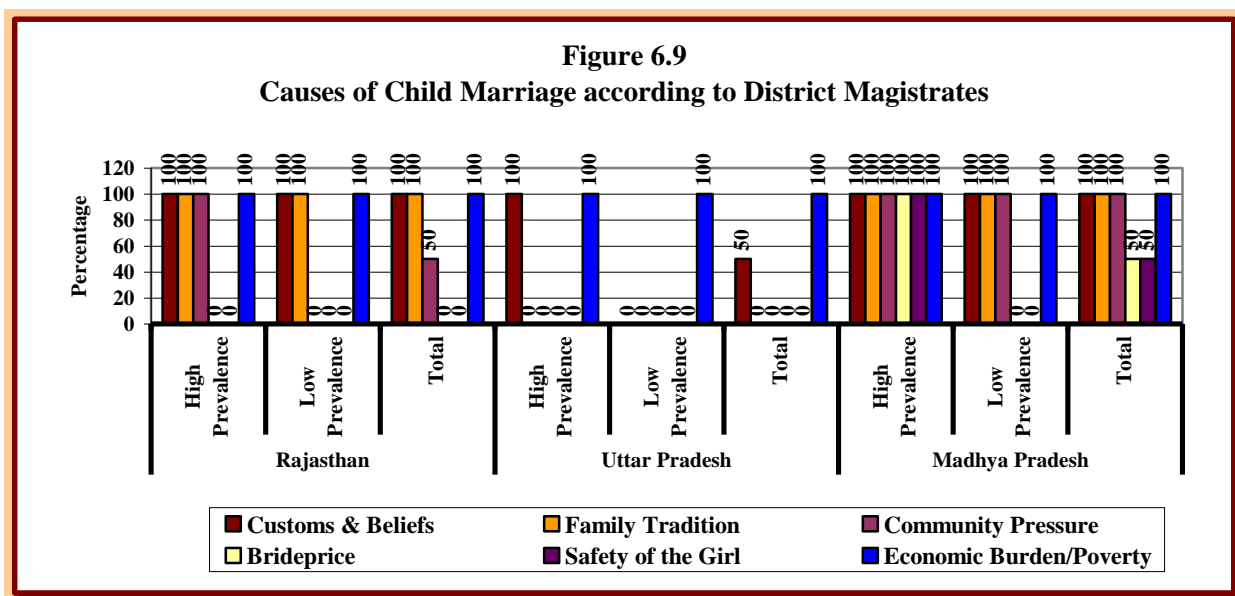


Source: Primary Survey

6.5 Responses of the District Magistrate

The District Magistrates (DM) of all six districts from all the states held customs, beliefs, family tradition and poverty responsible for the practice and continuity of child marriage in the modern age despite the legislation and several awareness programmes.

The DM of Tonk district added that community pressure also contributed towards this practice. According to the DM in Shajapur district of MP, customs, beliefs, family tradition, community pressure, brideprice, safety of the girl and poverty, all together contributed to the practice of child marriage in the state.



Source: Primary Survey

6.6 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

In order to present a more robust outcome of the study, FGDs were held in all the six districts in which data collection was undertaken. No standardized format was evolved except to identify broadly the subject related questions. A similarity in the intra-districts thoughts was noticeable even as inter-state thoughts differed. Therefore, the outcome of the FGD is presented state-wise based on discussions held in twelve villages of six districts in the three states.

In all the three states, during the discussions, priority was given to the issue of child marriage, its impact on the children and youth and consequences of early motherhood. In Rajasthan, some other aspects of women related issues were raised by the study group. The area covered and the outcomes are therefore presented state-wise.

6.6.1 Outcome of FGDs in Rajasthan (Jaipur and Tonk)

The issues raised at the FGDs in the two districts viz., Jaipur and Tonk and the responses therefore are tabulated as under:

Issues	Parents/Parents-in-Law	Youth	Women/NGOs
Gender Equality	Boys & girls have different roles and hence there cannot be gender equality	Broader perspectives but have to submit to social norms	Women in Jaipur seek greater role in society, but women in Tonk accept their subjugation. Do not seek greater role
Need for Child Marriage Act	Laws should be framed after consultation with local residents and respect sentiments. People in Tonk felt government intervention in essentially private matters not justified	In Jaipur the youth agree with law but state that due to its poor implementation, child marriages continue. But in Tonk they favour the practice	-
Consent of boys/girls for marriage	Feels in children's marriage parents are best judge, hence no consent necessary. In Jaipur, it was said that since marriage takes place at legal age consent would be good	In Jaipur the youth say that consent is very important	-
Widow Remarriage	Widows enter into "nata" relationship or remarry the brother of dead	In Jaipur youth are in favour of remarriage, but at Tonk, NATA relationship preferred	-
Divorce	Not in favour of divorce. Leads to loss of social status for both partners	No objection if the two cannot get along. They felt the community & family pressure prevents such a step. But at Tonk some reservation was seen	-

Domestic Violence	Occasional incidents cannot be called domestic violence unless it tends to reoccur often. Community intervenes	There is little space for domestic violence	No domestic violence in rural areas. Some of them admit that wife beating does not qualify to be called domestic violence as it is seen as an extension of “the rights” of the husband
Impact on Health of the Girl	The general concern in both Jaipur and Tonk was that birth of children at young age was preferable and less complicated than in older age. Parents and parents-in-law can and do take care of the girls. Hence, this is a non-issue	-	To young mothers, the problem was not of delivery or health related, but they found parenthood at a young age irksome or burdensome

6.6.2 Outcome of FGDs in Uttar Pradesh (Varanasi and Meerut)

Both at Varanasi and Meerut a cross section of respondents were selected for the FGD in the age group of 20-75 years. In all, 176 persons were involved, 87 from Varanasi and 89 from Meerut in the FGD. Their views were elicited about the causes that led to persistence of child marriage in the society, its effect on children and the extent of their awareness about the prevalent laws and punishment on child marriage.

The outcomes of the FGDs in both Varanasi and Meerut are presented in the tabular form below:

Issues	Parents/Parents-in-law	Youth
Causes of Child Marriage	Customs, traditions and beliefs, safety of girls, daughters a burden. See no reason to question or oppose it	Family pressure, economic reasons, poverty, gender discrimination. The youth opposes the child marriage. According to them, children were being pressurized by parents/guardians for an early marriage
Effects of Child Marriage	Admit to some negative impact on girls health, but women in group defended early marriage and child birth stating they were non-the-worse of that experience	Increase in population, physical and health problems. Early parenthood interferes with education, lost childhood
Knowledge about the Laws Prohibiting Child Marriage	Unaware of Child Marriage Restraint Act, legal age limits for marriage and punishments for its violation	Are aware of laws, want strengthening of enforcement and punishment. Want registration of marriage and greater educational opportunity for girls
Remedial Measures to Curb Child Marriages	Government should enforce laws more efficiently, employment opportunities for families to alleviate poverty and awareness generation programmes regarding child marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness generation programmes especially in the rural areas • Gender sensitization programmes promoting women's empowerment • Pressurize police to take actions • Promote education for all, including girls, boys and parents • Registration of marriages at low level • Employment opportunities • Increase in punishment and imprisonment of those who practice child marriage • Making registration of marriages compulsory

The study group also held discussions with District Magistrates of Varanasi and Meerut to ascertain the administration's views on hurdles that confronted the implementation of Child Marriage Restraint Act. Their views are summarized below:

Excerpts of the interaction with District Magistrate- Varanasi

The District Magistrate of Varanasi agreed that during the study period, instances of child marriages have occurred in the district. According to him, police and administration are playing a key role in the fighting against child marriages, but required the support from the groups and community. These issues are personal and people do not want to interfere in other's family life. In families where child marriage takes place, witnesses are rarely found. Narrating an incidence, the DM told that the district had seen few cases of protest against child marriages. Police had given full support to the protestors. Awareness generation through media, school and colleges with the help of government and NGOs could provide better results for the next generation, he felt.

According to him, the Act and the punishments available under the "Child Marriage Prohibition Act" was enough for the police to control or check cases of child marriage. For proper implementation of the Act, he conducted meetings regularly with government officials working in the area of Women and Child Development.

Interaction with District Magistrate – Meerut

District Magistrate of Meerut informed that in the past eight months no child marriage has taken place. He views child marriage as illegal and an offence equal to other offences. People who were involved in these incidences must be punished. In the district, there was no custom or particular season when child marriages are performed in communities and groups. He did not ignore the fact that child marriages are being performed in few regions and communities but in a hidden manner and he is trying to trace them out and handle the situation. According to him, the provisions of the Act are sufficient to curb the child marriages provided people support the administration, as combating violence against children cannot be done in isolation. He advocates in our society with complexities of class, religion and ethnicity, it necessitates the participation of community people and groups to fight with these incidences.

He convened meetings with government officials related to Child Development as DPOs, CDPOs and BDOs and evaluated the effect of the enforcement of various laws.

6.6.3 Outcome of FGDs in Madhya Pradesh (Bhopal and Shajapur)

The FGDs were conducted in two districts of Madhya Pradesh. According to the Human Development Report, Shajapur had a high child marriage prevalence rate (83.7%) and Bhopal a lower prevalence rate. The group of villages which were chosen to conduct the FGDs was selected from the database of the Women and Child Development Office and Police Stations where child marriages had already been reported. Thus, a total of 10 villages (5 from each district) were selected from the district of Shajapur and Bhopal.

FGD was conducted in Chandukedi village in Bhopal which is a low prevalence area of child marriage. The participants were drawn from tribal areas of Bhopal. 15 Hindu tribals were present in the discussion which included 9 men and 6 women from the age group of 20-50 years. Five women were housewives while one was a labourer and the other nine men were working as labourers in the village.

In Shajapur, non-tribals were part of the FGDs. Sunera and Sundersi villages in Shajapur were targeted for the FGDs. In Sunera village there were 15 respondents for the FGD of which 11 were men and 4 were women. All four women were housewives. One man was a farmer, another one a teacher and the remaining were labourers. They were in the age group of 28-50 years. But interestingly, women did not take part in the discussion. The FGD was conducted on an open platform of the village. At Sundersi village 15 villagers participated in the FGD of which 10 were men and 5 were women. The village has emerged as the area having high rates of child marriage cases. The participants belonged to the age-group of 25-50 years. The FGDs were conducted in the house of the President of the Village Panchayat.

The outcomes of the FGDs in both Bhopal and Shajapur are presented in the tabular form below:

Issues	Responses
Meaning of Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants displayed awareness about definition of child marriage and accepted that it has impact on health of girl child and hence not good for children • Respondents at Sunera and Sundersi villages felt it was not harmful and a matter of personal choice and government or legal intervention not desirable • Child marriage was seen as discharge of burden of marrying off the daughter early • In Bhopal respondents said that dowry plays a significant role in determining age of marriage as older daughter's marriage resulted in payment of larger dowry. Some said that 15 to 16 years is the ideal age to marry
Age of Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty and economic considerations pushed people to perform early marriages. Joint marriage of siblings to save as expenses resulted in minors getting married with elder children/daughters • In Shajapur, some participants said that the ideal age for marriage is 18 to 21 years for boys and girls by this age they become mature. Delay in marriage could cause problems in finding a suitable and good match
Measures Suggested to Curb Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eradication of poverty • Create awareness of campaign • Education of people including universalisation of education for boys and girls • Government should initiate steps for financial assistance and adequate education of boys and girls • Strict enforcement of law • Exposing the negative impact of child marriages • Legal action against the villagers who do not follow the rules • Panchayat could help in curbing the practice and also promoting social awareness on this issue • Government should stop all assistance to the families who practice child marriage
Knowledge regarding Laws against Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Shajapur, people are aware that a law exists against child marriages, but they did not know about details of the law and its provisions • In Shajapur there was awareness about laws

Opinions on Child Marriage

Causes of Child Marriage

- pertaining to legal age
- Two respondents were supportive of child marriages because according to one person child marriages were not harmful to the society and so it should continue. Also, it takes away the responsibilities.
- Two respondents belonging to the Muslim community were against the practice
- Most respondents are against the practice but societal pressure forces them to follow the custom
- Social pressure
- Poverty
- Illiteracy
- Lack of political commitment
- Fear that delay in marriage may keep the girl and boy unmarried in the future
- One respondent said the marriage of a girl before menstruation is considered as a pious act. A girl coming of age and having menstruation at her father's house was considered sin; therefore, marriages of girls are arranged early
- Another villager pointed out that child marriage took place in rural areas because people were unaware of its ill-effects

6.7 Discussion and analysis of Focus Group Discussion

Child marriage practicing families belong to different tribes and each of them have a tendency to feel that this practice is a characteristic feature and a socio-cultural norm of their own tribe. Therefore, they often feel that any investigation on any matter related to child marriage is an intrusion into their personal beliefs and traditions and hence tend to be very cautious about it.

The FGD findings in most districts clearly indicated that poverty was the main cause behind child marriage. In most FGDs, respondents stated that they personally believed that child marriages were not only less expensive than adult marriages but also easier to conduct and so they preferred it. Some of the FGDs also indicate that many people consider child marriage as the best way to get rid of the responsibilities of their child/children and hand them over to other people/ families. It was also very clear from the FGDs that legal parameters were

neither sufficient nor strong enough to prevent such phenomena. Some of the participants suggested that there should be a legal forum/ constitutional body to financially support the families living under the poverty line and provide them with consultations as well, in order to prevent child marriages. Some of the participants of the FGDs also revealed that they believed child marriage to be a safe institution as according to them it prevented sexual abuse and ill wills of the society.

It was found that in Bhopal, Jaipur, Meerut and Varanasi, people were comparatively more aware and better informed about child marriage. Despite this, many people in these districts regarded child marriage as a customary part of the society in which they live, rather than a social evil. The law and law enforcement agencies were both found to be considerably lenient and had an indifferent attitude towards child marriage and its prevention.

CHAPTER- VII

LEGAL AWARENESS AND MEASURES

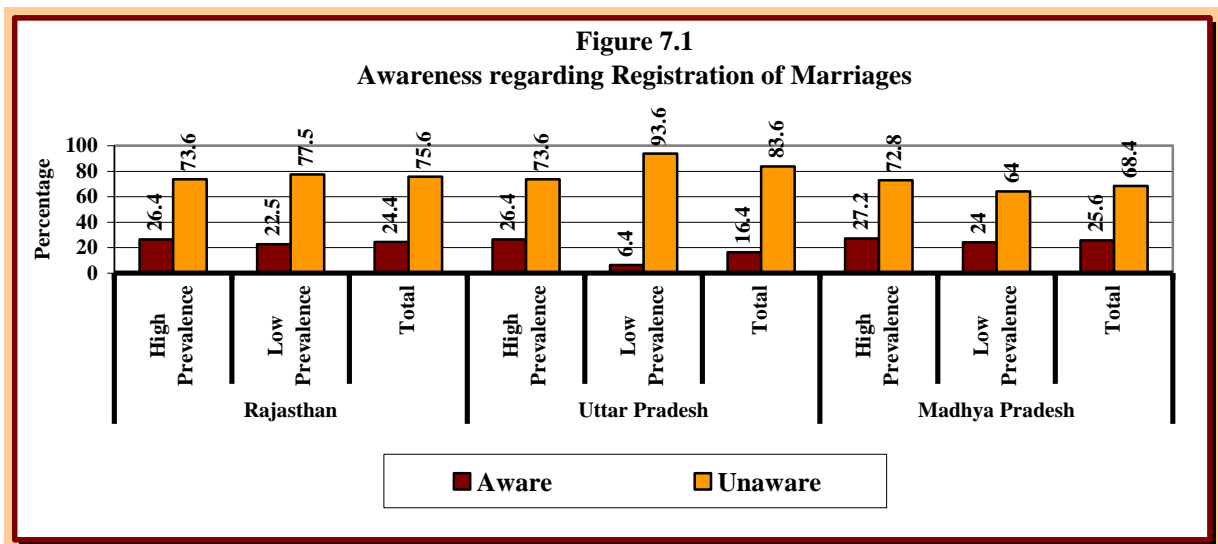
The awareness quotient of the general population with regards to child marriage law and an analysis of legal measures and initiatives taken by the law enforcing authorities like district administration, police, panchayat and the NGOs to curb the social evil have also been ascertained and the data analysed as under:

7.1 Community initiative- Panchayat & Family Head

7.1.1 Responses of the family head

The level of awareness regarding registration of marriages was found limited amongst the respondents in all the three states. In UP, 83.6% (Meerut and Varanasi, 93.6% and 73.6% respectively) of the respondents (generally the family head) were not aware about the legal practice of marriage registration. In Rajasthan, only about three fourth of the population in the villages was aware about marriage registration.

Likewise in MP, 68.4% of the respondents (in Bhopal 64% and in Shajapur 72.8%) were not aware about this legal practice and a meager 25.6% of the respondents were aware about legality. This lack of awareness amongst the people regarding the registration of marriages makes it difficult for the NGOs and government agencies to keep a track on child marriages as they go unnoticed.



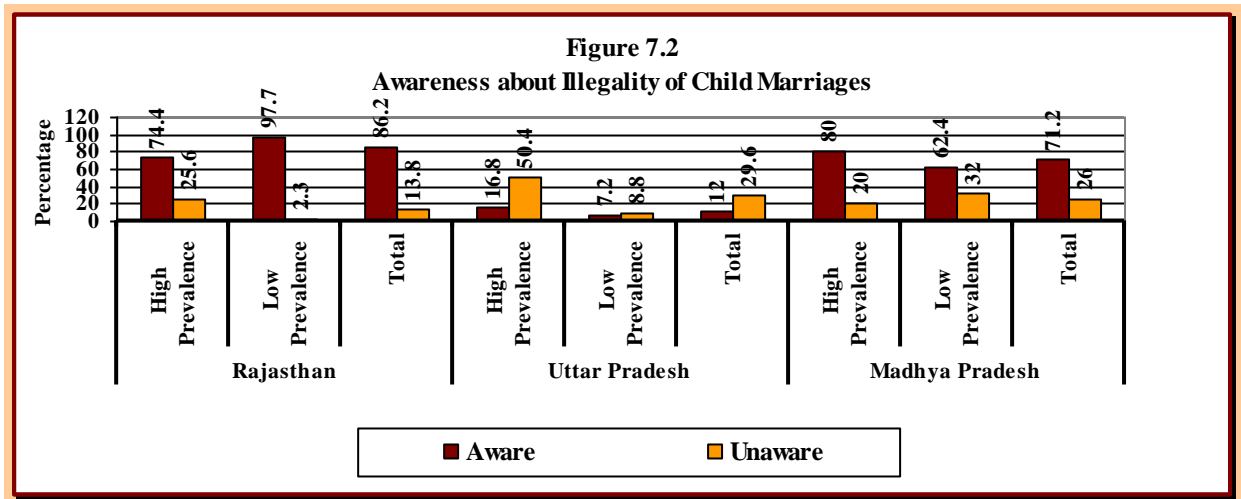
Source: Primary Survey

None of the 148 respondents in the state of UP got their children marriage registered owing to sheer ignorance regarding the laws related to marriage registration. However, in Rajasthan the situation was slightly better with 4% of the respondents going in for registration of their children marriage. Likewise in MP, only 2.8% had registered the marriage. Suprisingly, in the low prevalence area (Bhopal) none of them had registered the marriages while in Shajapur 5.6% had registered their children marriage.

Marriages performed by religious rituals are recognised by the family, society and hence people do not feel the need to go for formal registration of marriage. They might just go for marriage registration when required to fulfill the immigration formalities. A religious ceremony in the presence of friends and relatives is considered to be enough to provide validity to marriage.

As far as awareness about the illegality of child marriages is concerned, respondents in the state of UP were completely ignorant of this fact. In contrast, most of the people in Rajasthan (74% in Tonk and 98% in Jaipur district) were aware about the illegality of child marriage. Also in MP, 71.2% of respondents were aware about the illegality of the issue. More respondents in Shajapur (80%) were aware of the illegality than in Bhopal (62.4%).

Lack of awareness about the law and registration of marriages can be viewed as a setback to curb the practice of child marriages in all the three study states.



Source: Primary Survey

When enquired about the efforts made by the respondents to stop a child marriage from occurring, 34.8% of respondents in UP replied negatively. In Rajasthan, few people from Jaipur informed about few attempts to stop the child marriages occurring in their villages. About 12% of the respondents from Tonk inform that there were some attempts made to thwart the child marriages being performed in their villages. In MP, 60.8% of respondents informed that no attempts were made. Limited or no efforts made to stop child marriages could be due to lack of interest to curb the practice or not to get involved in family matters of others. In addition, some people support the practice personally while denying it in public; which could be a deterrent in curbing this social evil.

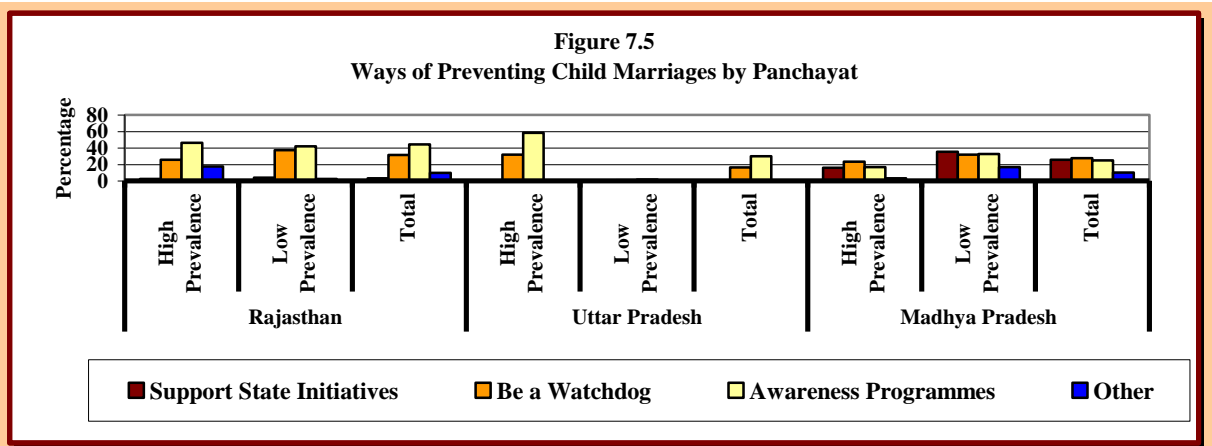
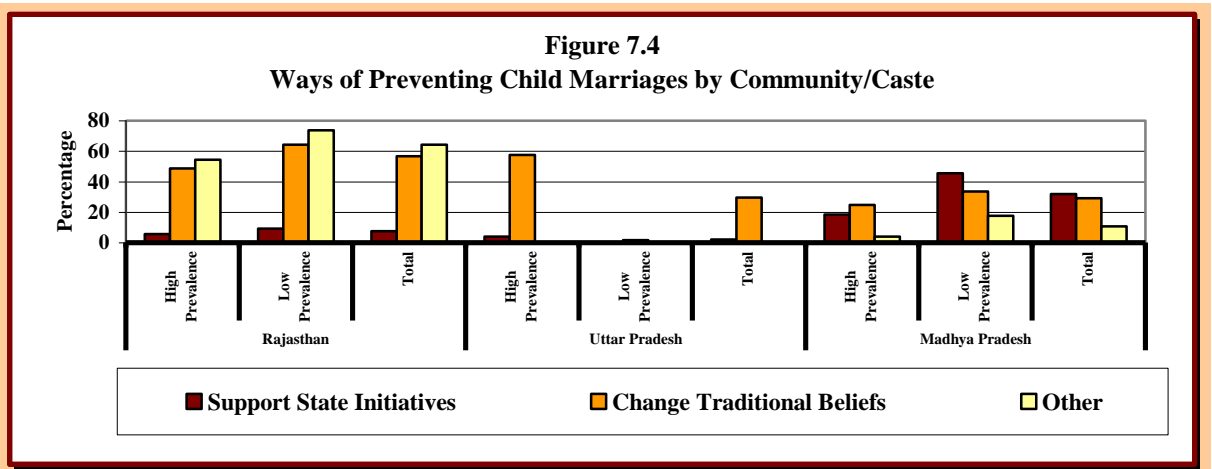
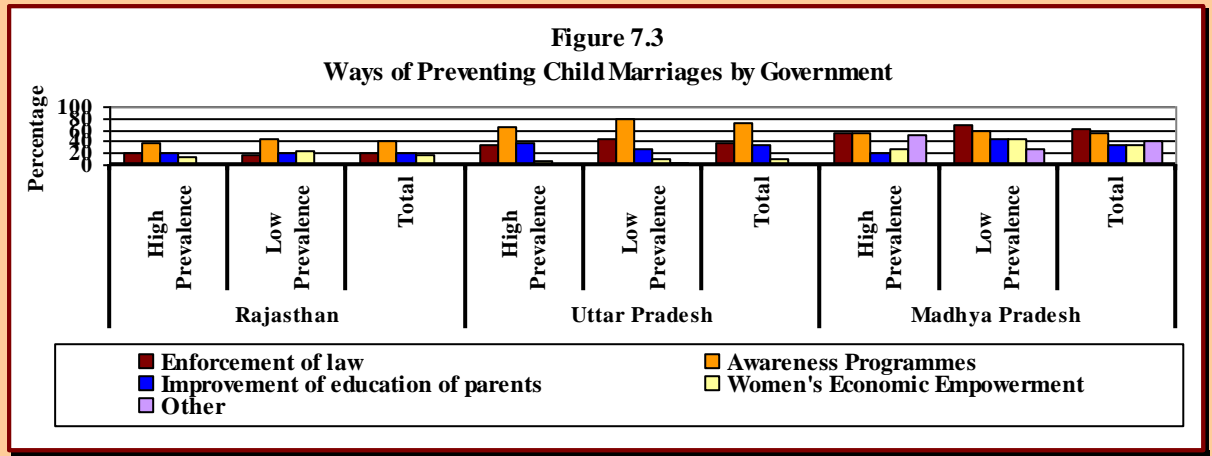
In UP, a meager 2.4% of the respondents said that the community took action in preventing child marriage and 1.2% of respondents reported that NGOs existing in the area took initiatives.

In Rajasthan, all the respondents from Tonk informed that sarpanch had been instrumental in stopping child marriages in their village. Police also helped in preventing child marriages in some cases. However, only a small number of child marriages have been prevented by the efforts of district magistrate, child

Regarding help received to curb child marriages, in Tonk district of Rajasthan, all the respondents said that the Sarpanch helped them in stopping child marriages. Police has also been supportive. In UP, the community & NGOs have been helpful to some extent & in MP, the Sarpanch, Panchayat members, NGOs & Police have helped in preventing child marriage in small ways

marriage prevention officers and social workers. In Jaipur half the respondents informed that NGOs and social workers have been active in preventing child marriages to occur in their village. In MP, 1.2% each said that the sarpanch and NGO had helped against child marriage.

Responding about the means by which child marriages can be prevented, 73.6% of the family respondents in UP, 56.4% in MP and 42% in Rajasthan supported prevention through regular awareness programmes at all levels. 39.6% in UP, 61.6% in MP and 20% in Rajasthan said that proper enforcement of the law would act as a deterrent for people who indulge in marriage of minor children. In addition, 34% in UP, 33.6% in MP and about 20% in Rajasthan urged the need of educating and sensitizing the parents about the problems associated with early marriage of children, the practice can be aborted. About 18% of the respondents in Rajasthan and 35.2% in MP feel, that efforts towards empowerment of women would lead to lessening of this problem.



Source: Primary Survey

In Rajasthan, respondents believe that the continuation of the ill practice of child marriage owes to lot to the traditional beliefs associated with gender and institution of marriage. According to them the caste/community groups should take a proactive stand and make efforts to stop the menace of child marriages. Caste/community groups have a powerful hold on the consciousness of its members and they should take advantage of this to change the mindset. They have the power and capacity to change the views of the people and inform them of ills related to child marriage. In Rajasthan, 44% of the villagers and in Varanasi 58.4% believe that institute of local self-governance, the Panchayat can help in preventing the child marriage by arranging for awareness programmes. Another 31% of respondents in Rajasthan and 27.6% in MP believe that Panchayat can thwart child marriages by being more alert and vigilant of the happenings in the village.

7.1.2 Responses of the panchayat member

It was interesting to know that the all the Panchayat members interviewed in Rajasthan were aware about the illegality of child marriages. However in MP and UP , only 80% and 50% of the respondents were aware about the law respectively.

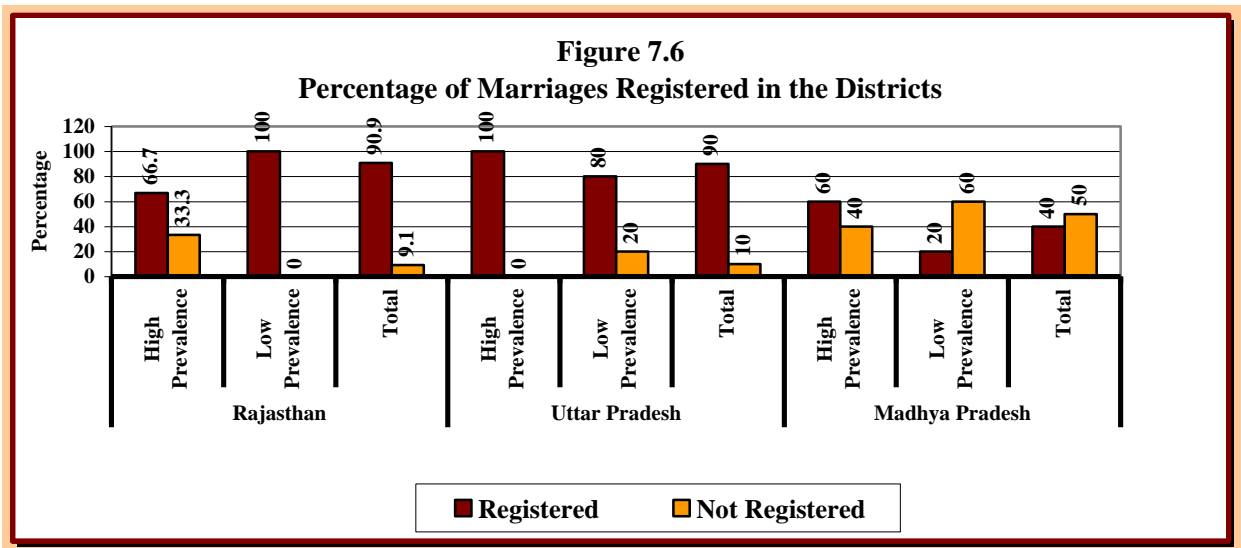
States	Awareness about the law that prohibits child marriage				All	
	Is aware		Not aware			
Rajasthan	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	8	80%	2	20%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	4	80%	1	20%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80%	1	20%	5	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	5	50.0%	5	50.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

Source: Primary Survey

In both UP and Rajasthan all the respondents interviewed were aware about legal age of marriage whereas in MP it was only about 60%. In Varanasi district of UP, all the interviewed respondents and about 80% in Meerut felt that the present law is efficient in curbing the child marriage incidences. Likewise, responses were received from the panchayat

members of Rajasthan. In MP, 90% of the respondents supported the effectiveness of the present state of the law.

In Varanasi, the respondents (100%) informed that marriages were registered hile in Meerut, 80% of the respondents confirmed the registration. Most of the elected village representatives of Rajasthan assured a high percentage of marriages registration in the villages. In Shajapur district of MP, 60% said that marriages are registered and in Bhopal only 20% said the same. Interestingly, in high prevalence areas of Varanasi and Shajapur, respondents informed that marriages were registered while in low prevalence areas of Meerut and Bhopal, very few marriages were registered. This difference could be due to the commitment of the people or due to fear of law.



Source: Primary Survey

In Varanasi, all the respondents (100%) and in Meerut only 80% of the respondents said that CMPOs are present in their respective districts. While in Rajasthan, a large proportion (82% in Jaipur and 67% in Tonk) inform about the presence of district CMPOs. In Shajapur district of MP, all the respondents (100%) say that there are CMPOs present in their district while only 60% in Bhopal agree to it.

Most of the elected representatives from Tonk and Jaipur districts (73%) of Rajasthan as well as in UP (100% from Varanasi and 80% from Meerut) feel that due to the various initiatives at the Panchayat level the incidence of child marriage has come down in the villages.

Panchayat members say that child marriage incidences have come down with the initiatives taken by them. All the three study states support this view

In their initiative to tackle the problem of child marriage, an overwhelming number of respondents from Rajasthan informed that they have not received any substantial help from any of the institutions in their effort to stop child marriages. Contrastingly, in both UP and MP, 80% respondents said that they received help from other panchayat members, NGOs, Community and ICDS functionaries. Incidentally the department of women and child does not find any mention by any of the respondents and nor does the media in the list of helping hand to the respondents in fighting against this social evil.

About 60% in UP and 80% in MP said that they have not been given any orientation on social issues like child marriage. In Rajasthan, about two third of the respondents have informed that they have been given orientation programmes related to social issues like child marriage. Both the districts substantiate the trend. In Varanasi and Meerut, 40% have attended orientation programmes while 60% have not attended any such programmes. While in Rajasthan, about two third of the respondents have informed that they have attended orientation programmes related to social issues like child marriage. Both the districts substantiate the trend. In MP too, 70% have attended orientation programmes while 20% have not.

7.2 Responses of those married below 18 years

In Varanasi district of UP, one of the respondents informed that an attempt was made by an NGO to prevent their marriage while 87.5% of respondents denied any effort made by any of the stakeholders to prevent the incidence of child marriage. In Rajasthan, there was complete absence of efforts to stop the marriages of the respondents who were married below 18 years of age. However in MP, 83.3% said that there were some futile attempts to stop the marriage .None of the respondents in UP are aware about the illegality of child marriage while in Rajasthan about two third of those who were married early, from both the districts were aware about the illegality of child marriage. In Varanasi, being a high-prevalence area, all the respondents (100%) were aware about the illegal nature of child marriage while in Meerut it was complete opposite.

When the respondents who were themselves married early were asked about their intention

Regarding marriage of own children before legal age, 50% in Varanasi and 25% in Meerut said that they will marry their children before the legal age.

of marriage for their own children, only one respondent from Jaipur and about 50% from Varanasi and 25% from Meerut asserted that they would indeed marry their children early despite the law. All the respondents from

Tonk district, 75% from Meerut and 63.6% of respondents from MP said that they would not prefer child marriage. In Rajasthan, the respondent who informed that he would marry his child early was so convinced of his stand that he would go ahead with his plans even if it is considered against the law.

7.3 Civil society intervention- NGO

In all the three states, most of the NGOs working towards the issue of child marriage are trying to spread awareness about the ill effects related to this evil. In Rajasthan and MP, only a few of them (33% each) provide legal help to people who oppose child marriage. In UP 83.3% and in MP 66.7% provide counseling services on the issue of child marriage. Most of the NGOs in UP, MP and Rajasthan have been active in the field for 5-10 years .

In Rajasthan and UP, all the NGOs working in the field inform that social workers working in the field are the main source of the information about child marriages happening in the district. About one third of the respondents confirmed that community people and self help groups also sometimes provide information. In MP, all the NGO respondents (100%) said that the media was the main source of information.

17-year old undergraduate student, Chandra Kala Vedia, daughter of a BJP MLA, Phool Chandra Vedia, persistently became victim of domestic atrocities by her elder brother for refusing marriage in Sunera village of Bhopal district in MP.

This girl was freed by the social activist of 'Anti Women Atrocities Front', Vijaya Pathak from the captivity of her brother Narendra Vedia at their house on October 9th, two years back. The freed girl was also produced by the social worker before the media as she belonged to a prominent family. Chandra Kala clearly admitted that her parents wanted to get her married instead of continuing the education.

My parents had once settled my marriage when I was studying in class 9th while the boy had failed in class 8th. So, I refused the marriage. Afterwards, my parents started torturing me. At present, Chandra Kala is a student of BA (2nd) year. She says, now I will complete my studies by living in Bhopal. On this occasion, woman activist, Vijaya Pathak said, a conspiracy for murder of this girl was hatched, so the organization had to initiate such a step of liberating the girl.

Regarding registration of marriages, in UP, 83.3% of the NGOs said that marriages were registered in the districts. In contrast, in Rajasthan, none of the NGOs working in the field was able to provide information about the figures related to registration of marriage in the district. Whereas in MP, 50% confirmed that marriages were registered. 66.7% NGO respondents in UP and 100% NGO respondents in MP said that CMPOs are present in their districts. And in Rajasthan, none of the NGOs working in the field was able to provide information about the presence of child marriage prevention officers in the district.

In UP 83.3% and in MP 50% said that marriages are registered.

Nearly 80% respondents each in UP and MP and all the NGOs in Rajasthan said that they face resistance while trying to stop child marriages in the village. Nearly all the NGOs in the three states seek police help whenever they come across any case of child marriage in the villages. In Rajasthan though none of the NGOs working in the field was able to provide information about the institutions, which helped them to prevent incidents of child marriage but in UP 66.7% said that the community has helped them in stopping child marriages and

33.3% have said that both panchayat and media have helped them. In MP too, 66.7% said that the police and 66.7% said the media has helped them. Also 50% said that the CMPOs and another 50% said other NGOs have helped them in stopping child marriages. 33.3% said Panchayat members and 16.7% said that community has provided help.

33% in Rajasthan & MP respectively and 50% in UP believe that the child marriage law is efficient

Respondents in Rajasthan believe that the law against child marriage is not efficient in preventing child marriage. Only about 33% in Rajasthan and 33% in MP find it effective to check child marriages. Interestingly, in UP, 50% say that the law is efficient. The table below highlights state and district-wise the responses of the NGO respondents:

States	Yes		No	
Rajasthan	2	33.3%	4	66.7%
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Jaipur	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Madhya Pradesh	2	33.3%	4	66.7%
Bhopal	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Uttar Pradesh	3	50.0%	3	50.0%
Varanasi	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Meerut	2	66.7%	1	33.3%

Source: Primary Survey

Surprisingly in Rajasthan, all the NGOs agreed, even those who find it ineffective, that the law does not have any loopholes and 83.3% of the NGO respondents in UP said that there were loopholes in the law. Whereas in MP, all NGOs (100%) said that the law had some loopholes.

All NGOs in Rajasthan say that there are no loopholes in the child marriage act, whereas 83.3% in UP and all NGOs in MP (100%) say there are loopholes in the law

However in Rajasthan, none of the NGOs was able to narrate or recall any noteworthy contribution done by them to decrease the incident of child marriage in the district while in

UP and MP all the NGOs (100% each) said that they have had successful attempts in curbing the child marriage.

7.4 Government initiatives against Child Marriage

7.4.1 Responses of the police

In UP and MP all the ten police personnel interviewed were aware that child marriages are illegal. In Rajasthan, also by and large the police personnel working in the field were aware about the illegality of child marriage. In most of the incidence of child marriage, the UP police visit the sight and take appropriate action. One respondent each from Rajasthan and MP said that no action is taken unless a formal complaint is registered. 60% of the respondents both in UP and Rajasthan said that they give counseling to the community (families) who intend to indulge in child marriage. 40% of the respondents in UP and 50% in Rajasthan said that they give them legal warning. In MP, 80% said that they make arrests when law is violated and 80% said that they do counseling. 70% in MP also said that they warn while 30% also informed that they could not do anything.

Interestingly in Rajasthan (80%) and UP (40%), the family members/relatives have been identified as the main source of complaints about child marriages. Community people (70% in Rajasthan and 50% in

In MP 30% say special cells dealing with child marriages are present in the districts. In Shajapur district, 60% say that special cells are present

UP) are also a source of information for cases against child marriage. 50% each, UP and MP inform that the NGOs working in the field inform about the cases of child marriage. Regarding the presence of any special cells dealing with child marriage cases, most of the policemen (88%) from Rajasthan inform that there were no special cells for the child marriage cases. Even in UP no special cell exists for dealing with child marriage cases. In MP, 30% say the special cells are present in the district .

In UP, 70% and in Rajasthan 80% of the police respondents informed that they did not face any problems in registering cases of child marriage. In Varanasi district of UP 40% of the respondents said that they faced problems in registering the cases. 40% of the police respondents in Varanasi faced problems from family members/relatives, while 20% each said from Panchayat and community members. In MP, half of the respondents said that they faced

problems in case registration. Community and family members caused problems for the police personnel in registering cases while 30% of respondents informed that the Panchayat too gave problems. In Rajasthan, 50% of the respondents said that they face problems from other people. Regarding the presence of CMPOs, all the ten police respondents in the three study states inform that CMPOs are present in the state.

7.4.2 Responses of the district magistrate

The district magistrates from all the three study states informed that CMPOs are present to check cases of child marriage. However, there was no such officer in Tonk district of Rajasthan. In Rajasthan, both the DMs informed that no statistical records were maintained or available at the district level while in UP and MP the DMs confirmed the availability. The period for which the data was available in both the states of UP and MP was varying. In UP, one of the districts had data available for last two years while the other on had for past 2-5 years. Similarly in MP, 2 year old data was available in one district, and as old as 5-10 years data was available for the other district.

In all the states, the DMs were fully informed and aware about the Child Marriage Act. In Rajasthan, both the DMs felt that law alone was ineffective in checking the problem of child marriage. Awareness regarding the problems associated with early marriage has to be generated, only then will it be effective. In both UP and MP both the DMs said that the law was effective and they did not find any loopholes. In Rajasthan, it was quite contrasting, the DM from Tonk said that the law is empowered enough to check the menace of child marriages, whereas the DM from Jaipur believed that there are certain loopholes in the law which help the people indulging in child marriage to escape any significant punishment. Thus, the law loses its deterrent value and fails to prevent the problem to the desired level.

CHAPTER- VIII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The practice of child marriage in the study areas is characterized by the fact that both the bride and the groom are underaged, sometimes as young as five or six years old. This aspect of early marriages is unlike some other parts of the India and the world wherein huge age difference exists between the two, usually the girl being the child bride. Existing laws and the awareness campaign taken up from time to time against the practice of child marriage have failed to diminish the fervor of the communities even in the 21st century. In some of the states, particularly in Rajasthan on the occasion of “Akha Teej”, which in some other parts of the country also known as “ Akhaya Tiritiya”, a day considered as auspicious for solemnizing marriages, child marriages are solemnized in large groups openly with little or no resistance from the community leaders. Child marriage, then, in some cases survives due to the passivity, apathy and even support from members of the society.

8.1 Causes sustaining the practices of Child Marriage

What are the reasons that sustain such deep-rooted practice even after putting in place legal barriers? The field visits and discussions with community leaders and sociologists have elicited a number of reasons that help sustain and even encourage the custom of child marriage. Broadly, the reasons are four, viz. historical, social, cultural and economic.

- ❖ There exists a tendency among various social groups to follow rituals and practices of forefathers without questioning its relevance to the present day and time. People follow the practice of child marriage blindly and they are not convinced that reason exists to deviate from the same even if it meant punishment under law.
- ❖ There are economic compulsions, which drive people to resort to child marriages. Weak economic status and large families encourage the practice as it helps the parents to send off their girl children early. On the other hand, marriage of the boy brings in an additional hand to assist the household and its economic activities. Traditional beliefs hold that it is beneficial for a girl to grow up in the environment where she is likely to spend the maximum part of her life and contribute to the household. Generally, the poor prefer to perform the marriages of siblings together to

- save on the expenses of community feeding on this “joyous occasion of marriage” in the family.
- ❖ The members of community practicing child marriages have little or no formal education. They therefore prefer to marry off their slightly grown up child and rather than initiating them into life and worldly affairs. Early marriage ensures that the parental “responsibility” of settling the children is taken care of. Performing the marriage ceremony of children is considered an unpleasant duty of the parents and a social obligation.
 - ❖ Strong caste ties and the rules of interaction limit the availability of most suitable brides and grooms. This means that as soon as the parents come across a suitable match, they waste no time in solemnising the marriage ritual, irrespective of the child’s age. They support this act through an argument that such a move has no ill effects as according to them the consummation of marriage happens only when the couple is ‘grown up’ (usually below the legal age for marriage).
 - ❖ Economic reasons too contribute to the acceptance and continuance of this practice. When the match is settled for the eldest child, it is not usual that the siblings are married at the same time to avoid the expense of feeding people again and again.
 - ❖ The feudal background, limited access of education to masses, especially for the girls and the prevailing gender biases prevent a girl child from acquiring any other skills except those complementing her biological capacity. Such biases and values favour early marriage.
 - ❖ Child marriage is also solemnised because people have their own ideas of fertility and childbearing capacity. Early marriage ensures full utilization of this capacity.

In a society dominated by religious commandments, marriage is a sacred ceremony. All participating in this ritual reap benefits in terms of dharma. The parents of the couple earn dharma as successfully marrying off their children is an important step in their journey to *moksha*. “*Kanya daan*” is a higher category of sacred ritual, which earns more rewards in the spiritual realm, and benefits in terms of dharma points. The continuance of the practice of child marriage can be mainly attributed to this factor.

Poverty and economic distress is also a major contributor to this practice. Parents of the bride, who have to bear the major expense of the wedding, usually prefer to marry all their daughters on the same occasion to avoid repeated expenditure.

The Indian culture also expects a daughter-in-law to be submissive, and marrying girls at a very young age is thought to ensure minimal clash of egos.

The availability of a suitable boy overpowers the age considerations and bride family does not want to waste this opportunity over girl's age, education, and skill development. The patriarchal setup put high premium on the chastity of the girl. An early marriage brings assurance of any sacrilege in this context.

Community pressures in the name of tradition are always high in a rural society. People with limited exposure of the pace of the outside world become dogmatic in their approach towards life situations. Insistence on early marriage is a fallout of such mindsets. There are also the sociological factors, cultural evolution and tribal practices which are difficult for members of community to ignore. Child marriage, according to the community thinking, reinforces family alliances and checks chances of marriage outside families and castes. Fears of post-puberty, sexual activities and loss of virginity of girl child drives parents to marry off their daughters early, as married girls are deemed as more socially acceptable.

Poverty and family traditions have emerged as the major cause for the continuation of this practice in all the study states. This factor is believed to be the main reason for child marriage in Tonk district whereas in Jaipur the people assign family tradition as the main force prompting child marriages. Safety of the girl, customs and beliefs and community pressure are also considered as contributing factors towards the continuation of the practice of child marriage.

In Rajasthan the practice of child marriage is a defining feature for certain castes and communities in certain geographical areas. Nearly 40% of the population informs that the caste/community, to which they belong, practices child marriage. In UP, 89.6% say that they do not practice it while 77.2% in MP were found to practice child marriages.

Talking about the incidence of child marriages in their own family, in Rajasthan on an average 44% of the respondents amongst the common people inform that there have been incidences of child marriage in their family. The percentage of such families is higher for

Tonk district. In UP, where 37.2% said that there have been incidences of child marriage within their own family. Even more in Varanasi district with (76 respondents - 60.8%) said that child marriages have occurred in their family. In MP, 61.6% said that there have been incidences of child marriage in their family while 37.2% said that there have been no such incidents.

In the study areas, particularly in Rajasthan and M.P., it was argued that even after marital alliance, the girl child continues to reside in her parental home till she attains a level of physical and mental maturity to handle household chores, usually after she attains puberty. It was only in U.P. that the girls were sent to marital homes on the same day of their marriage.

It is in this background that we have to examine the data collected and collated to understand the outcome of the study. These can be broadly categorized into (a) present status of child marriage in the study area; (b) awareness of people for curbing child marriage; (c) adequacy of legal initiatives; and, (d) the role of local leaders and enforcement agencies.

(A) Present status of Child Marriage in the study areas

- ❖ The trend of child marriage is a social reality in the studied villages of the three states (Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) but there is a downward trend to it. This fact is supported by all the district magistrates of all the districts.
- ❖ Two features are typical of child marriages solemnised in all the three study states:
 - (a) Both the bride & the groom are underage unlike child marriages elsewhere where usually only the bride is underage.
 - (b) After the marriage ceremony, the bride is not sent to the house of her in-laws immediately in both Rajasthan and MP. The bride is sent to her marital home when the girl is considered mature enough to handle the household chores, which is usually after her attaining puberty. While in UP most of them were sent to their matrimonial house on the same day of marriage.
 - (c) More cases of child marriage are reported from such families where the broader community to which the family belongs indulge in child marriage.

(B) Status of awareness on the need to curb Child Marriages

- (a) In Rajasthan, most of the villagers and the local level elected representatives are aware of legal provisions that bar child marriages. But few among them adopt a proactive role to stop child marriages. On the other hand, in UP and MP, most of the villagers and Panchayat members displayed a lack of awareness about the illegality of child marriages. Few took initiatives to curb the practice.
- (b) In Rajasthan, the favoured age for marriage as identified in the study areas was below 21 years for boys and below 18 years for girls. Interestingly, the villagers do not consider these as cases of child marriage. For them, child marriage is marriage of infants or an adolescent in the age group of 10 to 14 years. In UP and MP, though most of the villagers prefer marriage of both the sexes at the legal age but at the same time there were a few who wanted boys and girls to be married when they were much below the legal age of marriage.
- (c) The practice of registration of marriages is not a norm but an exception. In Rajasthan, most of the people in the villages interviewed showed certain awareness about the Marriage Registration Act. But in UP and MP most of the people are not aware about it. In practice, a very small percentage of people get their marriages registered. Two categories of people could be identified in the field who apply for registration of marriages:
- The ones who wish to go abroad ,where marriages performed by religious rituals are not recognized
 - Those who have transgressed the norms of marriage defined by various in-groups like caste, creed, and religion to which the individuals belong.

(C) Perception on adequacy of legal initiatives

- ❖ In the study areas, the local leadership considers the legislative measures potent enough to prevent child marriages. In Rajasthan, they claim that the incidents of child marriage have decreased over the years as a result of the initiatives taken by the village Panchayat, with minimal support from other institutions. Occasionally the support of community groups, other Panchayats, NGOs and CMPOs have been sought. In UP, help has been sought from ICDS functionaries, NGOs and Panchayat members. In MP help from police, CMPOs and media have been beneficial in curbing this social evil. In all the study areas, individuals who were married as children admitted to the fact there wasn't any resistance during the ceremony.
- ❖ The role of the NGOs has so far been in spreading awareness about the ill effects of child marriage. Social workers and NGOs are the main source of information about child marriages happening in the districts. The NGOs reported of hurdles they faced while trying to stop child marriages. The general feeling among the NGOs is that the law against child marriage is not efficient in preventing child marriage although they could not pin point any loophole in it.
- ❖ Most of the police personnel working in the field were aware about the illegality of child marriages and received complaints regarding child marriages. According to Rajasthan police, the family members/relatives were the main source of complaints about child marriages. In UP , the police were informed by the NGOs and community leaders and in MP half of the respondents said that the NGOs informed them about incidences of child marriages in the districts. Most of the policemen in Rajasthan and UP stated that there were no special cells to combat the child marriage cases while in MP 30% say that such special cells did exist.
- ❖ In Jaipur district of Rajasthan and both the districts of MP and UP had child marriage prevention officers specifically deputed to check the problem of child marriage. There is no such officer in Tonk district of Rajasthan.

- ❖ In Rajasthan, no statistical records were maintained or available at the district level related to child marriages. In both UP and MP, the DMs informed that records were available.
- ❖ The collector and DM from Jaipur and a DM from MP stated that the district administration faced problems in implementing the Act against child marriage. They believed that there were certain loopholes in the law which helped people indulging or conniving in child marriage to escape any significant punishment. Contrastingly, the DMs from Tonk and UP reported no such difficulty and according to them, the laws provided enough to check the menace of child marriages.
- ❖ Social workers, NGOs, CMPOs and media were the main sources of information for the DMs. In Rajasthan, both the DMs informed that the district administration was able to mobilise various stakeholders like individuals, institutions like Panchayati Raj and NGOs to extend support in taking steps to stop child marriages. In MP, the NGOs, media and CMPOs have extended their support to the DMs and in UP there was no response from the DMs.
- ❖ The DM from Tonk informed that the review for the status implementation of the child marriage act is done twice in a month; in MP it was not done at all and in UP the review was done once a month. The DM from Jaipur informed that the review meeting to check the status of the implementation of the Act was not done as frequently as it should be done. It was usually done once in a year.

(D) The role of local leaders and the enforcement agencies

- (a) A very few cases of child marriage was reported in the districts surveyed. The reason could perhaps be that the enforcers and interpreters at the local level are products of the same socio-cultural milieu. They may be using informal ways to stop the practice but formal means to enforce laws are adopted only under extreme pressure.
- (b) In UP, police has registered 1-5 complaints on a monthly basis regarding child marriages. In MP, 11-15 cases have been registered and in Rajasthan 20% of the respondents said that 1-5 numbers of cases have been registered.
- (c) The local elected representatives have also defaulted on the issue of child marriage in their capacity as parents in both Rajasthan and MP, but in UP the Panchayat members informed that they married their children at the legal age.
- (d) District magistrates in both Rajasthan and MP admit that despite the framing of laws and other measures, the practice of child marriage still finds favour with the local people, especially in the rural areas. Communities like Meena, Jaat, Gurjar, Rajput, Berwa, Chamar and Maali are still favouring the practice of child marriage; however in UP, according to the DMs child marriages are not solemnized in their districts.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

(A) Key Recommendations

- (i) **Awareness Generation-** All stakeholders, including parents, relatives, panchayat members, the police, NGOs, social workers, district magistrates, etc, should be sensitized and convinced about the negative impact of child marriage on children and about protecting the sexual and reproductive health and rights of girls and young women.
- (ii) **Gender Sensitization Programmes-** Gender training programmes should be spread all across the district for the police forces, NGOs and other stakeholders alike. They should be trained about the risks and disadvantage of child marriages and also through such trainings the primary and secondary education of girls should be promoted.
- (iii) **Checking Loopholes in the Law-** Rectifying the loopholes in the law is a significant way to control child marriages in the study areas. In the study, NGO personnels interviewed in MP and UP believe that there are loopholes in the law against child marriages. Thus, such loopholes must be corrected to strengthen the document against those who break the law.
- (iv) **Stringency of Punishment-** Under the ‘Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006’ whoever performs a child marriage is punishable with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine which may extend to one lakh rupees or with both. In the present scenario, though a lot of people interviewed were aware about the law against child marriages but due to the lack of enforcement and political will they continue to follow the practice. Only when the law is made strict and strong actions are taken against those who continue to practice child marriages, the menace can be tackled.
- (v) **Child Marriage Prevention Officers (CMPOs) –** All police officials interviewed in UP, MP and Rajasthan said that CMPOs are present in the state but despite that child marriages are still continuing. At the enforcement level,

the police working in the *thanas* need to have the will for enforcing the law against child marriage. CMPOs need to be appointed or if present they need to be trained to be vigilant and take strict actions against the culprits.

- (vi) **Set-up of Special Cells-** In the district level, special cells must be set up which will work specially on cases of child marriages. Special cells should be set up in the study states and other states with high prevalence of child marriages. Keeping a check on the marriages taking place in the villages may bring down the number of child marriages in the area.
- (vii) **Registration of Marriages-** Considering the widespread realities in the three study states, the provisions of registration need to be implemented in a simple and user-friendly manner. The study has revealed that most of the families do not register marriages, in fact, many are not even aware about it. Registration facilities should be provided at the lowest rung of our administrative structures in the rural areas and in the urban slum dwellings.
- (viii) **NGOs to Report/Intervene-** NGOs should be given the authority to report and intervene with the help of district magistrates, police or other social workers in the cases of child marriage.
- (ix) **Safety and security of Girls-** Trafficking is a serious issue when we talk about child marriage. Both are linked to each other as many girl children are forced into marriage after being kidnapped from bordering states/areas. To curb such happenings, the laws have to be made more stringent and proper enforcement of the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act in conjunction with the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act particularly in border states/areas needs to be implemented.
- (x) **Security to Girls and Boys-** A safety net must be created for girls and young women who escape a forced and often violent marriage. Few case studies in the study revealed that the children were forced into marrying early and in one case study the girl had escaped a forced marriage. In such cases, the girls and

even boys should be given security by the CMPOs and police of the district so that no harm is done to these children by their own family members.

- (xi) **Role of Media-** Media can play a proactive role in creating awareness regarding child marriages in the district level. They can broadcast child marriages taking place in the villages so that action can be taken by NGOs, district magistrates and CMPOs. They can even report such cases to the local police authorities as a preventive gesture.

(B) General Recommendations

- ❖ **Promoting Education of Girls-** In a society largely governed by beliefs, rituals and a desire to follow the cultural ethos as prescribed, education is perhaps the only potent weapon that could combat undesirable practices embedded in the system. Legislation, laws and enforcement can only assist in this endeavour. The problem of the abysmal educational level in the three states studied needs to be addressed and education upto the school level must be made compulsory. Women should also be made aware of legal literacy and a sense of self confidence and self belief should be instilled in them. Universalisation of education thus is a primary requirement if child marriage is to be eradicated.
- ❖ **Income-Generation Programmes & Policies-** In the study area, one of the factors that was repeatedly mentioned as a causative factor for child marriage was poverty. Though a number of poverty alleviation programmes and employment generation programmes have been put in place, more than 220 million people are still Below Poverty Line (BPL). Women and children are traditionally most affected by poverty. There is, therefore, an urgent need to seriously address the issue of poverty in these affected areas.
- ❖ **Awareness Generation Programmes -** The problem of combating child marriage is not a burning issue that invite the individual attention of the administrators and law enforcers. It is treated as a minor misdemeanor that attracts little or no punishment even within the statute. Though amendments have been made in the law to strengthen the penal provision that will book and prosecute the offenders, legal system carries a

backlog of millions of cases. While the does exist- as it should exist to curb child marriage- experience has shown that law, in itself, cannot solve social ills. Public needs to be educated in a concerted manner, on all aspects of ills of child marriage. It would require sustained campaign by administration and NGOs to spread the social message in the affected states. Help of the opinion makers and religious heads of the communities could be elicited.

- ❖ **Political Will-** The role of people's representatives such as Members of Parliament, Legislative Assemblies and local bodies is crucial as they interact with people regularly. They should be educated on the need for advocacy against child marriage. Politicians should be vigilant about the Human Rights Conventions like CRC, CEDAW and other related treaties and whether they are being fully implemented at the state level.

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SCHEDULE FOR 'FAMILY (HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD)'

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1. Identification Number:

--

2. State Code: RAJ- 1; MP- 2; UP- 3

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3. District Code: BHOPAL- 1; SHAJAPUR- 2; JAIPUR- 3;
TONK- 4; VARANASI- 5; MEERUT- 6

--

4. Village Code: 1; 2; 3; 4; 5

Section A: Personal Details

5. Name: _____

--

6. Religion: [1- Hindu; 2- Muslim; 3- Others]

--

7. Caste: [1- OBC; 2- SC/ST; 3- Others]

--

8. Gender: [1- Male; 2- Female]

--

9. Age (In completed years): [1- Less than 30 years; 2- 30-50 years;
3- 50 years and above]

--

10. Marital Status: [1- Single; 2- Married; 3- Divorcee;
4- Separated]

--

11. Education Status (Present): [1- Illiterate; 2- Primary (1-5th);
3- Middle (6-8th); 4- Secondary (9-12th); 5- Graduate;
6- Post-Graduate; 7- Other]

12. Family's Mother Tongue: _____

--

13. Family Structure: [1- Joint family; 2- Nuclear Family]

14. Occupation: [1- Cultivator; 2- Agricultural laborer; 3- Household industry; 4- Non-household industry; 5- Other worker; 6- Non Worker]

15(a) Household Income (in Thousand/month): [1. Less than 1000; 2. 1000-3000; 3. 3000-5000; 4. 5000-10000; 5. 10000 and above]

(b) Is the family Below Poverty Line / Holder of Below Poverty Line card? [1. Yes; 2. No]

16. What is the number of children in your family? [1. Less than 3; 2. 4 – 6; 3. 7 – 8; 4. More than 8]

17. Are any of your children married (M/F)? [1. Yes; 2. No]

18. If yes, at what age did you get them married?

(a) [**Male** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 12 years; 3. Less than 21 years; 4. 21 and above]

(b) [**Female** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 8 Years; 3. 8 – 13 years; 4. Less than 18 years; 5. 18 and above]

19. Why did you get your child married so early?

1. Customs and Beliefs

2. Family Tradition

3. Community Pressure

4. Brideprice

5. Safety of the girl

6. Economic Burden / Poverty

7. Any other _____

20(a) Are you aware about the registration of marriages? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) Have you registered your child's marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(c) Have you got any certificate as proof for the registration of the marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

21. Who performed your child's marriage?

1. Priest

2. Maulavi

3. Father/Pastor

4. Relatives

5. Family Members

6. Others _____

22. What in your view is the right age for marriage and why?

(a) **[For Males -** 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 12 years; 3. Less than 21 years; 4. 21 and above]

(b) **[For Females -** 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 8 Years; 3. 8 – 13 years; 4. Less than 18 years; 5. 18 and above]

Section B: Interview Details

23. Does the caste/community to which you belong practice Child Marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

24. Has there been any child marriage in your family? [1. Yes; 2. No]

If the answer is Yes answer Q 25-28. If the answer is No proceed to Q 29.

25. Are you aware that child marriage is illegal? [1. Yes; 2. No]

26. Did anybody try to stop the marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

27. If yes, who?

1. Sarpanch

2. Panchayat members

3. District Magistrate/Collector

4. Child Marriage Prevention Officers

5. NGO/Social Worker

6. Police

7. Community

10. Any Other (Specify) _____

28. What steps did they take to stop your Child's Marriage?

29. Why do child marriages take place?

1. Customs and Beliefs

2. Family Tradition

3. Community Pressure

4. Brideprice

5. Safety of the girl

6. Economic Burden/Poverty

7. Any other _____

30(a) Do you support Child Marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) Give reasons.

31. How do you think child marriages can be stopped?

(a) By state

1. Enforcement of law

2. Awareness programmes

3. Improve educational status of parents

4. Economic empowerment of women

5. Any Other _____

(b) By Community/Caste

1. Support state initiatives

2. Work towards changing traditional beliefs

3. Any Other _____

(c) By Panchayat

1. Support state initiatives

2. Be a watchdog

3. Awareness programmes

4. Any Other _____

SCHEDULE FOR 'THOSE MARRIED BELOW 18 YEARS'

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1. Identification Number:

--

2. State Code: RAJ- 1; MP- 2; UP- 3

--

3. District Code: BHOPAL- 1; SHAJAPUR- 2; JAIPUR- 3;
TONK- 4; VARANASI- 5; MEERUT- 6

--

4. Village Code: 01; 02; 03; 04; 05

Section A: Personal Details

5. Name: _____

--

6. Gender: [1- Male; 2- Female]

--

7. Religion: [1- Hindu; 2- Muslim; 3- Christian; 4- Others]

--

8. Caste: [1- SC/ST; 2- OBC; 3- Others]

--

9. Age (In completed years): [1- Less than 12 years; 2- 13-18 years; 3- 19-24 years; 4- Other (Specify the age)]

--

10(a) Education Status: [1- Illiterate; 2- Primary (1-5th); 3- Middle (6-8th); 4- Secondary (9-12th); 5- Graduate; 6- Other]

(b) Education Status at the time of marriage: _____

11. Mother Tongue: _____

--

12. Family Structure: [1- Joint family; 2- Nuclear Family]

13. Occupation: [1- Cultivator; 2- Agricultural laborer; 3- Household industry; 4- Non-household industry; 5- Shopkeeper; 6- Vendor; 7- Other worker; 10- Non Worker]

14. At what age did you get married? (Specify the age)

(a) **Male**- 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 12 years; 3. Less than 21 years; 4. 21 and above

(b) **Female** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 8 Years; 3. 8 – 13 years; 4. Less than 18 years; 5. 18 and above]

15. Whom you consulted before your marriage was arranged?

16. What did marriage mean to you?

1. An occasion to get new clothes

2. Being the centre of attraction

3. Celebrating festivity

4. Any other _____

17(a) Did you want to get married so early? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, why? _____

(c) If no, did you resist it?

18(a) Where you forced to get married? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, by whom?

1. Father

2. Mother

3. Brother/Sister

4. Relatives

5. Others _____

19. When were you sent to your marital house? [1. Day of marriage; 2. After few days/months of marriage (Specify number of days); 3. After puberty; 4. Any Other (Specify) _____]

Section B: Interview Details

20(a) Do you understand the term 'child marriage'?

(b) If yes, please state.

21. Is there a common practice in your caste/community to perform Child Marriage? (Question to be asked to the respondent above 15 years of age) [1. Yes; 2. No]

22. Has there been any other child marriage in your family? [1. Yes; 2. No]

If the answer is Yes answer Q 23-25 and if the answer is No proceed to Q 26.

23. Did anybody try to stop your marriage? (1.Yes 2.No)

24. If yes, who?

1. Sarpanch

2. Panchayat members

3. District Magistrate/Collector

4. NGO/Social Worker

5. Police

6. Community

7. Any Other (Specify) _____

25. What steps did they take to stop your marriage?

26(a) Do you support or oppose Child Marriage? [1. Support; 2. Oppose]

(b) Give reasons.

27. Are you aware that child marriage is unlawful? [1. Yes; 2. No]

28. What do you think is the right age for marriage? (Question to be asked to the respondent above 15 years of age)

(a) [**For Males** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 4 – 12 years; 3. Above 12 years; 4. Less than 21 years; 5. 21 years and above]

(b) [**For Females** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 4 – 8 Years; 3. 9 – 13 years; 4. Less than 18 years; 5. 18 and above]

(c) Why?

29(a) Would you perform a child marriage for your child/children? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, why?

30(a) If yes, will you still do it after knowing about laws against child marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

SCHEDULE FOR 'NGOS'

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1. Identification Number:

--

2. State Code: RAJ- 1; MP- 2; UP- 3

--

3. District Code: BHOPAL- 1; SHAJAPUR- 2; JAIPUR- 3;
TONK- 4; VARANASI- 5; MEERUT- 6

--

4. Village Code: 1; 2; 3; 4; 5

Section A: Details of the NGO

5. Name and address of the organization:

--

6. How old is your organisation? [1. Less than 5 years; 2. 6
– 10 years; 3. More than 11 years]

--

7. How many volunteers/activists/employees are there (excluding D
category staff) [1. Less than 5; 2. 6 - 10; 3. 10 - 20; 4.
More than 20]

--

8. What are the main areas in which your organization works?

--

1. Health Issues

--

2. Educational Issues

--

3. Child Rights

--

4. Women and Child Development

--

5. Any other (Specify) _____

--

9. What is your role as an NGO in dealing with issues of Child Marriage?

--

1. Legal Help to people opposing Child Marriage

--

2. Counseling

3. Spreading awareness of problems related to child marriage
4. Organization set-up
5. Any other _____

Section B: Operational Details

10. Since how long have you been working on the issue of enforcement of Child Marriage Act? [1. Less than 5 years; 2. 5-10 years; 3. 10-15 years; 4. 15-20 years; 5. More than 20 years]
11. On an average, how many cases of Child Marriage takes place in this district in a year? [1. Nil; 2. 1 – 10; 3. 11 – 20; 4. 21 and above; 5. Too much]
12. Are there any special occasions or seasons when mass child marriages take place?

13. What is your source of information about child marriages taking place in your district? (8. Don't Know / 9. Not Applicable)
 1. Community
 2. Social Workers
 3. Relatives/Neighbours
 4. Government Department
 5. Child Marriage Prevention Officers
 6. NGOs
 7. Media
 10. Self help Group
 11. Any other _____

14. How do you access a case of Child Marriage?
 1. Try to stop by speaking to opinion leaders
 2. Speaking to parents
 3. Informing police

4. Any other _____

--	--	--

15. How many cases have you registered under Child Marriage Restraint Act in the last year (March 05 – April 06)?

16. What are the factors leading to child marriage in this area?

--

1. Customs and Beliefs

--

2. Family Tradition

--

3. Community/Societal Pressure

--

4. Poverty/Economic factors

--

5. Safety for the girl child

--

6. Brideprice

--

7. Any other _____

--

17(a) Are marriages registered in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, who registers? _____

--

18. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

--

19(a) Is there any particular community/caste in the village where child marriage is more prevalent? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, please mention the name of the community/caste.

20. What actions have you undertaken to stop child marriages in the villages?

--

21(a) Do you face resistance when you try stopping Child Marriages in the villages? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, by whom? Share some of your experience.

22. Do you bring into the notice of the Police about child marriage incidents in the villages? [1. Yes; 2. No]

23. Who has supported you most in your initiatives? How?

1. Panchayat

2. Police

3. District Magistrate

4. Child Marriage Prevention Officers

5. Other NGOs

6. Community

7. Media

10. Any Other _____

24(a) Do you think the law against Child Marriage has been effective in eliminating Child Marriages in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(Give reasons)

25(a) Do you think there are loopholes in the law? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, what changes would you suggest to check the existing loopholes?

26(a) Do you think you have done any noteworthy contribution to decrease child marriages? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, how? If no, why not?

27. What in your views are effective strategies to combat child marriages?

SCHEDULE FOR ‘SARPANCH/ PANCHAYAT MEMBER’

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1. Identification Number:

2. State Code: RAJ- 1; MP- 2; UP- 3

3. District Code: BHOPAL- 1; SHAJAPUR- 2; JAIPUR- 3;
TONK- 4; VARANASI- 5; MEERUT- 6

4. Village Code: 1; 2; 3; 4; 5

Section A: Personal Details

5. Name: _____

6. Religion: [1- Hindu; 2- Muslim; 3- Others]

7. Caste: [1- OBC; 2- SC/ST; 3- Others]

8. Gender: [1- Male; 2- Female]

9. Age: [1- Less than 30 years; 2- 30-50 years; 3- 50 years and above]

10. Marital Status: [1- Single; 2- Married; 3- Divorcee;
4- Separated]

11. Education Status: [1- Illiterate; 2- Primary (1-5th); 3- Middle (6-8); 4- Secondary (9-12th); 5- Graduate; 6- Postgraduate;
7- Other _____]

12. Occupation: [1- Cultivator; 2- Agricultural laborer;
3- Household industry; 4- Non-household industry; 5- Other worker;
6- Non Worker]

13. Are any of your children married? [1. Yes; 2. No]

14. If yes, at what age did you get him/her married?

(a) **Male** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 12 years; 3. Less than 21 years;
4. 21 years and above

(b) **Female** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 8 Years; 3. 8 – 13 years;
4. Less than 18 years; 5. 18 years and above]

15. What do you think is the right age for marriage?

(a) **For Males**- 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 12 years; 3. 12 – 21 years;
4. 21 and above

- (b) **For Females** - 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 8 Years; 3. 8 – 13 years;
4. 13 – 18 years; 5. 18 and above]

Section B: Interview Details

16. What do you think are the causes of Child Marriage?

1. Customs and Beliefs

2. Family Tradition

3. Community Pressure

4. Brideprice

5. Safety for the girl

6. Economic Burden/Poverty

7. Any other _____

17. Do people in your community practice Child Marriage? [1. Yes;
2. No]

18. Are you aware that child marriage is illegal? [1. Yes; 2. No]

19(a) Are you aware of the law that prohibits child marriage? [1. Yes;
2. No]

(b) If yes, are you aware of the legal age of marriage? [1. Yes;
2. No]

20(a) Do you think the law is an efficient tool to eliminate Child Marriage?
[1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) Give reasons for your answer.

21(a) Are marriages registered in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, who registers?

22. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

23(a) Has the Panchayat taken any steps to stop Child Marriages? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, what are the steps?

(c) If no, why not?

24(a) Has the rate of Child Marriage come down with the initiative of the Panchayat? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, how?

(c) If no, why not?

25. When and how do you come to know about child marriage in your jurisdiction?

26(a) Have you received any help from any institution to stop Child Marriages in your village? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, who has helped and how?

1. Other Panchayat members

2. Police

3. NGOs

4. Community

5. Media

6. Self-Help Groups

7. Child Marriage Prevention Officers

10. ICDS Functionaries

11. Any Other _____

27. What are your views on Child Marriage? (Write the views)
[1. Support; 2. Oppose]

28(a) What kind of Panchayat exists in the village?

1. Jati Panchayat

2. Gram Panchayat

3. Both

4. Any Other (Specify) _____

(b) Who has more power and takes major decisions?

29(a) Are panchayat members given orientation on social issues like child marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(For example, Have any one of you attended any seminars/meet/workshop or training programmes on how to tackle the issue of child marriage?)

(b) If yes, have you attended any orientation programme? [1. Yes; 2. No]

30. Your views on an effective strategy to combat child marriages?

31. Has there been any noteworthy incidence in this district that has influenced your thinking?

SCHEDULE FOR 'POLICE INSPECTOR / ASST. SUB INSPECTOR / INCHARGE OF POLICE STATION / POLICE POST'

--	--	--

1. Identification Number:

--

2. State Code: RAJ- 1; MP- 2; UP- 3

--

3. District Code: BHOPAL- 1; SHAJAPUR- 2; JAIPUR- 3; TONK- 4; VARANASI- 5; MEERUT- 6

--	--

4. Village Code: 01; 02; 03; 04; 05

Section A: Personal and Professional Details

5. Name of the Police Personnel: _____

6. Designation: _____

--	--	--	--

7(a) Year of Joining:

--	--

(b) Number of Years in Service:

--

8. Gender: [1- Male; 2- Female]

9. Police Station/Cell Name and Address: _____

--	--

10. Number of police personnels working in the station:

Section B: Interview Details

--

11. Are you aware that child marriage is illegal? [1. Yes; 2. No]

--

12(a) Does your community practice child marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) (Please specify the name of the community)

13. What action do you take when you come to know of child marriages in your area?

1. No action taken unless a formal complaint

2. Visit the sight for action against violators

3. Others _____

14. What measures do you take when the community violates the law and practices child marriage?

1. Arrest

2. Warning

3. Counseling

4. Cannot do anything

5. Others _____

15. Do you receive oral/written complaints regarding child marriage in your area? [1. Yes; 2. No]

16. What action do you take after you receive the complaint? Give details.

17. From whom have you received complaints about child marriage in the last three years?

1. Panchayat

2. Community

3. Family members/Relatives

4. NGOs

5. Others _____

18. Number of complaints registered about child marriage on a monthly basis in the last five years? [1. 1-5; 2. 6-10; 3. 11-15; 4. More than 15 (Specify)]

_____]

19(a) Has the number of complaints increased or decreased over a period of time? [1. Increased; 2. Decreased]

(b) Give details.

20(a) Is there any special cell that works especially for child marriage cases? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, give details about the cell.

21(a) Do you face any problems in registering cases of child marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, what kind of problems do you face?

22. From whom do you face such problems?

1. Panchayat

2. Community

3. Family Members/Relatives

4. Any Other _____

23. How do you deal with such problems?

24(a) Are marriages registered in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, who registers?

25. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

26. What are your views on Child Marriage? (Write the views)

27. Your views on an effective strategy to combat child marriages?

28. Has there been any noteworthy incidence in this district that has influenced your thinking?

SCHEDULE FOR 'DISTRICT MAGISTRATES'

--	--	--

1. Identification Number:

--

2. State Code: RAJ- 1; MP- 2; UP- 3

--

3. District Code: BHOPAL- 1; SHAJAPUR- 2; JAIPUR- 3;
TONK- 4; VARANASI- 5; MEERUT- 6

--

4. Village Code: 1; 2; 3; 4; 5

Section A: Personal and Professional Details

5. Name of the District Magistrate: _____

6. Office Address: _____

--	--

7. Number of Years completed in District

--	--

8. Age

Section B: Interview Details

--

9. Is there a custom of performing child marriage in your district?
[1. Yes; 2. No]

10. What are the factors leading to child marriage?

--

1. Customs and Beliefs

--

2. Family Tradition

--

3. Community Pressure

--

4. Brideprice

--

5. Safety of the girl

--

6. Economic Burden / Poverty

--

7. Any other _____

--

11.(a) Is there any particular community \ caste to your knowledge who
perform child marriage? (1.Yes 2.No)

(b) If yes, please provide details

12.(a) Are marriages registered in the district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, who registers?

13. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district?
[1. Yes; 2. No]

14.(a) Do you have district level statistics on child marriage? [1. Yes;
2. No]

(b) If yes, is the data available for: [1. Less than 2 years; 2. 2 – 5
years; 3. 5 – 10 years; 4. 10 and above]

15. Are there any special occasions or seasons when mass child marriages
take place? (Specify)

16. You must be aware of the child marriage Act? [1. Yes; 2. No]

17.(a) Is the Act effective in eliminating Child Marriages in this district?
[1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, how?

18.(a) Do you face problems in enforcing the Act? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, please give details.

19.(a) Do you find any loopholes in the Act? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, what changes would you suggest to check the existing
loopholes?

20. What is the prevalent age-group of Child Marriage in the district?

(a) **[For Males:** 1. Less than 3 years; 2. 3 – 12 years; 3. Less
than 21 years; 4. 21 years and above]

- (b) **[For Females:** 1. Less than 3; 2. 3 – 8 Years; 3. 8 – 13 years; 4. Less than 18 years; 5. 18 years and above]

21. What is your source of information on child marriages taking place in your district?

1. Community

2. Social Workers

3. Relatives/Neighbours

4. NGOs

5. Media

6. Child Marriage Prevention Officers

7. Self help Groups

10. Any other _____

22.(a) Have you been able to contribute towards the decrease in child marriages in your district? [1. Yes; 2. No]

(b) If yes, how and if no, why not?

23. Has any NGO or institution or individual assisted you in taking steps to stop child marriage? [1. Yes; 2. No]

24. If yes, who has supported you most in your initiatives?

1. Panchayat

2. Police

3. NGOs

4. Community

5. Media

6. Child Marriage Prevention Officers

7. Self-Help Groups

10. Any Other _____

25. How often do you review the status of implementation of this Act?
[1. Once a Month; 2. Twice in a Month; 3. Once a year;
4. Not at all]

26. What priority in terms of time do you allocate for this issue?

27. Have you got any opportunity to attend any training/workshop on this issue? (Give details) [1. Yes; 2. No]

28. What are your views on Child Marriage? (Write the views)

29. Your views on an effective strategy to combat child marriages?

30. Has there been any noteworthy incidence in this district that has influenced your thinking?

DISTRICT-WISE DATA OF THREE STATES**Madhya Pradesh**

<i>Sl. No</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Marriage below 18 years</i>
1	<i>Betul</i>	27.6
2	<i>Balaghat</i>	34.2
3	<i>Bhopal</i>	34.6
4	<i>Gwalior</i>	35.8
5	<i>Seoni</i>	36.6
6	<i>Mandla</i>	39.1
7	<i>Jabalpur</i>	41.3
8	<i>Ujjain</i>	42.4
9	<i>Indore</i>	42.6
10	<i>East Nimar</i>	42.7
11	<i>Raisen</i>	47.6
12	<i>Ratlam</i>	48.2
13	<i>Hoshangabad</i>	48.3
14	<i>Datla</i>	49.0
15	<i>Narsimhapur</i>	49.3
16	<i>Sehore</i>	50.4
17	<i>Dewas</i>	53.5
18	<i>Damoh</i>	54.7
19	<i>Dhar</i>	56.5
20	<i>Panna</i>	58.0
21	<i>Jhabua</i>	58.4
22	<i>Mandsaur</i>	59.7
23	<i>Satna</i>	60.0
24	<i>Udisha</i>	60.0
25	<i>Sagar</i>	60.4
26	<i>Bhind</i>	61.2
27	<i>Rewa</i>	64.0
28	<i>Shivpuri</i>	68.3
29	<i>Rajgarh</i>	68.5
30	<i>Sidhi</i>	68.8
31	<i>Shahdol</i>	69.0
32	<i>Guna</i>	69.6
33	<i>Tlkamgarh</i>	70.0
34	<i>Chattarpur</i>	73.0
35	<i>Morena</i>	73.9
36	<i>Shajapur</i>	83.7

Rajasthan

<i>Sl. No</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Marriage below 18 years</i>
1	Dungarpur	34.4
2	Sikar	42.2
3	Jaipur	44.0
4	Sirohi	47.6
5	Ganganagar	47.8
6	Jalore	48.2
7	Jhunjhunu	48.3
8	Rajsamund	49.3
9	Pali	50.6
10	Jaisalmer	50.6
11	Hanumangarh	51.6
12	Alwar	53.6
13	Dholpur	56.4
14	Bharatpur	56.9
15	Sawaimadhopur	57.0
16	Jodhpur	57.3
17	Barmer	58.0
18	Chittorgarh	60.0
19	Kotoa	61.0
20	Ajmer	62.5
21	Bikaner	63.7
22	Banswara	65.8
23	Nagaur	67.2
24	Churu	68.0
25	Udaipur	69.6
26	Dausa	71.6
27	Jhalawar	74.2
28	Bhilwara	76.2
29	Jonk	78.3
30	Bundi	80.6

RCH-RHS 1998-99**Uttar Pradesh**

Sl. No	District	Marriage below 18 years
1	Kanpur Nagar	5.6
2	Meerut	14.4
3	Bijnor	16.2
4	Gonda	17.1
5	Saharanpur	18.6
6	Ghaziabad	19.3
7	Muzaffarnagar	21.2
8	Bulandshahar	27.2
9	Muradabad	29.5
10	Bareilly	29.6
11	Rampur	31.1
12	Kanpur Dehat	34.5
13	Lucknow	35.3
14	Farrukhabad	37.2
15	Agra	38.2
16	Mau	38.5
17	Mathura	42.1
18	Jhansi	42.4
19	Aligarh	42.6
20	Hardoi	44.2
21	Etawah	44.7
22	Unna	45.6
23	Raibareilly	45.9
24	Fathepur	46.5
25	Hathras	47.3
26	Hamirpur	49.6
27	Ma.Inpuri	50.0
28	Budaun	50.5
29	Firozabad	51.4
30	Allahabad	52.4
31	Lalitpur	53.8
32	Kheri	54.0
33	Pjatapgarh	55.2
34	Pilibhit	55.7
35	Barabanki	56.2
36	Jaunpur	56.4
37	Deoria	56.8

38	<i>Etah</i>	57.5
39	<i>Mirzapur</i>	58.6
40	<i>Jalaun</i>	60.4
41	<i>Gazipur</i>	61.0
42	<i>Azamgarh</i>	64.1
43	<i>Sitapur</i>	64.2
44	<i>Shajahanbad</i>	64.5
45	<i>Faizabad</i>	64.9
46	<i>Mahaba</i>	65.2
47	<i>Sultanpur</i>	65.5
48	<i>Gorakhpur</i>	66.2
49	<i>Sonbhadra</i>	67.0
50	<i>Bhadohi</i>	67.9
51	<i>Ambedkarnagar</i>	70.0
52	<i>Banda</i>	71.6
53	<i>Varanasi</i>	72.2
54	<i>Siddhart Nagar</i>	72.6
55	<i>Basti</i>	77.4
56	<i>Bharaich</i>	78.6

ANALYSIS TABLES OF THREE STATES**1. 'FAMILY (HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD)'**

States	Total Number of respondents		States	Total Number of respondents		States	Total Number of respondents	
Rajasthan (Total)	254	100.0%	UP (Total)	250	100.0%	MP (Total)	250	100.0%
Tonk	125	100%	Varanasi	125	49.2%	Bhopal	125	100%
Jaipur	129	100%	Meerut	125	50.8%	Shajapur	125	100%

6. Percentage Distribution of Family by Religion (RAJASTHAN)

States	Hindu		Muslim		Others		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	252	99.2%	2	0.8%	0	0.0%	254	100.0%
Tonk	124	99.2%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	128	99.2%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	129	100.0%

6. Percentage Distribution of Family by Religion (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Hindu		Muslim		Others		Responses Received	
UP	218	87.2 %	32	12.8%	0	0.0%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	107	85.6%	18	14.4%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%
Meerut	111	88.8%	14	11.2%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%

6. Percentage Distribution of Family by Religion (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Hindu		Muslim		Others		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	225	90.0%	24	9.6%	1	0.4%	250	100.0%
Bhopal	123	98.4%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%
Shajapur	102	81.6%	22	17.6%	1	0.8%	125	100.0%

7. Percentage Distribution of Family by Caste (RAJASTHAN)

States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	57	22.4%	124	48.8%	73	28.7%	254	100.0%
Tonk	29	23.2%	68	54.4%	28	22.4%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	28	21.7%	56	43.4%	45	34.9%	129	100.0%

7. Percentage Distribution of Family by Caste (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		Responses Received	
UP	49	19.6%	99	39.6%	102	40.8%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	43	34.4%	51	40.8%	31	24.8%	125	100.0%
Meerut	6	4.8%	48	38.4%	71	56.8%	125	100.0%

7. Percentage Distribution of Family by Caste (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	104	41.6%	86	34.4%	60	24.0%	250	100.0%
Bhopal	71	56.8%	36	28.8%	18	14.4%	125	100.0%
Shajapur	33	26.4%	50	40.0%	42	33.6%	125	100.0%

8 Percentage Distribution of Family by gender (RAJASTHAN)

States	Male		Female		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	246	96.9%	8	3.1%	254	100.0%
Tonk	121	96.8%	4	3.2%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	125	96.9%	4	3.1%	129	100.0%

8. Percentage Distribution of Family by gender (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Male		Female		Responses Received	
UP	209	83.6%	41	16.4%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	102	81.6%	23	18.4%	125	100.0%
Meerut	107	85.6%	18	14.4%	125	100.0%

8. Percentage Distribution of Family by gender (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Male		Female		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	221	88.4%	29	11.6%	250	100.0%
Bhopal	102	81.6%	23	18.4%	125	100.0%
Shajapur	119	95.2%	6	4.8%	125	100.0%

9. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Age (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 30 years		30-50 years		50 years and above		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	12	4.7%	143	56.3%	99	39.0%	254	100.0%
Tonk	1	0.8%	87	69.6%	37	29.6%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	11	8.5%	56	43.4%	62	48.1%	129	100.0%

9. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Age (UTTAR PRADESH)									
States	Less than 30 years		30-50 years		50 years and above		Responses Received		
	UP	25	10%	127	50.8%	98	39.2%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	19	15.2%	65	52.0%	41	32.8%	125	100.0%	
Meerut	6	4.8%	62	49.6%	57	45.6%	125	100.0%	

9. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Age (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 30 years		30-50 years		50 years and above		Responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	39	15.6%	135	54.0%	76	30.4%	250
Bhopal	23	18.4%	72	57.6%	30	24.0%	125	100.0%
Shajapur	16	12.8%	63	50.4%	46	36.8%	125	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Marital Status (RAJASTHAN)

States	Single		Married		Divorcee		Separated		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	8	3.1%	246	96.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	254
Tonk	2	1.6%	123	98.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	6	4.7%	123	95.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	129	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Marital Status (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Single		Married		Divorcee/Widow		Separated		Responses Received	
	UP	11	4.4%	225	90%	12	4.8%	2	0.8%	250
Varanasi	11	8.8%	114	91.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	111	88.8%	12	9.6%	2	1.6%	125	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Marital Status (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Single		Married		Divorcee		Separated		Responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	10	4.0%	236	94.4%	1	0.4%	1	0.4%	248
Bhopal	6	4.8%	116	92.8%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	123	98.4%
Shajapur	4	3.2%	120	96.0%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%

11. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Illiterate	123	71	52
	48.4%	56.8%	40.3%
Primary (1-5th)	41	17	24
	16.1%	13.6%	18.6%
Middle (6-8th)	34	12	22
	13.4%	9.6%	17.1%
Secondary (9-12th)	42	21	21
	16.5%	16.8%	16.3%
Graduate	6	3	3
	2.4%	2.4%	2.3%
Post-Graduate	4	0	4
	1.6%	0.0%	3.1%
Other	4	1	3
	1.6%	0.8%	2.3%
Responses Received	254	125	129
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

11. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	UP	Varanasi	Meerut
Illiterate	57	40	17
	22.8%	32.0%	13.6%
Primary (1-5th)	60	32	28
	24%	25.6%	22.4%
Middle (6-8th)	47	16	31
	18.8%	12.8%	24.8%
Secondary (9-12th)	67	29	38
	26.8%	23.2%	30.4%
Graduate	14	7	7
	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%
Post-Graduate	5	1	4
	2%	0.8%	3.2%
Other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Responses Received	250	125	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

11. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Illiterate		Primary (1-5 th)		Middle (6-8 th)		Secondary (9-12 th)		Graduate		Post-Graduate		Other		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	83	33.2%	75	30.0%	36	14.4%	39	15.6%	10	4.0%	6	2.4%	0	0.0%	249	99.6%
Bhopal	46	36.8%	45	36.0%	18	14.4%	9	7.2%	4	3.2%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%	124	99.2%
Shajapur	37	29.6%	30	24.0%	18	14.4%	30	24.0%	6	4.8%	4	3.2%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%

13. Percentage Distribution by Family Structure (RAJASTHAN)

States	Joint family		Nuclear Family		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	191	75.2%	61	24.0%	252	99.2%
Tonk	102	81.6%	21	16.8%	123	98.4%
Jaipur	89	69.0%	40	31.0%	129	100.0%

13. Percentage Distribution by Family Structure (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Joint family		Nuclear Family		Responses Received	
UP	131	52.4%	119	47.6%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	75	60%	50	40%	125	100.0%
Meerut	56	44.8%	69	55.2%	125	100.0%

13. Percentage Distribution by Family Structure (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Joint family		Nuclear Family		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh (Total)	118	47.2%	132	52.8%	250	100.0%
Bhopal	73	58.4%	52	41.6%	125	100.0%
Shajapur	45	36.0%	80	64.0%	125	100.0%

14. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Occupational Level (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Cultivator	130	69	61
	51.2%	55.2%	47.3%
Agricultural labourer	8	5	3
	3.1%	4.0%	2.3%
Household industry	7	4	3
	2.8%	3.2%	2.3%
Non- household industry	5	1	4
	2.0%	0.8%	3.1%
Other worker	90	35	55
	35.4%	28.0%	42.6%
Non Worker	14	11	3
	5.5%	8.8%	2.3%
Responses Received	254	125	129
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

14. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Occupational Level (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	UP	Varanasi	Meerut
Cultivator	51	28	23
	20.4%	11.2%	9.2%
Agricultural labourer	62	26	36
	24.8%	10.4%	14.4%
Household industry	28	15	13
	11.2%	6%	5.2%
Non- household industry	5	3	2
	2%	1.2%	0.8%
Other worker	77	34	43
	30.8%	27.2%	34.4%
Non Worker	27	19	8
	10.8%	15.2%	6.4%
Responses Received	250	125	125
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

14. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Occupational Level (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Cultivator		Agricultural laborer		Household industry		Non-household industry		Other worker		Non Worker		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	117	46.8%	49	19.6%	4	1.6%	12	4.8%	62	24.8%	6	2.4%	250	100.0%
Bhopal	64	51.2%	27	21.6%	1	0.8%	1	0.8%	29	23.2%	3	2.4%	125	100.0%
Shajapur	53	42.4%	22	17.6%	3	2.4%	11	8.8%	33	26.4%	3	2.4%	125	100.0%

15 a. Percentage Distribution of Family by Income Level (Rs) (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 1000		1000-3000		3000-5000		5000-10000		10001 and above		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	48	18.9%	98	38.6%	81	31.9%	25	9.8%	2	0.8%	254	100.0%
Tonk	40	32.0%	58	46.4%	23	18.4%	2	1.6%	2	1.6%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	8	6.2%	40	31.0%	58	45.0%	23	17.8%	0	0.0%	129	100.0%

15 a. Percentage Distribution of Family by Income Level (Rs) (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Less than 1000		1000-3000		3000-5000		5000-10000		10001 and above		Responses Received	
UP	40	16%	160	64%	39	15.6%	11	4.4%	0	0.0%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	36	28.8%	63	50.4%	20	16%	6	4.8%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%
Meerut	4	3.2%	97	77.6%	19	15.2%	5	4%	0	0.0%	125	100.0%

15 a. Percentage Distribution of Family by Income Level (Rs) (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 1000		1000-3000		3000-5000		5000-10000		10000 and above		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	32	12.8%	129	51.6%	48	19.2%	31	12.4%	9	3.6%	249	99.6%
Bhopal	20	16.0%	62	49.6%	18	14.4%	16	12.8%	8	6.4%	124	99.2%
Shajapur	12	9.6%	67	53.6%	30	24.0%	15	12.0%	1	0.8%	125	100.0%

15 b. Proportion of Person below Poverty Line / holder of poverty line card (RAJASTHAN)

States	Holder of poverty line card		Not a holder of poverty line card		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	20	7.9%	234	92.1%	254	100.0%
Tonk	14	11.2%	111	88.8%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	6	4.7%	123	95.3%	129	100.0%

15 b. Proportion of Person below Poverty Line / holder of poverty line card (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Holder of poverty line card		Not a holder of poverty line card		Responses Received	
UP	83	33.2%	167	66.8%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	69	55.2%	56	44.8%	125	100.0%
Meerut	14	11.2%	111	88.8%	125	100.0%

15 b. Proportion of Person below Poverty Line / holder of poverty line card (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Holder of poverty line card		Not a holder of poverty line card		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	91	36.4%	154	61.6%	245	98.0%
Bhopal	36	28.8%	84	67.2%	120	96.0%
Shajapur	55	44.0%	70	56.0%	125	100.0%

16. Percentage Distribution of Family by number of Children (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 3		4 – 6		7 – 8		More than 8		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	102	40.20%	124	48.80%	22	8.70%	6	2.40%	254	100.00%
Tonk	62	49.60%	54	43.20%	6	4.80%	3	2.40%	125	100.00%
Jaipur	40	31.00%	70	54.30%	16	12.40%	3	2.30%	129	100.00%

16. Percentage Distribution of Family by number of Children (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		4 – 6		7 – 8		More than 8		Responses Received	
UP	82	32.8%	141	56.4%	27	10.8%	0	0.0%	250	100.00%
Varanasi	35	28.0%	67	53.6%	23	18.4%	0	0.0%	125	100.00%
Meerut	47	37.6%	74	59.2%	4	3.2%	0	0.0%	125	100.00%

16. Percentage Distribution of Family by number of Children (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		4 – 6		7 – 8		More than 8		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	111	44.4%	110	44.0%	13	5.2%	4	1.6%	238	95.2%
Bhopal	40	32.0%	68	54.4%	7	5.6%	2	1.6%	117	93.6%
Shajapur	71	56.8%	42	33.6%	6	4.8%	2	1.6%	121	96.8%

18. Age at Marriage of Children (Male) (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	27	16.0%	107	63.3%	35	20.7%	169	66.5%
Tonk	0	0.0%	11	12.9%	59	69.4%	15	17.6%	85	68.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	16	19.0%	48	57.1%	20	23.8%	84	65.1%

18. Age at Marriage of Children (Female) (RAJASTHAN)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		19 and above		All	
Rajasthan	1	0.6%	5	3.0%	26	15.8%	94	57.0%	39	23.6%	165	65.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	2	2.5%	10	12.3%	54	66.7%	15	18.5%	81	64.8%
Jaipur	1	1.2%	3	3.6%	16	19.0%	40	47.6%	24	28.6%	84	65.1%

18. Age at Marriage of Children (Male) (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		Responses Received	
UP	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	26	10.4%	116	46.4%	142	56.8%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	21	16.8%	57	45.6%	78	62.4%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	4%	59	47.2%	64	51.2%

18. Age at Marriage of Children (Female) (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		19 and above		Responses Received	
UP	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	46	18.4%	96	38.4%	142	56.8%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	38	30.4%	40	32%	78	62.4%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	6.4%	56	44.8%	64	51.2%

18. Age at Marriage of Children (Male) (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	15	6.0%	41	16.4%	51	20.4%	107	42.8%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	7	5.6%	23	18.4%	21	16.8%	51	40.8%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	8	6.4%	18	14.4%	30	24.0%	56	44.8%

18. Age at Marriage of Children (Female) (MADHYA PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	1	0.4%	9	3.6%	15	6.0%	29	11.6%	49	19.6%	103	41.2%
Bhopal	1	0.8%	6	4.8%	7	5.6%	21	16.8%	15	12.0%	50	40.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	3	2.4%	8	6.4%	8	6.4%	34	27.2%	53	42.4%

19. Reasons for child marriage in respondents family (This is only for girl child and not for boys) (RAJASTHAN)												
States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Brideprice		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty	
	Rajasthan	55	21.7%	55	21.7%	15	5.9%	0	0.0%	54	21.3%	92
Tonk	35	28.0%	11	8.8%	4	3.2%	0	0.0%	41	32.8%	64	51.2%
Jaipur	20	15.5%	44	34.1%	11	8.5%	0	0.0%	13	10.1%	28	21.7%

19. Reasons for child marriage in respondents family (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Bride price		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty	
	UP	23	9.2%	30	12%	14	5.6%	5	2%	17	6.8%	19
Varanasi	22	17.6%	26	20.8%	14	11.2%	5	4%	11	8.8%	17	13.6%
Meerut	1	0.8%	4	3.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	4.8%	2	1.6%

19. Reasons for child marriage in respondents family (MADHYA PRADESH)												
States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Brideprice		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty	
	Madhya Pradesh	68	27.2%	67	26.8%	37	14.8%	14	5.6%	25	10.0%	26
Bhopal	32	25.6%	28	22.4%	21	16.8%	12	9.6%	20	16.0%	20	
Shajapur	36	28.8%	33	26.4%	16	12.8%	2	1.6%	5	4.0%	6	

20. a. Awareness about Marriage registration (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Is aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	62	24.4%	192	75.6%	254
Tonk	33	26.4%	92	73.6%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	29	22.5%	100	77.5%	129	100.0%

20. b Registration of own child's marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Have registered		Not registered		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	7	4.0%	167	96.0%	174
Tonk	4	4.1%	94	95.9%	98	78.4%
Jaipur	3	3.9%	73	96.1%	76	58.9%

20. c Received certificate as proof for the registration of the marriage (this is not only for those who have performed register marriage but even religious marriages) (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Have received certificate		Have not received certificate		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	8	4.3%	178	95.7%	186	73.2%
Tonk	5	5.0%	96	95.0%	101	80.8%
Jaipur	3	3.5%	82	96.5%	85	65.9%

20. a. Awareness about Marriage registration (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Is aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
UP	41	16.4%	209	83.6%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	33	26.4%	92	73.6%	125	100.0%
Meerut	8	6.4%	117	93.6%	125	100.0%

20. b Registration of own child's marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Have registered		Not registered		Responses Received	
UP	0	0.0%	148	59.2%	148	59.2%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	79	63.2%	79	63.2%
Meerut	0	0.0%	69	55.2%	69	55.2%

20. c Received certificate as proof for the registration of the marriage (this is not only for those who have performed register marriage but even religious marriages) (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Have received certificate		Have not received certificate		Responses Received	
UP	0	0.0%	141	56.4%	141	56.4%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	79	63.2%	79	63.2%
Meerut	0	0.0%	62	49.6%	62	49.6%

20(a) Awareness about Marriage registration (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Is aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	64	25.6%	171	68.4%	235	94.0%
Bhopal	30	24.0%	80	64.0%	110	88.0%
Shajapur	34	27.2%	91	72.8%	125	100.0%

20(b) Registration of own child's marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Have registered		Not registered		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	7	2.8%	199	79.6%	206	82.4%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	99	79.2%	99	79.2%
Shajapur	7	5.6%	100	80.0%	107	85.6%

20 (c) Received certificates as proof for the registration of the marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Have received certificate		Have not received certificate		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	3	1.2%	107	42.8%	110	44.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	59	47.2%	59	47.2%
Shajapur	3	2.4%	48	38.4%	51	40.8%

21. Person who performed child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Priest		Maulavi		Father/Pastor		Relatives		Family Members		Others	
Rajasthan	148	58.3%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	50	19.7%	49	19.3%	4	1.6%
Tonk	76	60.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	13	10.4%	14	11.2%	3	2.4%
Jaipur	72	55.8%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	37	28.7%	35	27.1%	1	0.8%

21. Person who performed child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Priest		Maulavi		Father/Pastor		Relatives		Family Members		Others	
UP	17	6.8%	10	4%	0	0.0%	86	34.4%	64	25.6%	32	12.8%
Varanasi	17	13.6%	8	6.4%	0	0.0%	57	45.6%	51	40.8%	9	7.2%
Meerut	0	0.0%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%	29	23.2%	13	10.4%	23	18.4%

20. Person who performed child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Priest		Maulavi		Father/Pastor		Relatives		Family Members		Others	
Madhya Pradesh	87	34.8%	10	4%	2	0.8%	75	30%	70	28.0%	6	2.4%
Bhopal	41	32.8%	1	0.8%	1	0.8%	35	28%	35	28.0%	2	1.6%
Shajapur	46	36.8%	9	7.2%	1	0.8%	40	32%	35	28.0%	4	3.2%

22. View on right age for marriage: Male (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	9	3.6%	87	34.7%	155	61.8%	251
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	2.4%	46	37.4%	74	60.2%	123	98.4%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	6	4.7%	41	32.0%	81	63.3%	128	99.2%

22. View on right age for marriage: Female (RAJASTHAN)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		19 and above		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	8	3.2%	17	6.8%	70	28.0%	155	62.0%	250
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	2.4%	2	1.6%	43	35.0%	75	61.0%	123	98.4%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	5	3.9%	15	11.8%	27	21.3%	80	63.0%	127	98.4%

22. View on right age for marriage: Male (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		Responses Received	
	UP	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	12%	220	88%	250
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	27	21.6%	98	78.4%	125	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	2.4%	122	97.6%	125	100.0%

22. View on right age for marriage: Female (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses Received	
	UP	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	46	18.4%	204	81.6%	250
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	42	33.6%	83	66.4%	125	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	3.2%	121	96.8%	125	100.0%

22. View on right age for marriage (Male) (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	1	0.4%	12	4.8%	75	30.0%	155	62.0%	243
Bhopal	1	0.8%	5	4.0%	51	40.8%	61	48.8%	118	94.4%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	7	5.6%	24	19.2%	94	75.2%	125	100.0%

22. View on right age for marriage (Female) (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	6	2.4%	15	6.0%	68	27.2%	154	61.6%	243	97.2%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	2	1.6%	7	5.6%	48	38.4%	62	49.6%	119	95.2%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	4	3.2%	8	6.4%	20	16.0%	92	73.6%	124	99.2%

23. Percentage of peoples whose caste/community practice child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses	
Rajasthan	104	40.90%	147	57.90%	251	98.80%
Tonk	60	48.00%	62	49.60%	122	97.60%
Jaipur	44	34.10%	85	65.90%	129	100.00%

23. Percentage of peoples whose caste/community practice child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses Received	
UP	26	10.4%	224	89.6%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	26	20.8%	99	79.2%	125	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	125	100.0%	125	100.0%

23. Percentage of peoples whose caste/community practice child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	193	77.2%	49	19.6%	242	96.8%
Bhopal	90	72.0%	27	21.6%	117	93.6%
Shajapur	103	82.4%	22	17.6%	125	100.0%

24. Incidence of child marriage in respondent's family (RAJASTHAN)

States	There is incidence of child marriage		No incidence of child marriage		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	112	44.10%	138	54.30%	250	98.40%
Tonk	66	52.80%	55	44.00%	121	96.80%
Jaipur	46	35.70%	83	64.30%	129	100.00%

24. Incidence of child marriage in respondent's family (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	There is incidence of child marriage		No incidence of child marriage		Responses Received	
UP	93	37.2%	157	62.8%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	76	60.8%	49	39.2%	125	100.0%
Meerut	17	13.6%	108	86.4%	125	100.0%

24. Incidence of child marriage in respondent's family (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	There is incidence of child marriage		No incidence of child marriage		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	154	61.6%	93	37.2%	247	98.8%
Bhopal	72	57.6%	51	40.8%	123	98.4%
Shajapur	82	65.6%	42	33.6%	124	99.2%

25. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	219	86.2%	35	13.8%	254	100.0%
Tonk	93	74.4%	32	25.6%	125	100.0%
Jaipur	126	97.7%	3	2.3%	129	100.0%

25 Awareness about illegality of child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
UP	30	12%	74	29.6%	104	41.6%
Varanasi	21	16.8%	63	50.4%	84	67.2%
Meerut	9	7.2%	11	8.8%	20	16%

25. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	178	71.2%	65	26.0%	243	97.2%
Bhopal	78	62.4%	40	32.0%	118	94.4%
Shajapur	100	80.0%	25	20.0%	125	100.0%

26. Attempt made to stop child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Attempt made		Not made		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	13	7.4%	162	92.6%	175	68.9%
Tonk	11	12.4%	78	87.6%	89	71.2%
Jaipur	2	2.3%	84	97.7%	86	66.7%

26. Attempt made to stop child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Attempt made		Not made		Responses Received	
UP	10	4%	87	34.8%	97	38.8%
Varanasi	10	8%	69	55.2%	79	63.2%
Meerut	0	0.0%	18	14.4%	18	14.4%

26. Attempt made to stop child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Attempt made		Not made		Responses Received	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Madhya Pradesh	6	2.4%	152	60.8%	158	63.2%
Bhopal	6	4.8%	73	58.4%	79	63.2%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	79	63.2%	79	63.2%

27. Who prevented child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Sarpanch	11	11	0
	84.6%	100.0%	0.0%
Panchayat members	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
District Magistrate/Collector	1	1	0
	7.7%	9.1%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	2	2	0
	15.4%	18.2%	0.0%
NGO/Social Worker	2	1	1
	15.4%	9.1%	50.0%
Police	4	4	0
	30.8%	36.4%	0.0%
Community	2	2	0
	15.4%	18.2%	0.0%
Other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

27. Who prevented child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	UP	Varanasi	Meerut
Sarpanch	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Panchayat members	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
District Magistrate/Collector	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
NGO/Social Worker	3	3	0
	1.2%	2.4%	0.0%

Police	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Community	6	6	0
	2.4%	4.8%	0.0%
Other	3	3	0
	1.2%	2.4%	0.0%

27. Who prevented child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	Shajapur
Sarpanch	3	3	0
	1.2%	2.4%	0.0%
Panchayat members	2	2	0
	0.8%	1.6%	0.0%
District Magistrate/Collector	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
NGO/Social Worker	3	3	0
	1.2%	2.4%	0.0%
Police	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Community	1	1	0
	0.4%	0.8%	0.0%
Other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

29. Reasons for Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Customs and Beliefs	74	44	30
	29.10%	35.20%	23.30%
Family Tradition	88	21	67
	34.60%	16.80%	51.90%
Community Pressure	25	10	15
	9.80%	8.00%	11.60%
Bride price	0	0	0
	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Safety of the girl	100	69	31
	39.40%	55.20%	24.00%
Economic Burden / Poverty	153	95	58
	60.20%	76.00%	45.00%
Other	5	1	4
	2.00%	0.80%	3.10%

29. Reasons for Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	UP	Varanasi	Meerut
Customs and Beliefs	108	66	42
	43.2%	52.8%	33.6%
Family Tradition	135	84	51
	54%	67.2%	40.8%
Community Pressure	52	41	11
	20.8%	32.8%	8.8%
Bride price	30	25	5
	12%	20%	4%
Safety of the girl	67	40	27
	26.8%	32%	21.6%
Economic Burden / Poverty	125	80	45
	50%	64%	36%
Other	49	13	36
	19.6%	10.4%	28.8%

29. Reasons for Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	Shajapur
Customs and Beliefs	179	94	85
	71.6%	75.2%	68.0%
Family Tradition	160	89	71
	64.0%	71.2%	56.8%
Community Pressure	97	64	33
	38.8%	51.2%	26.4%
Brideprice	44	39	5
	17.6%	31.2%	4.0%
Safety of the girl	90	54	36
	36.0%	43.2%	28.8%
Economic Burden / Poverty	92	55	37
	36.8%	44.0%	29.6%
Other	41	41	81
	16.4%	32.8%	64.8%

30. Proportion that supports child marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Support		Do not support		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	64	25.50%	187	74.50%	251	98.80%
Tonk	35	28.50%	88	71.50%	123	98.40%
Jaipur	29	22.70%	99	77.30%	128	99.20%

30. Proportion that supports child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Support		Do not support		Responses Received	
UP	43	17.2%	207	82.8%	250	100.0%
Varanasi	40	32%	85	68%	125	100.0%
Meerut	3	2.4%	122	97.6%	125	100.0%

30. Proportion that supports child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Support		Do not support		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	52	20.8%	184	73.6%	236	94.4%
Bhopal	22	17.6%	90	72.0%	112	89.6%
Shajapur	30	24.0%	94	75.2%	124	99.2%

31. Ways by which Child marriage can be prevented (RAJASTHAN)										
State	Enforcement of law		Awareness programmes		Improve educational status of parents		Economic empowerment of women		Other	
Rajasthan	49	19.3%	106	41.7%	53	20.9%	47	18.5%	1	0.4%
Tonk	25	20.0%	46	36.8%	25	20.0%	18	14.4%	1	0.8%
Jaipur	24	18.6%	60	46.5%	28	21.7%	29	22.5%	0	0.0%

Community/ Caste (RAJASTHAN)						
	Support state initiatives		Work towards changing traditional beliefs		Other	
Rajasthan	19	7.5%	144	56.7%	163	64.2%
Tonk	7	5.6%	61	48.8%	68	54.4%
Jaipur	12	9.3%	83	64.3%	95	73.6%

Panchayat (RAJASTHAN)								
	Support state initiatives		Be a watchdog		Awareness programmes		Other	
	Rajasthan	8	3.1%	80	31.5%	112	44.1%	25
Tonk	3	2.4%	32	25.6%	58	46.4%	22	17.6%
Jaipur	5	3.9%	48	37.2%	54	41.9%	3	2.3%

31. Ways by which Child marriage can be prevented (UTTAR PRADESH)										
State										
States	Enforcement of law		Awareness programmes		Improve educational status of parents		Economic empowerment of women		Other	
UP	99	39.6%	184	73.6%	85	34%	22	8.8%	3	1.2%
Varanasi	41	32.8%	84	67.2%	49	39.2%	9	7.2%	0	0.0%
Meerut	58	46.4%	100	80%	36	28.8%	13	10.4%	3	2.4%

Community/ Caste (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Support state initiatives		Work towards changing traditional beliefs		Other	
UP	5	2%	74	29.6%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	5	4%	72	57.6%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%

Panchayat (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	Support state initiatives		Be a watchdog		Awareness programmes		Other	
UP	0	0.0%	41	16.4%	75	30%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	40	32%	73	58.4%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	2	1.6%	0	0.0%

31. Ways by which Child marriage can be prevented (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Enforcement of law		Awareness programmes		Improve educational status of parents		Economic empowerment of women		Other	
Madhya Pradesh	154	61.6%	141	56.4%	84	33.6%	88	35.2%	101	40.4%
Bhopal	87	69.6%	74	59.2%	56	44.8%	55	44.0%	36	28.8%
Shajapur	67	53.6%	67	53.6%	28	22.4%	33	26.4%	65	52.0%

Community/Caste (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Support state initiatives		Work towards changing traditional beliefs		Other	
Madhya Pradesh	80	32.0%	73	29.2%	27	10.8%
Bhopal	57	45.6%	42	33.6%	22	17.6%
Shajapur	23	18.4%	31	24.8%	5	4.0%

Panchayat (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Support state initiatives		Be a watchdog		Awareness programmes		Other	
Madhya Pradesh	64	25.6%	69	27.6%	62	24.8%	25	10.0%
Bhopal	44	35.2%	40	32.0%	41	32.8%	21	16.8%
Shajapur	20	16.0%	29	23.2%	21	16.8%	4	3.2%

2. 'THOSE MARRIED BELOW 18 YEARS'

States	Total Number of respondents		States	Total Number of respondents		States	Total Number of respondents	
Rajasthan	12	100.0%	UP	12	100.0%	MP	12	100.0%
Tonk	6	100%	Varanasi	8	49.2%	Bhopal	3	100%
Jaipur	6	100%	Meerut	4	50.8%	Shajapur	9	100%

6. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Sex

States	Males		Females		Responses received	
Rajasthan	8	66.7%	4	33.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	10	83.3%	2	16.7%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
Meerut	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	5	41.6%	7	58.3%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	1	33.3%	2	66.6%	3	100.0%
Shajapur	4	44.4%	5	55.5%	9	100.0%

7. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Religion

States	Hindu		Muslim		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	10	83.3%	2	16.6%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Shajapur	7	77.7%	2	22.2%	9	100.0%

8. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Caste (RAJASTHAN)								
States	SC/ ST		OBC		Others		Responses received	
Rajasthan	6	50.0%	3	25.0%	3	25.0%	12	100.0%
Tonk	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	4	66.7%	1	16.7%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%

8. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Caste (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	7	58.3%	4	33.3%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
Meerut	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%

8. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Caste (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	2	16.6%	5	41.6%	5	41.6%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Shajapur	2	18.1%	4	36.3%	5	45.4%	11	100.0%

9. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Age (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 12 years		13-18 years		19-24 years		Other (Specify the age)]		Responses received	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	7	58.3%	4	33.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	2	33.3%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%

9. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Age (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Less than 12 years		13-18 years		19-24 years		Other (Specify the age)		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	50.0%	6	50.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Educational Level (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Illiterate	4	1	3
	33.3%	16.7%	50.0%
Primary (1-5th)	3	2	1
	25.0%	33.3%	16.7%
Middle (6-8th)	2	1	1
	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%
Secondary (9-12th)	2	1	1
	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%
Graduate	1	1	0
	8.3%	16.7%	0.0%
Other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Responses received	12	6	6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Educational Level (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	Meerut
Illiterate	6	5	1
	50.0%	62.5%	25.0%
Primary (1-5th)	5	2	3
	41.7%	25.0%	75.0%
Middle (6-8th)	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Secondary (9-12th)	1	1	0
	8.3%	12.5%	0.0%
Graduate	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Responses received	12	8	4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution those married below 18 years by Educational Level (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Illiterate		Primary (1-5 th)		Middle (6-8 th)		Secondary (9-12 th)		Graduate		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	3	25%	6	50%	3	25%	0	0%	0	0%	12	100%
Bhopal	2	25%	4	50%	2	25%	0	0%	0	0%	8	100%
Shajapur	1	25%	2	50%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	4	100%

12. Percentage Distribution by Family Structure

States	Joint family		Nuclear Family		Responses received	
Rajasthan	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
Meerut	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	10	83.3%	2	16.6%	12	100%
Bhopal	5	71.4%	2	28.5%	7	100.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

13. Percentage Distribution by Occupational Level (RAJATHAN)

States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Cultivator	2	1	1
	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%
Agricultural laborer	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Household industry	1	1	0
	8.3%	16.7%	0.0%
Non- household industry	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other worker	6	4	2
	50.0%	66.7%	33.3%
Non Worker	3	0	3
	25.0%	0.0%	50.0%
Responses received	12	6	6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

13. Percentage Distribution by Occupational Level (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	Meerut
Cultivator	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Agricultural laborer	8	5	3
	66.7%	62.5%	75.0%
Household industry	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Non- household industry	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Shopkeeper	2	1	1
	16.7%	12.5%	25.0%
Vendor	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other worker	1	1	0
	8.3%	12.5%	0.0%
Non Worker	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Responses received	11	7	4
	91.6%	85.7%	100.0%

13. Percentage Distribution by Occupational Level (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Cultivator		Agricultural laborer		Household industry		Non-household industry		Other worker		Non Worker		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	3	25%	7	58.3%	0	0%	0	0%	2	16.6%	0	0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0%	0	0.0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100.0%	0	0%	1	100.0%
Shajapur	3	27.2%	7	63.6%	0	0%	0	0%	1	9.0%	0	0%	11	100.0%

14. Age at Marriage (Male) (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		22 and above		Responses received	
Rajasthan	1	12.5%	3	37.5%	4	50.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Tonk	1	20.0%	2	40.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%

Age at Marriage (Female) (RAJASTHAN)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	4
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%

14. Age at Marriage (Male) (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		22 and above		Responses received	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%

14. Age at Marriage (Female) (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 years		8 - 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses received	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	11	91.7%	0	0.0%	12
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%

14. Age at Marriage (Male) (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		Responses Received	
	Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	5	41.6%	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	12
Bhopal	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.6%	0	0.0%	3	100%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	4	44.4%	5	55.5%	0	0.0%	9	100%

14. Age at Marriage (Female) (MADHYA PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses Received	
	Madhya Pradesh	0	0%	5	41.6%	4	33.3%	3	25.0%	0	0%	12
Bhopal	0	0%	0	0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0%	2	100%
Shajapur	0	0%	5	50.0%	3	30.0%	2	20.0%	0	0%	10	100%

16. Meaning of marriage (RAJASTHAN)										
States	An occasion to get new clothes		Being the centre of attraction		Celebrating festivity		Other reason		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	2	16.7%	8	66.7%	2	16.7%	12
Tonk	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%

16. Meaning of marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)									
States	An occasion to get new clothes		Being the centre of attraction		Celebrating festivity		Other reason		
	Uttar Pradesh	3	25.0%	5	41.7%	8	66.7%	3	25.0%
Varanasi	3	37.5%	5	62.5%	7	87.5%	0	0.0%	
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	

16. Meaning of marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)								
States	An occasion to get new clothes		Being the centre of attraction		Celebrating festivity		Other reason	
	Madhya Pradesh	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	5	41.6%	12
Bhopal	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	4	100%
Shajapur	5	62.5%	0	0.0%	3	37.5%	8	100%

17. a. Did they wanted to get married early (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	2	16.7%	10	83.3%	12
Tonk	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%

17 a. Did they wanted to get married early (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
	Uttar Pradesh	6	50.0%	6	50.0%	12
Varanasi	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%

17. a. Did they wanted to get married early (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	2	16.6%	10	83.3%	12
Bhopal	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	2	28.5%	5	71.4%	7	100.0%

18.a Whether they were forced to get married (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Rajasthan	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%

18 b. Person who forced marriage (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Father		Mother		Brother/ Sister		Relatives		Others	
Rajasthan	5	100.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	2	100.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	3	100.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

18a. Whether they were forced to get married (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	100.0%

18 b. Person who forced marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Father		Mother		Brother/ Sister		Relatives		Others	
Uttar Pradesh	5	41.7%	4	33.3%	0	0.0%	5	41.7%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	0	0.0%	4	50.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%

18.a Whether they were forced to get married (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Shajapur	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%

18 b. Person who forced marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Father		Mother		Brother/ Sister		Relatives		Others	
Madhya Pradesh	10	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	16.6%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	8	80.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%

19. When partner/self sent to matrimonial home										
States	Day of marriage		After few days/months of marriage		After puberty		Any Other		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	1	8.3%	5	41.7%	5	41.7%	1	8.3%	12
Tonk	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	3	50.0%	1	16.7%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	9	75.0%	3	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	3	75.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	2	16.6%	10	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Shajapur	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

21. Respondent's caste/community and practice of Child Marriage						
States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses received	
Rajasthan	8	66.7%	4	33.3%	12	100.0%
Tonk	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	9	75.0%	3	25.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
Meerut	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Shajapur	9	100.0%	0	0.0%	9	100.0%

22. Incidence of child marriage in respondent's family						
States	There is incidence of child marriage		There is an no incidence of child marriage		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	7	58.3%	5	41.7%	12
Tonk	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Shajapur	9	100.0%	0	0.0%	9	100.0%

23. Whether somebody tried to stop their marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Tried to stop		Did not try		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	9	100.0%	9
Tonk	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	66.7%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	83.3%

23. Whether somebody tried to stop their marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Tried to stop		Did not try		Responses received	
	Uttar Pradesh	1	8.3%	11	91.7%	12
Varanasi	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	8	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%

23. Whether somebody tried to stop their marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Tried to stop		Did not try		Responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	10	83.3%	2	16.6%	12
Bhopal	9	100.0%	0	0.0%	9	100.0%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	2	66.6%	3	100.0%

26 a. Proportion that supports child marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Support		Do not support		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	1	10.0%	9	90.0%	10
Tonk	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	83.3%
Jaipur	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	83.3%

26 a. Proportion that supports child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Support		Do not support		Responses received	
	Uttar Pradesh	6	50.0%	6	50.0%	12
Varanasi	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%

26 a . Proportion that supports child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Support		Do not support		Responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12
Bhopal	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Shajapur	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

27. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Aware		Not aware		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	8	66.7%	4	33.3%	12
Tonk	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%
Jaipur	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	6	100.0%

27. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Aware		Not aware		Responses received	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	12	100.0%	12
Varanasi	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%

27 Awareness about illegality of child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Aware		Not aware		Responses received	
	Madhya Pradesh	2	16.6%	10	83.3%	12
Bhopal	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (Male respondents) (RAJASTHAN)										
Male										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		22 and above		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	6	75.0%	8
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (Female respondents) (RAJASTHAN)										
Male										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		22 and above		Responses received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (male respondents) (RAJASTHAN)												
Female												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		19 and above		Responses received	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (Female respondents) (RAJASTHAN)												
Female												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		19 and above		Responses received	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%	4	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (Female respondents) (RAJASTHAN)												
Female												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		19 and above		Responses received	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	33.3%	4	33.3%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	1	16.7%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	50.0%	3	50.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)												
Male												
States	Less than 3		4 – 12 years		Above 12 years		Less than 21 years		22 and above		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	50.0%	6	50.0%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	0	0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)												
Female												
States	Less than 3		4 – 8 Years		9 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (Male) (MADHYA PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		4 – 12 years		Above 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	8	66.6%	2	16.6%	2	16.6%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.6%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	7	77.7%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	100.0%

28. View on right age for marriage (Female) (MADHYA PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	66.6%	4	33.3%	0	0.0%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

29 a. Whether they will perform marriage to their children in childhood (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Rajasthan	1	8.3%	10	83.3%	11	91.7%
Tonk	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	5	83.3%
Jaipur	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	6	100.0%

29 a. Whether they will perform marriage to their children in childhood (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	12	100.0%
Varanasi	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%
Meerut	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	100.0%

29 a. Whether they will perform marriage to their children in childhood (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	2	16.6%	10	83.3%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%
Shajapur	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	4	100.0%

30. Conduct child marriages, despite the law (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Rajasthan	1	8.3%	10	83.3%	11	91.7%
Tonk	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	5	83.3%
Jaipur	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	6	100.0%

30. Conduct child marriages, despite the law (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	6	50%	6	50.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	62.5%	5	62.5%
Meerut	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	1	25.0%

30. Conduct child marriages, despite the law (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		Responses received	
Madhya Pradesh	10	83.3%	2	16.6%	12	100.0%
Bhopal	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	2	100.0%
Shajapur	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%

3. 'NGOs'

6. How old is the NGO (RAJASTHAN)								
States	Less than 5 years		6 – 10 years		More than 11 years		All	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%

6. How old is the NGO (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	Less than 5 years		6 – 10 years		More than 11 years		All	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	3	50.0%	5	83.3%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%

6. How old is the NGO (MADHYA PRADESH)								
States	Less than 5 years		6 – 10 years		More than 11 years		All	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%

7. Number of staff in the organization (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Less than 5		6 – 10		10 - 20		More than 20		All	
Rajasthan	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%

7. Number of staff in the organization? (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Less than 5		6 – 10		10 - 20		More than 20		All	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%

7. Number of staff in the organization (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Less than 5		6 – 10		20-Oct		More than 20			
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	2	66.7%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

8. Percentage Distribution by areas works done by the organization (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Health Issues		Educational Issues		Child Rights		Women and Child Development		Any Other	
	Rajasthan	4	66.7%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%	2
Tonk	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%
Jaipur	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%

8. Percentage Distribution by areas works done by the organization (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Health Issues		Educational Issues		Child Rights		Women and Child Development		Any Other	
	Uttar Pradesh	2	33.3%	5	83.3%	4	66.7%	5	83.3%	4
Varanasi	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Meerut	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	2	66.7%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%

8. Percentage Distribution by areas works done by the organization (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Health Issues		Educational Issues		Child Rights		Women and Child Development		Any Other	
	Madhya Pradesh	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	1
Bhopal	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%

9. Role as an NGO in dealing with issues of Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Legal Help to people opposing Child Marriage		Counseling		Spreading awareness of problems related to child marriage		Organization set-up		Any other	
	Rajasthan	2	33.3%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	0
Tonk	1	33.3%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	1	33.3%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

9. Role as an NGO in dealing with issues of Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Legal Help to people opposing Child Marriage		Counseling		Spreading awareness of problems related to child marriage		Organization set-up		Any other	
	Uttar Pradesh	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	0
Varanasi	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

9. Role as an NGO in dealing with issues of Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Legal Help to people opposing Child Marriage		Counseling		Spreading awareness of problems related to child marriage		Organization set-up		Any other	
Madhya Pradesh	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

10. Percentage Distribution by number of years of works done by the organisation on enforcement of Child Marriage Act (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 5 years		5-10 years		10-15 years		15-20 years		More than 20 years	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

10. Percentage Distribution by number of years of works done by the organisation on enforcement of Child Marriage Act (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Less than 5 years		5-10 years		10-15 years		15-20 years		More than 20 years	
Uttar Pradesh	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

10. Percentage Distribution by number of years of works done by the organisation on enforcement of Child Marriage Act (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 5 years		5-10 years		10-15 years		15-20 years		More than 20 years	
Madhya Pradesh	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	1	16.7%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%

11. Percentage of cases of Child Marriage that takes place in a year (RAJASTHAN)

States	No cases	1 – 10	11 – 20	21 and above	Too much
Rajasthan	0	4	0	0	0
Tonk	0	2	0	0	0
Jaipur	0	2	0	0	0

11. Percentage of cases of Child Marriage that takes place in a year (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	No cases		1 – 10		11 – 20		21 and above		Too much	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	0
Varanasi	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

11. Percentage of cases of Child Marriage that takes place in a year (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	No cases		1 – 10		11 – 20		21 and above		Too much	
	Madhya Pradesh	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1
Bhopal	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%

13. Source of information about child marriages taking place in your district (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Community	2	1	1
	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
Social Workers	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Relatives/Neighbours	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Government Department	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
NGOs	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Media	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Self help groups	2	1	1
	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
Any other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

13. Source of information about child marriages taking place in your district (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	Meerut
Community	3	2	1
	50.0%	66.7%	33.3%
Social Workers	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Relatives/Neighbours	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Government Department	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
NGOs	1	1	0
	16.7%	33.3%	0.0%
Media	3	1	2
	50.0%	33.3%	66.7%
Self help groups	1	1	0
	16.7%	33.3%	0.0%
Any other	2	1	1
	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%

13. Source of information about child marriages taking place in your district (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Madhya Pradesh (Total)	Bhopal	Shajapur
Community	2	1	1
	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
Social Workers	4	3	1
	66.7%	100.0%	33.3%
Relatives/Neighbors	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Government Department	2	2	0
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	2	2	0
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%
NGOs	5	3	2
	83.3%	100.0%	66.7%
Media	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Self help Group	5	2	3
	83.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Others	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

14. Percentage distribution by the ways of handling case of Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)								
States	Try to stop by speaking to opinion leaders		Speaking to parents		Informing police		Other	
	Rajasthan	6	100.0%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%	0
Tonk	3	100.0%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	3	100.0%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

14. Percentage distribution by the ways of handling case of Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	Try to stop by speaking to opinion leaders		Speaking to parents		Informing police		Other	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	1
Varanasi	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%
Meerut	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

14. Percentage distribution by the ways of handling case of Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)								
States	Try to stop by speaking to opinion leaders		Speaking to parents		Informing police		Other	
	Madhya Pradesh	1	16.7%	6	100.0%	4	66.7%	2
Bhopal	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%	1	33.3%

16. Factors leading to child marriage area (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Customs and Beliefs	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Family Tradition	4	2	2
	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%
Community/Societal Pressure	4	2	2
	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%
Poverty/Economic factors	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Safety for the girl child	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Bride price	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Any other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

16. Factors leading to child marriage area (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	Meerut
Customs and Beliefs	4	3	1
	66.7%	100.0%	33.3%
Family Tradition	2	2	0
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%
Community/Societal Pressure	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Poverty/Economic factors	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Safety for the girl child	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Bride price	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Any other	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

16. Factors leading to child marriage area (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	Shajapur
Customs and Beliefs	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Family Tradition	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Community/Societal Pressure	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Poverty/Economic factors	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Safety for the girl child	5	3	2
	83.3%	100.0%	66.7%
Brideprice	2	2	0
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%
Any other	2	0	2
	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%

17 a. Proportion of marriages registered in the district				
States	Registered		Not Registered	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Uttar Pradesh	5	83.3%	1	16.7%
Varanasi	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
Meerut	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Madhya Pradesh	3	50.0%	3	50.0%
Bhopal	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Shajapur	2	66.7%	1	33.3%

18. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		No Child Marriage Prevention Officers	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

18. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		No Child Marriage Prevention Officers	
Uttar Pradesh	4	66.7%	2	33.3%
Varanasi	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
Meerut	2	66.7%	1	33.3%

18. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		No Child Marriage Prevention Officers	
Madhya Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

19.a. Proportion of caste/community which practices Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Practice		Do not practice	
Rajasthan	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

19.a. Proportion of caste/community which practices Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Practice		Do not practice	
Uttar Pradesh	1	16.7%	5	83.3%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Meerut	1	33.3%	2	66.7%

19a. Proportion of caste/community, which practices Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Practice		Do not practice	
Madhya Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

21 a. Percentage of NGO facing resistance when trying to stop Child Marriages in the villages (RAJASTHAN)

States	Faced resistant		Did not face resistance	
Rajasthan	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

21 a. Percentage of NGO facing resistance when trying to stop Child Marriages in the villages (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Faced resistant		Did not face resistance	
Uttar Pradesh	5	83.3%	1	16.7%
Varanasi	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	2	66.7%	0	0.0%

21 a. Percentage of NGO facing resistance when trying to stop Child Marriages in the villages (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Faced resistant		Did not faced resistance	
Madhya Pradesh	5	83.3%	1	16.7%
Bhopal	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

22. Proportion of NGO who bring into the notice of the Police about child marriage incidents in the villages (RAJASTHAN)

States	Inform the police		Do not inform police	
Rajasthan	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

22. Proportion of NGO who bring into the notice of the Police about child marriage incidents in the villages (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Inform the police		Do not inform police	
	Uttar Pradesh	3	50.0%	3
Varanasi	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	3	100.0%

21. Proportion of NGO who bring into the notice of the Police about child marriage incidents in the villages (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Inform the police		Do not inform police	
	Madhya Pradesh	5	83.3%	1
Bhopal	2	66.7%	1	33.3%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

23. Institution that have helped NGO to stop Child Marriages (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Panchayat	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Police	6	3	3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
District Magistrate	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other NGOs	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Community	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Media	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

23. Institution that have helped NGO to stop Child Marriages (UTTAR PRADESH)			
States	Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	Meerut
Panchayat	2	2	0
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%
Police	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
District Magistrate	0	0	0

	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other NGOs	1	1	0
	16.7%	33.3%	0.0%
Community	4	3	1
	66.7%	100.0%	33.3%
Media	2	2	0
	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%
Any Other	3	1	2
	50.0%	33.3%	66.7%

**22. Institution that have helped NGO to stop Child Marriages
(MADHYA PRADESH)**

States	Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	Shajapur
Panchayat	2	1	1
	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
Police	4	2	2
	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%
District Magistrate	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Child Marriage Prevention Officers	3	3	0
	50.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Other NGOs	3	2	1
	50.0%	66.7%	33.3%
Community	1	0	1
	16.7%	0.0%	33.3%
Media	4	3	1
	66.7%	100.0%	33.3%
Other	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

**24a. Is the law efficient in preventing child marriage
(RAJASTHAN)**

States	Yes		No	
Rajasthan	2	33.3%	4	66.7%
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Jaipur	1	33.3%	2	66.7%

24 a. Is the law efficient in preventing child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Yes		No	
Uttar Pradesh	3	50.0%	3	50.0%
Varanasi	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Meerut	2	66.7%	1	33.3%

24 a. Is the law efficient in preventing child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Yes		No	
Madhya Pradesh	2	33.3%	4	66.7%
Bhopal	1	33.3%	2	66.7%
Shajapur	1	33.3%	2	66.7%

25. a. Is there any loophole in the law (RAJASTHAN)				
States	It has loophole		Doesn't have loophole	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	3	100.0%

25. a. Is there any loophole in the law (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	It has loophole		Doesn't have loophole	
Uttar Pradesh	5	83.3%	1	16.7%
Varanasi	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	2	66.7%	1	33.3%

25. a. Is there any loophole in the law (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	It has loophole		Doesn't have loophole	
Madhya Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0%

26. Noteworthy contribution done by NGO to decrease child marriages (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Have done noteworthy contribution		Have not done noteworthy contribution	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

26. Noteworthy contribution done by NGO to decrease child marriages (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Have done noteworthy contribution		Have not done noteworthy contribution	
Uttar Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

**26. Noteworthy contribution done by NGO to decrease child marriages
(MADHYA PRADESH)**

States	Have done noteworthy contribution		Have not done noteworthy contribution	
Madhya Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0%

4. 'SARPANCH/ PANCHAYAT MEMBER'

States	Sarpanch/Panchayat Members interviewed		States	Sarpanch/Panchayat Members interviewed		States	Sarpanch/Panchayat Members interviewed	
Rajasthan	11	100.0%	UP	10	100.0%	MP	10	100.0%
Tonk	3	27.3%	Varanasi	5	100.0%	Bhopal	5	100%
Jaipur	8	72.7%	Meerut	5	100.0%	Shajapur	5	100%

6. Percentage Distribution of Family by Religion						
States	Hindu		Muslim		Others	
Rajasthan	11	100.0%	0	0	0	0
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0	0	0
Jaipur	8	100.0%	0	0	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	8	80%	2	20%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	4	80%	1	20%	0	0.0%
Meerut	4	80%	1	20%	0	0.0%
Madhya Pradesh	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%

7. Percentage Distribution of Family by Caste (RAJASTHAN)								
States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		All	
Rajasthan	1	9.1%	5	45.5%	5	45.5%	11	100.0%
Tonk	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%

7. Percentage Distribution of Family by Caste (UTTAR PRADESH)									
States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		All		
Uttar Pradesh	3	30%	6	60%	1	10%	10	100.0%	
Varanasi	2	40%	3	60%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	
Meerut	1	20%	3	60%	1	20%	5	100.0%	

7. Percentage Distribution of Family by Caste (MADHYA PRADESH)									
States	OBC		SC/ ST		Others		All		
Madhya Pradesh	5	50.0%	3	30.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%	
Bhopal	3	60.0%	2	40.0%		0.0%	5	100.0%	
Shajapur	2	40.0%	1	20.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%	

9. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Age								
States	Less than 30 years		30-50 years		50 years and above		All	
Rajasthan	3	27.3%	5	45.5%	3	27.3%	11	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	3	37.5%	4	50.0%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	4	40%	6	60%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	3	60%	2	40%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	1	20%	4	80%	5	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	1	10.0%	8	80.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal		0.0%	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Marital Status (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Single		Married		Divorcee		Separated		All	
Rajasthan	4	36.4%	7	63.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	3	37.5%	5	62.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Marital Status (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Single		Married		Divorcee		Separated		All	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

10. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Marital Status (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Single		Married		Divorcee		Separated		All	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

11. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level (RAJASTHAN)																
States	Illiterate		Primary (1-5 th)		Middle (6-8 th)		Secondary (9-12 th)		Graduate		Post-Graduate		Other		All	
	Rajasthan	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	2	18.2%	3	27.3%	2	18.2%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%	11
Tonk	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	2	25.0%	1	12.5%	2	25.0%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

11. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level (UTTAR PRADESH)																
States	Illiterate		Primary (1-5 th)		Middle (6-8 th)		Secondary (9-12 th)		Graduate		Post-Graduate		Other		All	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	30%	6	60%	1	10%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40%	2	40%	1	20%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20%	4	80%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

11. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level (MADHYA PRADESH)																
States	Illiterate		Primary (1-5 th)		Middle (6-8 th)		Secondary (9-12 th)		Graduate		Post-Graduate		Other		ALL	
	Madhya Pradesh	3	30.0%	2	20.0%	1	10.0%	3	30.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10
Bhopal	2	40.0%	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

12 Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Occupation (RAJASTHAN)																
States	Cultivator		Agricultural laborer		Household industry		Non-household industry		Other worker		Non Worker		All			
	Rajasthan	7	63.6%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	
Tonk	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%		
Jaipur	5	62.5%	3	37.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%		

12 Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Occupation (UTTAR PRADESH)																
States	Cultivator		Agricultural laborer		Household industry		Non-household industry		Other worker		Non Worker		All			
	Uttar Pradesh	8	80%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	20%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%		
Meerut	3	60%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%		

12. Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Occupation (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Cultivator		Agricultural laborer		Household industry		Non-household industry		Other worker		Non Worker		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	5	50.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	3	60.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

13. If any of his/her children married (RAJASTHAN)

States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	4	36.4%	7	63.6%	11	100.0%
Tonk	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%

13 If any of his/her children married (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	9	90%	1	10%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80%	1	20%	5	100.0%

13. If any of his/her children married (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Yes		No		All	
Madhya Pradesh	3	30.0%	7	70.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%

14a. Age at Marriage of Children (Male) (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	2	18.2%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	33.3%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%

14b. Age at Marriage of Children (Female) (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		All	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	36.4%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2	66.7%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	2	25.0%

14 a Age at Marriage of Children (Male) (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All			
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	90%	9	90.0%		
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%		
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80%	4	80.0%		
14 b. Age at Marriage of Children (Female) (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		All	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	90%	9	90.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80%	4	80.0%

14 a. Age at Marriage of Children (Male) (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

14 b. Age at Marriage of Children (Female) (MADHYA PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		All	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	3	30.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%

15. View on right age for marriage: a. Male (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	1	9.1%	9	81.8%	11	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	1	12.5%	6	75.0%	8	100.0%

b. Female (RAJASTHAN)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		All	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	11
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%

15. View on right age for marriage: a. Male (UTTAR PRADESH)											
States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All		
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%	
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%	

b. Female (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		All	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%

15. View on right age for marriage (Male) (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above		All	
	Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	9	90.0%	10
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%

15 b. View on right age for marriage (Female) (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above		ALL	
	Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	9	90.0%	10
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%

16. Reasons for child marriage (RAJASTHAN)												
States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Bride price		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty	
	Rajasthan	5	45.5%	4	36.4%	7	63.6%	0	0.0%	5	45.5%	7
Tonk	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	2	66.7%
Jaipur	3	37.5%	3	37.5%	6	75.0%	0	0.0%	3	37.5%	5	62.5%

16. Reasons for child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)												
States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Bride Price		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty	
	Uttar Pradesh	6	60%	4	40%	3	30%	2	20%	4	40%	7
Varanasi	4	80%	3	60%	2	40%	2	40%	2	40%	4	80%
Meerut	2	40%	1	20%	1	20%	0	0.0%	2	40%	3	60%

16. Reasons for child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Brideprice		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty	
	Madhya Pradesh	10	100.0 %	10	100.0 %	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	5	50.0%	9
Bhopal	5	100.0 %	5	100.0 %	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	4	80.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0 %	5	100.0 %	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%

17. Proportion of caste/community which practices Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Practice		Do not practice		All	
	Rajasthan	5	45.5%	6	54.5%	11
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%

17. Proportion of caste/community which practices Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Practice		Do not practice		All	
	Uttar Pradesh	4	40%	6	60%	10
Varanasi	3	60%	2	40%	5	100.0%
Meerut	1	20%	4	80%	5	100.0%

17. Proportion of caste/community which practices Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Practice		Do not practice		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	3	30.0%	7	70.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%

18. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Is aware		Not aware		All	
Rajasthan	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

18. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Is aware		Not aware		All	
Uttar Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

19. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Is aware		Not aware		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

19.a Awareness about the law that prohibits child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Is aware		Not aware		All	
Rajasthan	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

19.b Awareness about legal age at marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Is aware		Not aware		All	
Rajasthan	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	11	100.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

19.a Awareness about the law that prohibits child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Is aware		Not aware		All	
Uttar Pradesh	8	80%	2	20%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	4	80%	1	20%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80%	1	20%	5	100.0%

19b. Awareness about legal age at marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Is aware		Not aware		All	
Uttar Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

19.a Awareness about the law that prohibits child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Is aware		Not aware		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	5	50.0%	5	50.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

19.b Awareness about legal age at marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Is aware		Not aware		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	6	60.0%	3	30.0%	9	90.0%
Bhopal	3	60.0%	1	20.0%	4	80.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

20. Is the law efficient in preventing child marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	10	90.9%	1	9.1%	11	100.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%

20. Is the law efficient in preventing child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%

20. Is the law efficient in preventing child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

21a. Percent age of marriages registered in the district (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	10	90.9%	1	9.1%	11	100.0%
Tonk	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	100.0%

21a. Percent age of marriages registered in the district (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%

21a. Percent age of marriages registered in the district (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	4	40.0%	5	50.0%	9	90.0%
Bhopal	1	20.0%	3	60.0%	4	80.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

22. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	9	81.8%	2	18.2%	11	100.0%
Tonk	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	8	100.0%

22. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%

23. Are there Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

23. Has the Panchayat taken any steps to stop Child Marriages (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	8	72.7%	2	18.2%	10	90.9%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	7	87.5%

23. Has the Panchayat taken any steps to stop Child Marriages (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%

23. Has the Panchayat taken any steps to stop Child Marriages (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

24a. Has the rate of Child Marriage come down with the initiative of the Panchayat? (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	8	72.7%	1	9.1%	9	81.8%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	5	62.5%	1	12.5%	6	75.0%

24a. Has the rate of Child Marriage come down with the initiative of the Panchayat? (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	9	90.0%	0	0.0%	9	90.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%

24a. Has the rate of Child Marriage come down with the initiative of the Panchayat? (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

26a. Have the Panchayat received any help from any institution to stop Child Marriages (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	4	36.4%	7	63.6%	11	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	4	50.0%	4	50.0%	8	100.0%

26 a. Have the Panchayat received any help from any institution to stop Child Marriages (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%

26 a. Have the panchayat received any help from any institution to stop Child Marriages (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.00
Bhopal	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.00
Shajapur	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.00

26b. Institution that have helped Panchayat to stop Child Marriages (RAJASTHAN)																		
States	Other Panchayat members		Police		NGOs		Community		Media		Self-Help Groups		Child Marriage Prevention Officers		ICDS Functionaries		Others	
	Rajasthan	3	27.3%	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%	4	36.4%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%	0
Tonk	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%
Jaipur	3	37.5%	1	12.5%	2	25.0%	4	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	12.5%	2	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

26 b. Institution that have helped panchayat to stop Child Marriages (UTTAR PRADESH)																		
States	Other Panchayat members		Police		NGOs		Community		Media		Self-Help Groups		Child Marriage Prevention Officers		ICDS Functionaries		Others	
	Uttar Pradesh	6	60%	1	10%	5	50%	4	40.0%	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	7	70.0%	0
Varanasi	4	80%	0	0.0%	4	80%	4	80%	0	0.0%	1	20%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	2	40.0%	1	20%	1	20%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%

26 b. Institution that have helped panchayat to stop Child Marriages (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Other Panchayat members		Police		NGOs		Community		Media		Self-Help Groups		Child Marriage Prevention Officers		ICDS Functionaries		Others	
	1	10%	6	60%	3	30%	2	20%	4	40%	3	30%	6	60%	1	10%	0	0%
MP	1	10%	6	60%	3	30%	2	20%	4	40%	3	30%	6	60%	1	10%	0	0%
Bhopal	1	20%	2	40%	1	20%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	2	40%	1	20%	0	0%
Shajapur	0	0%	4	80%	2	40%	2	40%	3	60%	3	60%	4	80%	0	0%	0	0%

27. Views on child marriage

States	Support		Do not support		All	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	11	100.0%	11	100.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	8	100.0%	8	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	5	100%	5	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	2	20.0%	8	80.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%

28. Type of Panchayat that exists (RAJASTHAN)

States	Jati Panchayat		Gram Panchayat		Both		Any Other	
Rajasthan	1	9.1%	9	81.8%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%

28. Type of Panchayat that exists (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Jati Panchayat		Gram Panchayat		Both		Any Other	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	5	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

28. Type of Panchayat that exists (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Jati Panchayat		Gram Panchayat		Both		Any Other	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	5	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

29a. Information on whether Panchayat members' given/not given orientation on social issues like child marriage? (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	7	63.6%	4	36.4%	11	100.0%
Tonk	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3	100.0%
Jaipur	5	62.5%	3	37.5%	8	100.0%
29 b. Proportion of Panchayat members attended any orientation programme (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Rajasthan	7	63.6%	2	18.2%	9	81.8%
Tonk	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%
Jaipur	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	7	87.5%

29 a. Information on whether Panchayat members' given/not given orientation on social issues like child marriage? (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	4	40%	6	60%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	2	40%	3	60%	5	100.0%
Meerut	2	40%	3	60%	5	100.0%
29 b. Proportion of Panchayat members attended any orientation programme (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Yes		No		All	
Uttar Pradesh	4	40%	6	60%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	2	40%	3	60%	5	100.0%
Meerut	2	40%	3	60%	5	100.0%

29 a. Information on whether Panchayat members given/not given orientation on social issues like child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	10	100.0%
Bhopal	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%
Shajapur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

29 b. Proportion of panchayat members attended any orientation programme (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Yes		No		ALL	
Madhya Pradesh	7	70.0%	2	20.0%	9	90.0%
Bhopal	3	60.0%	1	20.0%	4	80.0%
Shajapur	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%

**5. 'POLICE INSPECTOR / ASST. SUB INSPECTOR / INCHARGE OF
POLICE STATION / POLICE POST'**

8. Gender (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Male		Female		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Tonk	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	4	100.0%
Jaipur	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%

8. Gender (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Male		Female		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

8. Gender (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Male		Female		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh (Total)	9	90%	1	10%	10	100%
Bhopal	4	80%	1	20%	5	100%
Shajapur	5	100%	0	0%	5	100%

11. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	9	100.0%	0	0.0%	9	90.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%

11. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

11. Awareness about illegality of child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Aware		Not aware		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	10	100%	0	0%	10	100%
Bhopal	5	100%	0	0%	5	100%
Shajapur	5	100%	0	0%	5	100%

12. The caste/community which practices Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	3	30.0%	6	60.0%	9	90.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	6	100.0%

12. The caste/community which practices Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%

**12. The caste/community which practices Child Marriage
(MADHYA PRADESH)**

States	Practice		Do not practice		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	1	10%	9	90%	10	100%
Bhopal	1	20%	4	80%	5	100%
Shajapur	0	0%	5	100%	5	100%

13. Type of action taken by police in case of incidence of child marriages								
States	No action taken unless a formal complaint		Visit the sight for action against violators		Others		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	2	20.0%	3	30.0%
Tonk	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	2	50.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	1	16.7%
Uttar Pradesh	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	4	40.0%	7	70.0%
Varanasi	1	20.0%	2	40.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	2	40.0%
Madhya Pradesh	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	0	0.0%	2	20.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%

14. Type of measures taken by police when the community violates the law and practices child marriage (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Arrest		Warning		Counseling		Cannot do anything		Others	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	5	50.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	4	66.7%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%

14. Type of measures taken by police when the community violates the law and practices child marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Arrest		Warning		Counseling		Cannot do anything		Others	
Uttar Pradesh	2	20.0%	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%
Varanasi	2	40.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%

14. Type of measures taken by police when the community violates the law and practices child marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Arrest		Warning		Counseling		Cannot do anything		Others	
Madhya Pradesh	8	80.0%	7	70.0%	8	80.0%	3	30.0%	2	20.0%
Bhopal	5	100.0%	5	100.0%	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	1	20.0%
Shajapur	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	5	100.0%	1	20.0%	1	20.0%

15. Percentage of oral/written complaints regarding child marriage in your area (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Receive		Do not receive		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	9	100.0%	0	0.0%	9	90.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%

15. Percentage of oral/written complaints regarding child marriage in your area (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Receive		Do not receive		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	5	50.0%	5	50.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%

15. Percentage of oral/written complaints regarding child marriage in your area (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Receive		Do not receive		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	6	60%	4	40%	10	100%
Bhopal	3	60%	2	40%	5	100%
Shajapur	3	60%	2	40%	5	100%

17. From whom have you received complaints about child marriage in the last three years? (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Panchayat		Community		Family members/Relatives		NGOs		Others	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	7	70.0%	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	0
Tonk	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	3	75.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

17. From whom have you received complaints about child marriage in the last three years? (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Panchayat		Community		Family members/Relatives		NGOs		Others	
	Uttar Pradesh	0	0%	5	50%	4	40.0%	5	50.0%	0
Varanasi	0	0%	4	80%	4	80.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0%	1	20%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%

17. From whom have you received complaints about child marriage in the last three years? (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Panchayat		Community		Family members/Relatives		NGOs		others	
	Madhya Pradesh	3	30%	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	5	50.0%	3
Bhopal	3	60%	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	3	60.0%	2	40.0%
Shajapur	0	0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	40.0%	1	20.0%

18 Number of complaints registered about child marriage on a monthly basis in the last five years (RAJASTHAN)										
States	1-5		6-10		11-15		More than 15		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1
Tonk	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%
Jaipur	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

18 Number of complaints registered about child marriage on a monthly basis in the last five years (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	1-5		6-10		11-15		More than 15		Responses Received	
	Uttar Pradesh	9	90.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%

**18. Number of complaints registered about child marriage on a monthly basis in the last five years
(MADHYA PRADESH)**

States	1-5		6-10		11-15		More than 15		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	3	30%	1	10%	3	30%	0	0%	7	70%
Bhopal	3	60%	0	0%	1	20%	0	0%	4	80%
Shajapur	0	0%	1	20%	2	40%	0	0%	3	60%

19 a. . Proportion change in nature of complaint over a period of time (RAJASTHAN)

States	Increased		Decreased		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	7	70.0%	2	20.0%	9	90.0%
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%

19 a. Proportion change in nature of complaint over a period of time (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Increased		Decreased		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	9	90.0%	9	90.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	4	80.0%

19 a. Proportion change in nature of complaint over a period of time (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Increased		Decreased		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	1	10%	9	90%	10	100%
Bhopal	1	20%	4	80%	5	100%
Shajapur	0	0%	5	100%	5	100%

**20 a. Existence of any special cell that works especially for child marriage cases
(RAJASTHAN)**

States	Exist		Does not Exist		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	8	80.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	1	20.0%	4	80.0%	5	83.3%

**20 a. Existence of any special cell that works especially for child marriage cases
(UTTAR PRADESH)**

States	Exist		Does not Exist		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%

20 a. Existence of any special cell that works especially for child marriage cases (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Exist		Does not Exist		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	3	30%	7	70%	10	100%
Bhopal	0	0%	5	100%	5	100%
Shajapur	3	60%	2	40%	5	100%

21 a. Proportion Police facing any problems in registering cases of child marriage						
States	Faces Problem		Do not face Problem		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9	90.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	3	100.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	6	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	2	20.0 %	7	70.0%	9	90.0%
Varanasi	2	40.0 %	3	60.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	4	80.0%
Madhya Pradesh	5	50%	5.00	50%	10	100%
Bhopal	2	40%	3.00	60%	5	100%
Shajapur	3	60%	2.00	40%	5	100%

22. From whom the police faces problems (RAJASTHAN)

States	Panchayat		Community		Family Members/Relatives		Any Other		Responses Received	
	Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	50.0%	5
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%

22. From whom the police faces problems (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Panchayat		Community		Family Members/Relatives		Any Other		Responses Received	
	Uttar Pradesh	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	4
Varanasi	1	20.0%	1	20.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

22. From whom the police face problems (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Panchayat		Community		Family Members/Relatives		Any Other	
Madhya Pradesh	3	30.0%	8	80.0%	8	80.0%	1	10.0%
Bhopal	3	60.0%	5	100.0%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	3	60.0%	3	60.0%	1	20.0%

24 a. Incidence of marriages registration in the district (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Registered		Not Registered		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	8	80.0%
Tonk	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	5	100.0%	5	83.3%

24 a. Incidence of marriages registration in the district (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Registered		Not Registered		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

24 a. Incidence of marriages registration in the district (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Registered		Not Registered		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	8	80%	2	20%	10	100%
Bhopal	4	80%	1	20%	5	100%
Shajapur	4	80%	1	20%	5	100%

25. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		No Child Marriage Prevention Officers		Responses Received	
Rajasthan	8	100.0%	0	0.0%	8	80.0%
Tonk	3	100.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%
Jaipur	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	83.3%

25. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		No Child Marriage Prevention Officers		Responses Received	
Uttar Pradesh	10	100.0%	0	0.0%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	5	100.0%

25. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		No Child Marriage Prevention Officers		Responses Received	
Madhya Pradesh	10	100%	0	0%	10	100%
Bhopal	5	100%	0	0%	5	100%
Shajapur	5	100%	0	0%	5	100%

6. 'DISTRICT MAGISTRATES'

9. Prevalence and custom of child marriage

States	Practiced	Not Practiced	States	Practiced	Not Practiced	States	Practiced	Not Practiced
Rajasthan	2	0	UP	0	2	MP	2	0
Tonk	1	0	Varanasi	0	1	Bhopal	1	0
Jaipur	1	0	Meerut	0	1	Shajapur	1	0

10. Reasons for Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Customs and Beliefs	Family Tradition	Community Pressure	Bride price	Safety of the girl	Economic Burden / Poverty	Other
Rajasthan	2	2	1	0	0	2	0
Tonk	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Jaipur	1	1	0	0	0	1	0

10. Reasons for Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Bride price		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty		Other	
Uttar Pradesh	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	1	50%
Varanasi	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%

10. Reasons for Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Customs and Beliefs		Family Tradition		Community Pressure		Bride price		Safety of the girl		Economic Burden / Poverty		Other	
Madhya Pradesh	2	100.0%	2	100%	2	100%	1	50%	1	50%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%
Bhopal	1	100.0%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
Shajapur	1	100.0%	1	100%	1	100%	1	100%	1	100%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%

11. a Prevalence of any particular community \ caste who perform child marriage? (RAJASTHAN)

States	Yes	No	States	Yes	No	States	Yes	No		
Rajasthan	1	1	UP	0	2	MP	1	50%	0	50%
Tonk	1	0	Varanasi	0	1	Bhopal	0	100%	0	100%
Jaipur	0	1	Meerut	0	1	Shajapur	1	0%	0	0%

12 a Incidence of marriages registration in the district (RAJASTHAN)

States	Registered		Not Registered		States	Registered		Not Registered		States	Registered		Not Registered	
Rajasthan	2		0		UP	2	100%	0	0%	MP	2	100%	0	0%
Tonk	1		0		Varanasi	1	100%	0	0%	Bhopal	1	100%	0	0%
Jaipur	1		0		Meerut	1	100%	0	0%	Shajapur	1	100%	0	0%

13. Presence of Child Marriage Prevention Officers in the district (RAJASTHAN)

States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers		States	Child Marriage Prevention Officers	
Rajasthan	1	50%	UP	2	100%	MP	2	100%
Tonk	0	0%	Varanasi	1	100%	Bhopal	1	100%
Jaipur	1	100%	Meerut	1	100%	Shajapur	1	100%

14 a. Availability of district level statistics on child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Available		Not available		States	Available		Not available	
Rajasthan	0		2		UP	2		0	
Tonk	0		1		Varanasi	1		0	
Jaipur	0		1		Meerut	1		0	

14 b. Percentage availability of the data by time period (RAJASTHAN)

States	Less than 2 years	2 – 5 years	5 – 10 years	10 and above
Rajasthan	0	0	0	0
Tonk	9	9	9	9
Jaipur	9	9	9	9

14 b. Percentage availability of the data by time period (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Less than 2 years		2 – 5 years		5 – 10 years		10 and above	
Uttar Pradesh	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

14 b. Percentage availability of the data by time period

States	Less than 2 years		2 – 5 years		5 – 10 years		10 and above	
Madhya Pradesh	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%
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16.

16. Awareness about child marriage Act (RAJASTHAN)

States	Is aware	Not aware	States	Is aware	Not aware	States	Is aware	Not aware
Rajasthan	2	0	UP	2	0	MP	2	0
Tonk	1	0	Varanasi	1	0	Bhopal	1	0
Jaipur	1	0	Meerut	1	0	Shajapur	1	0

17. Is the law effective in preventing child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Yes	No	States	Yes	No	States	Yes	No
Rajasthan	0	2	UP	2	0	MP	2	0
Tonk	0	1	Varanasi	1	0	Bhopal	1	0
Jaipur	0	1	Meerut	1	0	Shajapur	1	0

18 a. Percentage of respondents facing problems in implementing the Act (RAJASTHAN)		
States	Faces Problem	Do not Face Problem
Rajasthan	1	1
Tonk	0	1
Jaipur	1	0

18 a. Percentage of respondents facing problems in implementing the Act (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Faces Problem		Do not Face Problem	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

Meerut	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
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18 a. Percentage of respondents facing problems in implementing the Act (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Faces Problem		Do not Face Problem	
Madhya Pradesh	1	50%	1	50%
Bhopal	1	100.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

19 a. Percentage of respondents finding loopholes in the Act (RAJASTHAN)

States	Find Loophole	Did not find Loophole
Rajasthan	1	1
Tonk	0	1
Jaipur	1	0

19 a. Percentage of respondents finding loopholes in the Act (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Find Loophole		Did not find Loophole	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

19 a. Percentage of respondents finding loopholes in the Act (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Find Loophole		Did not find Loophole	
Madhya Pradesh	1	50%	1	50%
Bhopal	1	100.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

20. Prevalent age-group of Child Marriage in the district (RAJASTHAN)				
Male				
States	Less than 3	3 – 12 years	Less than 21 years	21 and above
Rajasthan	0	0	1	0
Tonk	0	0	1	0
Jaipur	0	0	0	0

Female (RAJASTHAN)				
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States	Less than 3	3 – 8 Years	8 – 13 years	Less than 18 years	18 and above
Rajasthan	0	0	0	1	0
Tonk	0	0	0	1	0
Jaipur	0	0	0	0	0

20. Prevalent age-group of Child Marriage in the district (UTTAR PRADESH)

Male

States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

Female (UTTAR PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

20. Prevalent age-group of Child Marriage in the district (MADHYA PRADESH)

Male

States	Less than 3		3 – 12 years		Less than 21 years		21 and above	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

Female (MADHYA PRADESH)

States	Less than 3		3 – 8 Years		8 – 13 years		Less than 18 years		18 and above	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
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21. Source of information on child marriages taking place in your district (RAJASTHAN)								
States	Community	Social Workers	Relatives	NGO/Social Worker	CPO	Media	Self help Groups	Other
Rajasthan	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	0
Tonk	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Jaipur	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

21. Source of information on child marriages taking place in your district (UTTAR PRADESH)																
States	Community		Social Workers		Relatives		NGO/Social Worker		CPO		Media		Self help Groups		Other	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

21. Source of information on child marriages taking place in your district (MADHYA PRADESH)																
States	Community		Social Workers		Relatives		NGO/Social Worker		CMPO		Media		Self help Groups		Other	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%
Shajapur	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%	0	0.0%

22 a. Proportion contributing towards the decrease in child marriages (RAJASTHAN)

States	Yes	No	States	Yes	No	States	Yes	No
Rajasthan	2	0	UP	2	0	MP	2	0
Tonk	1	0	Varanasi	1	0	Bhopal	1	0
Jaipur	1	0	Meerut	1	0	Shajapur	1	0

23. Proportion of NGO or institution or individual assisted the DM in taking steps to stop child marriage (RAJASTHAN)

States	Assisted	Not Assisted	States	Assisted	Not Assisted	States	Assisted	Not Assisted
Rajasthan	2	0	UP	0	2	MP	2	0
Tonk	1	0	Varanasi	0	1	Bhopal	1	0
Jaipur	1	0	Meerut	0	1	Shajapur	1	0

24. Proportion that has supported the DM in your initiatives (RAJASTHAN)								
States	Panchayat	Police	NGOs	Community	Media	CPO	Self-Help Groups	Others
Rajasthan	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	0
Tonk	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jaipur	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

24. Proportion that has supported the DM in your initiatives (UTTAR PRADESH)																
States	Panchayat		Police		NGOs		Community		Media		CPO		SHG		Others	
Uttar Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

24. Proportion that has supported the DM in your initiatives (MADHYA PRADESH)																
States	Panchayat		Police		NGOs		Community		Media		CPO		SHG		Others	
Madhya Pradesh	1	50%	2	100%	2	100%	0	0.0%	2	100%	2	100%	1	50%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	1	100%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0.0%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0.0%	1	100%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0.0%

25. How often the DM review the status of implementation of this Act (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Once a Month	Twice in a Month	Once a year	Not at all
Rajasthan	0	1	1	0
Tonk	0	1	0	0
Jaipur	0	0	1	0

25. How often the DM review the status of implementation of this Act (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	Once a Month		Twice in a Month		Once a year		Not at all	
Uttar Pradesh	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

25. How often the DM review the status of implementation of this Act (MADHYA PRADESH)								
States	Once a Month		Twice in a Month		Once a year		Not at all	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	100%
Bhopal	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

27. Percentage of respondents who have attended any training/workshop on this issue

States	Attended	Did not attend	States	Attended	Did not attend	States	Attended	Did not attend
Rajasthan	1	1	UP	0	2	MP	2	0
Tonk	1	0	Varanasi	0	1	Bhopal	1	0
Jaipur	0	1	Meerut	0	1	Shajapur	1	0

GUIDELINES FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGDs)

1. Date of focus group discussion (FGD)
2. Location of FGD
3. Rationale for selecting the location
4. Purpose of FGD
5. Methods used to collect information in a focus group
6. Number of people- 30- 15 Males and 15 Females- will be adults in the family of the married children. There would be one FGD in each village (total 10 for each state). There would be separate groupings of men and women. The group would consist of :
 - Mother/Father
 - Mother in law/Father in law
 - Elder brother/sister
 - Grandfather/Grandmother
 - Uncle/Aunt (or other relatives)
 - Highlights of community response- (the following heads should bring out the difference in views if any vis-a-vis father or grandparents and elder brother or sister
 - Definition of child marriage- (perception)
 - Causes of child marriage
 - Cases of child marriage in the district/village
 - Attitude/Views of community people towards child marriage
 - Legal awareness among community people related to child marriage act particularly Child Marriage Restraint Act
 - Views on the Act
 - Views/Attitude of community people towards the girl child who is affected by child marriage

CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT, 1929

An Act to restraint the solemnization of child marriages.

Whereas it is expedient to restrain the solemnization of child marriages:

It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. Short titled, extent and commencement.

- (1) This Act may be called the Child Marriage Restraint Act (1929).
- (2) It extends to the whole of Pakistan and applies to all citizens of Pakistan wherever they may be.
- (3) It shall come into force on the 1st day of April, 1939.

2. Definitions.

In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

- (a) "child" means a person who, if a male, is under eighteen years of age, and if a female, is under sixteen years of age;
- (b) "child marriage" means a marriage to which either of the contracting parties is a child;
- (c) "contracting party" to a marriage means either of the parties whose marriage is or is about to be thereby solemnized;
- (d) "minor" means person of either sex who is under eighteen years of age,
- (e) "Union Council" means the Union Council or the Town Committee constituted under the Law relating to Local Government for the time being in force.

PUNJAB AMENDMENT IN SECTION 2:

- (i) at the end of clause ©, the word "and" shall be added;
- (ii) the comma appearing at the end of clause (d) shall be replaced by a full stop; and
- (iii) clause e shall be omitted.

Punjab Ordinance, 23 of 1971.

- 3. Omitted** by Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961 (VIII of 1961 S. 12 (w.e.f. 15.07.1961).

4. Punishment for male adult above eighteen years of age marrying a child.

Whoever, being a male above eighteen years of age, contracts child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

5. Punishment for solemnizing a child marriage.

Whoever performs, conducts or directs any child marriage shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both, unless he proves that he had reason to believe that the marriage was not a child marriage.

6. Punishment for parent or guardian concerned in a child marriage.

(1) Where a minor contracts a child marriage any person having charge of the minor, whether as parent or guardian or in any other capacity, lawful or unlawful, who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnized, or negligently fails to prevent it from being solemnized, shall be punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to one month, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both:

Provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment.

(2) For the purpose of this section, it shall be presumed, unless and until the contrary is proved, that where a minor has contracted a child marriage, the person having charge of such minor has negligently failed to prevent the marriage from being solemnized.

7. Imprisonment not to be awarded for offence under section 3.

Notwithstanding anything contained in section 25 of the General Clauses Act, 1897, or section 64 of the Pakistan Penal Code, Court sentencing an offender under section 3 shall not be competent to direct that, in default of payment of the fine imposed, he shall undergo only term of imprisonment.

8. Jurisdiction under this Act.

Notwithstanding anything contained in section 90 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, no Court other than that of a Magistrate of the First Class shall take cognizance of or try any offence under this Act.

9. Mode of taking cognizance of offence.

No Court shall take cognizance of any offence under this Act except on a complaint made by the Union Council, or if there is no Union Council in the area, by such authority as the Provincial Government may in this behalf prescribe, and such cognizance shall in no case be taken after the expiry of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

PUNJAB AMENDMENT

In section 9:

The words and commas “except on a complaint made by the Union Council, or if there is no Union Council in the area, by such authority as the Provincial Government may in this behalf prescribe, and such cognizance shall in no case be taken” occurring after the words “under this Act” and before the words “after the expiry” shall be omitted.

Punjab Ordinance, 23 of 1971, S. 3.

10. Preliminary inquiries into offences under this Act.

The Court taking cognizance of an offence under this Act shall, unless it dismisses the complaint under section 203 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, either itself make an inquiry under section 202 of that Code or direct a Magistrate of the First Class subordinate to it to make such inquiry.

11. Omitted by Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961.

12. Power to issue injunction prohibiting marriage in contravention of this Act.

(1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Act, the Court may, if satisfied from information laid before it through a complaint or otherwise that a child marriage in contravention of this Act has been arranged or is about to be solemnized, issue an injunction against any of the persons mentioned in sections 3, 4, 5 and 9 of this Act prohibiting such marriage.

(2) No injunction under sub-section (1) shall be issued against any person unless the Court has previously given notice to such person, and has afforded him an opportunity to show-cause against the issue of the injunction.

(3) The Court may either on its own motion or on the application of any person aggrieved, rescind or alter any order made under sub-section (1).

(4) Where such an application is received, the Court shall afford the applicant an early opportunity of appearing before it either in person or by pleader, and if the Court rejects the application wholly or in part, it shall record in writing its reasons for so doing.

(5) Whoever, knowing that an injunction has been issued against him under sub-section (1) of this section disobeys such injunction shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both:

Provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment.

THE PROHIBITION OF CHILD MARRIAGE ACT, 2006
[10th January, 2007.]

An Act to provide for the prohibition of solemnisation of child marriages and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

BE it enacted by Parliament in the Fifty-seventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:-

1. (1) This Act may be called the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006. Short title, extent and commencement.

(2) It extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir; and it applies also to all citizens of India without and beyond India:

Provided that nothing contained in this Act shall apply to the Renoncants of the Union territory of Pondicherry.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint; and different dates may be appointed for different States and any reference in any provision to the commencement of this Act shall be construed in relation to any State as a reference to the coming into force of that provision in that State.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,-

(a) "child" means a person who, if a male, has not completed twenty-one years of age, and if a female, has not completed eighteen years of age;

(b) "child marriage" means a marriage to which either of the contracting parties is a child;

(c) "contracting party", in relation to a marriage, means either of the parties whose marriage is or is about to be thereby solemnised;

(d) "Child Marriage Prohibition Officer" includes the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer appointed under sub-section (1) of section 16;

(e) "district court" means, in any area for which a Family Court established under section 3 of the Family Courts Act, 1984 exists, such Family Court, and in any area for which there is no Family Court but a city civil court exists, that court and in any other area, the principal civil court of original jurisdiction and includes any other civil court which may be specified by the State Government, by notification in the Official Gazette, as having jurisdiction in respect of the matters dealt with in this Act;

(f) "minor" means a person who, under the provisions of the Majority Act, 1875 is to be deemed not to have attained his majority.

3. (1) Every child marriage, whether solemnised before or after the commencement of this Act, shall be voidable at the option of the contracting party who was a child at the time of the marriage:

Provided that a petition for annulling a child marriage by a decree of nullity may be filed in the district court only by a contracting party to the marriage who was a child at the time of the marriage.

(2) If at the time of filing a petition, the petitioner is a minor, the petition may be filed through his or her guardian or next friend along with the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer.

(3) The petition under this section may be filed at any time but before the child filing the petition completes two years of attaining majority.

(4) While granting a decree of nullity under this section, the district court shall make an order directing both the parties to the marriage and their parents or their guardians to return to the other party, his or her parents or guardian, as the case may be, the money, valuables, ornaments and other gifts received on the occasion of the marriage by them from the other side, or an amount equal to the value of such valuables, ornaments, other gifts and money:

Provided that no order under this section shall be passed unless the concerned parties have been given notices to appear before the district court and show cause why such order should not be passed.

4. (1) While granting a decree under section 3, the district court may also make an interim or final order directing the male contracting party to the child marriage, and in case the male contracting party to such marriage is a minor, his parent or guardian to pay maintenance to the female contracting party to the marriage until her remarriage.

(2) The quantum of maintenance payable shall be determined by the district court having regard to the needs of the child, the lifestyle enjoyed by such child during her marriage and the means of income of the paying party.

(3) The amount of maintenance may be directed to be paid monthly or in lump sum.

(4) In case the party making the petition under section 3 is the female contracting party, the district court may also make a suitable order as to her residence until her remarriage.

5. (1) Where there are children born of the child marriage, the district court shall make maintenance an appropriate order for the custody of such children.

(2) While making an order for the custody of a child under this section, the welfare and best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration to be given by the district court.

(3) An order for custody of a child may also include appropriate directions for giving to the other party access to the child in such a manner as may best serve the interests of the child, and such other orders as the district court may, in the interest of the child, deem proper.

(4) The district court may also make an appropriate order for providing maintenance to the child by a party to the marriage or their parents or guardians.

6. Notwithstanding that a child marriage has been annulled by a decree of nullity under section 3, every child begotten or conceived of such marriage before the decree is made, whether born before or after the commencement of this Act, shall be deemed to be a legitimate child for all purposes.

7. The district court shall have the power to add to, modify or revoke any order made under section 4 or section 5 and if there is any change in the circumstances at any time during the pendency of the petition and even after the final disposal of the petition.

8. For the purpose of grant of reliefs under sections 3, 4 and 5, the district court having jurisdiction shall include the district court having jurisdiction over the place where the defendant or the child resides, or where the marriage was solemnised or where the parties last resided together or the petitioner is residing on the date of presentation of the petition.

9. Whoever, being a male adult above eighteen years of age, contracts a child marriage shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine of male adult which may extend to one lakh rupees or with both.

10. Whoever performs, conducts, directs or abets any child marriage shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to two years and shall be liable to fine which may extend to one lakh rupees unless he proves that he had reasons to believe that the marriage was not a child marriage.

11. (1) Where a child contracts a child marriage, any person having charge of the child, whether as parent or guardian or any other person or in any other capacity, lawful or unlawful, including any member of an organisation or association of persons who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnised, or negligently fails to prevent it from being solemnised, including attending or participating in a child marriage, shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to two years and shall also be liable to fine which may extend up to one lakh rupees:

Provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment.

(2) For the purposes of this section, it shall be presumed, unless and until the contrary is proved, that where a minor child has contracted a marriage, the person having charge of such minor child has negligently failed to prevent the marriage from being solemnised.

12. Where a child, being a minor-

(a) is taken or enticed out of the keeping of the lawful guardian; or

(b) by force compelled, or by any deceitful means induced to go from any place;

or

(c) is sold for the purpose of marriage; and made to go through a form of marriage or if the minor is married after which the minor is sold or trafficked or used for immoral purposes, such marriage shall be null and void.

13. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Act, if, on an application of the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer or on receipt of information through a complaint or otherwise from any person, a Judicial Magistrate of the first class or a Metropolitan Magistrate is satisfied that a child marriage in contravention of this Act has been arranged or is about to be solemnised, such Magistrate shall issue an injunction against any person including a member of an organisation or an association of persons prohibiting such marriage.

(2) A complaint under sub-section (1) may be made by any person having personal knowledge or reason to believe, and a non-governmental organisation having reasonable information, relating to the likelihood of taking place of solemnisation of a child marriage or child marriages.

(3) The Court of the Judicial Magistrate of the first class or the Metropolitan Magistrate may also take *suo motu* cognizance on the basis of any reliable report or information.

(4) For the purposes of preventing solemnisation of mass child marriages on certain days such as *Akshaya Trutiya*, the District Magistrate shall be deemed to be the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer with all powers as are conferred on a Child Marriage Prohibition Officer by or under this Act.

(5) The District Magistrate shall also have additional powers to stop or prevent solemnisation of child marriages and for this purpose, he may take all appropriate measures and use the minimum force required.

(6) No injunction under sub-section (1) shall be issued against any person or member of any organisation or association of persons unless the Court has previously given notice to such person, members of the organisation or association of persons, as the case may be, and has *offered* him or them an opportunity to show cause against the issue of the injunction:

Provided that in the case of any urgency, the Court shall have the power to issue an interim injunction without giving any notice under this section.

(7) An injunction issued under sub-section (1) may be confirmed or vacated after giving notice and hearing the party against whom the injunction was issued.

(8) The Court may either on its own motion or on the application of any person aggrieved, rescind or alter an injunction issued under sub-section (1).

(9) Where an application is received under sub-section (1), the Court shall afford the applicant an early opportunity of appearing before it either in person or by an advocate and if the Court, after hearing the applicant rejects the application wholly or in part, it shall record in writing its reasons for so doing. -

(10) Whoever knowing that an injunction has been issued under sub-section (1) against him disobeys such injunction shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years or with fine which may extend to one lakh rupees or with both:

Provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment.

14. Any child marriage solemnised in contravention of an injunction order issued under section 13, whether interim or final, shall be void *ab initio*.

15. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, an offence punishable under this Act shall be cognizable and non-bailable.

16. (1) The State Government shall, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint for the whole, State, or such part thereof may be specified in that notification, an officer or officers to be known as the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer having jurisdiction over the area or areas specified in the notification.

(2) The State Government may also request a respectable member of the locality with a record of social service or an officer of the Gram Panchayat or Municipality or an officer of the Government or any public sector undertaking or an office bearer of any non-governmental organization to assist the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer and such member, officer or office bearer, as the case may be, shall be bound to act accordingly.

(3) It shall be the duty of the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer-

(a) to prevent solemnization of child marriages by taking such action as he may deem fit;

(b) to collect evidence for the effective prosecution of persons contravening the provisions of this Act;

(c) to advise either individual cases or counsel the residents of the locality generally not to indulge in promoting, helping, aiding or allowing the solemnisation of child marriages;

(d) to create awareness of the evil which results from child marriages;

- (e) to sensitize the community on the issue of child marriages;
 - (f) to furnish such periodical returns and statistics as the State Government may direct; and
 - (g) to discharge such other functions and duties as may be assigned to him by the State Government.
- (4) The State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, subject to such conditions and limitations, invest the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer with such powers of a police officer as may be specified in the notification and the Child Marriage Prohibition Officer shall exercise such powers subject to such conditions and limitations, as may be specified in the notification.
- (5) The Child Marriage Prohibition Officer shall have the power to move the Court for an order under sections 4, 5 and 13 and along with the child under section 3.

17. The Child Marriage Prohibition Officers shall be deemed to be public servants within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code.

18. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against the Child Marriage Protection of Prohibition Officer in respect of anything in good faith done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Act or any rule or order made thereunder.

19. (1) The State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(2) Every rule made under this Act shall, as soon as may be after it is made, be laid before the State Legislature.

20. In the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, in section 18, for clause (a), the following clause shall be substituted, namely:-

"(a) in the case of contravention of the condition specified in clause (iii) of section 5, with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine' which may extend to one lakh rupees, or with both".

21. (1) The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 is hereby repealed.

(2) Notwithstanding such repeal, all cases and other proceedings pending or continued under the said Act at the commencement of this Act shall be continued and disposed of in accordance with the provisions of the repealed Act, as if this Act had not been passed.