

A Study on Child Marriage in India: Situational Analysis in Three States



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CSR



CENTRE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH



**NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC
COOPERATION AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT**

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PREFACE

Child marriage is a major sociological problem that has persisted for centuries in India, more so in Northern States. Whatever its origin, the reason for its perpetuation is an issue that needs to be re-looked in the age and time when women's emancipation is the buzz word. Since independence, Government has continued to tighten the legal provisions to prevent this undesirable practice, which is not only cruel to the children, specially the girl child but also deprives them of their basic rights. The present study was therefore conducted in some of the most politically conscious States in Northern India to explore why the proponents of child marriage still meet little resistance from the more enlightened members of its communities and why the sane voices opposed to this practice get suppressed. At the same time, the study seeks to assess the efficacy of the existing laws in curbing child marriages and also the role of law enforcement machinery.

Based on empirical evidence, the study was confined to only three States where the marriage age of the girl child was much less than the legally permissible age limit. The study confirmed that in some areas of these States there is no overt aversion to practice of child marriage. The genesis that came to the fore was, the complex intertwining of social, economic and cultural practices of the community that continued to govern decision making among its members. Communities in which the practice of child marriage persists were though found aware of the legal restrictions on it, yet they tend to ignore these. People's representatives find it difficult to take a hard stand while administrators handle the task as one more law enforcement issue to be dealt with.

The data collected and collated suggests that the main answer to the problem may lie in universalisation of education for girl children and eradication of poverty. Yet whether that alone would help in minimising the incidence of child marriage still remains a point of debate.

The study, a joint effort of NIPCCD and Centre for Social Research (CSR), was made possible due to the efforts of the later in preparation of tools, undertaking data collection in two states, drafting the report etc. We owe a gratitude to CSR and its Director Dr. Ranjana Kumari for their contribution to this study. At NIPCCD, it was a team led by Dr. Sulochana Vasudevan, Joint Director and Dr. Sandhya Gupta, Assistant Director who were associated with the study from drawing the design, revising tools, collecting data in a state, editing the report and interacting with CSR from time to time. The study would not have culminated but for their concerted effort. I sincerely acknowledge the comments offered by Ms. Razia Sultan Ismail Abbassi and Dr. Jyotsana Chatterji which improved the quality of the report.

I believe, the social workers, planners, social scientists and others interested in the issue will find the publication useful.



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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 Organization

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Child Marriage Scenario in India

The early marriage of children, particularly of 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 for children and women, including the prescription of the legal minimum age at marriage of 18 years. In fact, Cameroon has gone a step further and prescribed 21 years as the minimum age for the marriage of girls. In spite of this, a staggering 62% of women are already married by the age of 18 years. According to a recent UNICEF report (2005) the percentage of girls aged between 15 and 19 who are married in different countries is: Congo (74%), Niger (70%), Afghanistan (54%), Bangladesh (51%), Iraq (28%), while in Nepal, 40% of girls get married before they turn 15 years. In India the latest assessment is that 44 % are married before the age of 18 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 origins of the practice. In a few communities in the northern states, child marriage is more prevalent than in the south. Though there are no recorded references on where the practice of child marriage really originated, there are evidences to show that ancient scriptures dissuaded early marriage (Bridkar, Sudheer on Child Marriage at www.vivaaha.org/child.htm). The reference to child marriage in a study (Bhatt, etal.) refers to a school of thought which attributes the advent of the practice of child marriage to the advent of different forms of culture that came in from the northern borders. These might have influenced various communities to resort to early marriages, perhaps as a defence against their girls being abducted/attacked by invaders.

The incidence of child marriage was restricted to a few communities in the northern states as child marriage is more prevalent there than in the south. Perhaps it was the advent of different forms of culture that came in from the northern borders which influenced 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 and Phulera Duj, are seen as auspicious times for child marriage practices. Besides, the married girl is considered better protected and less prone to sexual assaults compared to her unmarried counterparts. A strong reason is the economic consideration determining this practice. Practitioners argue that child marriage is more in the nature

of a 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 over two different occasions, child marriage is seen as economically viable.

Besides these 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.

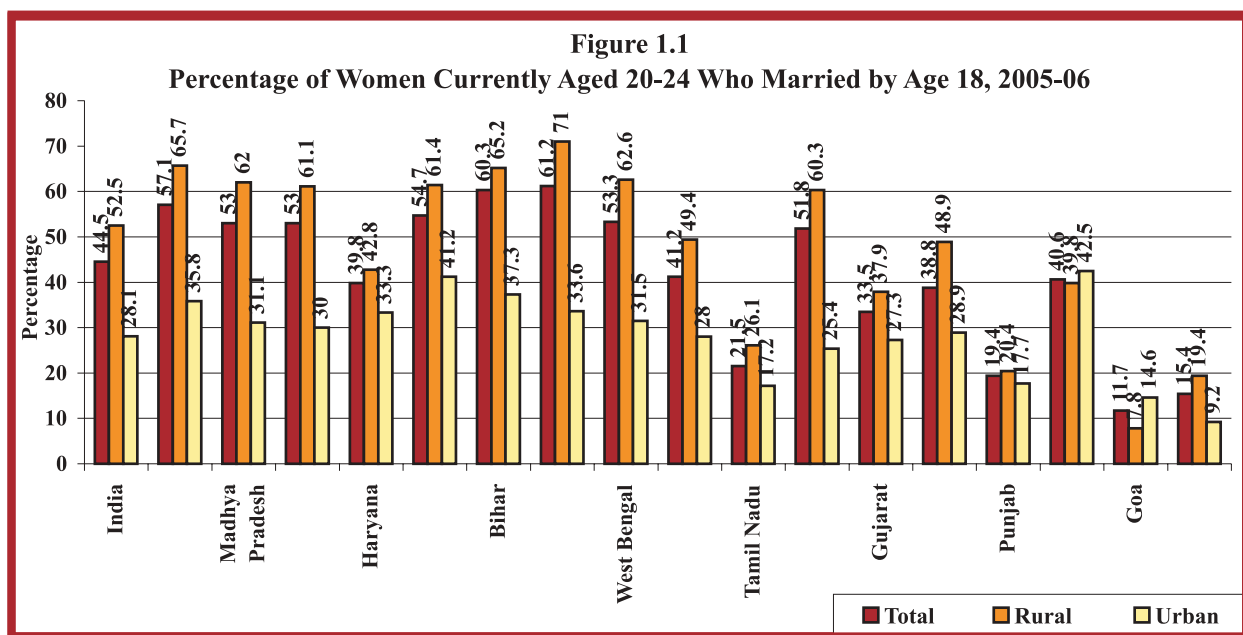
Child Marriage violates various United Nations standards related to children. It violates important provisions of CEDAW & CRC

Child marriage is considered a gross violation of child and human rights owing to the reasons mentioned. It leaves deep scars on the child – physically, psychologically and emotionally. This practice also violates United Nations agreements on the minimum age at marriage and protection of children from sexual exploitation, which have been enacted since 1948. These include the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989). The CRC confers many rights including freedom of expression (seeking and receiving information and ideas Article 13), the right not be separated from their parents against their will (Article 9), the right to education (Articles 28 and 29), the right to rest and leisure and to engage in play and recreational activities (Article 31) and the right to protection from sexual exploitation and abuse (Article 34). India is one of the signatories to this important convention.

Yet, the status of the girl child in India, particularly with reference to early marriages, remains dismal. The practice has shown little inclination to abate and has decreased only marginally. It 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. Compared to the northern states of Rajasthan and Bihar where marriage of girls under 18 is as high as 68% and 71% respectively, the percentages in Kerala and Tamil Nadu in South India were only 17% and 25% respectively (Agence France-Presse, Report in *Push Journal*, September 21, 2004).

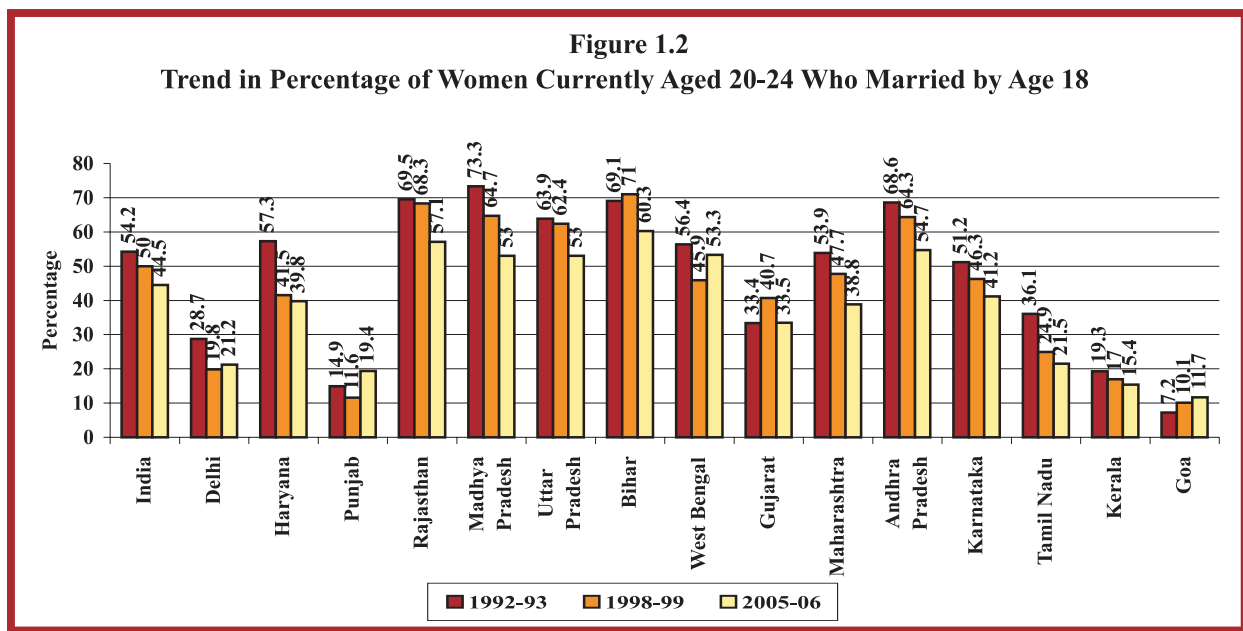
The NFHS-3 (2005-06) reported that 44% of women in India married before the legal age of 18 years. In rural areas the proportion is 52%.

A state-wise 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.



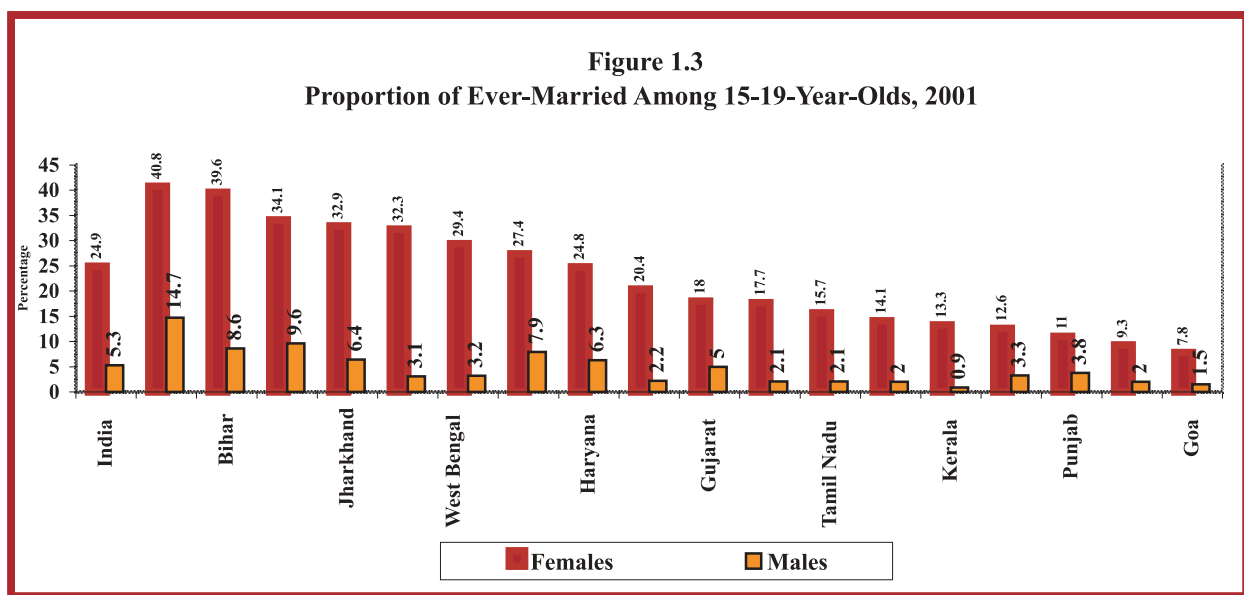
Source: NFHS-3, 2005-06

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



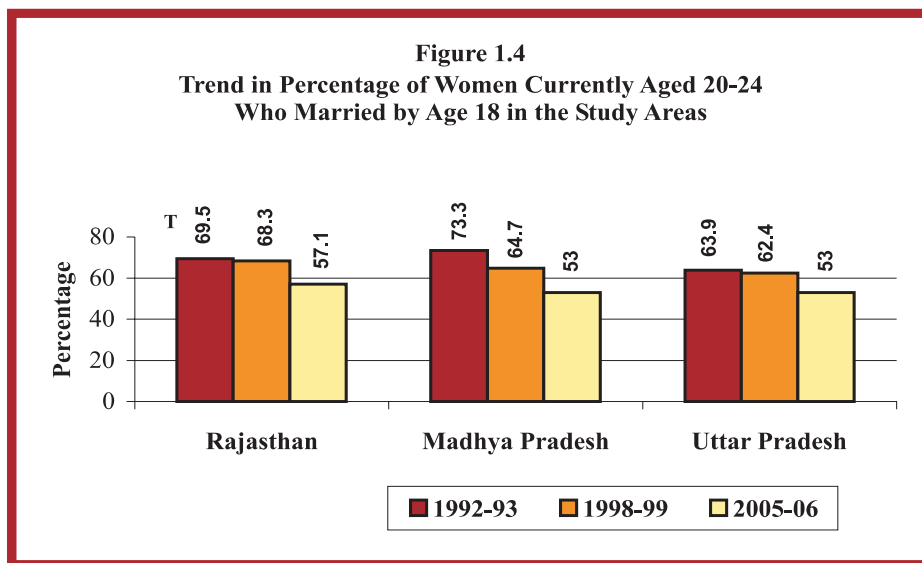
Source: NFHS-1, NFHS- 2 and NFHS- 3

There is a clear gender gap in child marriage practices. According to the 2001 Census data, among 15-19-year-olds, 25% of girls are already married, compared to 5.3% of boys. In states like Rajasthan, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh more than 35% of girls are married at a very young age.



Source: RGI, 2001

When young girls get married, they are generally not well informed about their situation. These vulnerabilities render them unable to question their parents. After marriage, the child bride usually stays at her paternal home until she turns 16 and is sent to her husband's house after *gauna*, that is, after she attains puberty. The proponents of early marriage 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, when 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 years. Thus, the *gauna* system cannot be the solution to the problems that arise from early marriages.



Source: NFHS I,II,III

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 years. 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 the 15-19 age group 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% of 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% of women aged 20-24 were married by 18 in Rajasthan. The urban-rural divide indicates 35.8% and 65.7% respectively. The situation in Uttar Pradesh (UP) is similar to Rajasthan. Traditional beliefs and practices lower the age of marriage for rural girls. According to NFHS in 1998-99, 32% of women between 15-19 were already married, and an additional 8% reported that they were married and the *gauna* is still to be performed. In rural areas, almost half the women between 15-19 are already married. In UP, 62% of young women between 20-24 marry before the legal minimum age of 18 (NCW, 2004). Moreover, the recent NFHS-3 reports for UP indicates that 53% of women aged 20-24 were married by 18 years. In urban areas 30% were married by 18 and 61.1% in rural areas. Even Madhya Pradesh (MP) has a high incidence of child marriage cases: 53% of women aged 20-24 were married by 18 in MP, with 31.1% in the urban setting and 62% 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 – people’s traditional mindset and the deep-rooted beliefs of families that consider a girl as a liability and a burden who should be married off and sent to her husband’s house as soon as possible. As the custom has been followed for centuries, there is immense social pressure from society to marry off children, especially girls, at a young age. Social pressure from within the community is one of the main causes that pressurize parents to

The median age at marriage varies from about 15 in MP, Bihar, UP, Rajasthan, and Andhra Pradesh to 23 in Goa.

[NFHS-2 (1998–99), Fact sheet- India]

The female mean age at marriage is lowest in MP (17.4 years) and highest in Goa (25.1 years). The mean age at marriage for females is less than 19 in MP, Bihar, Rajasthan, UP, Andhra Pradesh and Haryana. About 54% of women currently aged 20-24 married before 18, with 63% in the rural areas and 33% in the urban areas.

[NFHS-1 (1992-93)]

get their children married young. 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, a *saathin* worker from the 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 upper caste men. Also, in 2005, 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.

A custom that has been followed for centuries and pressure from the community forces parents to marry children off at a young age.

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

virginity. Marriage is considered ‘safe’ to protect the girl 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.

The older the girl, the higher is the dowry the parents have to pay.

Dowry is one of the key reasons for the existence of this practice. 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. Further, in families where there are many daughters, parents conduct their marriages on the same day to save on extra expenditure. Child marriages continue owing to poor implementation of the existing laws. Even though some people are aware of the law, they still practice child marriage. In addition, the lack of political will also results in the practice to continue unabated.

1.4 Consequences of Child Marriage

Child marriage is linked to a series of negative consequences for young girls in society. In fact, according to the 2001 Census, nearly 300,000 girls under 15 gave birth to at least one child. It reported that child brides often showed symptomatic signs of child sexual abuse and post-traumatic stress. Child marriages also limited girls’ access to education and increased their health risks, as it was found that they had higher mortality rates and exposure to HIV/AIDs than girls married after 18 (*US Department of State, Country Reports, 2006*). Child marriages have a severe impact on the overall health and development of girls. Marrying early places girls at greater health risks, one of the greatest being early pregnancy and childbirth. These cause serious reproductive health problems and contribute to high Maternal Mortality Rates (MMR) and Infant Mortality Rates (IMR).

‘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]

- ◆ **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 young 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 birth weight'.

- ◆ **Infant Mortality Rate (IMR):** Child marriage not only affects the girl child but also the child born due to early pregnancy. The mother's young age and lack of proper nutrition lead to the improper growth of the baby. Sources indicate that the overall, infant mortality rate declines sharply with the mothers' increasing education. It ranges 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 and HIV/AIDS**

Cases: Young women are married off to partners who are much older. In such marriages, women have less decision-making powers in sexual behaviour and practices, increasing their risk of reproductive and sexually transmitted infections. According to the IPC, 1860 and recent advances related to laws on rape, a man is said to commit rape if he has sexual intercourse with a woman,

If a mother is under 18, her baby's chance of dying in the first year of life is 60% greater than that of a baby born to a mother older than 19 years. Even if the child survives, he or she is more likely to suffer from low birth weight, under nutrition and late physical and cognitive developments.

[The State of the World's Children (SOWC) 2007, UNICEF]

with or without her consent, even if married to her, if the girl is under 16 years. 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 at below 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 likely to believe

Nearly 67% of women, who were married at below 18 years faced Domestic Violence

[Early Marriage 2005, UNICEF]

that a husband is justified in beating his wife. Owing to the age difference between the partners, young girls are more vulnerable and susceptible to domestic violence, as well.

- ◆ **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

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.

to other states. Rajib Haldar, Secretary, Prayas, says: 'Trafficking of "married girls" is rampant in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and even Kerala' (*Infochange*, February 2007). A survey of victims of trafficking revealed that 71.8% of the respondents were married when they were children (i.e., when they were below 18 years). 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 girls access to schooling and their right to education, which is necessary for their personal development and effective contribution to the future well being of society. Sometimes, girls who prefer to go to school before or after marriage may not be allowed to pursue higher studies. Usually they are removed from school, thus ending their education and individual development, and making them vulnerable. Many parents believe that investment in a girl's education is a waste of money because ultimately she would have to get married and move to her 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, these girls are also not allowed to socialize and make friends outside their family.
- Child marriage denies schooling for girls and their right to education, which is necessary for their personal development and effective contribution to the future well-being of society.**
- ◆ **Lack of Decision-Making Powers:** Girls are not able to discuss issues related to pregnancy, childbirth and contraceptive use when they are married at a 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, a 'child' means a person who, if male, has not completed 21, and if female, has not completed 18 years. 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 pandit who performs the marriage. The offender can be punished for up to three 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 provide information of a child marriage taking place.

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

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 solemnizing a child marriage**
- (viii) **Punishment for promoting or permitting solemnization 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 must 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 as the states are in a better position to be aware of the social structure and local conditions of their respective states. There are gaps in this law as it has been left to state governments to take the initiative. Secondly, non-registration of a minor's marriage does not render it automatically void. The Andhra Pradesh High Court's decision upholding a 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 in India. The Himachal Pradesh Marriage Registration Act, 1996 came into force in 2004, making it compulsory to register all marriages within the state. Karnataka has the 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 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, October 24, 2001). Maharashtra has enacted the Maharashtra Regulation of Marriage Bureaus and Registration of Marriages Act, 1998, making *gram sevaks* the registrars. The legislative assembly of Tripura passed the 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 Programme), a nationwide awareness programme 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 these states (*NCW, Annual Report, 05-06 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. (*US 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 years (*Early Marriage Child Spouses 2001, UNICEF*).

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 to traditional and religious practices and other social problems such as dowry and child widowhood. However 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 discover the basic causes of child marriage. As a result, we do not have adequate knowledge of the 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 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. In a culture where premarital chastity is valued, one of the easiest ways of achieving this is to get 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 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. They go against the 'Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989)'.

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 16, in addition to the normal risks and responsibilities of childbearing, face an increased risk of maternal and infant mortality' (Miller and 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 TV, radio and newspapers compared to boys or unmarried girls (Haberland and Bracken, 2004).

Girls who lack educational opportunities are more likely to marry early. Conversely, girls forced into marriage in childhood are likely to be displaced from education opportunity.

Researchers have observed that changes in marriage patterns, in relation to higher age at marriage and lower proportion of ever-married women 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 (Karkal & Rajan, 1989).

The national and state specific study of NFHS (1993 and 1999) has also indicated changes of age at marriage. In Uttar Pradesh a low age at marriage is still common in the Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Castes and agricultural castes, e.g. Jat, Ahir, Gujar and Janwa. A study conducted by the Institute of Health Management, Pachod (IHMP) with the help of the 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 imparting of life skills delayed this process of early marriages marginally. The study consisted of a yearlong life skills programme with a sample of 1,146 girls. Only 9% of these girls were married before 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 *devadasis*, 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 *devadasis* are expected to provide sexual services to the priests and members of the higher castes. Though the *devadasi* system cannot really be termed as child marriage as we normally understand it, it does give religious sanction to its practice.

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.

The continuance of child marriage presents multiple challenges to the nation. 'According to decades of research, 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' (Burns, 1998). Child-welfare activists are pushing for tougher legislation and enforcement. But it is an arduous task in a nation where much of the population is rural or poor, and 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 the government to intervene to check this practice stems from its reservation that it should not interfere in the 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. Children are put to work at an early age in most caste groups. To an extent, the prevalence of child labour, which adds economic value to the family, is a contributing factor to child marriages.

'Child marriage covers a myriad social situations. There are betrothals of tiny boys and girls, some of them asleep, unaware of what is happening. Two families may promise to arrange the marriage of their unborn children in case they happen to be of different sexes. 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 studies on early childhood marriages conducted in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh show that there are economic and social compulsions that sustain the practice. 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 causal factors of child marriage, which include religious beliefs, social pressures, economic factors and the need to protect the 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 formation of various social legislations at this time shows the initiatives for policy change. 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.

- ◆ Under the Special Marriages Act 1954, which is valid for all 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. Entries are made in the marriage register of the church, soon after the ceremony, along with the signatures of the bridegroom, the bride, the officiating priest and witnesses.
- ◆ Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936, make registration of marriages compulsory.
- ◆ 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, a provision exists 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.

However, the Act has a provision that the validity of the marriage will in no way be affected by the omission of making the entry in the register. Therefore, only under the Hindu Personal Law is it not compulsory to register a marriage.

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

Source: RGI, 2001

Indeed, as recently as 2001, one in four adolescent girls aged 15-19 were already married (RGI, 2001).

2.1.2 Child Marriage: Statistical Overview

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

[Source: NFHS Study]

In 2005-06, the NFHS published statistics of early childhood marriages in various states (Figure 1.1 to 1.3 in the Introduction). There has been minimal change since NFHS conducted its first study in 1992-93. The NFHS's earlier studies conducted in 1992-93 and 1998-99 indicated the status of girls' marriages in the 15-19-year age group. The Singulate Mean Age at Marriage (SMAM) for women has risen by 3.4 years from 15.9 years in 1961 to 19.3 years in 1991. But still, an average of 38.4% of girls in this age group gets married. This percentage increases significantly in rural populations, where 44.7% of girls in this age group were married, which was more than double the rate of their urban counterparts where it was 21.3%. The data also indicates that 11.8% of girls are married by the age of 13, 26.1% by 15, 54.2% by 18 and 71.4% by 20 years. The age at marriage is 17.4 years in the 20-24 median age cohorts. What is more disturbing is that almost 7% and 17% of girls are married before 13 and 15 years respectively, in the 15-19 age cohort. Currently, 54.2% of women in the 20-24-year age group get married before 18 and this percentage is much higher in rural (63%) than in urban areas (33%).

The second NFHS survey (NFHS-2), conducted in 1998-99, confirms a further rise in the age at marriage. The SMAM for women has risen to 19.7 years in 1998-99 from 19.3 years in 1991. But still an average of 34% of women in the 15-19-year age group are already married as against 38.4%, according to 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 18 years in the 20-24 age cohorts. Marriage at very early ages is becoming less common. As per NFHS-2, 4.7% (as against 7%) and 14.3% (as against 17%) of girls are married before the age of 13 and 15, respectively in the 15-19 age cohort. The survey also shows that 50% of women currently aged 20-24 were married before 18 as against 54.2% shown in NFHS-1. So, there is a decline by 4% in six years. However, the urban-rural divide continues the same, with the percentage marrying early being much higher in rural (58.6%) than urban areas (27.9%).

The data also shows that 23.5% and 8.9% of women currently aged 20-24 were married before 15 and 13 respectively. Therefore, in the 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 half the women in the 20-24-year age group married before 18, the legal minimum age. The median age at first marriage for 20-49-year-old women in rural areas is a mere 16 – well below the legal minimum.

According to NFHS-3, 2005-06, 27% of 15-19-year-old women are currently married (15% of urban women and 33% of rural women). Very few men in this age group are currently married (only 1% of urban men and 4% of rural men). According to the National Centre for Advocacy Studies, 2005, the number of ever-married mothers below 15, in 2001 in India was an alarmingly high 2.96 lakhs. The rural-urban break-up of 20-24-year-old women married before 18 (2006) is 52.5% and 28.1% (International Institute for Population Sciences (2006) NFHS-3, 2006 Mumbai, p.3).

Another significant fact is that performance of child marriages is not uniform in all the states of India. About half the women aged 25-29 were married before 15 in Madhya Pradesh (52.6%), Bihar (51.0%), Uttar Pradesh (49.7%), Andhra Pradesh (48.9%) and Rajasthan (47.8%). Moreover, a fifth of the women of these states –Madhya Pradesh (79.8%) and Rajasthan (81.5%) – were married before reaching the legal minimum age (NFHS-II, 1998-99).

According to IIPS and ORC Macro (2000; 2001; 2001a), in the State of Uttar Pradesh, 39.9% of the 15-19-year-olds are married in which 8% of girls are married by 13 and 19.8% by the age of 15 years. Whereas, among the 87% of married women in the age group 20-24 years, 16.8% are married by 13, 36% by 15, and 62.4% by the age of 18 years. Within the age group of 25-29 years, 97.7% are married. Among these women, 20.8% married by 13, 42.6% by 15 and 73.7% 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 marriages, 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. 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 parents clearly internalized these norms, neighbours and others in the community also exerted overt pressure on parents to get their daughters married at an early 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 young. Such pressure included enquiring from parents why they did not get their daughters married, making unpleasant comments about the unmarried girl and her parents or bringing them proposals for marriage.

- ◆ **Dowry and Economic Determinants:** Apart from religious considerations, the other reason for child marriages among the higher castes is dowry.

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

Traditionally, dowry was not prevalent among lower castes, most of whom followed the opposite custom of bride price. Most Brahmans also did not practise dowry, but in recent years this custom has extended itself to both higher and some lower castes. Even non-Hindu communities have not escaped its evil influence. 'It has been found that the quantum of dowry increases with

the age and educational level of the prospective brides. Some upper caste 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 marriages 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 early. 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. 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 the demographic variety across 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 and Foo, 1992).

Gender differences are reflected in the sexual division of labour between 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) points 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.’

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.

Usually girls are withdrawn from schools because of marriage. They are denied the educational opportunities that 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.

- ◆ **Lack of Awareness of the Law:** One of the reasons for child marriages is that people to a

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

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 those 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

ignorance are common features among rural people, more so among women. If people have no knowledge of 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 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

No serious efforts have been made either for the 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

decades, all political parties have stated their commitment to the improvement of women's status. However, no serious effort has been made either for better implementation of the legislation or for improvement of their 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.

- ◆ **Miscellaneous Causes:** Among other factors, responsible for child marriages, Yadav (2006) observed, 'Tremendous pressure from older members of Indian society like grandparents and also the community prevails on parents to marry off their young children. There is also the fear of not getting a 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 obvious that the consequences are also multiple and diverse in nature. The 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-2 findings show that the majority of ever-married women in the age bracket of 15-19 are illiterate, the figure staying at 59%. Illiteracy declines with declining age, from 65% for women between 45-49 to 42% for women between 20-24, but rises to 59% 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 the education level is very low among Jain women (only 7%). 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 north-eastern states of Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya, and in the northern states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. However, 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 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 Class IX or X. The lack of proper and complete education renders these women incapable of acquiring any skill that could ensure them permanent employment. The lack of education also affects reproductive behaviour, use of contraceptives, health of the newborn child and proper care and hygienic practices.

About 59% of ever-married women in the age group of 15-19 years are illiterate. The majority of girls drop out of school by the time they reach Class IX or X.

- ◆ **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 the 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 a village of Tonk district, Rajasthan was married two years ago on *Akha Teej* – an auspicious day according to the 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 its meaning, he did not resist. All the excitement related to the marriage ceremony seemed fun to the child. After marriage the bride remained with her parents and has not been sent to her marital home so far. She is now 6 years old.

After some days of his marriage the 6-year-old boy came into contact with more grown up boys of about 16 to 20 years. 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, scarred by the incidents of his post-marriage days. He does not show any interest in studies or in any other activity leading to self-development.

Source: Information collected during the field work

- ◆ **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 gynaecological illness, or even if she dies owing 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. The earlier 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' (Bhatt, 2005).

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)

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. 'Adolescent fertility in India occurs mainly among married adolescents. As many as 36% of married adolescents aged 13-16 and 64% of those aged 17-19 are already mothers or are pregnant with their first child' (Jejeebhoy, 1999). This corresponds to 57% of all adolescent females between 13 and 19 years. 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% in 1971, 13% in 1981, and 17% in 1992-93. The magnitude of teenage fertility in India is thus considerable. 'About eight million adolescents aged 15-19 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 16 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 delivery, higher mortality rates, high incidence of RTIs and STI and foetal wastage (miscarriages or stillbirths). The neonatal and infant mortality rates are also high along with incidences of premature delivery and low birth weight of the newborn child' (Bhatt, 2005).

Now 16 years old from a village of Jaipur, this girl was married at the tender age of 6 to a boy who was 5 years older to her at the time of the marriage of her elder sister with a view to save on the expenses of two weddings. She was sent to her marital home when she was only 10 and her husband, 15 years old. The physical and mental vulnerability of the young couple led to repeated abortions. Today the girl is 16, with frail health and the mother of a sickly girl child.

This is a case of child marriage, in which the girl has emerged the 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.

Source: Information collected during the field work

- ◆ **Maternal Mortality/Morbidity Rate (MMR):** ‘In India, pre-adolescent and adolescent girls who constitute a sizable segment of its population, are a vulnerable group on account of the 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) refers to a study from rural India which shows that ‘45% of all maternal deaths occur among women aged below 24 and of that 15% are attributable to complications associated with childbirth 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 was 138 per 1,00,000 live births, adolescents experienced considerably higher ratios of 206 per 1,00,000 live births’ (Pachauri and 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 indicate 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 than boys, particularly in developing countries where they are traditionally married at an early age and exposed to greater risk of reproductive morbidity and mortality. In developmental terms, it is a crucial period, particularly with reference to reproductive health. Young girls 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 generations. 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 ‘Adolescent pregnancy is currently a significant public health problem. Childbearing can have a substantial impact on nutrient demands, especially for nutrients such as calcium that are required for bone

Nearly 15% of all deaths of rural women aged 15-24 are attributed to 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

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 adolescents’ (Brien, 2003). For example, results of a community-based study of 54 pregnant tribal adolescents

aged 13-19 in Rajasthan revealed that 85% weighed less than 42 kg and 94 percent were anaemic. A South Indian study of 47 adolescent girls aged 13-18 revealed poor growth in all age groups; 73.5% were classified as anaemic. In yet another study carried out on 105 adolescent girls aged 10-18 living in the slums of Gujarat, 98% were found to be anaemic.

NFHS shows that 35% of pregnant women below 20 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 high maternal mortality attributable to their poor reproductive health (Mumdani, 1998). Nearly 15% of all deaths of rural women aged 15-24 are attributed to childbirth and pregnancy – the second largest cause of death, following accidents and violence which account for 34% 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 and 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 powers in their own sexual, reproductive and productive lives.

NFHS-2 indicates that knowledge of STD and HIV/AIDS is very low among girls in the age group of 15-24 years.

‘Despite laws to the contrary, it is seen that early marriage continues to be the norm and once married there is 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).

Adolescents’ rights to life, health and reproductive health are further compromised when their suffering due to STDs and HIV/AIDS is not comprehensively addressed. NFHS-2 indicates that among 15-24-year-old girls, the knowledge of STDs and HIV/AIDS is very low. However epidemiological data on patients with AIDS suggest that in many cases HIV was acquired during adolescence and young women appear to be at greater risk of HIV 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% of disability-adjusted life-years lost, compared to 10.7% for cardiovascular diseases, 8.1% for maternal and parental conditions, 6.1% for STDs/HIV and 5.8% for cancer. In India, child marriage and cultural constraints on females' roles have been associated with depression.

A 11-year-old boy from Tonk district, Rajasthan, was married when he was only 6 months old. At the age of 5 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 10 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.

Source: Information collected during the field work

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

NFHS-2 suggests that 24% of women in the age group 15-19 do not participate in any decision-making as compared to women over 30 years. The most significant information they lack is on methods of contraception, reproductive health and care. NHFS-2 data shows that 45% of married women in the age group 15-19 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 of 15-19, highly susceptible to gender-based violence. Of the women surveyed under NFHS-2 in the age group 15-19, a large number – 61.1% justified at least one reason for wife-beating, while 15.4% reported that they had been physically mistreated since the age of 15 years.

NFHS-2 suggests that 24% of women in the age group 15-19 do not participate in any decision-making and 45% of married women in the age group 15-19 are not exposed to any form of media regularly. While 61.1% justified at least one reason for wife beating, 15.4% reported that they had been physically mistreated since the age of 15 years.

The young married bride also faces sexual exploitation by the elders in her marital home. She is burdened with the responsibilities of the entire family at this early 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, 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 *devadasi* is used as a tool for the trafficking of 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 the menace of child marriage, the government has initiated many preventive and punitive steps. Some of the efforts include campaigns to promote awareness of the legal age at marriage, enforcement of the CMRA (1978) and registration of marriages, investment schemes. These include the **Balika Samridhi Yojana**, intended to delay the age of marriage and change family and community attitudes towards girls. Other initiatives are those that can affect age at marriage, such as educational and livelihoods programmes that can provide socially accepted alternatives to marriage, increase girls' capacities and self-assurances and counter society's devaluation of girls.

Government Policies and Programmes

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

The government depended on the CMRA, 1929, so far, to check this problem but child marriages have taken place with impunity throughout the country, particularly in the heartland of states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Faced with 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 representations from various groups. Several 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 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 is bound to pay maintenance to his former wife and children. If a girl below 18 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 governments are not only conscious of the malaise but have evolved specific 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, and 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 attempted to develop policies within the overall guidelines of the central policy, and in many cases have implemented programmes on various issues. This has been done so that all the policies and programmes are implementable as well as realistic.

Relevant government policies include:

- ◆ National Health Policy, 2002
- ◆ National Education Policy, 1986
- ◆ National Youth Policy, 2003
- ◆ Population Policy, 1999
- ◆ National Policy for Women's Empowerment

The government has instituted 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. According to the Constitution of India (Article 39e), and the National Policy for Children, 1974, children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. The youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment (Article 39f). 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 the nation. The charter also calls on the State and communities to undertake all appropriate measures to address the problems of infanticide and foeticide, especially of females and all other emerging manifestations that deprive the girl child of her right to survive with dignity.

Besides, the **National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (NPEW), 2001** takes a stand of elimination of 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 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. Removal of discrimination in the treatment of the girl child within the family and outside and the projection of a positive image of the girl child will be actively encouraged.

Several other schemes also outline measures that directly and indirectly combat the evil of child marriage and empower adolescents and young girls to live with self-respect and choices.

The **Balika Samridhi Yojana** is one such scheme 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.

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

The Government of India has also launched **Child Line Service** in 1998-99. It is a 24-hour free telephone service, to be accessed by a child in distress or an adult on his behalf by dialling the number 1098 on the telephone. Child Line provides emergency assistance to the child and subsequently based on the needs of the child, he/she is referred to an appropriate organization for long-term follow up and care.

It is observed that the population 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 women's education and effective means for their empowerment need to be increased to prepare them to take control over their lives. Understanding this concern, the Government of India has declared elementary education as a fundamental right of every child between 6 and 14 years. The Union Government of India has taken several 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, the University Grants Commission introduced a Post-graduate Indira Gandhi Scholarship for a single girl child with the aim of compensating the direct cost of a girl's education to all levels. This was specially designed for girls who happen to be the only girl child in their family.

Another scheme with the vision of protecting the girl child from the social evils impeding her healthy growth is the **Girl Child Protection Scheme, 2005**. The main objectives of this scheme are: the elimination of prejudice against the girl child through direct investment from the government; encouraging enrolment of the girl child in school; ensuring her education to at least the intermediate level; and promoting marriage only after the age of 18, the prescribed statutory limit. It also aims to reduce the school dropout rate among girls and to encourage parents to adopt family planning norms with two girl children. Other objectives are as follows:

- ◆ To provide social and financial empowerment to the girl child
- ◆ Eliminating all forms of discrimination against the girl child
- ◆ Providing social and financial empowerment to the girl child
- ◆ Removing negative cultural attitudes and practices against girls
- ◆ Promoting and protecting the rights of the girl child and increasing awareness of her needs and potential.

Some other government programmes in these fields are:

- ◆ Reproductive Child Health Programme
- ◆ Integrated Population Development Programme
- ◆ Women's Development Programme
- ◆ Adolescent Girls' Scheme
- ◆ Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan
- ◆ National Service Schemes, etc.

Along with government policies and programmes, grassroots level non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are playing an important role on various social issues. NGOs are close to the communities they serve and can therefore identify and respond appropriately to community needs.

THE STUDY

3.1 Need for the Study

In a country rich in diversity, there are practices and beliefs that need to be understood and accepted as limitations of 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.

Compared to boys, girls are more severely affected by the practice of child marriage. Due to gender discrimination in 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 compared to boys. Girls who marry early become pregnant at a young age and face major problems related to reproductive health. They face fatal consequences during and after childbirth. 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 a support system for girls leads to their suffering and they tend to lose their identity.

According to a recent report by UNICEF (2005), almost 50% of women aged 20-24 are married by 18 in India. Parents encourage the marriage of their daughters to relieve themselves of a financial burden and also assume that they will lead happy comfortable lives after marriage. However, they ignore the fact that girls, being young, lack knowledge and maturity to cope with a new life, in a new house as a wife, and face immense problems. A state-wise comparison of the data on underage 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, in the South in Kerala, only 1 in 123 people below the legal age is married.

There are not many research studies on this issue. Hence, there is a need for a comparative study of different states with high prevalence 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 causes for ineffective implementation of prevention of child marriage laws. It is against 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

The 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 analyze 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 measures for the effective utilization 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 rampant.

3.4 Consultation Meetings

Before deciding on a 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. This 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. The methodology evolved was dynamic both for the problem and the existing field situation. The quantitative research data was supplemented by qualitative data through the 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.

1. 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-1, 2 and 3)

- ◆ Judgement/Acts relating to child marriage
- ◆ Research reports, books and articles
- ◆ Newspaper clippings
- ◆ Websites

2. Primary Data

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

- ◆ Panchayat
- ◆ Families (Heads of Households)
- ◆ Those married below 18 Years – both males and females
- ◆ NGO's
- ◆ Police
- ◆ District Magistrates

3. 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 incidence of child marriage was high according to NFHS-2 data. Selection of districts was based on Rapid Health Survey (RCH-RHS) data of 1998-99, which is the only reliable districtwise data available for all the states under study. The data was arranged in ascending order of prevalence of child marriage for selecting the districts.

The Districts selected were:

- ◆ Madhya Pradesh: Shajapur, Bhopal
- ◆ Uttar Pradesh: Varanasi, Meerut
- ◆ Rajasthan Tonk and Jaipur

Refer Table 3.2 for the population covered.

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

(Refer Annexure II for total district wise data of three states under study)

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

The study 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. Data tools included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and case studies.

Five villages were selected from each district using the purposive sampling method. Care was taken to ensure that the village provided 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 from locations near urban areas and national highways and some were chosen from the interior areas of the district. Stratified Random Sampling¹ technique was used to select a household. Those heads of households who were willing to offer their time to answer the questions were included in the survey. While selecting a household, the caste and religion of that area were given due attention. The couples (who were married before the legal age of marriage) were selected randomly but consideration was paid to select those couples who had married in the recent past. The head of the panchayat samiti was interviewed in each surveyed village. NGOs working on the issue of child marriage for a 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 interviews were conducted with panchayat representatives, heads of families, couples who were married before attaining 18 years, NGO representatives working on this issue, police personnel and district magistrates. 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 and 870 in-depth interviews were conducted in the three study states. The study was conducted between September-December, 2006.

¹Stratified 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.

Table 3.2
Sample Size

	MADHYA PRADESH		RAJASTHAN		UTTAR PRADESH		TOTAL
Districts	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 • Sirgovar-dhanpur • Shivdaspur • Susuahi • Chhasi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mator • Daurala • Bhoorbaral • Uplahara • Chhajupur 	30
Focus Group Discussion	<p align="center">1 FGD in Each Village</p> <p>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 align="center">In-Depth Interview</p>						30
Panchayat	<p align="center">5 (1 Member from each village)</p>						30
Family (Head of household)	125 <i>(25 / village)</i>	125 <i>(25 / village)</i>	125 <i>(25 / village)</i>	125 <i>(25 / village)</i>	125 <i>(25 / village)</i>	125 <i>(25 / village)</i>	750
Those married below 18 years	<p align="center">12 from each State</p>						36
NGOs	<p align="center">6 from each State</p>						18
Police	<p align="center">10 from each State</p>						30
District Magistrate	<p align="center">2 from each State</p>						6
	<p align="center">TOTAL INTERVIEW</p>						870

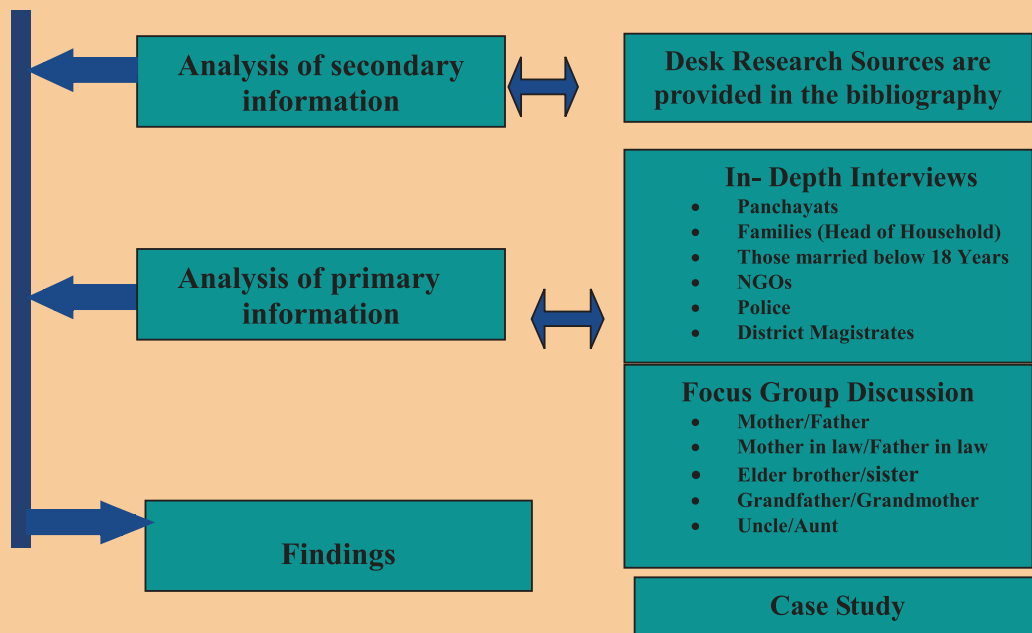
3.5.3 Research Design and Methodology

This study is based on situation analysis, which relies on a combination of focus group discussions (FGDs), structured questionnaires, and case studies. The objective was to probe the attitudes and beliefs regarding child marriage and the initiatives of key institutional players, such as the police, government departments, 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 the responses, 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 of legal provisions and implementation of the law to prevent child marriage, and the suggestions to make laws more effective were other aspects that were probed. Specific questions were asked to the implementing agencies like panchayat members, police and district magistrates, about measures and action taken by them to curb the practice of child marriage in their areas. Separate guidelines were also prepared for conducting FGDs which highlighted issues like causes of child marriage, attitude/ views of community members towards child marriage, legal awareness within the community related to child marriage acts. (Guidelines in Annexure IV.) Interviewers were locally recruited and were provided orientation to acquaint them with the interview guidelines.

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



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 in some other parts of the world/country where there is a huge age difference between the two, with usually the bride girl being the child. The consequences of such a union, where both the partners are tied in matrimony as children affect the life opportunities of both sexes in a negative way, with 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 a 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 favouring child marriage:

- ◆ The practice of child marriage in the study areas can be attributed to the collective thought process. People follow this practice 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.
- ◆ Other groups following the practice are forced by the limitations of their circumstances, i.e. for people living under weak economic conditions. Imagine rural households with large families, limited resources and few possessions. They survive at the bare minimum level. Their way of life has remained unchanged for generations. Such households are not interested in formal education (for various reasons) and hence for their grown-up children, marriage is a sort of baptism: initiation into life and worldly affairs. The tough physical environment where a struggle for survival with nature is an everyday occurrence, few things bring more joy and relief than occasions like marriages, which symbolize the zest for life overpowering the mundane dullness of everyday 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.

- ◆ 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. 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).
- ◆ Economic reasons have also contributed to 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 repeatedly for other children.
- ◆ The feudal background of the states restricted access to education for the masses, especially 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 solemnized because people have their own ideas of fertility and childbearing capacity. Early marriage ensures full utilization of this perceived capacity.

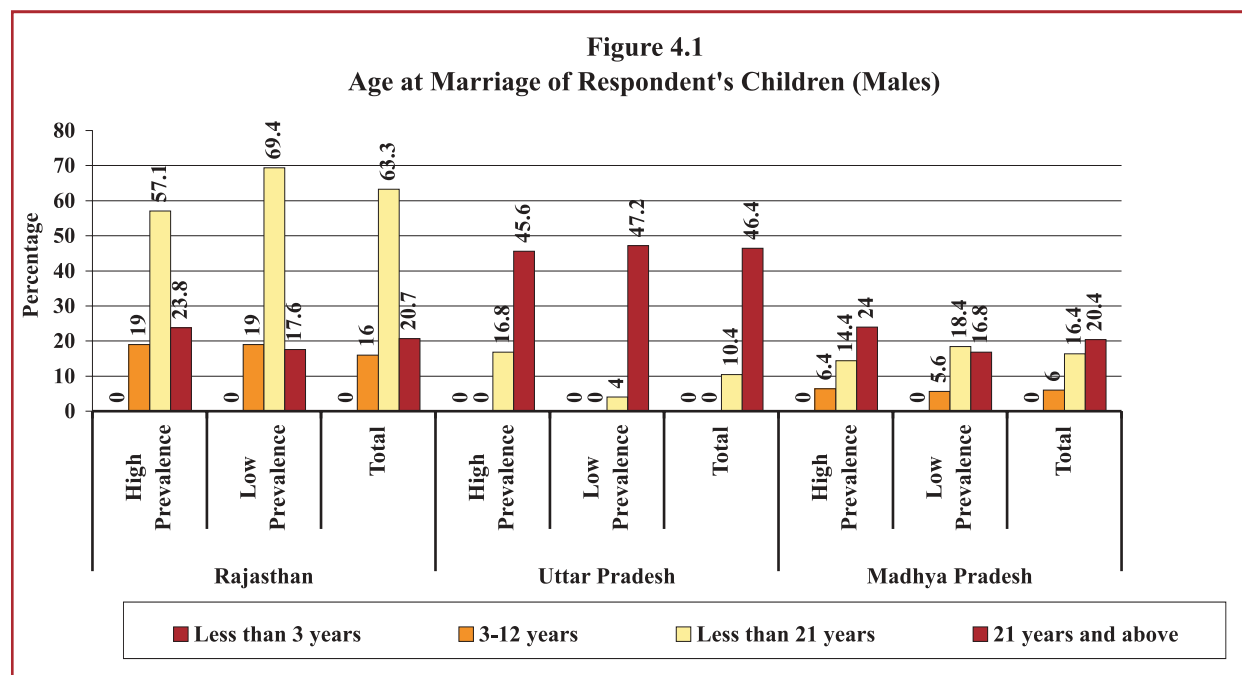
4.2 Prevalence and Trends of Child Marriage in the Study Areas

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

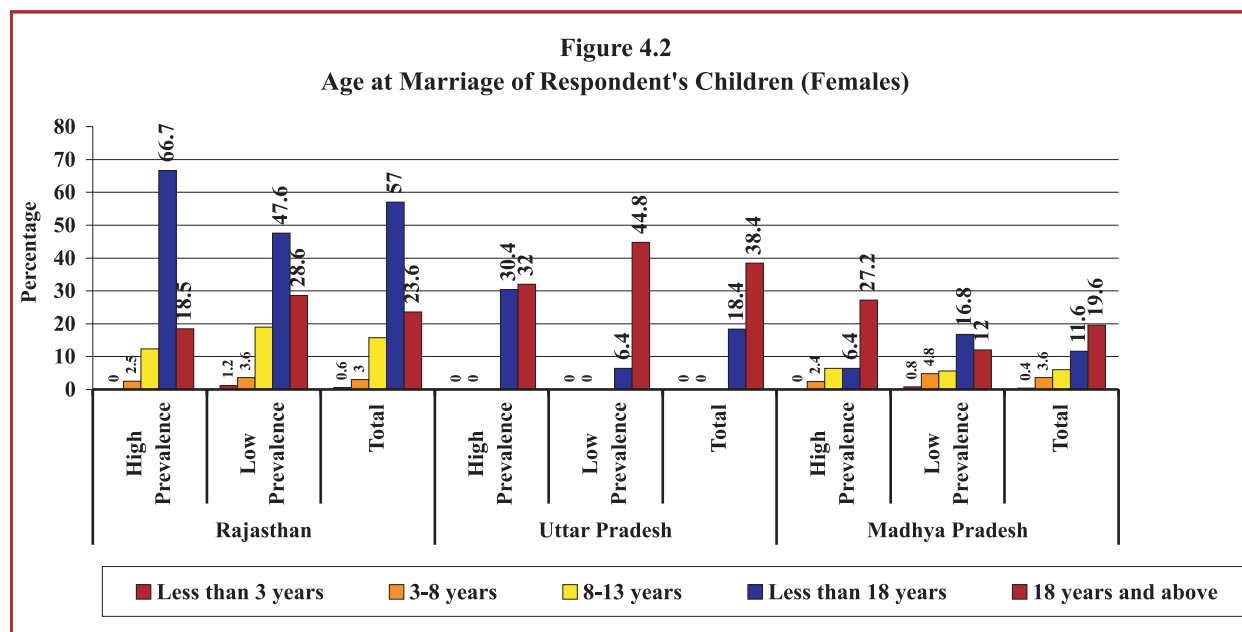
In **Madhya Pradesh (MP)**, according to the respondents of the state, 20.4% said that the age of their sons at marriage was over 21 years, while 16.8% of the respondents in Bhopal maintained that their daughters were married when they were below 18 years. The age at marriage for 6% of the male children was 3-12 years and 16.4% were married when they were below 21 years. The age at marriage for female children was shocking. Almost 0.4% females were married when they were below 3, 3.6% were married between 3-8, while 6% got married at the age of 8-13 and 11.6% when they were below 18 years. In Bhopal district, 4.8% and in Shajapur 2.4% of the females got married between 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 below the age of 21 and 18 respectively. The data clearly indicates that the marriage age falls below the one legally defined for both the sexes. The trend is supported in 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. It may be mentioned here that the above data stated was collected from the sample of the study. (Refer Annexure III Item No. 18.)



Source: Primary Survey

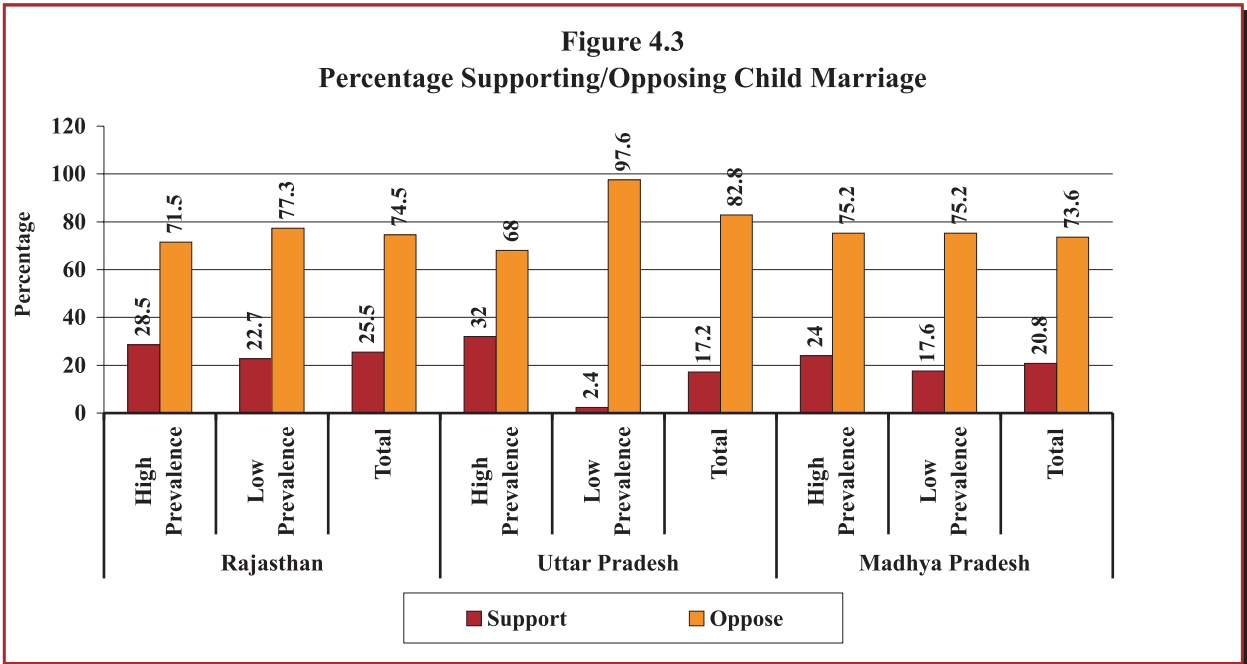


Source: Primary Survey

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 and it gets reflected to some extent in the small population (sample) of both the sexes (which is higher than Tonk), that prefers to abide by the law of land in getting married.

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

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 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. However, responses from the field have shown that people when asked, apparently oppose the practice. The graph below gives details of respondents' attitudes towards this practice. The discrepancy between the data and these response shows that either they do not practise what they say, or that a change is taking place, somewhere in their thinking processes for future marriages.



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 the population supporting child marriage compared to 23% in Jaipur. In MP, most of the respondents oppose the practice (73.6%), but in Shajapur 24% support it.

With few people to support this malpractice, chances are that individuals, in future may get a fair chance of leading a meaningful and fulfilled life. But at the same time, it is clear from the figures that there are people who support the practice despite its illegality. Social practices are supported by norms enforced by the communities to which individuals belong. They do not disappear by framing laws and acts. Laws and acts are merely the first steps to address the problem formally. The interpretation and implementation of the law paves the way for its effectiveness.

Table 4.1
Practice of Child Marriage in Respondent's Caste/Community

States	Practise		Do not Practise		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 respondents' caste/community practise child marriage. District-wise, in Varanasi 87.5% and in Meerut 50% practise it. In Rajasthan, more than three-fourths of the respondents who were married as children agreed that the caste/community they belonged to practise child marriage. In MP, all the respondents from Bhopal (100%) and 77.3% from Shajapur said that child marriage is practised in their respective caste/community.

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

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

Elected representatives are expected to be role models to people whom they represent. Those belonging to the three states were asked to share saidation related to the marriage age of their own children. In Jaipur, the elected representative got his son married before the legal age, whereas the elected representative from Tonk was law-abiding in this matter. All the elected representatives from Tonk got their daughters married 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 said that his son got married when he was less than 12 years and 20% in Bhopal and Shajapur each had their sons married when they were below 21 years. Also, the daughter of one panchayat member was married before she was 13, and the daughter of one member in Bhopal was married before she reached 18 years. The responses of the panchayat members show that though they oppose child marriages outwardly, but personally they get their children married before they reach the legal age.

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

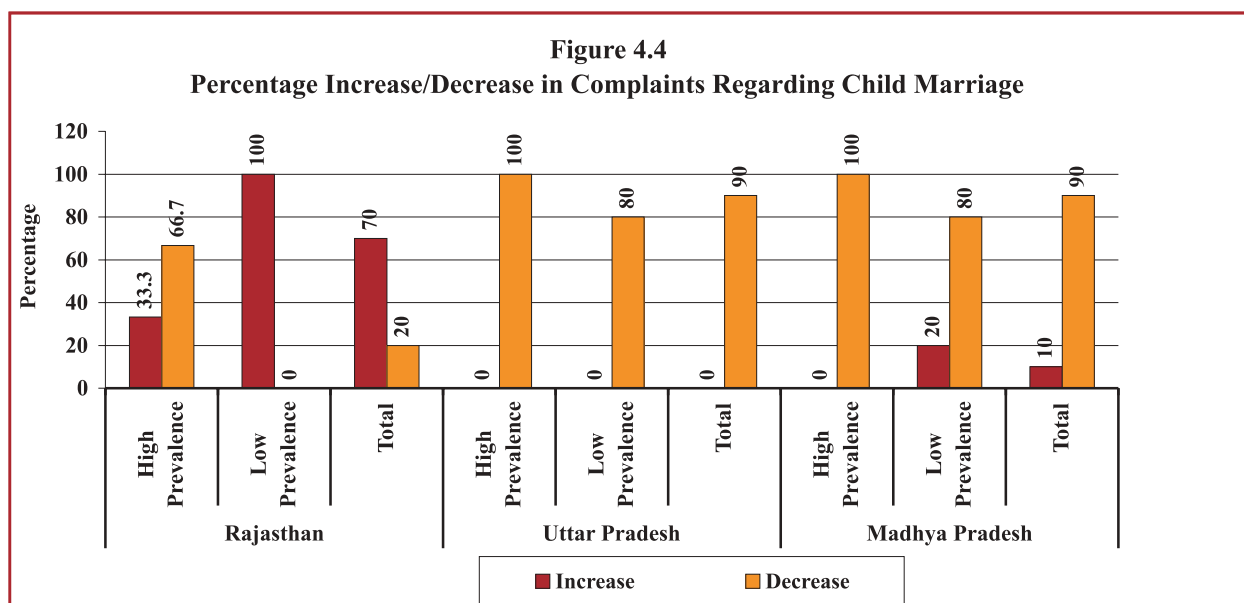
Even in UP, 9 respondents (90%) affirmed that they receive 1-5 complaints on a monthly basis. In Bhopal, 60% claimed that 1-5 complaints were registered and 40% in Shajapur maintained that they registered 11-15 complaints per month. It can be concluded that registered cases are comparatively lower than the actual number of child marriages taking place in the districts.

When the police were asked questions regarding the increase or decrease in the number of complaints, Rajasthan indicated an increase in the number of complaints lodged. All the police personnel in Jaipur agreed to an increase in the number of complaints. A higher percentage of police respondents in Tonk believed that the number of complaints of child marriage have declined over a period. The following table highlights the percentage in the study areas:

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

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 personnel said complaints have decreased. In Shajapur district, 100% and in Bhopal, 80% of the police personnel interviewed claimed that the complaints have decreased.

As Vinay Kumar Srivastava (2006) observed, 'An important sociological fact about child marriages is that irrespective of legal prohibitions, the flouting of which leads to simple imprisonment and fine, there is no secrecy, or clandestineness, about them. They are an open, public affair as marriages



Source: Primary Survey

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 continue with the practice despite the formal prohibitions.

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

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%) said 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 noted that marriages are registered in the district. Since registration of marriage is not a mandatory obligation, few people opt for it. Most people apply for registration of marriage when they plan to move out of India.

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 observed that child marriages are not practised (100%) in the district. But, the facts/statistics reveal quite the opposite results. In MP both the magistrates said (100%) that it is practised. In Tonk district of Rajasthan, the magistrate said that there are a few specific castes and communities that indulged in the practice of child marriage, whereas the Jaipur district magistrate maintained that many communities and castes indulged in the practice. In UP, there is no particular caste/community that practises child marriage, whereas in MP, one magistrate said child marriage was prevalent, while another magistrate refuted this statement.

The district magistrate from Tonk said that the preferred age for the marriage of boys is less than 21 and for girls it is below 18 years. In UP and MP, the district magistrates stated that the prevalent age for males is 21 and above and for females it is 18 and above.

Conclusions

- ◆ The prevalence of child marriage is a reality in all three states. The ages as identified in the areas studied is below 21 for boys and 18 for girls
- ◆ Individually, fewer people agreed with child marriage but admitted that their caste/community practises it. This explains to a great extent why the practice continues and how the collective consciousness subsumes the individual consciousness.
- ◆ The reported complaints against child marriages 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 may use 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 from the State of Rajasthan to be added in this section. Thus, the following sections highlight some government initiatives taken in UP and MP and analyze 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 against 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. The UP State Commission for Women was established 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 manner.

The Uttar Pradesh government has initiated the recruitment of Child Marriage Prevention Officers to implement the laws and policies relating to 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 fear. The government has made concerted efforts to establish easily accessible *thanas* at places where they are required most.

4.3.2 Madhya Pradesh

Despite the 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 a 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 2005, the Office of the District Probation Officer, Bhopal, was able to prevent the solemnization of 128 child marriages, and five FIRS were lodged with the police pertaining to child marriages. The office was also successful in forcibly stopping 62 child marriages; while another 62 such marriages were prevented after counselling the parents of the concerned minor boys and girls.

In 2006, 13 child marriages were prevented, 4,999 parents were given counselling against the evils of such marriages and 218 awareness campaigns were organized, with the participation of 7,773 people, to educate people about the evils of child marriage.

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 not 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 April 10, 2006, under which all district police chiefs have been instructed to maintain strict vigilance to prevent the occurrence of child marriages under the Anti Child Marriage Act.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREAS AND PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE STUDIED

5.1 Rajasthan

In Rajasthan, the study was carried out in 10 villages. Of these, five were selected from Jaipur District, namely, Saipura, Lali, Sainwal, Indergarh and Jamwa Ramgarh and the other five were selected from the Tonk District, namely Kachauliya, Rajpura, Hathgi, Ganwar and Lamba Hari Singh. The average population of the sample villages was within the range of 5000 to 8000.

Villages near urban centres, like Lamba Hari Singh of Tonk district and Saipura and 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 lower in these villages. An occupational shift was quite evident among the villagers as they abandoned their traditional roles of farming and rapidly selling their agricultural land or developing colonies on it. However, the main occupation of the villagers in the interiors continued to be agriculture.

As far as the religious origin of the villagers is concerned, 99.2% were Hindu and 0.8% Muslims. 48.8% of the villagers belonged to the SC/ST category, 22.4% were 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. Of these, five villages namely Bhagwanpur, Sir Govardhanpur, Shivdaspur, Susuahi and Chhasi were from the Varanasi district and Meerut district. The other five villages, namely Mator, Daurala, Bhoorbaral, Uplahara and Chhajapur were selected. The average population of these villages ranged from 6000 to 8000.

Two villages, Daurala and Bhoorbaral of Meerut 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 a few cases of child marriages were found. However, it was apparent that despite a high literacy level, they lacked awareness about the illegality of child marriage. Occupation-wise, most of the villagers were engaged in agriculture and allied activities, dairy and animal husbandry. People in the interior villages like Chhasi of Varanasi district were engaged in agriculture and other traditional roles. They lacked awareness of the meaning and consequences of child marriage. The literacy level was low and the community resisted any exposure to new ideology.

5.3 Madhya Pradesh

As in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, 10 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, and Sundarari from Shajapur district. The overall literacy rate in the 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 the remaining 0.4% followed other religions. Roughly 34.4% of the villagers belonged to the SC/ST category, 41.6% were OBCs and the remaining 2.4% belonged to other categories. The village Sunera is situated 15 kms away from Shajapur 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 Households (Family Members)

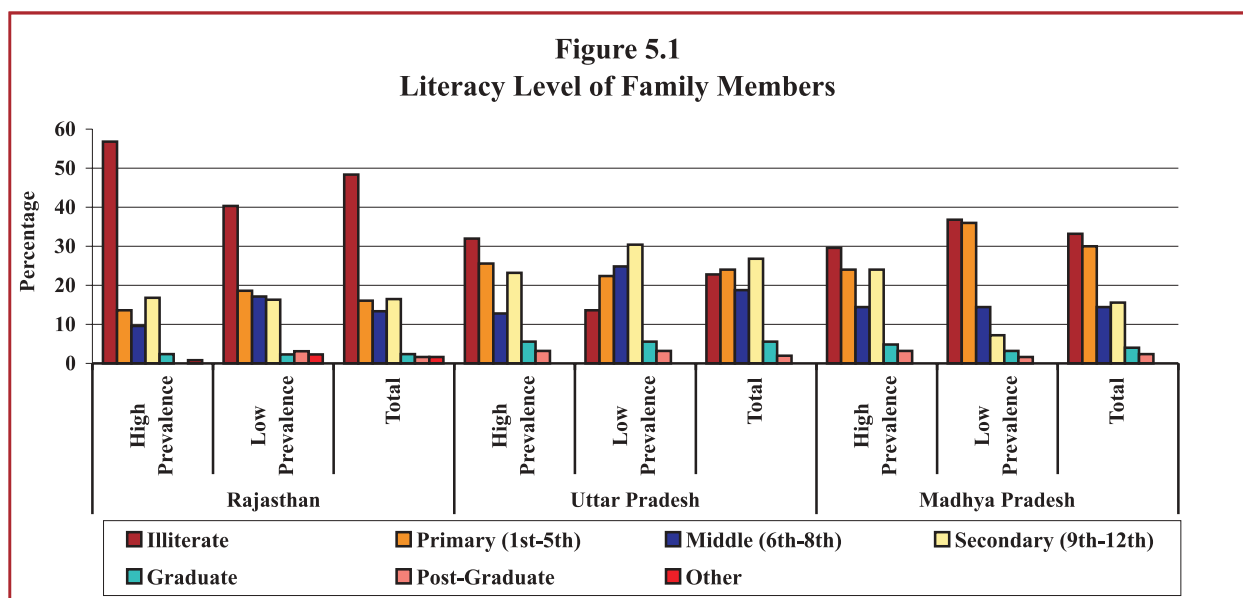
In UP, Rajasthan and MP, interviews were conducted with 250, 254 and 225 heads of households (family members) respectively. Amongst the respondents interviewed, 92.2% in Rajasthan, 87.2% in UP and 90% in MP followed the Hindu religion. A significant percentage of the respondents in all the three states of UP (39.6%), MP (34.4%) and Rajasthan (48.8%) belonged to the SC/ST category. Likewise, in MP, 41.6%, in UP, 19.6% and in Rajasthan, 22.4% of the respondents belonged to the 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 ones. Women's lack of freedom to speak could be one of the reasons for their 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 remaining 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, their numbers being 56.3%, 50.8% and 54% respectively. In UP, MP and Rajasthan, 90%, 94.4% and 96.9% of the respondents, respectively were married.

The occupational structure in all the three states depicted a trend towards urbanization that not only encroaches on the rural hinterland but also adversely affects rural life. The villagers were earlier either directly involved in agriculture and allied activities or had occupations that ensured the self-sufficiency of the village. However, with urban employment opportunities available in rural areas, villagers are now migrating to urban areas for several 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% from Jaipur were ‘cultivators’. It is also seen that, 28% from Tonk and 43 % respondents from Jaipur formed the other worker 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. A low literacy rate is usually a distinctive feature of most villages in the northern states. Rajasthan too is no exception to a low literacy rate. A sizeable percentage of the respondents, 48.4%, fell into the illiterate category and only 2-5% of the respondents had higher education. In UP, the analysis of the educational status of the sample showed that 26.8% had studied up to the secondary level (Class 9-12), while 24% had studied only up to the primary level (Class 1-5). In Bhopal district, 36.8% were illiterate, while 36% were educated up to the primary level. In Shajapur district, 29.6% of the respondents were illiterate and 24% had completed the primary level and secondary level. The educational level of the respondents is illustrated in the graph and table below: (Figure 5.1):



Source: Primary Survey

Village economies are typically labour intensive and favour large family sizes. Hence, the joint family system is a common feature of rural society. The traditional value system puts the onus of care of the elderly members, infirm relatives and the children of the family on the family itself. It is not unusual in villages to find several generations sharing the same roof and hearth. In Rajasthan, about three-quarters of the respondents (82% in Tonk district and 69% in Jaipur district) lived in the joint family set up.

Table 5.1**Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Educational Level**

States/Districts	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 (1-5)	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 (6-8)	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 (9-12)	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

In Varanasi, 60% of the respondents lived in joint families while 55.2% in Meerut district lived in a nuclear set-up. In Bhopal, 58.4% of the respondents had a joint family set-up while 41.6% lived in a nuclear family. In Rajasthan, the average family size in terms of children for about half the respondents at the state level was between 4-6 persons. In Jaipur district, the number of children per family among the respondents was higher, whereas in Tonk district, about half the respondents had less than 3 children. 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 revealed only a partial picture of their economic status, as the 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 an average family monthly income of less than or equal to Rs. 5000. Jaipur district of Rajasthan had about 18% of the respondents belonging to Rs. 5000-10000 income range. In MP, 51.6% of the respondents had incomes between Rs. 1000-3000.

The Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards are indicative of the economic status of any household. 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 district had BPL cards, while 88.8% in Meerut did not have 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 12 couples were identified and interviewed for the study. In Rajasthan and UP, 11 of the respondent couples were chosen, while in MP 10 respondent couples belonged to the Hindu community were identified. One couple each from Rajasthan and UP and two couples from MP belonged to the Muslim community. The sample at the Rajasthan state level had 50% representation of the SC/ST respondents. One-fourth of the respondents were from the OBC. Jaipur had two-thirds of the respondents from the SC/ST category with one each from the OBC and other category. Tonk had two respondents each from the various social categories.

In UP, 58.3% of the couples 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 the 13-18 year age group and one-third of the respondents were over 24, as compared to 50% in UP who were over 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% were graduates, while one-fourth had educational skills up to the primary level. Respondents from Tonk presented a better scenario in terms of their educational levels with 17% of the respondents being graduates and about 34% educated above the primary level. About 50% of the respondents in Jaipur district were illiterate. Of the remaining 50%, one-third were educated up to the primary level, one-third up to the middle level and the rest up to the secondary level.

Even in UP, low literacy rates were evident in the responses received from those interviewed. As many as 50% of those married below 18 claimed to be illiterate and 41.7% had studied only up to the primary level (Class 1-5). In Varanasi 62.5% of respondents were illiterate and in Meerut 75% had completed just the primary level.

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

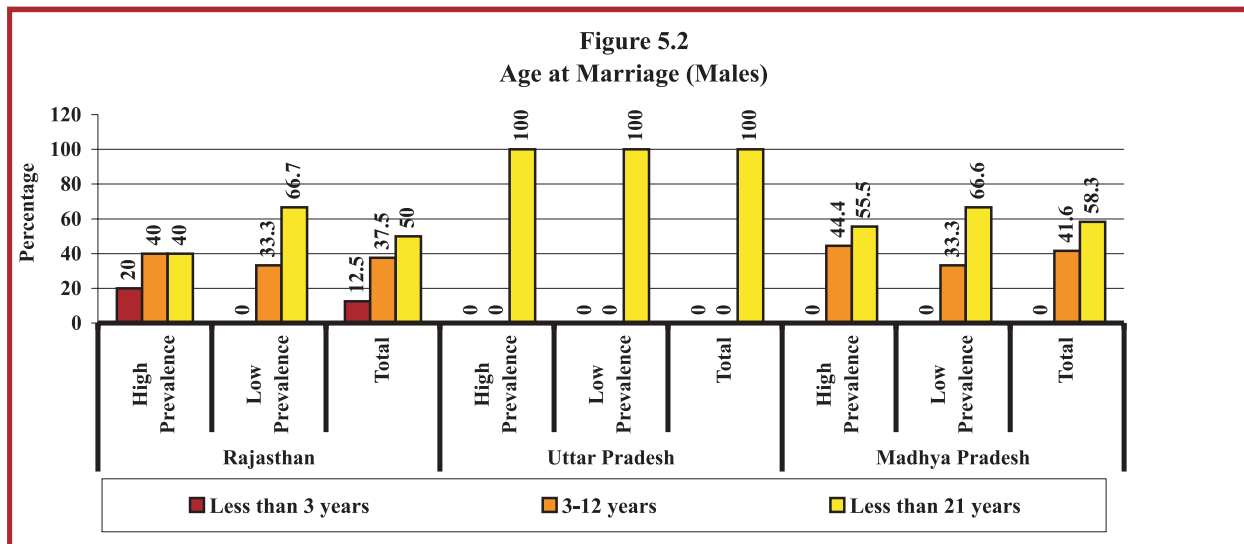
The low level of literacy and high prevalence of child marriage could be seen as a vicious circle. An early marriage limits the opportunities for education and self-development, whereas lack of education results in a stubborn mindset and ignorance of the ill effects of child marriage.

The 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 lived in a nuclear family set-up and in Jaipur, all the respondents lived in joint families. In MP, 83.3% of the respondents said that they belonged to a 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 engaged in non-agricultural economic activities. One-fourth of the respondents were non-workers and 17% were cultivators. A small percentage were involved in the household industry. In Tonk, two-thirds of the respondents were other workers. In Jaipur, about 50% of the respondents did not work.

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

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



Source: Primary Survey

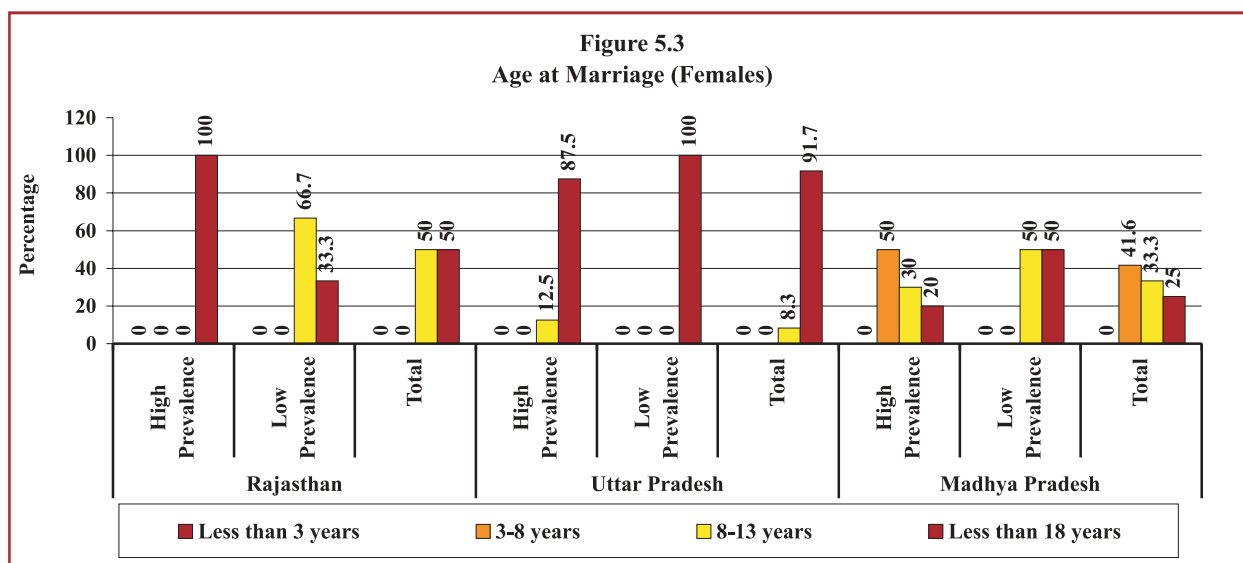
In Rajasthan, 37% of the male respondents married when they were below 12 and one was married when under 3 years of age. (Refer Annexure III, Schedule 2 Item 14.) Relatively speaking, male respondents from Tonk were married at a younger age. Tonk had 60% of such male respondents who were married when under 12 whereas Jaipur had one-third of male respondents who were married below 12 years of age.

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

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

In Rajasthan, 50% of the female respondents married between 8-13 years. Tonk had only one female respondent who was married below 18 years. Of the three female respondents from Jaipur, two were married when below 13 and one was married when she was under 18 years of age. In UP, 8.3% of the female respondents married when they were in the age group of 8-13 years. In Varanasi, 12.5% females 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, 30% between 8-13, and 20% were married when they were below 18 years. Similarly in Bhopal, 50% of the female respondents married when they were between 8-13 while the other 50% married when they were less than 18 years.



Source: Primary Survey

5.4.3 Profile of Panchayat Members

The study showed that 80% of the panchayat members interviewed in UP and MP, and 100% in Rajasthan were Hindus. About 60% of the 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-thirds of the respondents were above 50, while in Jaipur 37% of the respondents were below 30 years. In UP, 60% of the respondents were 50 and above, and 40% belonged to the middle-age group, 30-50 years.

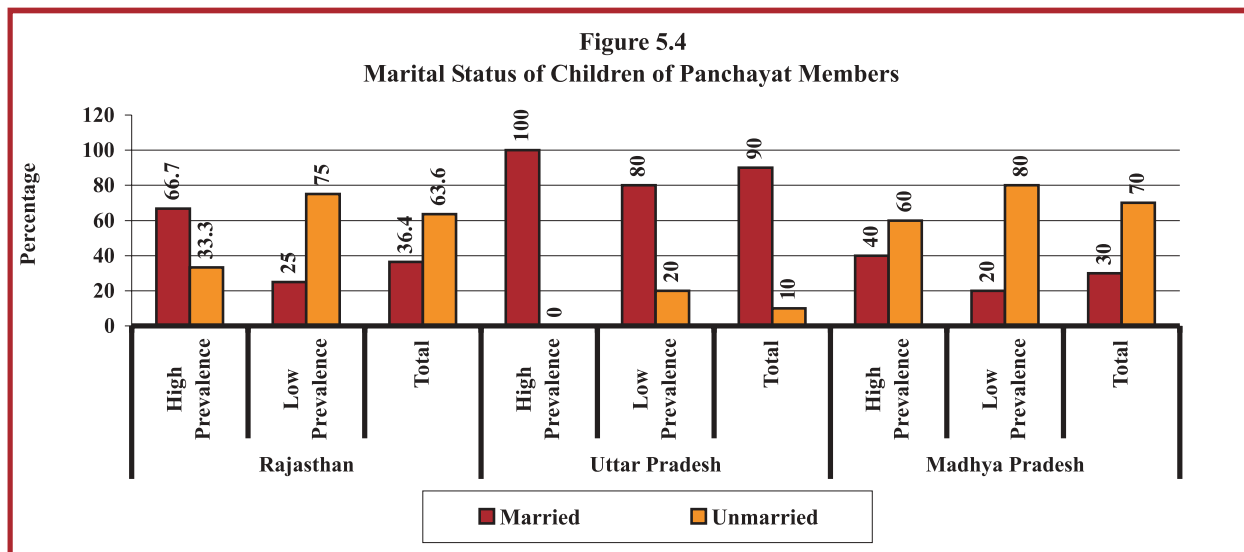
All the panchayat members interviewed in UP and MP were married while one third of the panchayat members in Rajasthan were still single.

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, of three respondents, two were educated till Class 12 and one was educated up to Class 5. Jaipur district had three respondents with educational skills above the senior secondary level. In UP, 60% of the respondents had studied up to the secondary level while 3 respondents (30%) had studied only up to Class 8. In MP, 30% of the panchayat members were illiterate, 30% had studied up to the secondary level and 20% had completed primary level education while only one respondent (10%) was a graduate.

In Rajasthan, the elected representatives at the local level of the sample 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 areas other 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 reflect

different 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 a higher percentage of young elected representatives as compared to Tonk that probably explains the reason for a 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 reported that their children were unmarried, 20% in Bhopal and 40% in Shajapur responded that their children were married.

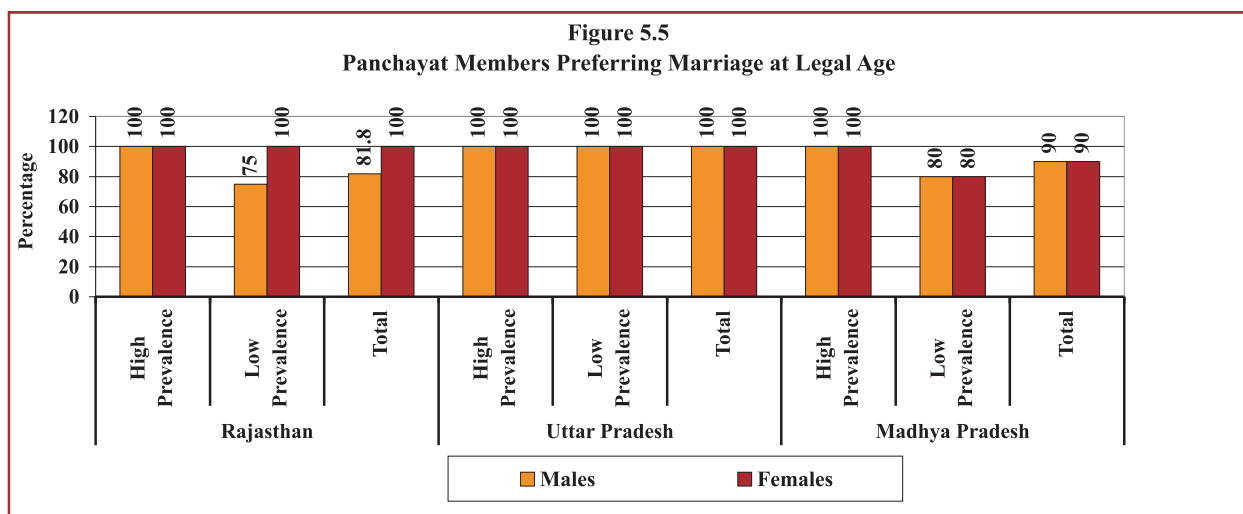


Source: Primary Survey

When asked about the right age at marriage for males, limited responses were received in Rajasthan. The political leadership desisted from making any politically incorrect statements. 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 but in contrast, all the respondents from Jaipur declared that males should marry before attaining the legal age of 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 any strong views that went against 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) stated that the right age for the marriage of girls should be over 18 years.

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

In MP, 100% of all the respondents in Shajapur believed that males should marry when they are above 21 years and females above 18 years. However, in Bhopal only 80% of the panchayat members preferred 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 castes and communities. In Shajapur, 80% said that their caste/community did not practise child marriage. In Varanasi district of UP, 60% of the panchayat members said that they practised child marriage in their own castes and communities and in Meerut a small 20% practise it. None of the respondents in Rajasthan and UP supported child marriage, whereas in MP, 20% supported it. In UP and MP, all the respondents said that Gram Panchayats exist mainly in the districts and in Rajasthan only a small percentage of the respondents reported the presence of a 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 affirmed that their organizations have been active for over 11 years. In UP, all the NGO respondents said that they had more than 20 staff members in their organization while in Rajasthan, about one-third had a staff strength of less than 5 people and the rest had 6-10 members of staff. In MP, 33.3% of the NGOs had a staff of 6-10 people whereas another 33.3% had 10-20 employees.

In UP, 83.3% of the NGOs worked on issues related to education and 83.3% on women and child development. In Rajasthan, the trends in both 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 focused on women and child development issues, 50% on health issues, and 33.3% on child rights.

It was interesting to learn about the various measures taken by the NGOs to handle incidences of child marriage in their areas of work. In UP, almost all the NGOs believed in proactive action and regularly organized counselling sessions and awareness campaigns on issues related to child marriage. In the two districts of Rajasthan, all the NGOs interviewed worked against the occurrence of child marriage in their areas by influencing and sensitizing the opinion leaders, and by engaging

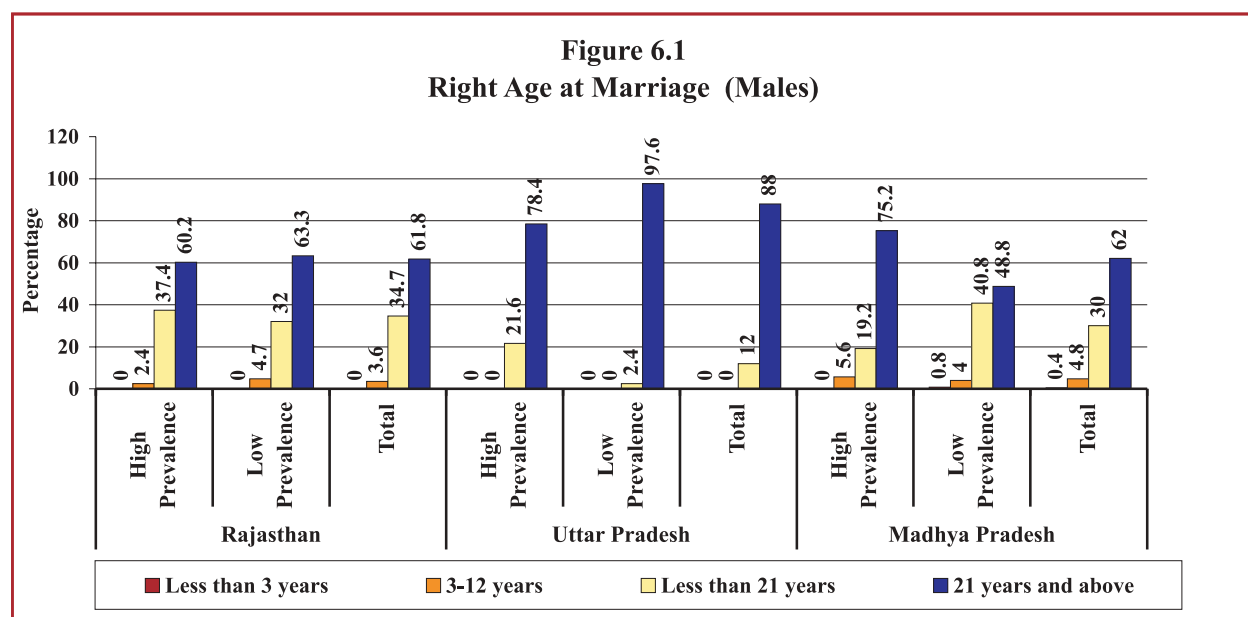
the law enforcement agencies. About two-thirds have also tried to convince parents conducting a child marriage. Likewise, in MP all the NGO respondents work on the issue of child marriage by meeting and convincing parents and other family members. Along with this, 66.7% of the NGOs in MP, coordinated with the police to stop occurrences of child marriage in the area and some 16.7% of NGOs try to stop the practice by speaking to opinion leaders.

ANALYSIS AND OUTCOME OF THE STUDY

6.1 Responses of Family Heads

In an effort to discover the main familial force behind child marriage, it was observed that in UP, the majority of respondents who have conducted a child's marriage were either the members of the child's immediate family or their relatives. About 34.4% of the respondents said that relatives of the child conducted the marriage and 25.6% noted that family members performed child marriages. 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. 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 did not agree with the legal age of marriage for girls. About 60% of the total sample population agreed that the legal age defined for marriage is the right age for the marriage of both boys and girls.

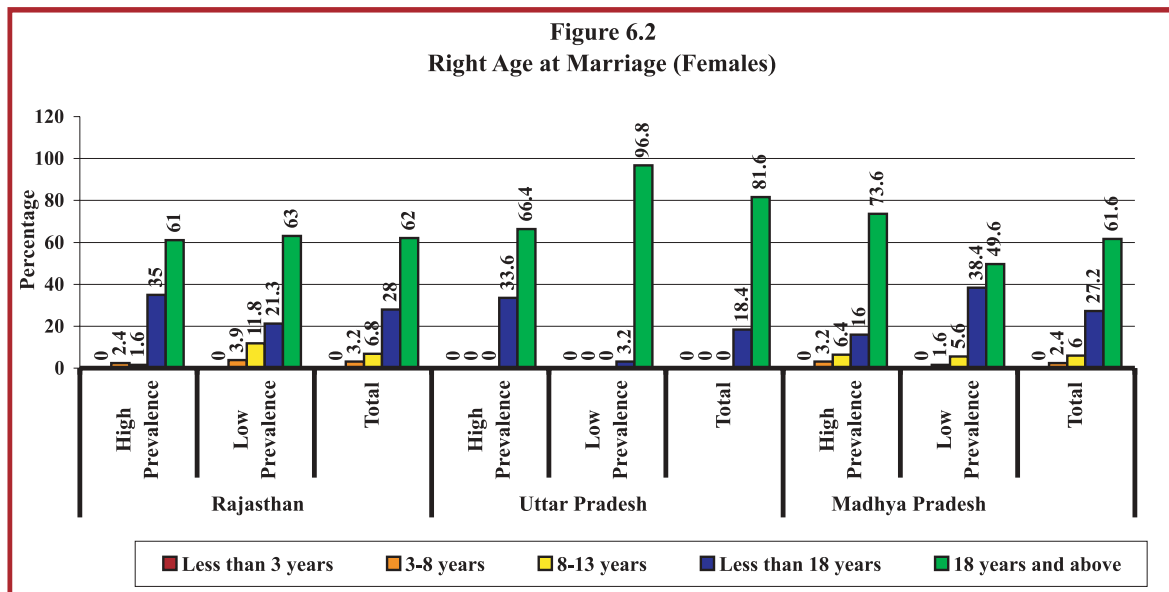


Source: Primary Survey

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, i.e. 21 years and above. But at the same time, 12% (21.6% in Varanasi) responded that boys must marry when they are below 21 years.

In Bhopal, only 48.8% of the respondents preferred the marriage of boys above 21, whereas in Shajapur, which shows a high prevalence of child marriages, 75.2% of the respondents wanted

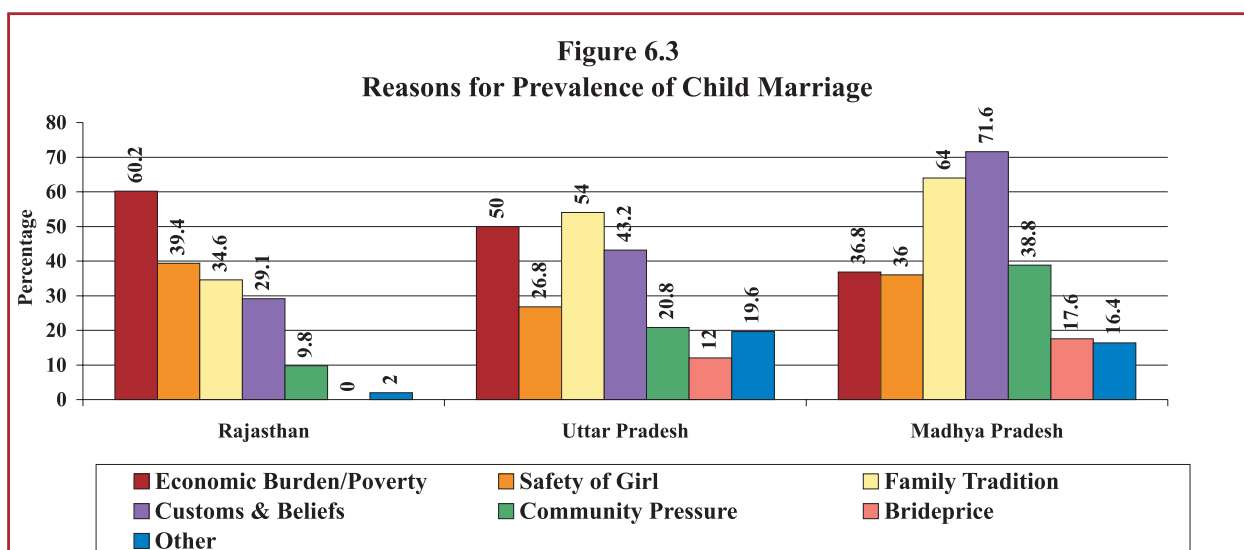
boys to marry after 21 years. In Bhopal, 0.8% wanted boys marry below 3 years, 4% said 3-12 years was the right age for boys and 40.8% prefer marriage for boys when they are below 21 years. In Shajapur, 5.6% prefer the marriage of males between 3-12 years while 19.2% wanted them to marry when they were under 21 years. Responses from people regarding the right age of marriage reflected that many preferred marriages of boys and girls when they were of the legal age of marriage. But, in reality boys and especially girls are forced into marriage at an early age.



Source: Primary Survey

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

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



Source: Primary Survey

As indicated in Figure 6.3, poverty and family traditions have emerged as the major cause for the continuation of this practice in all the study states. In Rajasthan, the economic burden, or poverty (60.2% of respondents) was the main cause for the practice of child marriage. Safety of the girl, customs, beliefs and community pressure were also considered contributing factors towards the continuation of the practice. In Uttar Pradesh, family tradition (54%) was the major reason for the prevalence of child marriage, followed by poverty (50%). In MP, 71.6% of the respondents attributed the existence of child marriage in the state to 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 maintained that the caste/community, to which they belong, practises child marriage. In UP, 89.6% of the respondents deny the practice, while 77.2% in MP still practise child marriages.

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

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

6.2 Responses of those Married Below 18 Years

Respondents who were victims of child marriage were probed to share their views on their understanding of 'marriage' at the time of their own marriages. About two-thirds said that for them marriage was a time to celebrate. When they married, they did not understand what that entailed. They participated in their marriage ceremony thinking of it as a celebration, an occasion to be enjoyed. For some, the marriage meant being the centre of attraction and enjoying a privileged position without realizing its consequences.

In UP, to 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 wear new clothes. At the district level, in Varanasi, for 87.5% marriage meant celebrating a festivity and for 62.5% it meant being the centre of attraction. On account of their immaturity, they were unable to realize that they were being married off and they believed it to be a festival or some other occasion. In MP, for 58.3% of the respondents, marriage meant an occasion to wear new clothes and for 41.6% it meant celebrating a festivity.

A 12-year-old illiterate boy from the study village in Shajapur district, was married three years ago. The reason he married, 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 married in the previous year on Akshaya Tritiya. Initially, he was not prepared to talk to the investigator. But later, on the pretext of a joyride on a bike he agreed to talk.

He confessed that he did not know anything about marriage and had still not met his wife. He knew only that she would come to his house after the *gauna*, which would take another 2-3 years. He mentioned that his mother wanted to get his wife home so that she could help her with the chores. It was his father and uncle who took him to the neighbouring town and bought him some new clothes, shoes and sweets. They told him that he would be married in a few days and all of them would go to the neighbouring village in a *baraat* and there they would eat a lot. He was excited by the idea and agreed to whatever he was told. Later, they took him to the temple and informed him that if he ran away from the marriage or if he went off to play on that day then *Bhagwan* (God) would get angry. Subsequently, he was a married man, even before he could understand the meaning of the word marriage.

When the investigator wanted to talk to Kamal Kishore's parents, they initially declined to speak. They were aware that people from the city come to the village nowadays and they denounced these marriages. After much persuasion they agreed to talk to the investigator. When asked about the early marriage and the demerits of child marriage, they said that they too were married in childhood. They questioned the investigator: 'What is wrong with our lives? We are happy with our children.' They asked the investigator why he was involved in their affairs. They also asked him why he was not yet married.

When probed further, most respondents who were married before 18 revealed that they had not wanted to marry so early. In Rajasthan, 83.3% revealed that they were not interested in getting married so early, while 50% of the respondents in Varanasi wanted to marry early. Likewise, in Meerut district, 50% wanted an early marriage. In Bhopal, all the respondents affirmed that they did not want to marry so early, and in Shajapur, 71.4% agreed.

The state and district-wise data is shown below for a clear view of the responses of those married below 18 years:

Table 6.1
Did They Want to Marry Early?

States	Yes		No		Responses Received	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
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

Being young and immature the respondents were unable to make any decisions on their own. The parents of these children had the decision-making power with regard to their children's marriages. At an age when children need to go to school and play, they were given the title of husband and wife, which resulted in lack of freedom and development, especially for girls.

Child marriages are solemnized at an early age when the child does not have the capacity to differentiate between right and wrong and is also unaware 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 or her life. It is almost a norm in the Indian social system that as long as a child is under his or her parents' care, it is the parents' prerogative to take important decisions regarding their child's life. 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% claimed that they were not forced to get married while in Varanasi 50% of the respondents confirmed that they were forced. Surprisingly, in both the districts of MP, all the respondents averred that they were forced to marry.

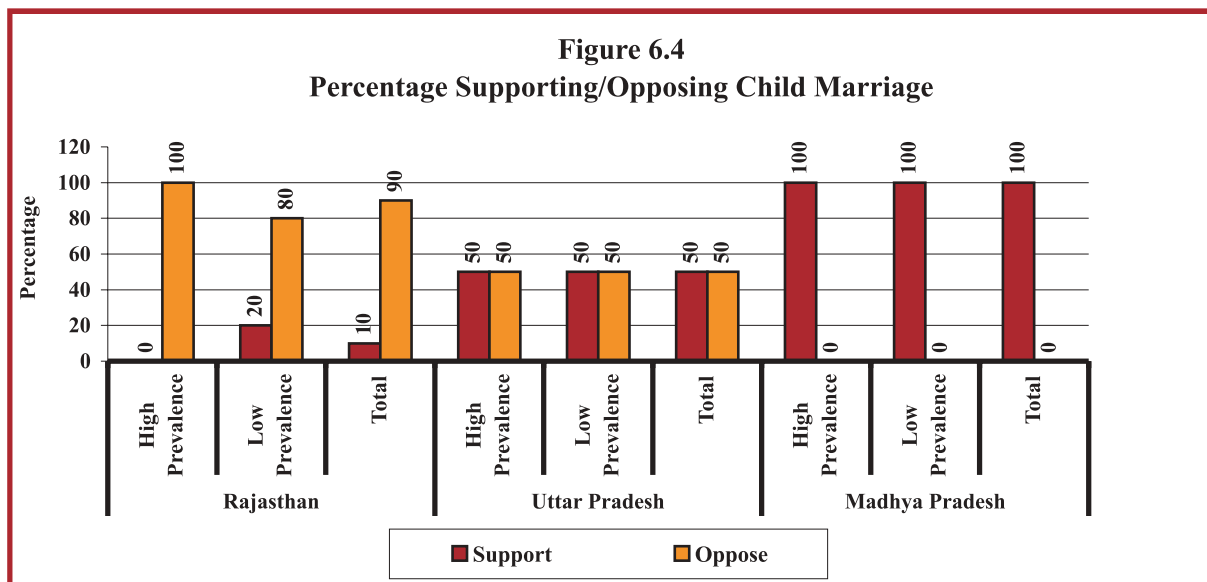
Among the parents, it was the father who imposed his will on the family. In occasional cases, mothers also initiated a child marriage. In UP, 41.7% of the respondents said that the father had forced the marriage while an equal number of respondents observed that relatives also had an equal hand in forcing the marriage. In Varanasi district, all the respondents revealed that the father had forced the marriage, whereas in Meerut 80% mentioned that it was the father while 20% maintained that relatives forced the marriage.

A typical feature of the child marriage practice in Rajasthan is that after the marriage ceremony the bride is not usually sent to her in-law's house immediately. Only one respondent from Tonk stated that the bride was sent to her marital home on the wedding day. Others claimed that it is some time after the marriage – usually when the girl is considered mature enough to handle the household chores, which is generally considered to be after she attains puberty. In UP, 75% of the respondents in both Varanasi and Meerut were sent to the matrimonial home on the wedding day. In MP, 83.3% said that they were sent to the matrimonial home after a few days/ months of marriage and 16.6% were sent on the wedding day.

In Rajasthan, over 50% of the respondents admitted that the practice of child marriage was followed in their families. In Jaipur district 66.7%, and in Tonk 50% repeated this. In UP all the respondents said that child marriages were practiced in their families. Even in MP all the people interviewed agreed.

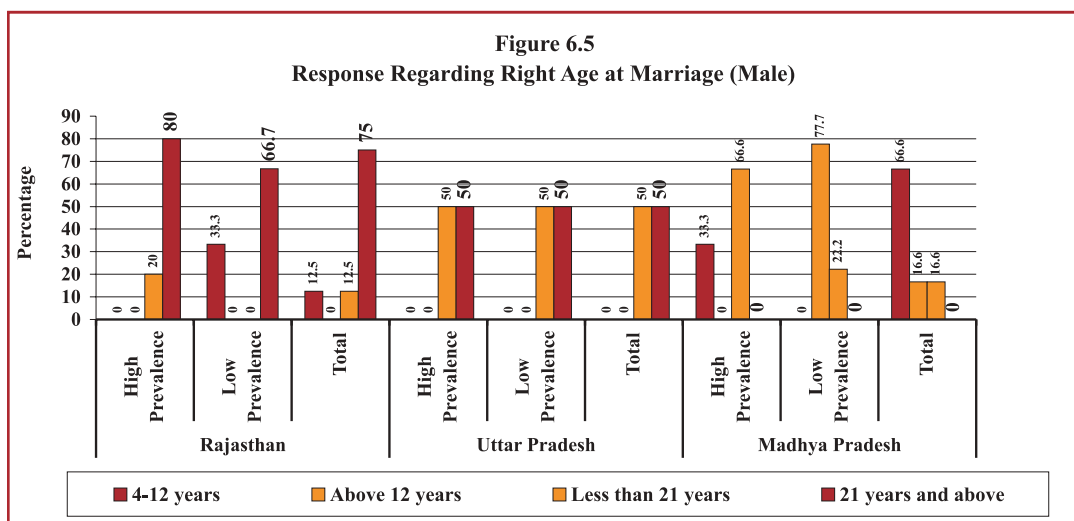
A large proportion of respondents who had themselves undergone marriage as children were against the idea of child marriage. But there are some among them who supported the idea. More respondents from Tonk district than from Jaipur subscribed to this idea. Those against the practice felt that early

marriage had married 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 (male and female) from both the districts said that they supported child marriage.

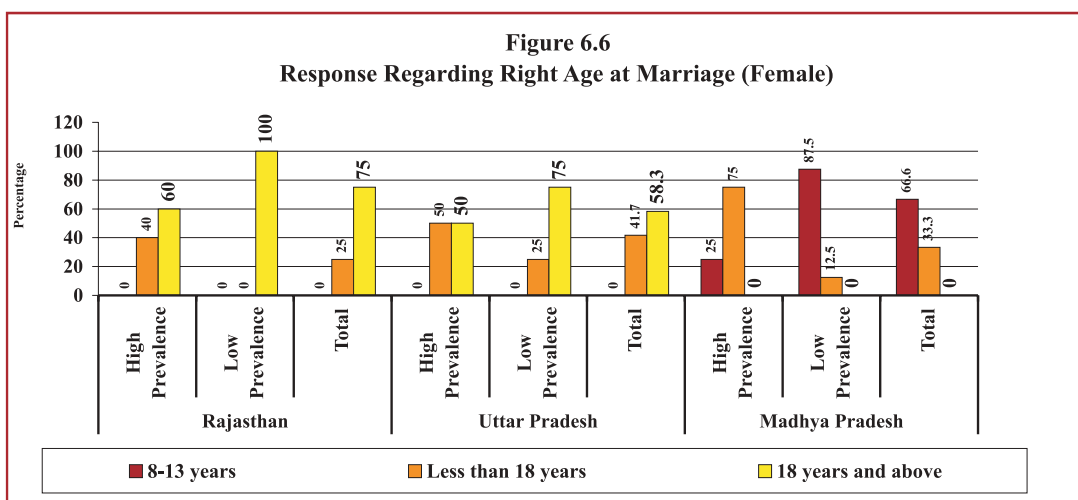


Source: Primary Survey

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 was advisable. About one-fourth of the male population who themselves were married early held this view. Interestingly, all female respondents believed that males should marry only after they were 21 years. About three-fourths of the male respondents believed that girls should marry after reaching the legal age. From Tonk district of Rajasthan, 40% of the male respondents believed that girls should marry early. All female respondents from both districts agreed that the girls should marry after attaining the legal age. These particular tables related to the perception of the respondents regarding the right age for marriage of boys and girls indicate 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 below 21 while 50% want them to marry after 21 years. In Varanasi, 50% of the respondents said that they preferred girls to marry when they are below 18 years. District-wise, in Meerut, 87.5% prefer girls to marry between 8-13, with 25% in Varanasi agreeing with this. In Meerut, 25% prefer girls' to marry when they are below 18 years. The respondents in MP had a different view and preferred 4-12 as the marriageable age for boys, while 16.6% want them to marry after the age of 12 and 16.6%, below 21 years. Regarding the right age for marriage for girls, 66.6% preferred their marriage between 8-13 years.

Early Marriage Not Desired: Case Studies

The real life story of 16-year-old girl in the study area of Varanasi as narrated by highlights the resentment of many girls forced into marrying so early in life. 'I belong to a family with five daughters and no sons. My family is very poor and I am the eldest daughter. At the time of the incident, I was in Class 8. One of my relatives brought a proposal to my guardians regarding my marriage. The bridegroom was 29 years old and it was his second marriage. His first wife had died because of some serious disease two years earlier. As they weren't demanding dowry, the proposal was accepted without asking my consent. I wasn't in a position to resist and I felt helpless, as my mother also did not support me. I wanted to continue my studies up to matriculation and I wanted to marry only after the age of 18-19 years. I needed the help of someone who could make my parents understand my thinking.

Fortunately, someone from our community mentioned my predicament to an organization. They made enquiries with the help of the police but couldn't meet me because of my parents' refusal. On the eve of my marriage, which occurred on June 2, 2006, they came and opposed it. But as it was taking place in the local temple, the people from our community supported my parents and the marriage was completed in a hurry.

After the marriage, members of the voluntary organization carried out an inquiry with the help of the police. My real age was concealed by my parents but when asked, I related the actual story and refused

to go with my husband. With their efforts, my husband and his family members also agreed to delay the *bidai*, which was postponed, and because of fear of punishment they accepted my proposal for me to stay in my own home till I reached adulthood. I faced ostracism from my relatives and parents but today I feel happy that my younger sisters will not suffer the similar fate from child marriage.”

This is an interesting case study of a 21-year-old boy from UP, who narrated his story of being forced by his parents to marry early, but succeeded in avoiding the trap of early marriage. “My parents blackmailed me emotionally and fixed my marriage for June 14, 2006. I could not lodge a complaint to the police, because my parents said that they would immolate themselves if I tried to escape the marriage. So I contacted my friends in Maharashtra, who told me about a few social organizations. I wrote a letter to one of these organizations and explained that I was interested in marrying a girl of my choice after getting a good job. My parents could not understand this simple thing and they wanted to sacrifice my career for their so-called prestige in society. The organization understood my situation and supported me the way I wanted. With the help of the media and the police they succeeded in having my marriage cancelled. My family members and I also escaped from being trapped in the web of unwanted child marriage.”

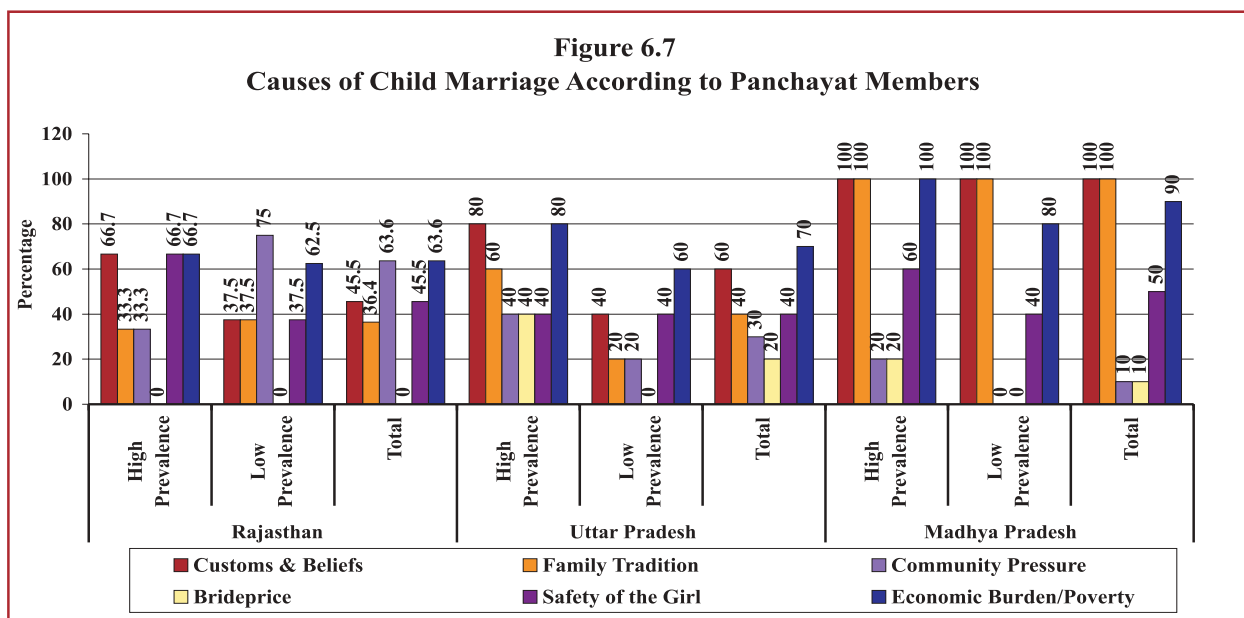
Another girl from a village in the study area in Bhopal said that she was 18 years old though she appeared to be 15 years of age to the investigator. She said that she was 13 at the time of marriage and was studying in Class 8. But she could not go to school after marriage as the village where she lived after marriage did not have a school. She claimed that she did not know anything about marriage and her mother had told her that she was very young at the time of marriage and she was held in the lap for the rituals of marriage. The same was the case with her elder sister and her father said that 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 had been allowed to study, she would have cleared Class 10 or 12. She now understands that if a girl is allowed to study rather than being forced into a marriage, she would have been independent and this would give her to a better life. She had also realised that a husband and a married life is not a guarantee for a happy life. She questions as to what would happen to her if something happened to her husband tomorrow? She told the investigator that it is good that the government is now taking steps to stop child marriages. This would save many girls from being entrapped in early unwanted marriage and give them the choice to avail of education and lead independent life.

6.3 Responses of the Panchayat

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

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

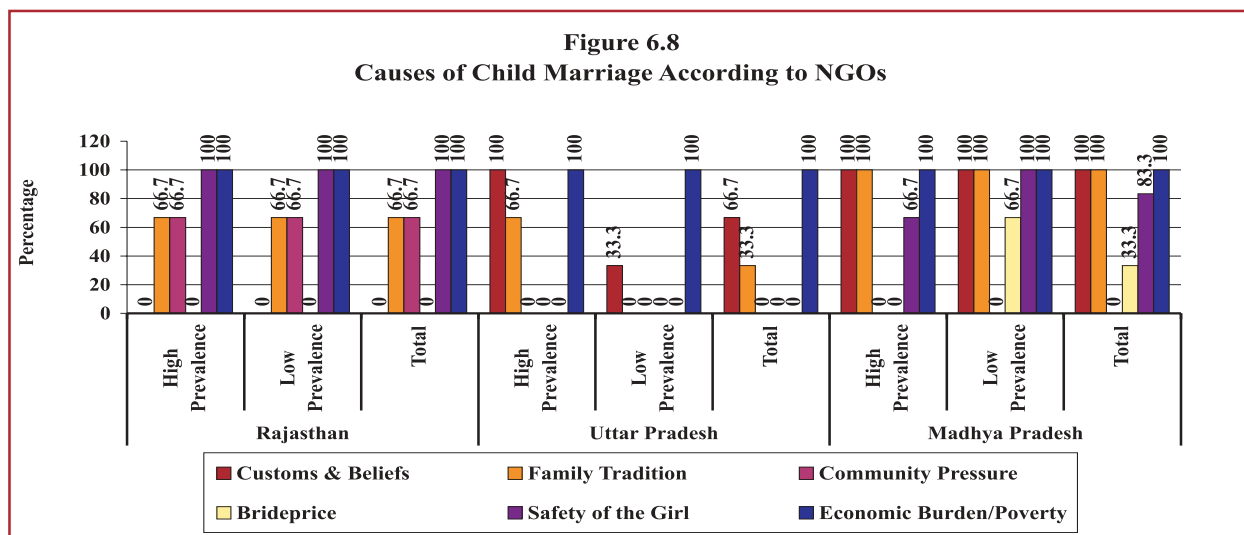


Source: Primary Survey

For 45% of the respondents in Rajasthan, safety of the girl child, strong customs and beliefs were earmarked as reasons for the high incidence of child marriages in the state. Similar reasons of girls' 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 bride price 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 NGOs

In both Rajasthan and UP, the NGOs working in the field unanimously assign poverty and safety of the girl child as the causes for the continuation of the practice of child marriage.



Source: Primary Survey

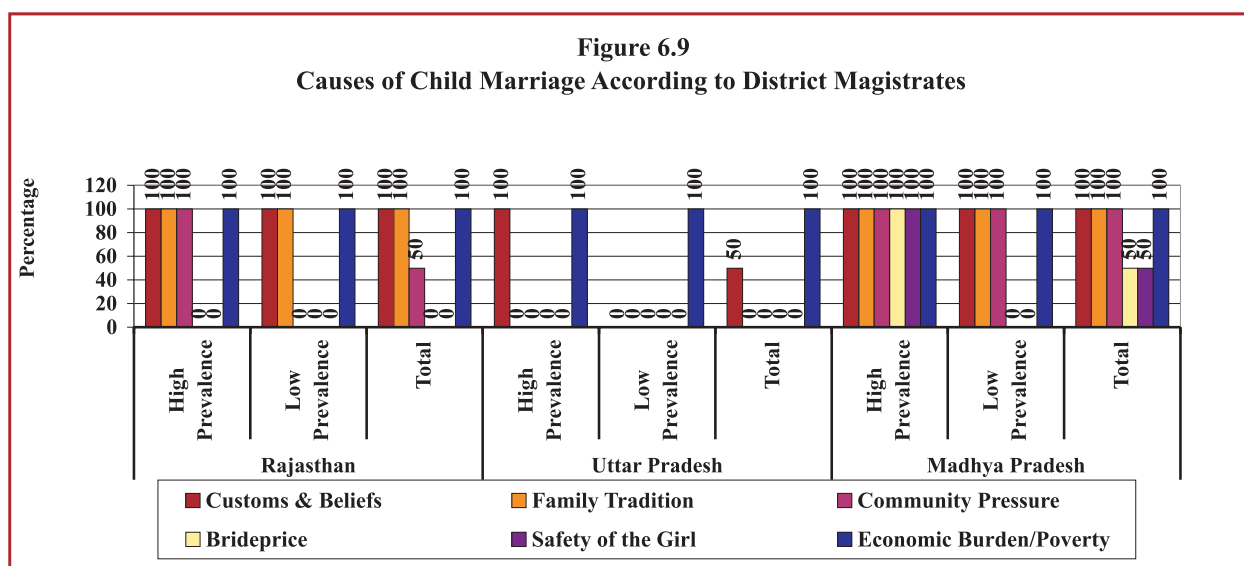
According to NGO respondents in Rajasthan, community pressure (66.7%) and family tradition (66.7%) were also the reasons for child marriage. In UP, 66.7% of NGO respondents stated that customs and beliefs also contribute towards the existence of the custom of child marriage.

In MP, all the respondents from NGO maintained that customs and beliefs, family tradition, poverty/economic factors are the major reasons for the continuation of child marriage in the area. Nearly 83.3% said that girls' safety is also a reason while 33.3% pointed out that bride price contributed to the persistence. (Refer Annexure III, Schedule 3, Item Table 16.) The graph (Figure 6.8) illustrated above highlights the same:

6.5 Responses of the District Magistrates

The District Magistrates (DM) of all six districts from all the states held customs, beliefs, family tradition and poverty as responsible for the practice and continuity of child marriage in the modern age despite 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, bride price, 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 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 the twelve villages of the 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 children and youth and the 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 and girls have different roles and hence there cannot be gender equality.	Broader perspectives but have to submit to social norms.	Women in Jaipur seek a greater role in society, but women in Tonk accept their subjugation. They do not seek a greater role.
Need for Child Marriage Act	Laws should be framed after consultation with local residents to respect sentiments. People in Tonk felt government intervention in essentially private matters was not justified.	In Jaipur the youth agree with the law but state that owing to its poor implementation, child marriages continue. But in Tonk they favour the practice.	–
Consent of boys/ girls for marriage	They feel that in children's marriage, parents are the best judges, hence no consent is necessary. In Jaipur, it was said that since marriage takes place at the legal age consent would be good.	In Jaipur the youth say that consent is very important.	–
Widow Remarriage	Widows enter into <i>nata</i> relationship or remarry the brother of the deceased.	In Jaipur youth are in favour of remarriage, but at Tonk, a <i>nata</i> relationship is 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 and 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.

Issues	Parents/Parents-in-Law	Youth	Women/NGOs
Impact on Health of the Girl	The general concern in both Jaipur and Tonk was that childbirth at a young age was preferable and less complicated than at an 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 an early 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 the persistence of child marriage in society, its effect on children and the extent of their awareness about the prevalent laws and punishment for child marriage.

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

Issues	Parents/Parents-in-law	Youth
Causes of Child Marriage	Customs, traditions and beliefs, safety of girls and daughters are a burden. They see no reason to question or oppose it.	Family pressure, economic reasons, poverty, gender discrimination. The youth opposes child marriage. According to them, children were being pressurized by parents/guardians for early marriages.
Effects of Child Marriage	They admit to some negative impact on girls' health, but women in the group defended early marriage and childbirth stating they were non-the-worse for 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 opportunities 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 levels. • 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 the District Magistrates of Varanasi and Meerut to ascertain the administration's views on hurdles that confronted the implementation of the 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 play a key role in fighting against child marriages, but required the support of groups and the community. These issues are personal and people do not want to interfere in other people's family lives. In families where child marriage takes place, witnesses are rarely found. Narrating an incidence, the DM mentioned that the district had seen a few cases of protest against child marriages. The police had given full support to the protestors. Awareness generation through media, schools and colleges with the help of the 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' were adequate 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

The District Magistrate of Meerut confirmed that during the past eight months no child marriage had taken place. He views child marriage as illegal and an offence equal to other offences. People who are 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 performed in a few regions and communities but in a camouflaged manner and he is trying to trace them and handle the situation. According to him, the provisions of the Act are sufficient to curb child marriages provided people support the administration, as combating violence against children cannot be done in isolation. He advocates, that in our society, with its complexities of class, religion and ethnicity, it necessitates the participation of the community and groups to fight these incidents.

He convenes meetings with government officials connected with Child Development as DPOs, CDPOs and BDOs and evaluates the effect of the enforcement of various laws.

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

FGDs were conducted in two districts of Madhya Pradesh. According to the RCH-RHS, 1998-99 data, Shajapur had a high rate of prevalence of child marriage (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 districts of Shajapur and Bhopal.

FGDs were conducted in Chandukedi village in Bhopal which has a low prevalence of child marriage. The participants were drawn from the tribal areas of Bhopal. Fifteen Hindu tribals were present in the discussion that 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 9 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 4 women were housewives. One man was a farmer, another 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 an area with 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 an 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.
Age of Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 15-16 years is the ideal age to marry. • Poverty and economic considerations pushed people to perform early marriages. Joint marriage of siblings to save expenses resulted in minors getting married with older children/daughters • In Shajapur, some participants noted that the ideal age for marriage is 18-21 years for boys and girls, as 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 campaigns. • Education of people including universalization 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.

Issues	Responses
Knowledge Regarding Laws against Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal action against the villagers who do not follow the rules. • Panchayats could curb the practice and also promote social awareness on this issue. • Government should stop all assistance to the families who practise child marriage. • 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 pertaining to legal age.
Opinions on Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two respondents were supportive of child marriages because according to one person they were not harmful to society and so should continue. Also, it takes away the responsibilities. • Two respondents from the Muslim community were against the practice. • Most respondents are against the practice but societal pressure forces them to follow the custom.
Causes of Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 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-practising families belong to different tribes and each of them has a tendency to believe 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 they were not only less expensive than adult marriages, but easier to conduct and so they preferred it. Some of the FGDs indicate that several people consider child marriage as the best way to get rid of the responsibilities of their child/children by handing 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 the ill will of society.

It was found that in Bhopal, Jaipur, Meerut and Varanasi, people were comparatively more aware and better adjusted to child marriage. Despite this, many people in these districts regarded it as a customary part of the society in which they lived, 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.

LEGAL AWARENESS AND MEASURES

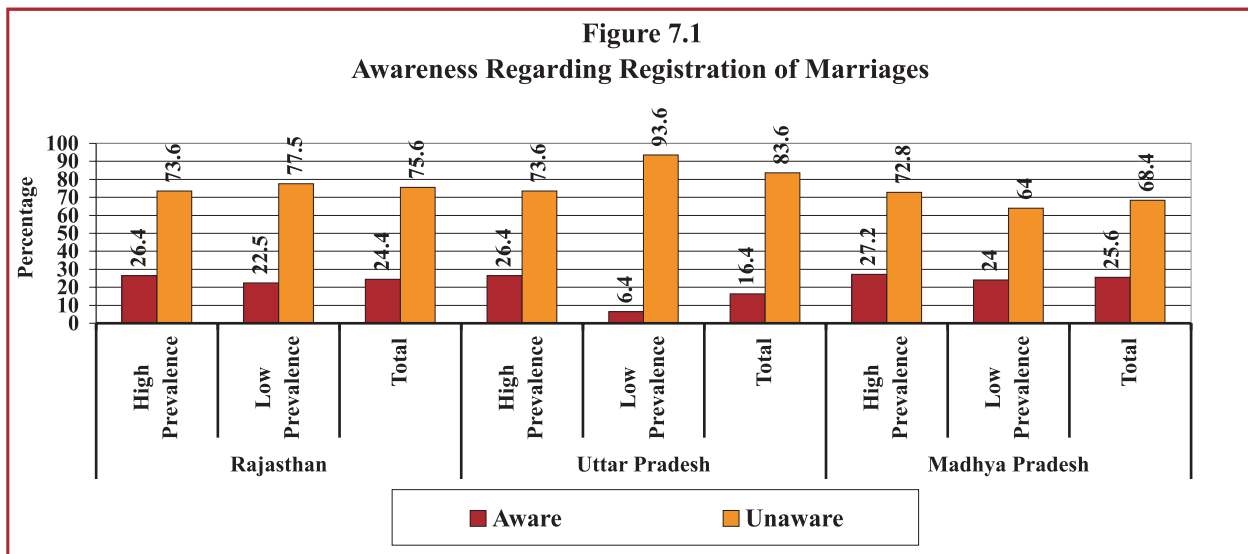
The awareness quotient of the general population with regard to child marriage laws and an analysis of legal measures and initiatives taken by the law enforcing authorities, such as district administration, police, panchayat and the NGOs to curb this social evil were ascertained and the data analyzed as under:

7.1 Community Initiatives: Panchayat and Family Head

7.1.1 Responses of the Family Head

The level of awareness regarding registration of marriages was 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 of the legal practice of marriage registration. In Rajasthan, only about three-fourths of the population in the villages were aware of marriage registration.

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



Source: Primary Survey

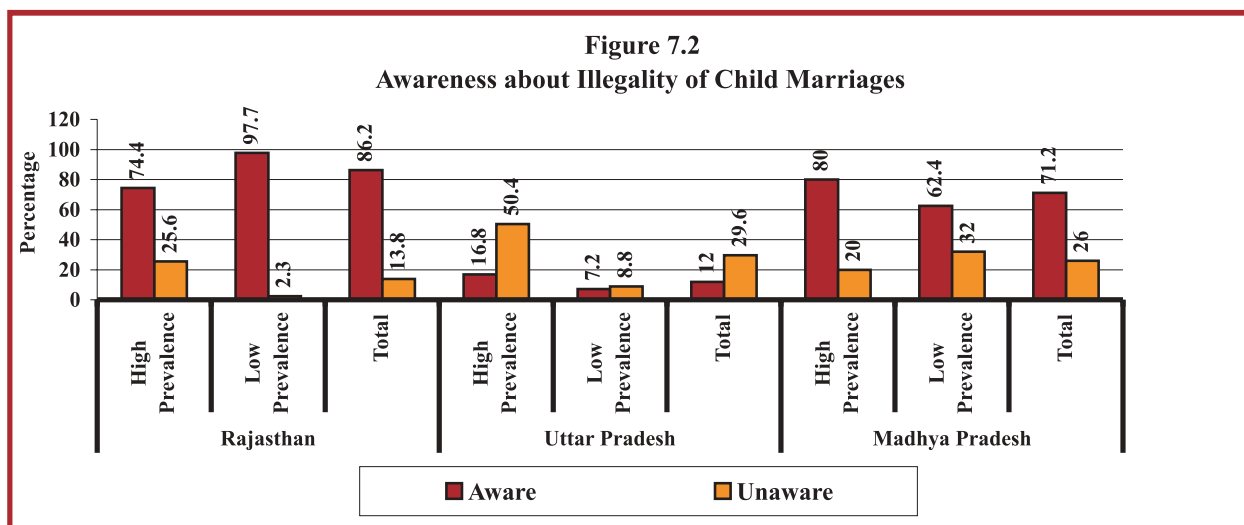
None of the 148 respondents in UP got their children's marriages registered owing to sheer ignorance regarding the laws on marriage registration. However, in Rajasthan the situation was marginally better with 4% of the respondents registering their children's marriages. Likewise in MP, only

2.8% had registered their children's marriages. In the low prevalence area (Bhopal) none of them had registered marriages while in Shajapur 5.6% had registered their children's marriages.

Marriages performed by religious rituals are recognized by the family and society and hence people do not feel the need to formally register them. They may just opt for registration if it is required to fulfil emigration formalities. A religious ceremony in the presence of friends and relatives is considered sufficient to provide validity to a marriage.

As far as awareness about the illegality of child marriages is concerned, respondents in 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 of the illegality of child marriage. In MP, 71.2% of respondents were aware of the illegality of the practice. 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 set back to curbing the practice of child marriages in all the three states under study.



Source: Primary Survey

When asked about the efforts made by the respondents to stop a child marriage from occurring, 34.8% of the respondents in UP replied negatively. In Rajasthan, a few people from Jaipur reported some attempts to stop child marriages occurring in their villages. About 12% of the respondents from Tonk said that there were some attempts made to thwart child marriages being performed in their villages. In MP, 60.8% of respondents said 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 the desire not to get involved in the 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.

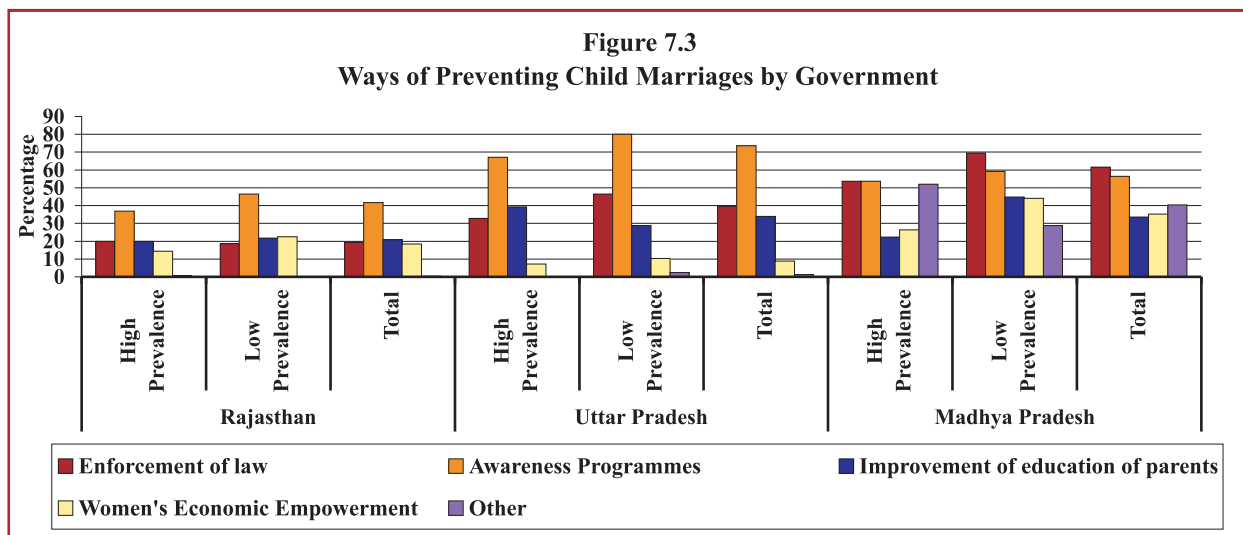
In UP, a meagre 2.4% of the respondents said that the community took action in preventing child marriage and 1.2% of the respondents reported that NGOs existing in the area took initiatives.

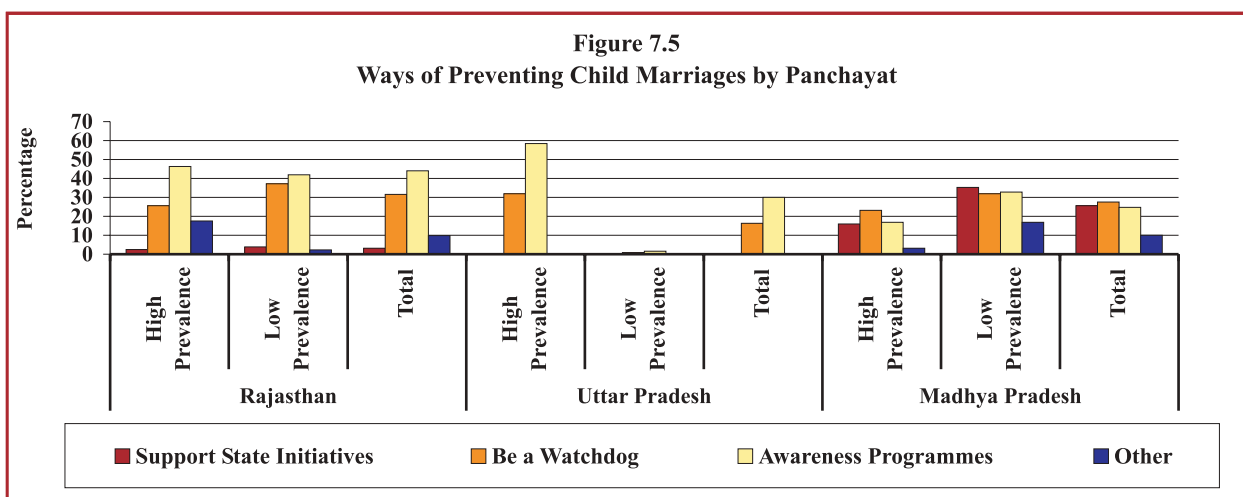
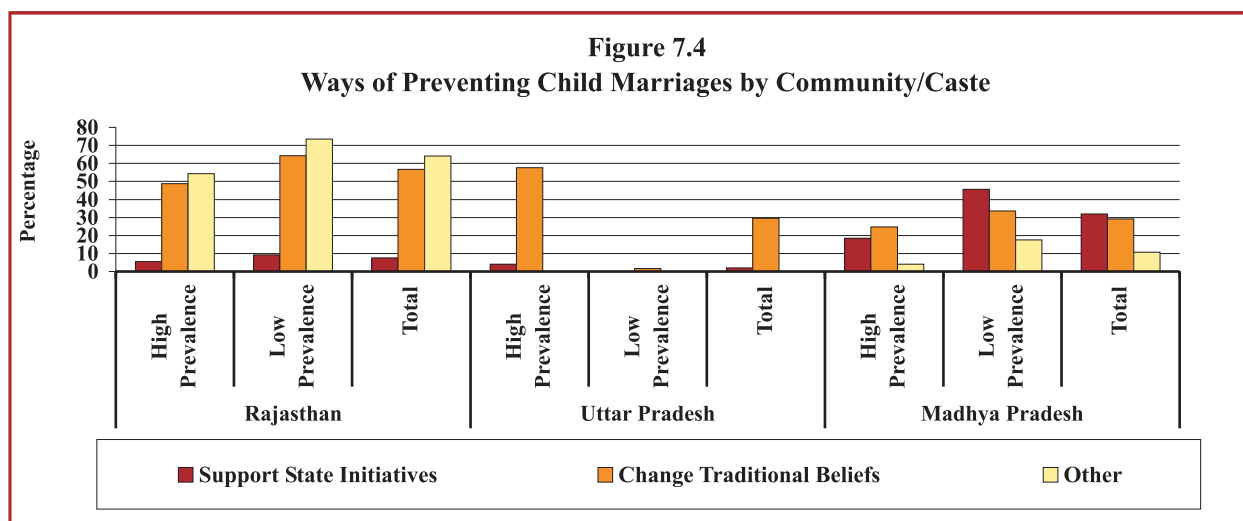
In Rajasthan, all the respondents from Tonk said that the sarpanch had been instrumental in stopping child marriages in their village. Police also helped in some cases. However, only a small number of child marriages

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. The police have also been supportive. In UP, the community and NGOs have been helpful to some extent and in MP, the sarpanch, panchayat members, NGOs and the police have helped in preventing child marriage in small ways

have been prevented by the efforts of district magistrates, child marriage prevention officers and social workers. In Jaipur, half the respondents affirmed that NGOs and social workers have been active in preventing child marriages from occurring in their village. In MP, 1.2% said that the sarpanch and an NGO had helped to act against child marriages.

Responding to 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. In UP 39.6%, in MP 61.6% and 20% in Rajasthan said that proper enforcement of the law would act as a deterrent for people who arrange the marriage of minor children. In addition, 34% in UP, 33.6% in MP and about 20% in Rajasthan stressed the need for educating and sensitizing parents about the problems associated with early marriages, and felt that the practice could be aborted. About 18% of the respondents in Rajasthan and 35.2% in MP feel that efforts for empowerment of women would reduce this problem.





Source: Primary Survey

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

7.1.2 Responses of the Panchayat Members

It was interesting to know that 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.

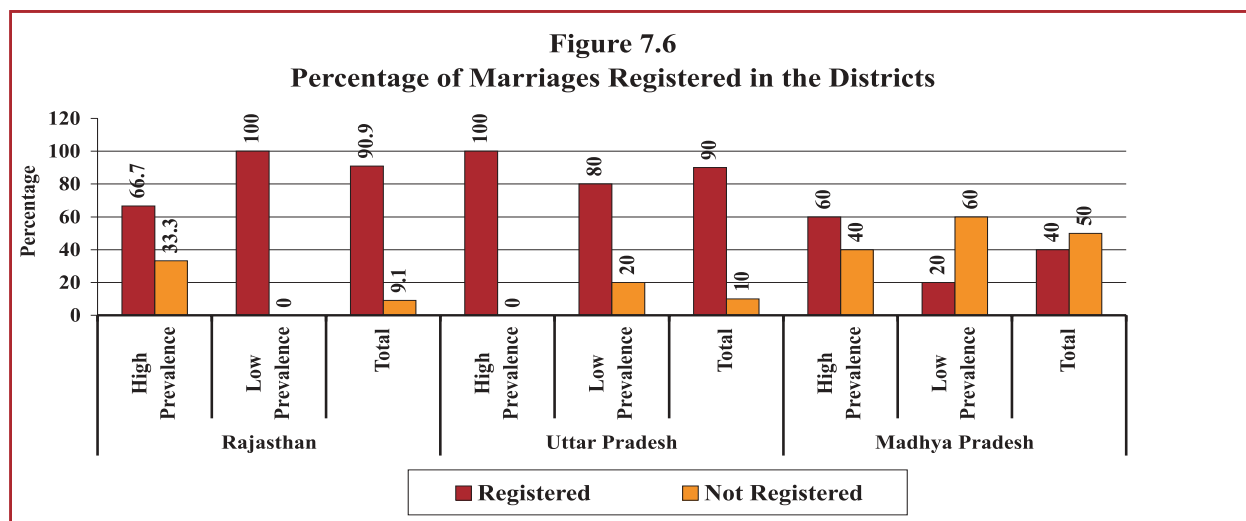
Table 7.1
Awareness about the Law that Prohibits Child Marriages

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%
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 of the 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 child marriage incidence. Similar responses were received from the panchayat members of Rajasthan. In MP, 90% of the respondents vouched for the effectiveness of the present state of the law.

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



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. In Rajasthan, a large proportion (82% in Jaipur and 67% in Tonk) said district CMPOs are present. In Shajapur district of MP, all the respondents (100%) said that there are CMPOs present in their district, while only 60% in Bhopal said so.

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 declined in the villages.

Panchayat members claim that child marriage incidences have declined as a result of the initiatives taken by them. All the three study states support this view

On their initiatives to tackle the problem of child marriage, an overwhelming number of respondents from Rajasthan said that they have not received any substantial help from any of the institutions in their efforts to stop the marriages. Contrastingly, in both UP and MP, 80% of the respondents said that they received help from other panchayat members, NGOs, community and ICDS functionaries.

About 60% in UP and 80% in MP mentioned that they have not been given any orientation on social issues like child marriage. In Rajasthan, about two-thirds of the respondents observed that they received orientation programmes related to such social issues. Both the Rajasthan districts substantiate the trend. In Varanasi and Meerut, 40% have attended orientation programmes.

7.2 Responses of those Married Below 18 Years

In Varanasi district of UP, one of the respondents said that an attempt was made by an NGO to prevent child marriages, 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 a complete absence of effort 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-thirds of those who were married early, from both districts were aware about its illegality. In Varanasi, a high-prevalence area, all the respondents (100%) were aware about the illegal nature of child marriage, while in Meerut it was the complete opposite.

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

When the respondents who were themselves married early were asked about their intentions regarding the 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% from MP said that they would not prefer child marriage. In Rajasthan, the respondent who said that he would get his child married early

was so convinced of his stand that he claimed he would go ahead with his plans even if it was considered as against the law.

7.3 Civil Society Intervention: NGOs

In all the three states, most of the NGOs working on the issue of child marriage are trying to spread awareness about the ill effects related to this evil. In Rajasthan and MP, two of them provide legal help to people who oppose child marriage. In UP five and in MP four out of six NGOs provide counselling 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 affirmed that social workers in this field are the main source of information about child marriages occurring in the district. About one-third of the respondents confirmed that the community and self-help groups also occasionally provide information. In MP, all the NGO respondents said that the media was the main source of information.

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

Regarding registration of marriages, in UP, five 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 marriages in the district. Whereas in MP, three confirmed that marriages were registered, four NGO respondents in UP and all NGO respondents in MP said that CMPOs are present in their districts. 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.

Nearly 80% respondents each in UP and MP and all the NGOs in Rajasthan mentioned that they face resistance while trying to stop child marriages in the villages. Almost all the NGOs in the three states seek police help whenever they come across a case of child marriage in the villages. In Rajasthan none of the NGOs working in the field was able to provide information about the institutions that helped them prevent incidents of child marriage, but in UP four NGOs said that the community has helped them in stopping such marriages. Three of them said that both the panchayat and media have helped them. In MP too, four said the police and an equal number affirmed that the media has helped them. Also, 50% said that the CMPOs and another 50% said that other NGOs have helped them in stopping child marriages. A third said panchayat members provided help and 16.7% said that community has done so.

Both in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, 33% of NGOs believe that the child marriage laws are efficient whereas in UP 50% of NGOs said that the laws were adequate to check child marriages.

NGO respondents in Rajasthan believe that the law against child marriage is not efficient in preventing such marriages. Only about two in Rajasthan and two in MP find it effective to

check child marriages. Interestingly, in UP, three say that the law is efficient. The table below highlights the state and district-wise responses of the NGO respondents:

Table 7.2
Is the Law Efficient in Preventing Child Marriage?

States	Yes	No
Rajasthan (6)	2	4
Tonk	1	2
Jaipur	1	2
Madhya Pradesh (6)	2	4
Bhopal	1	2
Shajapur	1	2
Uttar Pradesh (6)	3	3
Varanasi	1	2
Meerut	2	1

Source: Primary Survey

Surprisingly in Rajasthan, all the NGOs agreed, even those who find it ineffective, that the law does not have any loopholes. In UP five of the NGO respondents said that there were loopholes in the law. In MP, all NGOs said that the law had some loopholes. However, in Rajasthan, none of the NGOs were able to narrate or recall any noteworthy contribution by them to decrease the incidence of child marriage in the district, while in UP and MP all the NGOs (100% each) said that they have been successful in their attempts to curb child marriage.

The NGOs in Rajasthan when interviewed said that there are no loopholes in the Child Marriage Act, whereas 83.3% in UP and all NGOs in MP (100%) agreed there were loopholes in the law.

NGO's Intervention: A Case Study

A 17-year old undergraduate student, daughter of a local political activist was repeatedly abused at home by her elder brother for refusing marriage in a village of Bhopal district in MP.

This girl was freed by a social activist of 'Anti Women Atrocities Front', from the captivity of her brother, two years ago. The freed girl was also produced by the social worker before the media as she belonged to a prominent family. The girl admitted that her parents wanted to get her married instead of continuing her education and had settled her marriage when she was studying in Class 9 to the bridegroom who had failed in Class 8. 'I refused the marriage and my parents started torturing me', said the girl who is now a student of BA second year. She asks, 'How will I complete my studies by living in Bhopal?' According to the a woman activist there was even a conspiracy to murder this girl but the organization initiated steps to liberate the girl.

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 of the fact. In most incidents of child marriage, the UP police visit the site and take appropriate action. One respondent each from Rajasthan and MP said that no action is taken unless a formal complaint is registered. Nearly 60% of the respondents, in both UP and Rajasthan, said that they provide counselling to the community (families) who intend to carry out a child marriage. About 40% of the respondents in UP and 50% in Rajasthan claimed that they give legal warning to the family members. In MP, 80% said that they make arrests when the law is violated and 80% said that they go in for counselling. In MP, 70% said that they warn, while 30% said that they could not do anything.

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

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

The community (70% in Rajasthan and 50% in UP) is also a source of information for cases against child marriages. In UP and MP, 50% each said that the NGOs working in the field reported cases of child marriage. Regarding the presence of any special cells dealing with child marriage cases, most of the policemen (88%) from Rajasthan said that there were no special cells for such 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 said 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. In Varanasi, 40% of the police respondents faced problems from family members/relatives, while 20% each reported problems from the panchayat and community members. In MP, half 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 the respondents said that the panchayat also presented problems. In Rajasthan, 50% of the respondents said that they face problems from other people. Regarding the presence of CMPOs, all ten police respondents in the three study states said that CMPOs are present in the state.

7.4.2 Responses of the District Magistrates

The district magistrates from all the three study states said 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 said that no statistical records were maintained or available at the district level, while

in UP and MP the DMs confirmed the availability of records. The period for which the data was available in both the states of UP and MP varied. In UP, one of the districts had data available for the last two years, while the other district had records for the past 2-5 years. Similarly in MP, two-year-old data was available in one district, and data as old as 5-10 years was available for the other district.

In all the states, the DMs were fully aware about the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006. In Rajasthan, both the DMs felt that the law alone was ineffective in checking the problem. Thus the law loses its deterrent value and fails to prevent the problem to the desired level.

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 underage, sometimes as young as five or six years old. This aspect of early marriages is unlike that in some other parts of India and the world where a huge age difference exists between the two, with the girl usually being the child. Existing laws and awareness campaigns taken up periodically against the practice of child marriage have failed to diminish the fervor of the communities even in the 21st century. In some states, particularly in Rajasthan on the occasion of Akha Teej, (which in some other parts of the country is also known as Akshaya Tritiya) a day considered 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 owing to the passivity, apathy and even support of members of society.

8.1 Causes Sustaining the Practice of Child Marriage

What are the causes that sustain such a deep-rooted practice even after legal barriers have been put in place? The causes could broadly be divided into four categories, viz. historical, social, cultural and economic. The field visits and discussions with community leaders and sociologists elicited a number of factors that help sustain and even encourage the custom of child marriage:

- ◆ There exists a tendency among various social groups to follow rituals and practices of their forefathers without questioning their relevance to the present day and time. People follow the practice of child marriage blindly and they are not convinced that reasons exist to depart from it, even if it means 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 parents to send off their girl children early. On the other hand, marriage of the boy brings in an additional hand to assist in household and 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. Economic reasons thus contribute to the acceptance and continuance of this practice.
- ◆ The members of a community practising child marriages have practically no formal education. Early marriage ensures that the parental 'responsibility' of settling the children is taken care of. Performing the marriage ceremony of children is considered a duty of the parents and a social obligation, and an early finalization of marriage of the child ensures the fulfilment of this duty.

- ◆ Strong caste ties and the rules of interaction limit the availability of suitable brides and grooms. This means that as soon as the parents come across a suitable match, they waste no time in solemnizing the marriage, irrespective of the child's age. They support this act through the argument that such a move has no ill effects as according to them the consummation of marriage takes place only when the couple is 'grown up' (usually below the legal age for marriage).
- ◆ The feudal background, limited access to education, especially for 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 solemnized because people have their own ideas of fertility and childbearing capacity. Early marriage ensures full utilization of this capacity.
- ◆ Among the communities that are dominated by religious commandments, marriage is considered a sacred ceremony. The Hindus, for example, hope that they would reap benefits in terms of dharma. For the parents of the couple, among the Hindus, for example, successfully marrying off their children is believed to be an important step in their journey towards *moksha*. '*Kanya daan*' is regarded as a sacred ritual, which earns greater rewards in the spiritual realm, and benefits in terms of dharma points. Such beliefs sustain the continuance of the practice of child marriages.
- ◆ Poverty and economic distress, as mentioned earlier, is also a major contributor to this practice. Parents of the bride, who have to bear the major expenses of the wedding, usually prefer to marry all their daughters on the same occasion to avoid repeated expenditure.
- ◆ The Indian tradition, also expects a daughter-in-law to be submissive to parents-in-law and marrying girls at an early age is considered to ensure minimal clash of egos.
- ◆ The availability of a suitable boy overpowers age considerations and the bride's family does not want to waste this opportunity over the girl's age, education, and skill development. The patriarchal set-up places a high premium on the chastity of a girl. An early marriage brings assurance of any sacrilege in this context.
- ◆ Community pressures, in the name of tradition, are high among different communities in a rural society. People tend to be dogmatic in their approach towards life situations and the 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 a community to ignore. Child marriage, according to community thinking, reinforces family alliances and checks chances of marriages outside families and castes. Fears of post-puberty sexual activities and loss of virginity of the girl child drives parents to marry their daughters early, as married girls are deemed to be 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 point to family tradition as the main force prompting child marriages. Safety of the girl, customs and beliefs, and community pressure are also considered to be factors contributing to the continuation of the practice of child marriage.

- ◆ In Rajasthan, the practice of child marriage is a defining feature for some castes and communities in certain geographical areas. Nearly 40% of the population says that the caste/community to which they belong practises child marriage. In UP, 89.6% say that they do not practise it, while 77.2% in MP were found to practise child marriage. Talking about the incidence of child marriages in their own families, in Rajasthan on an average 44% of the respondents amongst the common people claim that there have been instances of child marriage in their family. The percentage of such families is higher in Tonk district. In UP, 37.2% said that there have been instances of child marriage within their own families; even more so in Varanasi district, where 76 respondents (60.8%) said that child marriages have occurred in their families. In MP, 61.6% said that there have been child marriages in their families, while 37.2% said that there have been no such incidents.
- ◆ In the study areas, particularly in Rajasthan and MP, it was argued that even after the marital alliance, the girl child continues to stay 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 in UP and MP that the girls were sent to marital homes on their wedding day.

It is against 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 solemnized in all the three study states:
 - (a) Both the bride and 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 household chores, which is usually after attaining puberty. While in UP most of them were sent to their matrimonial homes on the day of marriage.
 - (c) More cases of child marriage are reported from families where the broader community to which the family belongs practises child marriage.

(B) Status of Awareness on the Need to Curb Child Marriages

- ◆ 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. Very few took initiatives to curb the practice.
- ◆ In Rajasthan, the favoured age for marriage as identified in the study areas was below 21 years for boys and below 18 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 10-14 years. In UP and MP, though most of the villagers prefer marriage of both the sexes at the legal age, at the same time there were some who wanted boys and girls to be married when they were much below the legal age of marriage.
- ◆ The practice of registration of marriages is not a norm but an exception. In Rajasthan, most of the people in the villages interviewed showed some awareness regarding the Marriage Registration Act. But in UP and MP most of the people are not aware of it. In practice, a very small percentage of people get their marriages registered. Generally, only those who wish to go abroad, where marriages performed by religious rituals are not recognized, apply for registration.

(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 the 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 so far has been in spreading awareness about the ill effects of child marriage. Social workers and NGOs are the main sources of information about child marriages occurring in the districts. The NGOs reported the hurdles they faced while trying to stop child marriages. The general feeling among them is that the law against child marriage is not efficient in preventing child marriage, although they could not pinpoint any loopholes in it.
- ◆ Most of the police personnel working in the field were aware of the illegality of child marriages and received complaints regarding them. According to the Rajasthan police, family members/relatives were the main sources of complaints about child marriages. In UP, the

police were informed by NGOs and community leaders and in MP, half the respondents said that the NGOs told them about incidents of child marriage in the districts. Most of the policemen in Rajasthan and UP stated that there were no special cells to combat child marriage cases, while in MP 30% maintained that such special cells did exist.

- ◆ Jaipur district of Rajasthan and both the districts of MP and UP had child marriage prevention officers specifically deputed to check this problem. 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 observed 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 to indulge or connive in child marriage and 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.
- ◆ Social workers, NGOs, CMPOs and media were the main sources of information for the DMs. In Rajasthan, both the DMs said that the district administration was able to mobilize various stakeholders such as 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. In UP, there was no response from the DMs.
- ◆ The DM from Tonk affirmed that a review on the status of implementation of the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 is done twice a month; in MP it was not done at all and in UP the review was done once a month. The DM from Jaipur said that the review meeting to check the status of the implementation of the Act was not undertaken as frequently as it should be. It was usually done once a year.

(D) The Role of Local Leaders and the Enforcement Agencies

- ◆ A very few cases of child marriage were 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 saidal ways to stop the practice but formal means to enforce laws are adopted only under extreme pressure.
- ◆ In UP, the police have 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 cases have been registered.
- ◆ 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 confirmed that they got their children married at the legal age.

- ◆ 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 still practise 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 disadvantages of child marriages and also through such training 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 personnel interviewed in MP and UP believe that there are loopholes in the law against child marriages. Such loopholes must be corrected to strengthen the legal provisions 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 a fine, which may extend to Rs. 1 lakh or both. In the present scenario, though several people interviewed were aware about the law against child marriages, due to the lack of enforcement and political will, they continue to follow the practice. Only when the law is made strict and strong action is taken against those who continue to practise child marriages can the menace 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 still continue. At the enforcement level, the police working in the *thanas* need to have the will to enforce the law against child marriage. CMPOs need to be appointed, or if present, they need to be trained to be vigilant and take strict action against the offenders.

- (vi) **Establishment of Special Cells:** At the district level, special cells must be set up which would work specifically on cases of child marriages. Special cells should be set up in the study states and other states with high prevalence of this social evil. Keeping a check on the marriages taking place in the villages may reduce the number of such cases 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 habitations.
- (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 cases of child marriage.
- (ix) **Safety and Security of Girls:** Trafficking is a serious issue linked to child marriage. Both are connected 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 of Girls and Boys:** A safety net must be created for girls and young women who escape a forced and often violent marriage. A few case studies in the study revealed that the children were forced into marrying early and in one case the girl escaped a forced marriage. In such cases, girls and even boys should be given security by the CMPOs and the police of the district so that no harm comes to these children by their own family members.
- (xi) **Role of the Media:** The media can play a proactive role in creating awareness regarding child marriages at the district level. They can publicize 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 action.

(B) General Recommendations

- ◆ **Promoting the 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 up to the school level must be made compulsory. Women should also be provided legal literacy to be informed, so

that a sense of self-confidence and self-belief is instilled in them. Universalization of education is thus a primary requirement if child marriage is to be eradicated.

- ◆ **Income-Generation Programmes and Policies:** In the study area, one factor 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 the 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 invites the individual attention of the administrators and law enforcers. It is treated as a minor misdemeanour that attracts little or no punishment even within the statute. Though amendments have been made in the law to strengthen the penal provision that would book and prosecute the offenders, the legal system carries a backlog of millions of cases. While the law does exist, as it should exist to curb child marriage, experience has shown that the law by itself cannot solve social ills. The public needs to be educated in a concerted manner on all aspects of the ills of child marriage. It would require sustained campaigning by the administration and NGOs to spread the social message in the affected states. Assistance from opinion makers and religious heads of 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 the people regularly. They should be educated on the need for advocacy against child marriage. Politicians should be vigilant about 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:

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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]

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

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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 the Poverty Line / Holder of Below the 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. Bride price

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. Bride price

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 labourer; 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 did you consult 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) Were 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 a 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 what it means.

21. Is there a common practice in your caste/community to perform child marriage? (Question to be asked to the respondent over 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 over 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 organization? [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. Counselling

3. Spreading awareness of problems related to child marriage

4. Organizational set-up

5. Any other _____

Section B: Operational Details

10. For how long have you been working on the issue of the enforcement of the 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 the 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. Bride price

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 child marriage incidents in the villages to the notice of the police? [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 made 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

--	--	--	--

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 labourer;
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. Bride price

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 decreased 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 / IN CHARGE 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 personnel 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 practise 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 practises child marriage?

1. Arrest

2. Warning

3. Counselling

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. Bride price

--

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 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 incident in this district that has influenced your thinking?

DISTRICT-WISE DATA OF THREE STATES

Madhya Pradesh

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

Rajasthan

Sl. No.	District	Marriage Below 18 Years
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

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

Sl. No.	District	Marriage Below 18 Years
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	Etah	57.5
39	Mirzapur	58.6
40	Jalaun	60.4
41	Gazipur	61.0
42	Azamgarh	64.1
43	Sitapur	64.2
44	Shajahanbad	64.5
45	Faizabad	64.9
46	Mahaba	65.2
47	Sultanpur	65.5
48	Gorakhpur	66.2
49	Sonbhadra	67.0
50	Bhadohi	67.9
51	Ambedkarnagar	70.0
52	Banda	71.6
53	Varanasi	72.2
54	Siddhart Nagar	72.6
55	Basti	77.4
56	Bharaich	78.6

ANALYSIS TABLES OF THREE STATES

(Note: Table numbers are corresponding to item numbers of each schedule for conveniences)

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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	99.2%
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 (1-5 th)	41		17	24
	16.1%		13.6%	18.6%
Middle (6-8 th)	34		12	22
	13.4%		9.6%	17.1%
Secondary (9-12 th)	42		21	21
	16.5%		16.8%	16.3%
Graduate	6		3	3
	2.4%		2.4%	2.3%
Postgraduate	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 (1-5 th)	60	32	28
	24%	25.6%	22.4%
Middle (6-8 th)	47	16	31
	18.8%	12.8%	24.8%
Secondary (9-12 th)	67	29	38
	26.8%	23.2%	30.4%
Graduate	14	7	7
	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%
Postgraduate	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 Labourer		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		10001 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 Persons Below the 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 Persons Below the 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 Persons Below the 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		Bride Price		Safety of the Girl		Economic Burden/Poverty	
Rajasthan	55	21.7%	55	21.7%	15	5.9%	0	0.0%	54	21.3%	92	36.2%
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	7.6%
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		Bride Price		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	100.0%
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	68.5%
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 registered marriages 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 registered marriages 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%

21. 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	98.8%	
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	98.4%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	97.2%
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 People Whose Caste/Community Practise Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Practise		Do Not Practise		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 People Whose Caste/Community Practise Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Practise		Do Not Practise		Responses	
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 People Whose Caste/Community Practise Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Practise		Do Not Practise		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. Attempts Made to Stop Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Attempts 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. Attempts Made to Stop Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Attempts 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. Attempts Made to Stop Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Attempts Made		Not Made		Responses Received	
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 (MADHYA 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%
Bride Price	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)										
States	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)						
States	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)								
States	Support State Initiatives		Be a Watchdog		Awareness Programmes		Other	
Rajasthan	8	3.1%	80	31.5%	112	44.1%	25	9.8%
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)										
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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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 of 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
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	100.0%
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 (RAJASTHAN)			
States	Rajasthan	Tonk	Jaipur
Cultivator	2	1	1
	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%
Agricultural Labourer	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 Labourer	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 Labourer		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%

14. 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	100.0%
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	100.0%	
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	100.0%
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		22 and Above		Responses Received		
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	5	41.6%	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	12	100%	
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	100%
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		Responses Received	
	Uttar Pradesh	3	25.0%	5	41.7%	8	66.7%	3	25.0%	12
Varanasi	3	37.5%	5	62.5%	7	87.5%	0	0.0%	6	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	3	75.0%	4	100.0%

16. Meaning of Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	An Occasion to Get New Clothes		Being the Centre of Attraction		Celebrating Festivity		Other Reason		Responses Received	
	Madhya Pradesh	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	5	41.6%	12	100%	12
Bhopal	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	50.0%	4	100%	6	100%
Shajapur	5	62.5%	0	0.0%	3	37.5%	8	100%	11	100%

17. a. Did They Want to Get Married Early (RAJASTHAN)							
States	Yes		No		Responses Received		
	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%	

17 a. Did They Want to Get Married Early (UTTAR PRADESH)							
States	Yes		No		Responses Received		
	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%	

17. a. Did They Want to Get Married Early (MADHYA PRADESH)							
States	Yes		No		Responses Received		
	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%	

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	Practise		Do Not Practise		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%
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	Incidence of Child Marriage		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	75.0%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	83.3%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
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	100.0%
Bhopal	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Shajapur	0	0.0%	10	100.0%	10	100.0%

28. Views 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	100.0%
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. Views 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	100.0%
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. Views 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. Views 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. Views 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. Views 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. Views 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. Views 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. Views 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 the Marriages of 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 the Marriages of 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 the Marriages of 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		10-20		More than 20			
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%		
Bhopal	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	0	0.0%	2	66.7%		
Shajapur	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%		

8. Percentage Distribution by Area of Work 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	33.3%
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 Area of Work 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	66.7%
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 Area of Work 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	16.7%
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		Counselling		Spreading Awareness of Problems Related to Child Marriage		Organizational Set-Up		Any Other	
Rajasthan	2	33.3%	6	100.0%	6	100.0%	0	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		Counselling		Spreading Awareness of Problems Related to Child Marriage		Organizational Set-Up		Any Other	
Uttar Pradesh	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	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		Counselling		Spreading Awareness of Problems Related to Child Marriage		Organizational Set-Up		Any Other	
	Madhya Pradesh	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6	100.0%	1	16.7%	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 Organization on Enforcement of the 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
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 Organization on Enforcement of the 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
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 Organization on Enforcement of the 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
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 Marriages that Take Place in a Year (RAJASTHAN)										
States	No Cases		1 – 10		11 – 20		21 and Above		Too Many	
	Rajasthan	0		4		0		0		0
Tonk	0		2		0		0		0	
Jaipur	0		2		0		0		0	

11. Percentage of Cases of Child Marriages that Take Place in a Year (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	No Cases		1 – 10		11 – 20		21 and Above		Too Many	
	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 Marriages that Take Place in a Year (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	No cases		1 – 10		11 – 20		21 and Above		Too Many	
Madhya Pradesh	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	1	16.7%
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/Neighbours	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 Groups	5	2	3
	83.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Others	0	0	0
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

14. Percentage Distribution by Ways of Handling Cases 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	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 Ways of Handling Cases 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	16.7%
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 Ways of Handling Cases 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 (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 (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 (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%
Bride Price	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 Practises Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Practise		Do Not Practise	
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 Practises Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Practise		Do Not Practise	
Uttar Pradesh	1	16.7%	5	83.3%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	3	100.0%
Meerut	1	33.3%	2	66.7%

19.a. Proportion of Caste/Community which Practises Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Practise		Do Not Practise	
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 NGOs Facing Resistance When Trying to Stop Child Marriages in the Villages (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Faced Resistant		Did Not face Resistant	
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 NGOs Facing Resistance When Trying to Stop Child Marriages in the Villages (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Faced Resistant		Did Not Face Resistant	
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 NGOs Facing Resistance When Trying to Stop Child Marriages in the Villages (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Faced Resistant		Did Not Face Resistant	
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 NGOs Who Bring Child Marriage Incidents in the Villages to the Notice of the Police (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%

21. Proportion of NGOs Who Bring Child Marriage Incidents in the Villages to the Notice of the Police (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Inform the Police		Do Not Inform Police	
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 NGOs Who Bring Child Marriage Incidents in the Villages to the Notice of the Police (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Inform the Police		Do Not Inform Police	
Uttar Pradesh	3	50.0%	3	50.0%
Varanasi	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	3	100.0%

23. Institutions that Have Helped NGOs 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. Institutions that Have Helped NGOs 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%

20. Institutions that Have Helped NGOs 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 Effective 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 Effective 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 Effective 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 Loopholes		Doesn't Have Loopholes	
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 Loopholes		Doesn't Have Loopholes	
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 Loopholes		Doesn't Have Loopholes	
Madhya Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0%
Bhopal	3	100.0%	0	0%
Shajapur	3	100.0%	0	0%

26. Noteworthy Contributions Made by NGOs to Decrease Child Marriages (RAJASTHAN)				
States	Have Made Noteworthy Contributions		Have Not Made Noteworthy Contributions	
Rajasthan	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tonk	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Jaipur	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

26. Noteworthy Contributions Made by NGOs to Decrease Child Marriages (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Have Made Noteworthy Contributions		Have Not Made Noteworthy Contributions	
Uttar Pradesh	6	100.0%	0	0.0%
Varanasi	3	100.0%	0	0.0%
Meerut	3	100.0%	0	0.0%

26. Noteworthy Contributions Made by NGOs to Decrease Child Marriages (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Have Made Noteworthy Contributions		Have Not Made Noteworthy Contributions	
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	100.0%
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 Labourer		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 Labourer		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 Labourer		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	100.0%	5	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	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. Views 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%		

15. Views on Right Age for Marriage: 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	100.0%
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. Views 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%		

15. Views on Right Age for Marriage 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	100.0%
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. Views 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	100.0%	
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	100.0%
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	63.6%
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	70%
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		Bride Price		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	90.0%
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 Practises Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Practise		Do not Practise		All	
Rajasthan	5	45.5%	6	54.5%	11	100.0%
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 Practises Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Practise		Do not Practise		All	
Uttar Pradesh	4	40%	6	60%	10	100.0%
Varanasi	3	60%	2	40%	5	100.0%
Meerut	1	20%	4	80%	5	100.0%

17. Proportion of Caste/Community which Practises Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Practise		Do not Practise		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%

19.b. 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 Effective 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 Effective 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 Effective 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. Percentage 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. Percentage 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. Percentage 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%

22. 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 Marriages Declined 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 Marriages Declined 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 Marriages Declined 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 Panchayats 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 Panchayats 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 Panchayats 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. Institutions that have Helped Panchayats 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	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. Institutions that have Helped Panchayats 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	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. Institutions that have Helped Panchayats to Stop Child Marriages (MADHYA PRADESH)																		
States	Other Panchayat Members		Police		NGOs		Community		Media		Self-Help Groups		Child Marriage Prevention Officers		ICDS Functionaries		Others	
Madhya Pradesh	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. Types of Panchayats that Exist (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. Types of Panchayats that Exist (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. Types of Panchayats that Exist (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. Are 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 Who Have Attended Any Orientation Programmes (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. Are 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 Who Have Attended Any Orientation Programmes (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. Are 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 Who Have Attended Any Orientation Programmes (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 / IN CHARGE 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 Practises Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)						
States	Practise		Do Not Practise		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 Practises Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)						
States	Practise		Do Not Practise		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 Practises Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)						
States	Practise		Do Not Practise		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 Practises Child Marriage (RAJASTHAN)										
States	Arrest		Warning		Counselling		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 Practises Child Marriage (UTTAR PRADESH)										
States	Arrest		Warning		Counselling		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 Practises Child Marriage (MADHYA PRADESH)										
States	Arrest		Warning		Counselling		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	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	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	30.0%
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	10.0%
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	90.0%
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 of Change in the 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 of Change in the 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 of Change in the 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 of Police Facing 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 Face 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	50.0%
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 Face 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	40.0%
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		Responses Received	
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. Incidences 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. Incidences 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. Incidences 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	Practised	Not Practised	States	Practised	Not Practised	States	Practised	Not Practised
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 Marriages											
States	Yes	No	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														
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									
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								
States	Available	Not Available	States	Available	Not Available	States	Available	Not Available
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

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%

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								
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 Problems	Do Not Face Problems
Rajasthan	1	1
Tonk	0	1
Jaipur	1	0

18 a. Percentage of Respondents Facing Problems in Implementing the Act (UTTAR PRADESH)				
States	Faces Problems		Do Not Face Problems	
Madhya Pradesh	0	0.0%	2	100.0%
Varanasi	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
Meerut	0	0.0%	1	100.0%

18 a. Percentage of Respondents Facing Problems in Implementing the Act (MADHYA PRADESH)				
States	Faces Problems		Do Not Face Problems	
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	Do 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		Do 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		Do 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)					
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%

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		CPO		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								
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 NGOs, Institutions or Individuals Assisting the DM in Taking Steps to Stop Child Marriage								
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 Does the DM Review the Status of Implementation of this Act (RAJASTHAN)								
States	Once a Month		Twice 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 Does the DM Review the Status of Implementation of this Act (UTTAR PRADESH)								
States	Once a Month		Twice 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 Does the DM Review the Status of Implementation of this Act (MADHYA PRADESH)								
States	Once a Month		Twice 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-à-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 towards child marriage
 - Legal awareness among community people related to child marriage acts particularly the Child Marriage Restraint Act
 - Views on the Act
 - Views/attitude of community 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 **[JANUARY 10, 2007]**

An Act to provide for the prohibition of solemnization 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 solemnized;

(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 solemnized 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 filling 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 solemnized 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 organization or association of persons who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnized, or negligently fails to prevent it from being solemnized, 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 solemnized.

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 solemnized, such Magistrate shall issue an injunction against any person including a member of an organization 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 organization having reasonable information, relating to the likelihood of taking place of solemnization 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 solemnization 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 solemnization 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 organization or association of persons unless the Court has previously given notice to such person, members of the organization 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 solemnized 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 solemnization 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.



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