



Child Marriage in India

An analysis of available data (2012)

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PREFACE

Child marriage is a violation of child rights. Whether it happens to a boy or a girl, child marriage challenges the right to health, education, protection and development. Child brides are often forced to drop out of schools, are subject to the risks of early pregnancy and are more likely to be exposed to violence and isolation.

Approximately, twenty-three million girls in India face this reality. While the country is growing at an average of eight per cent a year, child marriage is decreasing at less than one percentage point a year. This has enormous consequences not only on children as individuals but also on families, communities and the nation as a whole. Future generations are pulled out of school early with few skills to access job opportunities thus perpetuating the cycle of poverty.

The pattern of disparity and inequity is visible in child marriage prevalence. While the practice concerns on average one in two women aged twenty to twenty-four, the prevalence is even higher among disadvantaged groups, the poorest families and in the rural areas.

Through the figures, child marriage also reveals the story of gender discrimination. Girls are being pulled out of school to become brides and their role in society is often limited to being wives. It is clear from the statistics that girls’ freedom of movement and power of decision making are also still limited.

The data in the document highlight that a lot needs to be done to provide a response to child marriage. UNICEF is committed to support comprehensive efforts to change social norms and beliefs that promote child marriage, to ensure protection mechanisms are in place, to encourage the enforcement of the law and to create spaces for girls’ voices. UNICEF is committed to ensure that girls live their childhood and adolescence.

Introduction

Child marriage—marrying before the legal age at 18 years for girls and 21 years for boys—is still widespread in India. A multiple set of factors contributes to the persistence of the phenomenon: gender norms and expectations, traditional practices around marriage, safety concerns and family honour, poverty, limited education and livelihood opportunities and weak implementation of the law. Patriarchal values, in particular, play a significant role in child marriage. Girls are considered as a ‘property’ moving from the father’s to the groom’s household and their role as housewives is the only future conceived for girls by their family.

Child marriage affects both boys and girls but impacts girls with higher incidence and more intensity. It has important consequences on the development and full growth of the girl as it is associated with increased risks of maternal and child mortality, low levels of education, and exposure to violence, isolation and confinement.

This document attempts to collect and present information from published Government data on child marriage in India. It seeks to consolidate data on indicators pertaining to early marriage as well as causal/impact factors like education, child bearing and mortality, women’s empowerment and domestic violence. It also highlights the disparities in the child marriage incidence by social groups (Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes), by household wealth quintiles and by location (Rural, Urban). The document provides an analysis of the data at the national level. Annexes present data as per the different indicators at the State level as well as maps on the incidence of child marriage at the District level.

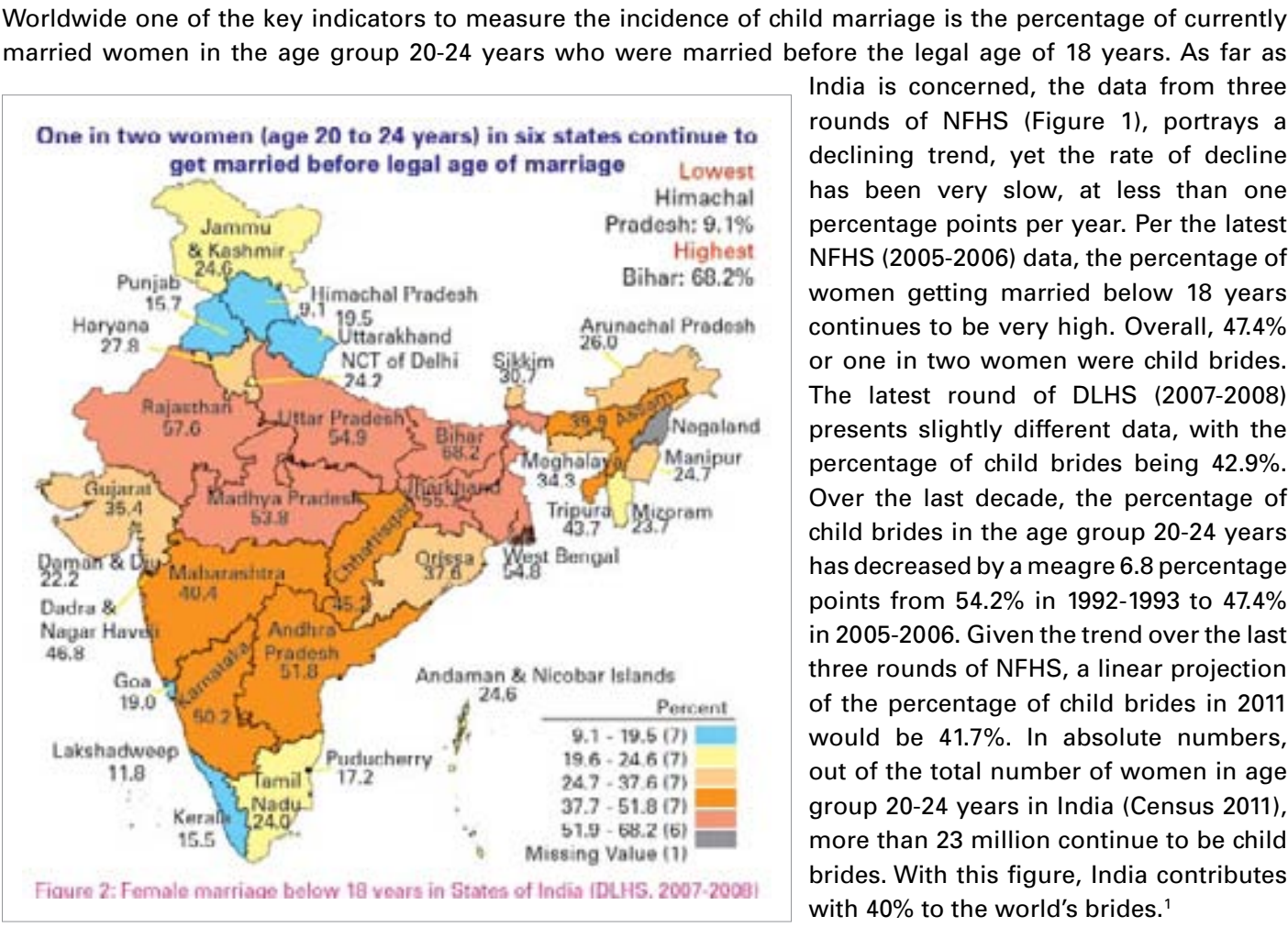
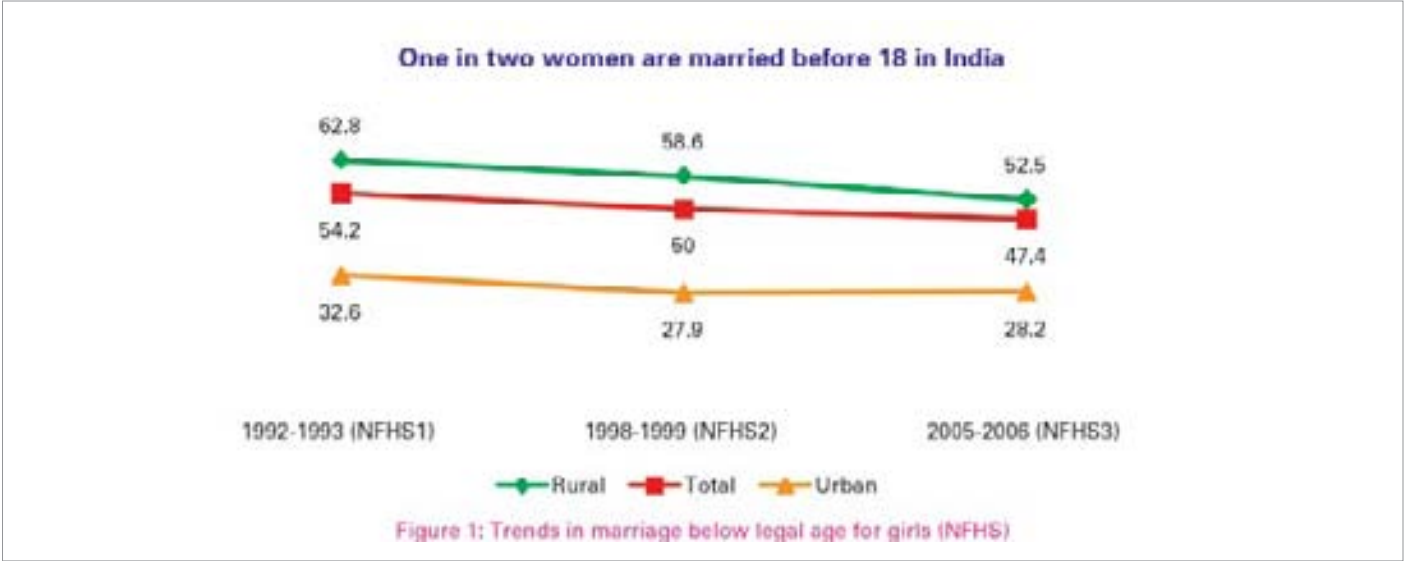
About the data sources

The document presents data from major official sources as follows:

- a. National Family Health Survey (NFHS). NFHS is a large-scale, multi-round survey conducted in a representative sample of households in 29 States of India. Three rounds of the survey have been conducted so far since the first survey in 1992-1993 followed by two more rounds in 1998-1999 and 2005-2006 respectively. The survey provides national and State information for India on fertility, infant and child mortality, the practice of family planning, maternal and child health, reproductive health, nutrition, anaemia, utilization and quality of health, family planning services and HIV/SIDs. The last round covered all women in the age group 15-49 and men in age group 15-54. This survey is conducted by the International Institute for Population Sciences, under the stewardship of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, India.
- b. District Level Household and facility Survey (DLHS). DLHS is again a household survey covering all States and Union Territories of the country to generate national, State and District level information on the reproductive and child health and utilization of services provided by government health facilities. Three rounds of the survey have been conducted so far since the first round in 1998-1999, followed by two more rounds in 2002-2004 and more recently in 2007-2008 respectively. This survey is conducted by the International Institute for Population Sciences, under the stewardship of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, India.
- c. The Socio-Economic Surveys conducted by the National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) under the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, India. The NSSO surveys are in the form of rounds, each round being normally of one-year duration. The NSSO surveys present data for India and its States/Union Territories. This document presents data from a survey on ‘Participation and Expenditure in Education’ which was conducted in NSS 64th round (July 2007–June 2008).
- d. Selected Educational Statistics (SES) published by the Ministry of Human Resource Development MoHRD-India, is one of the key resources for statistics on educational attainment including enrolment and dropout rates.

Incidence of Child Marriage

This section provides an analysis of data on incidence of child marriage over geographical areas, across generations, social groups and levels of education.



1 UNICEF, 2007. "Progress of Children".

There are more child marriages in rural areas than in urban areas. 52.5% of currently married women in age group 20-24 years in rural areas and 28.2% in urban areas got married before 18 years of age. Per the latest DLHS (2007-2008) data, around 48% of currently married women in age group 20-24 years got married before age 18 in rural areas compared to 29% in rural areas. Although the gap between urban and rural areas has almost halved from 30.2 percentage points in 1992-1993 (NFHS) to 18.6 percentage points in 2007-2008 (DHLS), currently married women in rural areas are twice more likely to be child brides than their urban counterparts.

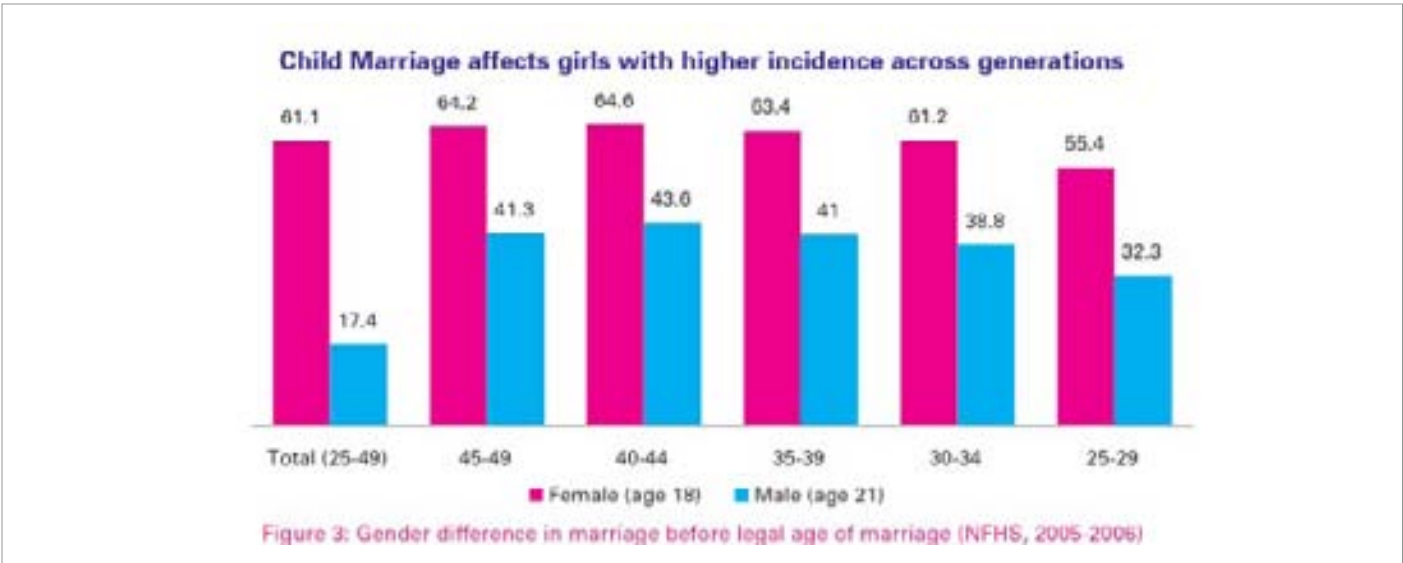
The geographical distribution of percentage of women age 20-24 years getting married below age 18 years across the States and union territories is presented by classifying the areas in five ranges (Figure 2). The northern State of Bihar has the highest incidence of child marriage at 68% while Himachal Pradesh has the lowest incidence at around 9%. The map also reveals an east-west corridor spanning six States—including Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal—that have the highest incidence of child marriage ranging from 51.9% to 68.2%. In each of these States, at least one in two currently married women in age group 20-24 years happens to be a child bride.

State Name	%age of women age 20-24 years married before age 18	%age of Districts above State average
Bihar	68.2	54.1
Jharkand	55.7	50.0
Madhya Pradesh	53.8	51.1
Rajasthan	57.6	56.3
Uttar Pradesh	54.9	44.3
West Bengal	54.8	52.6

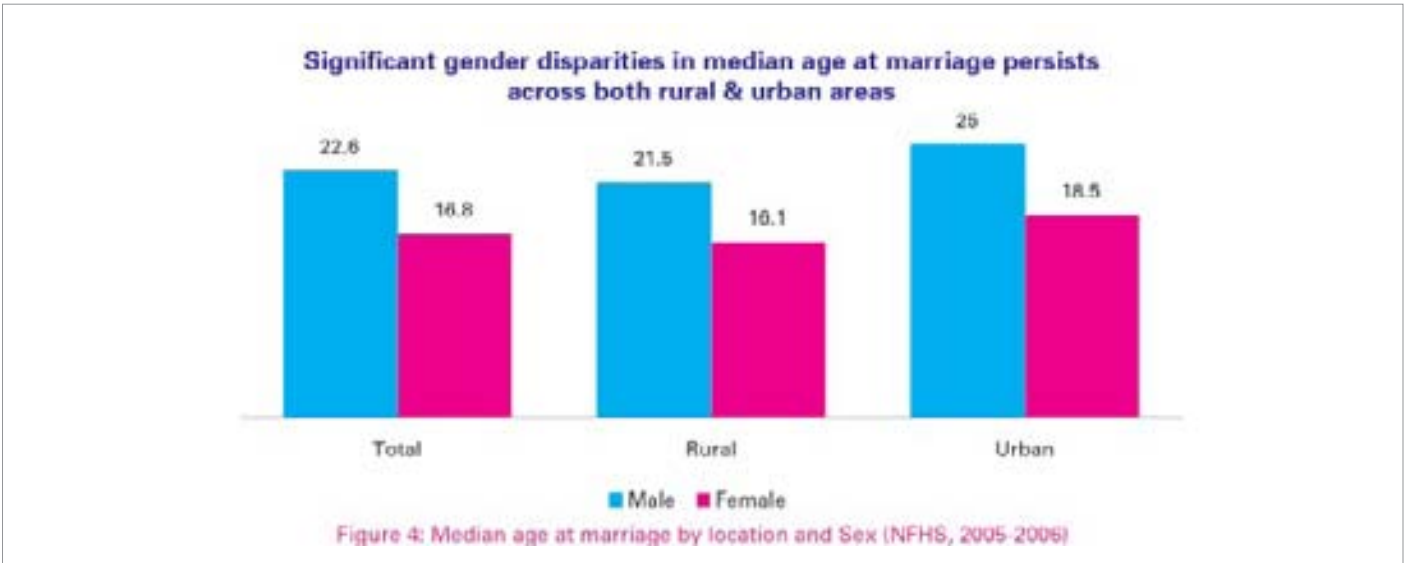
Table 1: District level variation in high incidence States (DLHS, 2007-2008)

In five out of the six States with the highest incidence (Table 1 above), Uttar Pradesh being the sole exception, more than half of the Districts have a higher incidence of child marriage than the State average. The spatial variations (maps) at the District level for respective States are provided in the annexures.

The sex disaggregated data on child marriages in India (Figure 3) across age cohorts presents that although child marriage impacts both boys and girls, the incidence of child marriage is significantly higher among females across generations. In the older cohorts (45-49 years age group), 64.2% of females and 41.3% of males got married before legal age of marriage. In comparison, the percentage of marriages below legal age in younger

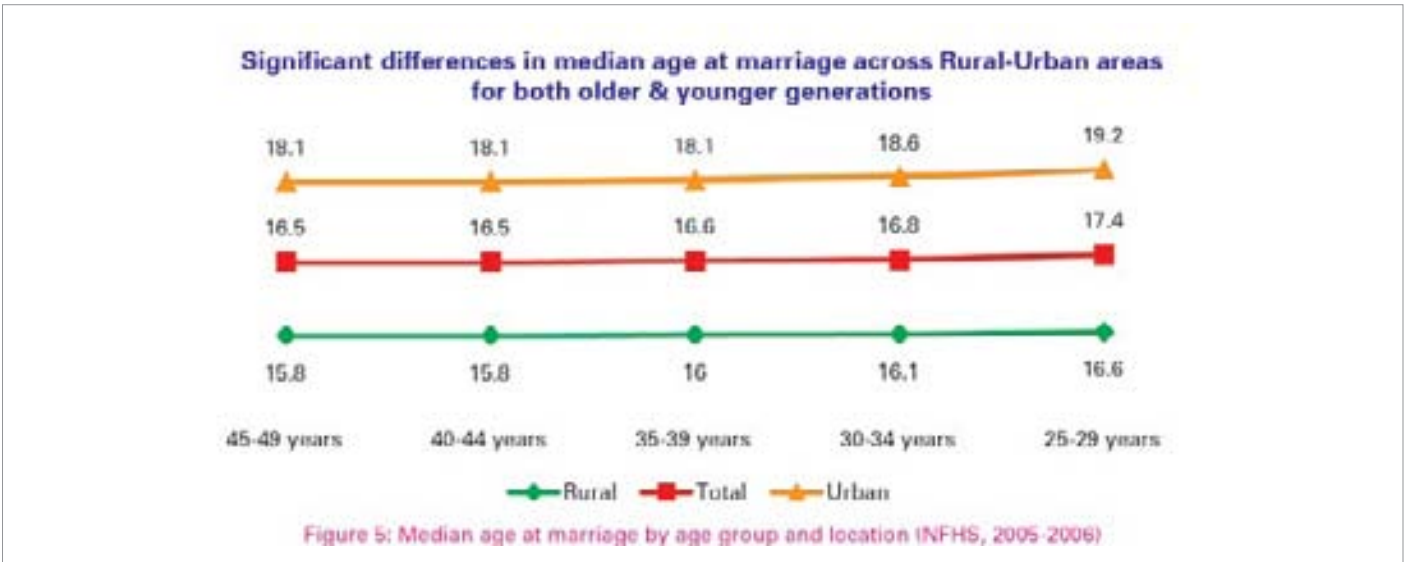


generation (age group 25-29 years) has decreased to 55.4% and 32.3% amongst females and males respectively. This may suggest that focused interventions and programmes may have contributed to a gradual decrease in the incidence of child marriage; yet, the decrease of child marriage among younger generations is still not sufficient. For the purpose, it is of critical importance to promote awareness raising and empowerment of adolescents and youth within a broad and comprehensive portfolio of interventions to accelerate the pace of change.



Gender disparities in the median age at marriage are evident from the Figure 4, and are prevalent in both rural and urban areas. Further, at aggregate level, the median age (16.8 years) at marriage for females is — well below the legal age of marriage—whilst that of the males is 22.6 years, higher than the legal age.

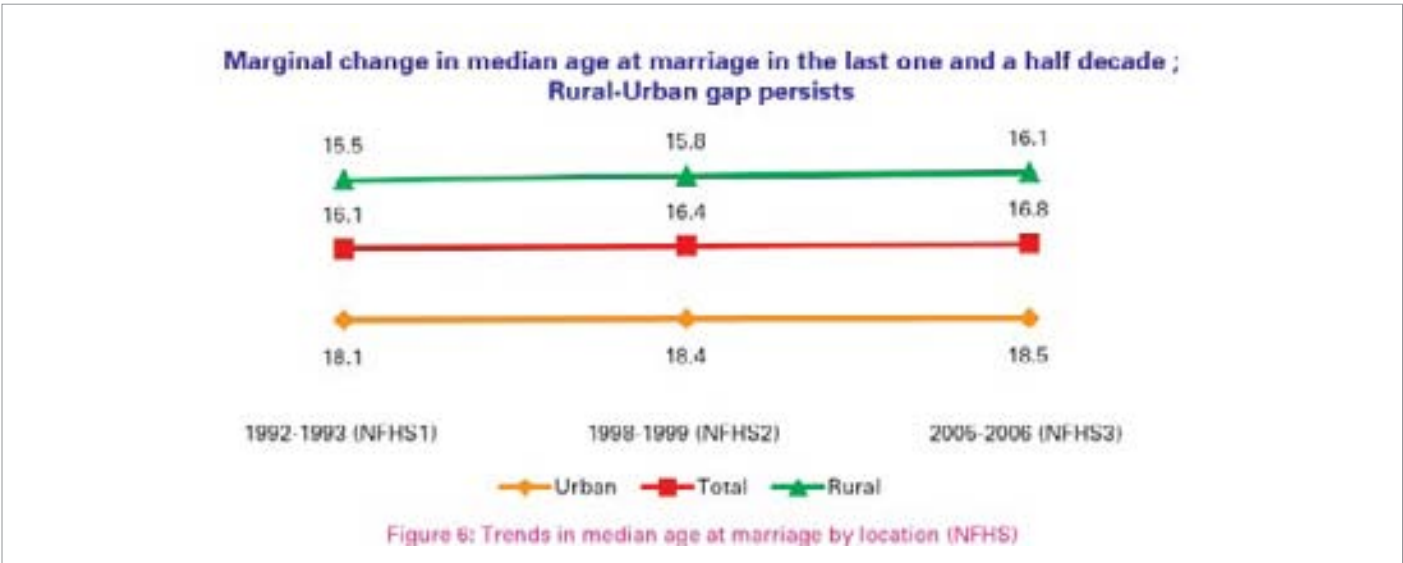
However, the median age at marriage for both males and females in rural areas is lower than that in urban areas. Both men and women in urban areas tend to marry around three years later than men and women in rural areas.



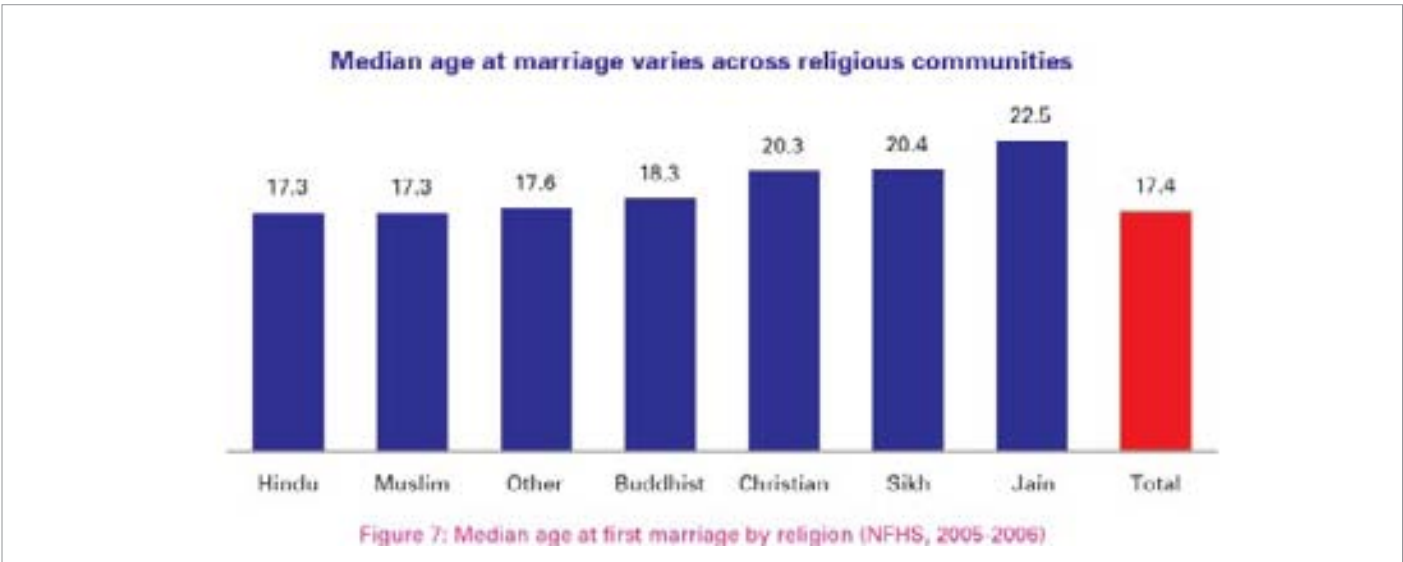
Data on the median age at marriage in rural and urban areas disaggregated by five year age groups (Figure 5) points to the disparity in median age across rural and urban areas across all the age categories. The median age

of marriage for older cohorts (age group 45-49 years) is lower than the younger cohorts (age group 25-29 years) across both urban and rural areas.

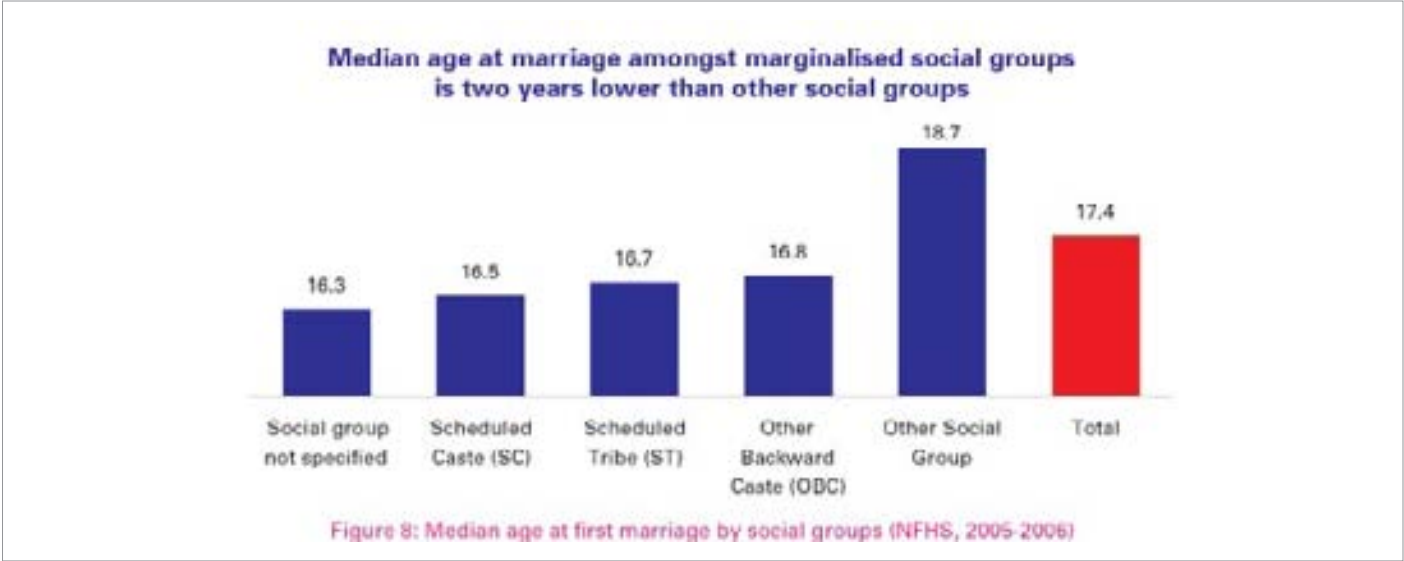
Over the last one and a half decades, the median age at marriage for age group 25-49 years (Figure 6) has plateaued and has not witnessed any significant change. The rural-urban divide also continues to persist.



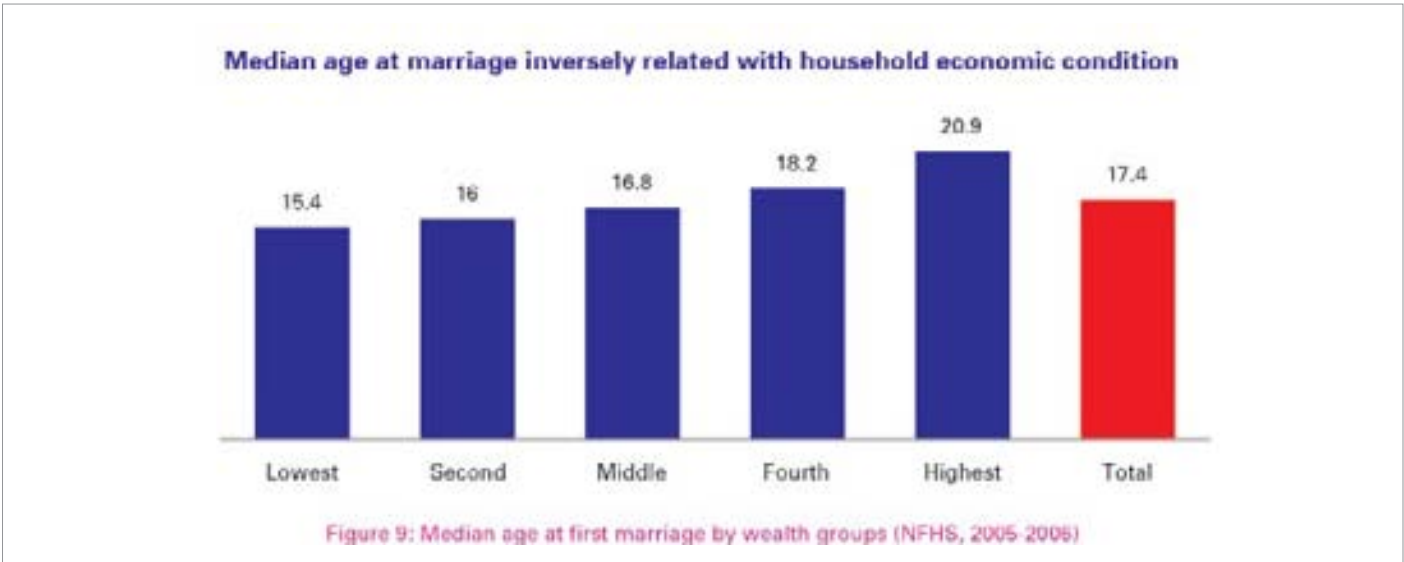
The differences in median age at marriage disaggregated by religion (Figure 7) reveals that the median age at marriage across all religions is 17.4 years. The median age at marriage amongst Jain, Sikh, and Christian communities (22.5 years, 20.4 years, and 20.3 years respectively) is significantly higher than amongst Hindu or Muslim (17.3 years each) communities.



The median age at marriage across key social groups (Figure 8) presents disparities. Both boys and girls from marginalised social groups tend to marry two years earlier than those that belong to other groups. The median age at marriage for scheduled caste (16.5 years), scheduled tribe (16.7 years) and other backward caste (16.8 years) groups is significantly lower than the median age at marriage for other general social groups (18.7 years).

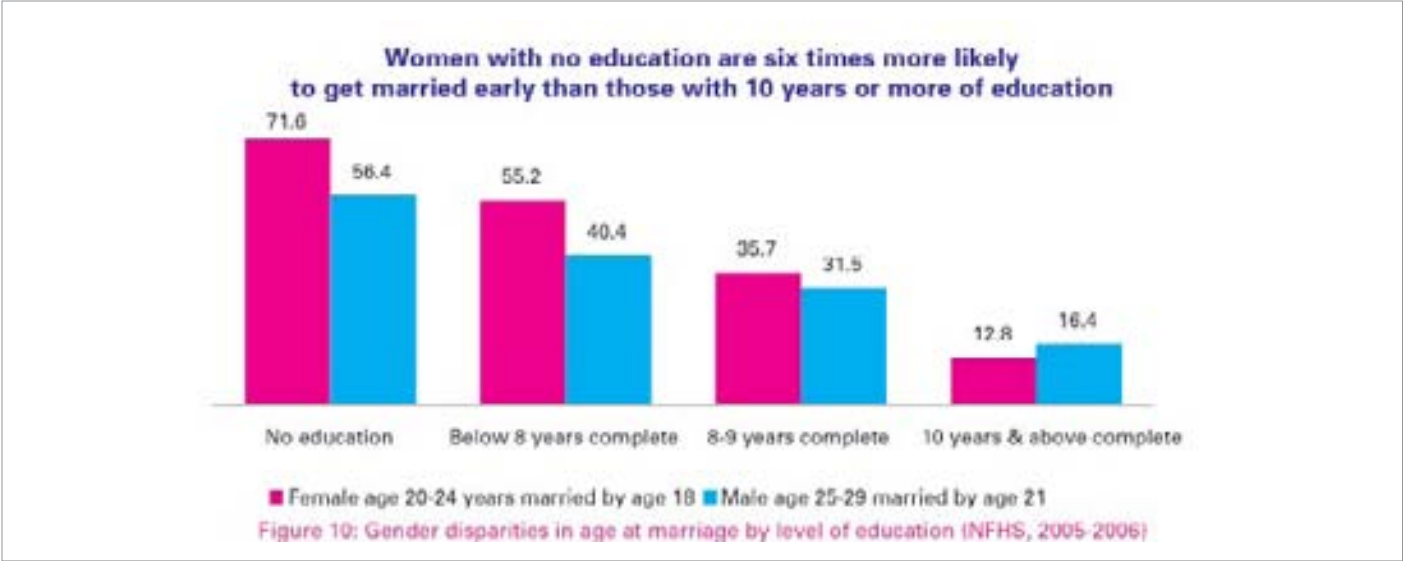


The median age at marriage is inversely related to the household economic condition (Figure 9). Women in age group 25-29 years belonging to households in the lowest quintile get married at least five years earlier than women in the same age group in households belonging to the highest quintile. The economic situation of the family is a significant influencer as parents with limited economic resources may see marriage as a solution to reduce family costs, to pay a lower dowry, to save on education etc.



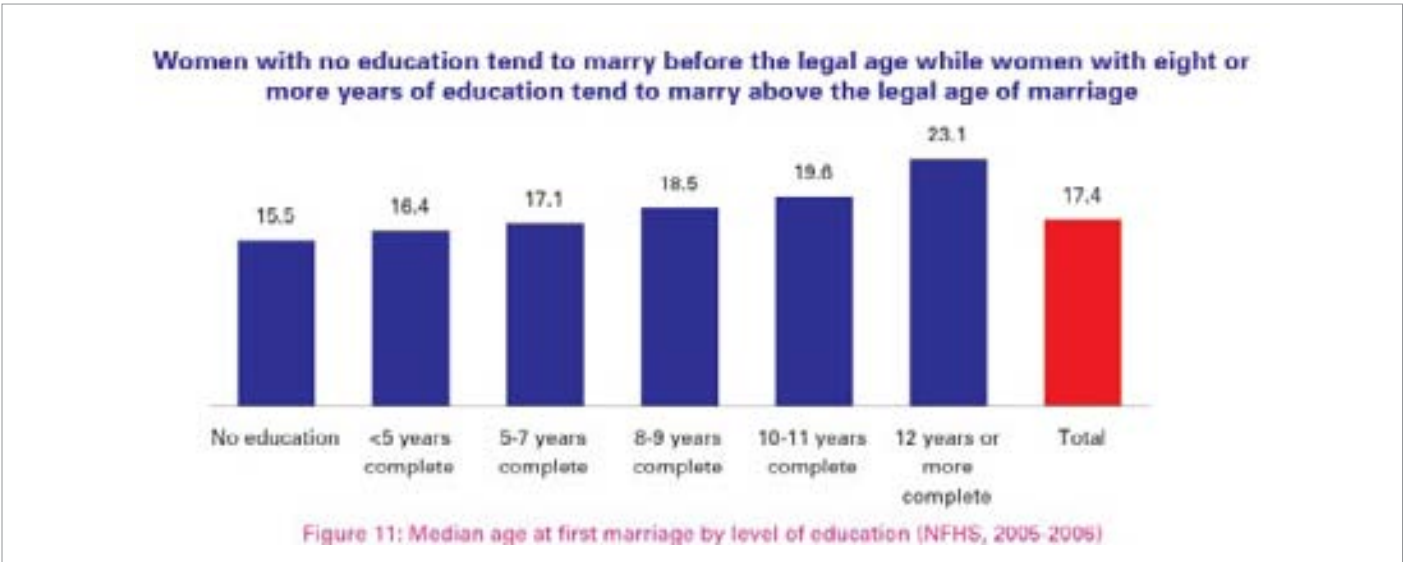
There is a strong correlation between education and child marriage. Figure 10 highlights the incidences of child marriage among male and female, disaggregated by their level of education. Around 72% of females and 56%

males had not received any education. Only 13% females and 16% males who got married before the legal age had completed at least 10 years of education. Women with no education are six times more likely to get married than those with 10 years or more of education. The data suggests that education may act as a strong deterrent against child marriage. Therefore, investing in education is an important component of strategies to address



child marriage. Education provides girls with skills and knowledge for their engagement in the job environment and empowers them to seek alternatives to child marriage.

The median age at first marriage disaggregated by level of education (Figure 11) presents that women currently aged 25-29 years with no education married at least 3 years earlier than those women who passed upper primary education (8-9 years). The median age at first marriage positively correlates with the years of education



completed. Women with 8-9 years or more years of education tend to marry around the legal age of marriage and eight years later than women with no education.

Education

As seen above, there is a strong correlation between child marriage and education. Higher levels of education are associated with lower child marriage rates. Education can play an important role in empowering girls and offering them alternative opportunities for the future. This section looks at relevant data on education in the country. The data suggest that in the upper grades, enrolment and attendance are lower, particularly for girls, while drop-out rates are significantly higher. Although there is no data identifying the reasons behind the dropouts, and it is not possible to conclude whether children dropout of school because of marriage, it is interesting to note that at an age where inclusion in the education system is poor, child marriage tends to take place at a higher incidence.

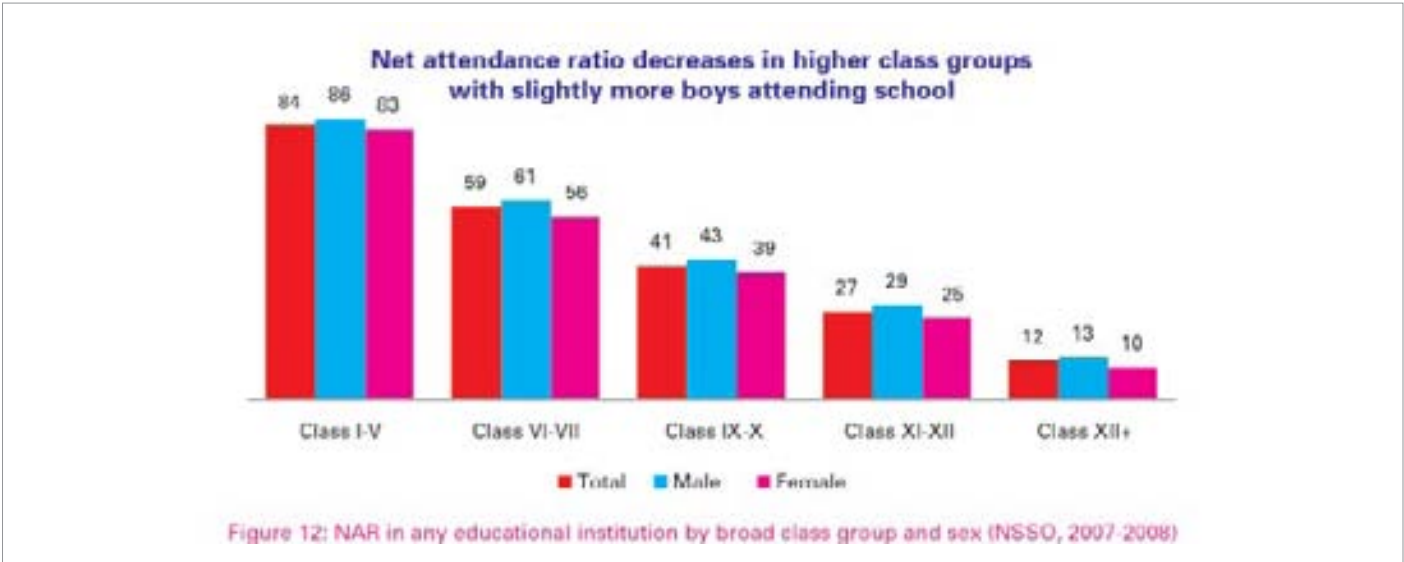
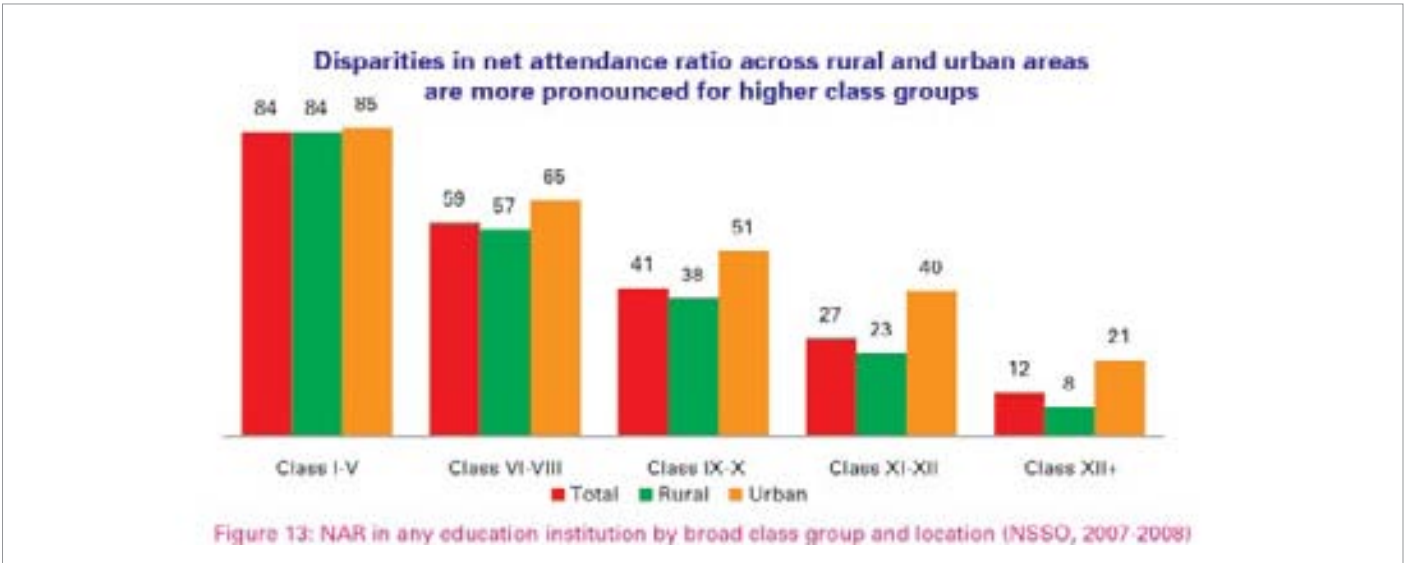


Figure 12 presents the net attendance ratio (ratio of official age-group attending any educational institution in a particular class-group to the total number persons in the age-group) across broad class groups disaggregated by sex. The chart reveals that the net attendance ratio (NAR) negatively correlates across the class groups as well as with the sex of the student. NAR is highest for class group I to V and continues to decrease across the subsequent class groups. It is the lowest in the category of class XII and above. It also reveals that there is gender disparity: the NAR of males is higher than the females across all the class group categories.

The NAR across broad class groups disaggregated by location (Figure 13) presents the influence of geographical location on the access to education facilities. NAR in rural areas is significantly lower than urban areas,

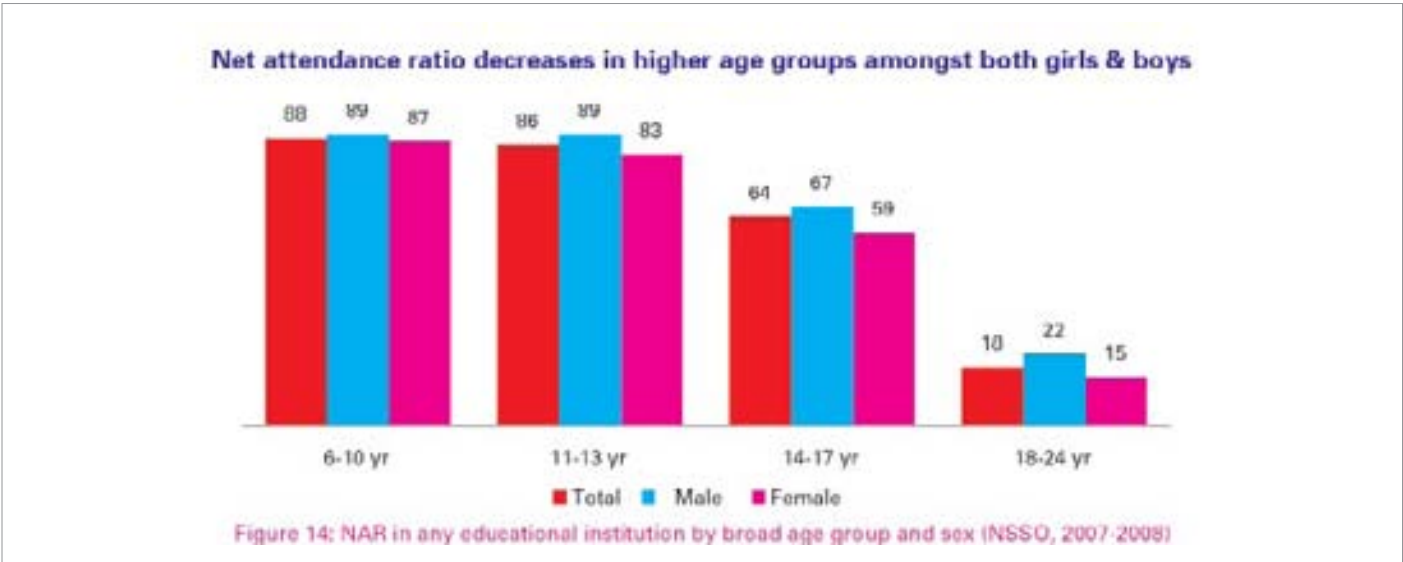


particularly in the higher class groups. It is interesting to note the correlation with child marriage incidence being higher in rural areas.

NAR across broad age groups disaggregated by sex (Figure 14) presents a negative correlation between school attendance and age. NAR is highest for age group 6-10 years and continues to decrease across the older age groups as marriage becomes more common. The NAR for females is significantly lower than males across all the age groups.

Drop-out trends show some associations with the trends in child marriage. While drop-out rates tend to increase the higher the class group, child marriage incidence tends to be higher in late adolescence, as suggested by the median age for marriage. Furthermore, drop outs are higher among excluded groups (such as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes) – these groups also display a lower median age for child marriage.

Finally, dropout rates are higher among females only in the higher class groups when girls are more likely to be married. Although these trends do not suggest a direct correlation between child marriage and school dropout, it points to possible linkages between the two phenomena.



The charts on the following pages display drop-out rates in different school grades.

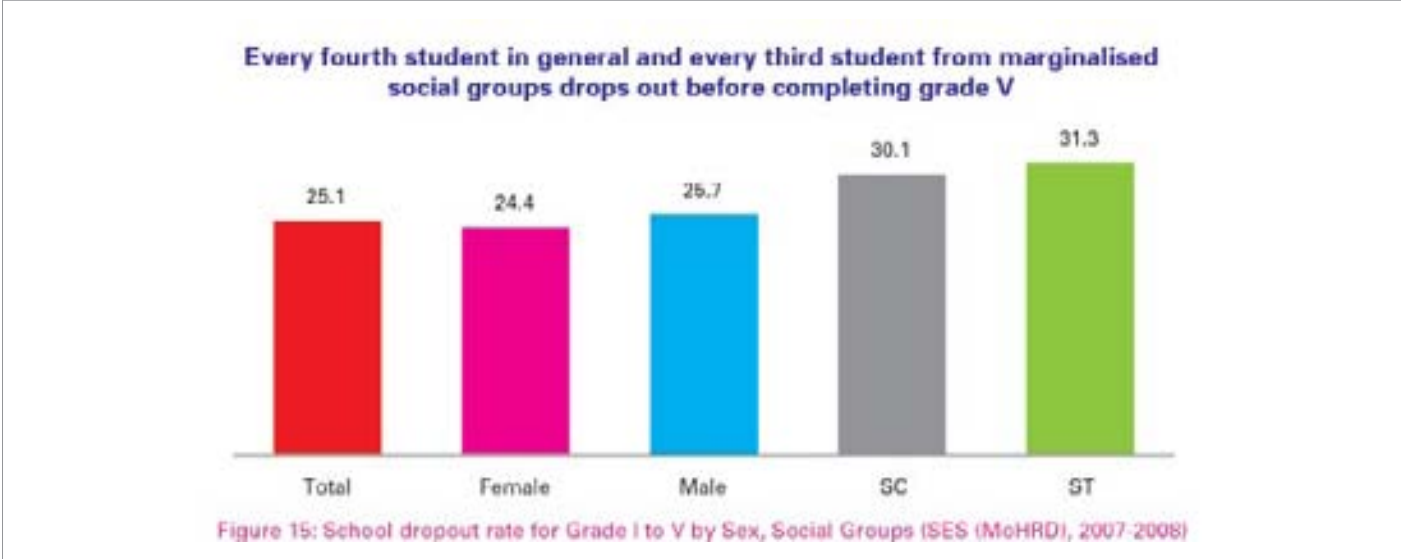
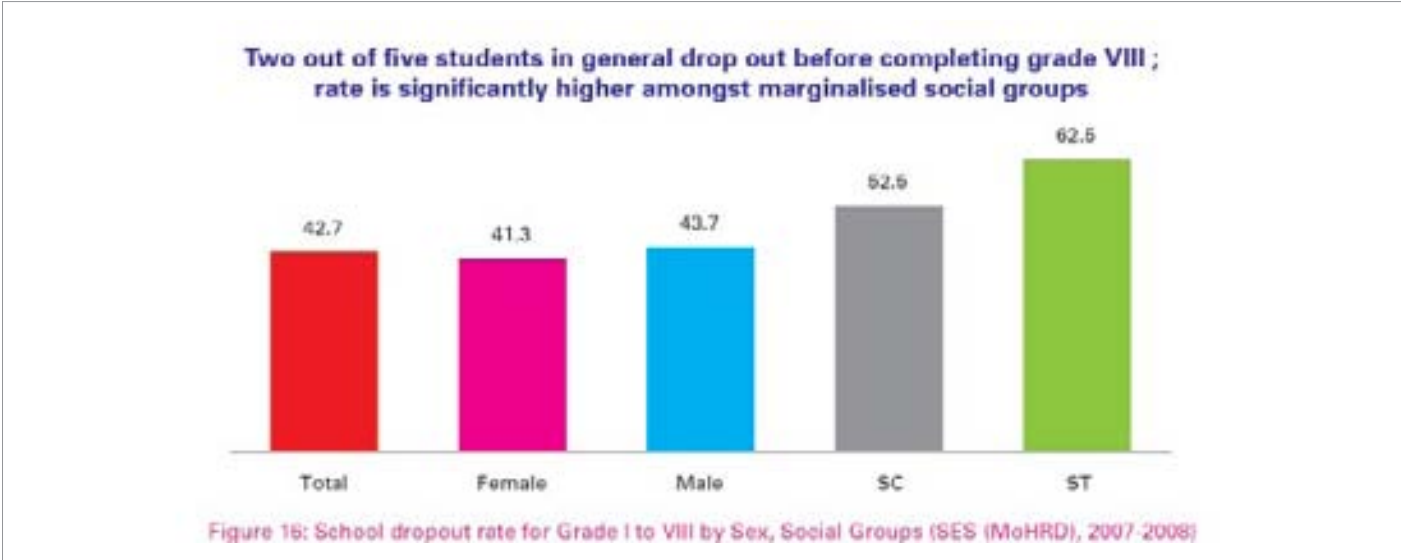
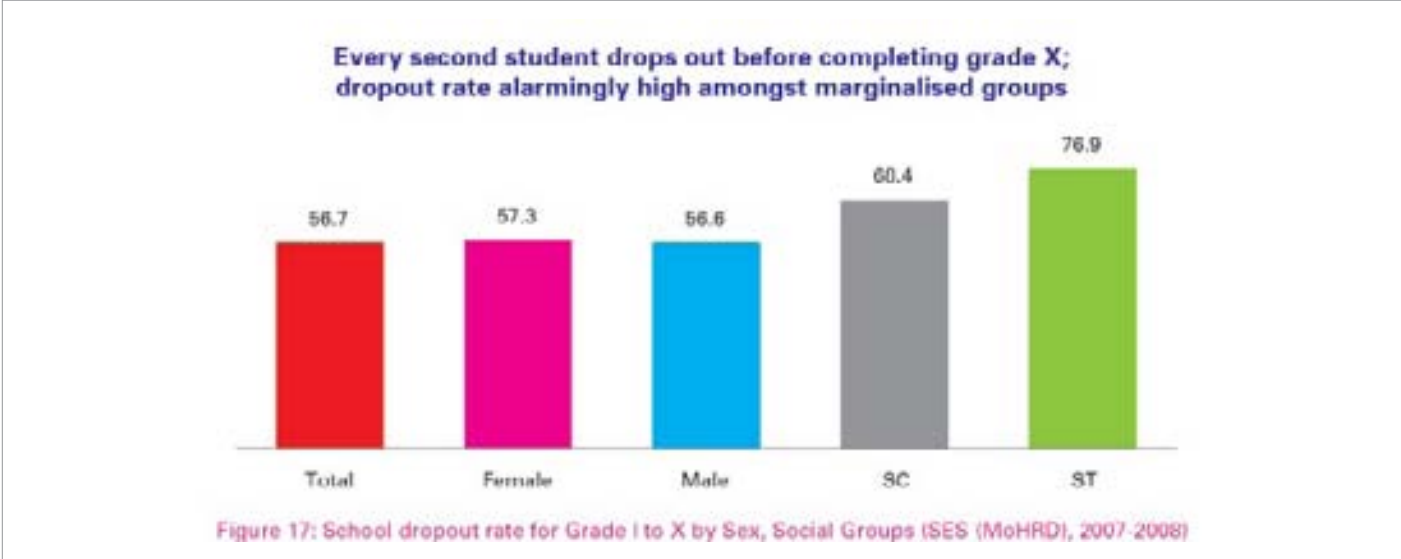


Figure 15 presents the school dropout rate across grade I to V disaggregated by sex and social group of the student. On the whole, one out of every four student drops out before completion of grade V. The dropout rate for girls is marginally lower than boys (24.4% and 25.7% respectively). However, the dropout rate amongst the scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) groups (30.1% and 31.3% respectively) is significantly higher than the aggregate.

Around 43% of students drop out before completion of grade VIII (Figure 16). The dropout rate for girls is marginally lower than boys at 41.3% and 43.7% respectively.



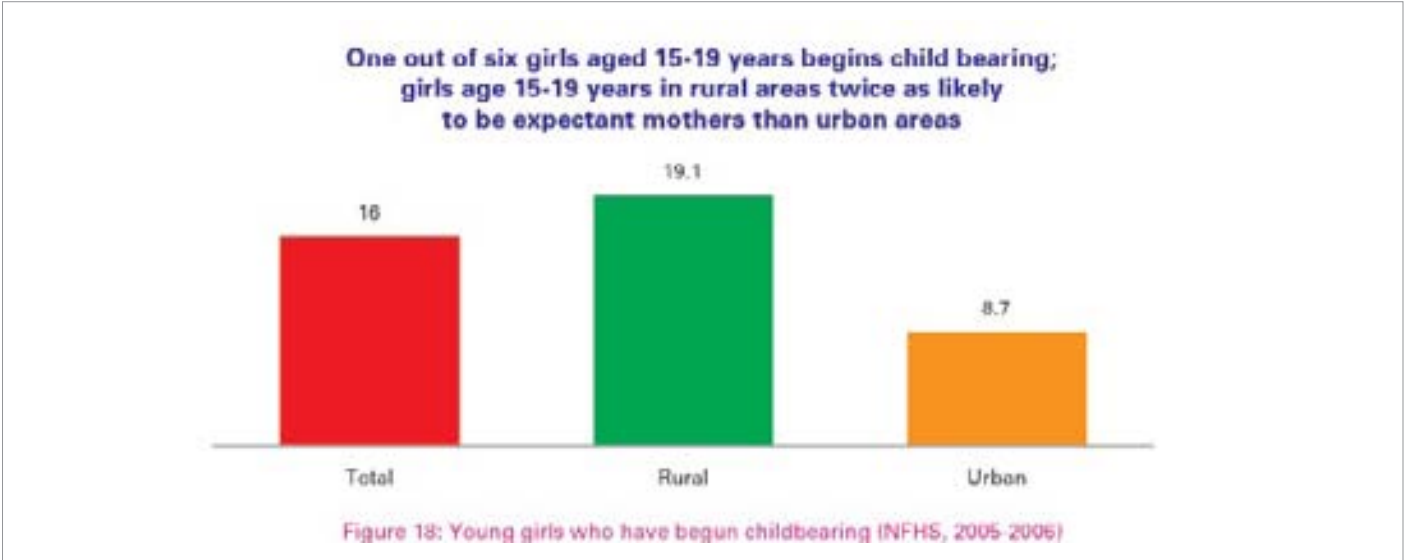
However, the dropout rate amongst the scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) groups (52.5% and 62.5% respectively) is significantly higher than the aggregate. This suggests the absence of equity in access to education, particularly amongst the marginalised social groups.



The school dropout rate across grade I to X disaggregated by sex and social group (Figure 17) presents a grim reality. Around 57% of students drop out before completion of grade X. The dropout rate for girls is marginally higher than boys (57.3% and 56.6% respectively). However, the dropout rate amongst the scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) groups (68.4% and 76.9% respectively) is significantly higher than the aggregate.

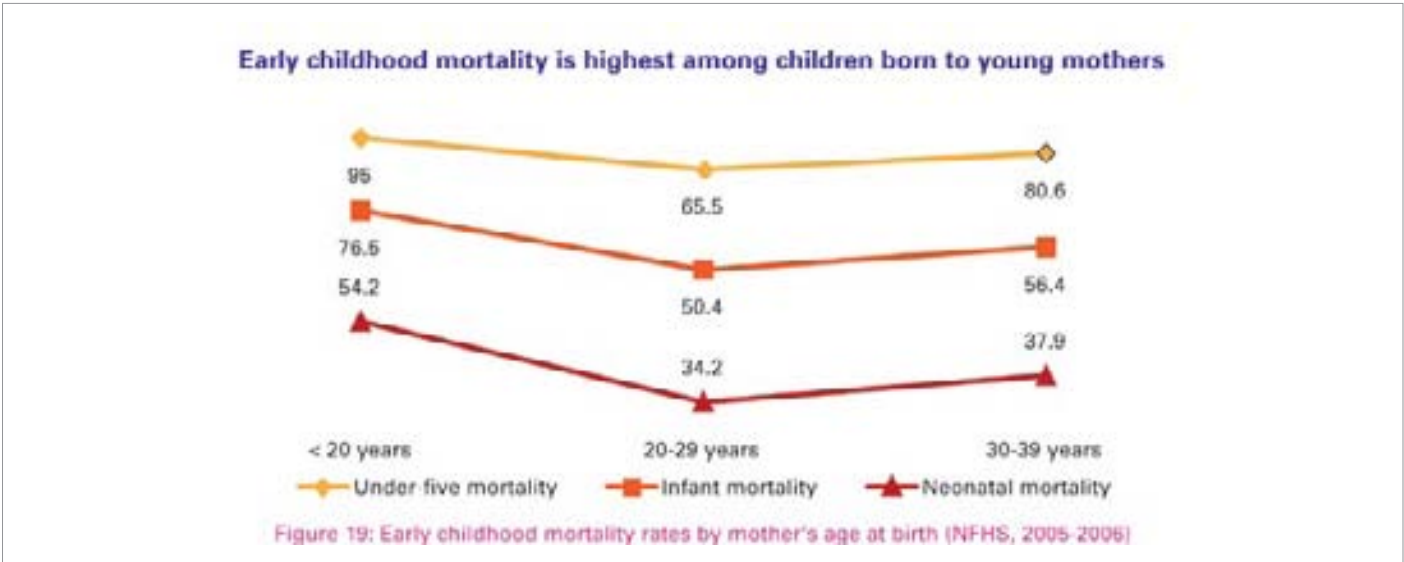
Child bearing and mortality

Child marriage is associated with a range of health related risks, in particular due to the likeliness of early delivering of babies. Child bearing at a young age is fraught with complications as girls’ bodies are yet to attain physical maturity to withstand the stress of child bearing. The young brides are also psychologically under prepared for child care and motherhood. Young age pregnancy often results in fatal consequences for the mother and child.



The percentage of women age 15-19 years who have begun childbearing (includes those who have had a live birth as well as women currently pregnant with their first child) varies significantly based on the geographical location (Figure 18). One in six (16%) girls in the age group 15-19 years has begun child bearing. The percentage of teenage mothers varies from 19.1% in rural areas to 8.7% in urban areas. There are at least two girls aged 15-19 years in rural areas for every young girl in urban areas who has begun child bearing.

Figure 19 presents the mortality rates within the first month of life (neonatal mortality), within the first year of life (infant mortality), as well as within the first five years of life (under-five mortality) disaggregated by mother’s age at the child’s birth. Women younger than twenty years old have higher rates of new born mortality than women aged 20-39 years.



Women’s Empowerment

Child marriage is embedded in patriarchal values, which often translate into controlling different dimensions of life. Child brides are more likely not to be involved in household decisions and are more likely to be exposed to abuse, constraint of their movements and isolation. Data concerning the empowerment of women in different dimensions of life is therefore interesting to consider when analysing child marriage. Although the data below shows that women’s empowerment is poor across age groups, it is clear that different aspects of women’s empowerment are particularly weak for child brides.

The percentage of women who contribute to household decisions (Figure 20) presents marked differences in participation based on age group. The household decisions were clustered into four major categories—own health care, major household purchases, daily household needs purchases, and visit to family and relatives.

In case of major household purchases, only one in four girls in age group 15-19 years is able to contribute as compared to one in two older women for age group 15-49 years. Around one in three girls (15-19 years) contribute towards deciding on purchase of daily household needs or visit to family/relatives whilst this ratio is significantly higher, around three in five, for older women (15-49 years). About two in five girls are able to participate in the decision of seeking health care for self. In comparison, three in five girls are able to decide about seeking health care.

Across all the decision making categories, girls in the age group 15-19 years contributed least in the decision making process. The contribution to decision making positively correlates with age—at least one in two women in age group 25 years and above made contributions to the decision making process.

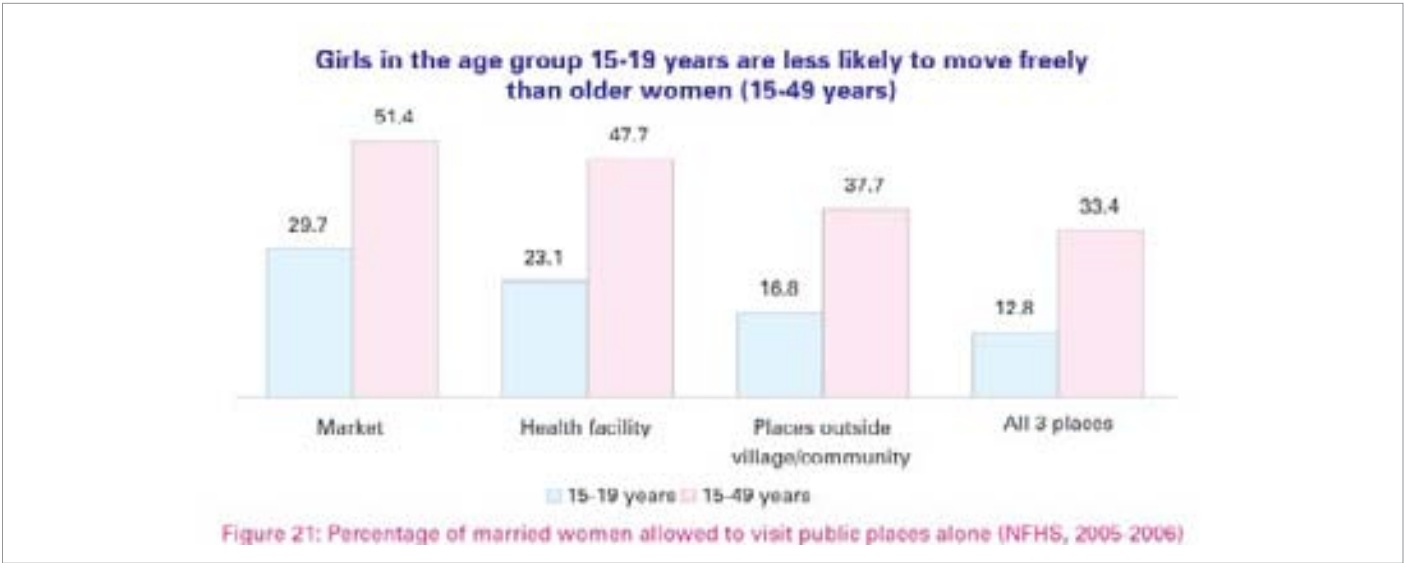
The indicators on the freedom of movement of women outside home (Figure 20) present the limited mobility options available to women but especially to younger married girls (15-19 years). Freedom of movement includes movement to three different places—the market, the health facility, and to places outside the village or community.

Adolescent brides have limited mobility to public places. Around one in six girls can venture outside village/ community alone whilst one in five girls is able to visit health facilities alone. Only one in three girls goes alone to the market.

The freedom of movement improves steadily with age and is highest for the age group 40 years and above. One in two women in age group 40 years and above is able to exercise freedom over access to public places



compared to around one in seven in age group 15-19 years. Although mobility seems to be improving with the increase in age, half of the women in age group 40-49 years are still not allowed to go to public places alone.



The percentage of women who have access to financial resources disaggregated by broad age groups (Figure 21) indicates that younger married girls (15-19 years) have lesser access to financial resources than older married women (15-49 years). Financial resources is characterised by four indicators—money of their own that they alone can decide how to use; a bank or savings account that they themselves use; knowledge and use of micro-credit and similar programmes; and availing a loan, in cash or in kind, from any micro-credit and similar programmes to start or expand a business.

The pattern across all the four decisions reveals that girls in the age group 15-19 years have the least access to financial resources. Only 7% of girls operate their own bank/savings account and around one in three have knowledge of microcredit programme or have their own money. Out of the girls who knew of a microcredit programme, only 1% had availed a micro credit loan.

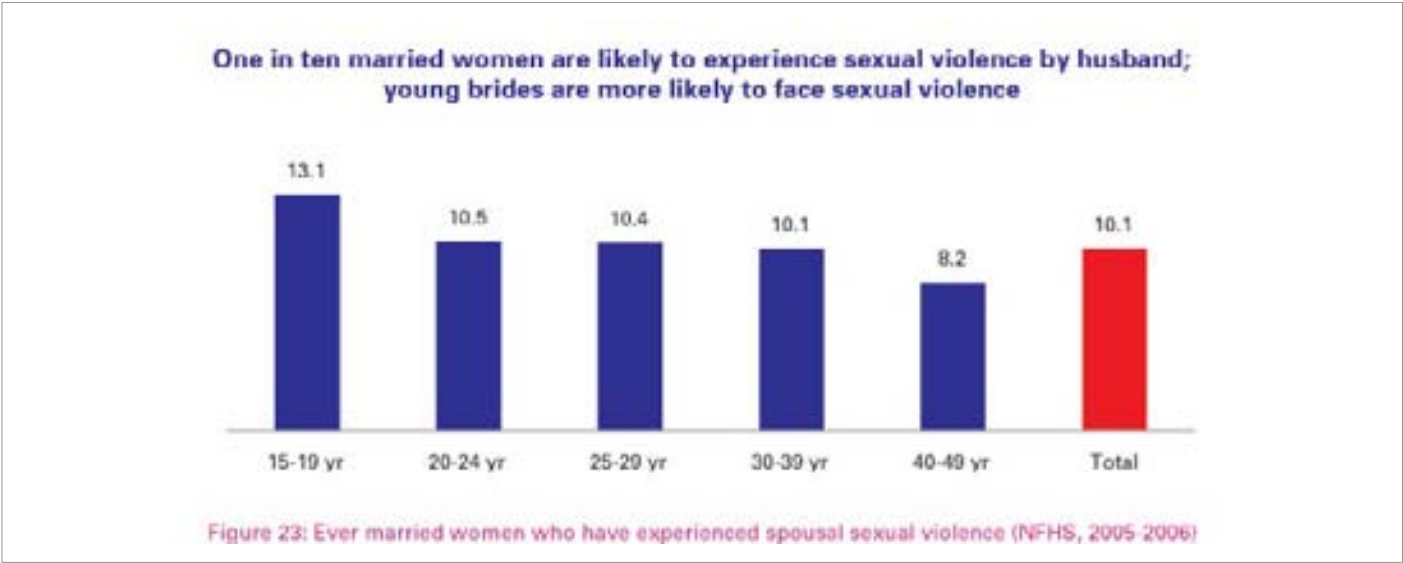
Instead, at least 40% of women in age group 30 years and above had access to own money and had knowledge of microcredit programme. However, only one in five women could operate their own bank/savings bank account and less than one in ten women had access to any micro credit loan.



Domestic Violence

Spousal violence, especially sexual violence (forcing to have sexual intercourse or perform sexual acts without consent) perpetrated by the husband has severe and damaging consequences. Evidence suggests that child brides are more likely to be exposed to violence or abuse.

Figure 23 presents the percentage of ever married women who have experienced sexual violence by husband disaggregated by broad age groups. In aggregate, one in 10 ever married women aged 15-49 years had experienced sexual violence by husband. The chart reveals that the incidence of sexual violence is highest in the early marriages—around 13% of ever married women aged 15-19 years had experienced sexual violence in comparison to 8% in the 40-49 year age group.



CONCLUSIONS

The document has provided an overview of child marriage trends across India. It has looked at the overall incidence of the phenomenon as well as at the causal/impact relation with education, health, domestic violence and women’s empowerment. In so doing, it has highlighted disparities across location, wealth groups and social groups. A similar analysis of indicators has been conducted for the States, while District maps on the incidence of child marriage have been provided in the Appendix.

From the analysis it is clear that child marriage is still a widespread practice in the country and is affecting some geographical areas with higher intensity, in particular. It is also evident that child marriage is more likely to occur in certain areas of the country and among excluded groups, in households from the bottom quintile, and among girls. It is alarming to note that the pattern of decline is yet too slow.

The correlations between child marriage and education are seen in terms of causes and consequences. Although there is not factual evidence on school dropout occurring due to child marriage, the trends may suggest that lack of education could enhance the risk of child marriage; at the same time, child marriage may force girls and boys to drop out of school.

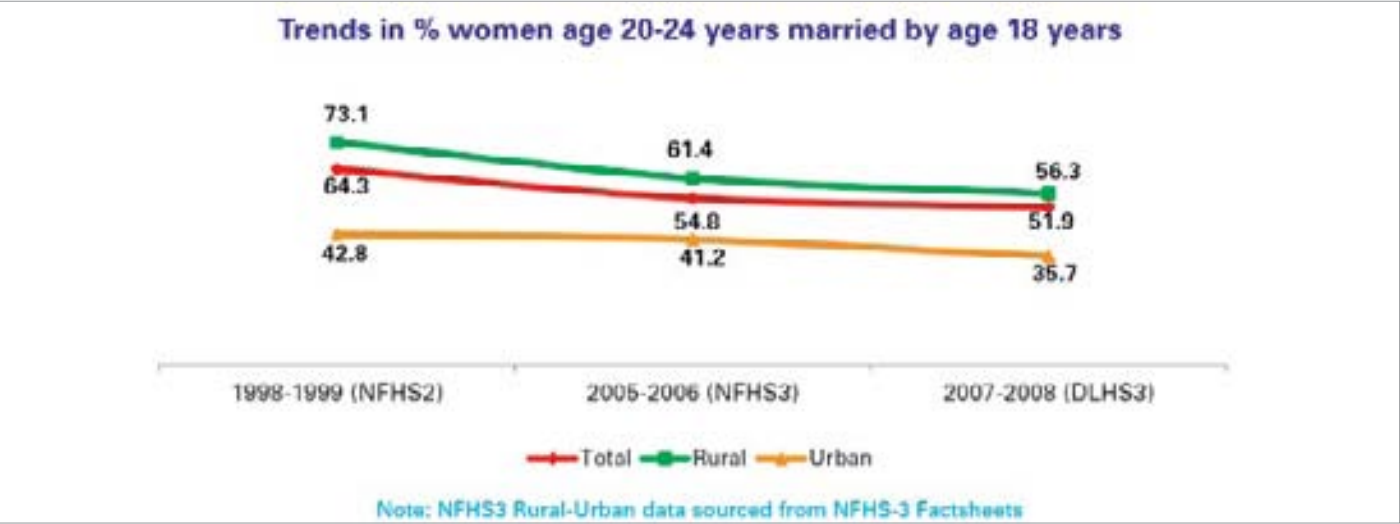
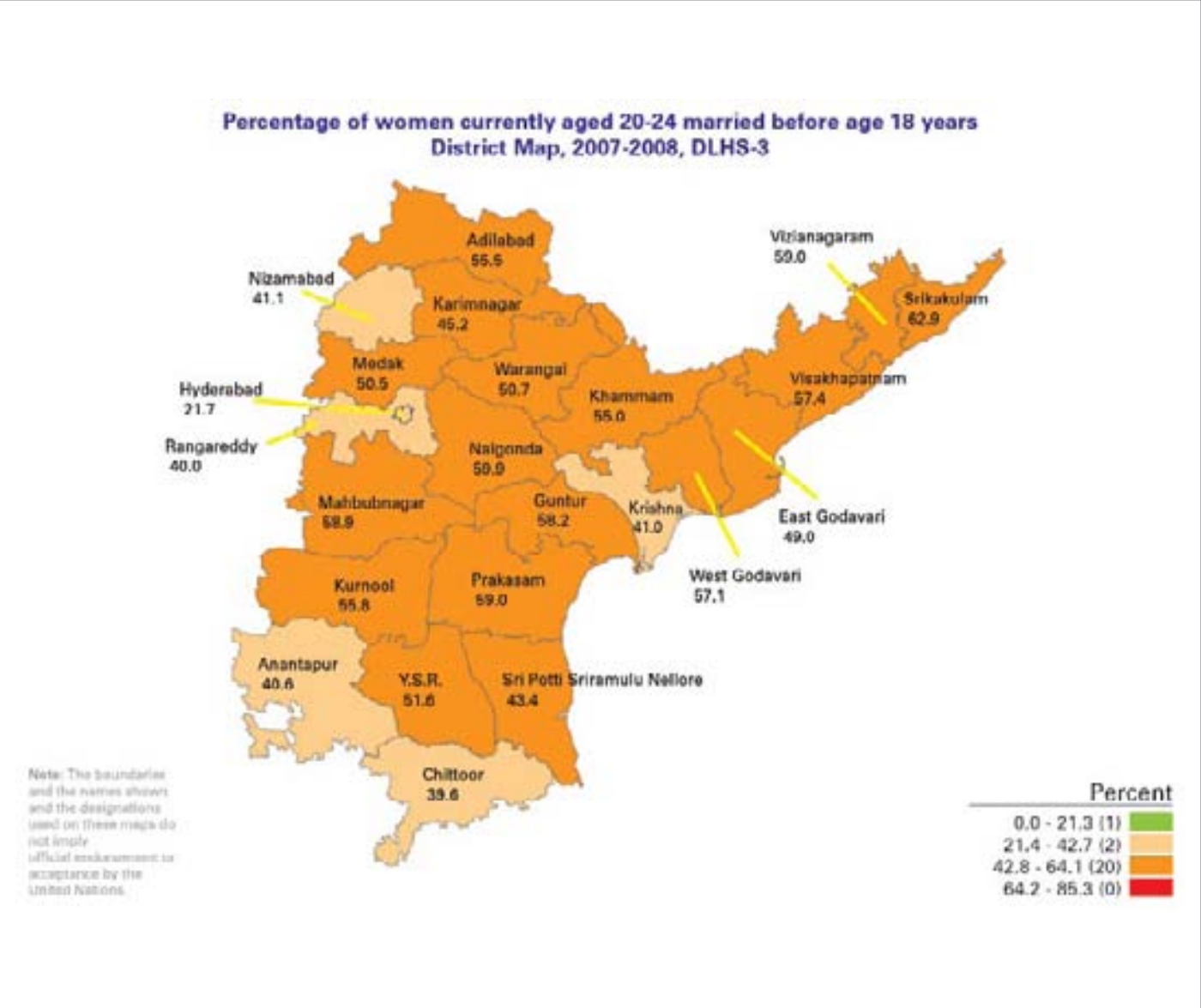
The data has also showed that younger brides may experience serious health consequences as they are more likely to have complications at delivery and mortality rates among their babies tends to be higher than in women from older age groups.

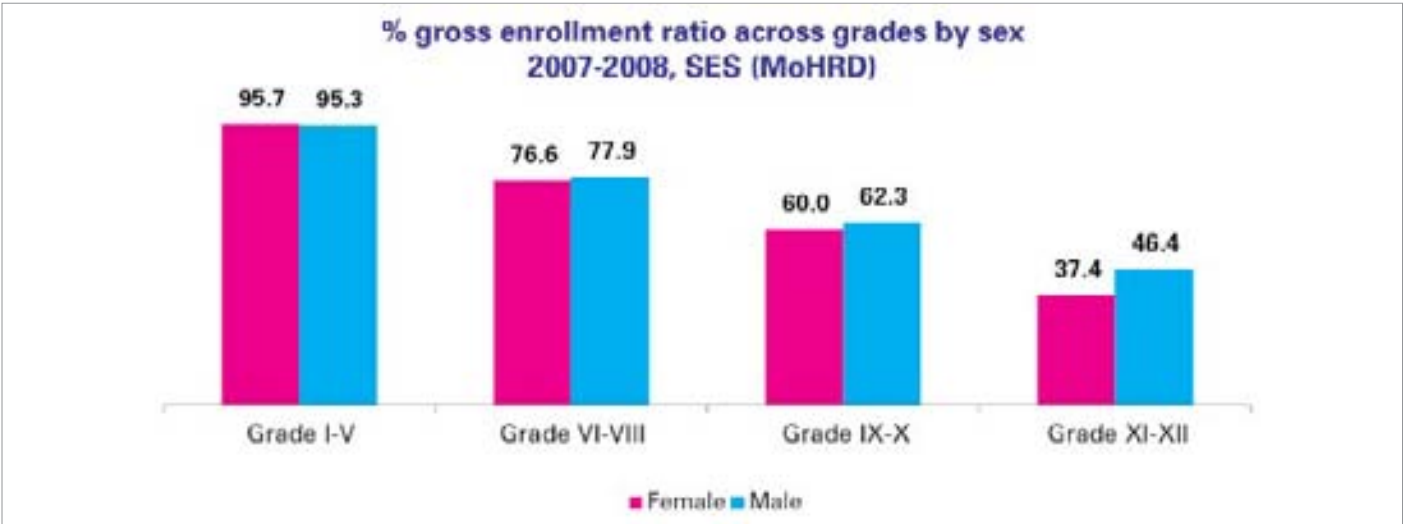
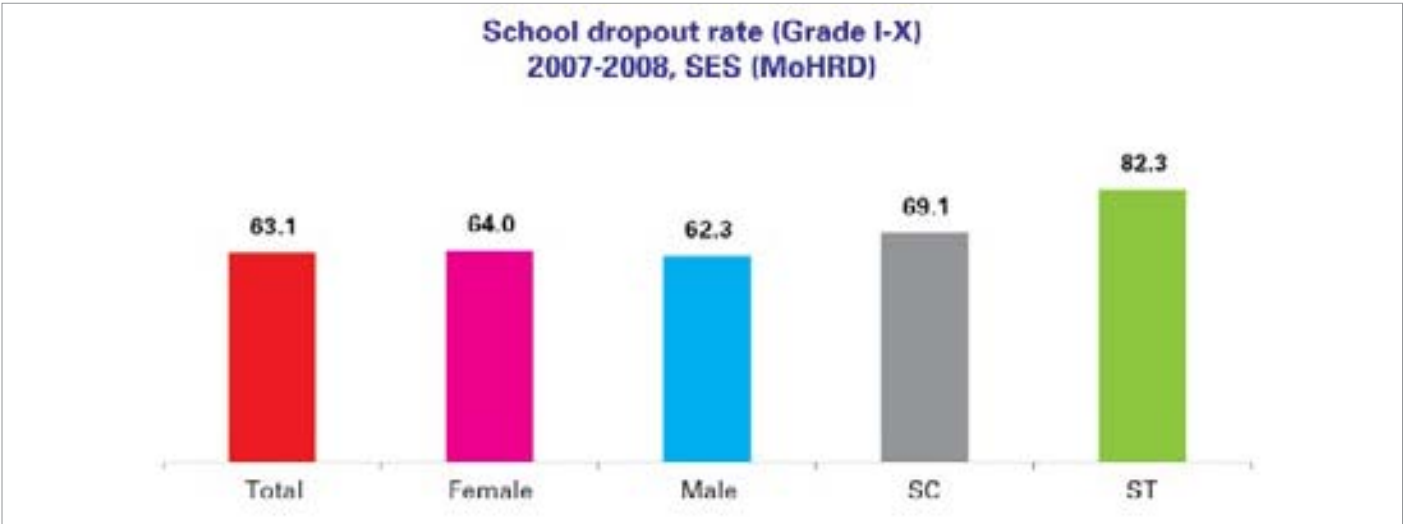
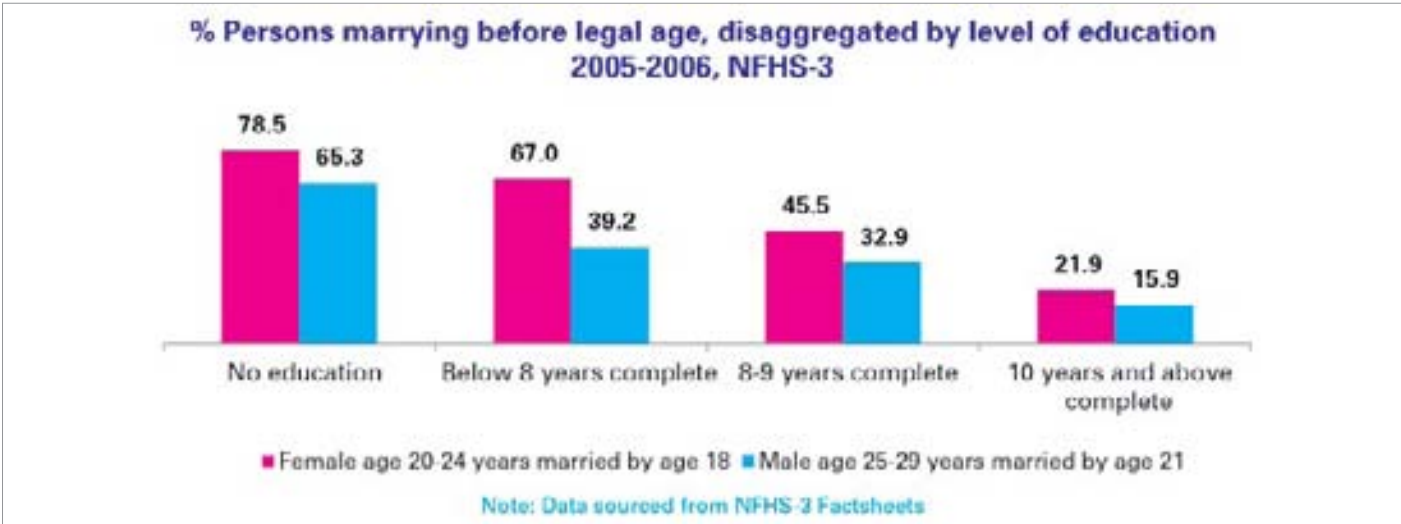
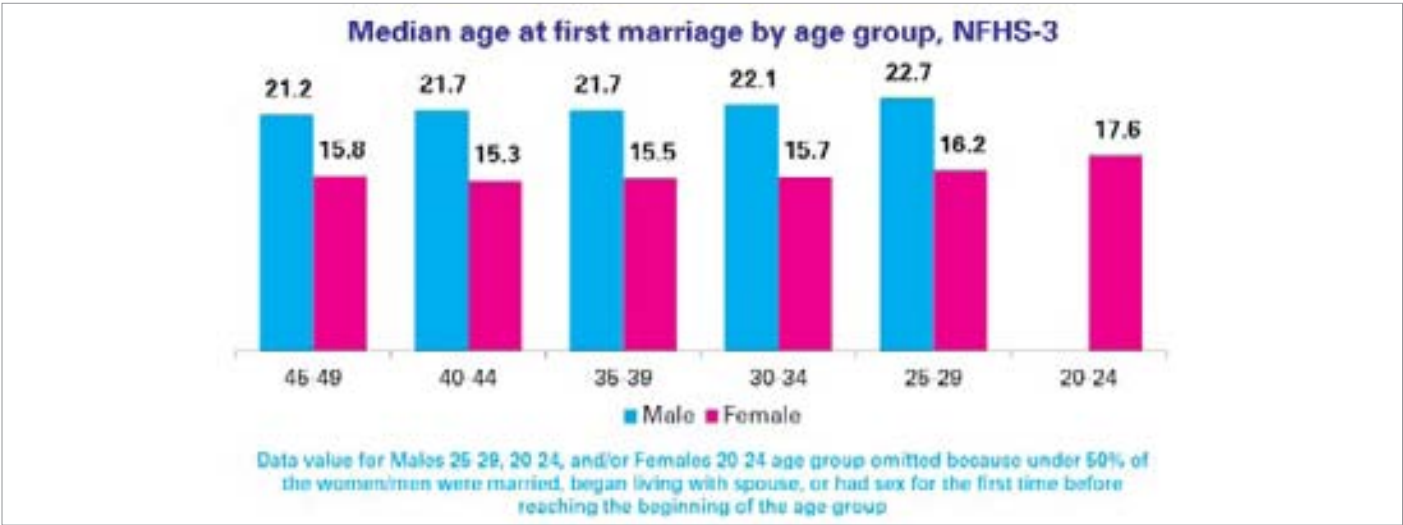
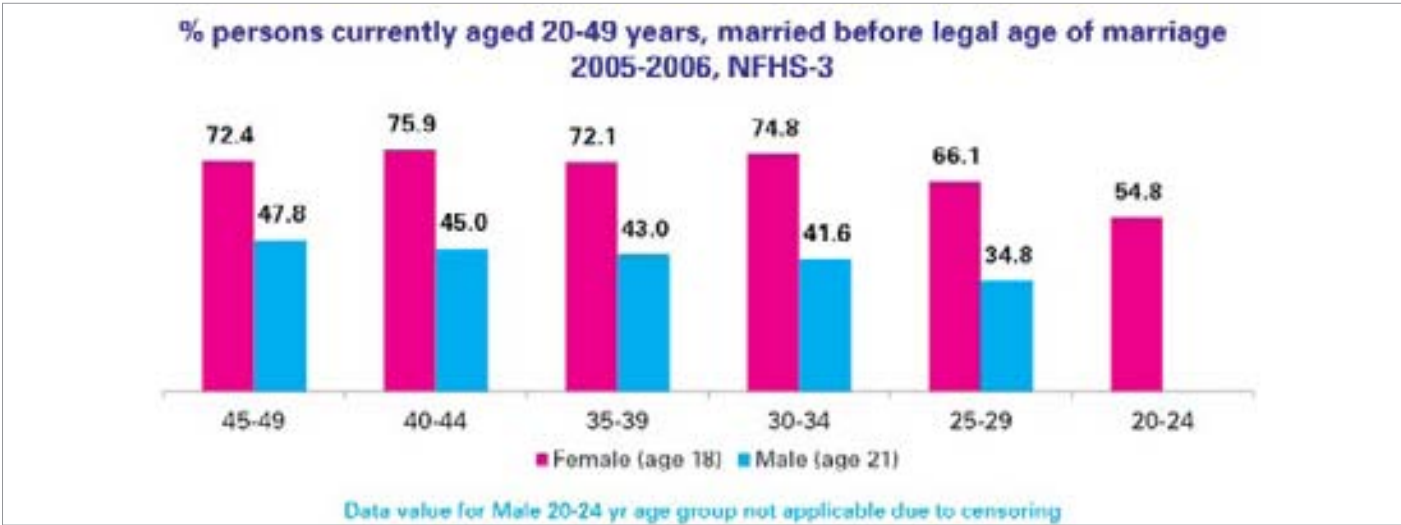
Finally, it is interesting to note the correlation between women’s freedom of movement and age group of brides. Although patriarchal values legitimise male dominance over many dimensions of women’s lives, it is possible to assume that the younger the bride the lower the capacity to be empowered and stand for her rights. In this context, we can also explain the higher incidence of domestic violence (and particularly sexual violence) for young brides.

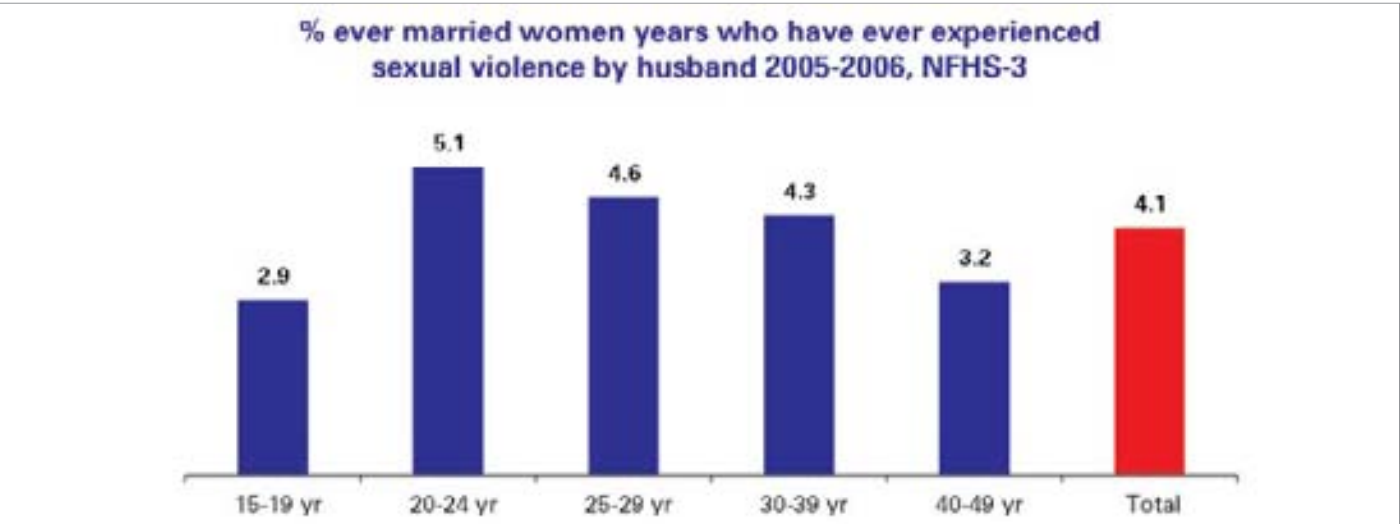
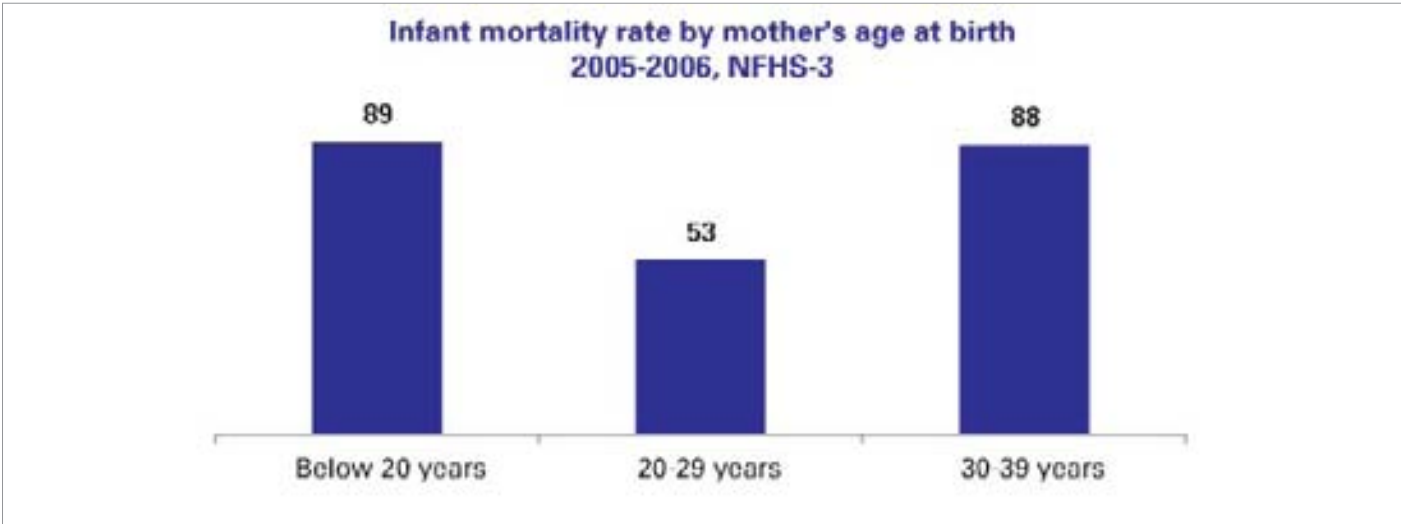
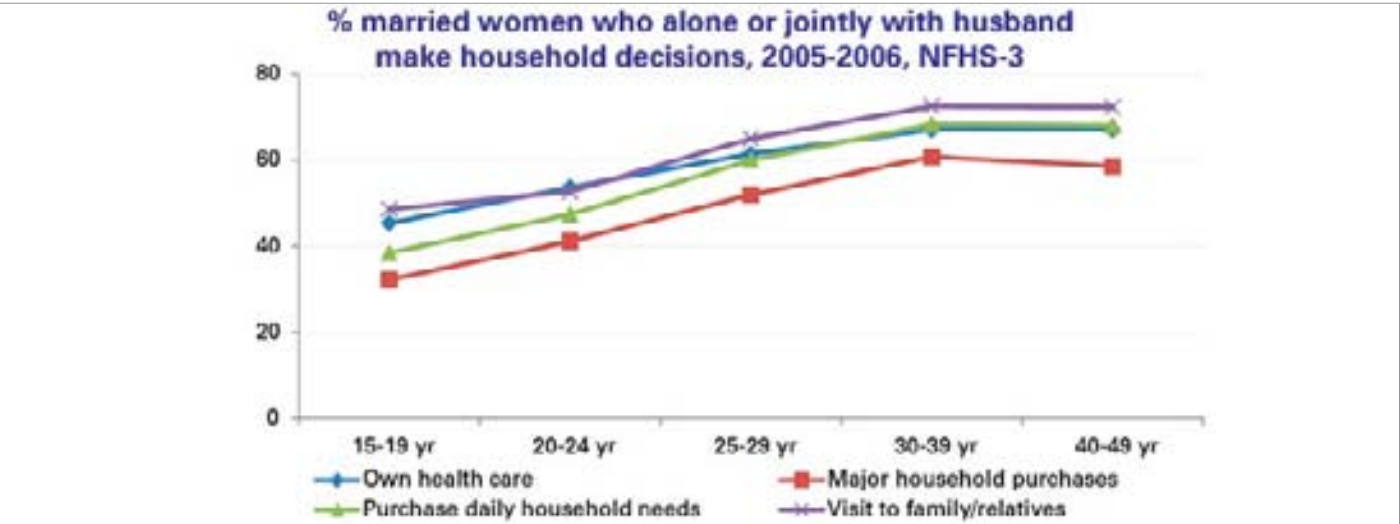
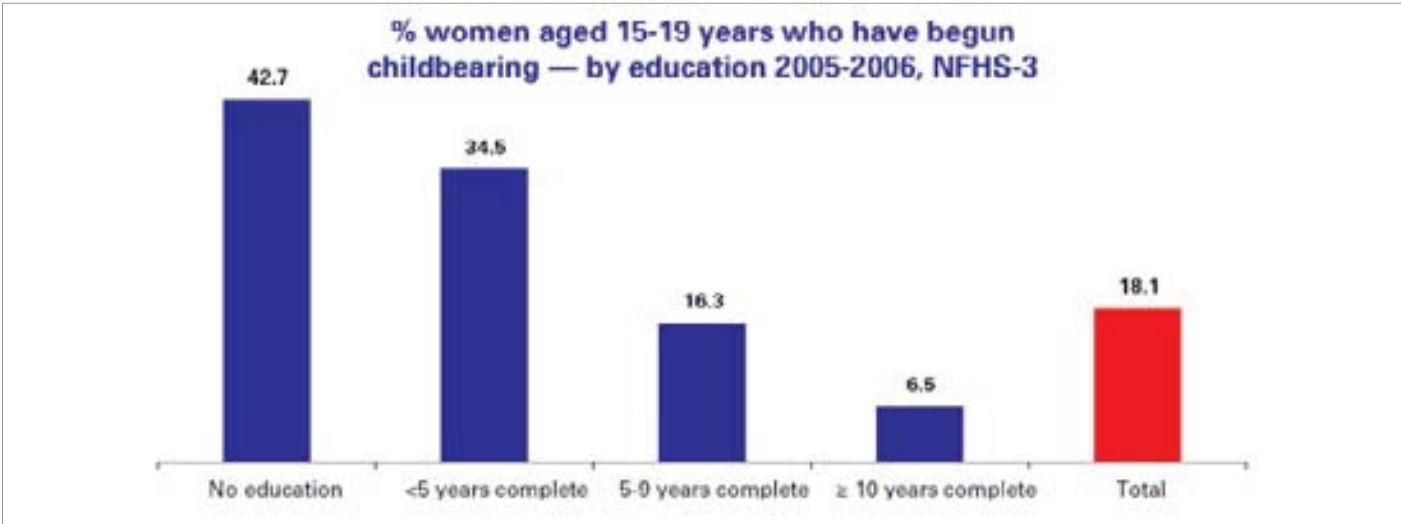
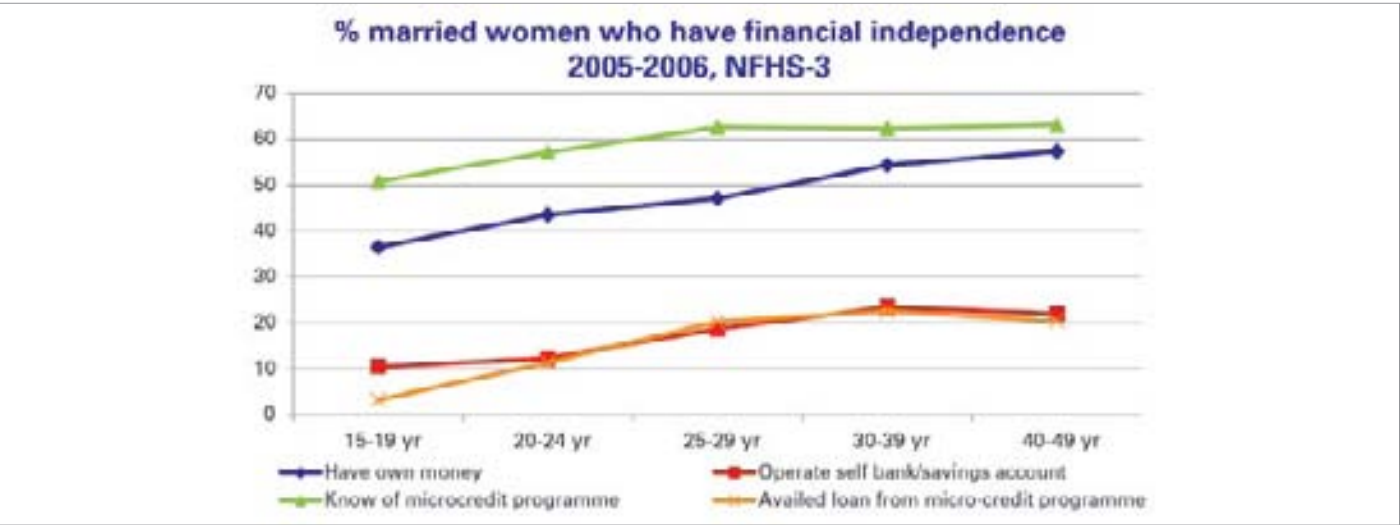
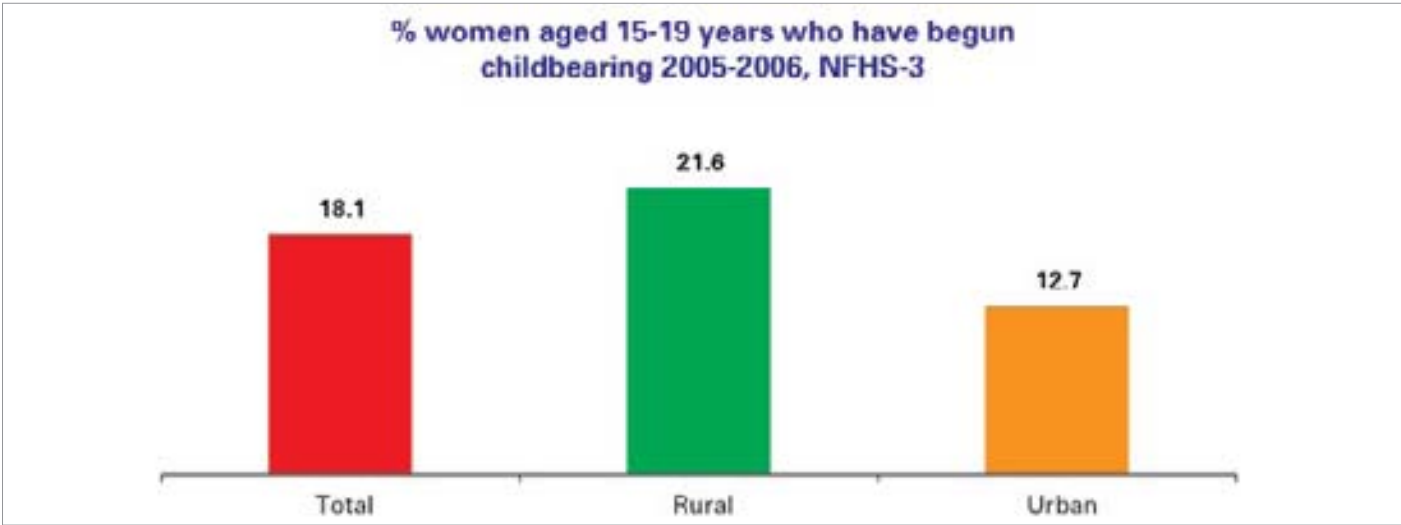
Given the multi-faceted nature of the phenomenon, it is important to highlight that addressing child marriage requires a comprehensive strategy targeting different dimensions, including education, empowerment and economic vulnerability. Although data does not disclose information on behaviours and beliefs around child marriage, promoting attitudes and behaviours which value the girl child and see the importance of education and freedom of choice is also essential.

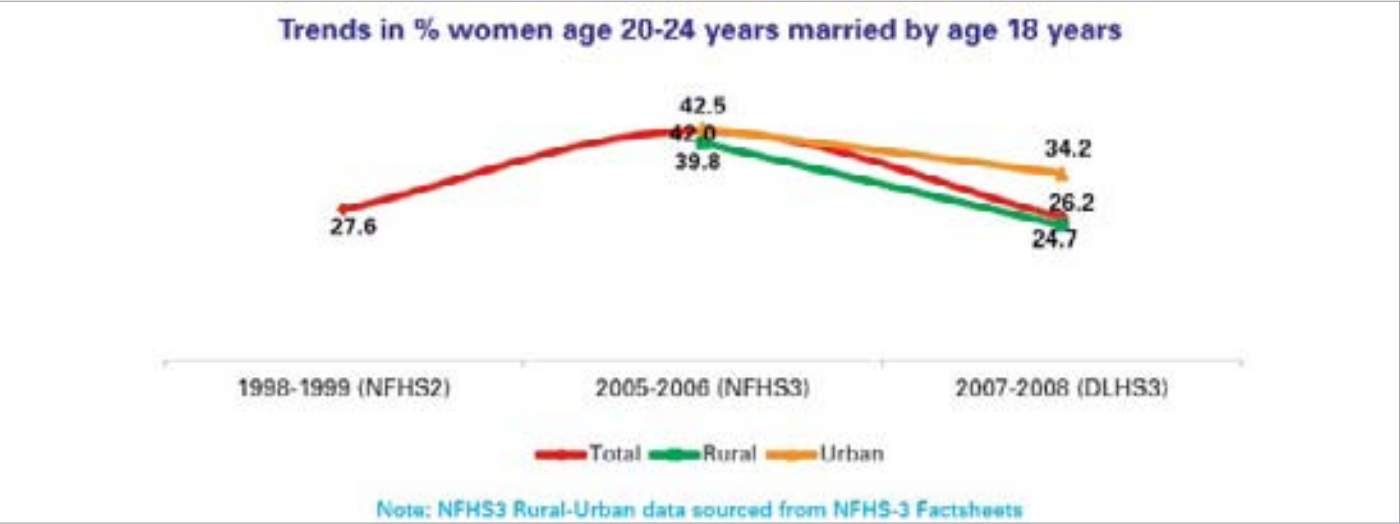
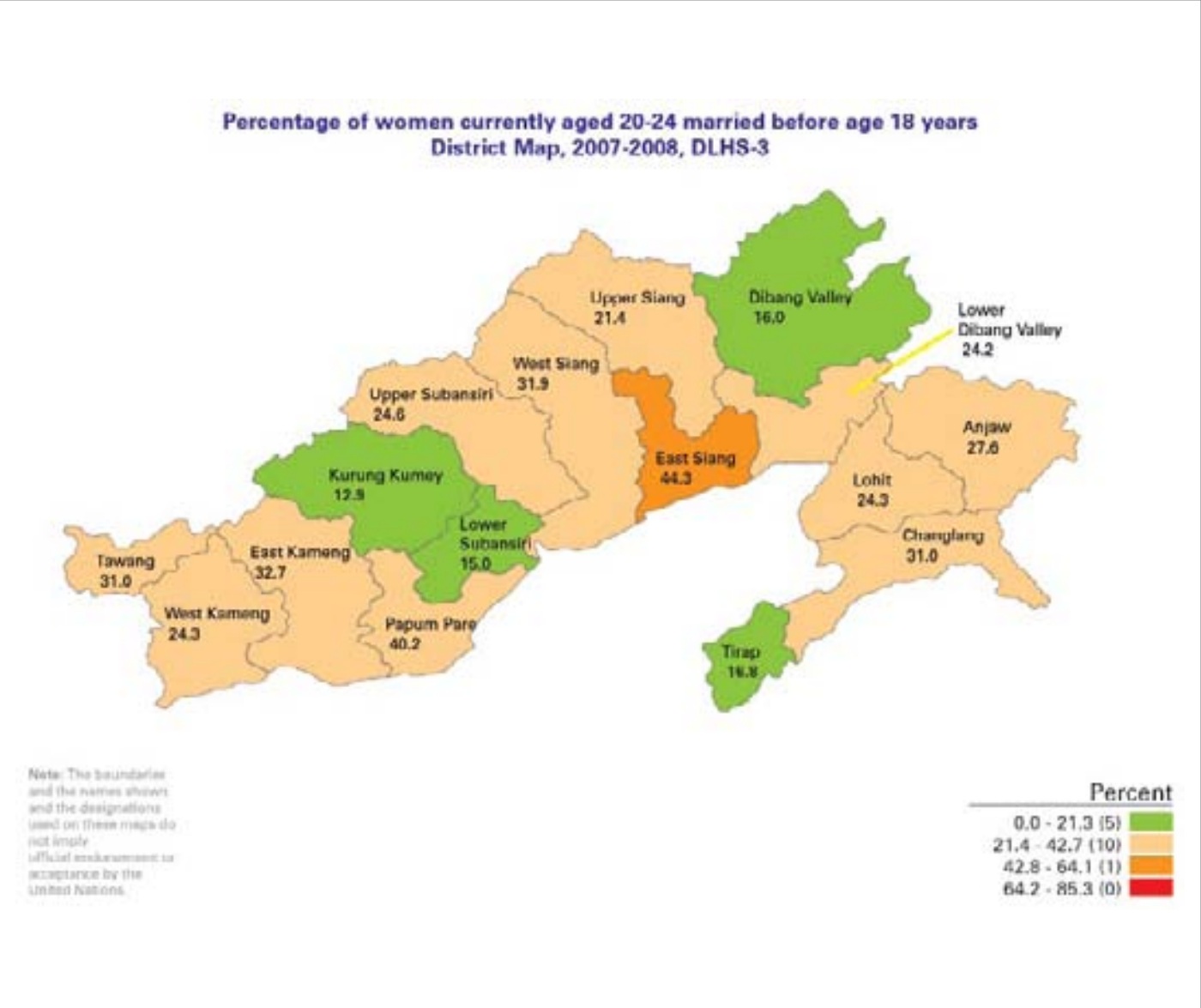
APPENDIX – FACTSHEETS & DISTRICT MAPS

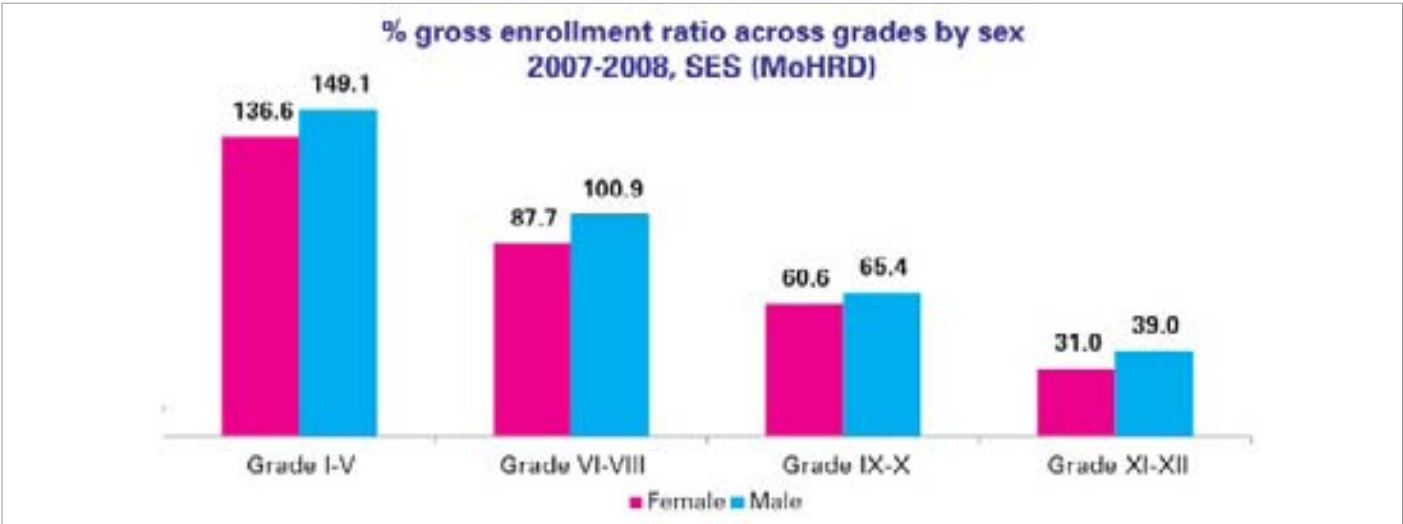
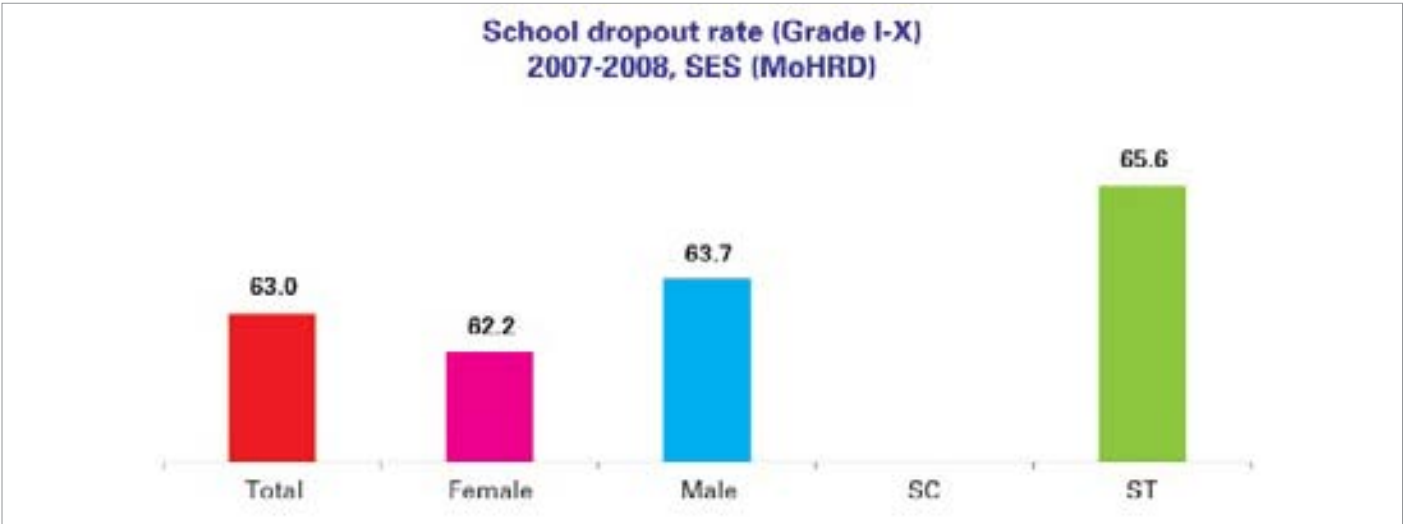
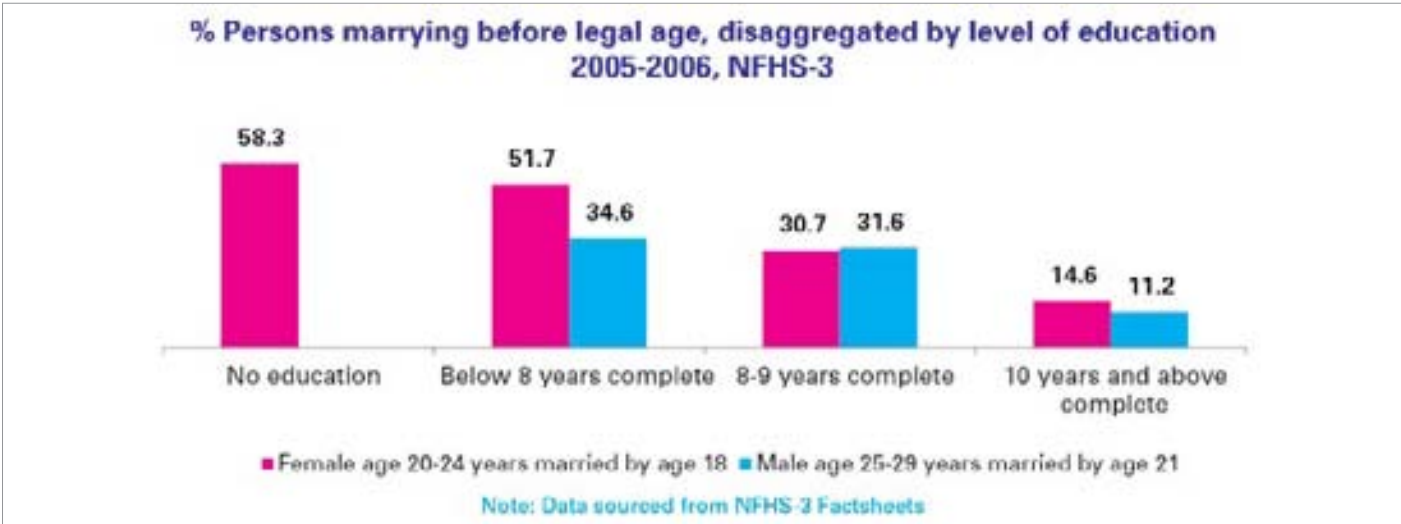
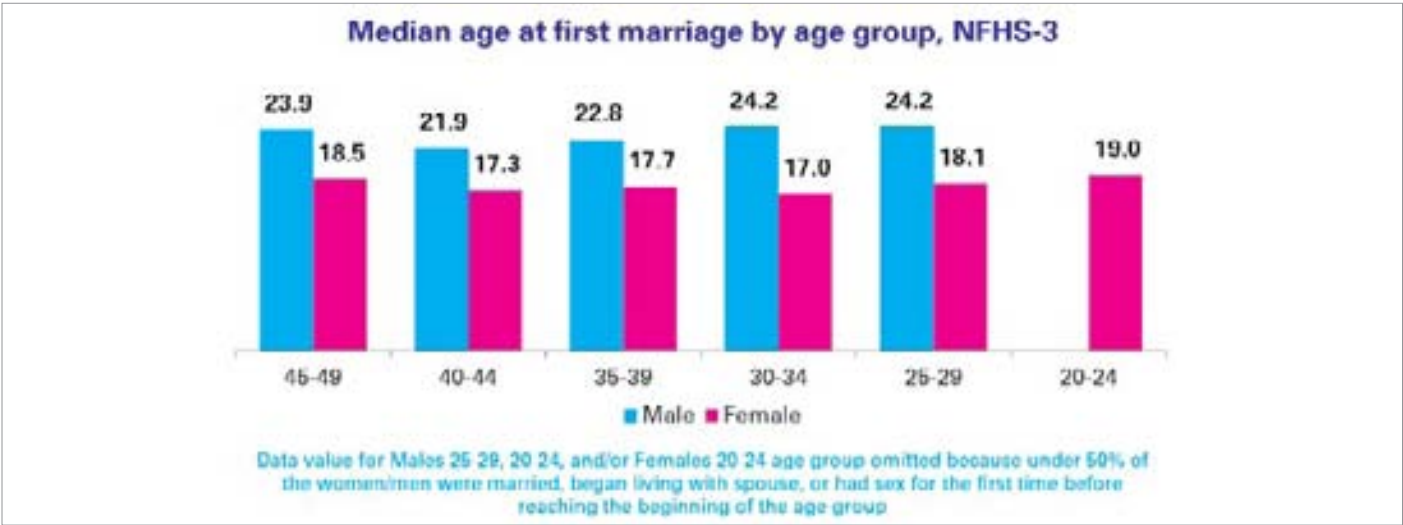
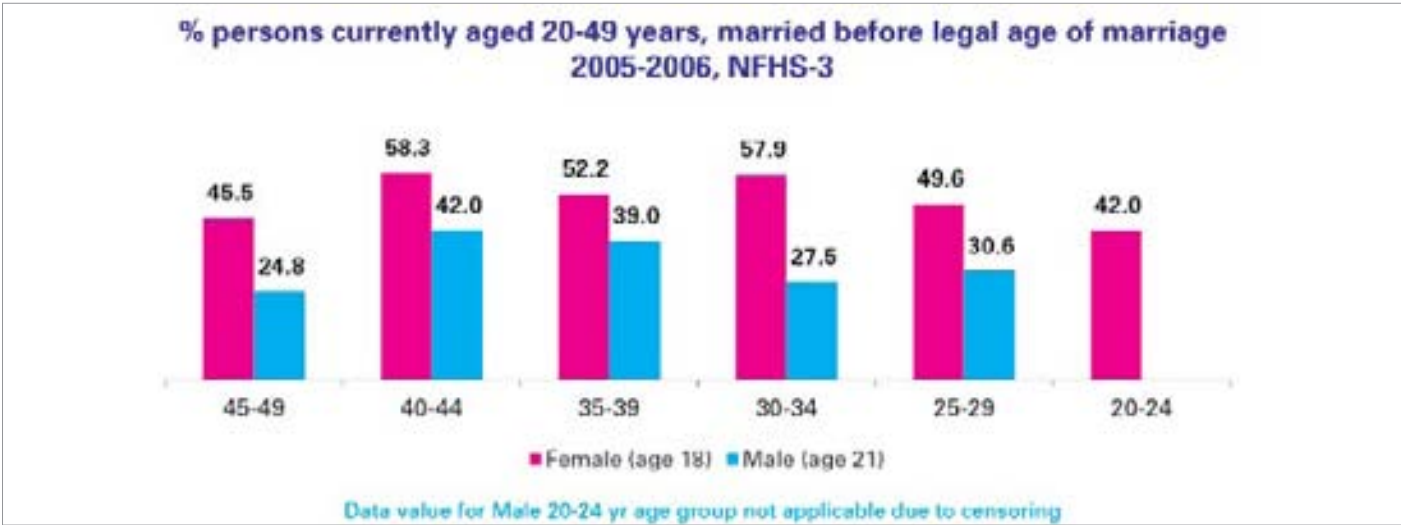
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ARUNACHAL PRADESH	35	MANIPUR	125
ASSAM	41	MEGHALAYA	131
BIHAR	47	MIZORAM	137
CHATTISGARH	53	NAGALAND	143
NCT OF DELHI	59	ODISHA	149
GOA	65	PUNJAB	155
GUJARAT	71	RAJASTHAN	161
HARYANA	77	SIKKIM	167
HIMACHAL PRADESH	83	TAMIL NADU	173
JAMMU & KASHMIR	89	TRIPURA	179
JHARKHAND	95	UTTARAKHAND	185
KARNATAKA	101	UTTAR PRADESH	191
KERALA	107	WEST BENGAL	197
MADHYA PRADESH	113		

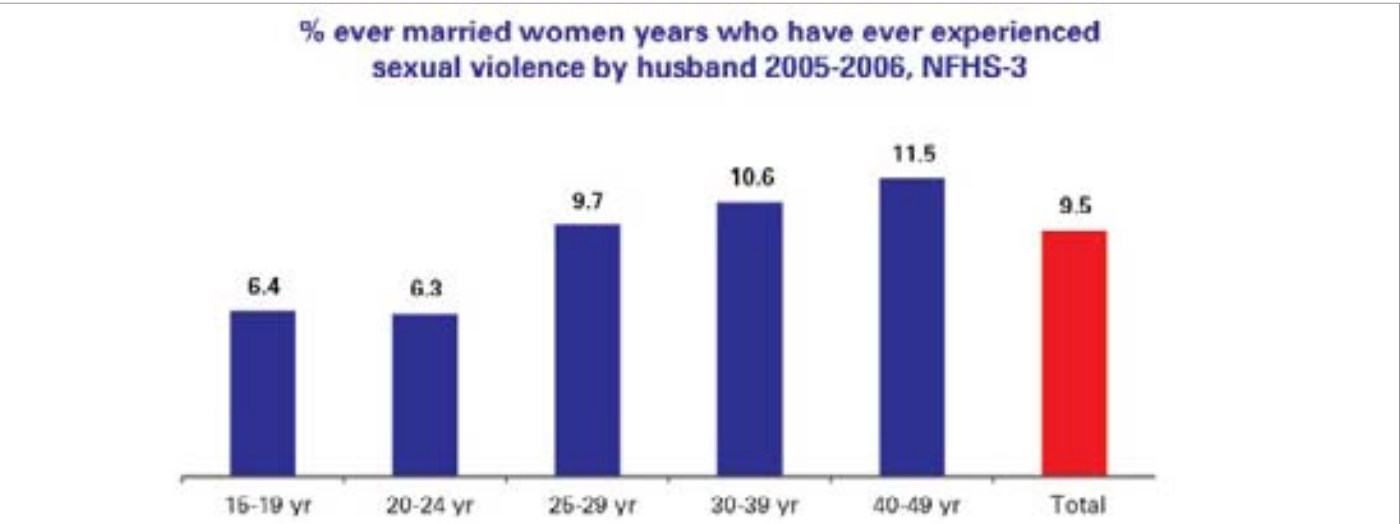
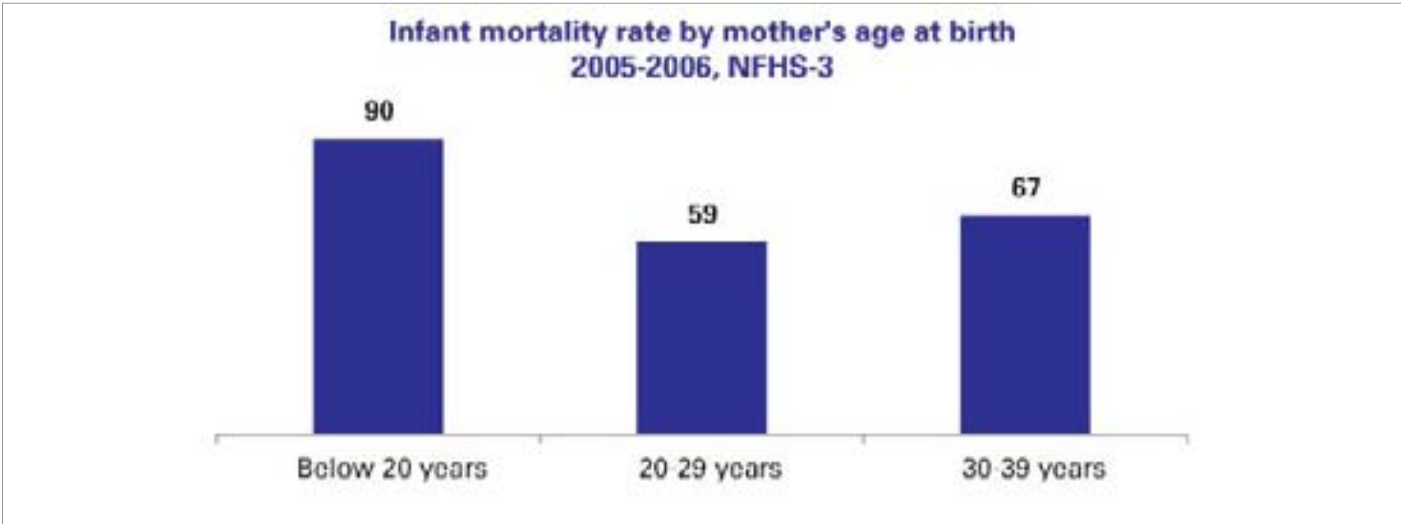
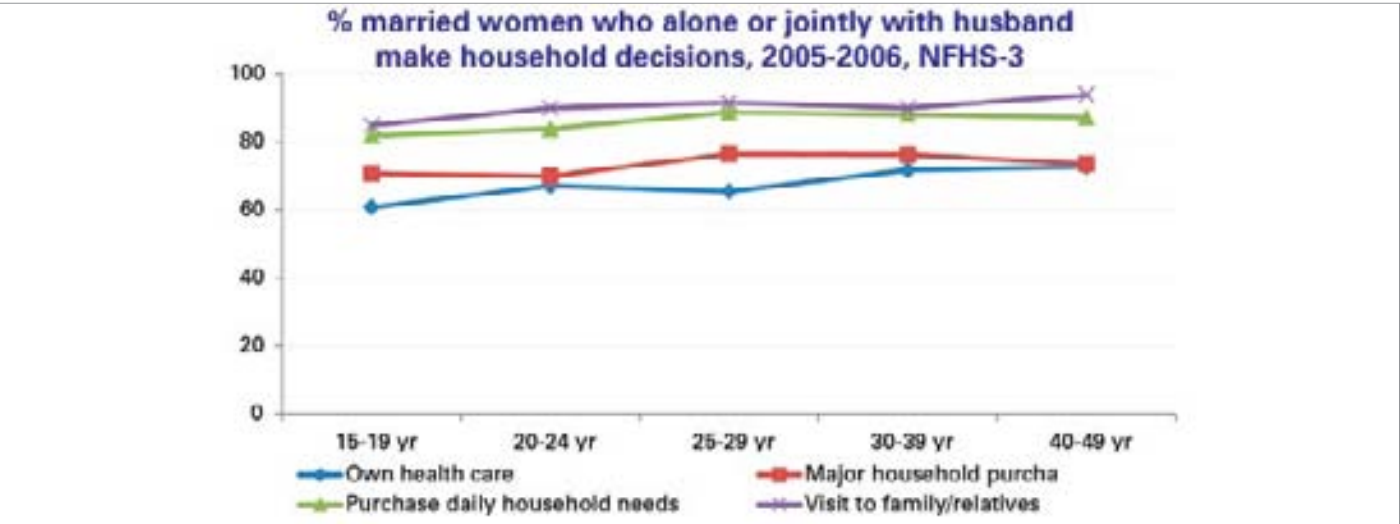
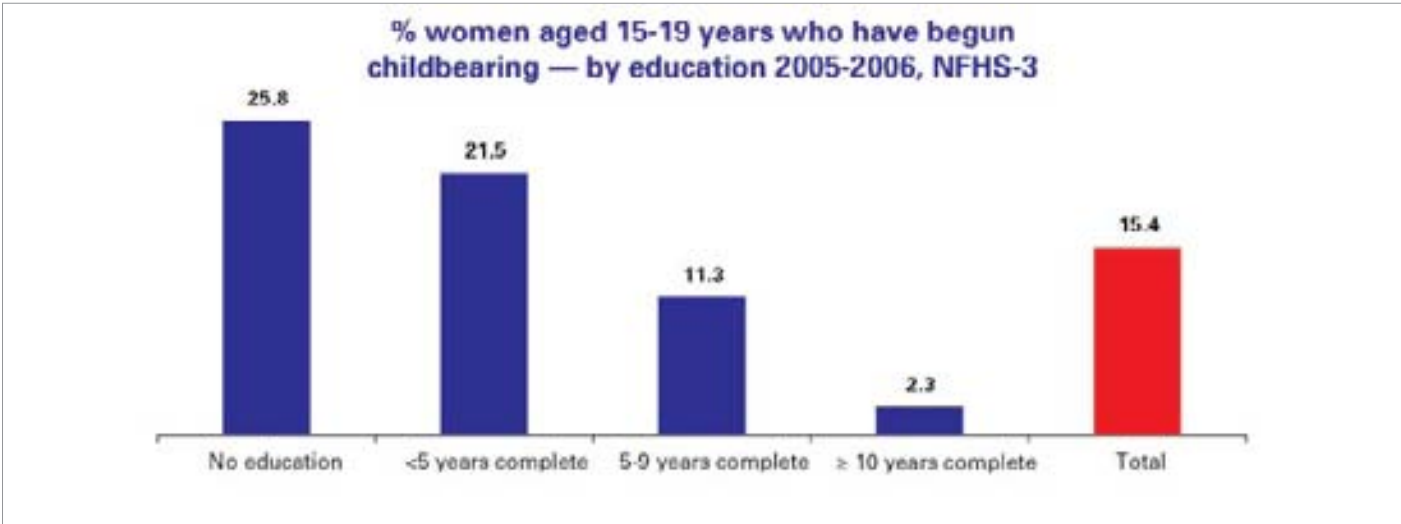
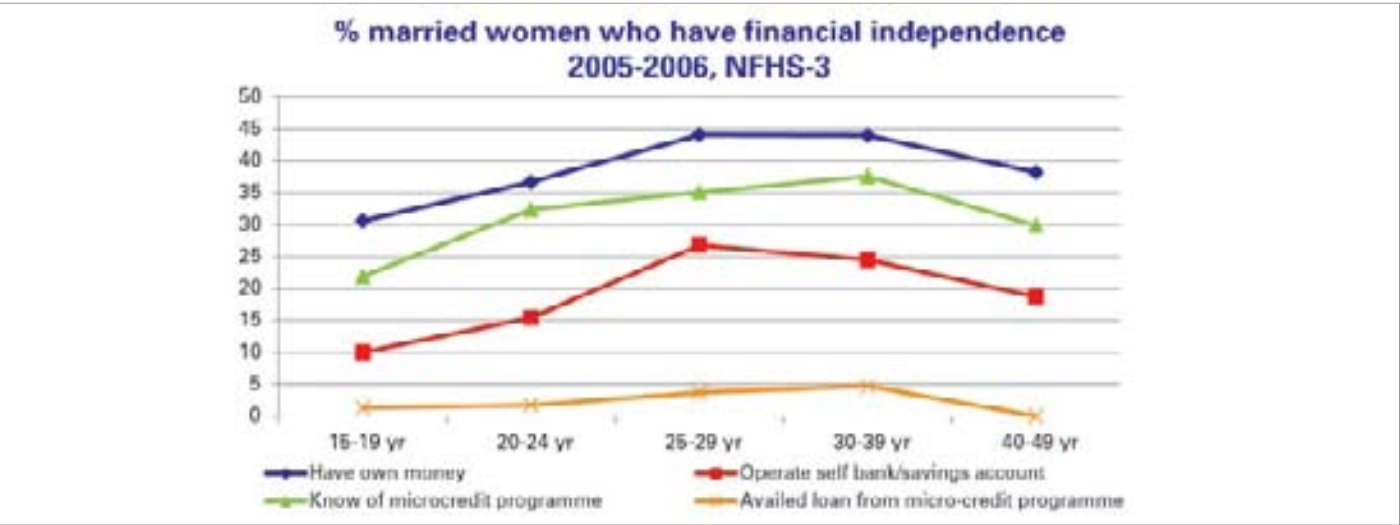
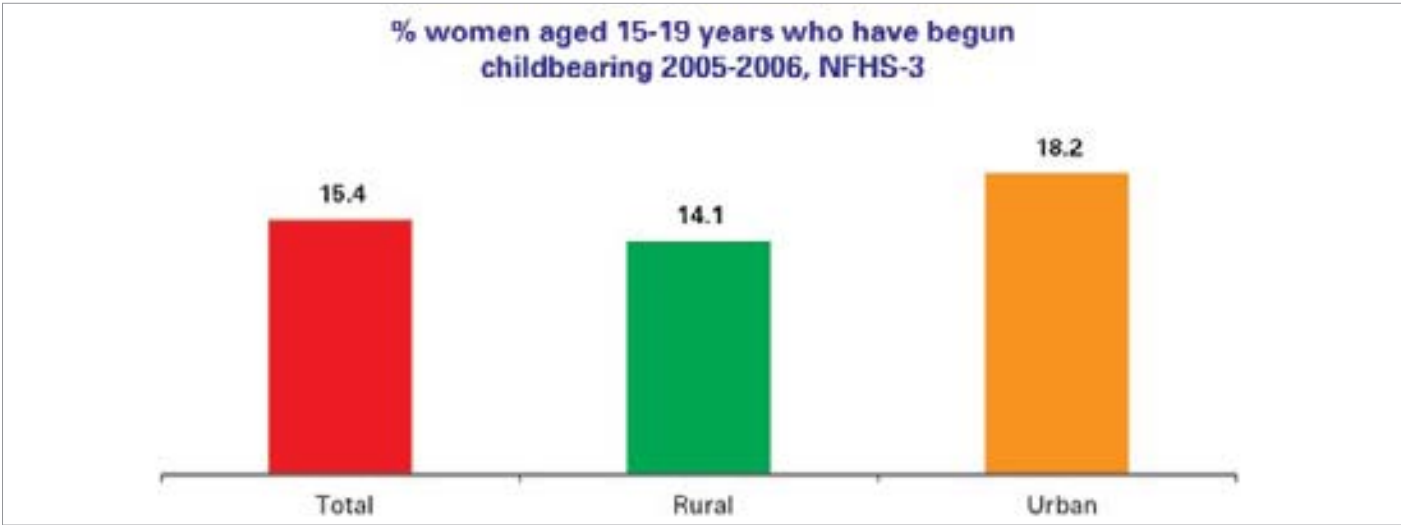


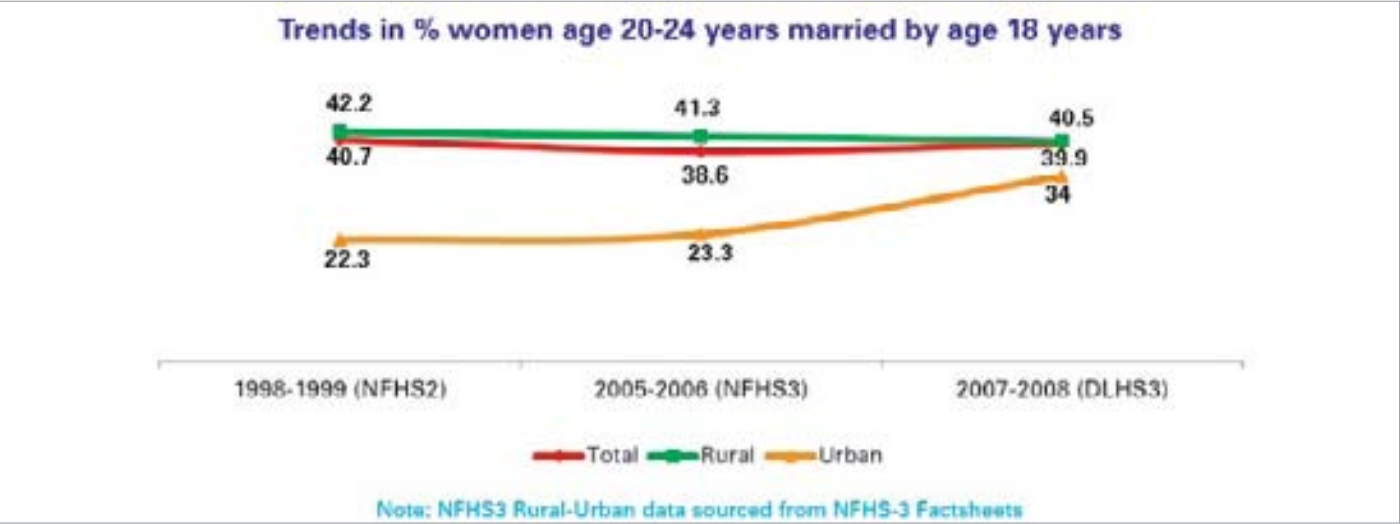
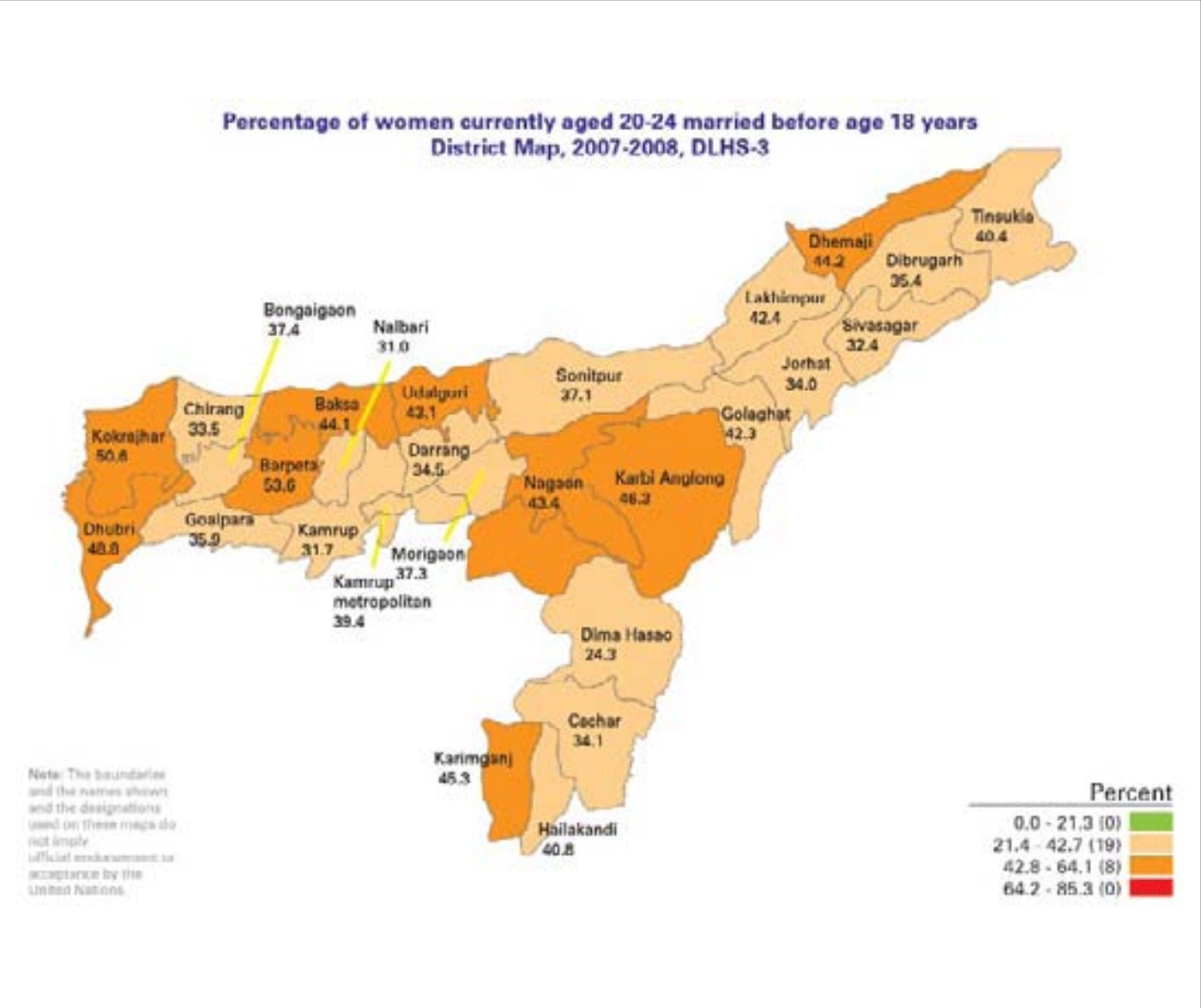


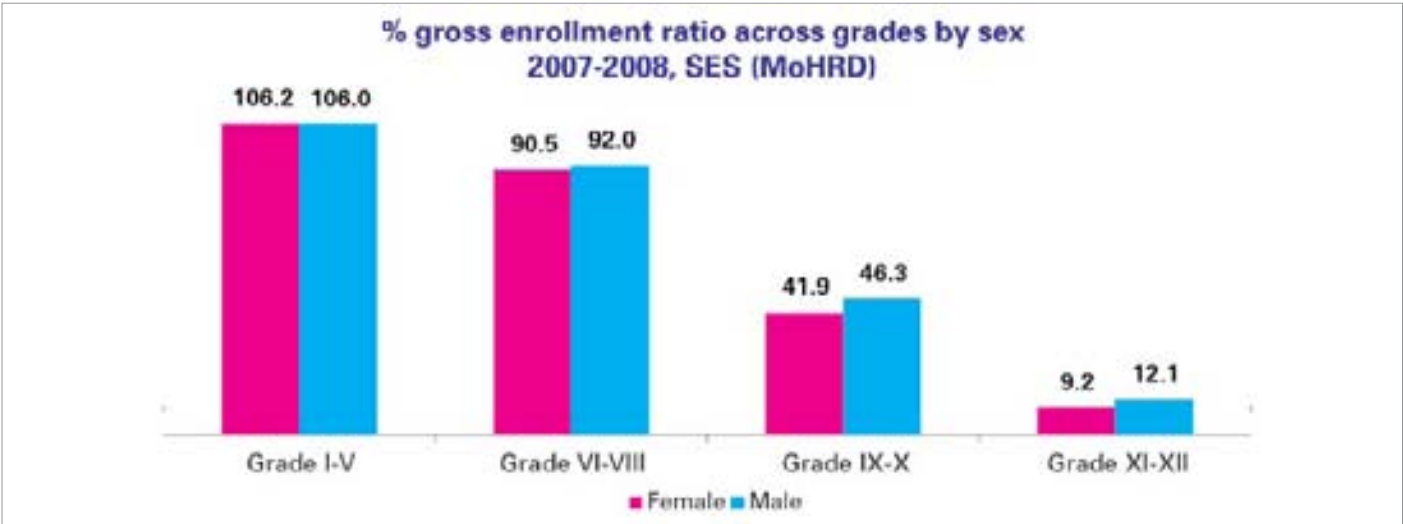
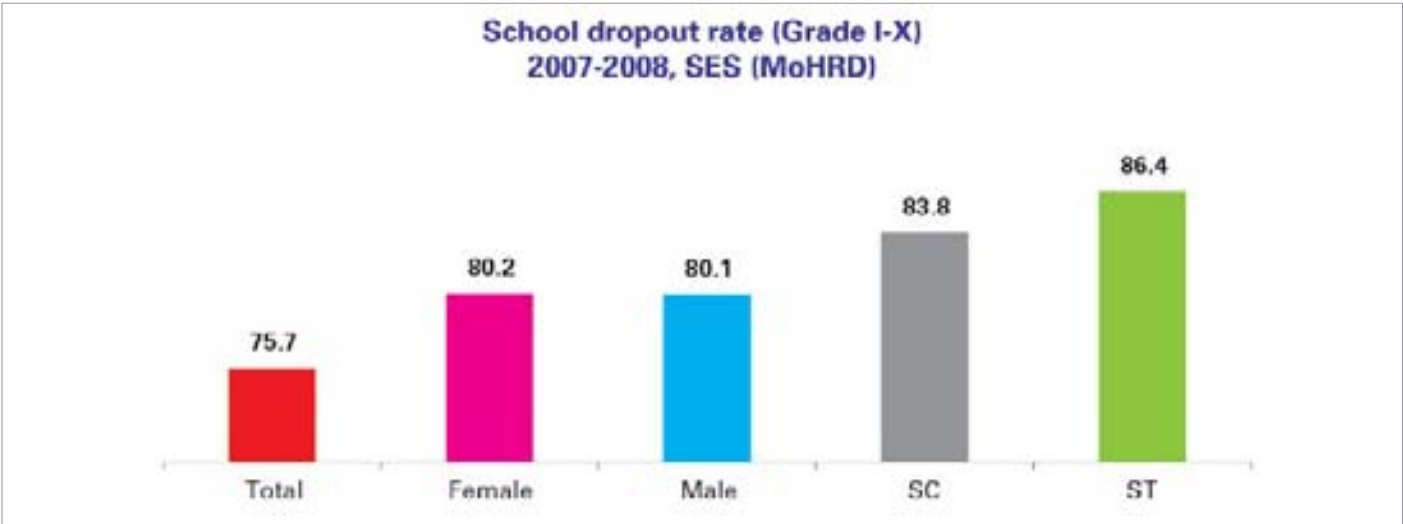
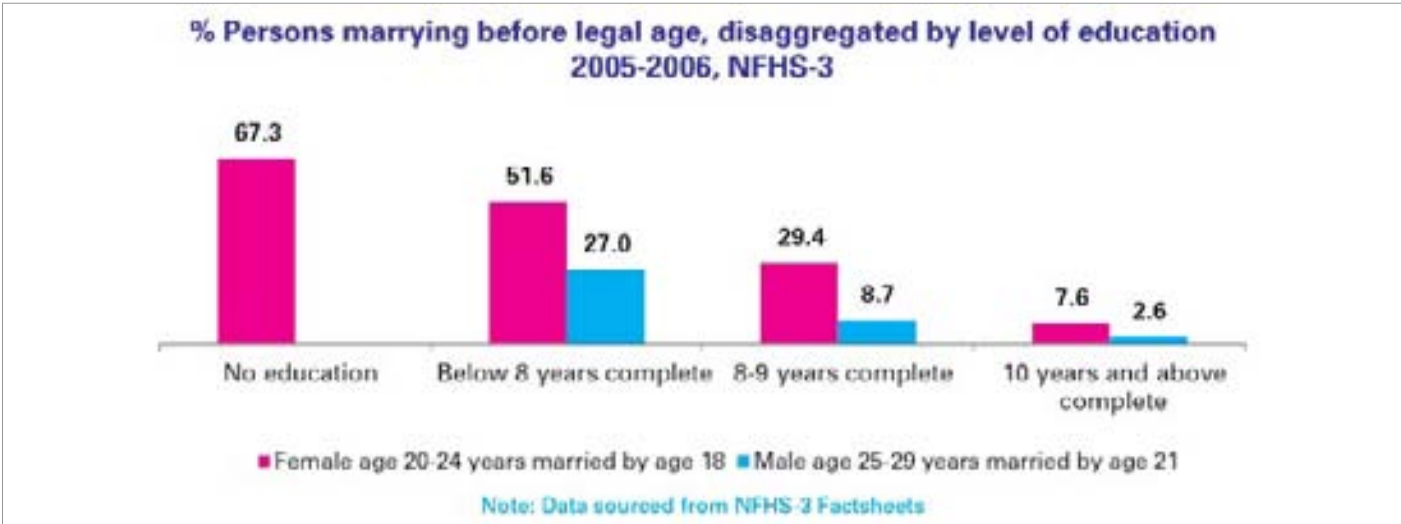
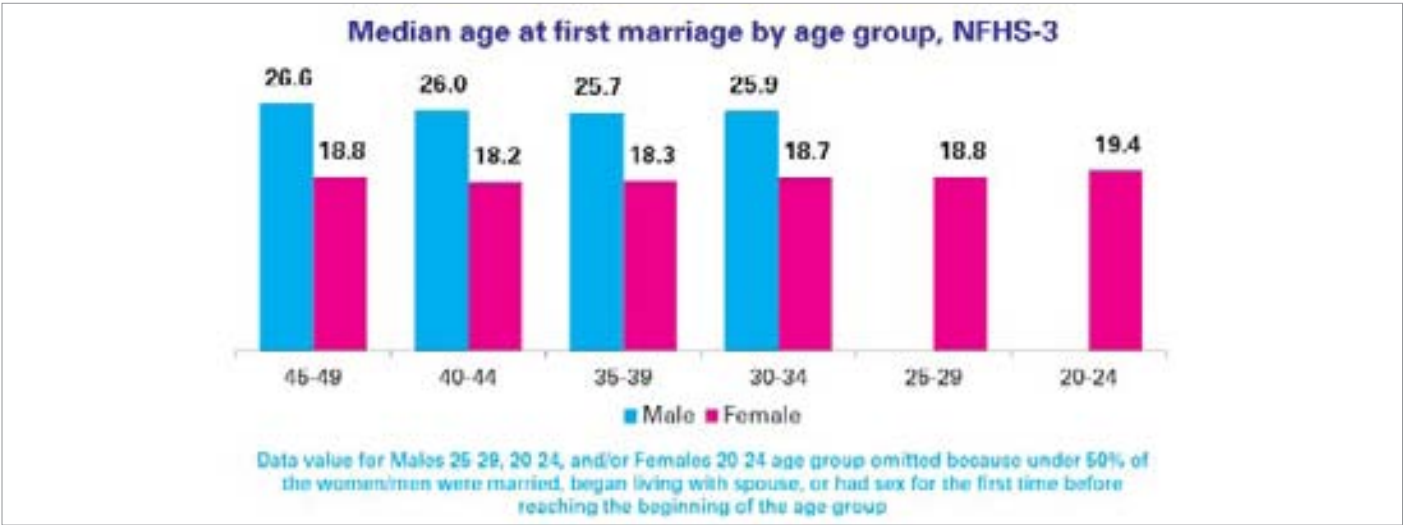
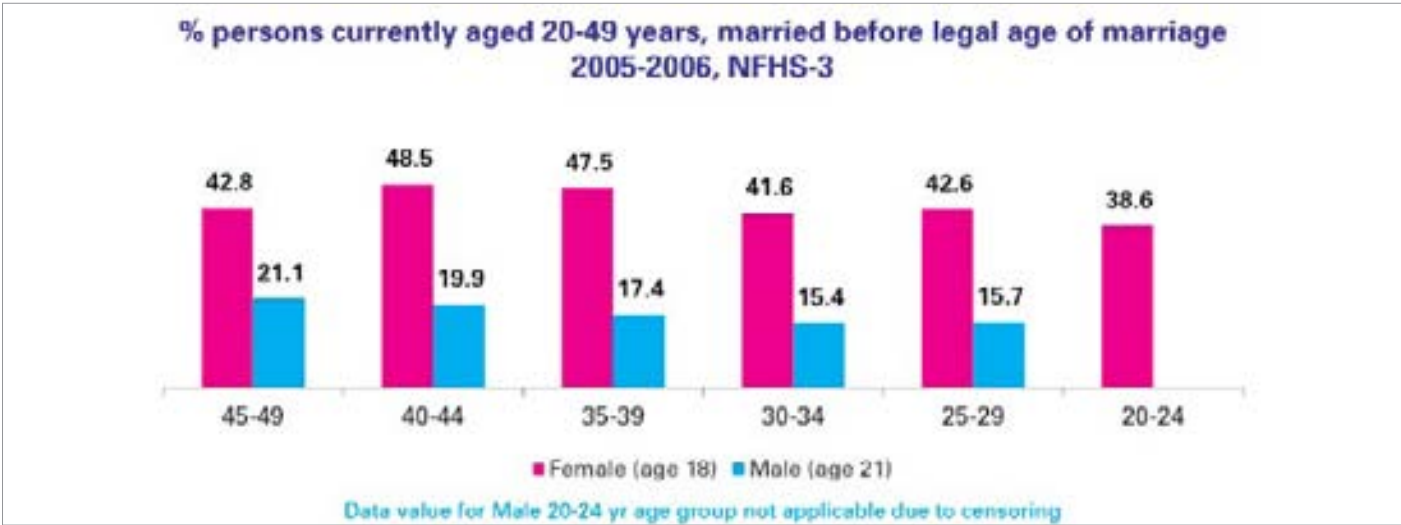


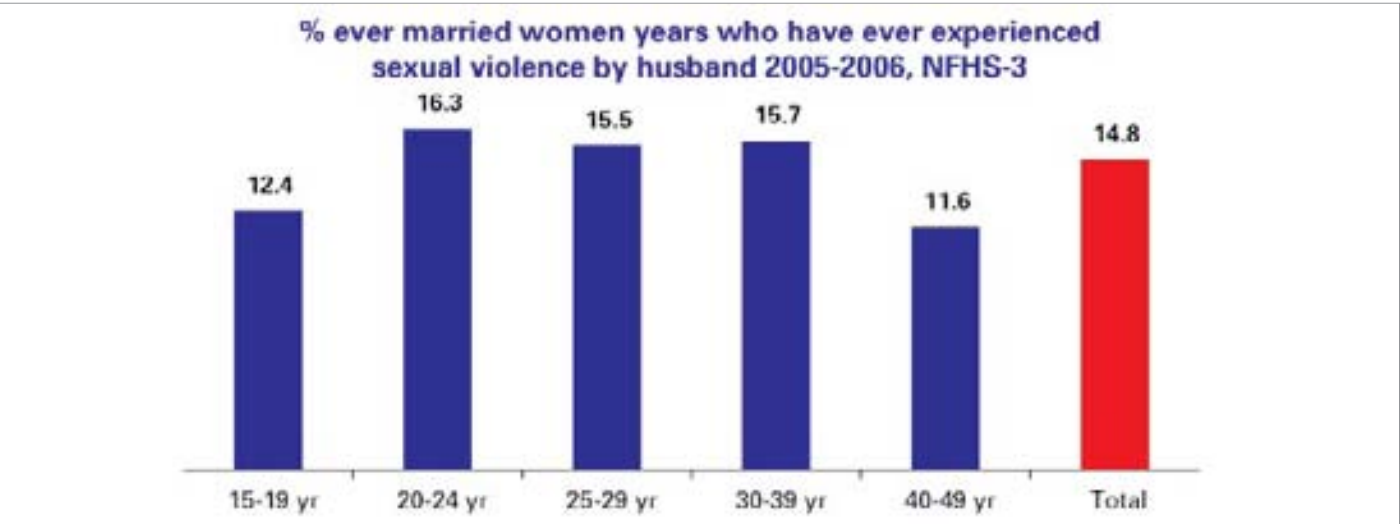
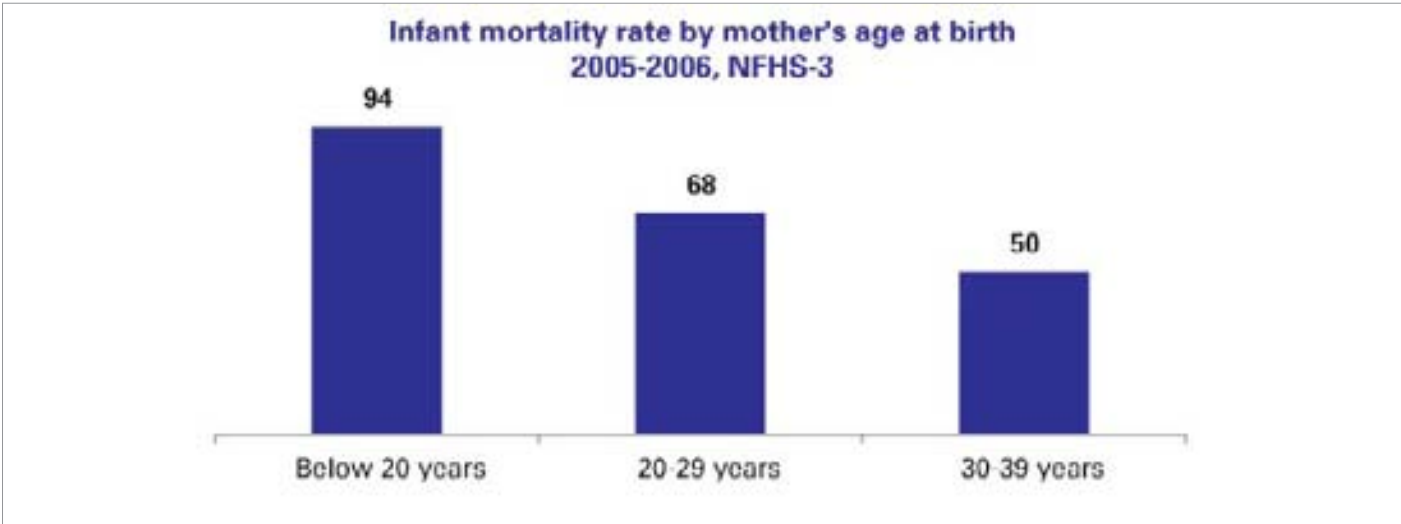
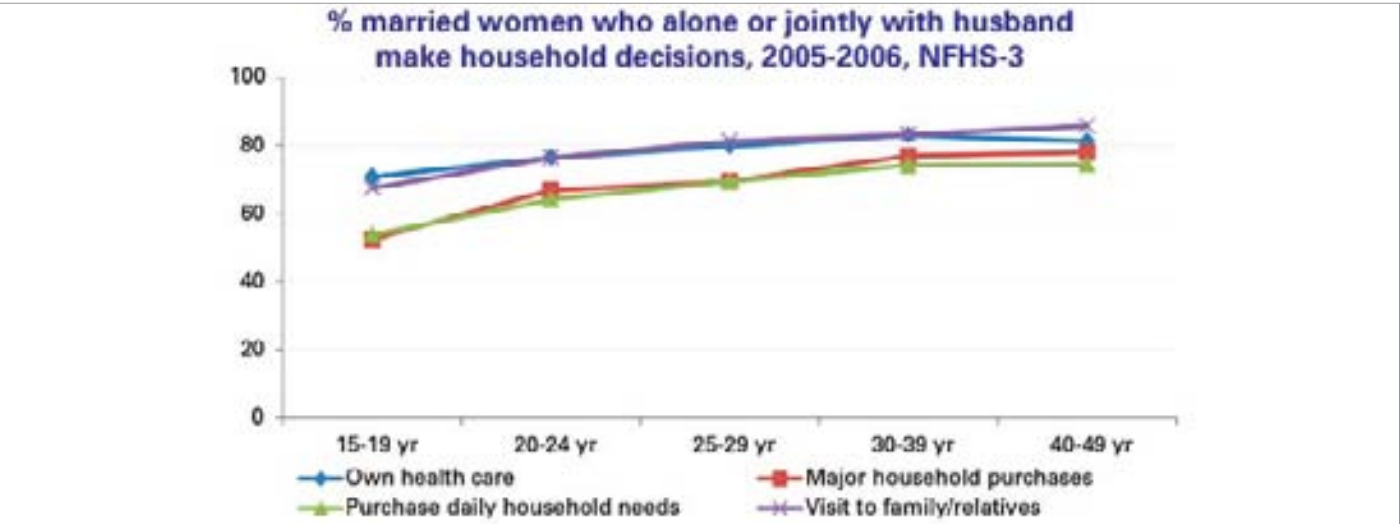
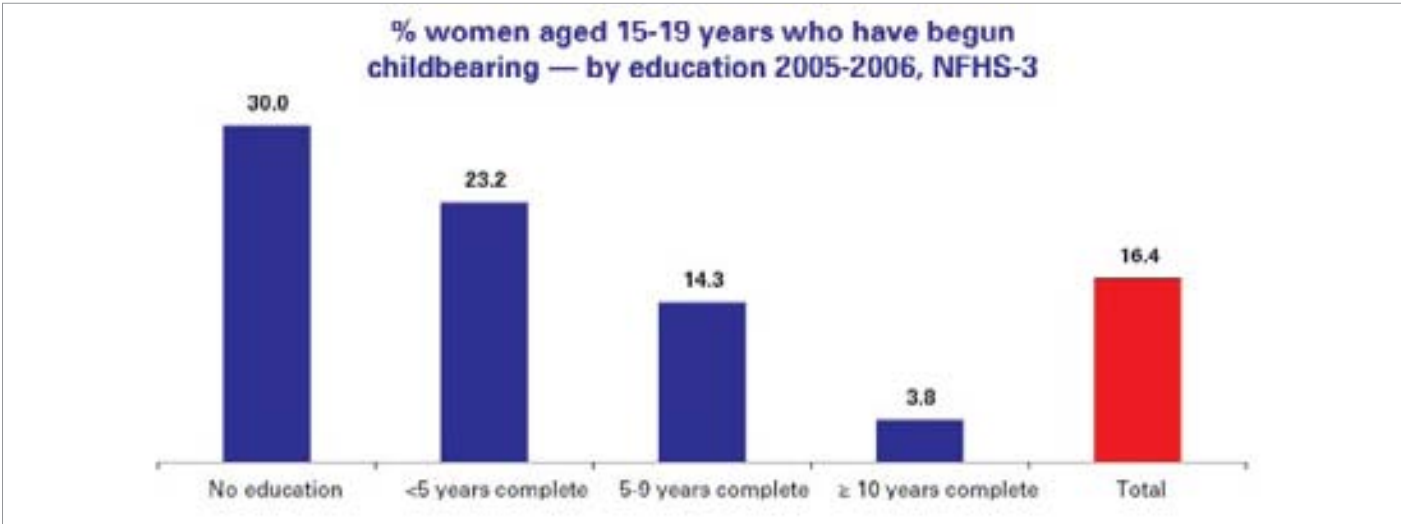
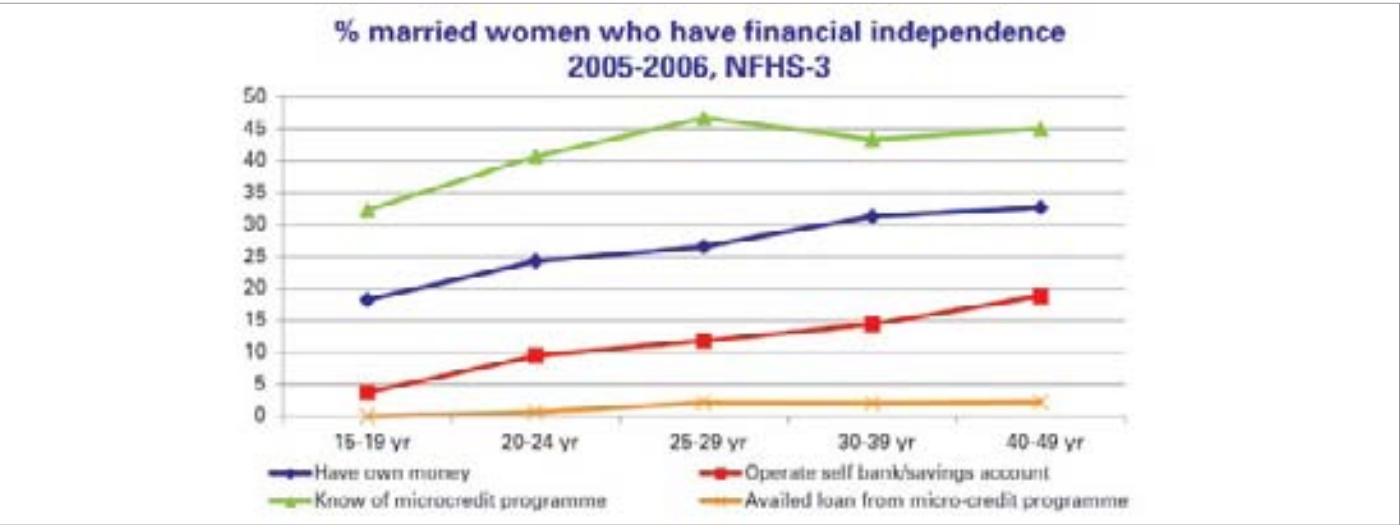
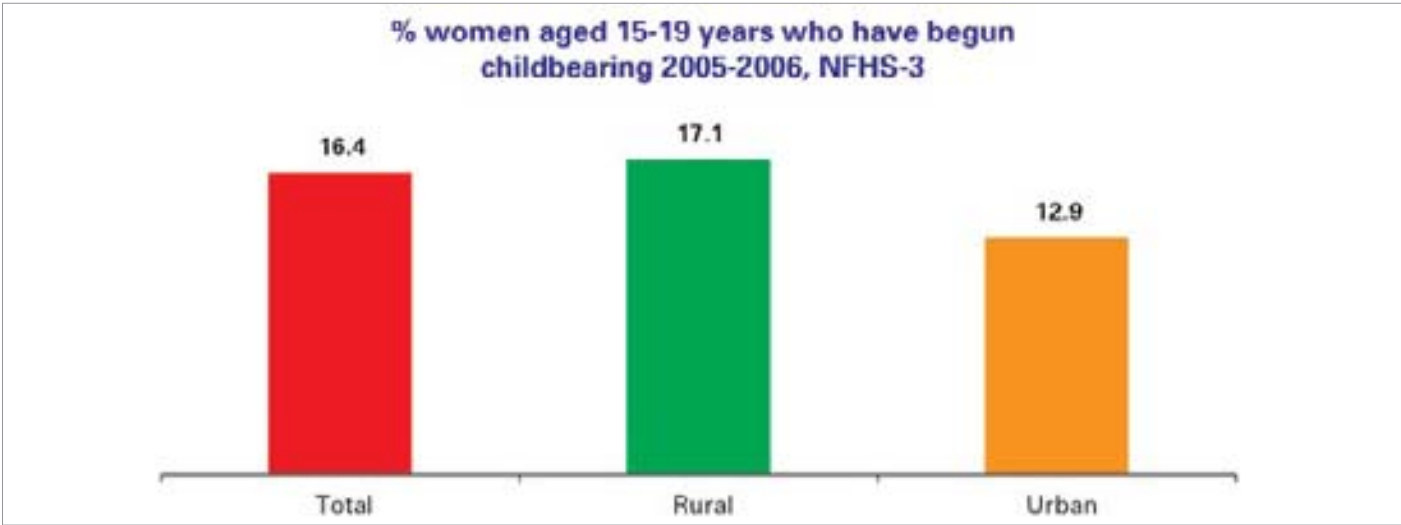


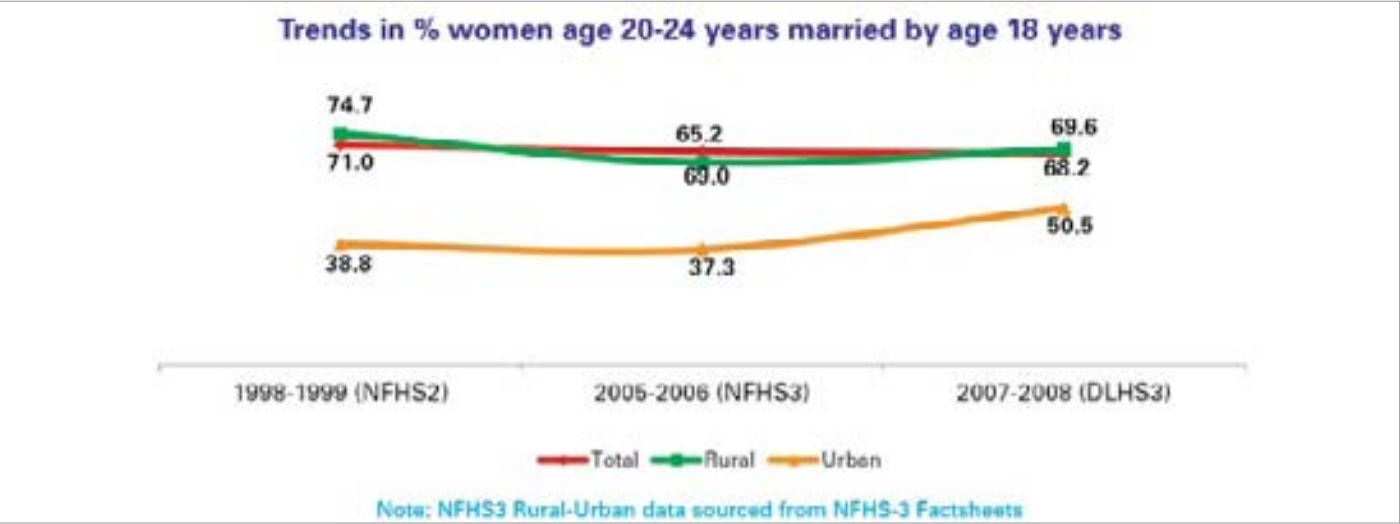
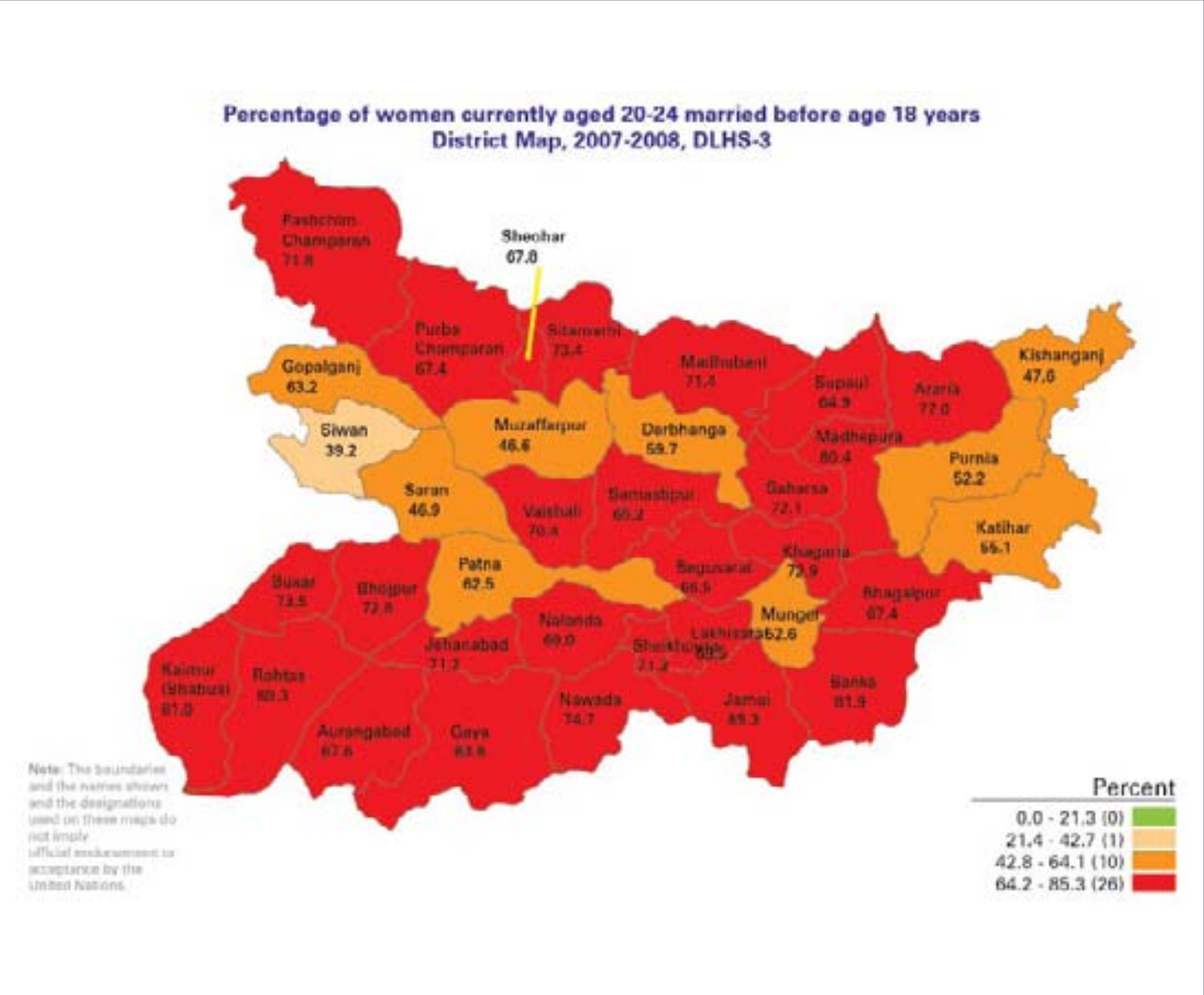


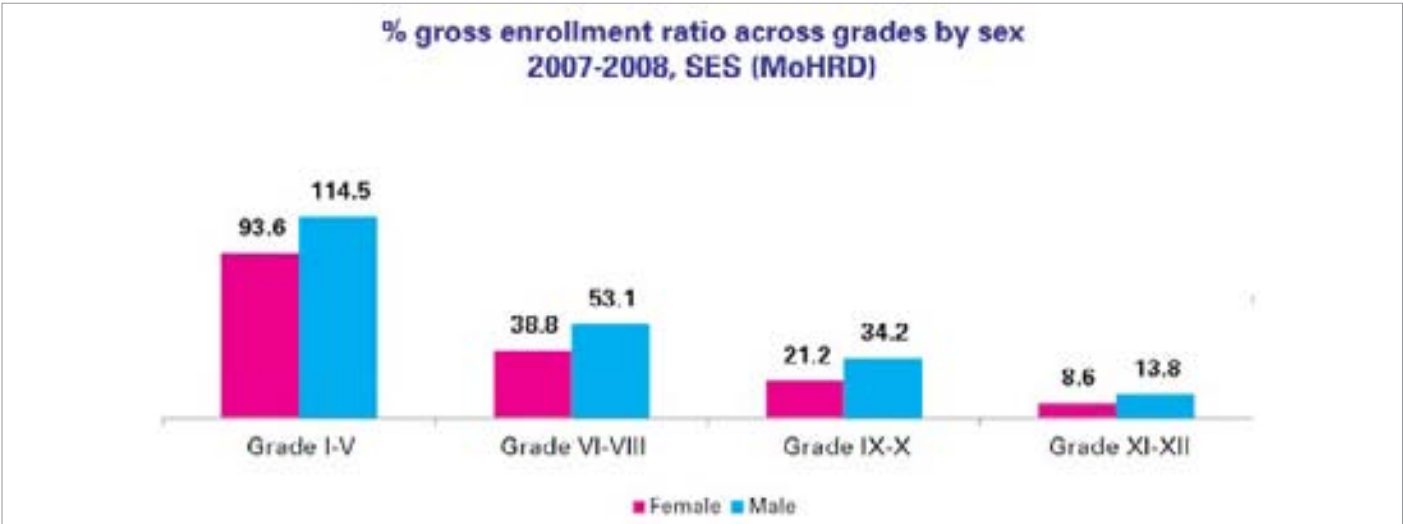
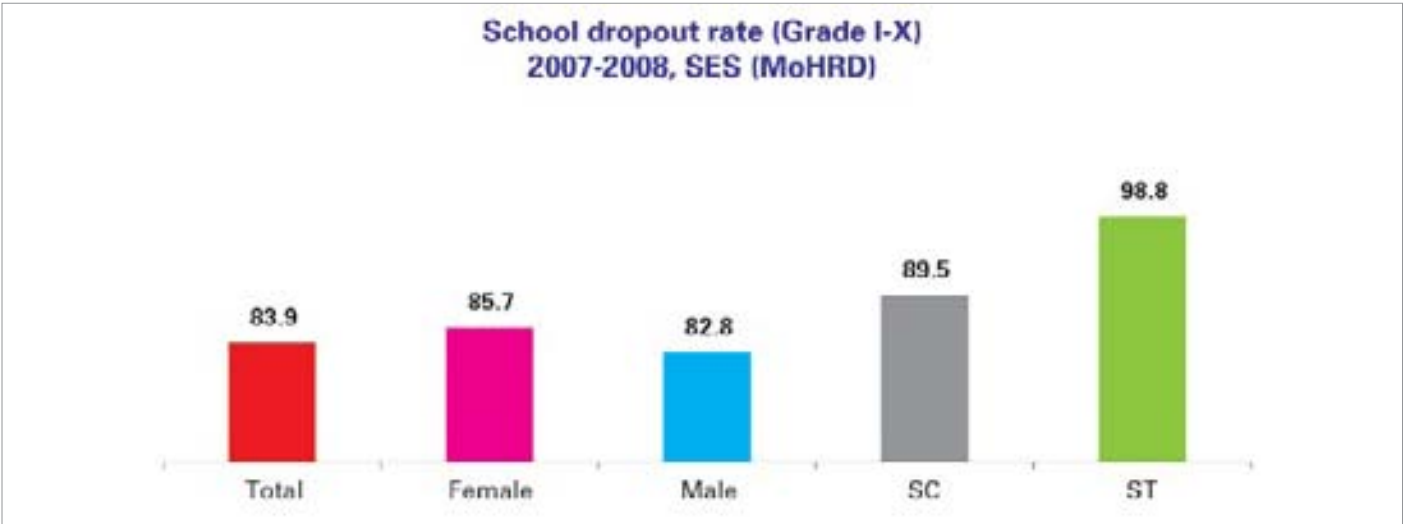
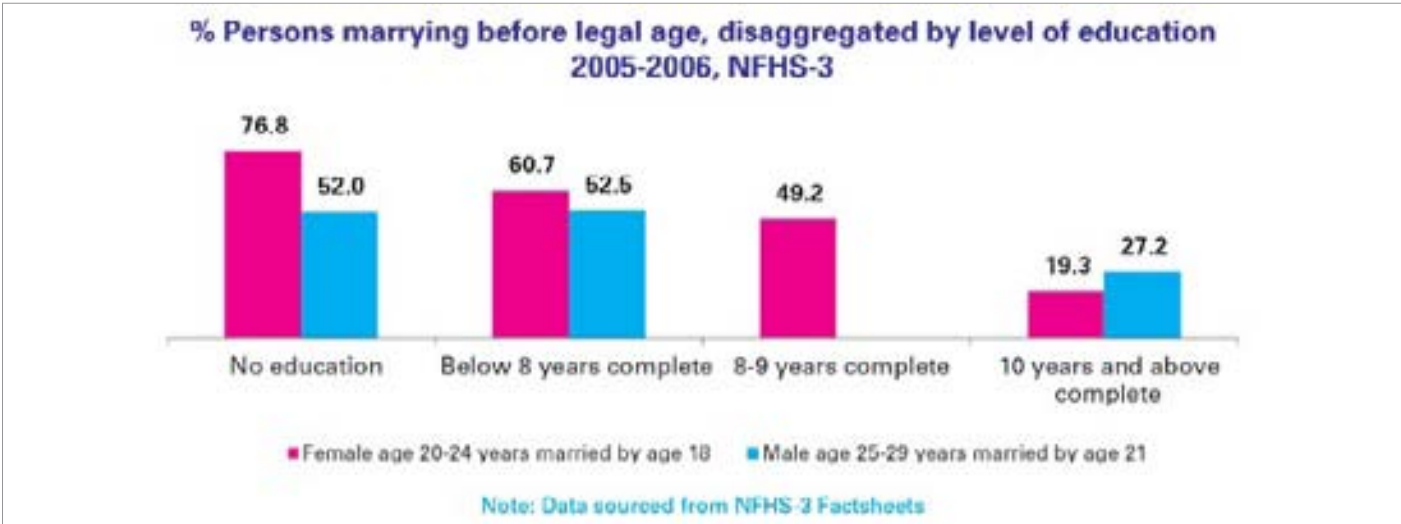
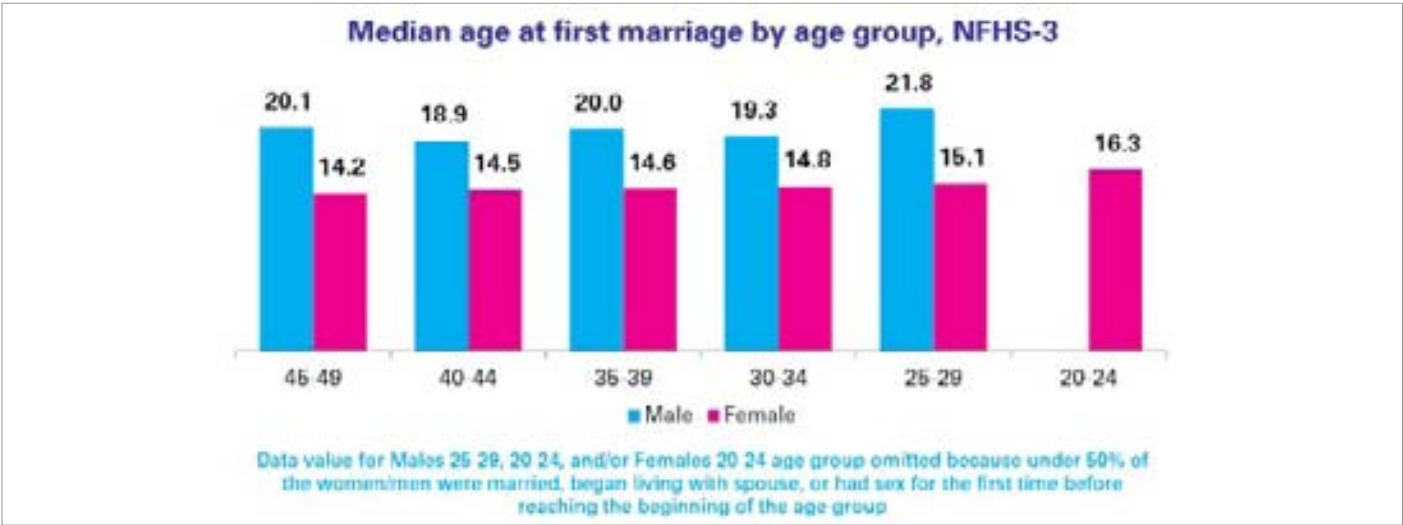
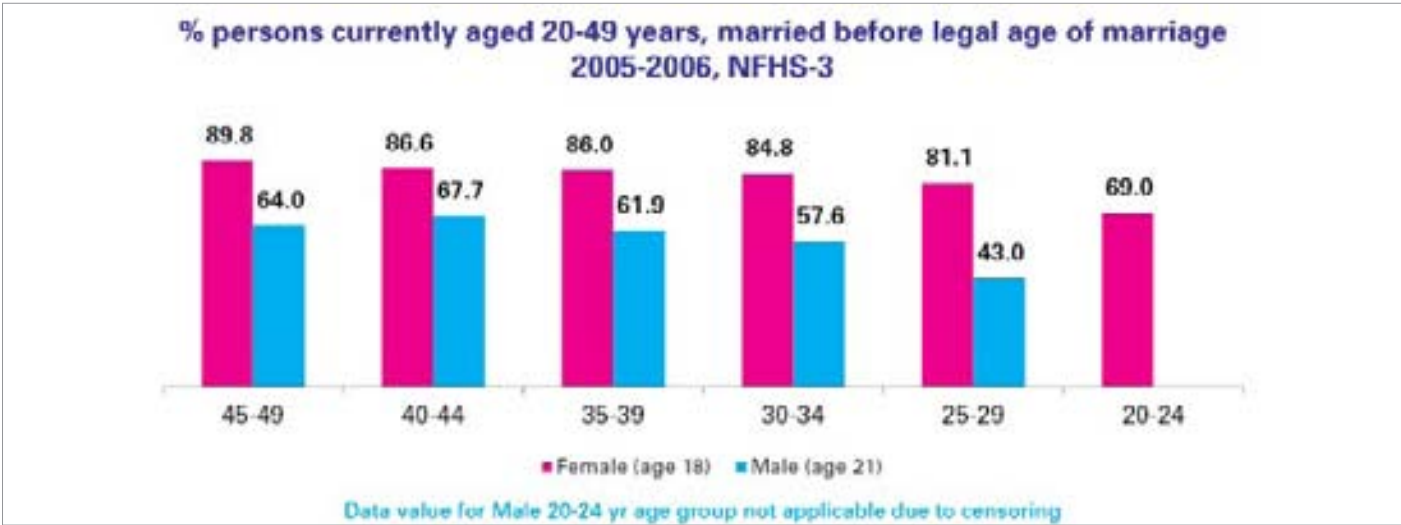


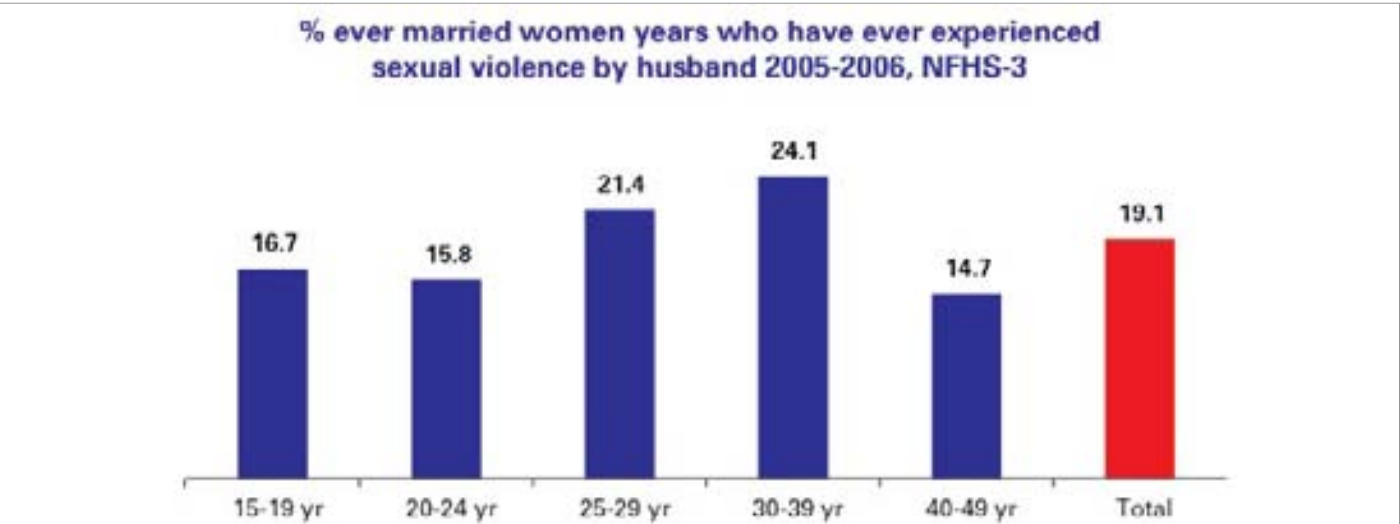
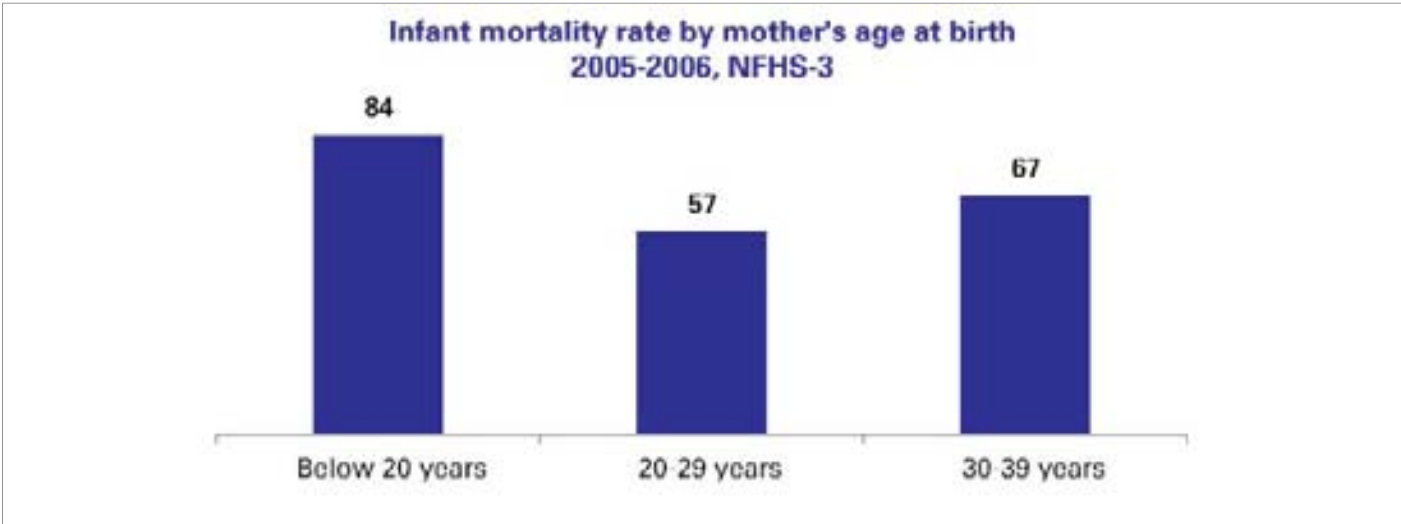
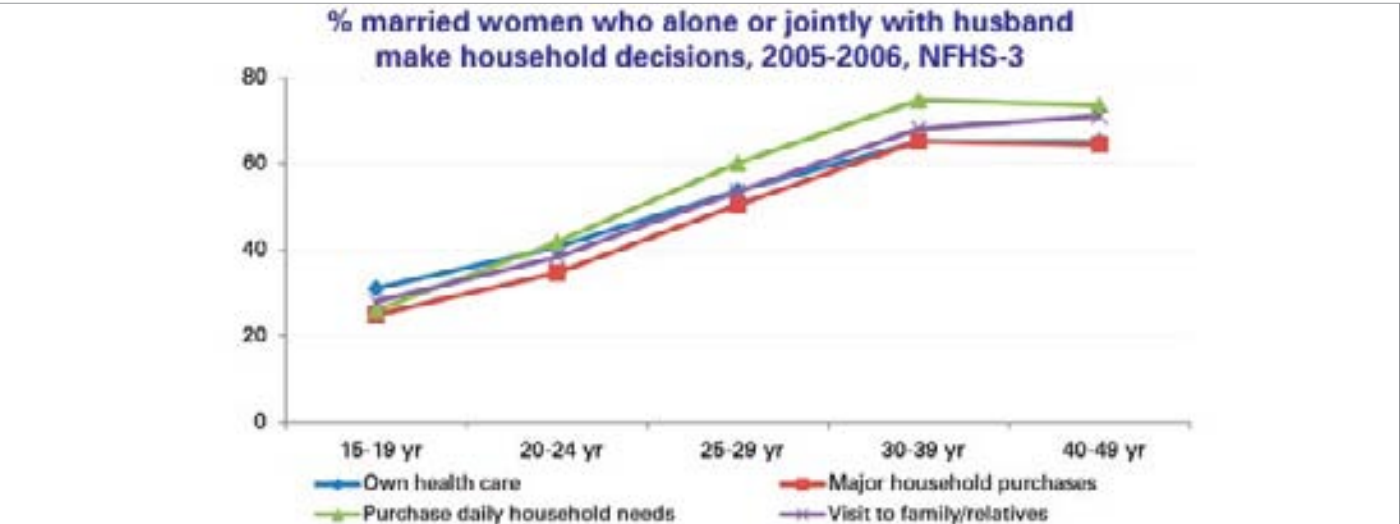
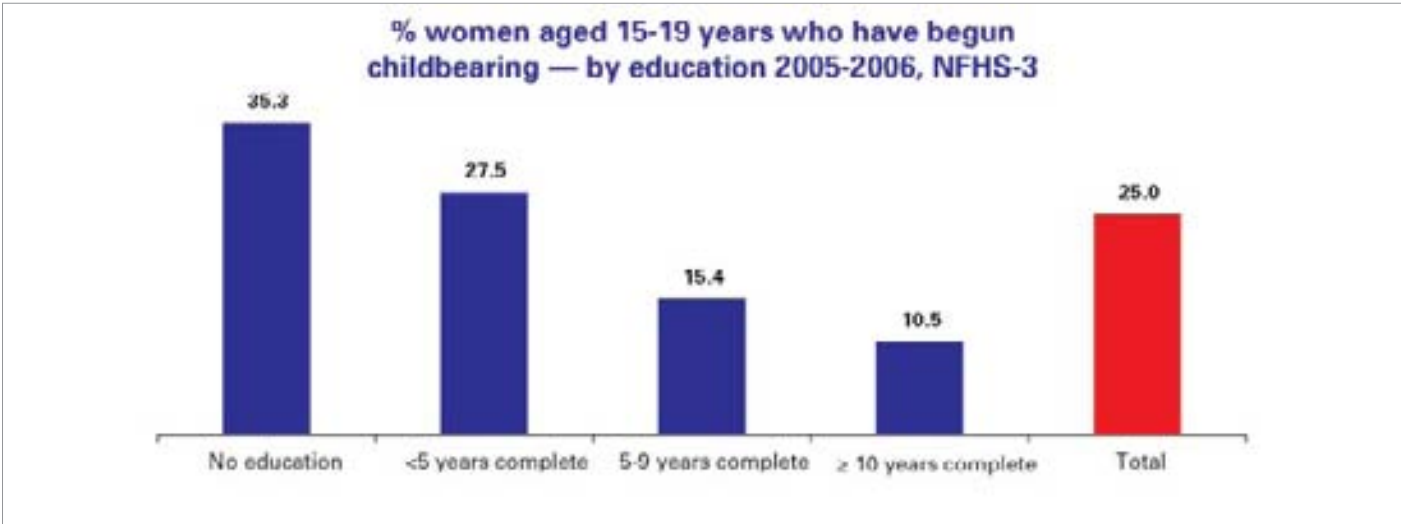
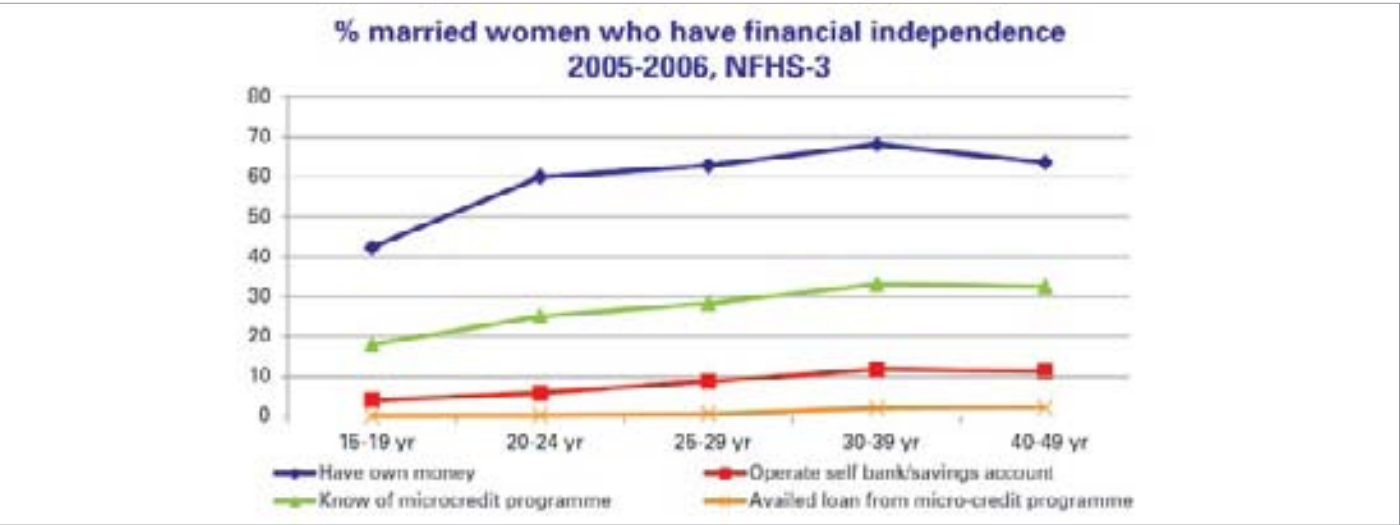
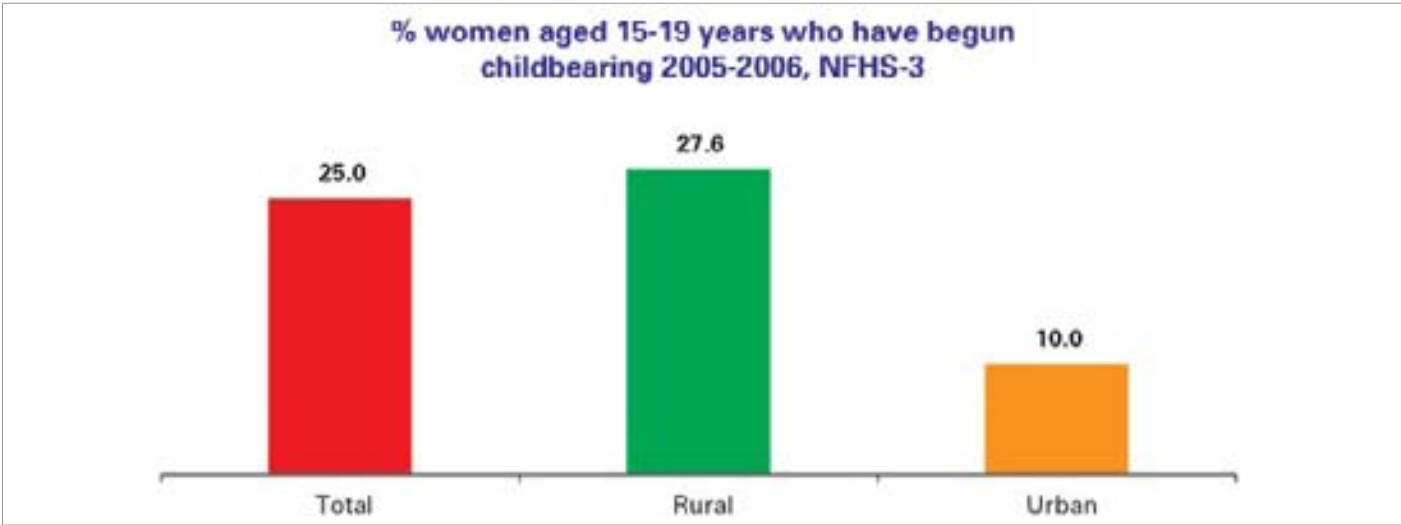


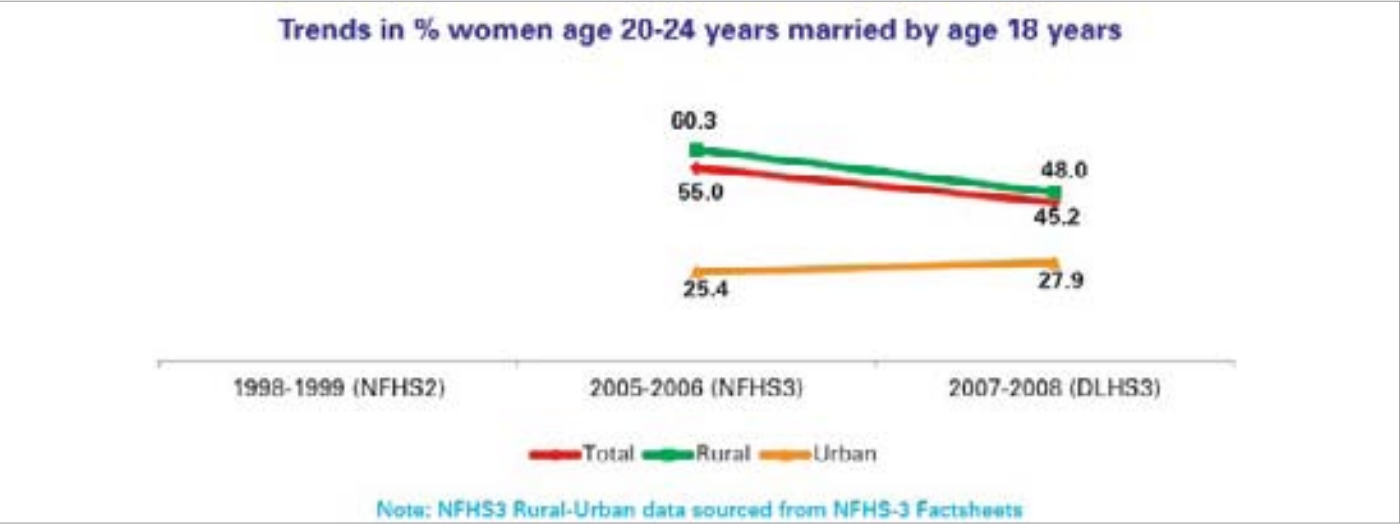
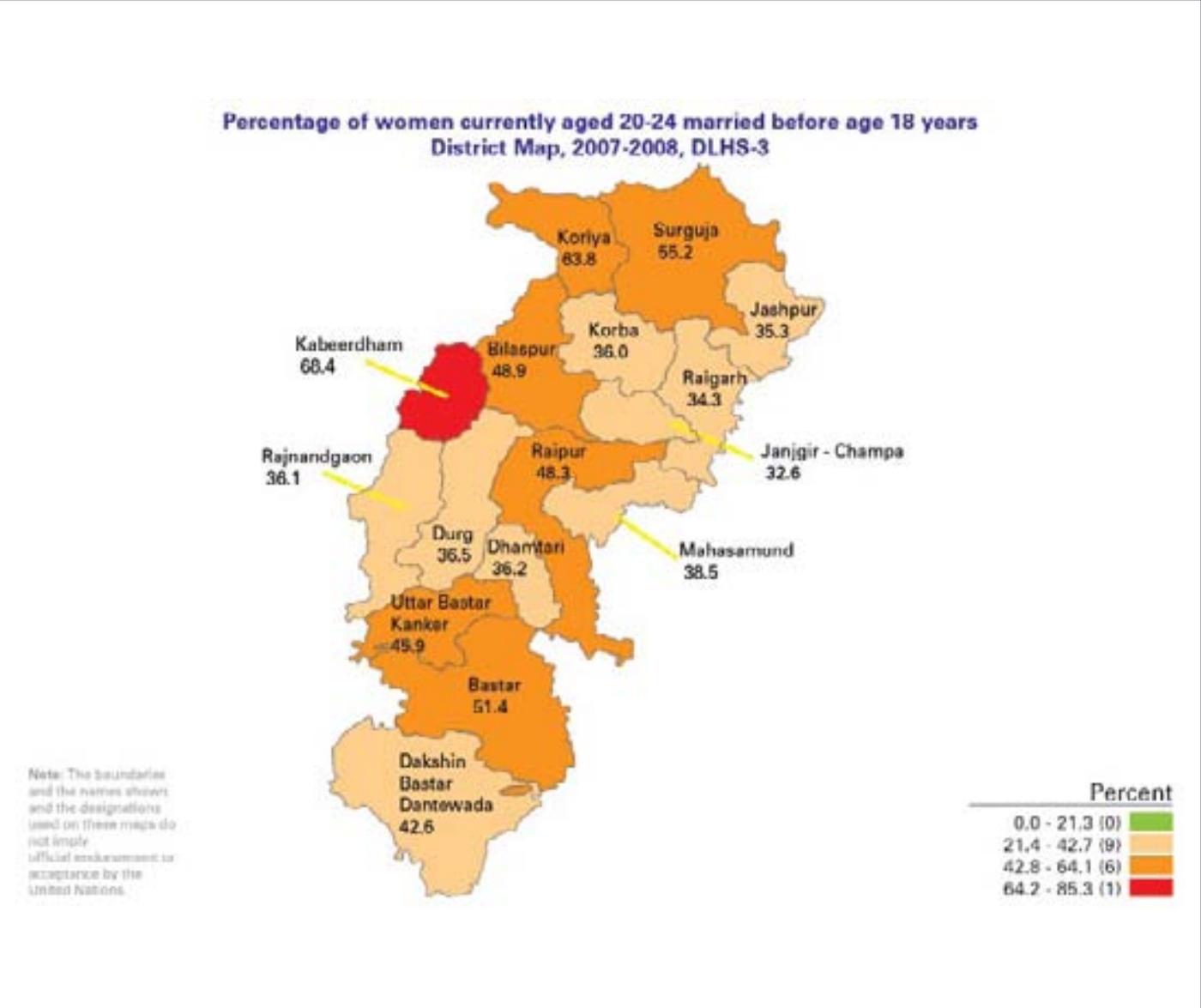


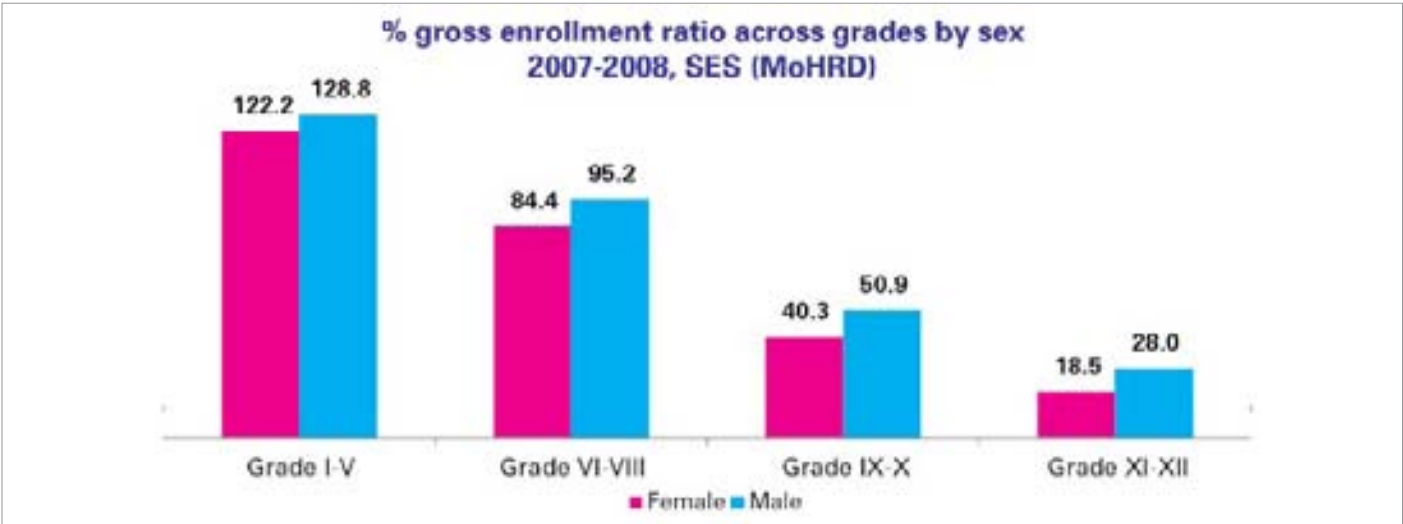
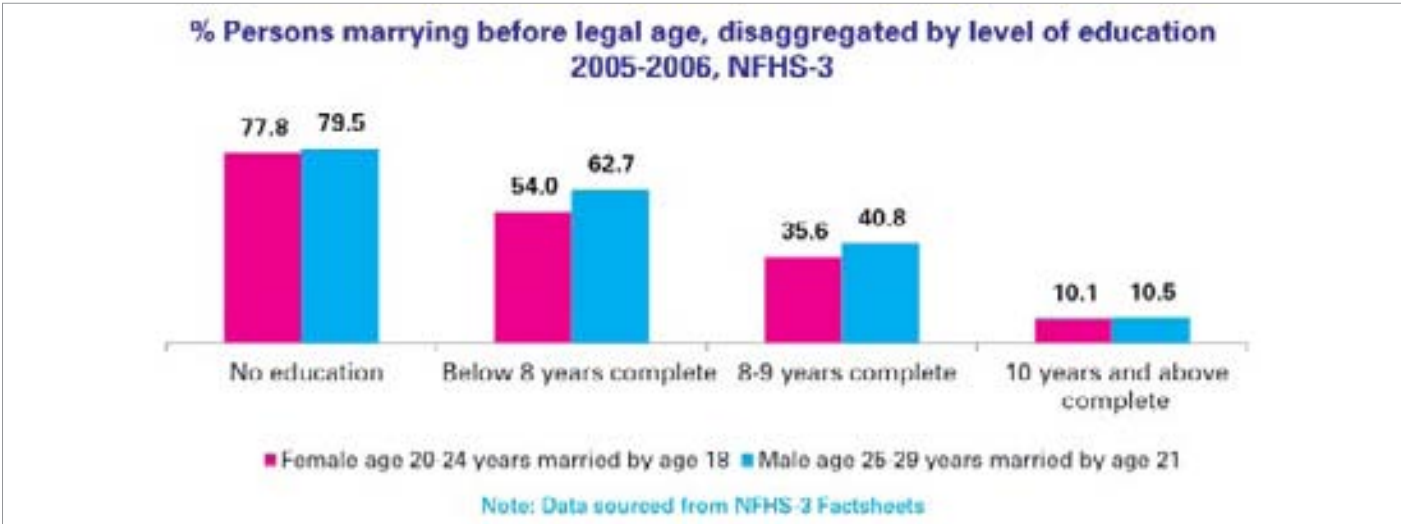
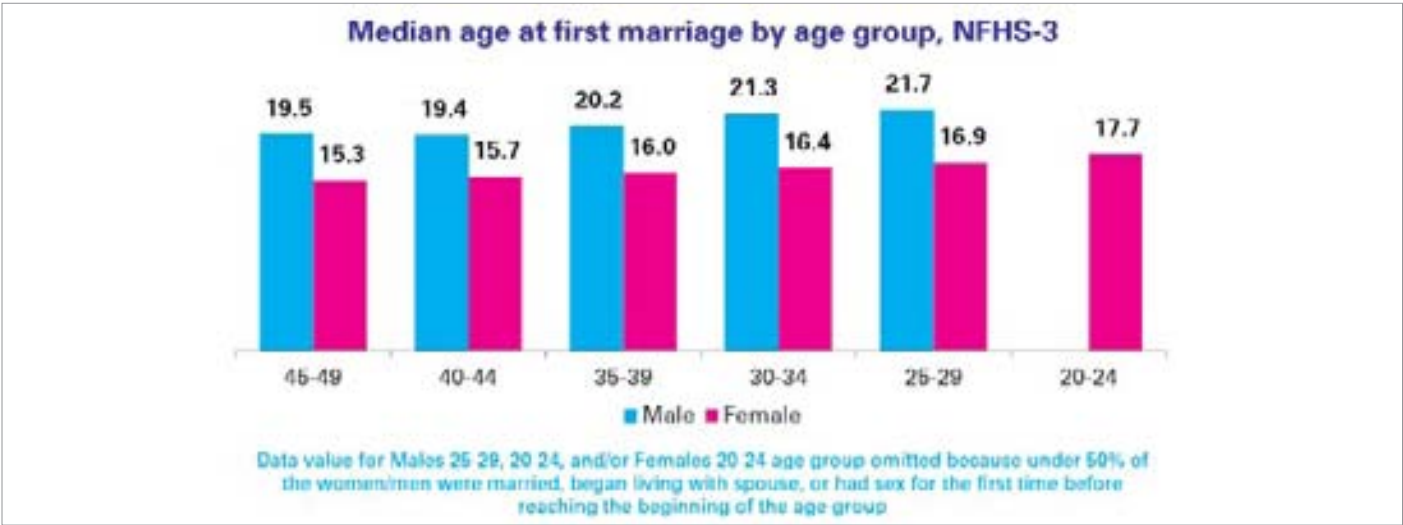
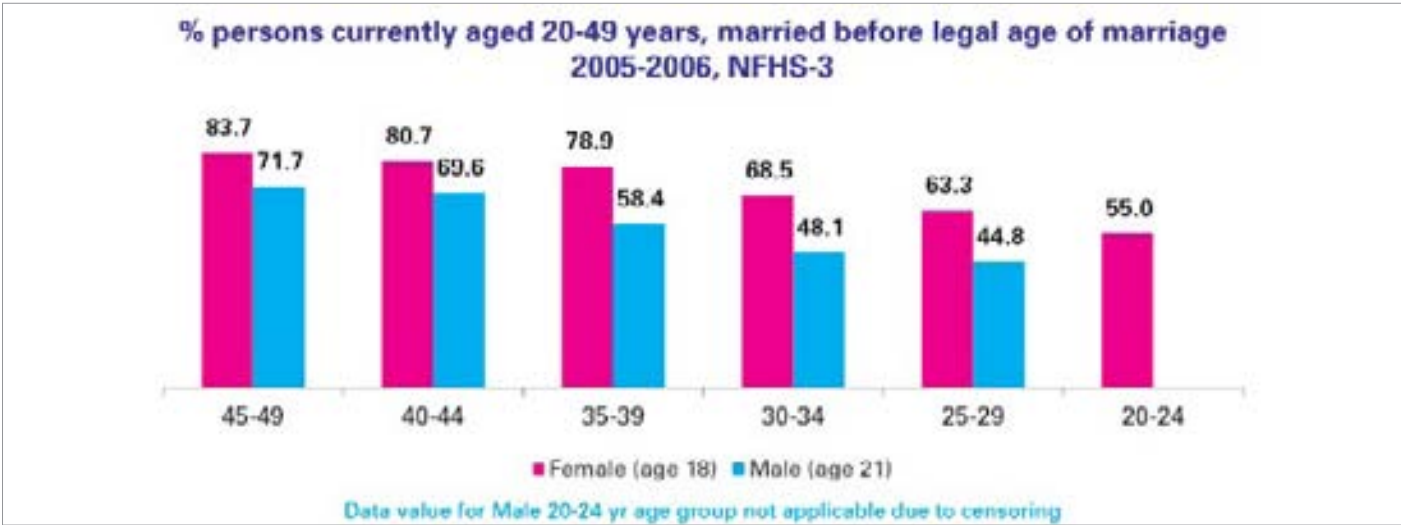


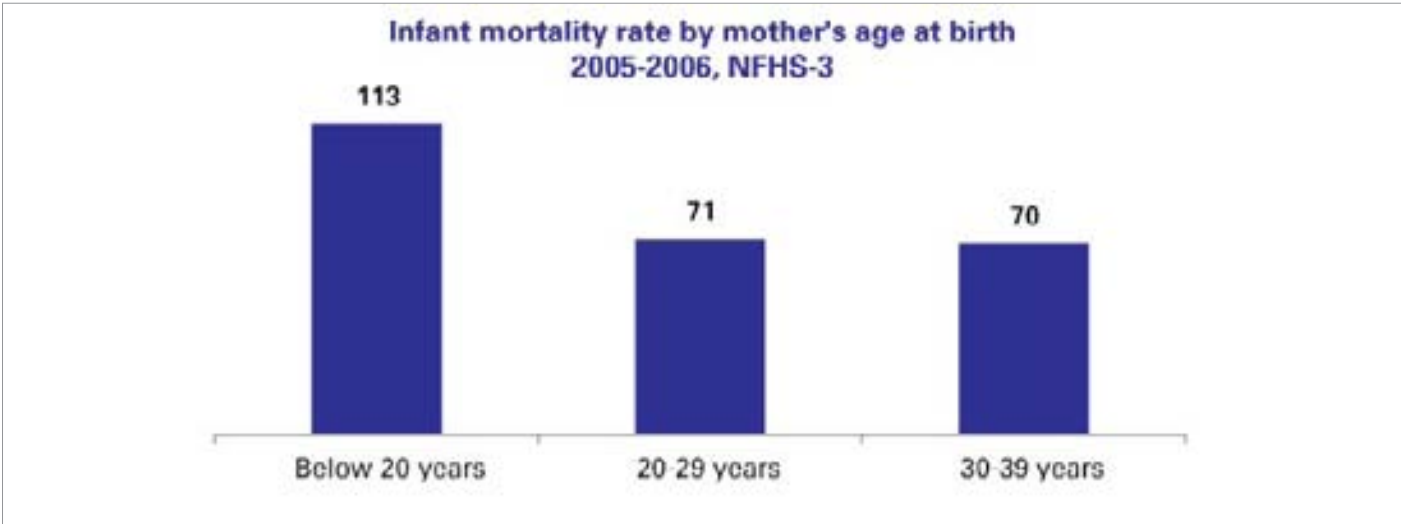
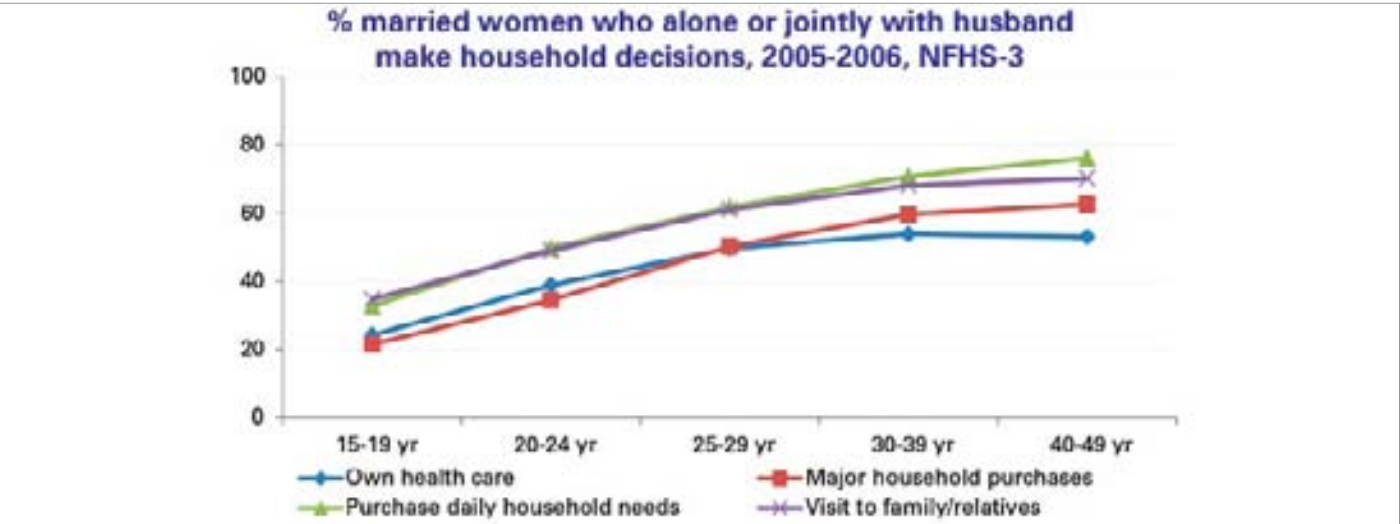
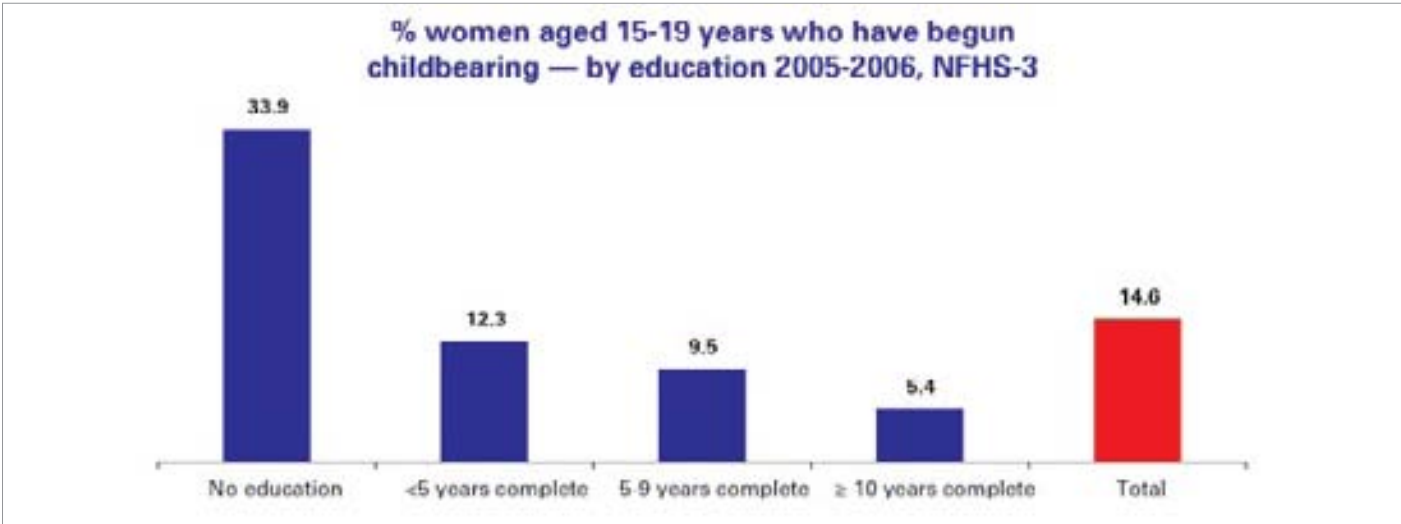
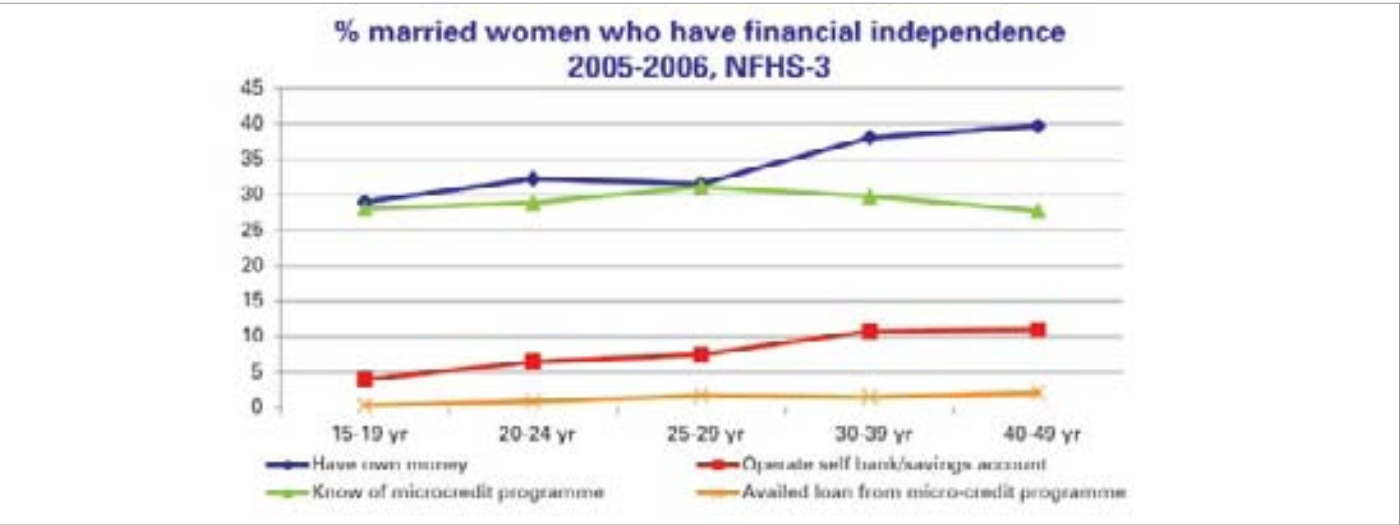
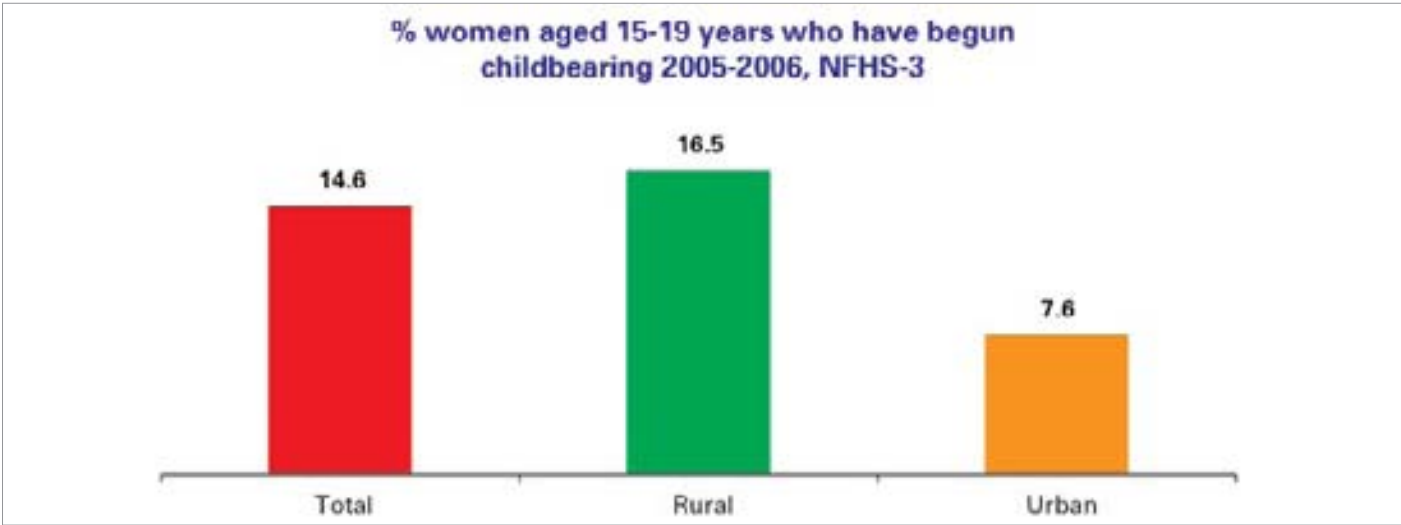


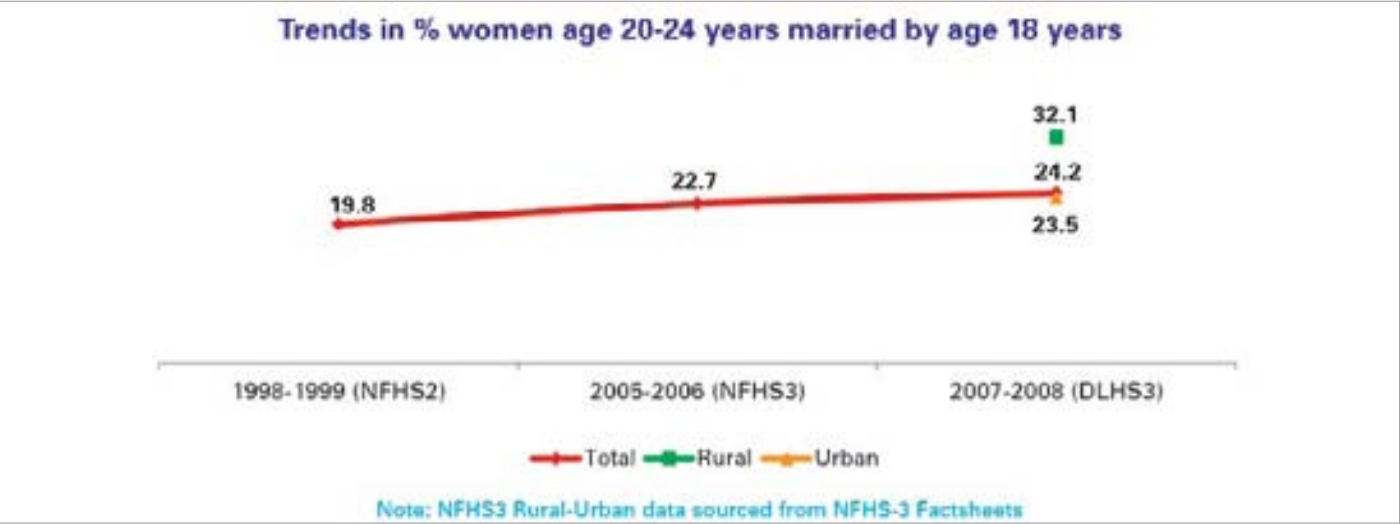
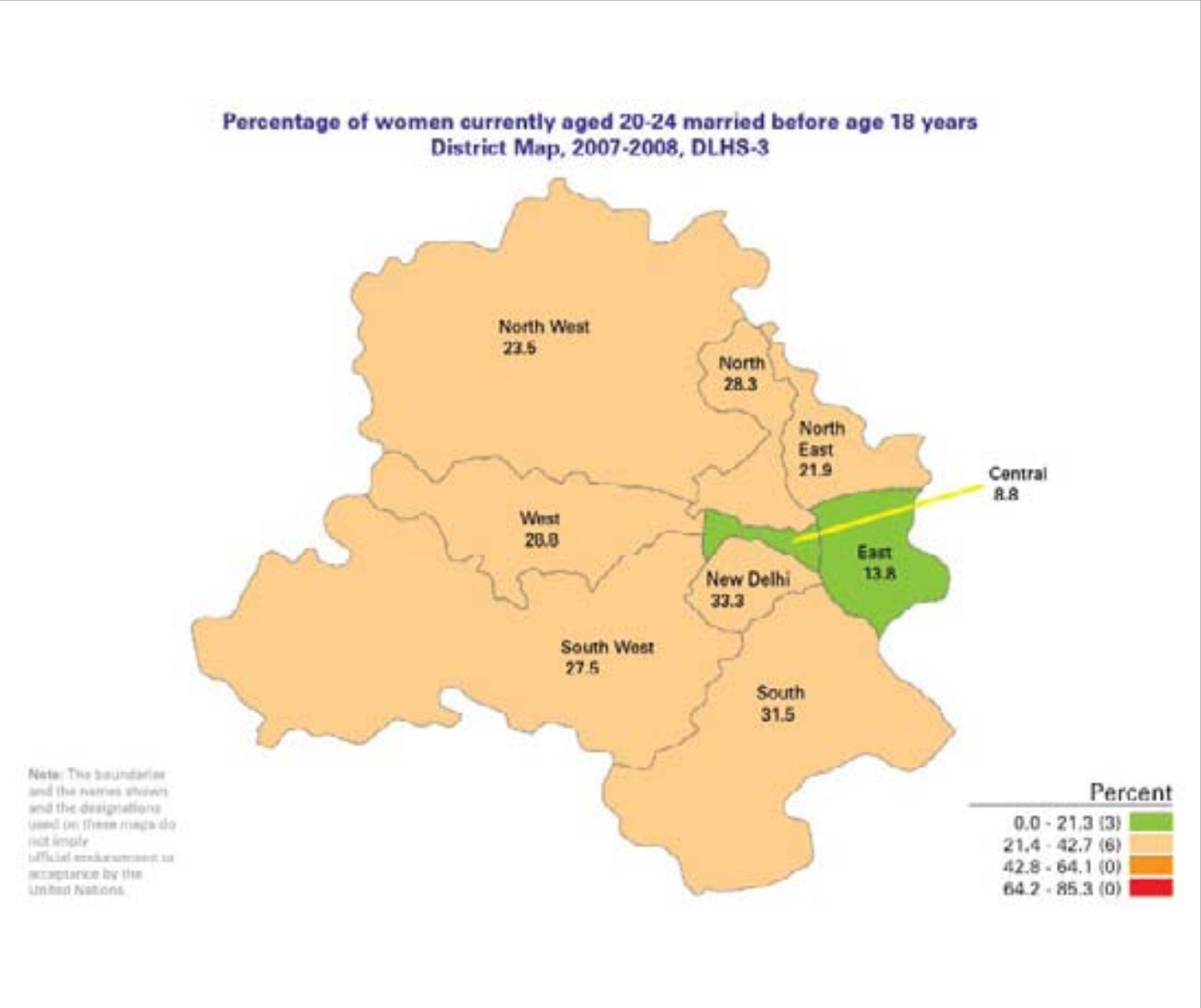


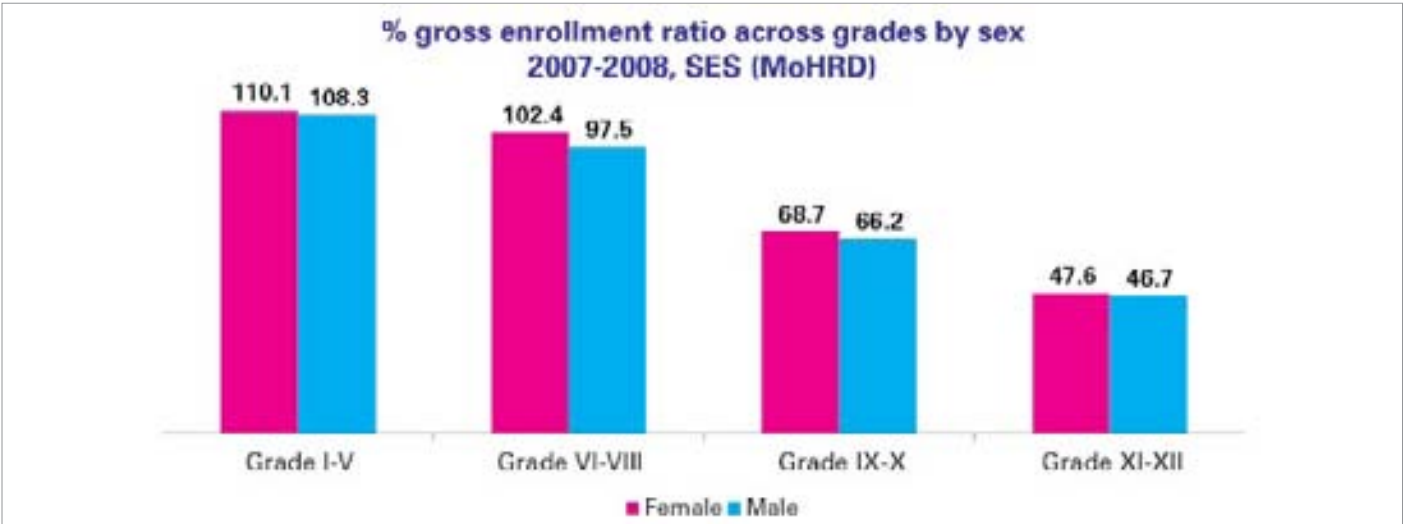
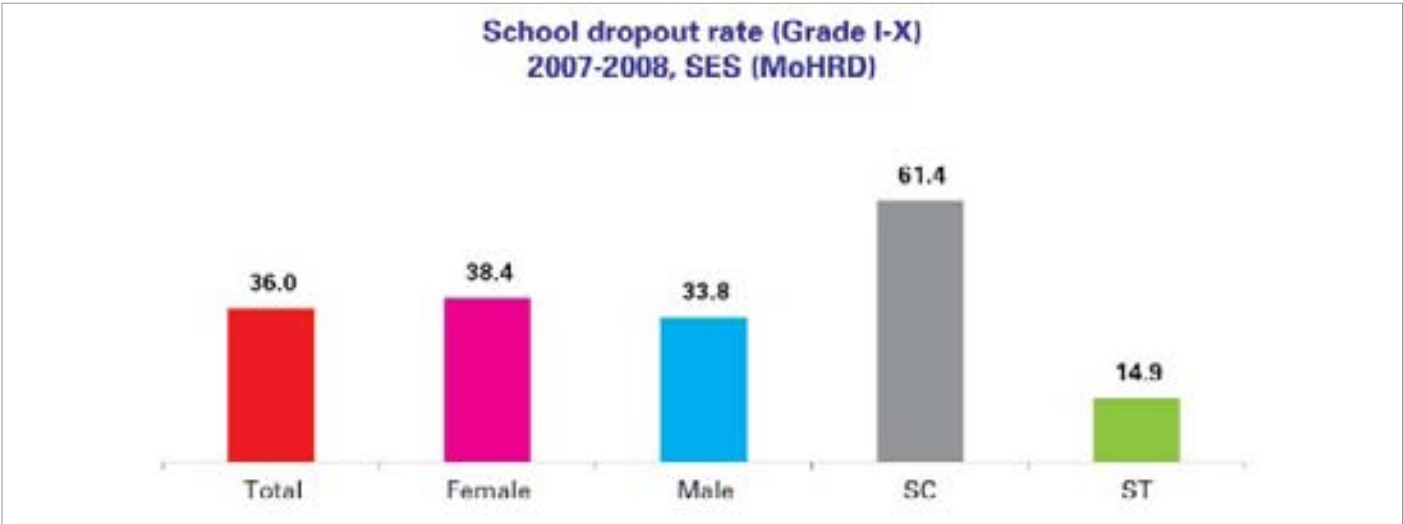
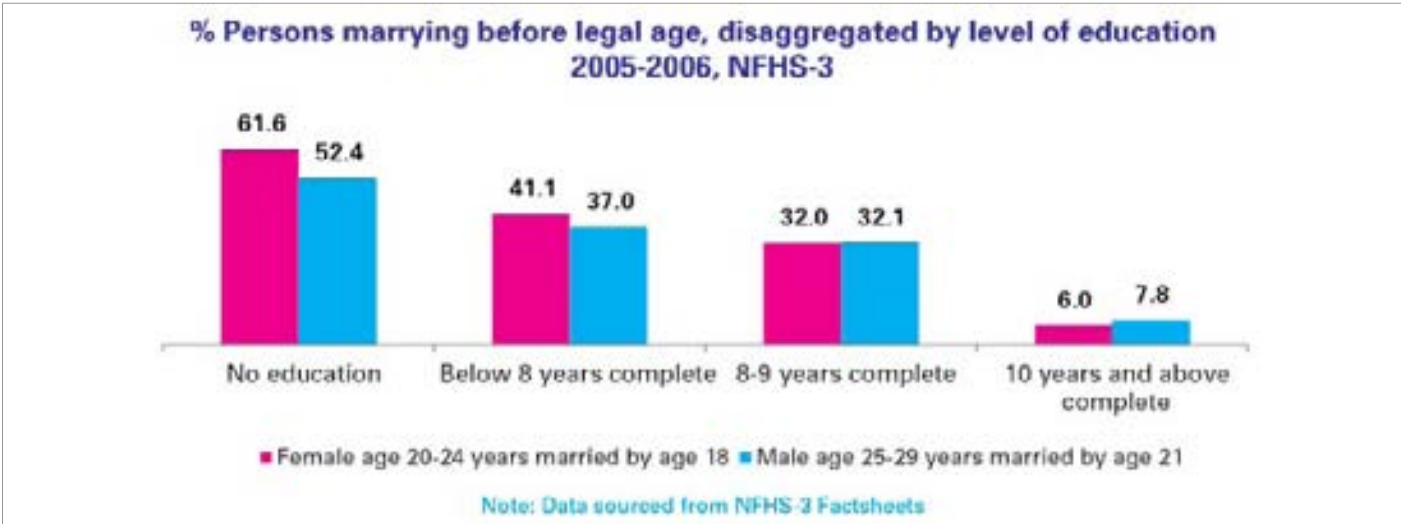
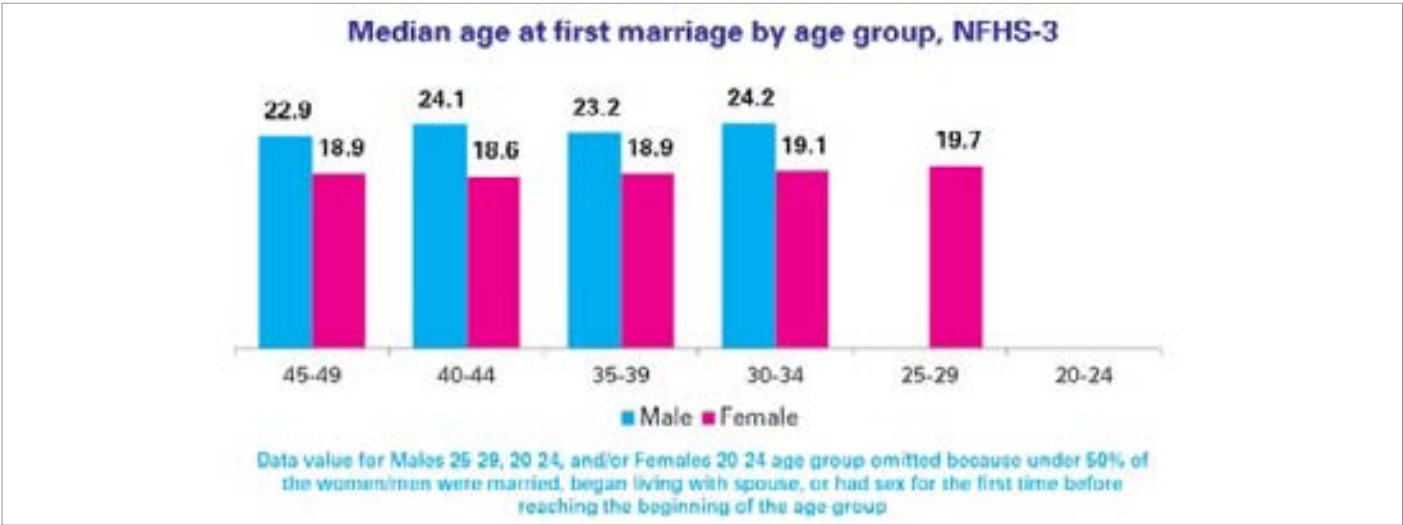
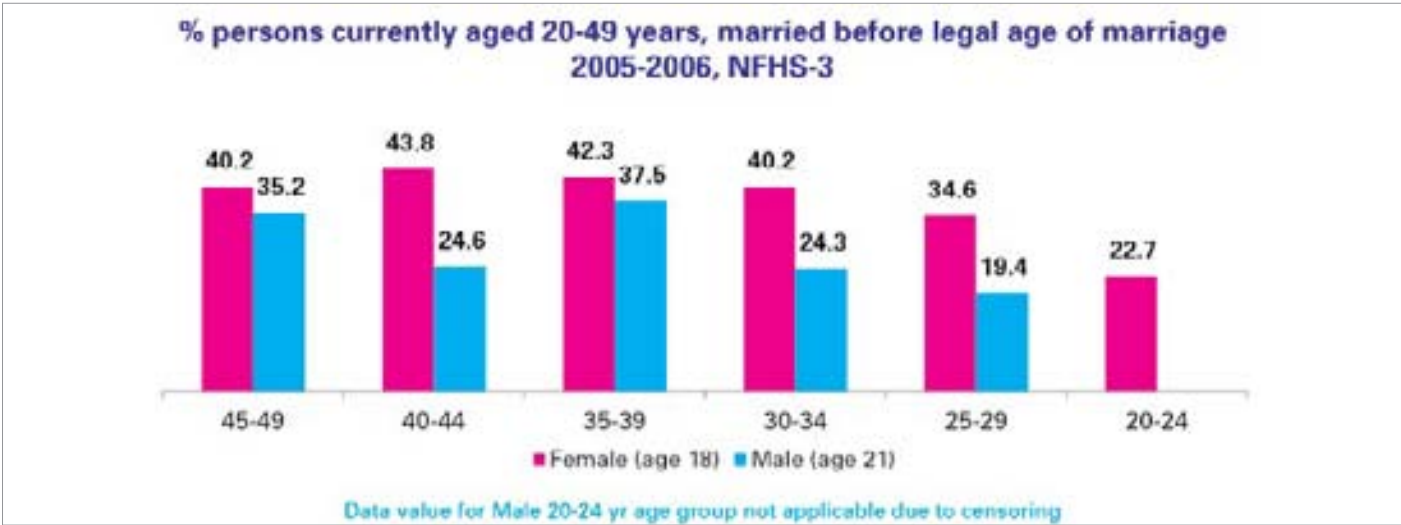


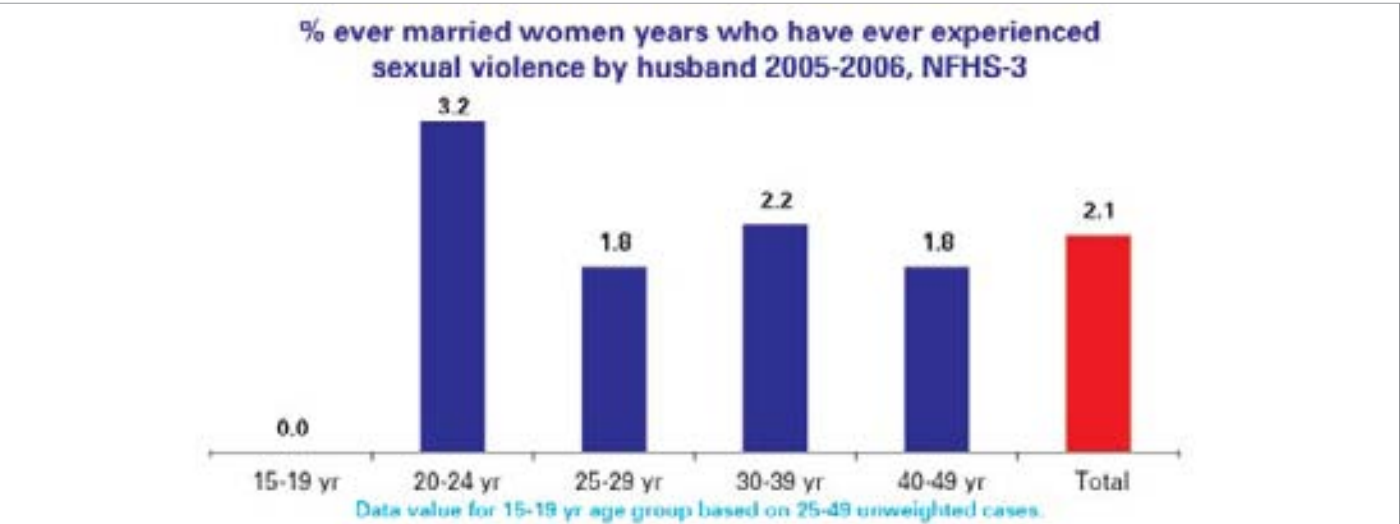
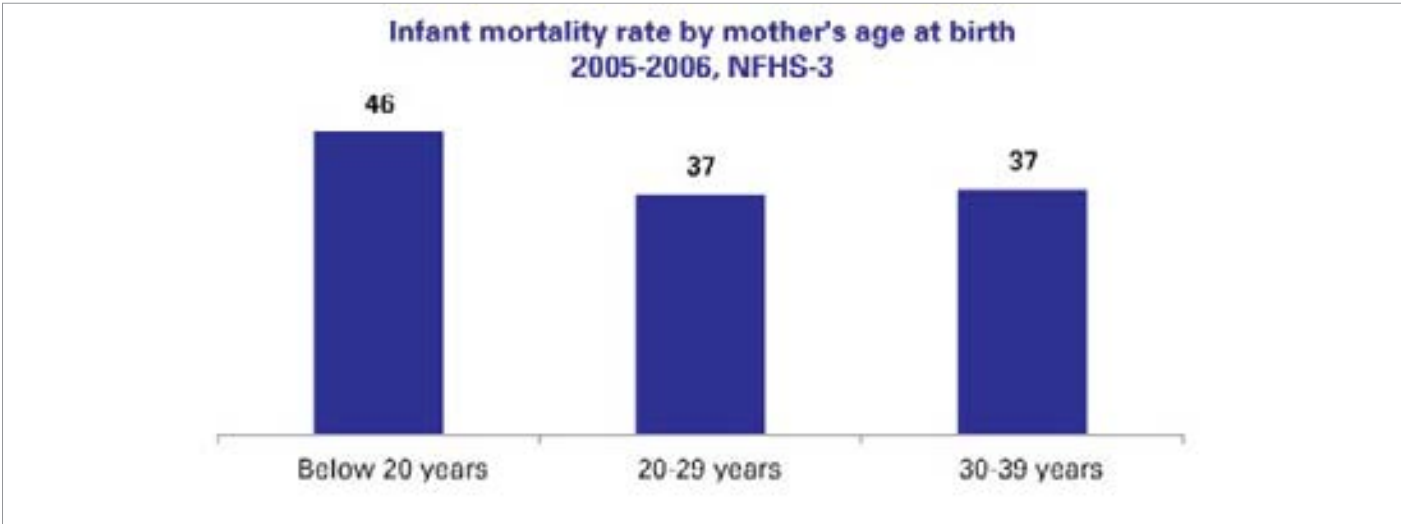
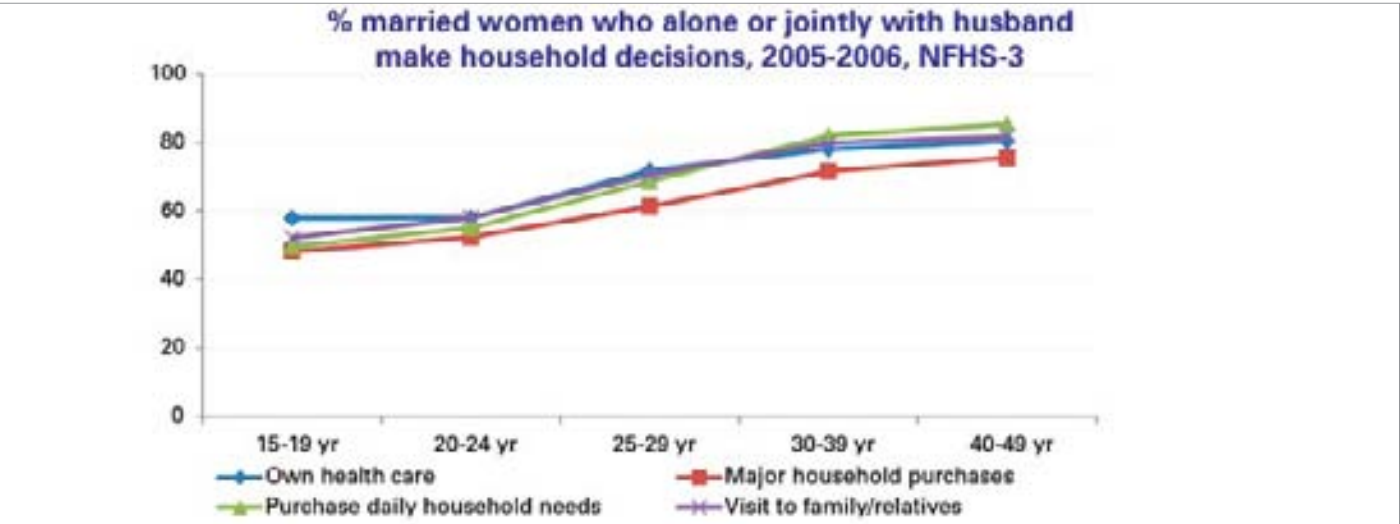
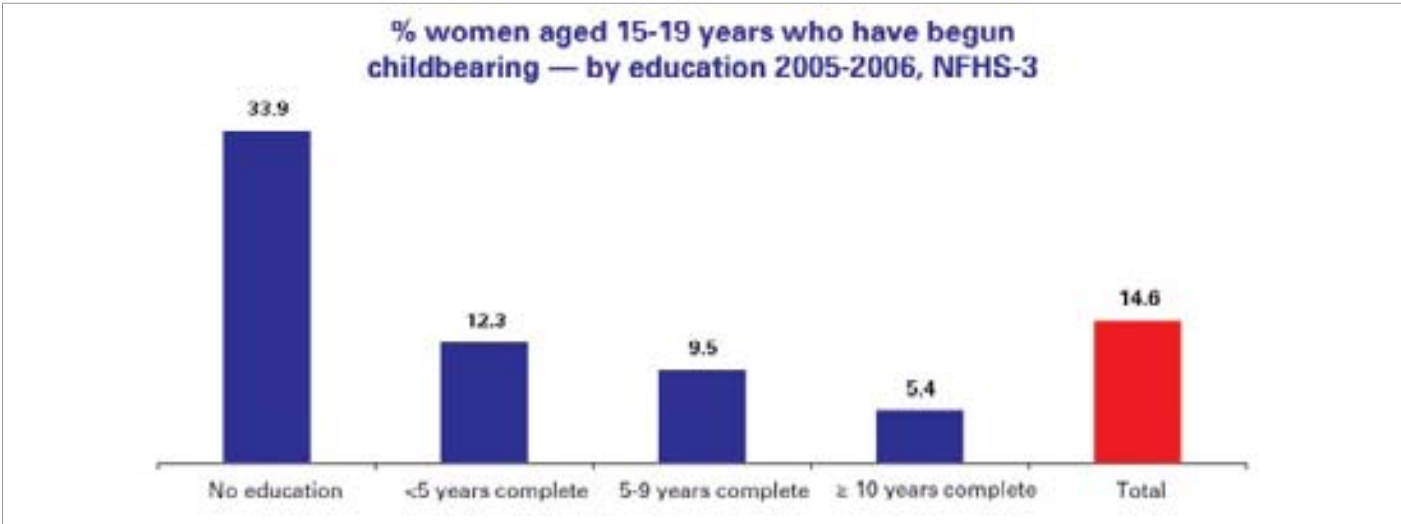
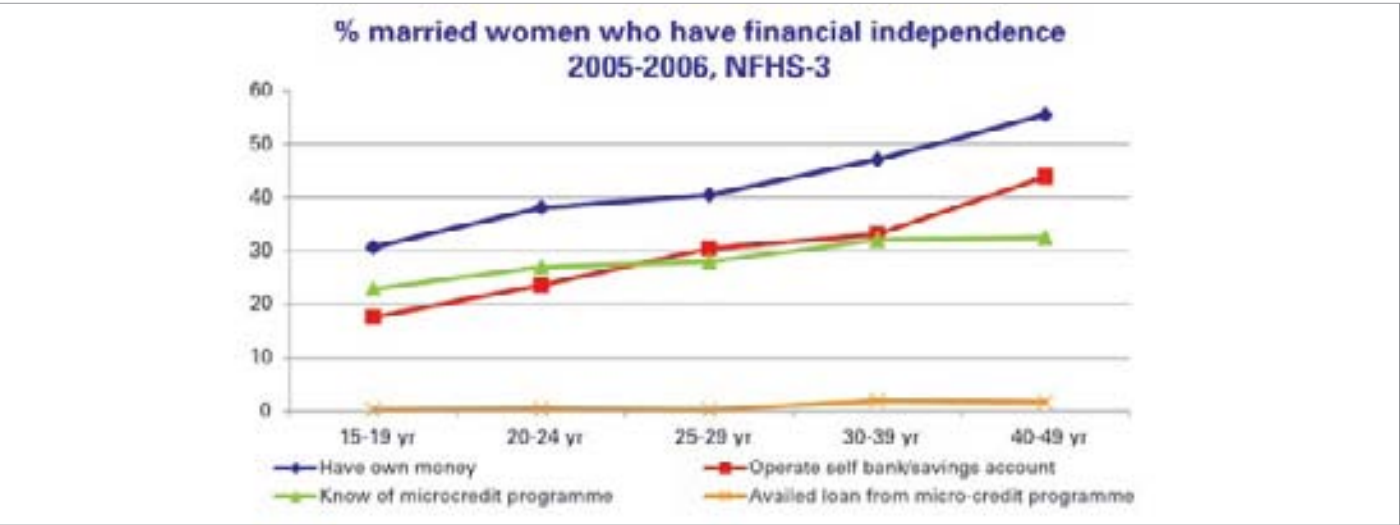
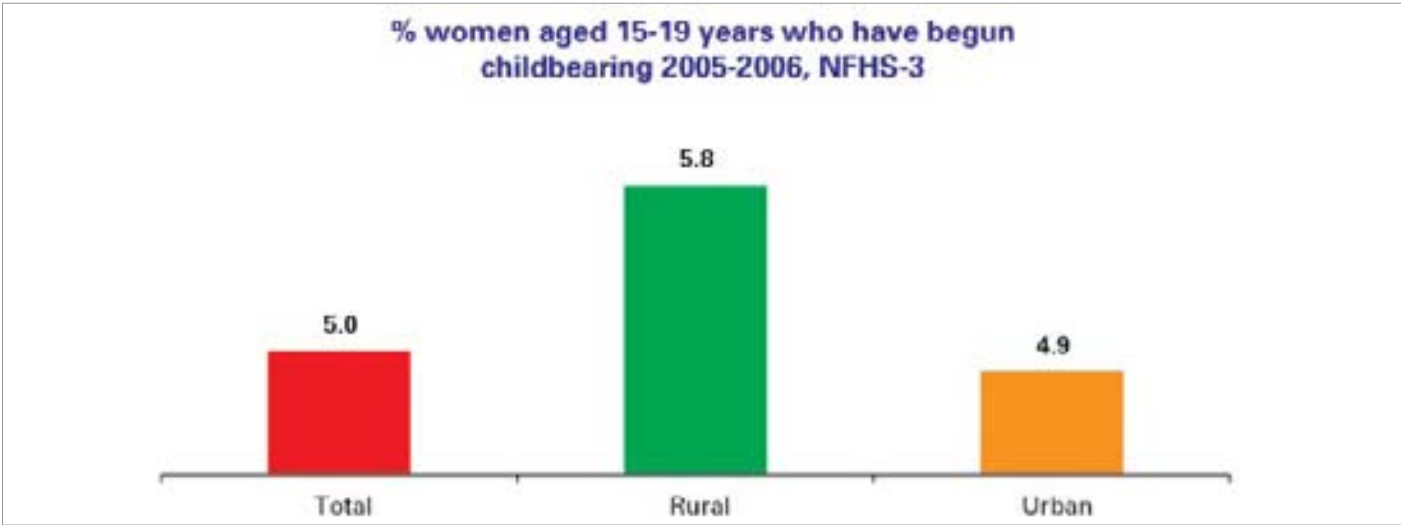


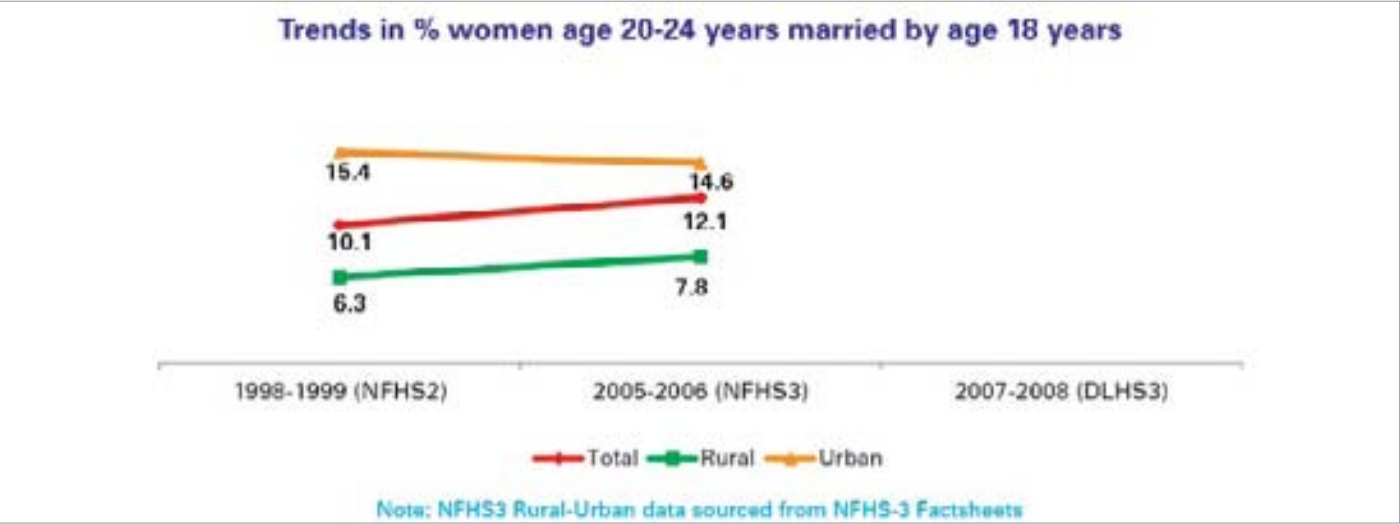
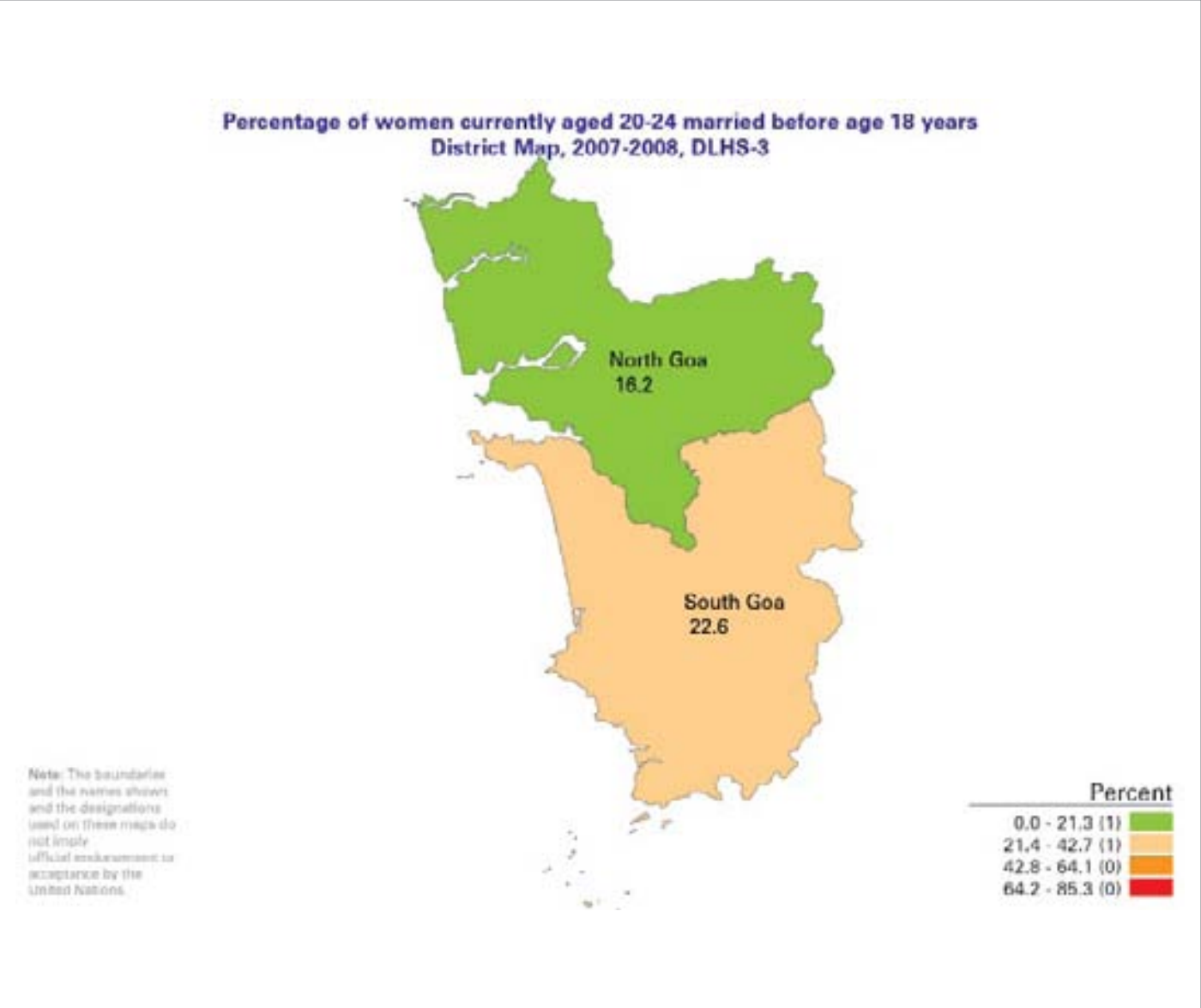


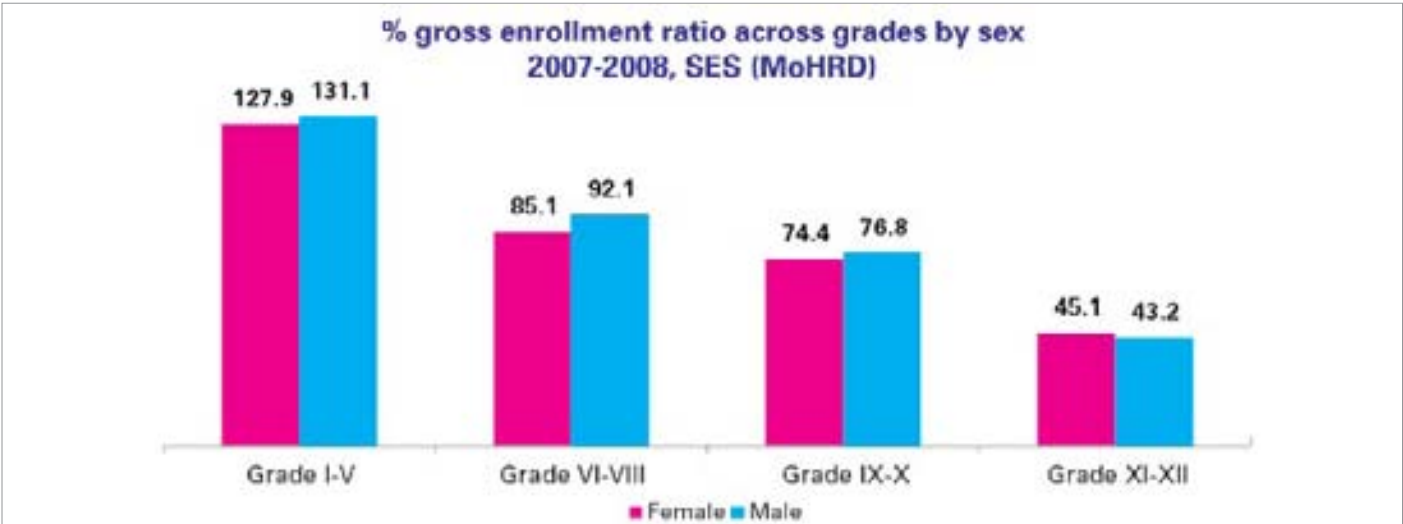
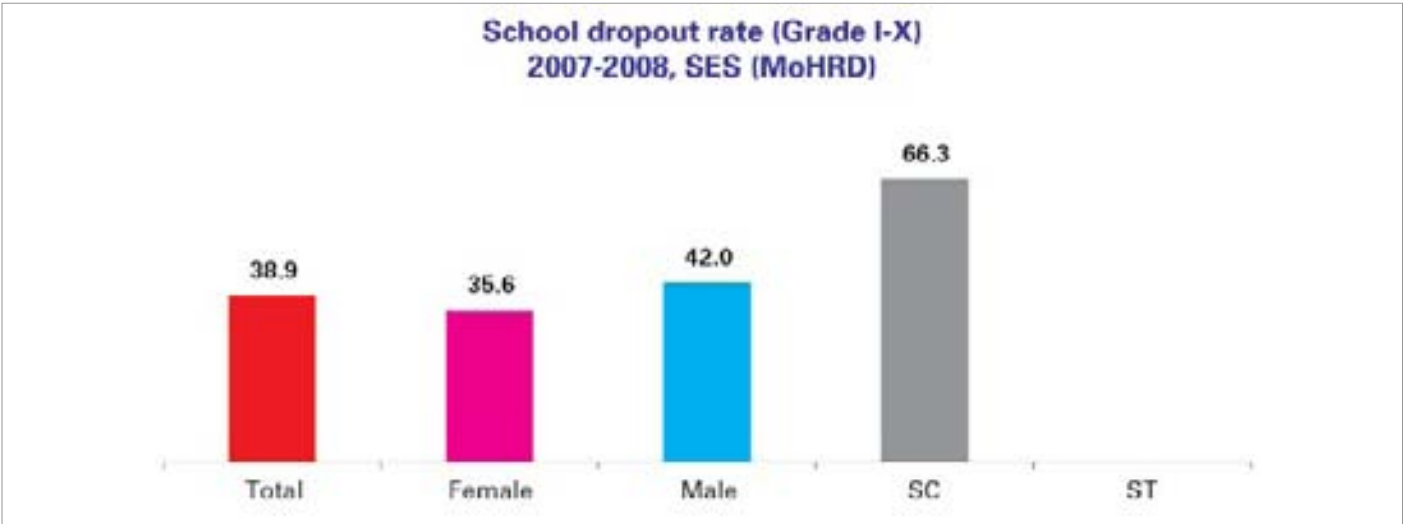
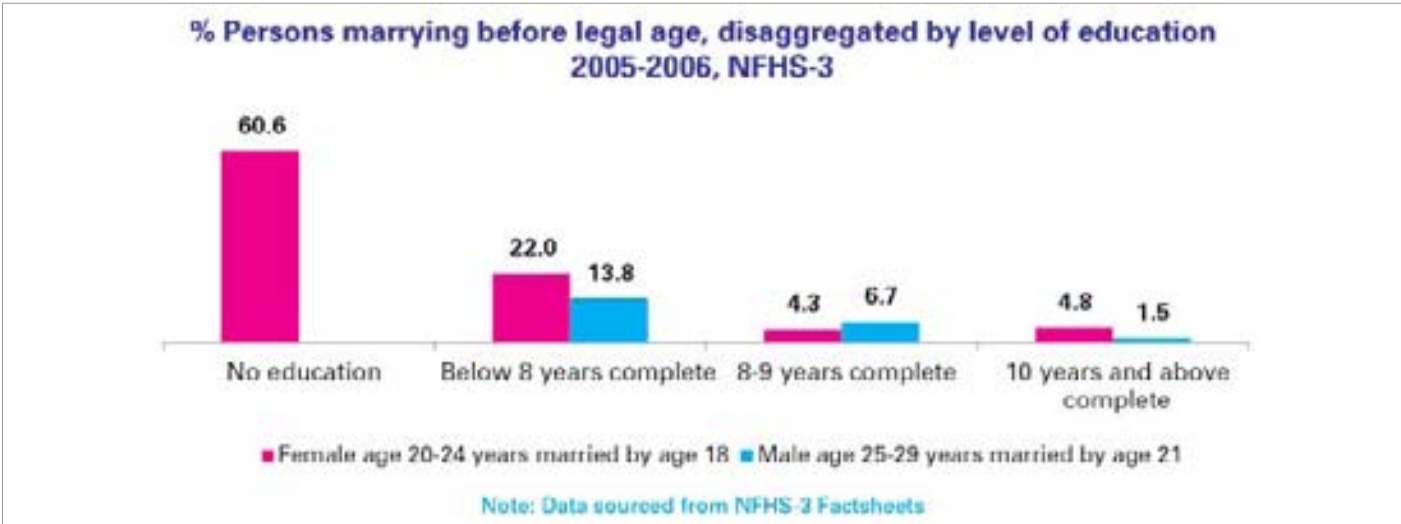
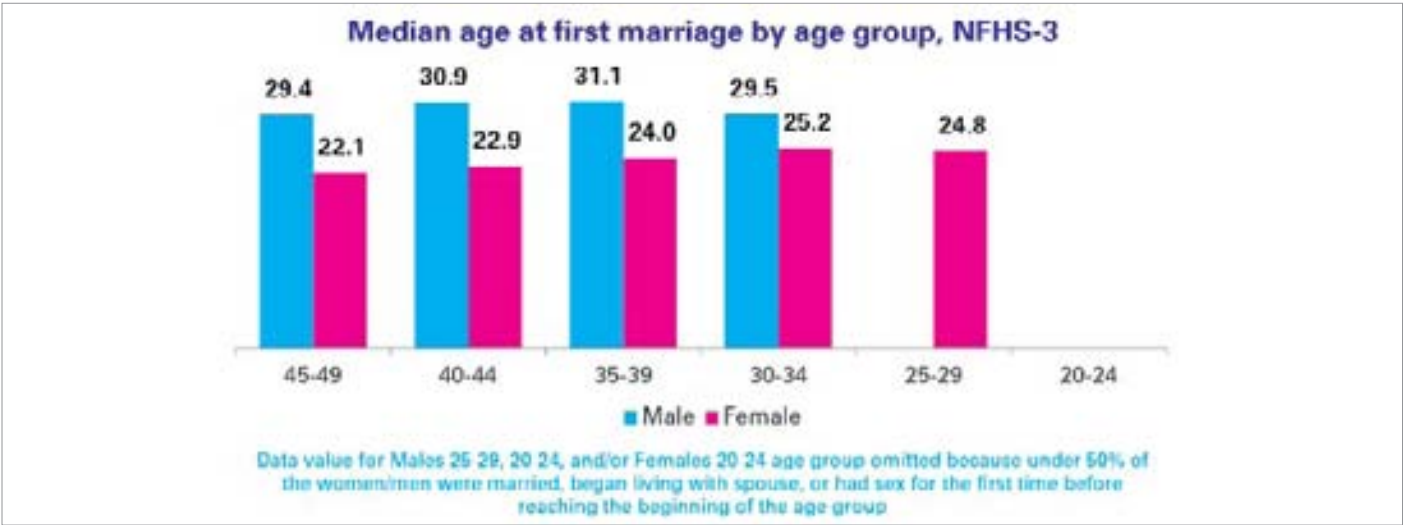
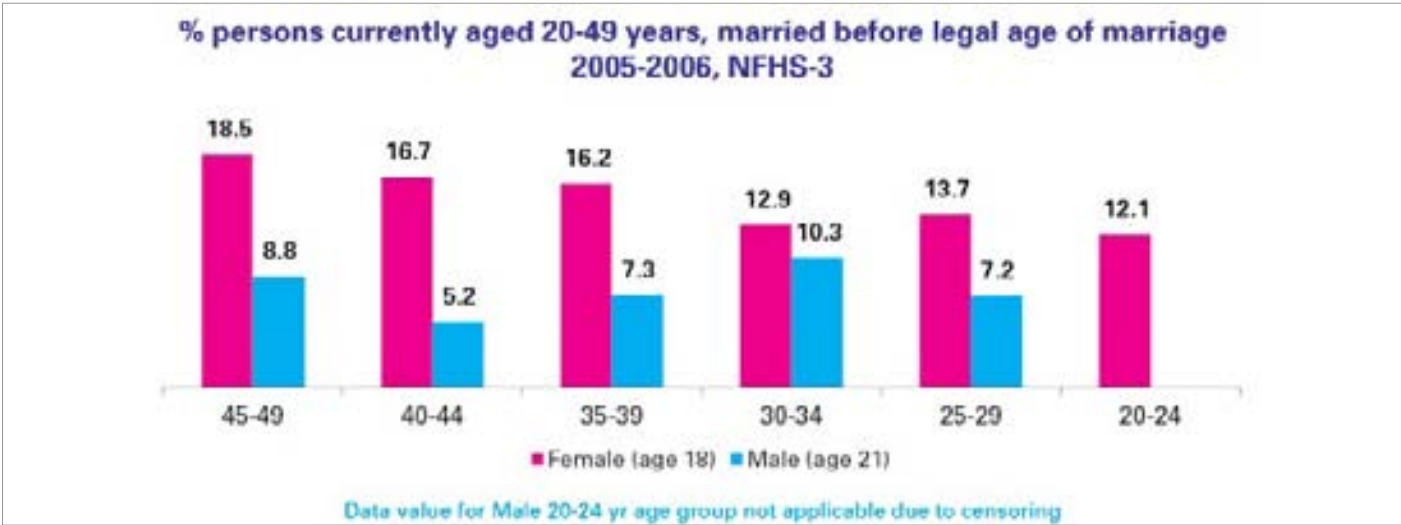


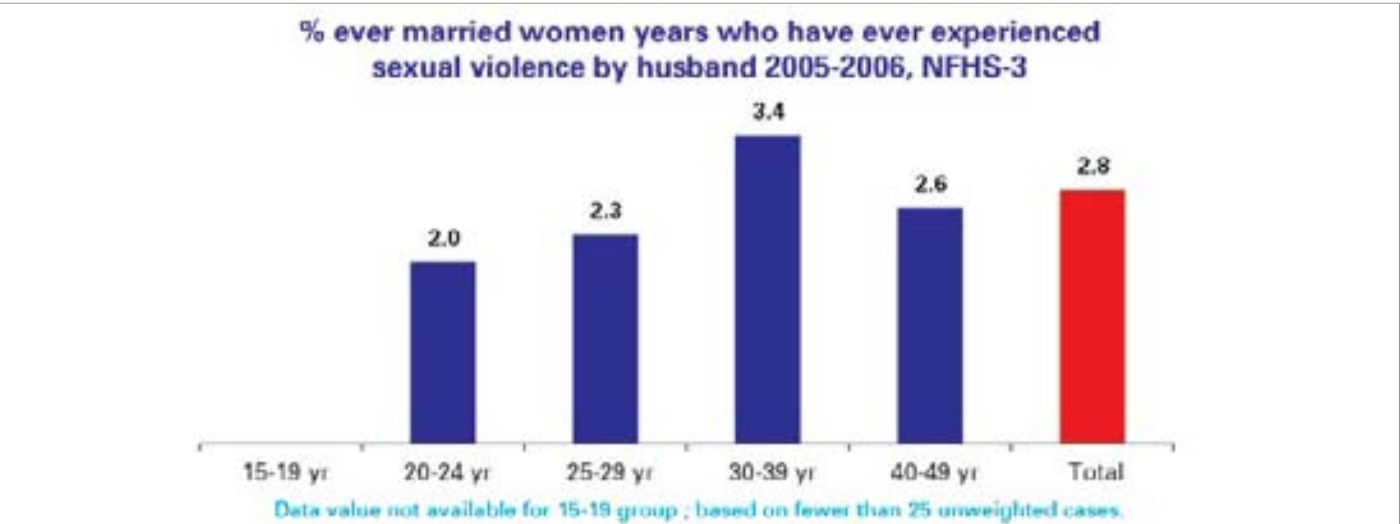
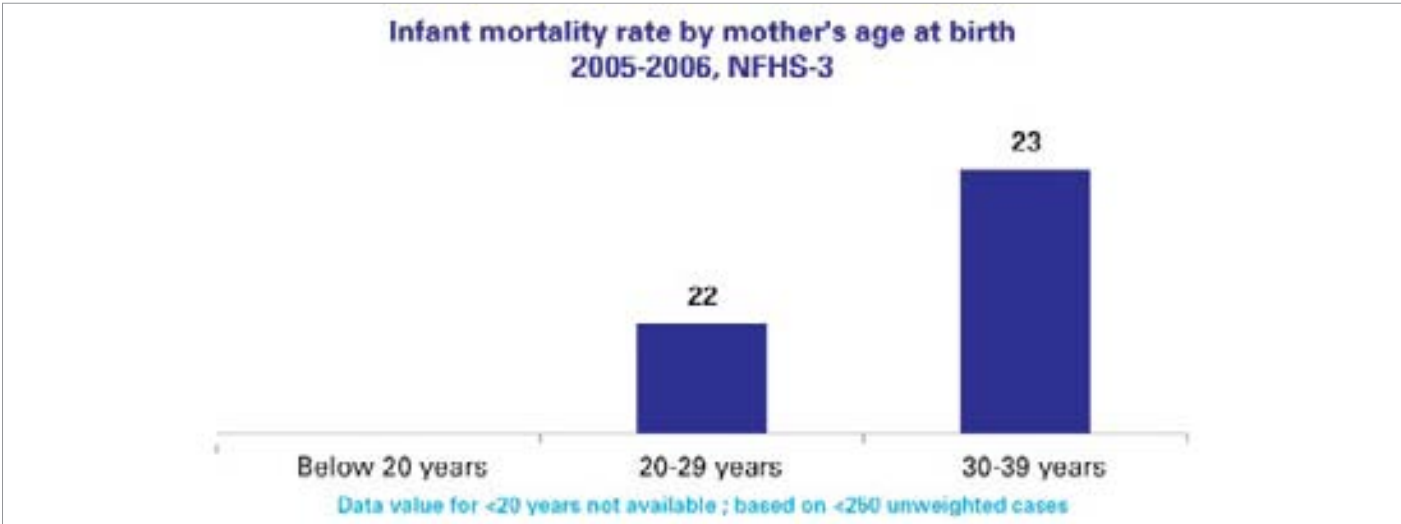
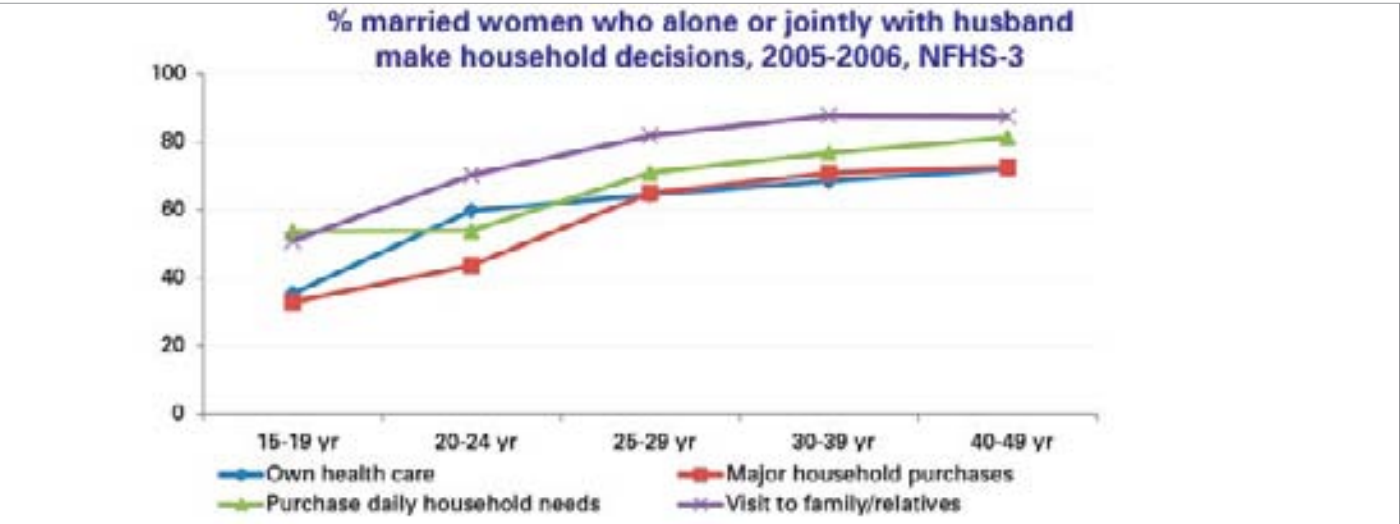
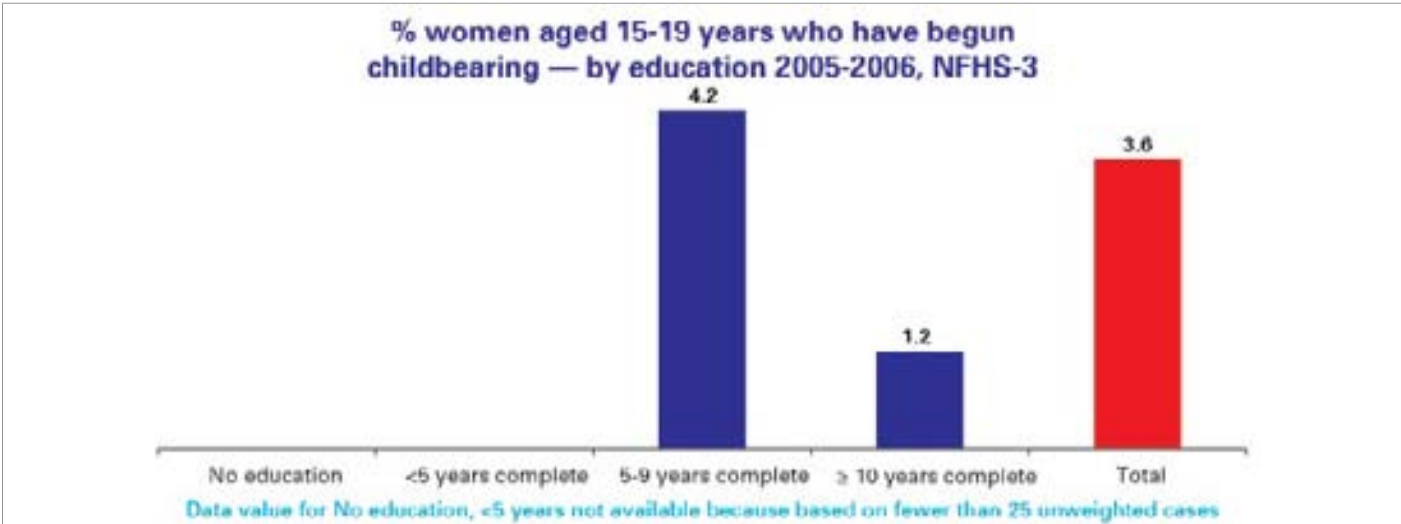
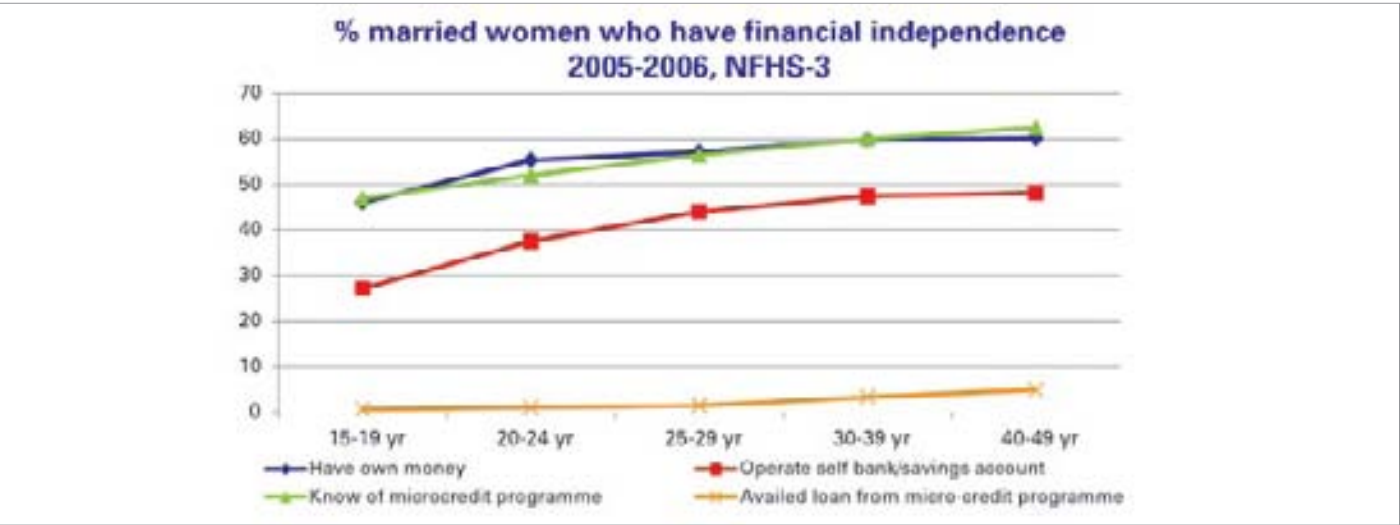
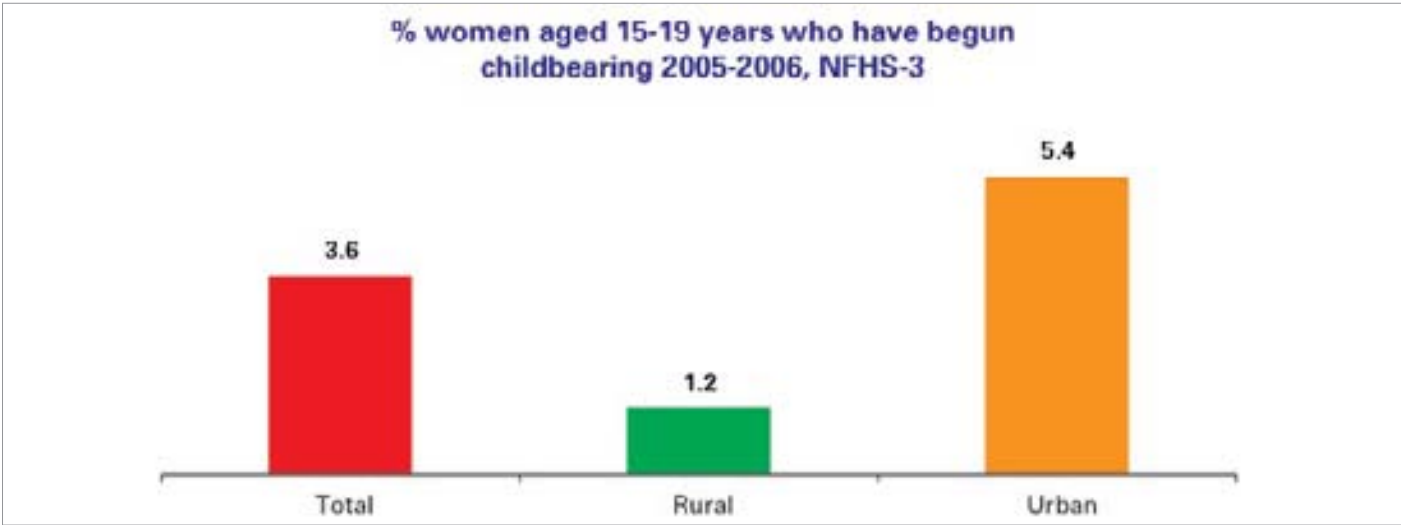


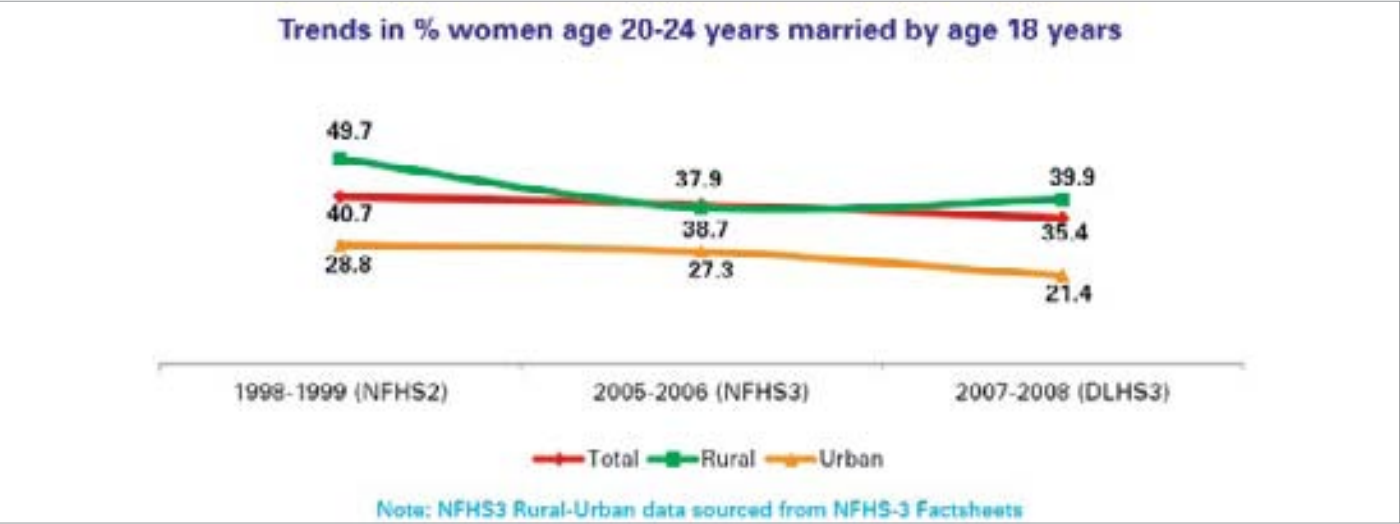
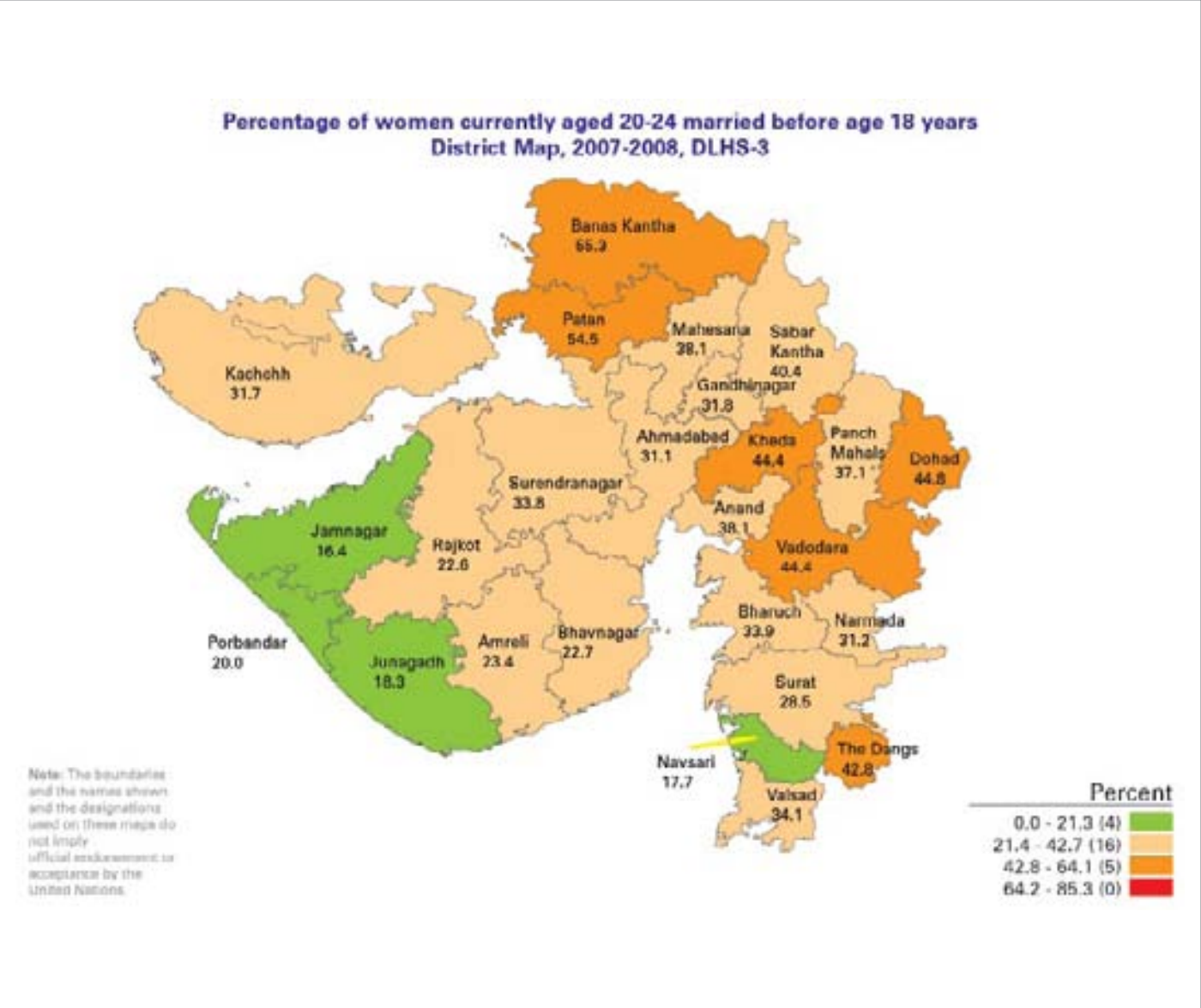


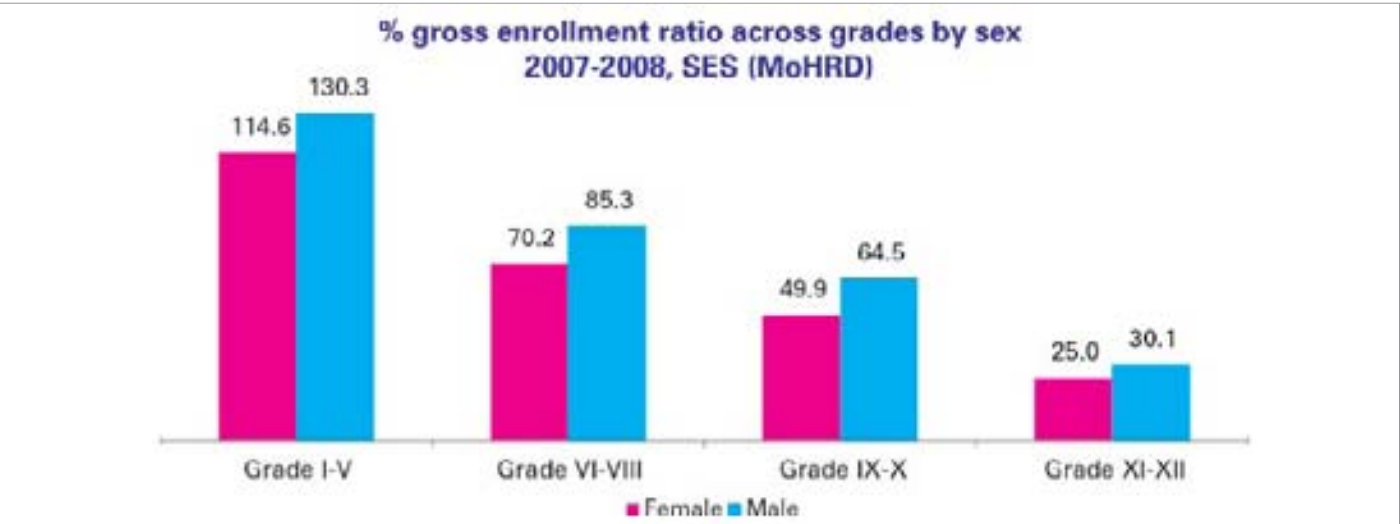
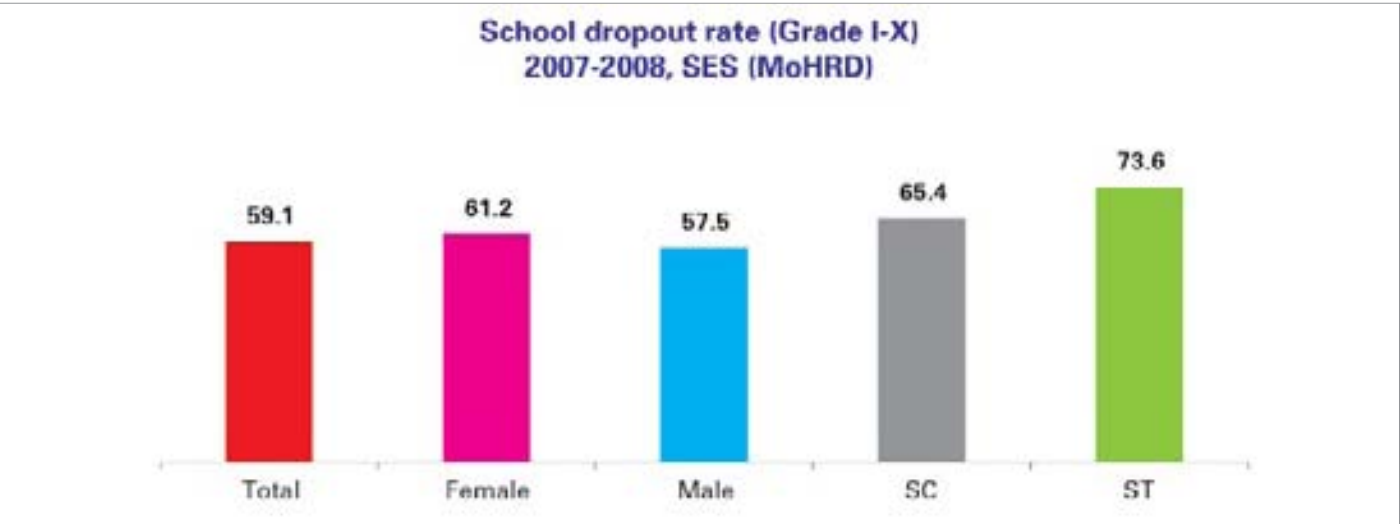
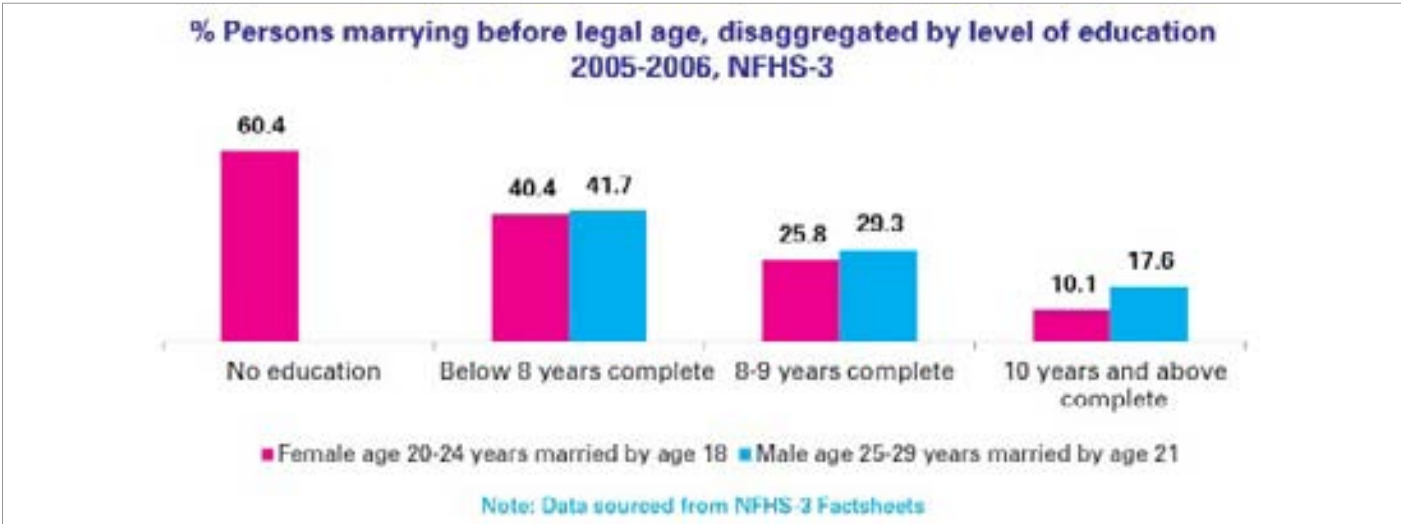
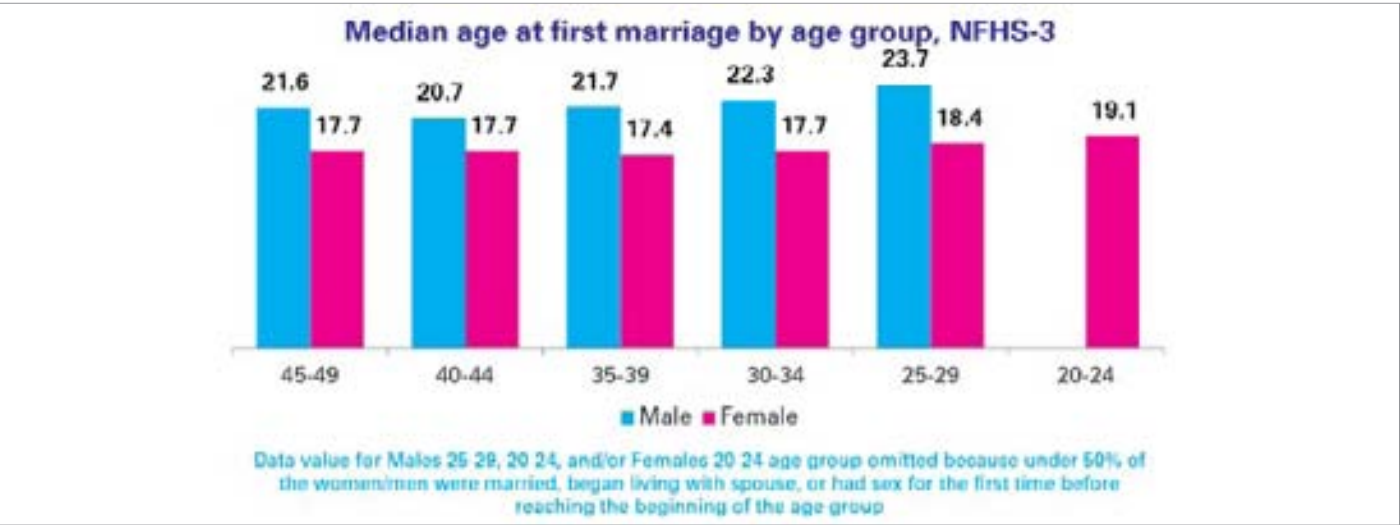
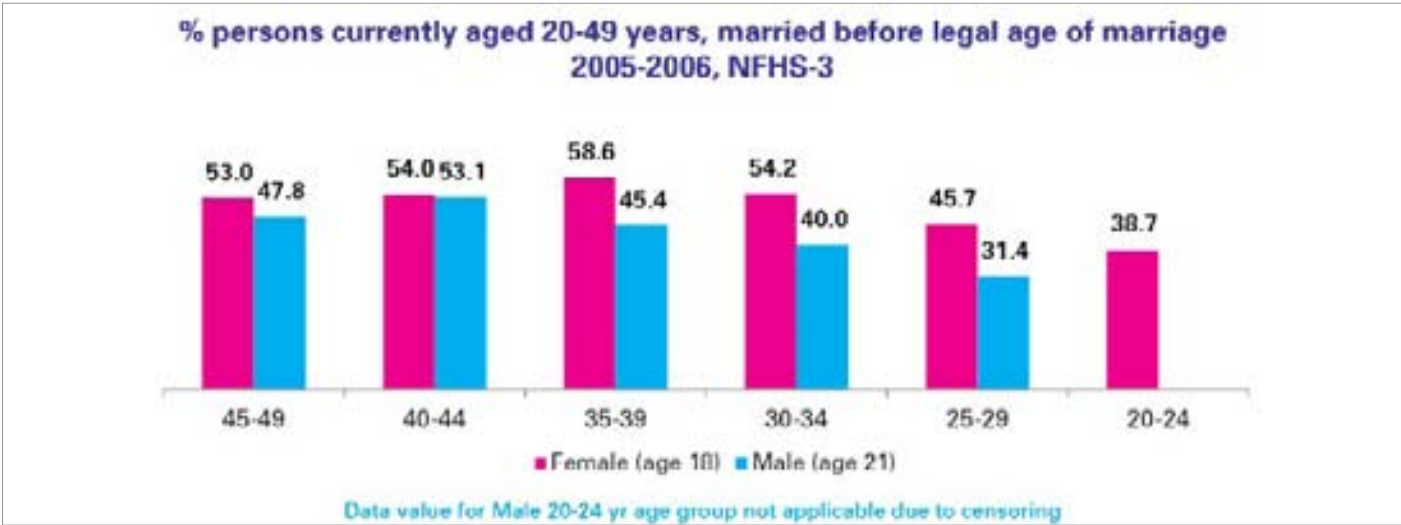


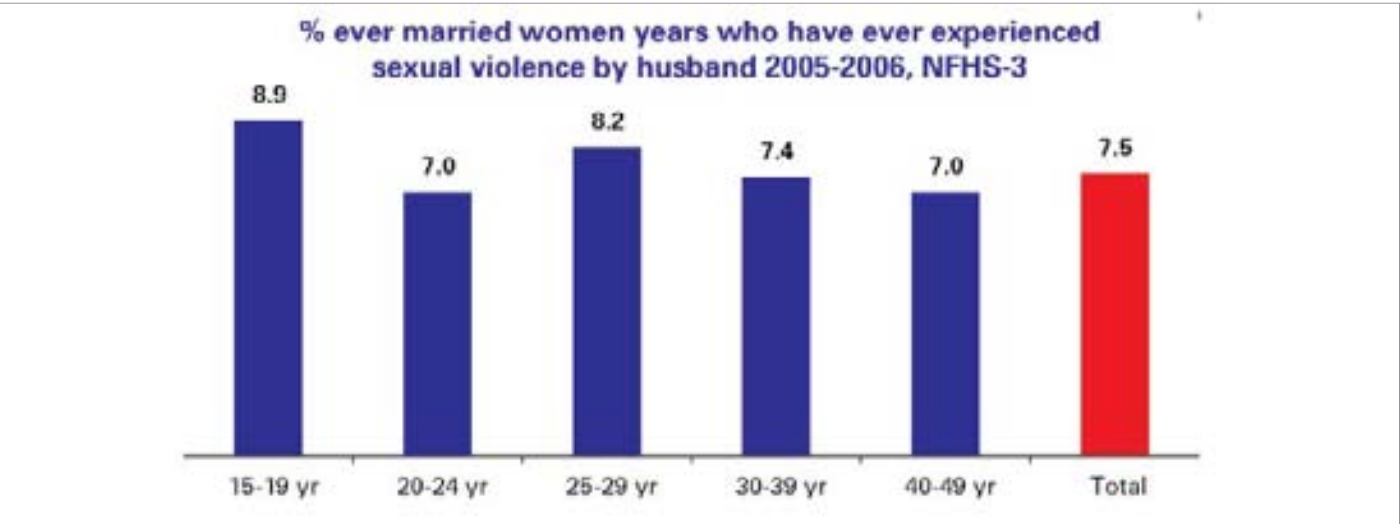
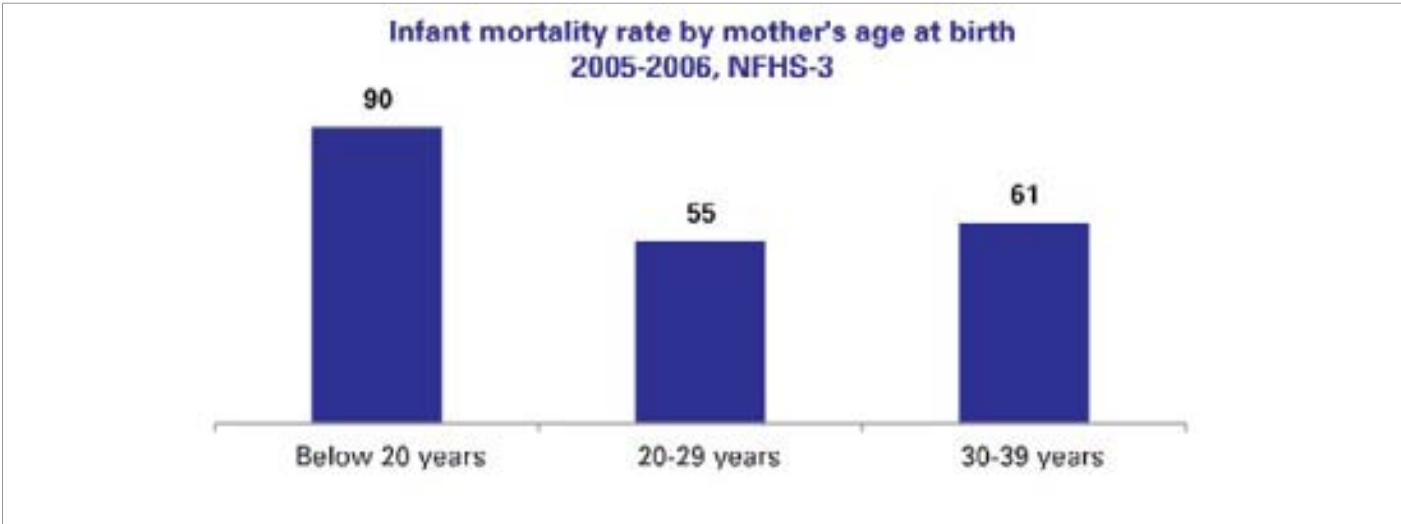
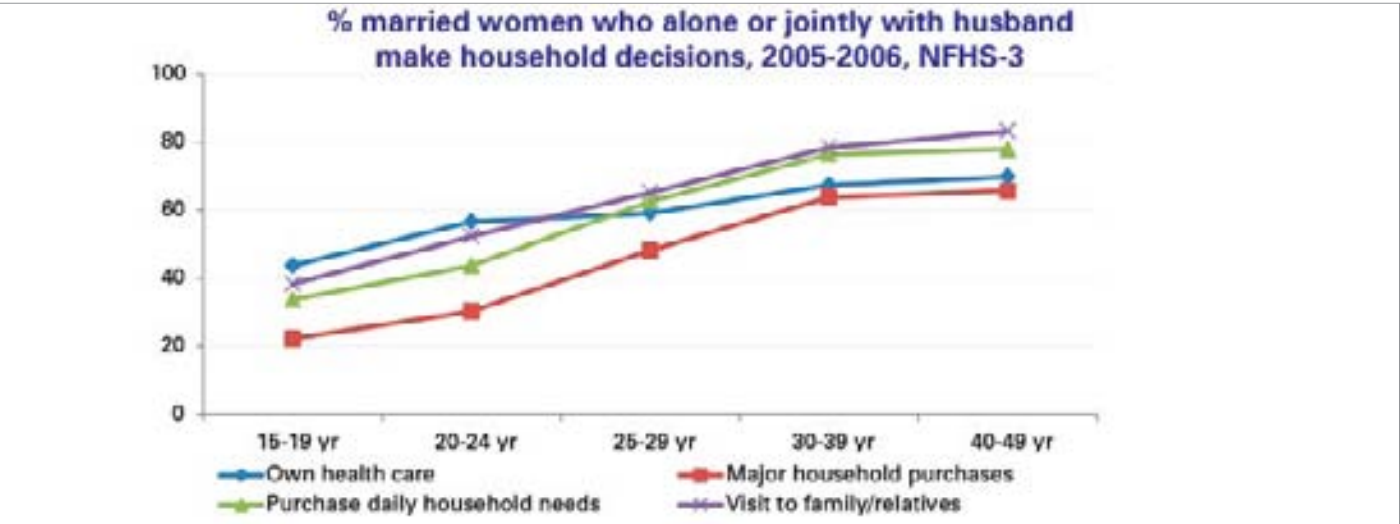
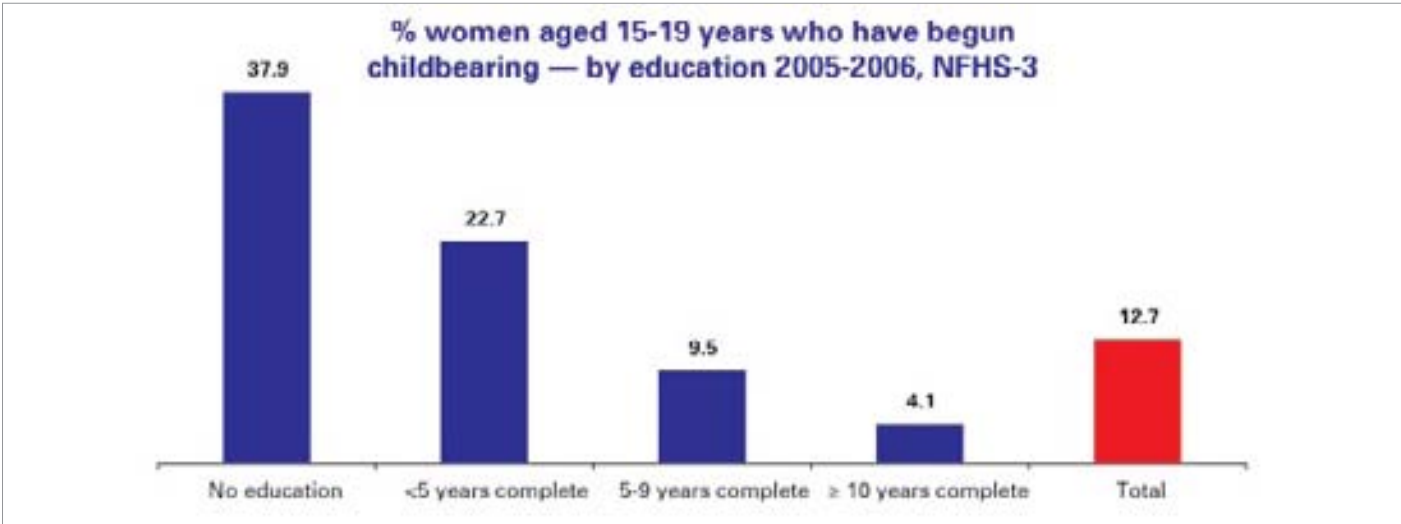
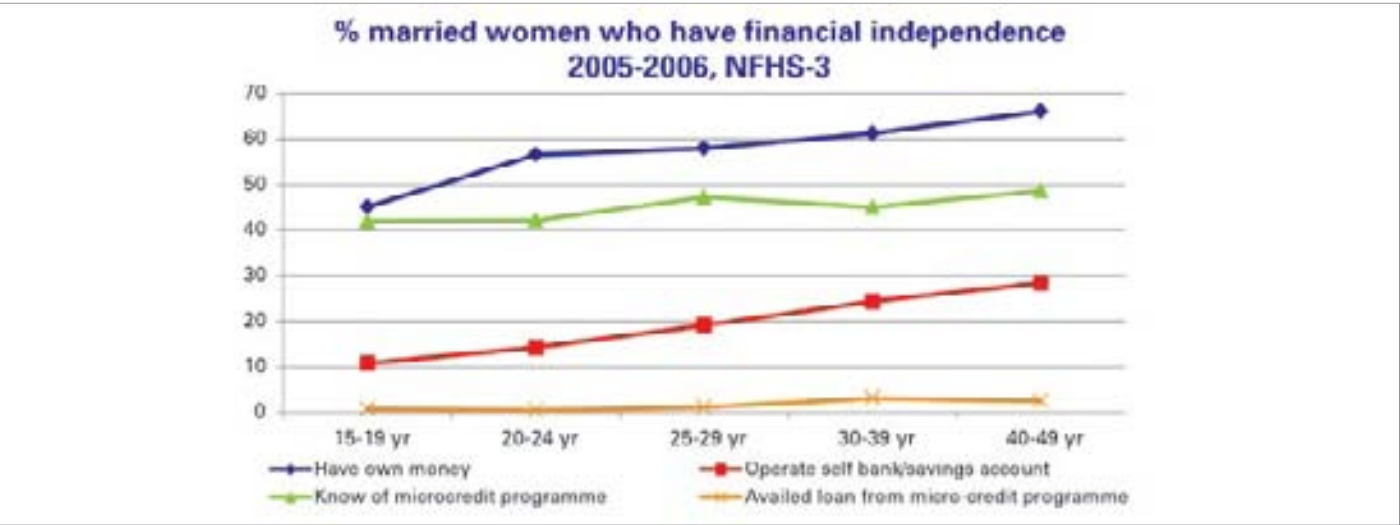
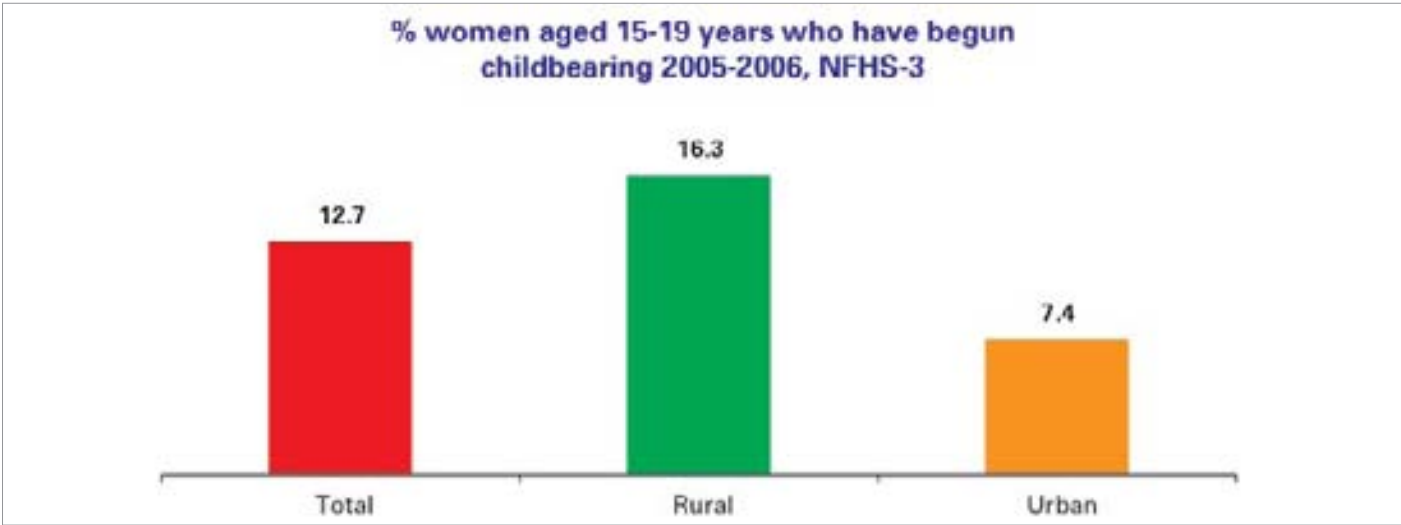


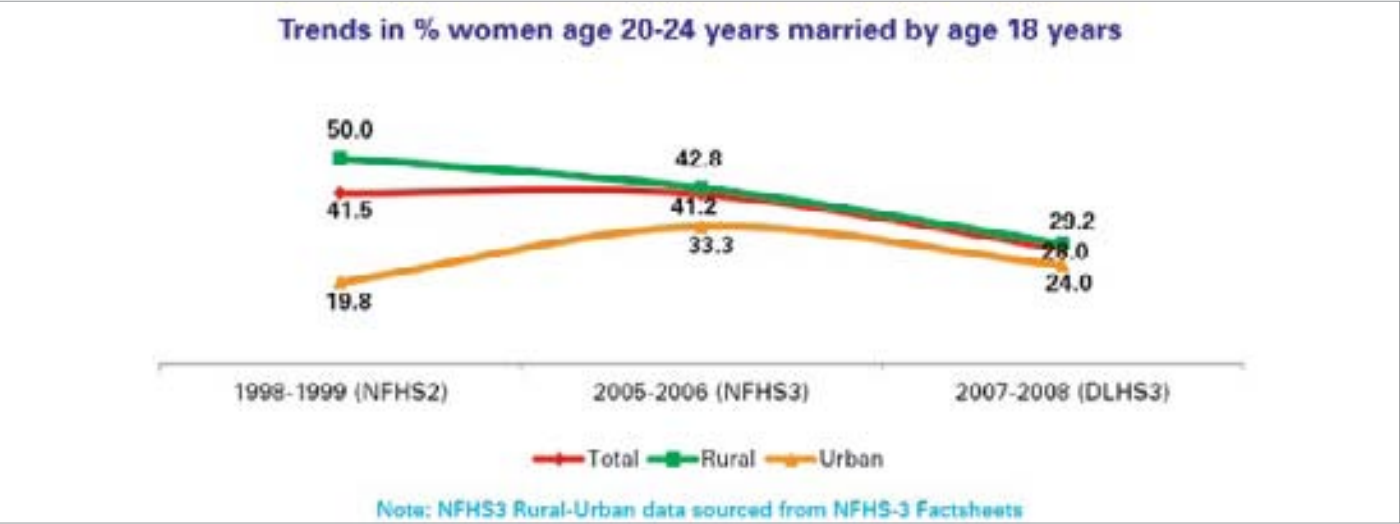
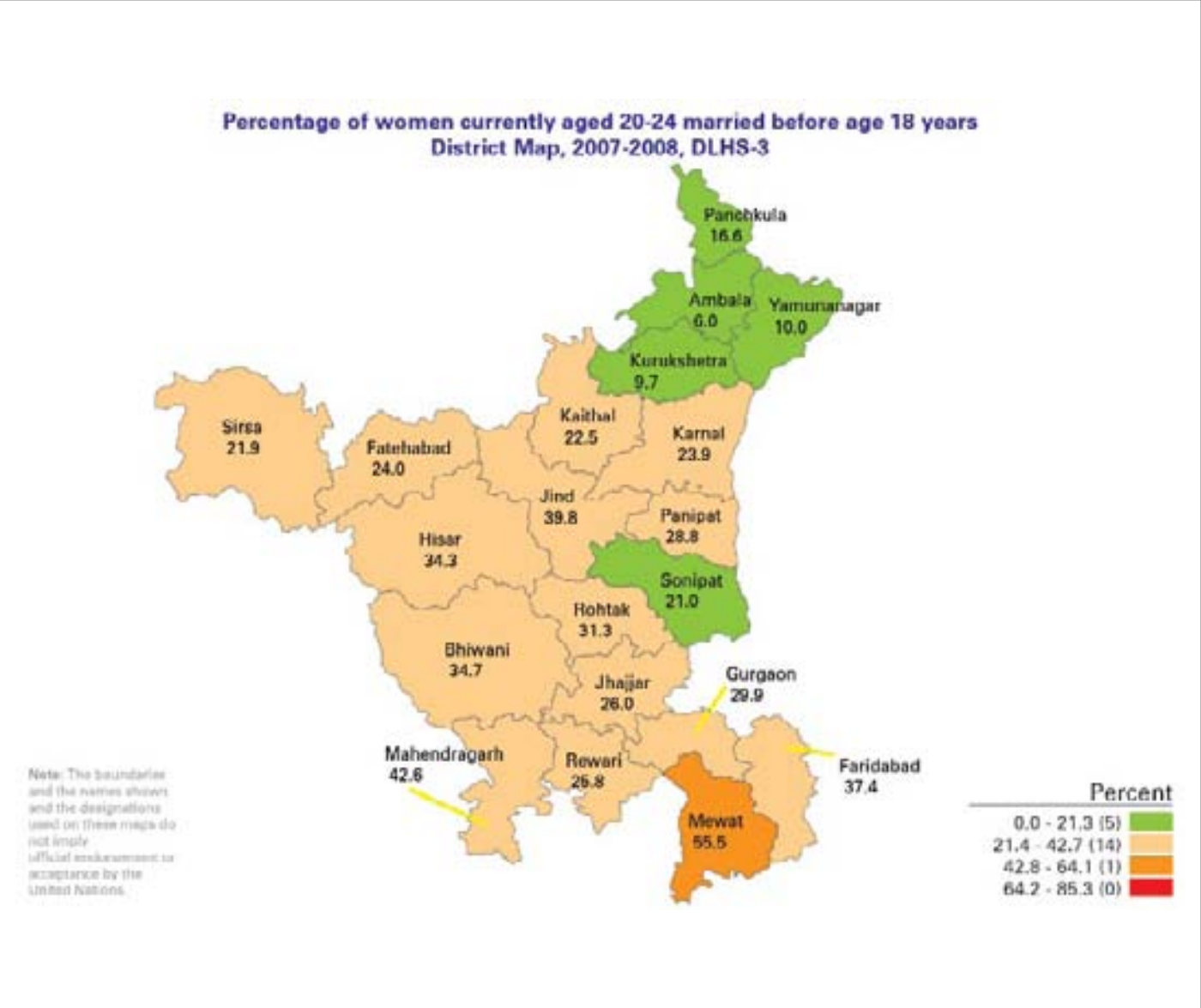


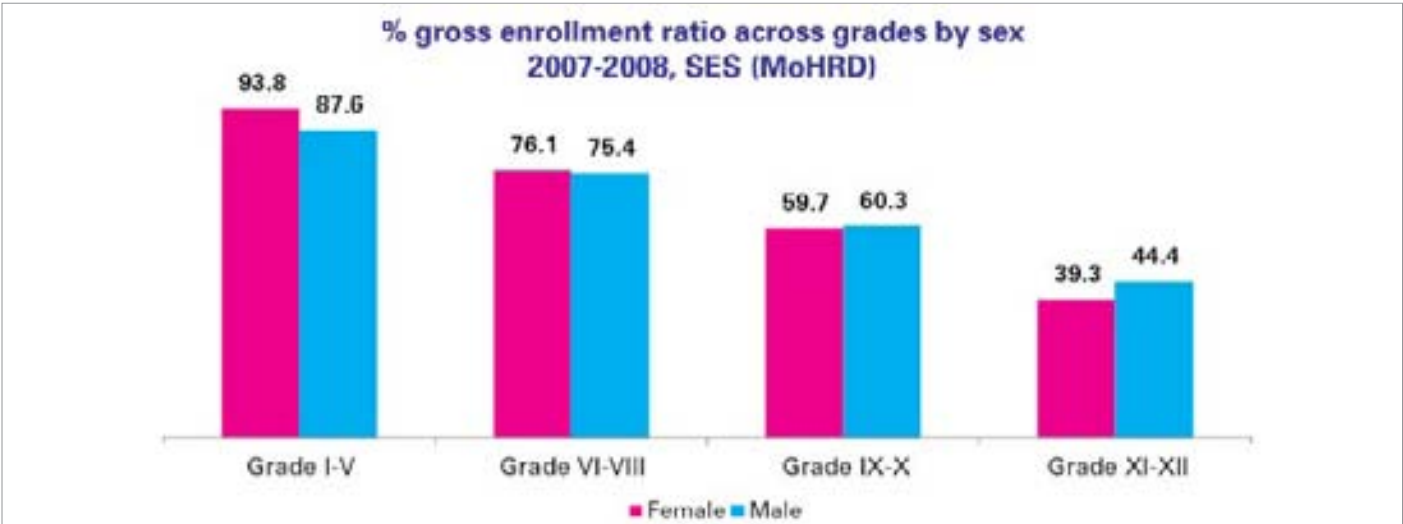
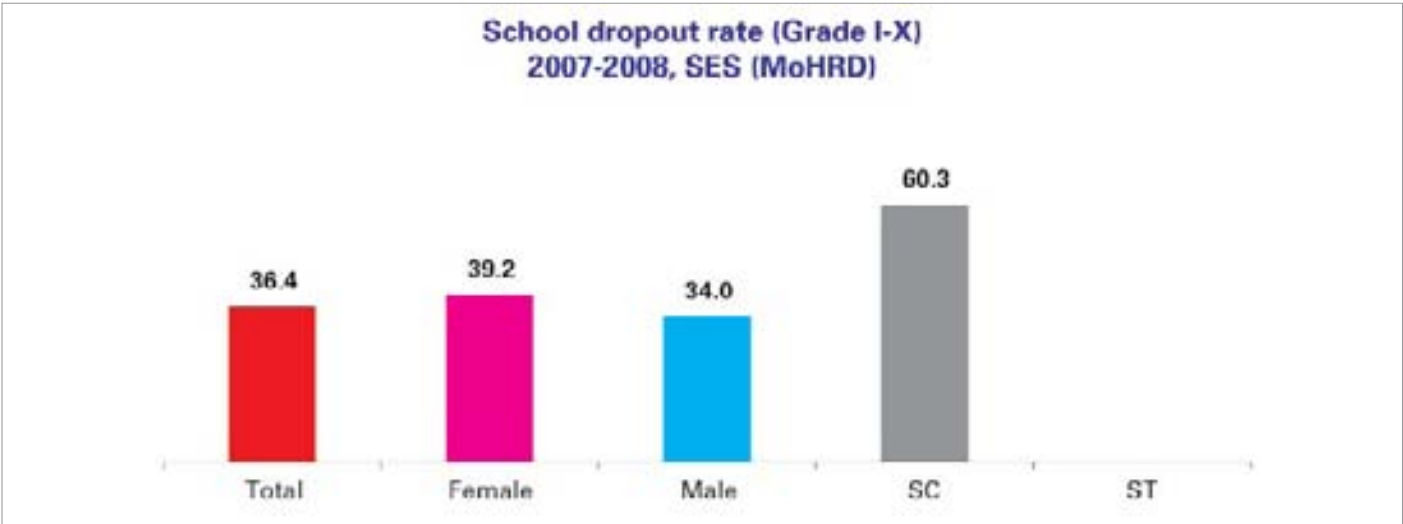
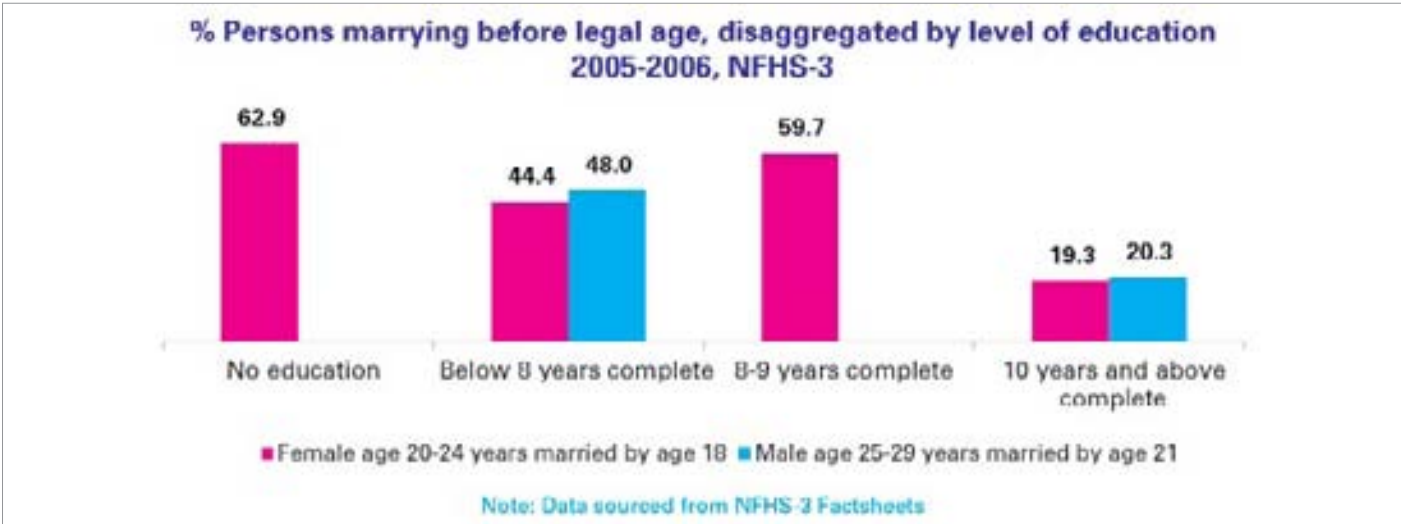
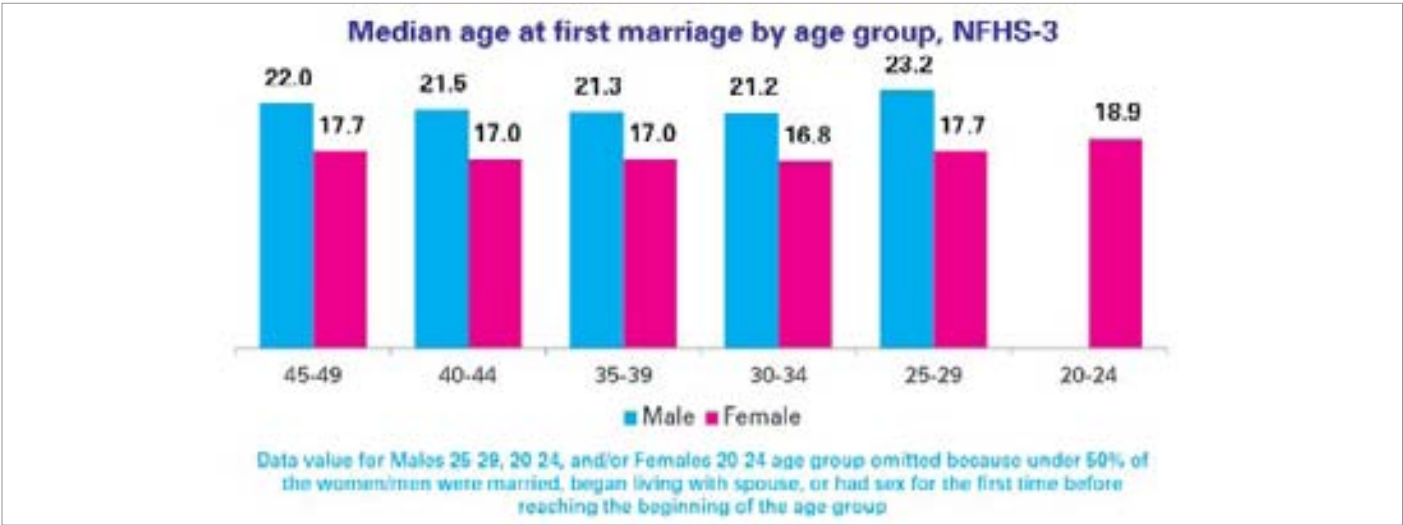
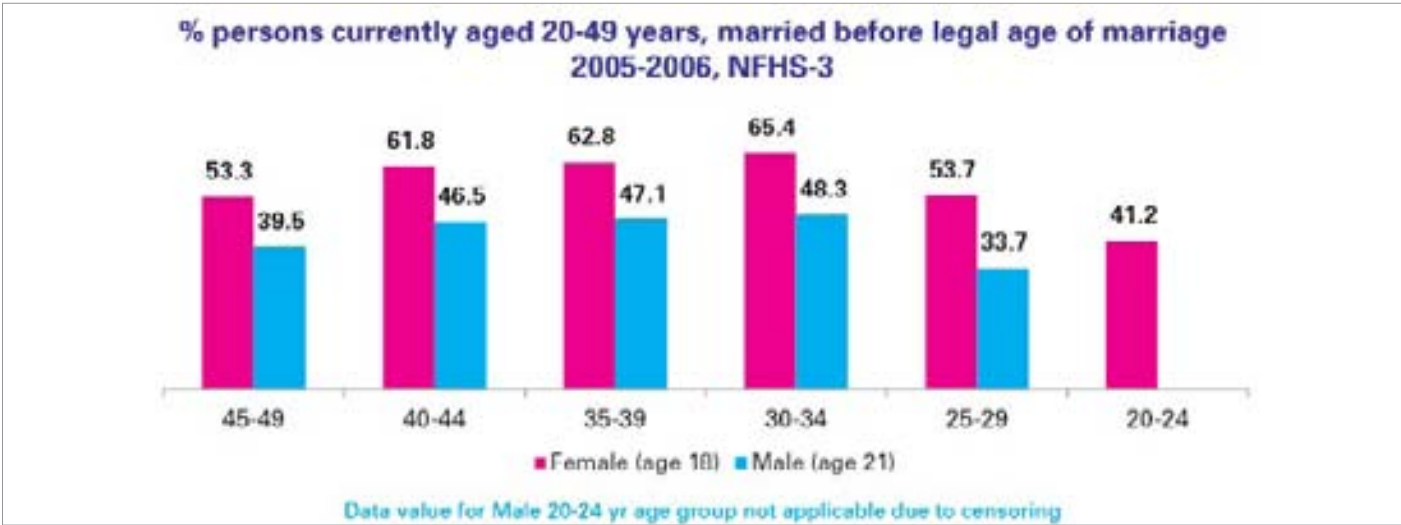


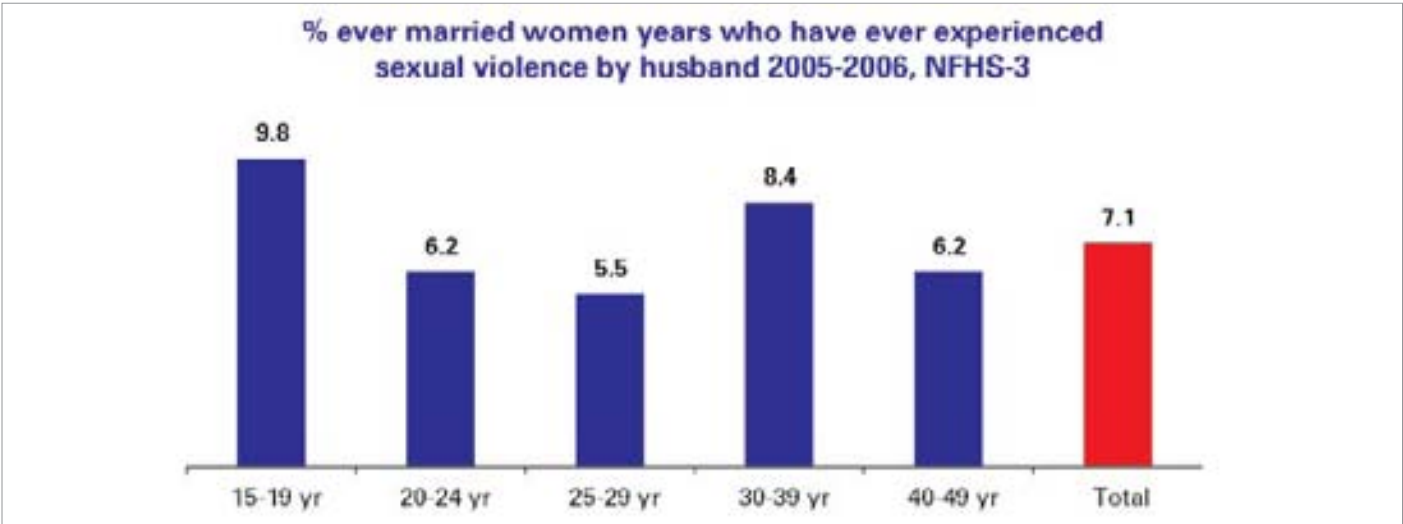
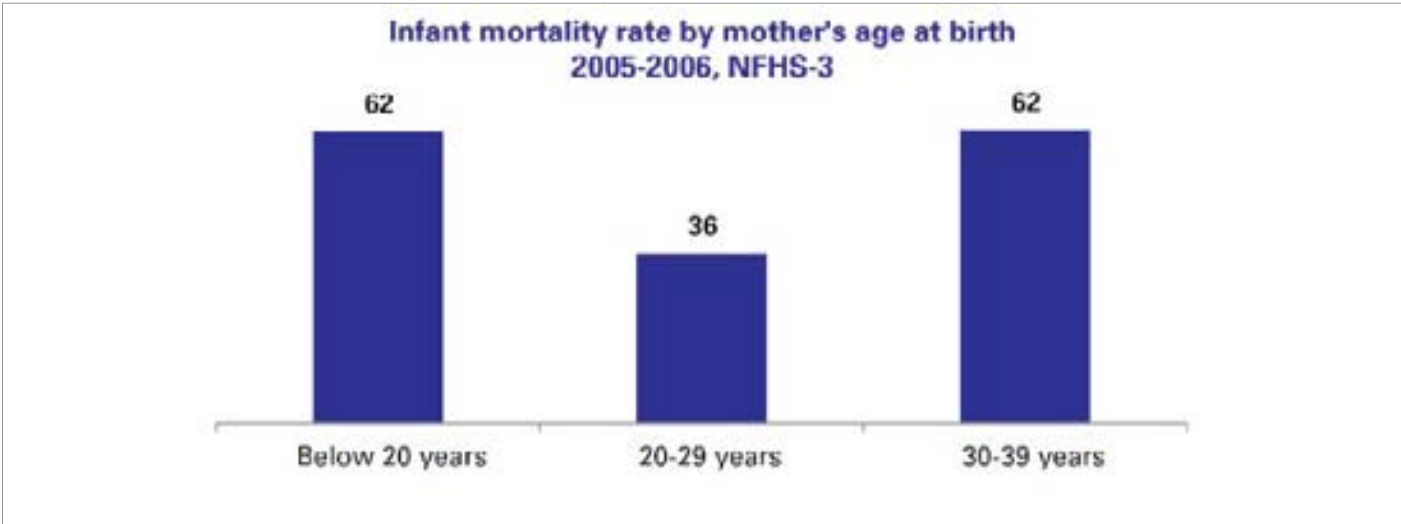
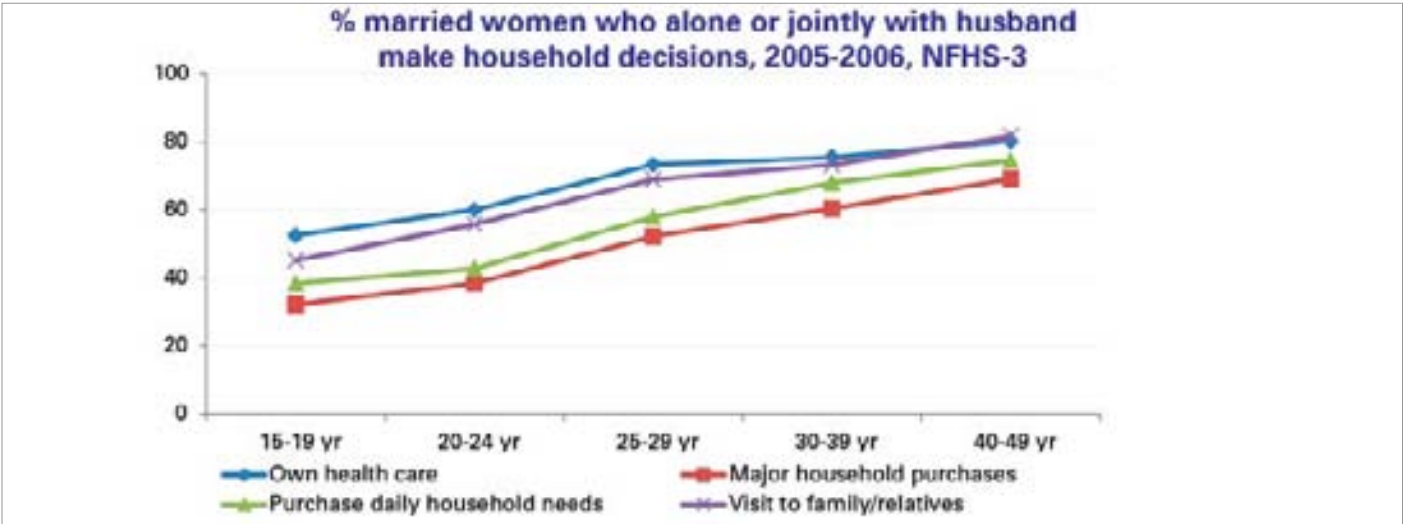
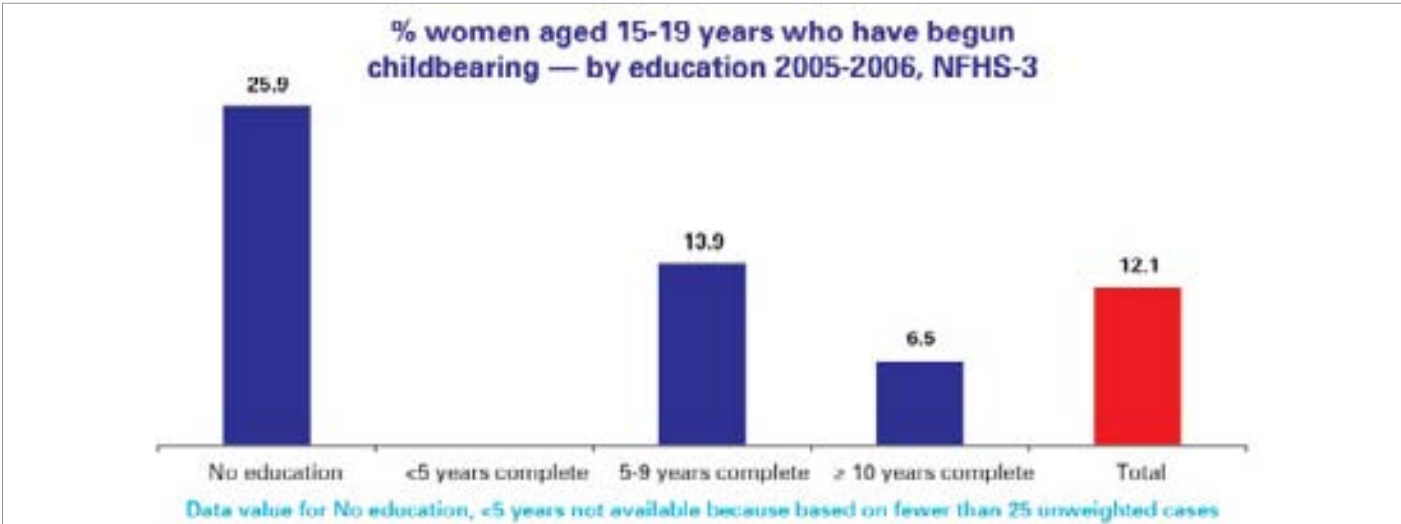
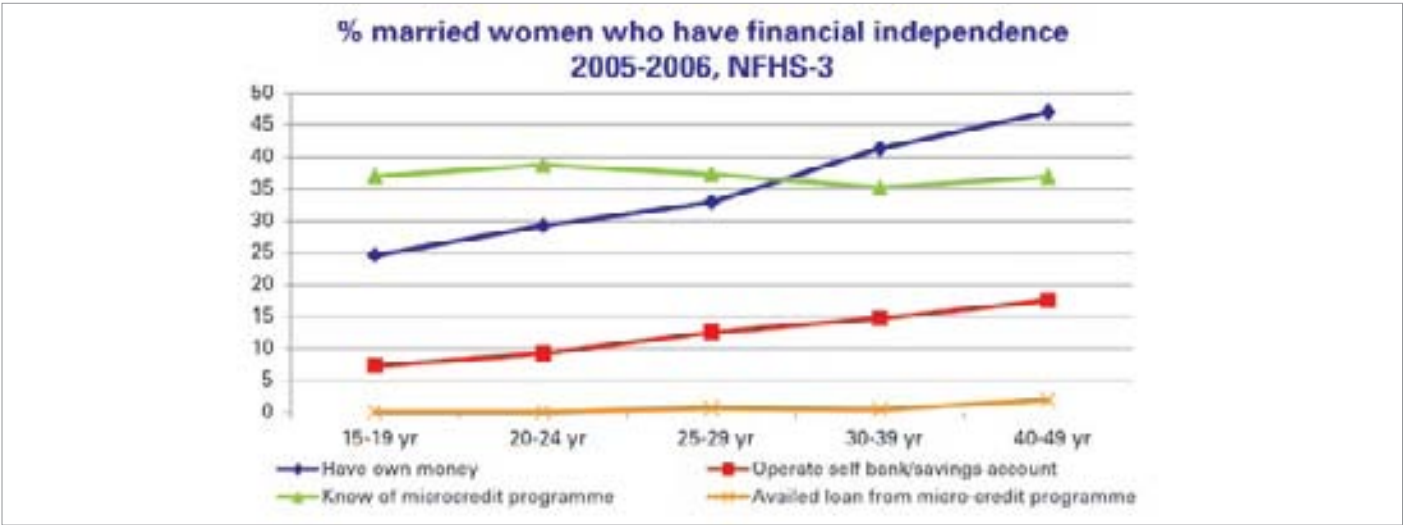
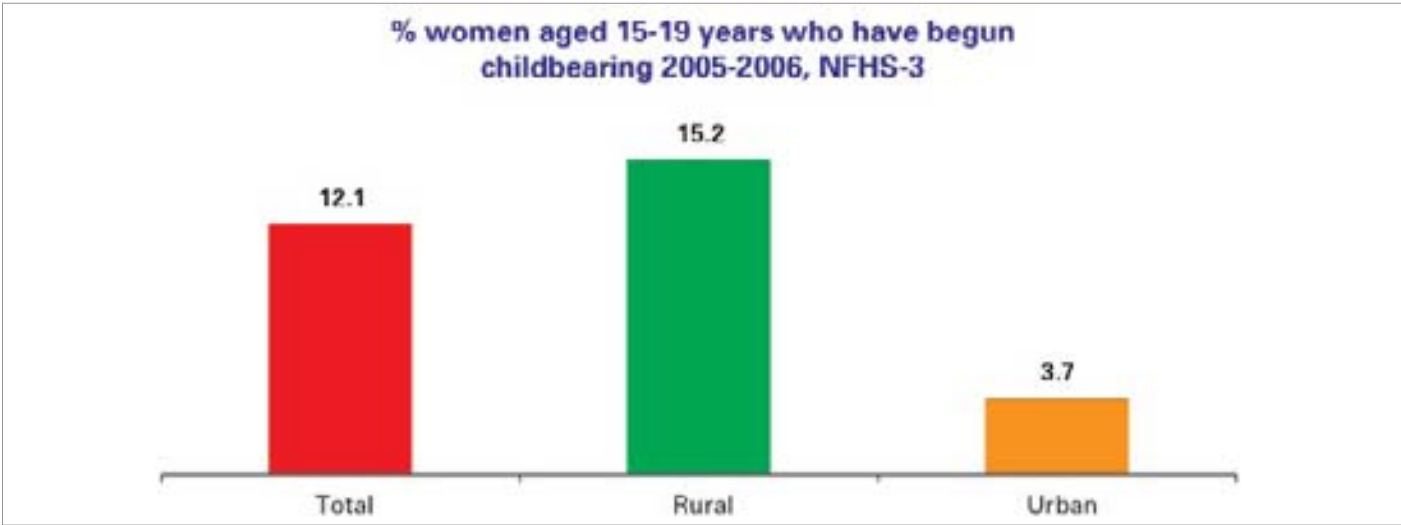


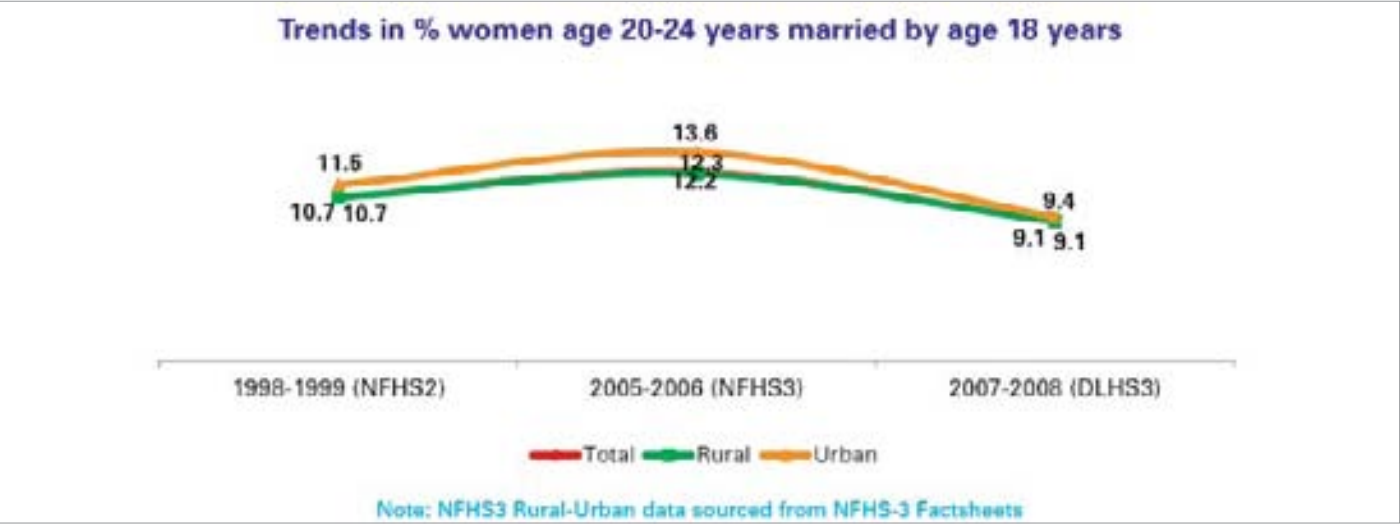
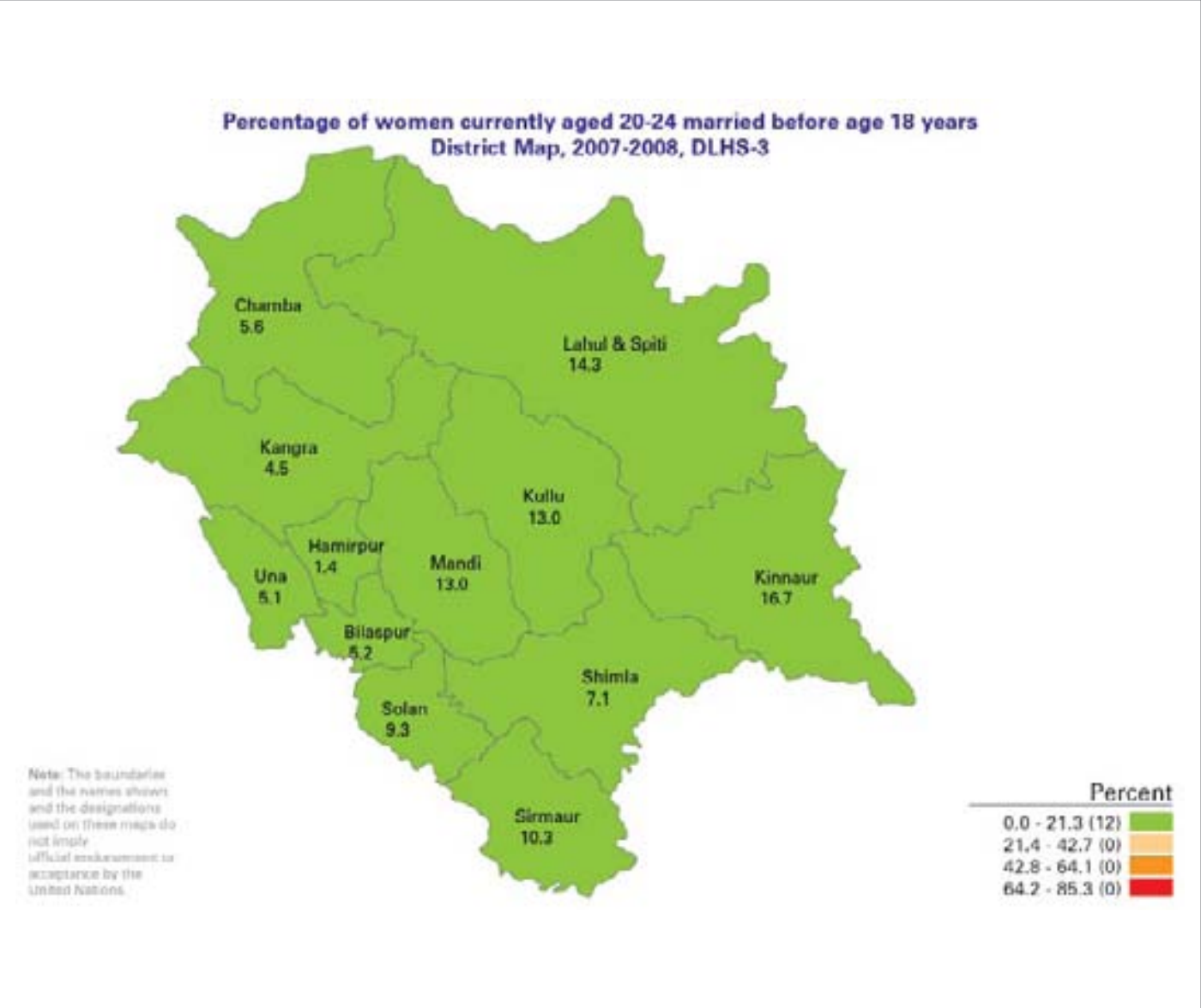


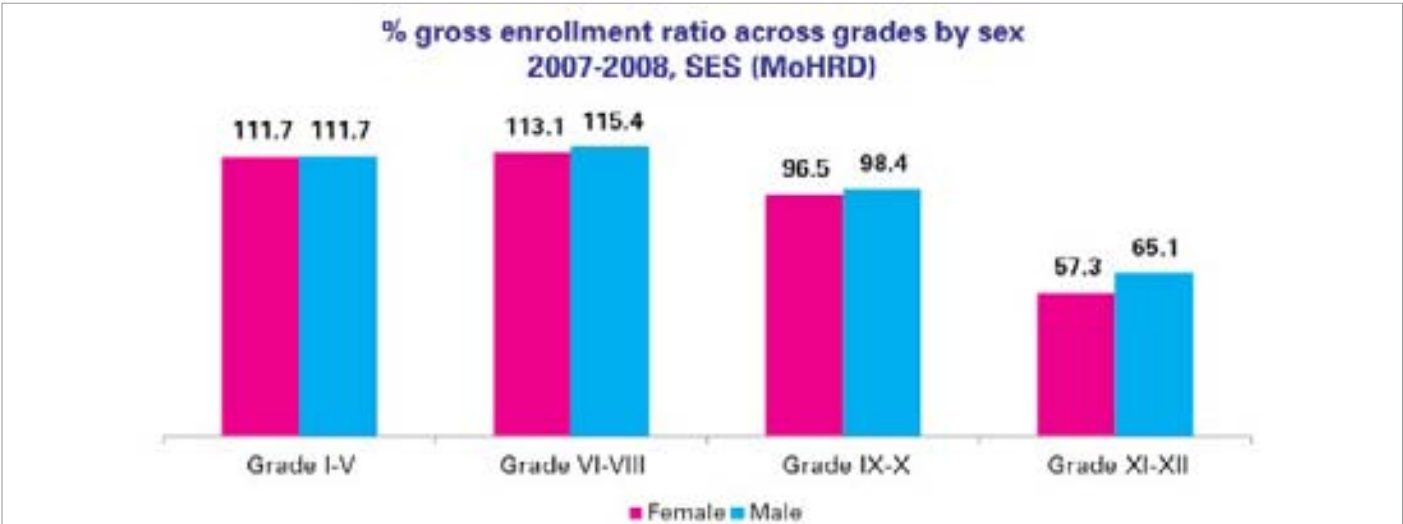
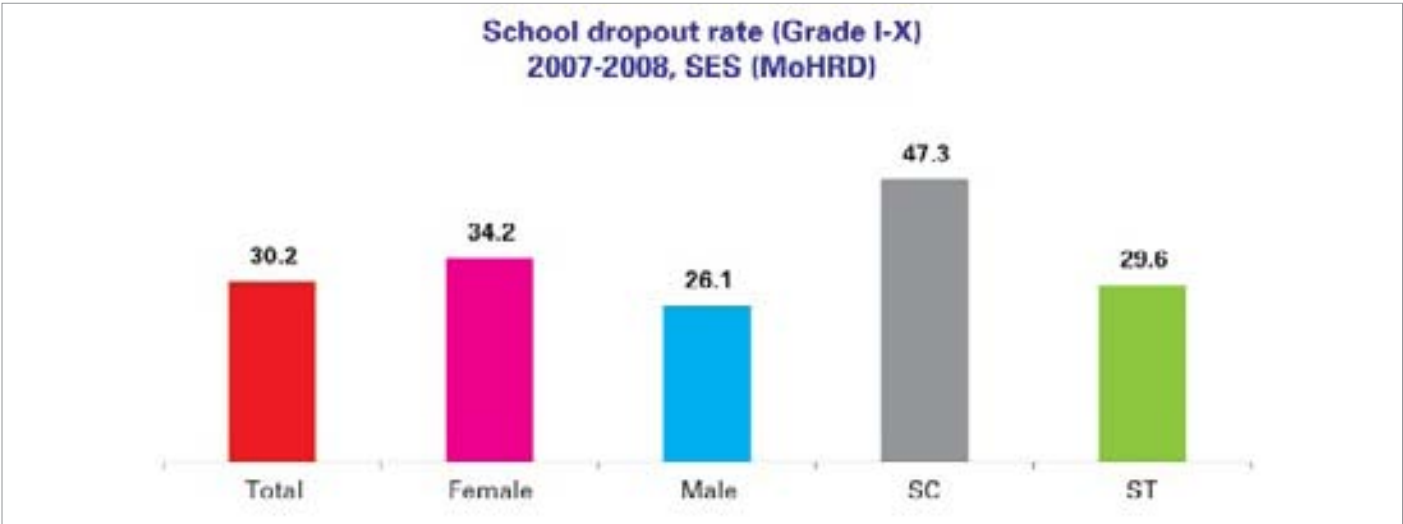
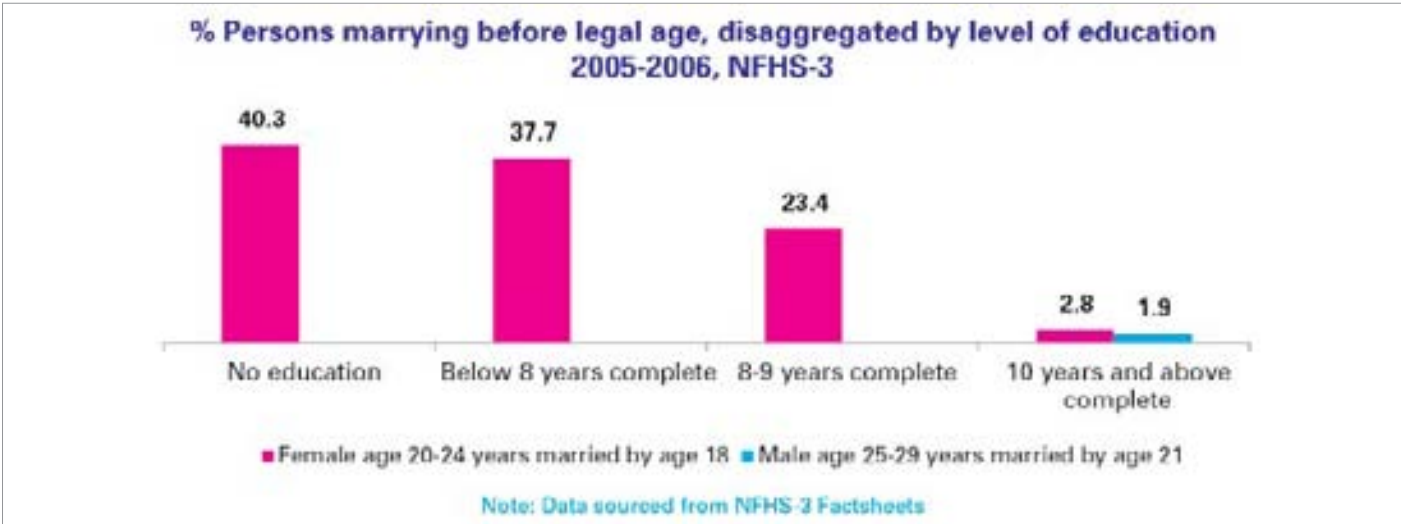
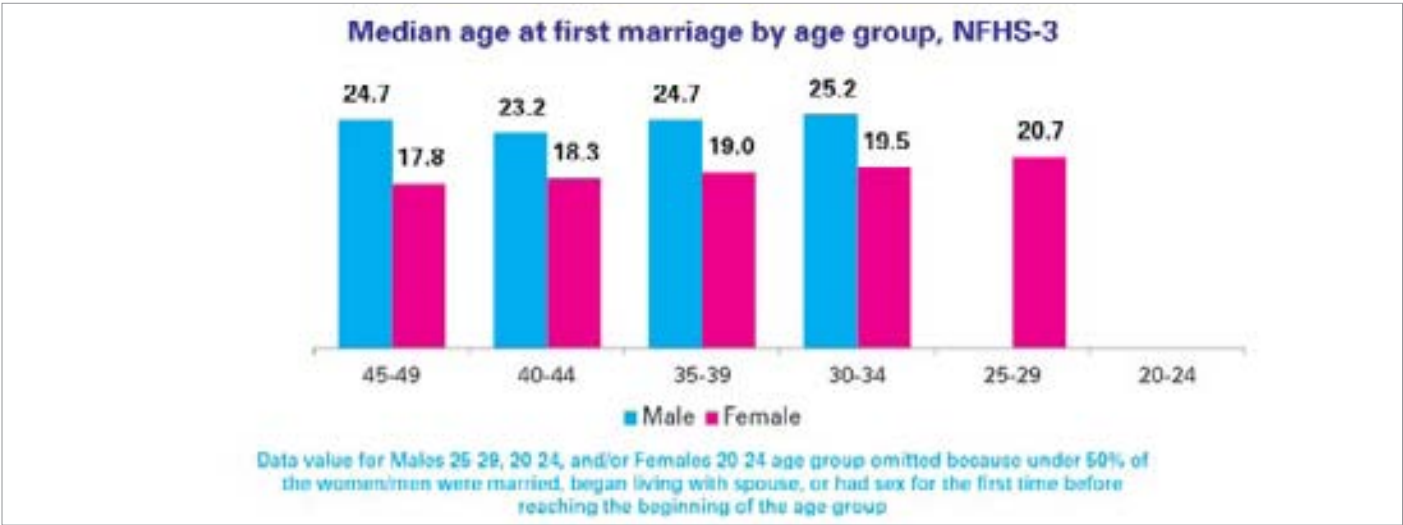
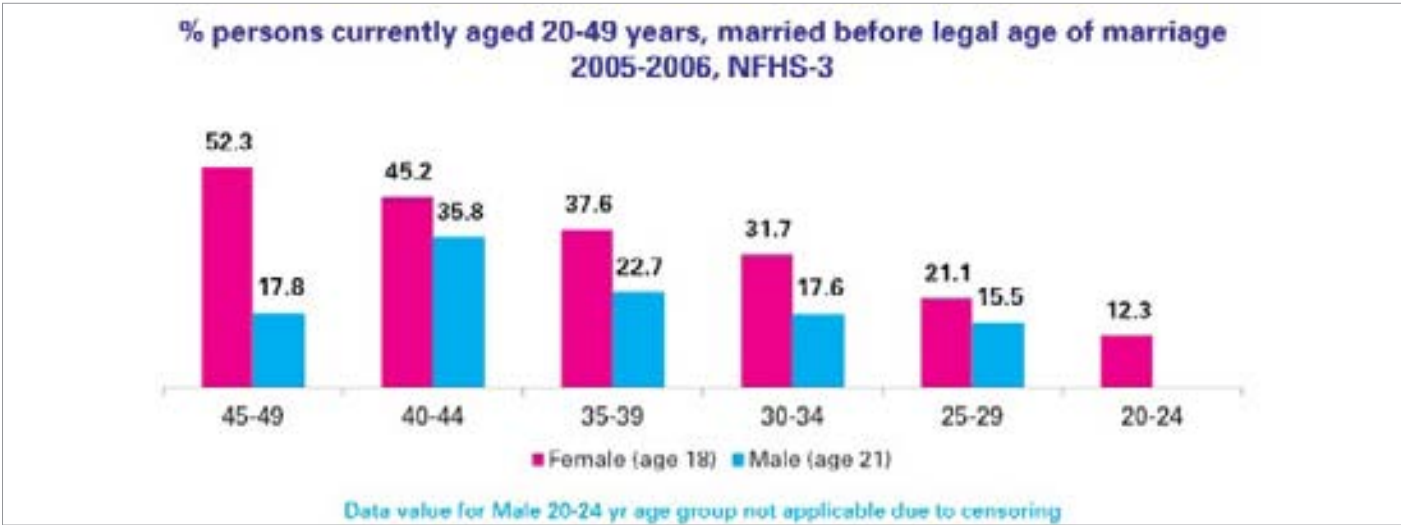


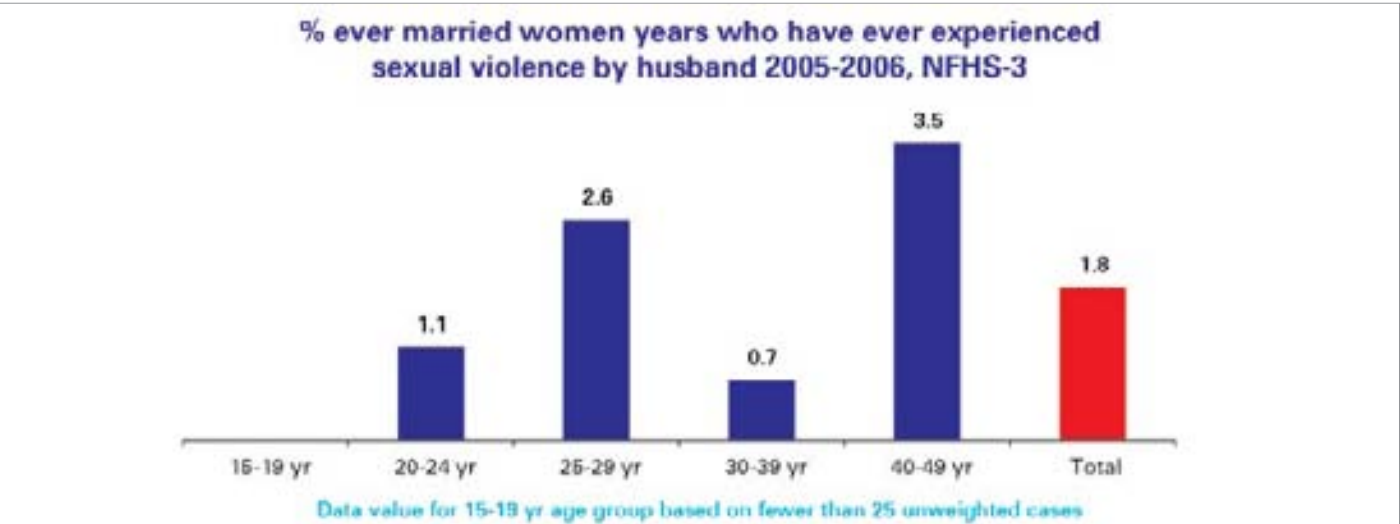
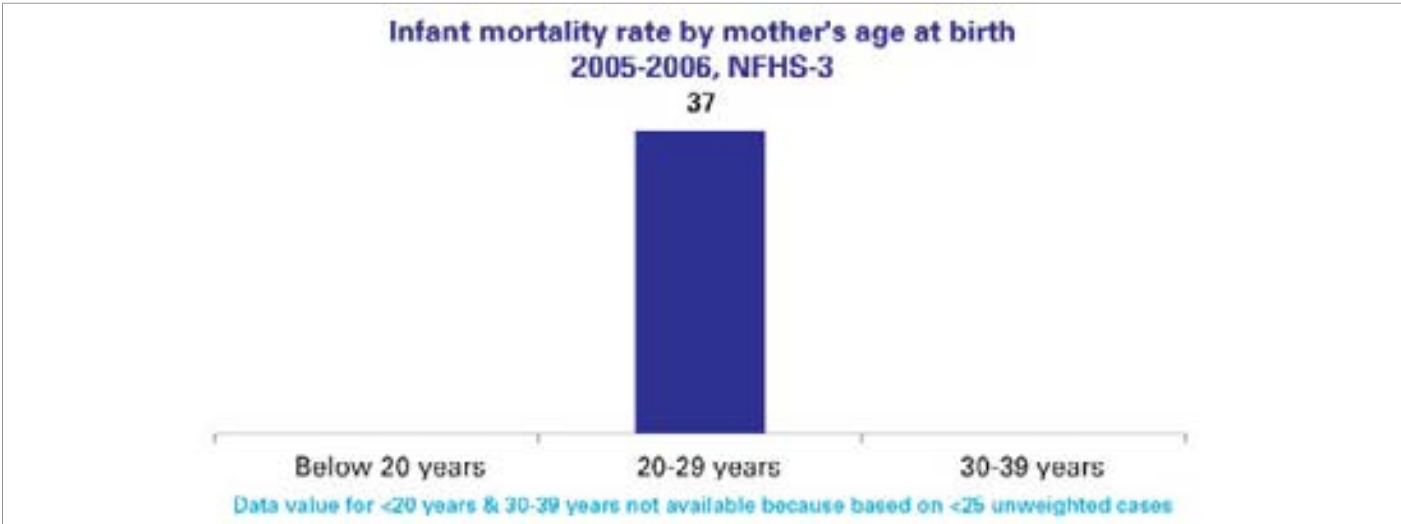
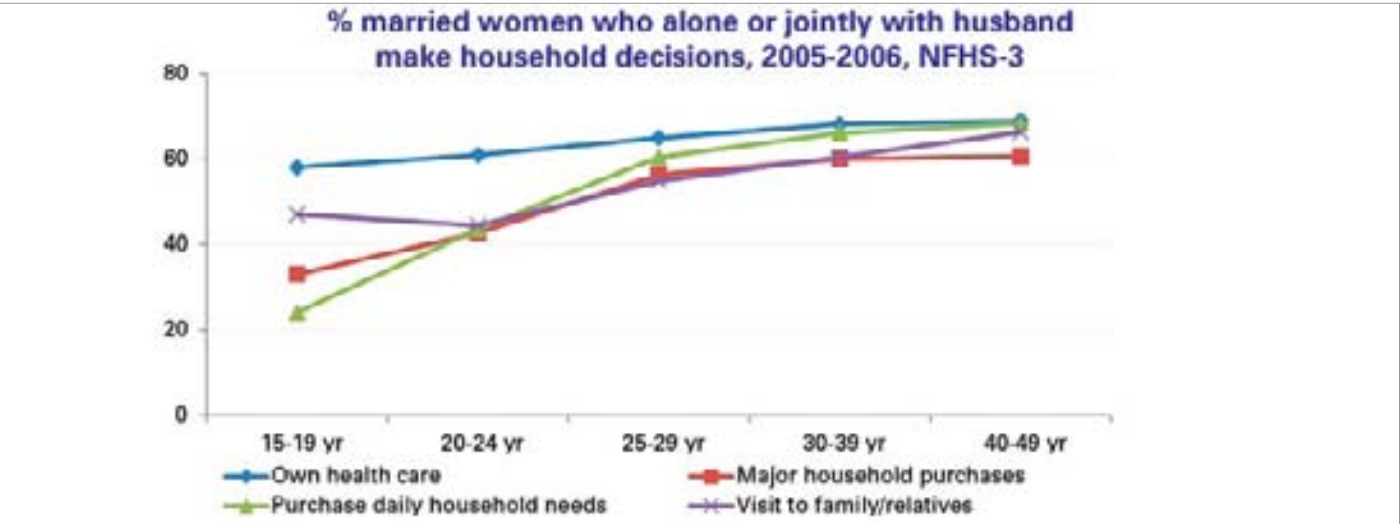
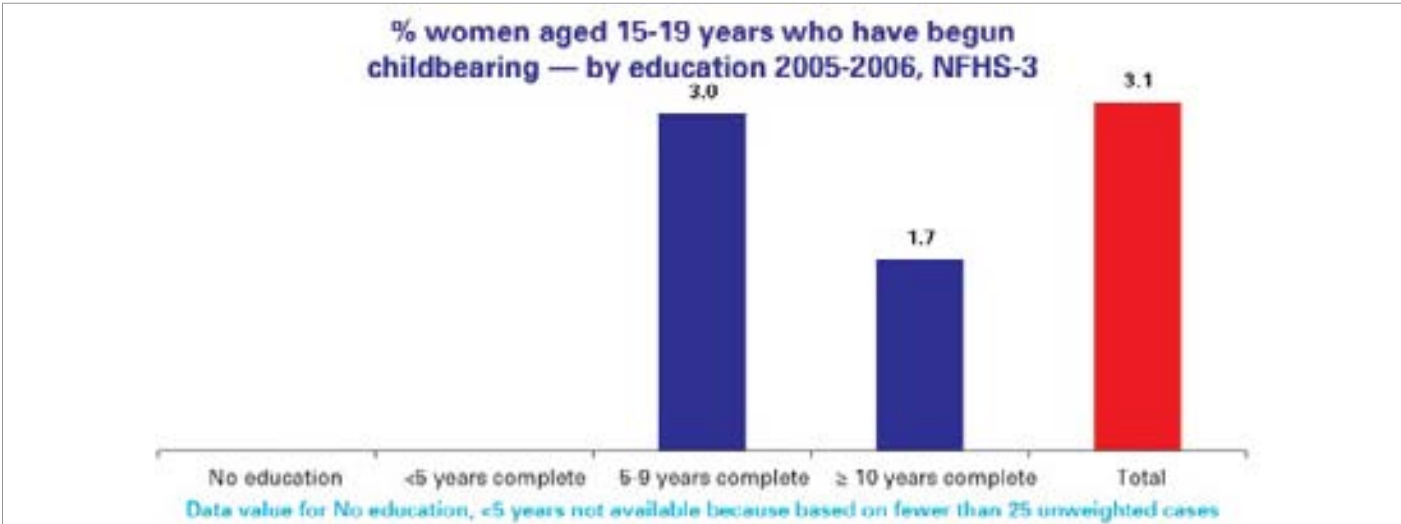
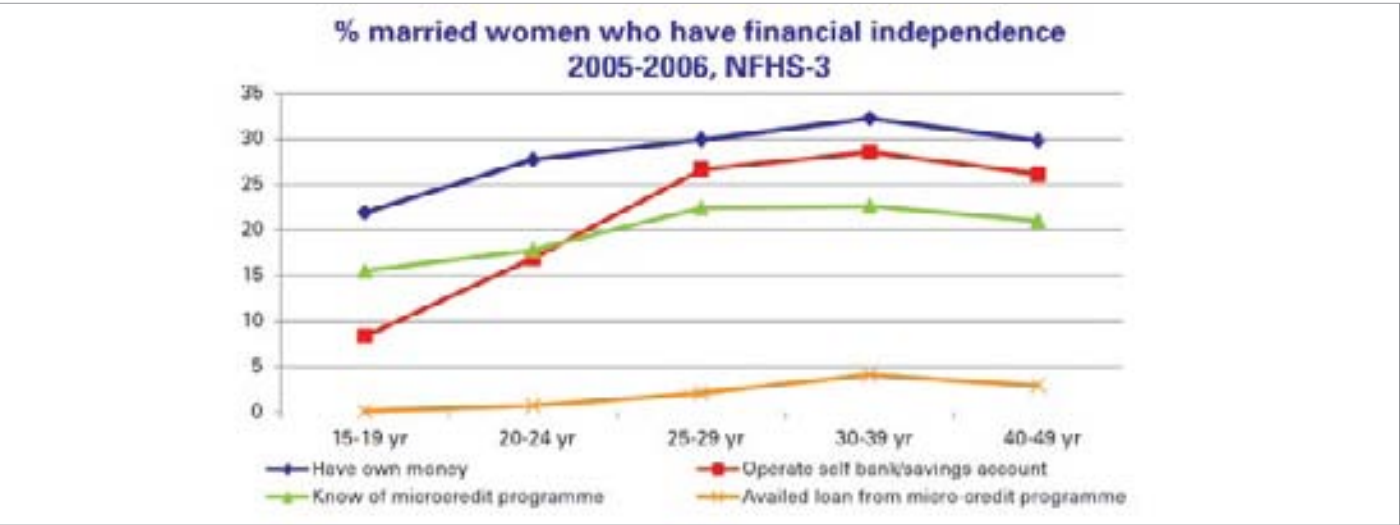
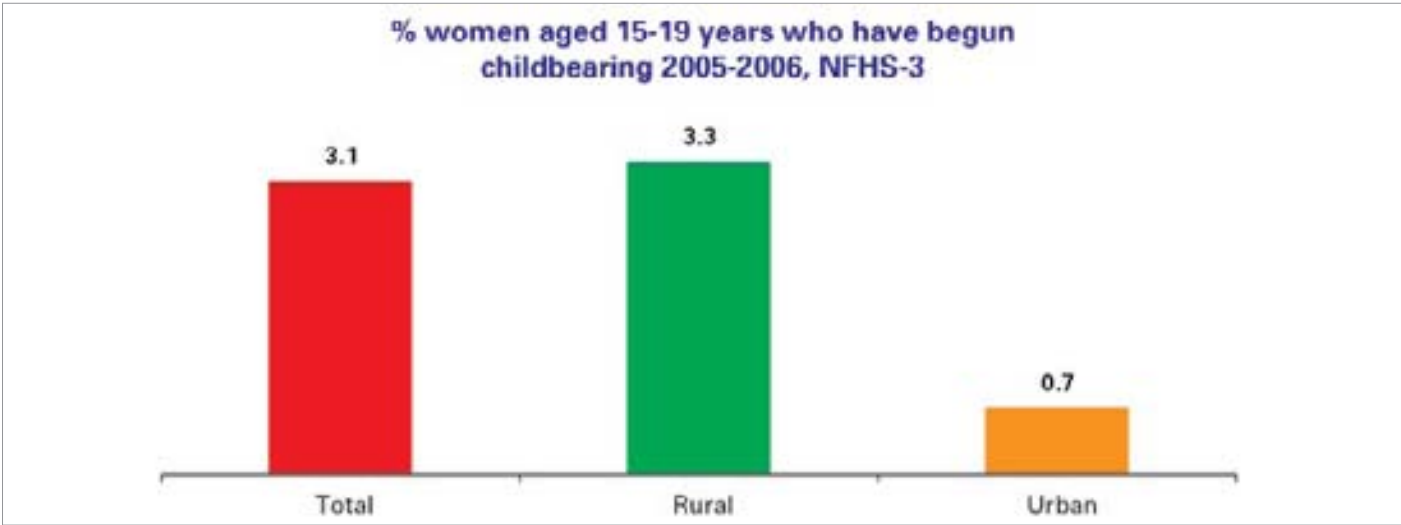


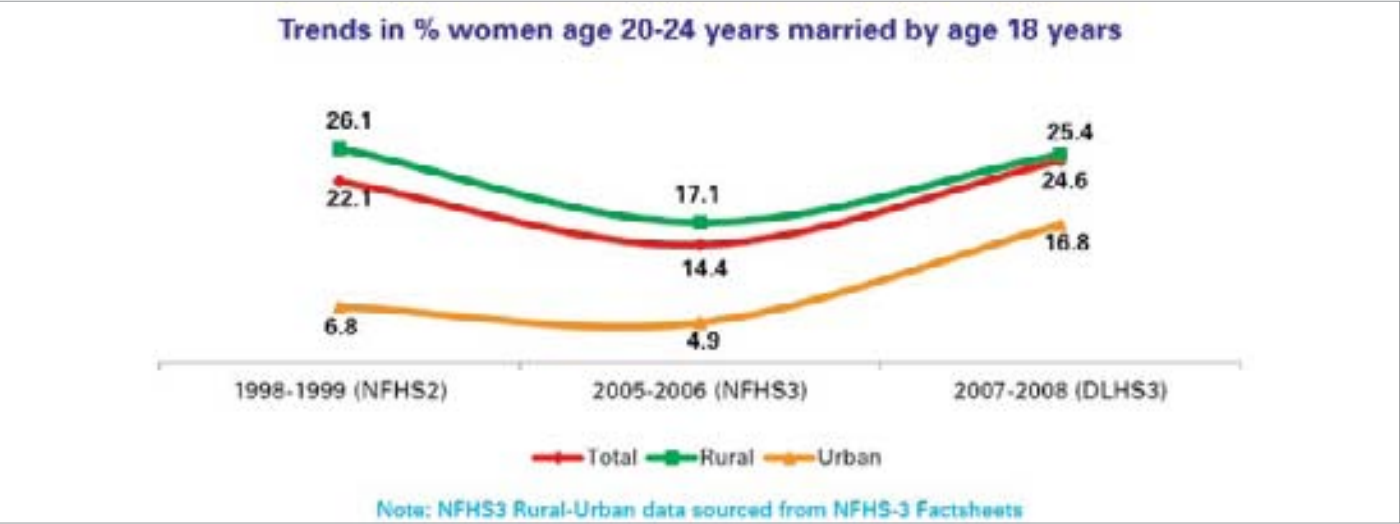
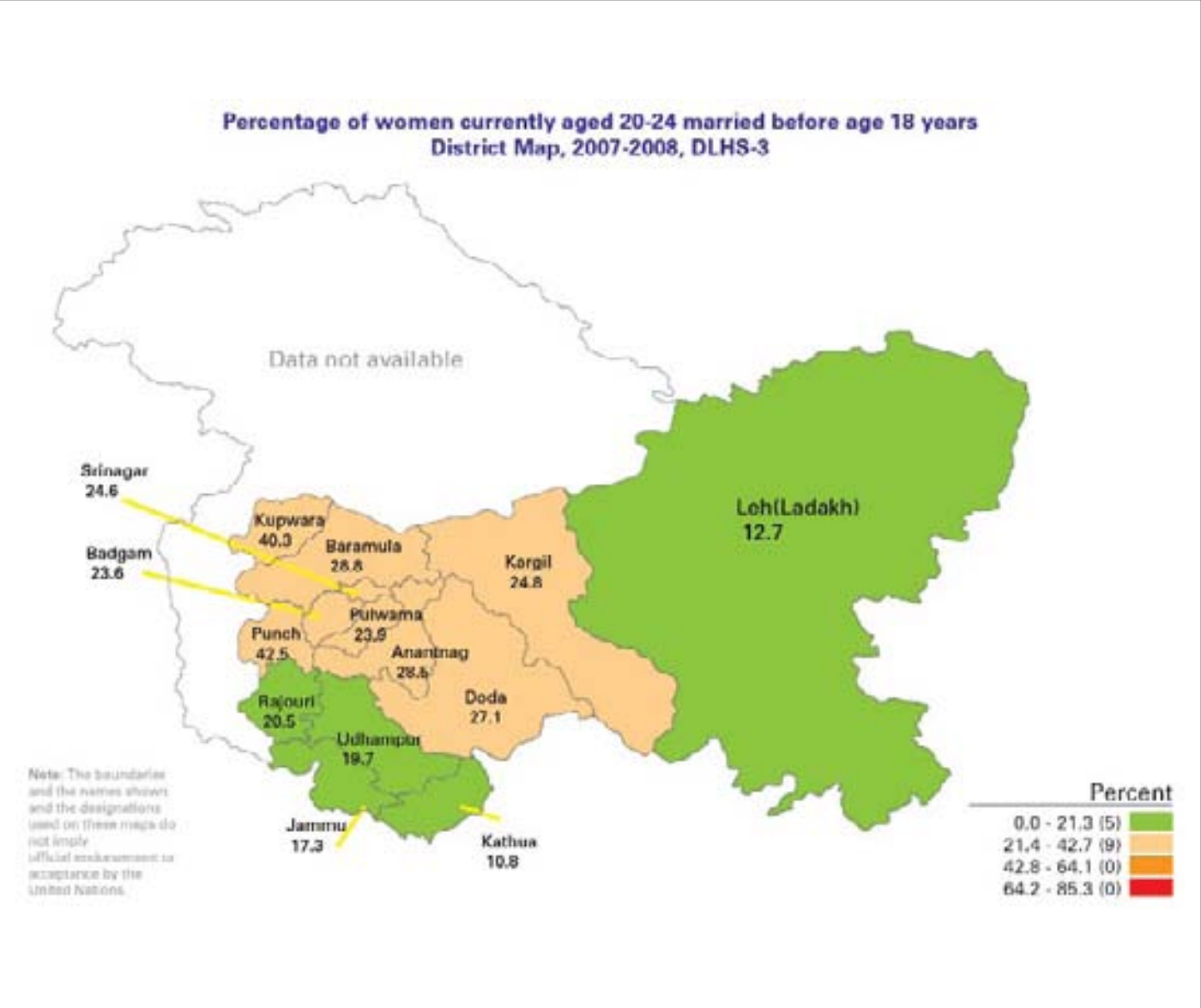


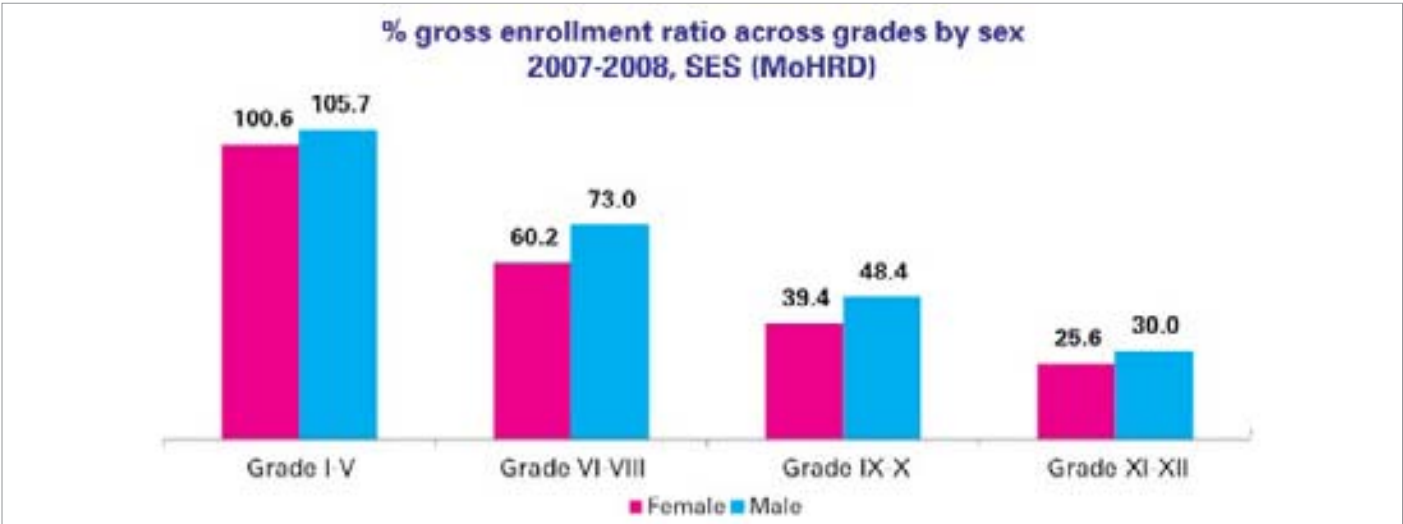
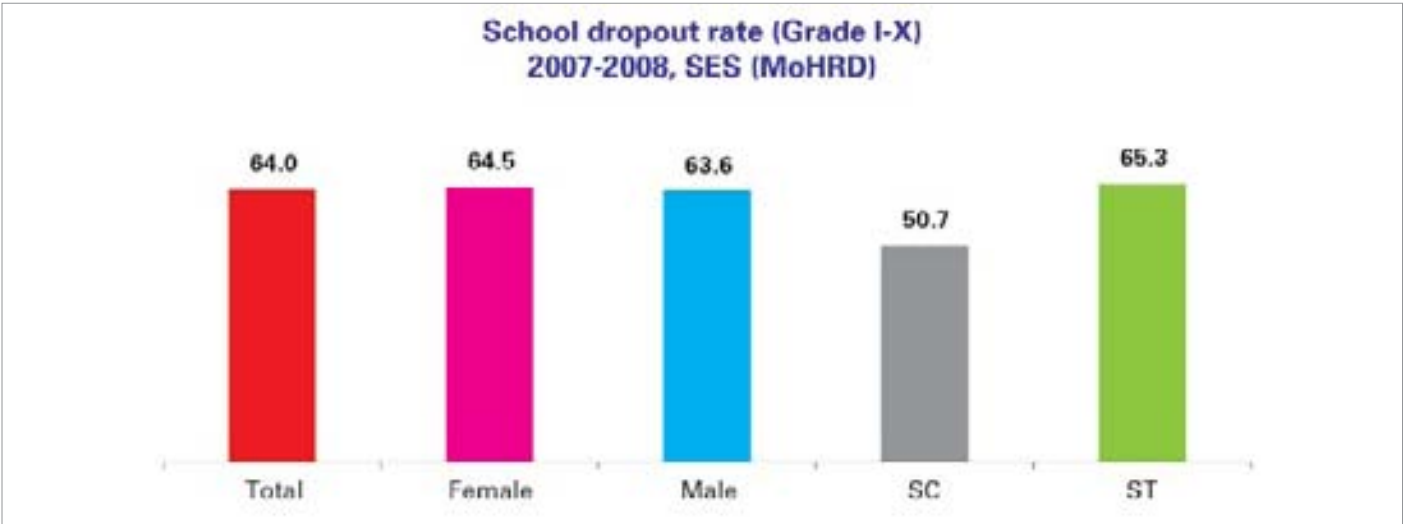
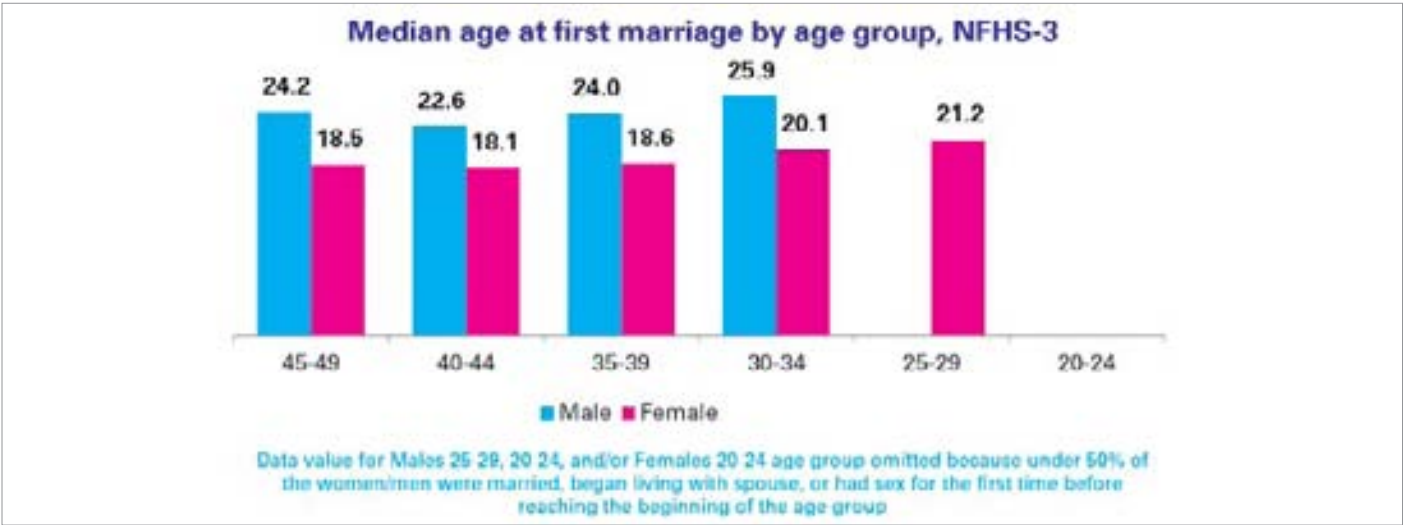
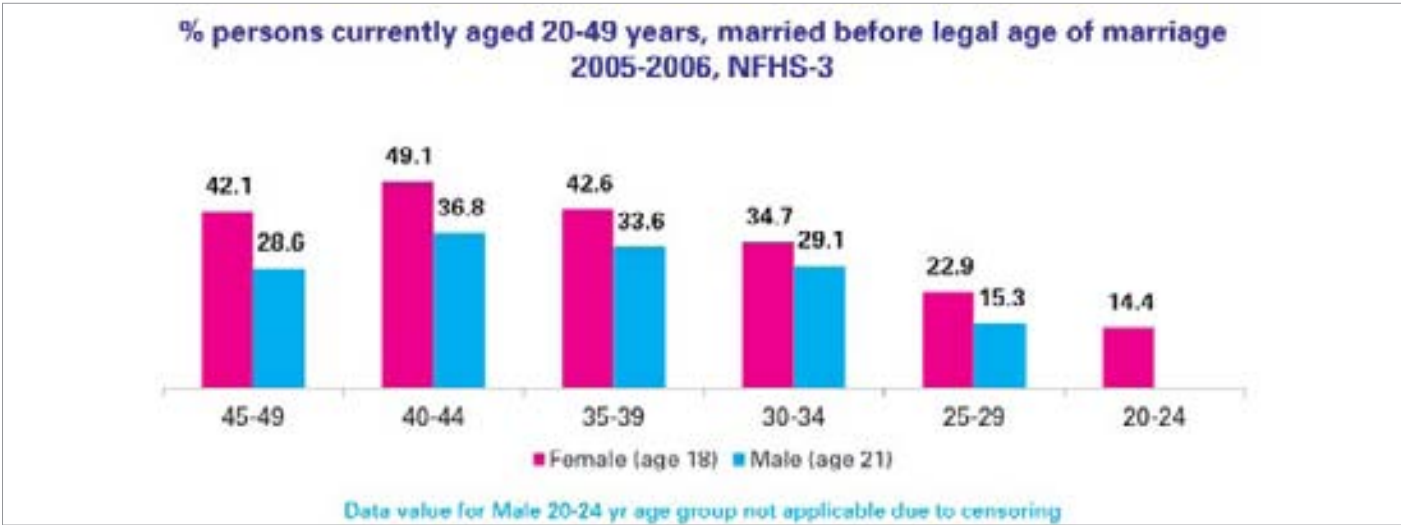


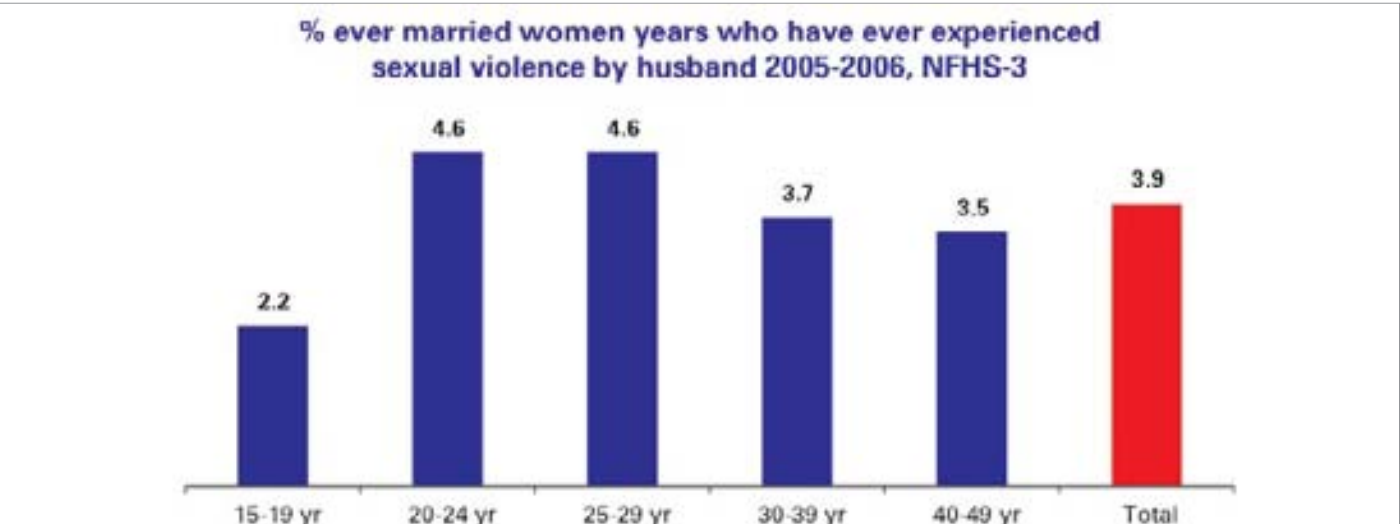
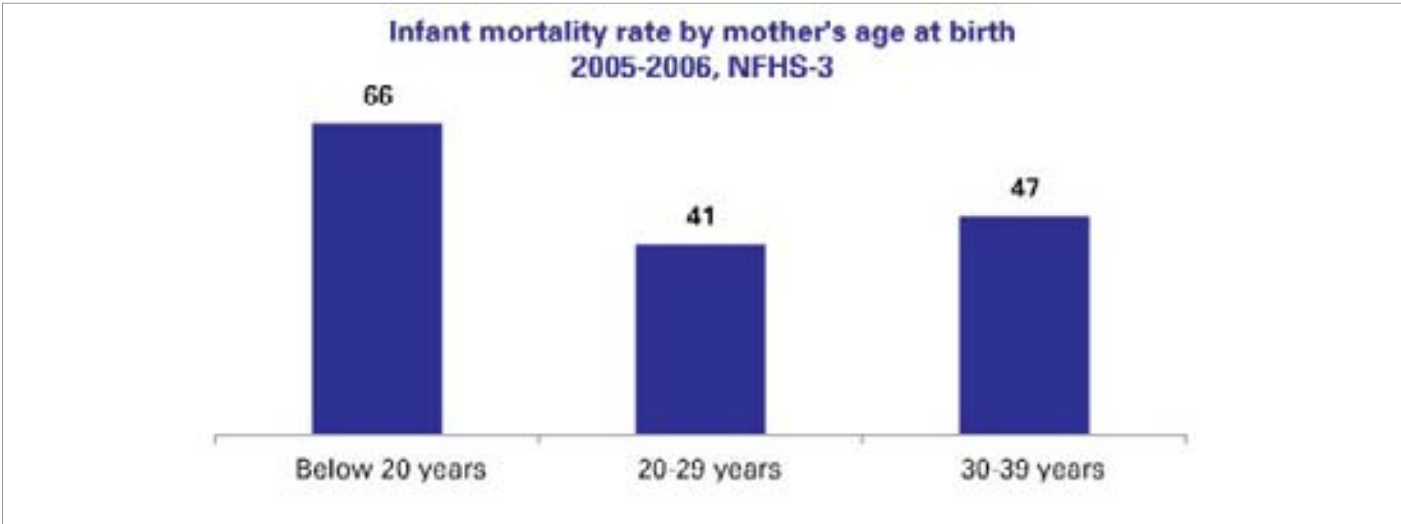
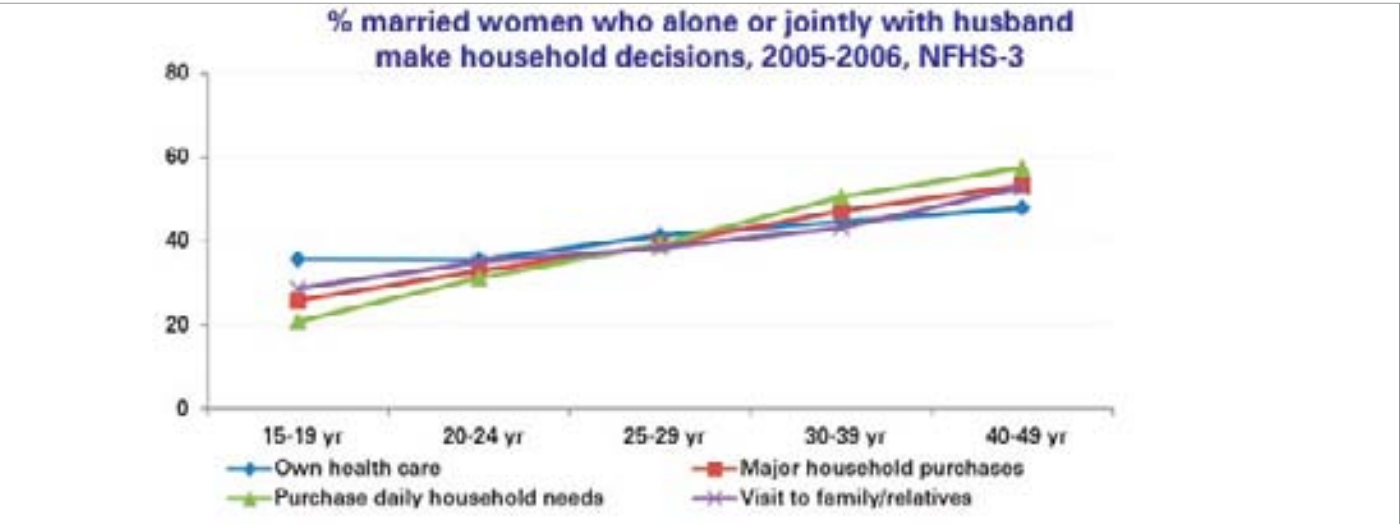
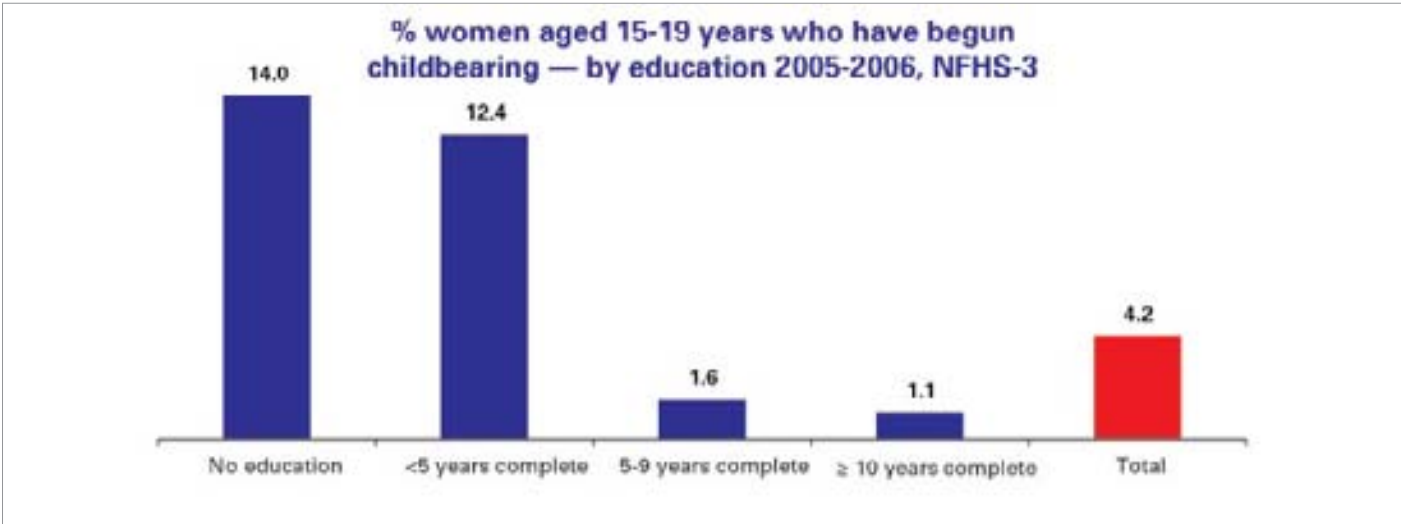
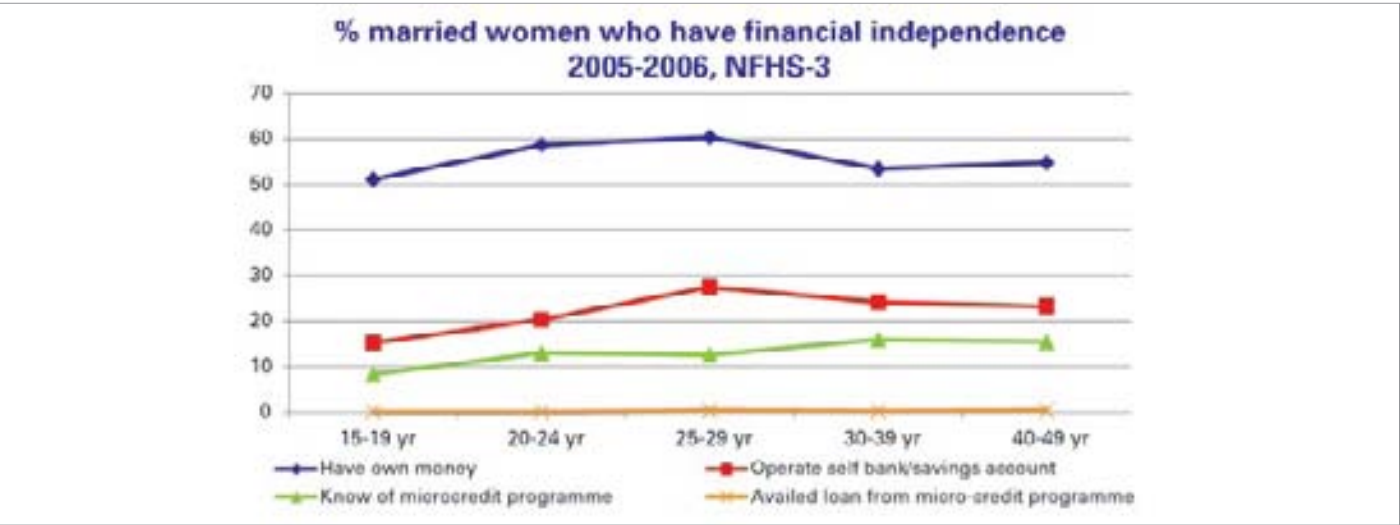
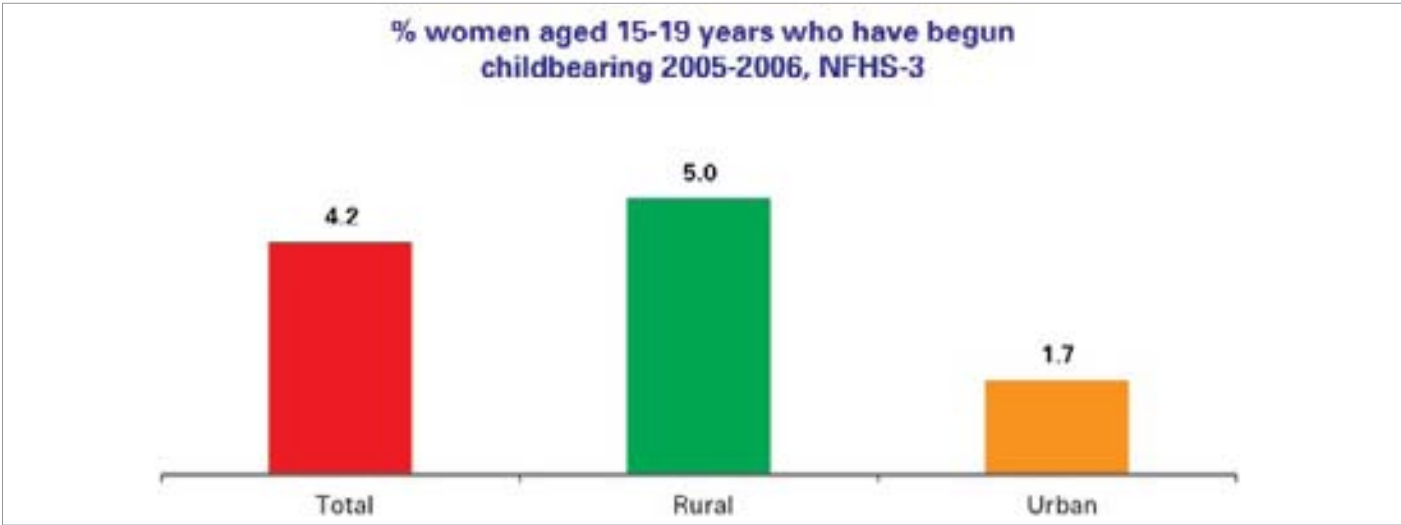


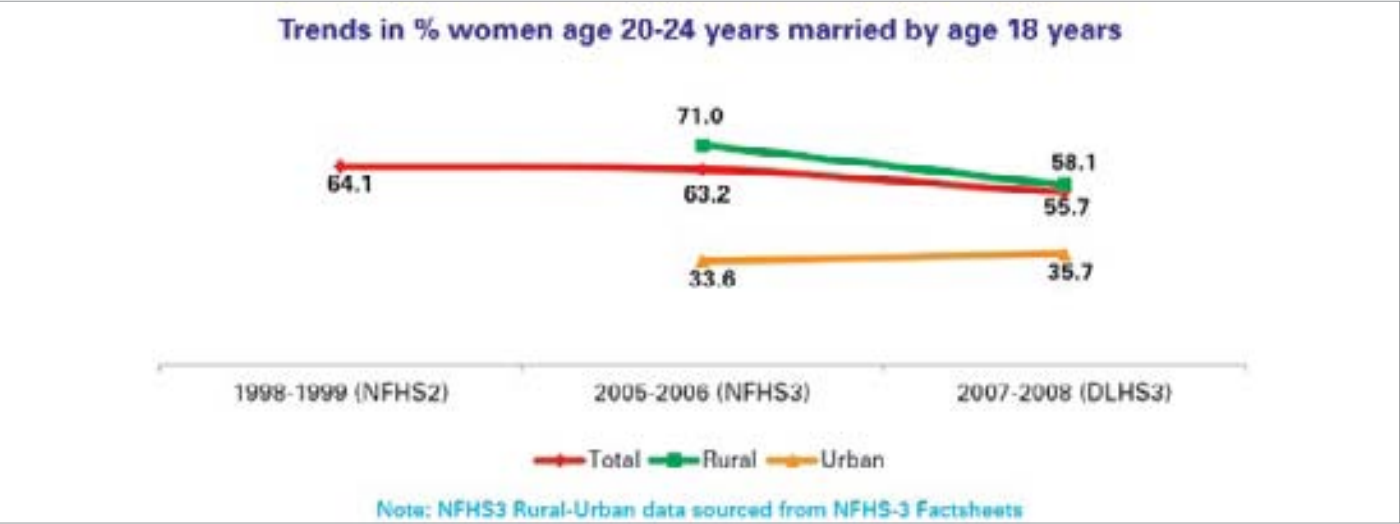
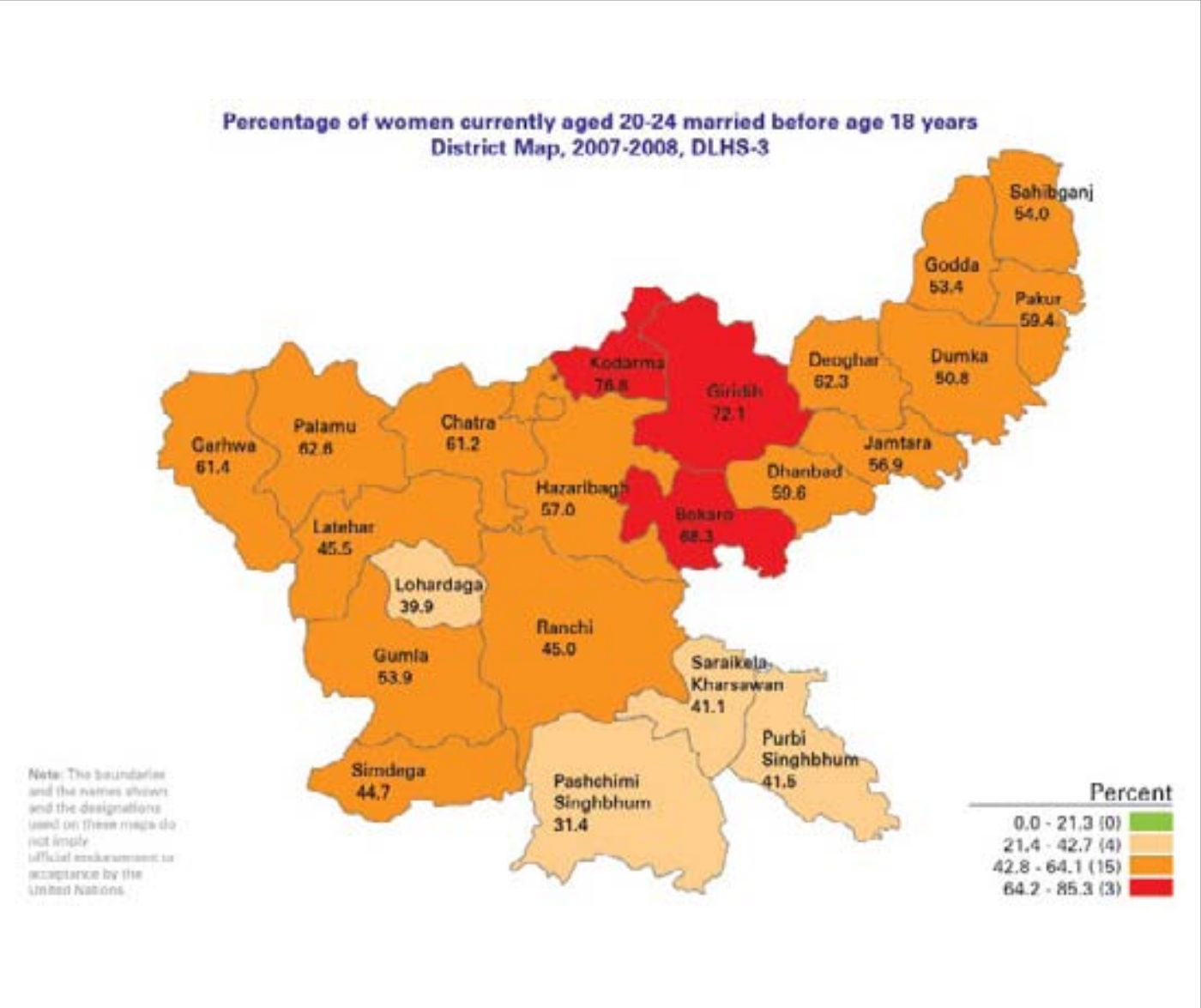


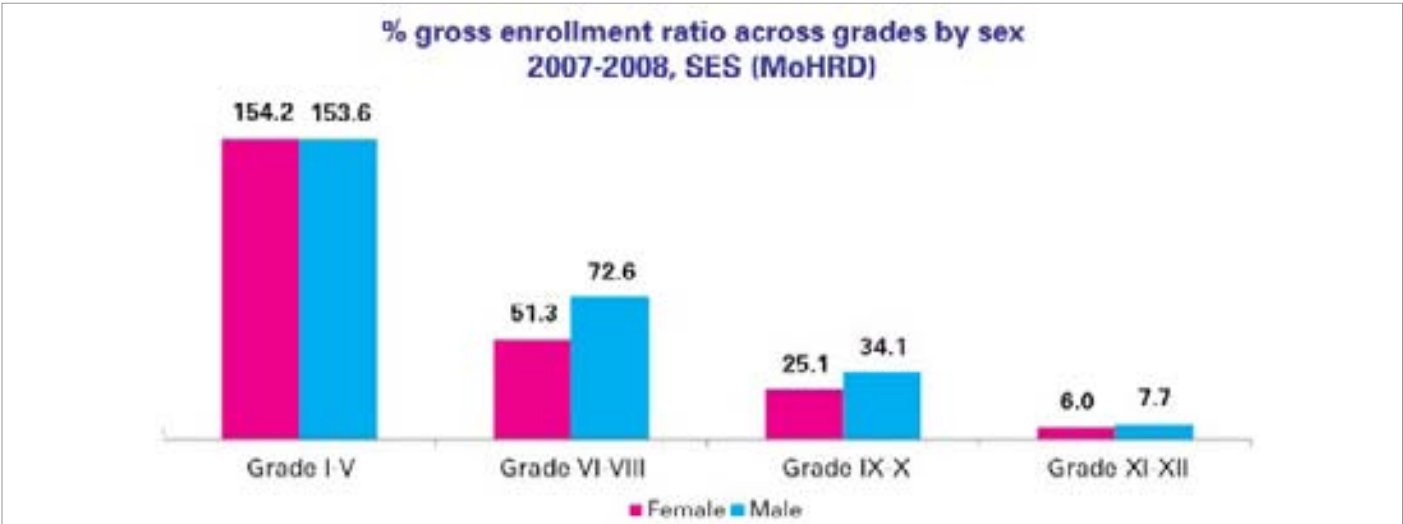
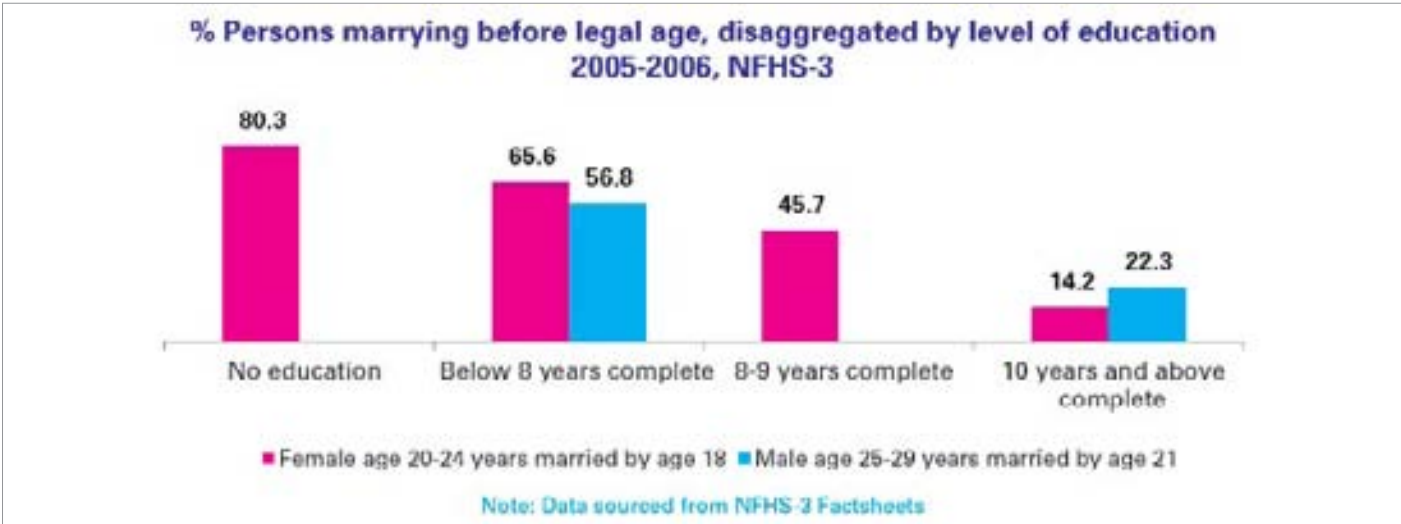
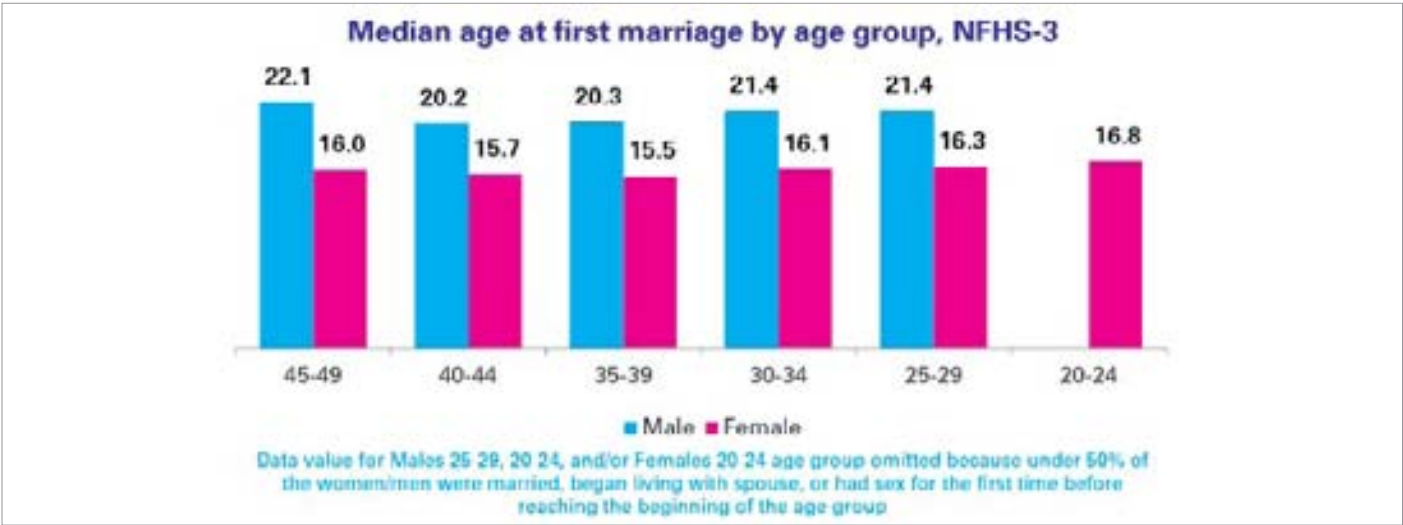
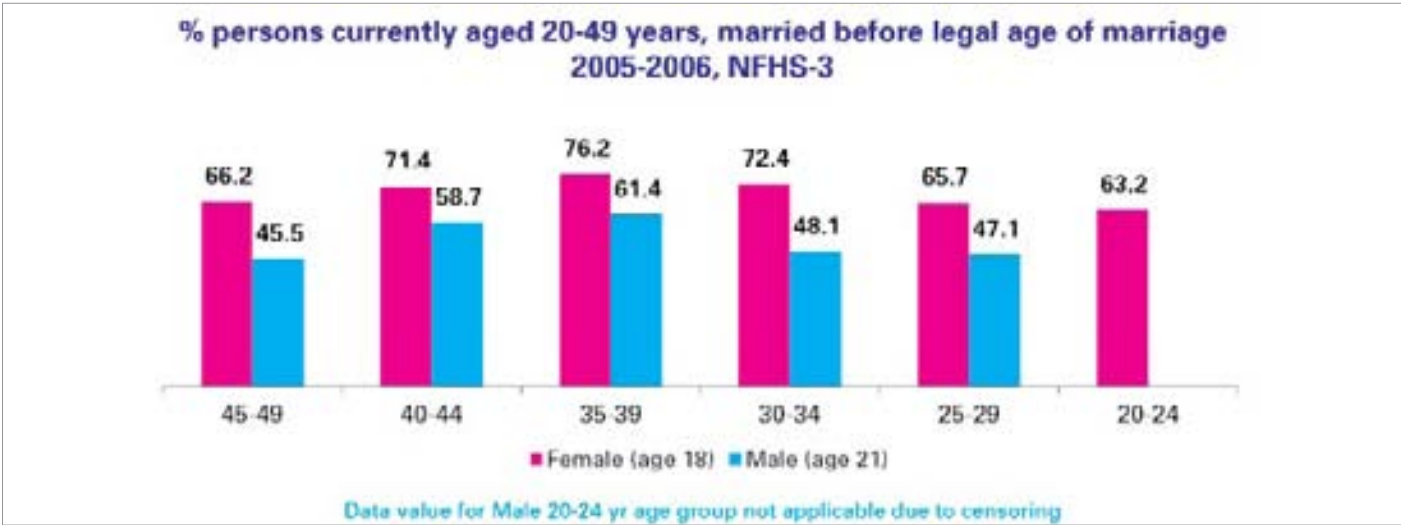


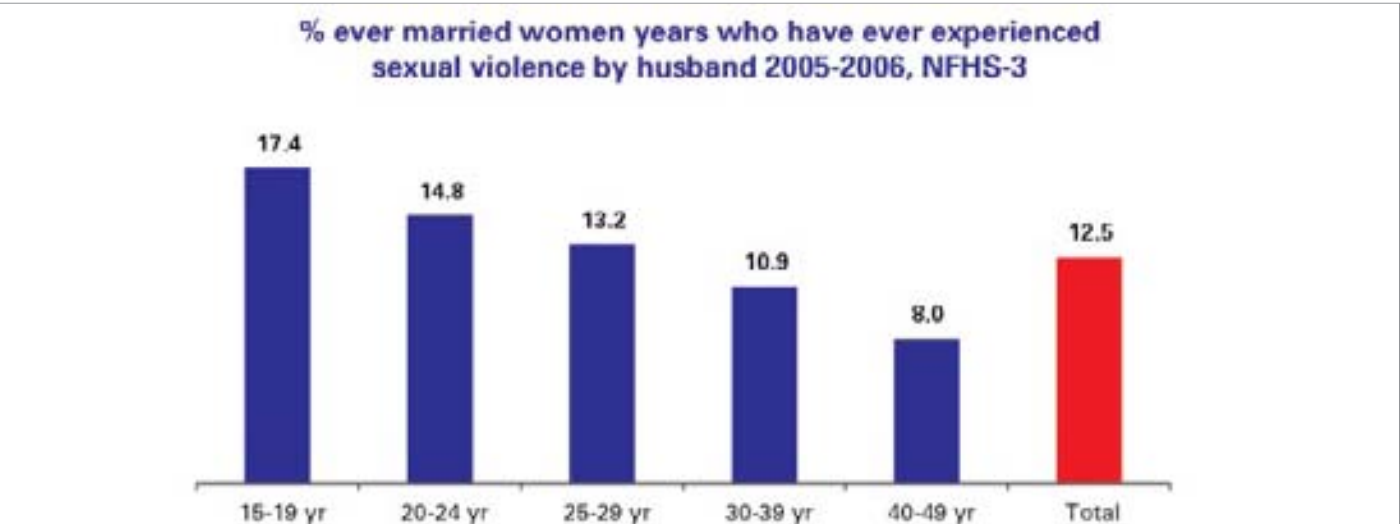
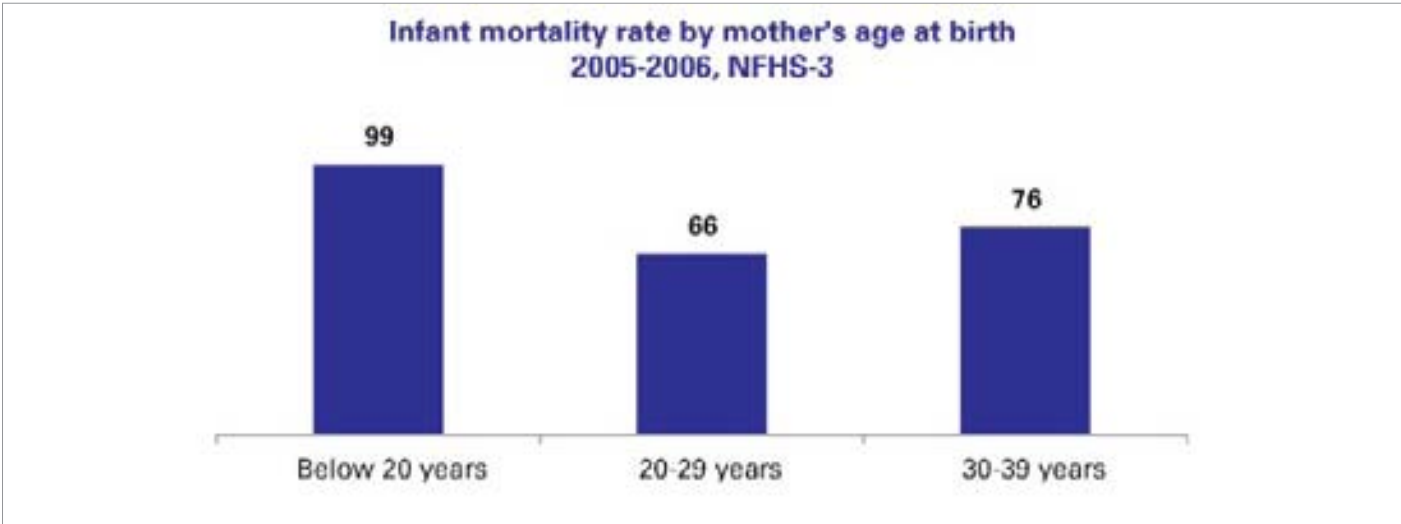
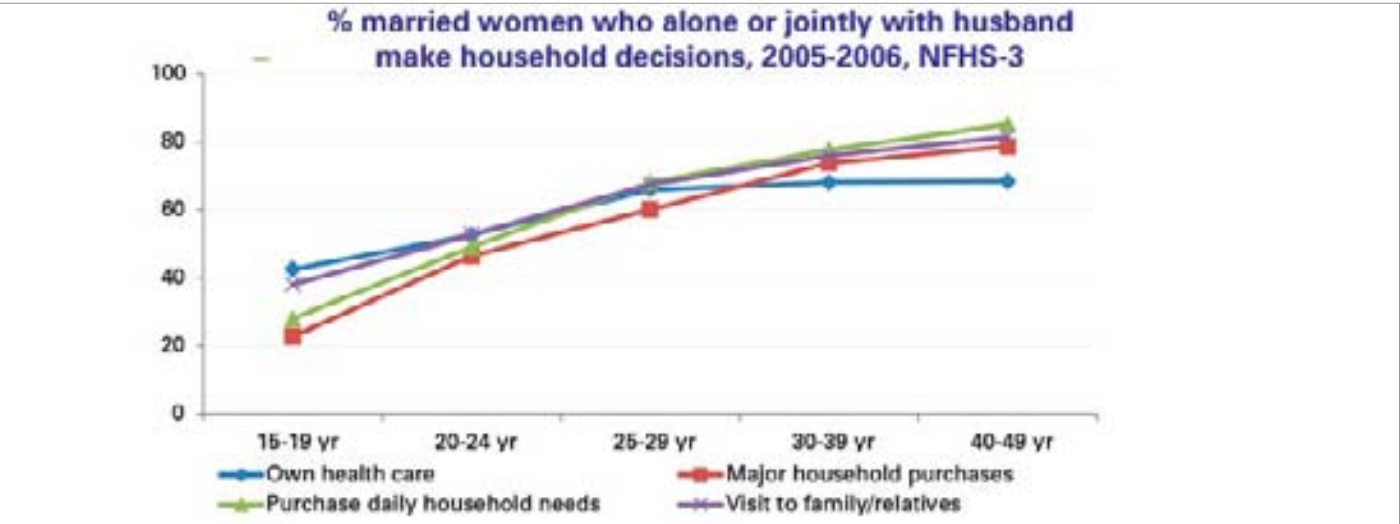
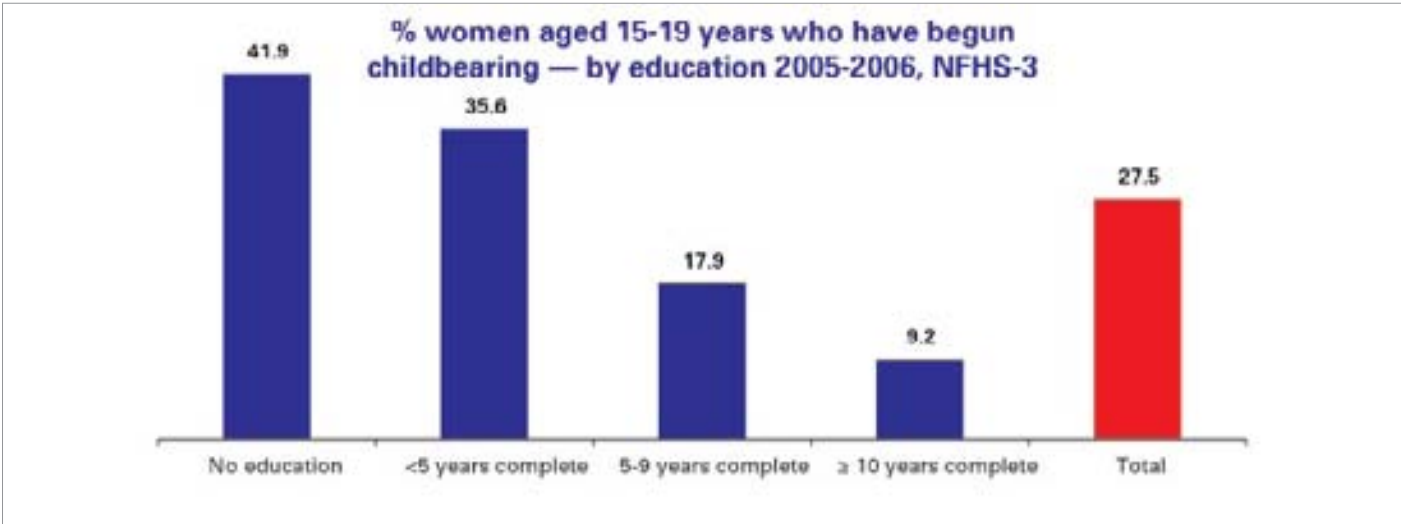
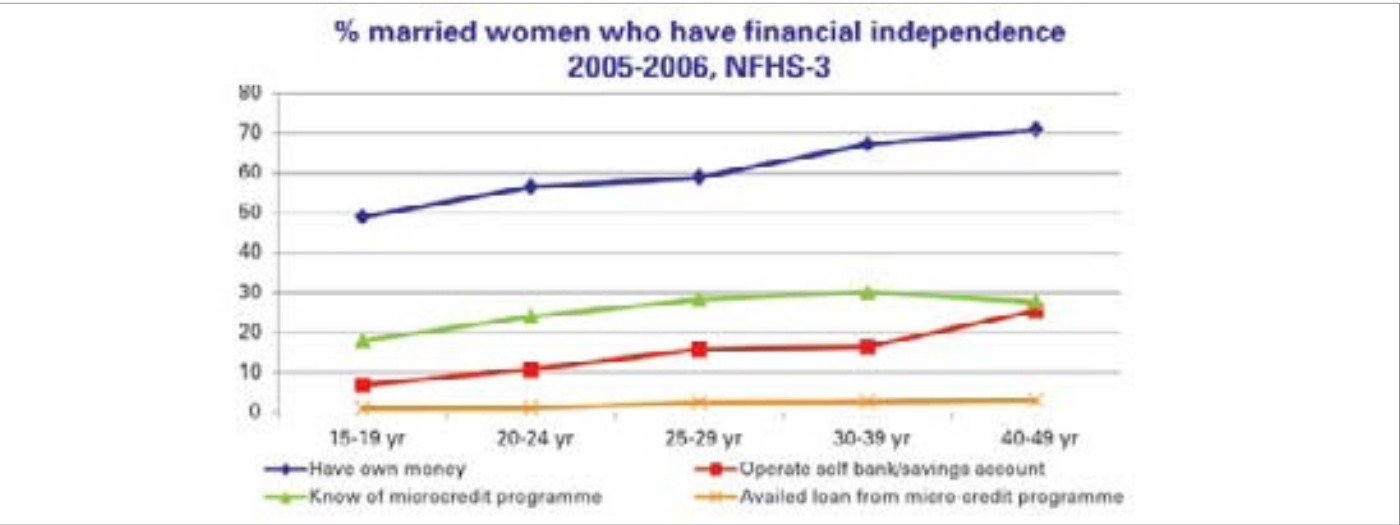
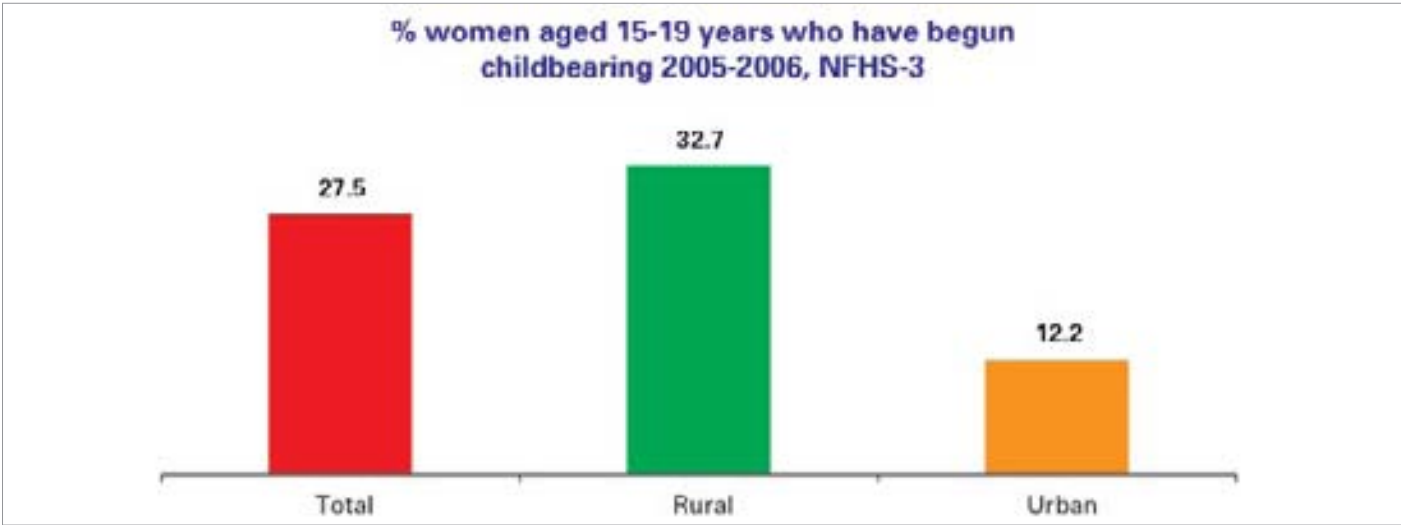


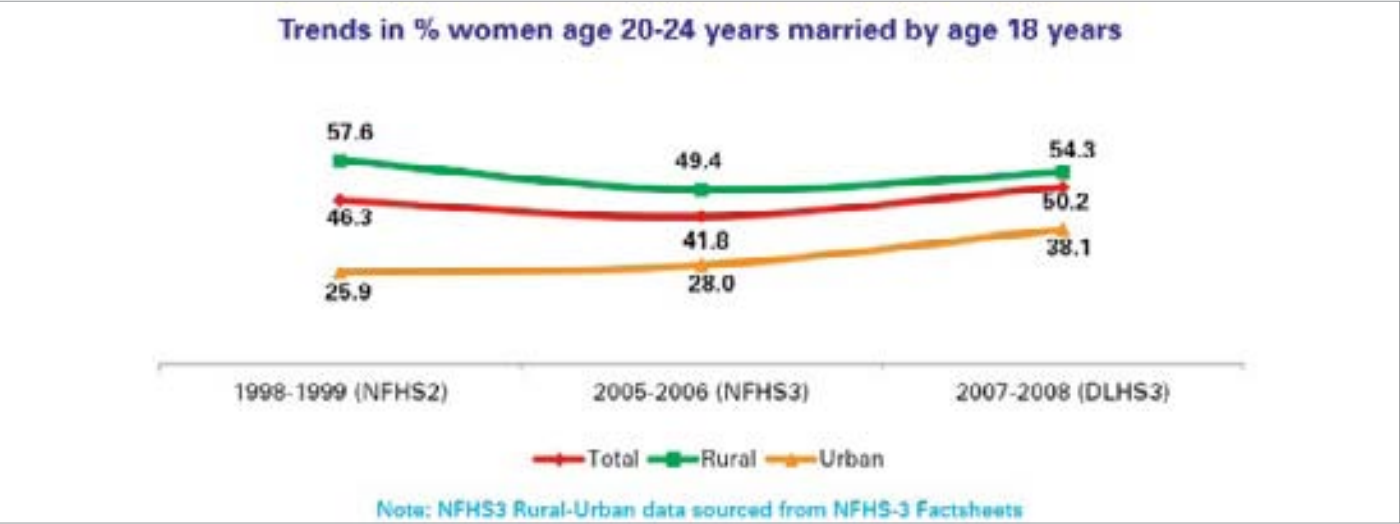
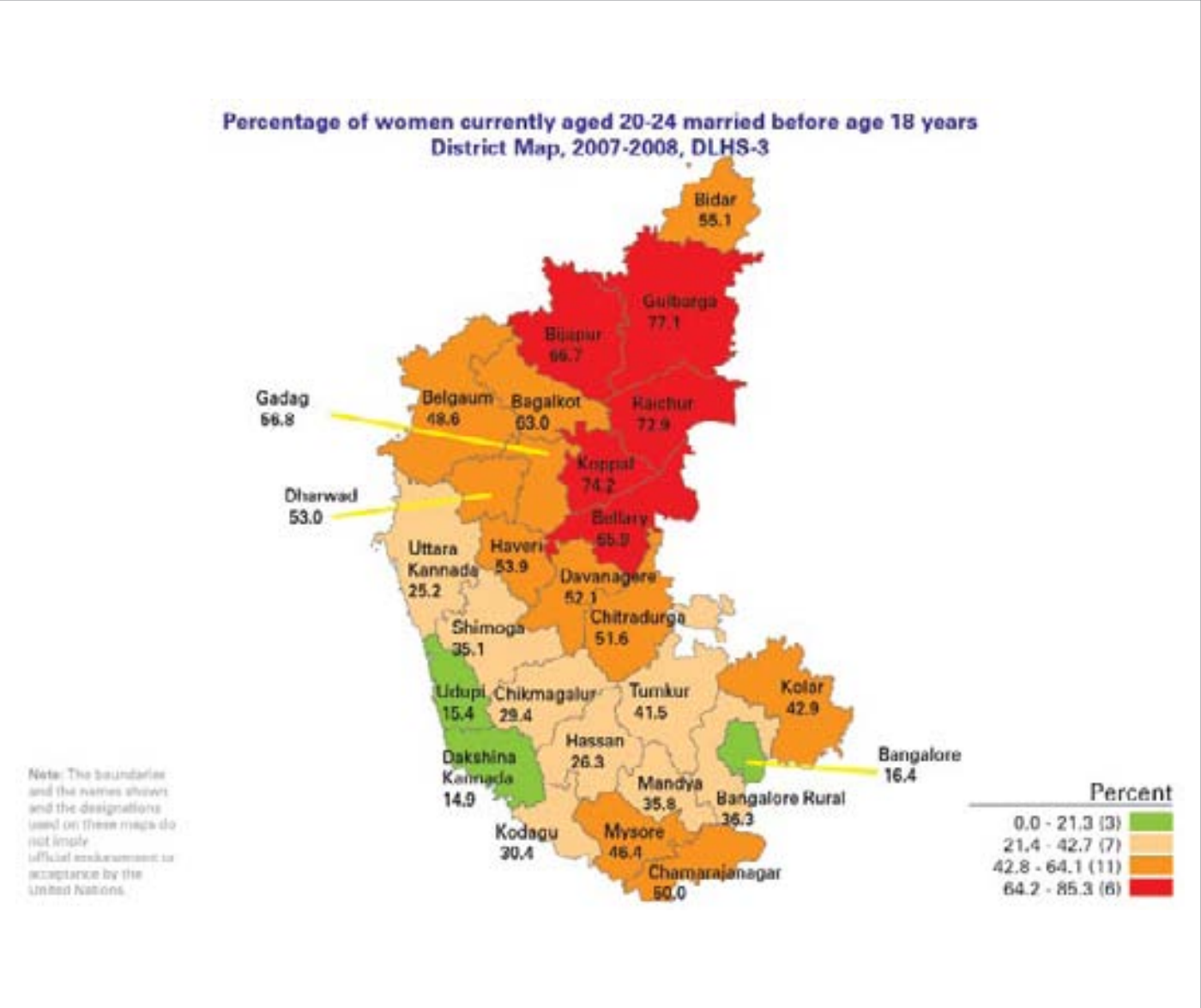


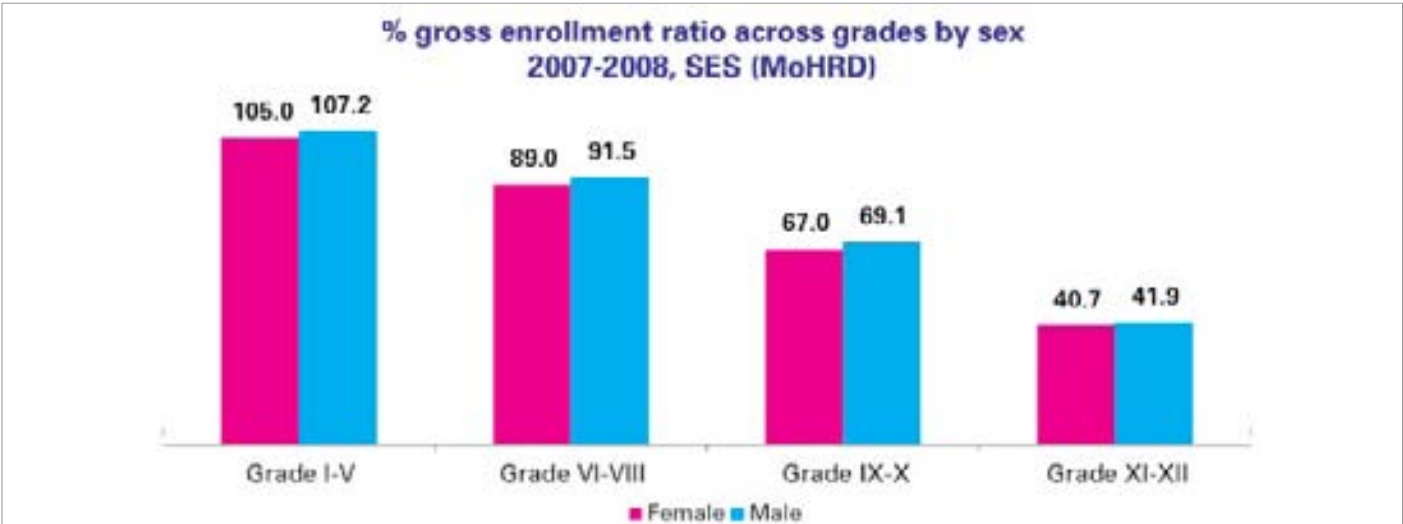
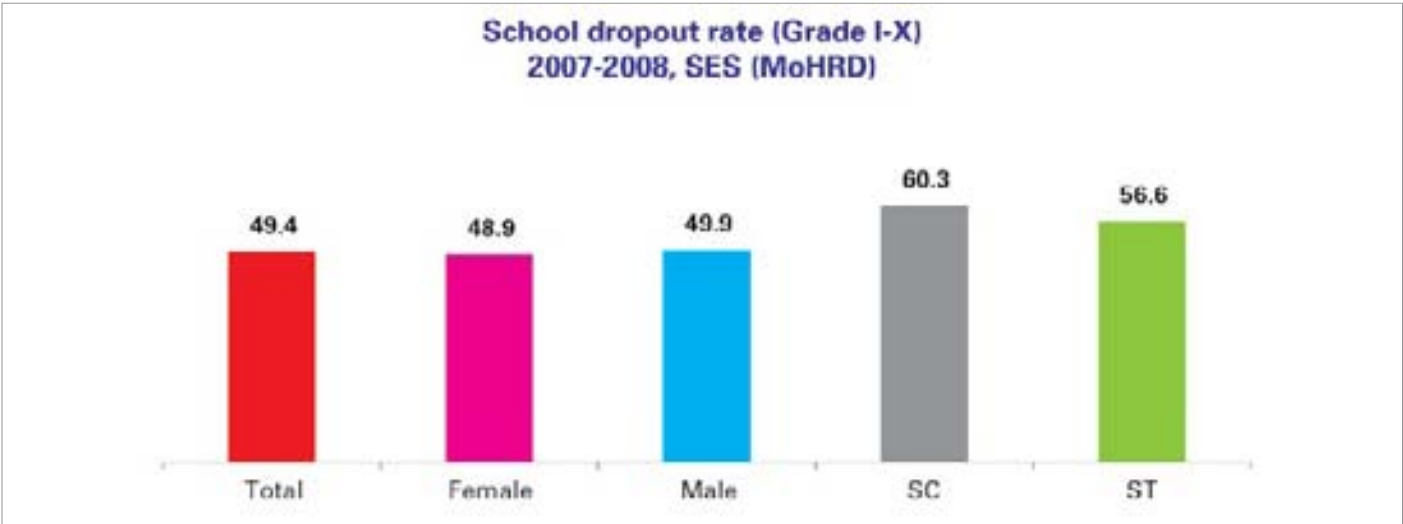
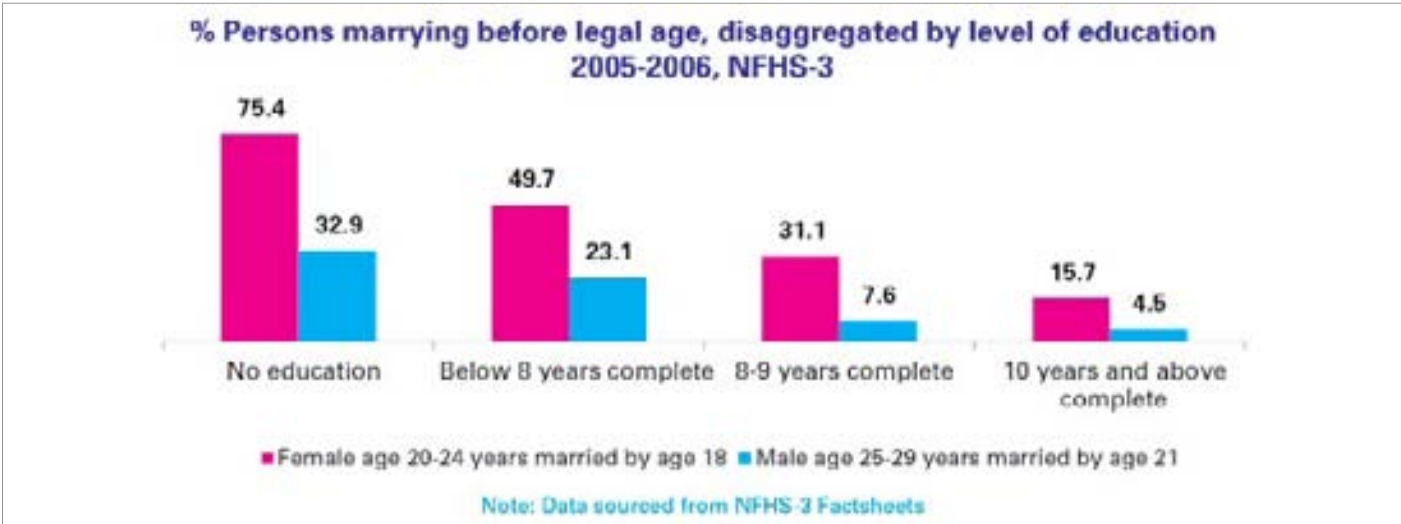
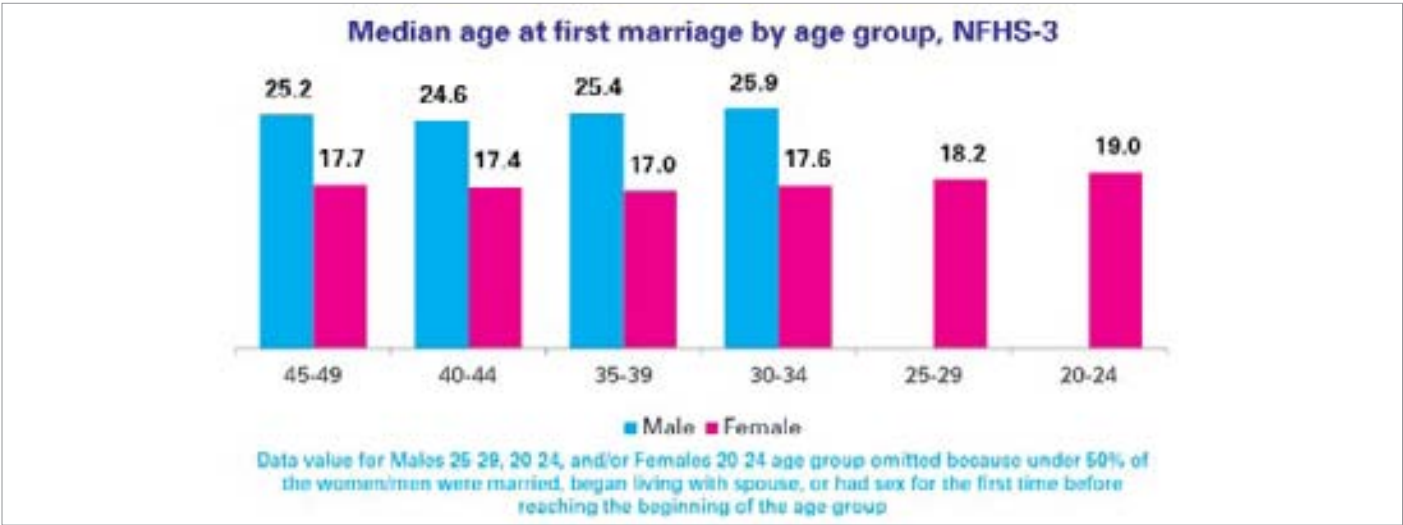
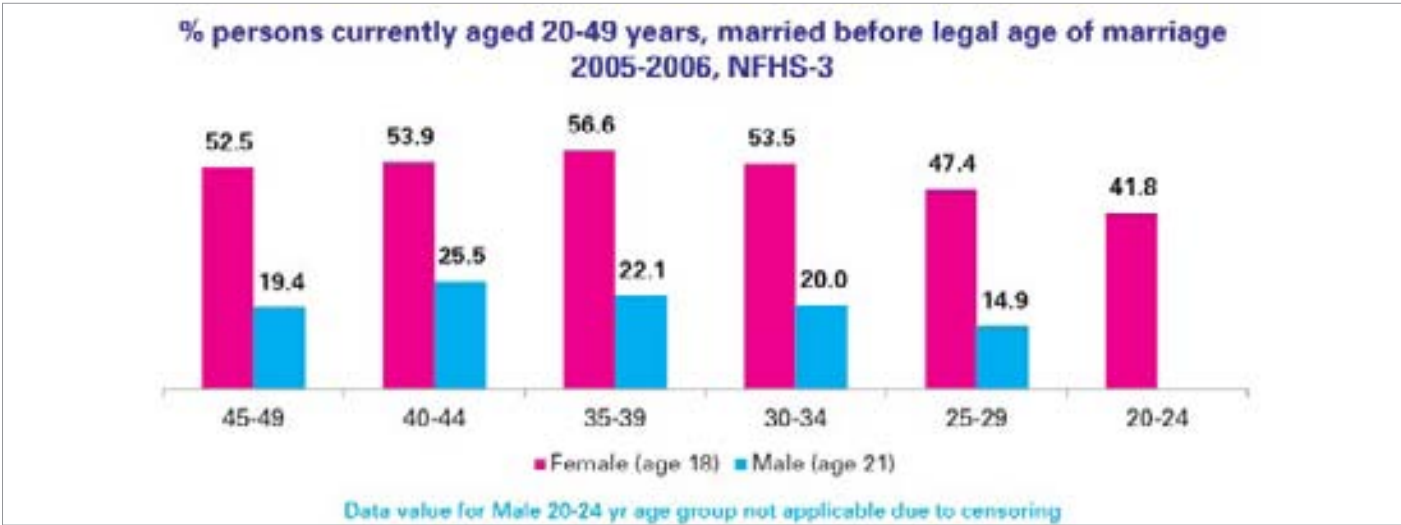


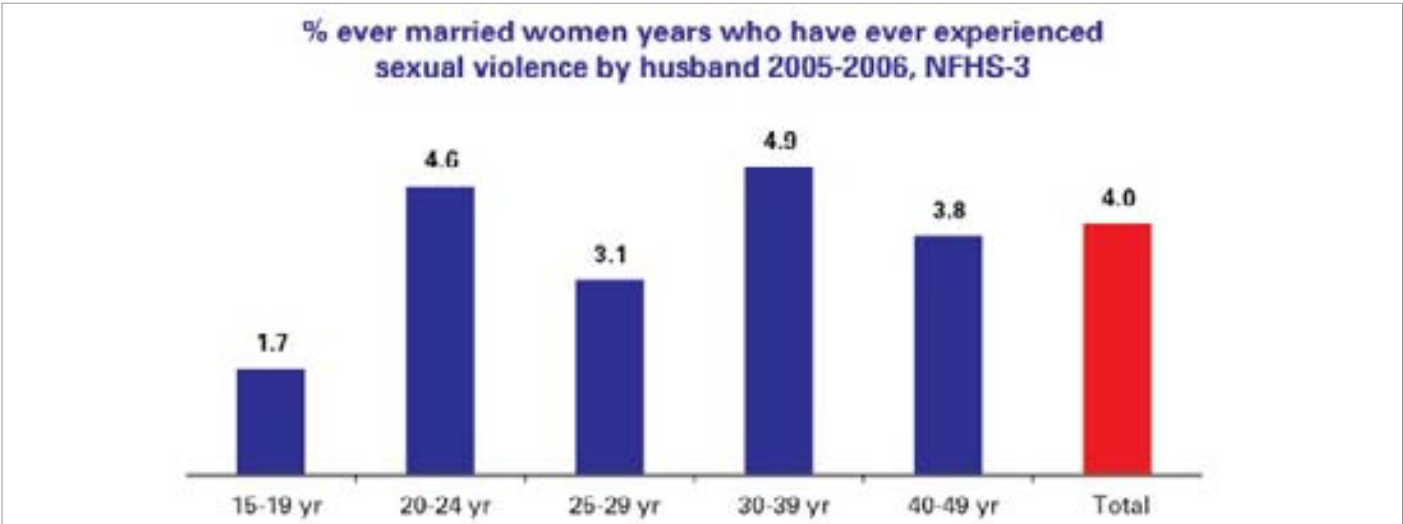
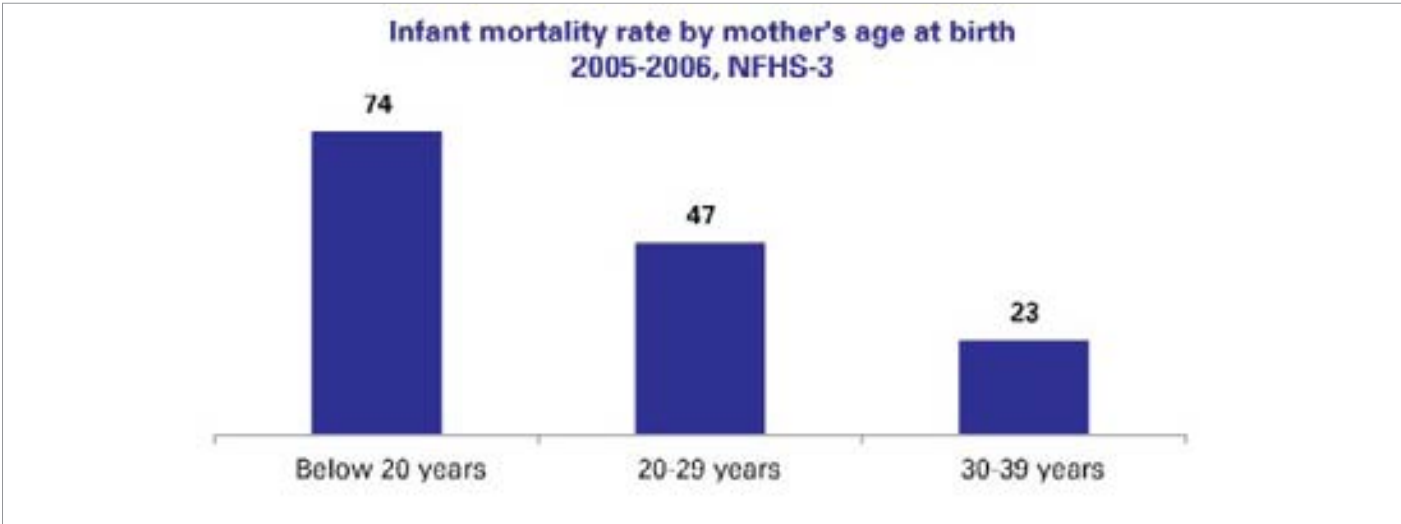
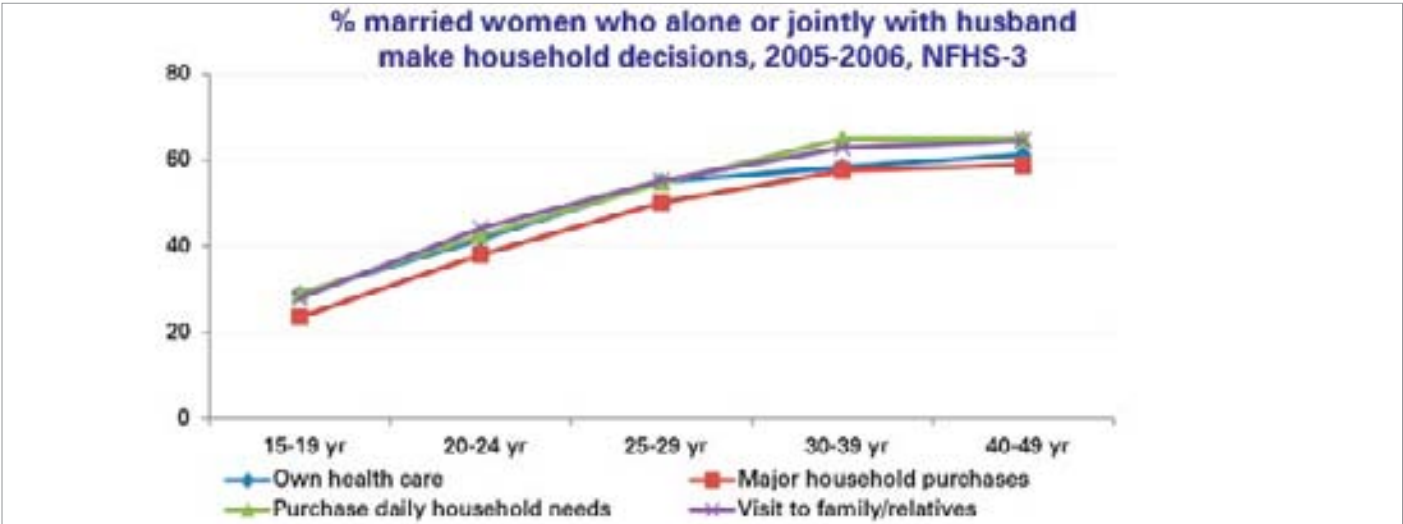
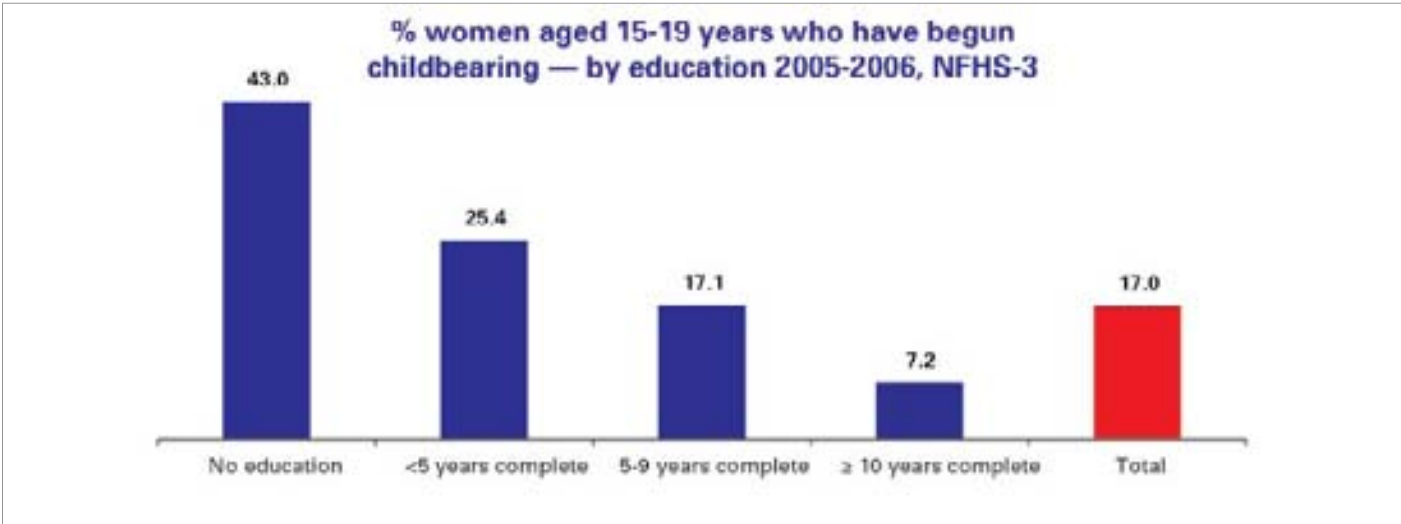
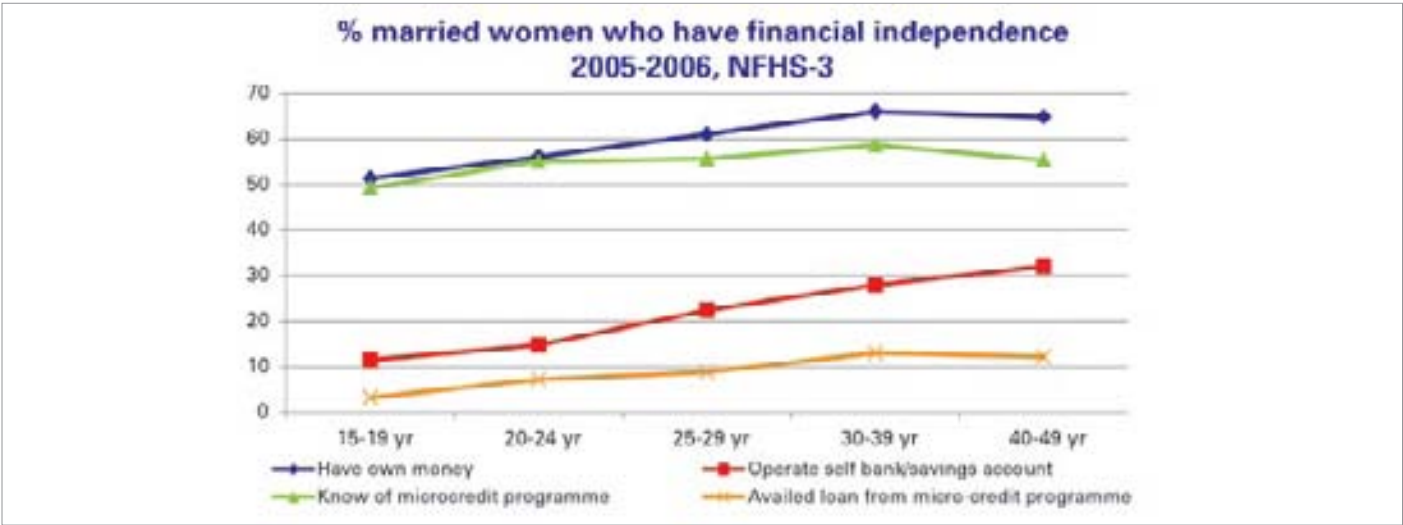
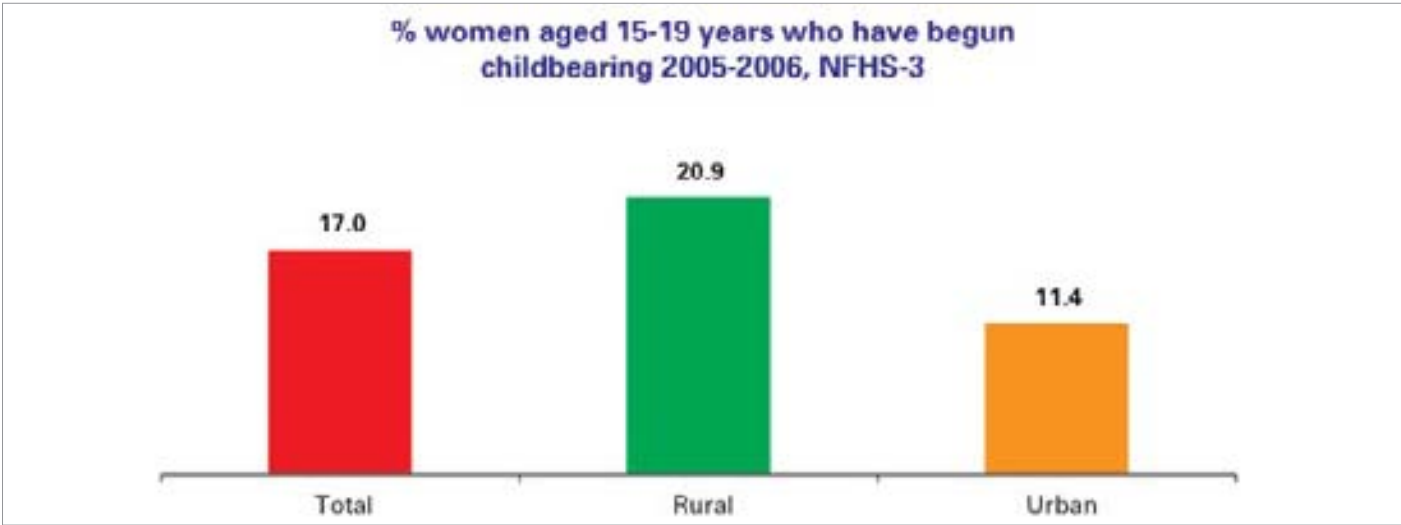


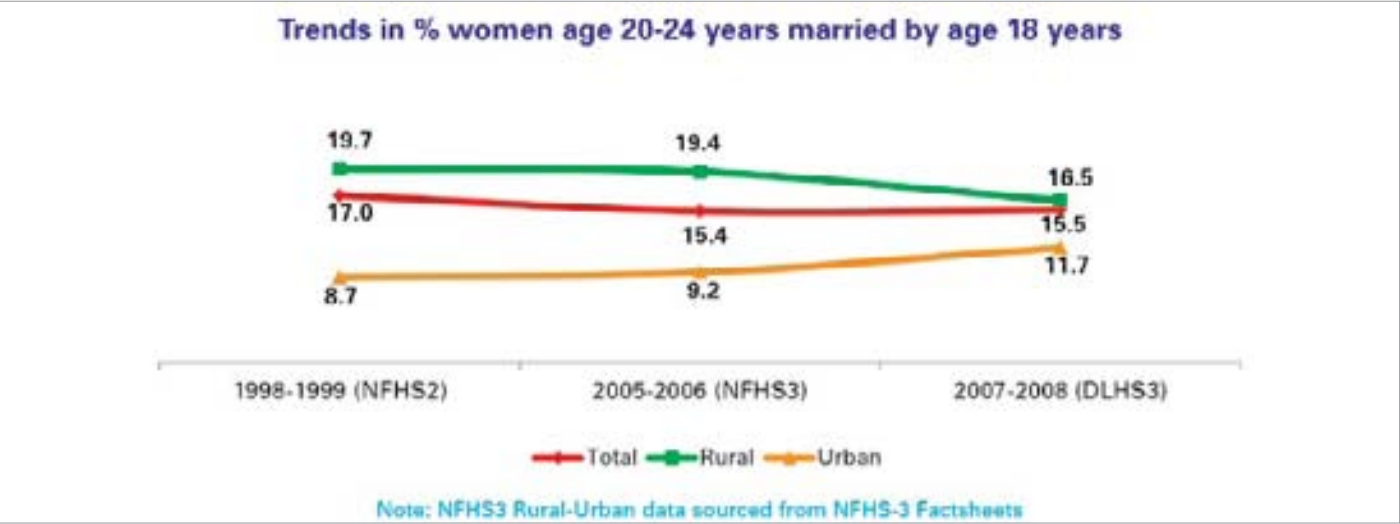
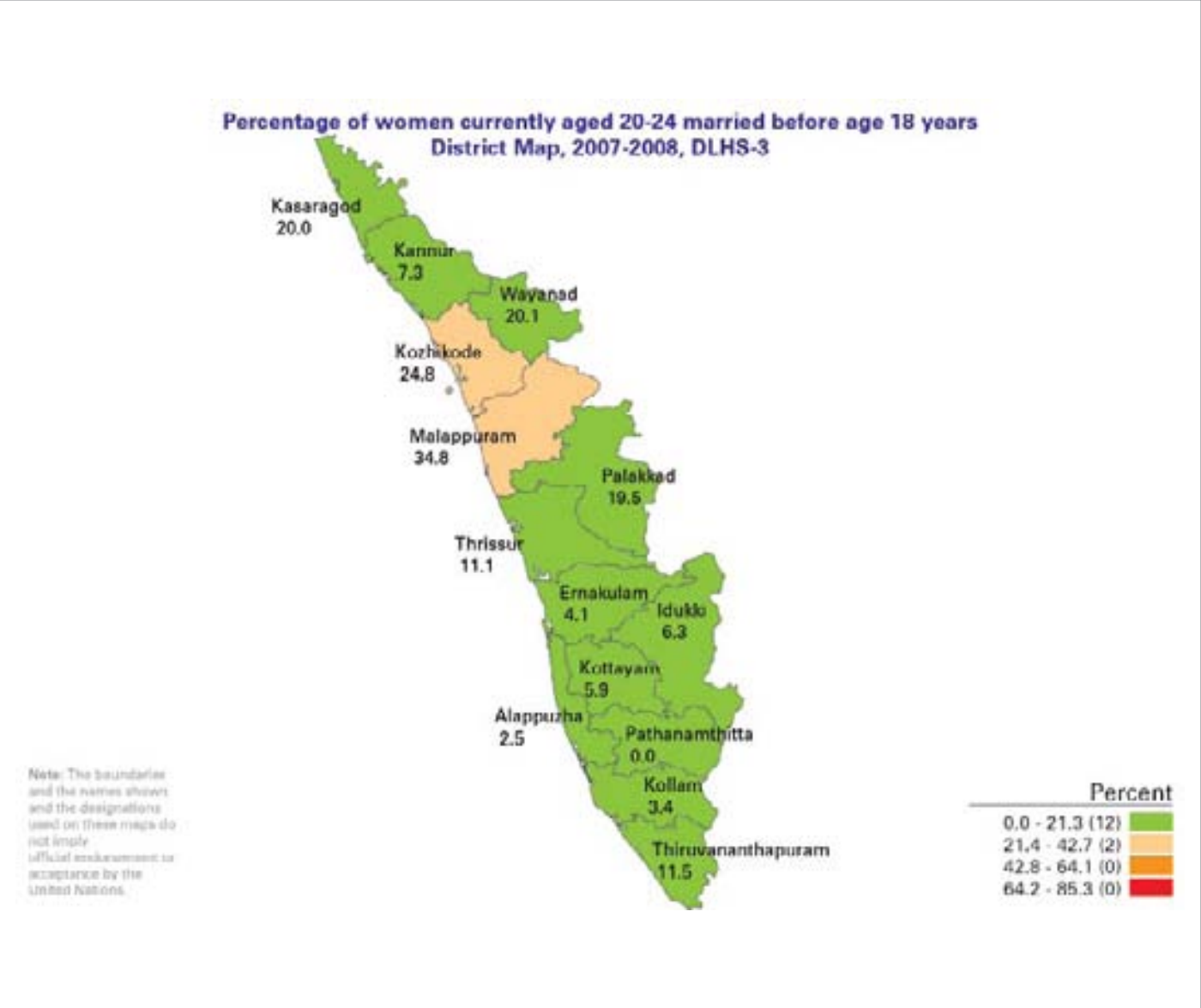


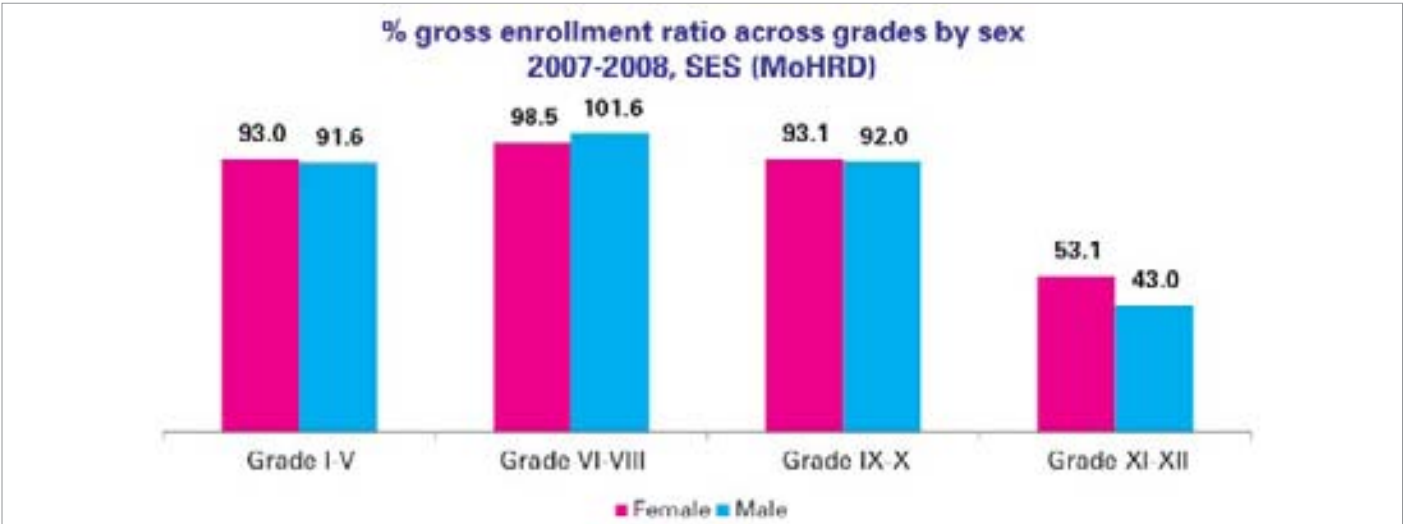
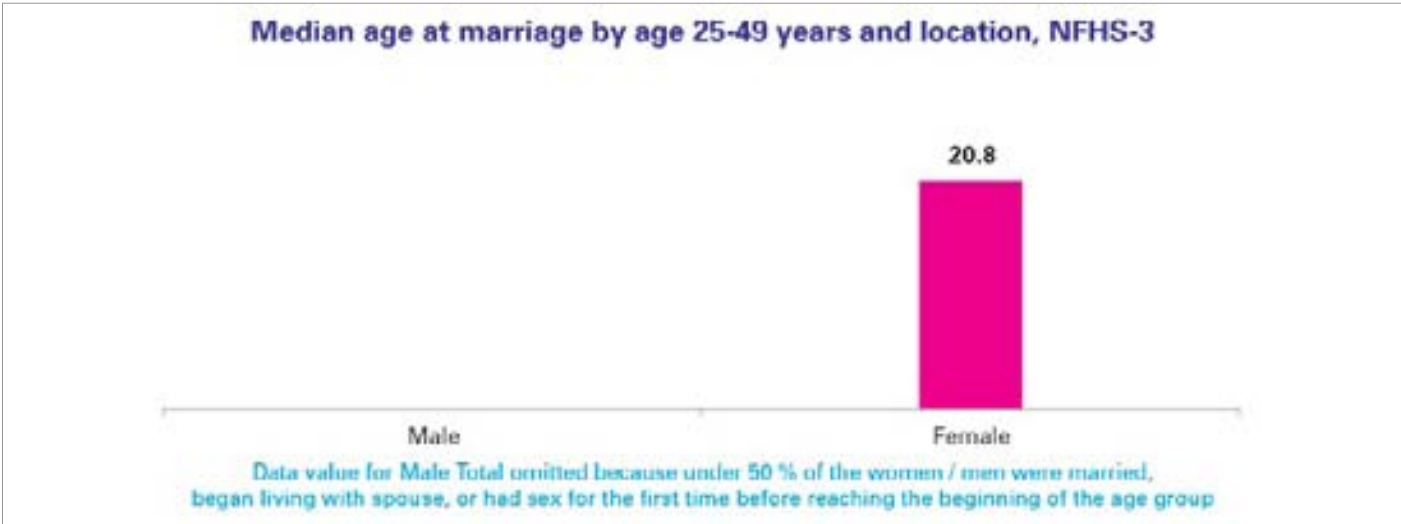
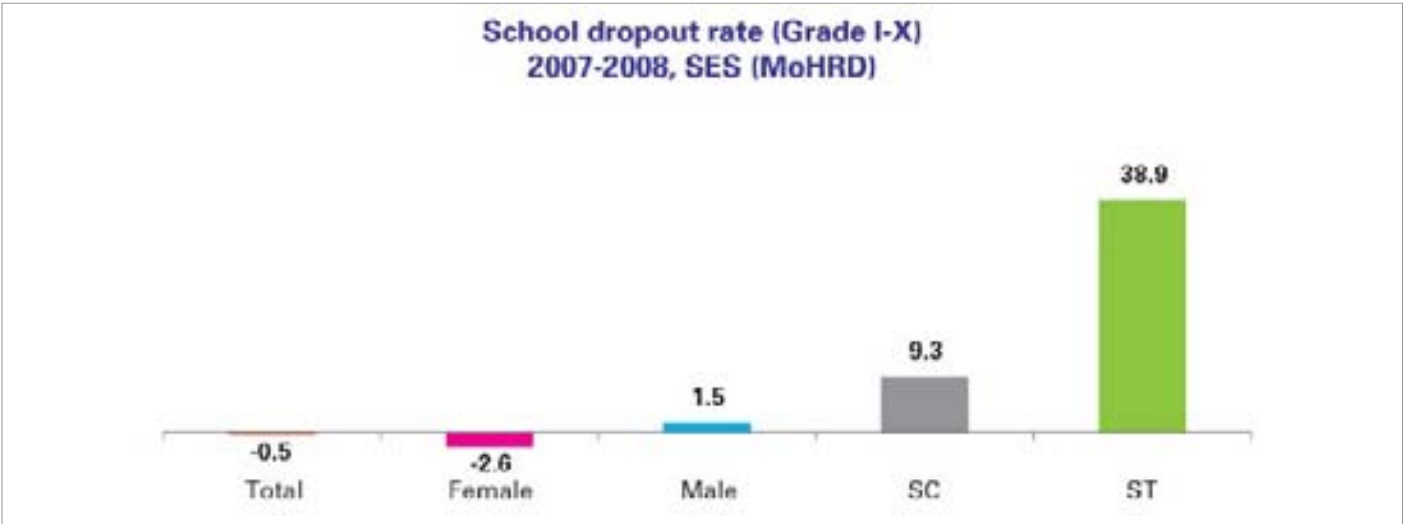
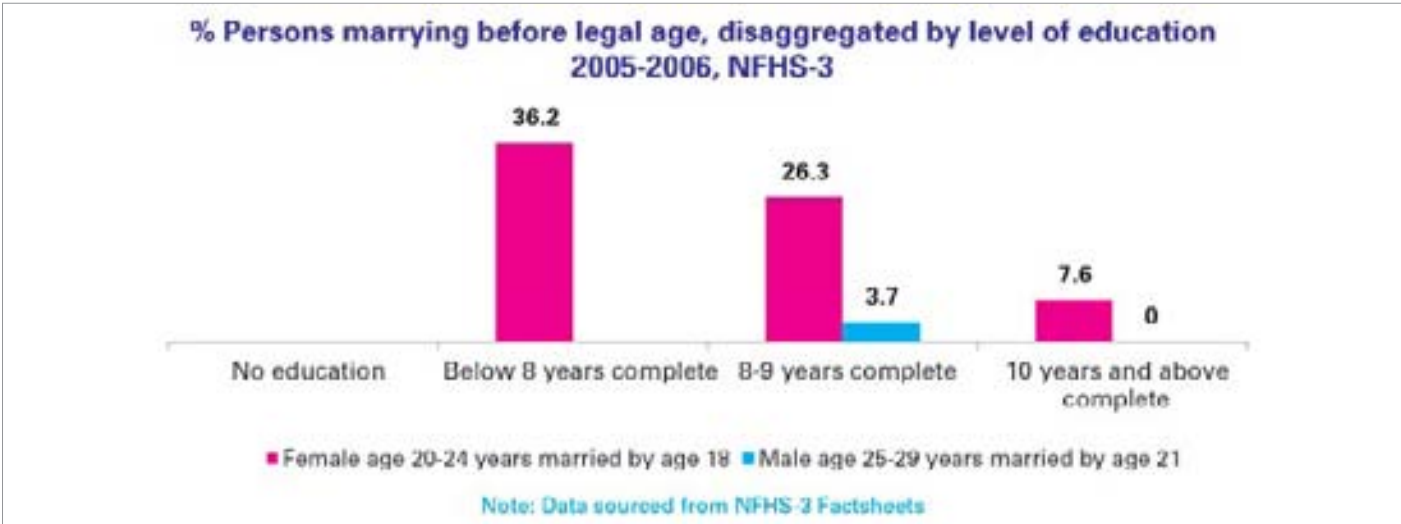
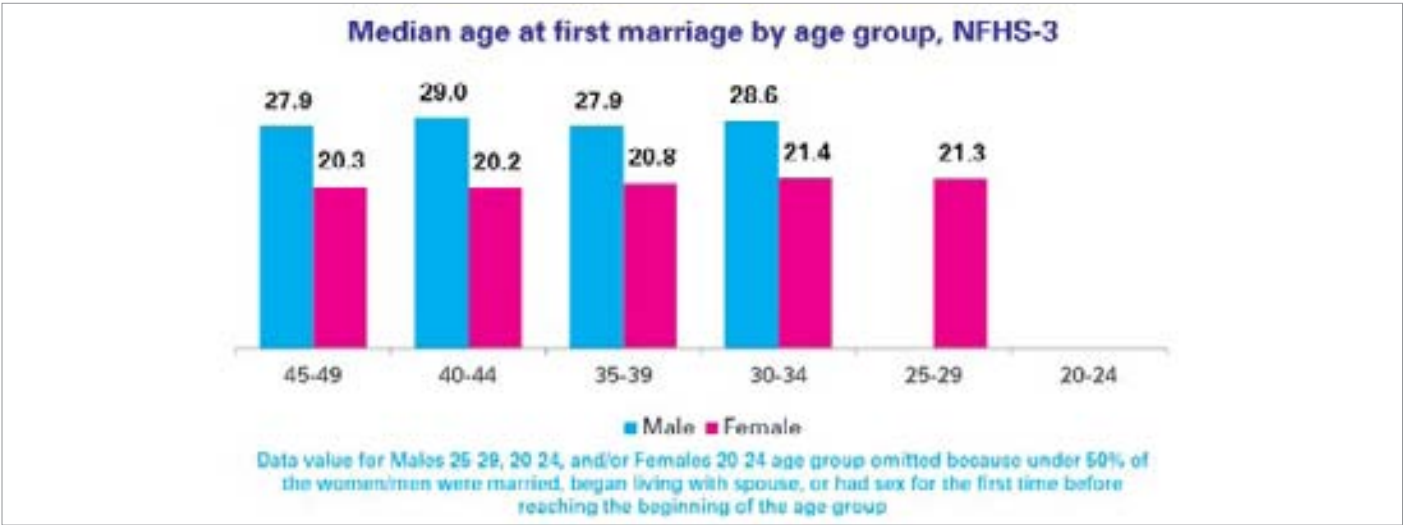
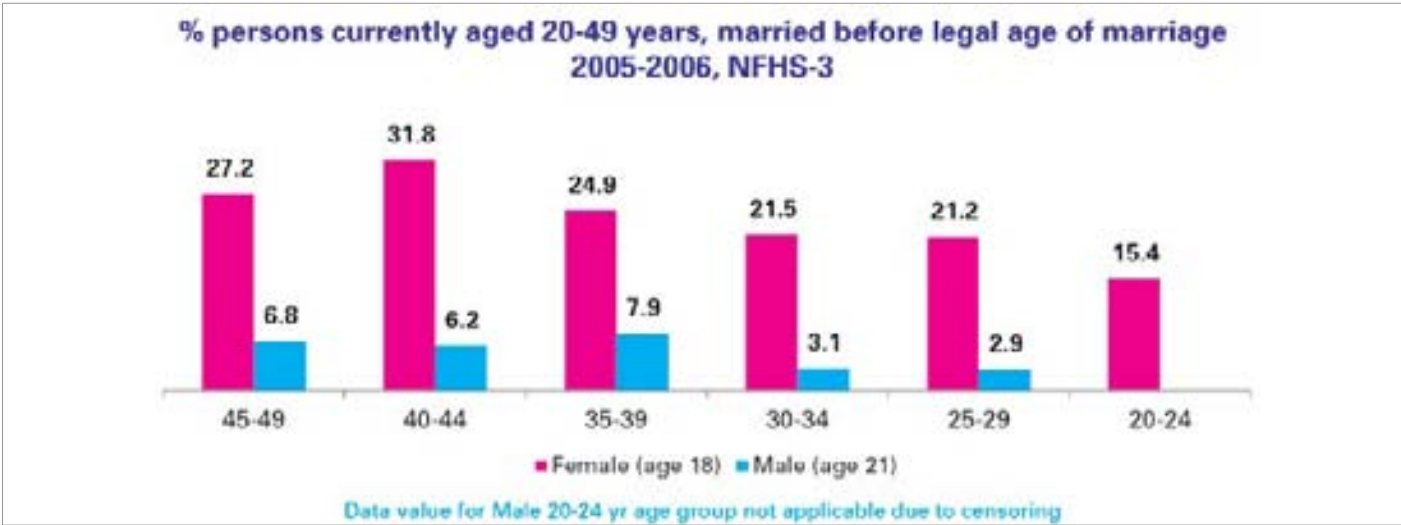


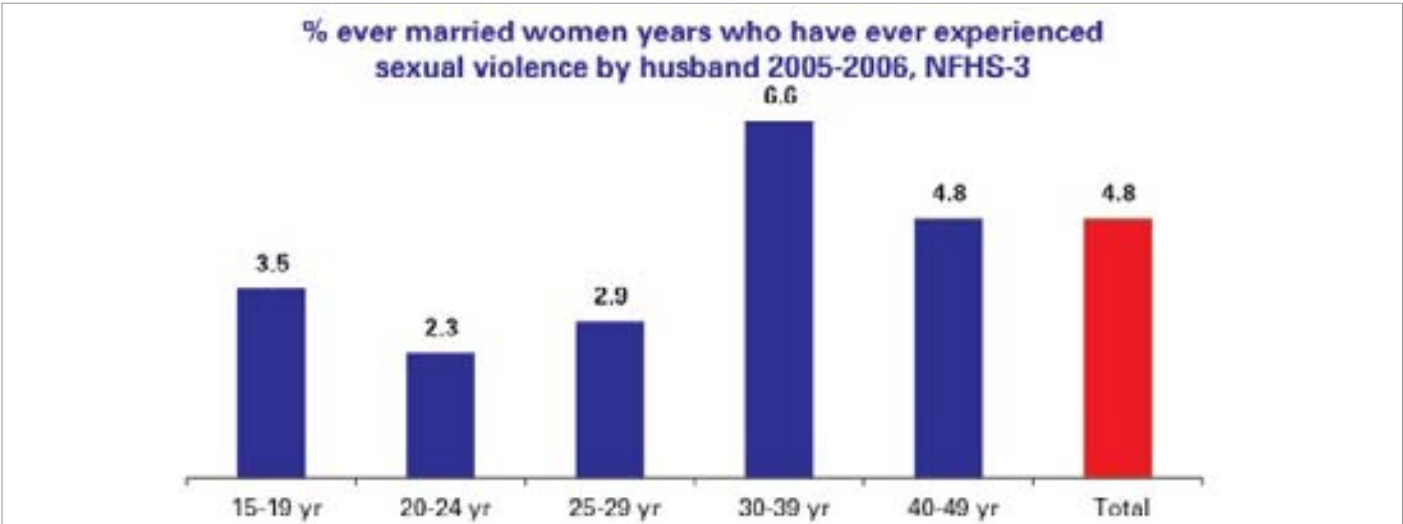
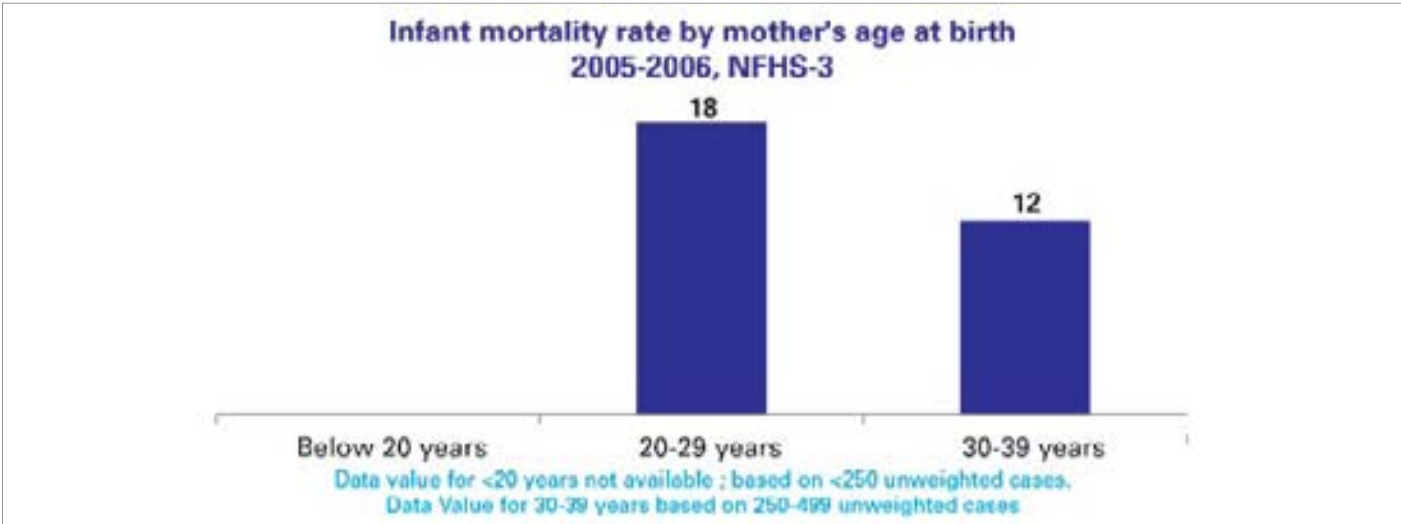
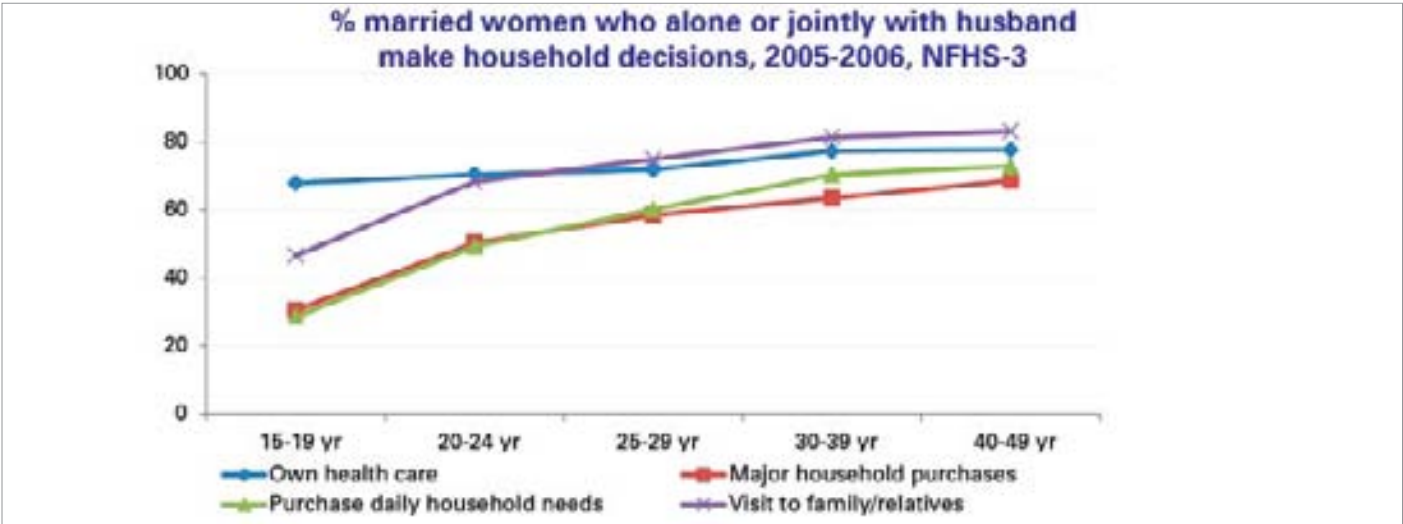
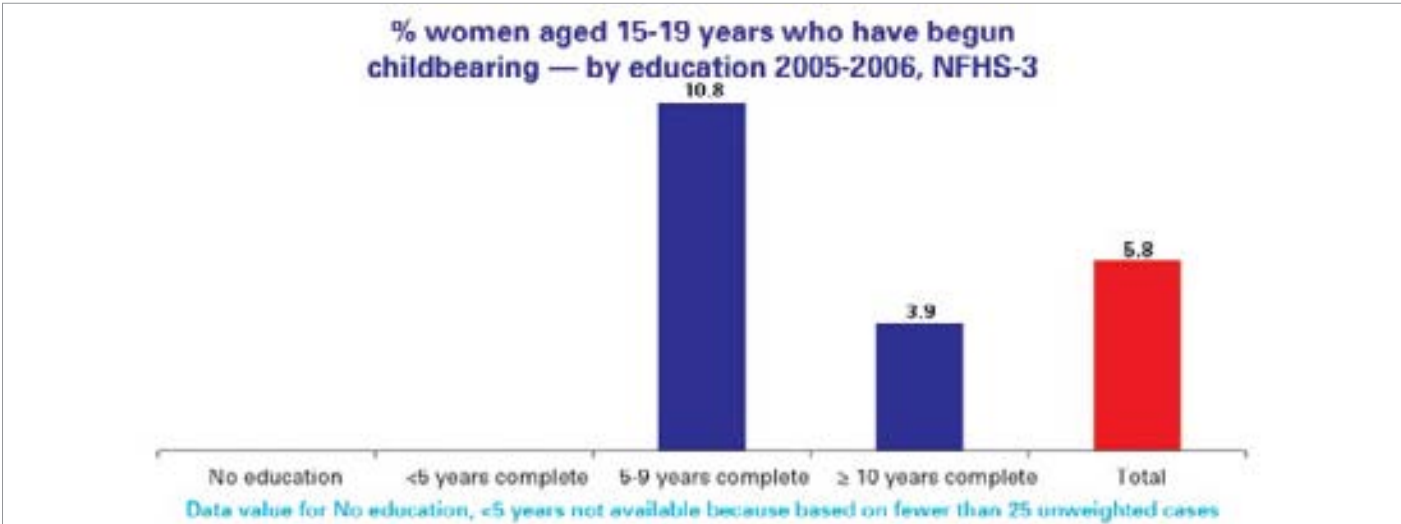
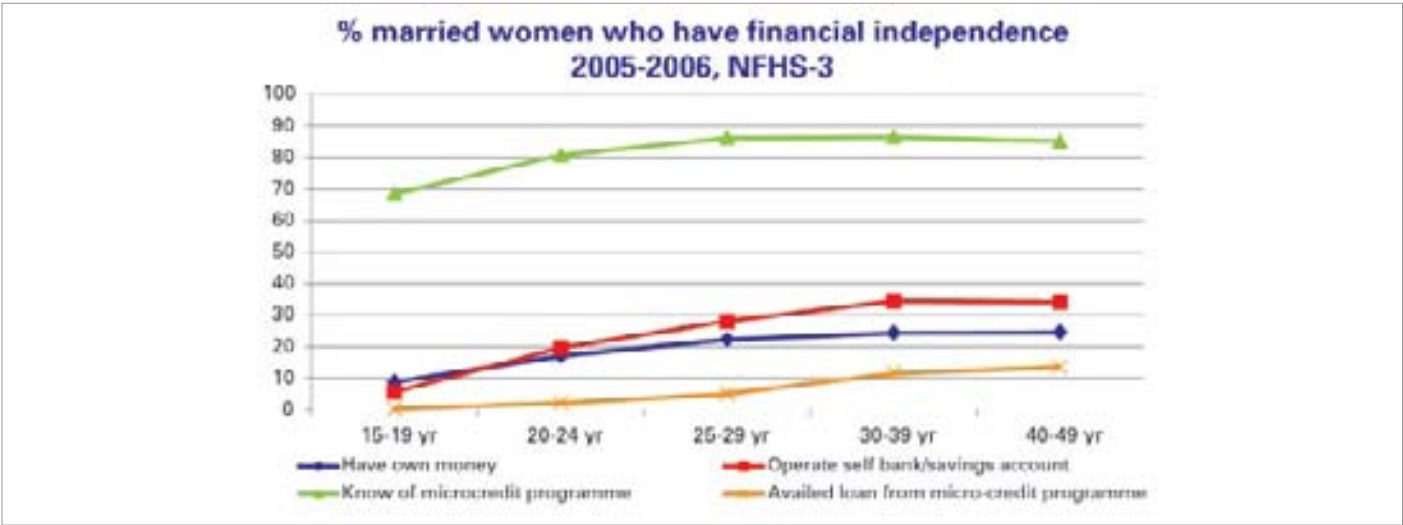
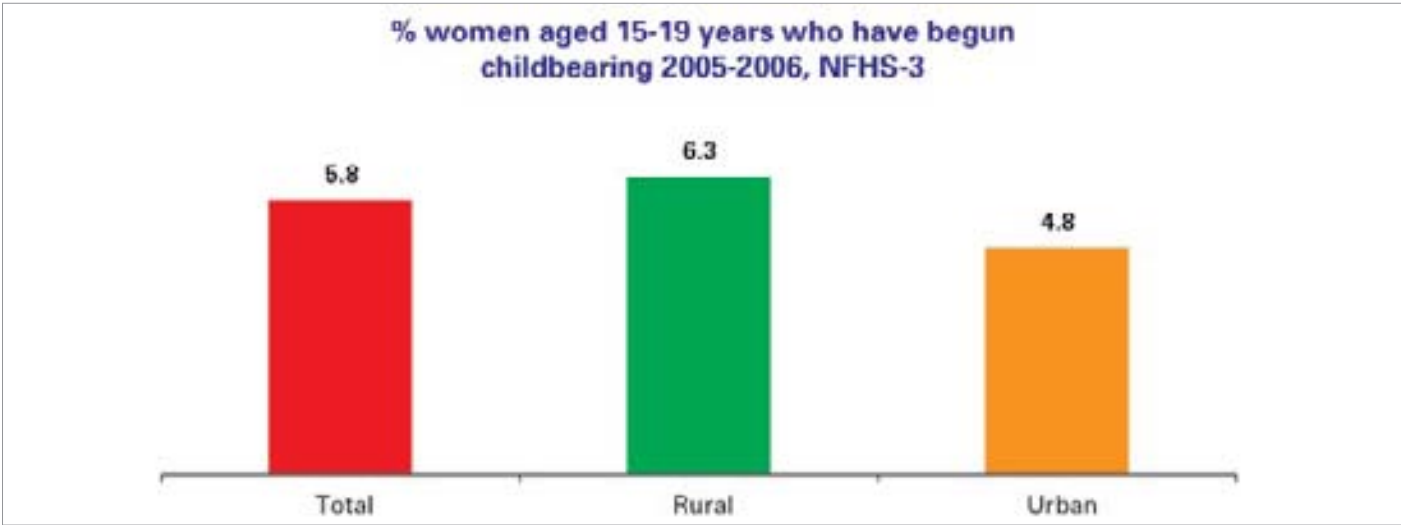


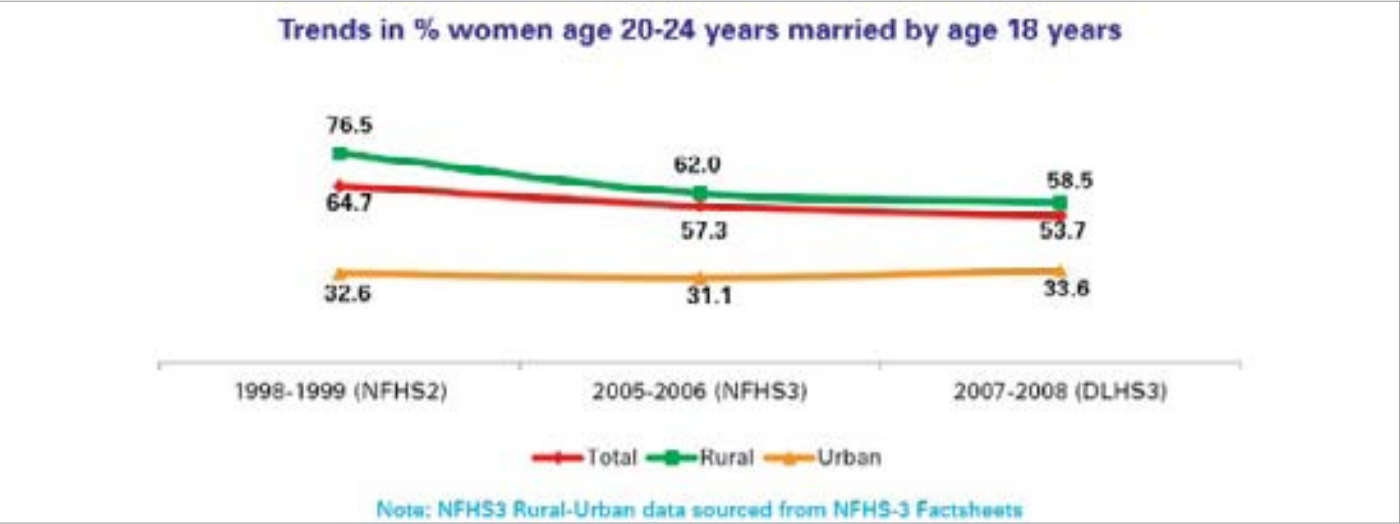
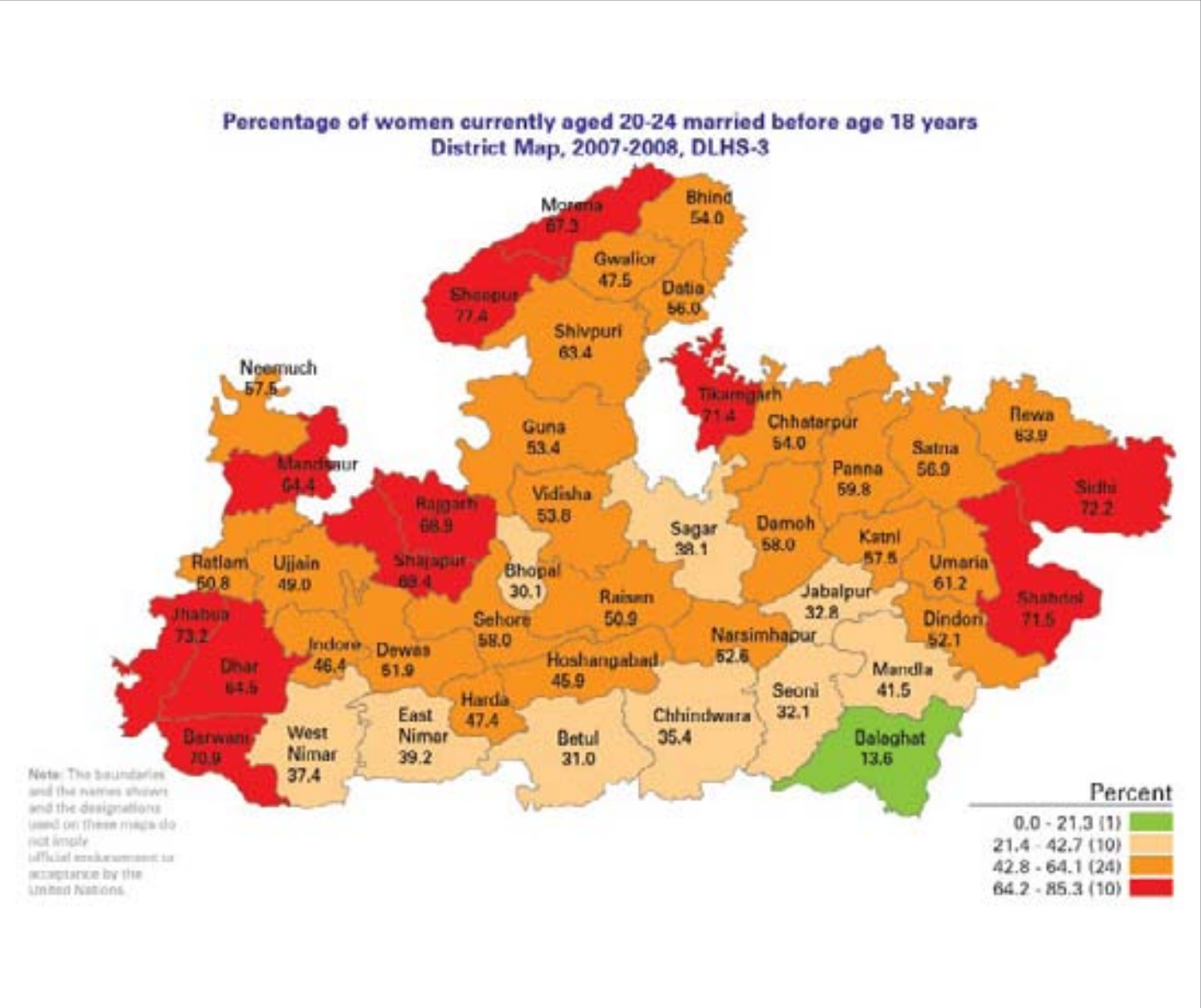


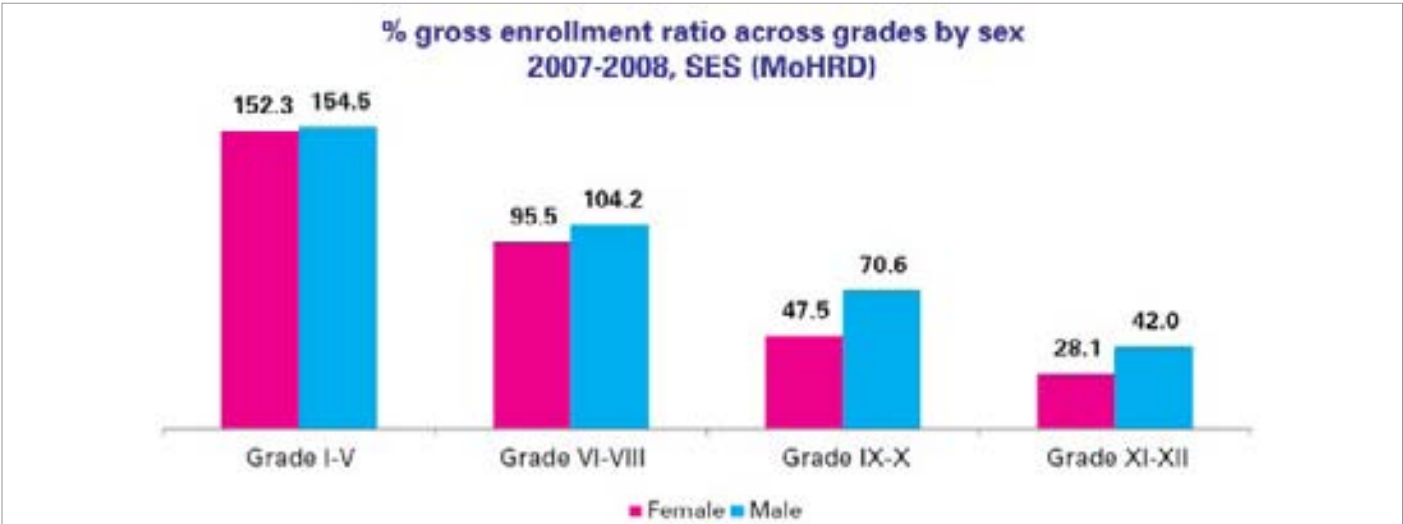
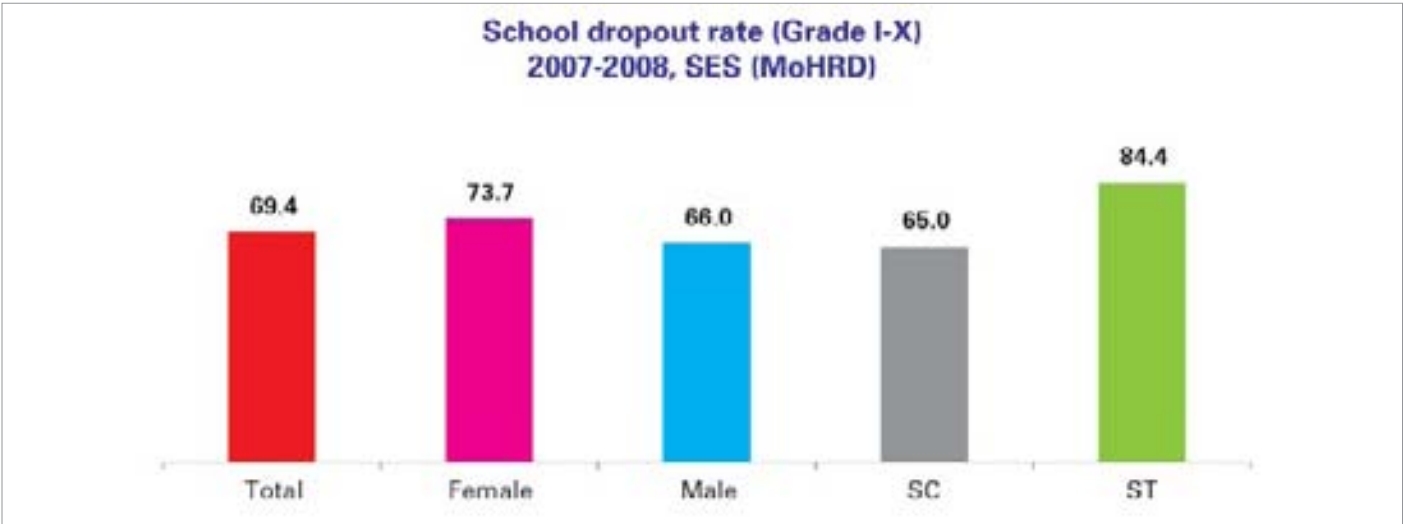
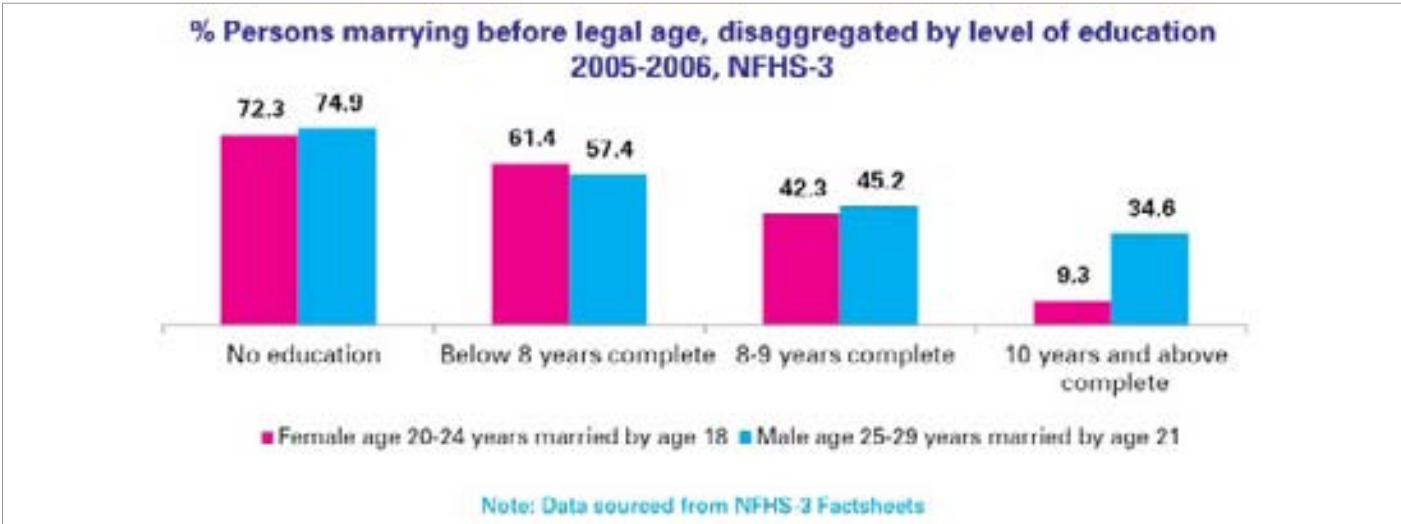
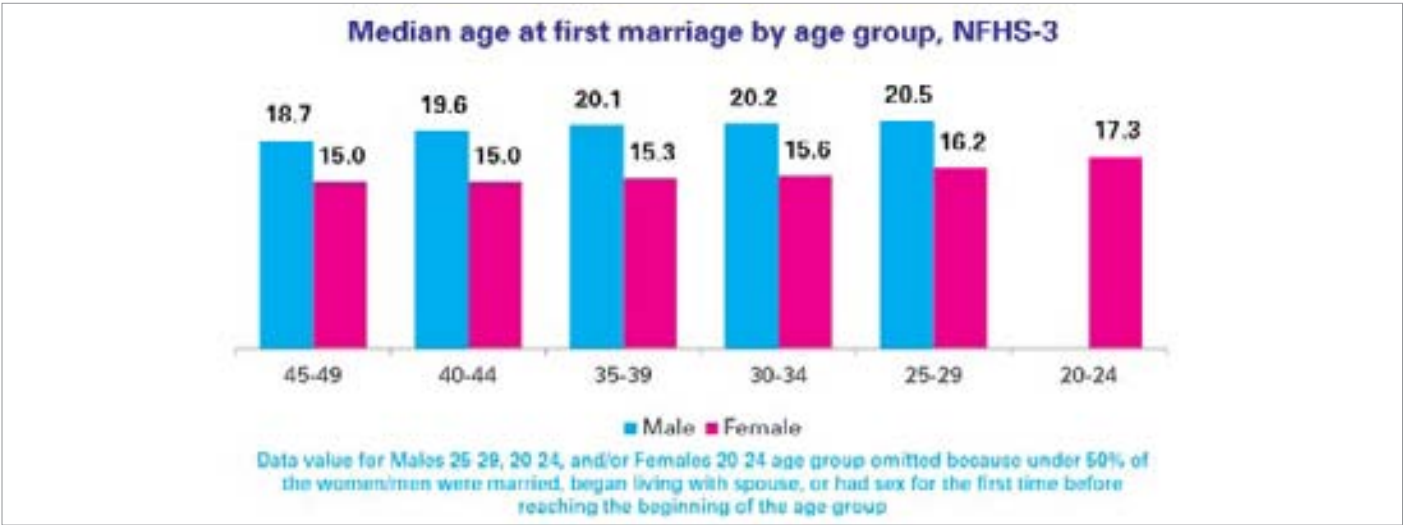
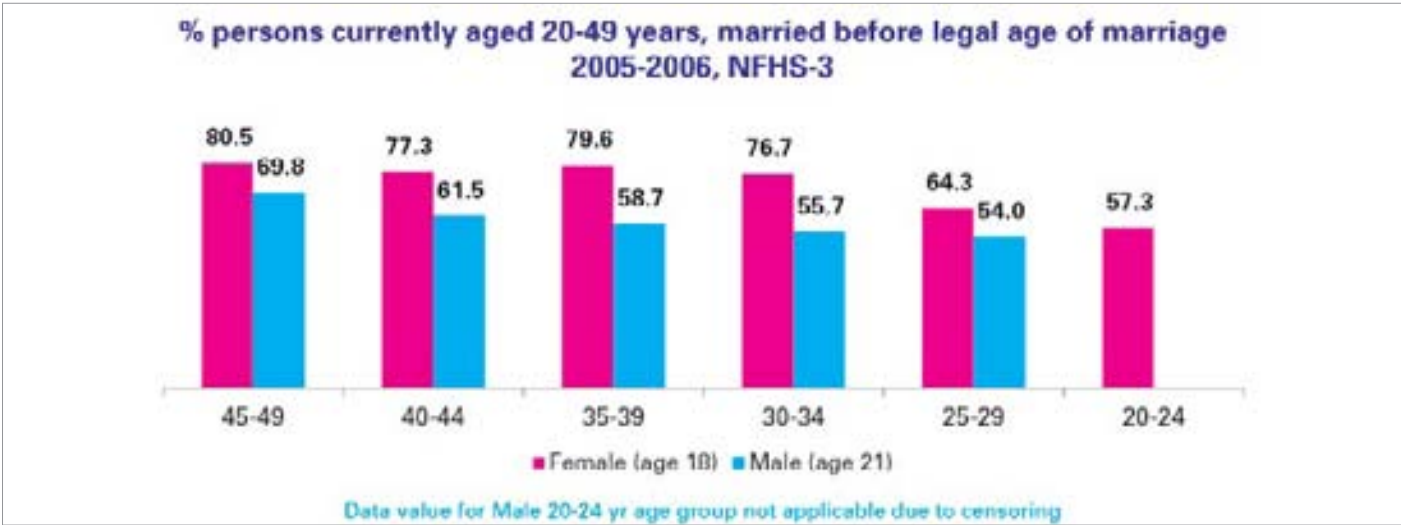


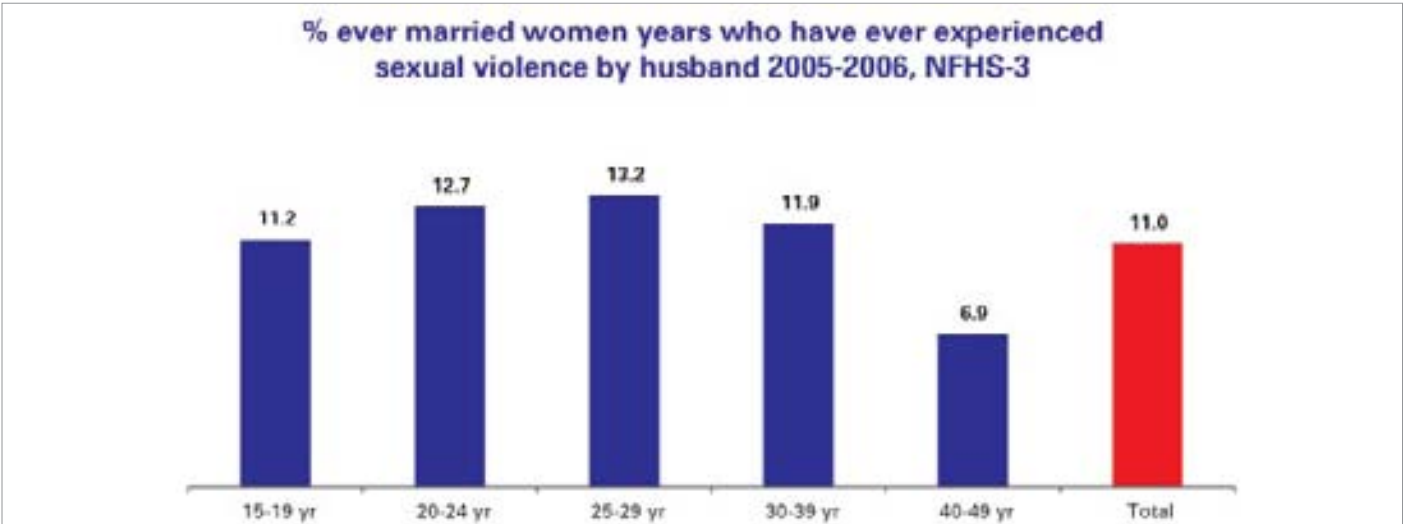
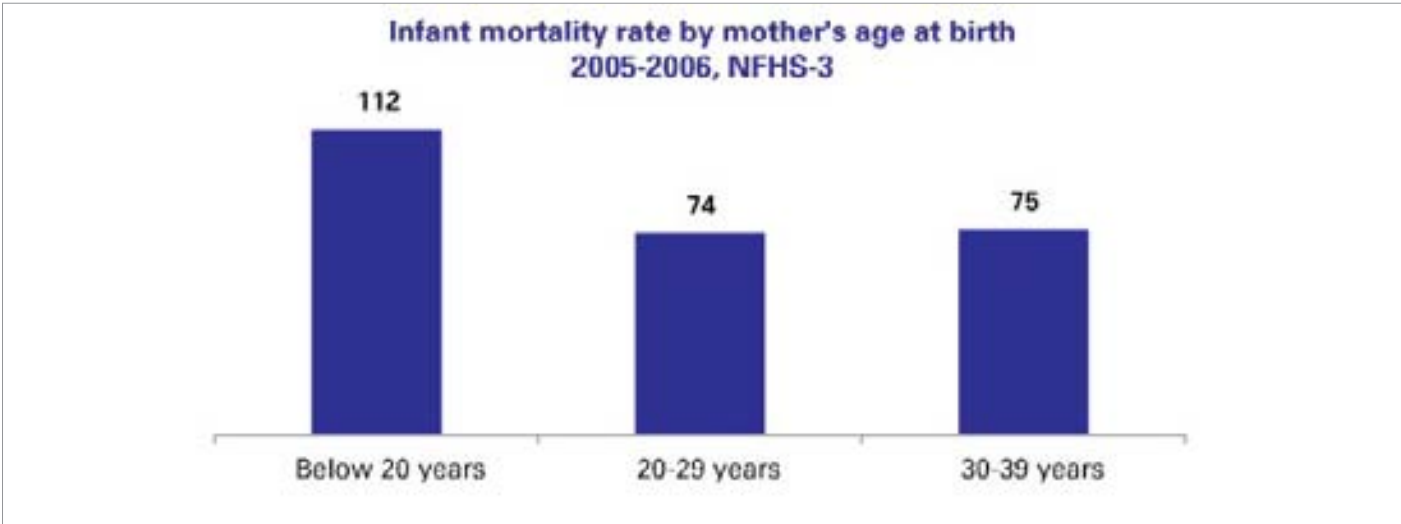
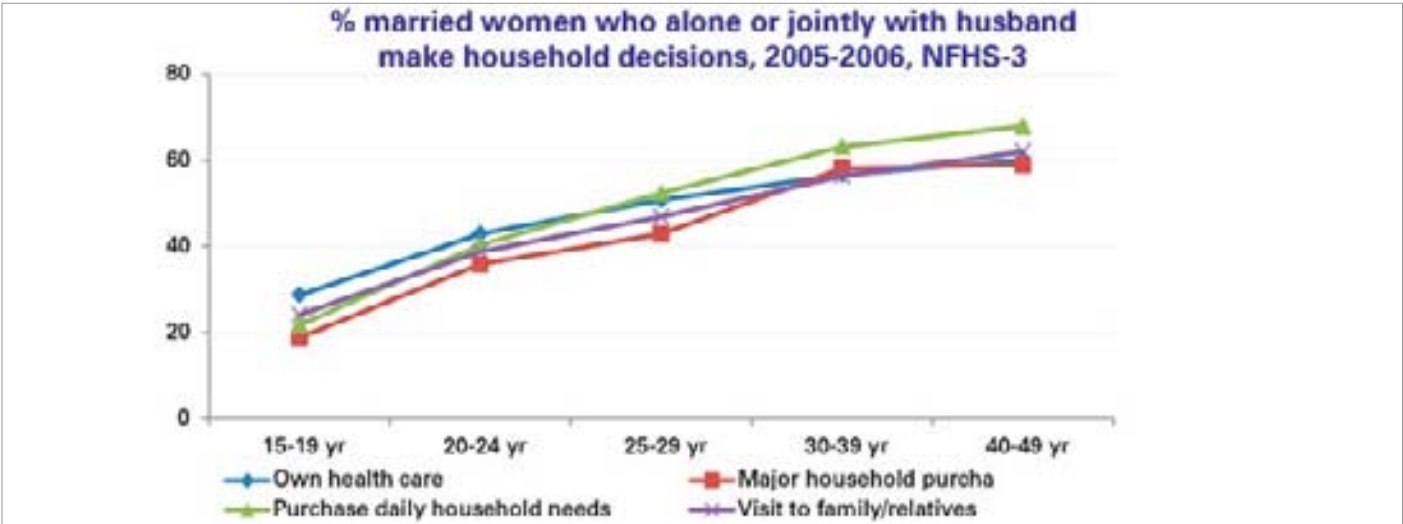
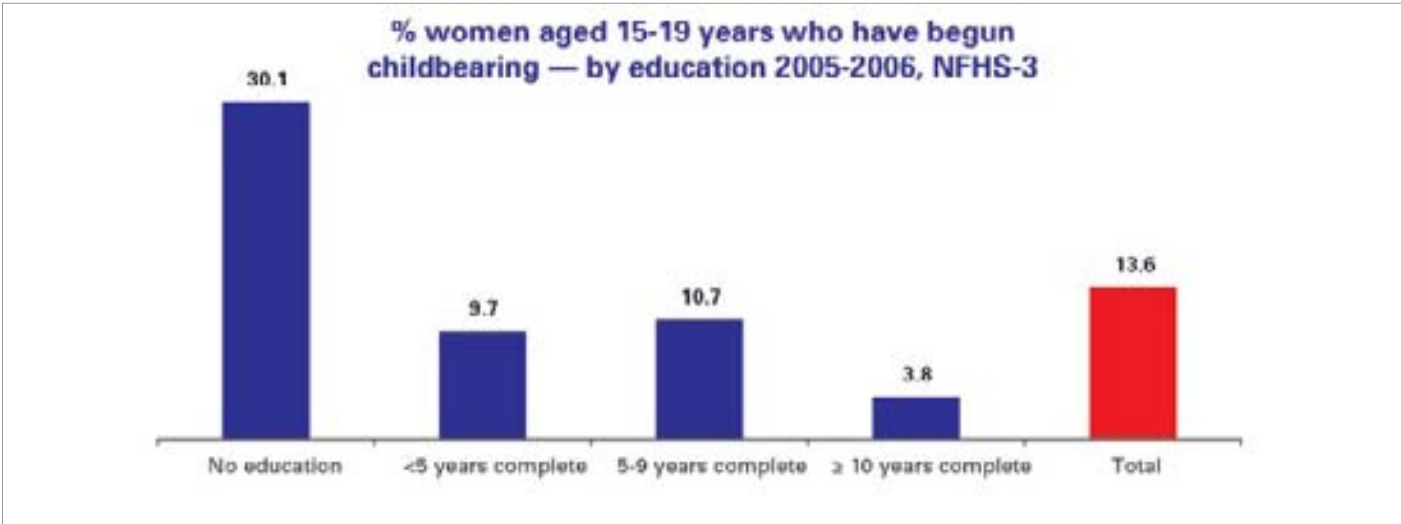
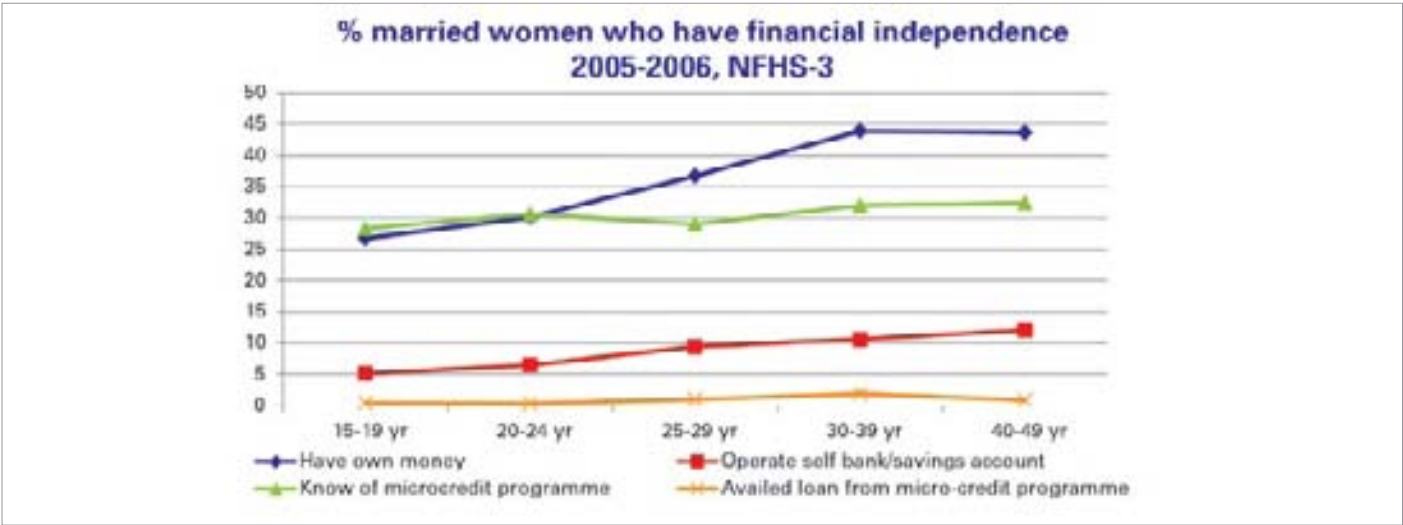
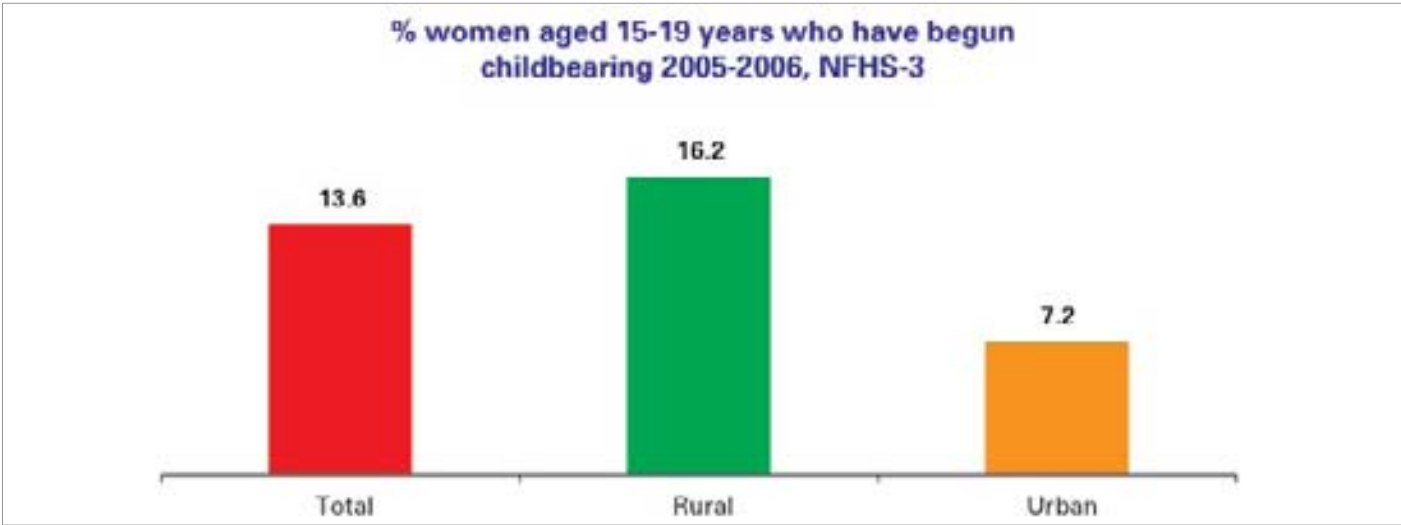


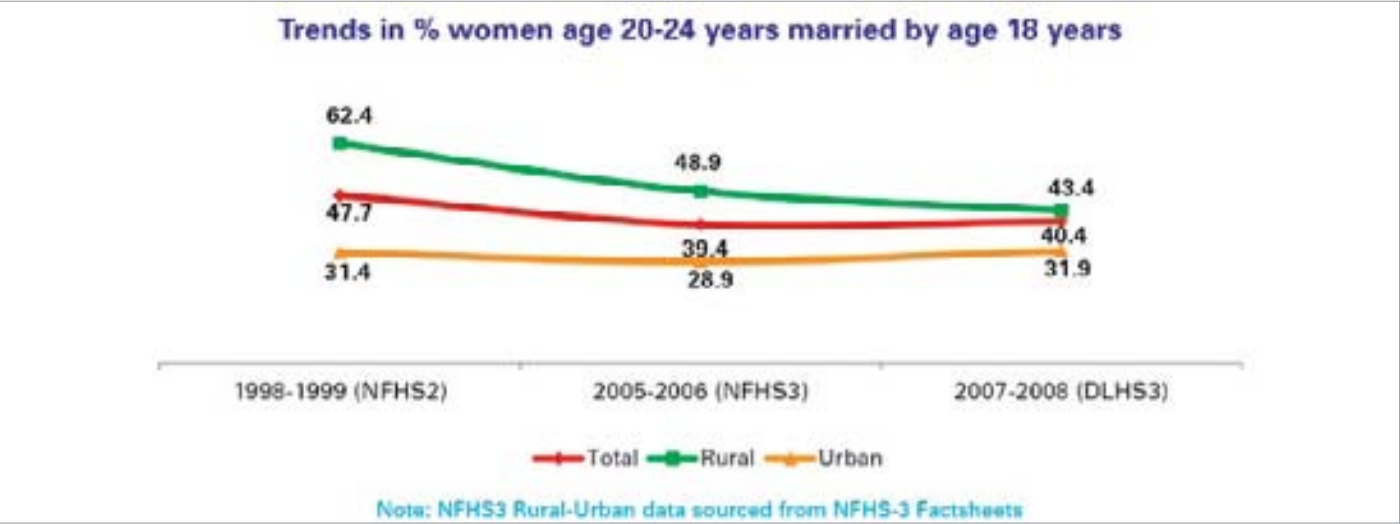
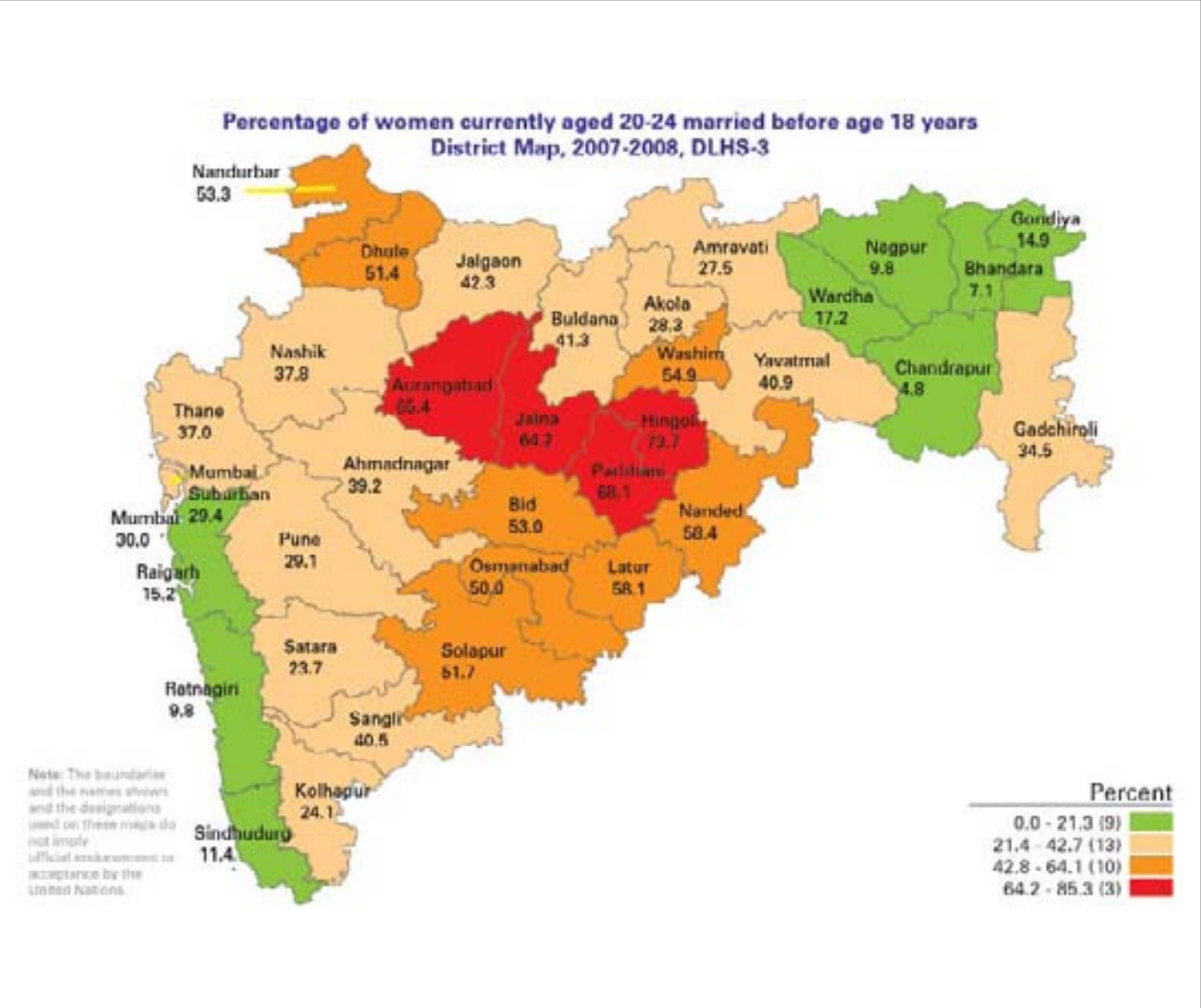


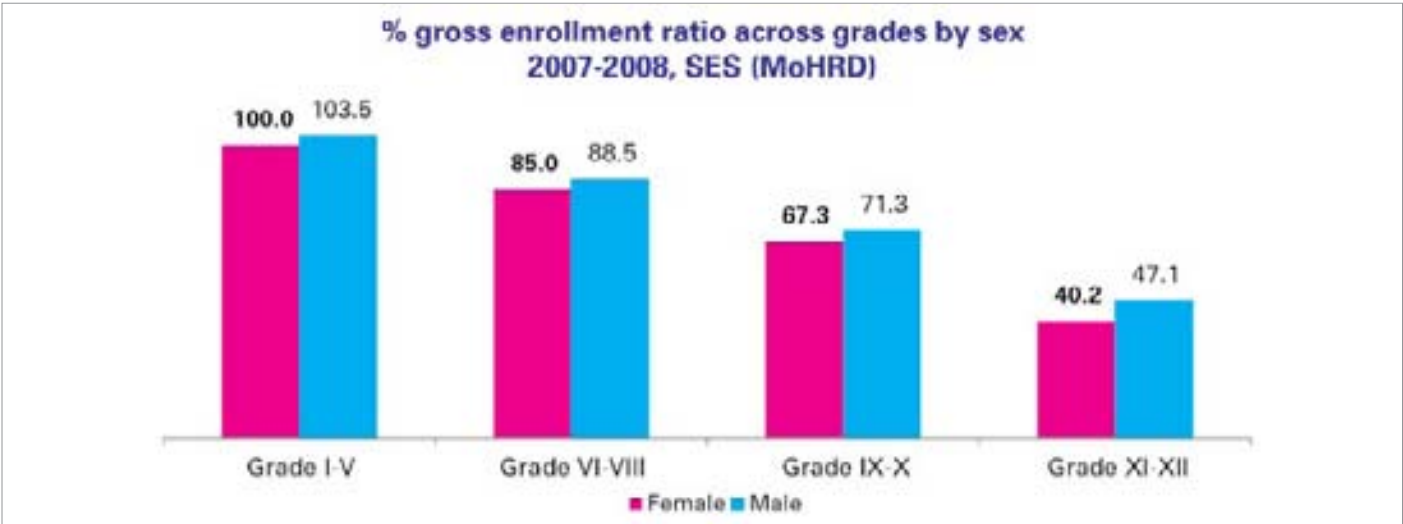
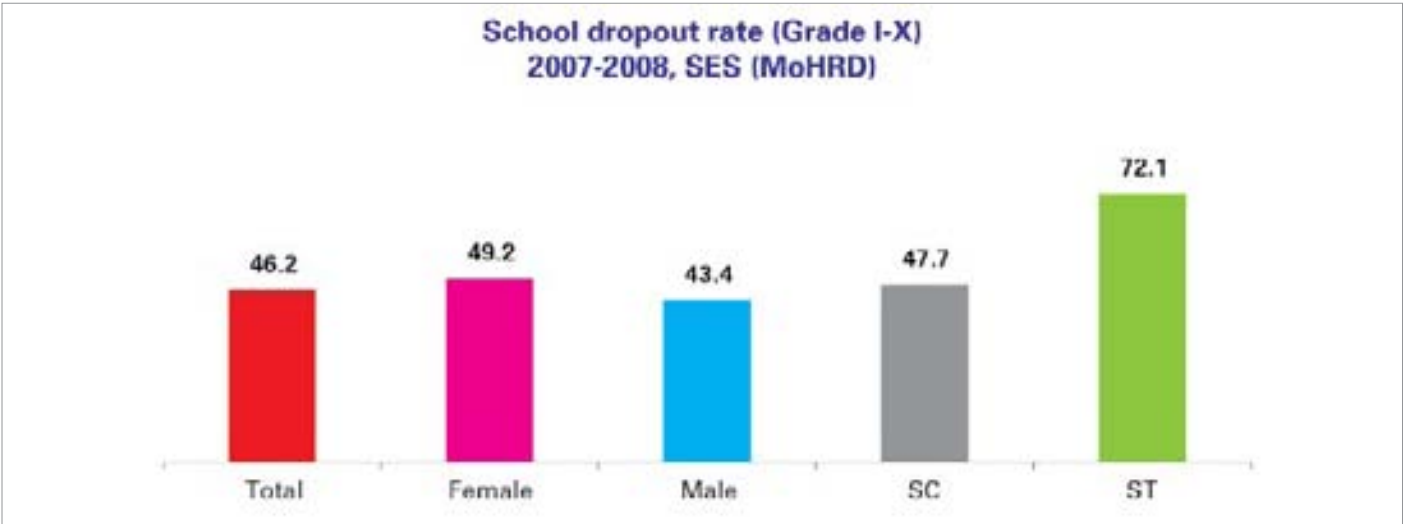
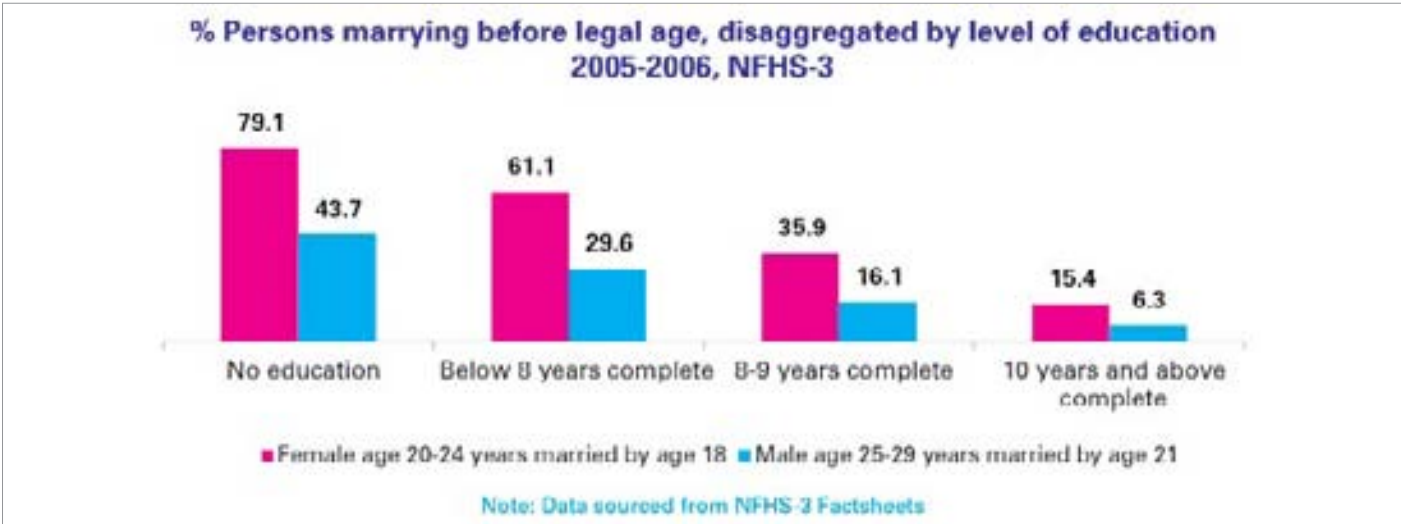
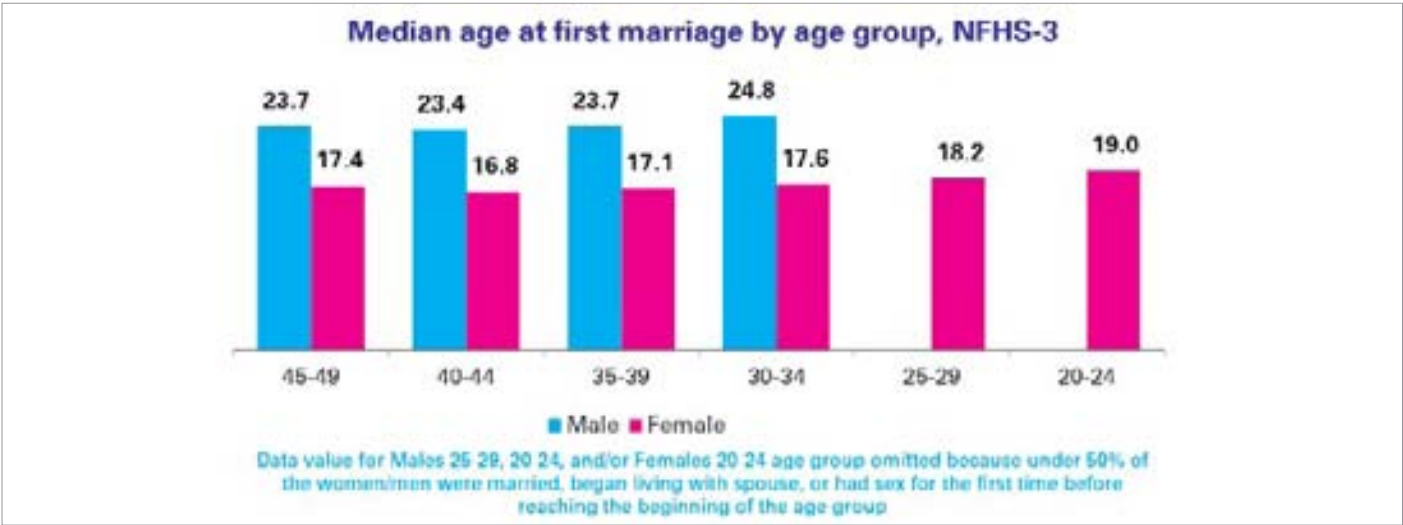
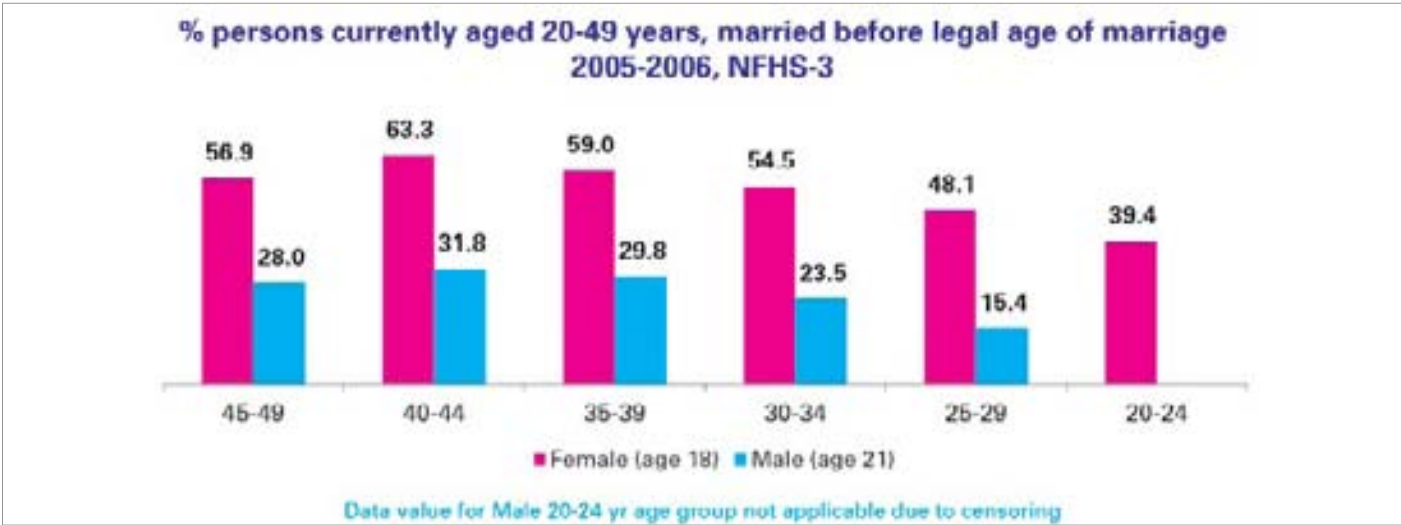


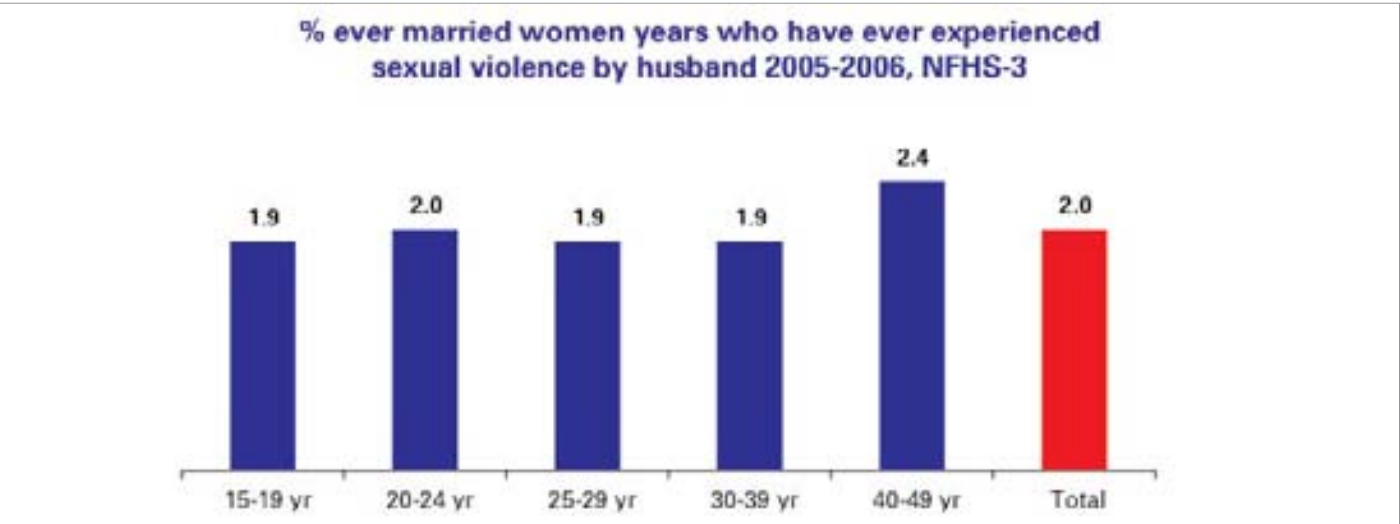
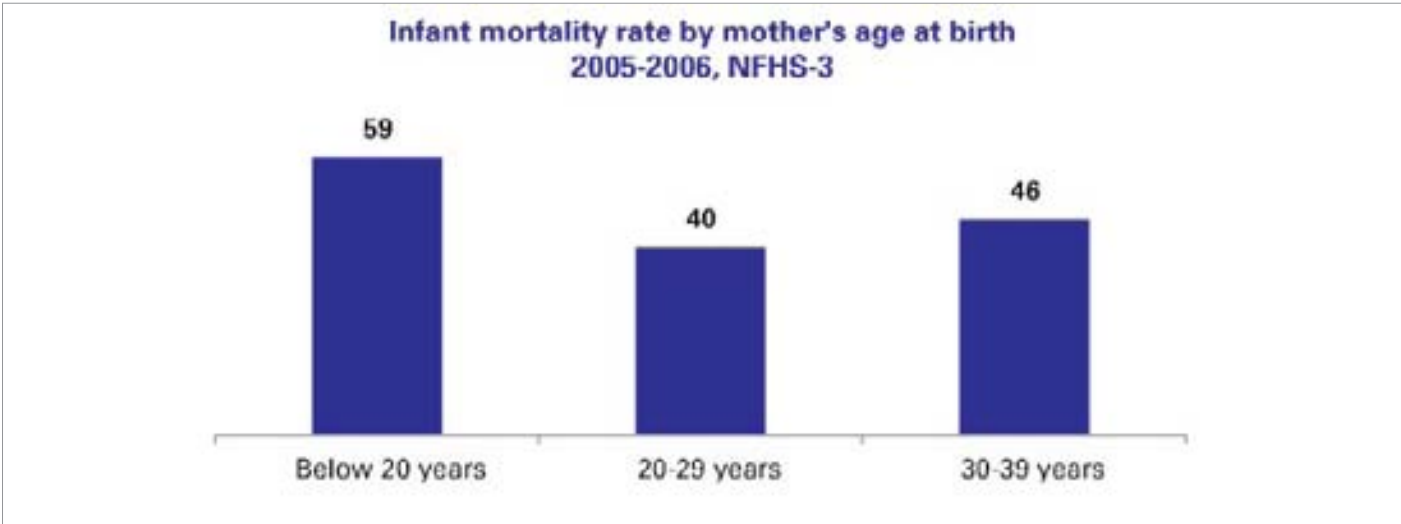
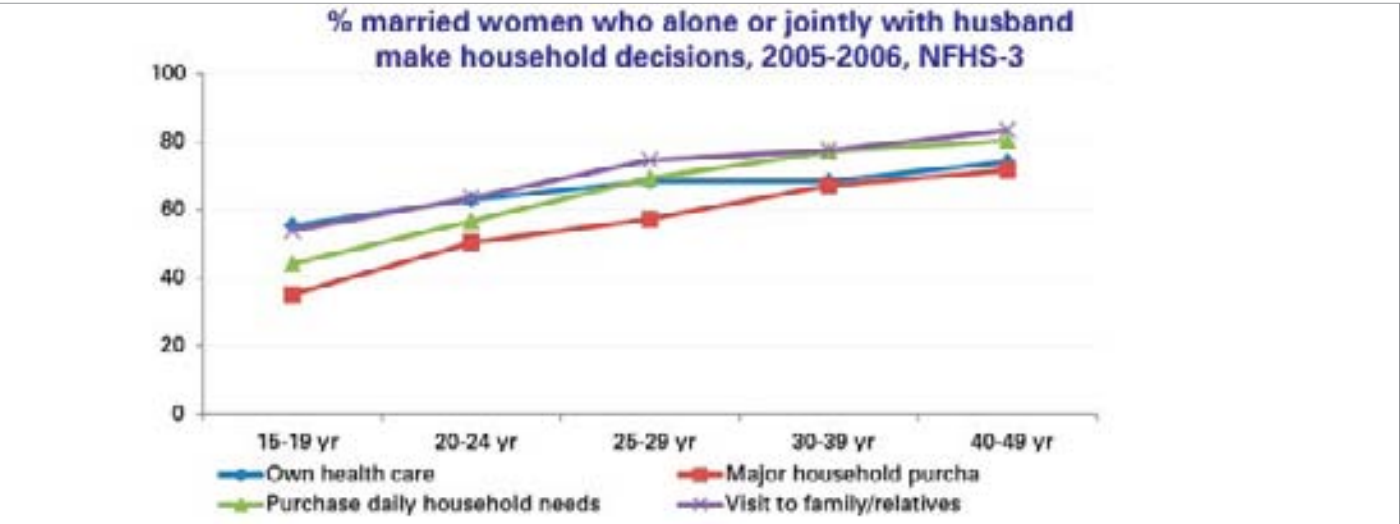
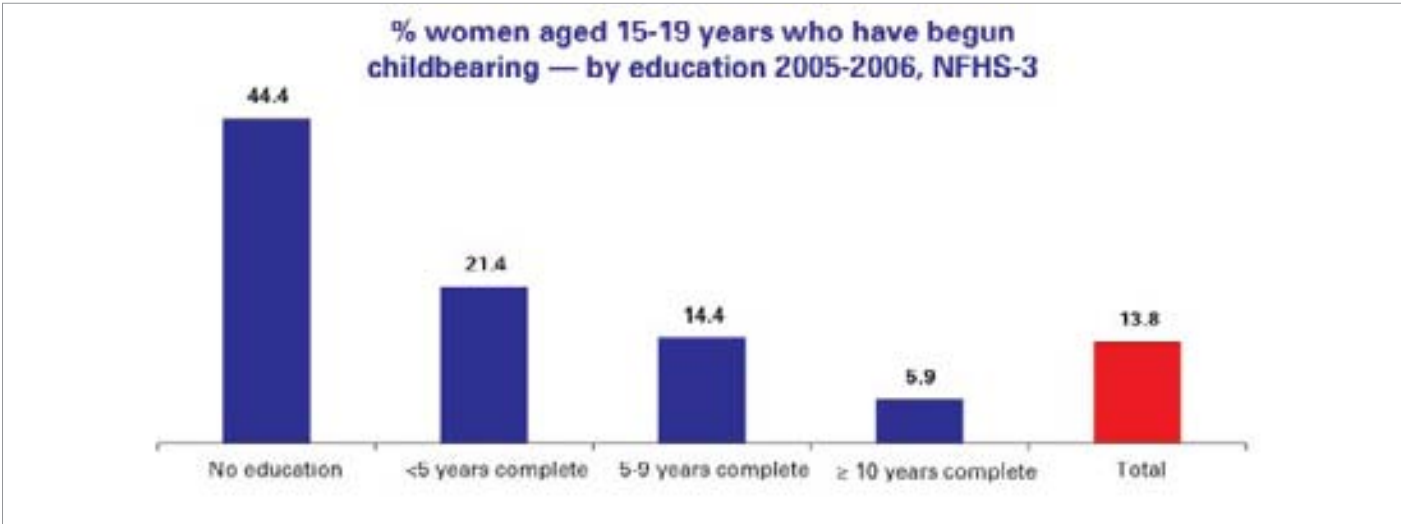
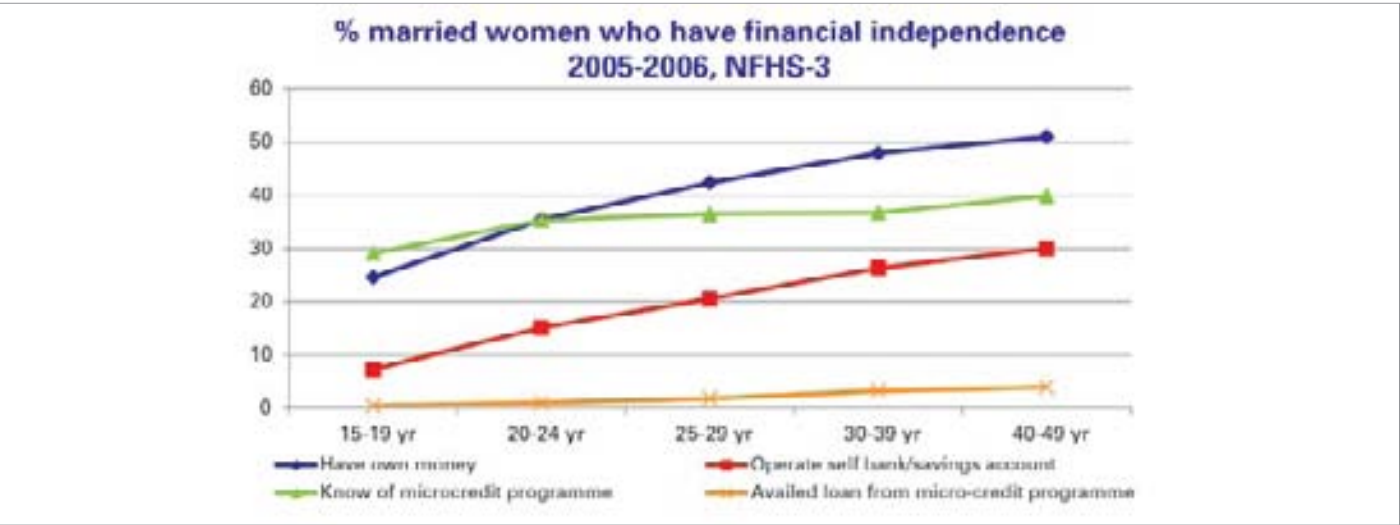
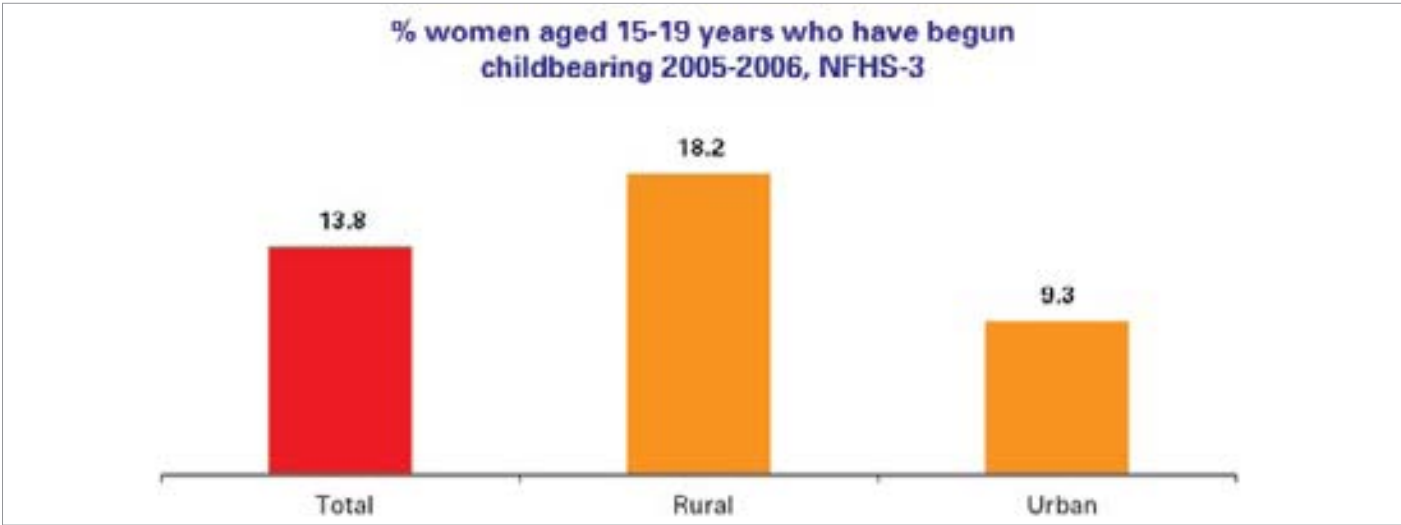


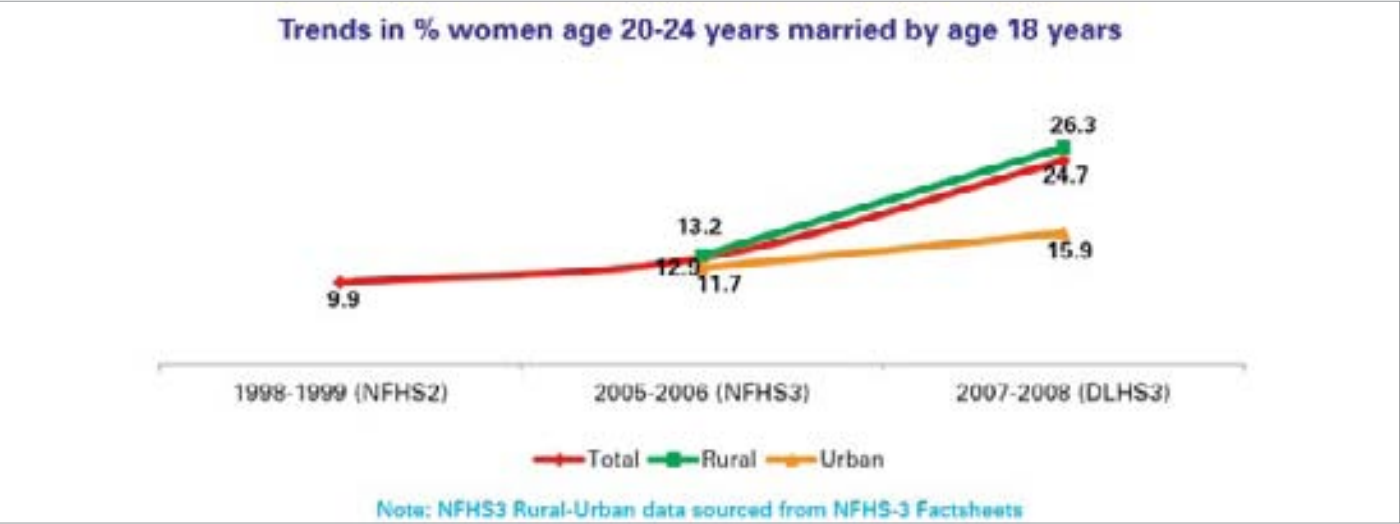
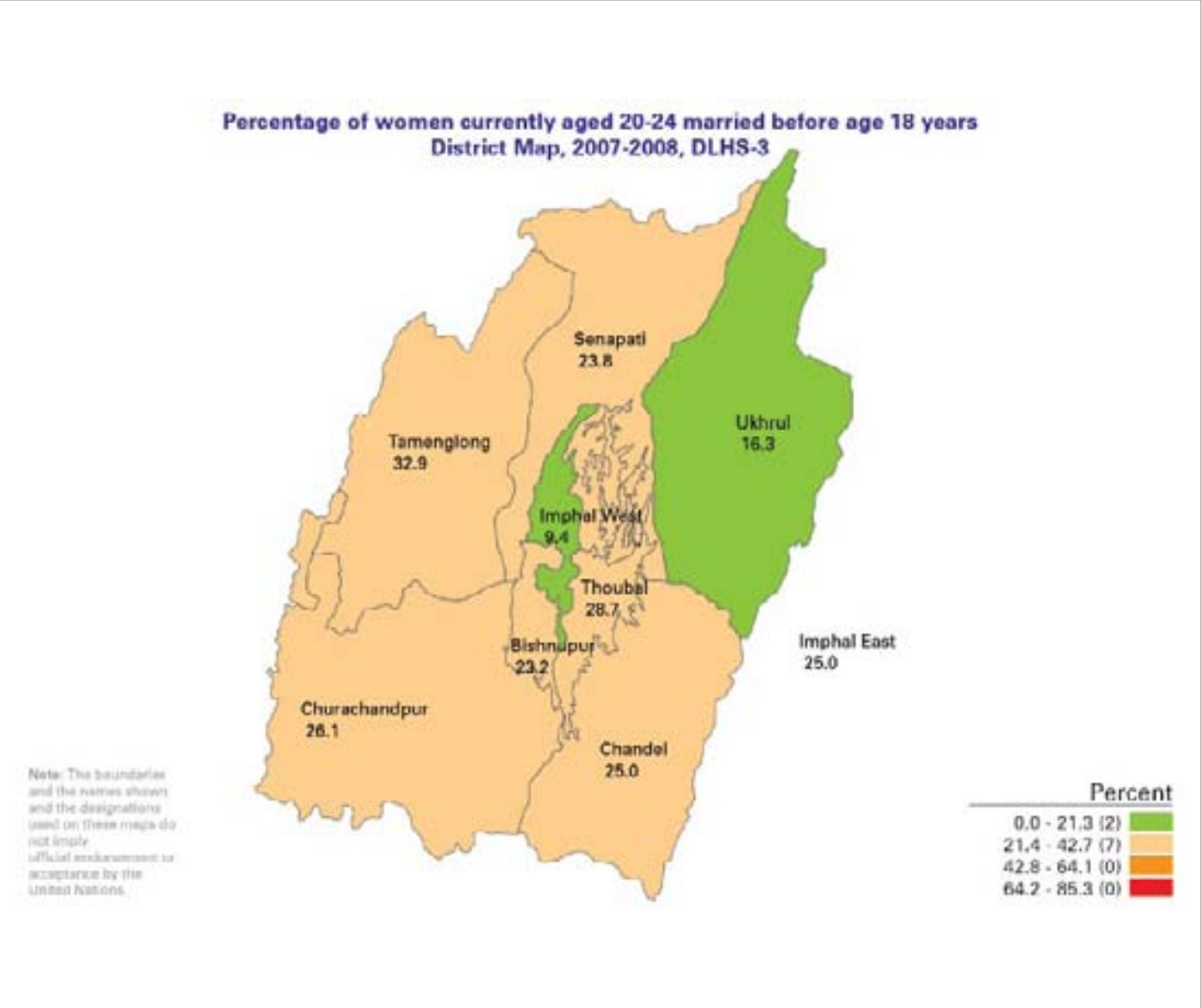


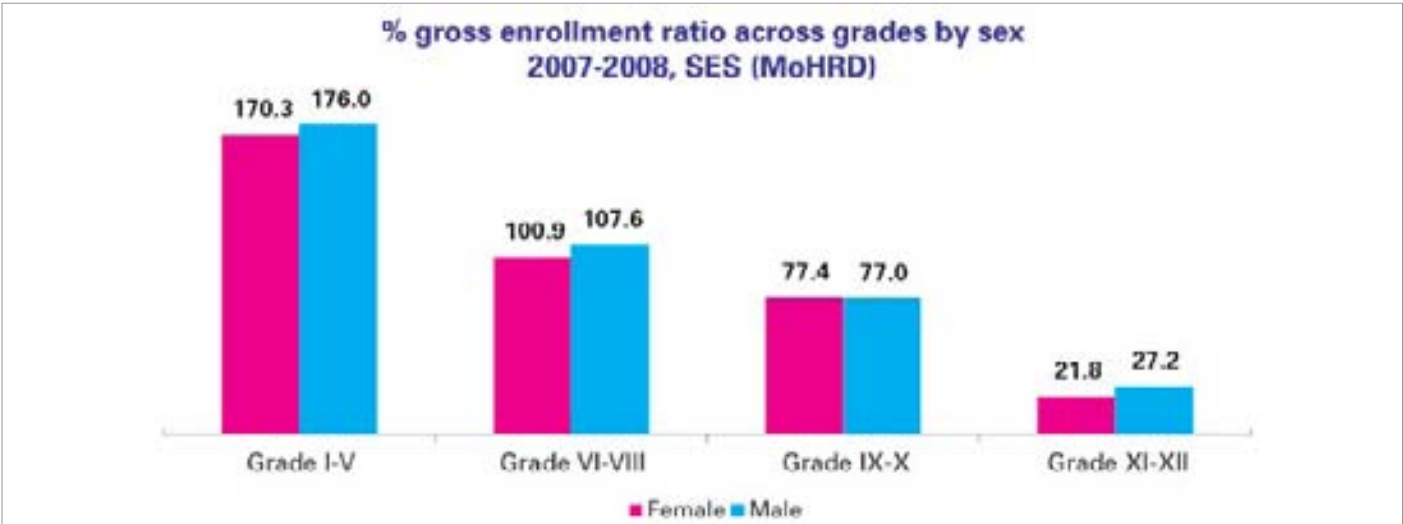
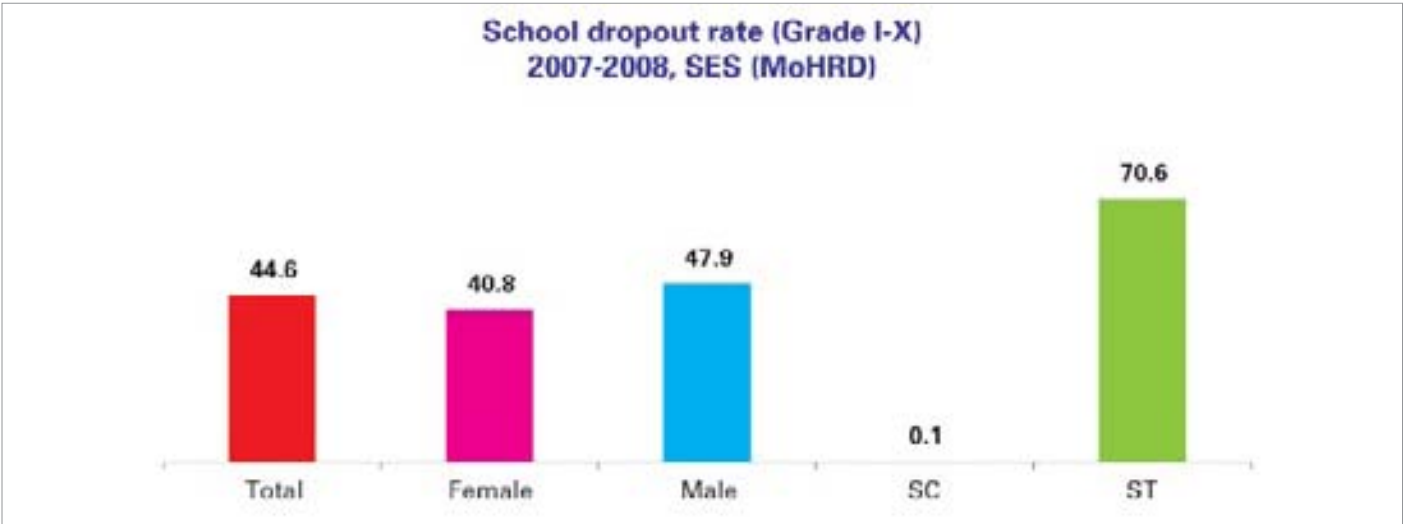
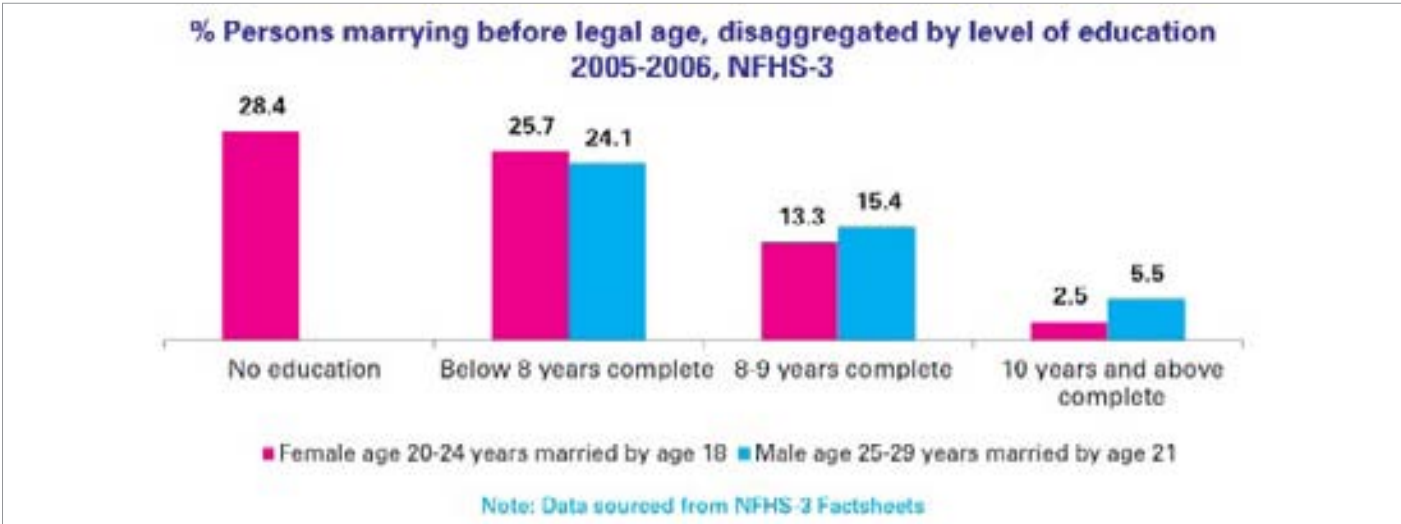
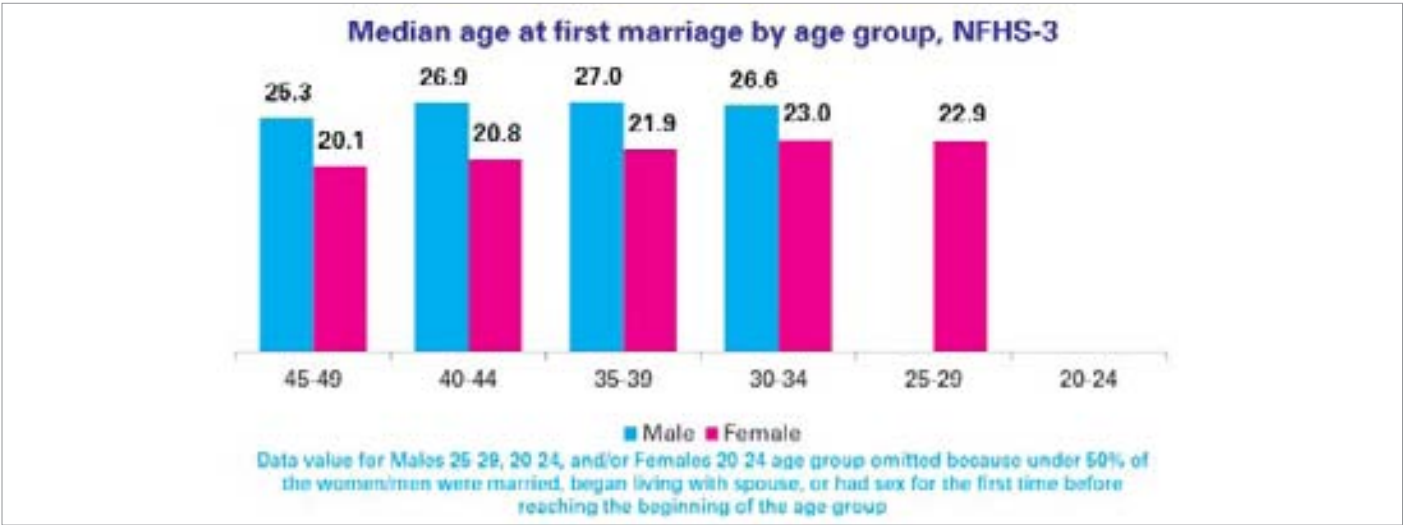
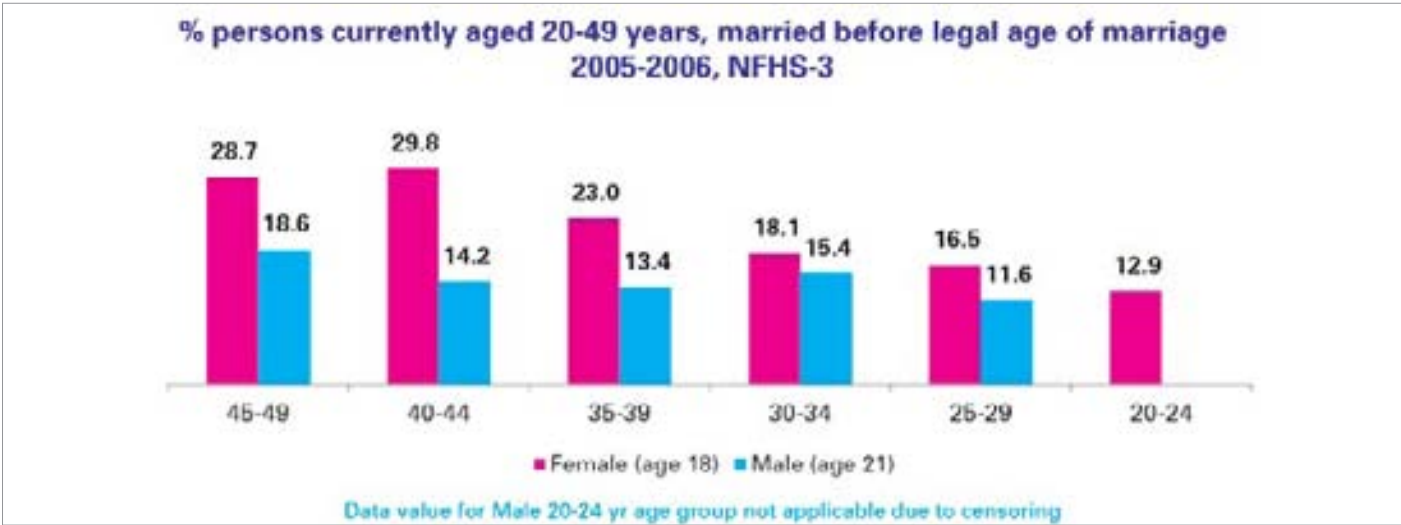


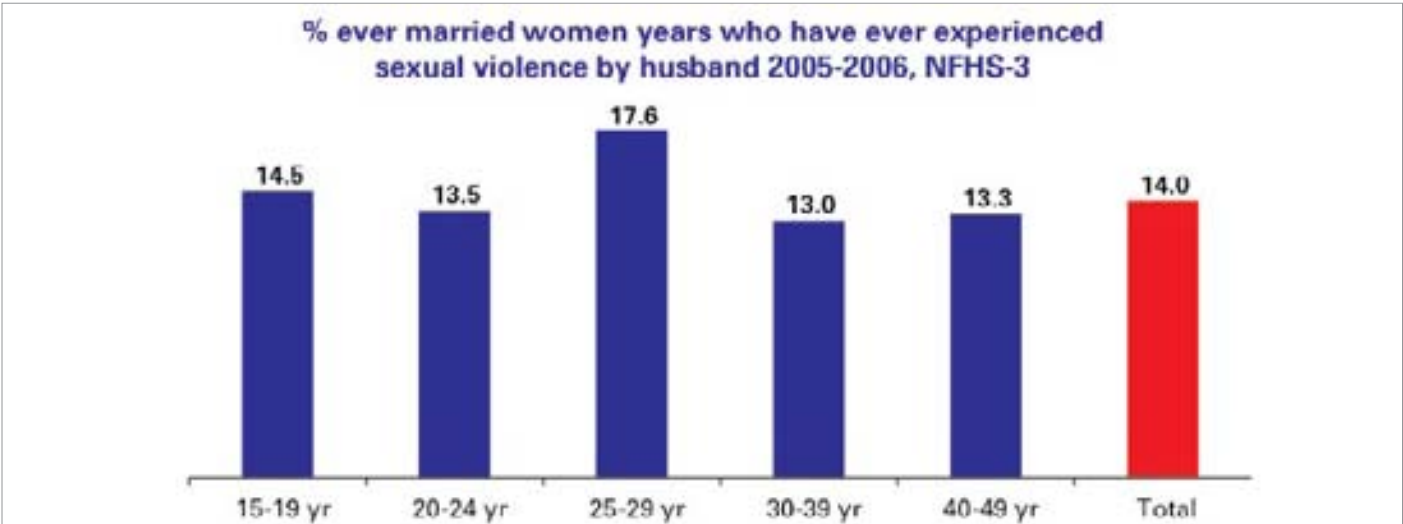
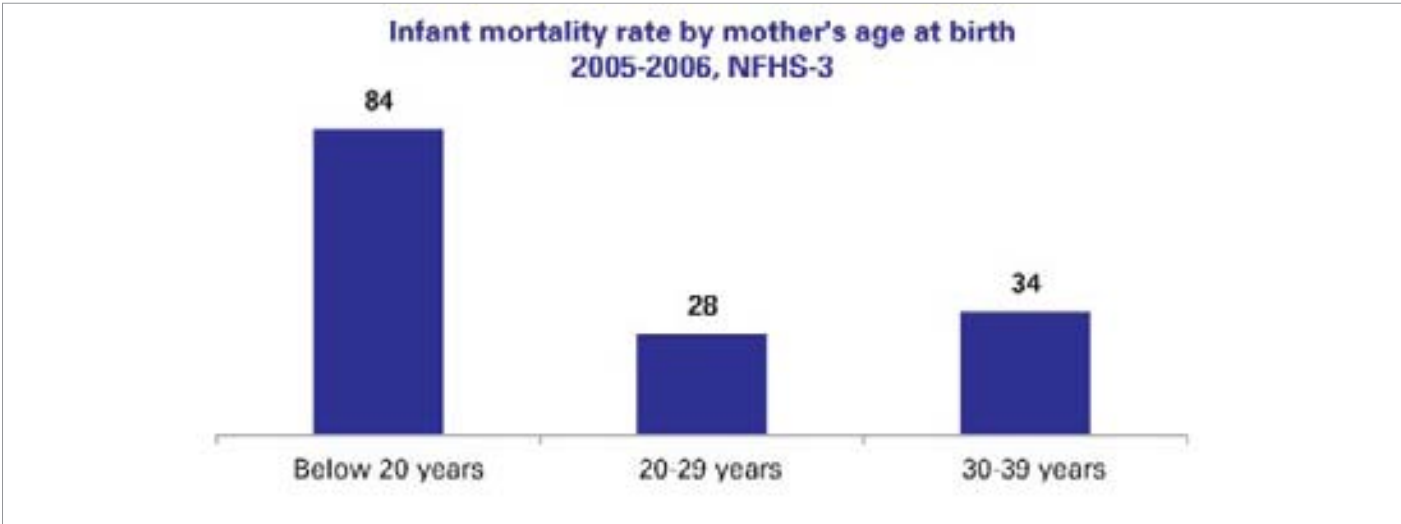
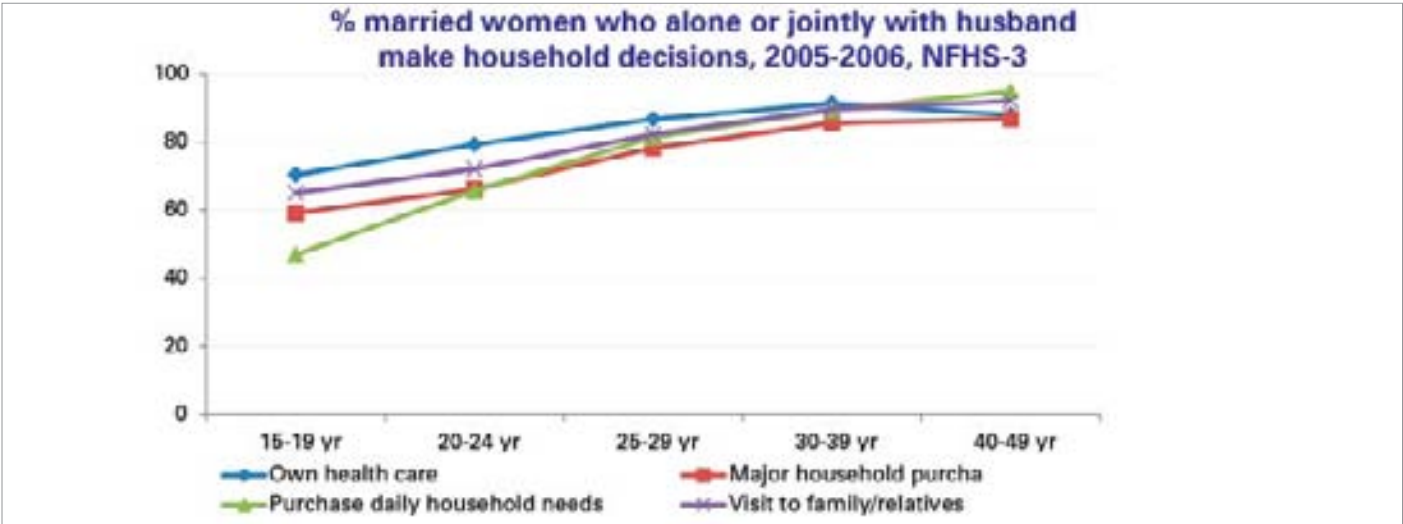
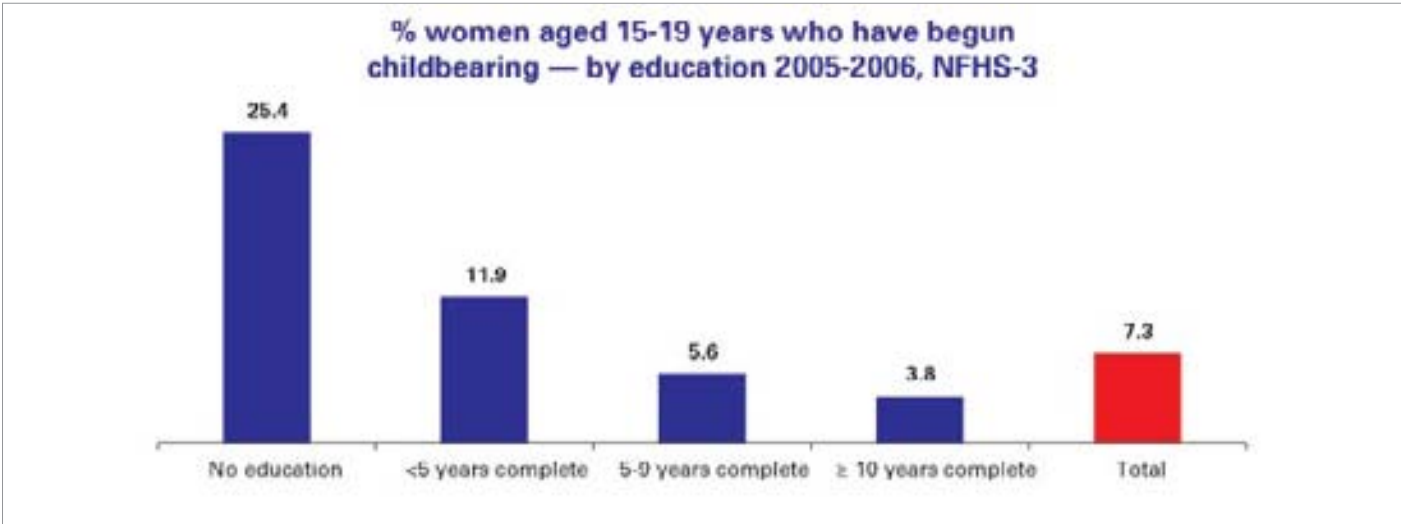
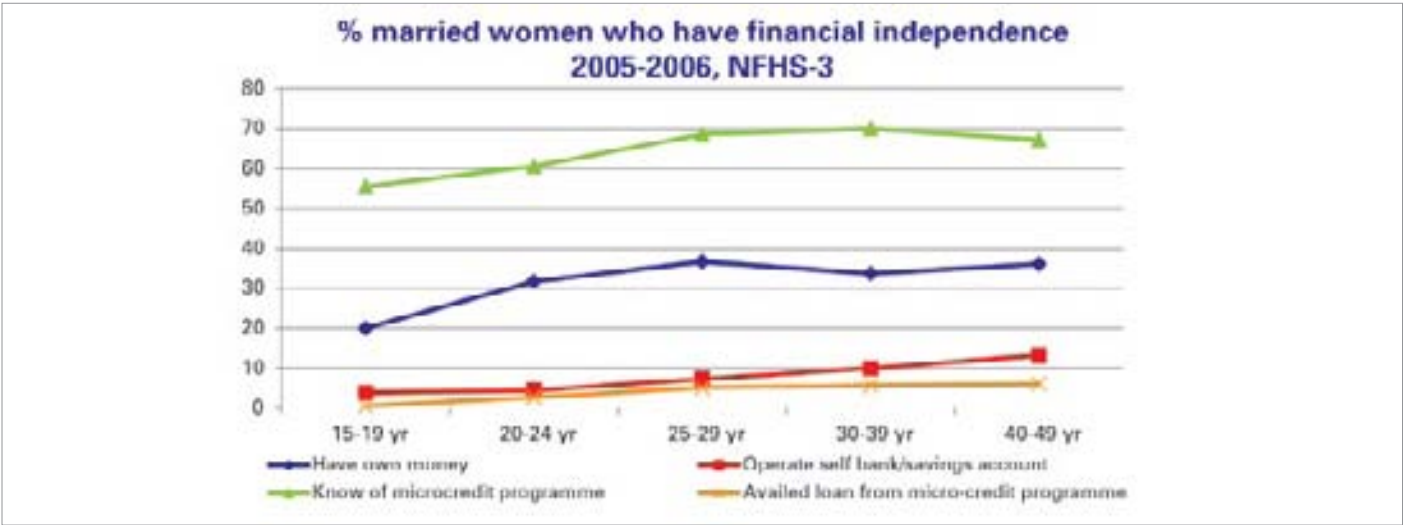
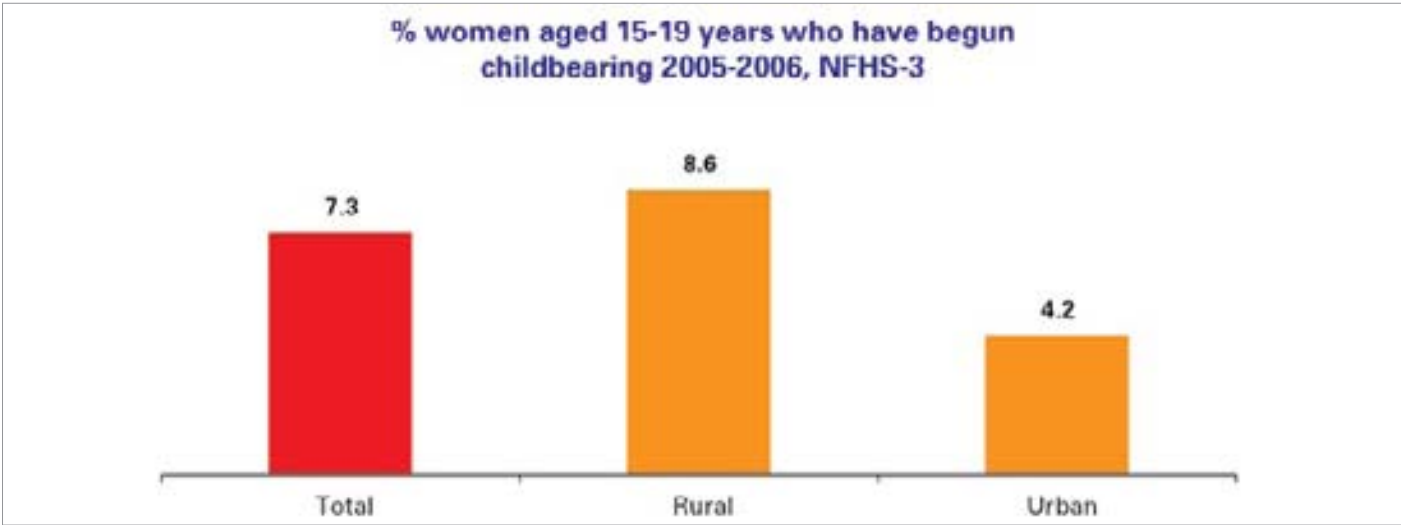


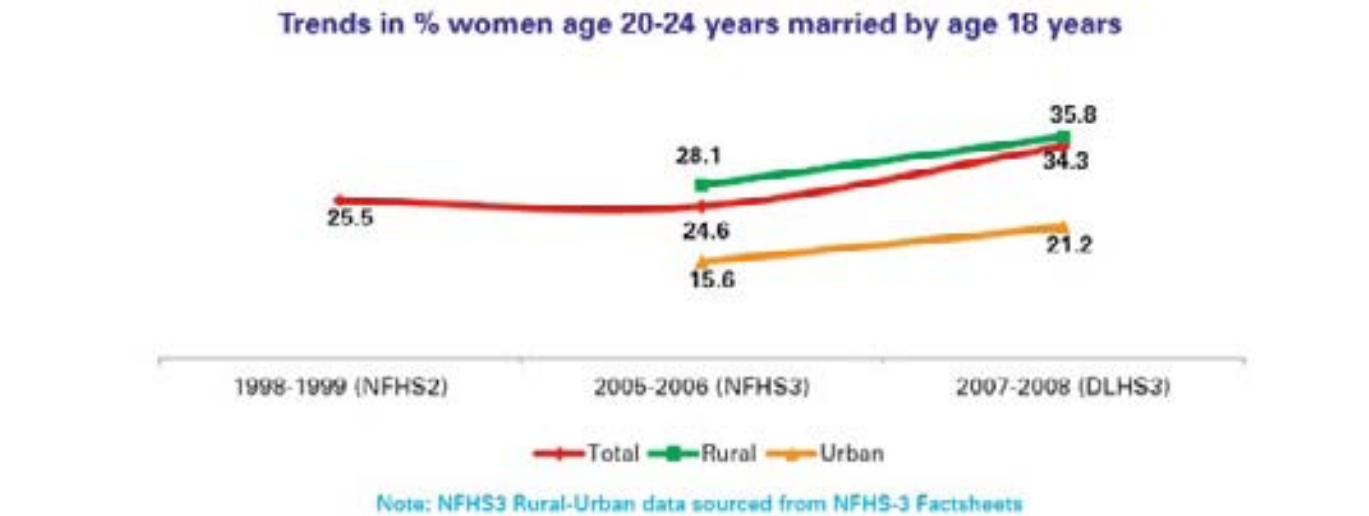
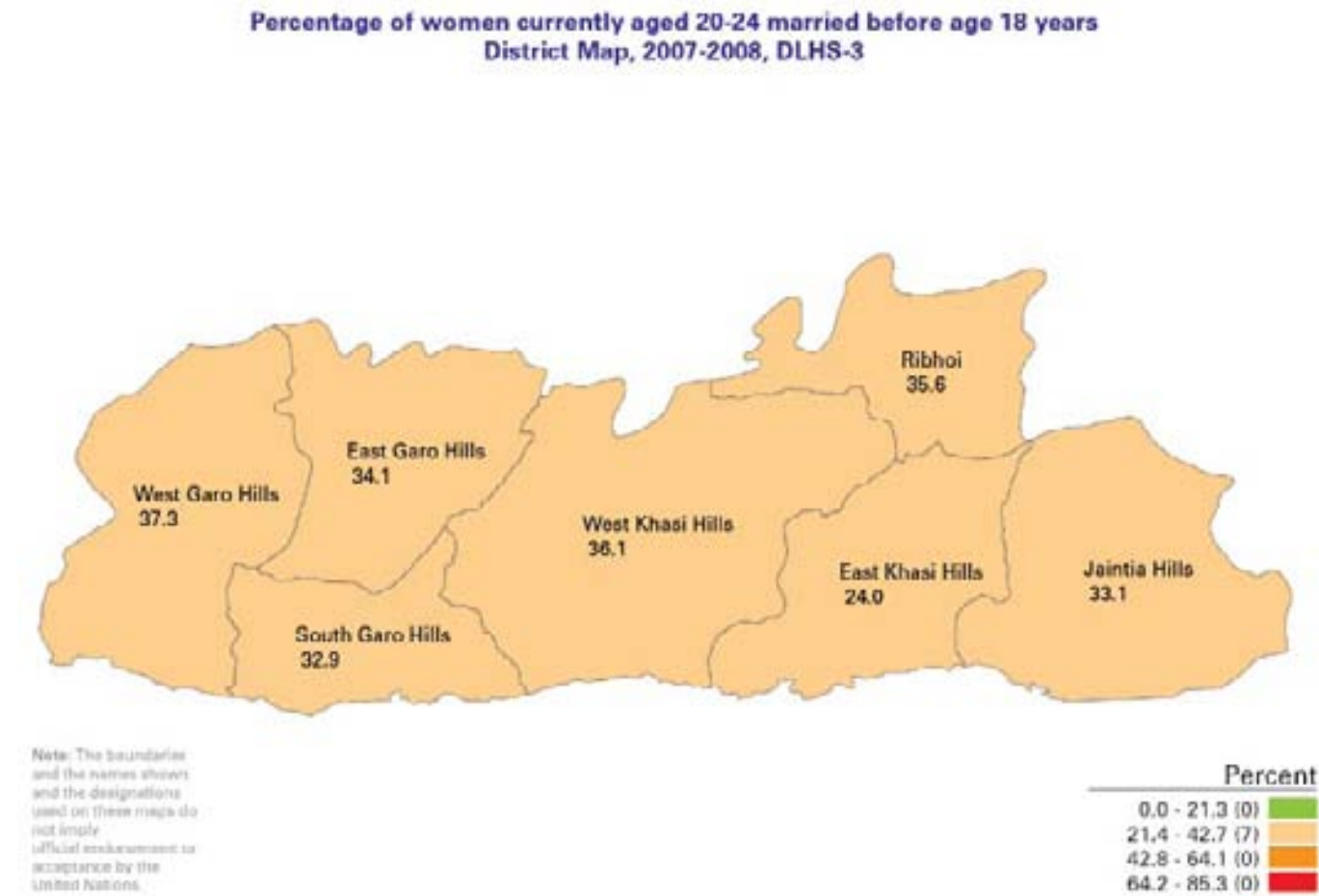


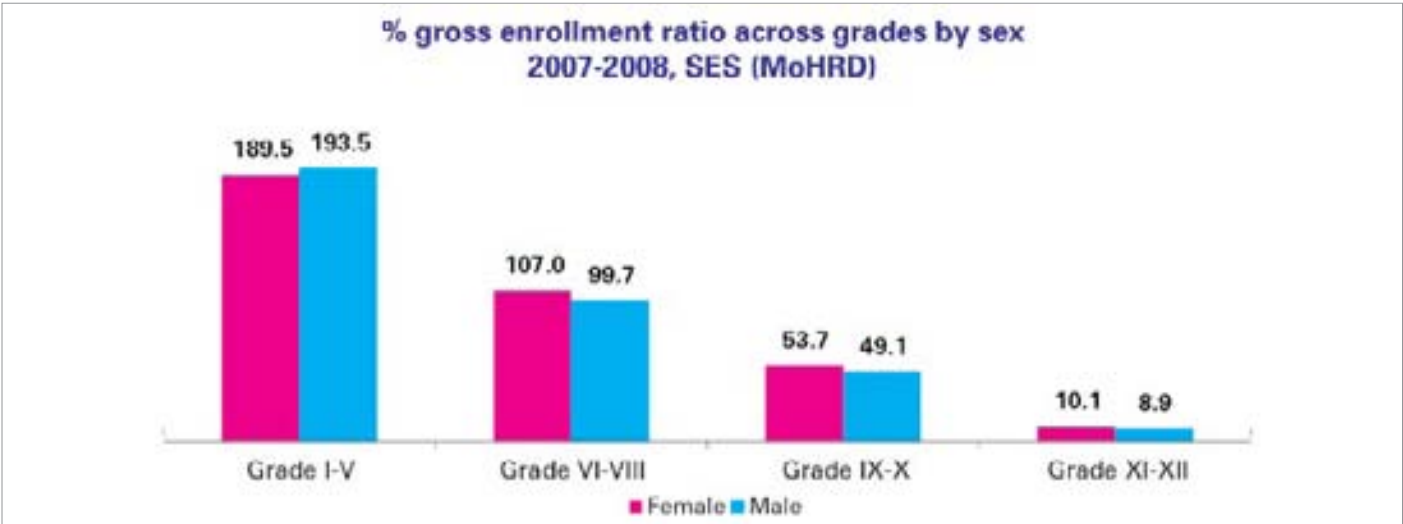
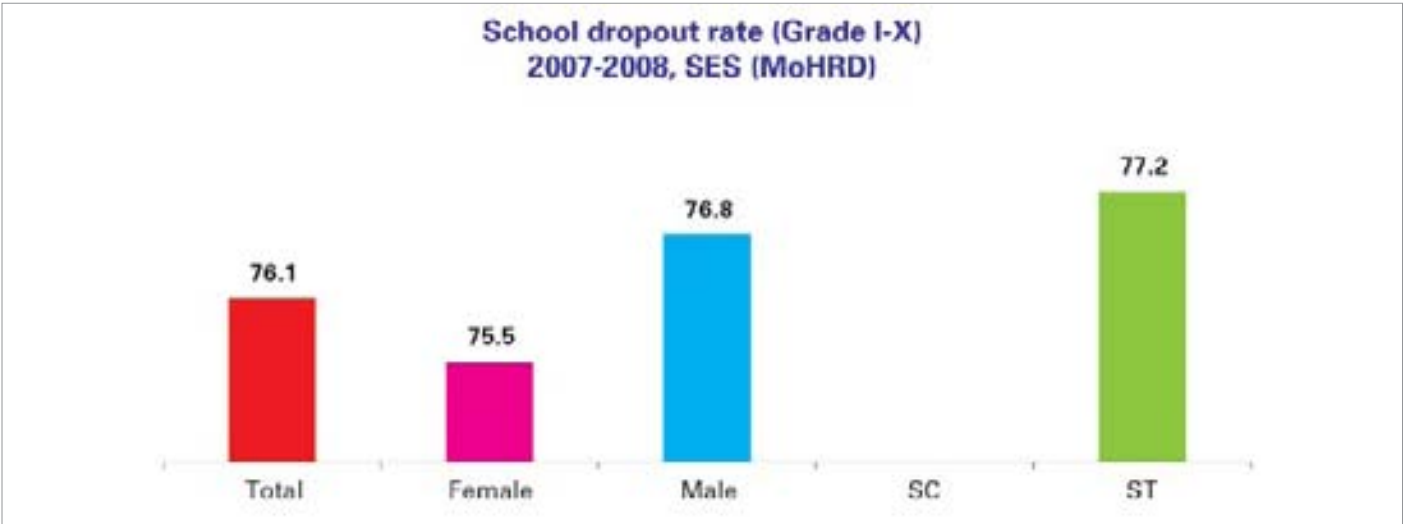
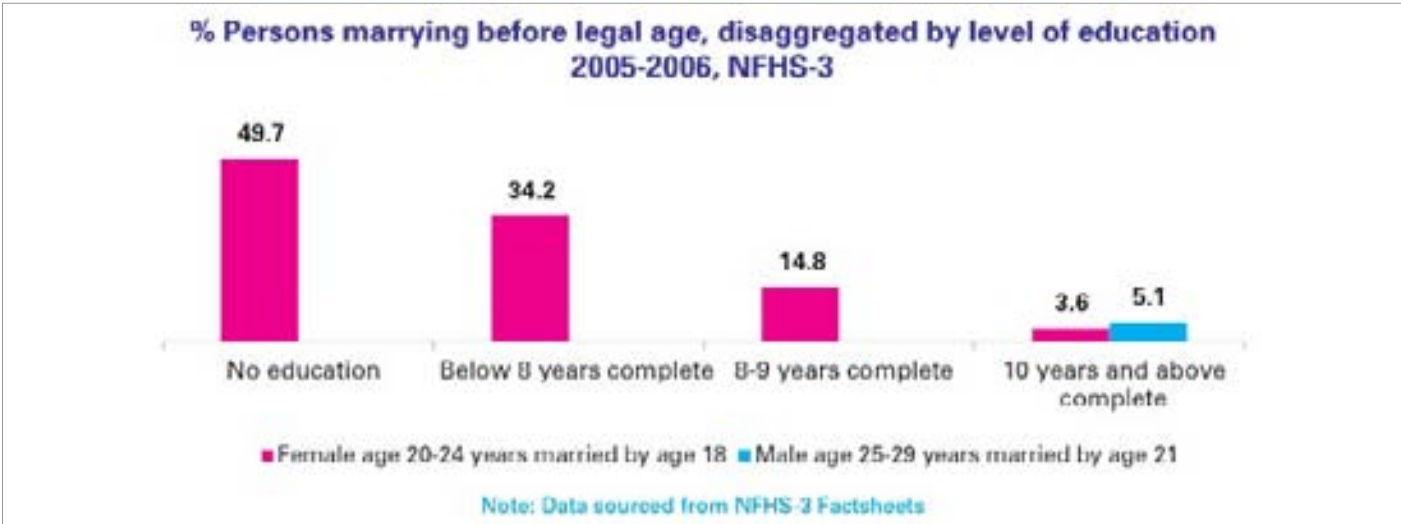
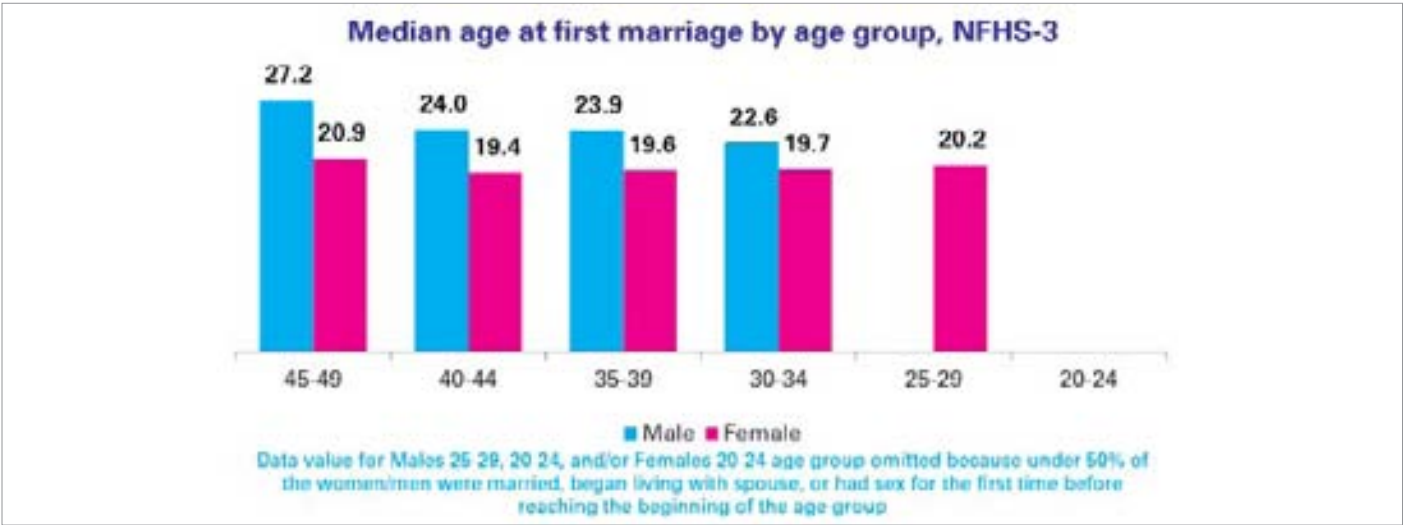
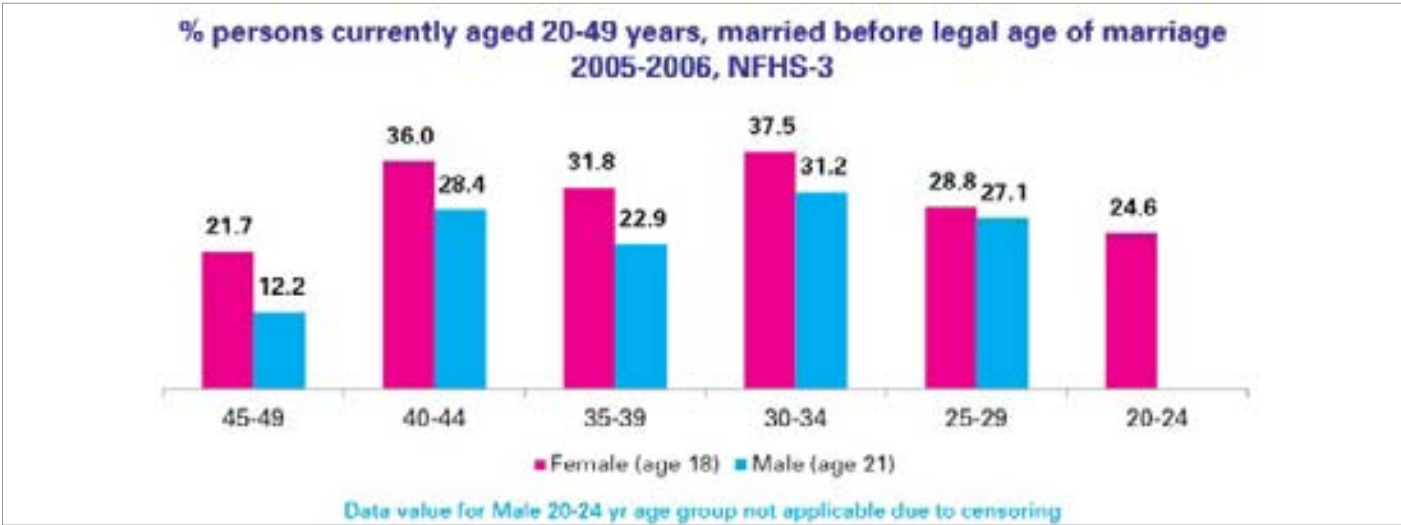


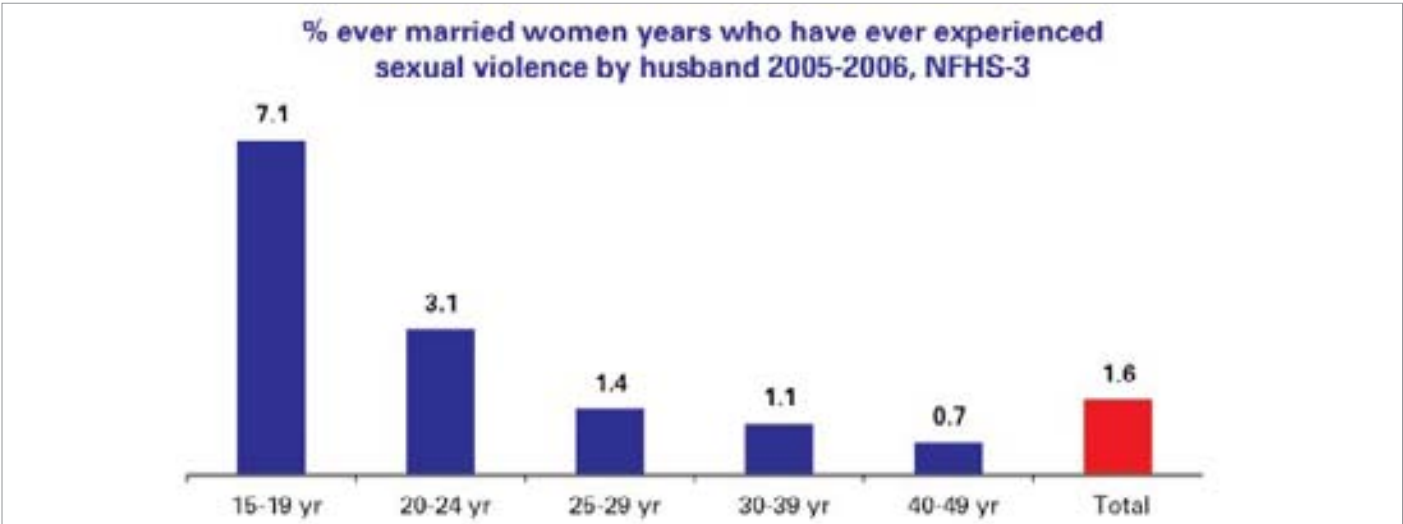
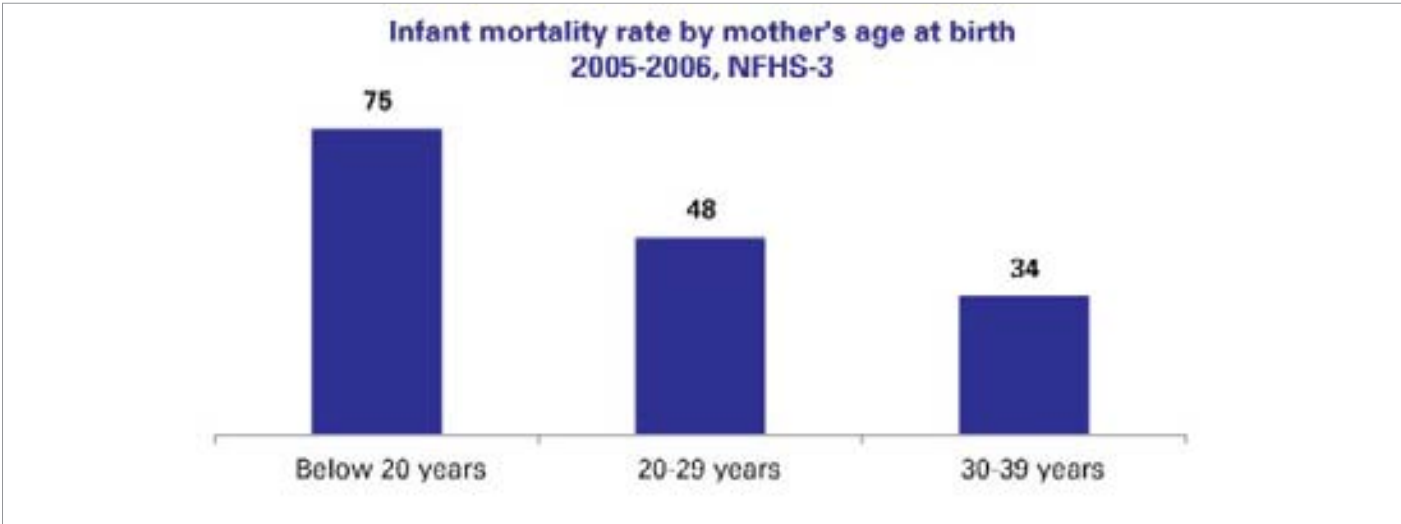
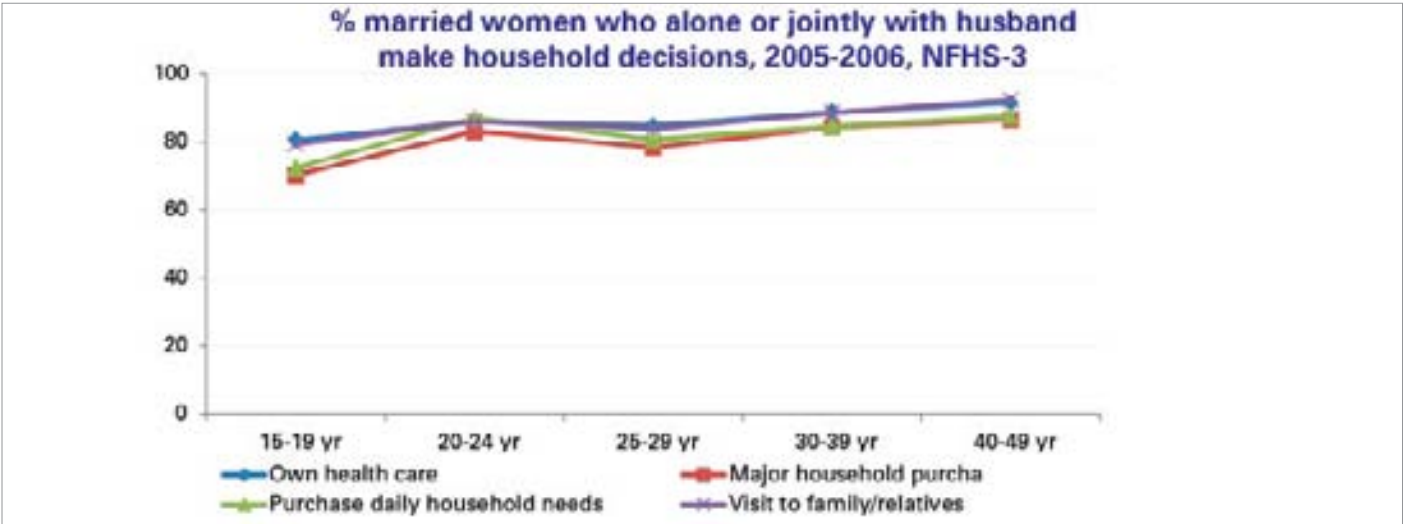
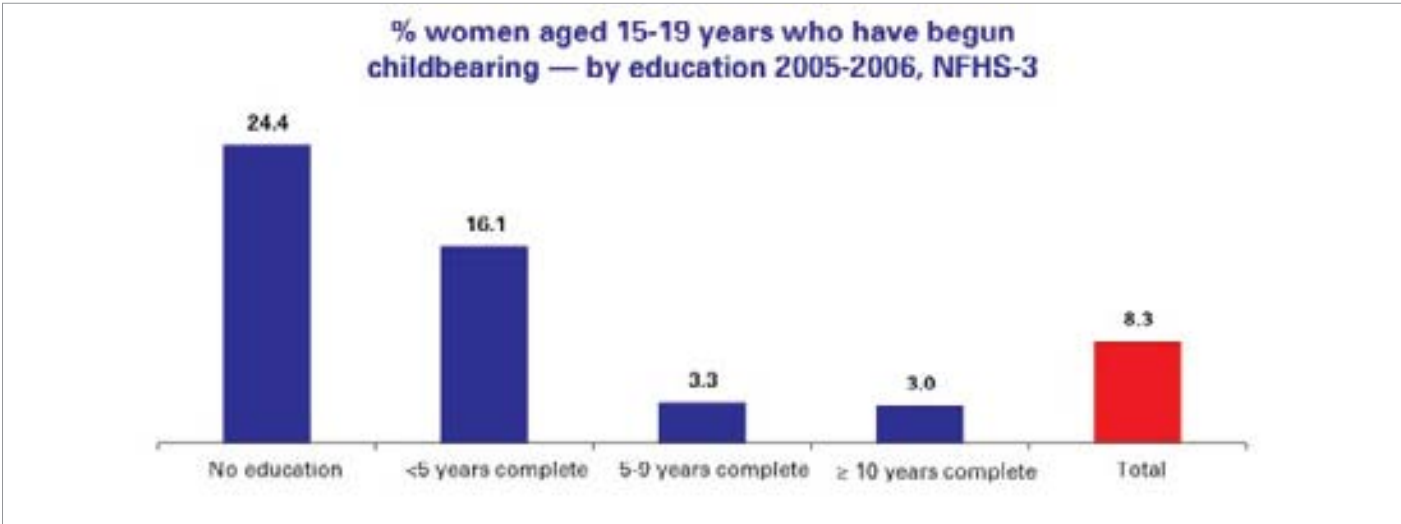
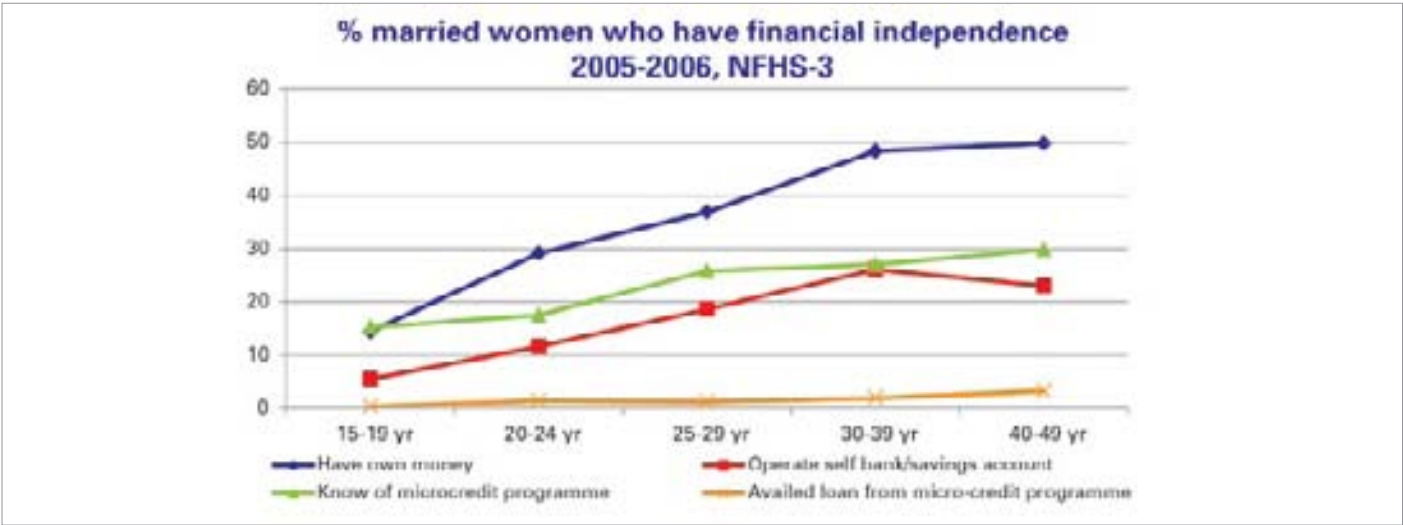
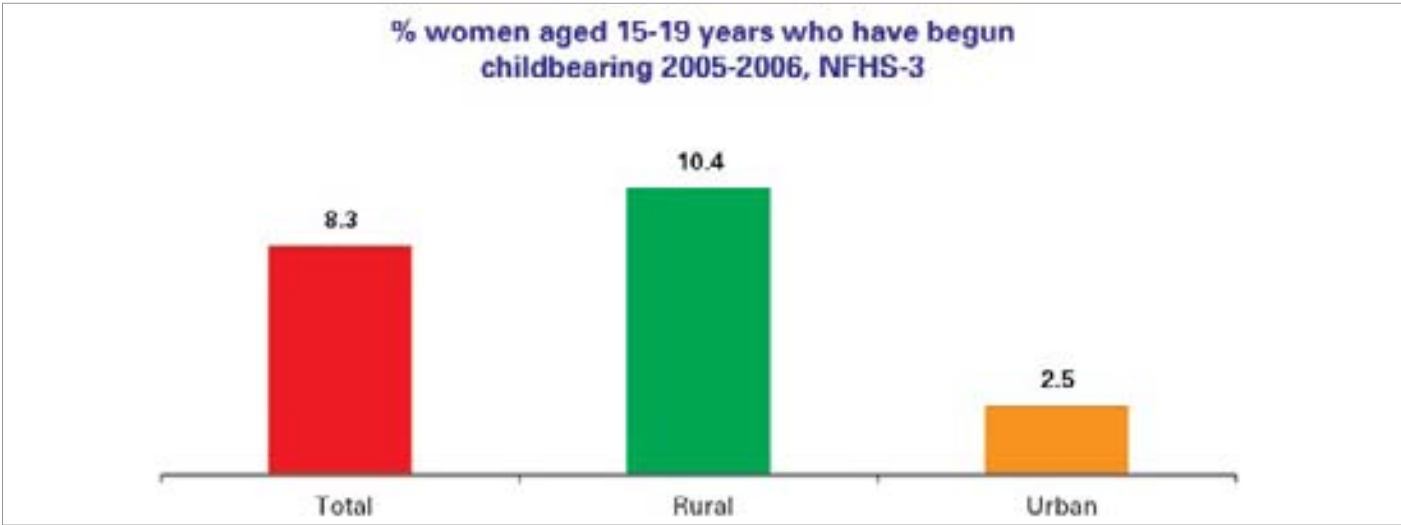


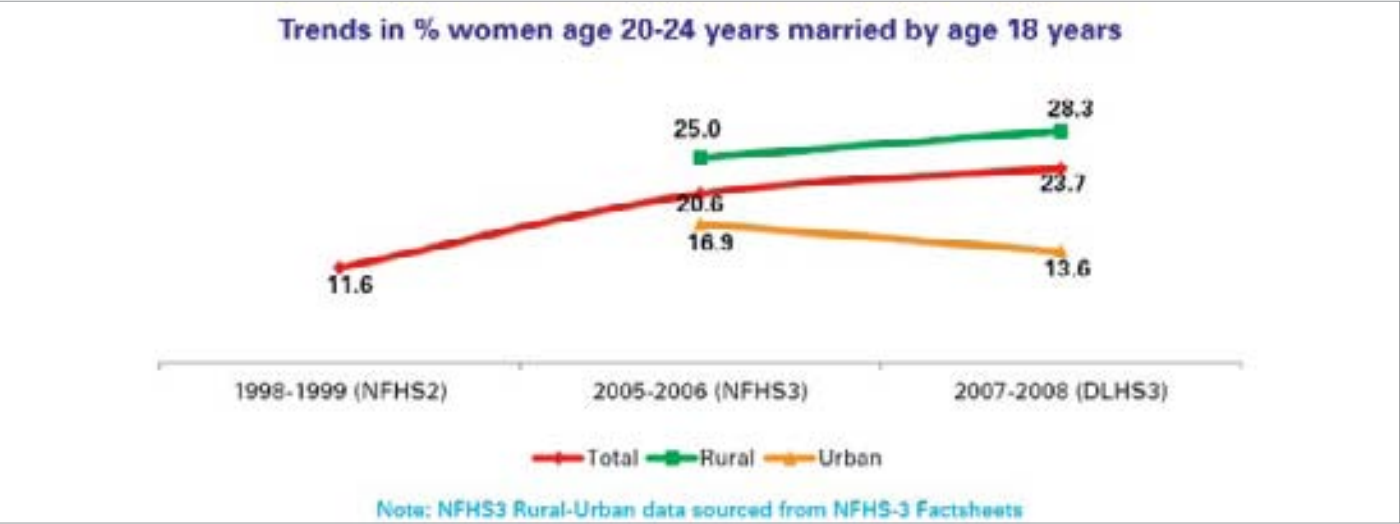
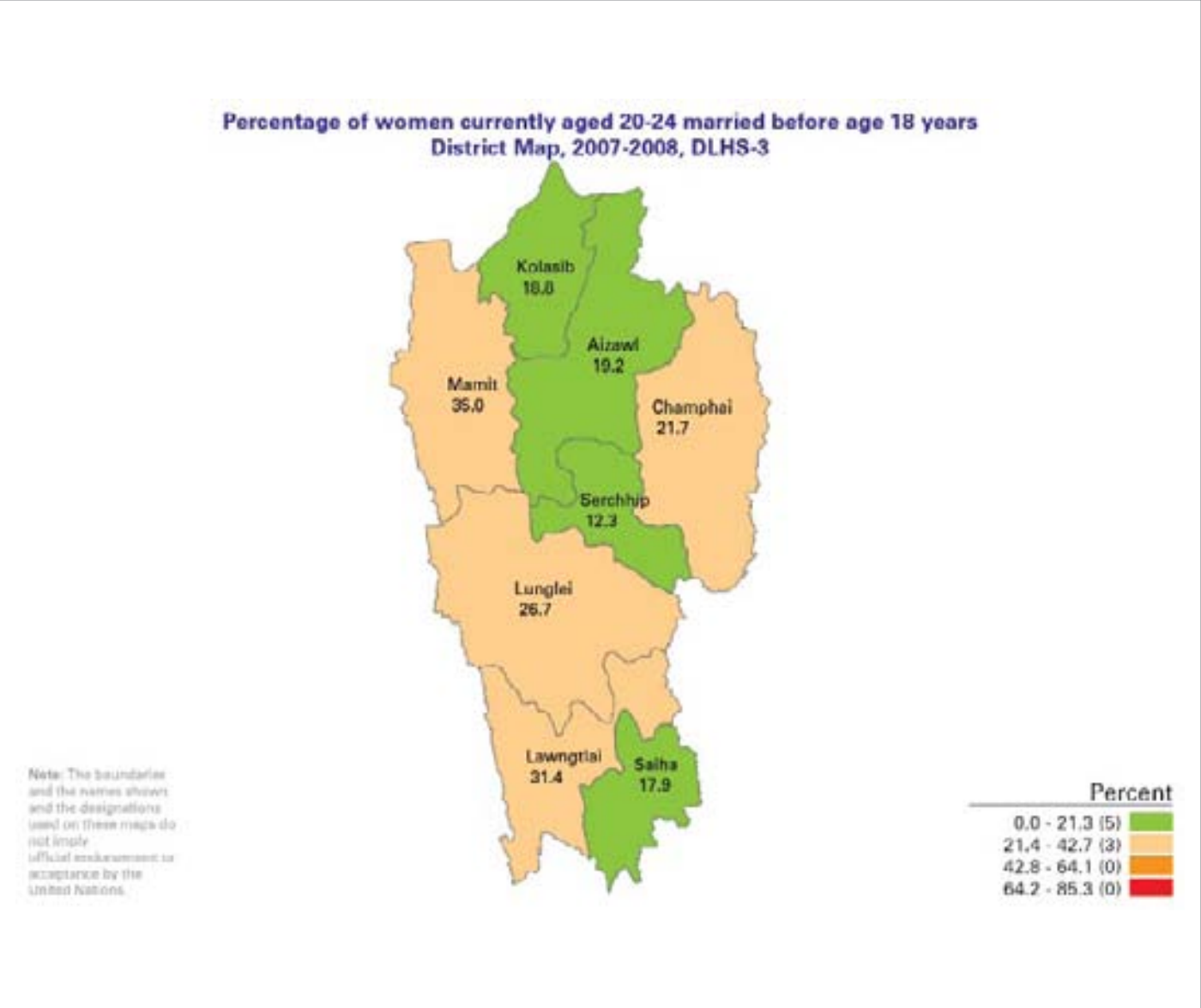


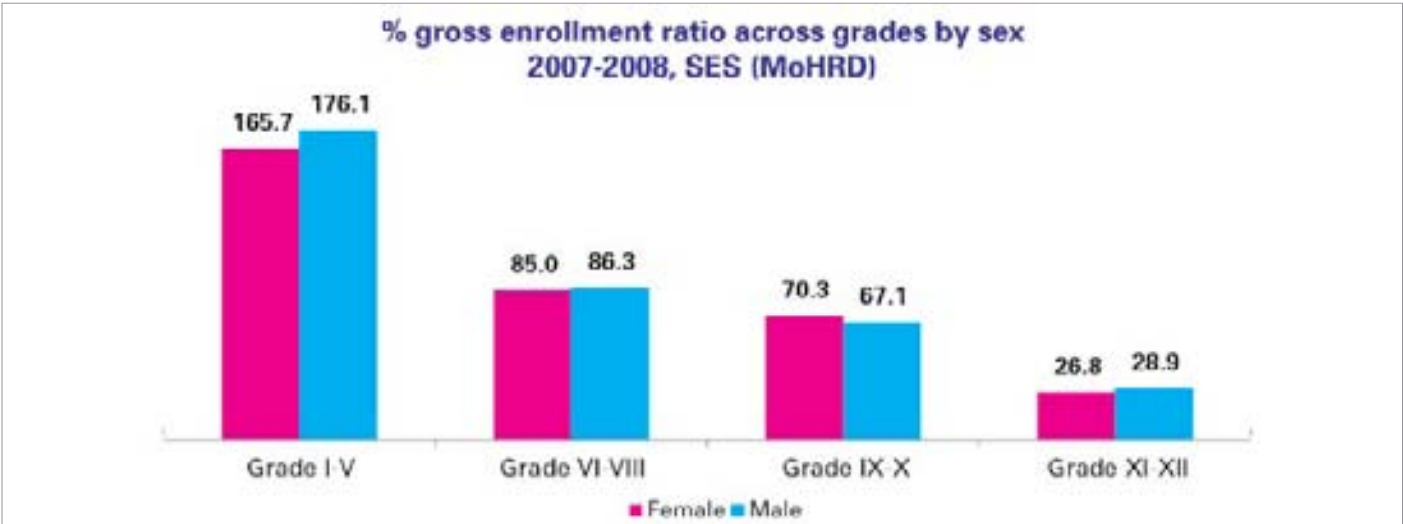
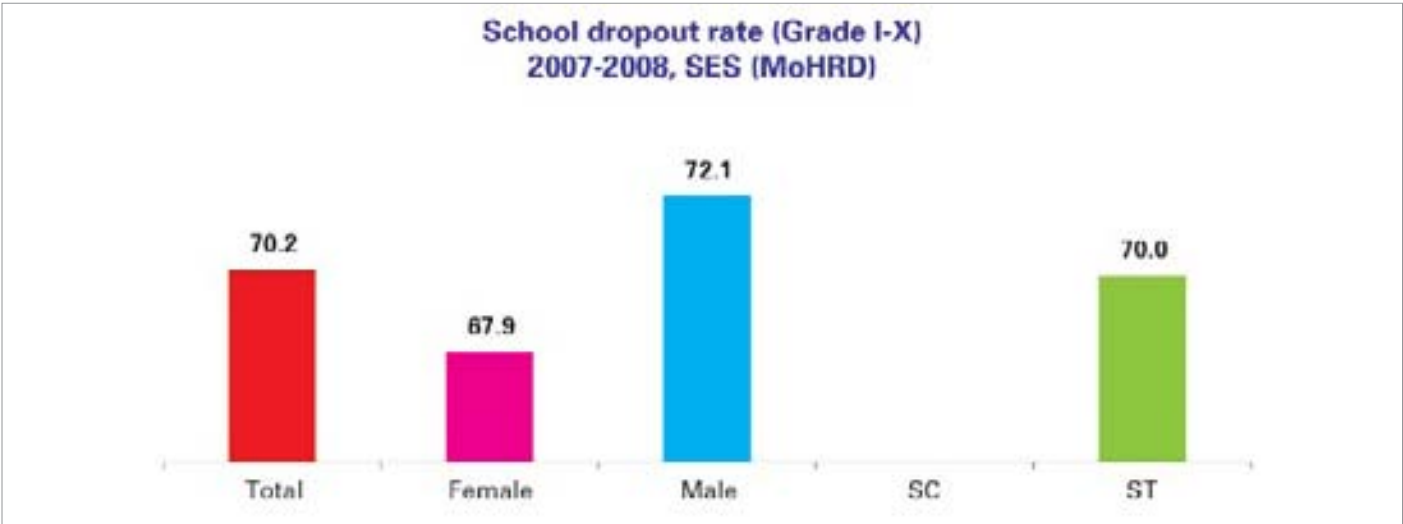
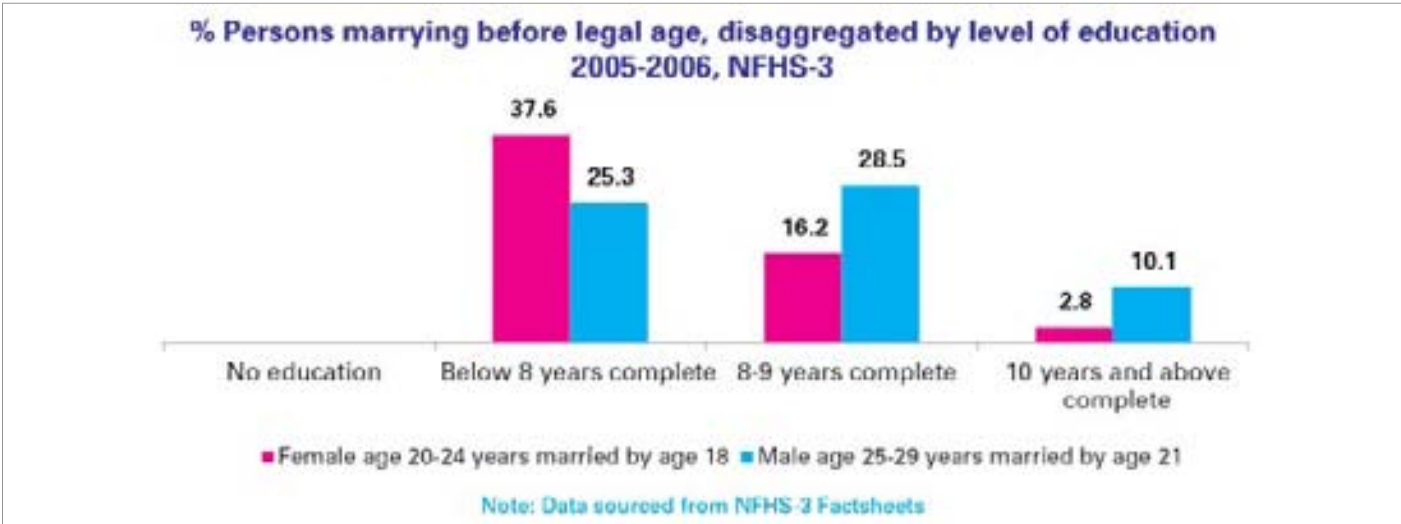
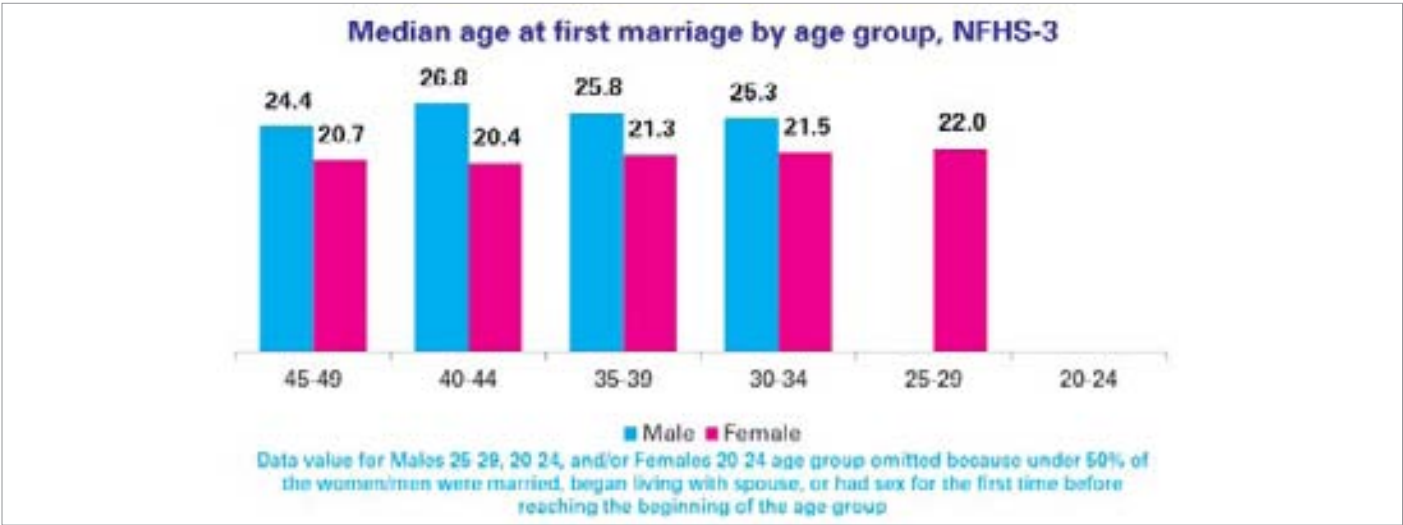
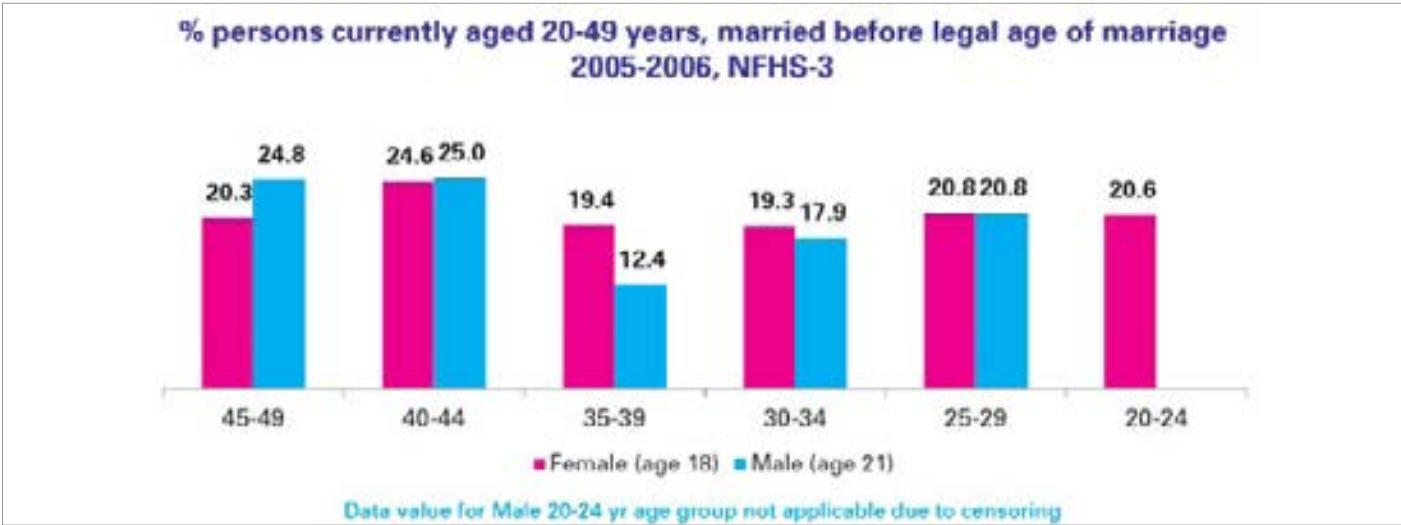


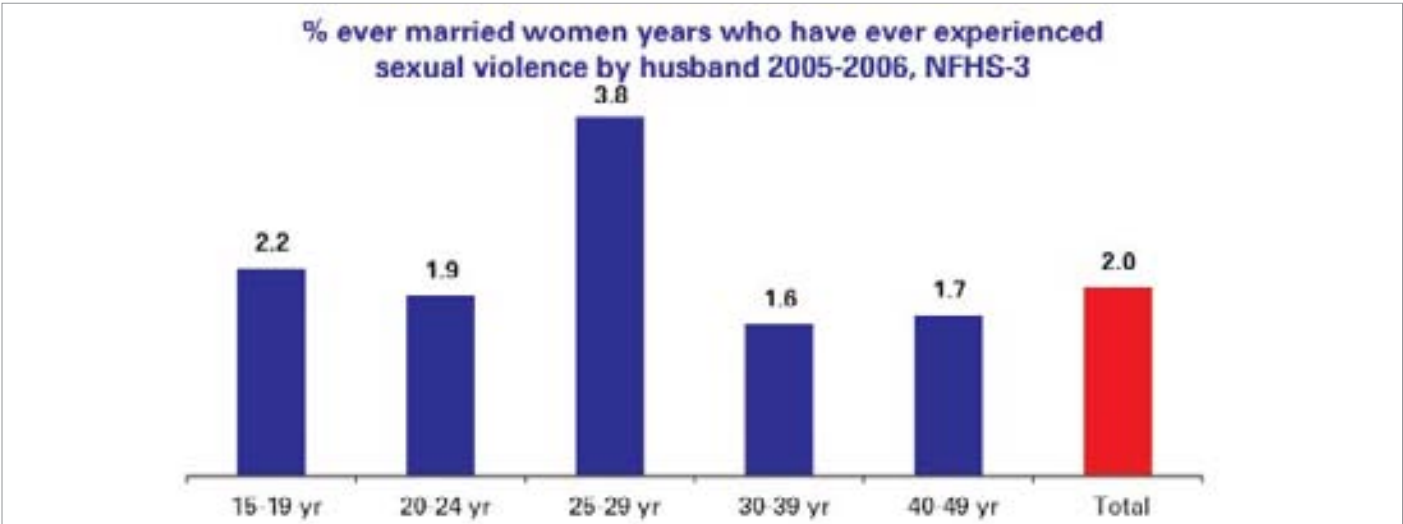
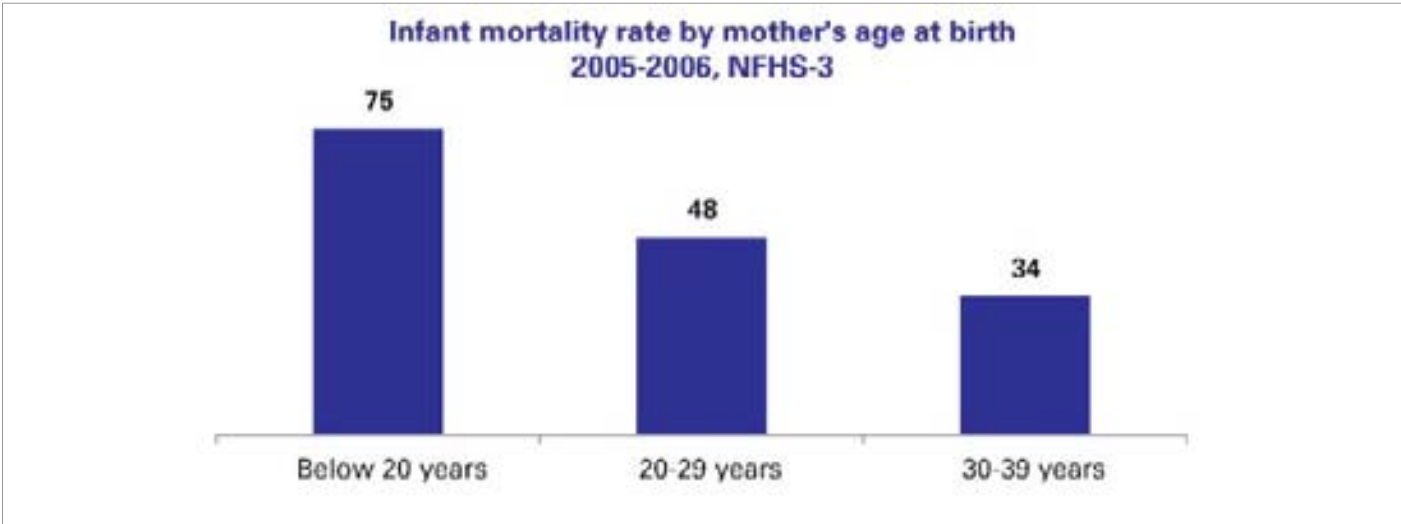
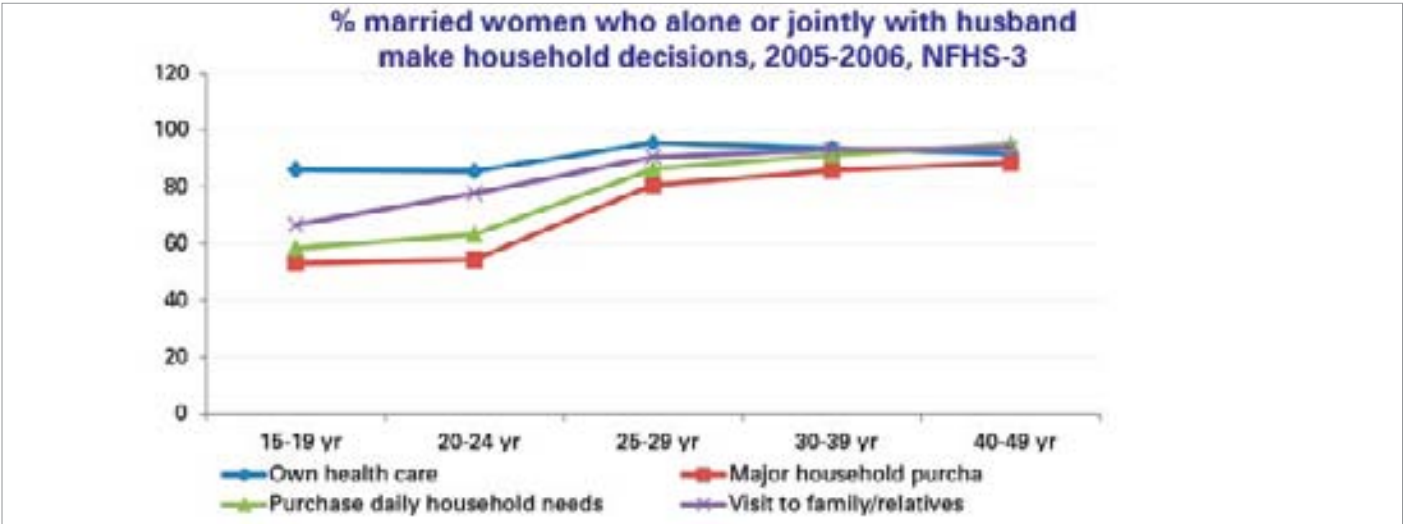
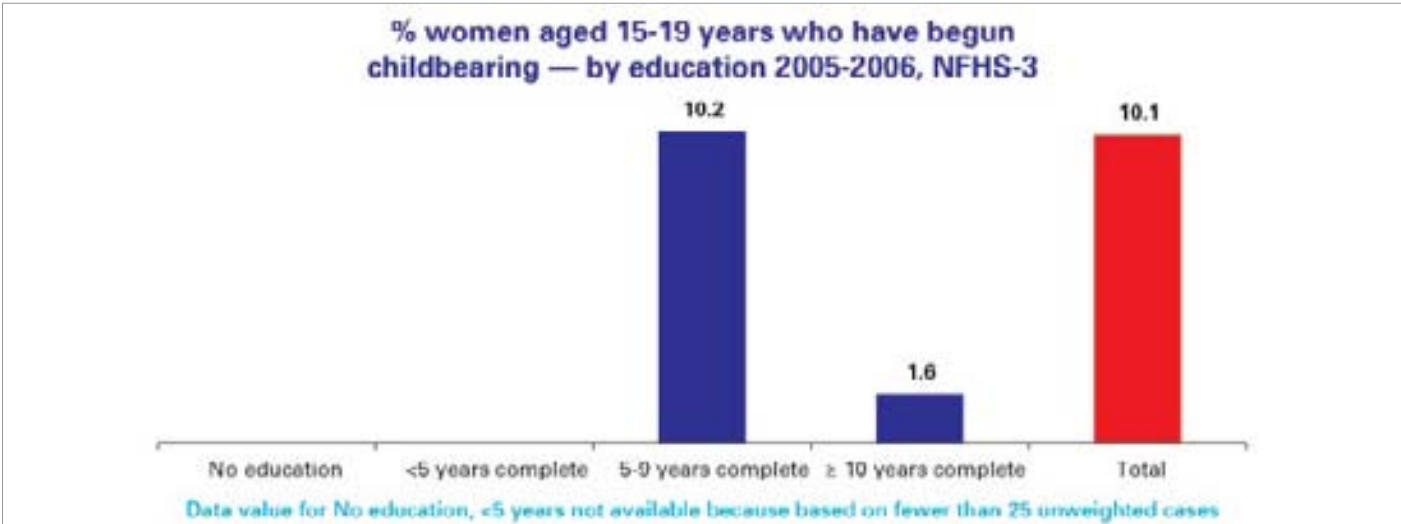
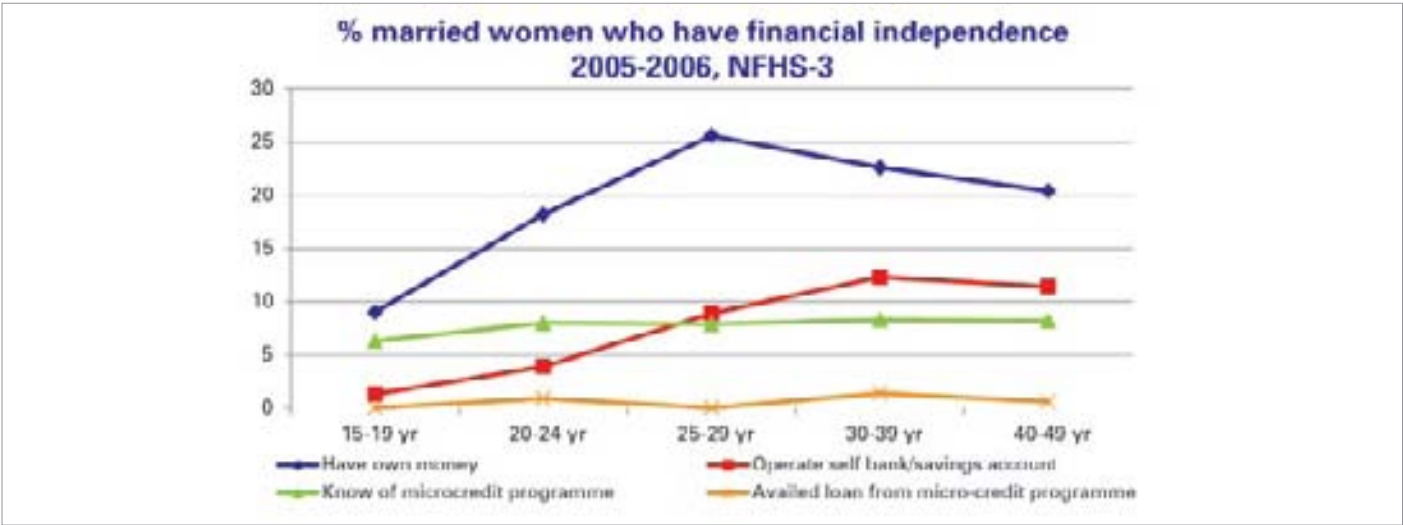
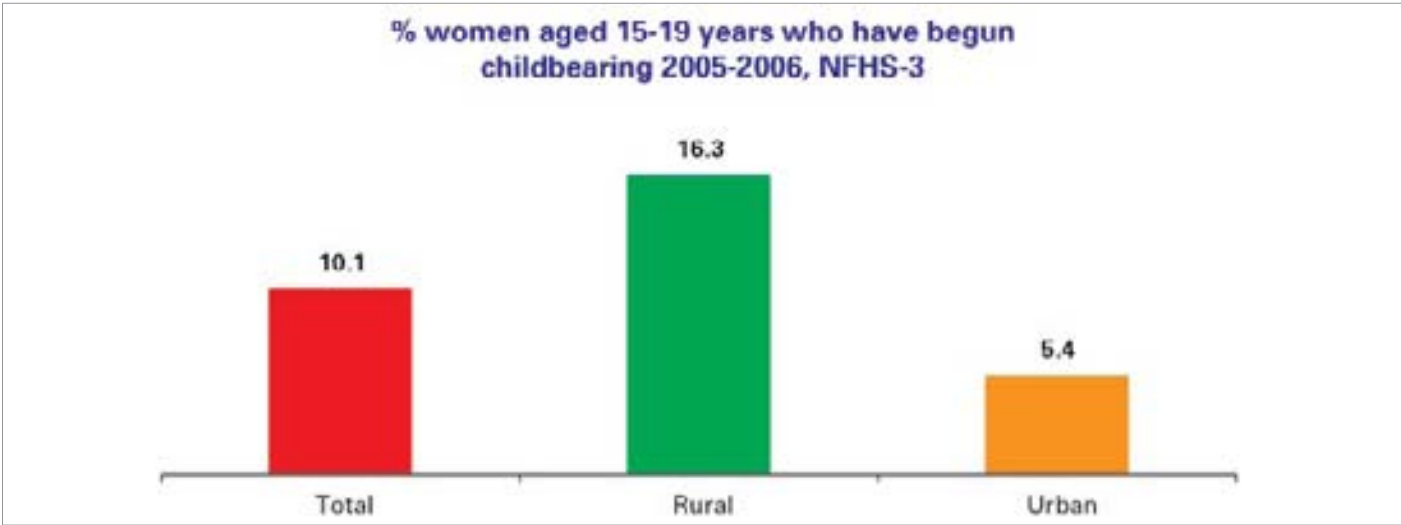






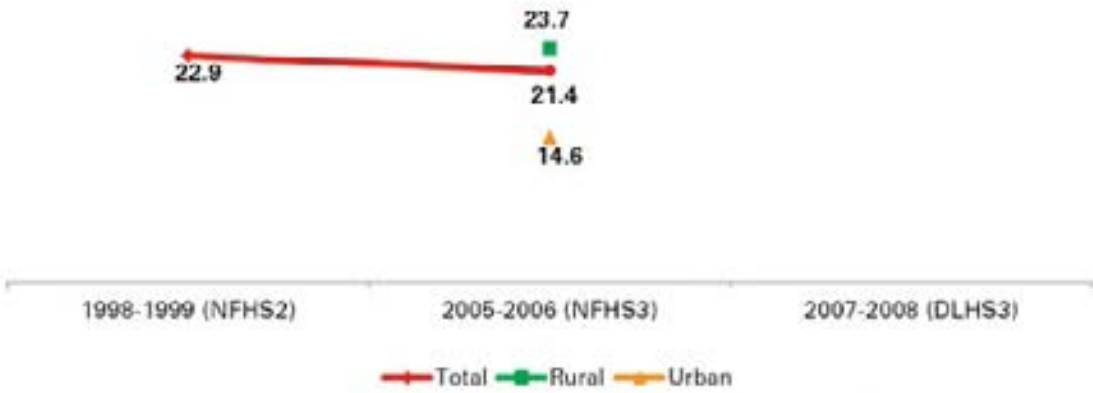




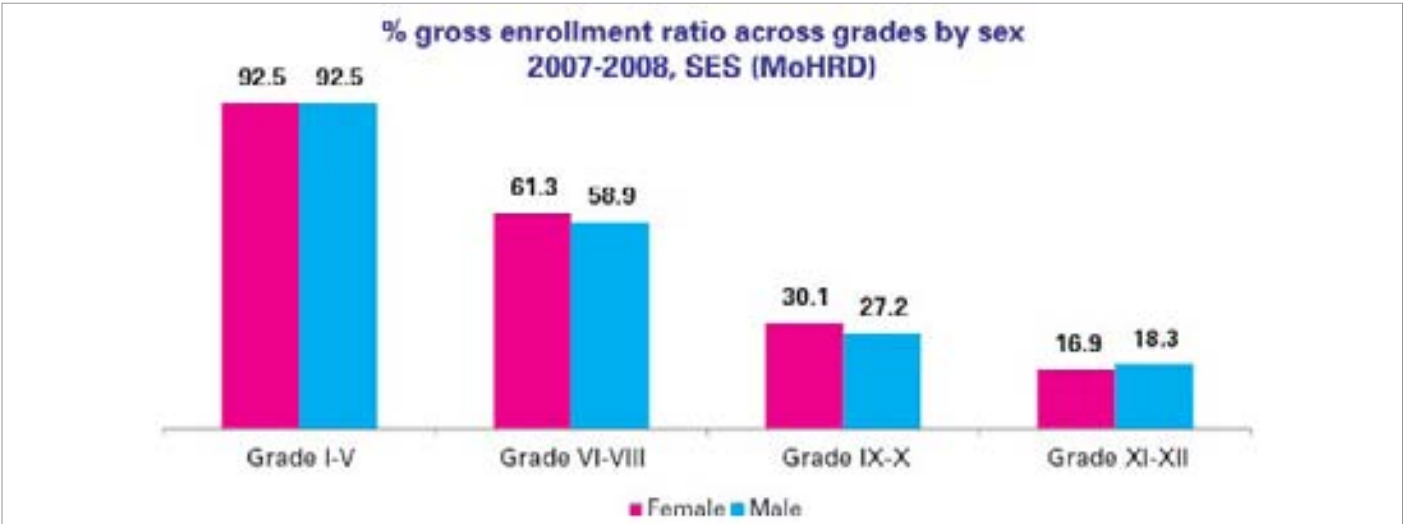
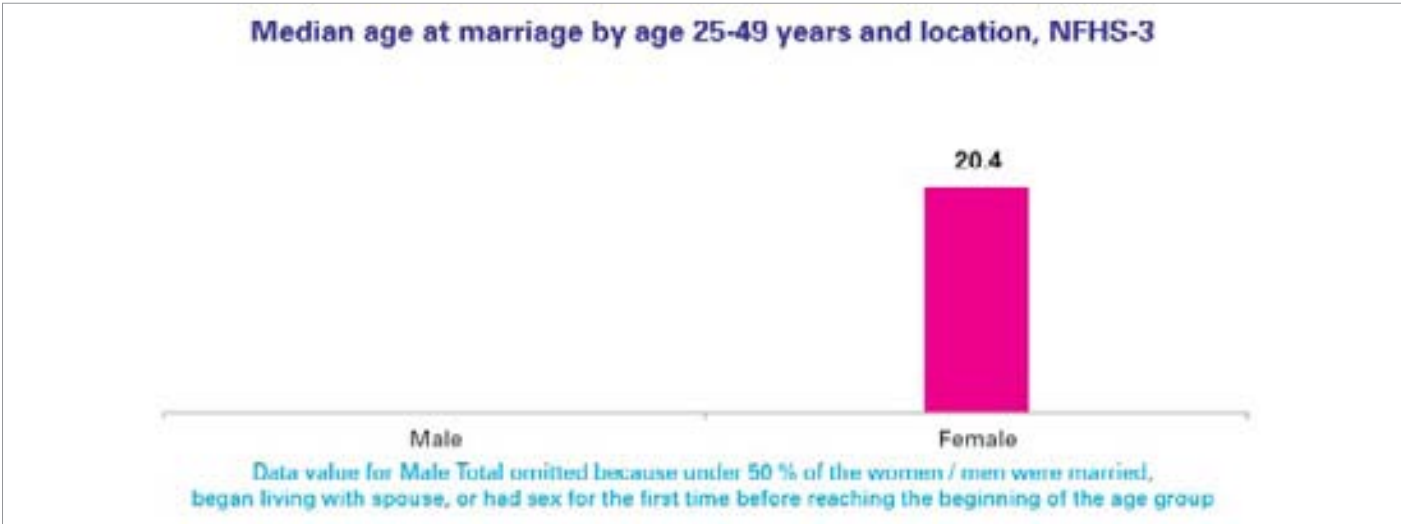
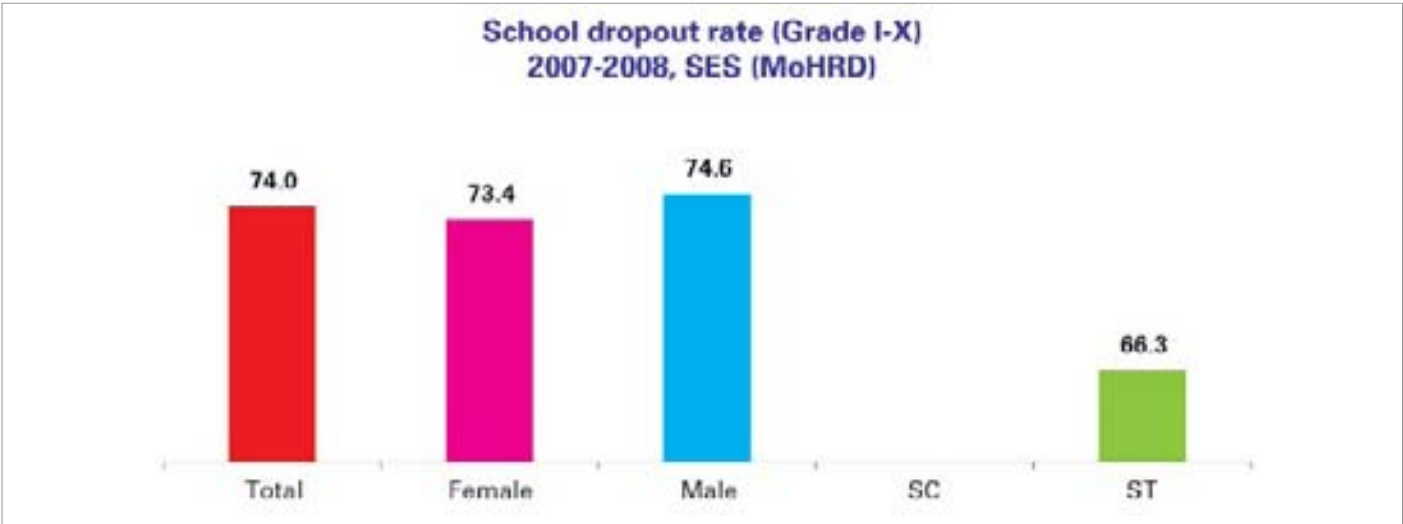
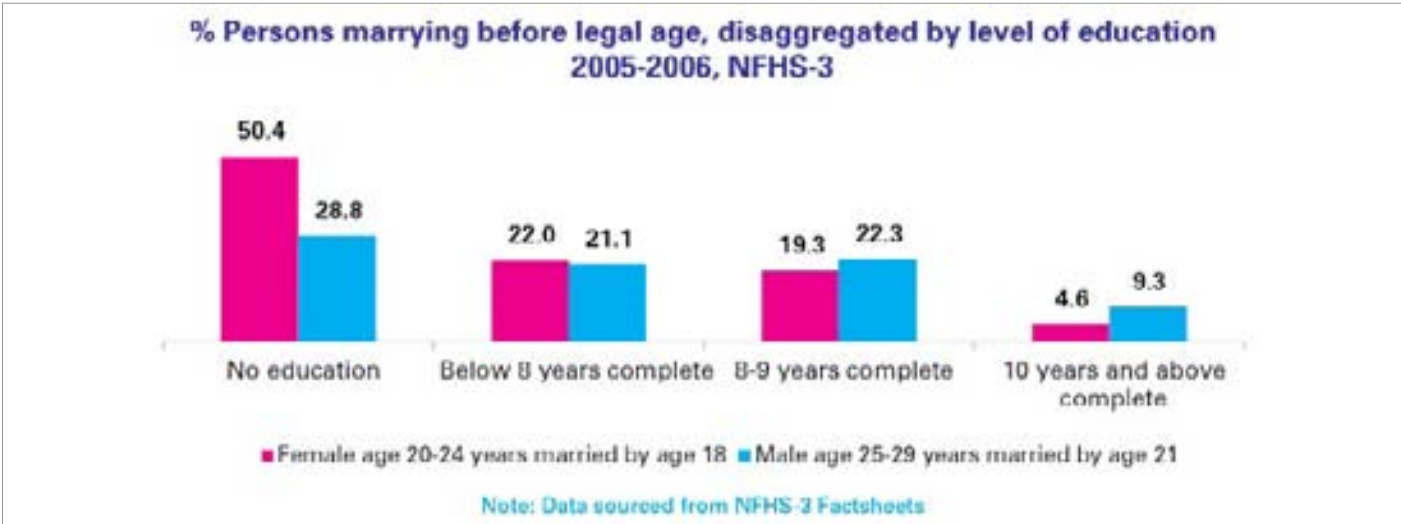
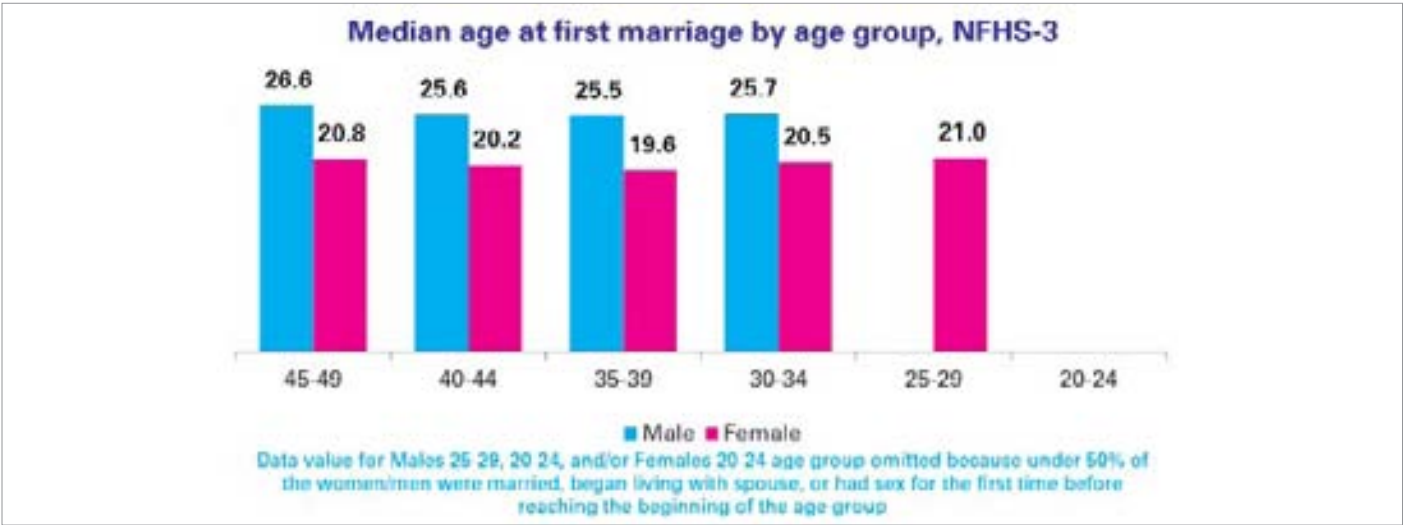
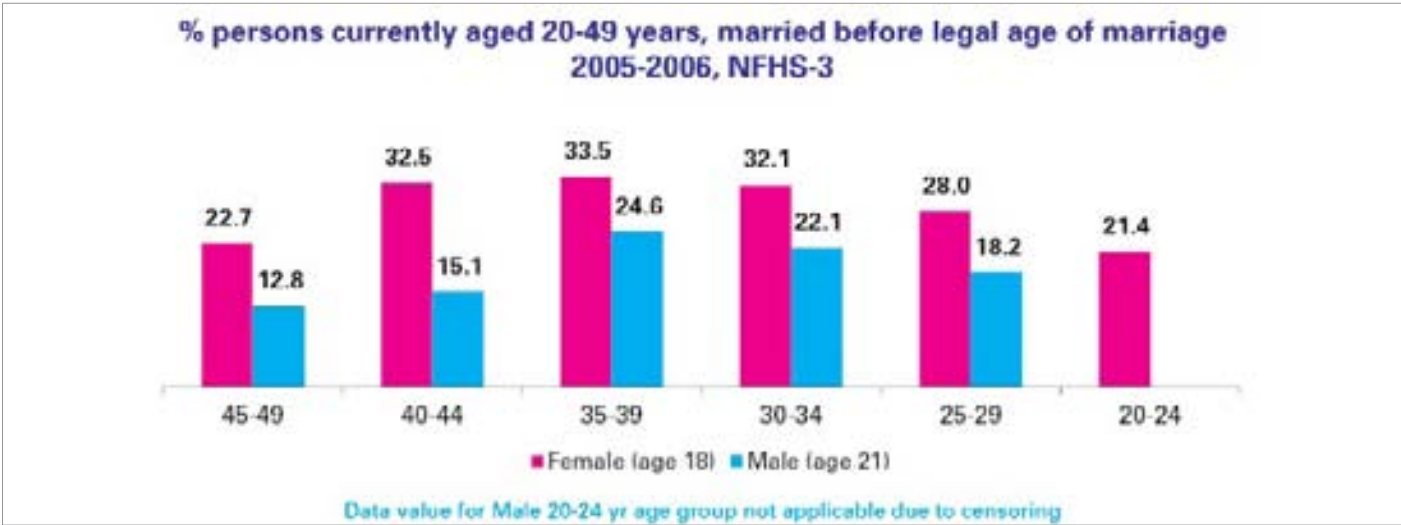


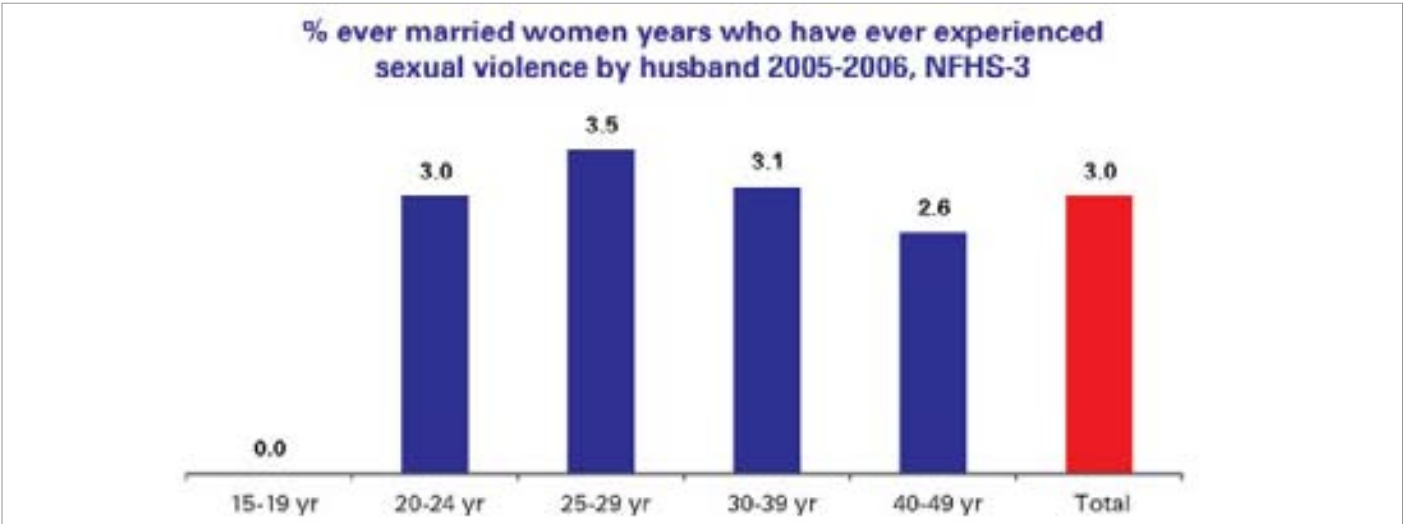
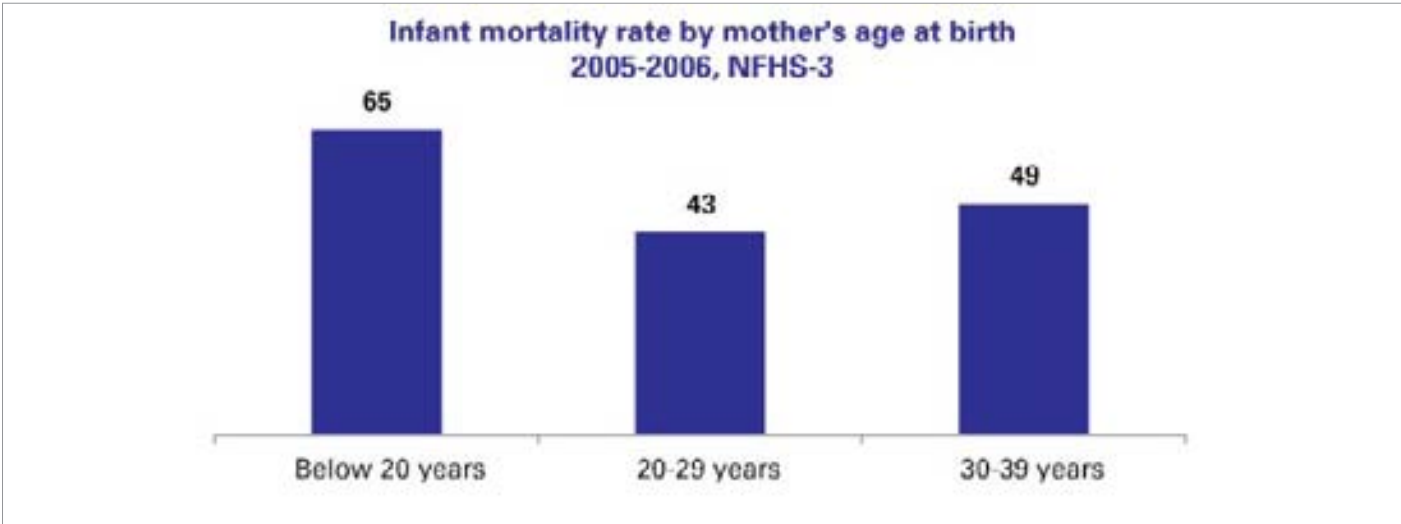
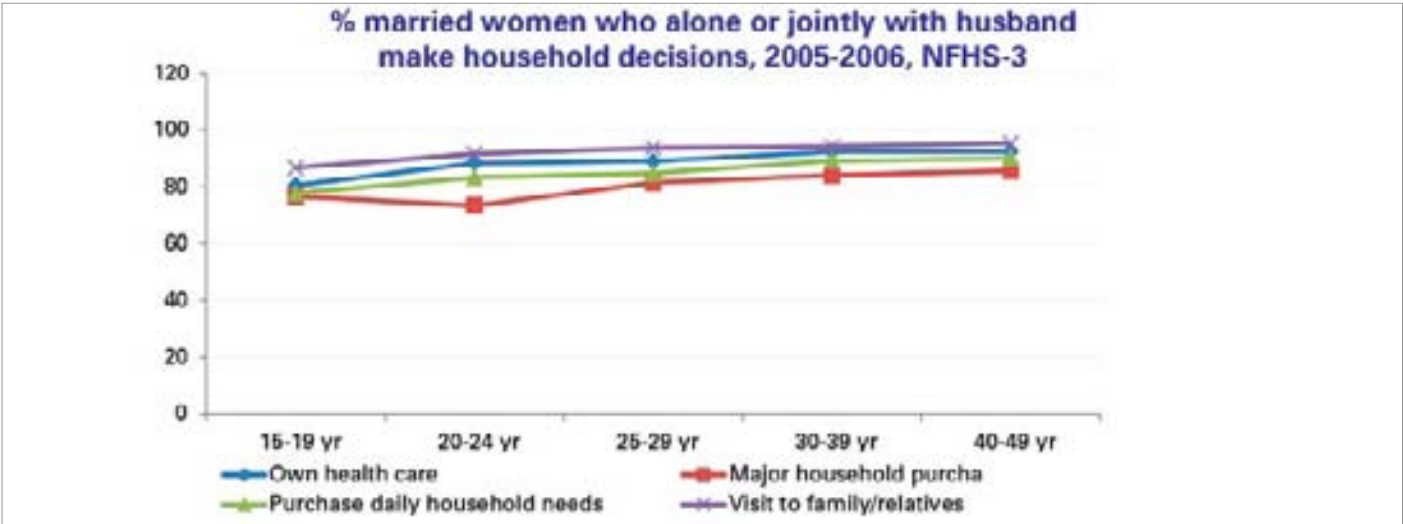
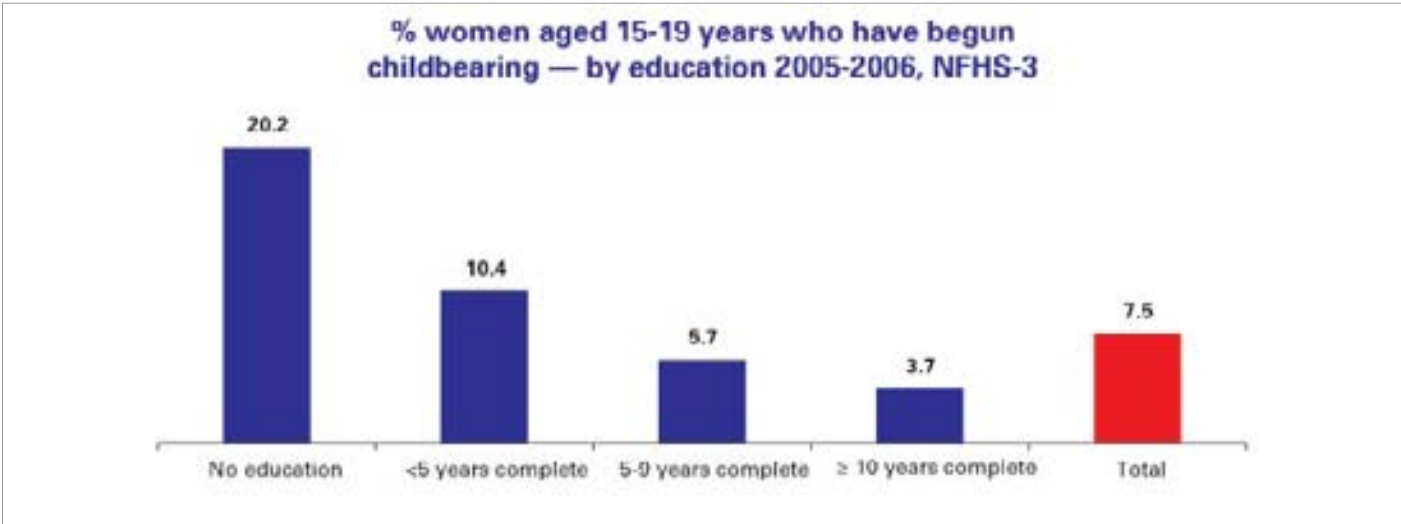
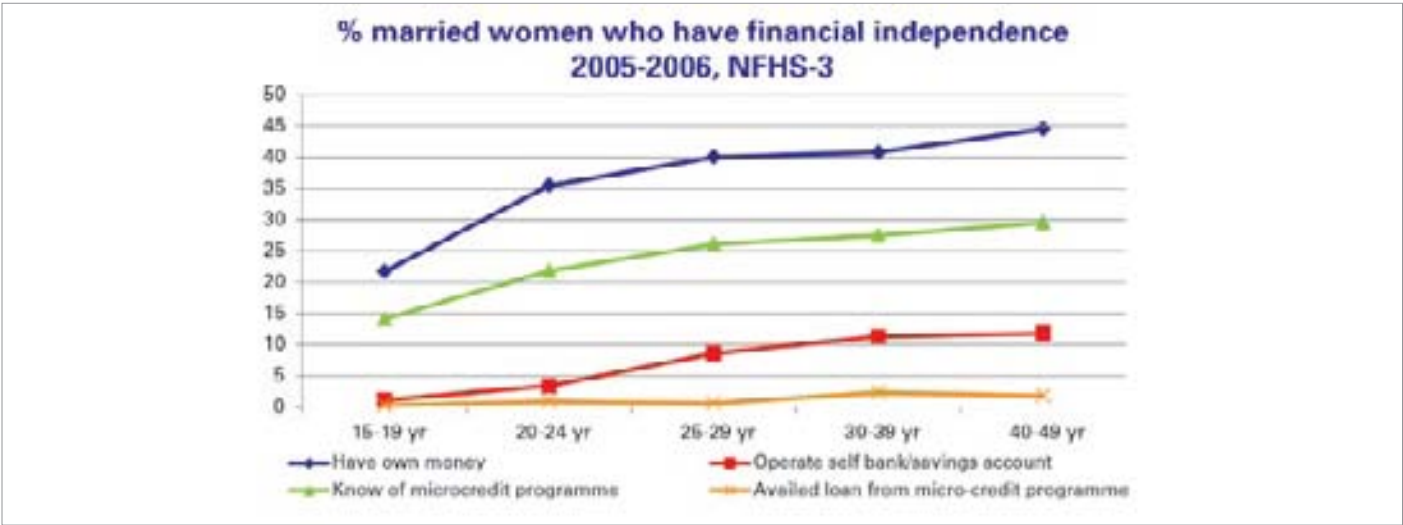
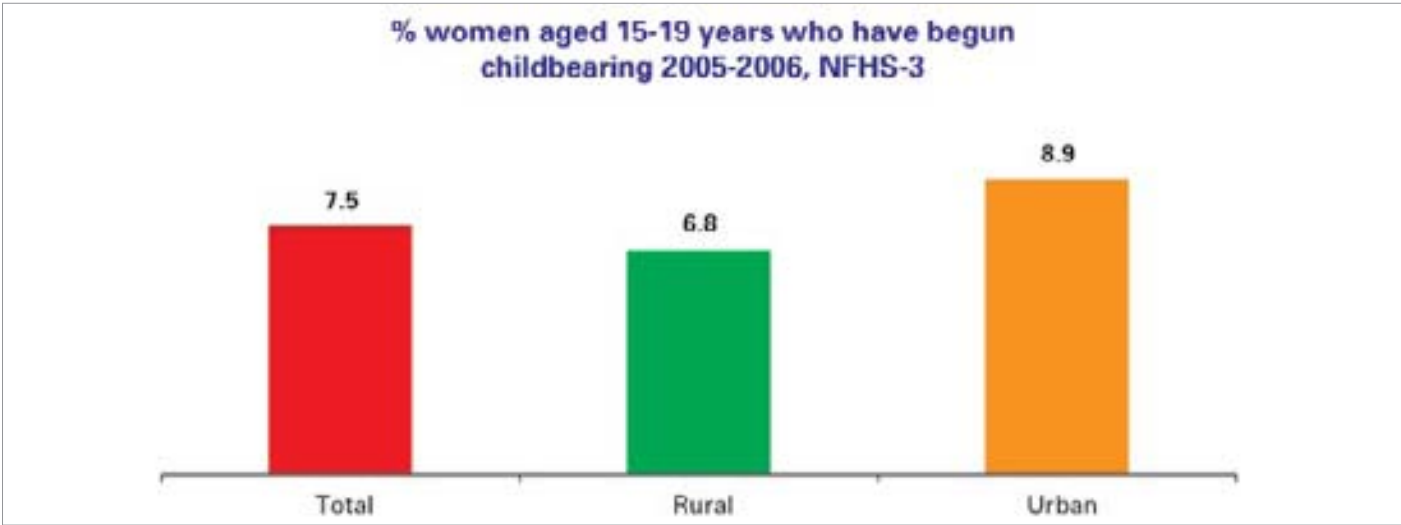
MAP NOT AVAILABLE DUE TO LACK OF DISTRICT-BASED DATA

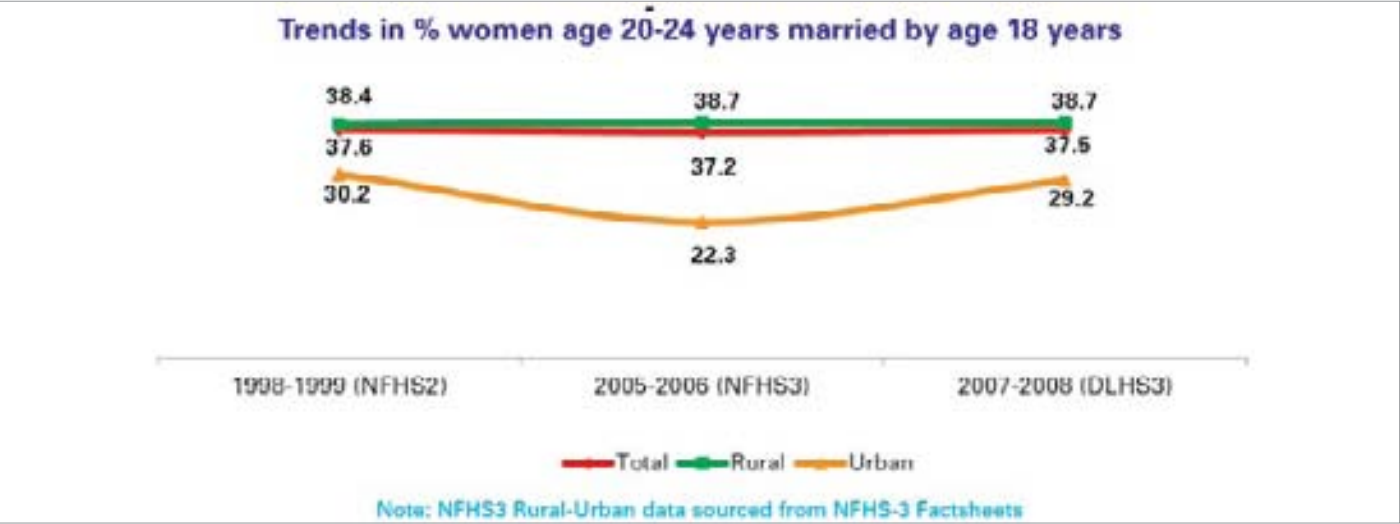
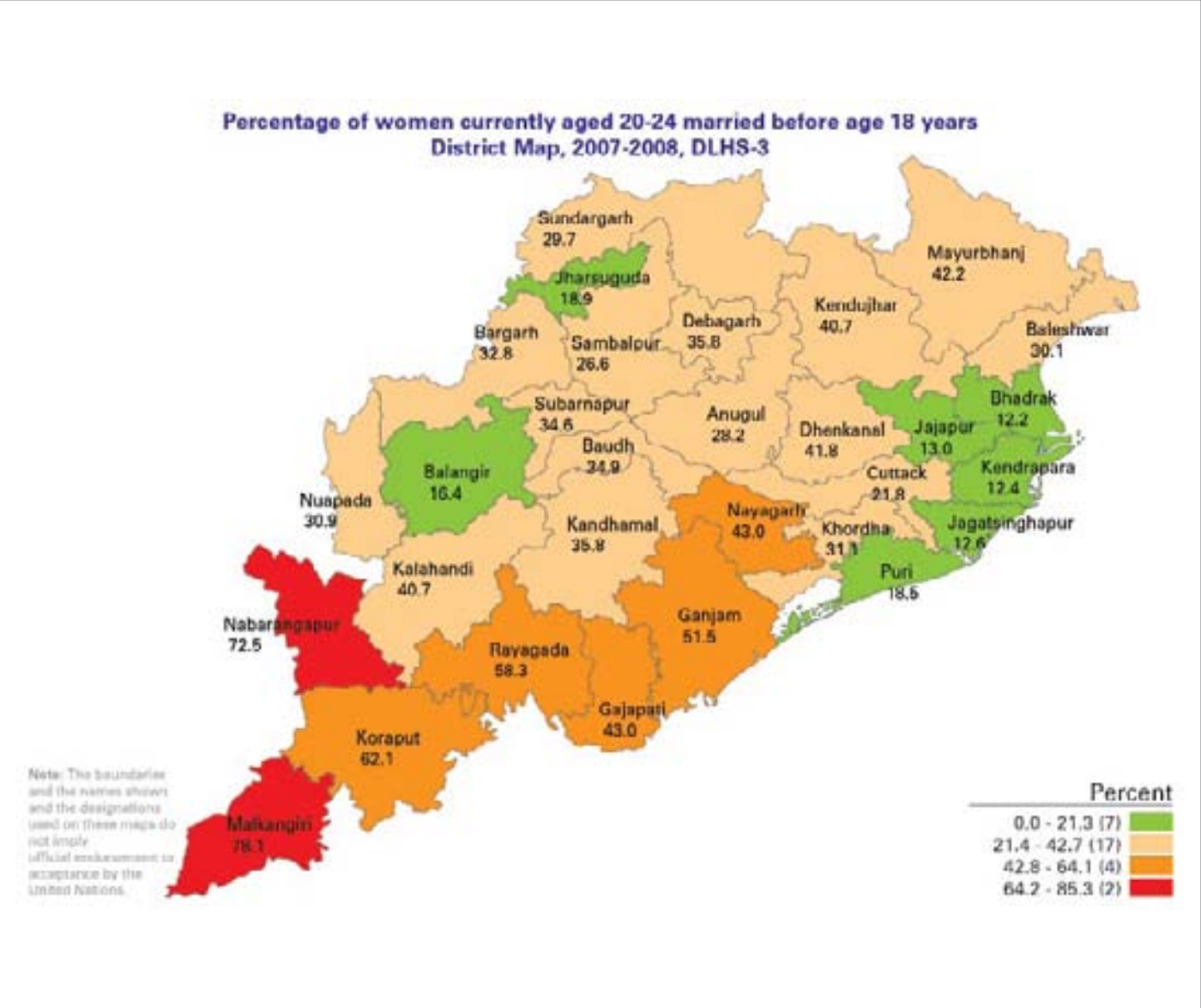
Trends in % women age 20-24 years married by age 18 years

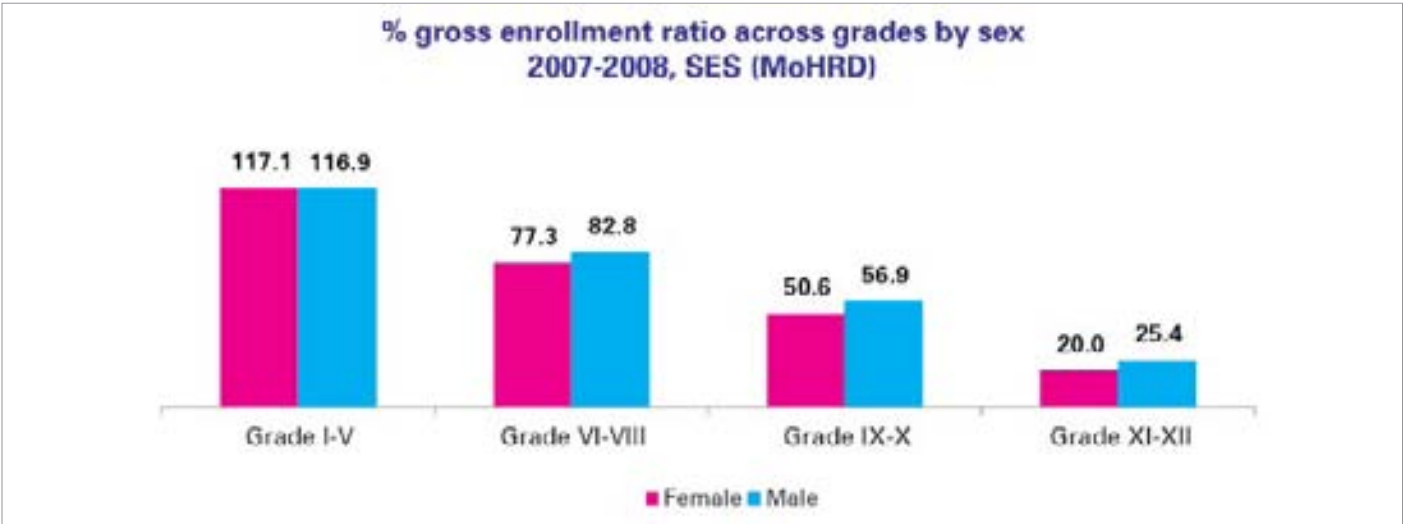
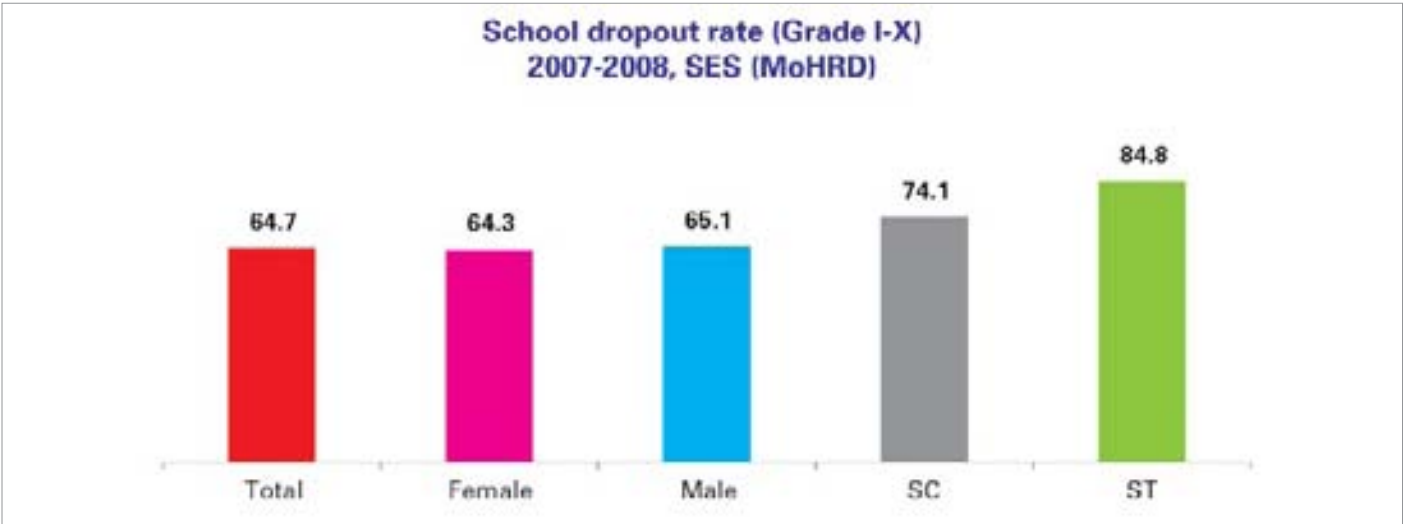
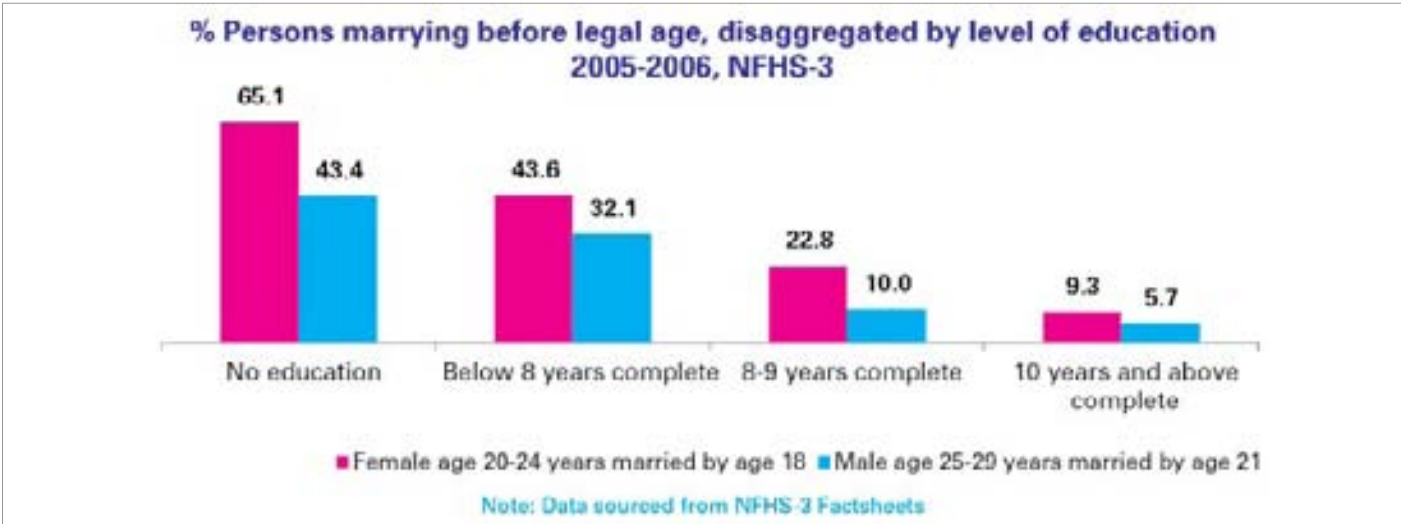
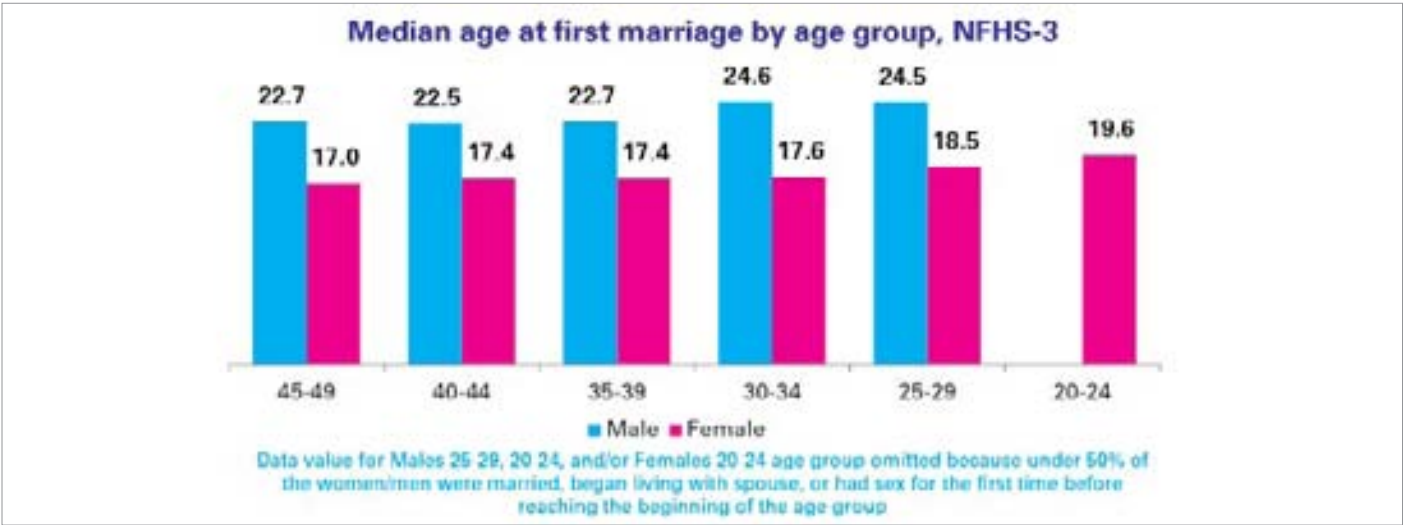
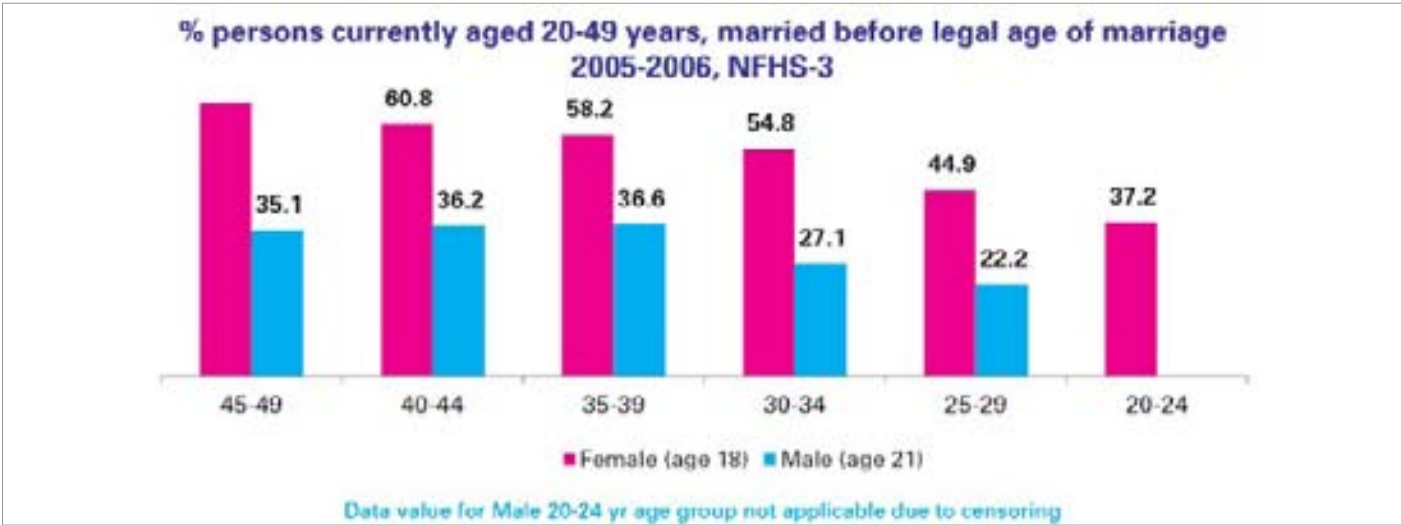


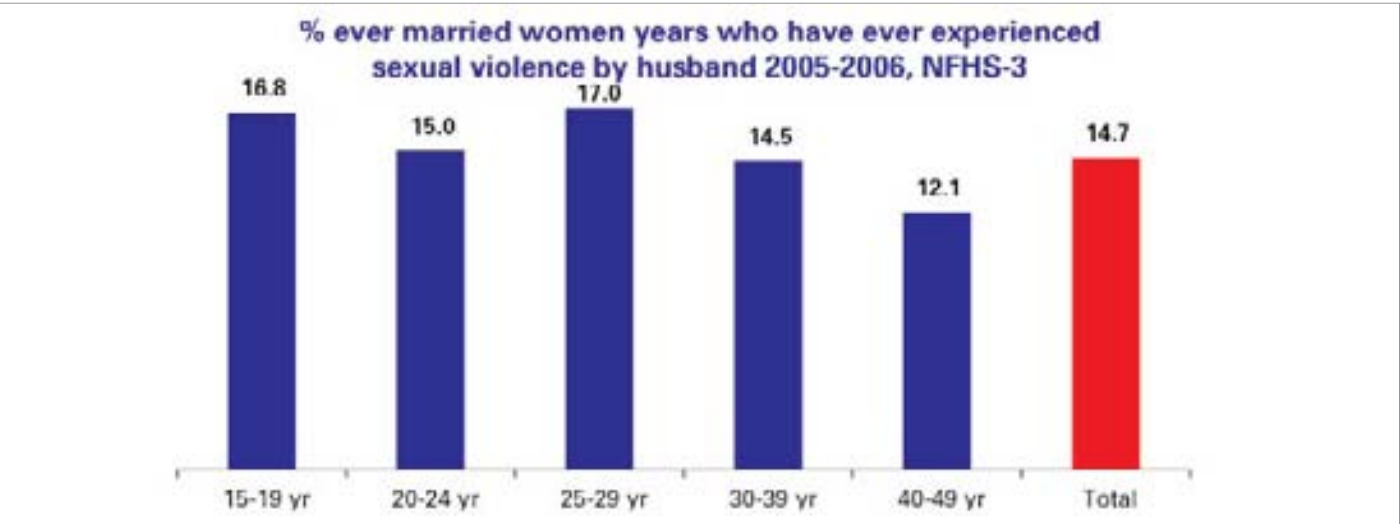
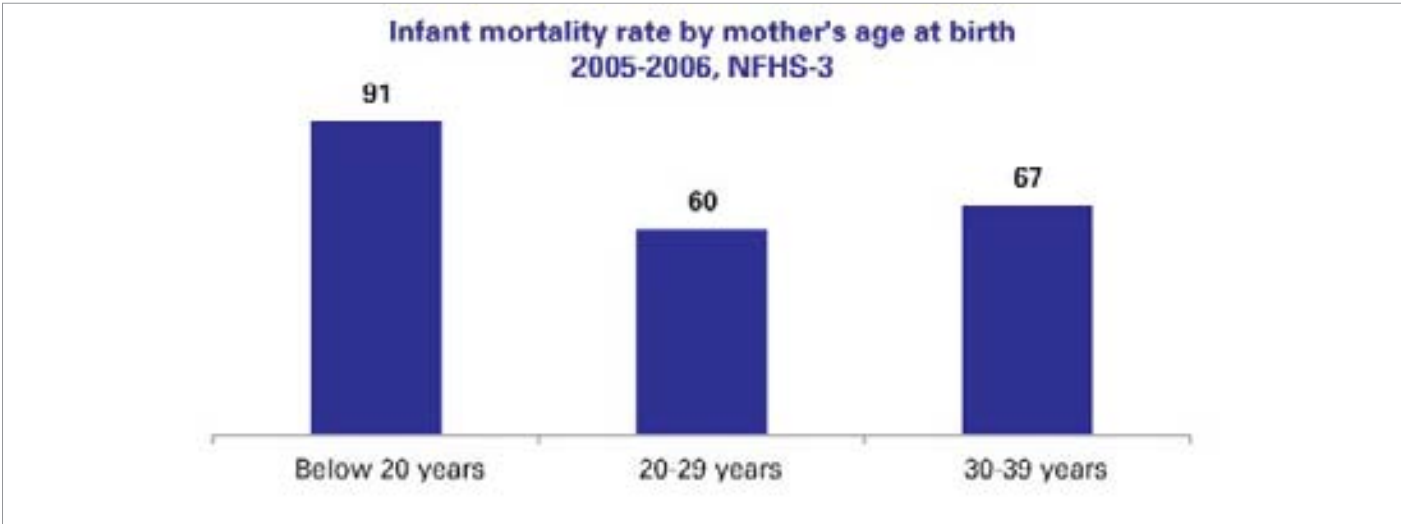
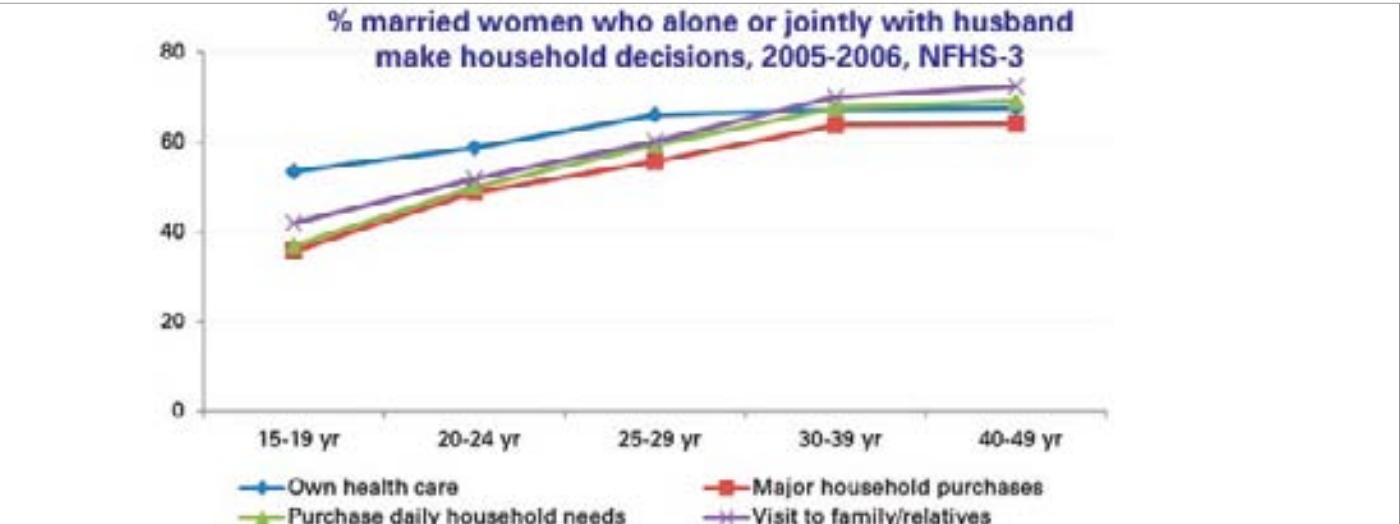
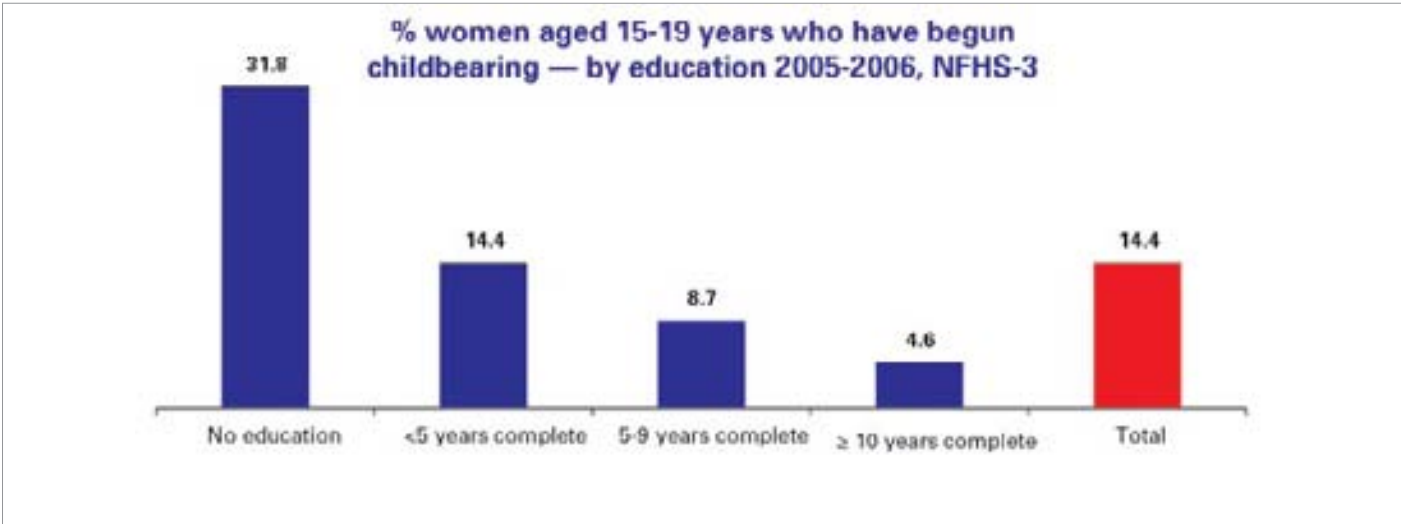
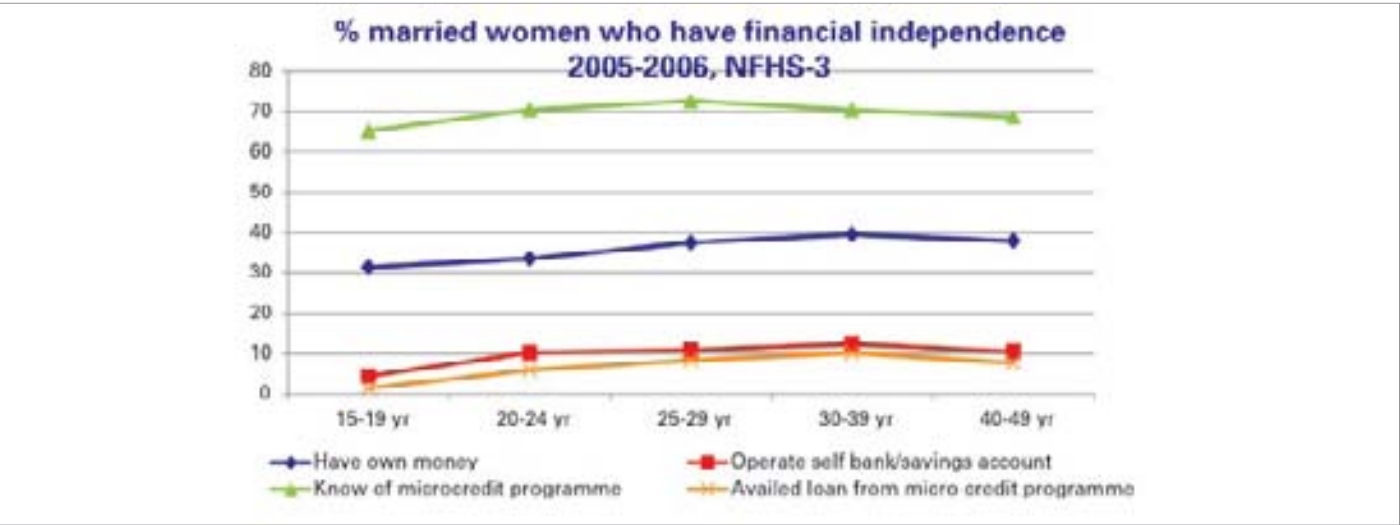
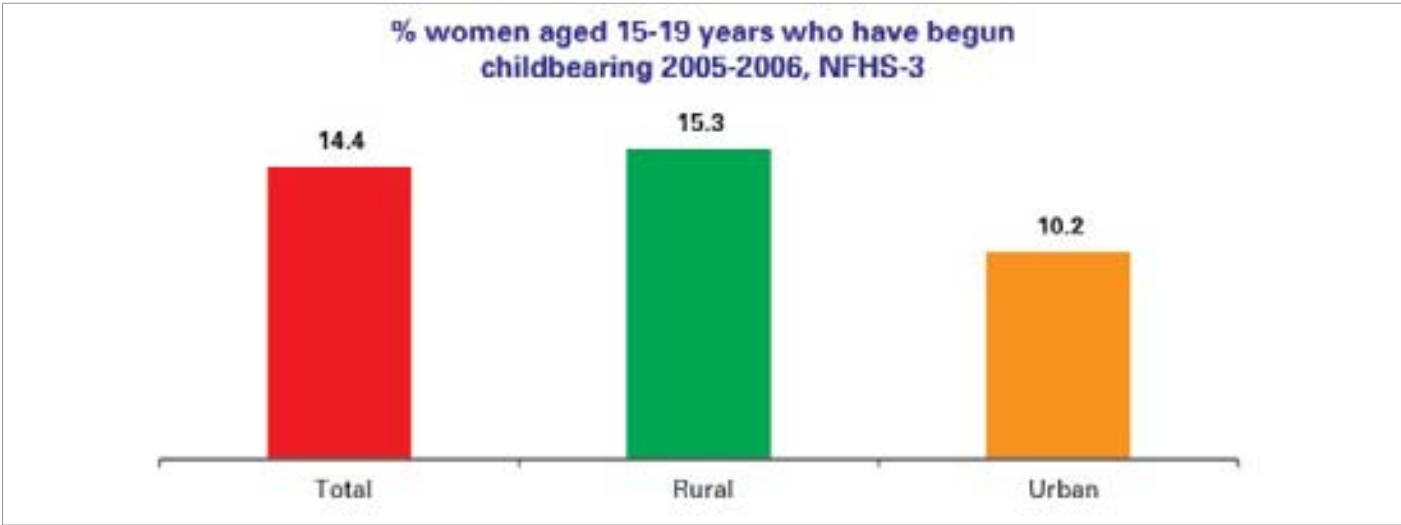
Note: NFHS3 Rural-Urban data sourced from NFHS-3 Factsheets

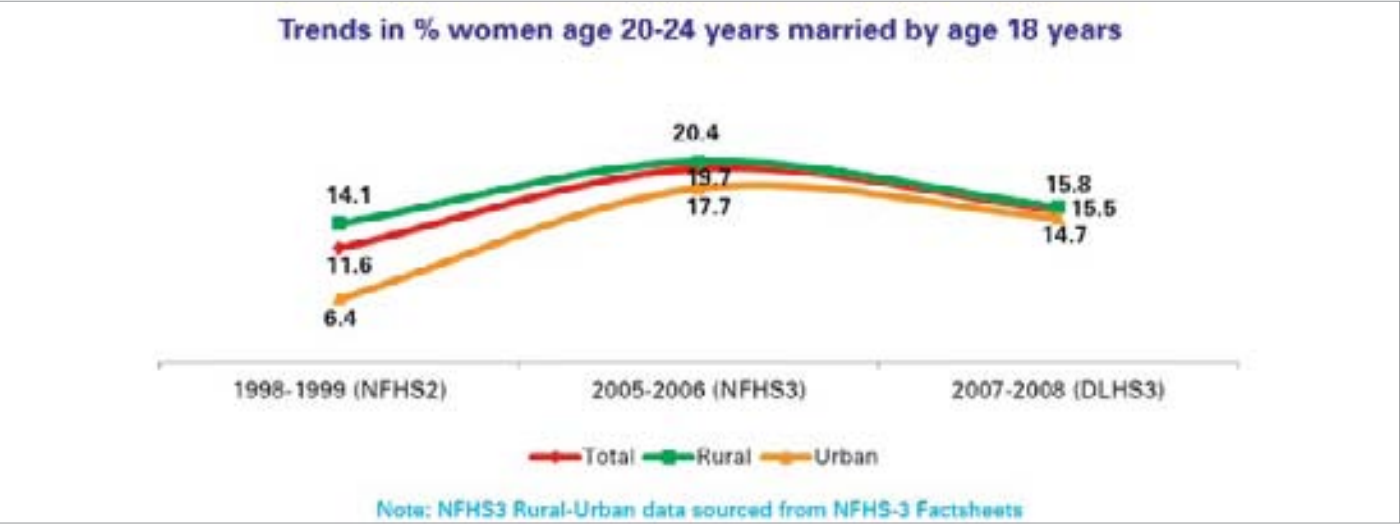
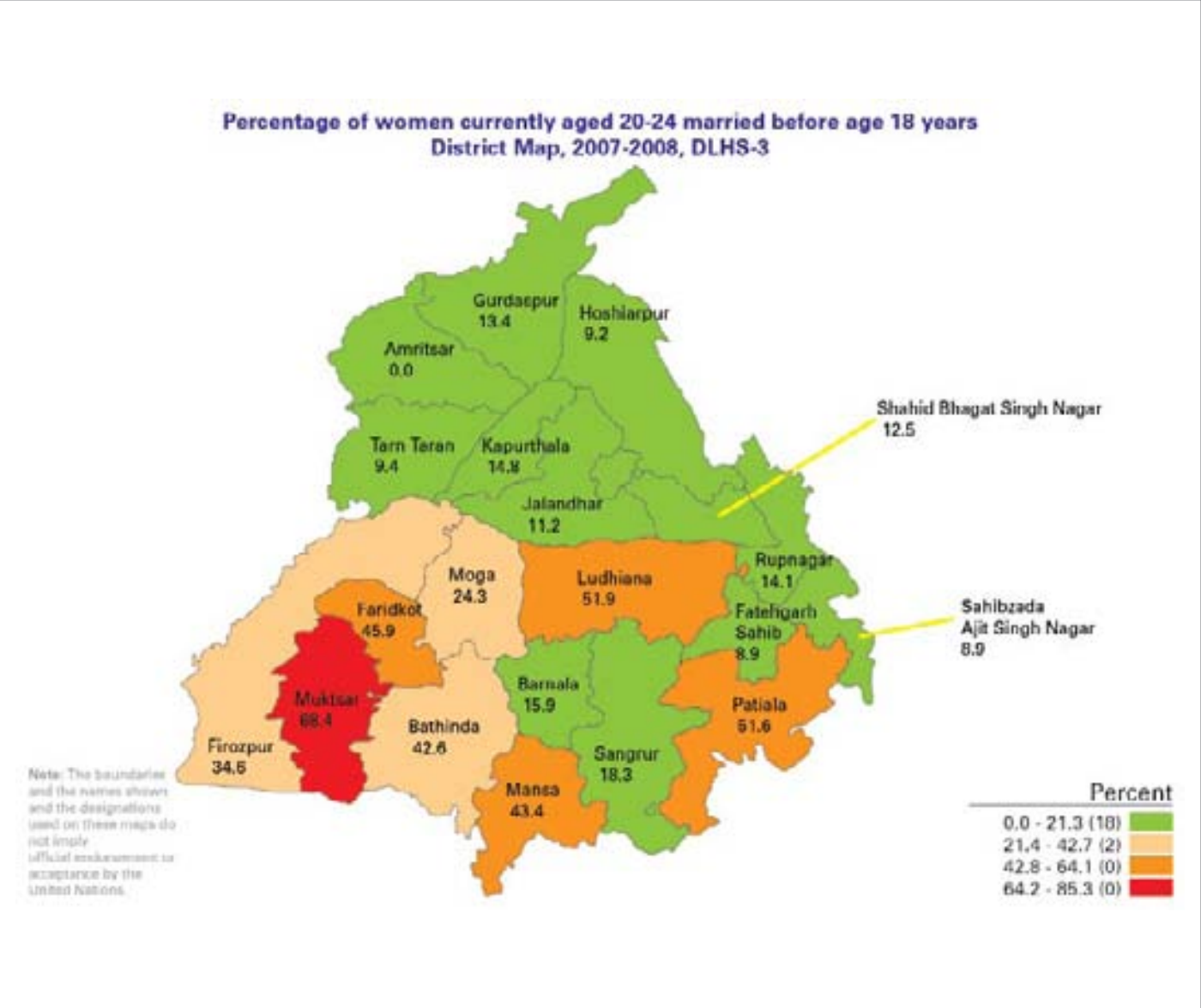


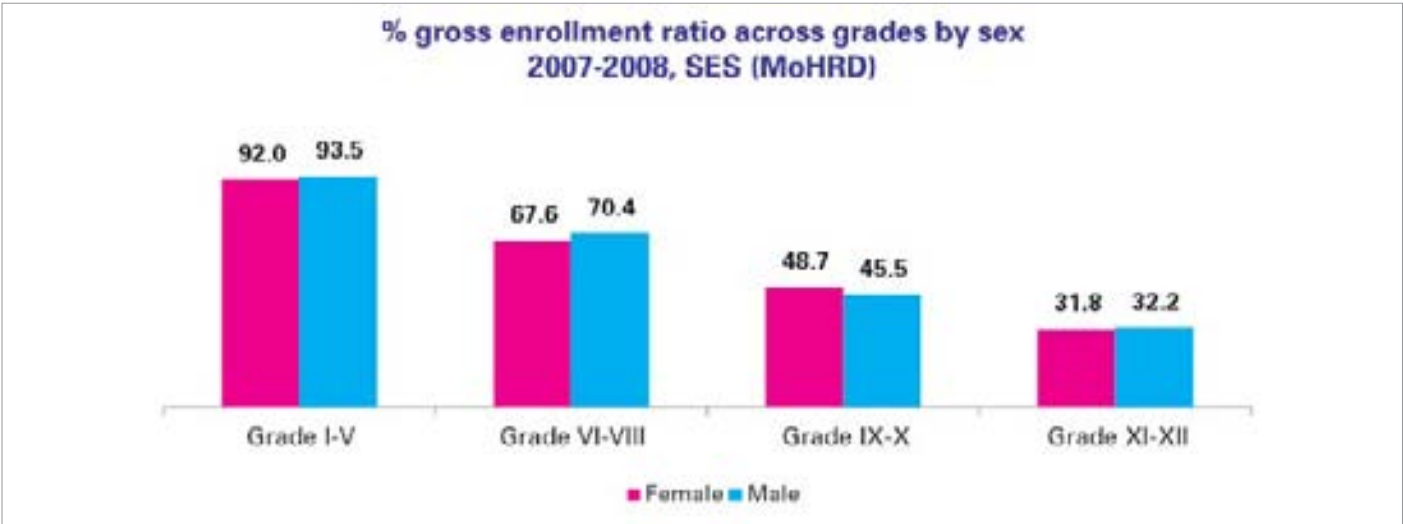
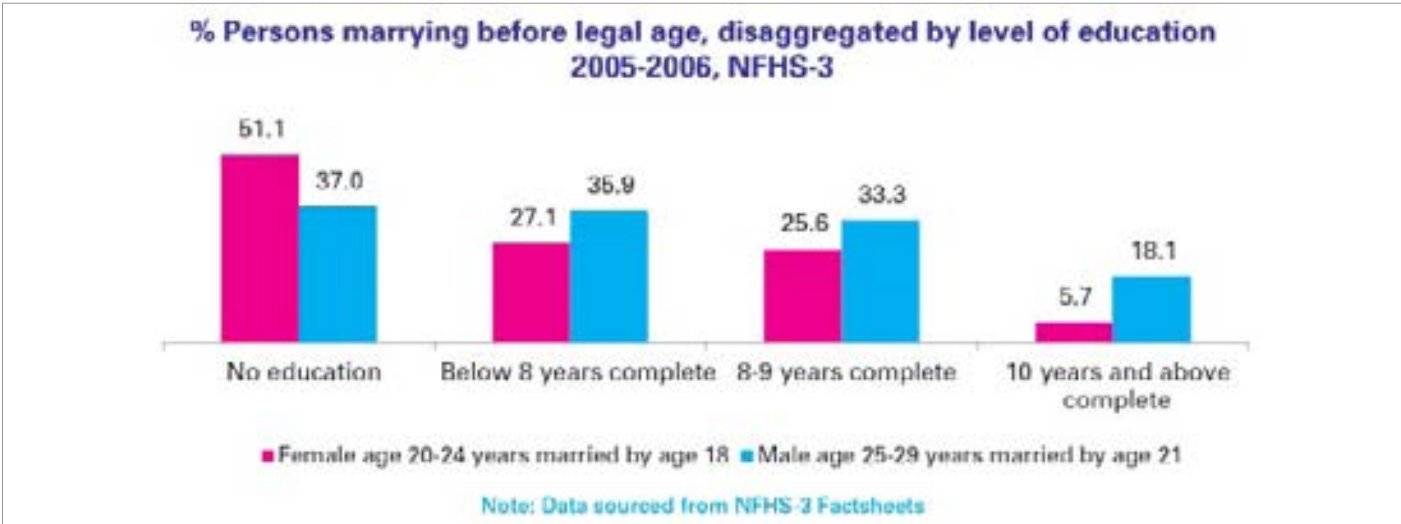
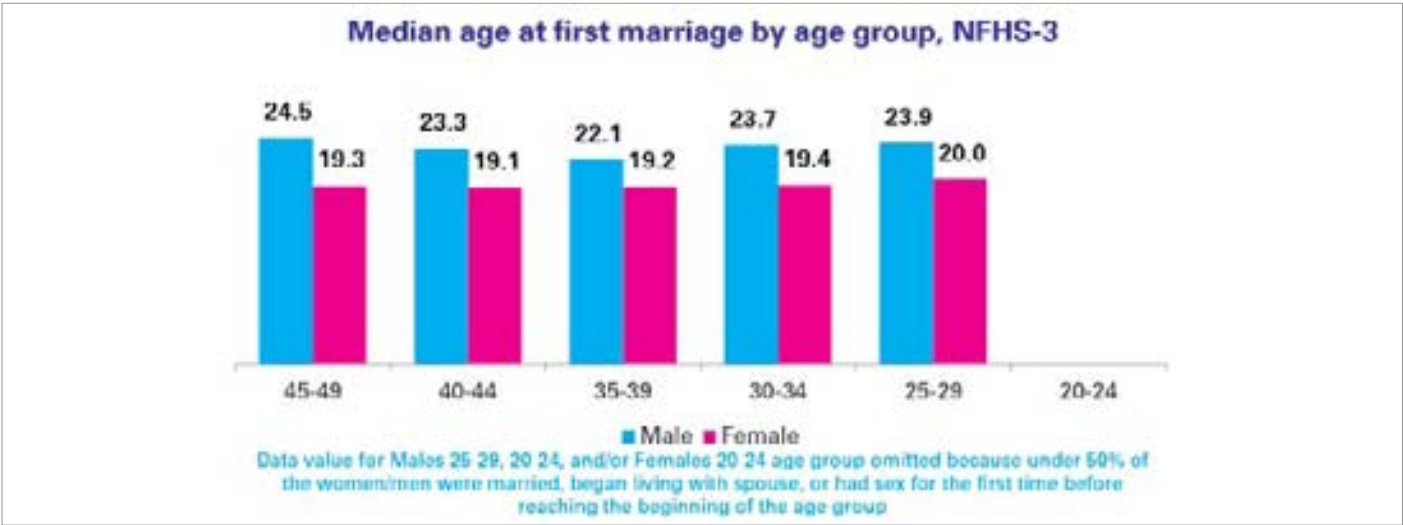
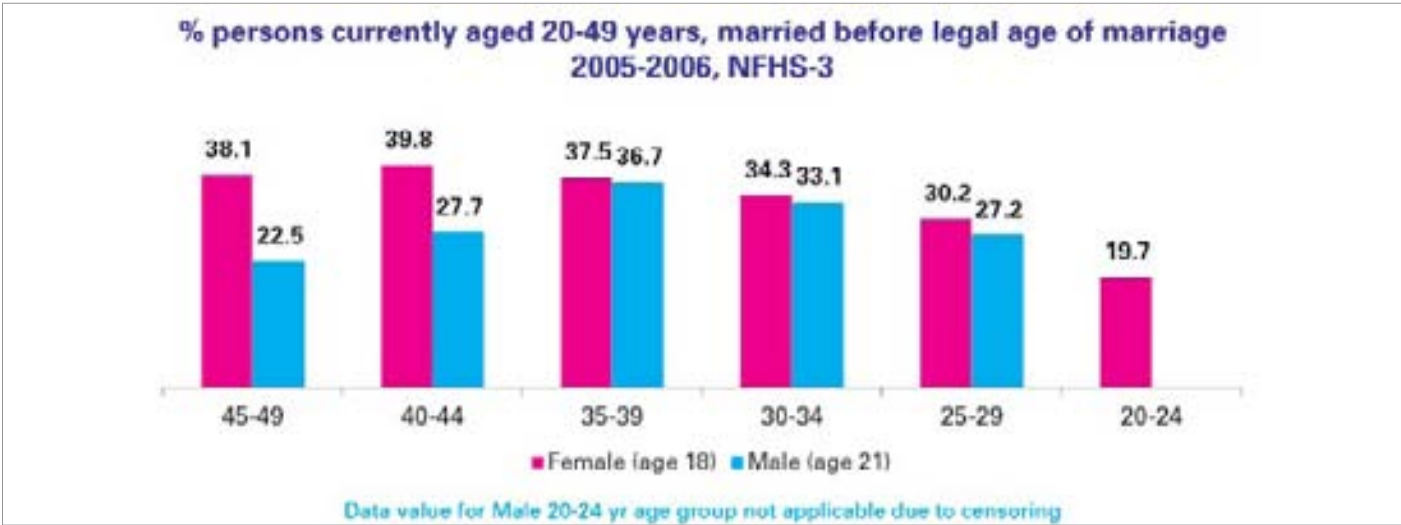


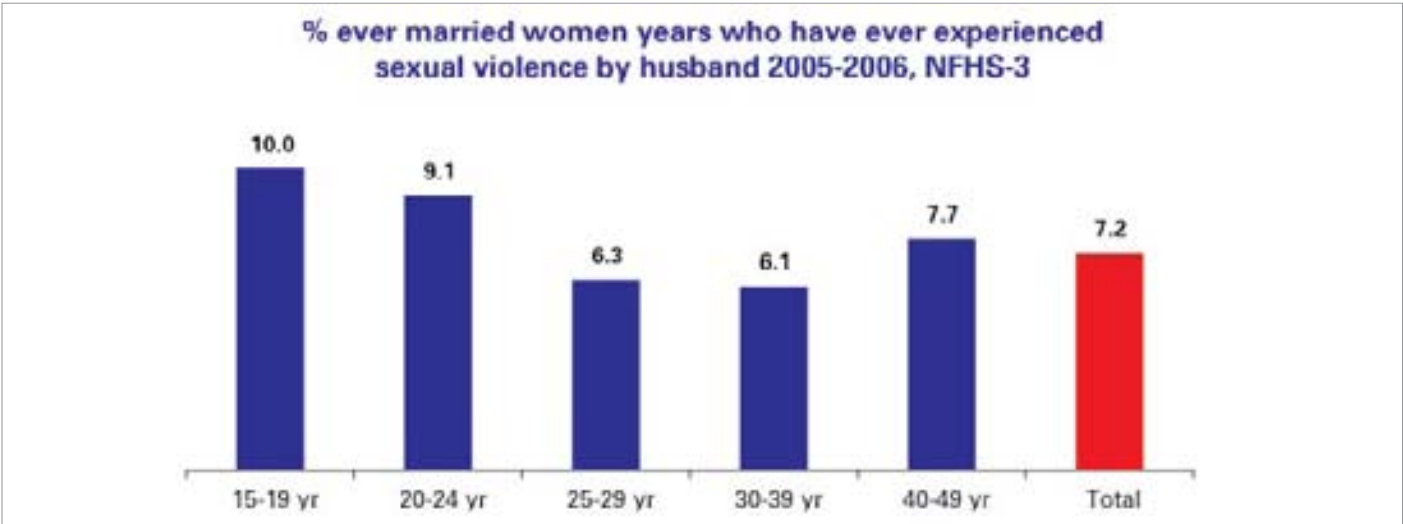
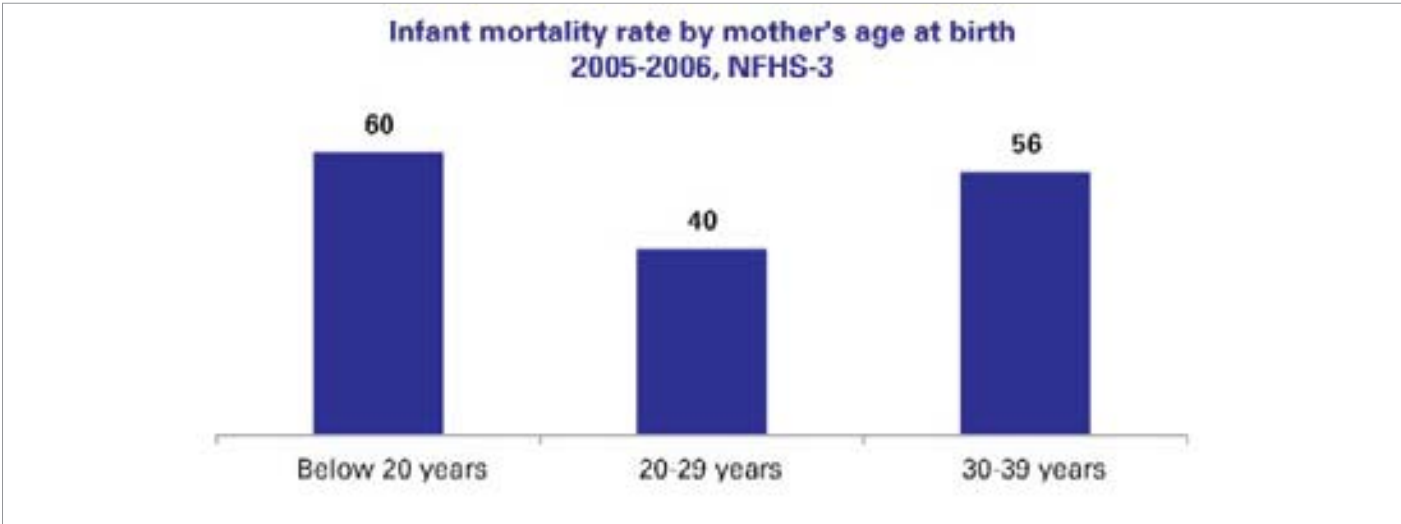
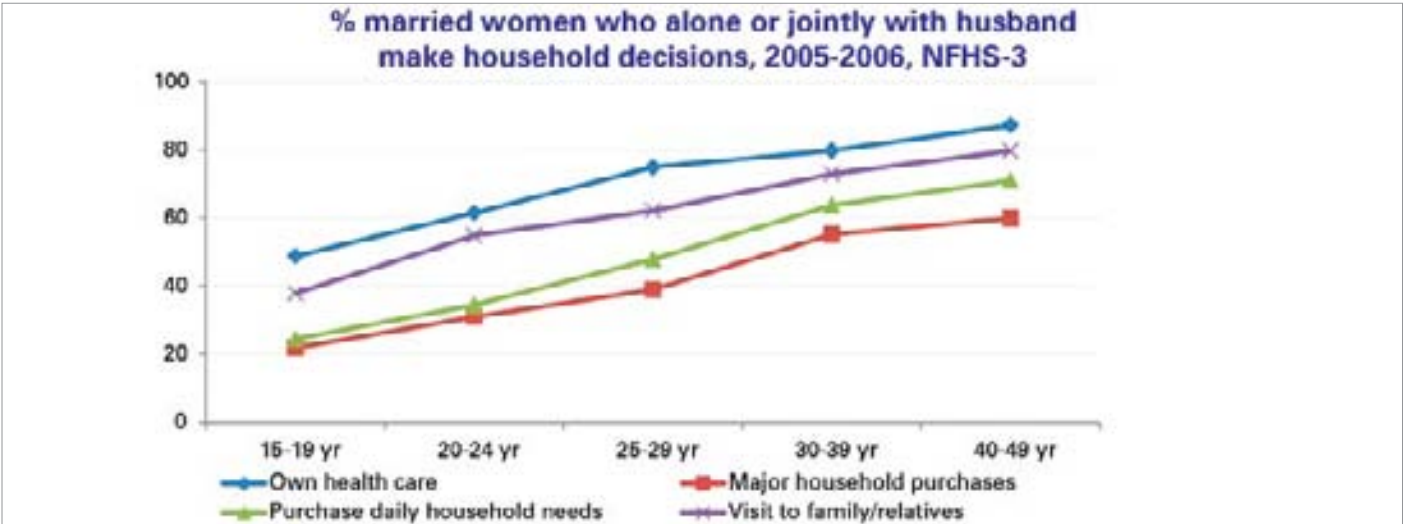
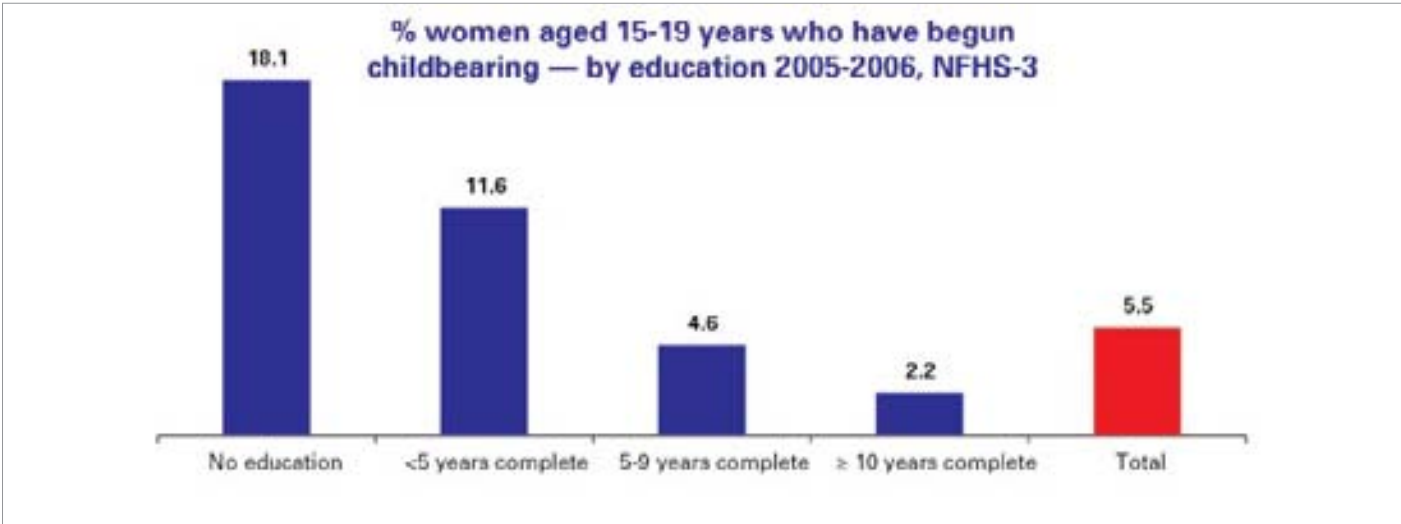
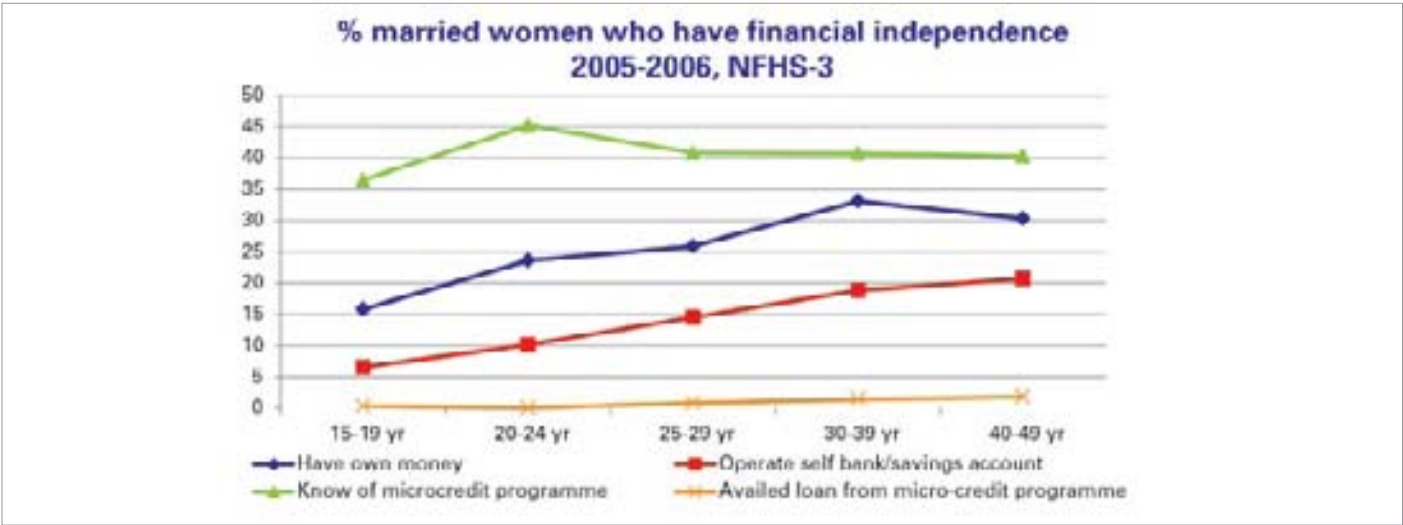
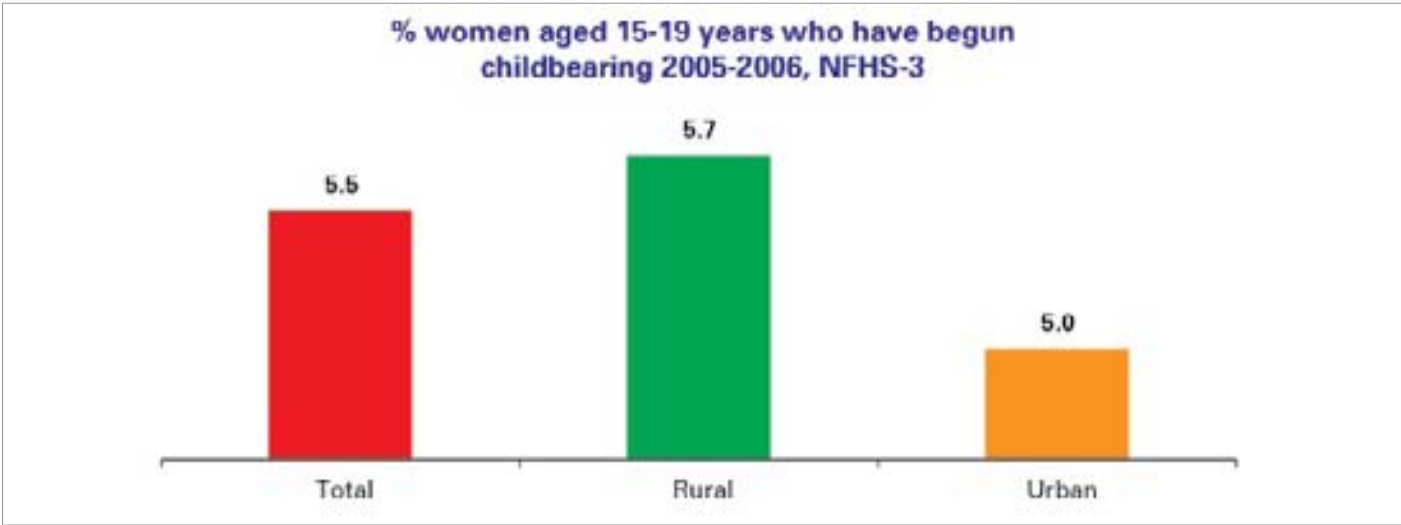


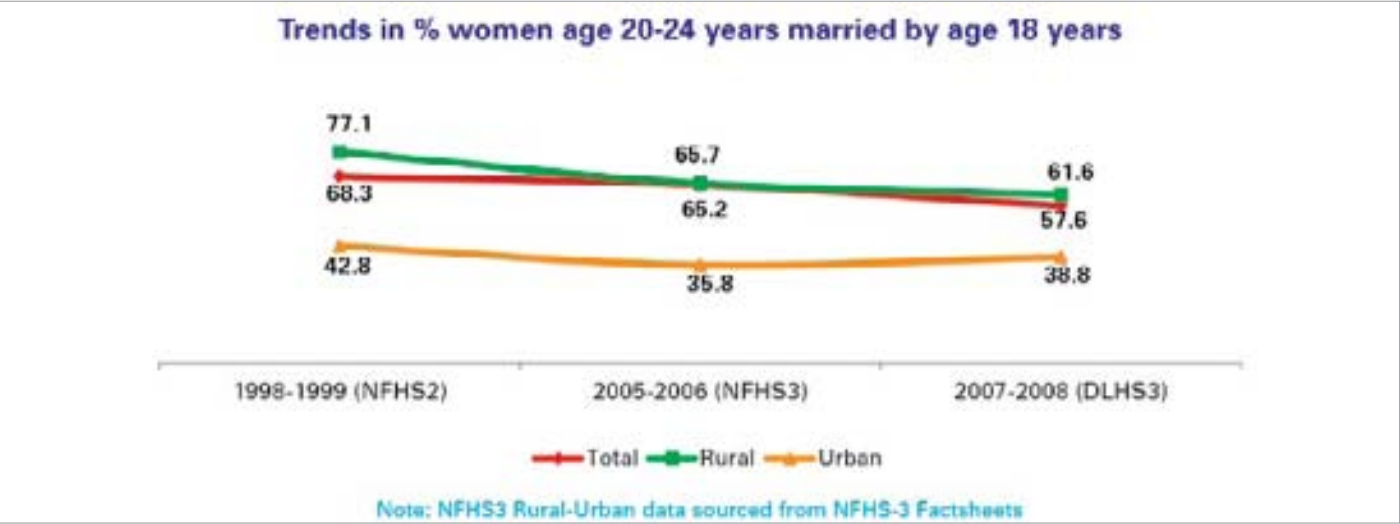
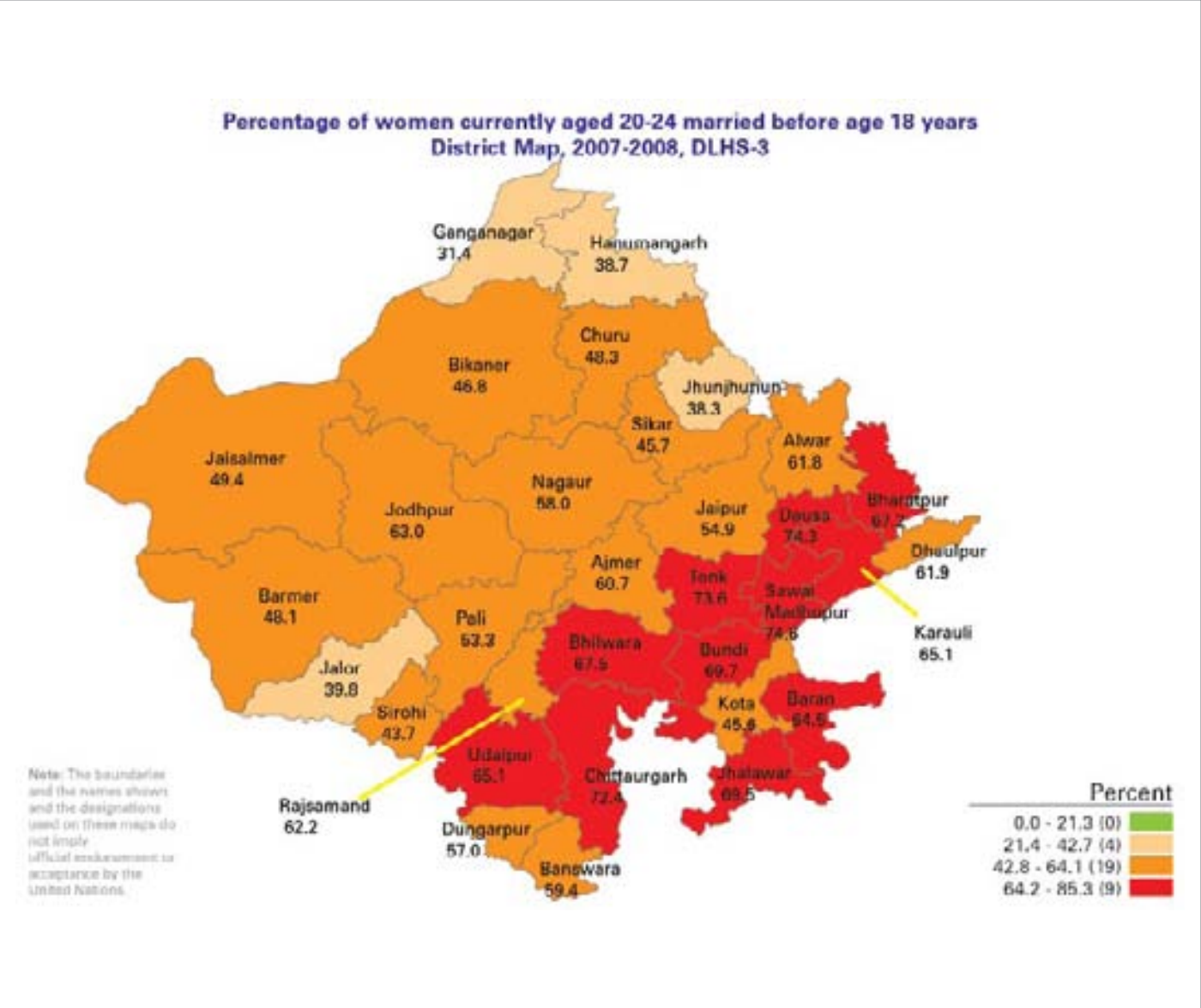


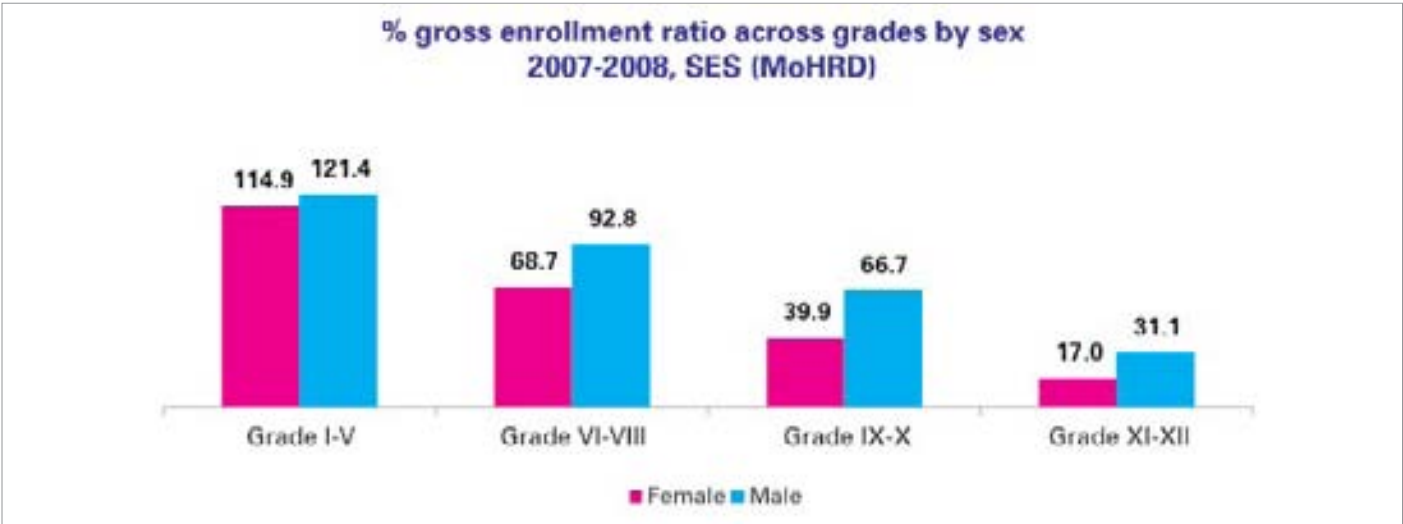
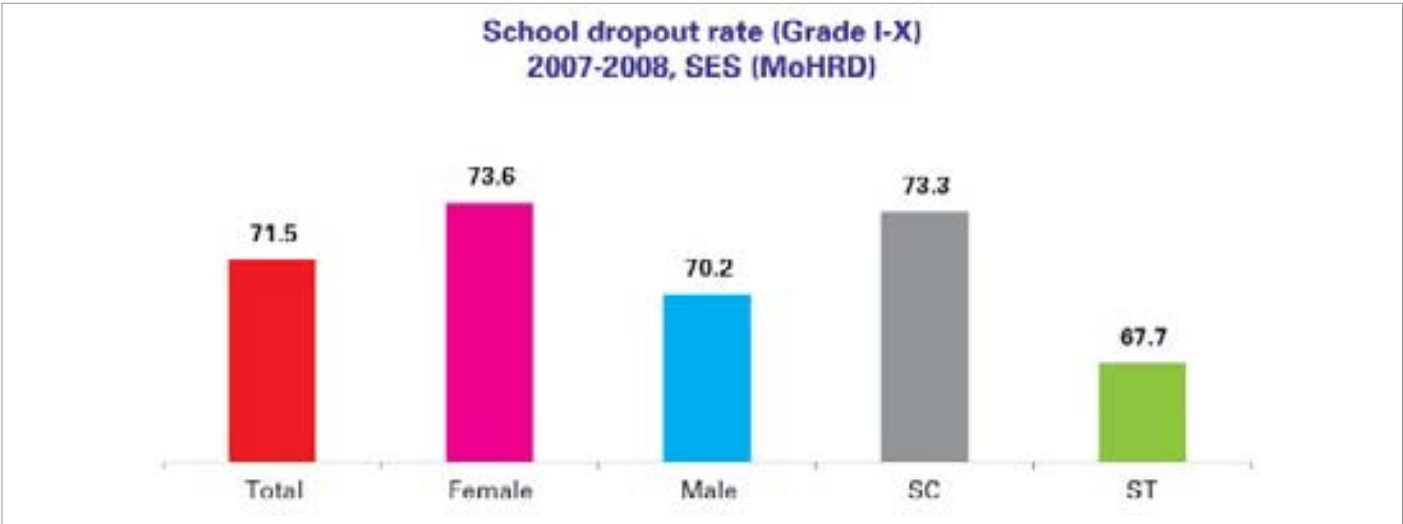
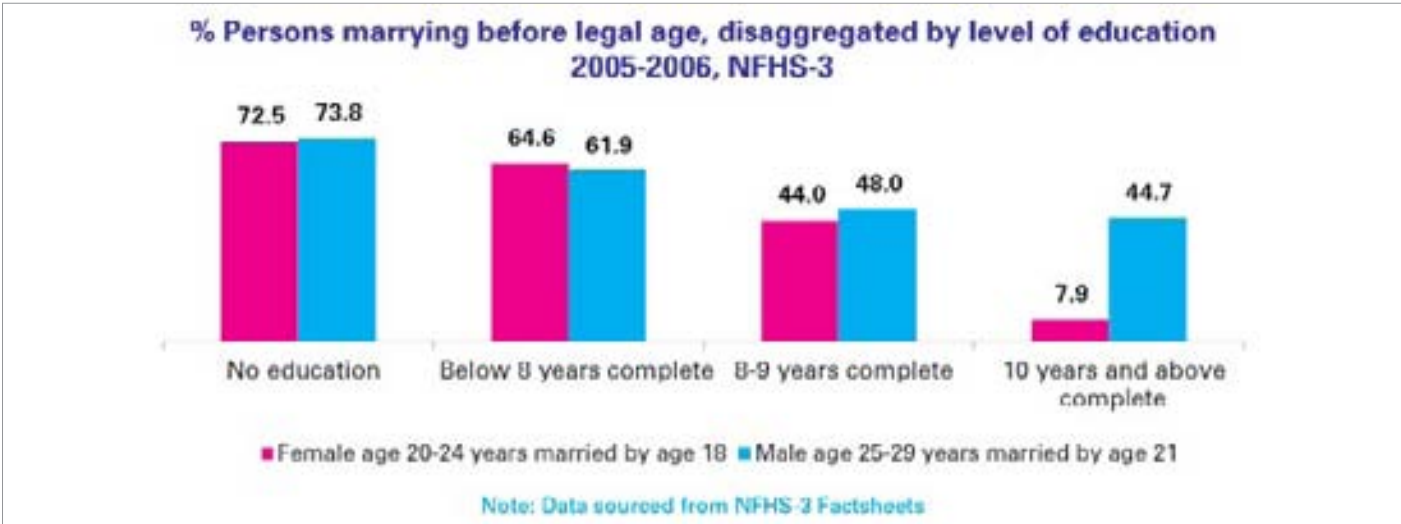
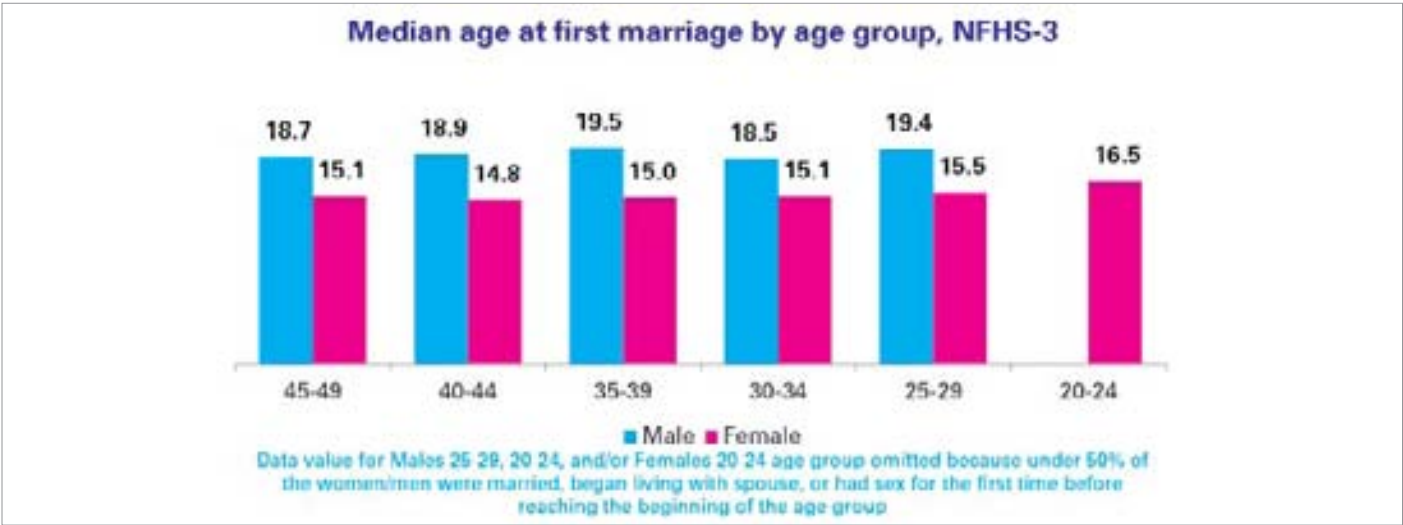
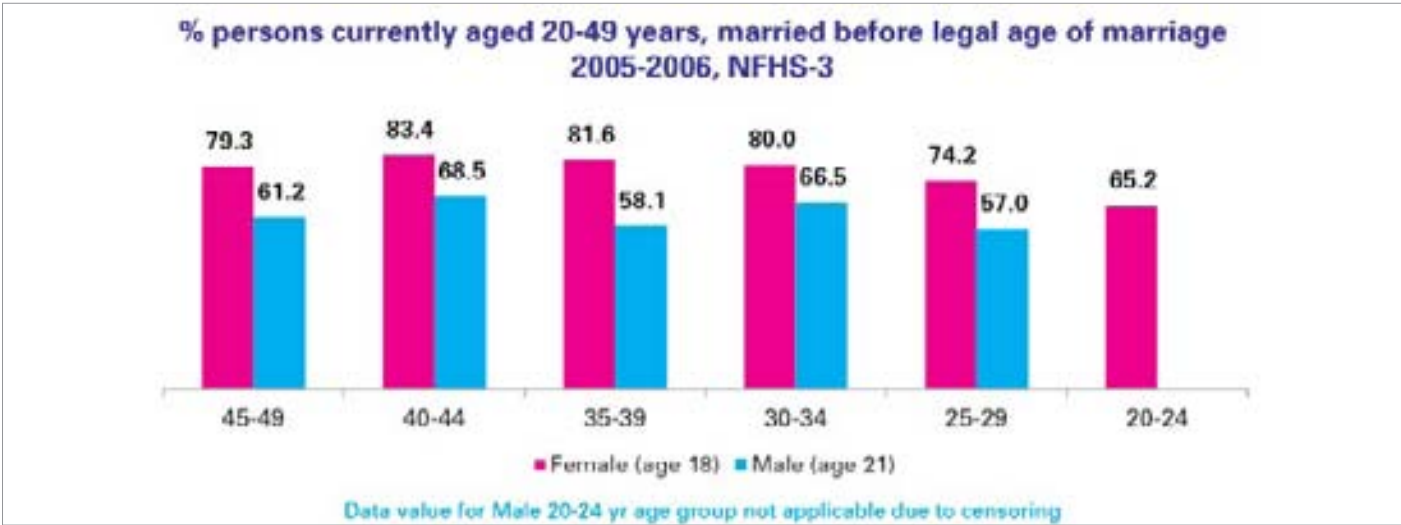


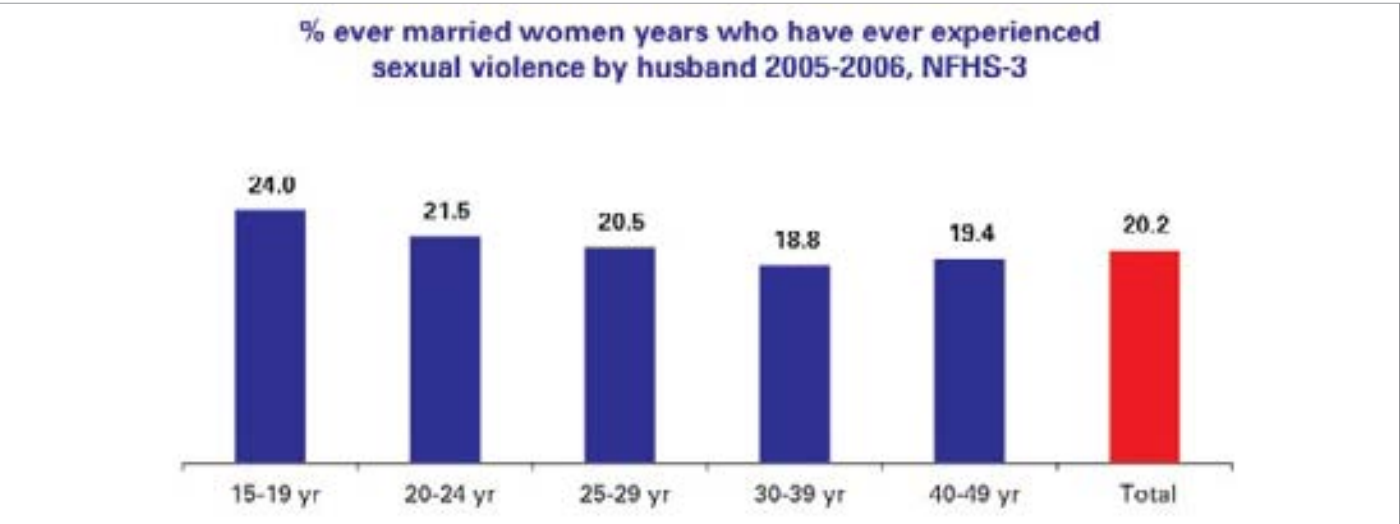
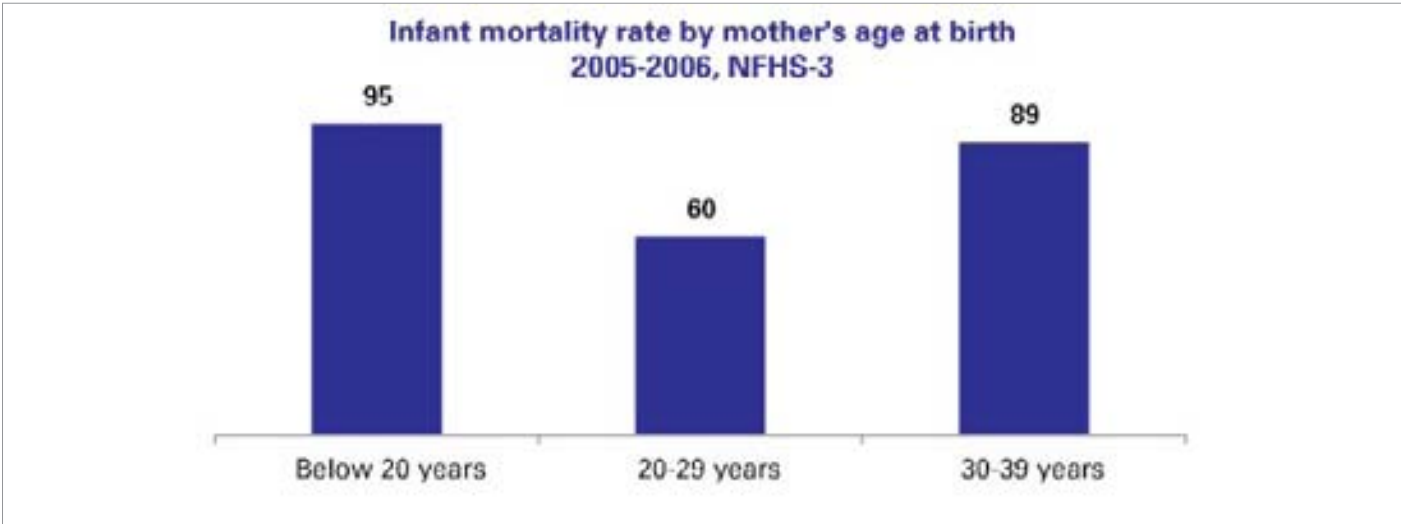
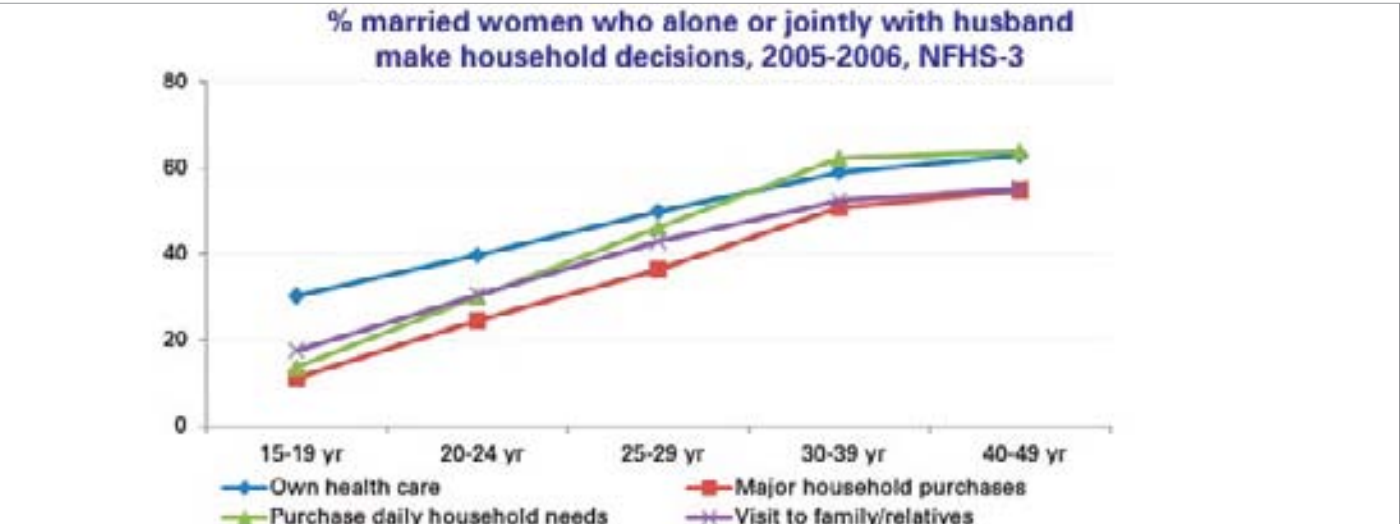
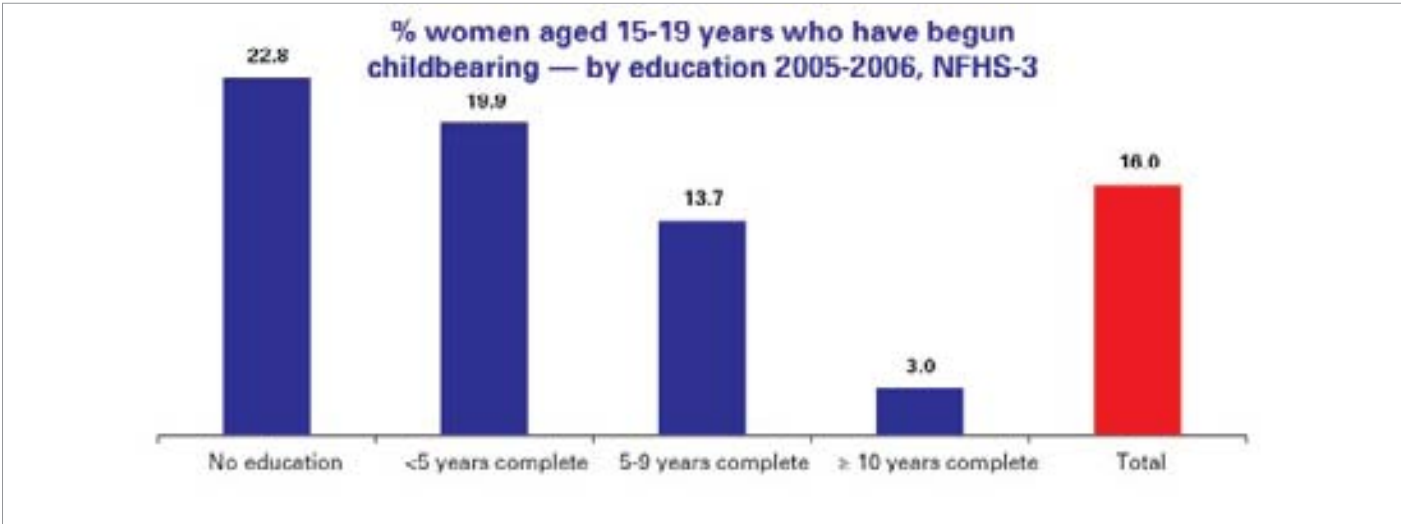
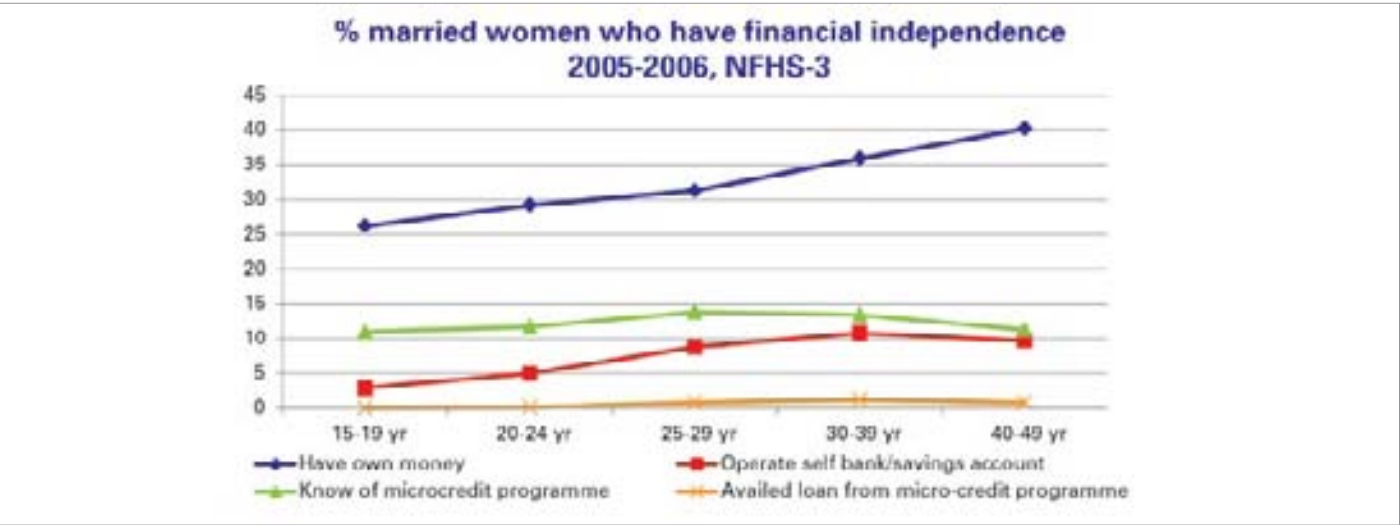
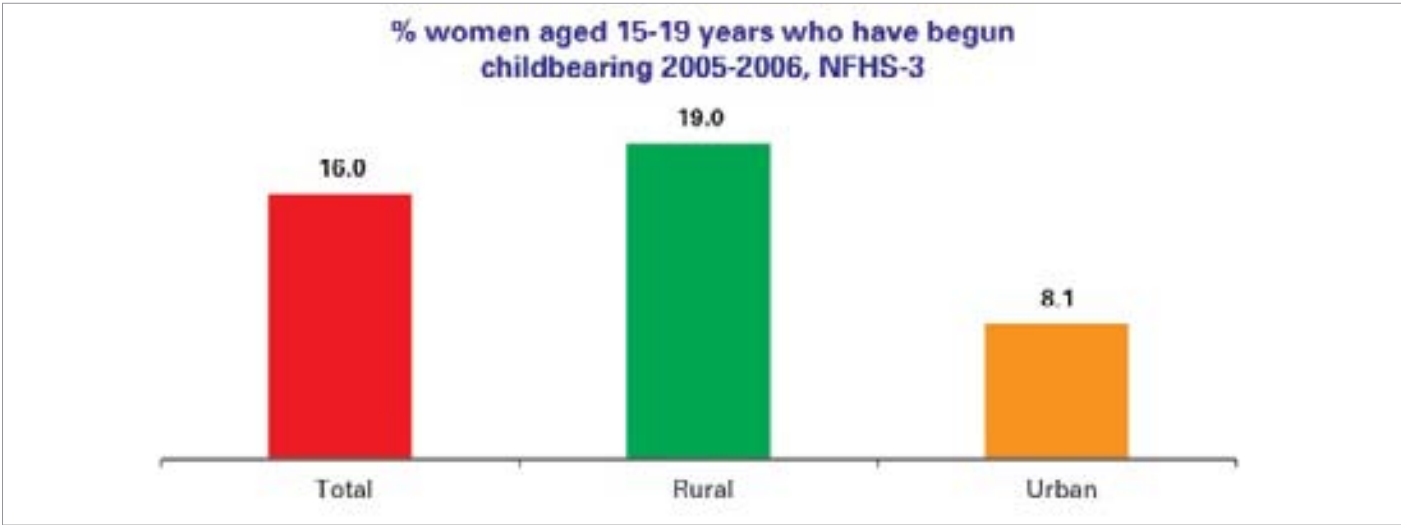


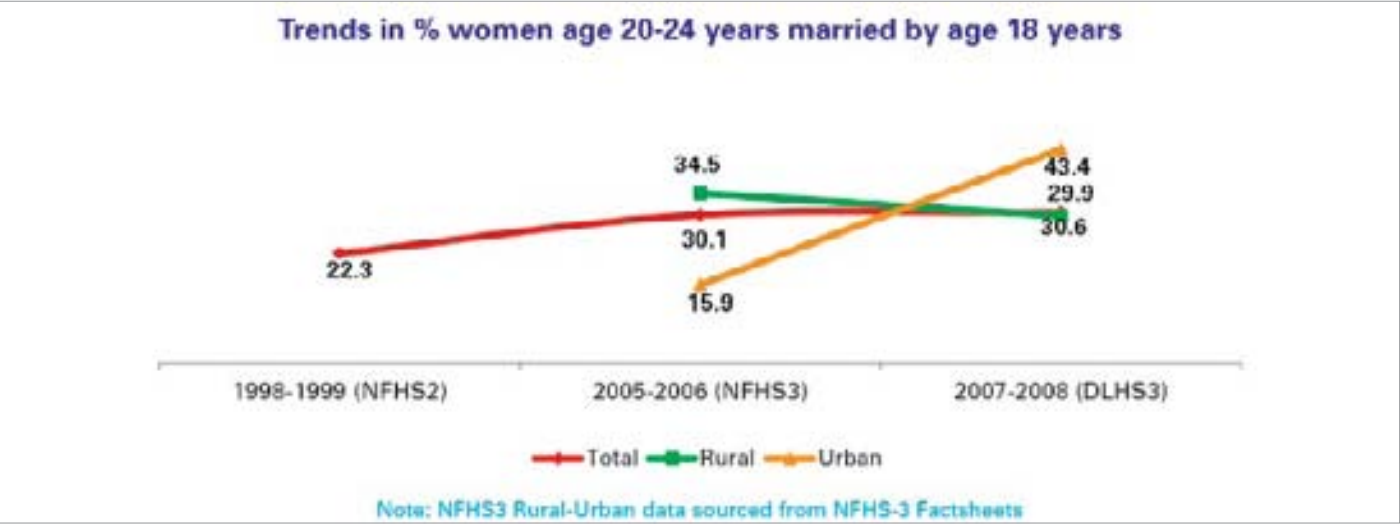
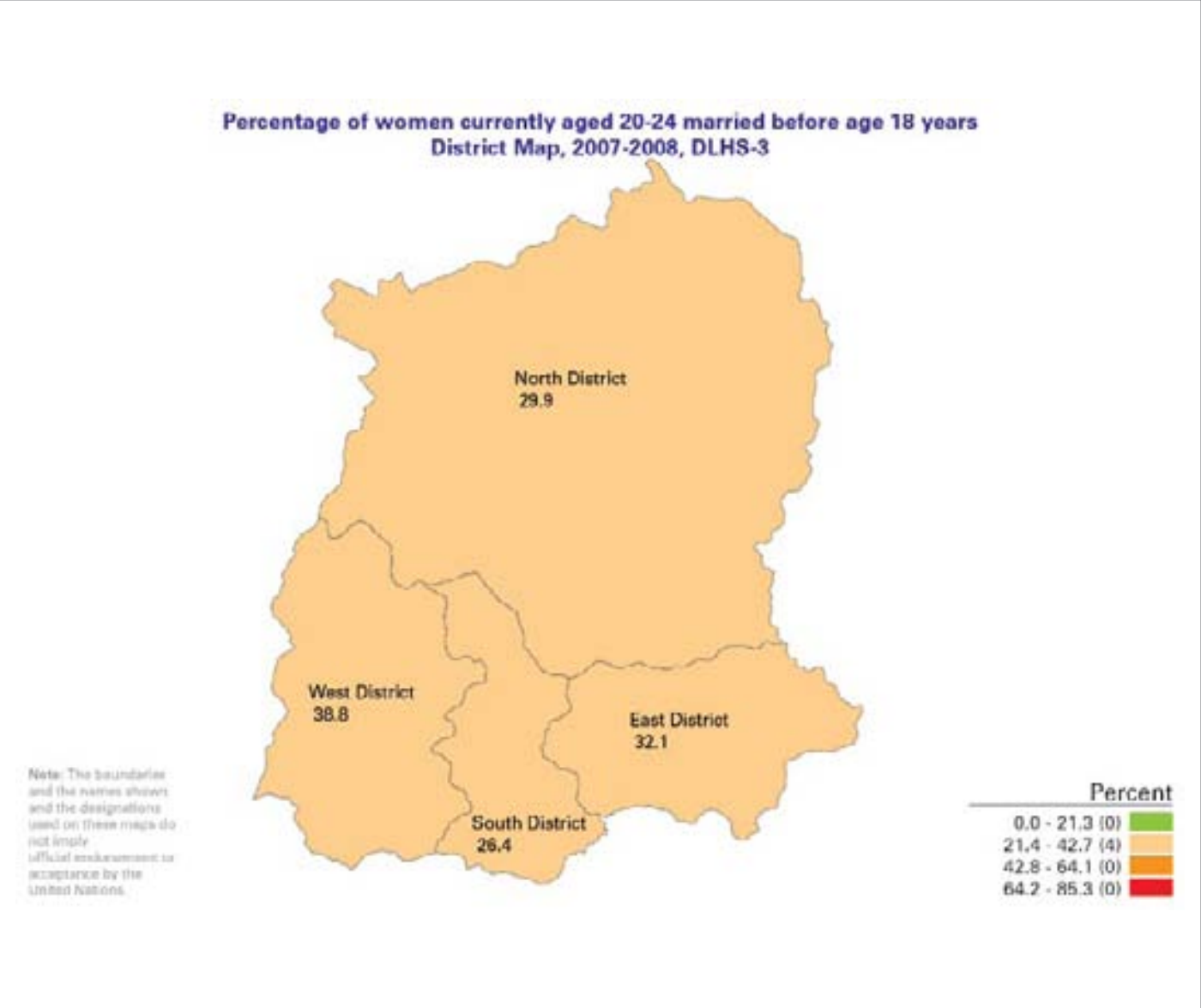


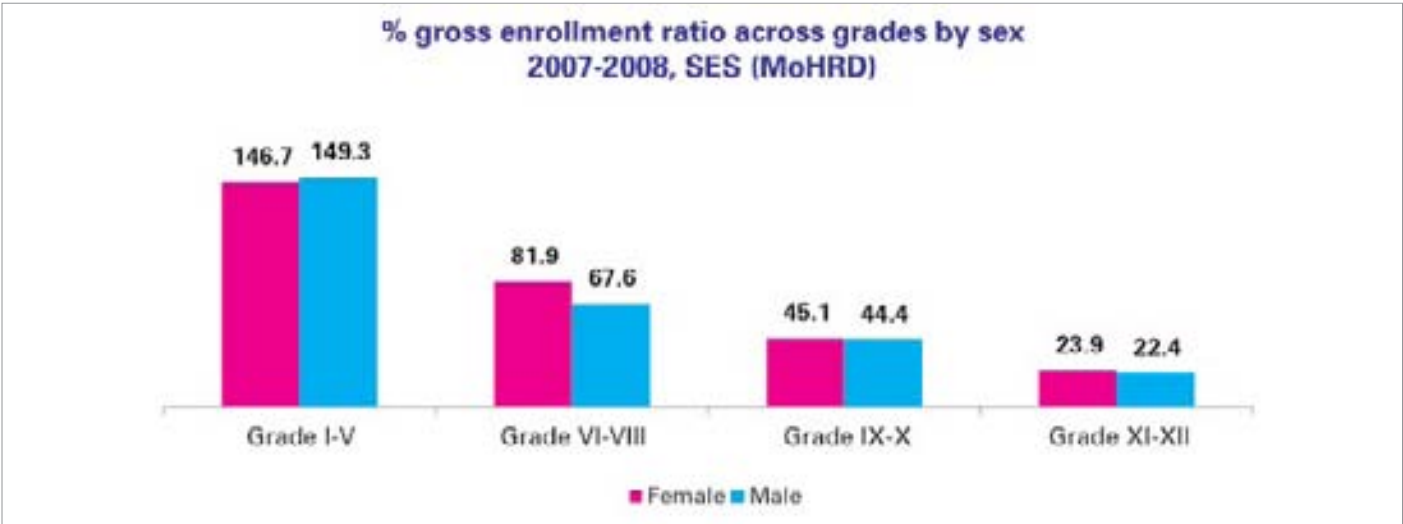
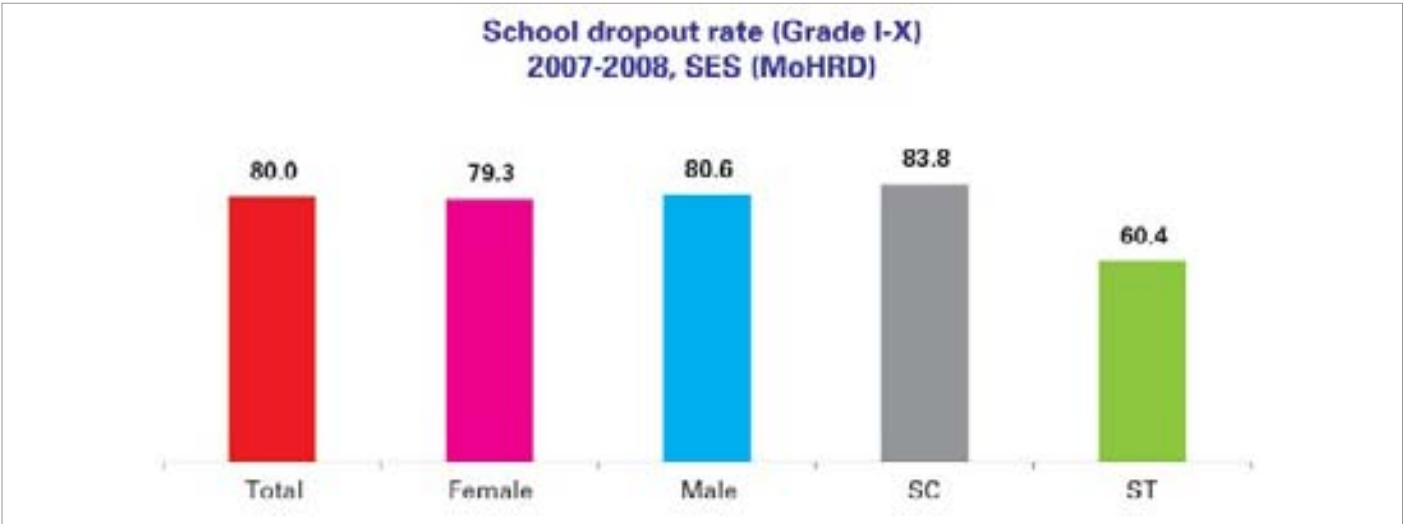
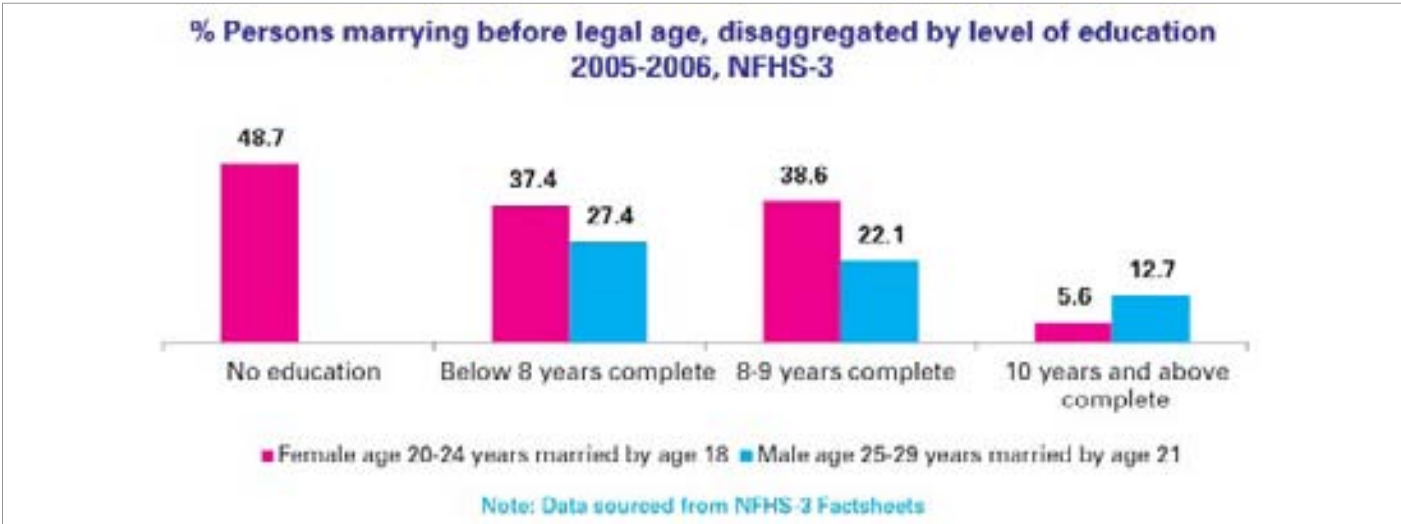
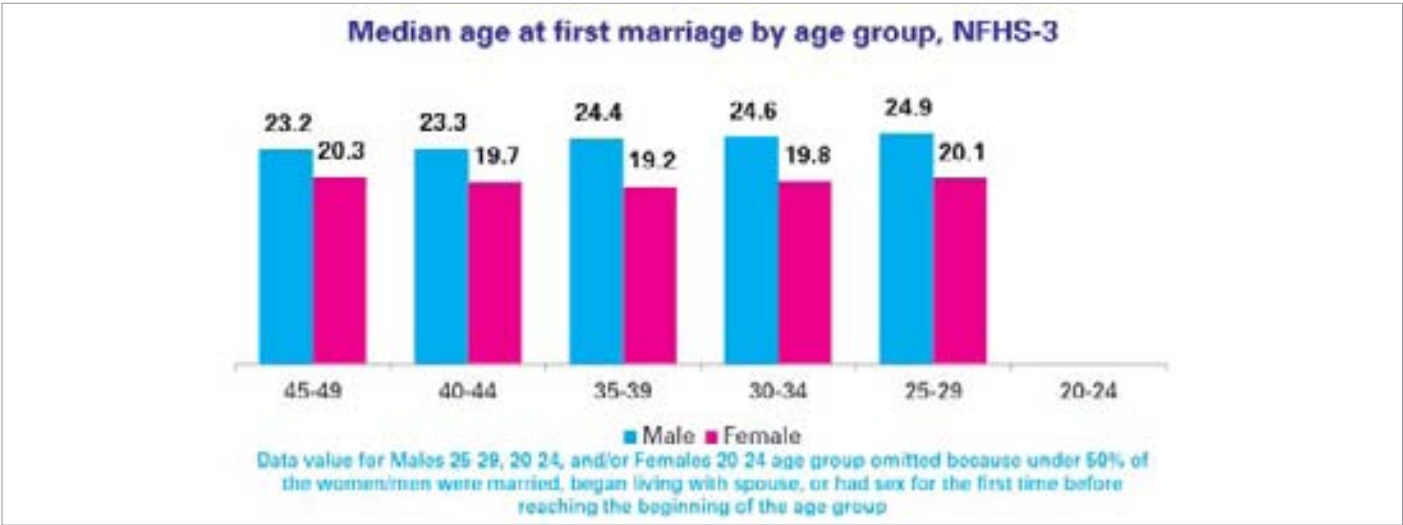
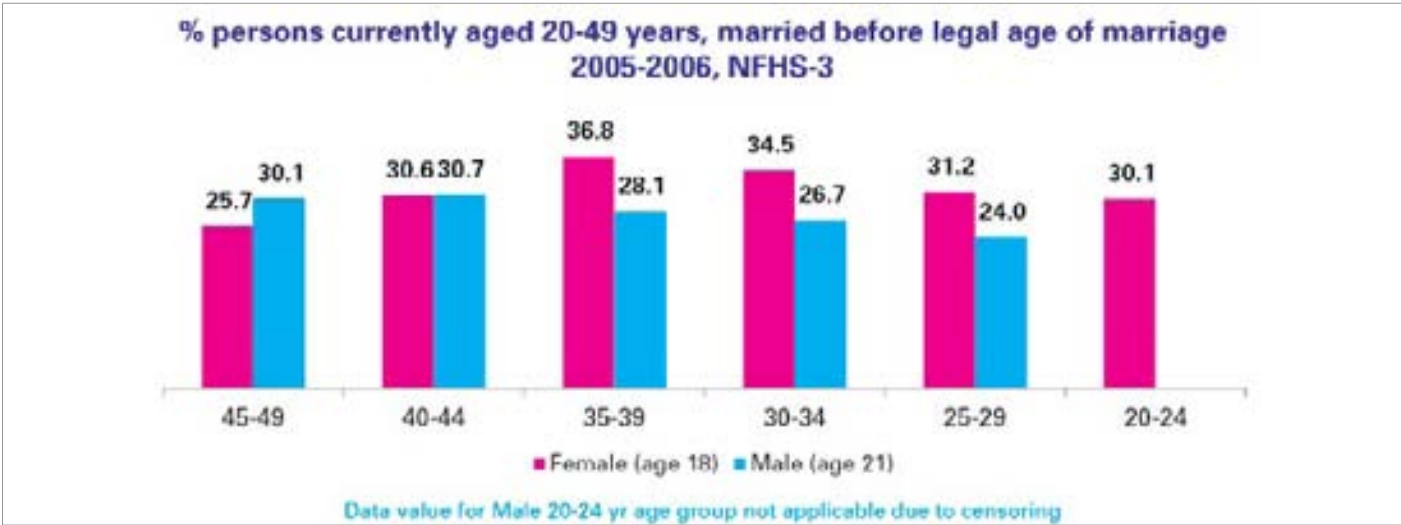


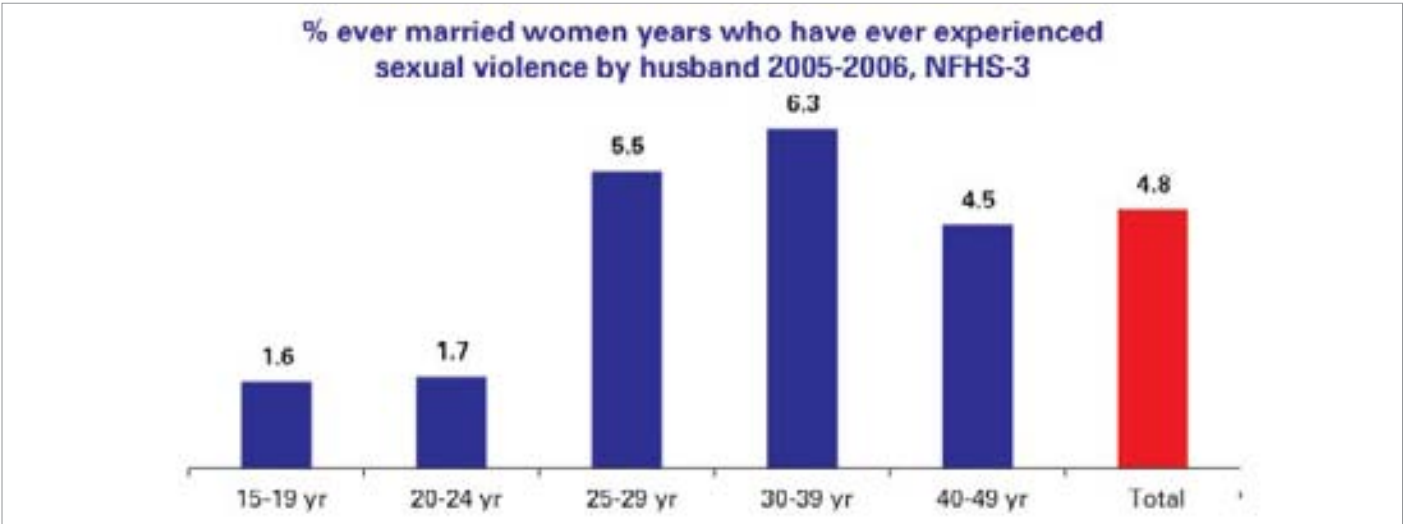
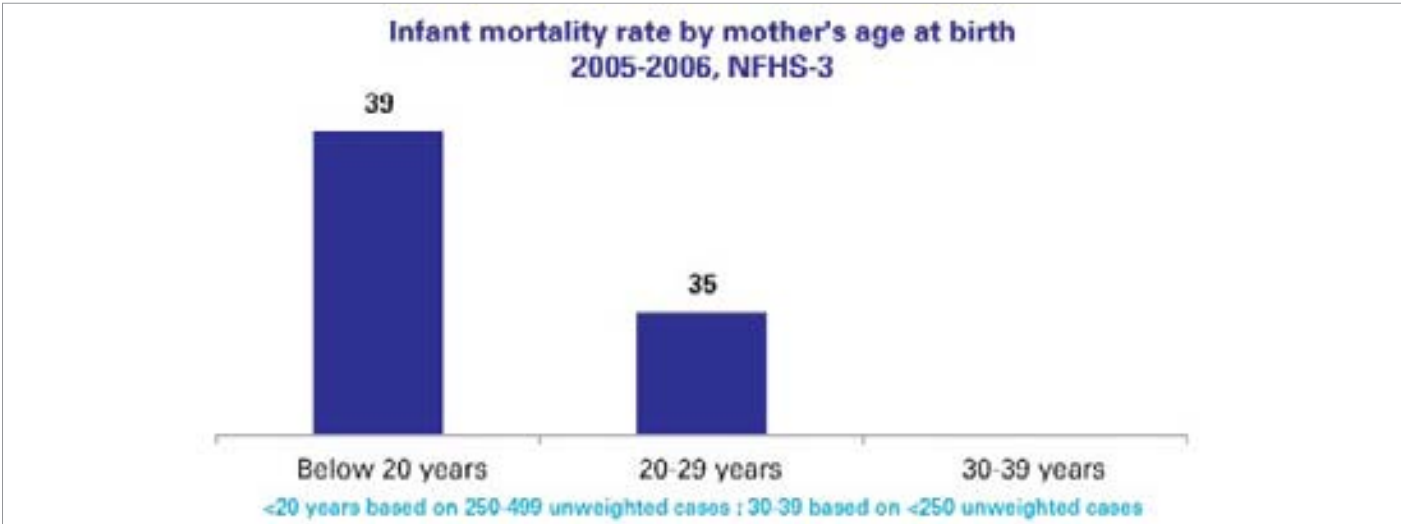
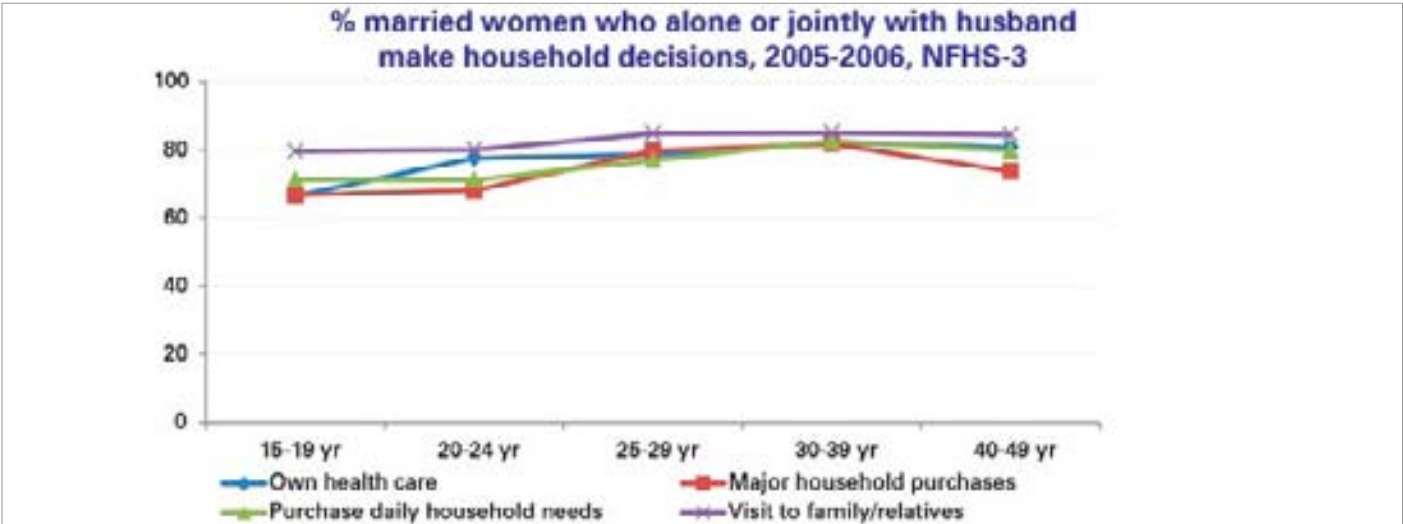
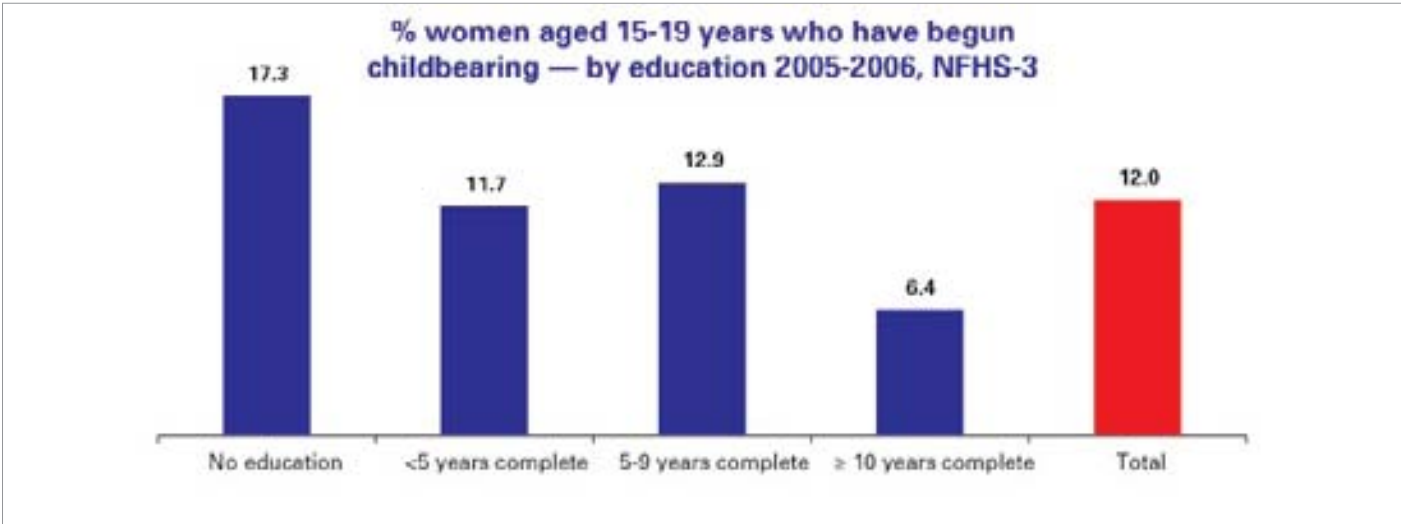
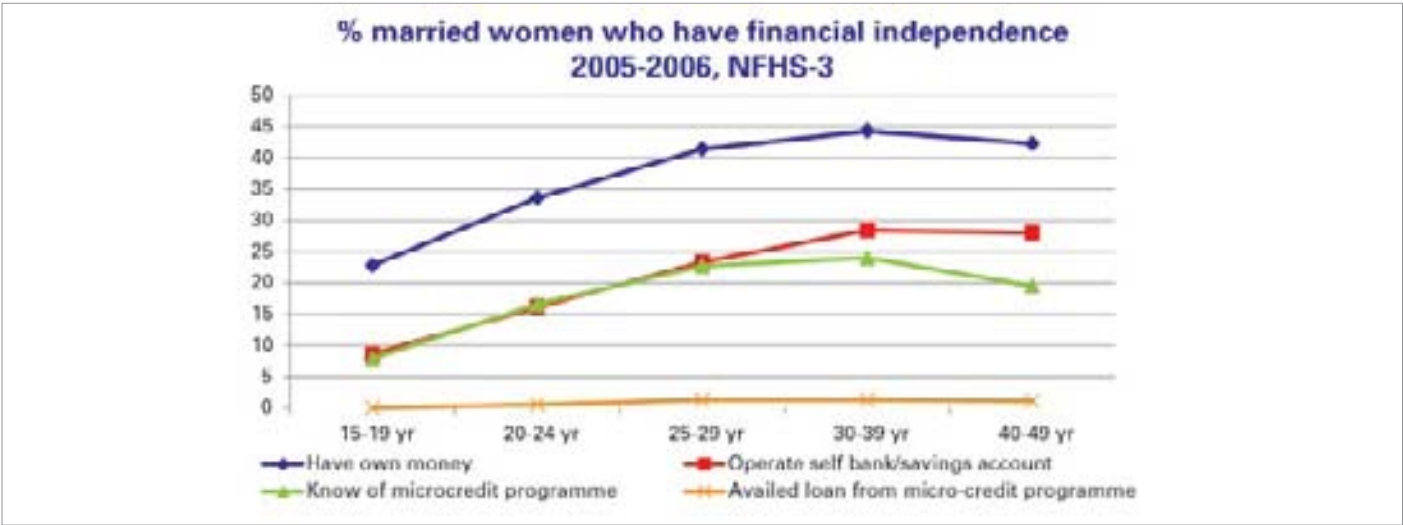
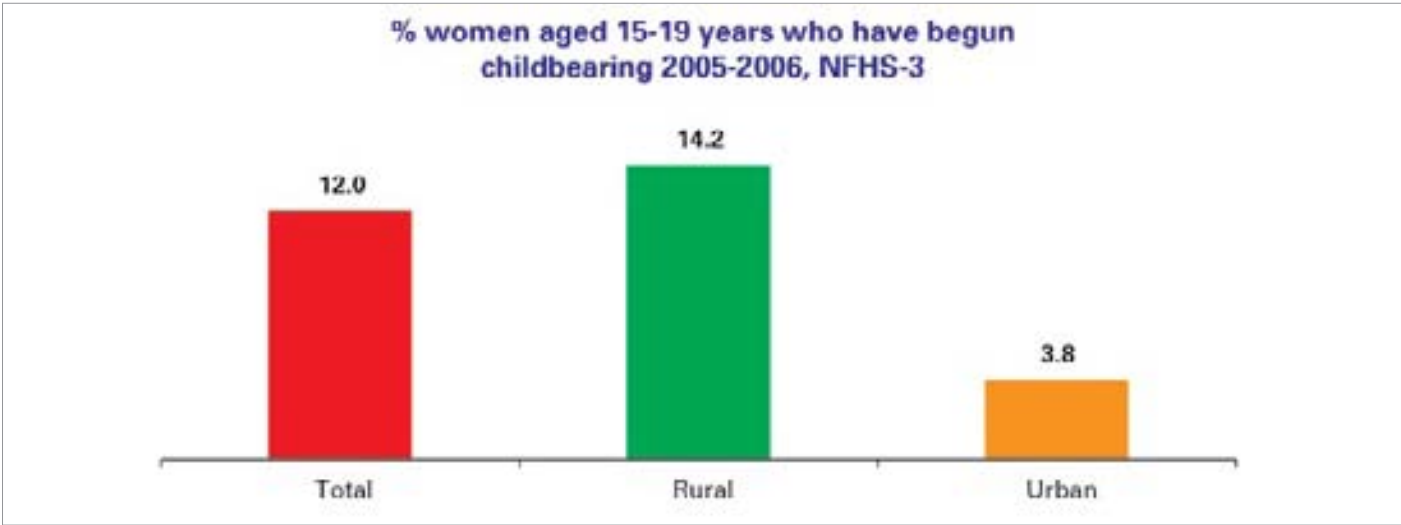


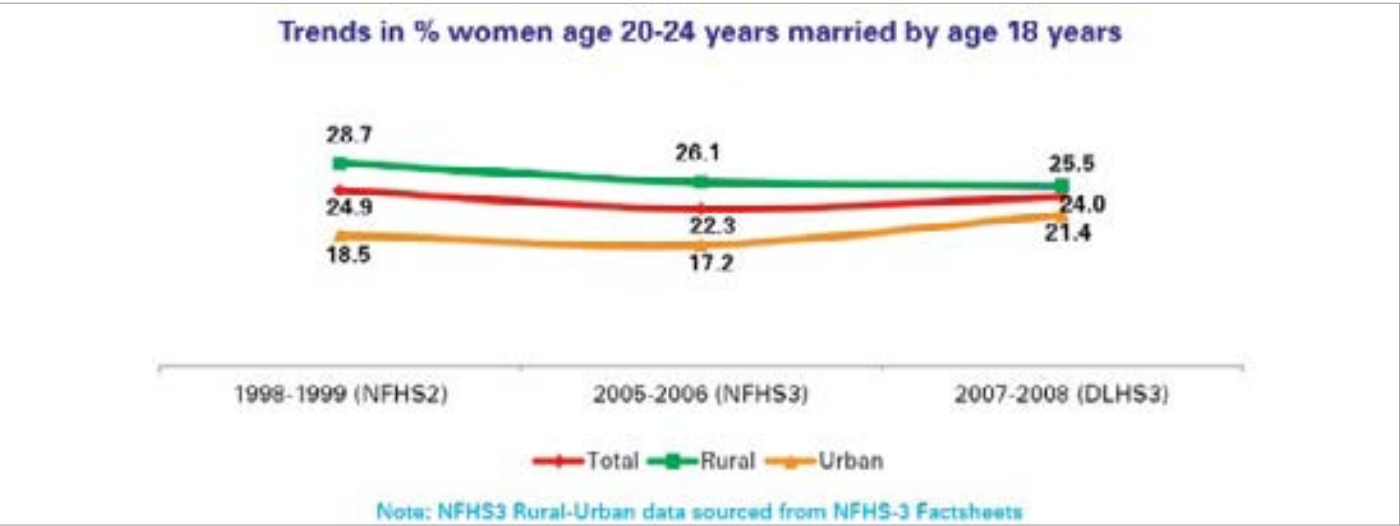
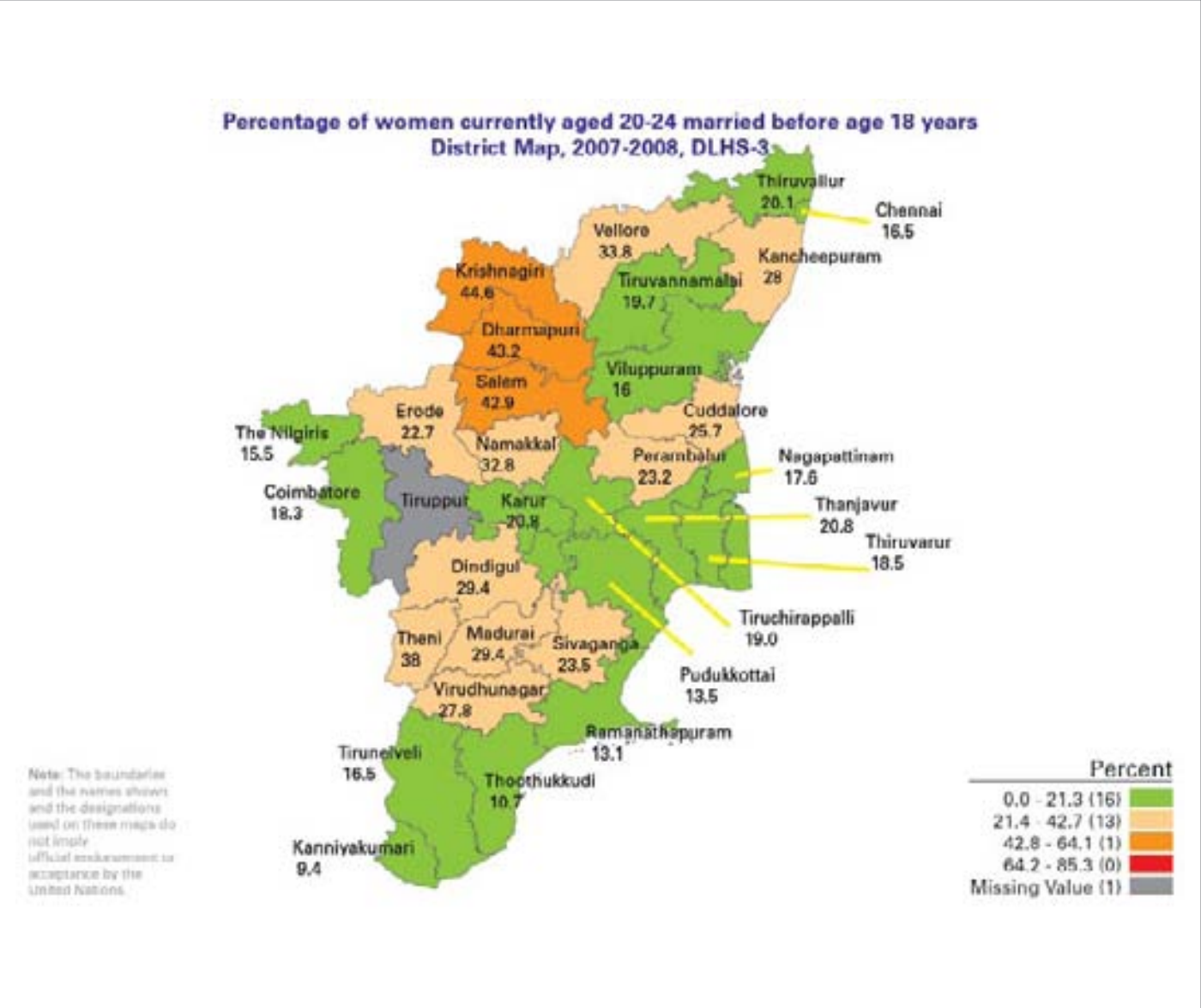


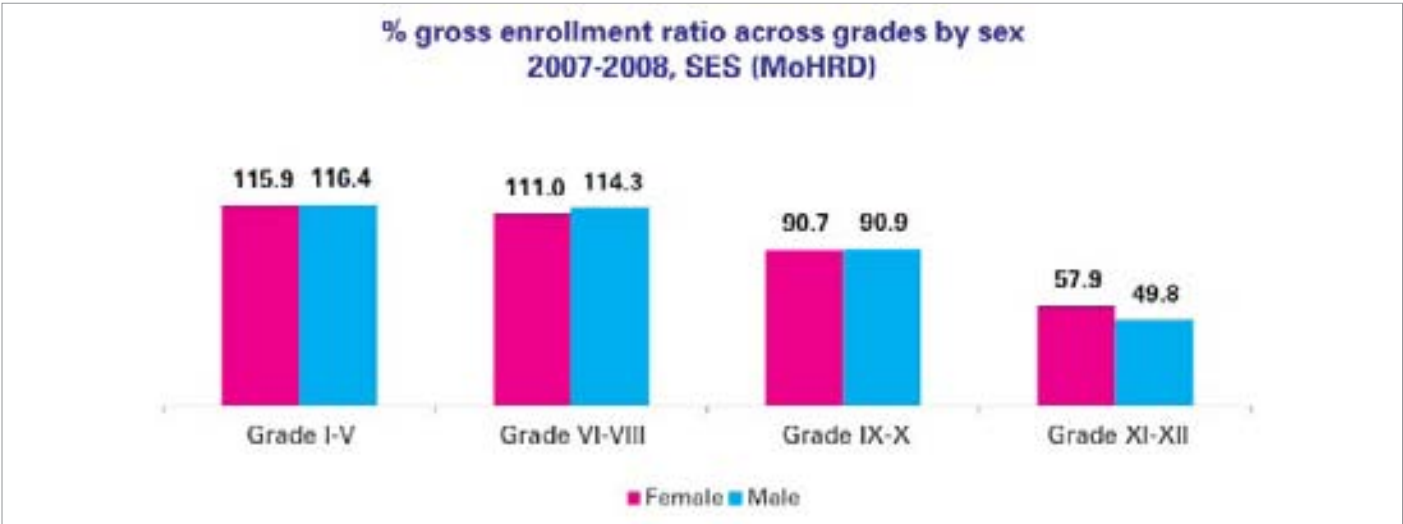
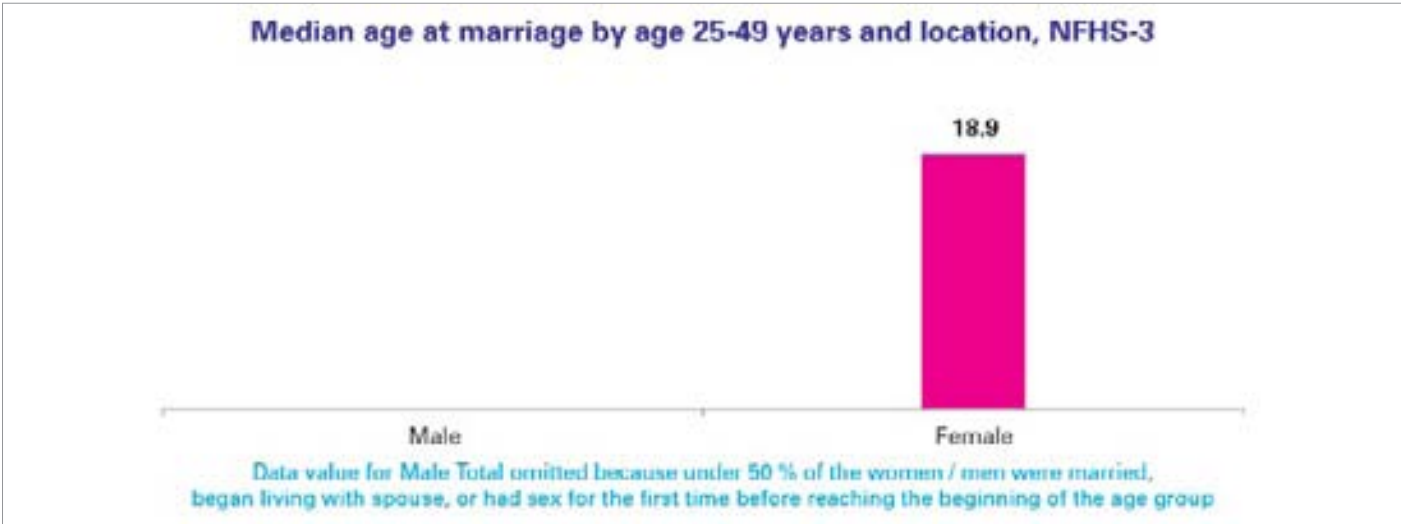
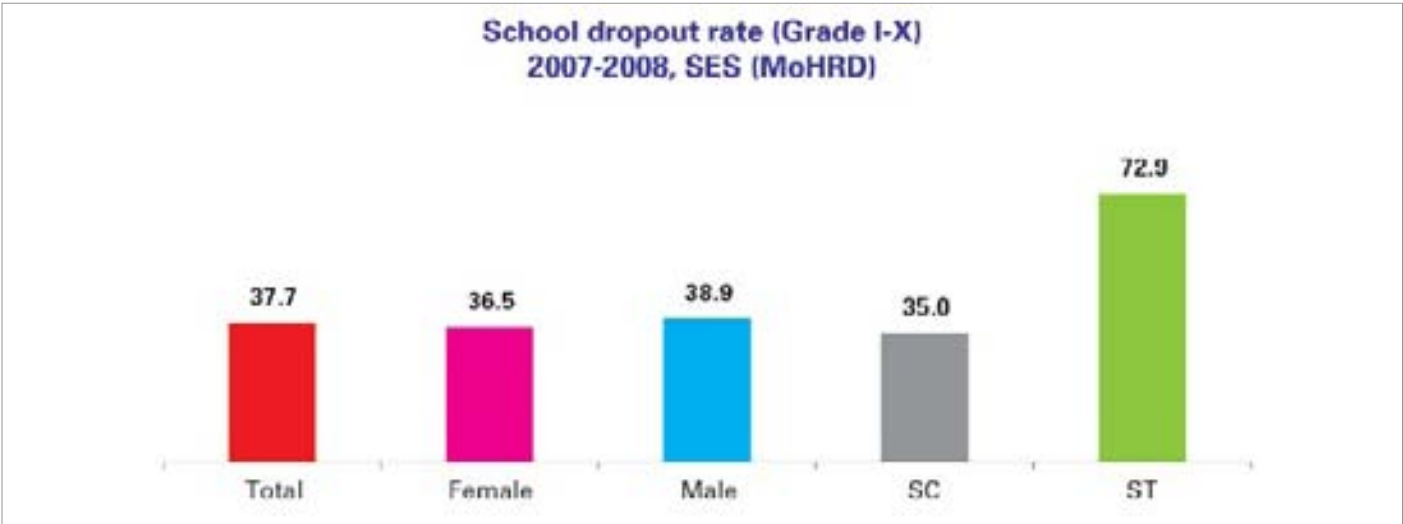
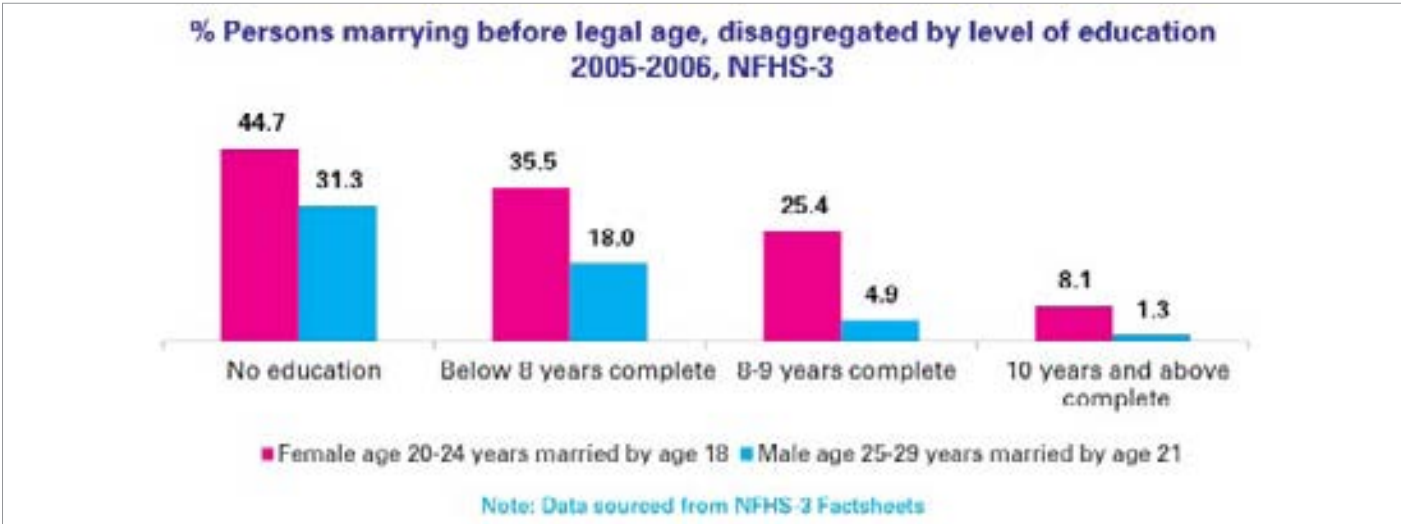
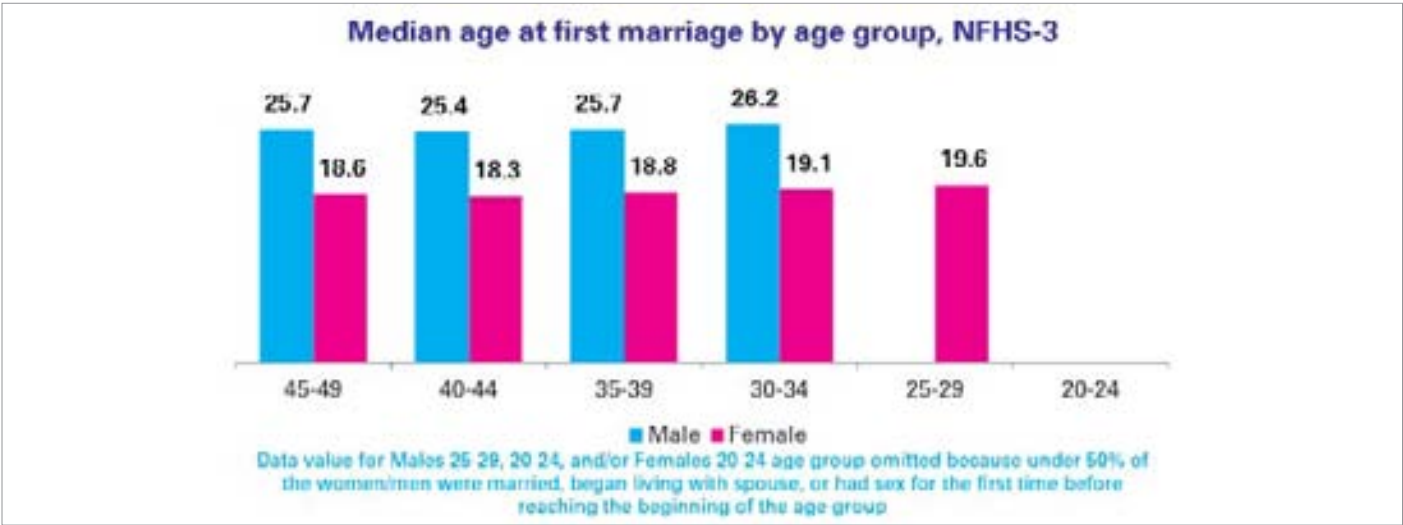
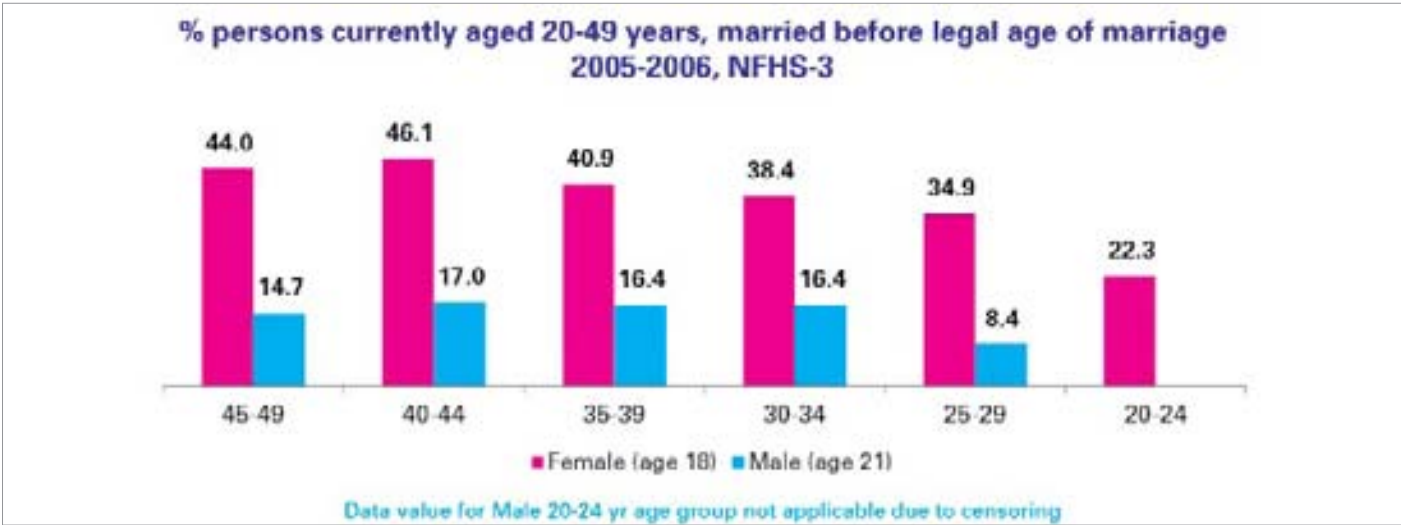


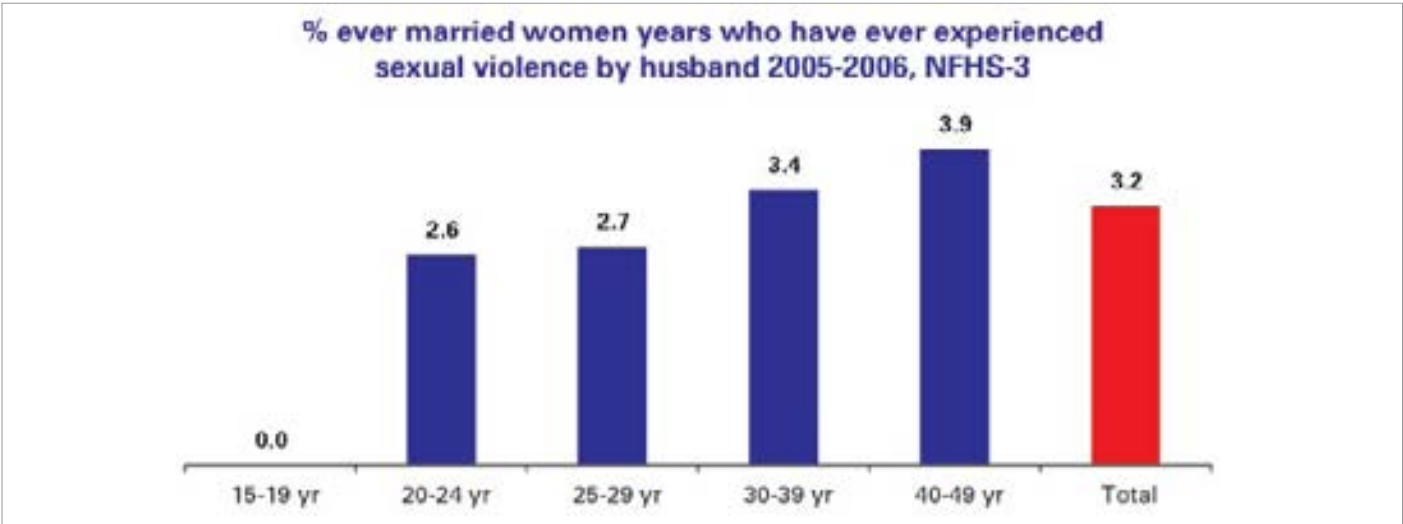
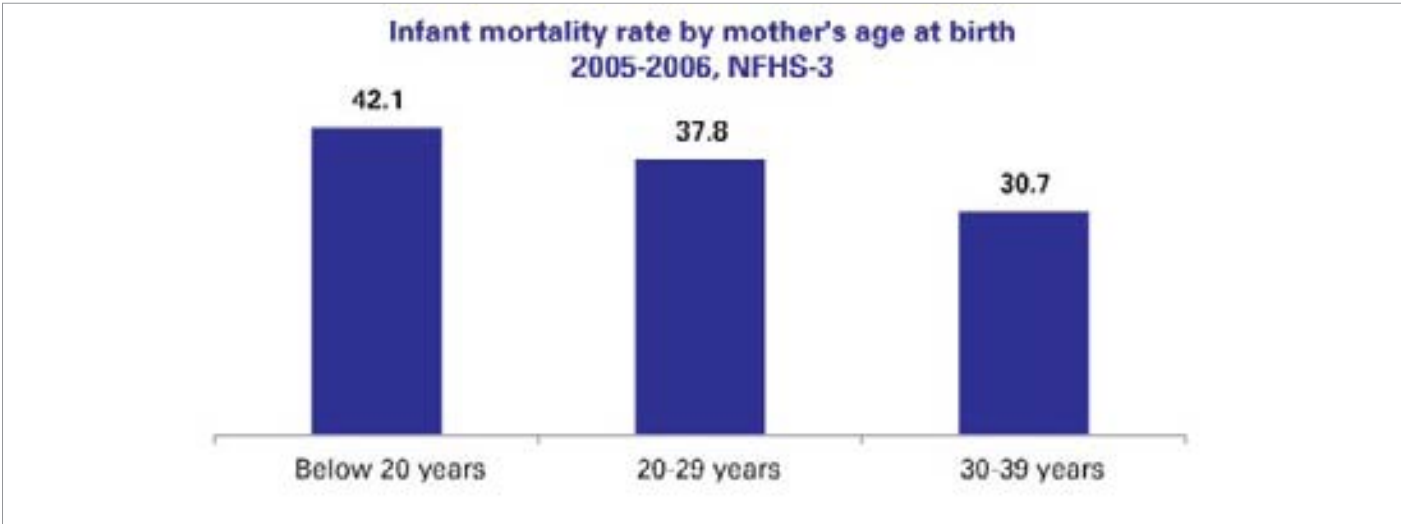
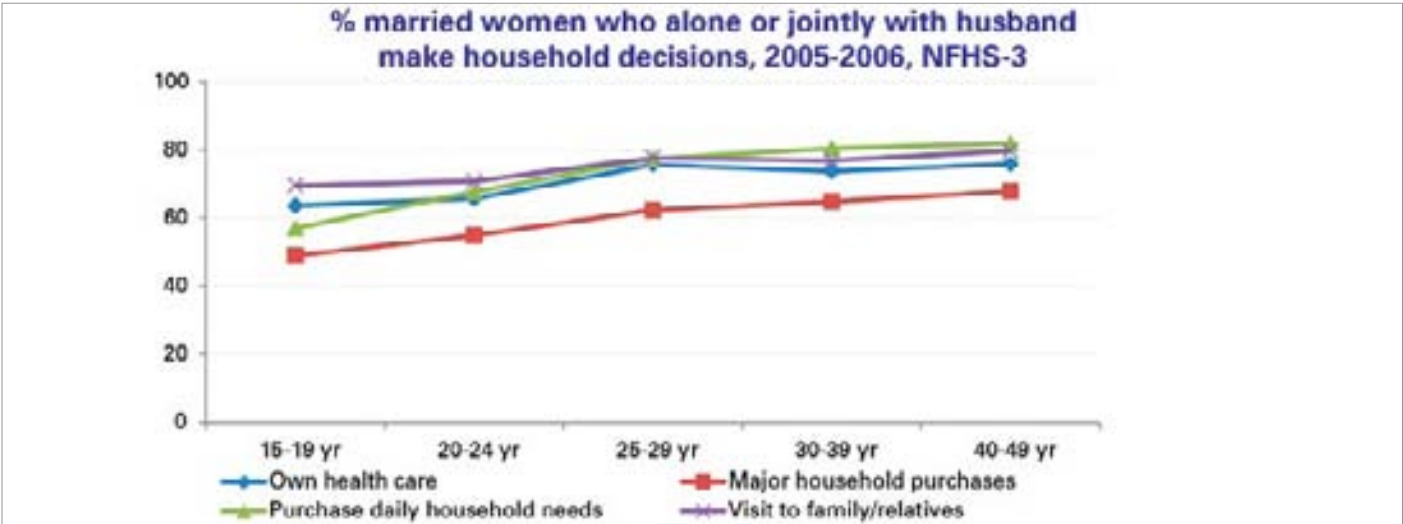
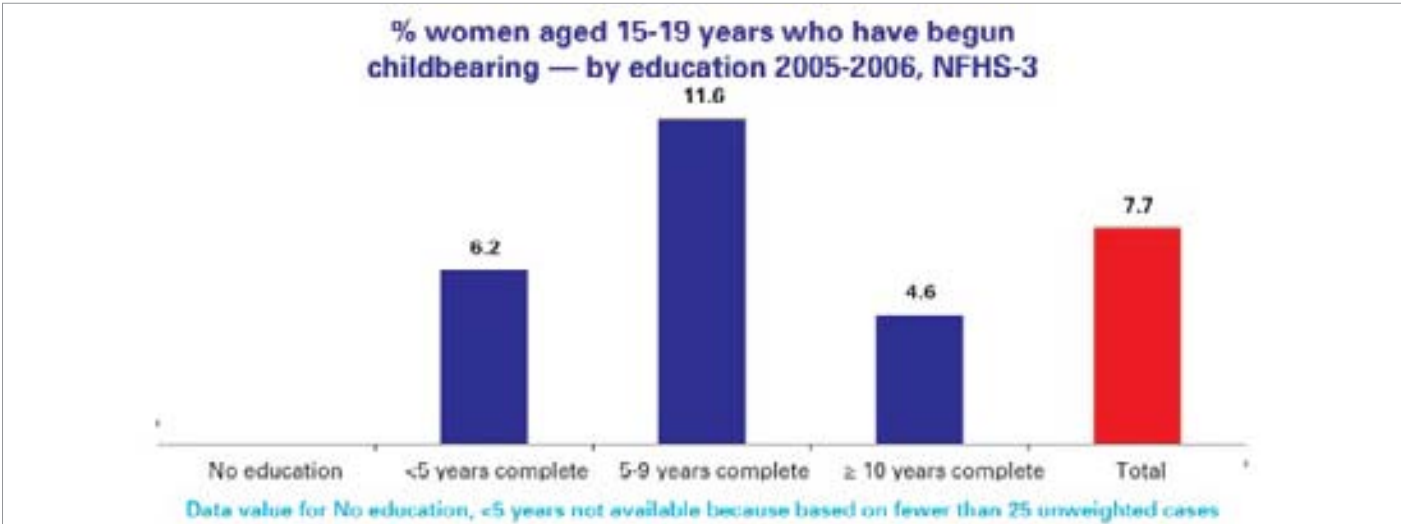
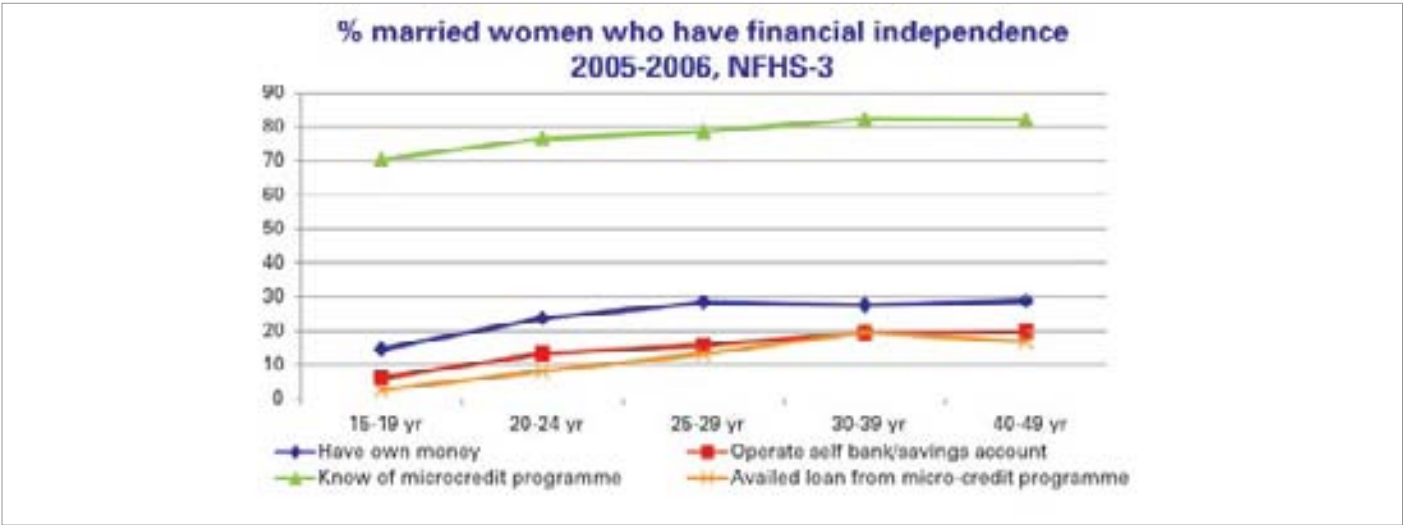
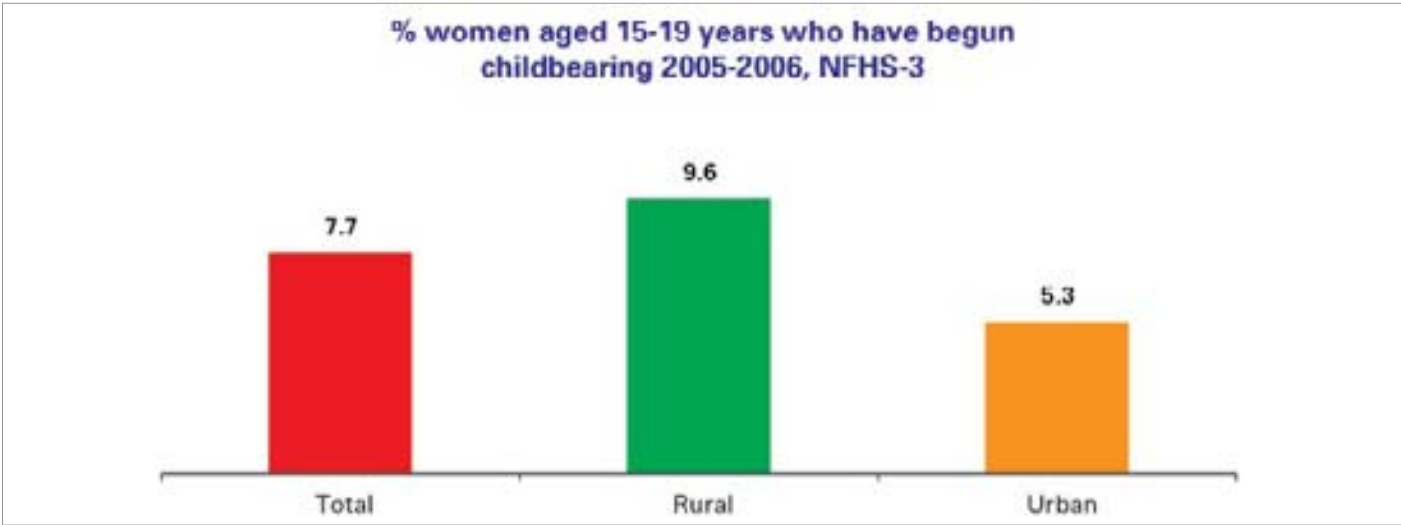


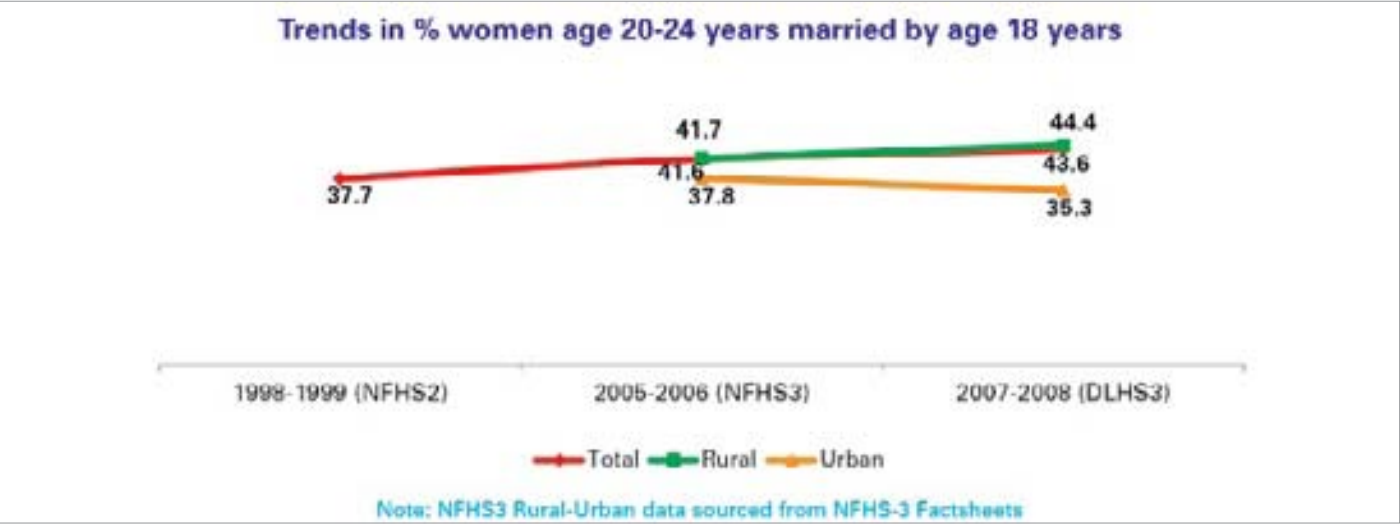
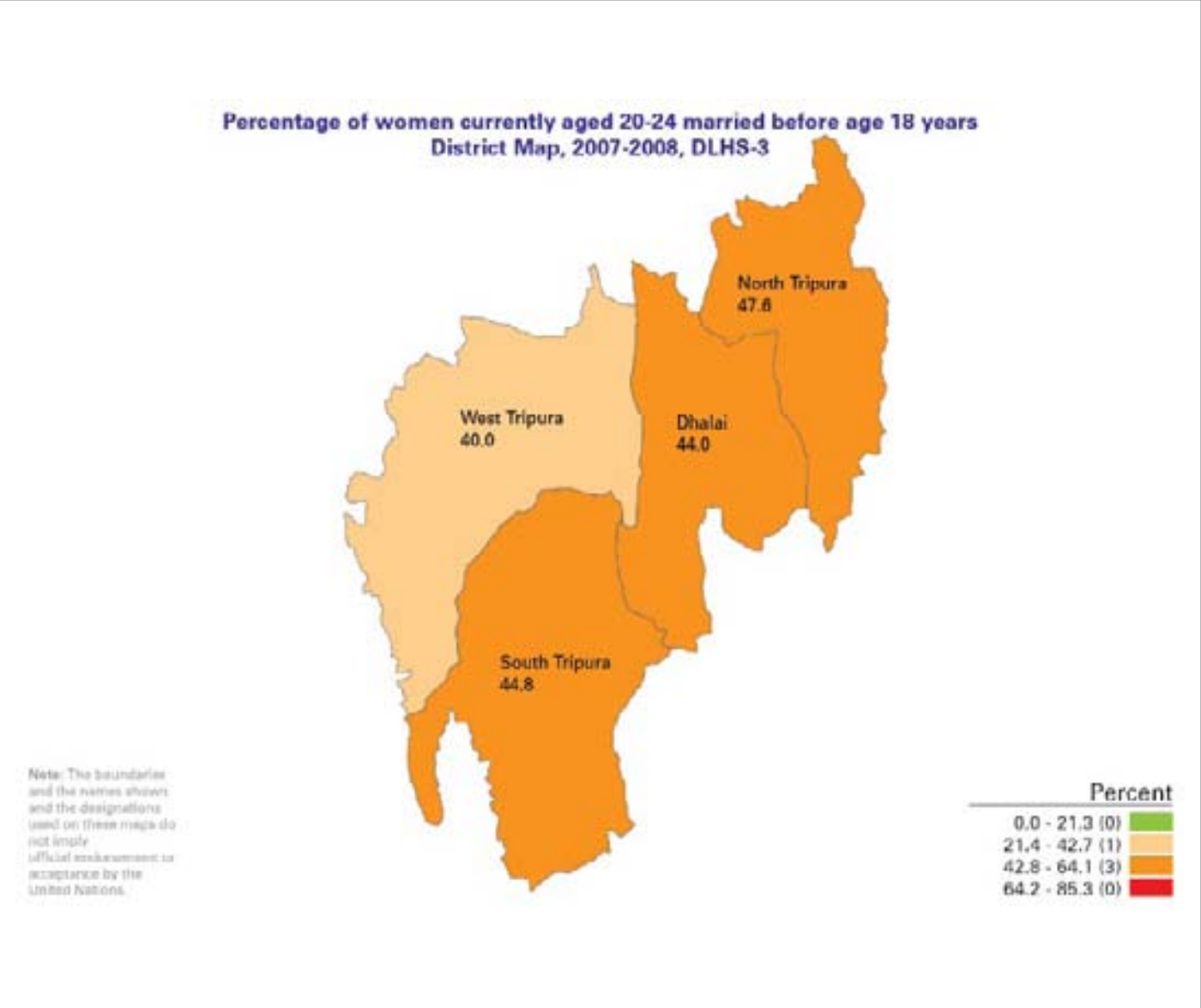


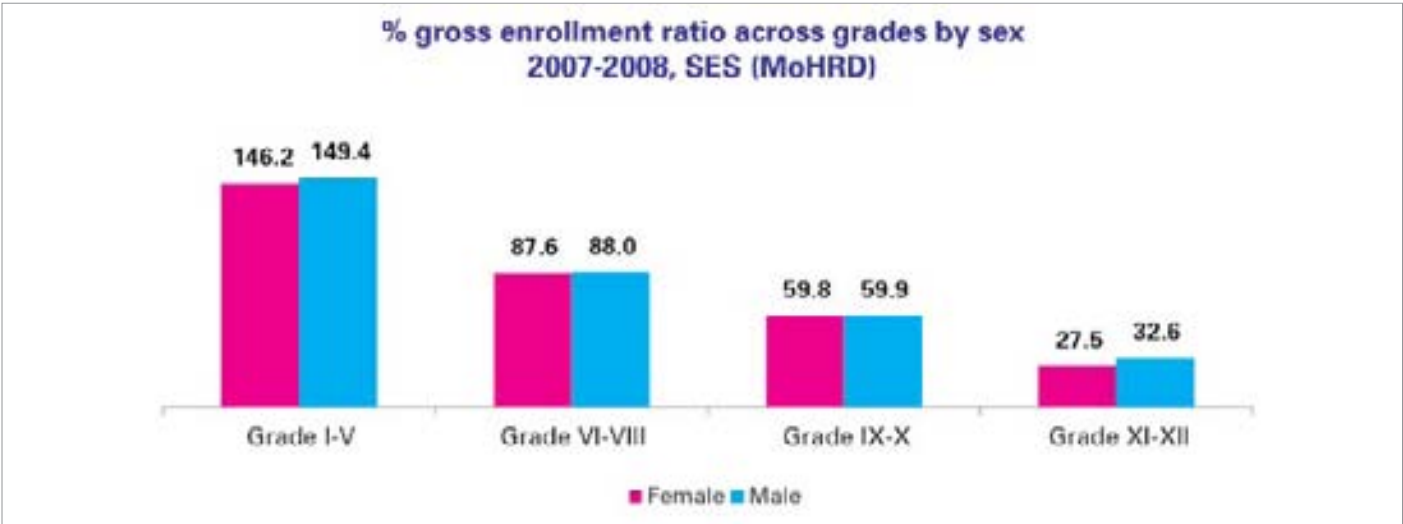
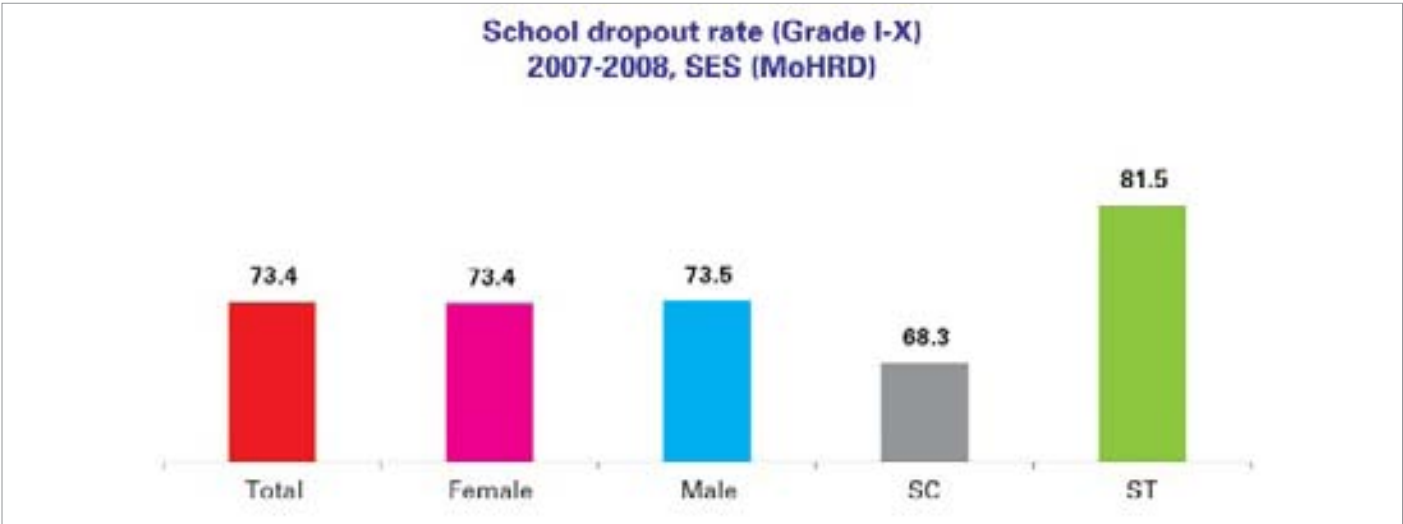
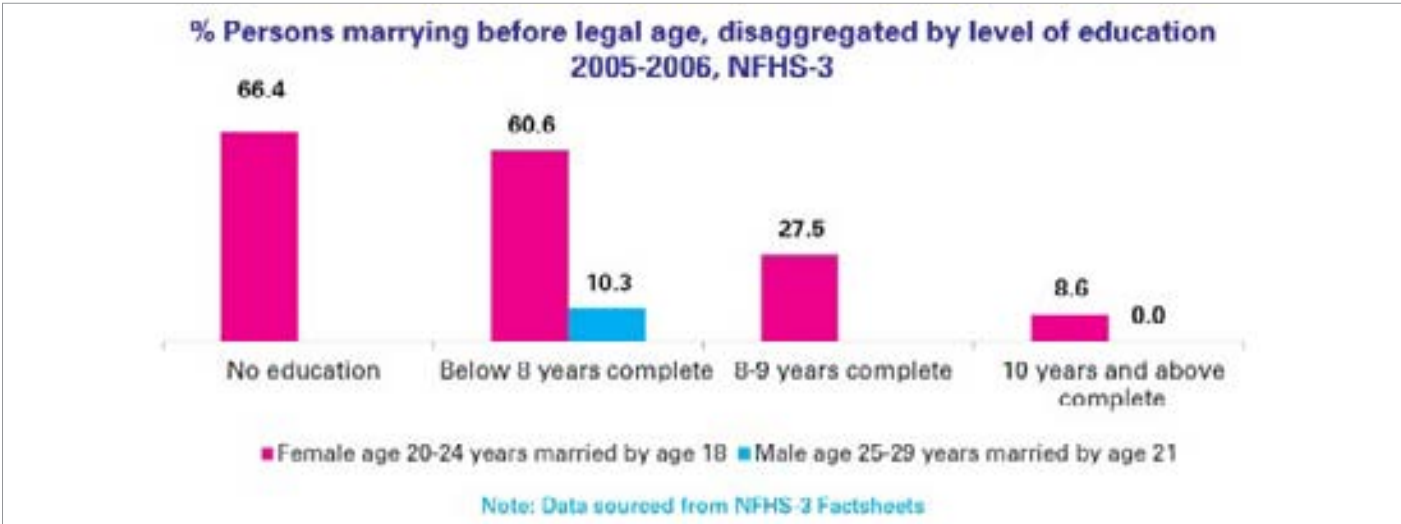
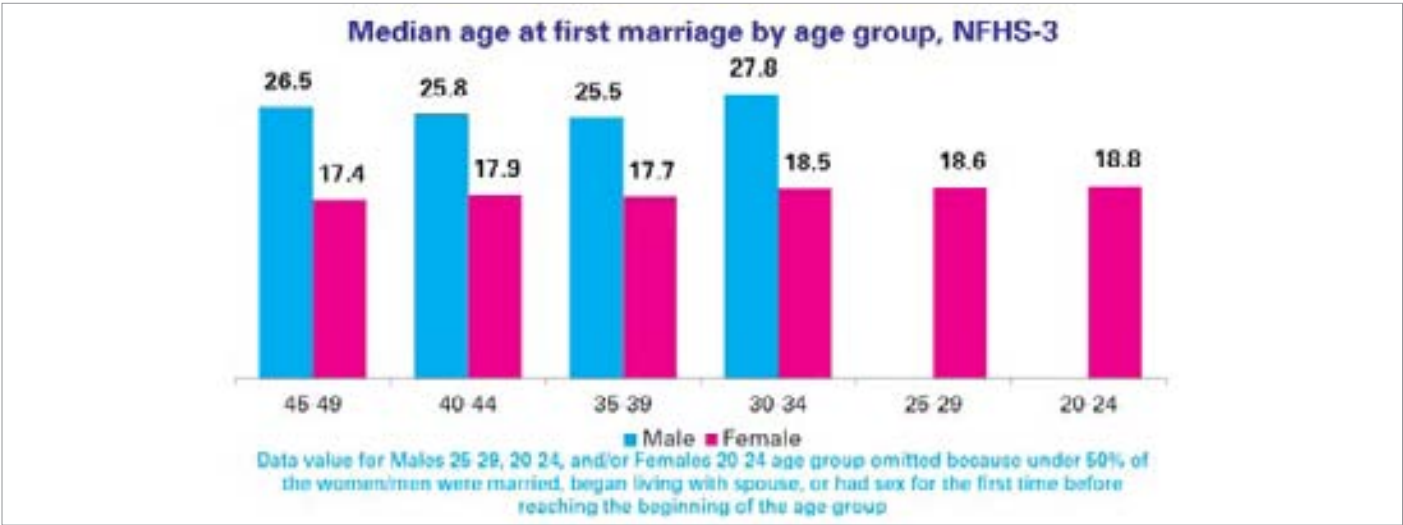
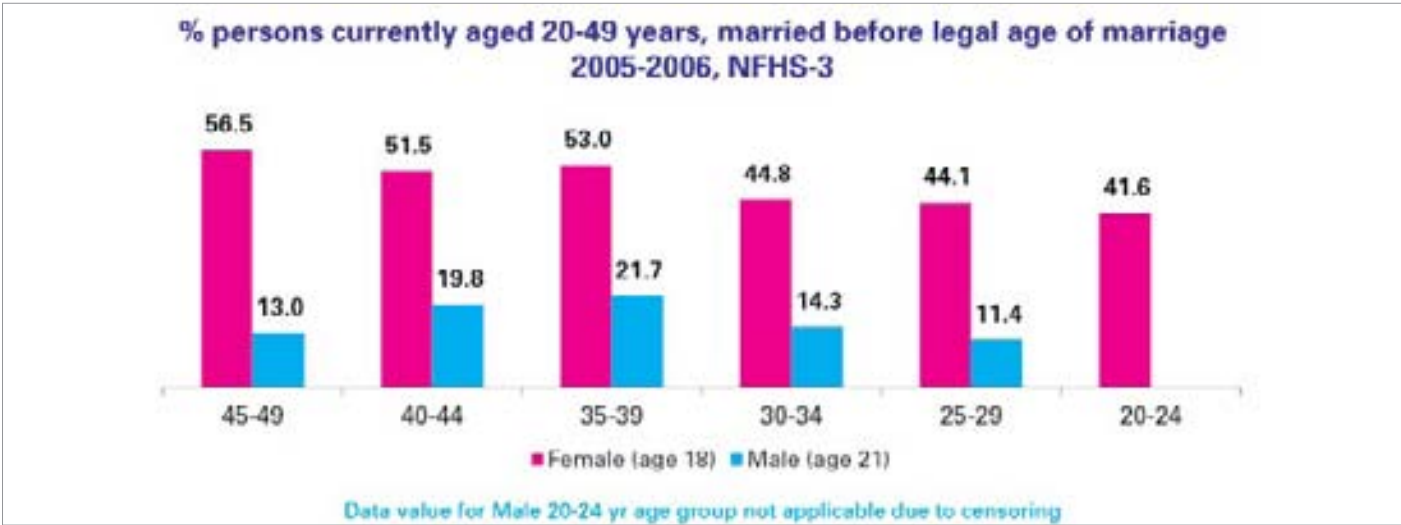


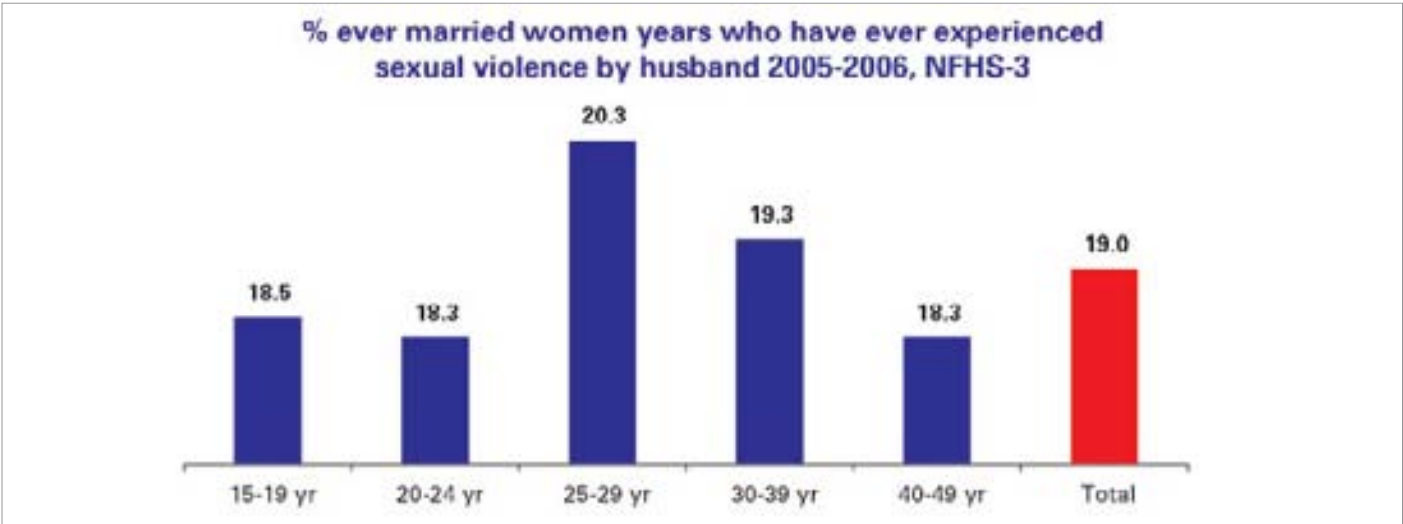
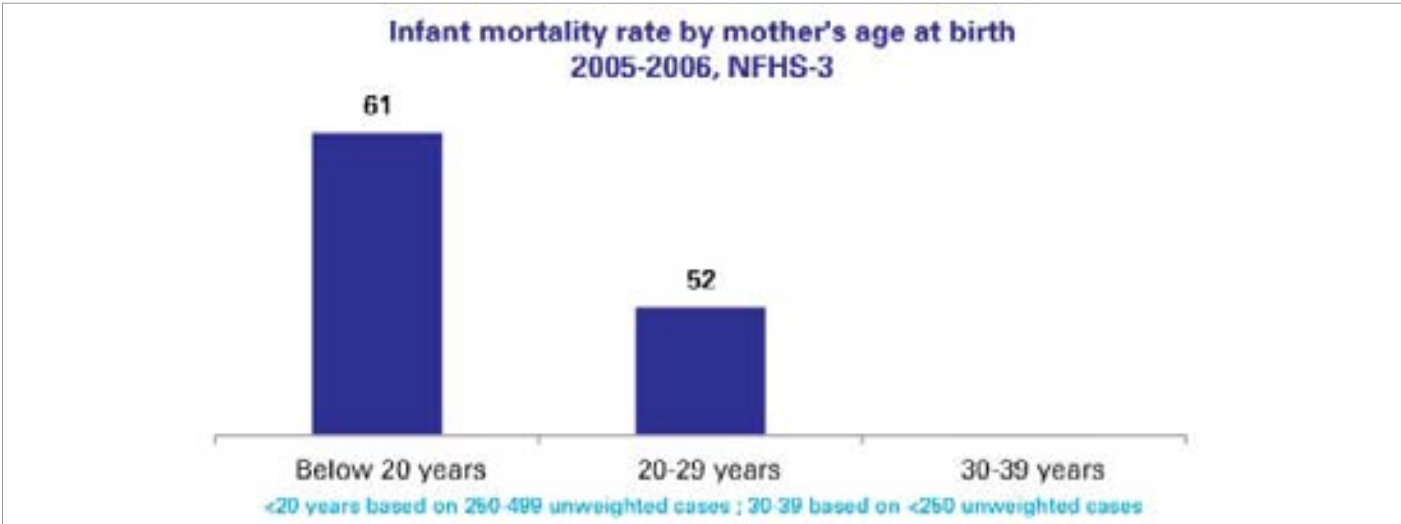
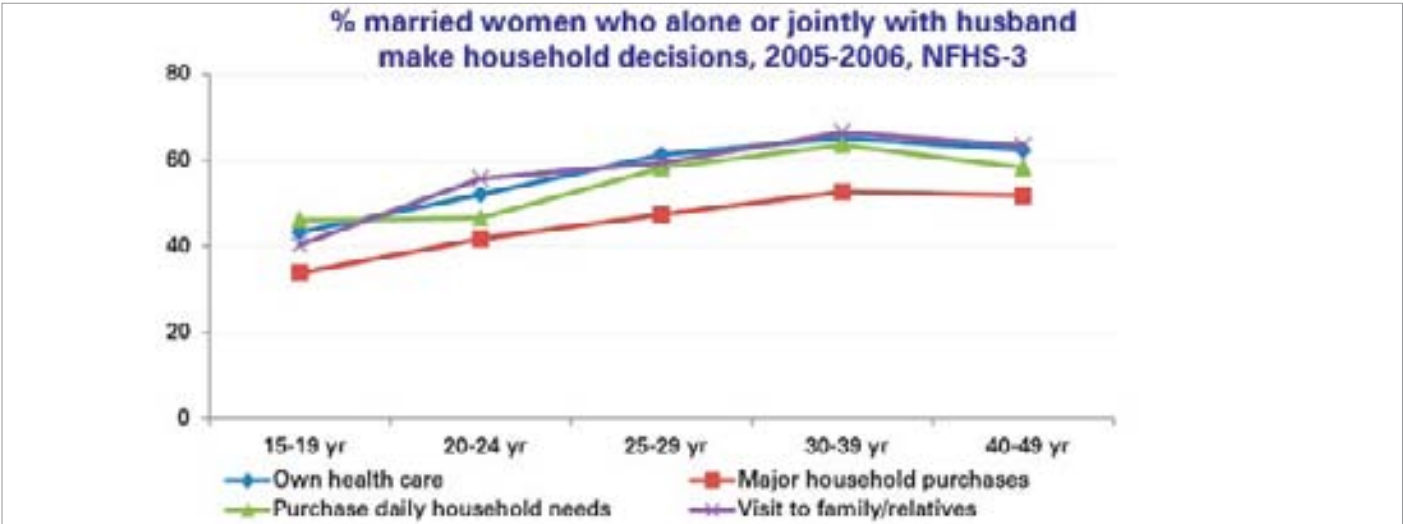
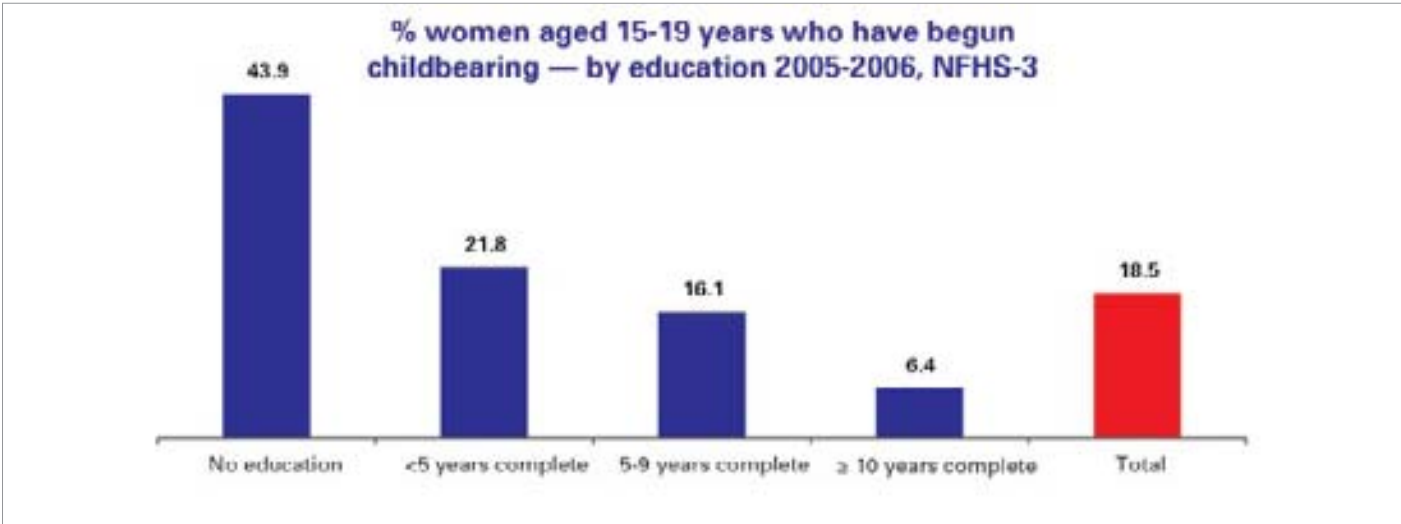
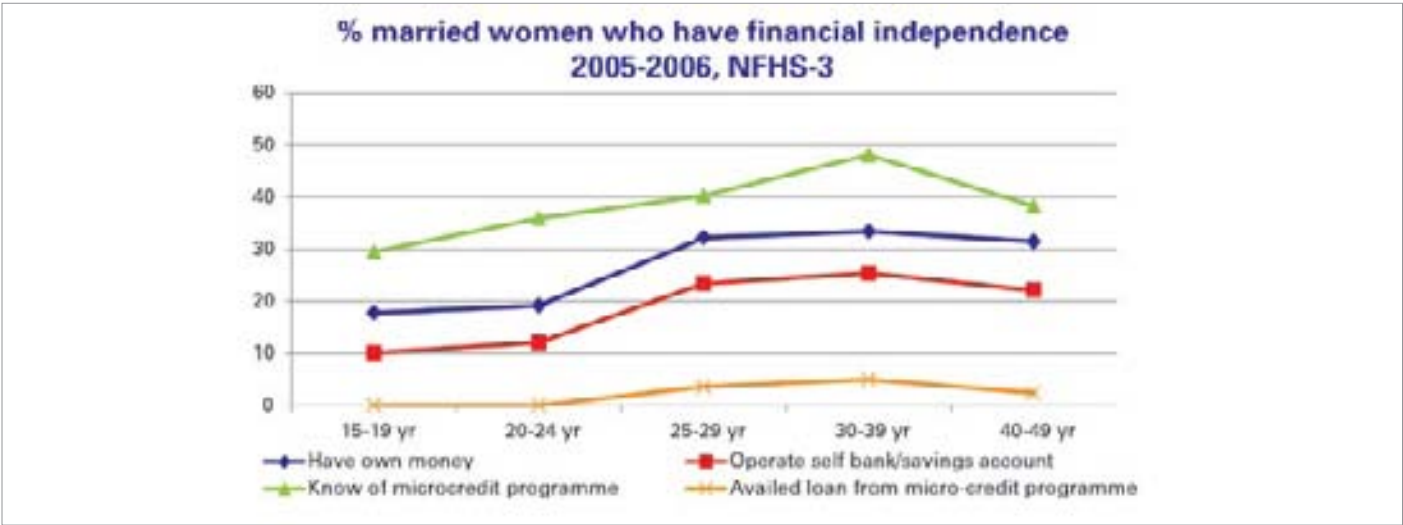
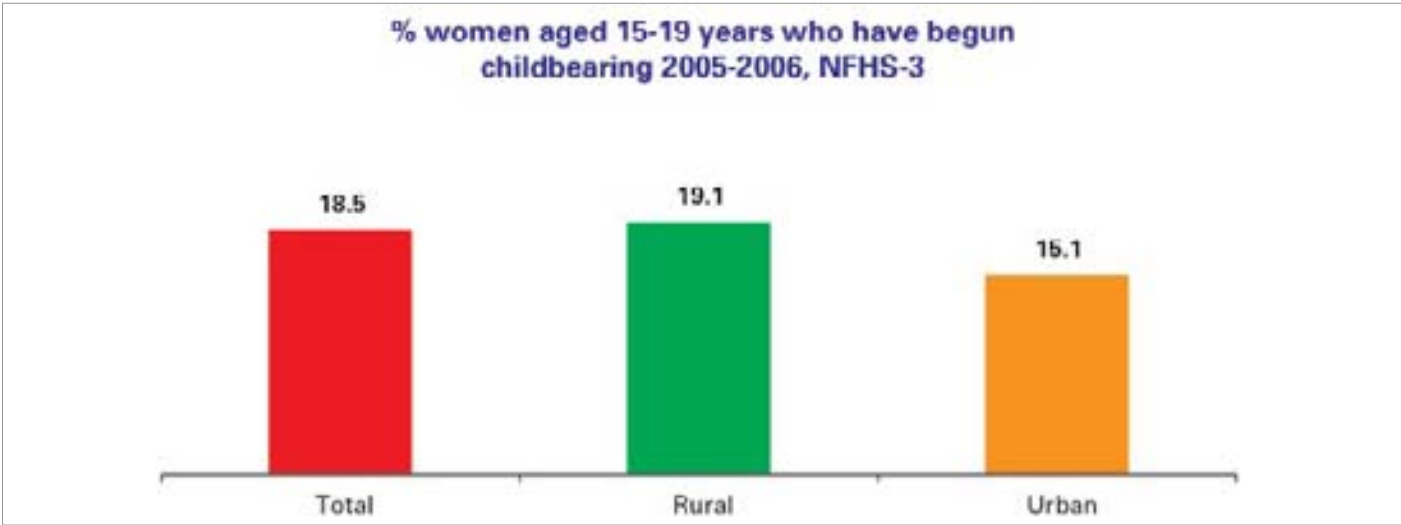


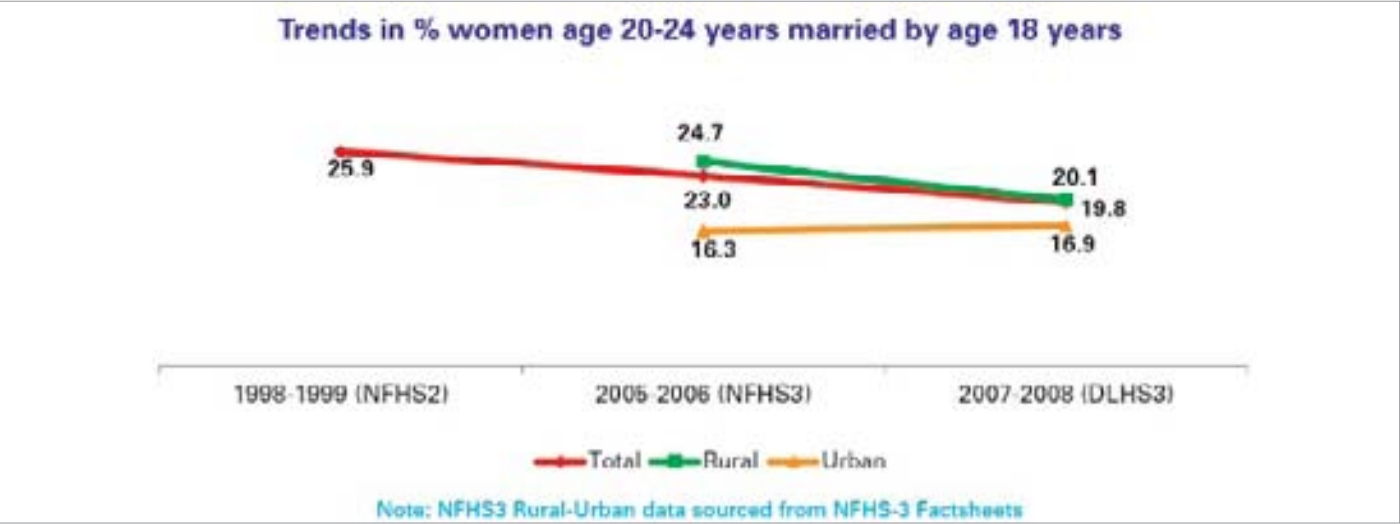
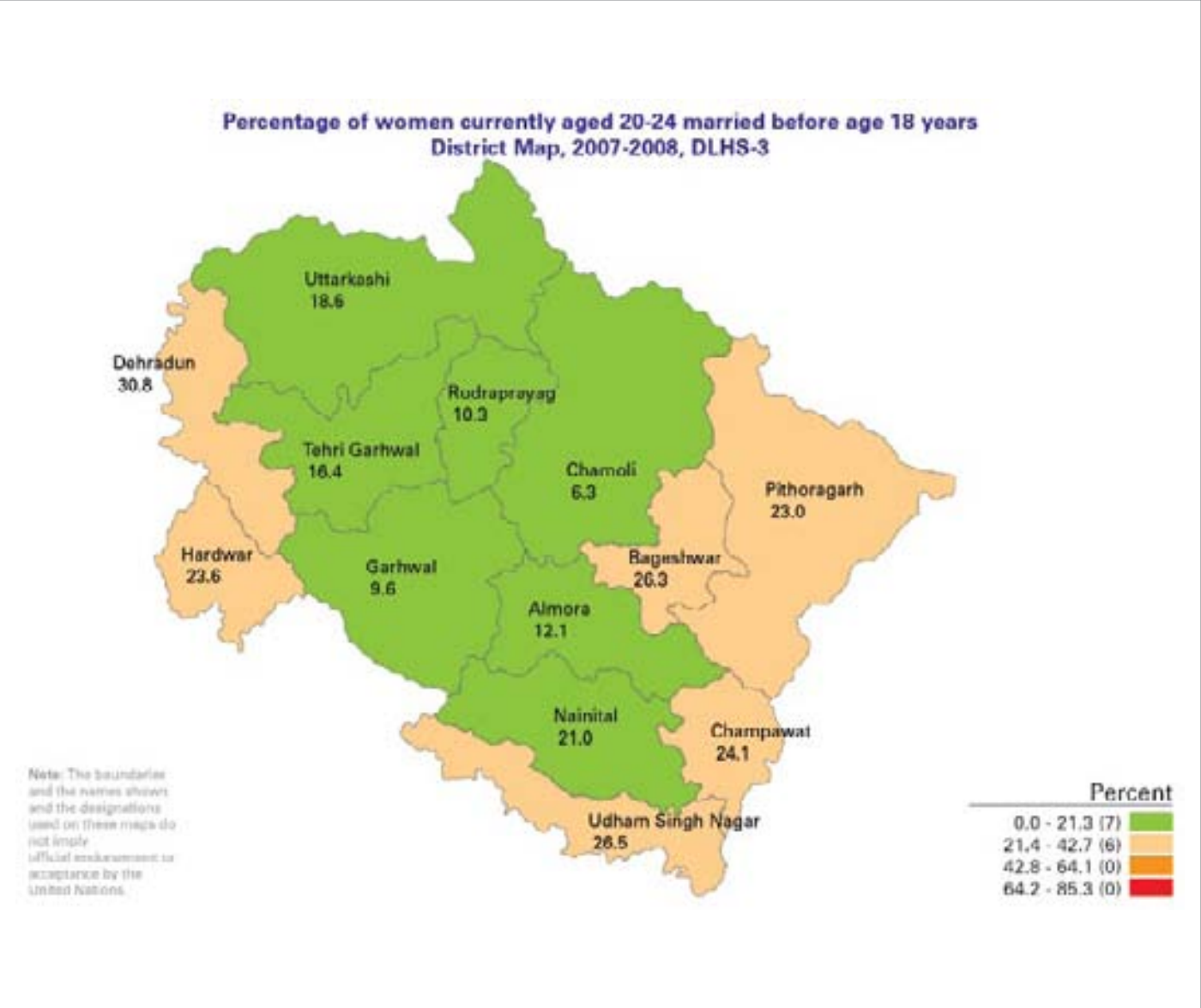


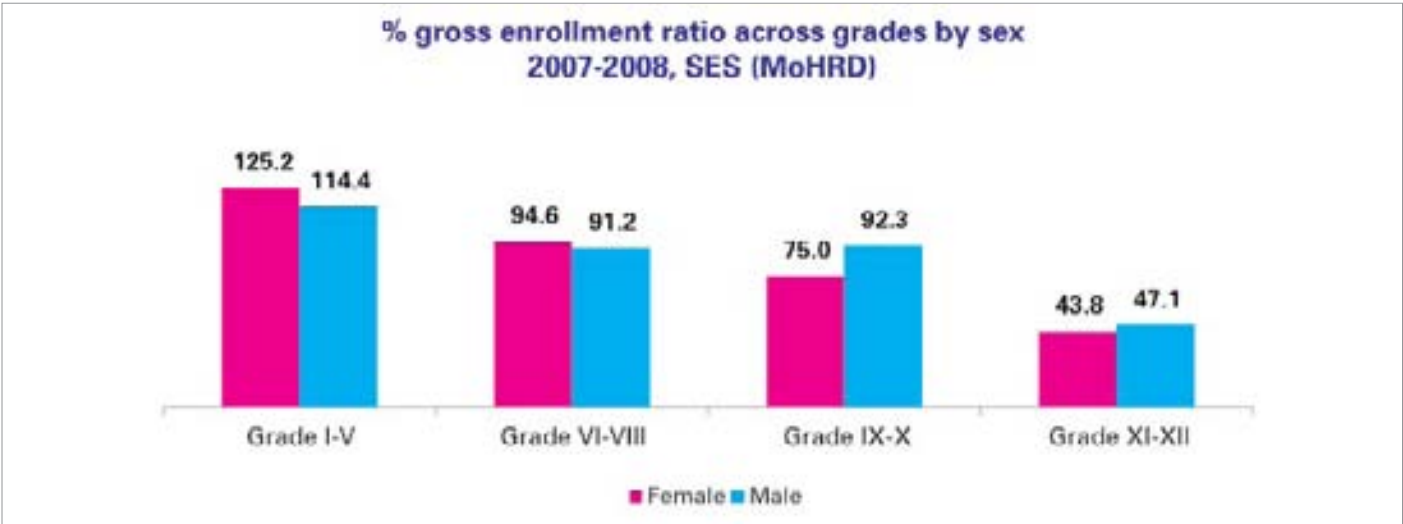
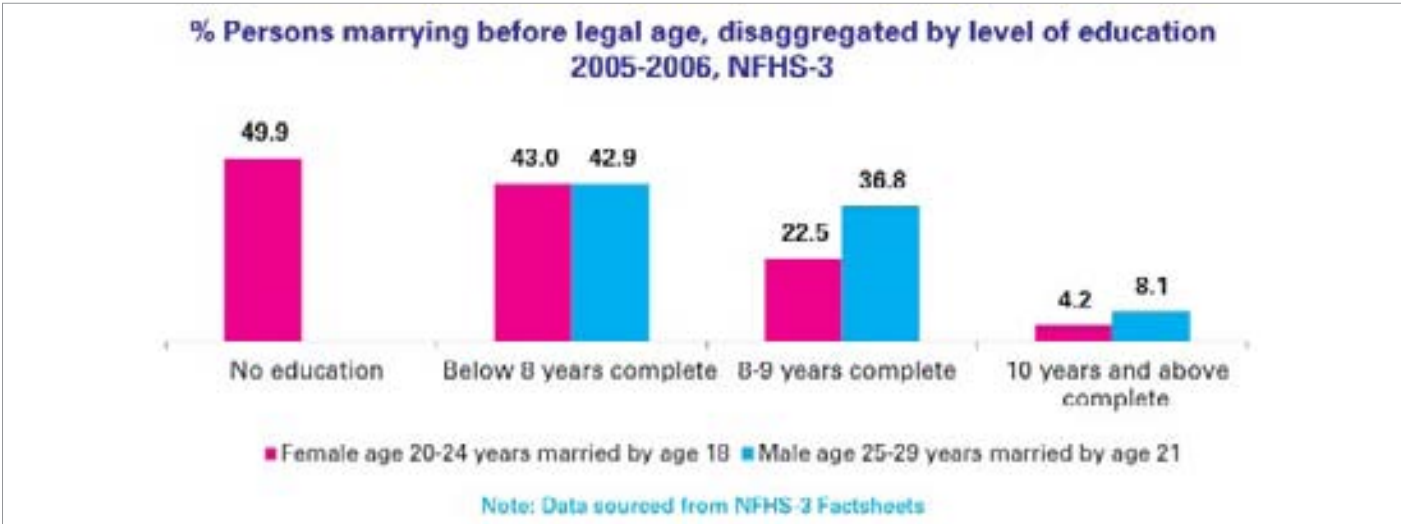
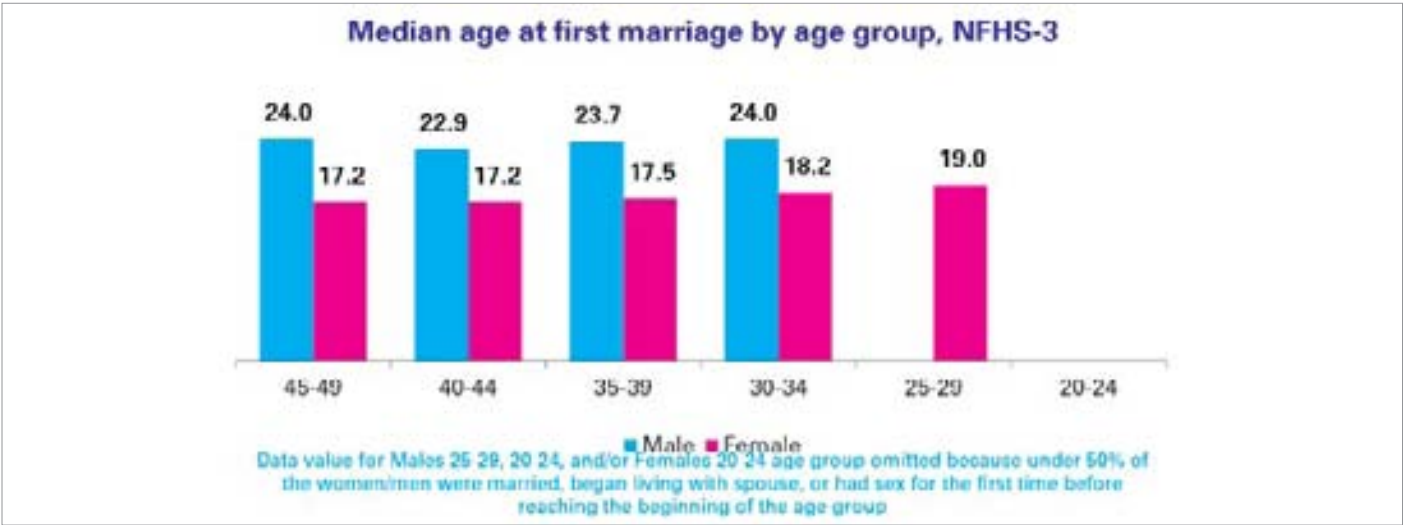
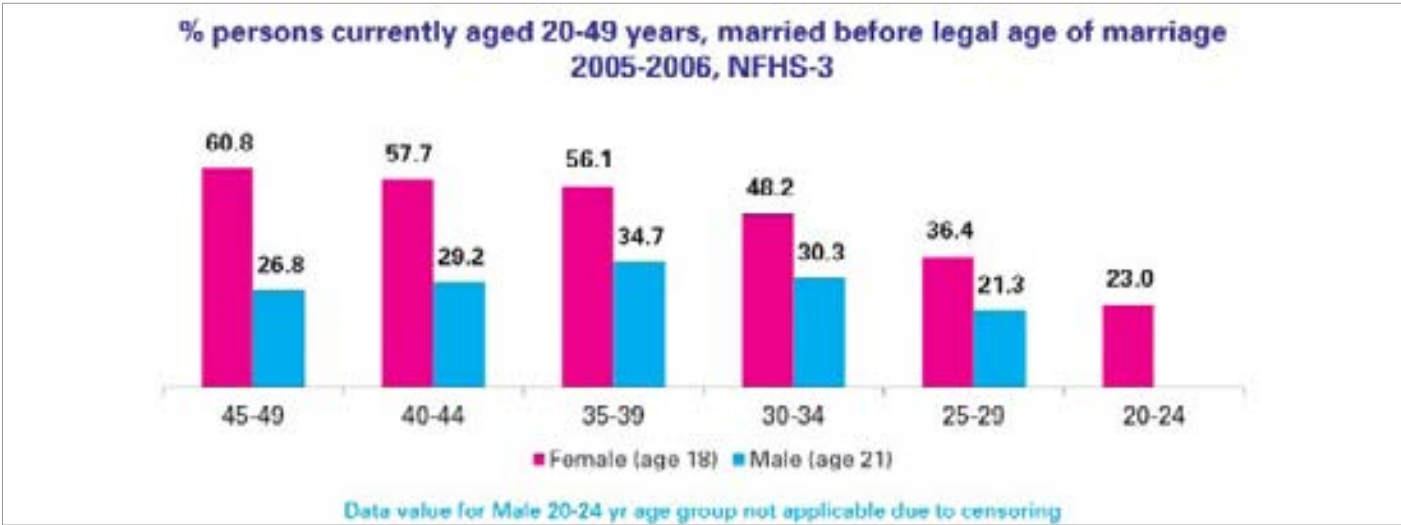


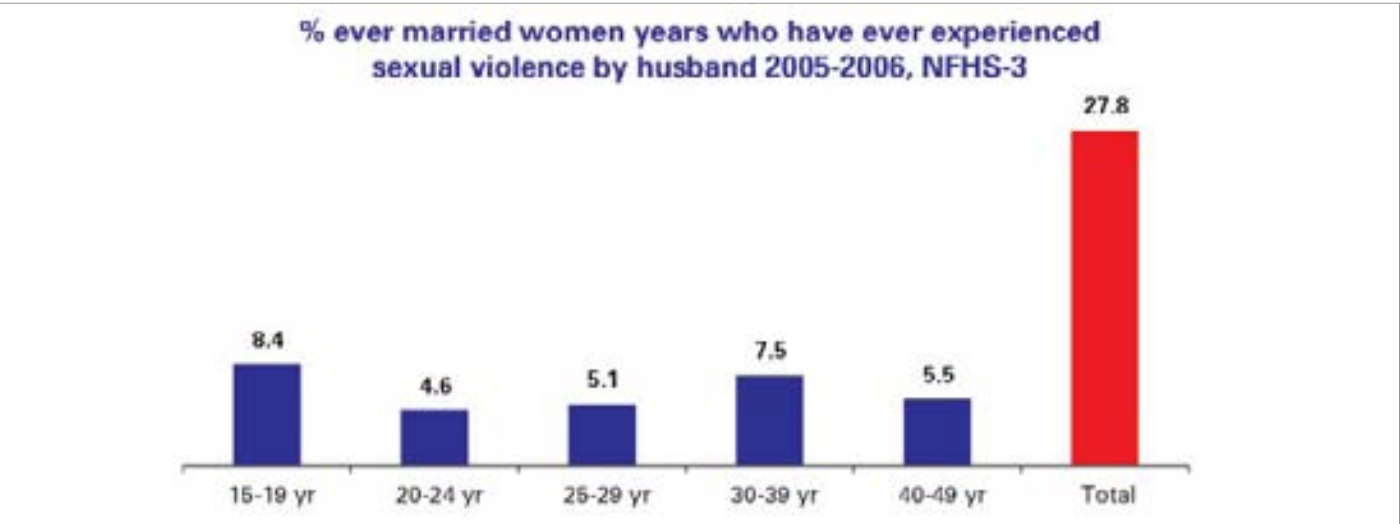
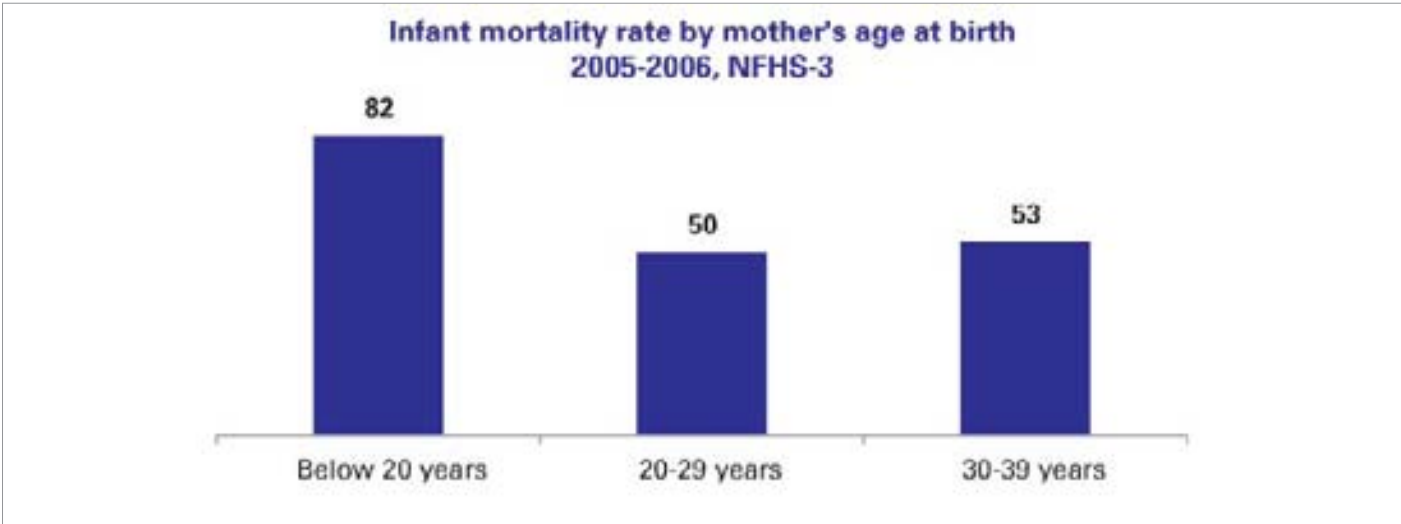
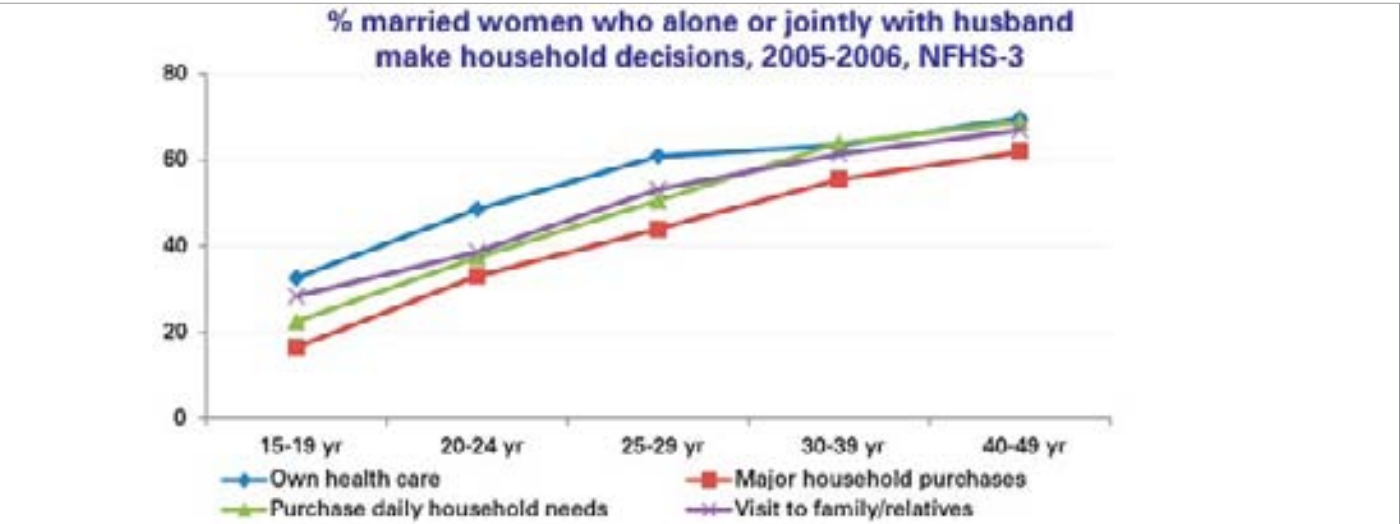
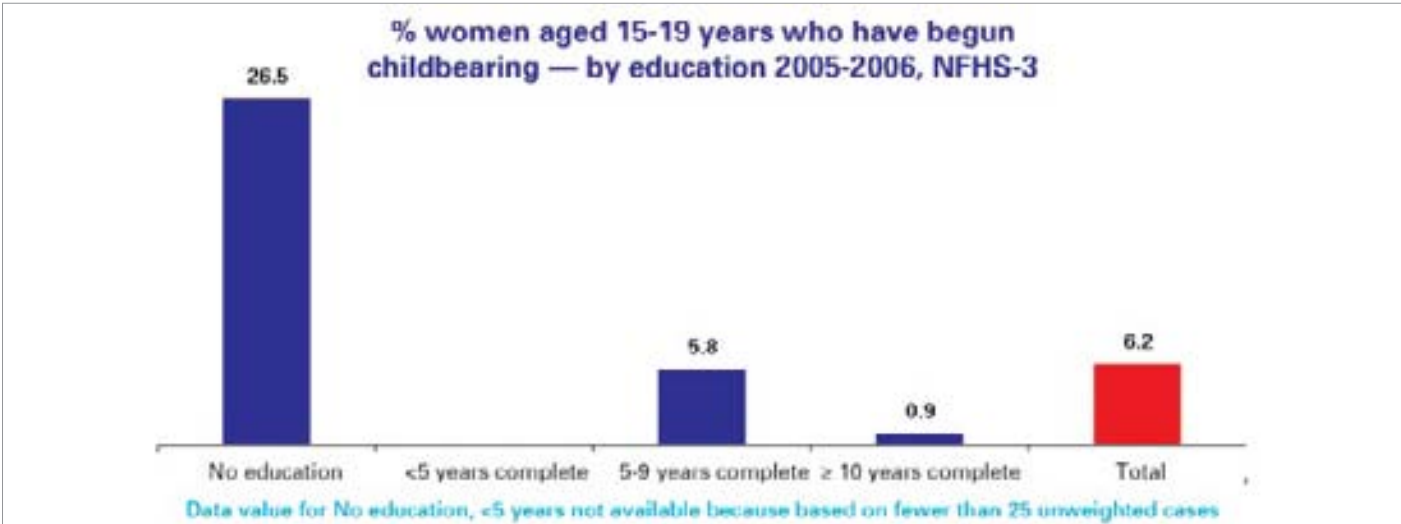
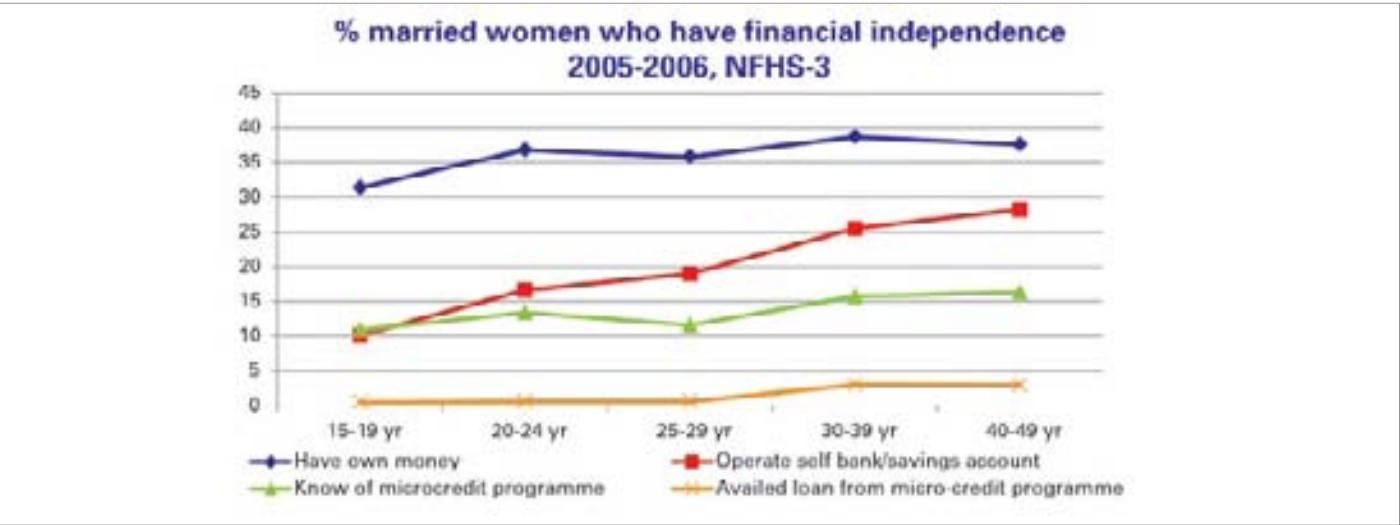
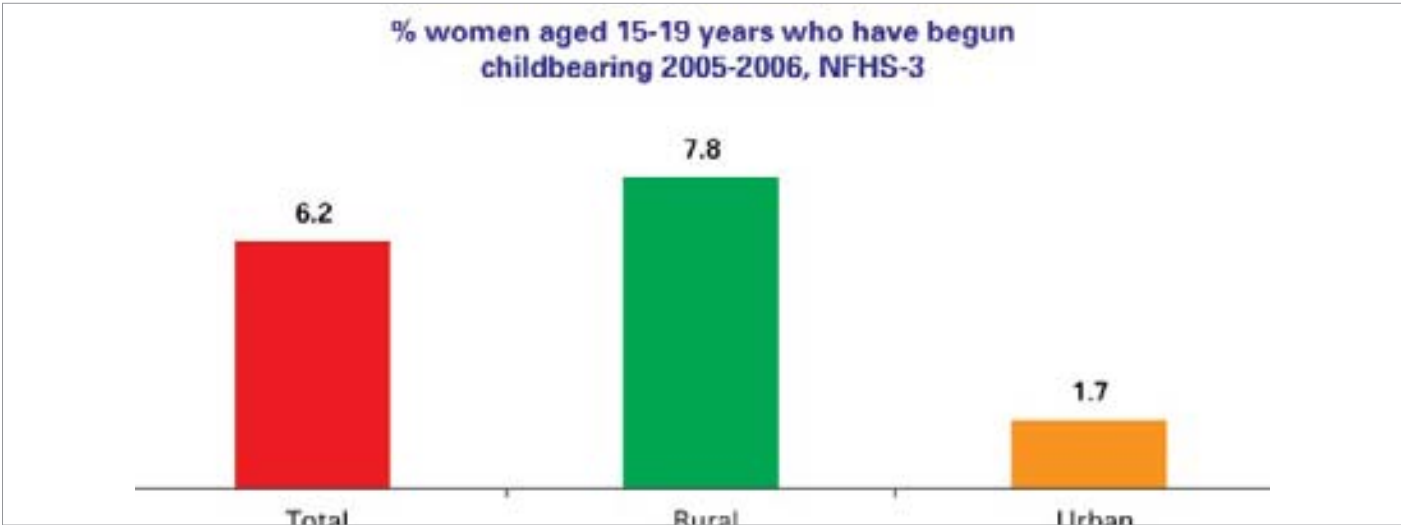


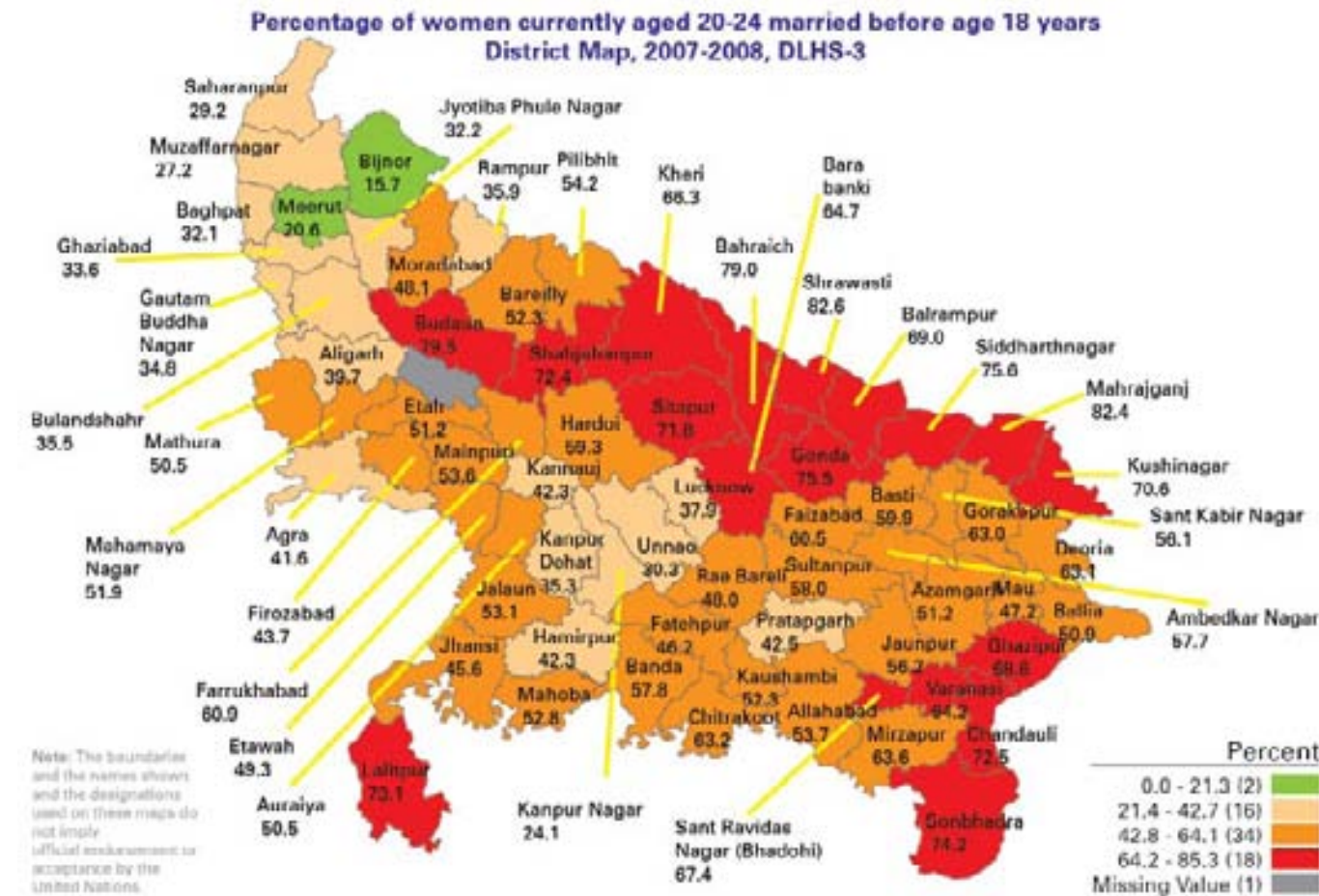




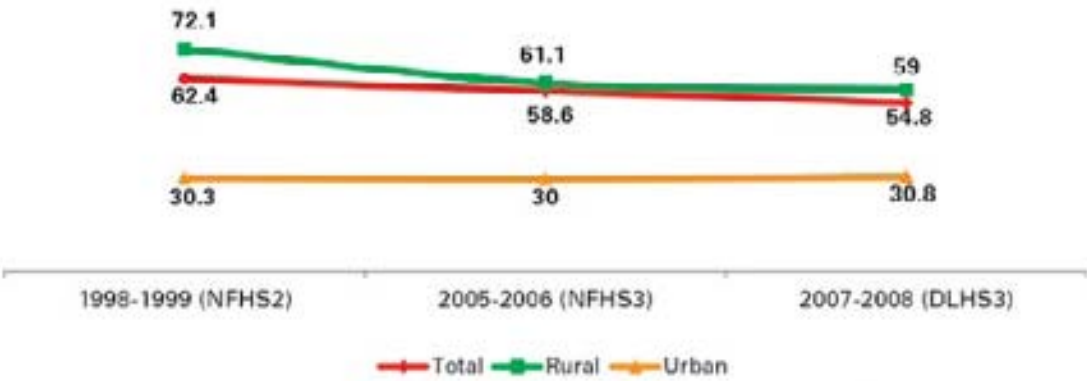




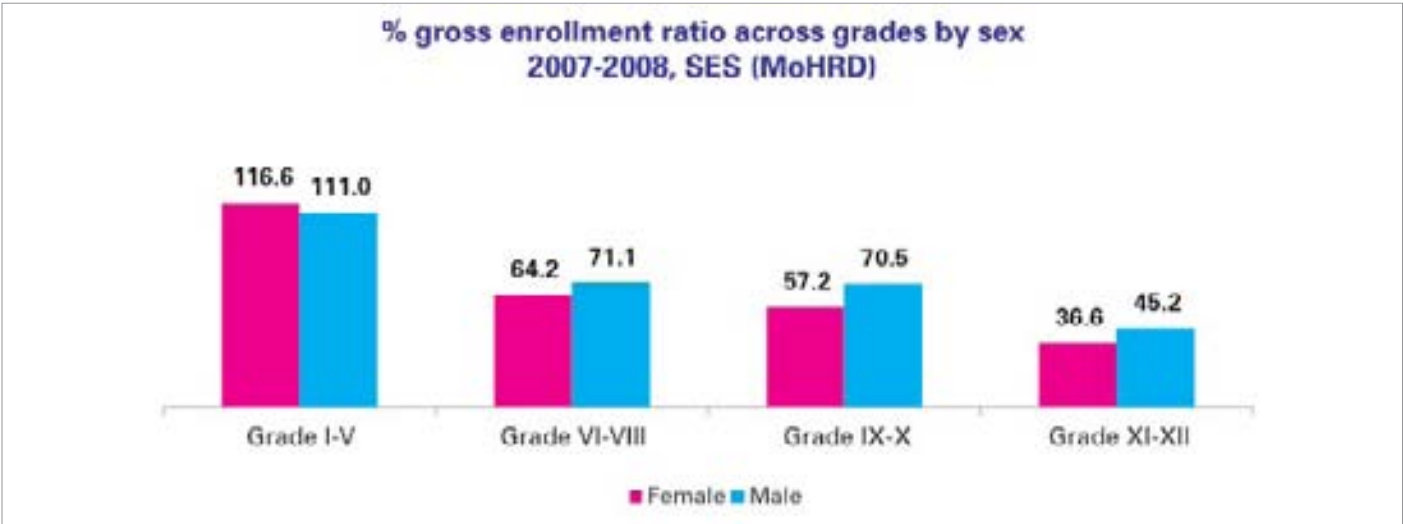
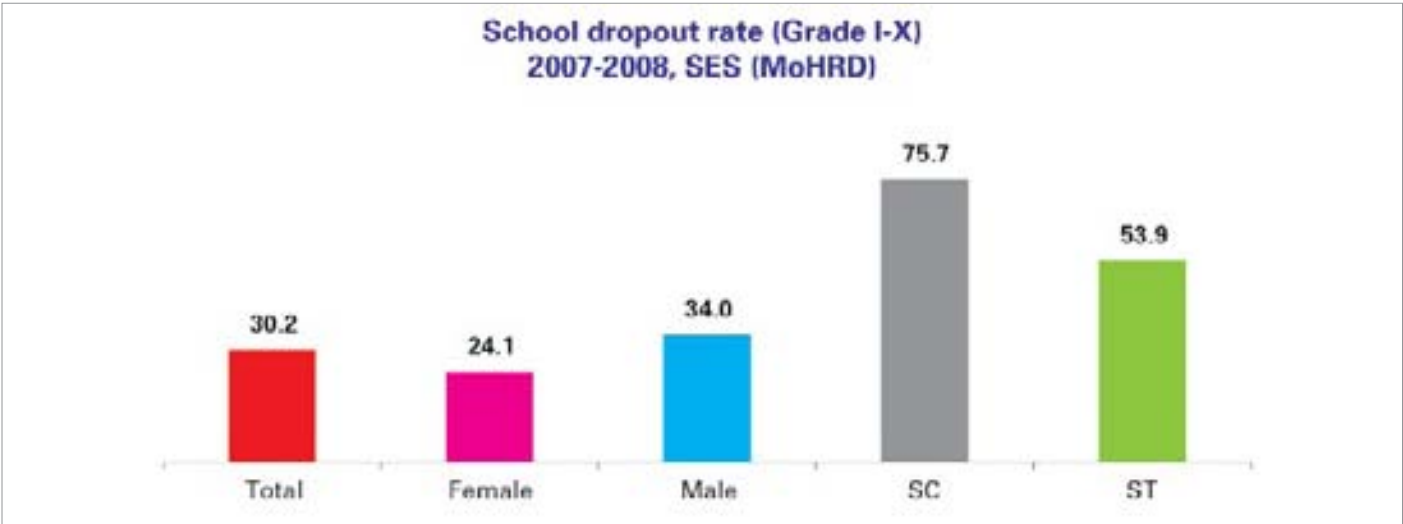
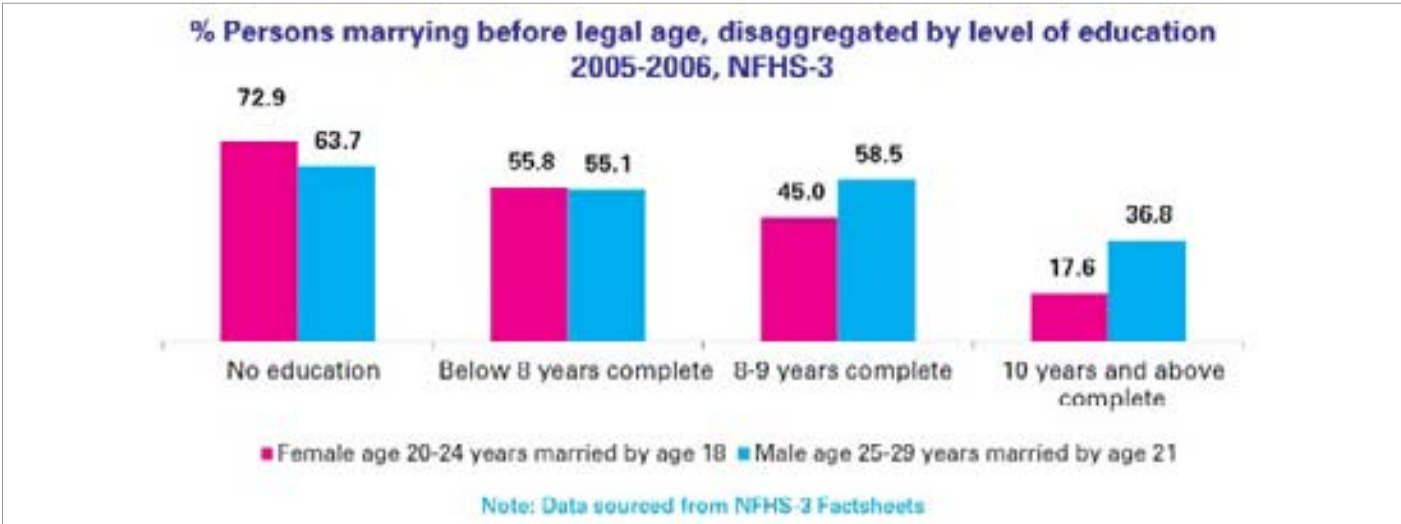
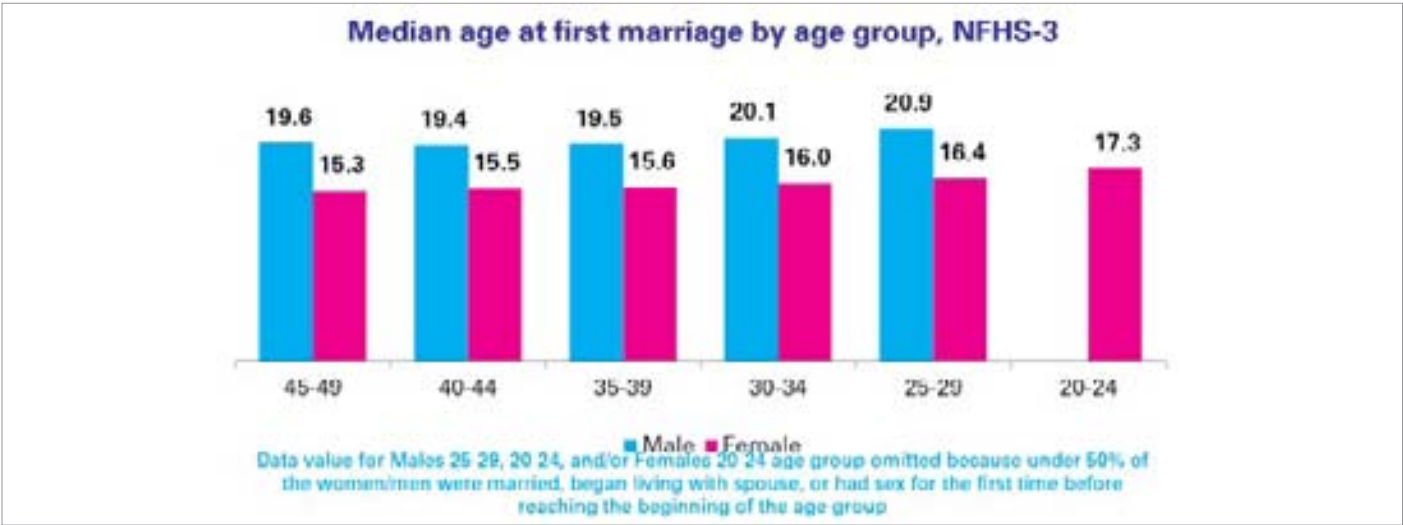
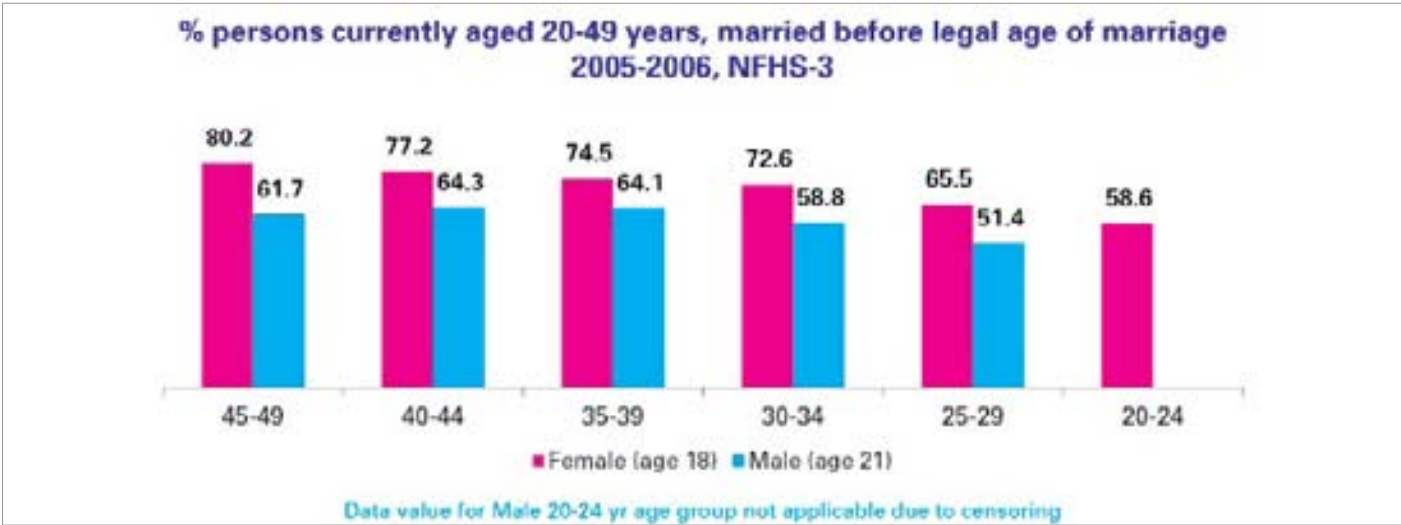


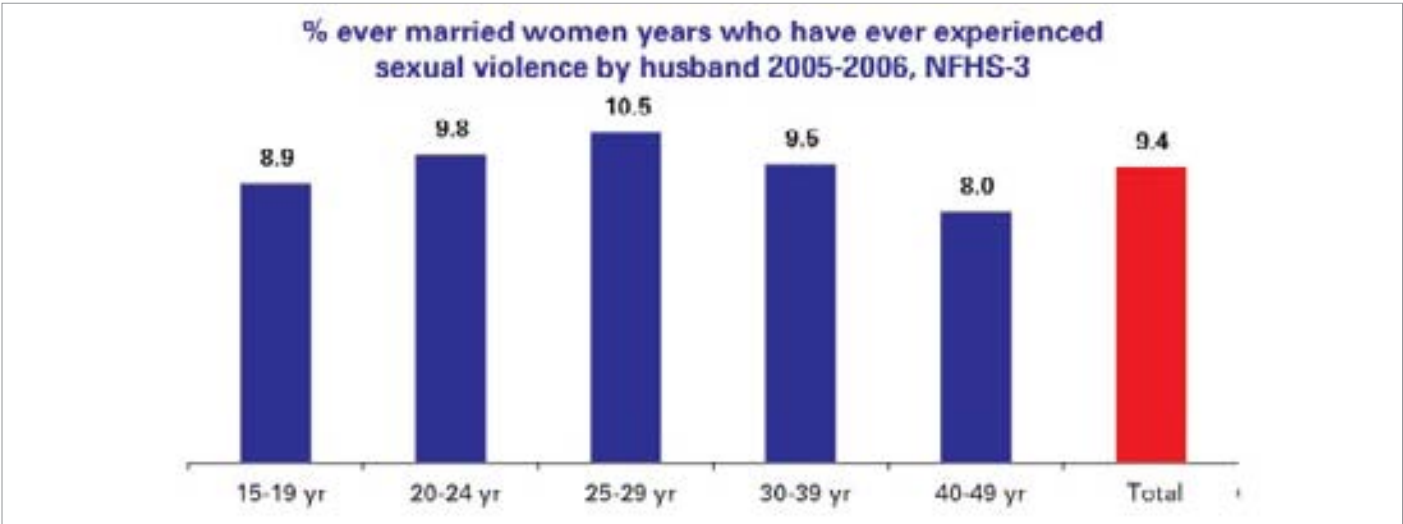
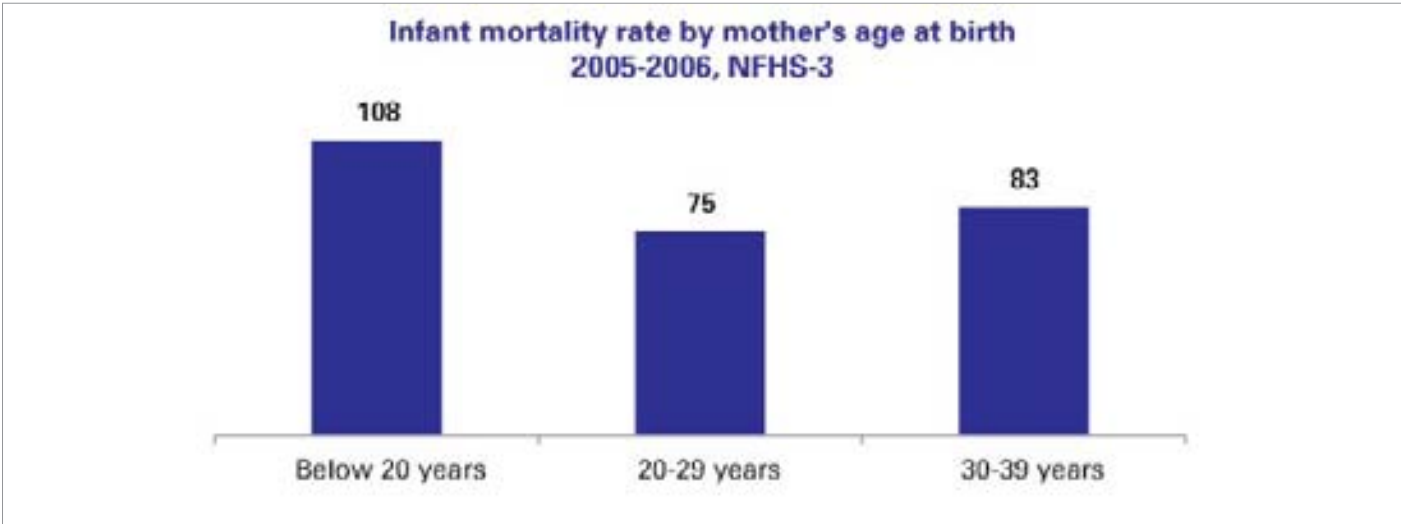
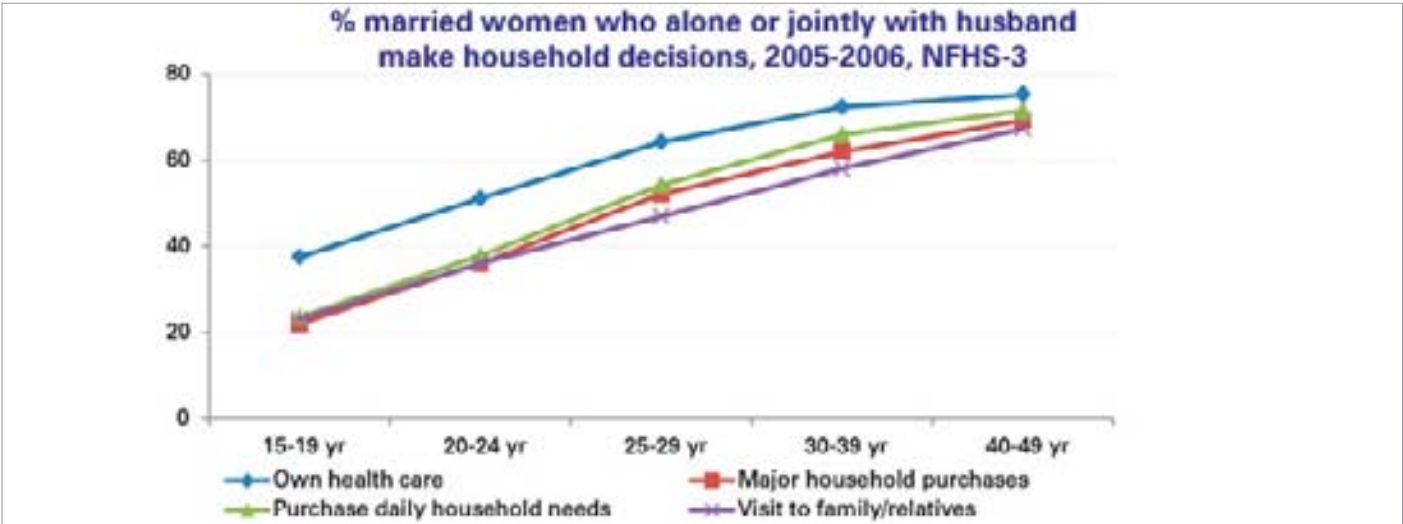
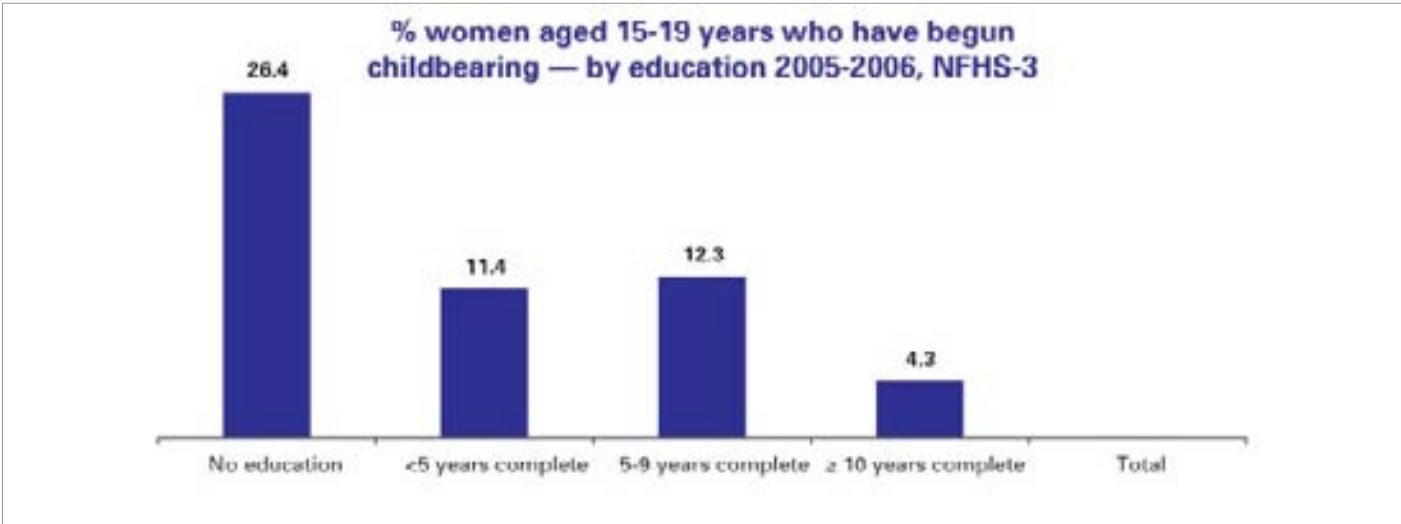
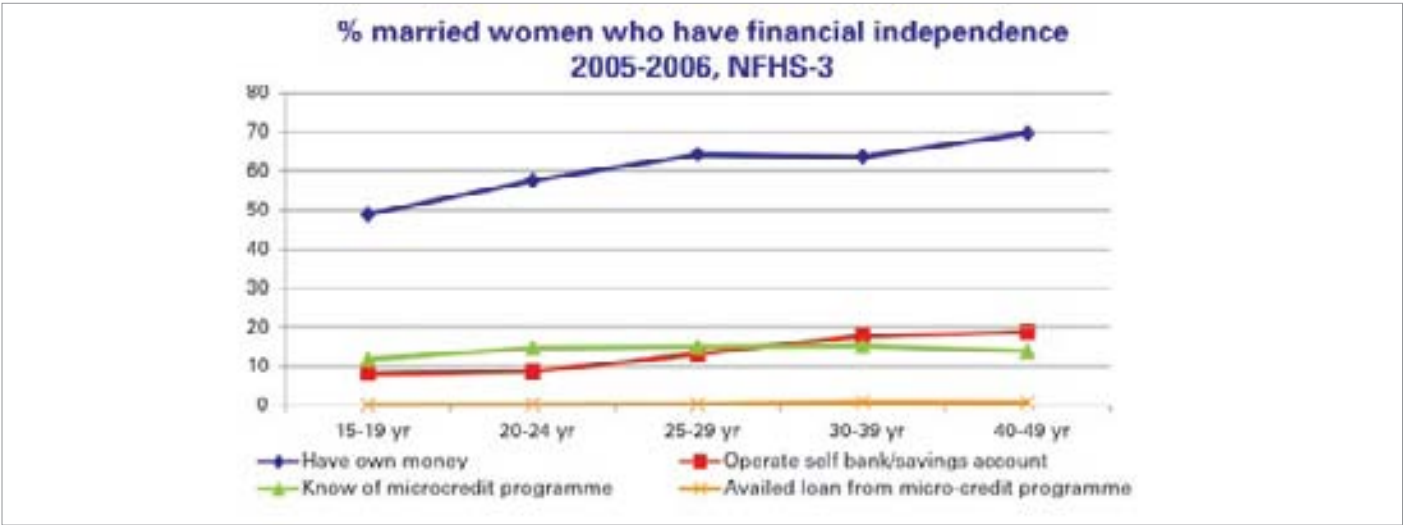
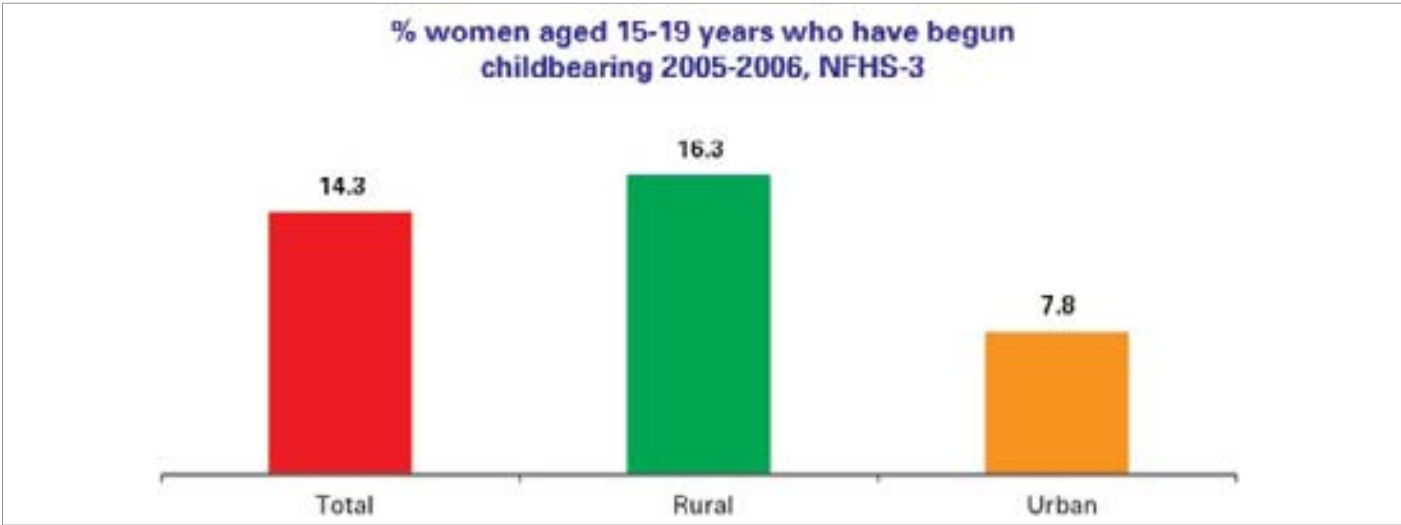


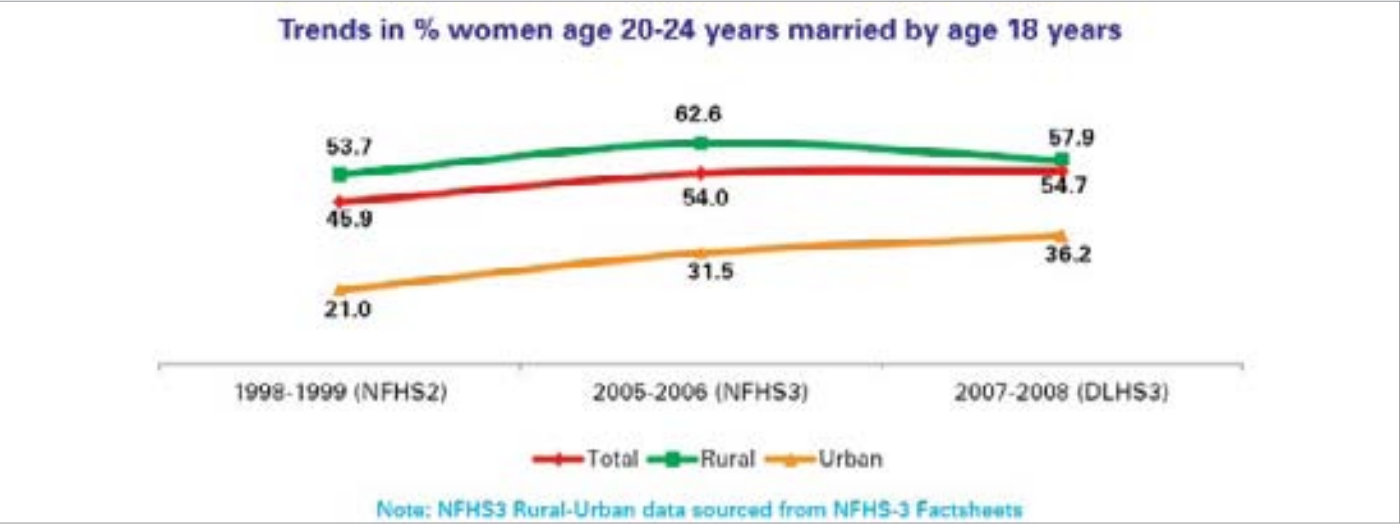
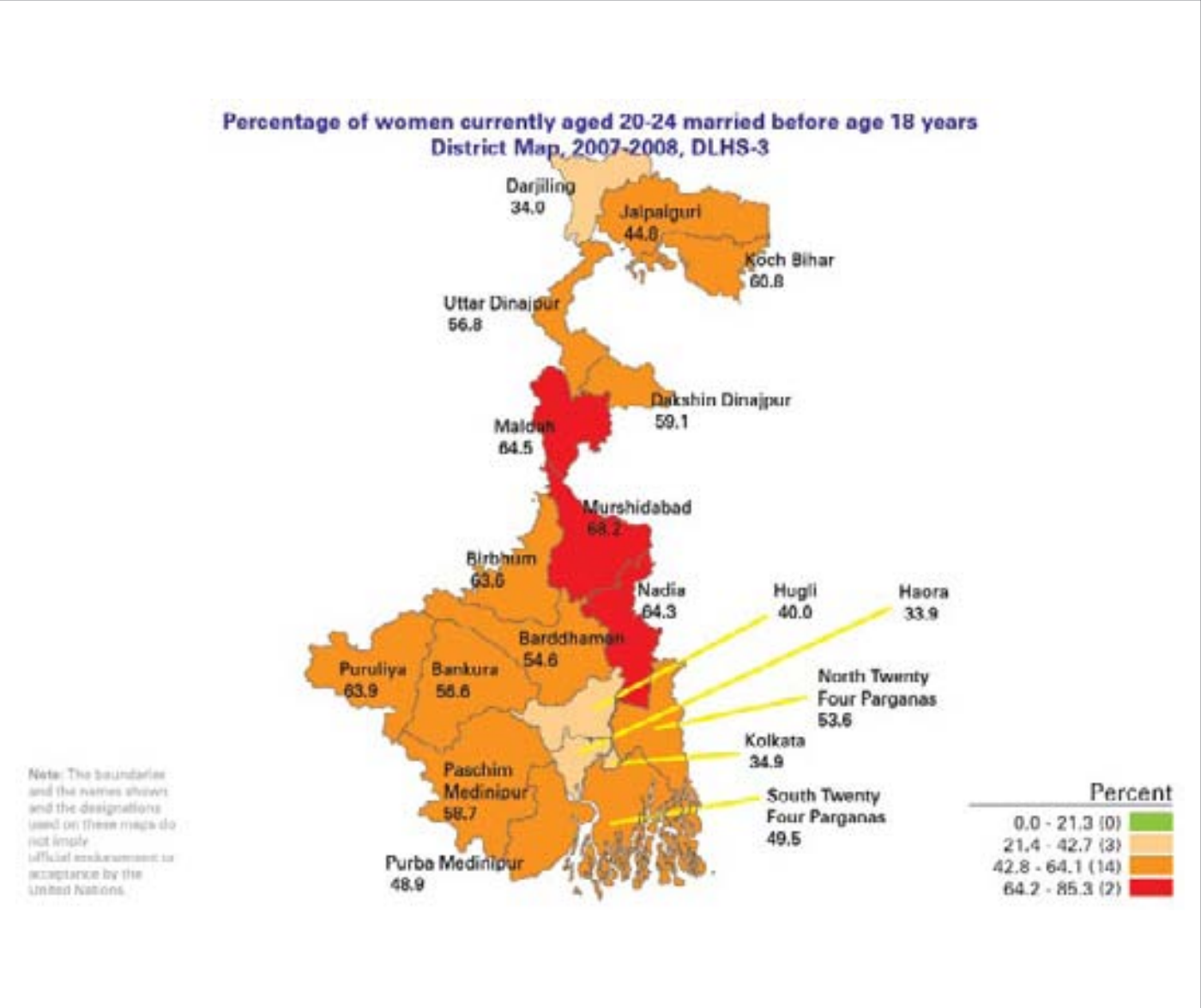
Trends in % women age 20-24 years married by age 18 years

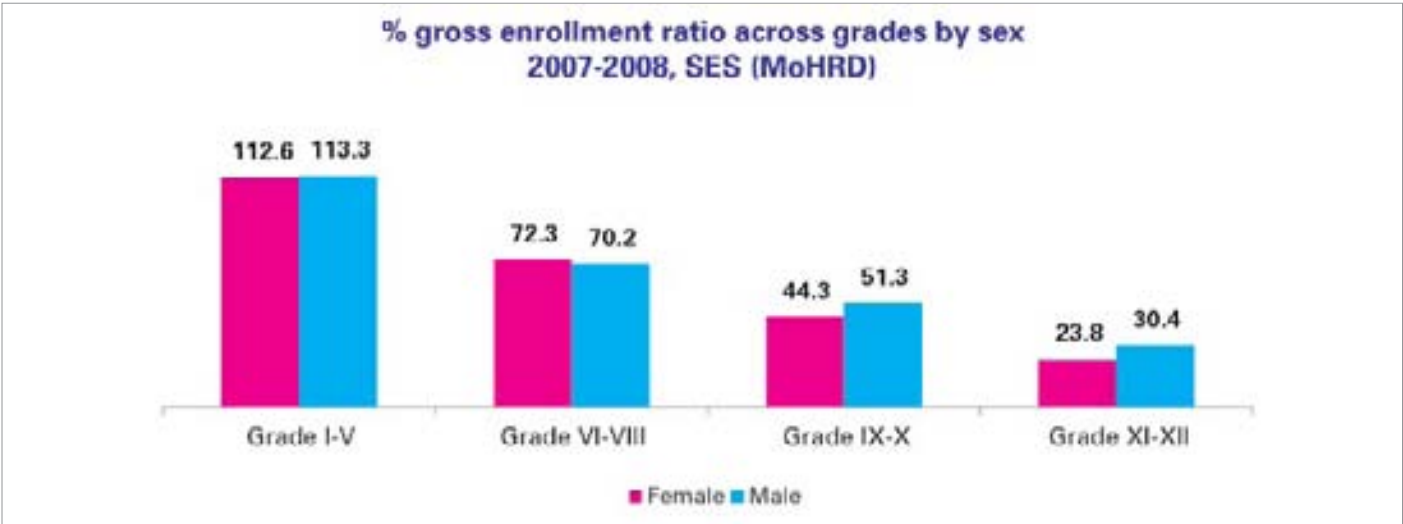
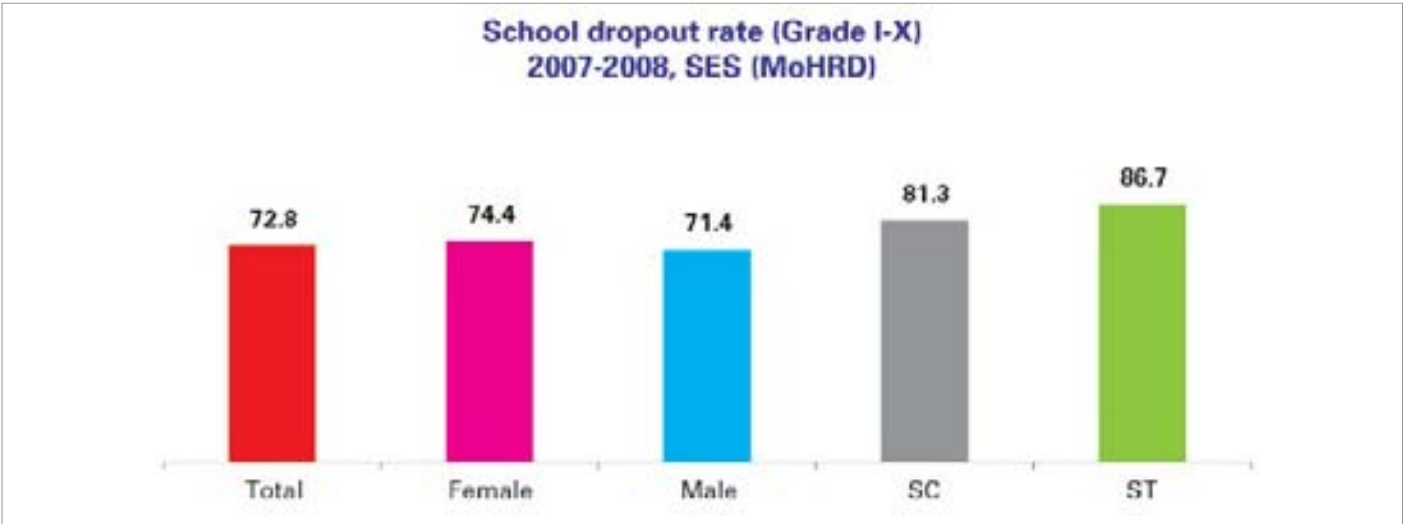
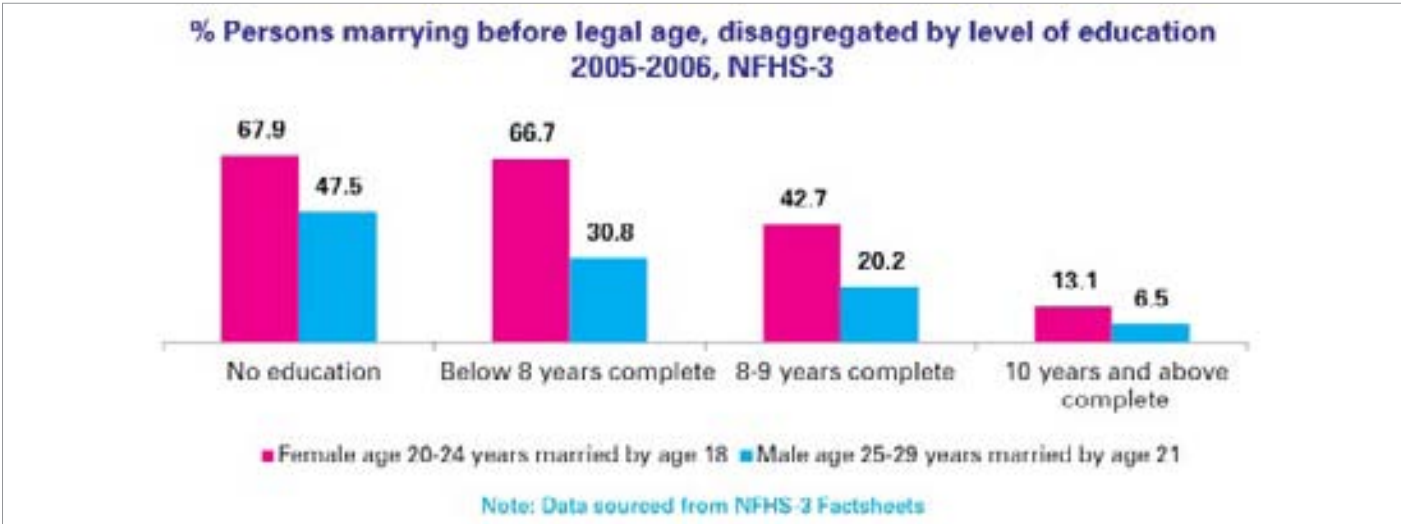
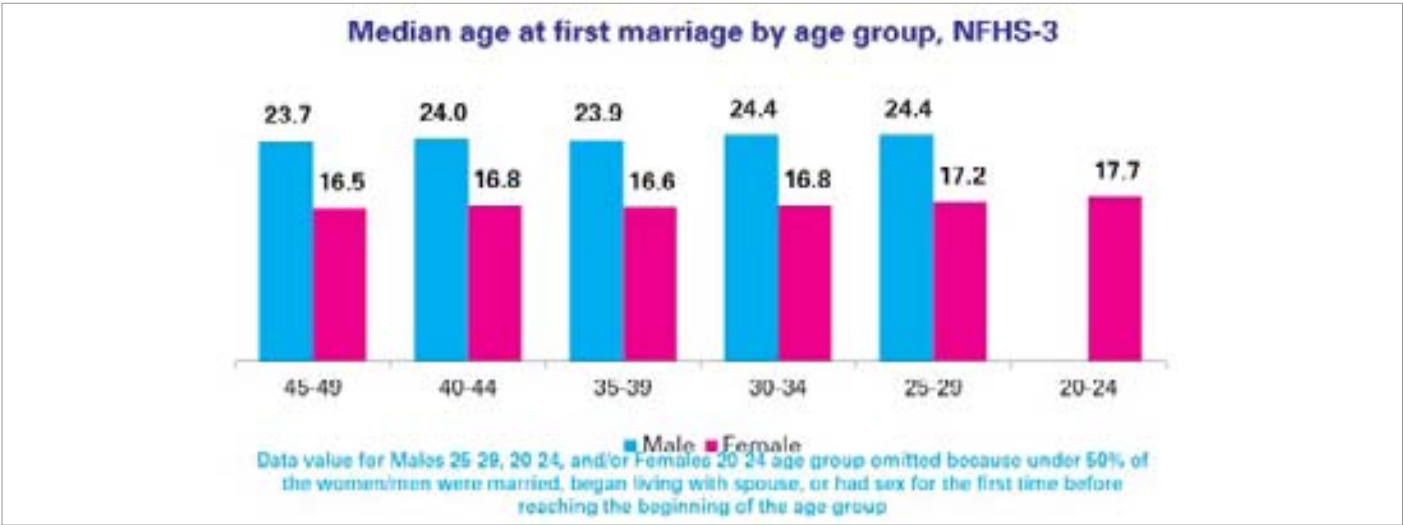
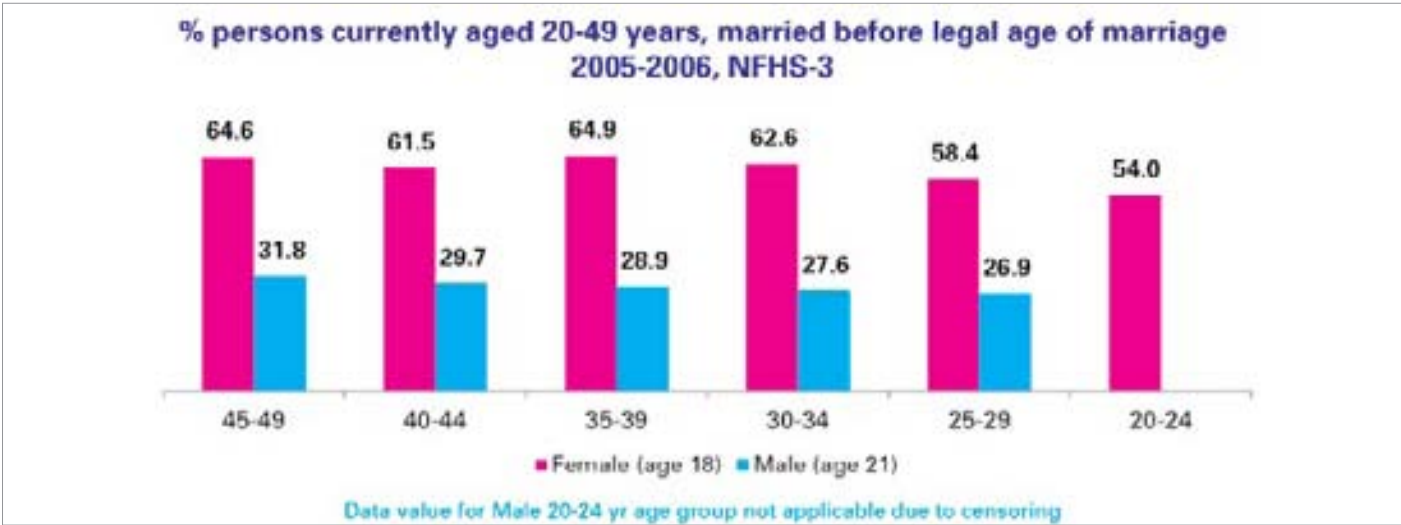


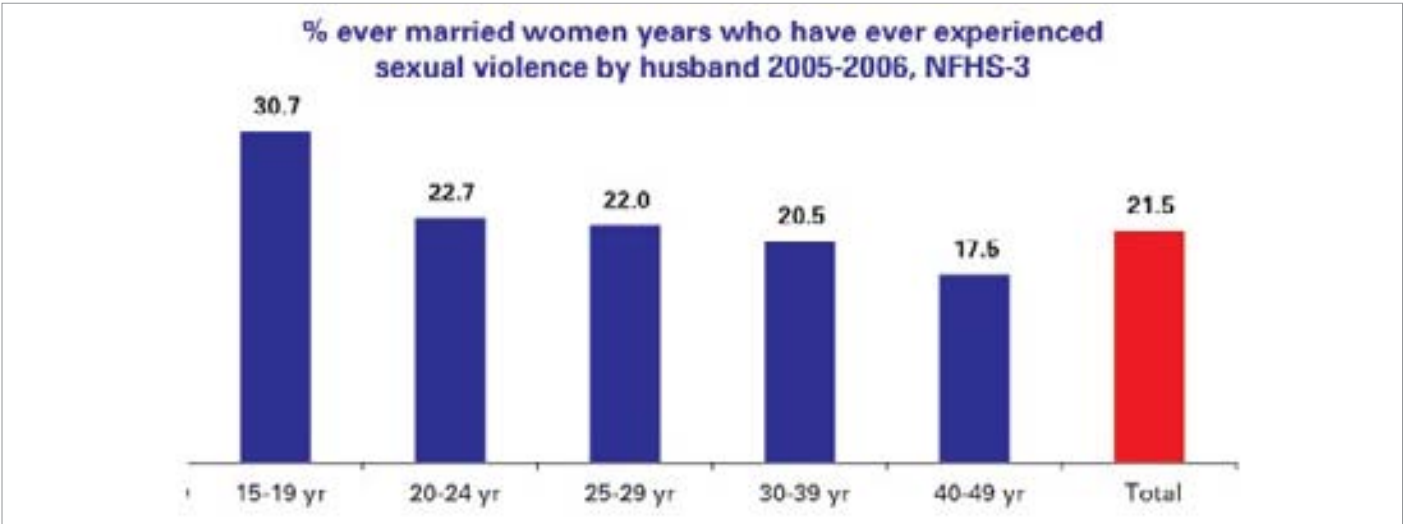
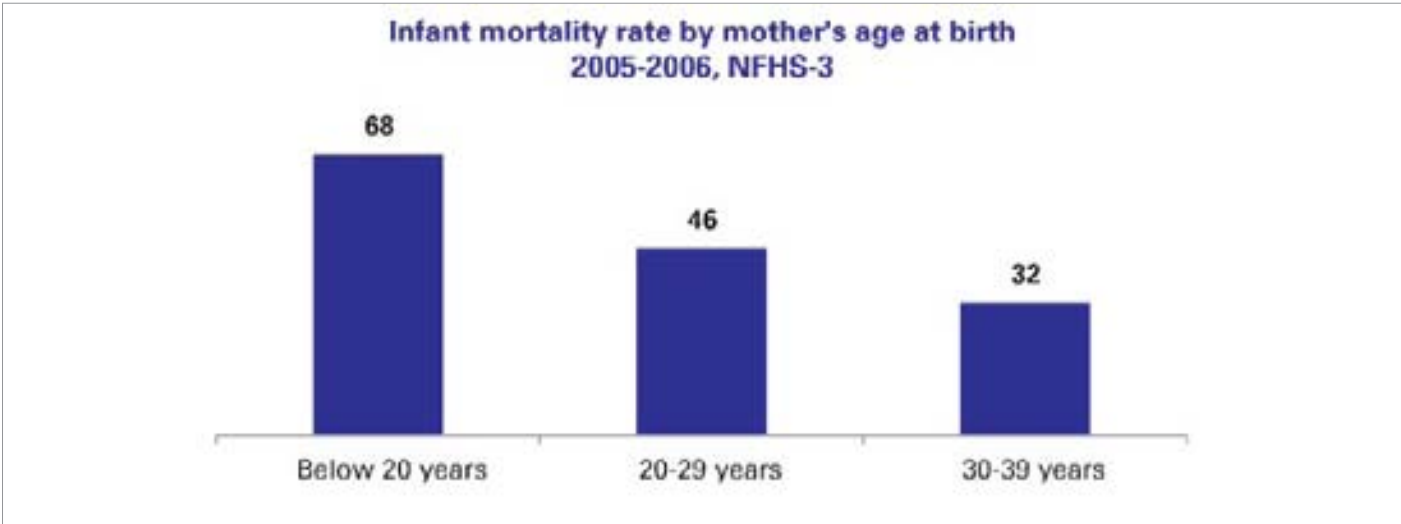
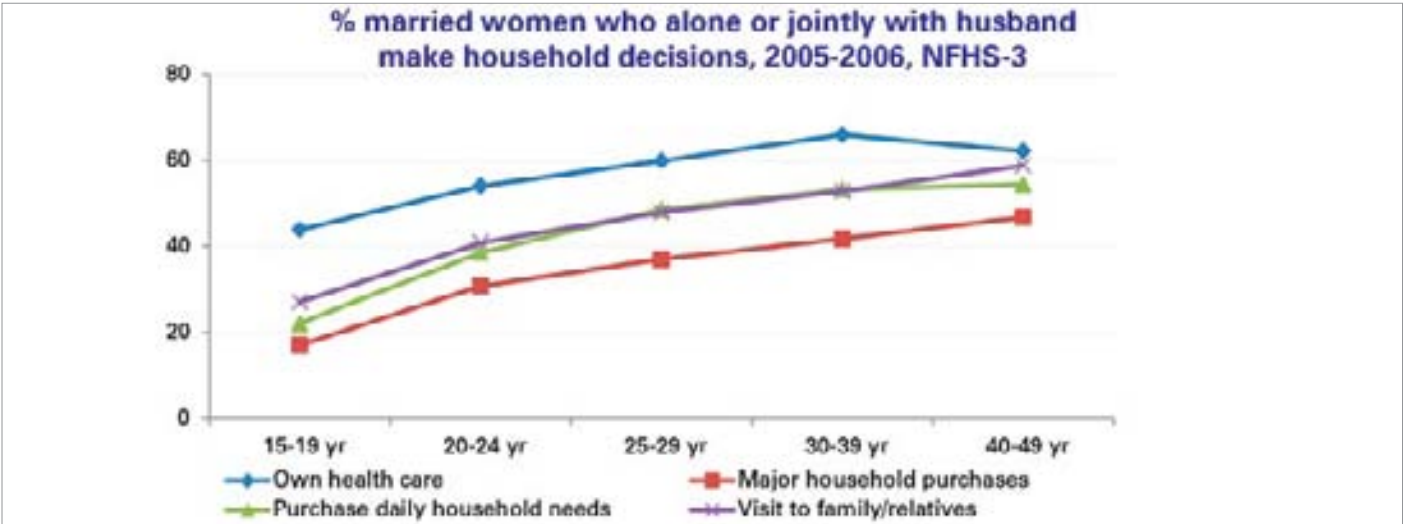
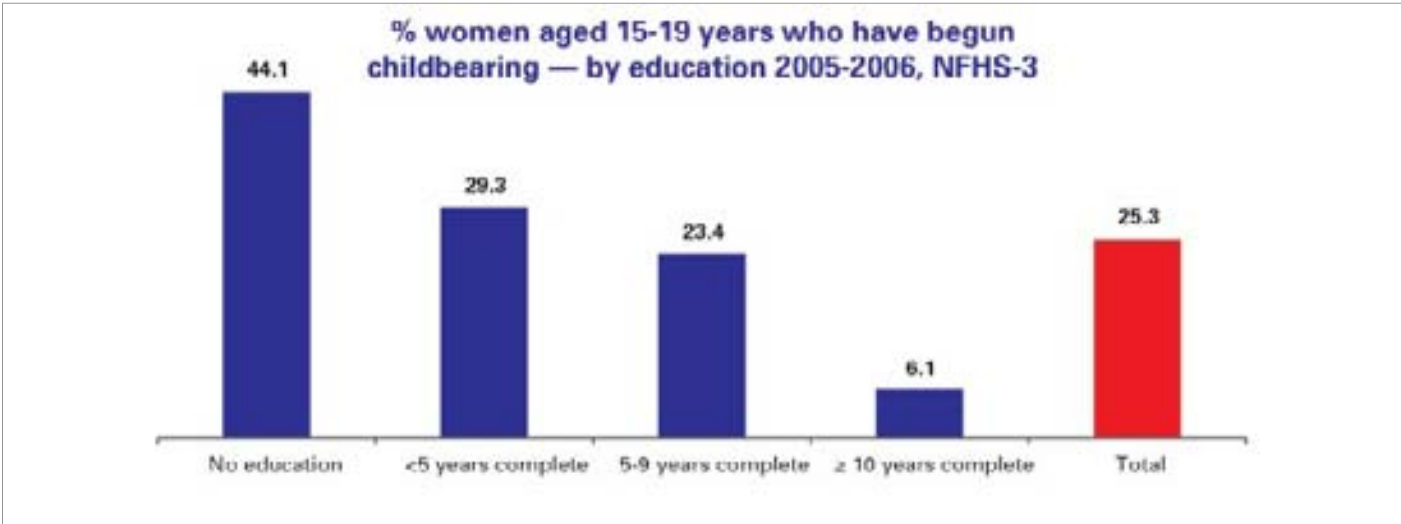
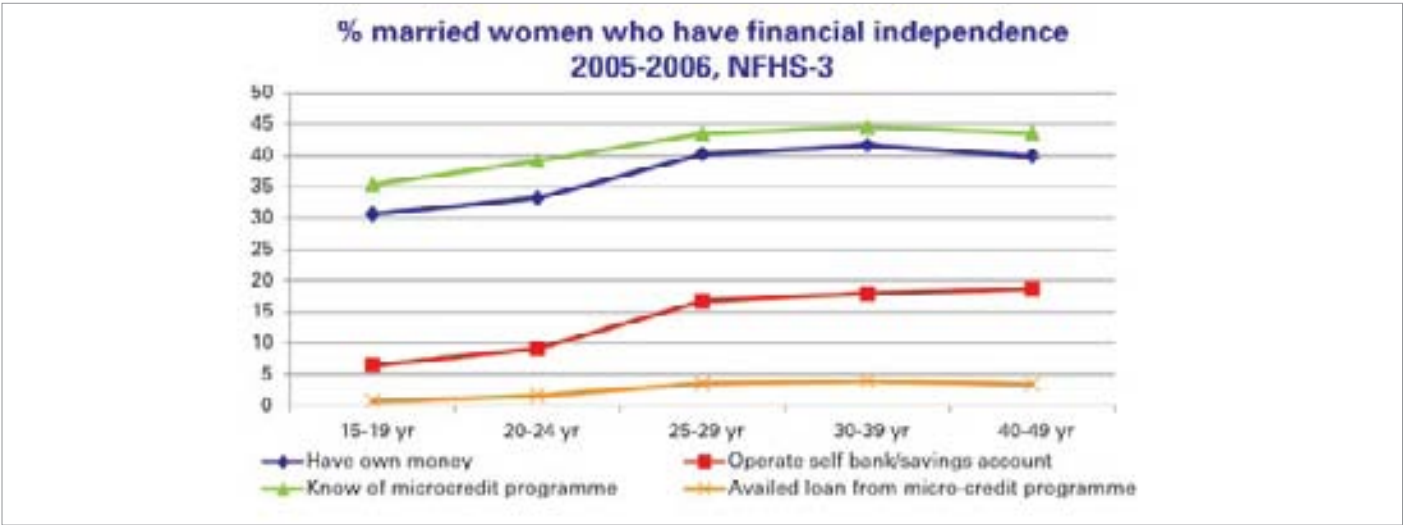
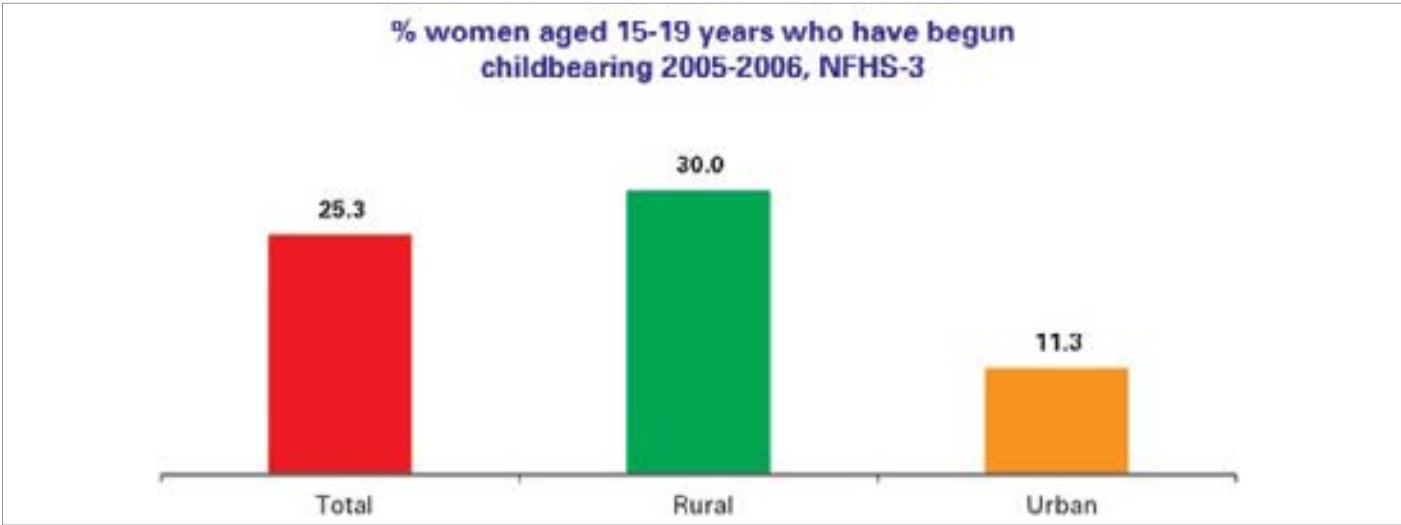
Note: NFHS3 Rural-Urban data sourced from NFHS-3 Factsheets













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