



Ending Child Marriage in Bangladesh

What Matters for Change?

Exploring preferences, beliefs and norms: A Discussion Paper



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Foreword

In July 2014, the Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina pledged to end marriage for children under the age of 15 by 2021 and under the age of 18 by 2041, and to reduce the number of girls married between 15 and 18 by at least one third by 2021. To achieve this, she has made ending child marriage a priority for the government and for the country. The Child Marriage Restraint Act as well as the National Plan of Action (NPA) are clear steps taken by the government to reach these goals.

Despite decreasing trends of child marriage in the past years, and increasing awareness and enforcement of the laws that prohibit the practice, families continue to engage in child marriage, denying the rights of millions of children, especially girls, and causing long term damage on their schooling, health and overall wellbeing. Eliminating child marriage from Bangladesh will need a multi-dimensional approach that tackles the different drivers of child marriage. Strongly rooted social norms that support this harmful practice within households, communities and among leaders, friends, neighbours and family members hinder progress towards a child marriage free Bangladesh.

As an important component of the drive to eliminate child marriage, social norms that support the practice need to be understood, followed up and tackled. This analysis demonstrates the value of systematically monitoring the beliefs, norms and practices and that evidence generation should to be a core element of the strategy for ending child marriage.

The findings here presented stem from the voices of more than 200,000 households that represent all districts of Bangladesh. Their beliefs, perceptions, practices, challenges and day-to-day reality were captured in a survey collected by the female registrars of the Sample Vital Registration System (SVRS), fruit of a multi-sectoral collaboration with the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), and the Implementation Monitoring and Evaluation Division (IMED).

This discussion paper generates a set of evidence-informed policy and programmatic recommendations, as well as focused actions and reflections on the current approaches for accelerating, which take the pulse of the fundamental drives of the choices for child marriage. These findings come in a timely manner to support the expressed commitment of the recently released NPA.

Sustaining these knowledge driven efforts requires a long-term commitment, which can be continued through the establishment of an SDG Observatory for Ending Child Marriage, that can act as a knowledge-hub and provide policy guidance to adjust targeting strategies and programme implementation to make them more child-marriage responsive, set targets for investments and monitor resources allocated to the recently launched National Plan of Action for Ending Child Marriage at national and subnational level, generate incentives for the scaling-up of key intervention of the NPA, foster innovation and intra-country knowledge exchange, and develop communication and empowerment strategies towards the elimination of child marriage by 2041.

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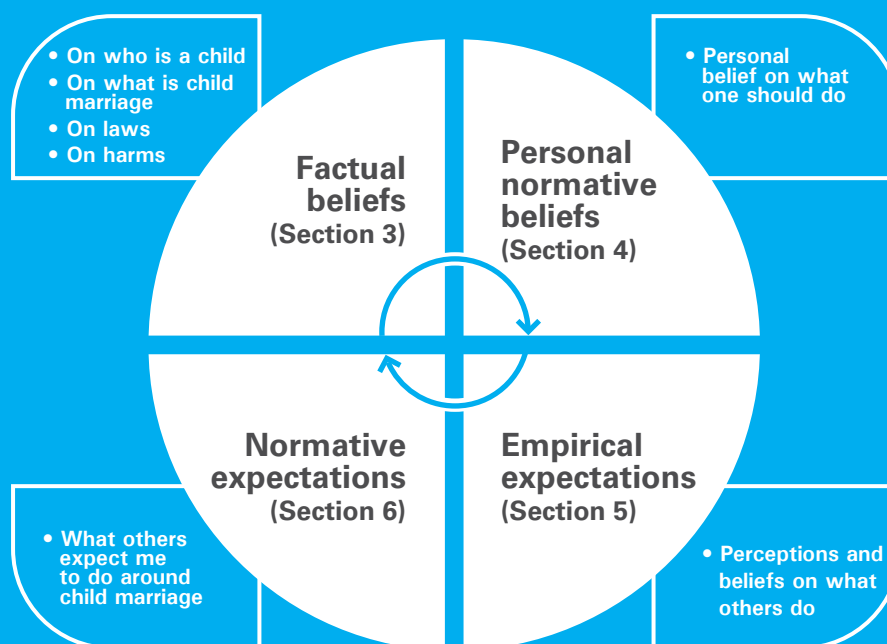
1. Introduction

Despite a decrease in child marriage in Bangladesh over the past decades, it is still a widespread practice, which, according to the latest MICS (2012-13) was still 52%. And it is still a widespread practice because there are too many aspects that help sustain it: seemingly rational preferences given the context people live in; misconceptions around childhood, marriage and laws; normative expectations from others in the community and normative beliefs around what is the right thing to do, among others. The second round of data collection on the Effective Coverage of Basic Social Services (ECBSS) in Bangladesh¹ asked information regarding all these aspects. This document describes how these factors still play a role in

sustaining child marriage as a common practice in Bangladesh. In late 2017, 210,342 households from all over the country responded to a module on child marriage, giving precise information on this topic at the district level. The survey did not explore prevalence of child marriage, as official figures will come from MICS 2019 on this topic. The objective was to better understand the socio-normative factors that operate in the backdrop for sustaining or preventing the practice. This is a first effort to have an in-depth measure of these aspects at the national level. Although the survey and thus this study focus on socio-normative factors, child marriage is also driven by economic considerations, which were not included in the questionnaire.

¹ The ECBSS survey is a joint effort between UNICEF and the Government of Bangladesh that collects information on access, utilization and coverage of basic social services in Bangladesh. It is a nation wide survey, representative at the district level, which has taken place in two consecutive years.

Figure 1. Factors That Influence the Decision Making around Child Marriage



Based on Bicchieri, et.al., 2015

Figure 1 presents a theoretical framework that guides the analysis and the questions asked. It follows years of work and research in understanding social norms by several authors. The decision to marry a child, and more likely to marry a girl below the age of 18, responds to several factors. At the level of an individual, factual beliefs come into play. For instance, the belief of who is a child and what constitutes child marriage, the knowledge of the existence of laws and the awareness of the harms caused by child marriage. Personal normative beliefs of what an individual thinks he or she should do -often grounded on moral or cultural aspects- also play a role.

Individuals are placed within reference groups which may be their families, neighbours and communities, who also have a large role to play in influencing decisions. What other people in their reference group do, what people expect

others to do and how people think others expect them to behave are also important factors that weigh around stopping or facilitating child marriage. Not shown in the Figure 1, but also important are the socio-economic conditions that people live in and the existence of other traditions that also affect the practice of child marriage. This discussion paper will explore each of these aspects in detail and develop programmatic recommendations towards improving the enabling environment for accelerating the reduction of child marriage. We start from the practice to then explore individual level factors and finish with aspects related to the others. In all cases we will explore geographical differences at the division level, sex differences in responses and the relationship of the education of the head of the household with the practice, beliefs and expectations of the respondents.

2. The facts around child marriage: What people do

This first section presents reported practices, or what people actually do. This includes the ages of women and men who married in the past year, their school attendance before and after marriage for those under 18 and their level of knowledge on facts, such as the existence of a law that prohibits child marriage or the awareness of negative consequences of child marriage. These actions, and in particular marriage of girls below 18, will be subject to analysis based on the framework described in the introduction. These are not normative beliefs of what people think they should do, nor normative expectations of what people think others think they should do, but represent actual actions and specific knowledge, which will aid in understanding the magnitude of the practice. **Annex 1** contains all the information tables that are described in the text below.

Evidence of child marriage as a prevalent practice

Although the questionnaire did not include the questions necessary for estimating the exact prevalence rate of the percentage of women aged 20-24 years who married before 18 for the reasons stated in the introduction, we can observe other variables that give us a clear idea of the existence of child marriage. We asked all households whether anyone from the household had married in the past year. We also inquired whether the person was a male or a female (or both in case more than one marriage may have taken place). We asked the families the age of the youngest female or male who got married.

In the last year, marriages of females happened in 3% of the households, and half of these marriages involved a girl below 18 (Table A1). In Rajshahi, 69% of the marriages that involved a female in the past year actually involved a female that was



50% of the marriages that took place in the past year for the surveyed households involved a girl below 18

below 18. This percentage was also high in Rangpur division (60%). The division with the lowest percentage was Sylhet (22%). The urban and rural pictures are statistically similar (51% urban and 49% rural). The education of the head of the households seems to play a role in this. While 57% of female-related marriages involved at least one girl under 18 in households where the head is illiterate, this percentage goes down to 37% in households where the head has more than 10 years of schooling. However, the fact that more than one third of the marriages of females among the most educated households also included girls below 18 is a worrisome result, and highlights the prevalence of normative influences. Another point to keep in mind is the very large concentration of marriages at the age of 18.



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Figure 2. Age distribution at marriage for youngest female that was married last year

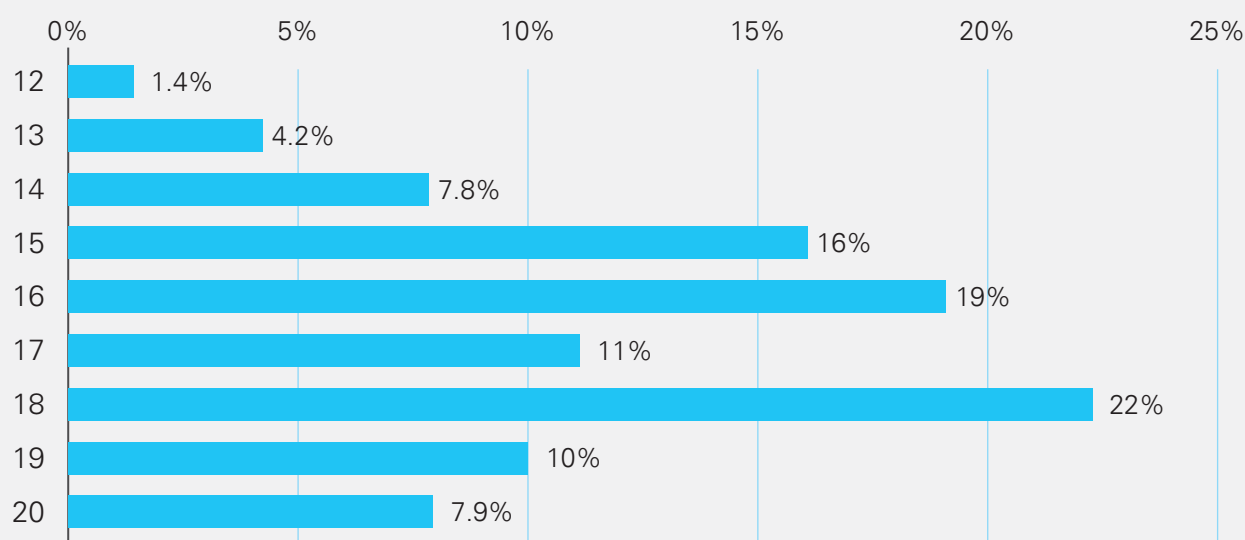


Figure 2 shows the age distribution of the youngest female who got married from each household. As will be highlighted in the personal beliefs section below, the marriage peak around 15 or 16 years observed in Figure 2 might also follow from a misconception of what child marriage means, and in particular, that child marriage exists only below 15 years of age, and a wrong belief of who is a child.

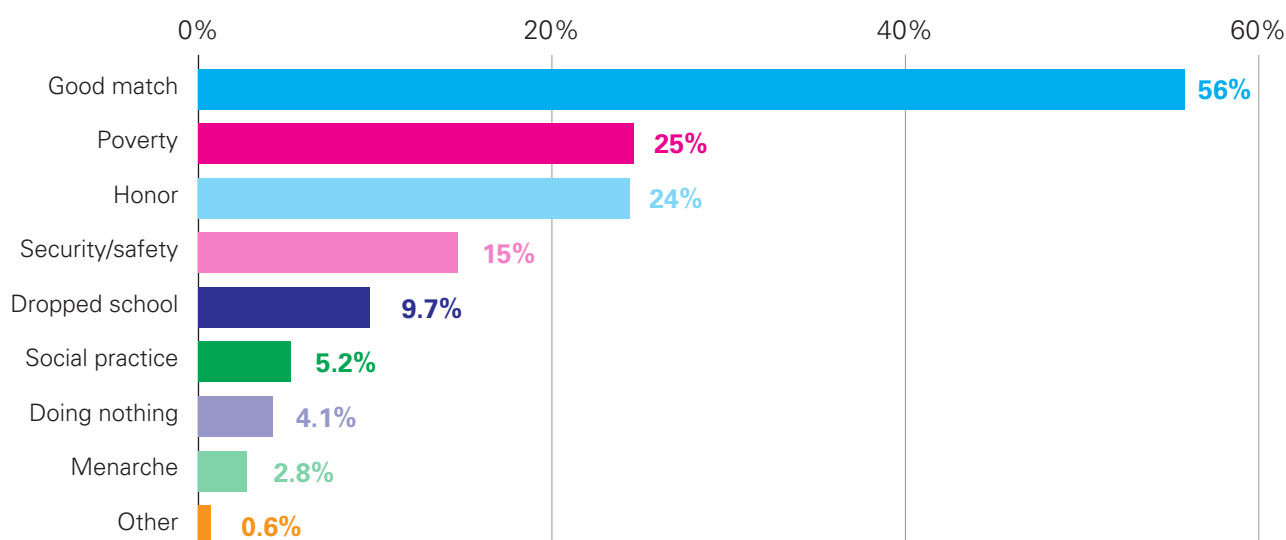
When it comes to men, 2% of the households reported that a male of the household got married in the past year. From these men, close to 10% of them involved boys below the age of 18 (Table A2). In contrast to women where 84% of the marriages happened by 20, this percentage is 33% for males. For comparability, 84% of the marriages of males happened by the age of 29.

Going back to the households where at least one girl below 18 was married in the last year, the reasons that led to that

decision were explored (Table A3). **Figure 3** shows the answers obtained.

The far most common reason why families decided to go ahead with a child marriage was because they found a good match. This was the case for 56% of the cases found. This reason was especially important in Rajshahi (64%) and in Dhaka (60%) and least important in Barisal (45%) and Rangpur (46%). Urban and rural areas were statistically similar in this regard. Interestingly, this reason was more important for households with higher educated heads with 10 or more years of education (60%), compared to those who are illiterate (56%). Within the framework, the appearance of a good groom might be related with various factors, and in particular with individual beliefs. For example, people may believe that finding a good groom is hard or that good grooms are scarce, thus pushing marriage even if it happens before 18.

Figure 3. Reasons for marrying a girl under 18 years



Note: 3,177 households where a girl below 18 got married last year.

The second most mentioned reason, though far from the good match, is an economic reason (one less mouth to feed). This is the case for 25% of the households, especially in Dhaka (30%) and Rangpur division (36%), and least importantly in Chittagong division (11%). This reason is also more important for urban households (33%) than for rural ones (22%), and more important for households where heads of household are illiterate or have 5 years or less of education (25% and 27% respectively), than for households whose heads have 10 or more years of schooling (20%). For households where this was the case, child marriage may have been a “rational” decision in the face of scarcity, where few other options were available. This could be seen as a negative coping mechanism of households in the face of scarcity. This situation may be aggravated by the belief that investing in girls does not pay off because in the end they become part of the groom’s family, or by the increasing dowry price as the age of the girl increases.

Family honor came in as third reason, though at almost the same rate as economic reasons or poverty. Twenty-four per cent of the households reported family

honor to be the driving force behind their decision. This was particularly the case in Rangpur division (42%) and in Khulna (29%), and less the case in Dhaka (17%) and Sylhet and Mymensingh divisions (19%). Family honor seems to play a more important role for rural households (26%) than for urban households (19%). Interestingly, there is no clear correlation between education of the head of the household and family honor as a reason for marrying a girl below 18 in the past year. Honor could be placed within the normative beliefs in our framework, as it may be interlinked with the expectations of what women should be and how they should behave. For example, if it is expected that women should be chaste, anything that may endanger the chastity of a girl could endanger the chances of finding a good groom or even the chances of marriage all together. As girls grow older, parents might perceive risks to a girl’s chastity to increase and thus, marriage to prevent any scandal involving the girl. This could also have implications on schooling decisions and on decisions of what girls are allowed to do and places they are allowed to go, as outside exposure could be expected to increase these threats.

Beliefs around the “dangers” outside could play an important role here and should be further explored.

The fourth most common reason was related to the safety and security of the girl, and was true for 15% of the households, especially in Barisal division, where it was a reason for 24% of the households. However, the reason was just as valid for urban as for rural households. Interestingly, as was seen with the case of honor, this concern is more important for households where the household head is highly educated with 10 or more years of education (20%), compared to households where the household head is illiterate or has 5 or less years of schooling (14%).

Dropping out of school was the reason behind almost 10% of the child marriages that involved at least one girl under the age of 18. This was particularly the case in Barisal division (19%) and Mymensingh division (17%). This reason affects both rural and urban households to a similar degree. Dropping out of school is a reason that affects households with illiterate heads (12%) to a larger degree than households

where heads are more educated (9% 5 years of education or less, 7% 6-9 years of education and 6% 10 years or more).

Other reasons were also mentioned, though to a lesser extent, as seen in the above figure.

School enrolment before and after marriage

Seventy-two per cent of the girls who were married last year and who were below 18 years of age were actually attending school before marriage (Table A4). In Khulna the percentage was much higher at 90%, as well as in Rajshahi where 84% of the girls were in school before the marriage. Only in Chittagong, less than half (46%) of the girls that were married last year did not go to school before marriage. Girls from urban households were more likely to be enrolled in school before marriage than those from rural households (80% versus 70%), and those who belonged to households whose head was illiterate were less likely to be in school when compared to households where the head had high levels of education of 10 years or more (70% versus 75%).

These figures mean that most of the girls who are getting married are girls that have some level of education. Still, we have some evidence that girls who were married were attending school to a lower degree than the average girl. For example, the survey provides information on school attendance for girls 12-14 years of age. 92% of girls were attending school at the time of the survey. However, 80% of the girls who were 12-14 years when they got married last year were attending school. Without evidence of causality, this strengthens the link that education could delay child marriage. Understanding whether non-formal education and vocational training would have the same relationship with delaying marriage is an area of further research.



We are able to analyse whether reasons for marriage vary between girls who were attending school and those not attending school before marriage. We find that those who were going to school before marriage seemed to be more affected by reasons around safety and security and family honor than those who were not going to school. This might point to the perceived risks that parents associate with allowing girls to go to school, and perhaps, the reasons why parents had already taken girls out of school previously even before marriage. Thus, addressing safety concerns and changing norms around interactions between boys and girls and the link to family honor will be important to decrease the risk parents may perceive from schooling itself.

One of the main negative consequences of child marriage is the higher risk of school drop-out of girls after they marry. We find that 45% of the girls that got married dropped out of school (Table A5). Drop-out rates following marriage were highest in Sylhet (63%) and in Chittagong (57%). Drop-out rates after marriage are almost twice as high in rural areas (51%) compared to urban areas (27%). It is interesting to note that drop-out rates after marriage are higher when the girl comes from a household where the head was illiterate (51%), as compared to a household where the head has 10 or more years of education (31%). This could point to a similar level of value of education between the bride's

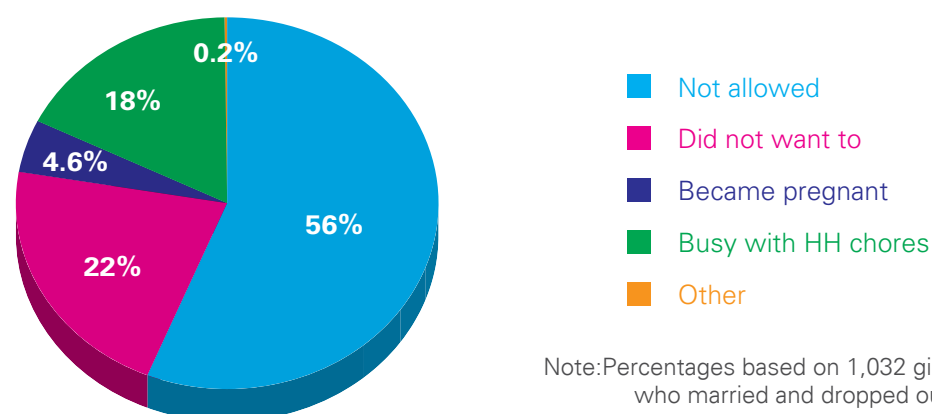


Almost half of the girls that got married dropped out of school, mainly because their husband or in-laws did not want them to continue

home and the groom's home. Still, even when coming from a high education household, one third of married girls drop out of school after marriage. This suggests that a further targeting criteria that addresses vulnerability is the level of education of women in the households.

The main reason for dropping out after marriage is that either the husband or in laws did not want the girl to continue. This is the case for 56% of the girls who dropped out. Twenty-two per cent of girls did not want to continue. Further qualitative work should be carried out to understand the reasons behind not wanting to go. 18% became very busy with household chores, leaving no time for education. Almost 5% dropped out because they became pregnant.

Figure 4. Reasons for dropping out of school after marriage



Note: Percentages based on 1,032 girls who married and dropped out.

Are people taking action against child marriage?

Almost 30% of the people say they have taken action against child marriage in at least one way in the past year (Table A6). Possible ways inquired were: participated in some action to end child marriage, talked to someone to get more information on child marriage, resisted or refrained from any attempt to be involved in child marriage, convinced someone to not support child marriage, stopped someone from getting married or getting their child married or reported a child marriage. People in Barisal seemed to be the most active in this regard, with 41% of the population being engaged in at least one of these activities. People in Rajshahi seem to be the least involved, with only 21% of respondents being involved in any activity to end child marriage. People from urban and rural households appear to be engaged in the same level, but males are more engaged than females by 11 percentage points (35%

males, 24% females). Respondents from households with educated heads are more active than those with illiterate heads (36% versus 24%). Even those with at most 5 years of education show higher levels of engagement at 28%.

Looking independently at the possible actions that people could have taken, 19% report having taken some action against child marriage (Table A7), 17% report talking to someone to get more information on the topic (Table A8), 15% report convincing someone to not get married or marry their child (Table A10), 14% report resisting an attempt to be involved in child marriage (Table A9), 13% report stopping someone from engaging in child marriage (Table A11) and 12% say that they reported a child marriage in the past year (Table A12).

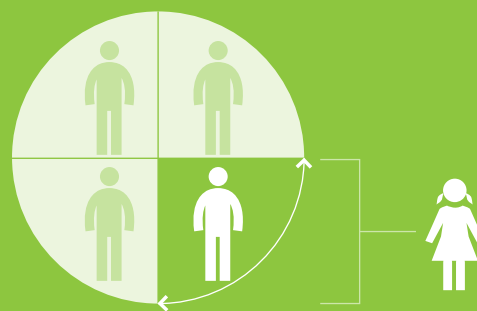
Only 3% of the respondents say they would never report a child marriage, which means that if people get better information on where to report, the scope for reporting would be much higher. The bottleneck



seems to be that people are not fully aware of where they can report a child marriage, as 16% state they wouldn't know where to report it (Table A13). Only 7% would use the child helpline. We do not know whether it is that they don't know it or that they don't trust it, but enhancing the knowledge of the helpline would greatly help reporting levels, due to its anonymity. Fifty-six per cent of the respondents would report a child marriage to the police and 22% would report it to the administration. Twelve per cent would report it to local leaders, where as 15% would report it to a teacher. This information has different policy implications: First, making the most effective channels of reporting known to the people so that they use them and second, recognizing the channels that people use and trust so that the recipients of the information such as police, teachers and members of the administration are well trained and prepared to act quickly and assertively when child marriage cases come to them.

3. Factual beliefs around childhood, marriage and laws

The first analysis that needs to happen when understanding child marriage is to dig into what people understand as a **“child”** and also as **“child marriage”** in order to see whether we are speaking the same language.



Three out of four people do not have correct knowledge that a child is anyone under the age of 18

Who is a child?

Only one fourth (24%) of the population consider a child to be someone under the age of 18 (Table A14). This is even lower in Chittagong, Rajshahi and Mymensingh, where less than 20% believe this. Urban populations seem to agree more that a child is anyone below 18 (30%) than rural households (22%). Moreover, as the educational achievement of the household head and the spouse of the head increases, the consideration of a child as someone under 18 also increases. While 19% of respondents where the household head is illiterate think a child is someone under 18, the percentage is 36% in households where the head has more than 10 years of education.

When looking at what people respond, 42% agree that a child is anyone under 5 years. 24% think it is anyone below the age of 12. 3% of the people think the age is different for boys and girls and 7% don't know what defines being a child. These results carry an important message: as we work on addressing child marriage itself, it is important to make people aware of who is a child. People need to understand that children are all those below 18, including those older than 5 years or 12 years, so that they can be protected as such.

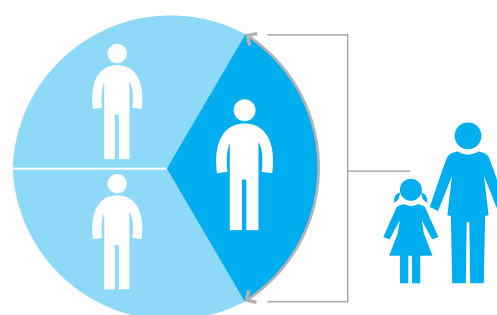


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What constitutes a child marriage?

Only 32% of the population think that child marriage is the marriage of a boy or a girl below 18, and 27% of the people believe that child marriage is marriage of girls under the age of 18. (Table A15). This points to a large information gap between the concept and the legal framework and the knowledge and understanding of the people on the subject. People seem to be confused both on the age that marks a marriage as child marriage, as well as on whether it applies to boys and girls or only to girls. This could also be due to the fact that in the legislation, minimum age of marriage for girls is 18 and for boys is 21. The survey shows that 21% of the respondents think child marriage is marriage before the age of 15 for boys and girls, and 6% think it is marriage before the age of 16 instead of 18. This confusion is also correlated with the fact that three fourths of the population do not have correct knowledge of who a child is. For all the people for whom a child is only someone below 15, child marriage would also be marriage of people below 15 years of age.

Dhaka and Khulna divisions have the highest levels of correct knowledge (35% and 34% respectively), whereas Chittagong and Rajshahi divisions have the lowest levels (27% and 28.5% respectively). Knowledge also differs greatly between



Only one out of 3 people can correctly say what child marriage is

urban and rural settings, where the former have much higher correct beliefs (37%) than the latter (29%). Opinions of what constitute child marriage do not seem to differ by the sex of the respondent. However, higher levels of education are associated with more correct beliefs on what constitutes child marriage. Only 27% of households with illiterate heads believe child marriage is marriage of boys and girls below 18, compared to 39% in households where the heads have 10 or more years of education. Still, even amongst the most educated, 61% do not know the definition of child marriage correctly.

This underscores two clear messages that need to be transmitted to people around child marriage: it applies to both boys and girls, and the cut-off age is 18, which is also the cut-off age between childhood and adulthood.

Knowledge of laws against child marriage

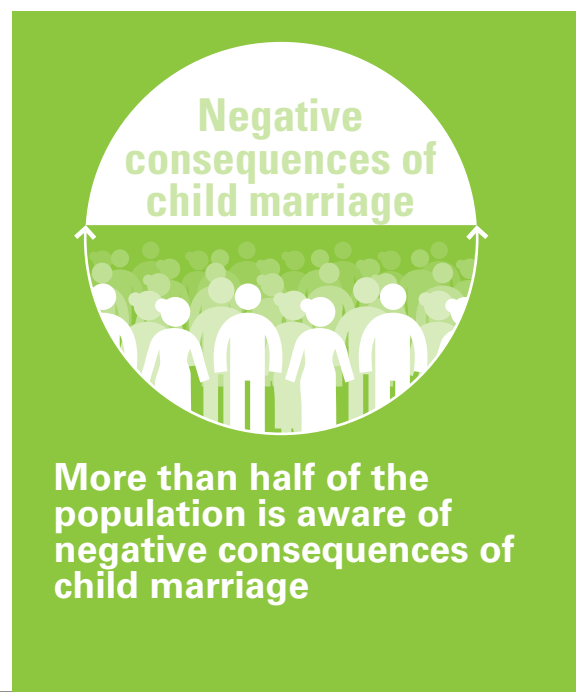
Moving beyond the correct understanding of “child” and “child marriage” we observe people’s awareness of the law that prohibits child marriage in Bangladesh (Table A16). Knowledge of the law against child marriage seems to be wide spread, as 83% of the households are aware that there is a law against child marriage. This awareness is highest in Rangpur, Barisal and Khulna divisions. Knowledge of the law is also higher in urban (87%) than in rural households (82%). Law awareness is slightly higher among male (84%) than female (82%) respondents. Knowledge of the law against child marriage is almost universal amongst highly educated households (92%), and decreases as education of the head decreases. Seventy-six per cent of the households where the head is illiterate are aware of the law. This calls for action for targeting these households with knowledge of the law in ways that are clear and understandable, especially as these are the households where most of the child marriages are happening.

We have some evidence to show that although knowledge of the law might be correlated with lowering child marriages, it is not enough. On the first point, we go back to the percentage of households where a marriage involving a female happened last year and compare the percentage of households that engaged in child marriage differentiating between those that had knowledge of the law and those that did not. This analysis shows that 61% of the marriages in households where the respondent did not know that a law against child marriage exists involved a girl under 18, compared to 48% of households where the law was known. Knowledge of the law seems to work, but its effect is limited, as almost half of the households that were aware of the law and where a marriage took place involved a girl under 18. Explanations of why the law is not a strong enough deterrent could be manifold: low enforcement of the law, penalties perceived as low even if law were enforced, lack of understanding of the law

itself, legal and social norms not operating in tandem, as well as other compelling economic reasons, among others. The low deterrence of the law has at least two policy implications: first, law enforcement needs to be strengthened, including increasing the state’s capacity to find and penalize those who break the law, as well as increasing the willingness of the population to report child marriages as they happen and second, other drivers of child marriage need to be understood and addressed, as making the practice illegal is a good start, but not enough for making it disappear. The last section explored people’s willingness to report a child marriage and their knowledge of where to do so. Further strengthening this will be key, as long as the reports are met with a system that is able to find and punish the perpetrators.

Knowledge of negative consequences of child marriage

Surprisingly, even though more than 80% are aware of the law that prohibits child marriage, more than half (54%) are aware of the negative consequences of this practice and can mention at least one (Table A17). The law will not be fully effective until people understand why it is in place, and one of the main reasons for its existence is the many dangerous and negative consequences that marriage brings to children. The highest awareness levels of the negative consequences of child marriage are in Khulna (61%),



Rangpur (59%), Dhaka and Barisal (both 58%) divisions. The lowest awareness is in Chittagong division (46%). Sixty-six per cent of urban households are aware of at least one negative consequence of child marriage as compared to 50% of the rural households. Surprisingly, female and male respondents are similarly aware of negative consequences of child marriage, even though it is likely that many of the female respondents got married as children themselves. Recognition of negative consequences of child marriage increases with the education of the head of the household: while 43% of illiterate households recognize the negative consequences, 75% of the most educated households can list at least one. It is worrisome though, that even with this high level of knowledge an important proportion of marriages of girls under 18 still take place in the most educated households as noted above.

We have similar evidence that knowledge of negative effects of child marriage might help reduce child marriage, but having this knowledge is not enough to stop the practice. There is a ten percentage point difference between involving a girl below 18 in marriage in the past year between

households that are aware of the negative consequences and those that are not. Taking the households where a marriage of a female happened in the past year we see that 58% of these marriages involved a girl below 18 in the households that did not know and could not say any negative consequence of child marriage, compared to 46% of marriages of under aged girls from households where this knowledge exists. As the comparison shows, knowledge of harms may be helpful in reducing child marriage, but as the last figure shows, this knowledge is clearly not enough to eliminate the practice. Families that do have the knowledge possibly weigh the negative consequences against the perceived positive outcomes (securing a good groom, having one mouth less to feed, protecting honour, etc.) and found that the positive outweigh the negative. Changing this balance should also be the focus of the interventions and policies that tackle child marriage.

The following sections might give some light on other reasons behind child marriage that might influence decisions on marriage and even override knowledge on negative consequences or laws that prohibit the practice.



4. Personal normative beliefs

This section explores what people think should be done around the timing of marriage for boys and girls, around the level of consent girls should have when their marriage is arranged, and around the overall acceptance of child marriage.

When should boys and girls marry?

This is one of the simplest questions that can be asked on this topic. When should a boy and a girl marry? Is there a time that is perceived to be better than others? 82% of the respondents believe the right age of marriage for a girl is when she is 18 or above, or when she is self-dependent and has got a job (Table A18). Although the majority of people fall in this group, 18% of the population still thinks girls should be married at an earlier stage, or at least whenever a suitable groom is found, independent of the age of the girl. Urban dwellers are more likely to think that marriage should happen after 18 (86%) than rural dwellers (81%). Male respondents are also slightly more likely to think a suitable age for girls to marry is after 18 (83%) when compared to women (82%). Once again, education is correlated with more positive beliefs around child marriage. While 74% of respondents whose household head is illiterate think girls should be married after 18 or when self-dependent, the percentage increases to 94% in households where the household head has 10 or more years of education.

It is striking to see such a high normative belief that girls should marry after 18, even in the absence of knowledge of negative consequences and of who is a child, and still have child marriage as a common practice. Though this normative belief does seem to influence child marriage decisions to some degree, other aspects seem to be stronger and push in a different direction. Taking households where females married in the last year as a reference point we see that 47% of marriages involved girls under

18 in households with a preference for marriage after 18, compared to 65% of marriages involved girls in households where people did not state a preference for marriage happening after 18. Though preferences seem to be somewhat aligned with actions, in 47% of the households other factors were at play that led to a girl getting married, even though the preferred age for her marriage was after 18.

For boys the situation is different, as 89% believe that they should get married after they are 18 or when they are self-dependent or have a job (Table A19). When it comes to boys 18 is not the age they think about, but rather 21, which is in accordance with the law in Bangladesh. This 89% is composed of 70% who believe they should marry after 21, 7% who believe they should marry after 18 and 12% who believe they should marry when they are self-dependent or have a job. The situation for girls was different, as 79% say they should marry after 18, only 2% think they should do so after 21 and 1% think they should do so once they have a job. Thus, although when looked as a whole the difference between 82% for girls and 89% for boys does not seem so big, the composition within draws attention to very different narratives and expectations for boys and girls. For boys similar patterns also emerge: rural households are less likely to want to wait for their boys to marry as urban households (88% versus 93%). For boys, a similar correlation between ideal age of marriage and education of the household head exists (83% of households with illiterate heads believe marriage for boys should happen after 18, versus 97% of households where the head has 10 or more years of education).



Girls' consent

Three out of four respondents agreed that girls should give consent while their marriage is being arranged (Table A20). This is higher in Khulna (84%), Dhaka and Rangpur (80%), and lower in Sylhet (66%), Chittagong (68%) and Mymensingh (69%). Urban households also agree to a much larger extent on girls having consent (82% urban households agree versus 74% rural households agree). Females are only slightly more likely to agree (77% versus 75% males). The largest difference appears in relation to the education of the household head: while 69% of illiterate heads of household agree girls should have consent, agreement increases to 86% in households where the head has 10 years of education or more. Whether education fosters empowerment of all members of the household needs to be further studied, but seems to be the case.

We did not ask whether those girls that married were asked for consent. Still, although a great majority of people agree on this, child marriage continues to happen. Why this is so renders the need of further exploration. Perhaps girls do not speak out and feel that they have to give consent because marriage is being arranged by her parents and she feels she needs to obey. So even if her consent is asked, she might be giving it, even if it goes against her will. It might also be that even if she does not give her consent, the parent's decision still prevails. There is some evidence from other studies that supports the idea that the work that adolescent clubs do around empowering girls and giving them better negotiation and speaking out skills helps in getting girls to speak out against child marriage in their households. However, the same evidence shows that although this works in some cases, in many others her voice is still overpowered by the voice of

other household members and the marriage still takes place (Marcus, et.al.,2017). As a policy implication this means that work on empowering girls needs to continue, but together with interventions that target the family members who actually have the decision making power around the decision of a girl's marriage.

Is child marriage acceptable?

One question is whether people find child marriage acceptable or not. One third of the respondents (33%) still think that child marriage is acceptable (Table A21). This means that even if economic or other barriers are removed, it will not be possible to bring child marriage below this percentage, unless it becomes unacceptable to all members of the population.

It will never be possible to bring child marriage below 33% unless it becomes unacceptable to all members of the population

In Rangpur and Khulna acceptability is even higher, at 39% and 36% respectively. Rural dwellers are slightly more likely to find it acceptable than urban households. Though the difference is small (33% versus 31%). Acceptability does not differ between female and male respondents. Education also does not seem to play a major role in changing people's acceptability towards child marriage.

5. Empirical expectations: What others do

What people observe that other people do (or what they think other people do) is an important factor influencing the decision around child marriage. This is particularly important because it is easier to carry out an action that everyone else also carries out, so that the action does not stand out or call people's attention. Understanding whether people observe child marriage and whether it is part of "normal" range of behaviours that people observe in their reference group is key.

Is child marriage commonly observed?

We asked respondents what proportion of girls in their village got married before the age of 18 (Table A22). First, 26% of the respondents did not know the answer to this question, meaning that the phenomenon seems to be unobserved for one out of four people. 39% report that less than half of the girls get married before 18, 18% report that half of the girls marry below 18, 13% say that more than half of the girls do so and in 4% of the cases they say that mostly all get married before they reach 18. Altogether, 35% of the people perceive that at least half of the girls are getting married below the age of 18 in their communities. For people living in these villages marrying their own daughter before she reaches 18 will not be something that stands out or goes outside of the norm, but is rather aligned with perceived common practices.

At least
35%
of the people
perceive that at
least half or more
of the girls marry
before **18**

The divisions where it was mostly reported that less than half of the girls in the village marry before 18 are Rangpur (47%), Khulna (44%), Barisal and Sylhet (both 43%). On the other extreme, where it was mostly seen that mostly all of the girls get married below 18 are Chittagong (6%), Mymensingh (6%) and Rajshahi (5%). Rajshahi is also particularly high in people saying that more than half get married below 18 (19%).

This question shows that child marriage is easily visible by people or at least is a practice that people think they can observe in their community, judging by the 75% who responded in a positive or negative way to the question.

Has the practice changed in the community?

Despite believing that child marriage seems to be the common practice, half of the respondents think that child marriage has decreased in their community in the past year (Table A23). Consistent with the responses to whether child marriage is commonly observed, 25% of the respondents do not know if the practice has changed. 13% of the respondents claim that it has stayed the same and 12% of the respondents say that this practice has increased. This is a considerable number that calls for attention, in the midst of awareness campaigns.

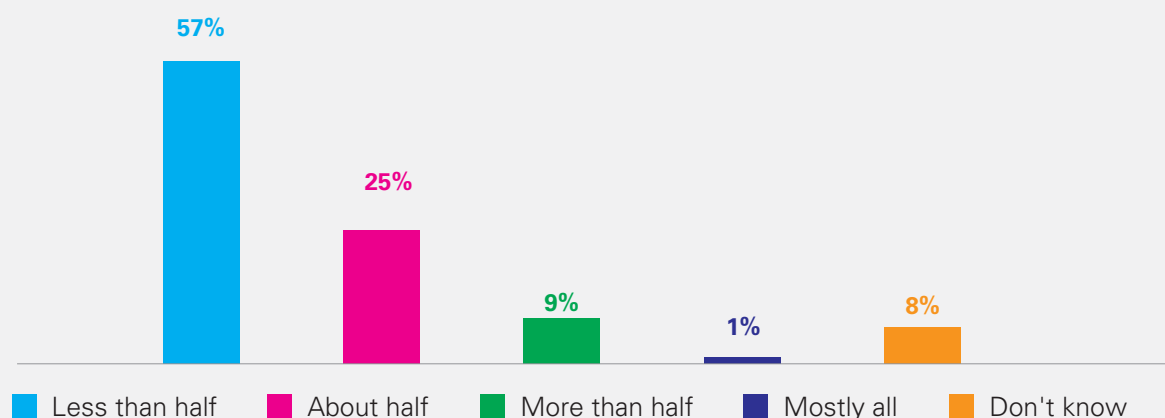


The percentage who agree that the practice has decreased is higher for urban households (57%) than for rural households (48%). Households where the head has a high level of education are more likely to agree that the practice has decreased compared to their low education level counterparts (61% versus 43%). This may mean that respondents have different reference groups of people who share similar characteristics with them. It could also point to different rates of reduction of child marriage within the population, which is something to keep in mind when analyzing trends of change of the phenomenon. Thus, it may be that child marriage is decreasing, but is doing so more rapidly in educated households.

Taking together the last two questions gives a fresh perspective of what is happening. Figure 5 focuses only on those respondents that say that child marriage has decreased in their community, and crosses it with the perception that people

have on the prevalence of child marriage (i.e. the perceived percentage of girls who get married in the community). We find that 57% of the respondents who perceive a decrease in child marriage also believe that less than half of the girls in their village are getting married. This could have various reasons; a first one is that social norms reinforce each other, and accelerate each other bringing child marriage down faster in an evident trend observable by people and second, that decreases in child marriage are happening in areas where the practice was not as common and where the social norms around child marriage were potentially not as strong. On the other hand, only 1% of the decrease of child marriage happened in places where people think that mostly all of the girls are getting married below 18. This finding suggests that where social norms around child marriage are strong, and it is a practice common to mostly all, changes are slow or inexistent, and targeted and strong strategies to curb child marriage are needed.

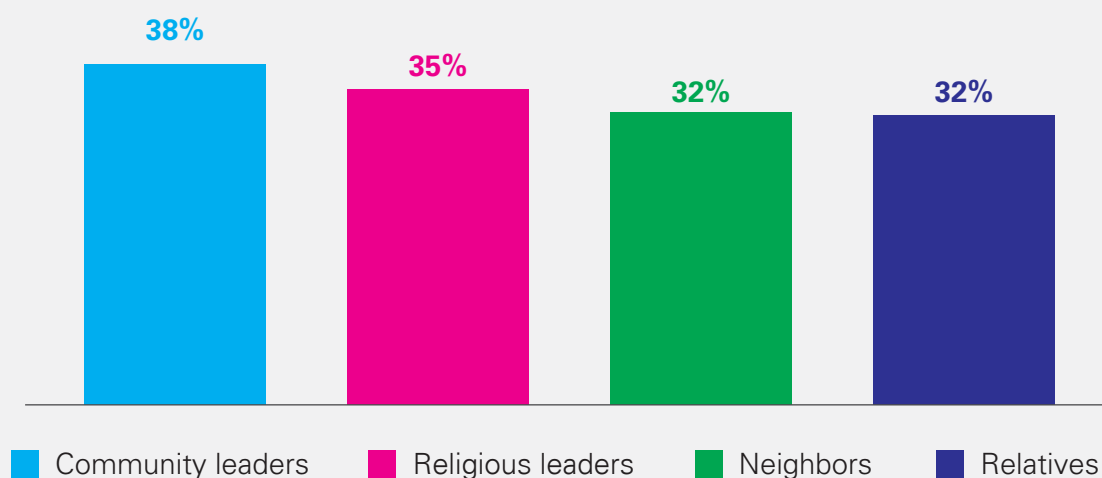
Figure 5. Perceived decrease of child marriage with respect to perceived prevalence of the practice



People's perceptions on others' approval of child marriage

The following four indicators refer to people's beliefs around the level of approval particular groups have of child marriage. Other groups refer to community leaders², religious leaders, neighbors and relatives. The percentages presented below refer to those who say they believe others would never approve or support children marrying under 18. This is an important dimension as it evidences an acknowledgment of other people's position around eliminating child marriage. Community and religious leaders are perceived as stronger supporters of the eradication of child marriage than neighbors and relatives. However, in all cases around two thirds of leaders, neighbors and relatives are expected to approve or support child marriage, in all cases or under certain circumstances. Thus, the majority still perceive that child marriage is acceptable to their leaders, neighbors and relatives.

Figure 6. Perceived support for child marriage of other groups in the community



²The questionnaire asked about "community leaders" and did not specify whether these were local elected representatives, key service providers, etc. Thus, response refers to what each person understands by community leaders.

Findings show that 38% of the respondents think that community leaders would never approve or support child marriage (Table A24). Ten per cent of the respondents feel that community leaders do support this practice, and 26% believe that they do under certain circumstances. What these “special circumstances” are need to be further studied and understood, as they may play a role in keeping this harmful practice as an acceptable practice in the communities which they lead. This also bears reference to the special provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 2017. Some geographical differences can be observed, as 49% of households in Barisal division think their community leaders would never support child marriage while 33% in Chittagong and Rajshahi divisions hold the same belief. Urban households believe to a larger extent that their community leaders would disapprove child marriage than their rural counterparts (44% versus 36%).

A lower number of households believe that their religious leaders would never support child marriage (35%) (Table A25). Twelve per cent believe religious leaders do support this practice and 26% believe they support it under certain circumstances. Urban households perceive that religious leaders never support child marriage to a greater extent than the rural households (40% urban versus 33% rural).

Slightly less than one third (32%) of the respondents think that their neighbors never support child marriage (Table A26). In Rajshahi and Khulna divisions the belief is even lower (25% and 29% respectively). As seen before with community and religious leaders, households from urban areas think that full lack of support towards marriages below 18 from their neighbors is higher than in rural households (39% versus 30%).

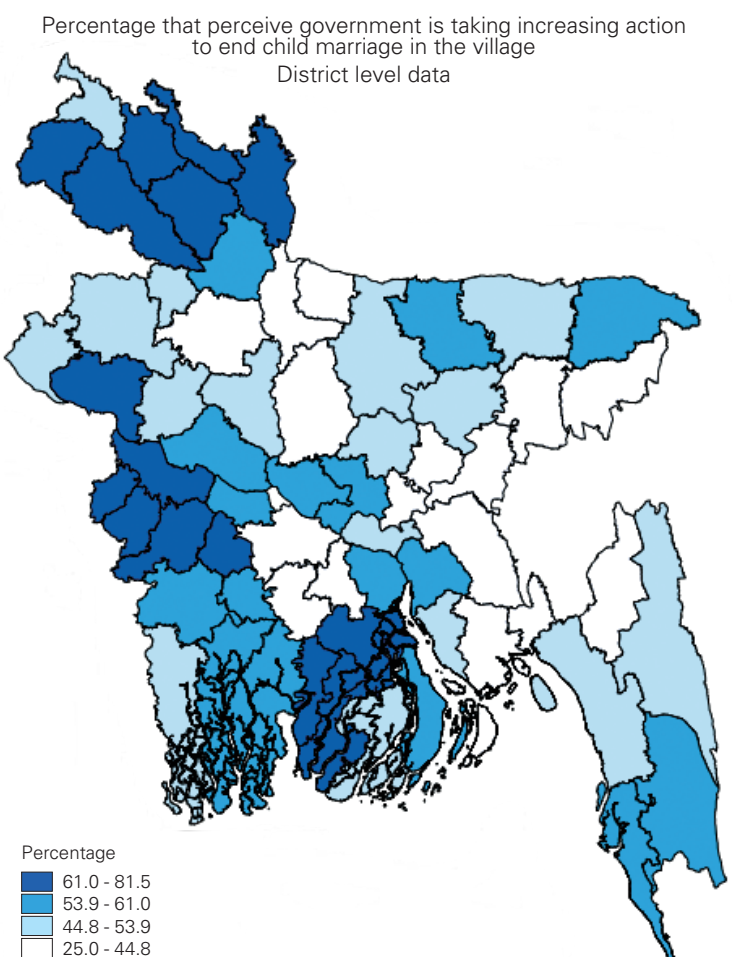
Lastly, and with very similar results as what people believe the neighbors would do, 32% of the respondents think that their relatives never support child marriage (Table A27). In Rajshahi and Khulna divisions the belief is even lower (24% and 28% respectively). As seen before with community and religious leaders, households from urban areas think that full

lack of support towards marriages below 18 from their relatives is higher than in rural households (40% versus 29%).

What others are doing to stop child marriage

The government efforts against child marriage are more visible, as 52% of the households feel that increasing action is being taken by the government in this regard (Table A28). Increasing government efforts are particularly noticed in Khulna, Barisal and Rangpur. Urban households are noticing government efforts to a larger extent than rural households (58% versus 50%).

The perception that the religious community is increasing action against child marriage is lower than what is perceived by the government (Table A29). 41% of the respondents think that religious leaders are increasing their actions against child marriage. The divisions where this is perceived to a higher degree are also Barisal, Rangpur and Khulna, and urban households also perceive to a larger extent than rural ones (47% versus 39%).



6. Normative expectations: What people think others expect them to do around child marriage

How much a person thinks others approve or disapprove of child marriage could also affect this person's actions around child marriage. In this regard, 41% of the households think that there is increasing disapproval around child marriage in their village (Table A30). Twenty-one per cent do not think disapproval has increased in the past year and 38% of the respondents don't know. This shows that increase is underway but has still a long way to go until a momentum of increasing disapproval of child marriage is happening in the majority of the country. Increases in disapproval around child marriage are mostly visible in Khulna, Barisal and Rangpur divisions (50%, 49% and 48% respectively). Interestingly, these are also the places where many interventions around child marriage are happening. Increases are also more apparent in urban areas versus rural ones (46% versus 39%).

What people perceive they are expected to do also reflects in the pressure they feel from others to marry off their young daughters (Table A31). This pressure may

be an important determinant of what people may do. Forty-five per cent of the respondents feel that this pressure has decreased. On the flipside, this means that 55% of the parents either feel that the pressure to marry off their daughters has increased or remained the same. Fifty-four per cent of the parents from Rangpur division feel that this pressure has decreased. In all other divisions, less than half of the parents feel a decrease in this pressure from others. Also importantly to note is that rural households have seen the pressure go down to a much lower extent than their urban counterparts (42% versus 52%). Females feel the pressure has come down to a lower extent than males (43% versus 48% respectively), possibly reflecting different networks with different expectations. Interestingly, a decrease in pressure is also felt more heavily in more educated households than in households where the head is illiterate (56% decrease for the former, 38% decrease for the latter). This finding is aligned with the previous finding that child marriage might be reducing at a faster pace in more educated households.



More than half
of the parents
still feel
pressure from
others to marry
their girls
before **18**

7. Taking all factors into account, what matters most?

This section presents an exploratory exercise that aims to get a better understanding of which variables are correlated with child marriage and which may be the ones that have the strongest importance for people's decision making process. This analysis does not represent any causal relationship between the factors explored and child marriage. It only presents an existing correlation between the variables. However, the advantage of the analysis is having the opportunity to put all possible aspects related to child marriage together and understand, by analyzing them all at the same time and not independently as we have done throughout the document, which ones remain as strong correlates, after controlling for the district and division people live in, and for the education, age and gender of the household head. It is also important to clarify what we treat as child marriage in this section: households where a marriage took place in the last year, which involved a female below 18 years. Only households that reported that any female got married in the past year are included in the analysis. Thus, the analysis is carried out with 6,248 households where at least one woman was married in the previous year. Table 1 presents all variables and results together.

Let us first see the variables related to factual beliefs.

- **Knowledge of child marriage.** Once we control for everything else, having correct knowledge of what constitutes child marriage and of its negative consequences are significantly correlated with lower levels of child marriage.
- **Knowledge of who is a child.** Lack of understanding of who is not related to child marriage in a statistically significant way. However, this is probably because knowledge of what constitutes child marriage and of who is a child is highly correlated.
- **Knowledge of the law.** Additionally, knowledge that there is a law that prohibits child marriage does not seem to

be correlated with lower degrees of the practice. This is not a surprise given the univariate results seen above, where a large proportion of households still married under 18 girls despite knowing the law.

- **Knowledge of negative effects of child marriage.** However, having knowledge on the negative effects of child marriage does seem to matter, and it brings into the forefront the fact that families are trying to make a rational decision around the future of the girl and of the whole household, and that when considering the benefits of marriage, without knowledge of negative consequences, the benefits might outweigh the negative consequences. As we saw before this is not enough to stop the practice, but it does seem to be a strong correlate with lower rates of child marriage.

Moving to individual normative beliefs we find:

- **Good age for marriage.** Households where there is a notion that a good age for marriage for girls is after 18 are also 27 percentage points less likely to have had a child marriage in the past year. Interventions that strengthen the value of the girl child and her value to the family and society could continue to enhance declines in child marriage.
- **Consent.** Likewise, households that believe that girls should give consent while arranging their marriage were 30 percentage points less likely to experience a child marriage in the past year. This might reflect higher empowerment levels of girls in the house, perhaps through communication and negotiation skills, together with more receptive parents.
- **Acceptability of marriage before 18.** Finally, and in a similar direction with the normative belief of what a good age for marriage is, those households that believe that marriage before 18 is acceptable are 19 percentage points more likely to have had a child marriage in the past year. Changing acceptability of the practice will go a long way in enhancing results.

Summarizing the above, what matters more? Consent and knowledge of consequences. What matters less? Regulations and laws.

We now explore variables related to what people observe others do.

- **Perceived proportion of girls marrying before 18.** The first thing to note is that being aware, or at least having a perception of the proportion of girls that get married under 18 in the village is correlated with higher probability of having taken the decision to marry a girl under 18, when compared to the base value of “Do not know”. We also observe that as the perceived proportion of girls under 18 believed to get married increases, also does the probability of having child marriage in the household. Areas where less than half of the girls are perceived to get married before 18 are 28 percentage points more likely to marry a girl before 18, however, this become 59 percentage points more likely when the perceived proportion becomes more than half. This is a striking finding, as it means that the perceived magnitude of child marriage in one's community carries an immense weight. Perceiving that more than half of the girls of the community are getting married doubles the probability of marriage when compared to those that think that less than half of the girls are getting married. The magnitude of the coefficient is also bigger than all the rest, highlighting the importance of this dimension.
- **Perceived decrease of child marriage in the community.** Moreover, households that believe that child marriage has decreased in the community are 32 percentage points less likely to have had a child marriage in their home in the past year.

These three beliefs on what the proper age for marriage is, the perception of the prevalence of the practice in the community and the perception of decreases in the practice have very high correlations with child marriage, which also remain strong after controlling for personal beliefs, education levels and other household characteristics.

This reinforces the idea that the practice of child marriage in Bangladesh is a very strong social norm and very highly affected by what people think others do.

Perceived support of child marriage by different groups in community.

Interestingly, only the belief that relatives would never support child marriage seems to retain a significant correlation with child marriage. What people think of community leaders, religious leaders and even neighbors loses significance. Whether people believe that increasing action against child marriage is being taken by government and the religious community also does not remain as a significant correlation.

Moving towards what people think others expect them to do, we find that an increasing disapproval of child marriage in the village or a decreased pressure to marry off daughters, though showing a decreasing sign, are not statistically significant. These may be highly correlated with the proportion of girls who get married and that variable captures all related effects.

Lastly, looking into **household characteristics**, we find that structural variables play an important role in the decision making process. First, households with more children are more prone to child marriage. Each additional child increases its relationship with child marriage by 5.6 percentage points. Older heads of household seem to be less related with child marriage. This may be because we are only observing the marriages that happened last year, and older parents may have older children that would be further from the 18 year cut-off point. Interestingly, male headed households are more likely to marry off the girls in the household. Finally, as has been seen throughout the document, education of the head of the household is heavily related to child marriage. Those heads of household with 5 years or less of education are 20 percentage points less likely to have a child marriage than those who are illiterate. This distance from illiterate heads of household grows to 31 percentage points with households who have 6-9 years of education and to 50 percentage points with those where the household head has 10 years of education or more.

Table 1: Variables related with having had one girl below 18 married last year, from households where marriages involving females took place last year

Dependent variable: At least one girl below 18 was married among all marriages involving females last year	
Believe child is anyone below 18	-0.0392
	(0.06)
CM is marrying boy or girl below 18	-0.0952**
	(0.05)
Know there is a law against CM	-0.0558
	(0.06)
Know negative consequences of CM	-0.145***
	(0.05)
Good age girl marry after 18 or self-dependent	-0.268***
	(0.06)
Believe girl should have consent while arranging marriage	-0.307***
	(0.07)
Marriage before 18 is acceptable	0.192***
	(0.05)
What proportion of girls in your village/ward are getting married below 18 years = 1, Less than half	0.280***
	(0.07)
What proportion of girls in your village/ward are getting married below 18 years = 2, About half	0.542***
	(0.08)
What proportion of girls in your village/ward are getting married below 18 years = 3, More than half	0.593***
	(0.08)
What proportion of girls in your village/ward are getting married below 18 years = 4, Mostly all/all	0.447***
	(0.11)
Believe CM has decreased in community	-0.323***
	(0.05)
Believe community leaders never support CM	-0.0924
	(0.07)
Believe religious leaders never support CM	0.0371
	(0.07)

Dependent variable: At least one girl below 18 was married among all marriages involving females last year	
Believe neighbors never support CM	0.0629
	(0.07)
Believe relatives never support CM	-0.129*
	(0.07)
Believe increasing action against CM by government	0.0449
	(0.06)
Believe increasing action against CM by religious community	0.0369
	(0.05)
Believe increasing disapproval of CM in village	-0.047
	(0.05)
Feel pressure to marry daughters <18 has decreased	-0.0461
	(0.05)
Number of children in household	0.0564***
	(0.02)
Age of household head	-0.0217***
	(0.00)
Gender of household head (male)	0.119**
	(0.06)
Head of HH education = 5 yrs or less	-0.197***
	(0.05)
Head of HH education = , 6-9 years	-0.308***
	(0.06)
Head of HH education = 10+ years	-0.502***
	(0.07)
Constant	1.735***
	(0.22)
District fixed effects	YES
Division fixed effects	YES
Observations	6,248
<i>Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$</i>	

What does it all mean?

In accordance with the mandate given to UNICEF to support the Government of Bangladesh in eliminating child marriage by 2041, this exploration into preferences, beliefs and norms on child marriage is a milestone analysis in several aspects. For the first time, it is possible to assess the current state of perceptions and factors that influence child marriage, differentially for all districts of the country, with information collected through government-owned national systems. The instrument utilised for data collection, built around a personal and factual beliefs and empirical and normative expectations, provides a solid framework to extract the intensity in which the different drivers interact and affect the marriage of a child, and with the potential to become a global innovation.

The evidence that informs the reflections presented in this discussion paper are based on the perception of those who are exposed on a day to day basis to the enablers and consequences of marriages with children and serve an invaluable tool for policy makers.

1. Child marriage cannot be eliminated unless we shift paradigms on what it means to be a child. Notably, 3 out of every 4 people are not able to identify a child as a boy or girl under 18 years, with profound consequences on the perpetuation of the practice of child marriage and implementation of child-related policies, particularly for adolescents. Although the regression analysis indicates that proper knowledge of who is a child is not a lead driver of child marriage at this point, drivers will shift overtime, it is vital to initiate this structural transformation in perceptions as part of a longer-term strategy.

Revision of the educational curriculum to emphasize the conditions and rights of children may be required, as well as enhanced in the community dialogue mechanisms. An inter-ministerial and cross-sectoral effort will be needed in order to channel messages to schools and communities.

2. The evidence is indicating that households that believe in giving girls consent also see less child marriages. The power of consent needs to be leveraged to accelerate the reduction of child marriage by increasing empowerment of teenage girls and boys, as well as life skills programmes as a national priority. Programmes geared towards keeping girls in school should revise targeting criteria beyond poverty to address areas with high prevalence of child marriage as a priority. *The creation of an End Child Marriage Acceleration Fund* could be made available to the Ministry of Education to increase the coverage of education stipends and for the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs the expansion of adolescent clubs and other proven actions in the districts with highest prevalence of child marriage, with a special emphasis in increasing knowledge of negative consequences of child marriage. Achieving meaningful acceleration will require a whole of government approach, including *exploring realignment of social protection schemes, such as the Vulnerable Group Development programme, expanding the targeting in districts with high prevalence of child marriage* and analysing the contribution that this programme can have in accelerating the reduction.

3. Nearly half of all children drop out of school after marriage, potentially perpetuating the cycle of child marriage to the next generation. As child marriage occurs at a higher incidence in households with low educational level, the reduction in educational years is detrimental to future efforts for elimination of the practice. Overall investments in enhancing education in the country are being lost affecting the capacity of the educational system to keep girls in school.
4. To help sustain the acceleration of the reduction of child marriage, it is crucial to also involve local community and religious leaders and to ensure that they do not support child marriage in their communities. *This might require further exploration of the religious perspectives on the practice, and forging closer collaboration with religious leaders as forced marriages are strictly forbidden by Islam* and the woman cannot be given to a man in marriage without her consent, either by agreement or by silence.
5. Efforts to improve the regulatory context, such as the Child Marriage Restraint Act are necessary, but not enough to accelerate change. The tipping point for community mobilisation towards the elimination of the practice of child marriage has not yet been reached in most places, and the practice will continue to find loopholes in policy and law. The rapid and efficient implementation of the *National Action Plan for Ending Child Marriage becomes an increasing priority and funding to its implementation should be monitored by highest levels of government*, and progress should be reported on an annual basis to all stakeholders.
6. Under the current state of norms, beliefs and preferences child marriage reduction will reach a threshold at approximately 30%. The evidence indicates that one third of all households considered child marriage acceptable. At the same time, data shows that a major driver for reduction of the norm is the perception of what is occurring in their community, as households that perceive that child marriage is reducing around them, are less likely to marry-off their children. It is therefore recommended to continue *promoting community messaging that the elimination of child marriage is declining and acknowledge that change is happening with efforts such as 'Child Marriage Free Communities'*.
7. This analysis demonstrates the value of systematically monitoring the beliefs, norms and practices and highlights that evidence generation should to be a core element of the strategy for ending child marriage. The analysis of this data generates a set of evidence-informed policy and programmatic recommendations, as well as focused actions and reflections on the current approaches for accelerating results which take the pulse of the fundamental drivers of the choices for child marriage. Sustaining these knowledge driven efforts requires a long-term commitment, which can be continued through *the establishment of an SDG Observatory for Ending Child Marriage*, that can act as a knowledge-hub and provide policy guidance to adjust targeting strategies and programme implementation to make them more child-marriage responsive, set targets for investments and monitor resources allocated to the National Plan of Action for Ending Child Marriage at national and subnational level, generate incentives for the scaling-up of key intervention of the NPA, foster innovation and intra-country knowledge exchange, and develop communication and empowerment strategies towards the elimination of child marriage by 2041.

Annex 1: Frequency tables

Table A1: Percentage of households where a female below 18 married in last year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	50.3	0.72
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	34.4	1.95
Chittagong	45.3	1.53
Dhaka	53.6	1.71
Khulna	45.5	2.16
Mymensingh	52.6	3.12
Rajshahi	69.2	1.64
Rangpur	59.8	2.16
Sylhet	22.3	1.97
<i>Area</i>		
Rural	50.8	0.84
Urban	48.5	1.33
<i>Sex of respondent</i>		
Male	53.5	1.08
Female	47.7	0.96
<i>Education of household head</i>		
Illiterate	56.7	1.14
5 or less year(s)	49.8	1.29
6-9 years	46.4	1.82
10 or more years	37.1	1.84

Table A2: Percentage of households where a male below 18 married in last year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	9.6	0.50
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	6.7	1.15
Chittagong	8.7	1.09
Dhaka	9.7	1.22
Khulna	6.8	1.14
Mymensingh	9.8	2.13
Rajshahi	15.9	1.53
Rangpur	10.7	1.52
Sylhet	4.7	1.10
<i>Area</i>		
Rural	8.4	0.55
Urban	14.2	1.17
<i>Sex of respondent</i>		
Male	11.2	0.78
Female	8.1	0.64
<i>Education of household head</i>		
Illiterate	11.1	0.86
5 or less year(s)	9.2	0.89
6-9 years	9.4	1.34
10 or more years	6.3	0.93

Table A3: Reasons for marrying a girl below 18 in the past year for the households where this happened

	Economic	Security/safety	Cultural (social practice)	Found a good match	Reached menstruation	Family honor	Dropped out of school	Was not doing anything	Others
	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)
Bangladesh	24.6 (0.87)	14.7 (0.71)	5.2 (0.44)	55.8 (1.02)	2.7 (0.32)	24.3 (0.88)	9.7 (0.60)	4.1 (0.42)	0.6 (0.16)
Division									
Barisal	26.2 (3.09)	24.3 (3.01)	2.9 (1.15)	45.2 (3.46)	4.2 (1.40)	24.1 (2.98)	19.2 (2.79)	2.7 (0.94)	0.1 (0.07)
Chittagong	11.2 (1.42)	9.8 (1.33)	7.5 (1.17)	54.3 (2.32)	4.0 (0.87)	24.6 (1.97)	8.3 (1.22)	5.1 (0.94)	0.0
Dhaka	30.2 (2.06)	15.7 (1.65)	5.3 (0.91)	59.7 (2.27)	1.2 (0.47)	17.3 (1.80)	8.6 (1.30)	7.4 (1.24)	0.9 (0.41)
Khulna	23.6 (2.78)	15.5 (2.33)	7.3 (1.67)	54.4 (3.25)	2.2 (0.95)	28.9 (2.94)	6.4 (1.61)	0.7 (0.48)	0.9 (0.65)
Mymensingh	19.4 (3.41)	4.4 (1.76)	2.3 (1.34)	48.7 (4.29)	3.0 (1.47)	19.3 (3.41)	17.0 (3.23)	5.1 (1.86)	0.8 (0.78)
Rajshahi	24.5 (1.81)	18.8 (1.60)	5.4 (1.02)	64.1 (2.02)	2.8 (0.76)	22.5 (1.79)	7.3 (1.06)	1.3 (0.46)	1.1 (0.45)
Rangpur	36.5 (2.77)	14.7 (2.03)	2.7 (0.93)	46.3 (2.88)	3.0 (0.97)	42.2 (2.83)	11.0 (1.86)	2.6 (0.93)	0.0
Sylhet	28.1 (4.34)	10.5 (3.12)	1.6 (1.30)	56.7 (4.98)	1.0 (1.01)	18.7 (3.97)	13.7 (3.42)	5.4 (2.16)	1.3 (1.28)
Area									
Rural	22.2 (0.97)	14.4 (0.82)	5.6 (0.52)	55.4 (1.18)	2.7 (0.36)	25.8 (1.03)	9.7 (0.70)	3.9 (0.47)	0.7 (0.19)
Urban	33.5 (1.92)	15.8 (1.34)	3.5 (0.76)	57.3 (1.95)	2.7 (0.68)	18.8 (1.52)	9.6 (1.14)	5.0 (0.93)	0.4 (0.24)
Sex of respondent									
Male	26.0 (1.31)	14.1 (1.02)	4.4 (0.60)	53.8 (1.49)	2.3 (0.44)	23.3 (1.27)	9.8 (0.88)	4.4 (0.68)	0.6 (0.22)
Female	23.3 (1.17)	15.2 (0.98)	5.9 (0.63)	57.6 (1.38)	3.0 (0.46)	25.3 (1.21)	9.5 (0.82)	3.8 (0.52)	0.7 (0.23)
Education of household head									
Illiterate	24.9 (1.31)	13.8 (1.04)	4.7 (0.63)	56.2 (1.52)	2.3 (0.44)	23.9 (1.30)	12.1 (1.02)	5.3 (0.68)	0.4 (0.19)
5 or less year(s)	26.7 (1.62)	13.8 (1.25)	6.7 (0.89)	54.6 (1.83)	2.6 (0.57)	25.9 (1.61)	8.6 (0.98)	2.9 (0.62)	0.1 (0.12)
6-9 years	22.1 (2.26)	15.5 (1.84)	5.3 (1.16)	54.3 (2.73)	3.5 (0.95)	23.7 (2.30)	7.3 (1.44)	5.3 (1.48)	1.8 (0.71)
10 or more years	20.2 (2.42)	20.4 (2.51)	2.5 (0.91)	60.3 (3.08)	3.5 (1.17)	22.1 (2.71)	5.6 (1.20)	1.0 (0.58)	1.4 (0.77)

Table A4: Percentage of girls age under 18 who were enrolled in school before marriage

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	71.9	0.94
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	78.5	2.83
Chittagong	45.7	2.32
Dhaka	72.2	2.04
Khulna	90.9	1.90
Mymensingh	71.2	3.90
Rajshahi	84.3	1.55
Rangpur	79.9	2.35
Sylhet	65.7	4.76
<i>Area</i>		
Rural	69.9	1.10
Urban	79.5	1.65
<i>Sex of respondent</i>		
Male	70.5	1.42
Female	73.2	1.24
<i>Education of household head</i>		
Illiterate	69.6	1.42
5 or less year(s)	74.8	1.63
6-9 years	70.7	2.58
10 or more years	75.1	2.92

Table A5: Percentage of girls age under 18 who discontinued studies right after marriage

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	45.2	1.19
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	29.7	3.56
Chittagong	56.5	3.26
Dhaka	41.8	2.69
Khulna	50.5	3.42
Mymensingh	35.0	4.88
Rajshahi	45.2	2.28
Rangpur	45.5	3.20
Sylhet	62.7	6.07

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	50.6	1.41
Urban	27.3	1.89
Sex of respondent		
Male	40.5	1.70
Female	49.2	1.65
Education of household head		
Illiterate	51.2	1.83
5 or less year(s)	44.3	2.10
6-9 years	38.6	3.11
10 or more years	31.3	3.34

Table A6: Percentage who have taken action against child marriage in at least one way in the past year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	28.7	0.11
Division		
Barisal	41.1	0.42
Chittagong	37.6	0.29
Dhaka	24.6	0.23
Khulna	26.2	0.30
Mymensingh	27.2	0.42
Rajshahi	21.4	0.26
Rangpur	30.4	0.32
Sylhet	33.0	0.42
Area		
Rural	28.5	0.14
Urban	29.1	0.19
Sex of respondent		
Male	35.3	0.19
Female	23.9	0.14
Education of household head		
Illiterate	24.0	0.18
5 or less year(s)	28.5	0.21
6-9 years	31.1	0.28
10 or more years	36.4	0.28

Table A7: Percentage of respondents participated in/taken some action to end child marriage in last one year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	18.9	0.10
Division		
Barisal	25.2	0.37
Chittagong	27.2	0.26
Dhaka	15.7	0.20
Khulna	16.3	0.25
Mymensingh	17.8	0.36
Rajshahi	13.0	0.22
Rangpur	20.8	0.28
Sylhet	23.4	0.38
Area		
Rural	18.7	0.12
Urban	19.6	0.17
Sex of respondent		
Male	23.9	0.17
Female	15.4	0.12

Table A8: Percentage of respondents that talked to someone about child marriage to get more information in last one year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	17.4	0.09
Division		
Barisal	24.9	0.37
Chittagong	23.9	0.25
Dhaka	14.9	0.19
Khulna	15.6	0.24
Mymensingh	15.0	0.34
Rajshahi	12.1	0.21
Rangpur	18.2	0.26
Sylhet	21.8	0.37
Area		
Rural	16.9	0.11
Urban	18.7	0.17
Sex of respondent		
Male	22.4	0.16
Female	13.8	0.11

Table A9: Percentage of respondents who resisted or refrained from any attempt to be involved in a child marriage in last one year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	14.4	0.09
Division		
Barisal	20.3	0.34
Chittagong	21.1	0.24
Dhaka	12.5	0.18
Khulna	11.0	0.21
Mymensingh	12.5	0.31
Rajshahi	9.7	0.19
Rangpur	15.5	0.25
Sylhet	18.2	0.34
Area		
Rural	14.2	0.11
Urban	15.3	0.15
Sex of respondent		
Male	18.9	0.15
Female	11.2	0.10

Table A10: Percentage of respondents that convinced someone to not support child marriage in last one year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	15.1	0.09
Division		
Barisal	23.0	0.36
Chittagong	21.3	0.24
Dhaka	13.0	0.18
Khulna	12.4	0.22
Mymensingh	12.6	0.31
Rajshahi	10.2	0.19
Rangpur	16.2	0.25
Sylhet	18.9	0.35
Area		
Rural	14.7	0.11
Urban	16.3	0.16
Sex of respondent		
Male	20.1	0.16
Female	11.5	0.10

Table A11: Percentage of respondents that stopped someone from getting married/getting their child married in the last one year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	12.5	0.08
Division		
Barisal	18.3	0.33
Chittagong	19.3	0.23
Dhaka	10.8	0.17
Khulna	8.7	0.19
Mymensingh	11.1	0.30
Rajshahi	7.8	0.17
Rangpur	12.5	0.22
Sylhet	16.6	0.33
Area		
Rural	12.3	0.10
Urban	13.0	0.14
Sex of respondent		
Male	16.6	0.15
Female	9.5	0.09

Table A12: Percentage of respondents that reported a child marriage in their village/ward to authorities in the last one year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	12.3	0.08
Division		
Barisal	18.2	0.33
Chittagong	20.2	0.24
Dhaka	9.9	0.17
Khulna	8.8	0.19
Mymensingh	11.1	0.30
Rajshahi	7.8	0.17
Rangpur	12.3	0.22
Sylhet	16.5	0.33
Area		
Rural	12.3	0.10
Urban	12.5	0.14
Sex of respondent		
Male	16.9	0.15
Female	9.1	0.09

Table A13: Where people would report a child marriage

	Child helpline	Comm-unity leader	Comm-unity health worker	Teacher	Police/village police	Youth-leader	Adminis-tration	Jour-nalist	No one/ I would not report	Don't know
	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)	Percent (SE)
Bangladesh	6.8 (0.06)	12.2 (0.08)	8.6 (0.07)	15.0 (0.09)	55.7 (0.12)	6.5 (0.06)	21.9 (0.10)	8.4 (0.07)	3.3 (0.05)	16.1 (0.09)
Division										
Barisal	9.6 (0.25)	15.7 (0.30)	11.8 (0.28)	17.1 (0.33)	61.7 (0.41)	9.3 (0.25)	20.0 (0.34)	19.9 (0.34)	1.1 (0.09)	8.6 (0.23)
Chittagong	10.8 (0.18)	17.6 (0.22)	13.5 (0.20)	16.5 (0.22)	45.9 (0.29)	8.1 (0.16)	22.4 (0.25)	8.5 (0.17)	2.9 (0.10)	15.4 (0.22)
Dhaka	6.4 (0.13)	13.2 (0.19)	6.0 (0.13)	12.1 (0.18)	60.1 (0.27)	5.7 (0.13)	16.8 (0.20)	6.1 (0.14)	3.8 (0.11)	16.3 (0.20)
Khulna	5.1 (0.14)	9.1 (0.20)	8.4 (0.19)	13.6 (0.23)	60.9 (0.33)	7.3 (0.18)	24.5 (0.29)	7.4 (0.18)	3.8 (0.13)	15.0 (0.24)
Mymensingh	4.7 (0.20)	10.4 (0.29)	9.3 (0.28)	32.0 (0.45)	52.6 (0.48)	6.9 (0.24)	17.2 (0.36)	10.8 (0.29)	2.3 (0.15)	16.2 (0.35)
Rajshahi	4.4 (0.13)	8.5 (0.17)	5.1 (0.14)	9.2 (0.18)	54.2 (0.32)	4.2 (0.13)	22.0 (0.27)	6.4 (0.16)	5.6 (0.15)	20.1 (0.26)
Rangpur	6.3 (0.17)	9.8 (0.20)	9.5 (0.20)	15.6 (0.25)	55.9 (0.34)	6.0 (0.17)	32.3 (0.32)	9.4 (0.20)	2.0 (0.10)	14.5 (0.24)
Sylhet	7.8 (0.23)	11.9 (0.28)	11.5 (0.29)	15.4 (0.33)	53.6 (0.45)	7.8 (0.24)	24.6 (0.38)	9.8 (0.26)	2.0 (0.13)	21.0 (0.38)
Area										
Rural	5.5 (0.07)	12.0 (0.10)	9.1 (0.09)	15.6 (0.11)	53.0 (0.15)	6.6 (0.07)	22.0 (0.13)	8.4 (0.08)	3.6 (0.06)	18.0 (0.12)
Urban	10.5 (0.13)	13.0 (0.14)	7.4 (0.11)	13.3 (0.15)	63.4 (0.21)	6.2 (0.10)	21.4 (0.17)	8.2 (0.11)	2.6 (0.08)	10.9 (0.13)
Sex of respondent										
Male	8.6 (0.11)	12.6 (0.13)	10.1 (0.11)	15.6 (0.14)	56.2 (0.19)	6.9 (0.10)	25.7 (0.17)	9.9 (0.12)	2.9 (0.07)	12.3 (0.13)
Female	5.5 (0.07)	12.0 (0.11)	7.6 (0.09)	14.5 (0.12)	55.4 (0.16)	6.2 (0.08)	19.1 (0.13)	7.3 (0.08)	3.6 (0.06)	18.9 (0.13)

Table A14: Percentage who consider a child anyone under 18

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	24.2	0.11
Division		
Barisal	26.6	0.37
Chittagong	16.9	0.22
Dhaka	24.1	0.23
Khulna	32.9	0.32
Mymensingh	18.0	0.36
Rajshahi	18.8	0.25
Rangpur	34.7	0.32
Sylhet	25.0	0.38

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	22.3	0.13
Urban	29.7	0.20
Sex of respondent		
Male	26.2	0.17
Female	22.8	0.14
Education of household head		
Illiterate	18.7	0.16
5 or less year(s)	22.6	0.19
6-9 years	26.6	0.27
10 or more years	36.2	0.28

Table A15: Percentage who consider child marriage as marriage of boy or girl below 18

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	31.4	0.12
Division		
Barisal	30.3	0.39
Chittagong	27.3	0.26
Dhaka	34.9	0.26
Khulna	34.0	0.32
Mymensingh	31.7	0.44
Rajshahi	28.5	0.29
Rangpur	30.1	0.31
Sylhet	30.7	0.41
Area		
Rural	29.4	0.14
Urban	37.1	0.21
Sex of respondent		
Male	31.3	0.18
Female	31.4	0.15
Education of household head		
Illiterate	27.3	0.19
5 or less year(s)	30.6	0.21
6-9 years	33.6	0.29
10 or more years	39.0	0.29

Table A16: Percentage who know that there is a law against child marriage

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	83.0	0.09
Division		
Barisal	87.5	0.28
Chittagong	76.8	0.25
Dhaka	84.3	0.20
Khulna	87.4	0.22
Mymensingh	80.0	0.38
Rajshahi	81.6	0.25
Rangpur	88.3	0.22
Sylhet	76.5	0.39
Area		
Rural	81.5	0.12
Urban	87.3	0.15
Sex of respondent		
Male	84.0	0.15
Female	82.3	0.12
Education of household head		
Illiterate	76.3	0.18
5 or less year(s)	83.2	0.17
6-9 years	87.5	0.20
10 or more years	92.3	0.16

Table A17: Percentage who know that there are negative consequences of child marriage and can mention at least one

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	54.4	0.12
Division		
Barisal	58.1	0.42
Chittagong	45.8	0.29
Dhaka	58.3	0.27
Khulna	60.8	0.33
Mymensingh	51.3	0.48
Rajshahi	48.7	0.32
Rangpur	58.7	0.34
Sylhet	51.7	0.45

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	50.4	0.15
Urban	65.6	0.20
Sex of respondent		
Male	54.3	0.20
Female	54.4	0.16
Education of household head		
Illiterate	42.6	0.21
5 or less year(s)	52.8	0.23
6-9 years	61.0	0.30
10 or more years	75.2	0.25

Table A18: Percentage who state preference for girls marrying after 18 or when she is self-dependent/got a job

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	82.3	0.10
Division		
Barisal	83.8	0.31
Chittagong	80.0	0.24
Dhaka	83.5	0.20
Khulna	83.3	0.26
Mymensingh	83.0	0.36
Rajshahi	79.7	0.26
Rangpur	83.1	0.26
Sylhet	82.5	0.35
Area		
Rural	80.9	0.12
Urban	86.1	0.15
Sex of respondent		
Male	83.0	0.15
Female	81.7	0.13
Education of household head		
Illiterate	73.7	0.19
5 or less year(s)	82.5	0.18
6-9 years	88.3	0.20
10 or more years	93.6	0.14

Table A19: Percentage who state preference for boys marrying after 18 or when he is self-dependent/got a job

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	89.1	0.08
Division		
Barisal	90.4	0.26
Chittagong	87.9	0.20
Dhaka	91.2	0.15
Khulna	90.2	0.20
Mymensingh	89.2	0.30
Rajshahi	85.8	0.22
Rangpur	88.4	0.22
Sylhet	87.6	0.30
Area		
Rural	87.7	0.10
Urban	92.9	0.11
Sex of respondent		
Male	90.2	0.12
Female	88.2	0.11
Education of household head		
Illiterate	83.0	0.16
5 or less year(s)	89.1	0.14
6-9 years	93.7	0.15
10 or more years	96.8	0.11

Table A20: Percentage who agree that girls should have consent while marriage is arranged

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	76.6	0.11
Division		
Barisal	77.3	0.36
Chittagong	67.7	0.28
Dhaka	80.4	0.21
Khulna	83.9	0.25
Mymensingh	68.7	0.44
Rajshahi	77.4	0.27
Rangpur	80.8	0.27
Sylhet	66.2	0.43

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	74.5	0.13
Urban	82.4	0.16
Sex of respondent		
Male	75.5	0.17
Female	77.4	0.14
Education of household head		
Illiterate	69.5	0.19
5 or less year(s)	76.4	0.20
6-9 years	81.9	0.23
10 or more years	86.4	0.20

Table A21: Percentage of respondents that believe that marriage before 18 is acceptable

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	32.5	0.12
Division		
Barisal	28.1	0.39
Chittagong	32.7	0.28
Dhaka	33.9	0.26
Khulna	36.1	0.33
Mymensingh	22.3	0.39
Rajshahi	31.6	0.30
Rangpur	39.2	0.34
Sylhet	22.9	0.37
Area		
Rural	33.1	0.14
Urban	30.9	0.20
Sex of respondent		
Male	32.8	0.18
Female	32.3	0.15
Education of household head		
Illiterate	32.4	0.20
5 or less year(s)	34.4	0.22
6-9 years	33.6	0.29
10 or more years	28.6	0.26

Table A22: Perceived proportion of girls in their village/ward are getting married below 18 years

	Less than half	About half	More than half	Mostly all/ all	Don't know
Bangladesh	38.8	18.3	12.6	4.1	26.4
Division					
Barisal	43.0	19.2	14.2	3.9	19.7
Chittagong	34.2	17.8	11.7	6.0	30.3
Dhaka	38.4	16.3	11.9	3.7	29.8
Khulna	43.9	16.0	11.1	3.7	25.3
Mymensingh	33.9	20.4	13.0	5.8	27.0
Rajshahi	32.0	19.6	19.3	5.1	23.9
Rangpur	47.5	23.3	9.9	1.4	17.9
Sylhet	43.2	14.6	8.3	2.3	31.6
Area					
Rural	37.5	18.5	13.5	4.4	26.1
Urban	42.2	17.6	9.9	3.2	27.1
Sex of respondent					
Male	39.3	20.0	13.5	3.7	23.5
Female	38.4	17.0	11.9	4.3	28.4
Education of household head					
Illiterate	32.2	17.9	13.2	4.6	32.1
5 or less year(s)	38.7	18.7	13.0	4.2	25.3
6-9 years	42.0	18.9	12.3	3.8	22.9
10 or more years	49.2	17.7	10.7	2.9	19.5

Table A23: Percentage of respondents who feel child marriage has decreased in their community

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	50.0	0.13
Division		
Barisal	58.2	0.42
Chittagong	46.7	0.29
Dhaka	50.3	0.27
Khulna	50.1	0.34
Mymensingh	47.7	0.48
Rajshahi	40.0	0.31
Rangpur	62.6	0.33
Sylhet	48.2	0.44

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	47.6	0.15
Urban	56.7	0.21
Sex of respondent		
Male	52.5	0.20
Female	48.2	0.16
Education of household head		
Illiterate	42.8	0.21
5 or less year(s)	50.1	0.23
6-9 years	53.7	0.30
10 or more years	61.1	0.29

Table A24: Percentage of respondents who believe that community leaders never support marriage under 18

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	38.2	0.12
Division		
Barisal	49.2	0.43
Chittagong	33.1	0.28
Dhaka	37.4	0.26
Khulna	37.5	0.33
Mymensingh	45.1	0.47
Rajshahi	33.4	0.30
Rangpur	40.9	0.34
Sylhet	43.7	0.44
Area		
Rural	36.2	0.15
Urban	43.6	0.21
Sex of respondent		
Male	40.2	0.19
Female	36.7	0.16
Education of household head		
Illiterate	31.7	0.20
5 or less year(s)	37.0	0.22
6-9 years	41.1	0.30
10 or more years	50.5	0.29

Table A25: Percentage of respondents who believe that religious leaders never support marriage under 18

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	35.0	0.12
Division		
Barisal	45.1	0.42
Chittagong	32.5	0.28
Dhaka	33.5	0.26
Khulna	31.8	0.31
Mymensingh	43.3	0.47
Rajshahi	29.5	0.29
Rangpur	38.5	0.33
Sylhet	41.8	0.44
Area		
Rural	33.1	0.14
Urban	40.4	0.21
Sex of respondent		
Male	37.5	0.19
Female	33.3	0.15
Education of household head		
Illiterate	29.4	0.19
5 or less year(s)	34.0	0.22
6-9 years	37.5	0.29
10 or more years	46.1	0.29

Table A26: Percentage of respondents who believe that neighbors never support marriage under 18

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	32.2	0.12
Division		
Barisal	41.7	0.42
Chittagong	30.7	0.27
Dhaka	30.7	0.25
Khulna	28.7	0.30
Mymensingh	39.6	0.47
Rajshahi	24.6	0.27
Rangpur	36.3	0.33
Sylhet	40.5	0.43

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	29.7	0.14
Urban	39.2	0.21
Sex of respondent		
Male	34.4	0.19
Female	30.5	0.15
Education of household head		
Illiterate	26.3	0.19
5 or less year(s)	31.0	0.21
6-9 years	34.7	0.29
10 or more years	43.8	0.29

Table A27: Percentage of respondents who believe that relatives never support marriage under 18

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	31.7	0.12
Division		
Barisal	40.5	0.42
Chittagong	30.3	0.27
Dhaka	30.7	0.25
Khulna	28.2	0.30
Mymensingh	39.4	0.47
Rajshahi	23.7	0.27
Rangpur	35.9	0.33
Sylhet	39.9	0.43
Area		
Rural	28.8	0.14
Urban	40.0	0.21
Sex of respondent		
Male	34.2	0.18
Female	30.0	0.15
Education of household head		
Illiterate	25.4	0.18
5 or less year(s)	30.0	0.21
6-9 years	34.3	0.29
10 or more years	45.2	0.29

Table A28: Percentage who believe increasing action against child marriage is being taken by government

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	51.7	0.13
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	62.3	0.41
Chittagong	45.2	0.29
Dhaka	48.7	0.27
Khulna	62.8	0.33
Mymensingh	45.6	0.47
Rajshahi	49.8	0.32
Rangpur	61.8	0.33
Sylhet	42.4	0.43
<i>Area</i>		
Rural	49.5	0.15
Urban	57.8	0.21
<i>Sex of respondent</i>		
Male	52.9	0.20
Female	50.9	0.16
<i>Education of household head</i>		
Illiterate	43.9	0.21
5 or less year(s)	51.2	0.23
6-9 years	55.9	0.30
10 or more years	64.6	0.28

Table A29: Percentage who believe increasing action against child marriage is being taken by religious leaders/community

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	41.4	0.12
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	51.8	0.43
Chittagong	40.2	0.29
Dhaka	37.7	0.26
Khulna	50.3	0.34
Mymensingh	37.1	0.46
Rajshahi	35.3	0.30
Rangpur	50.6	0.34
Sylhet	35.7	0.42

	Percent	Std. Error
Area		
Rural	39.5	0.15
Urban	47.1	0.22
Sex of respondent		
Male	44.6	0.19
Female	39.2	0.16
Education of household head		
Illiterate	34.4	0.20
5 or less year(s)	40.8	0.23
6-9 years	44.9	0.30
10 or more years	53.9	0.29

Table A30: Percentage who feel there is increasing disapproval around child marriage in village

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	40.6	0.12
Division		
Barisal	49.0	0.43
Chittagong	35.1	0.28
Dhaka	39.3	0.27
Khulna	50.5	0.34
Mymensingh	35.6	0.46
Rajshahi	37.2	0.31
Rangpur	48.5	0.34
Sylhet	30.6	0.40
Area		
Rural	38.6	0.15
Urban	46.2	0.22
Sex of respondent		
Male	41.4	0.19
Female	40.0	0.16
Education of household head		
Illiterate	33.9	0.20
5 or less year(s)	39.8	0.23
6-9 years	43.9	0.30
10 or more years	52.5	0.29

Table A31: Percentage who believe that pressure to marry daughters before 18 has decreased in the last year

	Percent	Std. Error
Bangladesh	44.7	0.12
<i>Division</i>		
Barisal	49.3	0.43
Chittagong	41.6	0.29
Dhaka	45.0	0.27
Khulna	44.6	0.33
Mymensingh	44.2	0.47
Rajshahi	38.2	0.31
Rangpur	54.9	0.34
Sylhet	42.0	0.44
<i>Area</i>		
Rural	42.2	0.15
Urban	52.1	0.22
<i>Sex of respondent</i>		
Male	47.6	0.20
Female	42.7	0.16
<i>Education of household head</i>		
Illiterate	38.2	0.20
5 or less year(s)	44.6	0.23
6-9 years	47.6	0.30
10 or more years	55.8	0.29



