

# EARLY MARRIAGE

## A HARMFUL TRADITIONAL PRACTICE



A STATISTICAL EXPLORATION

For every child  
Health, Education, Equality, Protection  
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### A STATISTICAL EXPLORATION

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Marriage before the age of 18 is a reality for many young women. In many parts of the world parents encourage the marriage of their daughters while they are still children in hopes that the marriage will benefit them both financially and socially, while also relieving financial burdens on the family. In actuality, child marriage is a violation of human rights, compromising the development of girls and often resulting in early pregnancy and social isolation, with little education and poor vocational training reinforcing the gendered nature of poverty.

The right to 'free and full' consent to a marriage is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – with the recognition that consent cannot be 'free and full' when one of the parties involved is not sufficiently mature to make an informed decision about a life partner. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women mentions the right to protection from child marriage in article 16, which states: "The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage..."<sup>1</sup> While marriage is not considered directly in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, child marriage is linked to other rights – such as the right to express their views freely, the right to protection from all forms of abuse, and the right to be protected from harmful traditional practices – and is frequently addressed by the Committee on the Rights of the Child. Child marriage was also identified by the Pan-African Forum against the Sexual Exploitation of Children as a type of commercial sexual exploitation of children.<sup>2</sup>

Young married girls are a unique, though often invisible, group. Required to perform heavy amounts of domestic work, under pressure to demonstrate fertility, and responsible for raising children while still children themselves, married girls and child mothers face constrained decision-making and reduced life choices. Boys are also affected by child marriage but the issue impacts girls in far larger numbers and with more intensity.

UNICEF's Innocenti Research Centre published the digest *Early Marriage: Child Spouses* in 2001, exploring both the reasons behind the perpetuation of child marriage and its harmful impact. The digest provides guidelines towards ending the practice of child marriage through changing attitudes within families and societies, expanding opportunities for education, offering appropriate support to families and children, and working to ensure that all children – girls and boys – are recognized as valuable members of society. The digest deliberately focuses on unions that are recognized as marriages in either statutory or customary law.<sup>3</sup> Cohabitation – when a couple lives together as if married – raises the same human rights concerns as marriage. Where a girl lives with a man and takes on the role of caregiver for him, the assumption is often that she has become an adult woman, even if she has not yet reached the age of 18. Additional concerns due to the informality of the relationship – for example, inheritance, citizenship and social recognition – might make girls in informal unions vulnerable in different ways than those who are in formally recognized marriages. Therefore, the following study considers girls in both formal marriage and in cohabitation to determine relationships between early unions (within or outside of marriage) and socio-economic and demographic variables, characteristics of the union, as well as knowledge and access related to reproductive and sexual health.

The literature suggests that many factors interact to place a child at risk of marriage. Poverty, protection of girls, family honour and the provision of stability during unstable social periods are suggested by Innocenti as significant factors in determining a girl's risk of becoming married while still a child.<sup>4</sup> Jenson and Thornton found little overall change in the average age at marriage for age cohorts born between 1950 and 1970 in most regions, as well as little change in the incidence of child marriage. Focusing primarily on Benin, Colombia, India and Turkey, Jenson and Thornton noted strong correlations between a woman's age at marriage and the level of education she achieves, the age at which she gives birth to her first child and the age of her

husband. Women who married at younger ages were more likely to believe that it is sometimes acceptable for a husband to beat his wife and were more likely to experience domestic violence themselves.<sup>5</sup> The age gap between partners is thought to contribute to these abusive power dynamics and to increase the risk of untimely widowhood,<sup>6</sup> although Westoff notes that older husbands may be better providers for the household.<sup>7</sup>

Closely related to the issue of child marriage is the age at which girls become sexually active. The relationship between age at marriage and age at first sexual intercourse is examined here with an eye to fertility trends; however, it is important to note that trends indicate that, while in some countries marriage may be increasingly delayed, sexual activity is not, leading to a greater incidence of pregnancy outside of union.<sup>8</sup> Women who are married before the age of 18 tend to have more children than those who marry later in life. According to Bhattacharya, 97 per cent of women surveyed in India in 1992–1993 did not use any contraception before their first child was born.<sup>9</sup> However, the Population Council and UNICEF found that, in Pakistan, a substantial number of young married women indicated an interest in the use of contraception in the future.<sup>10</sup> Pregnancy-related deaths are known to be a leading cause of mortality for both married and unmarried girls between the ages of 15 and 19, particularly among the youngest of this cohort.<sup>11</sup>

Protection from HIV/AIDS is another reason for child marriage. Parents seek to marry off their girls to protect their health and their honour, and men often seek younger women as wives as a means to avoid infection. In some contexts, however, the evidence does not support this hypothesis and practice. Bhattacharya found that in India, 75 per cent of people living with HIV/AIDS are married.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the demand to reproduce and the stigma associated with safe-sex practices lead to very low condom use among married couples worldwide, and heterosexual married women who report monogamous sexual relationships with their husbands are increasingly becoming a high-risk group for HIV/AIDS.<sup>13</sup>

In 2003, UNICEF and partners agreed to focus on five indicators related to child marriage:

- Percentage of women first in union by age 18 by age group (15–19, 20–24 and 45–49)
- Percentage of girls 15–19 years of age currently in union
- Spousal age difference
- Percentage of women currently in a polygynous union by age groups
- Percentage of ever-married women who were directly involved in the choice of their first husband or partner.

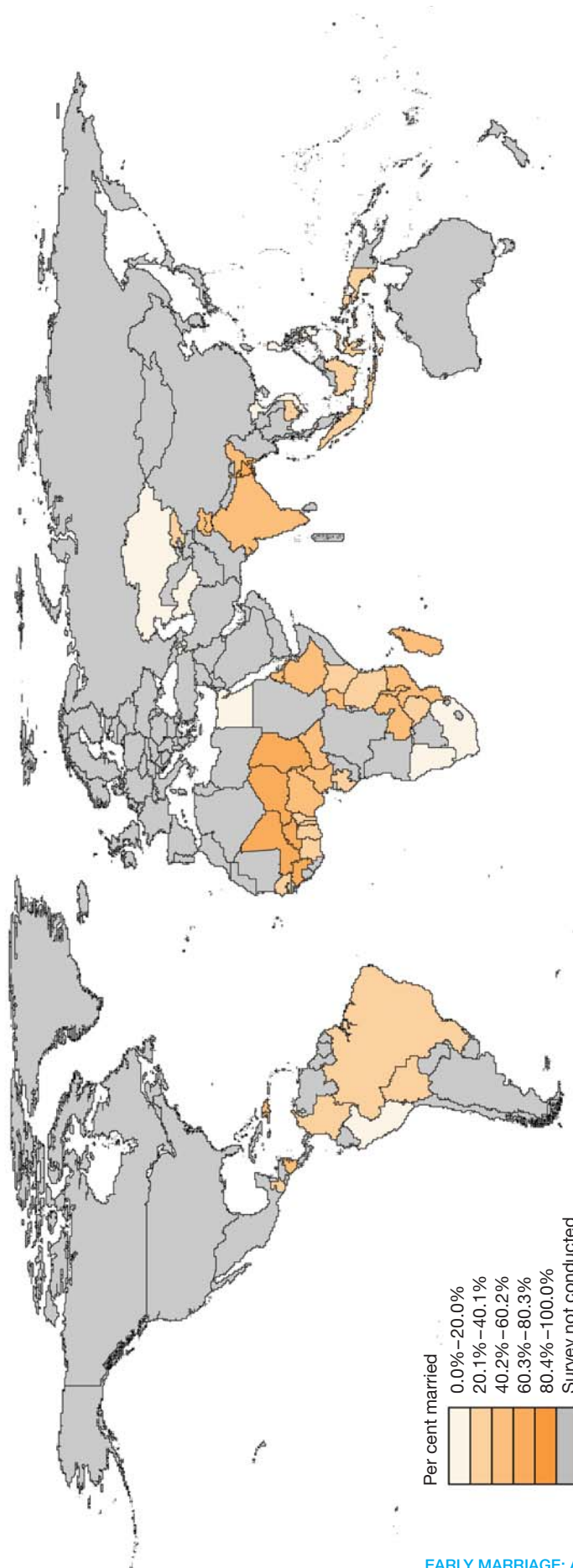
The context and indicators related to child marriage and cohabitation can be approached through the examination of several age groups. One approach is to consider all women in a society. Another would be to observe the situation of girls aged 15–19 to determine the number of girls currently in union and the characteristics associated with that age group. However, the possibility of gauging how many of those girls will be married or in union by their 18th birthday is more complex because many have not yet reached the age of 18. Looking at the 20–24 age group is simpler and allows for the inclusion of all girls who were married or in union by age 18 within the closest time period for which complete data are available.

The following analysis utilizes household survey data from the Demographic and Health Surveys to assess child marriage levels by country and provide further analysis of how child marriage correlates with additional indicators. The Demographic and Health Surveys are nationally representative household surveys designed to measure the health and nutrition status of women and children in developing countries.<sup>14</sup> For this analysis, data are analysed for countries with surveys conducted during 1995–2003 (see *Statistical Tables, page 31*). The surveys cover women aged 15–49.<sup>15</sup>

The objective of this study is to present available empirical evidence obtained through household surveys in order to estimate the prevalence of child marriage and to identify and understand the factors



FIGURE 1: Proportion of women aged 20–24 in union by age 18



This map does not reflect a position by UNICEF on the legal status of any country or territory or the delimitation of any frontiers. Dotted line represents approximately the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir agreed upon by India and Pakistan. The final status of Jammu and Kashmir has not yet been agreed upon by the parties.

associated with child marriage and cohabitation. The presentation of the empirical evidence and analysis is structured around the indicators presented previously. The term ‘child marriage’ will be used to refer to both formal marriages and informal unions in which a girl lives with a partner as if married before the age of 18.

The report presents a global assessment of child marriage levels, differentials in child marriage rates according to socio-economic and demographic variables, characteristics of the union, and knowledge and access to sexual and reproductive health information and materials. Statistical associations between indicators can reveal potential linkages in programming to promote the delay of marriage and point to opportunities to integrate advocacy and behaviour-change campaigns toward the prevention of child marriage and a multivariate analysis allows for the illumination of the net effect of each variable. Anomalies to general trends are often highlighted in the text in order to direct programmers and researchers towards case examples that may require further study or circumstances that may provide models for eradication efforts.

## II. GLOBAL ASSESSMENT OF CHILD MARRIAGE: REGIONAL TRENDS

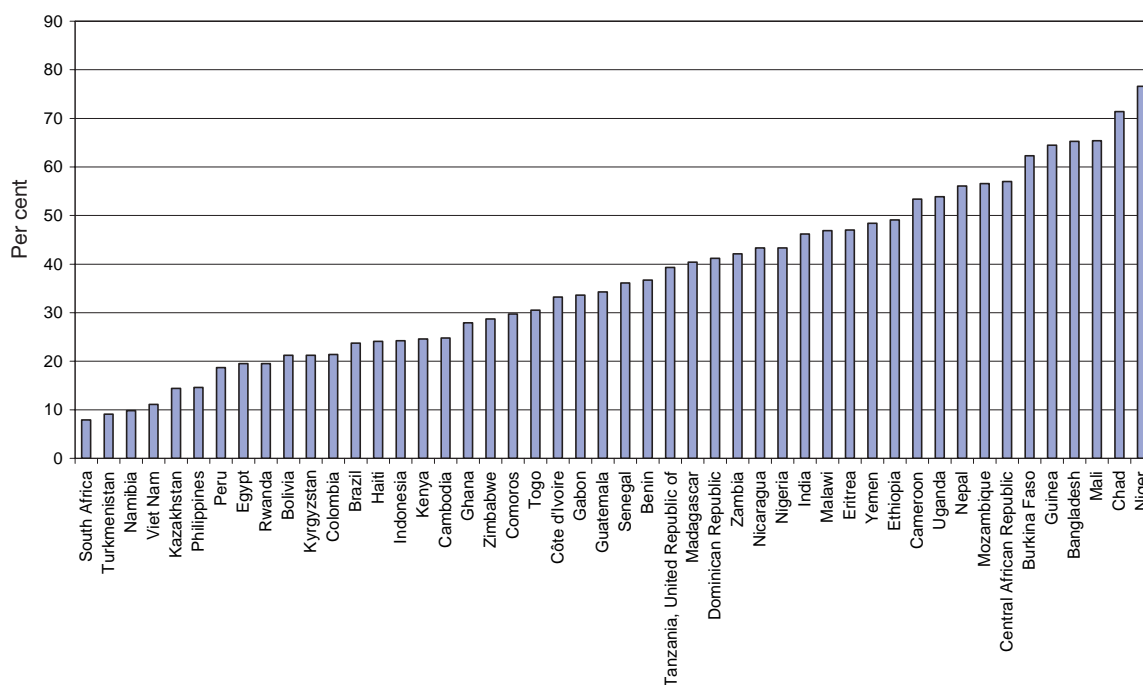
The number of children who enter into marriage or cohabitation each year varies according to region and across countries. Factors that influence child marriage rates include: the state of the country’s civil registration system, which provides proof of age for children; the existence of an adequate legislative framework with an accompanying enforcement mechanism to address cases of child marriage; and the existence of customary or religious laws that condone the practice.<sup>16</sup>

Sufficient data were available to generate regional averages for South Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean. Among women aged 15–24, 48 per cent were married before the age of 18 in South Asia (9.7 million girls), 42 per cent in Africa, and 29 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean.

## III. WOMEN AGED 20–24 IN UNION BY AGE 18

Figure 1 (page 3) provides a global picture of the child marriage prevalence using household survey data.

**FIGURE 2: Proportion of women aged 20–24 married by the exact age of 18**



## Sociodemographic and economic variables

### Place of residence

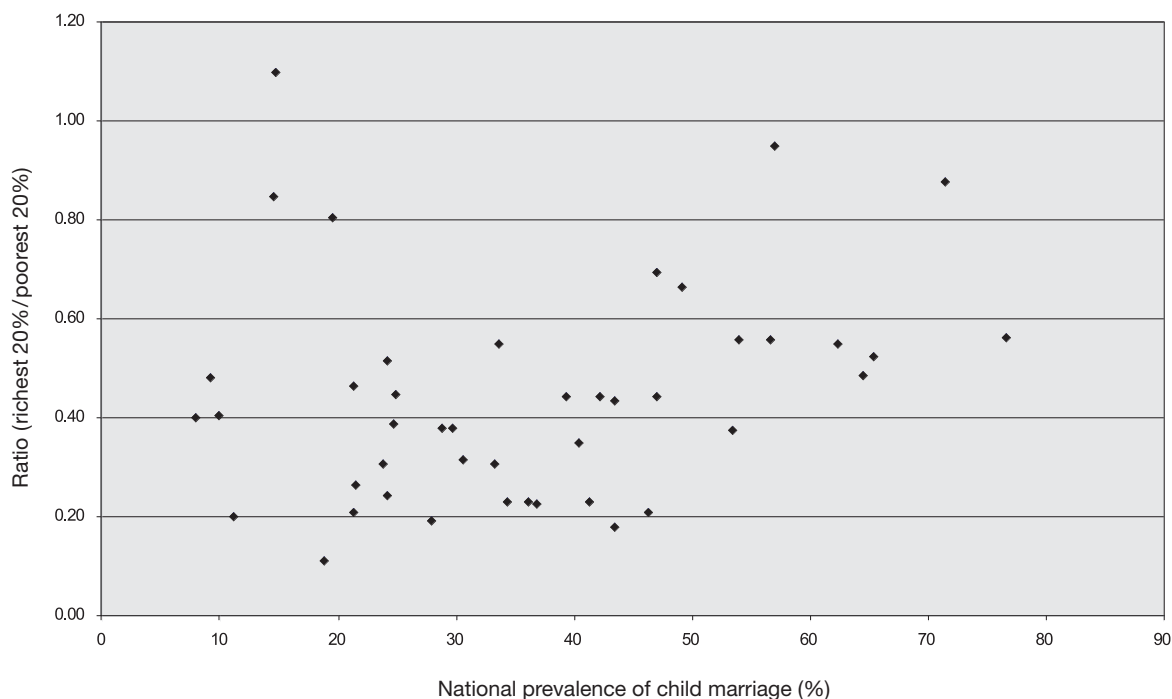
At the descriptive level, the proportion of women aged 20–24 married by age 18 tends to be higher in rural areas than in urban areas (see Table 1, page 31).<sup>17</sup> There does not appear to be a trend of urban/rural differences in the proportion of women married by age 18 related to national levels of child marriage; the association varies among countries and across the spectrum of national prevalence. For example, in Chad, where 71 per cent of women aged 20–24 were in union by age 18, living in an urban area was not a highly predictive factor; 65 per cent of urban women aged 20–24 were married by age 18, compared to 74 per cent of rural women. Similarly, while the national rate of women aged 20–24 being married by age 18 in Namibia (10 per cent) is significantly lower than in Chad, the ratio of urban to rural child marriage levels for this cohort is the same as that seen in Chad (0.88). High urban/rural differences are seen in Senegal, where 15 per cent

of urban women and 53 per cent of rural women were in union by age 18, and in Peru, where 12 per cent of urban women and 35 per cent of rural women aged 20–24 in union by age 18. Urban women were more likely than their rural peers to have been married before age 18 in only Rwanda and Turkmenistan.

### Household wealth

Economic pressures are often cited as an explanation for child marriage. The wealth index divides the population into quintiles from the poorest to the richest, allowing for the analysis of the disparity in child marriage rates between the poorest 20 per cent and the wealthiest 20 per cent of society. Cross-country comparisons of disparities are possible by examining the ratio of the percentage of women aged 20–24 who were in union by the age of 18 in the richest 20 per cent to the percentage in the poorest 20 per cent. Figure 3 (below) shows greater disparity at lower levels of national prevalence of child marriage.<sup>18</sup>

**FIGURE 3. Proportion of women aged 20–24 in union by age 18, according to household wealth**



In all the countries analysed, child marriage is most common among the poorest 20 per cent of the population. The greatest disparity according to household wealth is observed in Peru, where 19 per cent of women aged 20–24 were married before age 18 – that is, 45 per cent among the poorest 20 per cent compared to 5 per cent among the richest 20 per cent. Conversely, in countries such as Chad and the Central African Republic, with total values of 71 per cent and 57 per cent respectively, less difference is observed between the richest 20 per cent (76 per cent in Chad, 55 per cent in the Central African Republic) and the poorest 20 per cent (66 per cent and 52 per cent, respectively). In the Philippines, the proportion is the same for both quintiles (3 per cent). However, compared to the second, third and fourth quintiles (see Table 1, page 31); the prevalence for the richest 20 per cent is considerably lower.

The map of Africa below illustrates how the ratio varies among countries.<sup>19</sup> For instance, as noted above, in the Central African Republic the differences in child marriage levels according to household wealth are not notable, while in Ghana and Nigeria poor women were much more likely to be married as children than their wealthier counterparts.

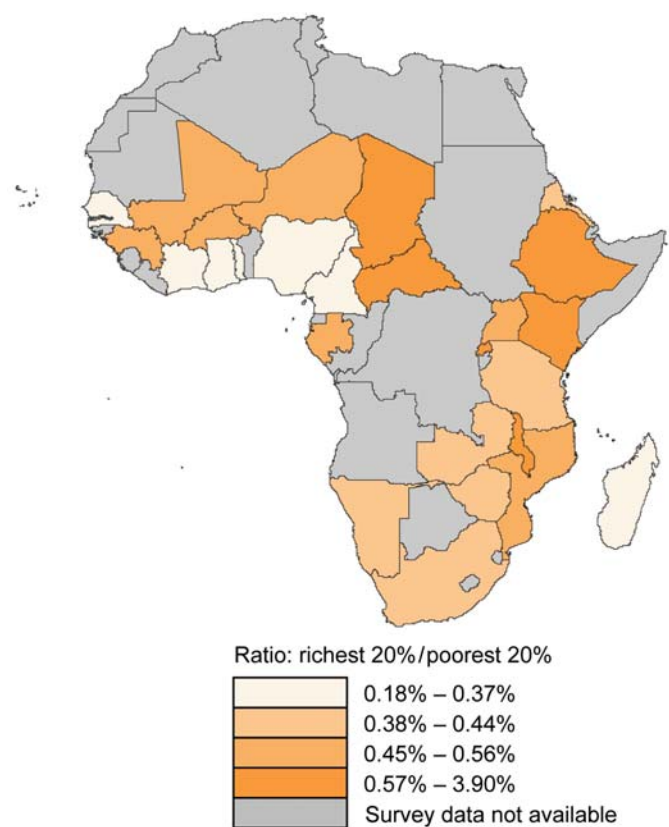
### Level of education

Education is often seen as key to preventing child marriage.<sup>20</sup> In 42 of the countries analysed, women 20–24 years of age who had attended primary school were less likely to be married by age 18 than those who had not. The preventative effect of education was observed most strongly in Senegal, where 20 per cent of women who had attended primary school had been married by the age of 18, compared to 36 per cent of those who had not attended school. The reverse was true in only seven countries.<sup>21</sup> In the Philippines, for example, 37 per cent of women who had attended primary school were married by 18, compared to 33 per cent of women who had not attended school.

Women who attended secondary school were less likely to be married by the age of 18 than those who did not. In the United Republic of Tanzania, for

example, women with secondary education were 92 per cent less likely to be married by the age of 18 than women who had attended primary school only. For women who received tertiary levels of education, child marriage rates were often negligible. In only four countries (Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia and Guinea) more than 20 per cent of women aged 20–24 who attended higher education were married by age 18. Most notably, in the Central African Republic, 44 per cent of women who attended post-secondary education were married by age 18. In each of these countries, more than 50 per cent of women aged 20–24 were married by age 18.

**FIGURE 4: Disparities in child marriage for women in Africa aged 20–24, by household wealth**



This map does not reflect a position by UNICEF on the legal status of any country or territory or the delimitation of any frontiers.



## Characteristics of union

### Type of union

In many African countries, and in Haiti, Nepal and Yemen, polygynous unions remain a common practice. Figure 5 (*below*) illustrates the national proportion of women aged 20–24 in polygynous unions who entered into union by age 18.

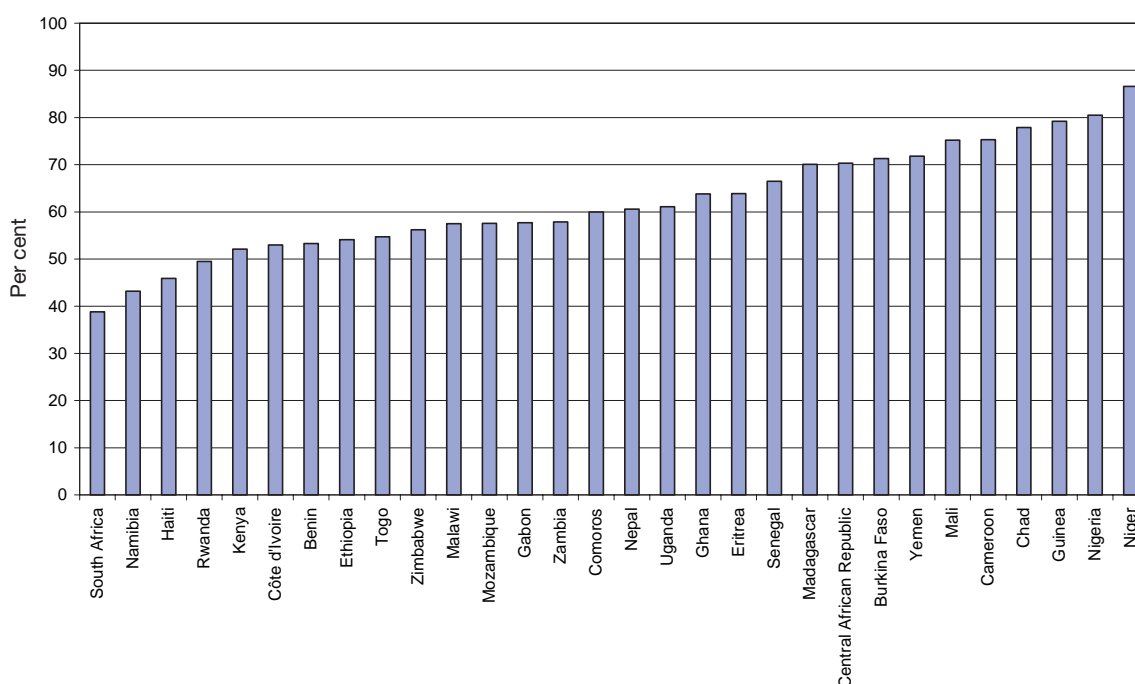
As illustrated in Figure 6 (*page 8*), the proportion of women aged 20–24 who were married by 18 and who are in polygynous unions, as compared to monogamous unions, decreases as the national prevalence of child marriage decreases. As the overall proportion of women married as children increases, there is less difference in the proportion of women in polygynous and monogamous marriages, particularly as observed in the Central African Republic, Eritrea, Mali and Niger. For example, in Cameroon and Zimbabwe, respectively, 55 per cent and 34 per cent of women in monogamous unions enter into those relationships by age 18, compared to 75 per cent and 56 per cent, respectively, for women in polygynous unions. In

five countries, women who enter in union by age 18 are more likely to have entered into a monogamous, rather than polygynous, union. For example, in Ethiopia, 68 per cent of women in monogamous unions entered the union by age 18, while only 54 per cent of women in polygynous relationships entered into those unions by age 18. In Nepal, these rates are 68 per cent and 61 per cent, respectively.

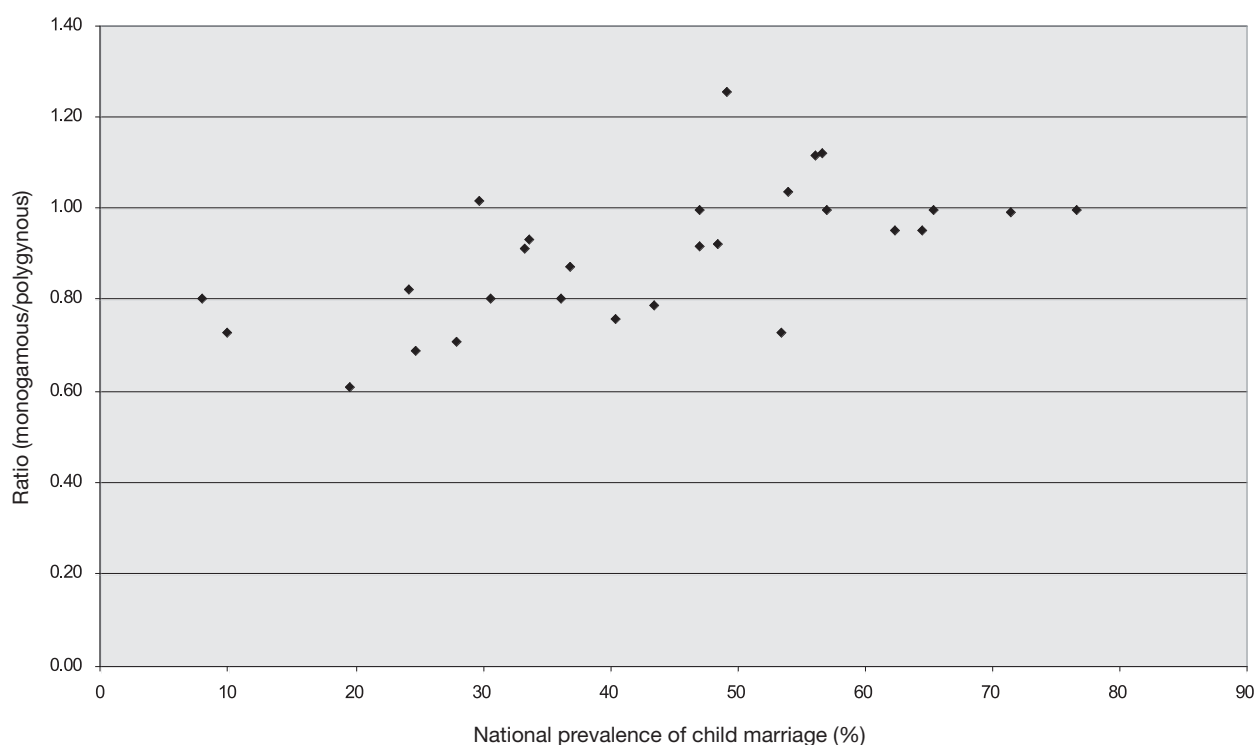
### Number of children

Reducing the risk of early pregnancies and births, as well as the total number of births during a woman's childbearing years, are other benefits cited as reasons to delay marriage until a girl is older. To explore the relationship between child marriage and the number of children a woman has, the proportion of women aged 20–24 who are married by age 18 is considered according to the number of children they have had. It is important to note that within this age group, the number of children each woman has had is only the number to date, and does not represent the potential total number of births over a woman's lifetime. Also, sample sizes become small for women aged 20–24 with more than three children, and

**FIGURE 5: Proportion of women aged 20–24 in polygynous union by age 18**



**FIGURE 6: Proportion of women aged 20–24 married by age 18, by whether union is polygynous or monogamous**



childbearing prior to marriage or union is uncommon in most parts of the world.

Figure 7 (page 9) illustrates that as the number of children a woman aged 20–24 has increases, so does her likelihood of having been married before age 18. For example, in South Africa, 2 per cent of women with no children, 11 per cent of women with one or two children and 43 per cent of women with three or four children were married by age 18. The pattern holds across countries in different regions, as illustrated in Table A (below). As we will see later on, the multivariate analysis confirms the significant

association between early marriage and high levels of fertility and clarifies the relationship with the age of the women.<sup>22</sup>

### Spousal age difference

Age differences between partners have implications for power dynamics within the household. The analysis found a general pattern according to which women aged 20–24 whose male partners are more than five years older are more likely to have been married before age 18. Table B (page 9) provides examples from different regions illustrating how the proportion of women married before the age of 18 increases in relation to the age difference between the woman and her partner.

### Spousal education gap

To fully consider the role of education in preventing child marriage, one must also examine the education levels of men and the gap in education between spouses. The differences in education levels between spouses are thought to result in negative

**TABLE A: Proportion of women aged 20–24 married by age 18, according to number of children (per cent)**

Country	No children	1–2 children	3–4 children	5+ children
Bangladesh	13.8	83.3	100	100
Colombia	1.4	35.4	72.2	86.8
South Africa	1.6	10.7	43.1	NA
Viet Nam	0.5	27.1	72.5	NA

NA: Not available

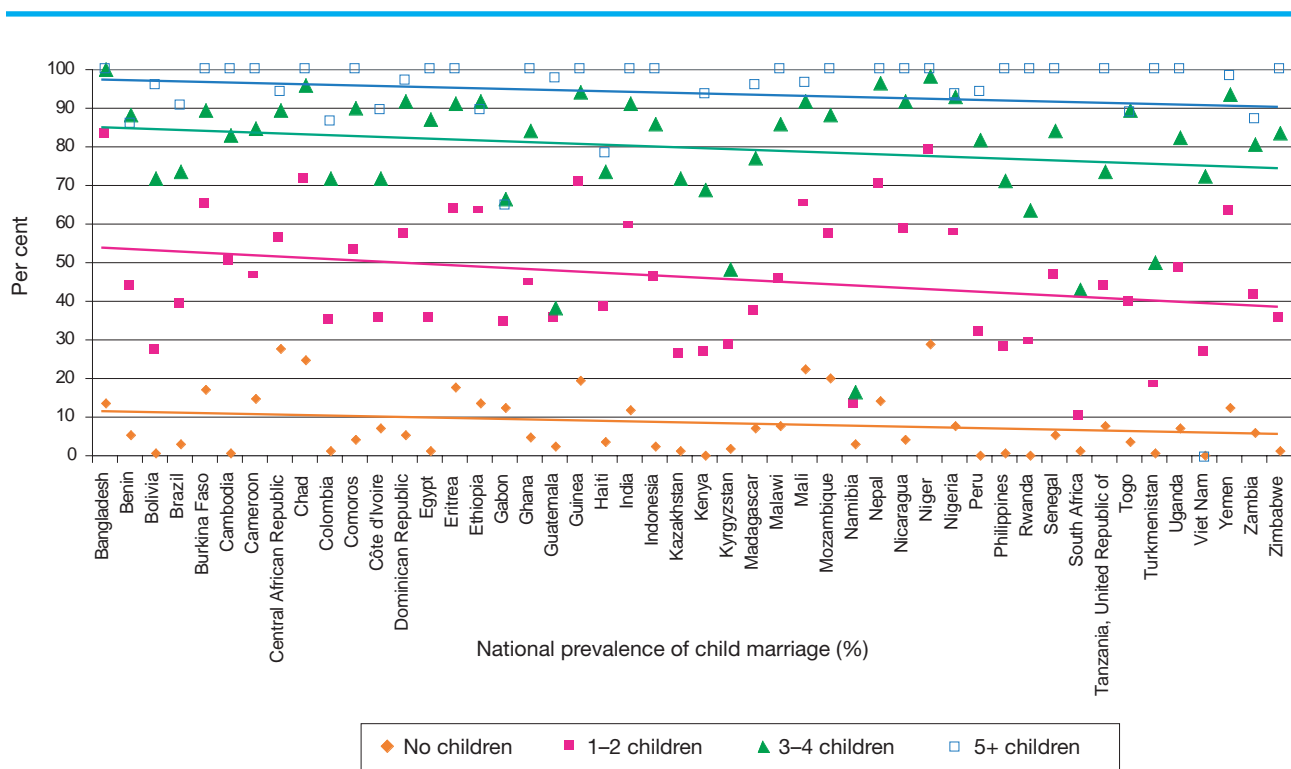
**TABLE B: Proportion of women aged 20–24 in union by age 18, according to spousal age difference (per cent)**

Country	Partner is 0–4 years older	Partner is 5–9 years older	Partner is 10–14 years older
Brazil	38.7	47.8	53.8
India	52.6	60.7	66.4
Kazakhstan	20.7	27.6	38.2
Yemen	61.5	71.6	78.7
Zimbabwe	28.2	40.1	48.5

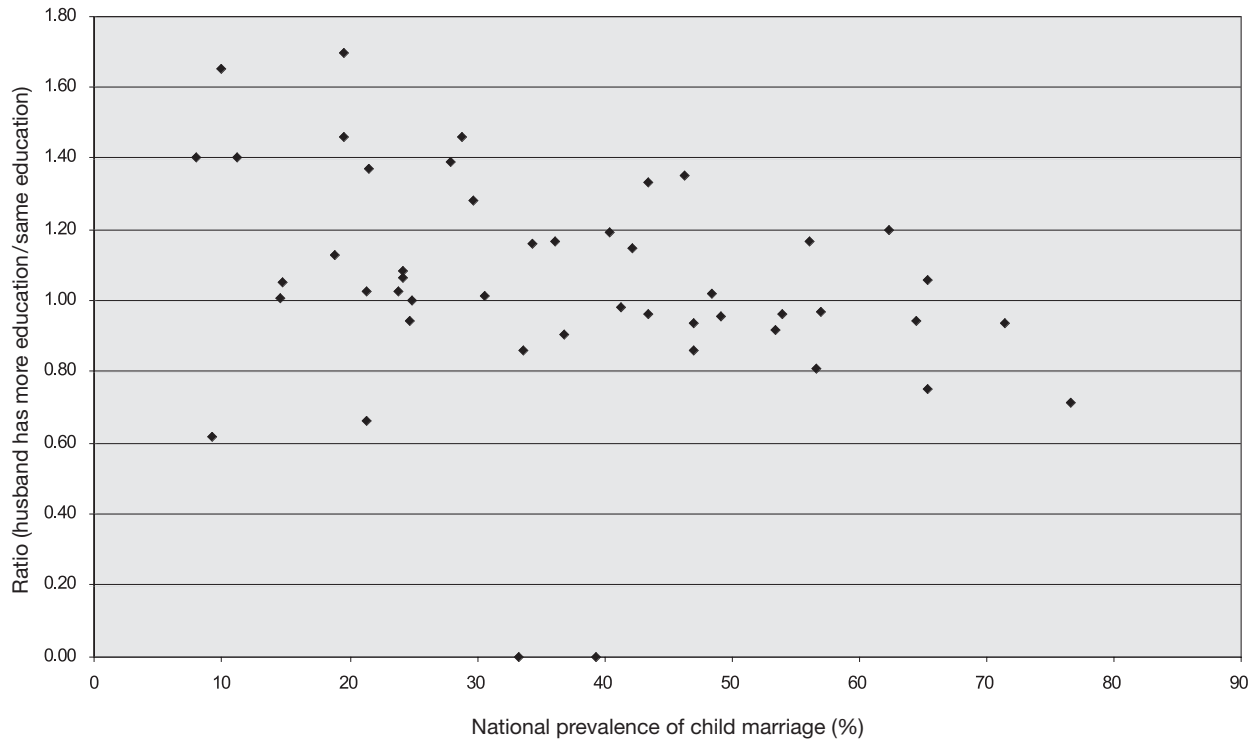
consequences related to power imbalance. Figure 8 (page 10) illustrates the proportion of women aged 20–24 married by age 18, according to the ratio between women whose husbands or partners have more education than they do and those with the same education. As the overall prevalence of child marriage increases, the ratio tends to move away from 1. That is, in countries with higher proportions

of child marriage, it is more likely that the male partner has received more education than the woman. In Namibia, for example, 27 per cent of couples for whom there is no gap in education levels entered into union before the woman was 18, compared to 45 per cent where the husband received more education. Similarly, in Egypt, 22 per cent of couples with no education gap resulted from child marriage, compared to 38 per cent of couples where the male partner received more education. A significant exception to this trend is Turkmenistan where 20 per cent of couples with no spousal education gap married before the woman was 18, as compared to 12 per cent of couples where the husband received more education. Closing the education gap between men and women, in addition to increasing the level of education obtained by girls, may be an important intervention to decrease the prevalence of child marriage. This is further confirmed by the fact that smaller proportions of early marriage are observed among couples in which both have similar levels of education (see Table 1, page 31).

**Figure 7: Proportion of women aged 20–24 married by age 18, according to the number of children**



**Figure 8: Proportion of women aged 20–24 married by age 18, according to spousal education gap**



## Knowledge of reproductive and sexual health

### Knowledge of HIV prevention

In general, women aged 20–24 who know how to prevent HIV infection are less likely to have been married by age 18 than those who do not. For example, in Peru 40 per cent of women aged 20–24 who did not know how to protect themselves from HIV were married by age 18, compared to only 14 per cent of women who did. In South Africa, the values are 20 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively. Exceptions to this trend include Cambodia, the Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, India, Rwanda, Turkmenistan and Viet Nam, where 37 per cent of women who know how to prevent HIV were married by age 18, as compared to 10 per cent of women who did not. These exceptions may be due to the targeting of HIV-prevention information to married women.

### Contraceptive use

In much of the world, a great deal of pressure is placed on couples to conceive early in their union to ensure the continuity of the family line. As a result, many do not use contraception. By examining the child marriage trends among those who have never used contraception, those who have used only traditional or folkloric methods of debatable efficacy, and those who have used modern contraception, it is possible to assess the knowledge and unmet needs related to young women’s access to reliable contraception, and to evaluate their ability to make reproductive choices.<sup>23</sup> The data provide information on the proportion of women aged 20–24 who were married by age 18 and who use various forms of contraception.

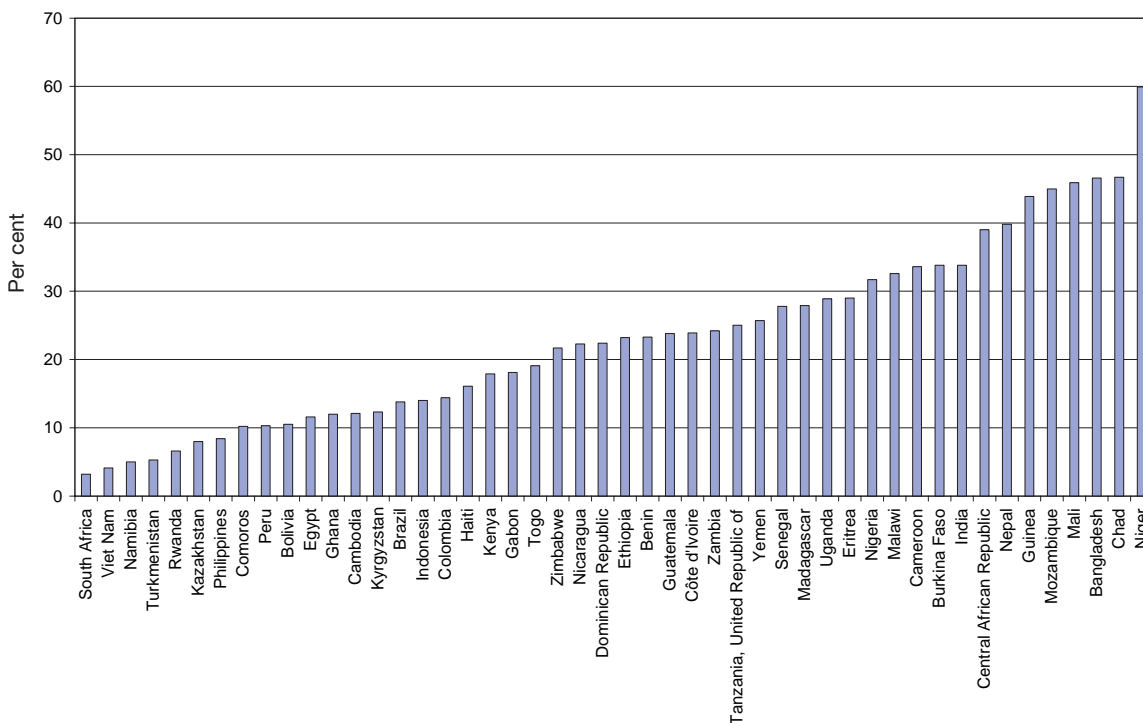
In many African countries included in the analysis, women who had never used contraception were more likely to have experienced child marriage than

women who had used modern contraception. In Nigeria, 51 per cent of women aged 20–24 who never used contraception were married before they were 18, compared to 22 per cent of women who used modern contraception. Similarly, in Cameroon, 63 per cent of women who never used contraception were married as girls, compared to 36 per cent of those who used modern contraception. However, in many non-African countries, the opposite trend is true. In Kyrgyzstan, only 0.4 per cent of women who never used contraception were married by age 18, compared to 31 per cent of those who used modern contraception, and in Viet Nam the proportions are 2 per cent and 32 per cent, respectively.

Comparing women who use modern contraception to those who have never used any form of contraception, however, does not accurately assess a woman’s interest in preventing a pregnancy. Some women who do not want to become pregnant at a given time might use traditional or folkloric methods because they lack knowledge of or access to modern contraception. In more than half of the countries included in the study, women who used only traditional contraceptive methods were more likely to be married by age 18 than those who used

modern contraception. In Togo, 37 per cent of women aged 20–24 who used only traditional methods were married by age 18, compared to 21 per cent of women who used modern methods. In Turkmenistan, where the overall prevalence of child marriage is significantly lower than in Togo, 39 per cent of women who used only traditional methods were married by age 18, compared to 23 per cent of women age 20–24 who used modern methods. However, in some countries women aged 20–24 who used modern contraception were more likely to be married by age 18, compared to their peers who had used only traditional methods. In the Dominican Republic, 58 per cent of women aged 20–24 who used modern methods were married by 18, compared to 19 per cent of women who used only traditional methods; in Namibia, 12 per cent of women using modern methods and 1.1 per cent of women using traditional contraception were married by age 18. This last finding may be explained by noting that these women may have had access to modern contraception following their marriage.<sup>24</sup> Overall, these findings might be indicative of the different barriers encountered by both unmarried and married women in accessing and using effective contraceptive methods.

**Figure 9: Proportion of girls aged 15–19 currently in union**





## IV. GIRLS AGED 15–19 CURRENTLY IN UNION

### Proportional disaggregation

In most countries the proportion of girls aged 15–19 who are married is lower than the proportion of women aged 20–24 who were married by age 18. However, it is important to note that the discrepancies are at least partially due to the fact that many of the girls aged 15–19 have not yet reached their 18th birthday, and are therefore not only still at risk for early marriage but also likely to be married by the age of 18. Figure 9 (page 11) illustrates the proportion of girls aged 15–19 currently in union, by country.

### Sociodemographic and economic variables

#### Place of residence

As was observed for women aged 20–24 who entered into union by age 18, girls aged 15–19 currently in union are more likely to be found in rural areas than in urban areas. Differences are most prominent in Eritrea, where 10 per cent of urban girls were in union, compared to 45 per cent of those in rural areas. In South Africa, a country with a low overall prevalence of union for this age cohort (3 per cent), a large discrepancy between the proportion of girls in urban areas living in union (1 per cent) compared to their rural counterparts (5 per cent) is observed. No differences are observed in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, both of which have relatively low overall prevalence of girls living in union (8 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively). Only in Kenya are urban girls more likely to be in union than their rural counterparts (20 per cent versus 18 per cent, respectively).

#### Household wealth

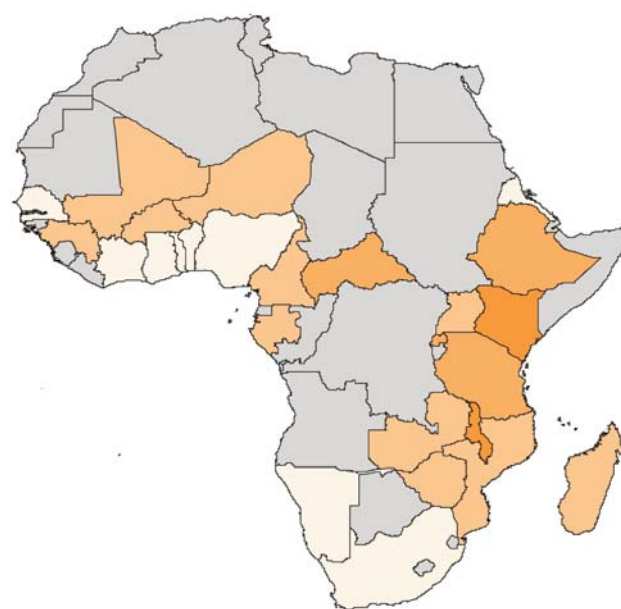
Girls 15–19 years old in the poorest 20 per cent of households are more likely to be in union than those in the wealthiest 20 per cent. This trend is seen across countries and regions. In Peru, 24 per cent of the poorest 20 per cent are in union compared to only 1 per cent of the wealthiest 20 per cent. In the

Philippines and Namibia, respectively, 22 per cent and 9 per cent of the girls from the lowest quintile are in union compared to 2 per cent and 1 per cent in the highest quintile, respectively (see also Figure 10 below). Within the sample of countries analysed, Chad is the only exception: 35 per cent of the poorest 20 per cent of girls were married, compared to 46 per cent of the wealthiest 20 per cent.

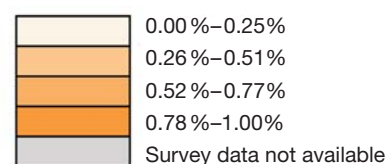
#### Level of education

In 47 countries, as girls aged 15–19 achieve higher levels of education, they are less likely to be in union. Girls who had attended primary school were less likely to be in union than those who had not. In Zimbabwe, only 4 per cent of girls who had attended primary school were in union, compared to 40 per cent of those who had received no education. Similarly, in Haiti, 15 per cent of girls

**FIGURE 10: Disparities in child marriage for girls aged 15–19, by household wealth**



Ratio: 20% richest / 20% poorest



This map does not reflect a position by UNICEF on the legal status of any country or territory or the delimitation of any frontiers.

who attended primary school were in union compared to 43 per cent of their uneducated peers. Only in Indonesia and Viet Nam were girls who had been to primary school more likely to be in union than those who had not. Figure 11 (see below right) demonstrates the different relationships between the level of education received and the likelihood of a girl to be in union within a sample of countries.

Comparing the proportion of girls in union who received primary education to those who went on to secondary school, the pattern of higher levels of education preventing child marriage continues to be observed. In Niger, the country with the highest overall prevalence of child marriage (60 per cent), the proportion is significantly lower (8 per cent) for those who attended secondary school than those who attended only primary school (40 per cent). Only in the Central African Republic is the proportion of girls aged 15–19 who are in union the same for those who attended either primary or secondary school (34 per cent). Similarly, Zimbabwe is the only country in which girls who attended secondary school are more likely to be in union than those who received only a primary education (16 per cent and 4 per cent, respectively). In all but three countries (Cameroon, Uganda and Yemen), the proportion of girls aged 15–19 who received higher education and are in union is very low or negligible.

## Characteristics of union

### Number of children

Girls 15–19 years of age with children were significantly more likely to be in union than girls with no children. In most countries, only a small proportion of girls aged 15–19 who did not have children were in union, indicating that childbirth tends to occur early in a union. However, in Malawi and Niger, more than 40 per cent of girls aged 15–19 without children were already in union. In the majority of the countries analysed, almost all girls with more than two children were in union. A notable exception is South Africa, where this number is only 35 per cent.

## Knowledge of reproductive and sexual health

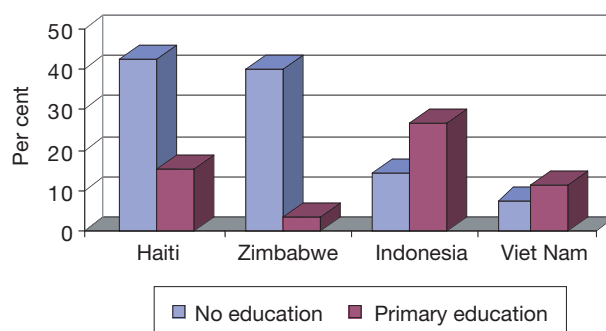
### Knowledge of how to prevent HIV infection

In most countries, girls 15–19 years of age who know how to prevent HIV infection were less likely to be in union than those who did not. Interestingly, in the South Asian countries studied, girls aged 15–19 who know how to prevent HIV infection are more likely to be in union than those who do not, perhaps reflecting the targeting of programmes to unmarried or to married women, depending on the social norms of the particular country.

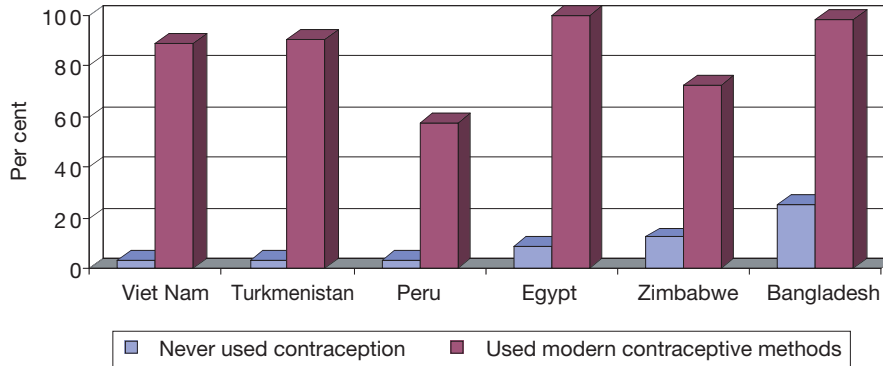
### Contraceptive use

Due to the pressure to demonstrate fertility and bear children early in a marriage, it is unsurprising that in all but four African countries girls aged 15–19 who use modern contraception are less likely to be in union than those who have never used any form of contraception.<sup>25</sup> In Mozambique, 46 per cent of girls aged 15–19 who had never used contraception were in union, compared to 31 per cent of those who used modern contraceptive methods. Among all the countries studied, it is more common for this age group that girls who are using contraception are more likely to be in union. (See Figure 12, page 14 for examples from each of the regions.) These results may be related to the prevalence and stigma of sex outside of marriage or union, the fact that women outside of union do not have access to information or supplies related to

**FIGURE 11: Proportion of girls aged 15–19 in union, by education (no education vs. primary)**



**FIGURE 12: Proportion of girls aged 15–19 in union, by use of contraceptive methods**

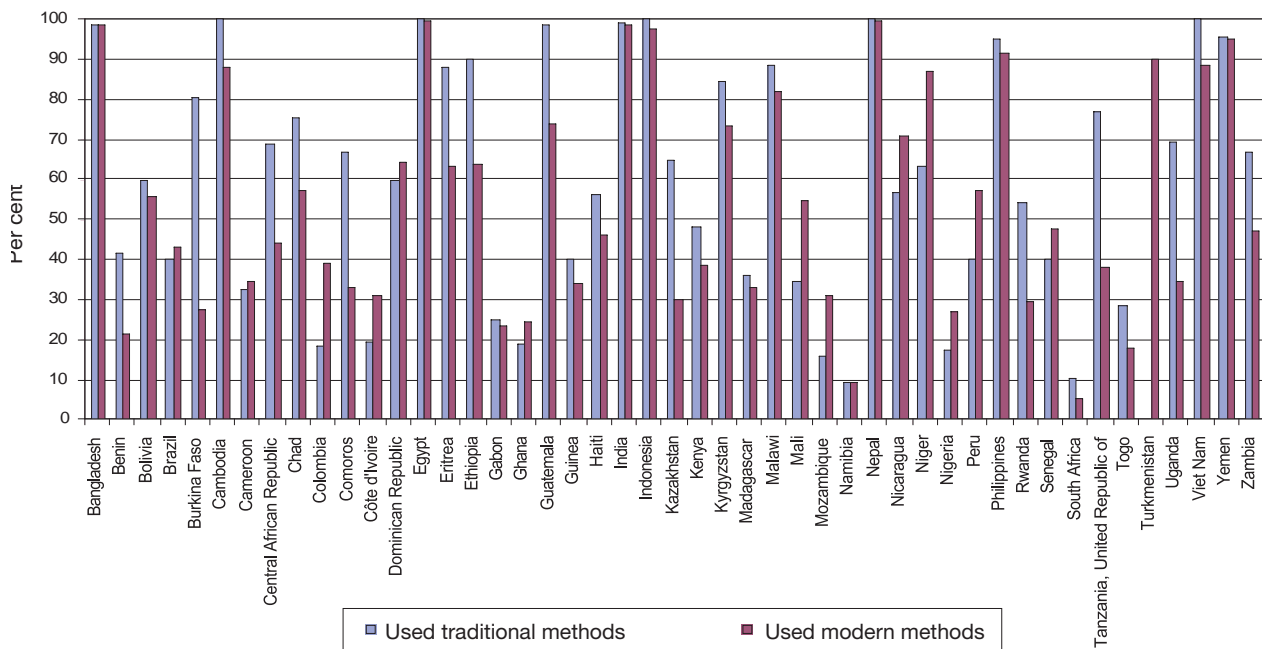


contraception, or the fact that the use of contraception is adopted after the early marriage and fertility.

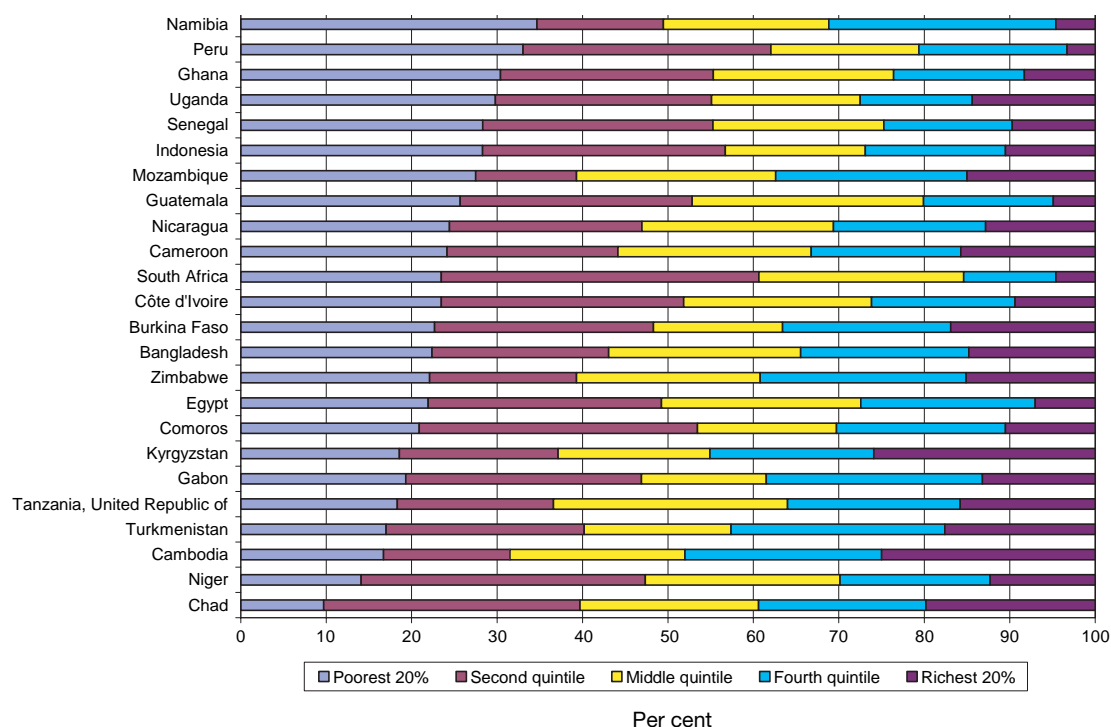
Many women who are attempting to avoid pregnancy use methods other than modern contraception. In 28 countries, girls aged 15–19 who have used modern contraceptive methods are less likely than those who have used only traditional methods to be in union. For example, in Burkina Faso, 81 per cent of girls aged 15–19 who use traditional methods of birth control are in union

compared to 28 per cent of those who use modern methods. This pattern may indicate that girls who are married are not able to access or use modern contraception. However, in 13 countries the opposite is true: In Colombia, for example, 18 per cent of girls aged 15–19 using traditional methods were in union, compared to 39 per cent of those using modern contraception. Figure 13 (below) illustrates how the disparity in the proportion of girls in union shifts with respect to the method of contraception used across a sample of countries.

**FIGURE 13: Proportion of girls aged 15–19 currently in union, by method of contraception used**



**FIGURE 14: Distribution of girls aged 15–19 in union, by household wealth**



## Distribution: Profile of a married girl

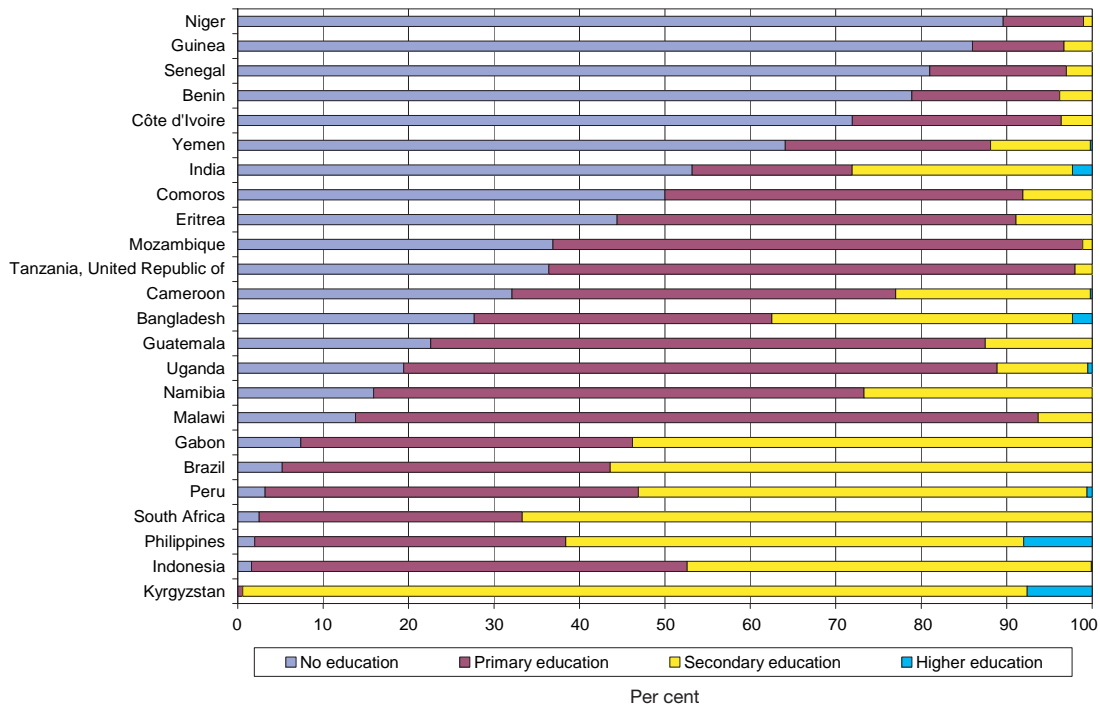
The previous section considered the proportion of girls in union given a variety of socio-economic, knowledge and contraceptive access characteristics – that is, the social factors that make a girl vulnerable to being married as a child. To gain a fuller understanding of the typical profile and situational context of a girl who is married, the distribution of girls who are in union is explored.

In all but six countries, girls in union are more frequently found in rural areas.<sup>26</sup> They are more likely to come from the poorest 40 per cent of society than the wealthier 40 per cent (although not necessarily from the poorest 20 per cent of society in all cases). In 10 countries, however, girls from the wealthiest 20 per cent are more likely to be in union than those from the poorest 20 per cent.<sup>27</sup> Figure 14 (above) illustrates the distribution of married girls across the wealth quintiles.

A clear profile is not seen for the distribution of girls who are in union according to education received, perhaps due to differences in access and norms related to education across countries. Figure 15 (see page 16) illustrates the distribution of married girls by level of education.

Most girls who are in union are involved in monogamous relationships. Haiti has the greatest proportion of girls in polygynous unions with 40 per cent of girls in union having co-wives. In general, girls have one or two children, although in 12 countries the majority of girls in union have not yet had any children.<sup>28</sup> More than 4 per cent of girls in union have three or four children in Bolivia (5 per cent), Madagascar (6 per cent) and Mozambique (6 per cent). In all countries analysed, more than 25 per cent of girls who are in union have partners who are 5–9 years older except for Burkina Faso where 65 per cent of girls who are in union have partners more than 15 years older. Additionally, more than 25 per cent of girls in union live with men 15 or more years their senior in Guinea, Mali,

**FIGURE 15: Distribution of girls aged 15–19 in union, by level of education**

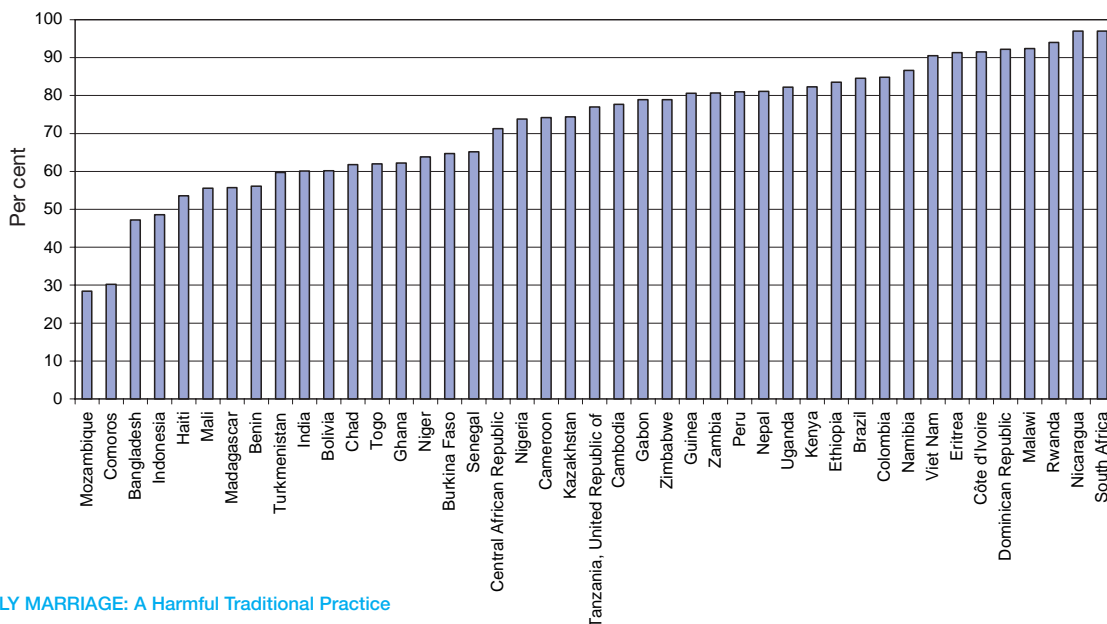


Mozambique and Nigeria. A good deal of variation is seen in the gap in education between partners for girls who are married.

In the countries analysed (with the exception of Bangladesh, Comoros, Indonesia and Mozambique), more than 50 per cent of girls aged 15–19 currently in union know how to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS (see Figure 16 below).

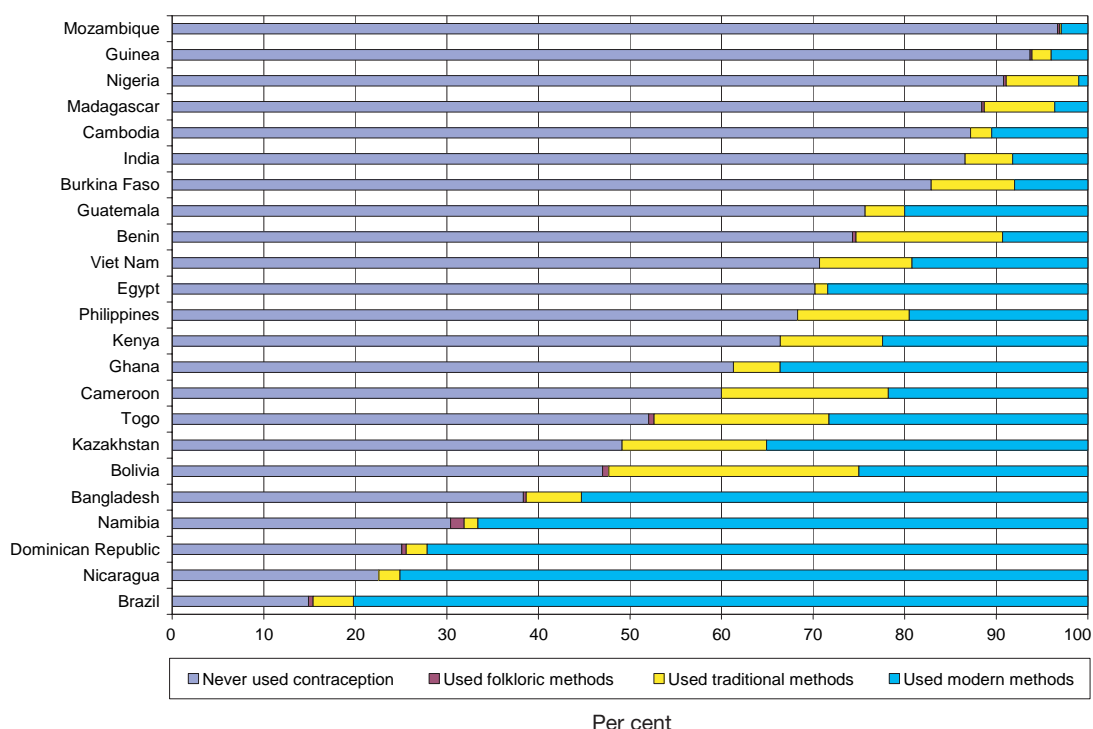
In most countries, more than 25 per cent of girls aged 15–19 who are in union have never used any form of contraception. Exceptions to this trend are Brazil, Colombia, Gabon and Nicaragua. In Mozambique, 96 per cent of girls in union have never used contraception of any kind. Most notable for programmatic purposes are those countries where a significant portion of girls in union are using folkloric or traditional methods of contraception.

**FIGURE 16: Proportion of girls aged 15–19 who are in union and know how to prevent HIV/AIDS**





**FIGURE 17: Distribution of girls aged 15–19 in union, by method of contraception**



For instance, in Bolivia, almost as many girls in union are using only traditional contraception (27 per cent) as are using modern contraceptive methods (25 per cent). Figure 17 (above) shows the distribution of girls in union, according to their use of contraceptive methods.

Using these measures, it is possible to determine the profile of a married girl in a given country. For example:

- In South Africa, which has the lowest proportion of girls aged 15–19 in union (3 per cent), a girl who is in union is most likely to live in a rural area (78 per cent), where she received a secondary education (67 per cent) and is more likely to live in a household in the second wealth quintile of society than in any other quintile (37 per cent). Her partner is not likely to have additional wives (78 per cent) and she will likely not yet have had children (63 per cent). Her partner is likely to be 0–4 years older than she is (39 per cent), and likely has reached the same educational level (60 per cent). She knows how to protect herself from HIV/AIDS (97 per cent) and has used modern contraception (64 per cent).
- In Nicaragua, the country with the median proportion of girls aged 15–19 who are currently in union (22 per cent), a girl in union might be found in either rural (50 per cent) or urban areas (50 per cent). She received a primary education only (50 per cent) and lives in a household within the poorer 60 per cent of the population. It is likely that she has one or two children (63 per cent). Her husband is likely to be 0–4 years older than she is (51 per cent), and it is likely that both partners received the same level of education (48 per cent). She knows how to protect herself from HIV/AIDS (97 per cent) and has likely used modern contraceptive methods (75 per cent).
- Finally, in Niger, which has the highest proportion of girls aged 15–19 currently in union (60 per cent), a girl in union is most likely to live in a rural area (91 per cent), to have received no education (90 per cent) and to be disproportionately located in the second wealth quintile (33 per cent). She is unlikely to have co-wives (79 per cent), and if she has children (43 per cent have no children) she is likely to have only one or two (56 per cent). Her husband is more likely to be 5–9 years older than she is (38 per cent) compared to other age

gaps considered, and it is likely that neither partner received an education (73 per cent). She is likely to know how to protect herself from HIV/AIDS (64 per cent) but is unlikely to have ever used any form of contraception (89 per cent).

## V. WOMEN IN POLYGYNOUS UNIONS

### Women aged 15–49

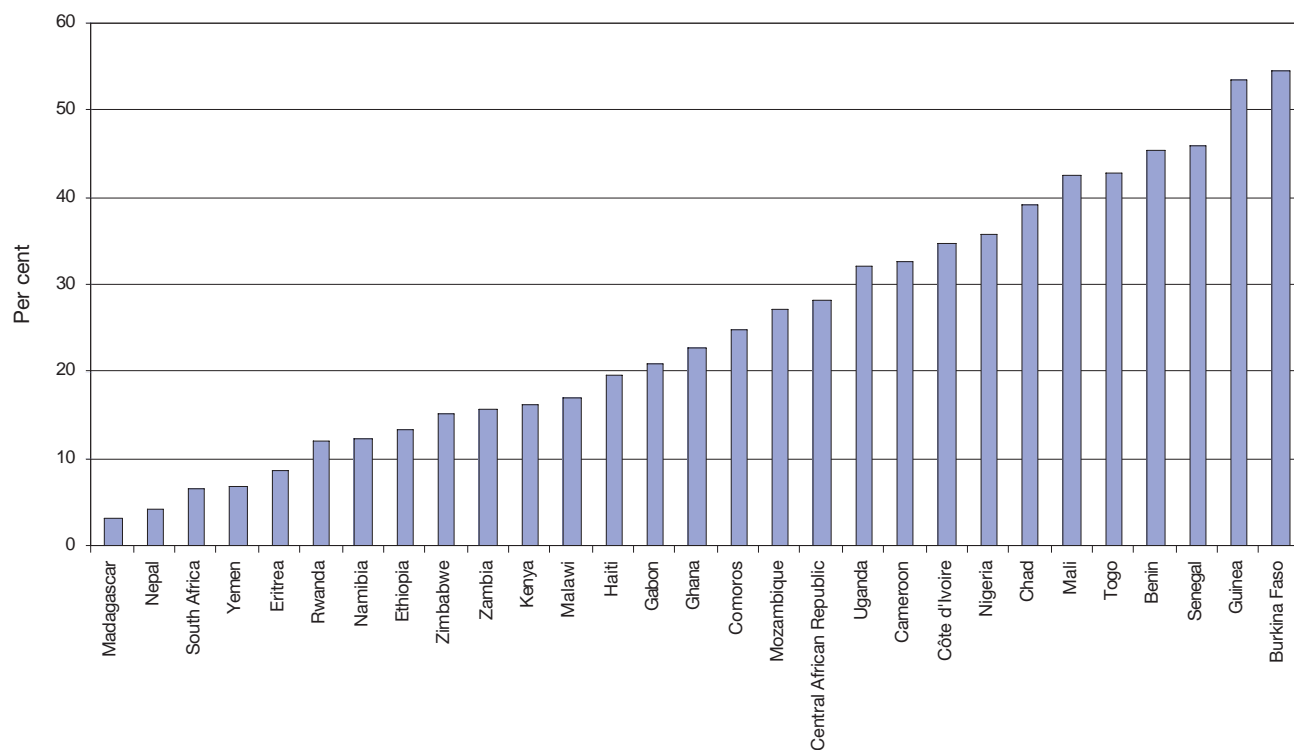
Polygynous unions – relationships in which a man who has more than one wife – remain a practice in many countries, particularly (though not exclusively) in Africa. Polygyny is most frequently observed in Burkina Faso, where 55 per cent of women are in polygynous unions, and less commonly seen in Madagascar (3 per cent) and Nepal (4 per cent). Figure 18 (*below*) illustrates the proportion of women in polygynous unions by country.

As the national proportion of women in polygynous unions increases, the proportion of girls married by ages 15 and 18, compared to those who enter

union after age 20, tends to move toward parity. In some countries with lower levels of polygynous unions, such as Ethiopia, women are less likely to have entered into such unions before the age of 15 than after their 20th birthday; in other countries, such as Rwanda, they are more likely to have entered into such unions before their 15th birthday than they are once they have reached age 20. In Rwanda, 28 per cent of girls who entered into union by age 15 were in polygynous unions, compared to 13 per cent of women who entered into union after age 20.

In countries with a higher prevalence of polygyny, similar proportions of women had entered into union before the age of 15 or after the age of 20. In Benin, for example, 53 per cent of women who had entered into union by age 15 were in polygynous unions compared to 50 per cent of women who entered into union after the age of 20. A similar trend was observed for girls entering into polygynous unions before the age of 18. In Ethiopia, 13 per cent of women who entered into union by age 18 were in polygynous unions while 16 per cent of women who entered into union after the age of 20 were in such

**FIGURE 18: Proportion of women aged 15–49 in polygynous unions**



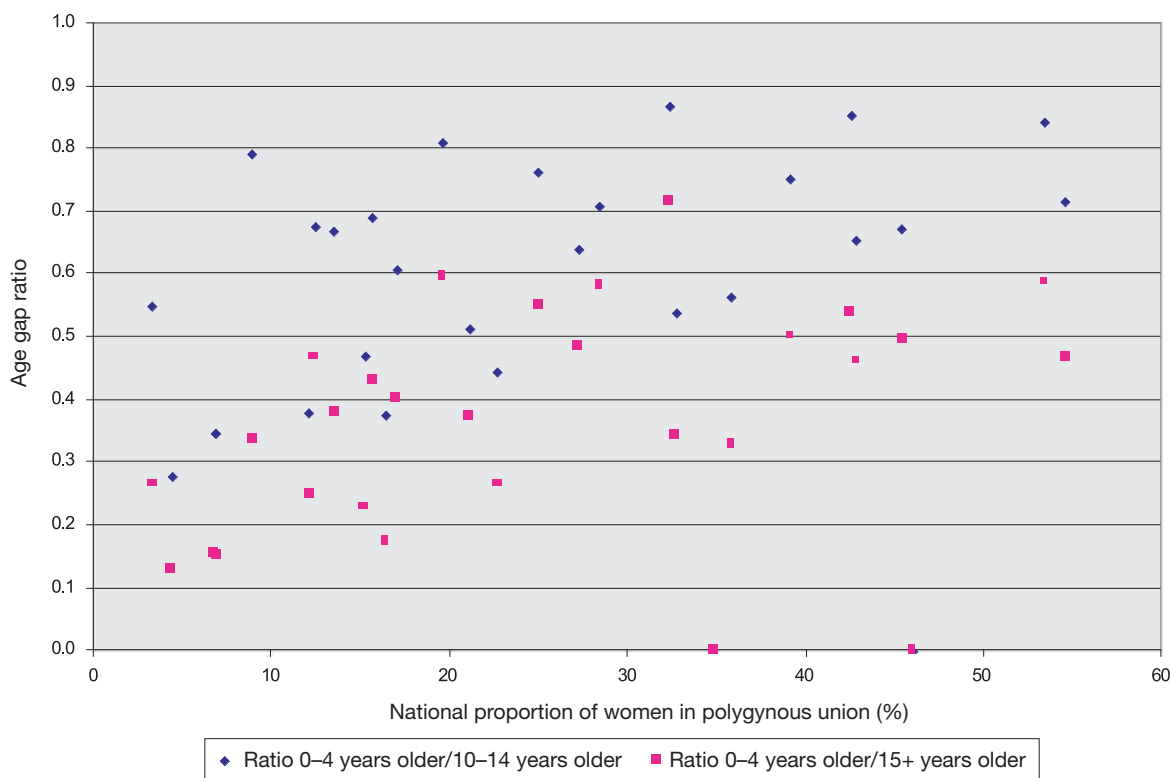
unions; in Rwanda the proportions were 17 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively. In Burkina Faso the difference in the proportion of women entering polygynous unions before age 15 and after age 20 is reduced: 58 per cent of women who enter into union before the age of 15 are in polygynous unions, compared to 60 per cent of women who enter into union after the age of 20.

Polygynous unions are more common in rural areas than in urban areas in all countries examined, with the exception of Uganda (36 per cent of women in urban areas are in polygynous unions, compared to 32 per cent of women in rural areas). Polygynous unions are more common among women from the poorest 20 per cent of society than among women from the richest 20 per cent of society in all but four countries.<sup>29</sup> Lack of education is another common factor observed across the countries. Women who had received no education were more likely to be in polygynous unions than women who had received a primary education, and in most countries women who received only a primary education were more likely to be in polygynous unions than those who

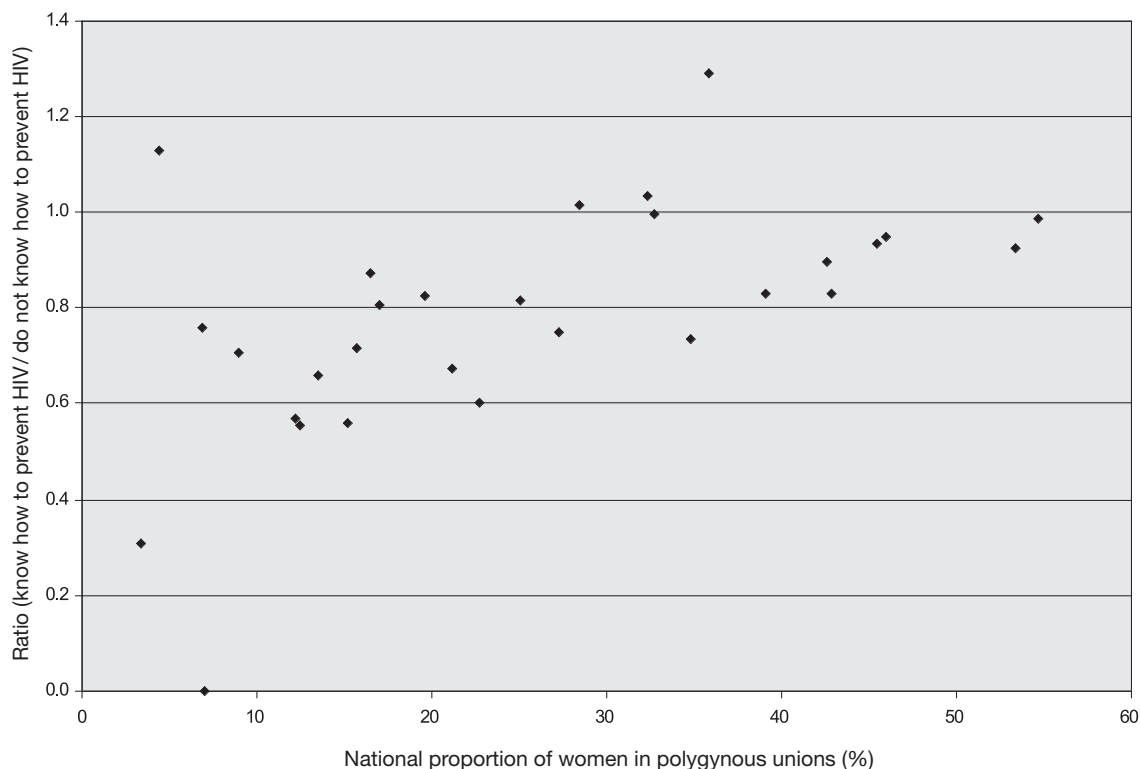
received a secondary education – with the exceptions of Comoros and Uganda. In Kenya, the proportions were equal: 3 per cent of women who received primary or secondary education were in polygynous unions.

As illustrated in Figure 19 (*below*), as the prevalence of polygynous unions in a country increases, large age gaps between spouses are less likely. In countries with low overall prevalence (such as Nepal), large age gaps between spouses in polygynous unions are more likely than for those in monogamous marriages. In Nepal, 3 per cent of women whose partners are 0–4 years older are found in polygynous unions compared to 9 per cent of women whose partners are 10–14 years older and 20 per cent of women whose partners are 15 or more years older. However, in Guinea, where 53 per cent of women are in polygynous unions, there is less disparity in polygyny rates related to spousal age gap: 40 per cent of women whose partners are 0–4 years older are found in polygynous unions, compared to 47 per cent of women whose partners are 10–14 years older and 67 per cent where the age gap is greater than 15 years.

**FIGURE 19: Proportion of women aged 15–49 in polygynous unions, by spousal age gap**



**FIGURE 20: Proportion of women in polygynous unions, by knowledge of HIV prevention methods**



The greatest proportion of women in polygynous relationships are those in unions where both partners have received no education. A gap in education between partners does not appear to increase the proportion of women in polygynous unions.

Women who do not know how to prevent HIV infection are more likely to be in polygynous unions than those who do. In countries with lower rates of polygyny, women who do not know how to prevent HIV are likely to be disproportionately represented in polygynous unions, as illustrated in Figure 20 (above). For example, in Madagascar, 8 per cent of women who do not know how to protect themselves against HIV are in polygynous unions, compared to 2 per cent of those who possess such knowledge. But in countries with higher rates of polygyny, the disparity is lessened: In Burkina Faso 54 per cent of women who know how to protect themselves and 53 per cent of women who don't are in polygynous unions. Nepal, Nigeria and Uganda are exceptions to the general trend.

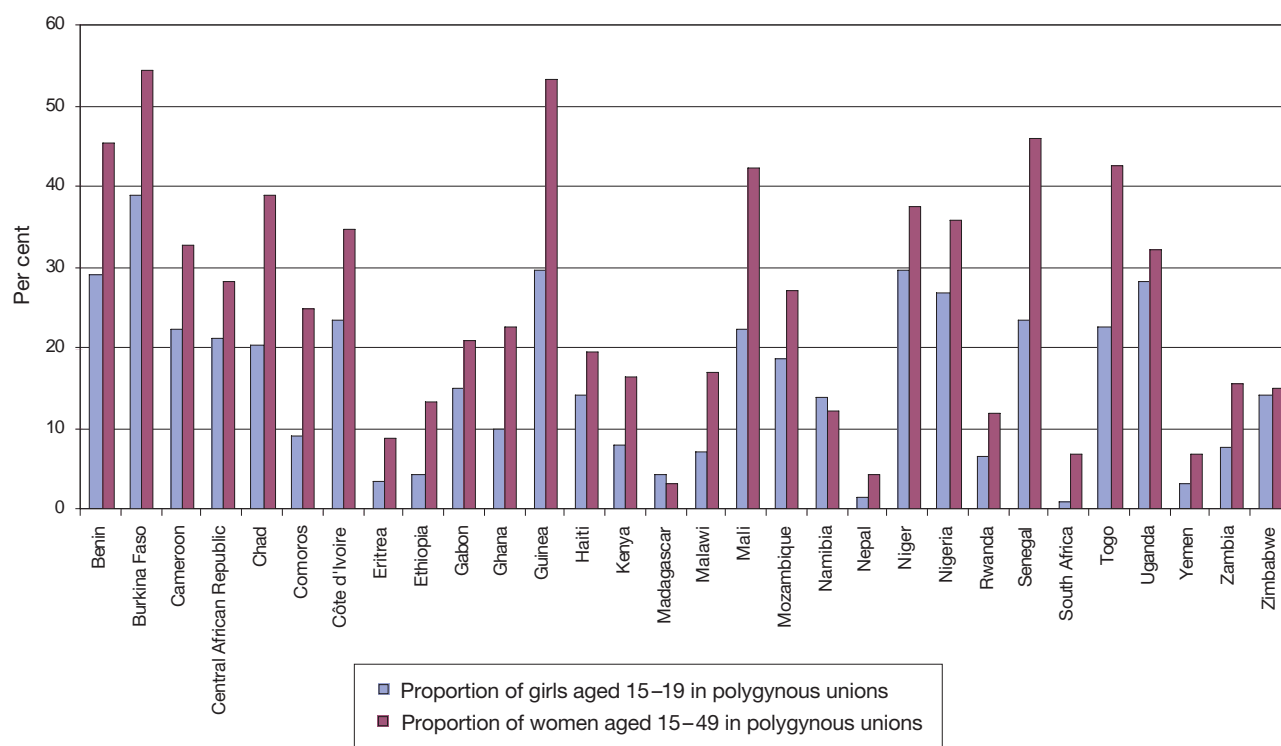
Women who use folkloric or traditional contraceptive methods are more likely to be in polygynous unions than those who use modern contraceptive methods. For example, in Burkina Faso, 77 per cent of women who use only folkloric methods are in polygynous unions compared to 37 per cent of women who use modern contraception.

### Girls aged 15–19

The preceding analysis considered all women in a given society with respect to the proportion who are in a polygynous union. This section focuses on the situation of girls 15–19 years old who are in polygynous union. The trends in polygyny for girls will be compared to those observed for all women in a country to determine generational trends that may affect the practice of polygyny.

Figure 21 (page 21) illustrates the proportion of girls aged 15–19 who are in polygynous unions, compared to the proportion of all women (15–49) in such unions. In Madagascar and Namibia, a greater

**FIGURE 21: Comparison of proportion of girls and women in polygynous unions**



proportion of girls aged 15–19 are in polygynous unions compared to the overall proportion of women, indicating that the practice might be increasingly commonplace in those countries. In all other countries, fewer girls aged 15–19 than all women aged 15–49 are in polygynous unions – perhaps due to a decreased prevalence of polygyny or to the fact that the young age of the cohort implies that either the girls are less likely to be in a union of any kind or that a union that may become polygynous in time has not yet assumed that characteristic.

When examining the proportion of women in polygynous unions across age groups, polygyny was observed as an almost exclusively rural phenomenon. For girls aged 15–19, this trend continued in the majority of countries studied. However, in 10 countries, girls in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to be in polygynous unions, possibly indicating that women from urban areas who enter into polygynous unions do so at an early age (i.e., before the age of 20).

In the majority of countries, girls from the poorest 20 per cent of the population are more likely to be

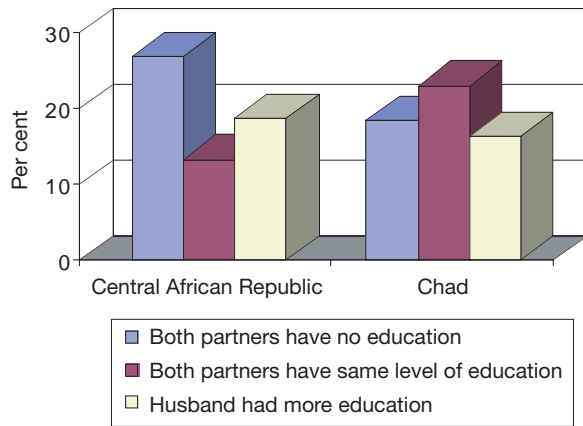
found in polygynous unions than those from the wealthiest 20 per cent. However, the opposite was found in 11 countries.<sup>30</sup>

The proportion of girls in polygynous unions tends to decrease as girls' level of education increases. For example, in Madagascar, 6 per cent of girls with no education were in polygynous unions, compared to 4 per cent of girls with primary education and 2 per cent of girls with secondary education. The trend holds in countries with higher overall proportions of girls in polygynous unions: In Guinea, 31 per cent of girls with no education were in polygynous unions, while only 29 per cent of those who received primary education and no girls who received secondary education were in such unions. Compared to the proportions of all women in polygynous unions according to educational attainment, however, it is interesting to note that in six countries, girls who received primary education are more likely to be in polygynous unions than girls who received no education.<sup>31</sup>

The greater the difference in age between a girl and her partner, the greater the likelihood that she will



**FIGURE 22: Proportion of girls aged 15–19 in polygynous unions, by spousal education gap**



be in a polygynous union. For example, in Zimbabwe, 4 per cent of girls whose partners are 0–4 years older, 8 per cent of those with partners 5–9 years older, 15 per cent whose partners are 10–14 years older and 57 per cent of those whose partners are more than 15 years older are in polygynous unions. When examining the education gap between girls and their spouses, it is seen that the polygynous unions most commonly emerge from situations where neither partner has received any education. While in many cases, girls in polygynous

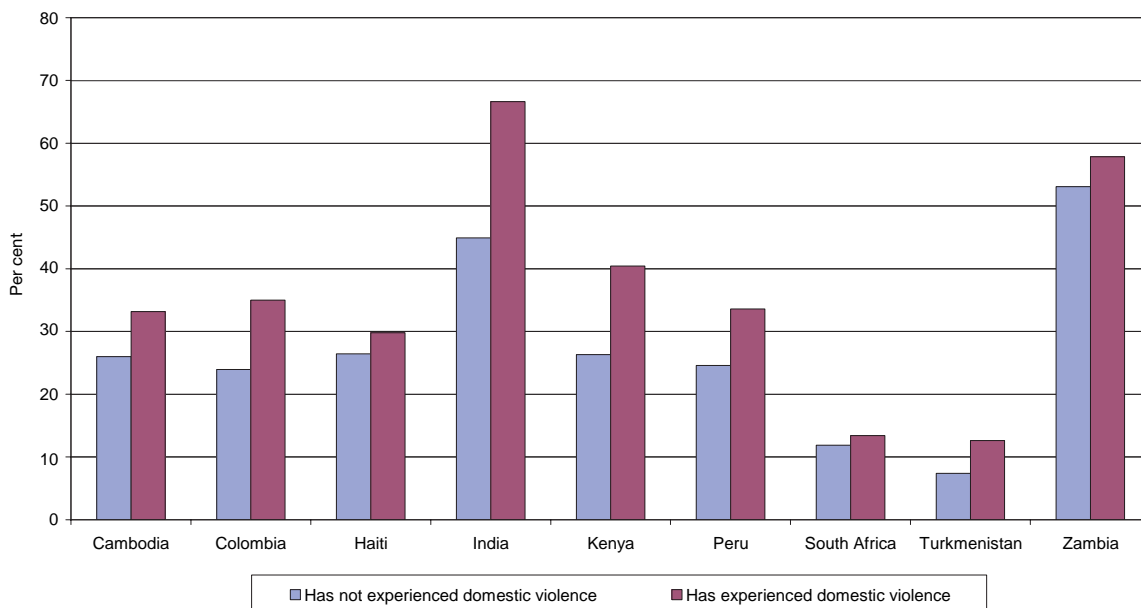
unions are more likely to have less education than their partners, (for example, in the Central African Republic), in others, such as Chad, the opposite is seen (*Figure 22 left*).

## VI. CHILD MARRIAGE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

According to available literature, women who married younger are more likely to be beaten or threatened, and more likely to believe that a husband might sometimes be justified in beating his wife.<sup>32</sup> Bruce, Lloyd and Leonard report that 40 to 80 per cent of all physical abuse experienced by women is perpetrated by a close family member, usually the husband.<sup>33</sup> Data were available for analysis of the respondents’ experiences of violence for nine countries, and for the analysis of attitudes towards domestic violence in five countries. The following analysis considers women of all age groups.

Domestic violence is more common among women who had been married as children. India has the highest levels of domestic violence among women married by 18 with a rate of 67 per cent, compared to 45 per cent of women who had not experienced violence (*see Figure 23, below*). While the small number of countries in which data on domestic

**FIGURE 23: Proportion of women married by the exact age of 18, by experience of violence**



violence are available limits the ability to observe trends, Figure 24 (*below*) begins to suggest that the lower the national level of child marriage, the greater the difference in proportions between women who experienced violence and those who did not. Programmatic implications of this finding might include increased attention to domestic violence in education efforts among young people, and strengthening actions as the rate of child marriage in society as a whole decreases in order to ensure the protection of girls who are married.

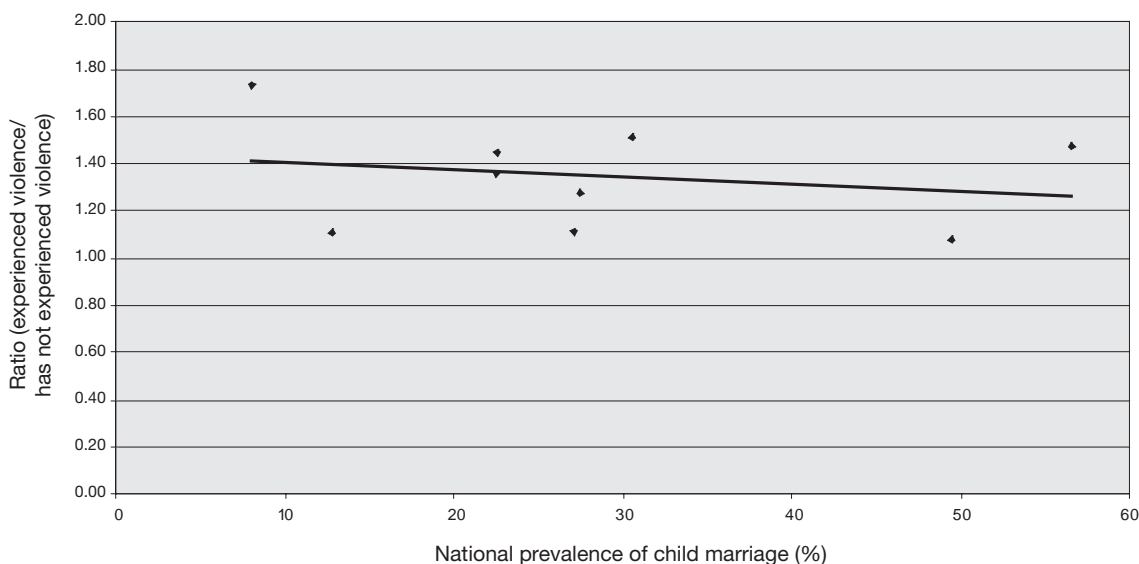
The trend of increased violence as correlated to child marriage is reinforced when considering the relationship between child marriage and believing that, under specific circumstances, a man may be justified to beat his wife.<sup>34</sup> As illustrated in Figure 25 (*page 24*), as the national prevalence of child marriage increases, women who were married as children are more likely than those who married as adults to believe that a man might be justified in beating his wife. The most extreme example is observed in Kenya where 36 per cent of women married before age 18 believe that a man is sometimes justified to beat his wife, compared to 20 per cent of those who married later as adults.

## VII. CHOICE OF SPOUSE AND DECISION-MAKING ABILITY

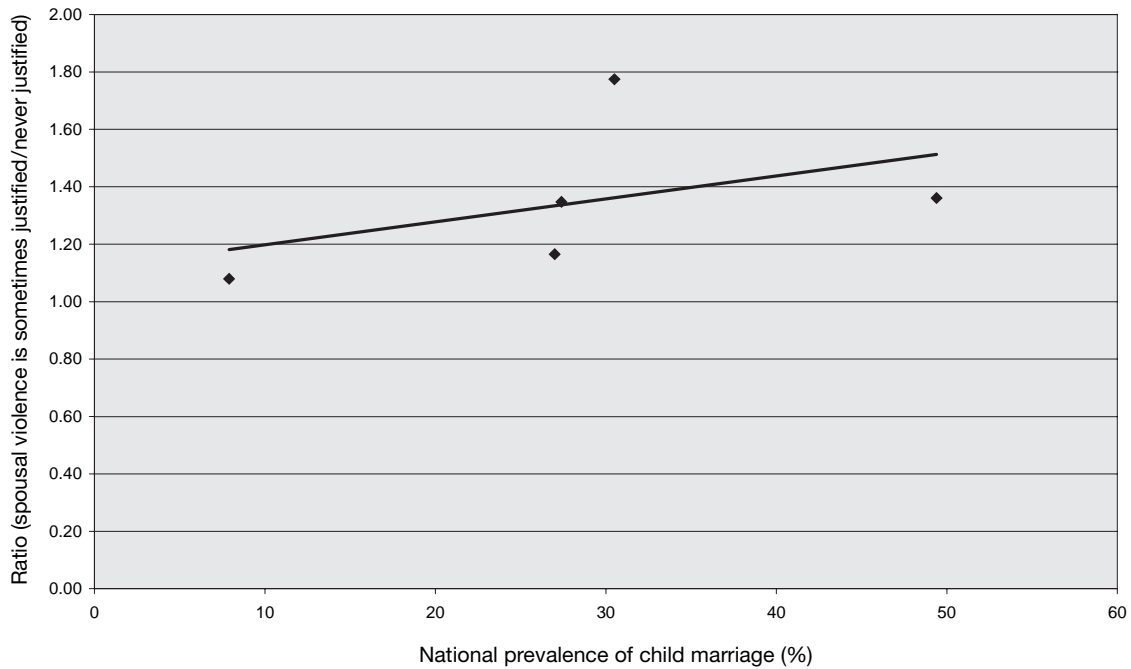
The surveys in Cambodia and Haiti included questions to collect data on decision-making related to choice of spouse. Among Cambodian women, the greatest proportion of those married before age 18 had their spouses selected by their families (35 per cent), while in Haiti the largest proportion of women who are married before age 18 chose their own spouse (33 per cent).

The final say over household decisions is used as a proxy for women's empowerment and power vis-à-vis other household members. It is hypothesized that women who are married as children have less decision-making power than women whose marriage is delayed until adulthood. The surveys asked respondents who had the final say over a selection of decisions, including their own health care, contraception, household budget, daily household purchases, visits to family and friends and what food to cook each day. For the purpose of this analysis, the proportions of women married before age 18 were noted according to whether

**FIGURE 24: Proportion of women aged 20 – 49 married by the exact age of 18, by experience of violence**



**FIGURE 25: Proportion of women aged 20–49 married by the exact age of 18, by attitudes towards spousal violence**



these decisions were taken by the respondent, her partner, or both.

The ability to make decisions about visiting family and friends is considered indicative of a woman's freedom of movement. In seven of the eight countries where the question was included, women whose partners have the final say over visits were more likely to have experienced child marriage than those who had the final say themselves or where the decision was made jointly. Cambodia was the exception to this finding: 17 per cent of Cambodian women whose partners have the final say over visits to family and friends were married before the age of 18, while 27 per cent and 32 per cent, respectively, of women who made their own decisions or where the decision was made jointly, were girls at the time of their union.

Strategic importance is placed on a woman's participation in making decisions related to her own health.<sup>35</sup> In six of the seven countries where the question was included, women whose partners have the final say over their health were more likely to have experienced child marriage than those who had the final say themselves, or where the decision

was made jointly. However, in Turkmenistan, no difference was observed between these two groups of women.

Women whose partners made the final decision on large household purchases were more likely to be married as children than those who made the decision themselves in Colombia (34 per cent compared to 25 per cent), Peru (37 per cent compared to 24 per cent) and Zambia (57 per cent compared to 49 per cent). Similarly, in Colombia, Haiti, Kenya and Peru, women whose partners made final decisions on daily purchases and what food should be cooked each day were more likely to have experienced child marriage than women who had the final say.

Surveys in Cambodia and Haiti included the decision-making question related to work and contraception. In both countries, women whose partners had the final say on whether or not they were allowed to work were more likely to be married before age 18 (32 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively) than those who had the final say themselves (28 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively). However, in Haiti those respondents who made this decision jointly

with their partner were more likely to be married before age 18 than either those who made the decision themselves, or whose partners made the decision for them (32 per cent). Haitian women who had the final say on contraception were slightly more likely to have been married before age 18 (31 per cent) than those whose partners had the final say (27 per cent). Cambodian women who made decisions on contraception jointly with their partners were more likely to have been married as girls (32 per cent) than either those who decided alone (27 per cent) or whose partners decided (30 per cent). Here again, it is important to note that decisions on contraception are taken a number of years after the early marriage and, in many cases, after a number of children are already born.

## VIII. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

While the descriptive analysis provides a picture of child marriage, it does not provide an analysis of the net effects of the variables examined on a girl's risk of being married as a child. To assess the statistical significance across 50 countries, a multivariate

analysis, using a logistic regression model, was performed for each country. Ever-married women over age 18 were selected for analysis. The resulting coefficients provide the direction and magnitude of the change in the likelihood that a woman was married before age 18 with a one-unit change in the variable in question (for example, a woman who received no education compared to a woman with primary education, or comparing a woman living in a rural area to a woman living in an urban area). The significance of the changes in probability that a woman was married before age 18 across the 50 countries is summarized in Table C (*below*).

The multivariate analysis confirmed the significance of many of the findings of the descriptive analysis. As was established, a woman's education level was found to be a highly significant variable for whether she was married as a child. In 48 countries, women who received some education were significantly less likely to be married as children than those who received no education, indicating the importance of educating girls as a means to prevent child marriage. High levels of fertility are associated with the prevalence of child marriage. Women who had

**Table C: Summary of the multivariate analysis of the effects of background and life-cycle characteristics on child marriage**

Background characteristics (reference category)	Significant* and positive	Significant* and negative	Insignificant
Place of residence (urban)	11	9	30
Age cohort (18–19)	0	50	0
Highest education level (none)	0	48	2
Household wealth (poorest 20 per cent)	8	11	31
Type of union (monogamous)	23	0	11
Number of children (none)	50	0	0
Husband's education level (none)	2	25	21
Spousal age gap (husband is less than four years older)	44	0	3
Contraceptive use (never used)	7	14	27
Knows how to prevent HIV (no)	9	8	27
Religion (majority group)	13	9	14
Ethnicity (majority group)	16	6	4

\* 5 per cent level of significance

more children were significantly more likely to have been married before age 18 than women with no children. The spousal age gap was found to be highly significant in 44 of the countries examined: women who were more than four years younger than their partners were significantly more likely to be married as children compared to women who were closer in age to their partners, a finding that points to the need to further explore the demand side of the child marriage equation. Also, confirming the findings of the descriptive analysis, in 23 of the 34 countries in which polygyny is practised, women in polygynous unions were significantly more likely to have been married as girls. The education level of the woman's partner was significant in 27 countries: In 25 countries women whose spouses received some education were less likely to be married before the age of 18 than women whose partners were uneducated, while in Haiti and Kenya the opposite was observed.

However, while the descriptive analysis indicated that women from rural and/or poor families were more likely to be married as children, in over 30 countries the net effects of both household wealth and place of residence were not significant. The differences between the descriptive and multivariate analyses might be explained by the significance of additional factors, such as a woman's education level or the number of children she has had.

Knowledge of HIV-prevention methods was significant in 17 countries; however, the direction of the effect was mixed: In nine countries women who knew how to prevent HIV were more likely to have been married as children, while in eight countries the opposite was true. Mixed results were also observed when considering contraceptive use: In 14 countries, women who had used contraceptive methods, either traditional or modern, were significantly less likely to have been married before age 18 than those who had never used contraception; the opposite was true in seven countries. Interestingly, in India, mixed effects were observed, with women who had used modern contraceptives being more likely, and women who had used traditional methods being less likely, to have been married as girls than those who had never used contraceptive methods.

Age cohort was found to be a highly significant variable in determining the risk that a woman was married as a child. However, the direction of the coefficient was not consistent with a hopeful hypothesis that child marriage is becoming less common among younger women, and confirmed the descriptive analyses of many countries in which child marriage did not decrease for younger generations. In all 50 countries, women from the older cohorts were less likely to have been married as children than women from the youngest cohort. However, the direction of the coefficient reversed when the number of children variable was removed from the model – indicating that age and number of children are closely related variables with respect to their predictive value in the context of child marriage. The findings confirm that younger women tend to have greater risks of early marriage, an effect that becomes visible once fertility level is included in the analysis as a control variable.

Religion and ethnicity were also found to be significant in some of the countries for which data were available. In 13 and 16 of these countries, respectively, being a member of the majority religious or ethnic group made a woman less likely to have been married before age 18 than a woman from a minority religious or ethnic background, although in nine and six countries, respectively, the opposite was true. In four countries, the significance of being a member of a religious or ethnic minority had different effects for different minority groups. For example, in Mozambique, Emakua girls are more likely than Cisená girls to be married before age 18, while Xitsonga and Xitswa girls are less so. For those countries in which race or ethnicity is found to be significant, the targeting of child marriage prevention efforts might be refined to focus on girls from communities most at risk of marrying their girls as children, be they majority or minority groups.

The experience of physical domestic violence was found to be a significant variable when added to the model (see *Table D, page 27*). Confirming the descriptive analysis, women who have experienced domestic violence were more likely to have been married before age 18 than women who have not experienced domestic violence. Similarly, in three of the six countries (Cambodia, India and Kenya),

**TABLE D: Summary of the effects of domestic violence and women's status on child marriage**

Background characteristics (reference category)	Significant* and positive	Significant* and negative	Insignificant
Respondent has experienced partner violence (no)	6	0	3
Respondent believes a husband may be justified in beating his wife (never)	3	0	3
Respondent has final say on decisions (none)	1	0	7
Respondent chose own spouse (yes)	0	0	2

\* 5 per cent level of significance.

women who believe that there may be some circumstances in which it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife were significantly more likely to have been married before age 18 than those who believe that there is never justification. In the other three countries, this relationship is not significant.

A woman's participation in decision-making was found to be insignificant, with the exception of India, where women in households in which decisions were often made by other family members were more likely to have been married as girls than those who make household decisions.

The logistic analysis of each country provides information that can be useful in determining the most effective and efficient interventions to decrease the prevalence of child marriage. For example, in the descriptive analysis, it was observed that 25 per cent of women aged 20–24 in Cambodia were married before age 18, and that as a woman's level of education increased, she was less likely to have been married as a child. However, the multivariate analysis revealed that education was only a significant protective variable at the secondary level with respect to its net effects. This indicates that primary education alone may be insufficient to protect girls from child marriage in that country once other variables, such as the number of children a woman has and the age gap between partners, are also considered. In Guatemala, the multivariate analysis found that women who had used modern contraception were 28 times more likely to have

been married as children than those who had never used contraception, indicating that contraceptive methods might be more accessible to those who are in union than those who are not.

## IX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The descriptive and multivariate analyses of data from the Demographic and Health Surveys related to child marriage allow for a clearer picture of who is married as a child: Girls married before they turn 18 are less educated, have more children and are married to men who are significantly older. Women who married as girls are more likely to experience domestic violence and believe that in some cases a man is justified in beating his wife. Significant percentages of women who were married before 18 are in polygynous unions, and their partners are likely to be significantly older and more highly educated. In most countries, women who use traditional or folkloric contraception are more likely to have married before the age of 18 than those who used modern contraception when they are trying to avoid pregnancy. At the descriptive level, they are more likely to come from poor families and from rural areas.

The more education a girl receives, the less likely she is to marry as a child. Improving access to education for both girls and boys and eliminating gender gaps in education are important strategies in ending the practice of child marriage. Legislative, programmatic and advocacy efforts to make educa-



tion free and compulsory, as well as to expand Education for All programming beyond the primary level, are indicated by the strong significance of educational attainment in terms of reducing the number of girls who are married. Increasing the level of compulsory education may be one tactic to prolong the period of time when a girl is unavailable for marriage. It is also important to capitalize on the window of opportunity created by the increasing gap in time between the onset of puberty and the time of marriage by providing substantive skills-enhancing programmes and opportunities. There is a need to develop methods to protect girls at risk of child marriage and to address the concerns of girls and women who are already married by ensuring the fulfilment of their right to a full education and providing them with life skills-based training to ensure that they can earn a livelihood.

Efforts are also required to protect girls who are in union. Decreasing the pressure on young women to conceive through education and advocacy on the dangers of early motherhood should be considered. Similar consideration should be given to ways to improve access to effective contraceptive methods. Services for survivors of domestic violence should be accessible. Outreach efforts should consider

targeting women who were married before age 18 as potentially in need of assistance.

Mapping child marriage levels within countries may be a useful practice for programmatic purposes when determining where to launch new prevention campaigns. It can also be used to track future progress by comparing child marriage levels at different points in time.

The study of violence and women's status, autonomy and empowerment is limited by the number of surveys that include the women's empowerment module and the domestic violence module. Advocacy efforts to include these modules in upcoming surveys would significantly increase the amount of information available, and would contribute to the fulfilment of commitments in the Beijing Platform for Action and other human rights documents related to the need for greater empirical data on the status of women. Further data collection and research is required to explore the impact of child marriage on boys and men. The demand-and-supply relationship of child marriage should be qualitatively explored to illuminate dynamics, such as the reasons why households marry their children and why men prefer younger brides, in order to inform programming strategies.

## REFERENCES

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- 12 Bhattacharya, G., op. cit.
- 13 Bhattacharya, G., op. cit.
- 14 For more information about the Demographic and Health Surveys refer to <[www.measuredhs.com](http://www.measuredhs.com)>.
- 15 Egypt, India and Nepal consider only ever-married women. Some surveys do not collect data on certain variables included in the analysis. Data are presented in the Statistical Tables.
- 16 UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, op. cit.
- 17 The multivariate analysis, in which the net effect of place of residence on child marriage is assessed, demonstrates that this is true only in a number of countries (see also page 5).
- 18 Figure 3 illustrates how the importance of wealth inequality to the risk of being married changes as the national prevalence of child marriage changes. Each scatter plot (dot) indicates the cross-reference between the national prevalence of child marriage and the ratio of the proportion of women from the richest and poorest quintiles who were married by age 18 for a given country. As the dots approach a ratio of 1, greater similarity in child marriage rates between the richest and poorest quintiles is observed. Dots below the line of 1 indicate that women from the poorest quintile were more likely to be married as girls than those from the richest, and dots above the line of 1 indicate the opposite. A ratio of 1 indicates that an equal proportion of women from both the poorest 20 per cent and the wealthiest 20 per cent in a given country were married before age 18.
- 19 As the region with the greatest proportion of countries where survey data is available, Africa is depicted to illustrate differences in disparities among countries.
- 20 UNICEF, 'Girls' Education: Introduction', website update as of November 2004, <[www.unicef.org/girlseducation/index.html](http://www.unicef.org/girlseducation/index.html)>.
- 21 Bolivia, Central African Republic, Colombia, Gabon, Indonesia, Peru and the Philippines.
- 22 The age cohort analysis at the descriptive level is often used to describe changes over time in the prevalence of early marriage.
- 23 For a more thorough treatment of unmet contraceptive need, see publications from the Population Council, <[www.popcouncil.org](http://www.popcouncil.org)>.
- 24 It is important to clarify that many of the background characteristics analysed were measured at the moment of the survey, while the child marriage event refers to the time when the woman initiated her first union. Those cases classified as child marriage are at ages before 18.
- 25 The four countries are Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mozambique and Nigeria.
- 26 The six countries are Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Gabon and Kazakhstan.
- 27 These countries are Cambodia, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Haiti, Kyrgyzstan, Malawi, Mali, Rwanda and Turkmenistan.
- 28 The 12 countries are Cambodia, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, India, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, South Africa, Turkmenistan, Viet Nam and Yemen.
- 29 Central African Republic, Chad, Nepal and Uganda.
- 30 Benin, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Nepal, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Uganda and Yemen.
- 31 Chad, Gabon, Namibia, Nigeria, Uganda and Yemen.
- 32 Jenson, R. and R. Thornton, op. cit.
- 33 Bruce, J., C. Lloyd and A. Leonard, *Families in Focus: New perspectives on mothers, fathers, and children*, Population Council, New York, 1995.
- 34 Reasons that justify a husband beating his wife included: going out without telling him, neglecting the children, arguing with him, refusing sex, burning the food or unfaithfulness. An affirmative answer on any of these circumstances was considered as indicating that there are circumstances where it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife.
- 35 Kishor, S. and K. Johnson, *Profiling Domestic Violence: A multi-country study*, ORC Macro, Maryland, June 2004.

# STATISTICAL TABLES

**TABLE 1: Percentage and number of women married by ages 15 and 18**

Country	Year	Proportion of women married by exact age of 15							Proportion of women married by exact age of 18					
		Aged 15–19	Aged 20–24	Aged 25–29	Aged 30–34	Aged 35–39	Aged 40–44	Aged 45–49	Aged 20–24	Aged 25–29	Aged 30–34	Aged 35–39	Aged 40–44	Aged 45–49
Bangladesh	1999	27.3	38.2	45.4	50.8	56.4	65.1	69.2	65.3	74.8	80.8	85.6	89.4	90.4
Benin	2001	5	7.5	11.8	13.3	10.6	13.8	10.1	36.7	39.8	42.8	42.1	43.6	41.2
Bolivia	1998	2.6	2.6	5.6	5.3	5.1	5	4.4	21.2	25.2	24	25.4	22.1	20.8
Brazil	1996	4.3	4.4	4.4	3.9	3.9	3.4	4.7	23.7	24.7	23.3	22.6	21	20.5
Burkina Faso	1999	6.3	8	7.7	8.8	6.1	10.5	6.9	62.3	60.3	64.8	63.5	64	64.5
Cambodia	2000	1.1	3.3	3.6	3.5	1.9	3.7	2.7	24.8	27.5	25.6	29.1	22.8	37.3
Cameroon	1998	11	14.8	20.6	22.8	20.5	24.9	32.3	43.4	49.7	56.8	55.9	60.8	67.3
Central African Republic	1995	16.1	19.6	21.9	21.5	19.8	26.2	23.5	57	55.7	57	52.9	64.6	56
Chad	1997	18.6	28.6	36.4	35.2	34.1	39.2	39	71.4	72.5	71.1	72.1	77.9	74.7
Colombia	2000	3.8	4.1	3.7	3.4	5.7	5.7	6.2	21.4	23	18.7	22.9	24.4	26.2
Comoros	1996	5	9.2	13.1	21.7	15.5	17.8	22.5	29.7	33.9	47.4	48.4	54.5	55.5
Côte d'Ivoire	1998	7.4	9.5	12.6	17.2	14.3	16.6	18.1	33.2	37.4	46.1	44.1	49.7	44.9
Dominican Republic	2002	10.4	12.5	12.8	12	13.8	12.9	14.6	41.2	40.2	39.8	38.5	40.7	43.2
Egypt	2000	1.3	3.9	8.2	10.1	12.2	12.2	16.7	19.5	25	34.6	41.4	43	48.7
Eritrea	2002	8.5	19.6	16.2	20.9	19.1	21.4	24.6	47	46.4	51.8	44.2	47.4	53.5
Ethiopia	2000	14.4	19.1	24.5	30.6	35.1	33.4	34.2	49.1	56.7	74	73.4	79.4	77.7
Gabon	2000	6.6	10.8	9.8	11.9	15.4	16.1	20.8	33.6	33.7	34.7	39.2	41	50.2
Ghana	2003	2.5	5.9	7.6	10.2	9.3	10.6	10	27.9	31.3	40.5	34.9	37.7	33.1
Guatemala	1999	6.8	9.3	8.7	10.7	13.2	10	9.8	34.3	36.7	38.4	39.6	40.1	33.6
Guinea	1999	20.2	27.5	28.6	27.5	21.2	29.1	31	64.5	67	69.7	60.9	68.5	70.3
Haiti	2000	4.7	5.3	6.4	5.5	6.6	5.3	4.3	24.1	30.8	25	31.6	26	24.3
India	1999	10.2	16.2	20.3	21.5	23.1	24.3	25.7	46.2	54.7	59.8	61.4	63.1	64.7
Indonesia	2002	2.8	4.7	7.2	10.1	12.7	17	20.4	24.2	29	32.1	41.7	46.8	51.2
Kazakhstan	1999	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.7	14.4	9.6	6.6	6.1	7.7	8.4
Kenya	2003	3.5	3.8	6.2	8.8	9.2	10.6	12.6	24.6	28	32.1	30.9	37.2	42.1
Kyrgyzstan	1997	0.3	0.1	0	0	0.5	0	0.9	21.2	11.6	10.4	10.7	15.7	17.7
Madagascar	1997	11.5	12.5	13.5	13.9	13.1	15.1	16.1	40.4	40.3	40.4	47.3	49.5	51.6
Malawi	2000	5.6	10.2	12.9	17	15.2	18.9	15.4	46.9	48.5	53.9	54.3	55.7	51.9
Mali	2001	19.4	24.5	24	27.6	24.3	26.5	24.1	65.4	62.8	68.4	66.1	66	65.3
Mauritania	2001	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	37.2	43.6	57.1	59	63.5	58.8
Mozambique	1997	14.3	21.5	21.3	21.2	24.4	21.6	27	56.6	59.1	55.6	64.3	59.9	58.7
Namibia	2000	1.7	2.2	1.9	2.7	2.6	4.9	4.3	9.8	9.7	11.7	11.5	15.8	11.2
Nepal	2001	9.1	14.1	16.9	17.5	21.4	25.6	28.8	56.1	62.8	65.5	67.6	69.8	72.2
Nicaragua	2000	9.4	13.3	15.7	12.9	16	16.6	14	43.3	48.7	47.4	49.9	50.1	45.6
Niger	1998	27.3	35.1	42.6	46.6	49	50.8	47.3	76.6	82	86.4	90.2	89.1	87.7
Nigeria	2003	16.1	18.8	25.5	34.4	38	41.8	43.5	43.3	47	61.3	63.7	65.1	70.6
Peru	2000	2.1	3.4	3.6	4.8	4.5	5.7	4.2	18.7	21.9	22.7	25.3	23.3	24.6
Philippines	1998	1.3	2	2.4	3.2	2.7	3.3	4	14.6	14.4	18	16.3	20.2	18.7
Rwanda	2001	0.3	2.1	1.8	2.8	2.6	3.4	3.6	19.5	16.8	19.7	20.6	21.5	24.1
Senegal	1997	8.2	11	13.7	16.7	16.3	20.4	17.8	36.1	45.4	55.7	58.2	61.9	64.4
South Africa	1998	0.4	1.1	2.5	2.9	5	3.1	2.8	7.9	11	14.2	16.9	15.1	13.2
Tanzania, United Republic of	1999	3.9	6.4	9.7	9.9	14.3	22.1	18.2	39.3	42.4	44.9	49.8	61.2	57.5
Togo	1998	3.8	8.3	11.3	10.8	9.3	9.8	10.9	30.5	40.4	40.6	38.2	40.4	40.5
Turkmenistan	2001	0.1	0	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.3	0.6	9.1	6.5	4.4	4.8	9	16.8
Uganda	2000	6.6	15.2	15.5	16.8	17.1	21	22.2	53.9	49.9	52.6	52.3	59.5	55.8
Viet Nam	2002	0.3	0.7	1.6	0.9	1	0.7	1.2	11.1	17.1	12.1	14.6	12.2	11.6
Yemen	1997	6.2	14	23.9	29.5	29.8	30.8	33.7	48.4	64.3	71	75.1	74.8	77.7
Zambia	2002	4.9	7.8	8.4	10.3	15.4	18	24.6	42.1	45.3	48.4	56.8	59.7	63.7
Zimbabwe	1999	1.7	4.6	6.5	5.9	8.7	11.4	8.8	28.7	30.1	28	40.5	39.4	37.1

– Indicates data are not available.

**TABLE 2: Percentage of women aged 20–24 married by the exact age of 18**

Country	Year	Total	Urban	Rural	No education	Primary education	Secondary Education	Higher education	Poorest 20%	Richest 20%	Monogamous	Polygynous	0 children	1-2 children	3-4 children	5+ children
Bangladesh	1999	65.3	43.6	72.1	86.2	78.2	52.6	10	86.8	40.3	–	–	13.8	83.3	100	100
Benin	2001	36.7	25.2	45	45.8	28.8	8.7	0	55	12.3	46.5	53.3	5.8	44.2	88.5	86.2
Bolivia	1998	21.2	16.8	35.1	31.8	37.9	20.1	1	41.9	8.7	–	–	1.3	27.9	72.1	96
Brazil	1996	23.7	22.2	30.1	61.9	33.2	20.8	3.7	36.4	11.1	–	–	3.2	39.6	73.7	90.9
Burkina Faso	1999	62.3	32	69.9	70.2	41.1	12.1	0	71.9	39.6	680	71.3	17.3	65.3	89.6	100
Cambodia	2000	24.8	18.8	26.1	28.9	25.1	19.7	0	32.4	14.5	–	–	1	50.8	83.1	100
Cameroon	1998	53.4	30.2	51.3	80.9	46.4	22.8	21.5	63.9	23.9	55.1	75.3	15	46.8	84.7	100
Central African Republic	1995	57	54.2	59.2	59.2	60.9	44.4	43.8	55.1	52.2	70.2	70.3	28	56.6	89.6	94.5
Chad	1997	71.4	64.7	73.6	76.1	66.2	36.4	0	75.5	66.3	77.2	77.9	25.4	71.6	96	100
Colombia	2000	21.4	18.4	33.7	33.2	44.1	19.7	2.2	36.6	9.7	–	–	1.4	35.4	72.2	86.8
Comoros	1996	29.7	22.5	33	36.4	34.6	17.3	0	31.8	12	61.1	60	4.4	53.8	90	100
Côte d'Ivoire	1998	33.2	23.5	43	43.5	33.1	10.8	0	47.6	14.6	48.4	53	7.8	36.2	72	89.9
Dominican Republic	2002	41.2	37.2	50.8	79.4	71.9	33.3	6.5	69.6	16	–	–	5.9	57.6	92	97.3
Egypt	2000	19.5	11.3	26.5	41.4	35.3	12.7	0.8	31.6	6.7	–	–	1.9	36.1	87.6	100
Eritrea	2002	47	30.5	59.8	64.1	53.3	12.9	0	46.4	20.6	63.7	63.9	17.8	64.1	91.7	100
Ethiopia	2000	49.1	31.8	53.2	55.4	43.9	20.1	25.7	51.7	34.4	68	54.1	14	63.8	92	89.9
Gabon	2000	33.6	30.3	48.6	41.1	44.7	28.4	11.5	46.5	25.6	53.9	57.7	13	34.9	66.6	65.3
Ghana	2003	27.9	18	38.9	49.4	37.6	19	3.9	42	8.1	45.2	63.8	5.4	45.1	84.3	100
Guatemala	1999	34.3	24.7	43.9	54.8	40.3	13.1	1.3	56.2	12.9	–	–	2.8	35.9	38.9	97.7
Guinea	1999	64.5	46.2	75.3	72	53.9	26.1	23.6	82.8	40.3	75.3	79.2	19.6	71.3	94.2	100
Haiti	2000	24.1	17.8	30.7	37.9	32.2	11.7	2.5	26.5	13.6	37.9	45.9	3.8	39.1	73.6	78.7
India	1999	46.2	25.6	54.5	71.5	55.2	30.5	5.4	74.1	15.5	–	–	12.3	59.7	91.5	100
Indonesia	2002	24.2	14.8	33.4	27.1	43.7	14.9	0.2	34.9	8.4	–	–	2.8	46.6	86	100
Kazakhstan	1999	14.4	12.4	16.7	69.4	–	17.9	1.6	16.1	13.6	–	–	1.7	26.4	72.3	–
Kenya	2003	24.6	18.6	27.4	56.3	30.8	8.8	1.2	44.3	17.2	36	52.1	0.7	27.4	69	93.7
Kyrgyzstan	1997	21.2	18.6	22.3	–	100	23.6	6.7	37.4	17.4	–	–	2.5	28.8	48.6	–
Madagascar	1997	40.4	31.6	43.9	60.8	41.3	26.7	0	58.4	20.5	53.2	70.1	7.8	37.6	77.2	96.2
Malawi	2000	46.9	32.3	50.4	65.8	51.6	10.7	9.2	52.4	36.4	52.7	57.5	8	45.8	86.4	100
Mali	2001	65.4	45.7	74.3	71.5	63	19.7	11.7	76.8	40.1	75.2	75.2	23	65.6	92.3	96.6
Mozambique	1997	56.6	47	59.7	65.2	55.3	8.3	0	66.9	37.3	64.5	57.6	20.5	57.6	88.4	100
Namibia	2000	9.8	9.1	10.3	31.7	16.6	6.1	0	17.5	7.1	31.5	43.2	3.2	13.9	16.8	–
Nepal	2001	56.1	34.2	59.6	70.6	58.7	34.3	5.1	66.9	33.8	67.8	60.6	14.6	70.8	96.9	100
Nicaragua	2000	43.3	36.4	55.1	69.1	62.5	32.1	6.9	62.7	27.2	–	–	4.8	58.9	92.1	100
Niger	1998	76.6	45.7	85.7	85.5	58.7	22.8	0	87	48.7	86.6	86.6	29.1	79.4	98.3	100
Nigeria	2003	43.3	26.5	52	83.3	49.3	15	1.5	65.8	11.8	63.4	80.5	8.3	58	93.1	93.7
Peru	2000	18.7	12.3	34.9	39.2	42.2	17.4	2	45.4	5	–	–	0.7	32.3	81.8	94.4
Philippines	1998	14.6	10.7	20.4	26.5	36.7	17.3	2.1	3.1	3.4	–	–	0.8	28.2	71.5	100
Rwanda	2001	19.5	20.5	19.2	30	17.9	13.8	0	22.3	17.9	30.3	49.5	0.6	29.8	63.7	100
Senegal	1997	36.1	15.4	53.1	50.4	19.7	4.3	4.9	58.5	13.4	53.5	66.5	5.8	47.2	84.1	100
South Africa	1998	7.9	4.7	12.3	17.6	16.2	7.1	0	11	4.4	31.3	38.8	1.6	10.7	43.1	–
Tanzania, United Republic of	1999	39.3	22.5	47.6	60.5	37.6	3	0	56.2	24.8	–	–	8	44.4	73.9	100
Togo	1998	30.5	16.9	40.8	43.6	29.2	8.2	0	49.3	15.6	44.1	54.7	3.9	40.3	89.4	89.2
Turkmenistan	2001	9.1	12.1	7	0	14.2	9.4	2.1	13.1	6.3	–	–	1	18.7	50.4	100
Uganda	2000	53.9	33.7	58.9	69.1	62.9	21.2	3.6	66.9	37.2	63.5	61.1	7.4	48.9	82.9	100
Viet Nam	2002	11.1	4.8	13	21.4	20.8	7.2	0	20.8	4.2	–	–	0.5	27.1	72.5	–
Yemen	1997	48.4	39.4	52.6	57.3	50.7	26.1	2.1	57.1	35.7	66.4	71.8	12.6	63.6	93.8	98.3
Zambia	2002	42.1	32	49.4	62.5	53.1	20.4	3.1	48.1	21.3	55.2	57.9	6.4	41.8	81.1	87.3
Zimbabwe	1999	28.7	20.6	35.9	86.9	48	18	9	43.5	16.5	34.4	56.2	1.9	36.2	84	100

– Indicates data are not available.

TABLE 2: continued

Country	Husband is younger	Husband is 0-4 years older	Husband is 5-9 years older	Husband is 10-14 years older	Husband is 15+ years older	Husband has less education	Both have no education	Both have same education	Husband has more education	Does not know how to prevent HIV	Knows how to prevent HIV	Never used any contraceptive method	Used folkloric methods only	Used traditional methods only	Used modern methods
Bangladesh	60.6	66	79.5	84.7	85.5	81.4	92.3	67.9	71.9	65.2	62.7	38	100	72.9	82.8
Benin	18.2	36.7	51	58.8	54.7	41.2	59.5	40.7	37	41	33.6	40.3	—	36.8	28.2
Bolivia	25.1	36.9	45.6	50.7	57	38.8	45.5	39.8	41	25.4	16.9	11.1	85.6	35.7	32.5
Brazil	28.5	38.7	47.8	53.8	50.3	48.8	67.7	42.5	43.6	44.3	22.8	5	64.3	24.2	33.2
Burkina Faso	0	60.6	68.5	58.4	72.9	50.9	74.2	32.9	39.4	62.3	57	66.6	—	65.1	40.8
Cambodia	13.6	37.8	59.4	62.1	61.2	37.2	52	43.1	43.1	21.4	24.7	19.6	—	51.5	60
Cameroon	20.6	52.8	55	67	72.3	62.2	80.1	48.3	44.4	47.4	37.5	62.5	47	27.4	36.3
Central African Republic	66.1	65.9	70.8	71.1	84.1	63.8	73.4	72.5	70.5	51.9	57.2	54.5	73.9	63.1	54.3
Chad	50	67.9	78.3	80.1	82.5	72.4	80.6	71.7	67.3	63.9	68.4	71.4	79.3	73.4	67.8
Colombia	24.7	39.7	44.4	45.7	60.1	42.1	0	39.5	54.1	24.5	20.9	3.9	38.2	13.2	28.8
Comoros	60	58.7	58.8	67.3	62.5	60	62.1	48.7	62.5	36.7	28.4	21.1	33.3	56.7	54.9
Côte d'Ivoire	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21.7	32.8	43.2	45.8	23.8	31.9	—
Dominican Republic	44.8	54.5	65.4	68.8	60.7	50.3	81.8	64	62.8	52.3	40.5	13.1	54.8	19.3	57.6
Egypt	6.4	27.2	33.5	46.3	52	35	58.9	22.3	37.8	—	—	8.5	—	56.5	43.3
Eritrea	96.7	48.6	65.1	61.5	71.3	60	66.6	57.7	49.9	52.3	46.7	44.7	100	54.9	60.7
Ethiopia	0.4	54.2	71.2	73	74.4	74.5	70.4	61.4	58.9	45.8	49.1	46.5	96.6	46.7	69.1
Gabon	47.8	56.8	51.6	57.3	54.9	59.4	47.8	58.8	50.5	44.9	31.2	39.3	32.9	38.6	31.5
Ghana	18.8	42.5	50	49	66	46.9	56.2	37.8	52.7	35.6	25.7	23.8	86.3	23.5	33.2
Guatemala	16.6	47	66.5	69.8	40.3	42.9	69	43.9	50.9	—	—	30.4	—	60.9	40.5
Guinea	—	64.1	78.9	76.5	78.8	73.5	80.7	64	60.5	78.5	62.5	66.5	51.3	62.5	50.1
Haiti	41.4	33.8	42.7	46.5	49.2	27.6	50.1	41.4	44.9	27.7	18.8	16.1	100	24.1	38.7
India	56.7	52.6	60.7	66.4	74.7	51	79.7	36.7	49.6	10	37	40.4	—	52.8	63.6
Indonesia	5.1	32.8	47.2	52.7	57.6	35.6	46.1	41.2	43.8	41.9	28.5	5.2	98.9	47.7	47.8
Kazakhstan	17.1	20.7	27.6	38.2	14.8	5.3	—	25.5	25.7	0	13.5	2	—	18.8	26.5
Kenya	13.2	29.7	39.3	44.5	58.6	28.8	68.9	36.1	34.2	33.4	23	22.4	32	15.3	29.9
Kyrgyzstan	11.5	23.2	36.3	32.7	57.5	8.8	—	27.9	18.5	—	—	0.4	—	36.1	31.4
Madagascar	28.8	47.8	61.7	59.8	63.7	56.9	71.6	46.4	55.5	48.1	39.6	42.8	—	27.2	41.2
Malawi	24.8	45.2	59.7	63	74.5	53.1	67.6	50.1	47	49.6	46.7	41.3	49.8	56.7	53.7
Mali	61.9	65.3	73.6	79.3	76.8	68.6	77.9	67.7	50.9	75.1	60.4	68.8	58.8	28.7	57.1
Mozambique	38.7	58.9	59.2	71.8	71.5	52.7	57.2	61	49.6	57.8	50.8	59	72.2	3.4	38.8
Namibia	12.8	25.8	44	31.9	43	25.2	65.1	27.3	45.2	13.5	9	5.5	0	1.1	12
Nepal	45	66.9	72.7	68.7	59.9	66.4	77.3	51.2	59.9	63.30	56.10	49.3	—	56.5	70.3
Nicaragua	47	57.7	72.1	73.5	64.2	55.7	85.2	61.3	58.9	62.8	41.4	15.3	—	35.2	59.6
Niger	100	85.6	86	88.3	85.7	75.7	90.7	65.4	46.8	84.7	60.6	76	90	55.6	73.3
Nigeria	88.8	43.3	68.8	69.7	75.4	47.9	87.5	41.7	55.7	38.8	36.1	51.1	65.7	25.2	21.7
Peru	10	34.3	51.2	51.3	47.4	26	34.3	39.4	44.4	40.1	13.8	5.2	55.2	20.6	32.3
Philippines	8.1	28.3	47.6	35.1	40.2	25.4	39.3	34.8	36.7	—	—	6.2	61.9	33.4	39.4
Rwanda	7.2	27.9	34.2	44	38.6	38.7	45.8	26.5	38.7	10.1	19.3	16.7	—	31.8	37.4
Senegal	—	—	—	—	—	37.8	68.4	34.2	40	48.8	30.6	34.9	79	38.9	30.2
South Africa	41.1	31.5	28.9	42.3	24.3	32.1	41.2	29.1	40.8	19.5	7.5	7.3	0	21.6	8
Tanzania, United Republic of	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	57.1	38	39.5	0	52.3	35.8
Togo	22.7	42.6	50.1	50.1	46.6	47.6	58.1	41.3	41.8	36.3	25.1	33.8	15.5	36.6	20.9
Turkmenistan	3.8	13.3	49.4	41.1	23.2	0	—	20.1	12.4	4.4	8.3	1.3	23	38.9	23
Uganda	50.8	60.2	67.2	61.8	59.9	46.9	78.1	63.8	61.3	63.9	52.6	55.6	66.6	55.3	51.1
Viet Nam	8.3	19.8	29.5	44.5	10.2	10.9	7.2	22.3	31.3	11.2	22.4	1.8	—	16.1	32.1
Yemen	35.3	61.5	71.6	78.7	68.8	64.9	73.5	58.2	59.6	—	—	40.7	0	75	70.6
Zambia	55.5	47.7	61	51.5	64.8	46.6	72.9	51.6	59.4	47.3	41.6	28.8	68.2	50.4	54.2
Zimbabwe	42.7	28.2	40.1	48.5	49.8	41.4	100	34	49.6	44.4	26	11.2	46.5	43.2	38



**TABLE 3: Girls aged 15–19 currently in union**

Country	Year	Total	Urban	Rural	No education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education	Poorest 20%	Second quintile	Middle quintile	Fourth quintile
Bangladesh	1999	46.6	28	53.2	64.6	57.6	36.5	15.9	61.8	55.1	52.8	44.6
Benin	2001	23.3	13.4	32.1	36.9	14.8	3.9	0.9	43.2	34.6	34.3	16.2
Bolivia	1998	10.5	7.8	18.9	46.4	23.3	6.9	0	22.8	18.5	12.5	7.2
Brazil	1996	13.8	12.2	20.6	52.5	22.6	10.5	0	27.5	14.8	11.8	10
Burkina Faso	1999	33.8	14.2	39.2	39.2	22.3	6.4	–	42	41.9	30.8	37.4
Cambodia	2000	12.1	8.7	13	18.7	11.5	8.5	0	14.3	12.1	14.1	12.7
Cameroon	1998	33.6	21.7	41.1	64.4	36	18.6	22	53.5	39.9	38.9	25.8
Central African Republic	1995	39	33.7	44	47.6	33.5	33.5	–	39.9	47.7	42	37.6
Chad	1997	46.7	42.9	47.8	51.7	39.9	19.3	–	34.6	46.8	52.6	49.6
Colombia	2000	14.4	12	22.1	45.5	25.7	11.7	2.1	25.7	22.6	16.2	6.2
Comoros	1996	10.2	9.8	10.4	15.4	9.3	4	–	12.6	16.9	9.2	8.9
Côte d'Ivoire	1998	23.9	15.1	31.2	33.6	18.8	4.9	0	41.8	37.8	30.8	19.2
Dominican Republic	2002	22.4	19.9	27.7	62.2	32.7	13.9	10.3	41	29.7	25.3	13.8
Egypt	2000	11.6	6.8	15.4	23.4	23	7.8	1.3	12.8	15.6	12.8	11.8
Eritrea	2002	29	9.9	45.1	60.6	27.2	9.1	0	37.9	43.5	49.1	20.2
Ethiopia	2000	23.2	9.8	27	30.4	12.4	11.1	–	20	29.3	31.8	26.9
Gabon	2000	18.1	16.5	25.8	48.8	19.9	15.8	0	25.9	28.2	12.9	21.5
Ghana	2003	12	6.2	18.9	32	15.8	6.7	0	25.1	20.2	13.1	8
Guatemala	1999	23.8	19.6	26.7	42.1	30	8.4	0	38.5	34.9	27.5	17.1
Guinea	1999	43.9	28.4	54.8	55.1	22.9	13.2	0	57.3	63.9	50.4	41.2
Haiti	2000	16.1	13	19.2	42.6	15.4	11.3	–	18.5	17.4	21.1	18.6
India	1999	33.8	17.3	40.4	60.2	38.5	20.3	7.1	51.9	51.3	38.5	25.7
Indonesia	2002	14	10.2	17.4	14.6	26.8	9.7	0.4	16.3	19.4	13.6	14.2
Kazakhstan	1999	8	7.9	8.1	0	0	8.5	4.4	10.3	9.1	7.7	6.4
Kenya	2003	17.9	19.7	17.5	49.7	19.1	5.1	0	23.3	18.6	14.2	16.3
Kyrgyzstan	1997	12.3	8.1	14.1	0	34.3	12.7	8.8	13.3	12	12.4	17.9
Madagascar	1997	27.9	17.9	32	48.3	25.9	15.3	0	40.3	40.9	29.4	22.6
Malawi	2000	32.6	64.7	81.8	87.1	84.4	49.2	18.3	85.8	77.8	81.9	79.1
Mali	2001	45.9	30.9	56.5	54.2	34.2	14.6	6.8	58.1	59.3	63	44.5
Mozambique	1997	45	24.9	52.7	58.5	41.9	9.7	0	66	49.3	43.7	45
Namibia	2000	5	4.3	5.3	21.8	7.1	2.3	–	9.1	3.5	4.2	7.4
Nepal	2001	39.8	15.8	43.5	58	39.7	23	13.4	52.7	45.5	47.2	40.7
Nicaragua	2000	22.3	17.9	29.4	45.2	27.8	16	5	35.8	27.6	22.7	18.2
Niger	1998	59.9	23.9	70.3	68.6	40.3	7.6	–	62.7	73.5	72.1	61.5
Nigeria	2003	31.7	18.9	38.3	77.4	27.6	6.8	3	46.7	43.3	37.4	27.2
Peru	2000	10.3	6.7	18.6	32	22.3	7.4	1.1	23.5	16.6	8.5	7.9
Philippines	1998	8.4	5.4	12.5	30.9	18.9	6.7	4.1	21.7	15.5	7.6	5.1
Rwanda	2001	6.6	4.9	7	13	5.7	3.7	–	7.5	7.5	9.2	5.4
Senegal	1997	27.8	12.2	41.2	40.9	14.3	6	0	51.6	43.5	28.7	18.1
South Africa	1998	3.2	1.3	5.4	9.4	5	2.8	0	3.8	6.1	3.8	1.6
Tanzania, United Republic of	1999	25	17.5	27.3	43.8	20.8	9.7	–	29.4	27.3	29.1	23.6
Togo	1998	19.1	9.5	26.6	39.2	14.5	4.1	0	40.6	28.5	24.1	15
Turkmenistan	2001	5.3	5.2	5.3	0	7.4	5.3	0	4.8	6.6	4.7	6
Uganda	2000	28.9	17.7	31.6	61.4	30.3	12.7	23.4	47.1	41.2	29.1	19.7
Viet Nam	2002	4.1	1.5	4.8	7.7	11.5	2.7	–	5.6	6.7	4.9	1.8
Yemen	1997	25.7	17.1	29.4	35	22.4	12	13.6	36.9	28.2	27.9	25.6
Zambia	2002	24.2	17.7	28.9	45.7	28.3	12	0	32.7	32.1	28.3	24.4
Zimbabwe	1999	21.7	18.4	23.5	39.9	3.8	16	0	28.3	20.1	22.8	24.4

– Indicates data are not available.

TABLE 3: continued

Country	Richest 20%	0 children	1-2 children	3-4 children	5+ children	Does not know how to prevent HIV	Knows how to prevent HIV	Never used any contraceptive method	Used folkloric methods only	Used traditional methods only	Used modern methods
Bangladesh	27.3	26.5	98	100	–	39.3	98.8	25.1	100	98.9	98.5
Benin	7.2	11.2	89.3	100	–	26	22.1	21.5	25.2	41.7	21.4
Bolivia	2.4	2.7	69.8	87	–	22.8	6.8	5.5	100	60	55.6
Brazil	6.2	4.8	66.7	93.2	–	17.1	12.9	2.8	100	40.1	43.4
Burkina Faso	21.4	18.9	92.6	100	–	41	33.9	32.5	0	80.6	27.5
Cambodia	9.6	7.4	92.6	100	–	15.5	12	10.7	–	100	88.3
Cameroon	20.5	20.3	72.1	100	–	25.9	30.7	33.5	0	32.9	34.9
Central African Republic	30.6	25.9	72.1	72.8	–	38.1	42.2	33.7	100	68.9	44.5
Chad	46.3	26.3	94.4	100	100	49.9	51.5	45.9	100	75.7	57.2
Colombia	4.9	5.5	64.1	100	–	30	12.9	3.7	58.6	18.4	39
Comoros	4.7	3.8	89.7	100	–	11.1	10.9	8.2	0	66.7	33.3
Côte d'Ivoire	7.4	11.4	61.1	100	–	31.8	23.4	24.1	73.4	19.5	31.3
Dominican Republic	7.7	11.2	68.7	92.7	100	26.4	22	7.6	47.2	59.9	64.2
Egypt	4.3	6.3	99.5	100	–	–	–	8.4	–	100	99.7
Eritrea	6.5	21.6	88.2	100	–	46.7	27.5	27.6	100	88	63.4
Ethiopia	13.5	13.7	88.2	76.9	–	22.1	24.2	21.4	–	89.9	63.7
Gabon	8.9	11.4	36	84.1	–	23.5	16.9	10.2	37.2	24.9	23.4
Ghana	3.5	5.9	65.2	–	–	19.4	9.4	9.1	–	19	24.8
Guatemala	5.5	11.2	83.7	100	100	–	–	19.4	–	98.7	73.8
Guinea	23.9	23.5	86.8	100	–	48.9	43.3	44.7	13.8	40.1	34.3
Haiti	9.8	6.8	74	100	–	17.2	15.3	10.6	–	56.5	46.5
India	10.8	21.9	98.7	100	–	3.2	99	30.6	–	99.1	98.9
Indonesia	6.6	6.9	95.6	100	–	7.2	96.1	6	100	100	97.9
Kazakhstan	6.9	4.5	84.1	–	–	8.8	7.2	4.4	–	65	30.2
Kenya	18.3	7.6	62.9	80.5	–	14.2	17.7	13.9	0	48.2	38.9
Kyrgyzstan	6	6.8	93.2	–	–	–	–	8	–	84.4	73.5
Madagascar	10.3	13.3	59.8	78.3	72.5	24.4	21.2	27.2	51.3	36.4	33.1
Malawi	70.8	41.4	84	93.2	92.1	79.2	78.4	74.9	85.3	88.8	82.3
Mali	26.6	25.8	85.3	100	–	55.4	41.8	45.1	64.5	34.5	55
Mozambique	23.6	29.2	80.9	98.3	–	48.2	39.3	45.7	83.2	15.8	31.2
Namibia	1.2	1.9	22.4	100	–	5.1	4.9	2.3	11.4	9.5	9.7
Nepal	18.9	29.4	99.2	–	–	25.6	98	34.1	–	100	99.5
Nicaragua	12.6	10.1	69.4	71.7	–	34.5	21.5	6.7	–	57	71.1
Niger	31.6	40.2	94.4	95.5	–	57.4	48.9	57.6	94.9	63.4	87.2
Nigeria	10.5	18	82.8	96.9	–	33.6	31.2	32.4	56.5	17.7	27.3
Peru	1.4	3.7	65.3	92.2	–	20.7	7.8	3.4	29.5	40.3	57.3
Philippines	1.9	3.6	90.6	100	–	–	–	5.9	–	95.1	91.5
Rwanda	4.5	3.4	69.4	100	–	8.8	6.6	5.8	–	54.1	29.4
Senegal	10.8	15.8	81.6	91.4	–	37.8	23.5	26.3	93.6	40.2	48
South Africa	0.8	2.4	8.7	35.4	–	2.2	3	1.8	0	10.7	5.4
Tanzania, United Republic of	17.3	14.4	67.3	100	–	28	24.2	21.7	21.1	77.2	38.1
Togo	5.8	8.6	75.8	100	–	25.2	15.4	16.4	37.9	28.5	18
Turkmenistan	4.3	3	88.6	–	–	5.6	6.1	3.3	100	–	90.2
Uganda	15.1	12.4	75.9	91	–	36.6	28	25.9	71.8	69.5	34.6
Viet Nam	1.8	2.5	96.7	–	–	0.5	97.1	3	–	100	88.7
Yemen	15.1	16.8	96.3	91.4	100	–	–	23.1	–	95.9	95.4
Zambia	10.1	10.4	63.2	88.3	–	28.1	24.3	16.3	58.9	67.1	47.5
Zimbabwe	14.5	11	77	100	–	30.2	20.2	12.2	0	94.1	72.3

**TABLE 4: Distribution of girls aged 15–19 in union**

Country	Year	Proportion of girls 15–19 currently in union		No education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education	Poorest 20%	Second quintile	Middle quintile	Fourth quintile	Richest 20%	Monogamous	Polygynous	
		Urban	Rural												
Bangladesh	2000	46.6	15.8	84.2	27.7	34.8	35.2	2.3	22.4	20.7	22.5	19.7	14.8	–	–
Benin	2001	23.3	27.1	72.9	78.9	17.3	3.8	0	25.4	25.6	26	12.9	10.1	70.9	29.1
Bolivia	1998	10.5	56.1	43.9	5.2	49.3	45.6	0	27.6	25.7	23.9	16.4	6.4	–	–
Brazil	1996	13.8	71.8	28.2	5.2	38.4	56.4	0	36.3	21.7	19.3	13.5	9.2	–	–
Burkina Faso	1999	33.8	9	91	88.8	9.5	1.7	0	22.7	25.6	15.1	19.7	16.9	61.1	38.9
Cambodia	2000	12.1	15	85	29.1	54	17	0	16.7	14.8	20.5	23	25	–	–
Cameroon	1998	33.6	25	75	32.1	44.9	22.8	0.2	24.1	20	22.6	17.5	15.7	77.2	22.8
Central African Republic	1995	39	42	58	47.7	39.8	12.4	0	18.2	21.3	21.4	20.8	18.3	78.7	21.3
Chad	1997	46.7	21.3	78.7	72.8	25.3	1.9	0	9.7	30	20.9	19.6	19.8	79.4	20.6
Colombia	2000	14.4	63.7	36.3	1.8	37.9	59.6	0.8	29	31	23	9.6	7.3	–	–
Comoros	1996	10.2	29.1	70.9	50	41.9	8.1	0	20.9	32.6	16.3	19.8	10.5	90.7	9.3
Côte d'Ivoire	1998	23.9	28.6	71.4	72	24.5	3.6	0	23.5	28.4	22	16.8	9.4	76.5	23.5
Dominican Republic	2002	22.4	60.6	39.4	3	63	31.4	2.5	30.5	25.5	23.2	13	7.7	–	–
Egypt	2000	11.6	25.7	74.3	37.4	19.5	42	1	21.9	27.3	23.3	20.4	7	–	–
Eritrea	2002	29	15.7	84.3	44.4	46.7	8.9	0	19.5	27.2	31.9	15.6	5.8	96.4	3.6
Ethiopia	2000	23.2	9.2	90.8	79.9	14.1	6	0	14.8	20.9	25	22.8	16.5	95.5	4.5
Gabon	2000	18.1	75.9	24.1	7.4	38.8	53.8	0	19.3	27.6	14.6	25.3	13.2	84.2	15.8
Ghana	2003	12	28.4	71.6	32.9	30.9	36.2	0	30.4	24.9	21.1	15.3	8.3	90.1	9.9
Guatemala	1999	23.8	34.5	65.5	22.6	64.9	12.5	0	25.7	27.2	27.1	15.2	4.9	–	–
Guinea	1999	43.9	26.8	73.2	86	10.7	3.3	0	21.3	23.4	19.7	19.2	16.3	69.6	30.4
Haiti	2000	16.1	40.8	59.2	19.6	57	23.4	0	17	16.9	20.4	27	18.7	59.9	40.1
India	1999	33.8	14.7	85.3	53.2	18.7	25.8	2.3	23.5	27.8	24	17.5	7.2	–	–
Indonesia	2002	14	34.9	65.1	1.6	51	47.3	0.1	28.3	28.4	16.4	16.4	10.5	–	–
Kazakhstan	1999	8	51.1	48.9	0	0	93.8	6.2	25.9	19.4	19.6	17.4	17.7	–	–
Kenya	2003	17.9	23	77	18.9	74.8	6.3	0	22.1	20.2	16.2	19.6	21.9	90.2	9.8
Kyrgyzstan	1997	12.3	20.1	79.9	0	0.6	91.7	7.6	20.5	20.5	19.6	21.2	28.6	–	–
Madagascar	1997	27.9	18.7	81.3	36.4	50.2	13.4	0	28.3	30	17.3	15.4	9.1	95.6	4.4
Malawi	2000	32.6	13.6	86.4	13.8	80	6.3	0	20.5	18.7	16.5	22.7	21.5	92.6	7.4
Mali	2001	45.9	27.9	72.1	85.5	10.2	4.3	0.1	19	19.6	22.9	19.1	19.3	77.8	22.2
Mozambique	1997	45	15.4	84.6	36.9	62	1.1	0	27.5	11.8	23.3	22.4	15	80.7	19.3
Namibia	2000	5	27.6	72.4	15.9	57.4	26.7	0	34.7	14.8	19.4	26.6	4.6	68.3	31.7
Nepal	2001	39.8	5.3	94.7	52.4	25.8	21.3	0.4	23.8	21	22.4	21.7	11.2	98.4	1.6
Nicaragua	2000	22.3	49.6	50.4	12.8	50	36.6	0.6	24.4	22.5	22.4	17.8	12.8	–	–
Niger	1998	59.9	8.9	91.1	89.6	9.4	1	0	14.1	33.3	22.8	17.6	12.3	78.8	21.2
Nigeria	2003	31.7	20.1	79.9	71.3	18.2	10.4	0.1	23.2	23.8	25.8	20.1	7.1	72.5	27.5
Peru	2000	10.3	45.1	54.9	3.2	43.7	52.5	0.6	33	29	17.3	17.3	3.3	–	–
Philippines	1998	8.4	37.6	62.4	2	36.4	53.6	8	33.9	27.8	18.6	13	6.9	–	–
Rwanda	2001	6.6	15.5	84.5	27.5	67.6	4.9	0	13.3	25.3	25.7	17.3	18.4	93.3	6.7
Senegal	1997	27.8	20.2	79.8	81	16	3	0	28.3	26.9	20	15	9.7	75	25
South Africa	1998	3.2	21.9	78.1	2.5	30.8	66.7	0	23.5	37.2	24	10.8	4.6	77.7	22.3
Tanzania, United Republic of	1999	25	16.8	83.2	36.4	61.6	2	0	18.3	18.3	27.4	20.2	15.8	–	–
Togo	1998	19.1	21.7	78.3	58.5	36.4	5	0	29.9	21.9	20.6	17.8	9.9	77	23
Turkmenistan	2001	5.3	41.1	58.9	0	1.2	98.8	0	17	23.2	17.2	25	17.6	–	–
Uganda	2000	28.9	11.9	88.1	19.4	69.4	10.6	0.5	29.8	25.3	17.4	13.1	14.4	79.4	20.6
Viet Nam	2002	4.1	7.7	92.3	5.7	41.6	52.7	0	24.3	34.2	23.8	9.3	8.4	–	–
Yemen	1997	25.7	20.3	79.7	64.1	24	11.7	0.2	22.3	20.6	21	21.4	14.6	96.7	3.3
Zambia	2002	24.2	30.8	69.2	15.2	68	16.8	0	22.6	21.7	22.9	22.1	10.7	29.3	70.7
Zimbabwe	1999	21.7	29.8	70.2	2.4	47.9	49.7	0	22.1	17.2	21.5	24.1	15.1	85.7	14.3

– Indicates data are not available.

TABLE 4: continued

Country	0 children	1-2 children	3-4 children	5+ children	Husband is younger	Husband is 0-4 years older	Husband is 5-9 years older	Husband is 10-14 years older	Husband is 15+ years older	Husband has less education	Both have no education	Both have same education	Husband has more education	Does not know how to prevent HIV	Knows how to prevent HIV	Never used any contraceptive method	Used folkloric methods only	Used traditional methods only	Used modern methods
Bangladesh	40.9	58.5	0.7	0	0	9.9	42.5	33.7	13.9	27.3	17.9	30.6	13	14.1	47.2	38.1	0.3	6	54.9
Benin	40.8	57.3	1.9	0	0.3	20.4	46.3	19.6	13.3	6.2	50.3	6.5	5.8	20.5	56.1	74.3	0.4	16	9.3
Bolivia	23	71.9	5.1	0	2.3	50.3	34.4	7.7	5.3	5.7	0.6	63	25.4	16.1	60.2	47	0.7	27.3	25
Brazil	30.1	67.6	2.3	0	1.5	35.8	44.1	11.2	7.4	21.3	1.9	60.5	10.5	2.4	84.6	14.9	0.5	4.4	80.2
Burkina Faso	44.7	53.8	1.4	0	0	9.5	12.7	12.7	65	7.7	79.6	2.3	0.8	12.2	64.7	82.9	0	9.1	8
Cambodia	57.5	42.1	0.4	0	2.2	46.2	33.5	13.3	4.7	5.5	10.5	42.7	21.8	2.9	77.7	87.2	0	2.3	10.5
Cameroon	45.4	51.8	2.9	0	0.8	21	36	18	24.2	7.9	20	35.3	21.4	3.9	74.2	60	0	18.2	21.8
Central African Republic	47.4	51.3	1.3	0	1.2	35.2	37.9	15.8	10	6.9	15.8	22.2	21.4	15.4	71.3	68.7	0.7	21.7	9
Chad	39.5	58.4	1.9	0.2	0.2	19.1	37	25.1	18.7	6.1	51.8	13	7	17.7	61.8	94.7	0.2	3.4	1.8
Colombia	32.3	66.5	1.2	0	2.6	37.2	39.4	13.5	7.2	18.3	0.6	66	13.9	4.6	84.8	17.4	1.3	7	74.3
Comoros	—	—	—	—	0	20.5	36.1	30.1	13.3	14	20.9	14	20.9	20.9	30.2	—	—	—	—
Côte d'Ivoire	35.8	61.2	2.9	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.8	91.5	66.1	2.7	10	21.2
Dominican Republic	40.8	55.2	4	0	0.3	32.4	39.8	15.9	11.6	15.5	1.2	59.2	18.4	4.1	92.2	25.1	0.5	2.3	72.2
Egypt	51.30	48.1	0.6	0	0.4	15.9	46.2	29.2	8.2	12	12.8	38	12.6	—	—	70.2	0	1.4	28.4
Eritrea	66.5	32.9	0.6	0	0	15.5	41.3	29	14.2	11.8	27.4	33.1	10.3	4.6	91.3	91.8	0.1	1.6	6.5
Ethiopia	51.5	47.7	0.8	0	0	23.3	47.4	19.3	10	6.3	53	10.6	3.2	5.6	83.5	88.7	0	4.1	7.2
Gabon	46.3	52.4	1.3	0	0.9	34.6	30.7	19.3	14.4	5.2	3.3	49.8	26.4	8.8	78.9	23.9	1.2	17.6	57.3
Ghana	44	56	—	—	0	33.6	46.6	15.2	4.5	12.5	19.3	34.4	17.7	23.4	62.2	61.3	0	5.1	33.6
Guatemala	39	60	0.8	0.3	3	56.4	29.6	8.1	3	14.6	9.6	52.7	9.6	—	—	75.7	0	4.3	20
Guinea	36.5	61.9	1.6	0	0	8.7	25.1	26.8	39.4	4.8	65	3.5	5.6	10.2	80.6	93.8	0.2	2.1	4
Haiti	36.6	61.3	2.1	0	0.1	30.6	43.4	19.6	6.3	8	4.3	41.7	28.4	29.9	53.6	56.8	0	14.5	28.7
India	54.9	44.1	1	0	0.3	36.1	47	12.4	4.2	8.2	23	21	17.5	21.50	60.1	86.6	—	5.2	8.2
Indonesia	45.2	53.9	0.9	0	0.7	42.9	40.2	13.3	3	14.8	0.8	70.8	12.7	13.3	48.6	39.4	0.1	0.5	59.9
Kazakhstan	53.6	46.4	0	0	0	38.7	50.2	6.3	4.8	0	—	93.7	6.3	3.2	74.4	49.2	—	15.8	35.1
Kenya	34.7	63.2	2.1	0	0	28.7	48.4	14.4	8.4	4.6	8.5	59.2	16.1	4.7	82.3	66.1	0	11.1	22.3
Kyrgyzstan	51.9	48.1	0	0	10.1	1.9	43.6	48.3	3.6	2.7	4.7	88.5	6.8	—	—	60.8	—	12.6	26.5
Madagascar	32.9	61.1	5.5	0.5	1.1	41.9	34.9	16.6	5.6	11.9	16.9	43.6	6.1	10.9	55.7	88.5	0.3	7.7	3.6
Malawi	39.8	59	1.3	0	0	41.4	48.1	7.4	3.1	6.9	3.9	61.8	17.3	5.8	92.4	71.9	0.6	3.4	24.1
Mali	37.4	59.7	3	0	0.1	9.5	31.1	29.9	29.4	7.6	68.9	2.1	3.3	21.5	55.6	87.7	1.1	1.1	10.1
Mozambique	45.2	54.2	6	0	0.2	31.7	30.3	11.3	26.4	6.1	11.4	43.1	6.3	43.2	28.4	96.7	0.2	0.2	2.9
Namibia	32.6	66	1.4	0	1	36.2	35	15.3	12.6	10.6	7.6	43.4	27.7	5.5	86.6	30.4	1.5	1.5	66.6
Nepal	62.7	37.3	0	0	2.5	59	31.7	5	1.8	6.1	18.7	25.1	16.1	6.3	81.1	78.1	0	4.2	17.7
Nicaragua	35.9	62.6	1.6	0	3.9	51.4	31	7.8	5.8	21.5	5.5	48.4	15.4	2.2	97	22.6	0	2.3	75.2
Niger	42.7	55.6	1.6	0	0	15.1	37.6	23.3	24	6.2	72.9	2	1.8	9.3	63.8	89.2	6.1	0.5	4.2
Nigeria	44.8	52	3.2	0	0.7	8	35.5	27.3	28.7	5.3	48.3	10.3	12.9	5.5	73.8	90.8	0.3	7.9	1
Peru	32.3	67	0.7	0	1.6	42.7	39.6	12.1	4.1	4.5	0	60.4	31.7	5.6	81	28.3	0.7	15.3	55.7
Philippines	40.5	57.7	1.7	0	1.4	52.1	34.4	7.7	4.4	19.2	1.3	58.5	20	—	—	68.3	0	12.2	19.5
Rwanda	49.4	50.4	0.2	0	0.7	51.3	30.5	30.5	8.3	9.3	13.8	10.5	51.7	1.6	94	86.2	—	7.9	6
Senegal	46.4	52	1.6	0	—	—	—	—	—	9.4	65.9	3.1	1.5	7.7	65.2	89.5	3.9	1.6	5
South Africa	63.4	35	1.6	0	0	38.5	35.6	18.1	7.7	17.9	1.6	60.1	16.3	3	97	33.6	0	2.9	63.6
Tanzania, United Republic of	46.4	51.7	1.8	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.6	77	75.5	0.3	8.8	15.5
Togo	38.2	61.2	0.7	0	0	25.2	40.2	19.3	15.3	5.1	27.4	17.2	16.8	10.5	62	52.1	0.6	19.1	28.3
Turkmenistan	55.5	44.5	0	0	0	63.7	32.3	4.1	0	4	0	90.3	5.7	2.3	59.7	61.8	2.2	0	36
Uganda	32	64.3	3.7	0	0.6	40.6	39	12.6	7.3	7.9	2.8	55.5	15.6	7	82.2	70.4	0.6	6.9	22.1
Viet Nam	59.1	40.9	0	0	0	52.3	34.2	11.5	2	19.7	0.7	58.8	15.8	1	90.5	70.7	0	10.1	19.2
Yemen	58	39.9	2	0.1	0.8	43.1	39.9	10.2	6.1	3.2	12.1	9.2	23.3	—	—	86.7	0	7.3	5.9
Zambia	31.8	66.5	1.7	0	0	34.8	49.2	12.7	3.3	8.8	3	48.3	26.5	8.9	80.7	51.8	2.3	6.8	39
Zimbabwe	42.3	56.7	1	0	0	22.5	48.9	16.2	12.3	8.2	0.7	60.8	27.8	8	78.9	47.5	0	3.2	49.3

**TABLE 5: Percentage of women in polygynous marriages**

Country	Year	Total	Urban	Rural	No education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education	Poorest 20%	Richest 20%	0 children	1-2 children	3-4 children	5+ children
Benin	2001	45.4	36.9	49.9	49.6	38.3	27.4	9.1	44.7	32.8	33.3	34	46.4	56.5
Burkina Faso	1999	54.6	29.8	58.2	57.5	33.5	14	12.6	54.6	41.8	42.1	42.4	53.2	65
Cameroon	1998	32.7	25.7	35.7	47	29.6	16.6	10.9	38.2	27.4	24.5	26.7	36.1	38.4
Central African Republic	1995	28.4	26	29.9	30.3	27.8	21.3	12.9	25.4	33.8	26.9	26	29.5	30.8
Chad	1997	39.1	36.7	39.8	39.9	36.4	33	22.2	33.5	39.3	29.3	32.1	39.8	45.8
Comoros	1996	25	19.8	26.8	29.5	14.3	18.5	0	26.9	22.7	25.5	17.3	23	30.8
Côte d'Ivoire	1998	34.8	25	39.9	40.9	26.8	12.6	5.1	41.2	22.5	24.4	26.5	30.3	47.5
Eritrea	2002	8.9	8.7	9.1	10.3	7.5	5.5	3.5	9.2	6.4	5.4	9.4	9.2	9.9
Ethiopia	2000	13.5	6.8	14.5	14.5	10.1	4.8	7.6	14.6	10.9	9.5	10.9	12.4	16.6
Gabon	2000	21.1	19.5	26.4	29.2	21.9	20.4	6.4	24.1	17	22	19.2	18.5	24.9
Ghana	2003	22.7	16.5	26.8	36.4	18.6	12.1	9.9	36.7	10.1	13.9	15.9	22	32
Guinea	1999	53.4	46	56	55.2	46.1	37.4	36.3	49.3	47.5	41.4	40.7	53.4	64.1
Haiti	2000	19.6	18.2	20.5	22.7	20	12.8	5.2	19.1	15.9	13.8	18	22.1	21.1
Kenya	2003	16.4	11.7	17.8	36.3	14.9	8.6	6.2	26	10.5	10.9	11.5	13.5	24.6
Madagascar	1997	3.3	2.4	3.7	6.2	2.5	2.5	0	2.9	1.8	3.9	3	3.9	3.1
Malawi	2000	17	8.5	18.5	20.8	16.1	8.5	0	22.7	11.5	10.4	12.4	19	21.5
Mali	2001	42.5	33.5	45.3	43.8	38.7	27.7	8.4	49.9	31	27.8	31.4	39.3	52.8
Mozambique	1997	27.2	16.9	29.8	31.3	24.1	17.5	0	31.1	19.8	24.7	26	26.1	30.6
Namibia	2000	12.4	9.5	14.8	18.7	12.8	10.6	5.1	18.5	3.9	8.4	11.1	11.3	16.2
Nepal	2001	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.8	3.6	3.4	1.6	4.4	4.7	5.5	4.8	3.9	3.9
Nigeria	2003	35.8	30	38.3	44.2	36.3	16.3	17.1	38.8	17.9	29.5	28	35.8	42.6
Rwanda	2001	12.1	8.8	12.6	16.9	10.1	5.8	0	13.2	9.6	6.5	8.5	10.2	17
Senegal	1997	46	41.6	48.4	50	34.8	27.6	21.2	45.7	43.8	30.5	34.9	44.2	57.3
South Africa	1998	6.8	4.4	10.4	18.5	10.1	3.7	0.6	11.4	1.4	4.9	5	6.5	11.9
Togo	1998	42.8	33.8	46.6	49.1	34.3	34	18.6	42.7	33.9	28	33	43	53.2
Uganda	2000	32.3	36.3	31.8	34.5	31.6	32.6	26.8	26.9	39.1	24.6	28.2	30.9	37.2
Yemen	1997	6.9	5	7.5	7.5	4.9	3.5	0	7.7	5.5	8	5.6	6.4	7.4
Zambia	2002	15.7	5.7	21.2	23.3	16.7	9.5	3.7	22.9	4	12.2	10.1	16.1	20.9
Zimbabwe	1999	15.2	7.3	19.9	29.4	18.1	10.2	4.9	18.4	6.8	13.4	12.1	17.8	19.1

– Indicates data are not available.

**TABLE 6: Percentage of girls aged 15–19 in polygynous marriages**

Country	Year	Proportion of girls aged 15–19 in polygynous unions	Proportion of all women	Urban	Rural	No education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education	Poorest 20%	Second quintile	Middle quintile	Fourth quintile	Richest 20%
Benin	2001	29.1	45.4	32	28	29.9	25.6	28.2	–	28.3	23.5	26.1	45.1	32.8
Burkina Faso	1999	38.9	54.6	15.6	41.2	40.7	27.6	6.7	–	42.1	38.6	36.7	45	30
Cameroon	1998	22.3	32.7	17	24.1	34.9	22.2	5.2	0	28.3	24.7	18.9	23.4	13.9
Central African Republic	1995	21.3	28.4	22	20.7	25.9	18.9	11.1	–	13.9	23.1	28.8	18.2	21.3
Chad	1997	20.5	39.1	23.8	19.7	18.9	25.2	20.7	–	16.7	15.8	22.3	20.3	28
Comoros	1996	9.3	25	8	9.8	14	5.6	0	–	11.1	7.1	21.4	5.9	0
Côte d'Ivoire	1998	23.5	34.8	27.5	21.9	24.3	23.1	10.4	–	12.5	31	24	24.9	24.9
Eritrea	2002	3.5	8.9	4.9	3.3	4	2.7	5.8	–	3.6	4.7	2.5	1.7	8.9
Ethiopia	2000	4.5	13.5	5.3	4.4	5	3.8	0	–	7.4	1.4	4.7	3.8	6.5
Gabon	2000	15.2	21.1	14.6	17.1	15	15.9	14.8	–	15.4	13.2	10	22.4	11.3
Ghana	2003	10	22.7	5.2	11.8	14.7	8.3	7	–	17.1	8.9	4.9	4.6	9.3
Guinea	1999	29.8	53.4	22.9	32.5	31.2	29.2	0	–	31.6	30.9	30.7	31.3	24
Haiti	2000	14.3	19.6	18.1	11.7	24.9	12.1	10.6	–	14.5	10.7	6.6	25.1	10
Kenya	2003	8.1	16.4	2.4	9.8	19.1	6	0	–	18.7	6.4	6.6	4.1	3.8
Madagascar	1997	4.3	3.3	2.7	4.7	6.3	3.6	1.9	–	3.4	9.8	0	2.8	0
Malawi	2000	7.3	17	5.9	7.5	8.4	7.2	6.2	–	9	3.1	10.2	8.3	6.4
Mali	2001	22.4	42.5	16.4	24.4	23.8	14.3	8.3	0	29	27.2	18.6	22.2	14.7
Mozambique	1997	18.7	27.2	19.5	18.5	21.6	17.2	0	–	22.6	14.2	14	23.1	15.5
Namibia	2000	13.9	12.4	14.2	13.8	0	19	11.1	–	19.8	7.5	8.3	16.3	0
Nepal	2001	1.6	4.4	2.2	1.6	2.1	0.2	2	0	1.3	1.6	0.8	2.3	2.3
Niger	1998	29.8	37.6	22.9	32.5	31.2	29.2	0	–	31.6	30.9	30.7	31.3	24
Nigeria	2003	26.9	35.8	28.4	26.5	28.4	29.1	12.9	0	22.3	30.2	28.1	27.6	24.7
Rwanda	2001	6.7	12.1	10.2	6	12	5	0	–	3.8	0	13	0	15.2
Senegal	1997	23.5	46	19.9	24.4	25.1	13.2	36.1	–	22.2	25.8	23.2	20.7	25.7
South Africa	1998	0.9	6.8	0	3.2	100	0	0	–	0	4.3	3.7	0	0
Togo	1998	22.7	42.8	19.1	23.8	26.6	18.5	8.9	–	18.9	30.7	29.5	15.1	16.6
Uganda	2000	28.3	32.3	19	20.8	13.6	21.4	26.4	43.9	16.9	17.3	14.7	39.9	23.3
Yemen	1997	3.3	6.9	2.5	3.5	4.1	25.6	1.7	2.4	0	3.5	4.8	3.5	2.1
Zambia	2002	7.7	15.7	3.6	9.5	13	7.5	3.6	–	13.6	11.6	6	3.3	0
Zimbabwe	1999	14.3	15.2	8.2	16.9	54.6	14.6	12.1	–	16.5	15	16.6	11.9	10.8

– Indicates data are not available.

TABLE 5: continued

Country	Husband is younger	Husband is 0-4 years older	Husband is 5-9 years older	Husband is 10-14 years older	Husband is 15+ years older	Husband has less education	Both have no education	Both have same education	Husband has more education	Does not know how to prevent HIV	Knows how to prevent HIV	Never used any contraceptive method	Used folkloric methods only	Used traditional methods only	Used modern methods
Benin	52.8	33.8	37.9	50.3	68.1	46.7	52.8	27.9	30.7	47.5	44.5	46.5	44.5	47.7	40.2
Burkina Faso	54.4	30	33.4	41.9	64.3	39.8	59	11.9	5.4	53.8	53.1	57.3	76.7	55.3	37.1
Cameroon	22.5	17	23.6	31.6	49.5	34.5	41	22.9	19.3	29.1	29.1	40.5	52.8	23.3	23.4
Central African Republic	24.8	24.4	25.9	34.4	41.9	26.6	30	23.7	27.8	27.7	28.1	28	33.5	30.3	25.8
Chad	48.8	29.1	30.3	38.8	58	43.2	39.7	35.3	28.9	47.2	39.3	39.3	43.5	39.6	32.5
Comoros	23.6	18.9	22	24.8	34.4	21.1	30.4	9.8	13.7	29.1	23.8	27	23.1	18.8	24.2
Côte d'Ivoire	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45.2	33.3	42.1	39.9	23.3	23.4
Eritrea	10.7	5.3	7	6.7	15.7	9.6	10.9	5	8.1	11.7	8.3	9.1	28.1	9	8.4
Ethiopia	17.8	9.5	10.3	14.2	25	12.8	14.1	7.8	6	18.1	12	14.4	0	16	7.4
Gabon	16.4	14.3	15.9	27.9	38.2	21.1	29.1	15.9	23.1	29.8	20.1	22.8	37	19.9	20.4
Ghana	14.1	12.8	19.1	28.8	48	21.1	44.6	10.2	16	31	18.7	28.4	47	16.7	17.7
Guinea	53.9	39.5	42.4	47	67.1	51.6	57.8	34	37.7	56.4	52.3	54.1	52.9	45	49
Haiti	14.5	17.4	19.9	21.5	29.1	18.2	20	16	19	21.5	17.8	16.6	41.6	19.6	22.8
Kenya	11.9	8.6	11.8	22.9	49.7	15	41	12	13.7	16.8	14.7	23.6	33.7	15.8	11.7
Madagascar	0.5	2.8	2	5.1	10.5	4.4	7.4	1.7	3	7.7	2.4	4	6.2	1.5	2.1
Malawi	18.1	13.3	16.5	21.9	33.1	18.8	21.9	15.8	11	20.7	16.7	17.8	19.9	15.3	24.4
Mali	52.2	32.6	32.5	38.2	60.5	46	45.7	25.8	22.6	45.1	40.6	43.6	44.4	41.5	37.9
Mozambique	27.5	18.7	25.4	29.3	38.6	28.9	32.5	22.1	21.7	28.3	21.2	28.9	27.9	24.4	15.9
Namibia	5.1	10.6	9.8	15.7	22.6	14.6	19.1	9.2	10.5	21.1	11.7	14.9	0	8.6	11.7
Nepal	4.9	2.6	4.1	9.4	19.7	6.7	4.7	3.3	2.6	4.6	5.2	4.5	2.8	6.1	4.2
Niger	35.5	20	22.7	35.4	60.8	34.9	45.4	21.8	25.7	25.6	33.1	39.7	39.7	24.8	26.2
Nigeria	8.5	7.5	10.1	19.8	30	11.1	19.9	8.4	7.6	20.6	11.8	13	—	8.5	11.5
Rwanda	—	—	—	—	—	43.4	52.4	18.1	25.9	46.3	44.1	46.8	57.3	47.6	38.9
Senegal	3.3	3.6	6.2	10.4	22.9	7.3	19.8	4.6	6.8	8.7	6.6	14.4	37.2	19.8	5.2
South Africa	43.2	30.7	38.4	46.9	66.5	45.7	53.7	32.7	28.2	48.5	40.3	43.3	32	46.3	36.3
Togo	33.2	35.4	30.6	40.8	49.3	31.2	38.3	30.7	32.4	31.4	32.5	31.4	30.3	34	33.6
Uganda	5.6	3.5	4.5	10.1	22.8	14.8	10	2.5	2.1	—	—	7.1	0	7	6.1
Yemen	19.6	13.2	13.5	19.1	30.7	20	21.1	15.7	10.3	19.8	14.2	21.6	21.2	20.8	11.1
Zambia	9.5	8.7	11.2	18.6	37.8	17.6	29.9	13.1	14.1	23.1	13	24.6	17.8	31.1	12.7

TABLE 6: continued

Country	0 children	1-2 children	3-4 children	5+ children	Husband is younger	Husband is 0-4 years older	Husband is 5-9 years older	Husband is 10-14 years older	Husband is 15+ years older	Husband has less education	Both have no education	Both have same education	Husband has more education	Does not know how to prevent HIV	Knows how to prevent HIV	Never used any contraceptive method	Used folkloric methods only	Used traditional methods only	Used modern methods
Benin	29.3	28.8	35.2	—	0	7	21.6	37.5	81.4	16	30.1	30.3	31.9	31.1	34.1	27.6	—	27	46
Burkina Faso	39.1	38.9	33.3	—	—	2.5	14.5	36.2	49.5	34.1	43.2	0	0	31.8	39.7	41.5	—	29.4	22.9
Cameroon	21.4	22.9	27.7	—	0	4.8	10.5	13.4	62	26.4	43.8	15.8	11.9	26.4	17.6	27.7	—	14.1	14.5
Central African Republic	22	21.2	0	—	0	10.7	17	40.4	47.7	22.9	26.8	13.3	18.6	15	21.8	22.9	30.8	19.3	12.3
Chad	18.1	21.7	40.3	0	0	8	11.9	20.3	52.1	33.5	18.3	23	16.4	26.5	24.7	20.3	100	22.6	20.9
Comoros	13.3	7.7	0	—	—	0	16.7	0	27.3	0	5.6	8.3	5.6	19.2	9.2	—	0	18.2	—
Côte d'Ivoire	20.9	26.2	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	57.1	22.9	26.7	27.6	6.1	21.5
Eritrea	2.3	6.2	0	—	—	0	0	5.9	12.8	6.4	4.6	3.1	0	9.3	2.2	3.6	0	8.9	1
Ethiopia	4.1	5	0	—	0	2.1	0.9	7.2	22	1.6	3.5	3.7	1.1	6.6	3.6	3.9	—	13.9	6.4
Gabon	15.5	15	14.2	—	0	12.7	7.9	18.8	32.2	6.9	26.7	13.4	12.6	17.5	15.7	13.3	52.2	11.1	16.5
Ghana	8.2	11.3	—	—	—	2.3	10.9	11.7	52.2	6.5	15.4	3.7	17	10.6	11	11	—	0	9.4
Guinea	32.7	27.4	65.6	—	—	9.8	15.2	19.6	50.8	29.3	32.7	15.6	21.1	31.6	29.1	30.7	0	15.7	20.3
Haiti	12	15.4	20.1	—	0	8.8	17.7	6.1	43.5	6.8	11.4	11.8	11.3	13.4	26.8	12.3	—	7	21.8
Kenya	6.5	9	7.3	—	—	0.9	4.4	15.7	41.6	7.7	20.7	4.3	9.8	4.2	7	9.6	—	5.5	5.1
Madagascar	3.9	4.1	9.9	0	24.2	3.3	0.5	6.4	26.7	8.2	5.8	2.1	2.9	11.5	2.2	4.9	0	0	0
Malawi	7.6	6.7	28.8	—	—	1.5	7.9	13.6	55.9	6.6	17.1	7.8	5.3	10	7.4	7.3	0	13.2	6.7
Mali	20	23.2	28.7	—	0	1.7	7	17.1	51.1	16.7	24.7	5	9.8	28.3	19.4	24	12.6	7.2	9.3
Mozambique	15.5	21	41.2	—	62.1	5	14.4	31.3	34.2	18.4	11.7	14.7	33.4	20.9	15.8	18.7	54.9	71.1	10.8
Namibia	6.6	17.8	0	—	0	33.3	7.4	0	2.8	12.1	0	17.1	18.8	24	14.1	21.9	0	0	10.8
Nepal	2	1	—	—	0	0.3	0.6	16.9	21.1	0	3.3	1.5	0.3	0	1.3	1.20	—	3.2	3.1
Niger	32.7	27.4	65.6	—	28.8	9.8	15.2	19.6	50.8	29.3	32.7	15.6	21.1	31.6	29.1	30.7	0	15.7	20.3
Nigeria	29.5	25.1	19.5	—	0	0	4.5	19.6	69.8	37.2	28.7	20	20.3	22.8	29.6	27.9	0	9.1	18.4
Rwanda	0.8	12.4	0	—	0	4.3	4.4	8.6	25.8	0	10.3	3.5	23.5	0	6.5	5.2	—	18.8	11.9
Senegal	23.1	24.3	7.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	20.5	26.9	3.6	30.8	16.5	23.6	23.5	40.4	26.1	9.5
South Africa	0	7.1	0	—	—	0	2.9	0	23.8	0	100	0	0	0	1.9	4.8	—	0	1.4
Togo	23.3	22.2	45.6	—	—	1.5	15.1	31.6	68	33.8	28.2	10.6	15.2	20.8	20.1	25.7	61	18.4	19.9
Uganda	17	22	26.5	—	0	11.2	19.5	38.7	49.3	30.1	22.6	19.6	25.7	11.7	21.6	18.8	20.6	24.3	13.4
Yemen	3.4	3.1	0	100	0	0.6	2.5	3.8	28.2	8.1	13.2	0.7	1.6	—	—	3.3	—	3.4	3.9
Zambia	7	7.8	17.2	—	—	4.3	7.2	7.9	50.3	15	15.4	5.2	6.3	8.3	5.7	9.5	9.7	6.4	5.3
Zimbabwe	15.3	13.8	0	—	—	4.3	7.9	14.9	57	25.9	65.8	11.1	13.5	19.8	10.8	16.4	—	17.8	12



**TABLE 7: Child marriage, domestic violence and choice of partner**

Country	Proportion of women 20-49 married by exact age 18	Experienced violence		Ever justified		Who chose partner?						
		Has not experienced domestic violence	Has experienced domestic violence	Beating wife is never justified	Beating wife is sometimes justified	Respondent	Chose each other	Respondent and someone else	Respondent's family	Partner or his family	Someone else	Forced by husband
Cambodia	27.4	26.3	33.7	24.2	32.6	32.3	29.7	28	35.4	26.9	22.9	22.2
Colombia	22.5	24.4	35.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Haiti	27	26.7	29.8	25.4	29.6	32.9	26.2	11.2	28.9	31.8	30	–
India	56.5	45.3	66.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Kenya	30.5	26.6	40.4	20	35.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Peru	22.4	25	34.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
South Africa	12.7	12.5	13.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Turkmenistan	7.9	7.6	13.2	7.6	8.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zambia	49.4	53.6	58	37.7	51.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

– Indicates data are not available.

**TABLE 8: Child marriage and decision-making ability**

Country	Proportion of women aged 20-49 married by the exact age of 18	Work			Contraception			Budget/large household purchases			Daily purchases		
		Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner	Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner	Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner	Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner
Cambodia	27.4	27.7	31.1	32.3	27.1	32.1	29.5	30.6	30.4	30.6	30.5	30.5	24.9
Colombia	22.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	25.1	25.1	33.8	25.7	25.6	34.8
Haiti	27	25	31.8	28.2	31.3	30.7	27.4	29.6	28.9	28.3	27.8	29.6	32.3
India	56.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	64.1	58.5	66.5	–	–	–
Kenya	30.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	33.5	30.7	37	32.3	34.2	38.6
Peru	22.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	23.6	26.5	37.4	24.3	30.1	40.8
South Africa	12.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Turkmenistan	7.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	11.4	8.7	8.9	10.3	8.2	8.8
Zambia	49.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	48.8	51.8	56.9	–	–	–

– Indicates data are not available.

**TABLE 8: continued**

Country	What to cook			Health care			Visits		
	Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner	Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner	Respondent	Respondent and partner	Partner
Cambodia	–	–	–	27.5	31.5	32.8	27.3	32.4	17.1
Colombia	27.3	25.5	29.6	21.4	27.7	35.4	22	26.1	36
Haiti	27	37.8	41.5	–	–	–	25.4	28.3	30.5
India	63.7	56.1	63.3	58.7	58.1	65.6	62.5	57.1	66
Kenya	33.7	39.4	42.1	27.7	34.2	40.4	30.6	29.9	41.5
Peru	28.3	24.8	32.8	19.4	31.4	39.1	19.7	27.9	36.7
South Africa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Turkmenistan	8.5	10.3	19.8	9.5	7.9	7.9	11	8.3	11.2
Zambia	–	–	–	45.6	56.8	55.8	47.9	52.5	56

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