KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDE AND PREVALENCE OF EARLY MARRIAGE AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN SASA, AKINYELE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA NIGERIA

 \mathbf{BY}

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the most high God, the Almighty, the Everlasting King of Glory, the One that liveth and reigneth forever, the unfailing and all sufficient God for his unending love and grace from the beginning to the end of this course.



ABSTRACT

The practice of early marriage has persisted in some Nigerian tribes, despite its associated negative health effects. There is however inadequate information on adolescents' knowledge and attitude towards this practice. This study was therefore conducted to determine knowledge, attitude and the prevalence of early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, a multi-ethnic community in Akinyele Local Government Area Nigeria.

Using a three-stage sampling technique, 400 adolescents were recruited into this cross-sectional study. An interviewer-administered questionnaire was used to obtain information on sociodemographic characteristics, knowledge, attitude and prevalence of early marriage. Knowledge of early marriage and associated problems was assessed using a 15-item scale categorized as poor (<8) and good (\ge 8) knowledge. Attitude to early marriage was assessed with a 17-item 5-point likert scale with minimum and maximum scores of 17 and 85 respectively; scores <51 were categorized as unfavourable and \ge 51 as favourable to early marriage. Data were analyzed using descriptive and Chi-square statistics.

Sixty-three percent of respondents were male, majority (67.5%) were Yoruba, 26.4% were Hausa and 6.0% comprised other ethnic groups. Overall mean age was 16.1±2.3 years, the mean ages of Yoruba, Hausa and adolescents belonging to other ethnic groups were 16.4±2.0, 15.3±2.6 and 15.3±2.4 years respectively. Sixty-one percent of respondents had secondary education. Seventy-four percent of respondents had good knowledge of early marriage and associated problems. Common associated problems mentioned were deprivation of childhood (76.8%), poor child care (75.8%), obstructed labour (68.3%), high risk of vessico-vagina fistula (65.2%), poor access to contraceptives (65.2%) and high risk of HIV/AIDS (59.4%). Fifty-nine percent of respondents

were not favourably disposed to early marriage. Seventy-percent of respondents reported that

early marriage was a common practice in their community. Common reasons for the practice

were prevention of premarital sex (88.8%), teenage pregnancy (82.7%), poverty (77.9%) and

upholding tradition (72.8%). Of 23 (16%) female respondents who were currently married,

52.2% were Hausa, 39.1% were Yoruba and 8.7% were from other ethnic groups. About 74% of

those currently married did so before 18 years and the majority (73.9%) of these were Muslims.

The mean age at marriage was 15.7±1.9 years. The mean age at marriage for Yoruba was

16.9±1.3, Hausa (15.0±2.0) and other ethnic groups (15.5±0.7). A higher proportion of 15-19

years (78.0%) than 10-14 years (59.3%) adolescents had good knowledge of early marriage and

associated problems (p<0.05). Also, more 10-14 years (69.2%) than 15-19 years (32.8%)

adolescents had favourable attitude to early marriage (p<0.05). Religious practice was

significantly associated with early marriage with more Muslims (52.9%) than Christians (29.0%)

favourably disposed to the practice (p<0.05). A higher proportion of Hausa (52.4%) than Yoruba

(34.2%) had favourable attitude to early marriage (p<0.05).

Adolescents in the study area have good knowledge about early marriage and its associated

problems. However their attitude towards the practice was influenced by age, religion and

ethnicity. Religious and cultural sensitisation of adolescents, their parents and community can

help reduce this practice.

Key words: Knowledge of early marriage, Adolescents, Perceived problems.

Word counts: 479

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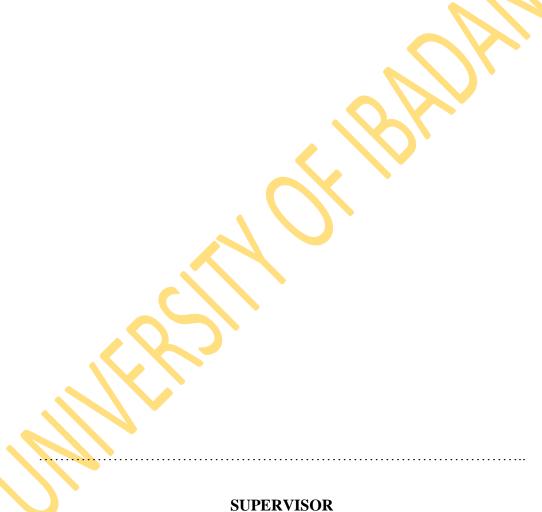
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CERTIFICATION

I hereby, certify that this research was carried out by Miss Patricia ADAMS in the Institute of Child Health, Faculty of Public Health, College of Medicine, University of Ibadan, under my supervision.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Adolescence, a period of transition from childhood to adulthood, is a challenging period for many young people as they undergo a number of physical, cognitive, emotional and social changes. It is a time of intense socialization into gendered sexual attitudes and behaviors. At this stage of life, adolescents are faced with a number of socio-cultural practices which could either be beneficial or harmful to them. One of the harmful cultural practices adolescents are faced with is early marriage.

Early marriage is defined as marriage of a person below the age of 18 years (Malhontra et al., 2011). Throughout the world, marriage is considered as a milestone in adulthood and a period of living together which gives rights, privileges and responsibilities to the parties involved. However, the practice of early marriage gives no cause for such elation as some children are forced into marriage and others are too young to make an informed decision about their marriage partner or about the implication of marriage itself (Ouattara et al., 1998; Khan et al. 2002). They may have given what passes for 'consent' in the eyes of custom or the law, but in reality, consent to their binding union has been made by others on their behalf. The assumption is that once a girl is married, she has become a woman even if she is only 12 years old. Equally, where a boy is made to marry, he is now a man and must put away childish things (UNICEF, 2001).

Early marriage, also called child marriage is widely practiced among some ethnic groups in different parts of the world and it occurs more among females than males (Malhontra et al., 2011; UNICEF 2005; Save the Children, 2004; Mathur S., Greene M. and Malhotra A. 2003). The practice of early marriage is most common in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. However, in the Middle East, North Africa and other parts of Asia, marriage at or shortly after puberty is common among those living traditional lifestyles (UNICEF, 2001).

Nigeria which records some of the highest rates of adolescent marriage has over 20 million adolescents. Findings from the Nigerian Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health Survey (NARSH), conducted in 2005, revealed that by age 15, 22.6% of girls were married compared to 7.1% of boys (Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006). According to the 2008 Nigerian Demographic Health Survey, 16.4% of women aged 20-24 years were married by age 15 and 39.4% were married by age 18. A study conducted by Erulkar and Bello (2007) showed the percentage of girls married by age 18 years in the six geopolitical zones as follows; North west 81.3%, North east 72.5%, North central 35.7%, South south 18.9%, South west 13.2% and South east 9.1%.

Literature suggests that many factors interact to place a child at risk of early marriage. Poverty, protection of girls, unplanned pregnancy, family honor, strategy for economic survival and the provision of stability during unstable social periods are among significant factors suggested in determining a girl's risk of becoming married while still a child (Anagbogu, 2005; UNICEF, 2005; Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi, 2003; Malhontra et al., 2011).

Early marriage poses a serious public health problem in the lives of children and adolescents. There is emerging evidence in sub-Saharan Africa that early marriage may be associated with risk of HIV infection (Bruce and Clark, 2004; Clark, 2004). The health problems linked to early marriage not only affect the pregnant mother and the fetus, but also continue after childbirth. Children of adolescent mothers are at greater risk of disease and physical disability (Hofferth, 1987). Evidence shows that infant mortality among the children of very young mothers is higher, sometimes two times higher compared to those of older women (United Nations, 1989). Early marriage confers upon adolescents a new and different set of expectations, pressures and risks. Several studies have described areas where early marriage is more prevalent, e.g. Northern Nigeria, as having one of the highest rates of maternal death in the world as well as high rates of vesico vaginal and obstetric fistula and other complications associated with early marriage. (Ampofo E.K., Omotara B.A., Otu T. and Uchebo G. 1990; Wall, 1998; Adamu Y.M., Salihu H.M., Sathiakumar N. and Alexander G.R. 2003; Akpan, 2003).

The practice of early marriage has persisted in some Nigerian tribes, despite its associated negative health effects. Researchers have not adequately assessed the knowledge and attitude of the adolescents themselves towards this practice in Nigeria. This study was therefore conducted to determine knowledge, attitude and the prevalence of early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, a multi-ethnic community in Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria. This information would help to plan measures that will be targeted at reducing the practice.

1.2 Problem statement

Early marriage inevitably denies children of school age their right to the education they need for their personal development, preparation for adulthood, and effective contribution to the future wellbeing of their families and society. Very few girls in early marriages in developing countries have adequate information and access to contraception (Mensch et al., 1998), they are also more susceptible than older women to Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), including Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) (Bruce and Clark, 2004). Other health problems include: risks of early pregnancy and childbirth (Santhya et al., 2010), increased risk of mortality (Santhya, 2009), increased risk of premature labour (Raj et al., 2009), complications during delivery, having babies with low birth weight, and increase vulnerability to Vesico Vagina Fistula (VVF) (Ouattara et al., 1998; Erulkar and Bello, 2007; Raj et al., 2009).

1.3 Rationale for the study

In Nigeria, in spite of the complications associated with early marriage, a substantial proportion of girls got married before the age of 18 years. Adolescents who would be adults in the future generations can move for a change to reduce the burden of this problem if their values and attitudes toward early marriage can be changed. This study was aimed at understanding what these adolescents know about early marriage, and their attitude towards the practice and the prevalence among them. This information would have implications on programs aimed to reduce the practice.

1.4 Definition of terms

The definitions of the key terms used in this study are presented as follows:

Adolescents: These are persons between the ages 10-19 years

Early marriage: This is marriage of a boy or girl in which one or both is below the age of 18 years.



1.5 OBJECTIVES

1.5.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to document knowledge, attitude and the prevalence of early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area Nigeria.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were to:

- 1. Assess adolescents' knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems.
- 2. Examine attitudes of adolescents towards the practice of early marriage.
- 3. Determine the prevalence of early marriage among the study population.
- 4. Assess the potential practice of early marriage among adolescents.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Marriage is a formalized, binding partnership between consenting adults, which sanctions sexual relations and gives legitimacy to any offspring. It is a respected and valued social institution throughout the world, and may take different forms in different cultures. Early marriage, on the other hand, involves either one or both spouses being children and may take place with or without formal registration, and under civil, religious or customary laws. Some of these children are forced into marriage while others are too young to make an informed decision about their marriage partner or about the implications of marriage itself (Ouattara et al., 1998; UNICEF, 2001; Jensen and Thornton, 2003).

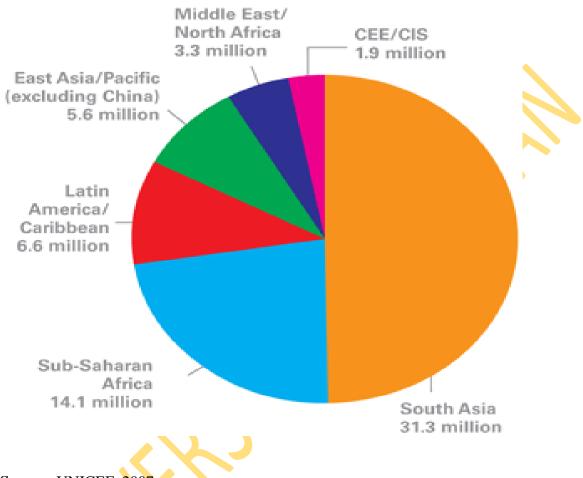
2.0 Burden of early marriage

There is paucity of accurate data on the true extent of early marriage. This is because most marriages are not officially registered and therefore are not counted as part of any standard data collection system, and also, many parents resort to falsifying girls' ages (International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), 2007; UNICEF 2001). Such acts occur more in rural areas where birth certificates are often non-existent or not properly recorded. There is very little country data about marriages under the age of 14, even less about those below age 10 years. Available data are often outdated and fail to provide adequate information to support meaningful policy and programme development (IPPF, 2007; UNICEF 2001). Early marriage affects more girls than

boys (Malhontra et al., 2011; UNICEF 2005; Save the Children, 2004; Mathur et al 2003). In several countries, over 40 percent of young women have entered marriage or a quasi-married union by the time they reach the age of 18 years. By contrast, in only two countries are more than 10 percent of boys less than 19 years married (UNICEF, 2001). Although early marriage is said to be declining in many parts of the world, the total number of girls at risk or affected is very significant and cannot be ignored. Studies (Bruce and Clark, 2004; Bruce, 2002) have estimated that, within the next decade, more than 100 million girls in the developing world would be married before the age of 18 years.

The UNICEF progress for children statistical review 2007 showed that early marriage affects over 60 million women worldwide (Figure 1). The extent of early marriage varies substantially globally; the highest rates are found in Asia (37 percent), Africa (34 percent) and 25 percent in Latin America (Clifton and Frost, 2011). Across some regions of the world, early marriage affects 45 percent of girls in South Asia, 42 percent in West/Middle Africa and 41 percent in East Africa followed by 30 percent in the Caribbean, 27 percent in Central America and 18 percent in Western Asia (Clifton and Frost, 2011). The UNICEF statistical study on child marriage also reports that the practice is most common in South Asia, where over 48 percent of 15–24-year-olds were married before they reached 18 years. In Africa, this figure is 42 percent (though this rises to over 60 percent in parts of East and West Africa), and in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the Middle East, child marriage is common in Yemen and Palestine, and here about half of under-18s were already married (UNICEF, 2005).

Figure 2.1: Number of women aged 20–24 who were married or in union before age 18, by region.



Source: UNICEF, 2007

However, Figure 2.2 shows that countries with the highest percentage of females 20 to 24 who report having been married before 18 are not the same countries in which the largest numbers of girls are vulnerable to this practice. When considering the number of girls aged 10-19 across various countries, more girls are at risk of child marriage in India than in most other countries combined. In fact, given population size and significant rates of child marriage in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, and Nepal, about one-half of the girls who are affected by child marriage live in South Asia.

Figure 2.2: Child marriage prevalence and number of girls aged 10-19 years

Source: Malhotra et al., 2011

In India and Bangladesh, nearly half of all women are married before 18 years (Mensch et al. 2005; Chowdhury, 2004). In Rajasthan, India, a 1993 survey of 5,000 women revealed that 56 percent had married before age 15 years, and of these, 17 percent were married before they were 10 years (UNICEF, 2001). A 1998 survey in Madhya Pradesh found that nearly 14 percent of girls were married between the ages of 10 and 14 years (UNICEF, 2001). There is evidence of the practice of early marriage in a few developed countries, including the United States of America (USA) where parents can give consent to the marriage of their daughters below the age

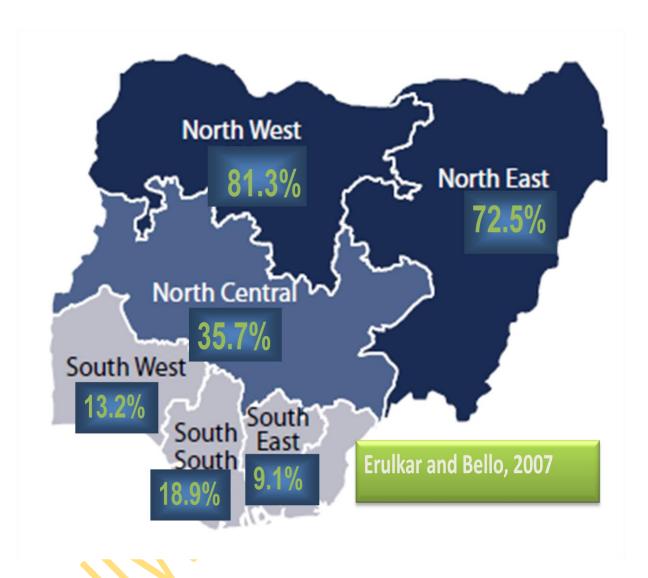
of 15 years (IPPF, 2007). Four percent do so in the USA and one percent in Germany (UNICEF, 2001). Early marriage also occurs in some parts of Central and Eastern Europe, notably among the Roma people (UNICEF, 2001; Clifton and Frost 2011) and in Macedonia where 27 percent of the women who married in 1994 were aged between 15 and 19 years (UNICEF, 2001).

In Africa, early marriage is generally more prevalent in West, Middle and East Africa, affecting 42 percent of girls in West and Middle Africa and 41 percent in East Africa, as compared to 17 percent and six percent in North and South Africa respectively (Clifton and Frost 2011). A study by UNICEF in six West African countries showed that 44 percent of 20-24 year old women in Niger were married under the age of 15 years. In Ethiopia and in some parts of West Africa, marriage at seven or eight years is not uncommon (UNICEF, 2001). In Cotonou and Porto-Novo in Southern Benin, girls as young as 10 to 13 years are kidnapped from their families and taken to their husbands (Ouattara et al., 1998).

In Nigeria, over 20 million of the population is comprised of adolescents and this part of the world records some of the highest rates of early marriages. According to the 2011 World's Women and Girls data sheet, early marriage affects 39% of girls in Nigeria (Clifton and Frost 2011). The 2008 Nigerian Demographic Health Survey (NDHS, 2008) showed that 16.4% of women aged 20-24 years were married by age 15 years and 39.4% were married by age 18 years. Findings from the Nigerian Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health Survey (NARSH), conducted in 2005, revealed that by age 15 years, 22.6% of girls were married compared to 7.1% of boys (Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006). A study conducted by Erulkar and Bello (2007) showed the percentage of girls married by age 18 years in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria, presented in

figure 2.2 as follows; North west 81.3%, North east 72.5%, North central 35.7%, South south 18.9%, South west 13.2% and South east 9.1%. In another study carried out in Northern Nigeria, 45% of girls were found to be married by age 15 years and 73% by age 18 years (CRLP, 2001). The study also revealed that Northern girls marry very early, and consequently, experience sexual initiation at earlier ages; 54% of North West girls aged 15-24 were married by age 15 years. In Kebbi State, North west, Nigeria, the average age of marriage for girls is just over 11 years, against a national average of 17 years (UNICEF, 2001). Early marriage is particularly prevalent in rural areas; two thirds of rural North West girls are married by age 15 years (Erulkar and Bello, 2007).

Figure 2.3: Percentage of girls married by age 18 years by geographical regions in Nigeria



Source

Map: National Population Commission (NPC) and ICF Macro. 2009. *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey* 2008: *Key Findings*. Calverton, Maryland, USA: NPC and ICF Macro.

Figures: erulkar and Bello, 2007

2.1 Trends in early marriage

Data suggest that child marriage prevalence is decreasing overall, but the pace of change is slow and in some there is no change at all (Jensen and Thornton, 2003). In 34 of 55 countries with comparable data from two surveys, there was no significant change in the percentage of women aged 20–24 married by 18 years and only five countries experienced a decrease of more than 10 percent (Malhotra et al., 2011). For example, Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data showed that in Niger, the proportion of marriages under age 18 for 20-24 year-old girls declined only two percentage points from 1998 to 2006; from 77 percent to 75 percent. In Nicaragua, the decline over a five-year period from 2001 to 2006 was just three percentage points; from 43 percent to 40 percent. In India, the decline in a seven-year period from 1998 to 2005 was only about three percentage points; from 50 percent to 47 percent (Malhotra et al., 2011). In Nigeria, NDHS reports showed that the decline in a nine-year period from 1999 to 2008 was only about one percent for girls who are married by age 18 years and about seven percent for those married by age 15 years.

The median age at marriage is rising around the world, including in developing countries (NRC/IOM, 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, 21 of 30 countries have seen an increase in the national age at marriage over the past several decades (Westoff, 2003). This trend is largely attributed to the increase in girls' educational attainment and the increased participation of women in the labour force (NRC/IOM 2005; Mathur et al., 2003). This increase in the age at marriage however, is occurring slowly and unevenly within countries. The 2001 UNICEF Innocenti digest reports that trends have been exhaustively examined courtesy of World Fertility Survey and DHS data. Analysts have detected two groups of countries: those where marriage age

is rising, such as Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Senegal, and those where there is little change, including Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Lesotho, Liberia and Mali (UNICEF, 2001).

2.2 Timing of marriage

Analysis of NDHS data showed that timing of marriage varies by regions and area of residence; median age at marriage is lowest among North West and North East regions, at 15.8 and 16.8 years respectively and rural girls were more likely to marry early compared to urban girls. However, timing of marriage among girls in the Southern regions is later, with the median age for marriage being after age of 23 years (Erulkar and Bello, 2007). Studies have shown that compared with young women who had married at age 18 or older; those in early marriage are less likely to have been consulted on the timing of their marriage and choice of spouse, as well as to have had an opportunity to get to know their spouse before marriage (Santhya et. al., 2010; UNICEF, 2001). An in-depth interview with married adolescent girls in Nigeria revealed that many of the girls described the timing of marriage as dictated by tradition or religion and also, some of the girls observed that girls who attend school tend to marry later than those who do not (Erulkar and Bello 2007).

2.3 Reasons for early marriage

Throughout the world, early marriage is held as a deeply entrenched social and economic institution, which is enshrined in religion or tradition and continues to flourish for many different reasons. A combination of these reasons supports the practice of early marriage (IPPF, 2007)

2.3.1 Poverty

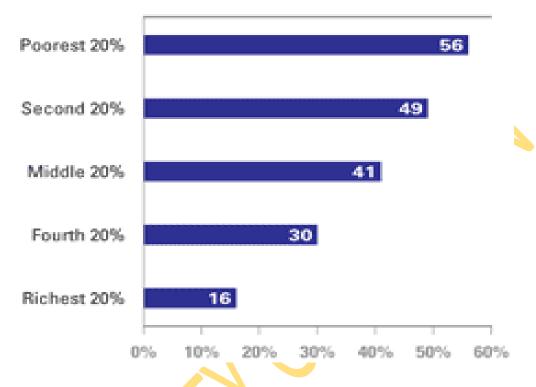
In many countries early marriage is linked with poverty. This is because it affects particularly the poorest in the population, and helps to reinforce cycles of poverty (IPPF, 2007). Figure 2.3 shows that early marriage is more likely in poor households than in rich households (UNICEF, 2007). Poverty is one of the major factors underpinning early marriage (Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi, 2003). Where poverty is acute, a young girl may be regarded as an economic burden and therefore, her marriage to a much older sometimes even elderly man (UNICE, 2001; Mikhail 2002). Many valid reasons are given by parents and guardians to justify early marriage. Economic reasons often underpin these decisions which are directly linked to poverty and the lack of economic opportunities especially for girls in rural areas. Girls are either seen as an economic burden or valued as capital for their exchange value in terms of goods, money or livestock (IPPF, 2007).

Marriage arrangements and requirements, such as dowry payments in parts of South Asia where parents of the young woman are obliged to give gifts to the spouse and his family, perpetuate child marriages. This is because the dowry requirement often increases with the age and the education level of the girl (IPPF, 2007). Additionally, poor families tend to marry off girls at the same time to help reduce the burden of high marriage ceremony expenses (IPPF, 2007). Poverty pushes many young girls into short-term marriages where men marry young women sometimes only for a few hours, for the purpose of sexual gratification (Mikhail, 2002). In Bangladesh, poverty-stricken parents are persuaded to part with daughters through promises of marriage, or by false marriages, which are used to lure the girls into prostitution abroad. Many Bangladeshi girls are married soon after puberty, partly to free their parents from an economic burden and

partly to protect the girls' sexual purity. Where a girl's family is very poor or she has lost her parents, she may be married as a third or fourth wife to a much older man, to fulfil the role of sexual and domestic servant (Khan, 2000; UNICEF, 2001). Reports from Iraq indicate that early marriage is rising there in response to poverty inflicted by the post-Gulf War sanctions (UNICEF, 2001). In Albania, families in rural areas, reduced to abject poverty by the post-Communist transition, encourage their daughters to marry early in order to catch potential husbands before they migrate to the cities in search of work, and to avoid the threat of kidnapping on the way to school (UNICEF, 2001).

Families in parts of sub-Saharan Africa affected by poverty and other disasters often resort to marrying off their daughters early so as to benefit from bride price or acquire additional help in the family (IPPF, 2007). In West Africa as a whole, a UNICEF study shows that economic hardship is encouraging a rise in early marriage, even among some population groups that do not normally practise it (UNICEF, 2001). In Nigeria, which is currently facing economic difficulties and political instability, age at marriage has barely risen. Nwokolo, 2010 in a study on counselling against early marriage of the girl-child in Anambra state found that among other factors, poverty was a motive behind early marriage.

Figure 2.4: Percentage of women aged 20–24 who were married or in union before age 18, by wealth index quintile (1987–2006)



Source: UNICEF, 2007

2.3.2 Family honor

The marriage or betrothal of children in parts of Africa and Asia is valued as a means of consolidating powerful relations between families, for sealing deals over land or other property, or even for settling disputes. Marriage may also be a way of maintaining ethnic or community relations (Akpan, 2003; IPPF, 2007). In some parts of Asia, many girls are forced into early marriages to facilitate their (or their relatives') emigration to the West, particularly the UK and North America. There have been several reports of 'community marriages' in the UK, which involve underage girls marrying within immigrant communities from the Middle East, North Africa, Turkey and South Asia (Hill, 2004). Over the last decade a highly commercial form of

short-term marriages has also operated in Arab countries. Here, young girls are given in marriage to wealthy men from Arab Gulf countries only to become domestic servants or abandoned after a short time period (UNICEF, 2001).

In general the majority of young women marry migrants in the hope of improving their family status (IPPF, 2007). Families in refugee camps in Burundi, for example, protect their honour by marrying their daughters off as early as possible (UNICEF, 2001). Parents may genuinely feel that their daughter will be better off and safer with a regular male guardian. In conflict-torn Northern Uganda, some families marry their young daughters to militia members in order to defend family honour or secure 'protection' for themselves and the girl. Similar situation also occurred among girls in Somalia in the course of that country's conflicts (UNICEF, 2001).

2.3.3 Culture

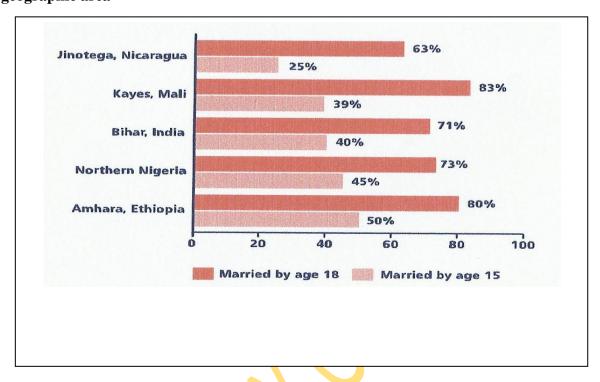
Entrenched community norms and myths clearly help to perpetuate the practice of child marriage. Statistics on the prevalence of early marriage reveal sectors or areas of countries such as ethnic, religious or socio-economic groups where a large majority of adolescent girls are married before their fifteenth birthday (IPPF, 2007). Table 2.3 provides data on such marriage 'hotspots' within selected countries in West Africa, South Asia and Latin America. Within large countries, such as India and Nigeria, there are often significant disparities in numbers of child marriages across states and regions (IPPF, 2007). Early marriage, in particular marriages of under-15s is more common in rural communities (Akpan, 2003). This is because rural households tend to have more entrenched traditional attitudes and customs, are less affected by external influences, and have fewer livelihood options for young women. In many villages that

practise early marriage, for example in Tamil Nadu State in India, girls are married off before they attain puberty because of the social stigma the community attaches to marriage after puberty. Many of such marriages end in divorce or the girls become widows, and custom forbids divorced or widowed women to remarry, further impoverishing them (IPPF, 2007). In parts of South Asia, the practice of families using young girls to settle family feuds is a form of child marriage, which is driven by tradition and family ties; In Pakistan, the practice of 'vani' requires giving away girls in marriage to relatives of murder victims, as compensation for crimes committed, or to settle feuds between families or clans (IPPF, 2007).

The practice of Trokosi is also common in parts of Ghana, Togo and Benin (Pathfinder International, 2005; Berhane, 2006; IPPF, 2007). Trokosi is a form of ritual slavery whereby girls begin their life of slavery within the shrine in pre-adolescence – some as young as four. Under this custom, a family must offer a virgin daughter to the gods to atone for the 'sins and crimes' of a relative who, in most cases, may be long dead. These girls are denied access to education and health care, and are required to spend the rest of their lives as 'wives of the gods' If a girl dies or the priest tires of her, she has to be replaced. The majority of parents are fearful of the consequences of not complying with the terms of these shrines (IPPF, 2007).

In Niger where 44 percent of 20-24 year old women were married under the age of 15, the need to follow tradition, reinforce ties among or between communities, and protect girls from out-of-wedlock pregnancy were the main reasons given for early marriage (UNICEF, 2001).

Figure 2.5: Percentage of women aged 20–24 who are married by ages 15 and 18, by geographic area



Source: IPPF, 2007

In Cotonou and Porto-Novo in Southern Benin, girls are betrothed at or before birth by their parents, in respect of friendship or based on a system of exchanging women between ethnic groups within the community (Ouattara et al., 1998). In communities where child marriage is prevalent there is strong social pressure on families to conform (Nwokolo, 2010). Failure to conform can often result in ridicule, disapproval or family shame. Local myths encourage earlier marriage of girls such as in the Amhara Region of Ethiopia where people perceive menstruation to be induced by intercourse – and such myths encourage earlier marriage of girls (IPPF, 2006). Invariably, local perceptions on the ideal age for marriage, the desire for submissive wives, extended family patterns and other customary requirements (e.g. dowries or bride price), are all enshrined in local customs or religious norms. In many contexts child marriage is legitimized by

patriarchy, and related family structures, which ensure that marriage transfers a father's role over his girl child to her future spouse (Akpan, 2003). This is often encouraged to take place before a girl reaches the age when she might question it (IPPF, 2007). In Nigeria Culture has also been found to be associated with early marriage (Akpan, 2003; Nwokolo 2010).

2.3.4 Religion

In a study conducted in India, child marriage was found to be more common among Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists relative to Christians, Sikhs, and others (Raj et al., 2010). In Nigeria, Ityavar and Jalingo (2006) reports that eight out ten married girls are of the Islamic faith, they further suggest that adolescent marriage tends to be more among Muslim girls than those of other religion. They also report that Islamic religious norms seem to support early marriage of girls.

2.3.5 To prevent premarital sex

Cultural and religious notions of a girl's virginity and chastity in many societies are directly linked to the honour and status of a family or clan (IPPF, 2007). Early marriage thus, is traditionally recognized as necessary for controlling girls' sexuality and reproduction. This means that there is tremendous pressure on parents to marry off girls early to preserve family honour and minimize the risk of improper sexual activity or conduct (Sagade, 2005). In some societies, parents withdraw their girls from school as soon as they begin to menstruate; fearing that exposure to male pupils or teachers puts them at risk (Richard and Sundar, 1999). These practices are all intended to shield the girl from male sexual attention, and in the eyes of some parents, marriage is seen to offer the ultimate 'protection' measure (UNICEF, 2001). Parents have become anxious about the danger of their daughters becoming pregnant outside marriage.

Thus any early opportunity for marriage may be seized upon. Many Bangladeshi girls are married soon after puberty, partly to protect the girls' sexual purity (UNICEF, 2001).

2.4 Decision making regarding marriage

In majority of countries the law grants women the right to consent to their marriage. Only in Cameroon, Jordan, Morocco, Uganda and Yemen are women specifically not granted by law the right to 'full, free and informed consent' to their marriage (UNICEF, 2001). In most countries where early marriage is practiced, decisions are usually made by parents or other care givers and most times with no inputs from the girls themselves. Among adolescents in a study, 71% of prospective spouse was chosen by their families (Gage et al., 2008). A study by Santhya et al., (2010) among married women aged 20-24 in India showed that while nearly two-thirds of women who had married late reported that their parents had sought their approval of the spouse chosen for them, only about one-third of those who had married early had been consulted. Opportunities for meeting or talking with their husband-to-be before marriage were limited, especially for those who had married early. Similarly, those who had married before age 18 were less likely than other women to; have been consulted about when and who to marry have had the chance to interact with their spouse-to-be prior to marriage, or have had a love marriage.

A study by UNICEF in six West African countries showed that in the communities studied, all decisions on the timing of marriage and the choice of spouse were made by the fathers. (UNICEF, 2001). In 2007, an in-depth interview conducted among married and unmarried adolescent girls in Kano Nigeria, by Erulkar and Bello for Population council and Adolescent Health and information Project, reveals that most of the married girls reported to have their

marriages arranged for them. In majority of the cases, girls' fathers were instrumental in making the arrangement but grandmothers and the prospective husbands were also involved. Some girls readily accepted the arrangement while a number of them tried to resist the arranged marriage but described fathers or mothers threatening them if they do not accede to the marriage.

2.5 Early marriage and spousal age

Several studies have highlighted the significance of spousal age in early marriages. Mensch, (2003) and UNFPA, (2005) observed that the younger the bride, the larger the spousal age difference. In another study, the mean age difference between women and their spouses was greater for those who had married early than for those who had married late (Santhya et al., 2010). Population council, (2002) and Raj et al., (2009) also showed that child marriage was more common among those women reporting husbands who were 10 or more years older. Furthermore, Clark, (2004) demonstrated that husbands of married adolescent girls are older than boyfriends of unmarried adolescent girls. A study of five very poor villages in Egypt found young girls being married off to much older men from oil-rich Middle Eastern countries via brokers (UNICEF, 2001).

In Nigeria, it was shown that the average age difference between spouses was 12 years if the wife marries before 15 years, compared to 8.5 if the wife marries at or after age 20 years (Ityavar and Jalingo 2006). On the contrary Erulkar and Bello, 2007 showed that there was a considerable age difference between girls and their spouses, however, this gap was not different for girls married at younger ages compared to those who married later. Report showed that spousal age gap may be wider in polygamous marriages where the average age between spouses is 15.3 years

in comparison to 8.8 years in monogamous marriages (Erulkar and Bello 2007; Itavar and Jalingo 2006).

2.6 Early marriage and family type

Although the practice of polygyny is decreasing in Nigeria, 27 percent of married girls aged 15–19 are in polygynous marriages (Population Council, 2004). Report also shows that younger brides are more likely to be in polygamous marriages and often as the second or third wife (Ityavar and Jalingo 2006).

2.7 Problems associated with early marriage

Early marriage is of serious public health problem in the lives of children and adolescents. The health and social problems linked to early marriage cannot be over emphasised. Its consequences to the girls who experience it can be devastating (Jain and Kurz 2007; UNICEF 2001; 2005; Mathur et al., 2003). For example majority are exposed to early and frequent sexual relations and to repeated pregnancies and childbirth before they are physically matured and psychologically ready, they have limited education and support systems, they are more likely to experience domestic violence.

2.7.1 Contraceptive use

Contraceptive use is generally low among adolescents (Rondini and Krugu, 2009). One of the health risk associated with early marriage is low use of contraception and reproductive health services and information (Focus 1999; IPPF, 2007). Blanc and Way, (1998) in their Analysis of DHS data showed that in 27 of 29 countries, more than half of recent unprotected sexual activity occurred within marriage; in Cameroon, Mali and Nigeria, the modern contraceptive usage rates

among married 15-19 year olds were only 1.5, 2.4 and 0.6 percent respectively. A study revealed that many girls in early marriages in developing countries do not have access to contraception, and delayed pregnancy would not be acceptable to many husbands and in-laws (Mensch et al, 1998).

Married girls typically have sex more frequently than unmarried girls, and that sex is more likely to be unprotected largely due to pressure to get pregnant. In almost all Asian and African countries, the family exerts strong pressure on the newly-married couple to begin child bearing quickly (Jones, 1997). Researchers (Santhya et. al., 2010; Raj et al., 2009) have shown that use of contraceptives to delay pregnancy was far less prevalent among those who had married early than among those who had married late. The International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) in a survey on the wellbeing of adolescents in two states in India revealed that girls who were married before the age of 18 years consistently reported being less able than young women married after the age 18 years to talk to their husbands about the use of contraception, when they wanted to have children and how many children to have. When asked if they never, sometimes or usually participated in decisions about aspects of their lives, women who had married early were more likely than those who married later to respond "never" (ICRW, 2005). A study on contraceptive use among 15–19-year-old girls in unions found that many felt pressurized by families to prove their fertility very early in the marriage. For example, 46 per cent of girls in unions had never used any contraception (UNICEF, 2005). In Nigeria, modern contraceptive use is more common among women in the Southern regions compared to those in the Northern regions (Ityavar and Jalingo 2006) where early marriage is more prevalent.

2.7.2 HIV/AIDS

The general belief that marriage protects girls from HIV infection effectively condones the practice of early marriage (IPPF, 2007). Fear of HIV infection, for example, has encouraged men in some African countries to seek young virgins – and therefore uninfected – partners (UNICEF, 2001). However, there is emerging evidence that early marriage may be associated with risk of HIV infection (Glynn et al., 2001; Bruce and Clark, 2004; Clark, 2004). In Kisumu, Kenya, and Ndola, Zambia, studies using biochemical tests found higher HIV infection rates among married girls ages 15 to 19 compared to sexually active unmarried girls of the same age (Glynn et al., 2001). Research conducted by the Population Council (Bruce, 2005) showed that child wives are more vulnerable to contracting HIV, particularly in generalized epidemics.

Table 2.2 shows child marriage hotspots in Africa, together with national HIV prevalence rates among girls married at different ages (IPPF, 2007). According to IPPF (2007), UNAIDS data shows that 60 percent of new HIV infections in Africa are among young women aged 15–24, and in parts of Africa and the Caribbean young women are nearly six times more likely to be infected with HIV than young men. A publication on HIV and young people revealed that in a study in Pune, India, a quarter of women in an antenatal clinic had contracted a sexually transmitted infection (STI) and about 14 percent were already HIV positive. The majority were married and 91 percent reported they had only had sexual relations with their husbands (IPPF, 2007).

Traditional HIV prevention strategies have focused on the 'ABC' approach; Abstinence, Being faithful and relying on Condoms. However, many of the world's women are not in a position to abstain from sex, rely on fidelity or negotiate condom use (Tallis, 2002), especially among

young girls within the context of marriage. A study demonstrated that husbands of married adolescent girls are older than boyfriends of unmarried girls (Clark, 2004), and thus are more likely to have had multiple sexual partners and also, are at a higher risk of HIV/AIDS (Ityavar and Jalingo 2006). Mensch, (2003), also observed that the younger the bride, the larger the spousal age difference.

Which then follows that child brides who have much older husbands often have less ability to negotiate safer sexual relationships and this predisposes them to high risk of contracting STIs/HIV (Bruce and Clark 2004). In addition, another recent study suggests that early marriage may place young women at heightened risk for STIs, including HIV (Santhya et al., 2010). And access to HIV/AIDS services is often restricted for most married adolescent girls (Gupta, 2000).

Table 2.1: Percentage of young women aged 15–24 married by age 15 and by age 18, and infected with HIV, by country and regional hotspot

	Per cent married by age 15		Per cent married by age 18		Nationwide HIV prevalence rate in
Country (regional hotspot)	Nationwide	Regional hotspot	Nationwide	Regional hotspot	young women aged 15–24
Ethiopia (Amhara)	19	50	49	80	10.0
Mozambique (Nampula)	22	53	57	82	18.8
Nigeria (Northwest)	19	41	43	79	7.0
Tanzania (Shinyinga)	6	14	39	59	9.7
Uganda (Eastern)	15	21	54	63	5.6
Zambia (Luapula)	9	16	44	55	25.2

Source: IPPF, 2007

2.7.3 Obstetric fistula

For every woman who dies in childbirth, about 15 to 30 survive but suffer chronic disabilities, one of the most devastating being obstetric fistula (UNFPA and Engenderhealth, 2003). Over two million girls and young women are affected by obstetric fistula, a treatable and preventable reproductive health complication (IPPF, 2007). Fistula is an injury to a woman's birth canal that leaves her leaking urine and/or faeces. Young women under age 20 are especially prone to developing fistulas if they cannot get a Caesarean section during prolonged obstructed labour. Prevalence is highest in impoverished communities in Africa and Asia (UNFPA and Engenderhealth, 2003). Adolescent mothers are more likely to experience fistula compared to adult mothers (Raj et al., 2009; ICRW, 2007; UNICEF, 2001).

In Nigeria, researchers (Akpan, 2003; Nwokolo, 2010;) have documented vessico vaginal fistula as a consequence of early marriage. Nigeria has an estimated 200,000 - 400,000 girls and women who have vesico vaginal fistula, with up to 1000 new cases occurring every year (Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006). In-depth interviews with married adolescent girls in Northern Nigeria showed that almost all the girls interviewed had knowledge of known cases of fistula among their peers; many believed that medical professionals caused it while few others linked the problem with early marriage (Erukar and Bello, 2007). Earlier age at marriage was also found to be significant among VVF patients in a study in Maiduguri, Nigeria by Ampofo et al., (1990); more than 26.9% of the fistulae occurred in women 15 years and more than 58.8% of them were 18 years.

2.7.4 Child bearing

In 2010, Santhya et al., demonstrated that young women who had married early were more likely than others to have had a miscarriage or stillbirth. The risks of early pregnancy and early child bearing in early marriage have been documented by different researchers (Senderwotz, 1995; Ouattara et al., 1998; Akpan, 2003; Bott and Jejeebhoy 2003; Save the Children, 2004; Mensch 2005; Haberland et al. 2005; UNICEF 2005). First births carry special risks for both mother and child, and according to an analysis of Demographic Health Survey (DHS) data by the Population Council, 90 percent of first births that occur before age 18 occur within marriage (Miller and Lester 2003). And the majority of births to adolescent girls, are unattended by health professionals (Rao, 1998). Early marriage extends a woman's potential childbearing capacity, which itself represents a risk to mothers. (Adlakha et al., 1991).

In Nigeria eighty-four percent of first births to adolescent girls occur within marriage. Among married girls aged 15-19 years, sixty-two percent have already given birth and about one of four girls gives birth before age 15 (Itavar and Jalingo 2006). Many of these adolescent girls are not prepared for their first births therefore often experience fear and confusion (Erukar and Bello 2007). Qualitative results of a study conducted by Erukar and Bello 2007 revealed that girls narrated an experience of child birth that was often extremely traumatic. In that study, it was reported that some of the girls delivered at home while some were sent to the hospital because of complications and many had babies who died shortly after childbirth.

2.7.5 Maternal and child mortality

Early marriage leads to early child bearing, with significantly higher maternal mortality and morbidity rates as well as higher infant mortality rates (Mensch 2005; UNICEF 2005; Save the Children 2004; Bott and Jejeebhoy 2003). Studies have shown that since early marriage coincide with early child bearing; young first-time mothers face an increased risk of maternal and infant mortality (Santhya, 2009; Lloyd 2005; Miller and Lester 2003). Reports have also shown that women married as minors are more likely than those married as adults to report early, frequent and unplanned pregnancies (typically as a consequence of non-contraceptive use), which have been consistently linked to increased risk for maternal and infant morbidity and mortality (Raj et al., 2009). Pregnancy-related deaths are also the leading cause of mortality in 15–19-year-old girls (Zabin and Kigaru 1998), and those aged under 15 years are five times more likely to die than those aged over 20 years. Infant deaths are also twice as high in babies of very young mothers (Population Action International, 2001; IPPF, 2007).

The health problems linked to early marriage not only affect the pregnant mother and the fetus, but also continue after childbirth. Evidence also shows that infant mortality among the children of very young mothers is higher sometimes two times higher than among those of older peers (United Nations, 1989).

2.7.6 Deprivation of childhood

Early marriage deprives a girl of her adolescence. In many traditional societies, the idea of adolescent period between childhood and adulthood is strange; it is believed that a girl who has started menstruation can bear a child, and is therefore regarded as a 'woman' (UNICEF, 2001).

According to a report by IPPF (2007), girls of primary school age not only are precluded from school but also lose their rights as children. Child marriage also transforms a school girl into an adult, even if she is only seven years old. Many girls who are married out early feel deprived of the opportunity they have to enjoy their childhood and are usually unhappy in their marriages (IPPF, 2007). Married adolescent girls are known to become quieter, and to lose the close friendships they had formed in their parental home, as well as social networks that they can rely on in times of hardship (Diop and N'Dione, 2002).

2.7.7 Domestic violence

Studies in diverse settings have found that females who marry early may be less capable than those who marry later of asserting themselves in their marriage, which may place them at higher risk of experiencing physical and sexual violence (Santhya et. al., 2010; Malhontra et al., 2011). Santhya et. al., (2010) showed that experience of spousal violence also differed by women's age at marriage with more of those who had married early reporting having ever experienced physical and sexual violence perpetrated by their husband, compared with those who had married late. A World Health Organization multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence found that age was a key risk factor; Younger women, particularly those aged 15–19, with lower levels of education had a higher risk of physical or sexual violence perpetrated by a partner in almost all the study countries (IPPF, 2007). Findings were similar with an analysis of DHS data from nine countries which found that, controlling for other characteristics, in about half the countries young age at marriage significantly increased a girl's or woman's risk of ever experiencing violence (Kishor and Johnson, 2004). In some societies, the adolescent bride is socially conditioned right from childhood that women are inferior to men, they are expected to

serve their husbands, obey their orders, satisfy their sexual needs and that men have the right to beat them if they fail to perform these expected duties properly (Khan, 2000). In India, ICRW and its partners conducted a survey on the well-being of adolescents in 2004. The survey found that girls, who were married before 18 were twice as likely to report being beaten, slapped or threatened by their husbands than girls who married later. They were also three times as likely to report being forced to have sex without their consent in the previous six months (ICRW, 2007). Cases of forced intercourse by much older and physically fully developed husbands with wives as young as eight have also been reported (UNICEF, 2001). A 1997 study among women in Calcutta found that half had been married at or below the age of 15, and that this group were highly vulnerable to sexual violence in marriage. In 80 per cent of cases where these young wives informed their husbands of their unwillingness to endure sexual violence, they were ignored. (Sen, 1997)

2.7.8 Educational attainment

Studies have documented that early marriage has negative effects on girls' education. Girls with low levels of schooling are more likely to be married early, and early marriage virtually puts an end to a girl's education (Jejeebhoy 1995; Mathur et al 2003; Jenson and Thornton, 2003; Akpan, 2003; Mensch, 2005; Santhya et al., 2010). The UNICEF statistical study found that in 47 countries, girls aged 15–19 who had higher levels of education were least likely to be in any marriage union (UNICEF, 2005). Also, Mensch 2005 in an analysis of data in developing countries showed that the percentage of girls married by age 18 years decreases as the number of years of schooling a girl has received increases. In another study, the highest prevalence of early

marriage was reported among those who were ages 22 to 24 years having less than a secondary education, (Raj et al., 2009).

Erulkar and Bello 2007, in a study on the experience of married adolescent girls in Northern Nigeria, showed that whether urban or rural, the lowest rates of educational attainment and the highest rates of illiteracy were in areas with the highest rates of early marriage i.e. the North east and North west regions. In another study, school dropout was also found to be a consequence of early marriage (Nwokolo, 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Study Area

This study was conducted in Akinyele Local Government Area (LGA) of Oyo State. This is one of the 33 LGAs in Oyo state with head quarter located in Moniya. It consists of 12 wards and has a total population of about 211,811 people comprising of about 105,594 males and 106,247 females (NPC, 1991). Akinyele LGA is inhabited by people of different ethnic groups which include Yoruba, Ibo, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe e.t.c. The major occupations of its inhabitants include agriculture, trading and vocational jobs. Most of the rural dwellers engage in farming and petty trading. The religions widely practiced are Islam and Christianity.

3.1 Study Site

Sasa is a community located in ward 8 (i.e. Ojo) which is one of the wards in Akinyele Local Government. Sasa has a population of about 7,992 comprising of 4,237 males and 3,755 females (NPC 1991) and a population projection of 9,225 in 1996. Sasa consist of about 12 compounds (Agbo-ile). The residents are predominantly Yoruba and Hausa. Their major occupation is farming and trading (mainly in farm produce). The Sasa community has two ethnic heads; the Bale and the Sarki for the two major ethnic groups in the community i.e. Yoruba and Hausa respectively. Other traditional rulers are those under the Bale and Sarki's cabinet and the market heads.

3.2 Study Population

The study population was adolescents 10-19 years and parents, traditional and religious leaders resident in Sasa community.

3.4 Inclusion Criteria

Consenting married and unmarried adolescents aged between 10 to 19 years who had been residing in Sasa community for at least one year prior to the study.

3.5 Exclusion Criteria

All those who do not fall within the inclusion criteria were excluded from the study.

3.6 Study Design

This was a cross-sectional study. Qualitative (key informant interviews) and quantitative research methods were used.

3.7 Sample Size

The minimum sample size to be studied was obtained from the statistical formula for estimating single proportion as shown below

$$n = \underline{z^2pq}$$
 (Leslie Kish formula)
 d^2

Where

n = minimum sample size

Z = standard normal deviate usually set at 1.96 which corresponds to the 95% confidence level p = proportion of the target population estimated to have good knowledge of early marriage and associated problems. (As no documented study was found, 50% i.e. 0.5 was used to estimate this proportion).

$$q = 1 - p = 0.5$$

d = degree of accuracy (precision); 5% i.e. 0.05 of the population proportion was selected

$$n = 1.96^2 \times 0.50 \times 0.50 = 384$$
$$0.05^2$$

Therefore, a minimum sample size of 384 adolescents was used. This figure was approximated to 400.

3.8 Sampling Technique

A three-stage sampling technique was used for the study.

Stage 1: This involved the random selection of 8 compounds out of the existing 12 compounds in Sasa.

Stage 2: This stage involved the random selection of 40 households from each of the selected compound.

Stage 3: In each compound, all eligible adolescents in the selected households were approached and all those who consented and those whose parents gave consent were interviewed till the required sample size for the compound was attained.

3.9 Data Collection

This study used both quantitative and qualitative method of data collection to elicit information from participants.

Research instrument

For quantitative data, information was elicited from the respondents using an interviewer administered semi-structured questionnaire. The information on the questionnaire covered the following areas;

Section A

Socio demographic characteristics of respondents

Section B

This section contained variables to assess adolescents' knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems

Section C

This included variables to measure adolescents' attitudes toward the practice of early marriage

Section D

This section covers variable to assess adolescents' potential practice of early marriage

The researcher-designed questionnaire was translated into Hausa and Yoruba languages for the purpose of participants who do not understand English. All versions of the questionnaire were validated by academic staff, colleagues and research staff.

For qualitative data, using a guide, key informant interviews were conducted with one teacher, one nurse/midwife, three traditional rulers, three religious leaders and eight parents in the community – who were all purposefully selected. The interview guide covered the following areas; participants' views as to why there is practice of early marriage, the advantages and disadvantages of early marriage and whether the practice should be continued or discontinued.

3.10 Recruitment and Training of Personnel

Four research assistants were recruited and had 2-day training. The training covered the following topics: validation of the instrument, sampling procedure, questionnaire administration and obtaining informed consent. The research assistants were adolescents who had completed secondary education residing in the study site.

3.11 Pretest

A pretest was conducted in Sabo, Ibadan North LGA to test the content validity and administration of the questionnaire. Corrections were made before the commencement of the study.

3.12 Data management and analysis

Questionnaires collected were safely kept. Data were entered, cleaned and analysed using SPSS version 15. Frequencies were generated. Knowledge of early marriage and associated problems was assessed using a 15-item scale. Knowledge score was calculated with correct answers scoring '1' and incorrect answers scoring '0' points. The scores were then summed up and mean score calculated. Knowledge scores were then categorized as poor (<8) and good (≥8) knowledge. Attitude towards early marriage was assessed with a 17-item 5-point likert scale i.e. Agree, Strongly agree, Undecided, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. Attitude scores were summed up with minimum and maximum scores of 17 and 85 respectively; scores <51 were categorized as unfavorable and ≥51 as favorable attitude to early marriage.

The association between respondents' level of knowledge (good or poor) and categorical independent variables such as socio-demographic characteristics was tested using the chi-square test. Similarly attitude score in categories was compared across levels of variables using the chi-square test. Logistic regression analysis was used to identify independent predictors of good knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems and unfavourable attitude towards early marriage.

3.13 Ethical consideration

Ethical approval was obtained from the Joint UI/UCH Institutional Review Committee. Respondents were given clear, adequate and complete information on what the study entailed, consent was sought from each respondent. Only those whose consent forms were signed were interviewed. The phone numbers and contact address of the researcher was prominently displayed on the informed consent form for further clarification by parents or guardians.

Questionnaires were translated and administered in respondents' native language (Yoruba or Hausa) for respondents who do not speak English language. Respondents were assured of confidentiality and anonymity as names were not required from them. Access to respondents' information was restricted to researchers only.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

SECTION A: quantitative survey

4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Sixty-three percent of the respondents were male and most (67.5%) were Yoruba. Some 77% of the adolescents were in the older (15-19 years) age group compared to 23% who were in the younger (10-14 years) age group (Table 4.1.1). Mean age of the adolescents was 16.1±2.3 years. the mean ages of Yoruba, Hausa and adolescents belonging to other ethnic groups were 16.4±2.0, 15.3±2.6 and 15.3±2.4 years respectively. The majority (94.2%) of the adolescents were single and only 5.8% of them were married, 6.6% had no formal education and 60.7% had at least a secondary education. Most (71.0%) of the respondents were currently schooling, while 29.0% were working full time. Of those working full time, 89 (78.8%) were into trading/business, 11 (9.7%) were farmers, 11 (9.7%) were house wives and two (0.5%) others were an auxiliary nurse and a house boy (Table 4.1.1).

Table 4.1.1: Socio-demographic characteristics of adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Variable	n	%
Sex (N=397)		
Male	250	63.0
Female	147	37.0
Age (N=397)		
10-14 years	91	22.9
15-19 years	306	77.0
Ethnicity (N=397)		
Hausa	105	26.4
Yoruba	268	67.5
Ibo/Others	24	6.0
Religion (N=396)		
Islam	189	47.7
Christianity	203	51.3
Traditional	4	1.0
Marital status (N=397)		
Single	374	94.2
Married	23	5.8
Type of family (N=397)		
Monogamous	291	73.2
Polygamous	106	26.7
Level of education (N=395)		
No formal education	26	6.6
Primary school completed	114	29.1
Junior secondary school completed	140	35.2
Senior secondary school completed	101	25.5
Tertiary	14	3.6

Table 4.1.2 presents data on the characteristics of respondents' parents. Eighty-five percent of parents were married and living together, 6.1% were married but living apart and 2.3% were divorced. Sixty-eight of the fathers (17.3%) and 117 (29.6%) of the mothers had no formal education. The majority of respondents' fathers (67.5%) and mothers (78.7%) were in private business and trading.

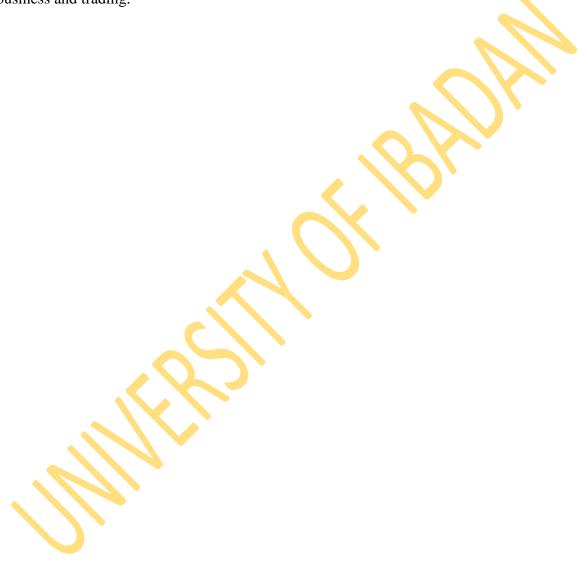


Table 4.1.2: Distribution of parent's characteristics in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Variable	n	%
Marital status of parents (N=394)		
Living together	335	85.0
Living apart	24	6.1
Divorced	9	2.3
Mother dead	5	1.3
Father dead	5	1.3
Both parents dead	16	4.1
Father's level of education (N=395)		
No formal education	68	17.3
Primary school completed	89	22.7
Junior secondary school completed	44	11.0
Senior secondary school completed	86	21.4
Tertiary	95	24.2
No idea	13	3.3
Mother's level of education (N=395)		
No formal education	117	29.6
Primary school completed	114	28.9
Junior secondary school completed	34	8.6
Senior secondary school completed	63	15.9
Tertiary	56	14.2
No idea	11	2.8
Father's occupation (N=394)		
Trading/Business	266	67.5
Civil servant	100	25.4
Farming	8	2.0
Artisan	20	5.2
Mother's occupation (N=394)		
Trading/Business	310	78.7
Civil servant	34	8.6
farming	6	1,5
House wife	44	11.2

4.2 Knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems

Respondents' definition of early marriage

Only 60 (15.1%) respondents correctly defined early marriage as any marriage in which one or both partners was below the age of 18 years. The majority (76.6%) of those who incorrectly defined early marriage mentioned ages less than 17 years; the most frequent age mentioned was 15 years.

Respondents' knowledge of law prohibiting early marriage in Nigeria

Ninety-six percent of respondents were not aware of the existence of a law prohibiting early marriage in Nigeria. Moreover none of the respondents were aware of the penalty for anyone who forced a child into early marriage.

Respondents' knowledge of problems associated with early marriage

Knowledge of problems associated with early marriage is presented in Table 4.2.1. Some of the problems mentioned were early child bearing (89.2%) maternal deprivation (76.8%), poor child care (75.8%), obstructed labour (68.3%), high risk of vesico-vagina fistula (65.2%), poor access to contraceptives (65.2%) and high risk of HIV/AIDS (59.4%).



Table 4.2.1: Knowledge of problems associated with early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Problems of early marriage*	n	%
High risk of contracting HIV/AIDS	236	59.4
School drop-out	237	59.7
Poor access to contraceptives	259	65.2
High risk of Vessico Vagina Fistula (VVF)	259	65.2
Obstructed labour	271	68.3
Intolerance due to difference in age	285	71.8
Early widowhood - where the girl - Child marries an old man who		
may die sooner or later	288	72.5
Divorce due to immaturity	291	73.3
Poor child care	301	75.8
Deprivation of Childhood	307	77.3
Early Parenthood	331	83.4
Early sexual initiation	353	88.9
Early Child bearing	354	89.2
UNIT IL T		

*Multiple responses

Knowledge of correct definition of early marriage, law prohibiting early marriage in Nigeria and problems associated with early marriage was the categorised as "good" and "poor" knowledge. In all, 73.6% of respondents had good knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems, while only 26.4% had poor knowledge.



Association between respondents' socio-demographic characteristics and knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems

The relationship between respondents' socio-demographic characteristics and their knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems was examined (Table 4.2.2). In the sex category, there was no significant difference in the knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems among male (76.0%) and female (69.4%) respondents. Also, marital status and occupation had no significant influence on knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems. However, good knowledge was significantly higher among those in the 15-19 years age group (78.0%) than those in the 10-14 years age group (59.3%) ($X^2 = 12.518$, p < 0.001). Similarly, ethnicity had a significant effect on knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems as more Yoruba (81.0%) compared to Hausa (62.9%) and adolescents belonging to Ibo/other ethnic groups (37.5%) had good knowledge ($X^2 = 29.790$, p < 0.001). Also, more of those respondents who attained a level of education up to secondary school and above (80.7%) than those who attained primary school and below had good knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems (X² = 15.080, p < 0.001). Other factors which significantly influenced knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems were religion ($X^2 = 7.020$, p = 0.008) and family type ($X^2 = 4.999$, p = 0.025) (Table 4.2.2).

Table 4.2.2: Knowledge of early marriage and associated problems by socio-demographic characteristics of adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Socio-demographic characteristics	and its associat	Knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems		\mathbf{X}^2	P-value
	Good Knowledge	Poor Knowledge			
	S	C			
σ.	n (%)	n (%)			
Sex	100 (76.0)	(0 (24 0)	250		
Male	190 (76.0)	60 (24.0)	250	0.001	0.140
Female	102 (69.4)	45 (20.6)	147	2.081	0.149
Age	54 (50.2)	27 (40.7)	01		
10-14 years	54 (59.3)	37 (40.7)	91	10.510	0.000
15-19 years	237 (78.0)	67 (22.0)	304	12.518	0.000
Ethnicity	(O)	20 (27 ()			
Hausa	66 (62.9)	39 (37.1)	105		
Yoruba	217 (81.0)	51 (19.0)	268		
Ibo/Others	9 (37.5)	15 (62.5)	24	29.790	0.000
Religion					
Christianity	161 (79.7)	41 (20.3)	187		
Islam	127 (67.9)	60 (32.1)	202	7.020	0.008
Family type					
Monogamous	205 (70.7)	85 (29.3)	290		
Polygamous	86 (81.9)	19 (18.1)	105	4.999	0.025
Marital status					
Single	274 (73.3)	100 (26.7)	374		
Married	18 (78.3)	5 (21.7)	23	0.278	0.598
Level of education					
Primary school and below	87 (62.1)	53 (37.9)	140		
Secondary school and	202 (80.2)	50 (19.8)	252	15.08	0.000
above		` '			
Occupation					
Student	210 (75.8)	67 (24.2)	277		
Trading/Business	62 (69.7)	27 (30.3)	89		
Farming	7 (63.6)	4 (36.4)	11		
House wife	8 (72.7)	3 (27.3)	11	1.965	0.580
	- ()	- ()			
Total	73.4	23.6	397		

Table 4.2.3 presents linear regression analysis of factors associated with knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems. Only variables which were significant were included in this table. Christians had asignificantly higher mean knowledge score compared to Muslims (B = 0.210, p = 0.001). Similarly, compared to respondents from monogamous homes, those from polygamous homes had a higher mean knowledge score (B = 0.161, p = 0.002). The mean knowledge score of adolescents with at least a secondary education was higher than those with at most a primary education (B = 0.221, p = 0.000).

Table 4.2.3: Lineaer regression analysis of factors associated with knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government area, Nigeria

Variable	Standardised coefficient (B)	P value
Level of education	0.221	0.000
Religion	0.210	0.001
Family type	0.161	0.002

4.3 Respondents' attitude towards the practice of early marriage

Respondents' attitude towards early marriage was assessed on a 5-point likert scale. However, for the purpose of descriptive statistics it was re-categorised into a 3-point scale. Table 4.3.1 and Table 4.3.2 shows the results obtained.



Table 4.3.1: Attitude towards for early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Attitude towards early marriage	Agree n (%)	Undecided n (%)	Disagree n (%)
A boy/girl can get married before the age of 18			
years if he/she is physically matured to have children	265 (66.9)	25 (9.9)	07 (24.4)
	265 (66.8)	35 (8.8)	97 (24.4)
A boy/girl can get married before the age of 18 years if he/she is mentally matured to handle			
marriage	258 (65.0)	42 (10.6)	97 (24.4)
Early marriage helps to avoid immoral activity	311 (78.3)	33 (8.3)	53 (13.4)
Early marriage is acceptable if the boy/girl is	311 (70.5)	33 (0.3)	33 (13.1)
able to manage household	254 (64.0)	60 (15.1)	63 (20.9)
Early marriage is acceptable if the boy/girl has			,
a source of income	276 (69.5)	48 (12.1)	73 (18.4)
Early marriage is acceptable if the boy/girl is		(====)	()
able to cope with extended family	236 (59.4)	62 (15.6)	99 (24.9)
Early marriage is acceptable if a boy/girl has		, ,	` ,
completed education up to Secondary School			
level	134 (33.8)	57 (14.4)	206 (51.9)
Marrying before the age of 18 increases	10. (22.0)	<i>5</i> , (1)	200 (21.7)
chances of better spouses	215 (54.2)	67 (16.9)	115 (29.0)

Table 4.3.2: Attitude towards reasons for early marriage among adolescents in Sasa Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

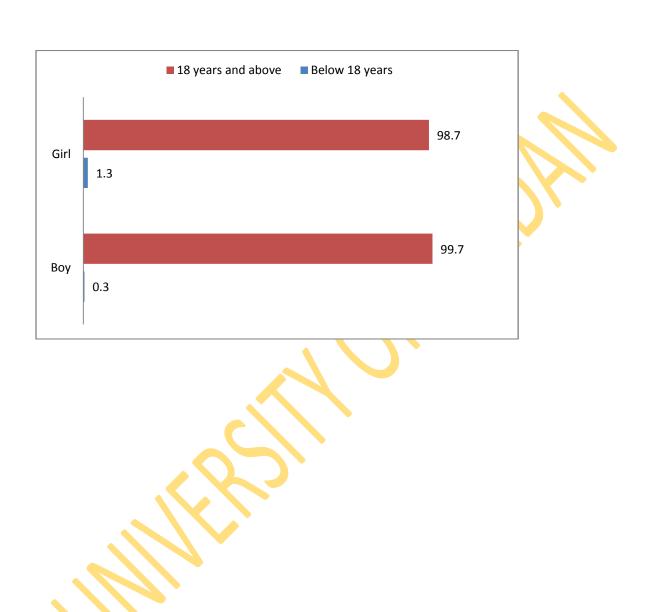
Attitude towards early marriage	Agree n (%)	Undecided n (%)	Disagree n (%)
Family pressure from father, mother, sibling and other relatives can cause early marriage	101 (25.4)	97 (24.4)	199 (50.1)
Poverty i.e. lack of finance in the girl's family and harsh economic situation can cause early marriage	31 (7.8)	28 (7.1)	338 (85.1)
Unwanted pregnancy by the family and the girl-child can cause early marriage	31 (7.8)	44 (11.1)	322 (81.5)
Early marriage can occur when parents force a man on their girl-child who has no choice but to adhere	78 (19.6)	68 (17.1)	251 (63.2)
Early marriage can be due to peer pressure i.e. marrying because friends and age mates are getting married	262 (66.0)	65 (16.4)	70 (17.6)
Broken homes where the boy/girl child is left at the mercy of one parent can lead to early marriage	77 (19.4)	65 (16.4)	254 (64.1)
Because of the cultural attachment to virginity, girls marry early to maintain it	70 (17.5)	49 (12.4)	277 (69.9)
If you don't marry early your beauty will fade	205 (51.6)	17 (4.3)	175 (44.1)
Early marriage is a culture in my community	230 (57.9)	23 (5.8)	144 (36.3)

Attitudes were then re-categorised as favourable (in support of early marriage) and unfavourable (against early marriage). About 59% of the respondents were not favourably disposed to the practice of early marriage.

Ideal age for marriage

Respondents' opinions on the ideal age of marriage for both boys and girls were sought. Their responses were then categorised into below 18 years and 18 years and above. The results obtained are presented in Figure 4.3.1. Almost all those who gave response to these questions are of the opinion that the ideal age of marriage for both boys (99.7%) and girls (98.7%) should be 18 years and above.

Figure 4.3.1: Opinion regarding ideal age of marriage for girls and boys among adolescents in Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria



Opinions regarding decision about timing of marriage and choice of partner

Forty-three percent felt that their fathers should decide when a girl/boy should get married. In terms of choice of partner, 43.5% thought both parents should choose a spouse for females while 57.4% thought males should make the choice for themselves (Table 4.3.3, Table 4.3.4, and Table 4.3.5).

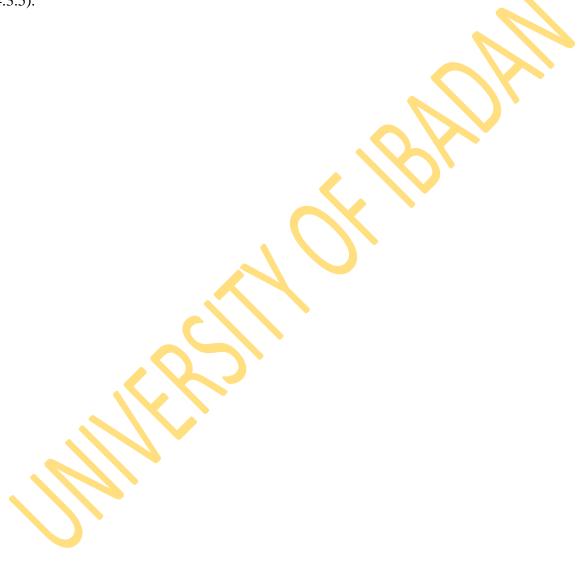


Table 4.3.3: Opinions regarding decision about timing of marriage among adolescents in Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Decision making on when a girl/boy should get		
married	n	%
Boy and girl	11	2.8
Boys alone	14	3.6
Girls alone	16	4.1
Mother	36	9.3
Both parents	145	37.3
Father	167	42.9
Total	389	100



Table 4.3.4: Opinions regarding choice of partner for females among adolescents in Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Opinion on who should choose spouse for females	n	%
I don't know	10	2.5
Mother	23	5.8
Girls and parents	25	6.3
Father	48	12.1
Girls alone	110	27.7
Both parents	181	45.3
Total	397	100

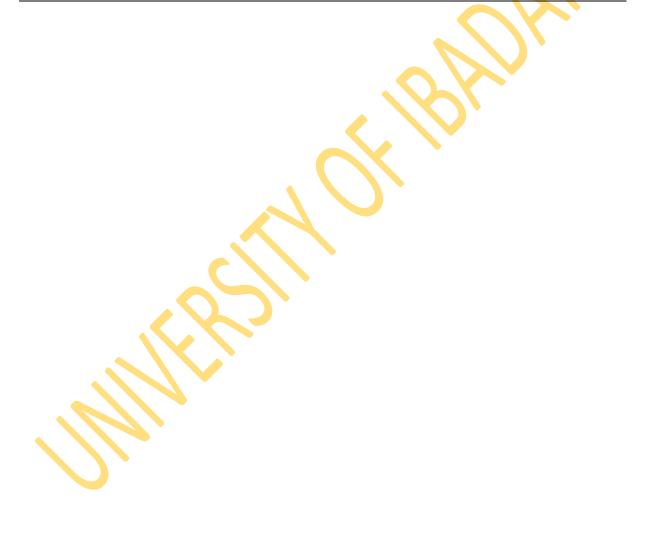


Table 4.3.5: Opinions regarding decision about timing of marriage and choice of partner

Opinion on who should choose spouse for males	n	%
I don't know	10	2.5
Mother	11	2.8
Father	44	11.1
Boys and parents	50	12.5
Both parents	54	13.6
Boys alone	228	57.4
Total	397	100

Association between respondents' socio-demographic characteristics and their attitudes toward the practice of early marriage

Table 4.3.6 shows the assessment of respondents' attitude towards early marriage by their sociodemographic characteristics. More adolescents aged 10-14 years (69.2%) olds than those aged 15-19 years (32.8%) supprted the practice of early marriage (p < 0.001). similarly, a higher proportion of respondents belonging to Ibo/other ethnic groups (70.8%) than Hausa (52.4%) and Yoruba (34.2%) had favourable attitude toward early marriage (p < 0.001). Also, religious practice was also significantly associated with early marriage with more Muslims (52.9%) than Christians (29.0%) favourably disposed to the practice (p < 0.001). In addition, level of education had a significant relationship with the practice of early marriage; more respondents with at most a primary education (47.9%) were favourably disposed compared to those with at least a secondary education (37.6%) to the practice of early marriage (p = 0.048).

Table 4.3.6: Association between respondents' attitudes toward early marriage and sociodemographic characteristics of adolescents in Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Socio-demographic	Attitude towards early		Total	\mathbf{X}^2	P-value
characteristics	marriage				
	Favourable	Unfavourable			
	n(%)	n(%)			
Sex (n=395)					
Male	97 (38.8)	153 (61.2)	250		
Female	66 (45.5)	79 (54.5)	145	1.708	0.191
Age (n=393)					
10-14 years	63 (69.2)	28 (30.8)	91		
15-19 years	99 (32.8)	203 (67.2)	302	38.344	< 0.001
Ethnicity (n=395)					
Hausa	55 (52.4)	50 (47.6)	105		
Yoruba	91 (34.2)	175 (65.8)	266		
Ibo/0thers	17 (70.8)	7 (29.2)	24	19.472	< 0.001
Religion (n=387)					
Christianity	58 (29.0)	142 (71.0)	187		
Islam	99 (52.9)	88 (47.1)	200	22.974	< 0.001
Family type (393)	\				
Monogamous	115 (3 <mark>9.</mark> 8)	174 (60.2)	289		
Polygamous	47 (45.2)	57 (54.8)	104	0.920	0.337
Marital status (395)					
Single	157 (42.2)	215 (57.8)	372		
Married	6 (26.1)	17 (73.9)	23	2.322	0.128
Level of education (386)					
Primary school and below	67 (47.9)	73 (52.1)	140		
Secondary school and above	94 (37.6)	156 (62.4)	252	3.895	0.048
Occupation (386)					
Student	118 (42.8)	158 (57.2)	276		
Trading/Business	30 (34.1)	58 (65.9)	88		
Farming	5 (45.5)	6 (54.5)	11		
House wife	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)	11	2.264	0.519
Total	163 (41.2)	234 (58.8)	397		

Table 4.3.7 presents linear regression analysis of factors associated with attitudes toward the practice of early marriage. Only variables which were significant were included in this table. Younger adolescents had higher mean attitude score (in support of early marriage) compared to older adolescents (B = -0.211, p = 0.000). Respondents from Hausa ethnic group had higher mean attitude score compared to Yoruba and respondents from Ibo/other ethnic groups (B = 0.194, p = 0.000). Also, Muslims had higher mean attitude score compared to Christians (B = -0.178, p = 0.001). Respondents who had lower knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems had higher attitude mean score (B = -0.343, p = 0.000).

Figure 4.3.7: Linear regression of factors associated with attitude towards the practice of early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government area, Nigeria

Variable	Standardised coefficient (Beta)	P value	
Age	-0.211	0.000	
Ethnicity	0.194	0.000	
Religion	-0.178	0.001	
Knowledge of early marriage	-0.343	0.000) `

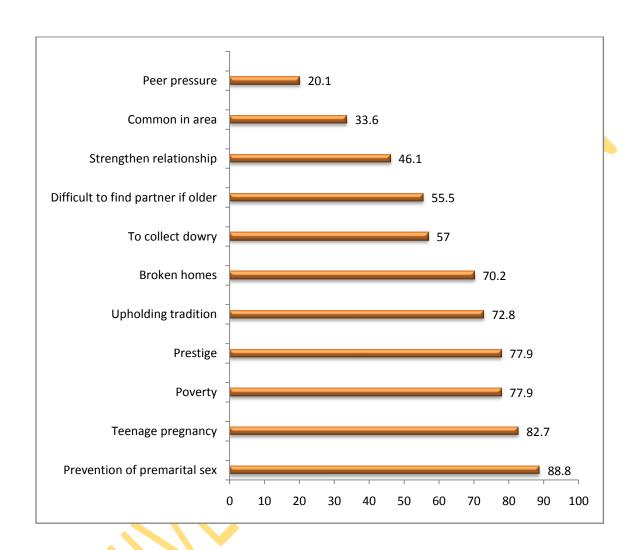


4.4 Practice of early marriage

For perceived practice of early marriage, 276 (70.4%) respondents reported that early marriage was a common practice in their community and about 30% of respondents reported that early marriage was a common practice in their tribe.

When asked about the reasons for the practice of early marriage, the common reasons respondents mentioned were to prevent premarital sex (88.8%), to prevent teenage pregnancy (82.7%), poverty (77.9%) and upholding tradition (72.8%) (Figure 4.4.1).

Figure 4.4.1: Percentage distribution of responses to reasons for early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria



Prevalence of early marriage and characteristics of married respondents

All the 23 respondents who were married were females. The overall prevalence of early marriage among respondents was 4.3% (Figure 4.4.2) while the prevalence of early marriage among the female respondents was 11.0%. The mean age at marriage for all married respondents was 15.7 ± 1.9 years. The mean age at marriage for Yoruba, Hausa and adolescents from Ibo/other ethnic groups were 16.9 ± 1.3 , (15.0 ± 2.0) and (15.5 ± 0.7) respectively. About 74% of all married adolescents got marriage before they were 18 years old (Figure 4.4.3). The mean age at marriage of those in early marriage was 14.9 ± 1.4 years.

Figure 4.4.2: Prevalence of early marriage among adolescents in in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

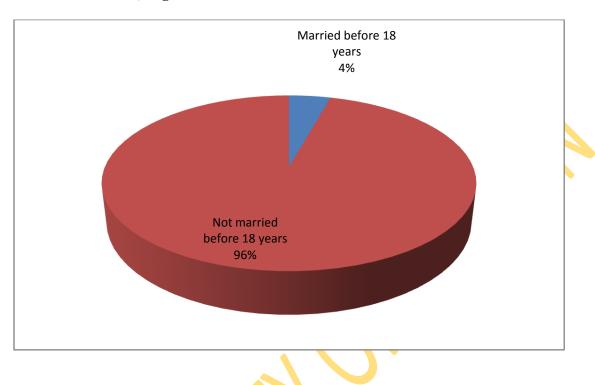


Figure 4.4.3: Proportion of married adolescents who were married at <18 years in Sasa,
Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

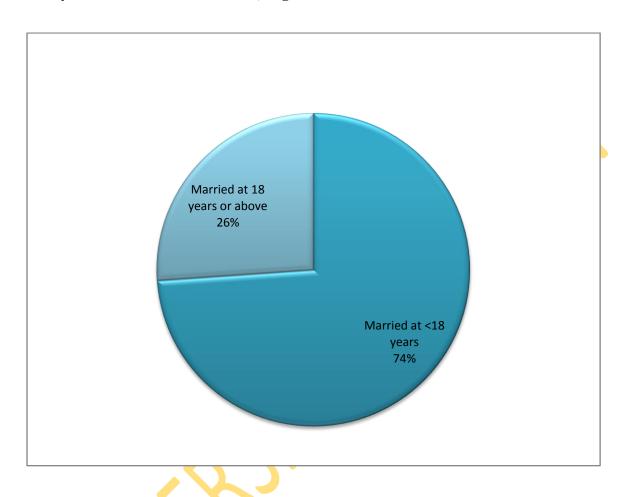


Table 4.4.1: Reasons for early marriage among adolescents who married before the age o 18 years in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Reasons	Married below 18 years N=17		
Peer pressure	43.8		
To strengthen relationship	50.0		
Difficult to find partner if older	56.3		
To collect dowry	68.8		
Poverty	68.8		
Prestige	68.8		
Teenage pregnancy	68.8		
Family pressure	75.0		
Upholding tradition	75.0		
Broken homes	81.3		
Family pressure	85.7		
Common in area	93.8		
To prevent premarital sex	93.8		

Potential practice of early marriage

Ninety percent of respondents did not know of any of their relations who got married before the age of 18 years. Respondents' opinion was sought on future practice of early marriage; most (90.0%) of the unmarried respondents said they would not like to marry before 18 years and only 18.7% said somebody had shown interest in marrying them.

Table 4.4.2 shows respondents' opinion on decision to get married before 18 years by socio-demographic characteristics. Level of education and age of respondents significantly influenced future practice of early marriage. Of those with less than secondary education, 16.0% would like to marry before they are 18 years compared with 7.0% who had at least a secondary education (p = 0.001). Likewise 15.6% of younger adolescents compared to 7.8% of older adolescents would like to get married before they are 18 years old (X = 4.693, P = 0.030).

Table 4.4.2: Opinion on decision to get married before 18 years by socio-demographic characteristics of in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area, Nigeria

Variables	Would like to marry before the age of 18 years		Total	X^2	P-value
	Yes (%)	No (%)			
Ethnicity (n=3374)					
Hausa	17 (16.2)	88 (83.8)	105		
Yoruba	26 (9.7)	242 (90.3)	268		
Ibo/0thers	1 (4.2)	23 (95.8)	24	4.463	0.107
Religion (n=366)					
Christianity	17 (8.4)	185 (91.6)	187		
Islam	27 (14.4)	160 (84.6)	202	3.511	0.061
Family type (372)					
Monogamous	35 (12.1)	255 (87.9)	290		
Polygamous	8 (7.6)	97 (92.4)	105	1.574	0.210
Level of education (369)					
Primary school and below	25 (17.9)	115 (82.1)	140		
Secondary school and above	18 (7.1)	234 (92.9)	252	10.579	0.001
Total	38 (10.2)	336 (89.8)	374	•	

SECTION B: qualitative interviews

Key informants included parents, religious and traditional rulers, nurse/midwife and a teacher.

The responses obtained from the interviews were grouped and presented in sub-sections below:

4.5 Views on early marriage

Early marriage was viewed from different perspectives mostly along religious and cultural backgrounds. Generally, the female key informants, mostly from the Yoruba ethnic group, were of the opinion that early marriage is one in which the girl is less than or between the ages of 20-25 years "Early marriage is marriage of a lady below 25 years i.e. when a girl cannot make an informed decision. Early marriage is a common practice in Sasa community" (Female, Yoruba, Parent). And for some, their views seemed not to be in support of it. For example one said: "Early marriage is a terrible thing; any marriage below age 20 is early" (Female, Yoruba, Parent)

However, most of the Hausa males including a traditional ruler ascertained that there is no age definition for early marriage instead sexual maturity should be the major determinant. This was also supported by the views of a religious leader who says: "If the girl is sexually matured she can get married, it doesn't stop her from going to school. There is nothing like early marriage because even the prophet himself married his wife when she was seven years old" (Male, Muslim, Religious leader). In contrast, another Religious leader gives his verdict – "...in fact according to the law of the church contained in a form, it is any marriage less than the age 0f 21 years except otherwise with a written consent from parent/guardian approved by the church under certain conditions" (Male, Christian, Religious leader)

Some of the key informants, mostly the Hausa said early marriage should be encouraged especially because of the injunction of the Islamic religion and also for early childbirth so that the children will become adults that can take care of their parents. On the other hand, a teacher interviewed believe that those who engage in early marriages are usually not well educated, cannot make informed decisions, and would largely be dependent on the man they marry and also, that there are usually health complications associated with it. She added that the Yoruba tradition demands that women should be hardworking and so, before attempting marriage women should have either formal or informal education; "for me, any child who wants to get married should be well educated all round not only the formal education but also in all aspects of life, because it is not good for a girl to stay in her husband's house without doing anything and it is not good to marry a woman who does not know how to do anything especially in Yoruba land where women are expected to be hardworking. Nobody wants to marry a woman who will keep requesting for money every day; this can lead to collapse of marriage. So far marriage is necessary, before marrying one should try and achieve something in their hand even if they cannot go to school, it could either be sewing, hair dressing or selling something"

Another group, mainly the Yoruba parents believe that a key determinant to marriage is financial capability. "Anyone, male or female who is financially capable regardless of the age can get married" (Male, Yoruba, Parent). Another informant gave his own views on early marriage as: It was my father who married wife for me early 13 years ago; my wife was less than 18 years old (Male, Hausa, Parent).

4.6 Reasons for early marriage

One of the foremost reasons mentioned especially among the Hausa ethnic group is that the Islamic teaching supports early marriage:

"The reason is this, in Islamic religion it is expected that anybody who is sexually matured should get married. But most importantly, what everybody is supposed to seek first is education especially for males. They should seek education first before they get married because if you are educated as a man you would be able to manage your wife so well and she would treat you with all respect in accordance with the teachings of the holy prophet. The other reason is to prevent promiscuity. (Male, Hausa, Religious leader)

"Early marriage is not only in Sasa community, for every Muslim in this world there are doctrines contained in the holy Quran. It is clearly written out there. It is stated that a girl should not begin her first menstruation in her father's house and even if she does she should be taken to her husband immediately. Therefore the only reason is that God has said so and so must be done." (Male, Hausa, traditional ruler).

In addition, a strong theme emerging from the interviews were the fear of premarital sex, promiscuity and unwanted pregnancy. To forestall this, marriage of girls at an early age becomes an attractive option. Also, it emerged that some girls who have been sexually abused may be tempted to get married just to escape the ordeal. The following excerpts capture these points succinctly:

Fear of promiscuity by parents, lack of value for education and illiteracy (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler)

"A man marries early in order to prevent him from chasing women. As for a woman, she marries early in order to prevent fornication and promiscuity" (Male, Hausa, Parent).

"When a female child is being abused or subjected to labour it prompts the girl to want to get married; for example, a girl once told me that "I lived with my uncle who keeps having an affair with me, so I had to get married" Other reasons are pregnancy from a relative, teenage pregnancy, orphaned children and broken homes where there is no parental control" (Male, Christian Religion leader)

Paucity of education, idleness and lack of parental control were emphasised as factors that contribute to the practice of early marriage. However, one main underlying factor – poverty in the community was generally recogmised. "There is early marriage in this community because of lack of proper training of children. If a child has proper training she is not likely to follow okada man. If they have good training they will not engage in risky behaviours like unwanted pregnancy that may lead to early marriage. Other reasons for early marriage are when the children's needs are met, lack of religious knowledge, lack of education. Poverty is the major reason – when they give the girls №10, №20 upwards, they get carried away and quickly give in to marriage or premarital sex. Before now the men were giving them coke but now it is handset" (Female, Teacher). "Poverty and when there is no parental control, it allows the child to

misbehave, a girl of 15 years comes with money home and nobody questions her" (Female, Yoruba, Parent)

Also, a nurse/midwife and a Yoruba male parent insisted that the low use or understanding of contraceptives has also been implicated in unwanted pregnancies and consequently early marriage. Another reason given for early marriage was that some parents influence their children to marry early. "Some mothers influence their children to get married early, because they were not able to give birth immediately after their own marriages. The fear of not wanting their daughter to experience the same delay they went through makes them to encourage their daughters to marry very early and also, because they want to see their grand children" (Female, Yoruba, Parent)

4.7 Problems associated with early marriage

Some of the informants (mainly Hausa) held that there is no problem associated because they felt early marriage has religious backings. However others simply believe that lack of education and sexual and mental maturity should be the major concern. Some excerpts from the interviews throw more light on that:

"No problems at all because God says a girl should be given out for marriage early. It is the will of God and there is no problem in doing the will of God. God himself knows how to protect from any kind of problem" (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler).

An Islamic religious leader however noted that: "Problems associated with early marriage can be linked to lack of education. Therefore, if there is education, there will be no problems associated with early marriage" A Yoruba traditional ruler's views supported this claims; "The problems are low academic pursuit, low source of income and misunderstanding. A woman becomes a liability to the man. Unless she already had a disease otherwise there is no associated health problem".

"There will be problem if she is not physically and mentally matured. But if she shows sexual, physical and mental maturity she can be married out regardless of the age" (Male, Muslim, Religious leader)

A traditional ruler adds: "There could be problems of obstructed labour, VVF and inability to cope with marriage itself" (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler). A parent also said that "There could be a problem during delivery if her husband meets her when she is still very young without waiting for her" (Male, Hausa, Parent).

Low level of academic pursuits, low income, high dependency of women on men, child birth complications, VVF and other associated risks of obstructed labour were also highlighted as problems associated with early marriage. For example; "They have no experience, they are prone to having VVF, problem of early delivery, usually seek medical attention late or not at all, low use of contraception- prefers local means" (Female, Nurse/Midwife). The fear of maltreating the girl child who goes into early marriage was brought to the fore by some informants who were of the opinion that there is a higher risk of violence towards such young girls: "The girl child may not be taken care of properly as she is used to before she gets married. There may be violence in

the home and sometimes divorce" (Male, Yoruba, Parent). "Problem of divorce at most after two years, violence at home, sexually transmitted infections especially if the marriage is as a result of unplanned pregnancy" (Female, Yoruba, Parent).

More so, some said the very young girls lack the physical and mental maturity to be a parent and to handle a family and that there may be a lack of communication between the couple due to differences in age. A parent was of the opinion that immaturity might preclude the ability of the girl to show the required respect for her extended family and manage the home in its entirety. "There is lack of respect for extended family and inability to take care of home" (Female, Yoruba, Parent).

4.8 Ideal age of marriage

There was a reasonable level of diversity as to the ideal age of marriage for both males and females, but on a general note, Hausa Muslim informants consented to marriage at a younger age especially for females with several factors being attributed to this.

One Hausa male was of the view that a girl as young as 12 years could be married; with his ideal age for men being between 18 and 20 years while a Hausa traditional ruler felt that the ideal age for females should be between 15 and 20 adding that a man who has completed his tertiary education should be eligible to get married. A Hausa male parent believe the marriage age for girls should be between 16 to 18 years while the age range for males being between 22 and 25 years but another Hausa traditional leader emphasised the need for female maturity in marriage

and therefore put the minimum marriage age for females at 18 to 20 years while their male counterpart could be married as from 20 to 25.

Yoruba informants were more inclined to a higher age of marriage for Females. For example, a male and a female Yoruba informant put the ideal age of marriage for females at 21 and 20 respectively while they both felt the age for the males be around 25 and 27. Two other female Yoruba parents also gave their contribution. One was of the opinion that the marriage age should be above 20 for females and 23 for men while the other decided that marriage age for females be 25 and 30 for males. However, a Yoruba traditional leader felt that 18 should be the benchmark age for anybody- either male or female for marriage while another male Yoruba parent said "if a girl completes junior secondary school, and the man she wants to marry is capable, then it's okay for her to marry and for males, 26 years and above or if a man is financially buoyant"

From the Religious standpoint, a male Christian religious leader maintains that the marriage age for females should not be less than 20 years while for males 24 years. A Muslim religious leader suggested the marriage age for females between 18 and 20 years and for males 20 and 25 years but added that a sense of responsibility on the part of the man is required: "He should have it in mind that he will never run away and leave his wife, he must always be there to provide for her"

There was a view among a number of informants that the determinant for marriage may not strictly be chronological age but female maturity as expressed by this male Muslim religious leader: "For a girl, if she is physically and mentally matured and this varies, for some it could be from 15 years and above. For a man, if he can feed his wife, take care of her health, education,

and housing and also, when he is physically matured, usually from 18 years and above". A couple of Respondents of the Hausa ethnic group shared this view. They opined that physical and biological maturity should be of priority over age especially for females since there might not be a direct correlation between age, physique and sexual maturity.

"Females at 18 years, maximum 20 years a girl should be married. Males are different from females in that males appear to look younger than their age. A man of 30 years can marry a girl of 18 years; likewise a man of 40 years can marry a girl of 20 years. Males' stature is different from that of females, for a female, after her first or second birth she already looks older than her age. A man may have more than three children and may not even look like he is married. For example I myself talking to you if I don't tell you that I am married you may not know but as am seated here, I have 2 children. So there is no age limit for males. (Male, Hausa, Parent)

"Well, it depends because females have a wide range of diverse body stature. A girl of 15 years may look 20 likewise a girl of 13 years may look 18 years. A girl of 20 years may also look 17 years. Therefore if a girl has a big stature even if she is not up to 18 years she can get married. In addition I would advice females to be mindful of their age in taking decision for marriage because I have noticed that most ladies would not want to marry a man except if he has a house, car and so on, but I think that is not necessary because they can marry a man that does not have anything at present but after marriage God will open doors of blessings" (Male, Hausa, Parent)

From the health perspective, a female nurse asserted that for health reasons a girl should be above 18 before getting married and also have a job while a male should be above 28 and be

gainfully employed. A female teacher was rather of the opinion that a female should be as old as between 26 and 28 before being married while males should be between 30 and 32 years.

4.9 Advantages of early marriage

When asked of the advantages of early marriage, a good number of the respondents including a Yoruba parent, traditional ruler and Christian leader attested to the fact that an important benefit of early marriage is early childbirth. It was generally agreed that early marriage culminated into early childbirth, allows for adequate child spacing and prevented the complications associated with giving birth at an older age.

"For childbirth, both male and female needs to marry early to bear children before they pass their child bearing age" (Male, Yoruba, Parent)

"Early child bearing avoids the complications associated with older age. Also, allows for good child spacing" (Male, Religious leader, Christian).

"The advantage is early child bearing" (Male, Yoruba, Traditional ruler).

From the cultural and religious point of view, especially among the Hausa ethnic group, early marriage is considered to be an advantage because it is believed that it prevents promiscuity and sexual immorality and that in Islamic teaching, it is an instruction from God.

"It prevents promiscuity and fornication, any time she meets with her husband, she receives blessings from God" (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler).

Another Hausa leader buttresses this submission

- It is of great advantage since it is an instruction from God.
- It protects the girl in that she will not be going out looking for man friend or boy friend, since she is in her husband's house she is being protected against such.
- It prevents promiscuity and fornication
- Any time she meets with her husband, she receives blessings from God

Some respondents believe that early marriage increases the chances of having more children and also gives them (the children) time to become adults early enough to cater for their aged parents while they (parents) are still alive. Their views were expressed as follows:

"Marrying early has advantage as I have told you earlier... If you marry early you would be able to send your children to school, give them adequate and proper training and they will become responsible adults that will take care of you in future e.g. like paying your house rent and all that. For instance a man who marries at 40, his children are not likely to have become working adults at his old age" (Male, Hausa, Parent).

"It enables one to have children early and also have as many children he wants, say nine; some go to school, some learn trade e.t.c. and will end up helping their parents" (Male, Yoruba, Parent)

Early marriage brings about early child birth. These children could grow up to help their parents (Male, Hausa, Parent).

One key informant believed that early marriage offers protection against the negative exploitation of the female gender in the society. "The girl child will not be exposed to negative influence." (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler). Another sentiment favouring the practice was that early marriage contributes to peace in the family. A male Hausa parent expressed; "To start a family and to have a peaceful home"

A Muslim Religious leader put the advantages quite succinctly

- *It prevents immorality*
- It protects ones dignity
- It gives peace of mind
- It allows for child birth
- To have children who could be helpful in the future (Male, Religious leader, Muslim)

4.10 Disadvantages of early marriage

In spite all the advantages that participants discussed above, some of the respondents mainly the females simply maintained that there were disadvantages to early marriage:

One informant hinted that early marriage provided the opportunity for females to indulge in polyandry- There is no advantage marrying early because girls who marry early have a tendency to marry more than one husband, due to lack of satisfaction, they may marry about 5-6 men

before they finally settle down with one. No advantage really except with God's intervention (Female, Teacher). A number of the interviewees pointed out that there are health risks associated with early marriage. A male Muslim Religious Leader said "There are problems associated with marriage below the age of 18 years for girls i.e. girls are more vulnerable to having problems and the doctors have already said that early marriage is associated with several health problems like VVF and we all know this, such illnesses are of course not desirable for anyone"

4.10 Continue or discontinue the practice of early marriage

Respondents' views were sought on whether the practice of early marriage should be continued or discontinued; responses obtained are as highlighted below:

There were different reasons given to support the continuation of the practice of early marriage some of which had religious and cultural foundations, some were based on fear that the girl child may get involved in immoral premarital activities. Religious inclinations among interviewees also favoured the continuation of the practice of early marriage as expressed by this Male, Hausa, traditional leader who affirms that early marriage is the "will of God"

"The practice should continue, it is better to marry early because it is what God wants not what man wants that matters, it is better to do the will of God. The holy Quran has laws that are binding to every Muslim. In addition, not in terms of early marriage alone, everyone should do things according to the instructions laid down by God. Everything that a man will ever have or

do is already written by God, therefore, anybody that follows the will of God will never make mistake in this life" (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler).

One reason given to continue the practice is fear of having females who have attained physical maturation and still remain in their parents' house: A Hausa interviewee who is a parent in favour of this said "Early marriage should continue because it is not good for a girl to reach physical maturation and still remain in her father's house, this is even more risky for women than men. For instance I do not have any of my younger sisters in my father's house anymore, all of them are married and they all got married at less than 18 years of age. Some of them have two, three or four children already." He was asked if he would like to marry out his own daughter before she is 18 years: "Yes she must be married as soon as she is 18 years or even before she is 18 years".

When asked if he had any other thing to say, he had this to say: "It is very good to marry more wives. For instance I myself want to marry another wife again because my wife gets me angry for sure she really gets on my nerve. Formerly there was no such but now it is becoming worse by the day because I have allowed her to engage in petty trade but if I wish I could stop her and there is nothing she can do about it. All these things are contributing factors to why a man may choose to marry another wife. And by the grace of God for sure I will marry another wife"

He was further asked; if you decide to marry another wife, how old would you like her to be? "I will marry a 17 or 18 years old girl, but she has to be from North".

Two parents from Hausa and Yoruba ethnic groups explained that there is no need to delay marriage and insisted that marriage should be early enough rather than waiting because of career pursuits or material gains.

"Pregnancy does not disturb academic pursuit. Trying to achieve one's career before marriage is not wise. Make hay while the sun shines. All can be done side by side" (Male, Yoruba, Parent)

Another respondent shares his own opinion- "Early marriage should continue because people have different reasons for marrying. For myself when I wanted to marry my wife, I did not have money to the extent that I was almost denied of my wife because I did not have money but now God has provided, I can feed my entire family and send my children to school. When I married her, she was 18 years old and the last born of her parents"

Do you think it is too early for a girl to marry before she is 18 years old? "Well, it depends because females have a wide range of diverse body stature. A girl of 15 years may look 20 likewise a girl of 13 years may look 18 years. A girl of 20 years may also look 17 years. Therefore if a girl has a big stature even if she is not up to 18 years she can get married.... (Male, Hausa, Parent)

Another reason given to support continuation of early marriage was that it prevents promiscuity as alluded to by these parents:

"They lack parental control, so instead of flirting, the practice should be continued because they won't listen to their parents" (Female, Yoruba, Parent)

"The practice should be continued. In fact I personally will marry my daughter out early before she is 18 yeas to avoid promiscuity" (Male, Hausa, Parent)

One Hausa traditional leader affirmed that early marriage should be continued but for the recognised health risks associated with it as identified by the doctors. "If not for the complications that are associated with early marriage, I think it can be continued but the doctors have made it clear that there are health problems associated with early marriage".

When asked, "Would you say a girl who marries before 18 years has married early? He replied, "Yes, because of the health complications of early marriage"

A female nurse bared her mind on important factors in our society that encourage the persistence of early marriage. She pointed out that poverty and illiteracy are key reasons why it is difficult to discontinue early marriage. She calls on the government to play an active part in supplementing families financially to reduce the burden.

"The fact is that the practice cannot be discontinued because there are a lot of factors associated with it, the major one which is poverty leading to illiteracy and all that. So the practice can only be discontinued if poverty is eradicated. In addition, education at least up to secondary school

level can help prevent early marriage. Education is the basic thing that can stop the practice of early marriage. Most of the girls in early marriages lack education."

She continues by sharing her experience. "For instance I taught a girl who is already in her husband's house how to go about taking care of herself when she saw her first menstruation. Also, I have helped another girl who was in primary four with child delivery." She also emphasised the importance of good nutrition in minimising the negative health effects associated with early marriage. She concluded by adding "Another thing that is killing us in Nigeria is polygamy; so many young boys have 2-3 wives. But if the government can come in to supplement families like it is done overseas, it may reduce the burden of the problem".

There were different reasons given by the advocates for the discontinuation of early marriage. Among which was that in this present age, parents had lesser control and could not provide adequate guidance for their wards who wished to marry early. It was noted by a Yoruba traditional leader that; "The practice should be discontinued; parents, due to civilisation have little parental control over their children unlike in the past. Due to this lack of parental control early marriage should be discontinued. It was easier to have early marriage in the past because at an earlier age a girl may already be betrothed to a man."

It was generally accepted that the need for a higher level of education has become imperative in this present age and has put a strain on the practice of early marriage and made it necessary to discontinue it as captured by this comments: Education is important and it should be enforced. They must attain a certain level of education before they are allowed to get married" (Male, Yoruba, Traditional ruler).

"Discontinue early marriage because life may be difficult for the parties involved. Majority of the people in early marriages do not have good education" (Female, Teacher).

"Discontinue the practice because now things have changed, things are not like in the past any more. Now a girl needs to have education and acquire other skills. In addition parents should guide their children against peer influence, ask them who their friends are, monitor their going out and coming in, to avoid them going into drugs and prevent them from teenage pregnancy, this will help them to be better and more productive youths" (Male, Hausa, Traditional ruler)

One male Yoruba parent reasoned that financial instability has made it important to discontinue the practice "It should also be discontinued because not all men are financially buoyant to cater for their wives". Another female Yoruba parent felt it should be discontinued because of the risk of exposure of the underage female to domestic violence and divorce: "... because most cases leads to divorce and domestic violence, it doesn't always last long". For health reasons, early marriage was said to be discontinued. "For the females early marriage should not be encouraged because of some complications associated with it. A female should be at least 21 years old before considering marriage" (Yoruba, Male Parent).

One key informant was however of the opinion that the decision should be left open to the choices of the individuals because it is relative. "If there is a law against early marriage, not

everybody will be able to abide by it; it will then open the door to a lot of bad behaviours. For those who cannot abstain, they should go ahead and get married... In addition, both sides should be balanced; should one loose their dignity because they wants to wait until they are above 18 years or marries below 18 years and uphold their dignity? The Holy book says any man capable should get married but must abide by the rules; no beating of wife and must provide food, housing and education. Islam encourages girl-child education even more than the boy-child. Islam has left it open without any restrictions because not all individuals are alike, some can abstain while others cannot" (Male, Muslim, Religious leader).

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Discussion

In Nigeria, in spite of the complications associated with early marriage, a substantial proportion of girls are married before the age of 18 years. Adolescents as would be adults are in a position to move for a change to reduce the burden of this problem if their values and attitudes towards early marriage can be changed. This study was conducted to determine knowledge, attitude and the prevalence of early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area Nigeria.

The findings on the demographic characteristics in terms of sex depicted that majority (63.0%) of the respondents were males. This could be due to the higher non-response rate of about 60% among the female adolescents. Therefore, the outcome of the study may be biased by male dominated responses. The major reasons for this non-response were refusal to participate which was culture based for females and being being absent from home for the males. The study also had more single than married adolescents, indicating that marriage is less among this age group (10-19 years) in this community. This consolidates literatures which suggest that there is a decline, though slow, in early marriage (marriage below age 18 years) globally (Malhontra et al., 2011; Jain Curz, 2007). It may also be in part due to the fact that majority of the adolescents interviewed were in school, supporting several studies (UNICEF, 2005; Mensch et al., 2005;

Pathfinder, 2007; Adedokun et al., 2009 and Santhya et al., 2010) which showed that being in school was associated with reduced marriages among young people. Refusal to participate may also have contributed to the lower number of married adolescents, because many husbands of these young brides would not give permission for their wives to participate in the study.

By international conventions on rights of children (Convention on the Right of Child and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child), a child means "every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (Article 1 of the Child Right Act (CRA)). The legal construction for this quote provides argument that marriage, irrespective of the age makes a person an adult (Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006), which is true in many customs and traditions. This then means that the minimum legal age for marriage has been set at 18 years by this act. In Nigeria, the CRA was passed in 2003 (Population Council, 2004) and till date only very few states have implemented this law at the state level and there has been no known penalty for anyone who refuses to comply with this minimum age. This probably accounts for why many of the adolescents in this study, in their definition of early marriage mentioned ages three or more years less than the minimum age of marriage (18 years). This finding is similar to that of Gage et al. (2008) who observed a gap of three or more years in the legal and community definitions of early marriage among adolescents in Ethiopia.

Interviews with the key informants revealed that contrary to discussing within the framework of law prohibiting early marriage or penalty for forcing a child into early marriage, most of their views on early marriage were along religious and cultural ideologies. These results, thus, indicate that Article 42 of the CRA which states that "States Parties undertake to make the principles and provisions of the Convention widely known, by appropriate and active means, to both adults and children", is still far from being achieved. The situation is similar in Amhara region of Ethiopia,

a region with high prevalence of early marriage where a national law stipulates that marriage for girls younger than 18 years is illegal. In the report, the majority of people had knowledge of the law, but they did not know the exact legal age for marriage (Pathfinder International, 2006). Nigeria is a multi-religious and highly cultural country. Most of the beliefs and practices of its inhabitants are rooted in religion and tradition than civil laws. And so, even if there are laws prohibiting early marriage or penalty for anyone who forces a child into early marriage, awareness, knowledge, and adherence to this may be intricate. The low knowledge of; correct definition of early marriage, law prohibiting early marriage and penalty for someone who forces a child into early marriage observed among adolescents in the present study therefore buttresses this point.

Assessment of adolescents' knowledge of problems associated with early marriage revealed that: Early child bearing (89.2%) and early sexual initiation (88.9%) had the highest percentages. In all societies, marriage confers on the parties involved the right to sexual intercourse. Therefore, not initiating sexual activities in marriages is unacceptable in many of these societies. As such, girls who are married as minors are not an exception to this nor would they delay pregnancy, due to pressures from husbands, in-laws and the society (Mensch et al, 1998; Akpan, 2003). This then follow that early sexual initiation predisposes to early pregnancy and early child birth. The risk of early pregnancy and early child bearing in early marriage has been sufficiently documented (Mensch 2005; UNICEF 2005; Save the Children 2004; Akpan, 2003; Bott and Jejeebhoy 2003; Senderwotz, 1995). Early pregnancy and childbirth has been found to be associated with miscarriage or stillbirth (Santhya et al., 2010). And many adolescent girls are not prepared for their first births therefore often experience fear and confusion, which is often extremely traumatic (Erukar and Bello 2007). Studies have also shown that since early marriage coincide with early child bearing; young first-time mothers face an increased risk of maternal

and infant mortality (Santhya 2009; Lloyd 2005; UNICEF 2005; Save the Children 2004; Miller and Lester 2003).

On the contrary, most of the key informants in the present study argued that early child birth is an important benefit of early marriage as it allows for adequate child spacing, prevents complications associated with giving birth at an older age and offers protection against the negative exploitation of the female gender in the society. On the other hand a few of the key informants admitted that there could be problems with delivery. Interestingly, one of the key informants from the study proffer solution to the problem associated with early marriage, by suggesting that good nutrition in childhood and during pregnancy and ability of the adolescent girls to seek health services early in pregnancy could contribute significantly in minimising the child birth complication in young mothers.

This study also identified other problems associated with early marriage as deprivation of childhood (76.8%), poor child care (75.8%), obstructed labour (68.3%), high risk of vessicovagina fistula (65.2%), poor access to contraceptives (65.2%), and high risk of HIV/AIDS (59.4%). Problems associated with early marriage have been reported repeatedly in previous studies (Ouattara et al., 1998; Akpan, 2003; Gage et al. 2008; Karlyn et al. 2007 and Pathfinder International, 2006). This corroborates findings in the present study.

In general, respondents in this study had good knowledge of early marriage and associated problems. Bivariate analysis of the association between respondents' socio-demographic characteristics and their knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems revealed that age, ethnicity, level of education, religion and family type significantly influenced this knowledge. However variables which showed significant relationship in the multivariate analysis were gender, religion, family type, and level of education. Adolescents who had at least a secondary education were two times more likely than those with at most a primary education to

have good knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems. In support of this findngs, Gage et al. (2008) in a study on factors associated with self-reported stopped marriages among adolescent girls aged 10-19 years, found that adolescent girls who had attended secondary school, were twice as likely as those who did not complete primary school to report an averted formal engagement or marriage. These therefore make obvious the importance of education in improving the reproductive health knowledge of adolescents as also documented by a host of other researchers (Ouattara et al., 1998; Akpan, 2003; Jenson and Thornton, 2003; Jain and Kurz, 2009). Hence this suggests that it is very important to focus more on adolescents who have at most a primary school education, when designing programs for change, especially in terms of improving knowledge.

Early marriage is deeply rooted in religion and tradition as evident by the role ethnicity and religion played, in influencing adolescents' knowledge of early marriage and associated problems in this study. The type of family adolescents belong also inform their knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems as this study revealed. This might be because polygamy is a function of religion and tradition, which both influenced the practice of early marriage. And also, Report shows that younger brides are more likely to be in polygamous marriages (Ityavar and Jalingo 2006).

More than half of the adolescents in this study were not in support of the practice of early marriage. This result is inconsistent with findings from a study in Burkina Faso in which the adolescents had a supportive attitude towards early marriage at baseline of the study (Engebretsen and Kabore, 2011). This inconsistency is probably because of the higher literacy level of respondents in this present study than those in the Burkina Faso study where only 143 (3.6%) out of 4000 adolescents were in school. In addition, in the present study, higher level of education was found to be significantly associated with knowledge of the negative effects of

early marriage, which may probably explain why the adolescents would not support the practice of early marriage.

This study showed that attitude towards the practice of early marriage was generally not in support of the practice (59%). However, the significantly supportive attitude towards early marriage demonstrated by younger (10-14 years) adolescents and those who had at most a primary education may be due to their poor knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems, since adolescents who had good knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems were six times more likely to be against the practice of early marriage. This is contrary to findings of Pathfinder International, (2006) which dismissed lack of knowledge of the consequences of early marriage as a reason for its continued practice but substantiates findings from a research by Mana Vue, (2000) where there was a significant relationship between positive perception of early marriage and lower educational goals. Education thus plays an important role in influencing adolescents' attitude towards the practice of early marriage. Gage et al. (2008) observed that adolescent girls who had attended secondary school were two times more likely than those who did not complete primary school to report an averted formal engagement or marriage after exposure to early marriage prevention messages.

Ethnicity and religion also played a significant role in adolescents' attitude towards the practice of early marriage. More adolescents from the Hausa ethnic group (from Northern Nigeria) and those who were Muslims were in support of early marriage. Different studies have shown that the practice of early marriage is highest in the Northern regions of Nigeria (NDHS, 2008; Erulkar and Bello, 2007; Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006) and these regions have also been shown to have the highest number of Muslims (NDHS, 2008; Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006). It is not surprising therefore, to have these groups of people showing favourable attitude towards the

practice of early marriage because they are more likely to have had more familiarity with the practice.

Studies have shown that compared with young women who had married at age 18 years or older; those in early marriage are less likely to have been consulted on the timing of their marriage and to have had an opportunity to get to know their spouse before marriage (Santhya et. al., 2010; UNICEF, 2001). Adolescents in the current study felt that their fathers should decide when a girl or boy should get married. Researchers have documented that in most early marriages, the choice of a spouse is usually made by parents (Santhya et. al., 2010; Erulkar and Bello, 2007; UNICEF, 2001). This reality is not so different from findings from this study. Many of the adolescents opined that parents should make the choice of partner for girls. This is synonymous with what was observed among adolescents in another study where 71% of prospective spouse was chosen by their families (Gage et al., 2008). It therefore follows that many times, these adolescents enter into marriages without being mentally prepared for it, since they are usually not involved in the decision making process regarding their own marriage.

It is noteworthy to point out that about nine in ten adolescents in the current study held that the ideal age of marriage for both male and female should be 18 years and above. This is however inconsistent with the perception of women who married between the ages 15 and 17 years in another study; about 76 percent considered that they married at the right time. But on the other hand it agrees with the perception of those who married at 18 years and above where also about nine in ten girls felt that they married at the right time (Pathfinder International, 2006). One can then say that though adolescents in the current were not aware of the correct definition of early marriage, they had the right attitude towards the ideal age for marriage.

Contrary to many studies on prevalence of early marriage (Raj et al., 2009; Santhya et al., 2010) which studied women of older age groups, the present study corroborates studies by Engebretsen

and Kabore (2011); Gage et al., (2008) and Erulkar and Mutheng (2009) conducted among the age group (10-19 years) that is most affected by this practice. Like most studies (Malhontra et al., 2011; UNICEF 2005; Save the Children 2004; Mathur et al 2003), current findings showed that early marriage occurs more in girls than boys suggesting that girls are a more vulnerable group in terms of early marriage and therefore need programme attention.

It is interesting also to note that though 7 out of 10 adolescents in present study perceived early marriage as a common practice in their community, only 4.3% of the adolescents married before the age 18 years. Irrespective of the fact that current study was conducted in a multi-cultural community in South West of Nigeria, prevalence rate of early marriage determined among female adolescents showed a slight decline of about two percent in early marriage when compared to the figure (13%) obtained for the South West region of Nigeria (NDHS, 2008). This may probably be because the sample size in the current study is way smaller compared to that of the NDHS and may also in part be due to the mix nature of the study community, as such, there might have been influence of one culture or religion on another. Among ever married adolescents 74% got married before the age of 18 years. Similar prevalence were also observed by Santhya et al., 2010 (63%), Raj et al., 2009 (45%), Erulkar and Mutheng, 2009 (72%) and (Pathfinder International, 2006 (82%) while Karlyn and colleagues in 2007 found that 45% of girls were married before the age of 16 years. These results indicate that very few married adolescents marry within the legal age of marriage i.e. 18 years and above.

The reasons for early marriage given in most studies on early marriage have been similar. In the present study, knowledge of reasons for early marriage was assessed. Common reasons the adolescents mentioned were to prevent premarital sex (88.8%) and teenage pregnancy (82.7%). It was also gathered from the key informant interviews that fear of premarital sex, promiscuity and unwanted pregnancy may lead to marriage of girls at an early age. Cultural and religious

notions of a girl's virginity and chastity in many societies are directly linked to the honour and status of a family or clan (International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), 2007). Key informants' views in the present study strongly support this submission. Early marriage thus, is traditionally recognized as necessary for controlling girls' sexuality and reproduction. This means that there is tremendous pressure on parents to marry off girls early to preserve family honour and minimize the risk of improper sexual activity or conduct (Sagade, 2005). Concerns about a girl becoming pregnant out of wedlock were among the reasons given for early marriage. Several other studies have also highlighted this point (Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006; Pathfinder International, 2006).

In many countries early marriage is linked with poverty. This is because it affects particularly the poorest in the population, and helps to reinforce cycles of poverty (IPPF, 2007). About eighty percent of adolescents in the present study mentioned poverty as a cause of early marriage. This result agrees with Jain and Kurz (2007) in a report which showed that in Nigeria, 80 percent of the poorest girls marry before the age of 18 years, compared to 22 percent of the richest girls. Early marriage is valued as an economic strategy which reduces the costs of raising daughters. In this sense, poverty becomes a primary reason for early marriage because of perceived benefits to the family and the daughter (IPPF, 2007). According to results from a study on teenagers' views of adolescent pregnancy in Uganda, poverty and family breakdown were recognized as underlying structural causes of parental failure to provide for their daughters' needs, thereby pressurising them into early marriages instead of giving priority to education (Sekiwunga and Whyte, 2009).

In Nigeria, parents and counselors identified poverty where there is lack of finance in the girl's family as a major cause of early marriage (Nwokolo, 2010). Furthermore, in Ethiopia, to determine the causes of early marriage, girls who marry before the age of 18 years said the desire

to get money paid to the girl's family by the boy's family upon arrangement to marriage is an incentive to arrange a marriage (Pathfinder International, 2006). In addition key informants in the present study generally stated poverty as the underlying factor for all other reasons for early marriage. Poverty, they said is associated with low educational attainment, lack of proper parental guidance and premarital sex. All of which they submit can lead to early marriage of girls. On the contrary, in Ethiopia, the theory of poverty as a dominant cause of early marriage was refuted (IPPF, 2006).

In communities where child marriage is prevalent there is strong social pressure on families to conform (Nwokolo, 2010). Local myths encourage earlier marriage of girls such as in the Amhara Region of Ethiopia where people perceive menstruation to be induced by intercourse – and such myths encourage earlier marriage of girls (IPPF, 2006). Invariably, local perceptions of the ideal age for marriage, the desire for submissive wives, extended family patterns and other customary requirements (e.g. dowries or bride price), are all enshrined in local customs or religious norms (IPPF, 2006).

The fact that tradition and cultural values are the most important causes of early marriage is highly supported by different findings. In the current study, uupholding tradition (72.8%) was mentioned by adolescents as reason for early marriage. Supporting an Ethiopian study where 81.9% of respondents cited that early marriage is a tradition they had to adhere to (Pathfinder International, 2006). Both studies agree with parents and counselors in another study who said marrying early is part of their culture (Nwokolo, 2010).

In Nigeria, religion is one of the contributing factors to early marriage of girls (Karlyn et al., 2007). Eight out ten married girls are of the Islamic faith in Nigeria (Ityavar and Jalingo, 2006). In a study conducted in India, child marriage was found to be more common among Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists relative to Christians, Sikhs, and others (Raj et al., 2010). One of the

foremost reasons for early marriage pointed out during the key informant interviews especially among interviewees from the Hausa ethnic group is that the Islamic teaching supports early marriage. These values and beliefs have probably been passed on to their children. This may possibly be the reason why Hausa and Muslim adolescents in the survey had higher knowledge of what early marriage is.

On examination of the potential practice of early marriage, interestingly only 10% of adolescents would like to marry before they are 18 years corresponding to 11% observed by Erulkar and Mutheng, (2009). This is a good indication that many adolescents would probably prefer to be in school or be engaged in a form of skill acquisition programme rather than being married before they are 18 years. These advocate the immediate need for social support programmes for adolescents. The views of the key informants in the current study also support this argument. The key informants generally recognised that the need for a higher level of education in adolescence has become imperative in this present age, in order to put a strain on the practice of early marriage. This they said, is however one of the pertinent ways to discontinue the practice.

Pathfinder International, (2006) found that reason for the continuity of the practice of early marriage in Ethiopia in spite of the legal provisions, is the impression among parents that the laws and their consequences pose little real threat. This is different for parents interviewed in the present study; religious and cultural inclinations, fear of immoral and premarital activities, fear of having females who have attained physical maturation and still remain in their parents' house, poverty and illiteracy were the key reasons for the difficulty in the discontinuity of early marriage in Nigeria.

5.1 Conclusion

Adolescents with secondary and higher levels of education were against the practice of early marriage and would not like to marry before they are 18 years. This is a good indication that adolescents who are in school are likely not to be in early marriages. Thus, ensuring education for all is a possible intervention that would help reduce the practice of early marriage.

The fact that tradition, cultural values and religion played significant roles in the knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems and attitude towards the practice of early marriage among adolescents in this study, poses a need to focus attention on the people who are the custodian of culture and religion, who also are the key decision makers when it comes to the issue of marriage in adolescence i.e. the traditional rulers and religious leaders when designing programmes for change. Therefore, religious and cultural sensitisation of adolescents, their parents and community can help reduce this practice. However, the high esteem for tradition and religion in the face of undeniable negative health problems associated with early marriage should be taken into consideration when developing programs for change.

5.2 Recommendations

- Programs such as the Universal Basic Education should be encouraged and strengthen, as current study suggests that education plays a positive role in adolescents' attitudes toward the practice of early marriage.
- 2. Adolescents in this study do not have intentions to be married before the age of 18 years and many of these adolescents are against the practice of early marriage. This implies that most of the time they are forced into these marriages. Thus, the need for the government to protect the rights of this group of people by enforcing the laws that protect the reproductive health of adolescents.
- 3. This study found that religion and tradition are still drivers of early marriage. Sensitization of religious leaders, traditional rulers and parents on the health and social implications of early marriage may help to reduce the practice of early marriage
- 4. Though overall knowledge of early marriage and its associated problems was good among respondents in this study, knowledge of minimum legal age for marriage was low. There is therefore the need to educate the general public on the minimum legal age for marriage by advocating that the Child Right Act be adopted and implemented by all state governments in Nigeria.

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INFORMED CONSENT FORM

IRB Research approval number	 	
This approval will elapse on		

Knowledge, Attitude and Prevalence of Early Marriage among Adolescents in Sasa, Akinyele Local Government Area Nigeria

My name is **Adams Patricia**, I am conducting a research to determine the knowledge, attitude and the prevalence of early marriage among adolescents in Sasa, a multi-ethnic community in Akinyele Local Government Area Nigeria.

This is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for Masters in Public Health (Child and Adolescent health) University of Ibadan.

I expect to recruit 400 participants across this community into the study. You will be interviewed by a research assistant using a questionnaire. The interview is likely to take about half an hour. Your participation in this study will not cost you anything. There is no direct benefit in participating in this study but findings from this study would be useful to programs designed to address such issues.

All information collected from this study will be given code numbers and no name will be recorded and as such the information collected cannot be linked to you or your family in any way. As part of my responsibility to conduct this research properly, officials of UI/UCH ethical review committee may have access to these records.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You can also choose to withdraw from the study at any point in the course of the interview.

Statement of researcher:

I have fully explained this research to	And	have	given
sufficient information to make informed decision.			_
DateSignature			

Name
Statement of person giving consent:
I have read the description of the research. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I know enough about the purpose of this research study to judge that i want to take part in it. I understand that I may freely stop being part of this study at any point. Date
Name
GBIGBAYE LATI KOPA
Nomba ifowosi oro iwadi
nowosi yi yo dopin in
IMOYE AWON ODO LORI TITETE SEGBEYAWO ATI AWON AILERA TO RO MO NI AGBEGBE SASA, NI IJOBA IBILE AKINYELE NI IPINLE OYO TI ORILE-EDE NAIJIRIA.
Oruko mi ni Adams Patricia , mo n se iwadi lori imoye awon odo lori titete segbeyawo ati awon ailera to ro mo ni agbegbe sasa, ni ijoba ibile akinyele ni ipinle oyo ti orile-ede naijiria. Eyi je okan lara amuye fun asekagba ni ipele eko keji ti agbon to n bojuto ilera aralu ni eka eko lori ilera omode ati odo ni ile iwe giga ti ilu Ibadan.
Won n reti pe kin n ri akopa (orinleloodunrun ati merin) 384 ni agbegbe yi fun ilo eko yi. Oluwadi yo foro wa yin lenu wo lati inu iwe iwadi yi. Oro iwadi yi yo si gba yin to ogbon iseju. Kikopa yin ninu iwadi yi ko ni na yin ni nkankan. Ko si anfani kan gboogi ti e ma je nibi kikopa ninu iwadi yi sugbon awon abajade iwadi yi yo wulo fun awon eto ti won ba gbe kale lori oro to ni se pelu iwadi yi.
Gbogbo oro ti a ba gba ni a o fun ni number idamo atiwipe a o ni gba oruko kankan sile nitorina a o le da oro enu yin tabi tie bi yin mo lona kankan. Gege bi ara ojuse mi lati ri daju pe mo se iwadi yi to peye, awon igbimo to wa ni igbanu gbigbe oro iwadi wo ni ile-iwe giga ati ile-iwosan nla ilu Ibadan (UI/UCH) le ni anfani si awon akosile won yi.
Kikopa yin ninu oro iwadi yi ko pa dandan. E si le yan lati dekun kikopa ninu iwadi yi nigbakugba to ba wu yin.
Oro Oluwadi:
Mo ti se alaye oro iwadi yi ni kikun fun
Deetiifowosi

Oruko
Oro eni to n fun ni laaye:
Mo ti ka apeju oro iwadi yi. Mo si loye wipe kikopa mi ki se dandan ti mo ba fe ni. Mo ti mo to lori eredi iwadi yi lati sedajo boya mo ma kopa ninu re. Mo loye pe, mo ni eto lati dekun kikopa ninu oro iwadi yi nigbakugba. Deeti
Oruko
APPENDIX II
QUESTIONNAIRES
KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDE AND PREVALENCE OF EARLY MARRIAGE AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN SASA, AKINYELE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA NIGERIA Serial Number
Date
Dear respondent,
Please do not include names. The responses provided for this questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality, Please kindly provide responses that are genuine and accurately reflect your views.
SECTION A
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DATA
1. Age
2. Sex 1. Male [] 2. Female []
3. Ethnicity 1. Hausa [] 2. Yoruba [] 3. Ibo [] 4. Others (please specify)
4. Religion 1. Islam 2. Christianity 3. Traditional 4. Others (Please specify)
5. Place of birth {Name of/town}
6. Type of family 1. Monogamous [] 2. Polygamous []
7. Marital status 1. Single [] 2. Married [] 3. Divorced [] 4. Separated [] 5. Living together []

If married;

8. Age when marr	ried			
9. Age of husband	l when you married			
10. How many wi		d have 1. One (you) [] 2. Two [] 3. Three [] 4. Fo	ur [] 5.
11. How many hus	bands/wives have you	been married to?		
	Age when married	Age of Husband/Wife when married	Reasons for separation	
1 st Husband/wife				
2 nd Husband/wife				•
3 rd Husband/wife				
4 th Husband/wife				
5 th Husband/wife				
6 th Husband/wife				
completed []	4. Senior Secondary	ducation [] 2. Primary School corcompleted [] 5. Tertiary [] 6. Other [] 2. Trading/Business [] 3. Farmary)	prs	·
		Schooling [] 2. Primary School [] hers (please specify)	3. Junior Secondary [] 4. Senior
		chooling [] 2. Primary School [] hers (please specify)	3. Junior Secondary [] 4. Senior
16. Mother's occup (Please specify)		iness [] 2.Civil Servant [] 3. Farmi	ng [] 4. House wife [] 5. Others
17. Father's occup specify)		usiness [] 2.Civil Servant [] 3	3. Farming [] 4. Other	ers (Please
	of parents 1. Living t [] 6. Both parents d	together [] 2. Living apart [] 3. ead []	Divorced [] 4. Father	dead []

SECTION B

2. It is a tradition in my area

4. Difficult to find a partner if older

3. To collect dowry

KNOWLEDGE OF EARLY MARRIAGE AND ITS ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS

Kn	owledge of early marriage
19.	What is early marriage?
20.	What age do you consider to be too young to marry?
21.	Is early marriage i.e. marriage of a female or male below 18 years, a common practice in your tribe/ ethnic group? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
22.	Is early marriage i.e. marriage of a female or male below 18 years, a common practice in this community (Sasa community)? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
23.	Did any of your sibling or close relation marry before the age of 18? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
24.	Who do girls who marry early get married to? 1. Older men [] 2. Younger men [] 3. Men who are about the same age as themselves []
25.	Who decides when a girl/boy gets married? 1. Father [] 2, Mother [] 3. Others (please specify)
Kn	owledge of the existence of a law prohibiting early marriage
26.	Are you aware of any law prohibiting early marriage in Nigeria? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
27.	What is the penalty for someone who forces his/her child to get married before the age of 18 years?
Rea	asons for early marriage
28.	What are the reasons for early marriage (i.e. marriage below age 18)?
	Yes No
	1. To protect virginity and premarital sex [] []

[]

[]

[]

[]

	5.	Prestige	[]		[]	
	6.	To strengthen relationship	[]		[]	
	7.	Peer pressure	[]		[]	
	8.	Broken homes where children are left at the mercy of one parent	[]		[]	
	9.	Forced by parents	[]		[]	
	10.	Teenage pregnancy	[]		[]	
	11.	Poverty	[]]	1	
	12.	Family pressure	[]]	J	
	13.	Others (Please specify)						
In y	our	opinion the following are the problems/disadvantages of early 1	nar	riaș	ge			
29.	Wha	at do you think are the problems associated with early marriage?						
							Yes	No
	1.	Early sexual initiation					[]	[]
	2.	Early Child bearing					[]	[]
	3.	Early Parenthood					[]	[]
	4.	Poor access to contraceptives					[]	[]
	5.	High risk of Vessico Vagina Fistula (VVF)					[]	[]
	6.	High risk of contracting HIV/AIDS					[]	[]
	7.	Obstructed labor					[]	[]
	8.	Poor child care					[]	[]
	9.	Intolerance due to difference in age					[]	[]
	10.	Intolerance due to difference in age					[]	[]
	11.	Early widowhood - where the girl - Child marries an old man who	die	s sc	oner or late	er	[]	[]
	12.	Divorce due to immaturity					[]	[]
	13.	Deprivation of Childhood					[]	[]
	14.	School drop-out					[]	[]
	15.	Others (Please specify)						
SEC	CTIC	ON C						

ATTITUDE TOWARDS EARLY MARRIAGE

30. When do you think is the ideal age of marriage for girls?

31. When do you think is the ideal age of marr	iage for bo	oys?					
32. For the following questions state your level of agreement with the following reasons of early marriage (i.e. marriage of a boy/girl below the age of 18)							
	Agree	Strongly agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
A boy/girl can get married before the age of 18 years if he/she is physically matured to have children							
A boy/girl can get married before the age of 18 years if he/she is mentally matured to handle marriage							
Early marriage helps to avoid immoral activity				X			
Early marriage is acceptable if the boy/girl is able to manage household				M.			
Early marriage is acceptable if the boy/girl has a source of income			1				
Early marriage is acceptable if the boy/girl is able to cope with extended family							
Early marriage is acceptable if a boy/girl has completed education up to Secondary School level							
Marrying before the age of 18 increases chances of better spouses	M						
			1		l		
33. In your opinion the following are advant	tages of ea	arly marriage ((i.e. marriage	below the a	ge of 18)		
			Yes	No			
1. Ensures adequate Child spacing			[]	[]			
2. Prevents promiscuity			[]	[]			
3. Prevents unwanted pregnancy			[]	[]			
4. Provides protection for married gi	rls		[]	[]			
5. Provides basic needs			[]	[]			
6. Make boys more responsible			[]	[]			
7. Builds social, political and econor	nic alliand	ce	[]	[]			
8. Not marrying early makes one's b	eauty to fa	ade	[]	[]			
9. Others (Please specify)							

34. On a scale of 1 to 7 with 1 least agree and 7 most agree rank the following reasons why Nigerian girls marry before the age of 18?

1.	Arrange marriages	[]
2.	Love	[]
3.	To escape parental control	[]
4.	Unplanned Pregnancy	[]
5.	Strict parents	[]
6.	Forced by parents	[]
7.	Nigerian men prefer to marry younger women	n []

35. State your level of agreement with the following cause of early marriage (i.e. marriage below age 18)?

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Family pressure – from father, mother, sibling and other relatives					
Poverty – lack of finance in the girl's family and harsh economic situation					
Unwanted pregnancy – by the family and the girl-child					
Conspiracy – parents force a man on their girl-child who has no choice but to adhere					
Peer pressure – marrying because friends and age mates are getting married					
Broken homes – where the boy/girl child is left at the mercy of one parent					
Virginity syndrome – because of cultural attachment to virginity, girls marry quickly to maintain it					
Misconception – if you don't marry early your beauty will fade					
Culture – that is the way it is done in my community					

SECTION D

POTENTIAL PRACTICE OF EARLY MARRIAGE

36. Please rank and fill your answers appropriately in order of 123.....10 (according to respondent's sex)

What characteristics would you consider to be important in making a choice for marriage?

		Boy	Girl
1.	Falling in love		
2.	Age		
3.	Education		
4.	Employment status		
5.	Virtuous family		
6.	Good looks		
7.	Parent's choice		
8.	Ability to look after household		
9.	Good manners		
10.	Ability to cope with my relations		
		r i N.	

37. Did any of your relation get married before the age of 18? Yes [] No [] If yes, please indicate who? And at what age?

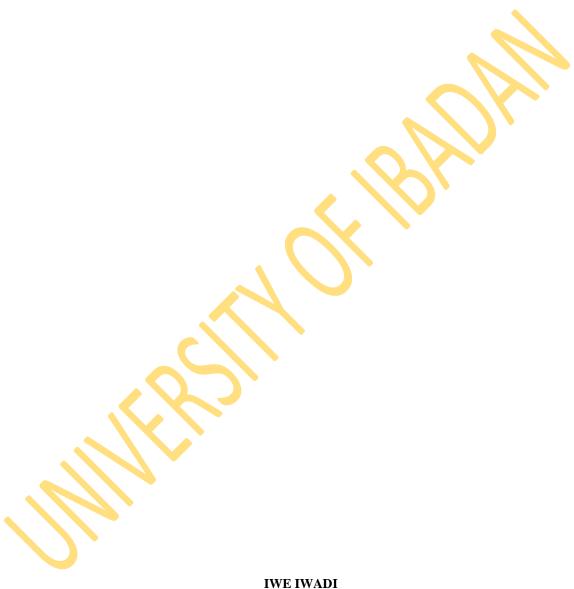
Relation	Age	
	marrie	d

If you are married please go to question 41

38.	Would you like to marry before the age of 18? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
39.	Has anybody said he/she wants to marry you? 1. Yes [] 2. No [] If yes who chose the person for you? 1. You [] 2. Father [] 3. Mother [] 4. Relatives [5. Others (please specify)
40.	Who do you think should choose spouse for females? 1. Father [] 2. Mother [] 3. Both parents [4. Family [] 5. Girls alone [] 6. Girls and family [] 7. Girls and parents [] 8. Others (Please specify)

41.	Who do you think should choose spouse for males? 1. Father	[]	2. Mother []	3.	Both parents []
	4. Family [] 5. Boys alone [] 6. Boys and family []	7.	. Boys and parents []	8. Others (Please
	specify)					

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION



IMOYE AWON ODO LORI TITETE SEGBEYAWO ATI AWON AILERA TO RO MO NI AGBEGBE SASA, NI IPINLE OYO TI ORILE-EDE NAIJIRIA.

Number leseese
Deeti
Oludahun tooto

E jowo, e ma fi oruko yin si. Awon idahun yin si iwe iwadi yi ni a o pamo daradara, e jowo e fun wa ni idahun tooto ati eyi ti o fi erogba yin han.

IPELE A

Oro	lori	igheave	oludahun
$\mathbf{v}_{\mathbf{I}}$	1011	igneave	viuuaiiuii

	1.	Ojo ori
	2.	Okunrin abi obinrin 1. okunrin [] 2. obinrin []
	3.	Eya 1. Hausa [] 2. Yoruba [] 3. Ibo [] 4. Awon eya miran (e jowo e so pato)
	4.	esin 1. musulumi 2. onigbagbo 3. Elesin abalaye 4. Awon esin miran (e jowo e so esin na)
	5.	Ibi ti won ti bi yin {oruko ilu}
	6.	Iru idile 1. Idile oko kan aya kan [] 2. Idile oko kan aya pupo []
	7.	Ipo igbeyawo 1. apon [] 2. Mo ti segbeyawo [] 3. Mo ti ko won sile [] 4. A ti yago funra wa [] 5. A n gbe papo []
Γo b	a je	pe e ti segbeyawo;
	8.	Ojo ori nigbati e segbeyawo
	9.	Ojo ori oko nigbati e segbeyawo
	10.	Iyawo melo ni oko yin fe 1. eyokan (e yin) [] 2. meji [] 3. meta [] 4. Merin [] 5. Ju merin lo
	11.	Oko melo le ti segbeyawo pelu re ri?

	Ojo ori nigbati e segbeyawo	Ojo ori oko ati iyawo nigbati e segbeyawo	Idi ti e fi yago fun ara yin
Oko akoko ati iyawo			
Oko eekeji ati iyawo			
Oko eleeketa ati iyawo			
Oko elekerin ati			
iyawo			
Oko elekarun ati			
iyawo			
Oko elekefa ati			
iyawo			

12. Ojo ori nigbati e bi akobi?.....

13.	Ipele eko 1. Mi o kawe rara [] 2. Mo pari iwe alakobere [] 3. Mo pari ipele kinni eko ile-iwe girama [] 4. Mo pari ipele keji eko ile-iwe girama [] 5. ile-iwe giga [] 6. Awon ipele eko miran
14.	Iru ise wo ni e n se? 1. Omo ile-iwe ni mi [] 2. onisowo [] 3. agbe [] 4.iyawo ile(fun awon obinrin to ti segbeyawo) [] 5. Awon ise miran (e jowo, e ko sile)
15.	Ipele eko iya 1. Won o lo si ile-iwe [] 2. Ile-iwe alakobere [] 3. Ipele eko kinni ile-iwe girama [] 4. Ipele eko keji ile-iwe girama [] 5. Ile- iwe giga [] 6. Awon ipele eko miran (e jowo, e ko sile)
16.	Ipele eko baba 1. Won o lo si ile-iwe [] 2. Ile-iwe alakobere [] 3. Ipele eko kinni ile-iwe girama [] 4. Ipele eko keji ile-iwe girama [] 5. Ile- iwe giga [] 6. Awon ipele eko miran (e jowo, e ko sile)
17.	Ise iya 1. onisowo [] 2.osise ijoba [] 3. agbe [] 4. iyawo ile [] 5. Awon ise miran (e jowo, e so iru ise)
18.	Ise iya 1. onisowo [] 2.osise ijoba [] 3. agbe [] 4. Awon ise miran (e jowo, e so iru ise)
19.	Ipo igbeyawo awon obi 1. Won ngbe papo [] 2. Won ngbe lotooto [] 3. Won ti korawon sile [] 4. Baba ti ku [] 5. Iya ti ku [] 6. Awon obi mejeeji ti ku []
IPELE	В
IMO L	ORI TITETE SEGBEYAWO ATI AWON IS <mark>OR</mark> O TO <mark>RO M</mark> O
Imo lor	i titete fomo foko
20.	Kinni itumo titete segbeyawo?
21.	Ojo ori wo ni e lero pe o ti kere ju lati segbeyawo?
22.	Nje ki omo okunrin tabi obinrin tete segbeyawo ni ojo oro ti o ti to odun mejidinlogun je eyi ti o wopo ninu eya yin? 1. beeni [] 2. beeko []
23.	Nje ki omo okunrin tabi obinrin tete segbeyawo ni ojo oro ti o ti to odun mejidinlogun je eyi ti o wopo ni agbegbe yin? 1. beeni [] 2. beeko []
24.	Nje ikankan ninu awon aburo tabi molebi yin segbeyawo ki o to pe omo odun mejidinlogun? 1. beeni [] 2. beeko []
25.	Iru awon won ni awon omobinrin ti won ma n tete gbeniyawo ma n fe? 1. Awon baba agbalagba [] 2. Awon odomokunrin [] 3. Awon omokunrin ti won jo wa ni ojo ori kan na []
26.	
	Tani o ma n sepinnu igba ti omo okunrin tabi obinrin ma segbeyawo? 1. baba [] 2, iya [] 3. Awon miran (e jowo, e so iru won)

27. Nje e mo ofun Kankan to lodi si titete segbeyawo ni ilu Naijiria? 1. beeni [] 2. beeko []

28.	Ijaya wo lo wa fun enikeni ti o ba ko omobinrin tabi omokunrir omo odun mejidinlogun?	n re r	ni papamor	a lati se	gbeya	awo ki o to pe						
<u>Idi fun</u>	titete segbeyawo											
29.	29. Kin ni awon idi fun titete segbeyawo (igbeyawo fun omo ti ko ti to omo odun mejidinlogun)?											
		bee	ko	beer	ni							
1.	Lati dabobo ibale ati lati dekun ibalopo laitisegbeyawo	[]	[]							
2.	Asa ni ni adugbo wa	[]	[1							
3.	Lati gba owo-ori	[]	ĺ]							
4.	O sor lati ri oko/aya ti eyan ba ti dagba	[]	1]							
5.	Ona ati gboriyin ni	[]	1	1							
6.	O ma n fun ibarinpo lagbara	[1	I]							
7.	Ipa awon akegbe]]	[]							
8.	Idileto ti daru ni bi ti awon omo ti wa labe ikawo obi kan soso	1	1	[]							
9.	[]										
10.	Oyun airotele	[]	[]							
11.	Aini ninu idile omo obinrin	[]	[]							
12.	Ipa lile lati inu ebi	[]	1	[]							
13.	Awon idi miran (e jowo, e salaye)											
Ninu er	o yin, nje <mark>awon isoro tabi ab</mark> uku won yi ro mo titete segbeyaw	0										
30.												
Kinni e	ro pe o je awon isoro/wahala to ro mo titete segbeyawo?			1 .		1 1						
				beeni		beeko						
1.	Titete ni ibalopo			[]		[]						
2.	Titete bimo			[]		[]						
3.	Titete di obi			[]		[]						
4.	Ai ni anfaani si eto ilana ifetosomobibi			[]		[]						
5.	Wiwa ninu ewu kokoro arun oju-ara (VVF)			[]		[]						
6.	Ewo nla lati ko kokoro arun eedi			[]		[]						

7. Irobi ti ko lo geere/ja jaara

[]

[]

8.	Itoju omo ti ko peye	[]	[]
9.	Aini ikora eni nijanu nitori ojo ori to yato \	[]	[]
10.	Intolerance due to difference in age	[]	[]
11.	Titete di opo fun omo obinrin ti o fe baba agbalagba to ku laipe	[]	[]
12.	Ikosile nitori aidagba to	[]	[]
13.	Ai le se igba ewe bo ti ye	[]	[]
14.	Ai le pari ile-iwe	[]	[]
15.	Awon isoro miran (e jowo, e so awon isoro na)		
IPELE (C		
Iwuwasi	i si titete segbeyawo		
31.	Ojo-ori wo le lero pe o dara fun omo obinrin lati segbeyawo?		
32.	Ojo-ori wo le lero pe o dara fun omo okunrin lati segbeyawo?		

33. Fun awon ibere wonyi, e so bi e se faramo awon eridi titete segbeyawo wonyi si (a n so nipa igbeyawo okunrin tabi obinrin ti ojo ori re ko ti to omo odun mejidinlogun)

	Mo	Mo faramo	mi o le so	Mi o	Mi o farmo rara
	faramo	gan-an		faramo	
Okunrin tabi obinrin na le se, eyi tumosi pe:					
won ti dagbato lati bimo.					
Okunrin/obinrin na loye to lati gbe igbe aye					
loko-laya					
Titete segbeyawo ma n je ki eyan yago fun					
isekuse					
Ti tete segbeyawo dara ti okunrin tabi obinrin					
ba le sise ile daradar					
Ti tota an inhamman dana ti alamain tahi					
Ti tete se igbeyawo dara ti okunrin tabi					
obinrin ba ni orisun eto isuna					
Ti tete se igbeyawo dara ti omo okunrin tabi					
obinrin ba le gbe ninu idile oni oko kan aya					
pupo.					
Ti tete se igbeyawo dara fun omo okunrin tabi					
obinrin ti o ba pari ipele eko mewa					
Sisegbeyawo ki eyan to pe omo odun					
mejidinlogun ma n je ki eyan ri oko to tun					

ra.						
	inu imoye yin nje awon wonyi nerindinlodun)	je awon	anfani titete s	egbeyawo (igb	eyawo ti ko t	ti jo omo od
				Yes	No	
1	. Nini idaniloju alafo ti o to larin	omo		[]	[]	
2	O ma n din isekuse ku			[]	[]	
3	O ma n dekun oyun airotele			[]	[]	
4	O ma n pese abo fun awon omo	obinrin to	ti segbeyawo	[]	[]	
5	O ma n pese awon ohun elo to s	e koko		[]	1.1	
6	. O ma n je ki awon omokunrin tu	un wulo si		[]	I 1	
7	Builds social, political and econ	omic allia	nce	[]	[]	
8	. Ti tete ma segbeyawo ma n je k	i eyan pad	anu ewa re	П	[]	
9	. Awon anfani miran (e jowo, e se	o)				
	dun merindinlogun?		•			
1	. Siseto igbeyawo		[]			
2	. ife		[]			
3	. lati bo labe idari obi		[]			
4	. Oyun ti eyan o gbero fun		[]			
5	Obi to le		[]			
6	. Kiko ni papamora lati owo obi		[]			
7	. Awon omokunrin orile-ede Nig	eria ma n 1	fe lati fe odomo	binrin []		
	so bi e se faramo awon ohun ti mo odun merindinlodun)?	o ma n s	okun fa titete	se igbeyawo. (igbeyawo fun	omo ti ko ti
		Mo raramo	Mo faramo dada	Mi o le so	Mi of faramo	faramo
						rara
lati in	ı idile – lati odo baba, iya, awon					rara

aburo ati awon molebi miran			
aini – aini ninu idile obinrin ati eto isuna to			
lagbara			
Oyun airo tele –lati owo ebi ati omo obinrin			
idite mo-ki obi pa ni dandan fun omo			
obinrin lati fe okunrin lai le ko jale ju pe ki			
o fara mo lo.			
Ipa ore – sise igbeyawo nitori ore tabi			
akegbe ti nse igbeyawo			
Ile to ti tuka – nibi ti a ba ti fi okunrin tabi			
obinrin sile fun obi kan			
Igbagbo lori ibale – nitori Pataki ti asa wa fi			
le ibale, awon omobinrin ma n tete			
segbeyawo lati pa mo			
Eko odi – ti o ba tete segbeyawo ewa re o ni			
dara mo			
asa – be ni a se ma n se ni agbegbe ti wa			

IPELE D

IFISOJUSE LORI TITETE SEGBEYAWO

37. E jowo, e gbe awon idahun yin lori osunwon ki e si se akosile re ni lilo ookan si eewa (1,2,310), lori boya oludahun je okunrin tabi obinrin.

Ewo ninu awon iwuwasi yi ni o ma je koko fun yin lati sepinnu fun igbeyawo?

		okunrin	obinrin
1.	Nini ife		
2.	Ojo ori		
3.	Eko		
4.	Ipo ni ibise		
5.	Ebi alaapon		
6.	Irisi to dara		
7.	Ife okan awon obi		
8.	Ipa to peye lati toju ile		
9.	Iwa omoluabi		

10.	wiwa ni alafia pelu molebi					
Tol	38. Nje molebi yin Kankan se pa je beeni, e so iru eni bee? A			nejidinlogu	ın? Beeni	[] Beeko []
		Molebi	Ojo ori nigbati segbeyaw	e		
					K	
To l	oa je pe e ti segbeyawo, elo si	ibere kookanlelogoj	i			
	39. Nje e ma nife lati segbeya	wo ki e to pe omo od	un mejidinl	ogun? 1.be	eni [] 2. b	eeko []
	40. Nje enikankan ti so pe our To ba je beeni, ta ni o yan ei 5. Awon eyan miran (e jowo,	ni na fun yin? 1. eyi	n []	2. baba	[] 3.iya	a[] 4. molebi []
			6. Awon ok	tunrin ati el		3. Awon obi meejeji [won okunrin ati awon obi
			6. Awon okı	unrin ati eb		3. Awon obi meejeji [won okunrin ati awon obi [

E SE PUPO FUN IFOWOSOWOPO YIN

MATAMBAYI

SANIN DA HALAYEN MATASA GAME DA AUREN WURI DA ILLOLINSA GA LAFIYA A GARIN SASA, JIHAR OYO, NAJERIYA

Lamba.....

Rana
Ya kai matashi,
Don Allah kada ka/ki sa sunnan ka/ki. Amsoshin da aka samu daga adannan tambayoyi ba za a bayyana su ba. Ina roko don Allah a bada amsoshi na hakika da zasu nuna abun da ke cikin zuciyar ka/ki.
SASHE NA A
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DATA
1. Shekaru
2. Jinsi 1. Namiji [] 2. Mace []
3. Yare 1. Hausa [] 2. Yoruba [] 3. Ibo [] 4. Saura (Bayyana)
4. Addini 1.Musulunci [] 2. Krista [] 3. Gargajiya [] 4. Saura (Bayyana)
5. Wurin haihuwar ka/ki {Sunnan gari}
6. Yanayin iyalin mahaifin ka 1.Mata daya [] 2. Mata sama da daya []
7. Matsayin aure 1. Ba ni da aure [] 2. Ina da aure [] 3. Bazaura/Bazauri []
(Lamba 8-9 wa masu aure ne kawai)
8. Shekarun ka/ki lokacin da ka/kika yi aure

9. Shekarun ma	Shekarun matanka/mijinki lokacin da ka/kika yi aure						
	mijin ki yake dashi 1 .Mata sama da hudu	l. Mata daya (ke) [] 2. Mata	biyu [] 3. Mata ukwu [] 4. Mata				
11. Ka/kin auri	mat/maza nawa a ray	/unwarka/ki?					
	Shekaru lokacin aura	Shekarun mata/miji lakacin aure	Dalilin rabuwa				
Miji/mata na farko							
Miji/mata na biyu							
Miji/mata na uku							
Miji/mata na hudu							
Miji/mata na biyar							
Miji/mata na shida							
 13. Zurfin ilimi Jami'a [] 6 14. Mene ne sar Saura (Bayy) 15. Zurfin ilimin [] 5. Jami' 16. Zurfin ilimin] 5. Jami'a [17. Sana'ar mah 	1. Ba karatu [] . Saura (Bayyana) na'ar ka/ki? 1. Dalibi rana) n mahaifiya 1. Ba ka a [] 6. Saura (Bayyana] 6. Saura (Bayyana	ratu [] 2. Firamare [] 3. Kana)	sakandare [] 4. Babar sakandare [] 5. ma [] 4.Matar aure (ga matan aure) [] 5. Karamar sakandare [] 4. Babar sakandare ramar sakandare [] 4. Babar sakandare [3. Noma [] 4. Matar aure [] 5. Saura				
18. Sana'ar mah	a <mark>nt</mark> iya 1. Kasuwanc	ı [] 2.Aıkın gwamnati [] 3. N	Noma [] 4. Saura (Bayyana)				
	Matsayin auren iyaye 1. Suna zama tare [] 2. Basu zama tare [] 3. Sun rabu [] 4. Mahaifi ya rasu [] 5. Mahaifiya ta rasu [] 6. Duka iyaye na sun rasu []						
SASHI NA B							

ILIMI GAME DA AURE DA WURI DA KUMA ILLOLINSA

Ilimi gama da aure da wuri

20. Mene ne auren wuri?

21.	Wane shekaru ne ka/kikega ga mafi karanci ayi aure?				
22.	Shin ana yin auren wuri (kasa da shekaru 18) a mutanen garin ku? 1. E'[] 2. A'a[]				
23.	Shin ana yin auren wuri (kasa da shakaru 18) anan garin (Sasa)? 1. E' [2. A'a []			
24.	Akwai dan uwawanka/kid a ya taba aure kasa da shekaru 18? 1. E'[]	2. A'a []			
25.	Suwaye yan matan dake aure da wuri suke aura? 1. Stofin maza [] 2	2. Yara maza [] 3. Sa'	o'insu maza		
26.	Wa ke yanke shawaran yaushe za a yiwa yaro ko yarinya aure? 1. Mahai (Bayyana)	ifi [] 2, Mahaifiya [] 3. Saura		
Ilimi ga	me da dokan da ta hana auren wuri				
27.	Shin ko ka/ki san dokan da ta hana aure da wuri a najeriya? 1. E'[] 2	. A'a []			
28.	Mene ne horon da ake yi wa wanda yayi ma dansa/'yarsa auren	dole kafin shekaru s	sha takwas?		
	da ke kawo aure da wuri Wadanne dalilai ne ke kawo auren wuri (wato kasa da shekaru sha takwa	as)?			
		E'	A'a		
1.	Domin a kare budurci da kuma jima'i kafin aure	[]	[]		
2.	Al'ada ce a garin mu	[]	[]		
3.	Domin a karbi sadaki	[]	[]		
4.	Samun miji na wahala ga tsohuwar budurwa	[]	[]		
5.	Domim nuna isa da bukansa	[]	[]		
6.	Domin a karkafa zumunci	[]	[]		
7.	Domin kawaye/abokanai suna ta aure	[]	[]		
8.	Rashin uwa ko uba a gida bayan rabuwar iyaye	[]	[]		
9.	Iyaye ne ke yima ya'yansu auren dole	[]	[]		
10.	Saboda cikin shege	[]	[]		
11.	Sabada talaucin iyayen yarinya	[]	[]		
12.	Matsi daga 'yan uwa	[]	[]		
13.	Saura (Bayyana				

30. Wadanne matsaloli ne ka/ki ke tsamani ke tattare da aure da wuri?

		E'	A'a
1.	Fara yin jima'I da wurwuri	[]	[]
2.	Daukan ciki/haihuwa da wuri	[]	[]
3.	Kasancewa uwa/uba da wuri	[]	[]
4.	Rashin samun hanyoyin kayyade iyali	[]	[]
5.	Yiwuwar kamuwa da cutar yoyon fitsari	[]	[]
6.	Yiwuwar kamuwa da cutar kanjamau	[]	[]
7.	Wahalar nakuda saboda kankantar kugu	[]	[]
8.	Rashin kula da yara da kyau	[]	[]
9.	Rashin juriya/hakurida juna saboda banbancin shekaru	[]	[]
10.	Yin takaba da wuri idan yarinya ta auri tsoho	[]	[]
11.	Saki saboda yaranta	[]	[]
12.	Hana jin dadin yaranta	[]	[]
13.	Hana ci gabawa da makaranta	[]	[]
14.	Saura (Bayyana		
SASHI	NA C		
HALLA	YE DANGANE DA AUR <mark>E</mark> DA WURI		
31.	A shekara nawa ne ya fi dacewa wa ya' mace ta yi aure?		
32.	A shekara nawa ne ya fi dacewa wa da' namiji ya yi aure?		
33.	Game da tambayoyin da ke biye, ka bayyana yarda ko rasin yarda danga	ne da auren v	vuri (wato

	Yarda	Matukar yarda	Kokwanto	Rashin yarda	Matukar rashin yarda
Idan yaron/yarinyaya/ta balaga kuma ta kai ta					
haihu					
Idan yaro/yarinya ta samu hikima da basirar					
rike aure					
Aure da wuri yana taimakawa wajen hana munanan ayyuka					
Auren wuri abun yarda ne idan yaro/yarinya zai iya rike gida					
Auren wuri abun yarda ne idan yaro/yarinya nada aikin yi					

kasa da shekaru 18)

Auren wuri abun yarda ne idan yaro/yarinya zasu iya rayuwa tare da bukatun dangi			
Auren wurri abun yarda ne idan yaro/yarinya			
sun kamala karatu zuwa babbar sakandare Aure kafin shekara 18 yana kara kyautata			
rayuwar ma'aurata			
34. A naka/ki fahimtar ka/ki yarda cewa bayyanen d da 18)?	a ke kasa suna nuna ami	'anin auren wuri (E'	(wato kasa A;a
Yana tabbatar da samun isashen tazarar haihuwa	a	[]	[]
2. Yana hana karuwanci da zina			[]
3. Yana hana cikin shege		[]	[]
4. Yana bayarda kariya ga yan'mata masu aure		[]	[]
5. Yana samar da bukatu nay au kullum		[]	[]
6. Yana sa samari su zama mutanen kirki	$\langle \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \$	[]	[]
7. Yana kulla dagantaka ta zamantakewa, siyasa da	a kuma tattalin arziki	[]	[]
8. Rashin aure da wuri na jawo kyaun budurwa/sat	urayi <mark>y</mark> a lallaca	[]	[]
9. Saura (Bayyana			
35. Ka/ki shirya bayanen da ke biye ta hanyar nuna dalilan yin aure kafin shekara 18 a Najeriya	wanda kafi yarda da shi	i daga 1 zuwa 7 d	angane da
1. Iyaye ne suke s <mark>hir</mark> ya auren	[]		
2. Saboda soyayya	[]		
3. Gudun matsin iyaye	[]		
4. Saboda anyi cikin shege	[]		
5. Saboda iyaye masu tsanani	[]		
6. Tilastarwar iyaye	[]		
7. Mazajen Najeriya sun fi kaunar auren yan' mata	[]		

36. Ka/ki bayyana iya yarda ko rashin yardarka game da abubuwan nan dake kawo ayi auren wuri (wato kasa da shekara 18)?

	Yarda	Matukar yarda	Kokwanto	Rashin yarda	Matukar rashin yarda
Matsi – daga iyaye, 'yan uwa da sauran dangi					·
Talauci – iyayen yarinya da wahalar rayuwa					
Cikin shege – matsin iyaye da yarinya					
Munafurcin iyaye wajen tilasta 'yarsu yin auren dole					
Matsi daga abokanai/kawayai saboda sa'annin duka sunyi aure			OK		
Rashin uwa/uba a gida saboda rabuwar aure					
Kare budurci- saboda al'ada na bada mahimmanci ga budurci , domin haka mata na aure da wuri don su kare shi		O,			
Rashin fahimta – idan mace bata yi aure da wuri ba kyaun ta zai lalace					
Al'adan garin ne					

SASHI NA D

37. Ka/ki bayyana amsar da ka/kinga tafi dacewa wajen nuna wanda yfi daga 1,2,3,......10

Wadanne abubuwa ne kafi/kikafi bama muhimmanci wajen zaban miji ko mata?

		Nami ji	Mace
1.	Fadawa kogim soyayya		
2.	Shekaru (Samari ko budurwa)		
3.	Ilimi		
4.	Aikin yi/Sana'a		
5.	Dangi mau karimci		
6.	Kyakyawan yarinya/yaro		

7.	Zabin iyaye	
8.	Iya lura da gida	
9.	Kyawun halitta	
10.	Ikon jure ma 'yan uwa na	

38. Akwai wani/wata danuwa ko yar'uwan ka/ki da yayi ka tayi aure kafin shekara 18? Yes [] No []

Idan amsar E' ne to ka/ki bayyana wanene? Kuma ka/ki bayyana a shekara nawa?

Dangantaka	Shekaran da ya/tayi aure

Idan kna/kina da aure don Allah wuce zuwa tambaya ta 41

39. Zaka/zaki so ka/ki yi aure <mark>ka</mark> fin shekaru sha takwas? 1. E' [] 2. A'a []
40. Akwai wanda ya taba nuna yana son ya aure ki/ka? 1. E' [] 2. A'a []
Idan amsar ka/ki E' wanene ya zaba maka/miki? 1. Ni [] 2. Mahaifi na [] 3. Mahaifiyar ta [] 4.
Yan'uwa [] 5. Saura (bayyana)
41. Waya yafi dacewa ya zabawa 'yan mata miji? 1. Uba [] 2. Uwa [] 3. Uba da Uwa [] 4. Dangi
[] 5. Yarinya ita kadai [] 6. Yarinya da dangi [] 7. Yrinya da iyaye [] 8. Saura (bayyana)
42. Waya yafi dacewa ya zabawa saurayi mata? 1. Uba [] 2. Uwa [] 3. Uba da Uwa [] 4. Dangi [
] 5. Saurayi shi kadai [] 6. Saurayi da dangi [] 7. Saurayi da iyaye [] 8. Saura (bayyana)

NA GODE MUTUKA DA HADINKAN DA KA/KIKA BANI

AN IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE ON PERCEPTION OF EARLY MARRIAGE AMONG HOUSEHOLD HEADS, HOSPITAL STAFF, RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND TRADITIONAL RULERS IN SASA COMMUNITY

1.	In your own opinion, what would you consider as early marriage?
2.	What do you think are the reasons why there is practice of early marriage in this community?
	community.
3.	What do you think are the disadvantages/problems of early marriage?
4.	What age do you think is ideal for marriage for both male and female
5.	In your own opinion, what would you say are the advantages of early marriage?
6.	Do you think the practice of early marriage should be continued or not?