



National Survey on the Drivers and Consequences of Child Marriage in Tanzania

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Executive Summary

Gathering evidence and documenting drivers and consequences of child marriage are important in identifying key issues and themes for programing and providing specific recommendations, if child marriage is to be eradicated. This study is a step toward collecting context-specific evidence in Tanzania to design tailor-made programs to end child marriage. Evidence is also essential to facilitate governments and civil society to uphold the rights of children.

The full extent of child marriage in Tanzania might not be recognized, as not all marriages are registered. But available statistics point to a 37% prevalence rate (Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS, 2010)). Whereas Shinyanga, Tabora, Mara and Dodoma have high prevalence rates of child marriage according to TDHS, findings from this study also point to these regions, in addition to Lindi, as an additional hotspot.

The objectives of this study are to analyze the causes and drivers of child marriage across Tanzania, exploring differences between regions; to understand the effect and consequences of child marriage on the girl child and her family; and to understand stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes toward child marriage.

The study collected data from 10 regions representing high, average and low prevalence rates. Data were collected through a quantitative survey, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Analysis used both quantitative methods with 3,299 study participants, and qualitative methods via 199 in-depth interviews and 19 focus group discussions with 190 participants.

The key drivers of child marriage in Tanzania are multifaceted and vary across regions and ethnic groups. This study finds the following drivers of child marriage in Tanzania: income poverty, specific sociocultural norms related to marriage, agency and choice, adolescent fertility, gender inequality and control of female sexuality, and weak legal and policy frameworks.

Girls are affected by income poverty, which cuts across all regions, manifested by the inability to pay school fees and upkeep costs. The poor struggle to send their children to school and take care of them and thus resort to marrying girls off as a means to "protect" them. Moreover, bride price is considered a means of reducing income poverty, and girls are the solution for families to get the much needed income, often paid in terms of cattle and cash. Specific socio-cultural norms and practices were also found to drive child marriage. For example, traditional dances and initiation rites of unyago are prevalent among Makonde, Yao, and Makua of Lindi and Mtwara, and among the Zaramos of Dar es Salaam and Pwani.

These norms specifically initiate girls into womanhood and train them from as young as nine on sexual and marital issues. Likewise, "Samba" and "Chagulaga" are commonly practiced among the Sukuma and Nyamwezi of Shinyanga and Tabora. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is practiced among the Tindiga and Hadzabe of Manyara, Gogo and Sandawe of Dodoma, and Kuria, Simbiti, Rieny, Ugu, Bakabwa, Kine, Nata, Zanaki, Kiroba and Tatiros of Mara. FGM marks girls' transition into womanhood. These rites of passage are meant to ensure marriageability for girls.

Teen pregnancy is pandemic in Tanzania, and many girls are forced into child marriage because they are pregnant. They are forced to marry the men who impregnated them. Parents are also afraid that girls will become pregnant and shame families and therefore marry them off as children to protect family honor. Gender inequality in the home, institutions and even within the law is a major concern. The Law of Marriage Act discriminates between boys and girls; girls are seen as wives and mothers to be, and hence less emphasis is given toward girls' education. Girls are tested for pregnancy in schools, and pregnant girls are expelled, despite the fact that no national law supports expulsion of pregnant girls.

The consequences of child marriage center on development and the denial of human rights to children. The immediate consequences include increased maternal and infant mortality risks; contracting Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS; and becoming victims of gender-based violence. This study also finds incidences of emotional abuse including threats of abandonment. In the long run, lower education attainment affects other opportunities for girls such as gaining meaningful employment and engaging in income-generating activities that are crucial for household survival.

Stakeholders from the government and NGOs consider the law, role of politicians, corruption, lack of budget and weak implementation mechanisms as impediments to addressing and eliminating child marriage in Tanzania. Stakeholders proposed community sensitization and awareness by using community development officers, reforming the Law of Marriage Act of 1971 that allows 14-year-olds to marry, providing education for girls, educating parents and communities on the negative effects of child marriage, advocating for the equal treatment of boys and girls, and involving religious leaders in mobilization efforts to end child marriage. Stakeholders also emphasized prosecuting child marriage cases especially when a girl has been removed from school.

Recommendations therefore emphasize the need to educate community members on the ills of child marriage; help the community to learn that child marriage is not a solution to poverty; empower girls to understand what is right for them; strengthen education and learning environments for girls in both rural and urban areas; reform and harmonize conflicting laws centered on the Marriage Act of 1971; and provide sexual and reproductive health education.

This research on the drivers and consequences of child marriage is the most comprehensive of its kind in Tanzania so far. There is still a need for more research to fill in the gaps concerning matters of child marriage. Four particular areas are identified:

1. study the regions not covered in this study, in order to identify the region-specific challenges and hence design region-specific actions at all levels;
2. research on youth and globalization and the extent to which it affects child marriage;
3. establish research and current data on the prevalence of child marriage in all regions, so as to capture recent trends and draw lessons from the changes that may be observed; and
4. research on mitigating the negative effects of child marriage, including psychological consequences for the child and the incidence of other consequences such as fistula, maternal injuries and mortalities among teen mothers.

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Abbreviations

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
CDF	Children Dignity Forum
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CESCR	Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
CRC	Convention on the Rights of a Child
DSM	Dar es Salaam
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
HWR	Human Rights Watch
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
MoCLA	Ministry of Constitution and Legal Affairs
MoHCDGSC	Ministry of Health Community Development, Gender, Seniors, and Children
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PSU	Primary Sampling Units
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SSU	Secondary Sampling Units
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TDHS	Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TAMISEMI	Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa (Regional Administration and Local Government)
TAWLA	Tanzania Women Lawyer Association
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
WHO	World Health Organization
ZAC	Zanzibar AIDS Commission

Translation and Explanation of Phrases and Practices Used

Chagulaga: Translated as “choose the one you love.” Premarital sex-for-fun game often played after evening dances, where a boy runs after a girl, usually one with whom some kind of understanding has been established. If she gets away from her suitor, the boy becomes a local laughingstock. But if he sprints fast enough to catch her, the boy is invited to have sex with the girl right there in the bushes.

Hela ya barua: Marriage proposal fee. An amount of money paid up front by the groom’s family prior to the actual engagement and bride price, as they ask for the girl’s hand in marriage.

Jando and Unyago: Initiation rites for boys (Jando) and girls (Unyago) to adulthood. Involves the accentuation of the particularities of male and female roles, respectively.

Kifafa cha mimba: Eclampsia.

Kijiti: Implant (family planning method).

Kuchezwa: The act of performing initiation rites on girls. The common act of kuchezwa involves unyago which goes along with traditional dances.

Kuvunja ungo: A term used to refer to the first menstrual experience (puberty) by girls.

Kushindikila: A predominant traditional practice found mainly in Shinyanga among the Sukuma tribe in Tanzania. In this practice once a girl gets married, she is escorted by a number of girls her age to the groom, who is also accompanied by a number of boys/men. The girls escorting the bride are expected to use all the skills they have (mostly trained by their mothers) to ensure that they seduce the men enough for them to be the next brides.

Mcharuko: A term used to refer to someone who is indecent. It refers to a person with immoral behaviors, ones that are condemned in society.

Misingi ya kimila ya malezi ya watt: Traditional basis of raising children.

Nyota ya kijani: National family planning green star campaign. Most use the name of the campaign (nyota ya kijani–green star) to mean the actual act of family planning.

Nyumba Ntobhu: Traditional marriages among the Kurya whereby a woman marries a fellow woman for various reasons such as expansion of family lineage, escape from violence, etc., commonly found in the western part of Tanzania. The main reason behind this practice among the Kurya is to extend lineage for women who do not have sons through which they can have grandchildren. The woman therefore is paid a bride price on behalf of an imaginary son so she (the young woman) can give birth to children who will be known in the community as the grandchildren of the old woman.

Samba: A tradition among Sukuma where when a girl reaches the adolescent age of 12 years old, her parents take her to a traditional healer for traditional medicine to enhance her chances of attracting male partners.

Wanaozeshwa ndoa za mkeka: An arranged marriage done to avoid embarrassment rather than out of desire of the partners. In this case it is commonly done due to fear of shame caused by situations such as unplanned (teen) pregnancies. It is done when parents of the girl suspect she is having an affair with a boy. Parents will arrange for the presence of a sheikh and witnesses.

1.0 Introduction

Globally, there is increasing attention on child marriages and its effects on young girls. This study shares knowledge and provides evidence on the drivers and consequences of child marriage in Tanzania and gathers information on key stakeholder perceptions. The terms child and child marriage are understood variously in various circles. Therefore from the beginning the definition of these terms as used in this study is provided. Background information is presented to contextualize the study, followed by the research objectives and research questions.

1.1 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.1.1 Child

The definition of a child is highly variable, both in terms of formal law and in terms of informal understandings among Tanzanians. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children (ACRWC), the Tanzanian Constitution and the Law of the Child Act of 2009 define children as all persons under 18 years. Under customary law in Tanzania (both Hindu and Islamic), attaining puberty signifies the age of the majority. The Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act (SOSPA)¹ also defines a child as someone under 18.

1.1.2 Child Marriage

Child marriage refers to marriage of a child under 18. This is in accordance with Article 1 of the CRC. Below this age the girl is usually physically and psychologically not expected to be ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and child bearing (Inter-African Committee on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children, 2003). Around 37% of Tanzanian girl children are married before they turn 18, according to the Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS, 2010). This involves both informal unions and legal marriages where the marriage is not registered. The girl child is normally sent to her husband soon after the groom completes requirements, especially bride price. Other concepts have also been used to refer to child marriage, such as early marriage, arranged marriage, forced marriage, sugar daddies or child slavery (Greene, 2014; Nour, 2009). For the purpose of this report, child marriage will mean a marriage of a child below the age of 18, whether through religious ceremony, civil or traditional union.

¹ See Sexual Offences (Special Provision) Act No. 4 of 1998.

1.2 TANZANIA AT A GLANCE: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL PROFILE²

Tanzania is situated in East Africa by the Indian Ocean. The country consists of the Tanzania mainland and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The total population of Tanzania mainland according to the 2012 census is 43.6 million. Tanzania has a multi-party system, and 2015 marked the fifth multiparty elections whereby Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the ruling party, won and President John Pombe Magufuli was elected as the fifth president of the United Republic of Tanzania.

According to the 2014 National Economic Survey, Tanzania “has maintained a sustained macro-economic growth (GDP) averaging 6.8% over the last two decades”. The analysis of sectorial contribution to GDP in 2014 shows that services had the highest share at 41.3%, followed by agriculture at 28.9%. Manufacturing and construction combined accounted for 21.7%, of which manufacturing had 5.6%. In 2014, the fastest rates of growth were recorded in the construction sector, which grew by 14.1% compared to 14.6% in 2013, followed by transport and storage which grew by 12.5%. Financial services and insurance grew by 10.8%, and trade and repairs grew by 10.0%. Agriculture, which supports the livelihoods of most Tanzanians, expanded by 3.4% compared to 3.2% recorded in 2013.

Table 1: Key Socio-economic Indicators for Tanzania

Key	Value
Population	43.6 million (Tanzania Census 2012)
Capital	Dodoma
Area	943,000 sq. km
Major languages	English, Swahili
Major religions	Christianity, Islam
Life Expectancy	60
Monetary unit	1 Tanzanian shilling = 0.00046 US Dollar
Main Exports	Sisal, cloves, coffee, cotton, cashew nuts, minerals, tobacco
GNI per capita	\$920 (World Bank, 214)
Maternal mortality	454/100,000 live births
Under-five mortality	81/1,000 live births
Neonatal mortality	26/1,000 live births
Infant Mortality	51/1,000 live births
Delivery in health facility	51%

² For more information about Tanzania cultures and traditions, see Tanzania Census 2012, World Bank website, Countries and their Cultures, <http://www.everyculture.com/Sa-Th/Tanzania.html>, and the government of Tanzania website.

Tanzania has 31 political administrative regions, with 120 ethnic groups. The Sukuma (over three million), and the Chagga, Haya, and Nyamwezi (over one million each) are the largest ethnic groups, but all these diverse ethnic groups are united by the use of a common language—Swahili—which is the official and administrative language of Tanzania. The majority of Tanzanians (over 75%) are employed in agriculture. Other economic activities include livestock keeping and fishing. Table 1 summarizes Tanzania’s socioeconomic indicators, while the country’s administrative regions are depicted in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Map of Tanzania’s Administrative Regions



Source: file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/Tanzania, administrative divisions

Traditional socio-cultural practices are very important in the daily lives of Tanzanians. Family networks provide support during major life-cycle ceremonies, including marriages. Marriage customs vary by ethnic group, but in most cases they involve a groom’s family paying bride price to the bride’s family. Wedding ceremonies are very elaborate, and depending on the family’s wealth there may be a bride price celebration, kitchen party and sendoff, all of which are done on the bride’s side by her family. The wedding ceremony is the responsibility of the groom’s side. Many ethnic groups and Muslims allow polygyny (marrying more than one wife). The woman’s identity changes, where she is recognized by her eldest child’s name, for instance “Mama Lulu” if her eldest child is Lulu. Other traditions and socio-cultural practices vary by ethnic group also, but they are mostly patriarchal in nature.

1.3 BACKGROUND

“Early marriage is illegal in most places where it occurs; it is a violation of the rights of girls, and it has detrimental health, and social consequences on adolescent girls, their families and communities,” (Svanemyr et al., 2012:2).

This was noted by the 65th Assembly of the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2012. Prior to this, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution (A/RES/66/170) designating 11 October as the International Day of the Girl Child, choosing ending child marriages as the theme of the first year, in 2012.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America there is a large number of girl children as young as 14 or 15 years of age, some even younger, who are forced into marriage by their own parents, relatives or guardians (Chowdhury, 2004; Ayiga and Rampage, 2013; Birech, 2013). The age difference between a child bride and her husband in most developing countries varies between five and 14 years (Clark, Bruce and Dude, 2004). The majority of these cases in Africa are linked to social, economic or cultural motives (CDF, 2008; HRW, 2014; Clark, Bruce and Dude, 2004). As the child brides are often married to older men, this large spousal age difference (see Table 2) often leads to limited autonomy and the inability of the young wives to participate in decision-making over their own lives (Population Council, Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), Zanzibar AIDS Commission (ZAC), and UNICEF Tanzania, 2015). In many cases, child wives are forced into polygamous marriage and encounter abuse not only from their husbands and in-laws, but also from their co-wives (Walker, 2012:234). They suffer from emotional distress which destroys their self-esteem, causes depression and may result in suicide. Many women who marry young are often unhappy in their marriages and live with resentment and hatred.

Table 2: Age difference between Current Partners

Age Difference Between Women and Current Husband/Cohabiting Partner, Among Females Ages 15–24, Percent (THMIS, 2011–2012)								
Region	Ages 15–19				Ages 20–24			
	Partner 0–4 years older	Partner 5–9 years older	Partner 10–14 years older	Partner 15+ years older	Partner 0–4 years older	Partner 5–9 years older	Partner 10–14 years older	Partner 15+ years older
Mainland	33.0	40.3	17.2	9.6	36.7	38.7	13.6	11
Zanzibar	16.8	52.8	3.2	27.2	40.5	28.5	11.1	19.9
Urban	28.5	44.1	20.7	6.7	28.1	48.6	12.4	10.9
Rural	33.4	39.9	16.5	10.2	39.1	35.8	13.8	11.4
National	32.8	40.4	17.0	9.8	36.8	38.4	15.5	11.3

Regionally, the African Union (AU) is also addressing child marriage and its consequences for African children. A campaign was launched on 29 May 2014 by AU ministers of social development to end child marriage in Africa. They aimed to put in place policies and protection mechanisms to ensure that human rights for women and girls are observed. They aimed to raise awareness of the plight from child marriage and empower non-state actors to undertake evidence-based advocacy through new technologies and monitoring and evaluation. The campaign led the African heads of state and first ladies to convene at a breakfast meeting on January 30, 2015, where they committed to ending child marriage and all traditional practices that harm girls (African Union, 2015). They vowed to end child marriage and all harmful traditional practices that affect girls.

³ <http://pages.au.int/sites/default/files/FINAL%20PRESS%20RELEASE%20FOR%20BREAKFAST%20MEETING.pdf>.

⁴ Draft communiqué at the AU working breakfast meeting on ending child marriage in Africa and concept note are available at <http://pages.au.int/cecm/events/working-breakfast-meeting-auc-campaign-end-child-marriage-africa-african-first-ladies-an> visited 9/15/2015.

In Tanzania national activists are working with international organizations in the country and the UN system to combat child marriage. These efforts have been capitalized by various campaigns with different stakeholders championed by the Children's Dignity Forum (CDF), Plan International, Graça Machel Trust, UNFPA, FORWARD-UK, TAMWA, TAWLA and WiLDAF, amongst others. In 2014 a campaign "Child Marriage Free Zone" was launched by the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MCDGC) jointly with UNFPA, Graça Machel Trust and Children's Dignity Forum. Such campaigns called for legal and policy frameworks to support their efforts, as well as data to show the magnitude of the problem. The challenge that remains in Tanzania (as in many other countries) is lack of information to support these efforts, as well as limited understanding of the drivers and consequences of child marriage.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Child marriage is prevalent in Tanzania, with 37% of women aged 20–24 having been married before they turned 18 (TDHS, 2010). Shinyanga, Tabora and Mara have the highest prevalence of child marriage, at 59%, 58% and 55%, respectively, while Iringa and Dar es Salaam have the lowest prevalence at 8% and 17%, respectively (TDHS, 2010). Child marriage is more prevalent among the rural population, although it is also found among the urban population but mainly limited to those with poor economic conditions and strong religious and cultural ties (Plan International, 2013).

The data will provide evidence and legitimacy for groups of advocates, policymakers and law-makers who are appropriately positioned. By exploring the underlying drivers, consequences and stakeholder perceptions in an effort effectively address child marriage in Tanzania. This national study is the first of its kind. It responds to the need for evidence and data on the practice and ramifications of child marriage in the country. The findings are expected to form a firm basis for empowering government, communities and civil society to develop programs and interventions to reduce and eventually end child marriage in Tanzania.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are:

- To analyze the causes and drivers of child marriage across Tanzania, exploring differences between regions;
- To understand the effect and consequences of child marriage on the girl child and her family;
- To understand stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes toward child marriage, including recommending what is needed to deter the practice.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question explored here is: What are the main drivers and consequences of child marriage across regions and cultures in Tanzania? Are some ethnic groups and/or regions at greater risk than others? Specific questions that were explored include:

- What are the socio-cultural, political, economic and legal factors that drive child marriage?
- What level of understanding do girls, boys, women and men have of the effects and consequences of child marriage?
- How does child marriage affect girls' lives, their future prospects and that of their families?
- What factors would prevent girls from engaging in child marriage?
- What can be done at all levels to effect change?

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report is divided into six sections. Section 1 provides background information, while Section 2 provides the framework of analysis and literature, draws and presents information from current sources and situates child marriage as a human rights issue and a development issue. The section also provides the socio-ecological framework to analyze child marriage. Section 3 describes the research methodology by presenting study sites, sampling, data collection and analysis techniques for both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Section 4 presents the findings, divided into four parts: First it addresses the drivers of child marriage, focusing on socio-cultural norms and structural issues including legal and policy frameworks. Second it focuses on the consequences of child marriage on the economy, health and education. Third it presents findings on stakeholders' perceptions of child marriage. Finally, it addresses actions that could end child marriage in Tanzania.

Section 5 discusses findings, while Section 6 concludes and provides recommendations and suggestions for future research.

2.0 Frameworks of Analysis

2.1 CHILD MARRIAGE AS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

Child marriage is prohibited by various regional and international instruments. Child marriage is a silent human right issue (Human Rights Watch, 2013; UNICEF, 2001). Child marriage continues to be a global challenge, especially in Africa and southern Asia because it affects both boys and girls; however, girls are the most affected (UNICEF, 2001).

International treaties addressing child marriage, ratified by Tanzania, include Article 16 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) which specifies that a “person must be of full age” when entering into such a union and marriage should be entered “freely and with full consent.” Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the 1962 Convention of Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages oblige nations to institute a minimum age for marriage and register all marriages. The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) calls for all countries to establish a minimum age for marriage and make child marriage unlawful. The UN CRC was the first to define a child as anyone under 18, although it does not specifically mention the term child marriage.⁵

In the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children (ACRWC), Article 21(2) specifically prohibits child marriage and betrothal of children and legislates the “minimum age for marriage to be 18 and makes registration of all marriages in an official registry compulsory.”⁶⁷

Child rights in Tanzania and globally have been clearly stipulated by various human rights treaties including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) on education and health rights.⁸ With child marriages, child rights to education and health are violated because children are unable to complete their education and lack the freedom to control their own bodies by choosing their own sexual partners, when to have sex, and when to have children. These should occur at a time when their bodies are mature enough to undergo all the strains associated with marriage and childbirth; if not, this results in higher infant and maternal mortality rates among teen mothers.⁹ As Birech (2013), Brown (2012) and HRW (2014) argue, child marriage affects girls’ education, general health and other socio-psychological dimensions. Consequently, the victims are left disadvantaged in society.

From these treaties to which Tanzania has agreed, one can conclude that child marriage is also a violation of other child rights. The international treaties are important because countries are held accountable when it comes to violating child rights. The implication is that laws, especially on who is a child, need to be harmonized to guide the implementation and enforcement of child rights.

⁵ The CRC Article 28(1) states that “States parties recognize the right of the child to education and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity,” On health care, Article 24 of the CRC states that “States parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health.”

⁶ African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990), entered into force Nov. 29, 1999.

⁷ Regionally in Africa, the ACRWC requires states to take specific legislative, administrative, social, and educational measures to protect the child. Article 11 of the ACRWC states that “Every child shall have the right to an education” and details steps to be taken to ensure children’s rights to education. It puts forth measures that are specific to the African context and recognizes that problems of an African child are unique. Article 14(1) of the ACRWC states that “Every child shall have the right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical, mental, and spiritual health.”

⁸ Article 13 outlines a universal right to education from the elementary to the tertiary level. Education was given much weight in the ICESCR, with two articles, 13 and 14, dedicated to education rights.

⁹ The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) (1999), commenting on the implementation of the right to education, described education as “both a human right in itself and an indispensable means to realizing other human rights” and an important means for the empowerment of vulnerable groups. The right to health is explained in article 12(1) as follows “The States parties to the present covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.”

2.2 CHILD MARRIAGE AS A DEVELOPMENT ISSUE

...child marriage inhibits development. We have this larger cohort of adolescents...A big part of them is being denied the opportunity of growing as human capital, as an asset for countries. And that is a lost opportunity. (Benoit Kalasa, UNFPA Technical Director)¹⁰

To understand child marriage as a development issue, it is important to look at the development data in Tanzania. It will allow understanding of the magnitude of the issue and how preventing child marriage has the potential not only to improve human rights observance, but also to accelerate the development of countries.

Several studies indicate that poverty is among the main reasons for child marriage (Greene, 2014; Brown, 2012; Chowdhury, 2004). Other scholars have addressed maternal mortality, under-five mortality, low birth-weight babies, female-adult illiteracy and education attainment (ICRW, 2007; Brown, 2012; CDF, 2008; Raj, Gomez and Silverman, 2014) because they are affected by child marriage. Child marriage has a chain of consequences affecting national development, health and educational opportunity. Child marriage impedes development because girls who marry as children and drop out of school are more likely to live in poverty (Dahl, 2010) and have fewer skills for professional careers. At a personal level, children are unable to bond with children of their own age and to choose their own partners (CDF, 2013, 2008; Nour 2011, and 2006).

Twice as many girls from poor families are likely to marry as children as girls from wealthy families (see Table 3 below) (TDHS, 2010). The percentage of 15 to 17 years old females who have been married make up a very small percentage of the households in the highest wealth quintile (7%), marry as children compared to 18% in the lowest quintile. The findings show that poverty might drive many parents to marry off their girl children early. Consequently, these married children are more likely to remain poor and therefore be trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty for them and their families (see also Raj, Gomez, and Silverman, 2014).

In Tanzania, 58% of people aged 15 to 24 who married before 15 were unable to read a sentence during the TDHS 2010 survey, whereas only 12% of those who never married before age 15 were not able to read the sentence (Population Council, et. al 2015).

¹⁰ AllAfrica.com. 2015. "Child Marriage shatters the future of Girls, Communities." Daily News Woman Magazine. Issue No344, Thursday, October 8, 2014. P2.

Table 3: Marital Status by Household Wealth Quintile

Marital Status Among Females Ages 15–17, Percent (2010, TDHS)		
HOUSEHOLD WEALTH QUINTILE	NEVER MARRIED	EVER MARRIED
Lowest	82	18
Second	84	16
Middle	86	14
Fourth	91	9
Highest	93	7

Source: Population Council, Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), Zanzibar AIDS Commission (ZAC), and UNICEF Tanzania. 2015.

In other communities, parents create conditions for their daughters to perform poorly at the standard seven exams so that they cannot join secondary schools and therefore can marry as children (Makene, forthcoming). In Tanzania, like in many African countries, the bride price is paid to the parents of the girl when they marry her off, as a gift. In Asian societies, the bride price tends to decrease as the girl gets older (Chowdhury, 2004).¹¹ This prompts some parents to marry off their daughters very young to fetch a higher bride price.

¹¹ In societies like Bangladesh, where women pay the dowry to men, the same principles exists. The younger the woman, the lower the dowry; this drives parents to marry off their younger daughters so that they pay less dowry to the man's family. As the girl gets older, the amount of money the parents have to pay to a man's family increases and therefore

The payment of the bride price acts as an incentive for parents to marry off their daughters and take them out of school so they are able to receive the bride wealth (HRW, 2014; Chowdhury, 2004). Bride price is highly associated with poverty because those who are wealthy do not depend on it for their survival or to increase their wealth. The bride price benefits the father (rather than the girl) who may use it for his own personal requirements such as having more wives, paying for his son's marriages and satisfying his economic needs. "Bride price is negotiated by a man and his family and is paid to a woman's family in the form of money, cattle or other livestock or a combination" (HRW, 2014:5).

Girls who are married off as children miss educational and economic opportunities that could have lifted them and their families out of poverty (Herz and Sperling, 2004; TDHS, 2010) (see also Table 4 below). Educated girls are also more likely to be healthier and in a better economic position than uneducated girls; this translates into investing in their families and into the education of their children and into paying taxes, which will also affect the country's development. Research has shown that "for every year a girl stays in secondary school, her eventual wages are boosted by 15 to 25%." (Herz and Sperling, 2004:28).

Table 4: School Attendance, by Marital and Childbearing Status

Current School Attendance by Marital and Childbearing Status, among Females Ages 15–19, Percent (TDHS, 2010)				
REGION	EVER MARRIED, WITH A CHILD	NEVER MARRIED, WITH A CHILD	EVER MARRIED, NO CHILD	NEVER MARRIED, NO CHILD
Mainland	0	8	1	52
Urban	0	23	*	59
Rural	0	0	0	50
National	0	8**	1	53

*Data not available

**National average of school attendance are based on all Tanzania mainland regions and not just rural and urban averages

Source: Population Council, Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), Zanzibar AIDS Commission (ZAC), and UNICEF Tanzania. 2015.

The benefits of educating women have been widely documented (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2002). Women's education has an impact on their children, reduces poverty among the women themselves, their children and their families, and improves their health. Child marriage is closely associated with teen pregnancy and leads to higher maternal and infant mortalities, higher population growth rates and many health problems faced by children whose bodies are not mature enough to carry a baby, to care for that baby or to give them resources to develop to their full potential.

Child marriage poses national development challenges because reduced school attainment leads to an uneducated society and a low pool of human resources. When children marry young and become pregnant at a younger age, they are put at a higher risk of complications during childbirth and might even die. "Teenagers aged 15 to 19 years are twice as likely to die during childbirth compared to women who are between 20 and 24," (HRW, 2014: 60). Moreover, the risks are even higher because of their lack of access to health services and health-related information and their low social status within the community.

Generally, child marriage not only deprives girls of their basic human rights but also hinders socio-economic development from the individual and community levels to the national level (Warner, et al., 2011). The victims of child marriage suffer beyond what may be simply portrayed. Child marriage has consequences for the economy and results in victims with limited life options, lost development opportunities and health problems among girls. Child marriage also curtails their education, which affects girls' lives, their future and their families.

2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK¹²

This study uses the social ecological model commonly used in public health as put forward by McLeroy, Bibeau, Stecklerand and Glanz (2012). The social ecological model is useful in the case of child marriage because of its complex nature and the multiple-level efforts that are required to end it. The four themes/domains presented here are analyzed in the results section, namely Individual, Relationship, Community and Societal (McLeroy et al., 2012). Because the goal of this study is to eventually end child marriage, the social ecological model conceptualizes that child marriage can be explained in the four domains. There are different contexts that perpetrate child marriage, therefore any intervention efforts should take into account multiple levels.

This national survey on child marriage assumes that the magnitude of child marriage in Tanzania is determined by these domains as presented in Figure 2. The model recognizes the role that civil society and community play to create awareness to end child marriage, as well as to tackle poverty, ignorance, gender inequality, institutions of economic, social-cultural, and political factors, and promote information technology, which are essential in bringing awareness and education and becoming agents of change.

The micro level of the social ecological model is the “pattern of activities, social roles and interpersonal relations experienced by a person” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994:39). A microsystem will include family, peers, or caregivers and home, school, daycare, or work. At the micro level, there is the girl child herself and the potential husband. The risk of child marriage is determined by girls’ agency, aspiration, life skills, knowledge and access to service. The family’s support, friends, peers and inter-generation trends providing identity and support determine whether the girl child will be subjected to child marriage.

The mesosystem is the second level and consists of the interactions between the different parts of a person’s microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). It includes activities and networks that will not entice them and their families into marriage. Community at the meso level extends beyond organizations where there are socio-cultural norms regarding child marriage. They include social network community norms, practices, and regulations, and relative wealth. Culture is learned and is very much ingrained in the affairs of the people; it is very difficult to make changes. As Makene (2007:39) argued “culture is very significant and plays a crucial role in the implementation of global policies at the local level.” But change is possible through education and advocacy. For instance, China was able to end the painful and unnecessary cultural practice of foot binding that was very detrimental to women (Global Solutions, 2015). By understanding the socio-cultural drivers that specifically fuel child marriage and its detrimental effects, we are able to address ways to end child marriage.

And finally, the macro/societal level is a large and overarching pattern of micro and meso levels in a given culture or subculture with particular reference to belief and political systems and the economy (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). It also includes socio-political ideology as well as legislation, policies and institutional arrangements and their role in communicating, implementing and sanctioning practices related to child marriage through laws, social and child-protection agencies, media, economy, civil society and social norms.

¹² This framework was adopted from Plan International but modified to suit the needs of this study.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



3.0 Research Methodology

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes how the study was designed and which methodology was used. It describes the areas of study, sample and sample size, sampling procedure, data collection methods, data analysis plan, ethical consideration and limitation of the methodology.

3.1 AREAS OF THE STUDY

Data for the study were collected from 10 regions in Tanzania mainland. The regions were categorized into three groups under 'high' (Shinyanga (59%), Tabora (58%), Mara (55%), Dodoma (51%), and Lindi (48%)); 'average' (Mtwara (35%), Manyara (34%), and Coast region (33%)); and 'low' (Dare es Salaam (19%) and Iringa (8%)). Prevalence rates of child marriage are based on Tanzania Demographic Health Survey (TDHS, 2010).¹³

At least two districts from each region, two wards in each district, and two to three villages in each ward were randomly selected for the study by using a computer random-number generator. Villages were categorized as rural or urban and then randomly selected for inclusion in the study.

3.3 SAMPLE AND SAMPLE SIZE

The sample for the study was categorized in two groups. The first group was formed by key informants drawn from the government and from other key stakeholders. This group was named Key Informants (KIs). The second group was drawn from the community level in selected villages. In total, at least 29 KIs and about 199 community members participated in the study.

3.4 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

KIs who participated in the study were obtained by convenience. Convenience sampling was used because the nature of the study required government officials and stakeholders with responsibilities relevant to the study topic. Government officials who participated in the study include representatives from the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Tanzania Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance, district and town councils, police gender desks and TAMISEMI.

For other stakeholders, the study involved representatives from NGOs and other key stakeholders on child rights including Tanzania Gender and Networking Programme (TGNP), Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), and AGAPE. Community members were selected by using purposeful and random sampling techniques: those with particular cases related to child marriage were selected purposively, whereas other general population was selected randomly.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The study gathered qualitative and quantitative data. Data were collected from respondents through a structured survey, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). Quantitative data were gathered through a structured questionnaire (see Appendix V). For the KII, questions were prepared in advance and were used to guide data collection from KIs. The FGDs followed the same guide as the one used for KII, which was developed in advance. Table 5 below summarizes the research methodology employed in the study.

¹³ The client(s) CDF, Plan International, UNFPA and FORWARD UK wanted more regions with the highest prevalence rates to be included in the study, three regions including the Coast Region with medium rates prevalence rates and the two regions with the lowest rates.

Table 5: Summary of Research Methodology

TYPE OF RESPONDENTS	DATA-COLLECTION METHODS	TOOL FOR DATA COLLECTION	NUMBER OF FGDS/ INTERVIEWS/ SURVEY	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	GENDER	
					Male	Female
General Community Members	survey	Questionnaire	3299	3299	1617	1682
Government Officials	KII	Interview questions	9	24	10	14
NGO Representatives	KII	Interview questions	9	14	4	10
General Community Members	FGDs	In-depth interview guide	19	190	90	100
General Community Members	In-depth interview	In-depth interview guide	155	155	49	106
TOTAL			192	383	49	106

3.6 TYPES OF DATA

The study involved the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. Each region was assigned its proportionate number of quantitative and qualitative interviews depending on the level of prevalence rate. In other words, a region with a high prevalence rate was assigned a large number of both quantitative and qualitative interviews, and a region with a low prevalence rate was assigned few interviews.

3.6.1 Sampling Frame for Quantitative Methods

The ten regions were purposely selected. In each of the sampled regions, two (2) districts were randomly selected. Random selection was applied at all stages of the selection for the districts, wards, villages, households and individuals, giving every household an equal chance of being selected.

The next level was district sampling followed by administrative wards. At all these levels, the random sequence generator software was used to draw the samples. Random selection of households within selected villages preceded the selection of the head of the household or spouse to be interviewed. In each household where child marriage was identified, all cases of child marriage were studied by using a specific follow-up questionnaire.

Three interview groups were used. Group A was a general household survey, and there were 1871 interviews (see Appendix X for the survey) conducted at the household level. Group B was for women married as children, yielding 950 participants. These women were identified during a household survey by asking a question about their age and marital status to detect whether they were married as children (under 18 years).

Group C was for those men and women (nyumba ntobhu)¹⁴ who had married children (see Appendix 3), yielding 478 participants. The same process as that used for Group B was used to identify men in Group C. The total sample size for the quantitative survey was 3,299. If a man responded to the household survey and the spouse was identified as a case, the enumerators asked to interview the spouse as well. Table 6 provides specific areas where the study was conducted and the number of participants in the quantitative survey in each area/interview group.

¹⁴ In Tarime "...nyumba ntobhu is a traditional form of same-sex marriage. The two women share a bed as a couple, they live together, bear children in their union; they do everything a married couple would, except have sex... In the Mara region, nyumba ntobhu allows older women to marry younger women in order to have children of their own and assist with the household chores. Women say nyumba ntobhu also helps them overcome problems of gender-based domestic violence... It is also an alternative family structure for older women who do not have sons to inherit their property and whose daughters have moved away to their husbands' villages. It offers a form of security for elderly women so they do not live on their own. "Mail and Guardian 2014. "Tanzanian women marry each other to escape domestic violence" <http://voicesofafrica.co.za/tanzanian-women-marry-escape-domestic-violence/> visited on 10/6/2015

Table 6: Study Sites for Quantitative Interviews (N=3299)

DISTRICT	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD SURVEY		NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO WERE MARRIED AS CHILDREN		NUMBER OF MEN OR WOMEN WHO MARRIED CHILDREN	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Manyara	173	9	59	6	39	9
Dodoma	240	13	108	12	50	11
Dar es Salaam	79	4	31	3	11	2
Shinyanga	242	13	164	18	90	19
Pwani	152	8	64	7	30	6
Lindi	257	14	90	10	51	10
Iringa	45	2	14	1	7	1
Mtwara	160	8	67	7	40	8
Mara	283	15	167	18	87***	18
Tabora	240	13	186	19	73	15
Total	1,871	100	950	100	478	100

***Eleven of these were women who married other women known as nyumba ntobhu.

3.6.2 Sampling Frame for Qualitative Methods

Semi-structured interview guides were developed to suit each of the interview categories, and there were five categories: group A, for general respondents, 87 participants; group B, for girls who were married as children, 54 women; group C, for men and women who had married children to learn the push factors for marrying girl children, 14 men. Different interview guides were used for government representatives, group D (Appendix XI), and NGOs representatives, group E, (Appendix XII). For a detailed distribution of qualitative interviews conducted in each region, see Table 7 below. Furthermore, 29 key stakeholders, including policy makers, were interviewed in all 10 regions.

Purposeful sampling and snowballing techniques were used for qualitative sampling, by employing semi-structured in-depth questions to allow detailed and rich information. A participant who was married as a child was identified during the survey; when quantitative enumerators found cases of child marriage (married below 18 years), they referred the cases for qualitative enumerators to conduct in-depth interviews. All identified cases were interviewed until the anticipated sample for the respective village was reached. The goal was to have at least 30% of all qualitative participants to be cases drawn from group B (girls who were married as children) and group C (men and women who had married children). A total of 199 unstructured in-depth interviews were conducted. The distribution of in-depth interviews was also based on the proportion of prevalence rates in that region as seen in Appendix III and IV. Table 7 below presents the distribution of qualitative interviews disaggregated by gender.

Table 7: Distribution of Qualitative Interviews Disaggregated by Gender

DISTRICT	GROUP A		GROUP B	GROUP C	GROUP D	GROUP E	FGDS	
	GENERAL MALE	GENERAL FEMALE	FEMALE CASE	MALE CASE	GOVT	NGOS	MALE	FEMALE
Dar es Salaam	1	5	2	0	2	3	1	1
Pwani	3	2	6	0	2	0	2	0
Mtwara	2	4	4	1	2	4	1	1
Lindi	6	3	7	1	2	0	1	1
Dodoma	1	8	5		3	2	1	1
Manyara	4	6	6	1	1	0	1	2
Mara	7	7	10	2	3	0	0	1
Tabora	5	8	9	4	1	0	0	0
Shinyanga	6	9	5	5	2	2	0	0
Iringa	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1
TOTAL	35	52	54	14	17	12	8	8

3.6.3 Data Processing and Analysis

Quantitative data were analyzed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). This involved a descriptive analysis including frequencies, means, cross tabulation and correlations. The analysis was largely based on regional differences where data were disaggregated by gender, age, education, and other socio-economic characteristics across the regions. Qualitative data were analyzed via NVivo computer software. During a feedback meeting, enumerators were given a piece of paper and were each asked to write down three key findings they felt emanated from their field experience. The responses were added to the main research themes. Data were coded by drawing on salient themes in narrative summaries. Transcribed texts were entered into NVivo to acquire a more accurate and transparent picture of the data and hence improve the rigor of the analysis process (Welsh, 2002). To enhance the understanding of the data, a combination of both NVivo and manual methods was applied to achieve the best results.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A research permit and ethical approval was obtained through the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), to adhere to Ethical Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research in accordance with Tanzania's Research Policy and Standards. All informed consent included the ethical components stating the objectives and content of the study, privacy and data security, voluntary participation, the right to refuse to answer or skip any questions without consequences, and information on who to follow up regarding complaints or further information on the study. The consent further requested approval to take pictures if deemed necessary to enrich the study (Appendix XIII). All participants signed the consent immediately prior to the interview. Enumerators were trained and received instruction on ethical data collection and informed consent prior to data collection. All interviews were conducted in private locations where, to ensure privacy, other household members could not hear what was being discussed. Enumerators were both male and female. Because of the nature of the topic, female enumerators were used to interview female participants, as often as possible. Support services were identified in case interviewees needed to be referred to, but none of the services were requested.

For confidentiality, all raw data have been kept in a secure place accessible only to REPOA researchers. Voice records of in-depth interviews will be destroyed after the study is finalized, and written transcripts and the rest of the quantitative data will be made available to key stakeholders after separating the identities from the data.

3.8 LIMITATION OF THE METHODOLOGY

During fieldwork, enumerators were faced with various challenges, the main one being the interviewees' fear of participating. They were afraid that they would be persecuted because of marrying children under 18 years of age. Research ethics clearly instructs that research participants have to be protected and cannot be harmed by research. This was emphasized during the training of enumerators, and those participants who were hesitant to participate were assured that the project aims to collect data and not persecute anyone. Those who refused to participate were not interviewed, and the enumerators moved to the next household. It was good to see that participants were aware that marrying children is illegal and that one can be sanctioned by the law.

It was noticed that some participants were not comfortable mentioning the age at which they got married, which was discovered in subsequent questions. Other specific challenges included people refusing to be interviewed, and people complaining that they have been interviewed several times but they did not get anything, including any feedback.¹⁵ A few people also wanted to be paid, especially during FGD.

How can you leave us without giving us something? It is our understanding that when discussions like this happen, we always get some money or soda. There are many things we could have done instead of sitting here, like farming.

¹⁵ It would have been useful to gather information on those who refused to be interviewed. Fortunately, this did not affect the survey because we recruited other participants to fill the gaps.

However, we informed them about REPOA's policy of not paying participants, which they understood. We promised them to forward their request to REPOA management so that it can be reviewed.

There were two further challenges faced by researchers:

- There was very low awareness on the impact of child marriage especially among girls, which affected their participation in group discussions and in-depth interviews.
- Language barriers in some regions hindered effective communication. Prior to fieldwork, we attempted to assign most enumerators to the regions they come from to deal with language and cultural barriers.

3.7 FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE

Qualitative and quantitative data collected for this study were gathered through extensive fieldwork, which lasted for one month. After the instruments were finalized and approved by the client and the Technical Advisory Committee (TAG), researchers conducted enumerator training for four days to ensure that enumerators were familiar with the tools. Researchers and enumerators conducted a one-day pilot test and improved the tools during feedback session before going to the field.

Two teams were created: the Northern team collected data in Mara, Shinyanga, Tabora and Manyara. The Southern team collected data in the regions of Dar es Salaam, Pwani, Lindi, Mtwara, Iringa and Dodoma. Each team consisted of a team leader, 14 quantitative enumerators and four qualitative enumerators. An ICT expert visited both teams at the beginning to troubleshoot any problems with tablets and to ensure smooth data collection.

Two researchers visited each team in the field during the first week to ensure the quality of data collection and to resolve any issues arising from the field at the beginning. They also conducted qualitative stakeholder interviews during the field visits and in Dar es Salaam. Tablets were used by the enumerators to gather and input electronic data for surveys, and tape recorders were used by qualitative enumerators. Records were later transcribed. The fieldwork was conducted between 5 July and 7 August 2015. It took between 60 and 90 minutes to go through a questionnaire or conduct an in-depth interview. Training was conducted in Kiswahili, the language that was used for data collection.

4.0 Findings

4.1 DRIVERS OF CHILD MARRIAGE

The socio-ecological framework as presented in section three shows how the role of individuals, agency, families, education, health centers, communities, social norms and practices, legislation, socio-political ideology and the economy, all interact to influence the risk of child marriage on the girl.

The framework is useful in ascertaining the drivers of child marriage, with the focus at the micro, meso and macro levels. To build a better understanding of the drivers of child marriage in Tanzania, findings from this research have been divided into two parts.

The first addresses norms and practices which include cultural and community attitudes as well as norms related to marriage, agency and choice, including roles and the position of women in society, the role of bride price and religious beliefs, male sexual dominance, and violence and control of female sexuality.

The second entails structural factors including income poverty and economic dependency, adolescent fertility, access to sexual and reproductive health services, schooling and education, opportunities and legal frameworks.

Table 8 provides a summary of key drivers of child marriage by region as evidenced in qualitative data gathered for this study. The study has revealed several drivers contributing to child marriage in all regions involved, including bride price; lack of educational opportunities, especially secondary school (due to its lack of affordability); and less value accorded to girls in that girls are seen as not beneficial to the family and therefore not worthy of investment in terms of education. Some factors were operational in some of the regions and did not apply to other regions. In particular, FGM was mentioned as one of the key drivers in Mara, Manyara and Dodoma regions; traditional dances were drivers in Shinyanga, Tabora, Pwani, Dar es Salaam, Lindi and Mtwara; and initiation rites (unyago) were cited as drivers in Lindi, Mtwara, Dar es Salaam and Pwani. Furthermore, the parental role in forcing girls to marry was mentioned in most regions.

Table 8: Drivers of Child Marriage by Region

Region	Major Drivers of Child Marriage
Shinyanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bride price (poverty/cows) • Traditional dances • Lack of schools (secondary) • No value for a girl child • Parental force
Tabora	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bride price (poverty) • Traditional dances • Puberty • Lack of schools (secondary) • Parental force
Mara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FGM (initiation rite) • Bride price (cows) • No value for a girl child • Lack of schools (secondary) • Parental force
Dodoma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FGM • Lack of schools • Bride price (cows) • Puberty • No value for a girl child
Manyara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FGM • Lack of schools • Bride price (cows)
Lindi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of schools • Poverty • Unyago (initiation rite) • Ignorance • Tradition dances • Bride price • Parental force
Mtwara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of schools • Poverty • Unyago • Ignorance • Bride price • Traditional dances • Parental force
Pwani	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional dances • Unyago • Poverty • Bride price • Affordability of secondary school
Dar Es Salaam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unyago • Traditional dances • Poverty • No value for a girl child • Affordability of secondary school
Iringa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child labor (house maids) • Poverty • Affordability and availability of secondary schools

4.1.1 Push Factors behind Child Marriage

The causes of child marriage are varied and complex. The findings from women who married as children and men who married them indicate a number of push factors behind their marriages. The extent that push factors influence early marriage varies from one region to another. They include traditions, schooling, peer pressure, parental influence, financial/economic hardships.

Tradition

Traditions associated with marriage, such as bride price, FGM and belief systems, have been found to be push factors in all regions, but most significantly in Shinyanga and Manyara regions. The influence of traditions was insignificant in Iringa, as pointed out by most of the men who married children and women who were married as children (Figure 3.3). A quote below from an AGAPE NGO worker in Shinyanga shows the power of traditional norms in child marriage.

There is this practice called “samba”, when a girl reaches the adolescent age. From 12 years old her parents take her to a traditional healer so that she can get traditional medicine (kuchanjwa chale) so that she can attract a male. If a girl is to be married, there is 10 days for a wedding ceremony, so this is the only time where a girl is celebrated.

Schooling

Figure 3.4 illustrates that early marriages are also associated with finishing school, but the level of schooling was not specified. However, qualitative data show that, for many girls, marriage is planned as soon as a girl finishes primary school.

Many girls in this village marry after they finish primary school at the age of 14. I was married at 15. Female, 17 years old, Shininga village, Kahama, Shinyanga

But this happens many times when a girl finishes primary schooling, and to us, we see it is a normal thing because she has already finished her primary schooling. This happens and we have not viewed this as a problem because she has finished primary school so she can leave to get married. FGD female, over 18, Dabil-Manyara

Peer pressure

The influence of peer pressure was found to be a driver of early marriage. In Tabora, 33% of participants pointed out that peer pressure is a push factor for child marriage. Manyara and Coast regions also cited peer pressure, at 23% and 20% (Figure 3.5). The influence of peers on child marriage was also a concern in the study by Bantebya et al. (2014), who emphasized that early marriages were attributed to peer pressure.

...when she sees that her friend has gotten married, she will see children, success and the good things that will be happening there. It may be that she is married within the neighborhood, so it may be that she sees the good things happening and she thinks that, ‘If I am married, I will be like that.’ FGD female, over 18, Hanang, Manyara

When so and so’s daughter goes out, she is well dressed; her dress has been ironed well. And when she goes to school it may be that she goes in tattered clothes. And when it comes to shoes maybe she has never worn shoes that are as good as what her married friends wear... So she feels bad and thinks that if she marries the elderly man, as he has money, she will get something out of it. FGD female, over 18, Hanang, Manyara

All my friend were getting married, and I was the only one who could remain single. So I decided to marry so that I could do and talk about the same things with my friends, about families and children... Female, 26 years old, married as a child, Sikonge, Tabora

Parental influence

In Mara region, 22% of early marriages were associated with the parent's decision to force girls to marry as children. However, in Iringa, parental decision in early marriages did not have any influence, as illustrated in Figure 3.6. Again, the study by Amin et al. (2013) concurs with these findings, where they documented that parents in rural communities (where child marriage is the norm) influence the aspirations of children to get married early.

...I think parents marry off their children because life forces them to do so. For example, there are some who marry off their children because [the parents] see that they are just there with nothing to do. And this can lead to the girl having children out of wedlock. When a girl is idle, she takes anything that comes her way, because they have nothing else... Male, 16 years old, Mchinga, Lindi Rural

I think parents marry off their children because life forces them to do so.

Male, 16 years old, Mchinga, Lindi Rural

Financial reasons

Figure 3.7 illustrates that, among the early marriages in Iringa, Coast, Lindi and Mtwara, most were attributed to financial/economic hardships.

...I think that most pastoralist societies engage more in child marriage, so they can get extra wealth... To them extra cows means extra wealth. The Sukuma, Maasai, Kurya and even Zanaki tribes are the communities which have high rates of child marriage, and all of them engage in pastoralism. Male, 18 years old, Chirorwe village, Musoma, Mara

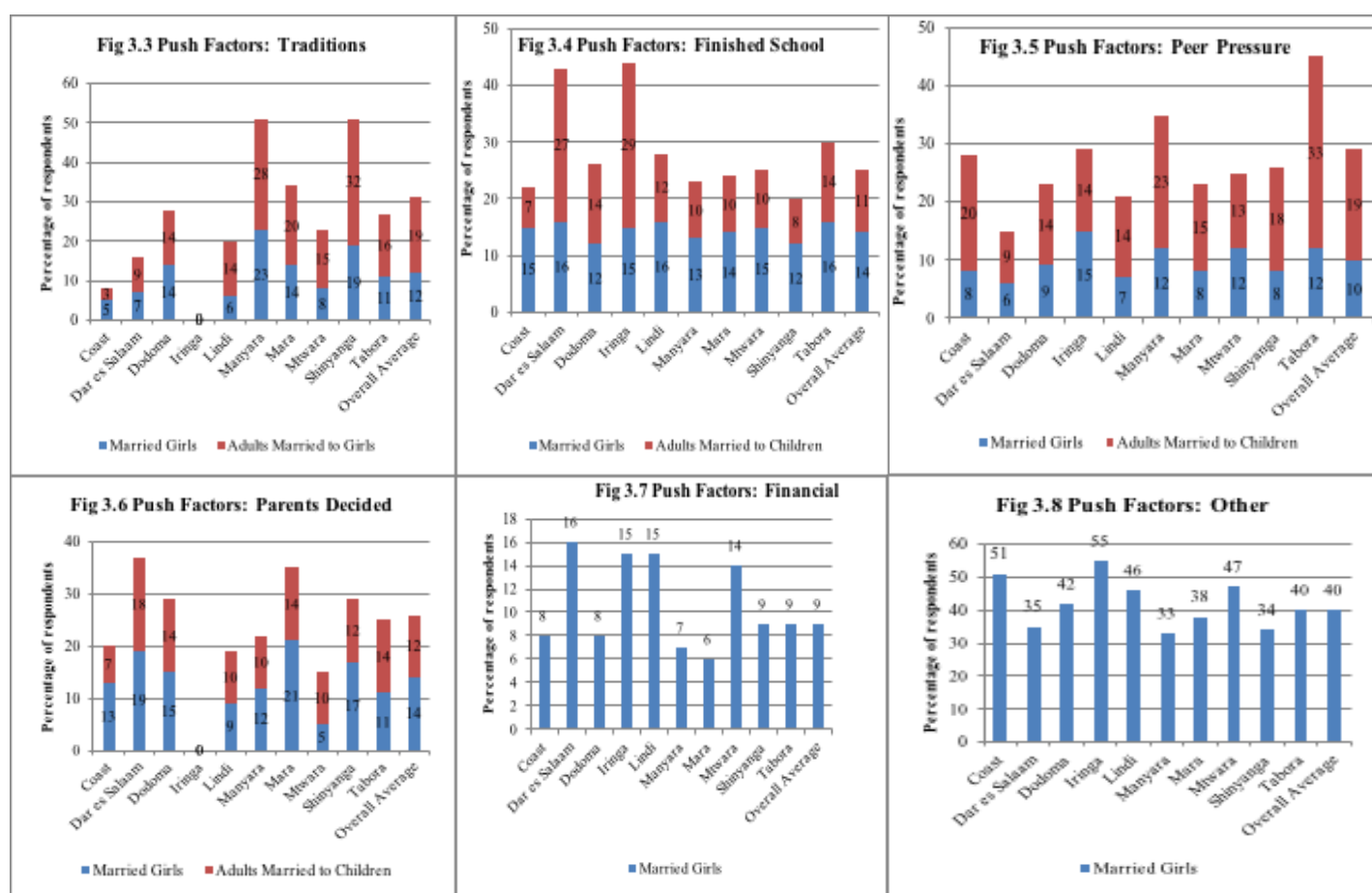
...it contributes a lot because for many poor families, [marriage] is a source of income, which is why the girl child, as I had said, is sent to school, because she is a resource. They will be given cows, 12, 15, 20, up to 30 in these areas. This is no small amount; it is a lot of money. SHEDEPHA NGO, Kahama, Shinyanga

Other reasons

At least a third of the respondents in each region mentioned being married for reasons other than those identified. A community development officer in Dodoma region described a scenario where parents chase their female children away from home when they are found to be pregnant. She affirmed that

...Other girls start getting involved in sexual activities at a younger age. When they become pregnant, you find the parents chasing them away to go to people that made them pregnant...If the man accepts her, she will end up getting married at a very young age... Community development officer, Dodoma

Figures 3.3–3.8: Marriage Push Factors

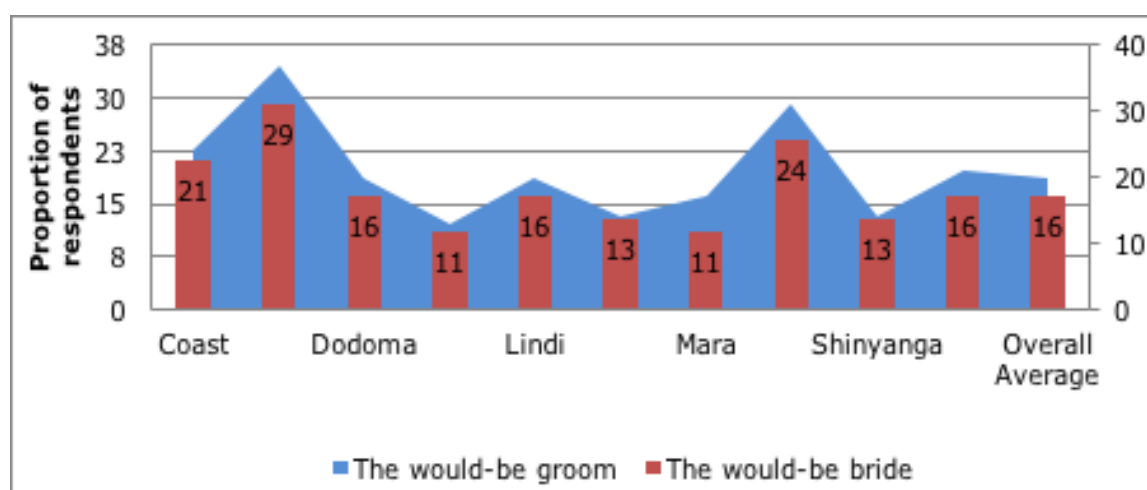


i) Norms Related to Marriage, Agency and Choice

The study assessed the views of the general population, women who were married as children, and men who married them, with regard to marriage-related decision making. Most study participants expressed the opinion that either a father or both parents influence child marriage in their communities.

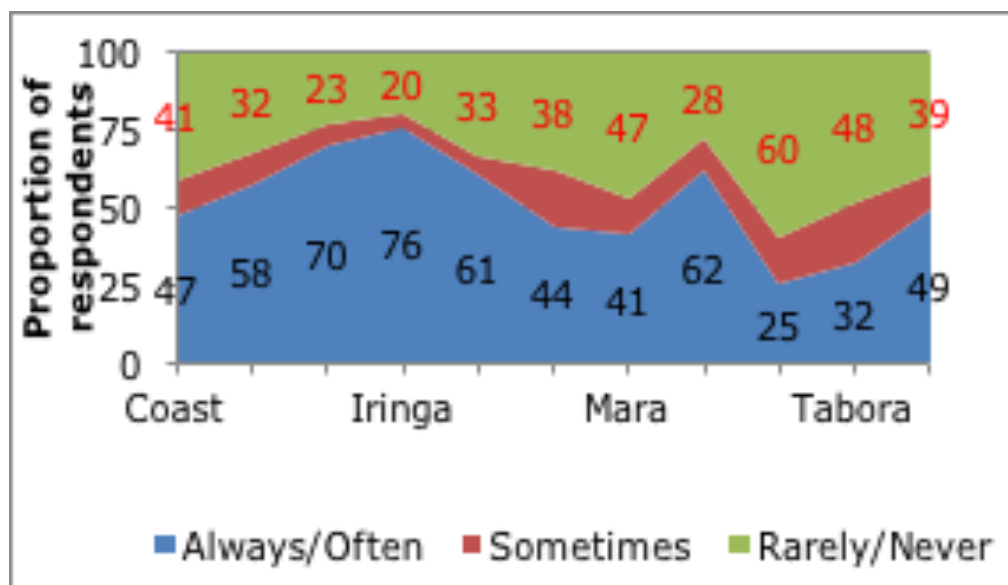
Figure 4 presents data on who influences people to marry off children among study participants' communities. Results reveal generally curtailed personal freedoms among males and females on marriage. On average only one in five would-be brides (both women and girls) exercise freedom in decisions over whom to marry, in contrast to a fifth of all would-be grooms. When compared to the hinterland areas, females enjoy comparably higher and statistically significant (Kruskal-Wallis, $p < 0.05$) amounts of freedom in decision making in the coastal regions of Dar es Salaam (29%), Mtwara (24%) and Coast (21%).

Figure 4: Discretion in Making Decisions about Marriage



Statistics in Figure 5 below reveal that girl brides are more involved in deciding their own marriages, compared to what prevails at the aggregate level involving both women who were married as children and those who were married when over 18.

Figure 5: How Often a Girl Bride Decides her own Marriage



Cover-up and compulsion might explain why girl brides mentioned that their marriage as a child was based upon their own choice. On compulsion, we could try to make the case that the mimetic and normative forces of orthodoxy (for example, taking for granted that custom practices are best, or that wives have to obey and protect their spouses) and peer pressure explain innate beliefs for the need to not disclose information that may be damaging to the families.

In the past girls were not allowed to choose a man to marry; it was the man who chose a girl and the decision was made by her parents. Therefore when a man came to the parents to ask them [for permission] to marry their daughter, the parents could agree without asking their daughter, no matter if she was ready or not. Even when girls were asked they agreed because they were very respectful to their parents. [Female, 64 years old, married as a child, Usosya, Urambo, Tabora] As presented throughout the report, most study participants in qualitative interviews pointed out that parents and guardians coerced them to marry. Coercion includes the anticipation of lots of gifts, as part of the wedding ceremony.

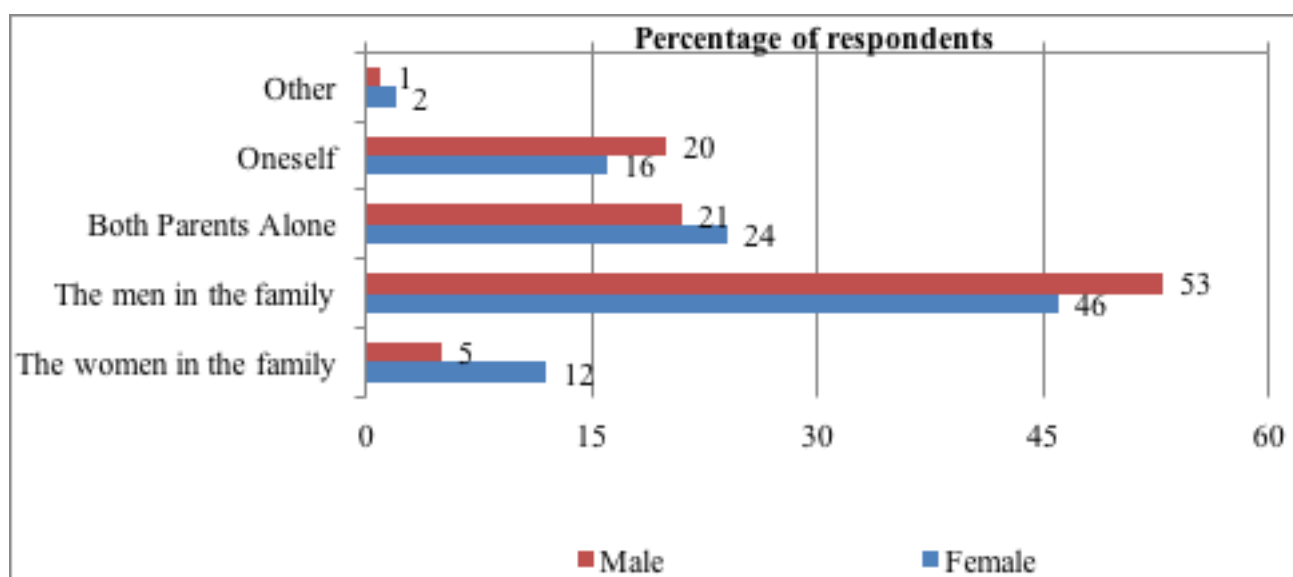
People here marry off their daughters by forcing them to get married to the man that the parents want... Female, 40 years old, Babati, Manyara

A child or a person who is under the age of 18 is getting married ... in most cases by force from his or her parent/guardian. Male, 18 years old, Chirorwe, Musoma

Figure 6 below complements Figure 4 by providing an in-depth exploration of the identity of key decision makers in relation to child marriages. The graph compares females who were married off as children versus males who married girls on the basis of who decided on marriage in their families.

There is a lot of variation in the data: 46% of women who were child brides themselves reported that the men in their family (father and/or other male members) decided on their marriage, compared to only 12% who mentioned their mothers and other female household members. Additionally, one in four child brides associate the involvement of both parents in marrying them off. Some 16% of child brides claimed to have made marriage decisions by themselves. Thus, males - particularly fathers - are most likely to decide on their daughters' marriage. By contrast, for men who married children, 53% mentioned male household members in sharp contrast to 5% who alluded decision making to female household members.

Figure 6: Who Makes the Decision for One's Marriage in the Family?



During in-depth interviews some respondents mentioned that “fathers as heads of household should arrange for their daughters’ and sons’ marriage.” The role of mothers as decision-makers was very minimal, and most study participants, even during in-depth interviews, did not cite mothers as having decided on their marriage. In Lindi were there many accounts of mothers encouraging their daughters to marry, and a few similar accounts in Mtwara. This may have to do with the dominance of matrilinearity in those regions.

In addition there were many accounts of blaming the victim, where parents forced marriage onto their children because of the children’s bad behavior, and because of fear that the children would bring shame to the family by getting pregnant. Study participants cited that many girls these days engage in sexual relationships with boys, and therefore parents choose to protect them by marrying them off.

Parents may decide to marry off their daughters at a young age because they may see their child’s behavior as not good. So they believe it is better to marry her off so that they at least might get cows, rather than wait for her to get pregnant while still at home. Female, 21 years old, Mbatata, Musoma

Furthermore, some mentioned that in a few incidents both boys and girls are forced into marriage under what is called *ndoa ya mkeka*. Normally, parents of the girl and a religious leader (sheikh) will be involved in this process.

There are those that are forced to marry through ndoa ya mkeka arrangement. In this case, girls get involved in intimate relationships with boys. If they are suspected [of having a relationship], a search is initiated and when caught a sheikh is called, there and then, and they are married off so as not to embarrass the family. But that practice is not good because in most cases the boy would still be dependent on his parents and as such it becomes a burden to the boy's parents to feed them both...

Male, 16 years old, from Lindi

Children do not have agency to act on major matters such as marriage that affect their entire life. Thus a lack of knowledge and the need to protect their families explain the incidence of child marriage.

ii) Girls Readiness for Marriage

Examining girl's readiness for marriage based on physical appearance (a girl whose appearance resembles a grown woman), puberty or circumcision (FGM) from the perspective of study participants will shed light on drivers. They are explored in great length in the next section.

Findings reveal that there is not much variability among respondents' perceptions, as portrayed in Figure 7. Puberty, as an indicator of the ability to procreate, was viewed as a somewhat important indicator for a girl's marriage readiness, versus physical appearance and FGM. Statistically significant variations (Kruskal-Wallis, $p < 0.05\%$) in non-age indicators were observed, with Mtwara and Lindi viewing puberty as the most telling non-age indicator for marriage, at 38%. Puberty is closely related to circumcision, which is often performed as a rite of passage once a girl reaches puberty. Close to one in five respondents in Mara, a region with strong norms endorsing FGM, cited a girl's circumcision as an indicator of her readiness for marriage.

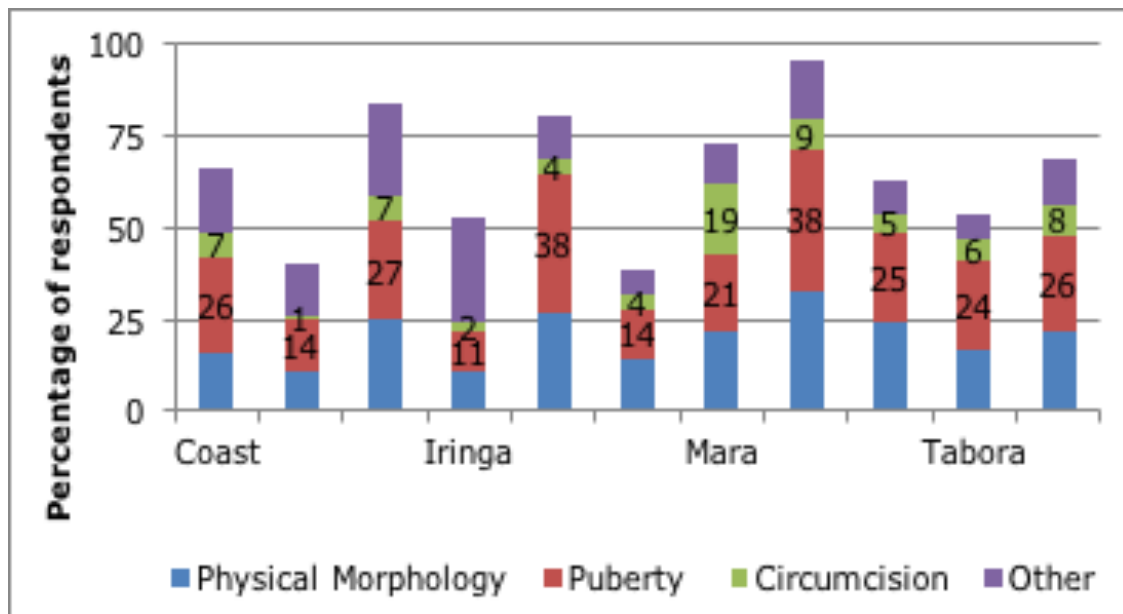
Findings from in-depth interviews indicate that if a girl's appearance is like a grown-up woman or if she has undergone initiation rites that prepare her for marriage, then she is a ready for marriage.

If you have been circumcised, you are ready for marriage as long as you are not in school. Otherwise you have already grown up. Female, 32 years old, Kabure, Tarime

There are times when you may get a girl who is 15 years of age, but she has a big body structure, which may make one think that she is already a grown-up, even though she is not yet of the right age. Male, 47 years old, married a child, Kahama, Shinyanga

...when a girl is ready for initiation, she is ready for marriage. Things are not as they were before, when girls who were going into initiation were those who were adults. But these days they bring even young girls. And if they are not in school, it's so hard to wait for them to reach the age of 18. Male, 40 years old, Masasi, Mtwara

Figure 7: Perceptions on Non-age Indicators of Girl's Readiness for Marriage



Overall, readiness for marriage is viewed differently by the different communities studied. But while percentages are low on whether physical morphology, puberty and FGM are determinants of child marriage, qualitative data elaborates on these elements and on how they are measures of a girl's readiness for marriage. Understanding these non-age indicators is crucial, as study findings have revealed them as drivers of child marriage.

iii) Perception and Age-Related Indicators on Child Marriage

Capturing Tanzanians' knowledge and attitudes toward girls and child marriage is critical to designing effective intervention mechanisms that focus on both behavior and mindset changes.

The survey measured prevalence rates for child marriage among studied communities. While there have been changes in the regions compared to when TDHS 2010 was conducted, the marriage rates in the sample regions are quite consistent with those of TDHS 2010, as shown in Figure 8 and Table 9. The top four regions with highest rates have retained their positions, except for Tabora, which is now the highest of the top five regions in child marriage prevalence. The other change is Lindi, which was ranked at five in TDHS 2010 and is currently number eight.

Overall the middle and lowest rate regions remain the same. The current rates are also higher compared to those in 2010. For example, Tabora, which had a prevalence rate of 58% in TDHS 2010, now has a prevalence of 76%. These changes could be attributed to variation in methodology such as the difference in sample sizes between the two studies.

Figure 8: Female Age at Marriage

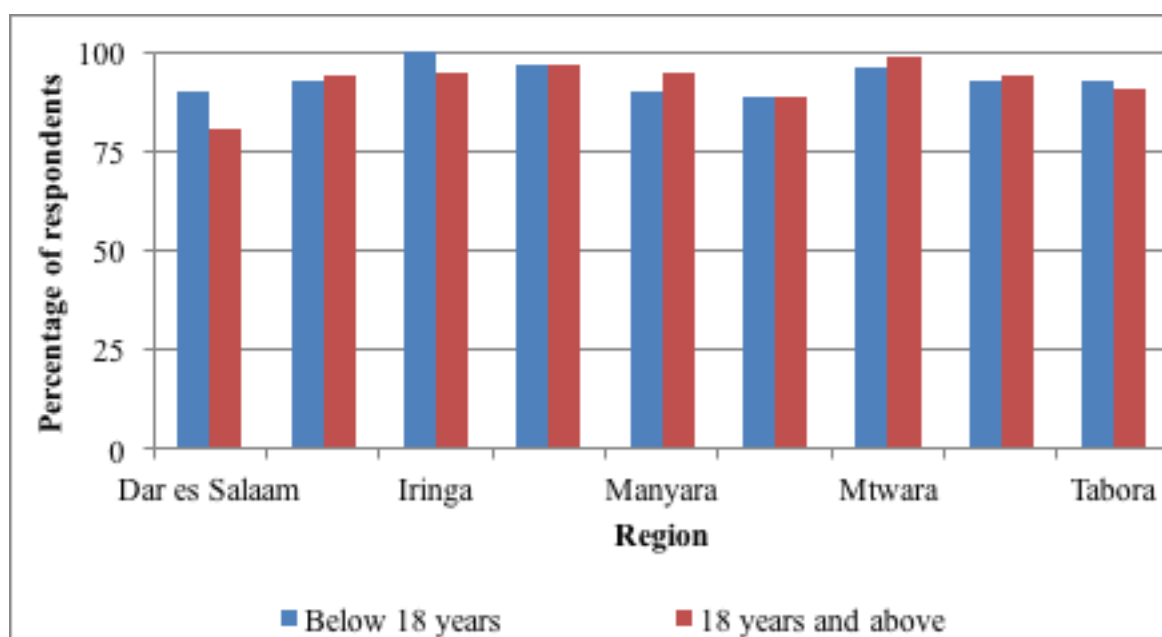


Table 9: Age at Marriage for Females

At what age did you get married? (% Female within the Region)					
REGION	BELOW 18	18 AND ABOVE	TOTAL	RANKING	
				TDHS 2010	CURRENT STUDY
Shinyanga	64	36	100	1	2
Tabora	76	23	100	2	1
Mara	55	45	100	3	3
Dodoma	45	55	100	4	4
Lindi	37	67	100	5	8
Mtwara	43	57	100	6	6
Manyara	44	56	100	7	5
Coastal region	42	57	100	8	7
Dar	35	65	100	9	9
Iringa	31	69	100	10	10
Average	47	53			

These study findings demonstrate that the age of men that girls normally marry is mostly greater than 18 years, illustrating that these girls are not marrying their peers. This has significance in the relationship in terms of equality, decision-making and autonomy of girls.

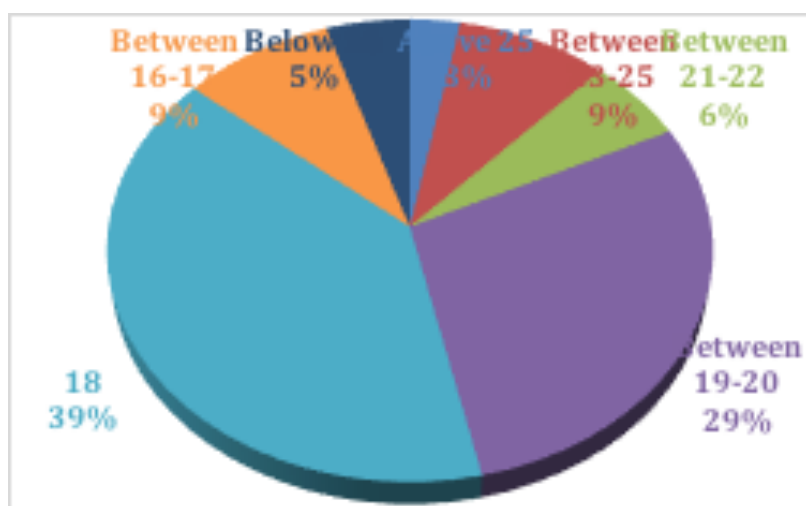
a) Age at which Children are Perceived to be Ready for Marriage

Since marriage is a community event, it was important to examine the age at which girls are perceived by their communities as ready for marriage. The current research asked: At what age do girls normally get married in your village/community? Some 40% of the study participants reported that girls in their community normally get married before they turn 18. On whether respondents knew anyone who married a daughter below the age of 18, 28% of those interviewed did. Study participants also reported knowing a child in their immediate family who was forced into marriage. The age at marriage reported for most girls was between nine and 22 years.

For a girl who is 12 or 13 years old, as long as she has started menstruating, then parents will plan a wedding. SHEDEPHA NGO, Kahama, Shinyanga

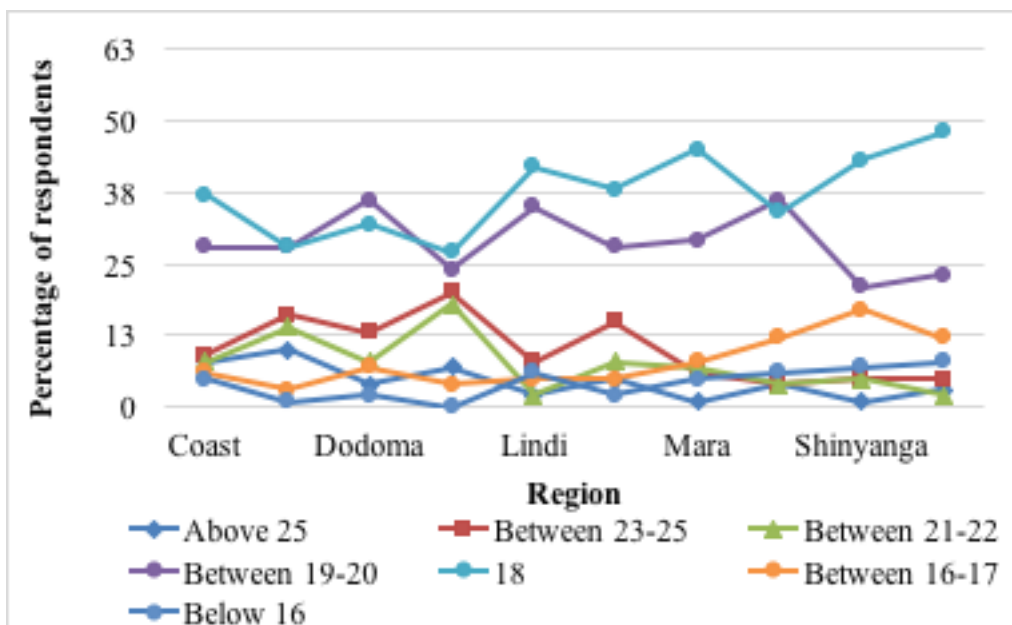
Figure 9 illustrates the respondents' views on the ideal age for marriage. About 86% considered 18 or higher as the ideal age for marriage, compared to only 14% who viewed less than 18 as an ideal marriage age.

Figure 9: Ideal Age for Marriage for Girls



Regions where higher percentages of participants considered the ideal age for marriage to be less than 18 are Shinyanga (24%) and Tabora (20%), which are also regions with the highest rates of child marriage. Conversely, more residents of Iringa (20%) and Dar es Salaam (16%), regions with lower rates of child marriage, considered 23 to 25, and above 25, as an ideal age of marriage. There was no single respondent from Iringa who believed that the ideal marriage age for girls was below 16, as shown in Figure 10.

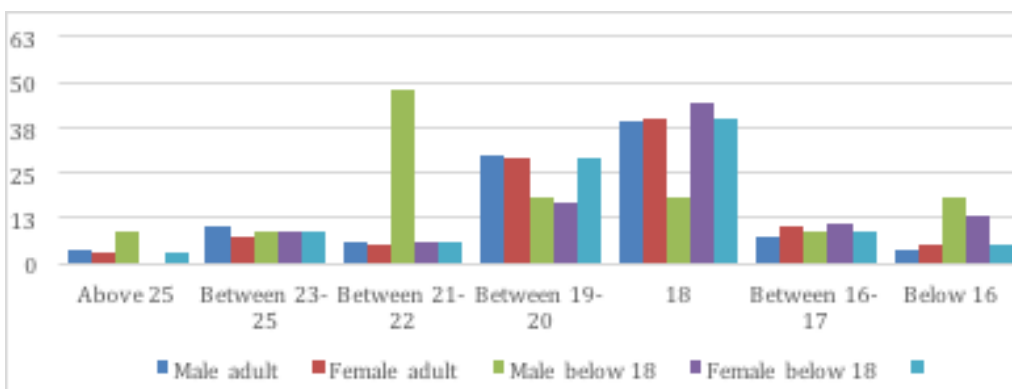
Figure 10: Ideal Age for Marriage (in Percentage) for Girls by Region



Qualitative data support these facts. The majority considered 18 and above as the ideal age for marriage, although there were few who considered 16 to 17 as ideal. Some others considered graduating from elementary school, which is normally at the age of 14, as an ideal age. As previously discussed, some also viewed physical appearance as more important than age. Many study participants were aware that children should not be married before they turn 18, despite that the Law of Marriage Act allows a child as young as 14 to marry.

When survey data is further disaggregated by gender and age, more females under 18 (23%) considered under 18 as an ideal age for marriage compared to other groups, as seen in Figure 11. At the same time, more female adults considered 21 to 22 as the ideal age for marriage. This illustrates the low awareness that girls have about the negative consequences of child marriage. Therefore, sensitization needs to address girl empowerment and education on the harm that child marriage causes to girls.

Figure 11: Participants' Perception of the Age when Girls are Ready for Marriage



Although the majority mentioned age 18 as ideal age for marriage, it did not stop them from marrying those who are under 18. Even men who married children admitted that 18 or above is an ideal age for marriage.

4.1.2 Socio-Cultural Norms and Practices Driving Child Marriage

Literature has revealed that culture is difficult to change, and it is through understanding the cultural norms associated with marriage rites that intervention mechanisms can be designed to address child marriage. Societal perception of girls and women in the society, cultural practices of FGM and initiation ceremonies and traditional dances were found to be drivers of child marriage. Moreover, norms related to agency and choice in terms of bride price, position of women in society, and religion are cultural norms that drive child marriage. The findings with regard to the influence of these as drivers are presented with respect to gender perspectives, rural and urban settings and regions.

Socio-cultural norms that drive child marriages differ by region and ethnic groups in Tanzania. For instance, FGM is prevalent in Mara, Dodoma and Manyara, and these regions are among those with the highest child marriage rates. Shinyanga, the region with the highest child marriage rate (58%), according to this study, does practice kushindikila (escort the bride) and samba. The cultural norms of Shinyanga are quite similar to those of Tabora.

Lindi, Mtwara, Dar es Salaam and Coast Region practice unyago that prepare girls for marriage, and these regions are likewise associated with higher rates of child marriage. These findings are in line with a UNICEF press release (11 October 2012) that proclaimed that Tanzania has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world. On average, almost two out of five girls get married before their 18th birthday.

i) Cultural and Community Attitudes toward the Girl Child

Study participants' views and the general perception in their communities is slightly higher on gender equality among children. Whether this is translated to actual practices on the ground is a different question. Study participants were asked how their tradition perceives a girl child. The findings are mixed and inconsistent, making it difficult to establish a link between girl vs. boy inequality and child marriage, as Table 10 reveals.

Table 10: Association between Socio-Cultural Norms and Acceptability of Child Marriages

Socio-Cultural Norm	Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient
Unequal societal perception of boys and girls	0.039
Unequal religious perception of boys and girls	0.023
Role of women in society	0.104**
Societal practice of FGM	0
Societal practice of initiation rituals	0.102**
Societal practice of traditional dances	0.103**
Importance of traditional practices in transitioning a girl to a woman	0.049*
Importance of traditional practices in preparing a girl for marriage	0.036
Importance of traditional practices in making girls productive	0.083**
Age a girl engages in traditional practices	-0.054*
Family's societal honor influencing child marriage	0.145**
Preservation of chastity	0.076**
Belief that a good parent is one that marries off daughters early	0.144**
Community scorn for not marrying a young girl	0.085**

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

Nationally, correlation analysis of societal perceptions and the acceptability of child marriage reveals no significant linear association between the two (see Table 10 above). A similar phenomenon is observed at the regional level in Table 11, where there is a continued absence of a linear relationship between child marriage and societal perceptions about gender equality.

Assessing variation helps us understand how regions with higher child marriage prevalence rates (TDHS, 2010) perceive girl children. On a regional level, Table 11 reveals a widespread lack of association between societal perceptions on gender equality and the acceptability of child marriage. Notable exceptions exist for a handful of these indicators in a few regions. In Lindi perceptions of unequal treatment of girls and boys, as well as customs on the role of women in society are found to be significantly positively correlated with societal acceptability of child marriage. This points to an almost fait accompli scenario with respect to child marriage. Findings convey that societies in Lindi are more accommodating to child marriage as they view it as in consonance with religious and customary beliefs about women. Similar observations involving the role of women in society are found in the Coast and Mara regions, where the Spearman's rho correlation coefficient is significant and positive at the 5% and 1% levels, respectively.

Table 11: Association between Socio-cultural Perceptions and Acceptability of Child Marriage, Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient

REGION	UNEQUAL SOCIETAL PERCEPTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS	UNEQUAL RELIGIOUS PERCEPTION OF BOYS AND GIRLS	ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY
Coast	0.032	0.116	0.188*
Dar es Salaam	0.116	0.138	-0.009
Dodoma	-0.083	0.001	-0.010
Iringa	-0.275	-0.192	0.220
Lindi	0.080	0.207**	0.14*
Manyara	0.034	0.100	0.116
Mara	0.091	0.022	0.196**
Mtwara	-0.075	0.060	0.081
Shinyanga	0.097	0.028	0.083
Tabora	0.068	-0.022	-0.017

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

In-depth interviews by some study participants reveal that girls are valued for their ability to get married and produce children. Although some study participants disclosed that girls and boys should be treated equally, in reality that does not happen. Many study participants who were married as children mentioned growing up knowing that they had to get married, and knowing that being valued for their ability to marry and reproduce would preclude them from going to school.

...For example, in other areas they don't value girls' education. Girls are supposed to get married and take care of the family. They don't get an opportunity to go to school. It's like schools are not for girls, and this increases the number of girls who are married off at a young age... Female, 27 years old, Batata, Musoma

...most of these communities don't value women; they still believe women have one responsibility - that is to get married, bear children and to raise a family...

Male, 18 years old, Chirorwe village, Musoma

Table 12 indicates widespread lack of influence of traditional practices on child marriage at the regional level. Exceptions exist for the customary beliefs that traditional practices make girls more mature and aid their transition to adulthood. These occur in the Coast and Manyara regions, where the correlation coefficients are significant from zero at the 5% and 1% levels. In Coast region, the incidence of child marriage increases with the increase in convictions that customary practices make girls more productive. This is possibly a by-product of the prevalence and weight attached to initiation rituals, such as unyago, wherein matrimonial matters are emphasized as part of the training provided to adolescent females.

Table 12: Association between Role of Traditional Practices/Norms and Acceptability of Child Marriage, Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient

REGION	TRANSITIONING A GIRL TO A WOMAN	PREPARING A GIRL FOR MARRIAGE	MAKING GIRLS PRODUCTIVE
Coast	0.089	0.063	0.181 *
Dar es Salaam	0.053	-0.032	-0.062
Dodoma	0.045	-0.027	0.004
Iringa	-0.092	0.241	0.110
Lindi	-0.015	0.015	0.100
Manyara	-0.221 **	-0.124	-0.191 *
Mara	0.044	-0.012	0.095
Mtwara	0.051	0.074	0.079
Shinyanga	-0.100	-0.064	-0.054
Tabora	-0.021	-0.007	-0.022

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

In contrast, Table 12 reveals a negative and significant association between customary practices/ socio-cultural norms and child marriage in Manyara. That is, rather than preparing girls for early marriage, the customary practices aimed at transitioning girls to adulthood and enhancing their productivity contribute to delaying the age at which they get married. This is possibly a corollary of the different customs practiced by the various ethnic groups in Manyara, which emphasize increased maturity prior to marriage.

Table 13 supports most of the observations above. In Coast region, where customary practices are dominant, all societal factors are found to be significantly associated with child marriage at either the 5% or 1% levels. For example, the age at which a girl engages in traditional practices is found to be negatively associated with child marriage. This suggests that the older the girls are when they receive their unyago trainings, the less likely they are to marry young. Within the Coast region, the higher one values her or his reputation in society—for example, the importance of family honor, preservation of chastity, and perceptions about a family's reputation—the more likely the person is to endorse child marriage.

Table 13: Association between other Societal Factors and Acceptability of Child Marriage, Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient

REGION	AGE A GIRL ENGAGES IN TRADITIONAL PRACTICES	FAMILY SOCIETAL HONOR INFLUENCING CHILD MARRIAGE	PRESERVATION OF CHASTITY	BELIEF THAT A GOOD PARENT IS ONE THAT MARRIES OFF DAUGHTERS EARLY	COMMUNITY SCORN FOR NOT MARRYING A YOUNG GIRL
Coast	-0.178*	0.226**	0.178*	0.260**	0.201*
Dar es Salaam	-0.025	0.155	0.111	0.111	0.047
Dodoma	0.004	0.124	-0.066	0.020	-0.118
Iringa	0.276	0.260	0.181	0.335*	0.292
Lindi	-0.035	0.140*	0.005	0.089	0.066
Manyara	0.081	0.082	0.111	0.204**	0.234**
Mara	-0.082	0.147*	0.076	0.056	0.092
Mtwara	0.047	0.123	0.120	0.097	0.013
Shinyanga	0.014	0.210**	0.093	0.242**	0.142*
Tabora	0.100	0.190**	0.088	0.249**	0.209**

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

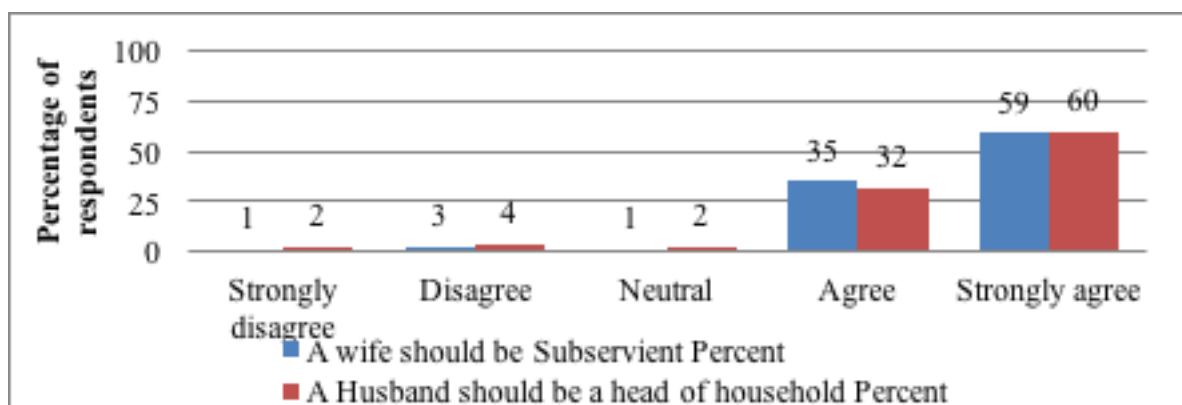
Furthermore, a positive and significant association between a family's reputation and the acceptance of child marriage is found in Iringa, Lindi, Manyara, Mara, Shinyanga and Tabora. The deductive message from these observations may be that households care more about protecting their collective reputations than the infringement on the basic rights and freedoms of girls. Girls are seen as potential risks to a household's reputational integrity such that child marriages are deemed as a necessary moral hazard. Many accounts from qualitative interviews in all regions cited parents forcing their girls to marry to avoid shame in the family if girls were to become pregnant.

ii) Society's Perception of Women

Gender inequality is rooted in the patriarchal culture, implying acceptability of cultural norms regarding men's control over women (Uchem, 2015 and Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger, 2012). Examining gender attitudes toward women and girls will help us understand Tanzania's general attitude toward women, which is crucial to understanding why girls are forced to marry as children and how they are treated in the marital home.

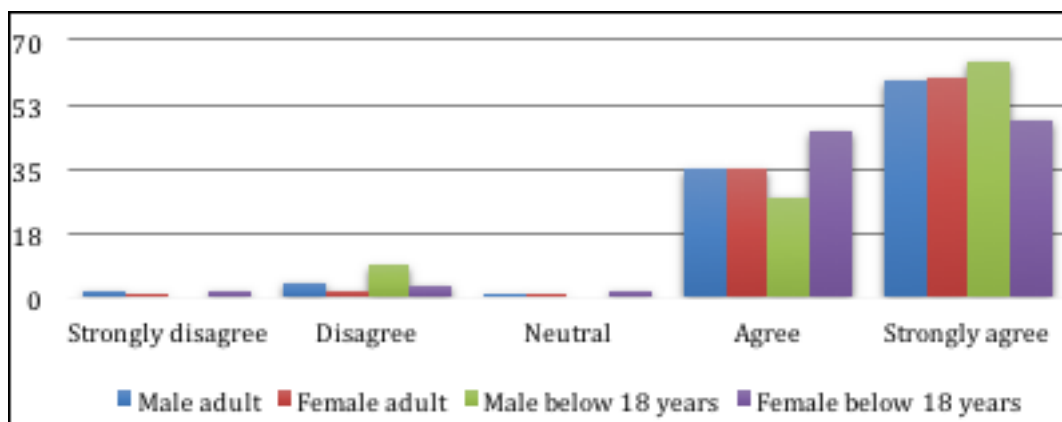
The following statements were read to study participants: "a wife should be subservient to her husband" and "a husband should be the head of a household." Participants were then asked to rank using a Likert scale whether they agree or disagree with each statement. Figure 12 shows that a significant percentage of participants agree or strongly agree (95%) that a wife should be subservient to her husband, and 82% believe that men should be heads of their household. Findings on these hegemonic gender norms/masculinities (Jakobsen, 2014) are perplexing, especially when it comes to the view that girls and boys are equal as children, but then when married wives should be subservient to husbands and husbands should be heads of the household.

Figure 12: Participants' Perception of Subservience and a Husbands' Household Leadership



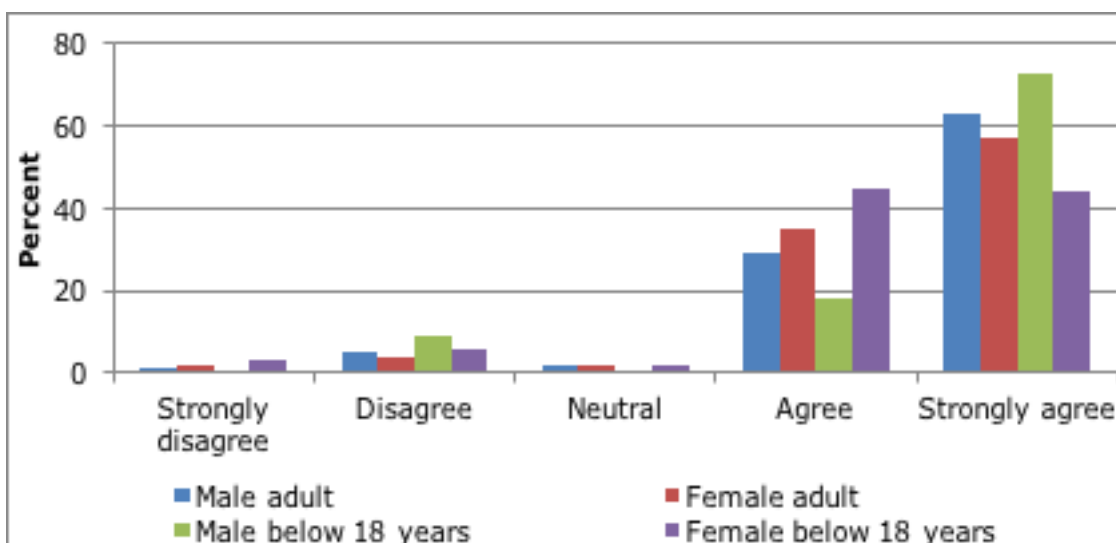
When data on perception of subservience and household leadership are disaggregated by gender and age, findings reveal that nearly all respondents—94% of male adults, 95% of female adults, 91% of male children and 93% of female children—agree or strongly agree that a wife should be subservient to her husband, as shown on Figures 13 below.

Figure 13: Perception of Wife Subservience to her Husband, by Gender and Age



Likewise, respondents overwhelmingly agree or strongly agree that men should be heads of the household, at 94% of adult males, 95% of adult females, 100% of male children and 93% of female children (see Figure 14 below).

Figure 14: Perception of Men as Heads of Household



Qualitative data also support these findings and especially the value of girls/women in societies, as study participants explained how most societies do not value women and that their value is centered on bearing children.

Whereas study participants largely perceived females and males under 18 as equal, almost all participants were of the opinion that a wife should be subservient to her husband and men should be heads of their households. These participant attitudes signify hegemonic masculinity and present obstacles to change on matters pertaining gender equality. The value of girls and women is important in families, and it allows for understanding decisions made on matters that affect the future of girls.

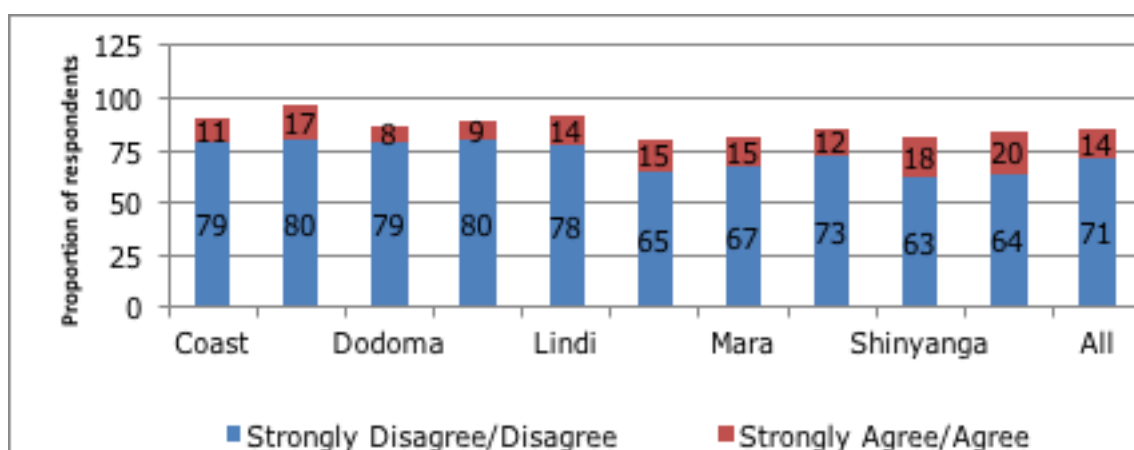
iii) Bride Price

Participants viewed bride price as both a cultural practice and an economic incentive that drives child marriage. Bride price drives child marriage because money and many gifts are exchanged during wedding ceremonies. For instance, among the Kurya it was reported that apart from cattle (about an average of 10 cows), a blanket is given to the father, and the mother will receive a pair of Kitenges (dressing cloth), and a big cooking pot that can cook up to 50 kilos of rice. An aunt will receive a pair of Kitenges, and the bride will get a suitcase. Among the Nyamwezi between 20 and 30 cows are paid, depending on the family situation.

Nationally, some 71% of married girls noted that bride price is indeed a telling determinant of child marriage. However, the cost of a bride does not decrease with age (see Figure 15). The view is widely shared regionally with both observations and variations being statistically significant at the 1% level (Kruskal-Wallis test of rank variance).

Bride price varies by region. For those from the southern regions, like Lindi and Mtwara, bride price is very low when compared to the northern regions of Mara, Shinyanga and Manyara as well as the central regions of Dodoma and Tabora, where it is significant although decreasing at the moment.¹⁶ One study participant mentioned that the amount of cattle one gets as bride price can be obtained in about two years, as a farmer can buy up to four cows in each planting season. Families that work hard and are educated can find easier ways to get cows than by relying on their daughters to get married.

Figure 15: Younger Brides Cost Less than Older Ones



¹⁶ Among the Kuria during the 1960s the amount could be up to 60 cows. However, at the moment it is 10 cows or less.

Also consider the following quote by a girl on how girls who marry early are valued more when it comes to bride price.

...Our parents say that if a girl is married at an early age, she receives a higher bride price than the older one. They can get from TZS 500,000 to 700,000 for the younger child. Older girls only receive cooking ware, clothes and the likes...

FDG girls, under 18, Busi Village, Kondoa, Dodoma

Other accounts from interviews signify that many communities choose to marry off their girls as children for two reasons: first, so that they are not looked down on by their neighbors for not having sheep or cows, and second, a girl child is seen as a commodity. Parents are prompted to marry off their young daughters as a means of survival where they acquire bride wealth in return.

The account is also substantiated by Brown (2012:14), who stated that "...marrying off a daughter is both an economic transaction and a social rite." Since families are often in a hurry to acquire wealth, they also tend to marry off their children quite early.

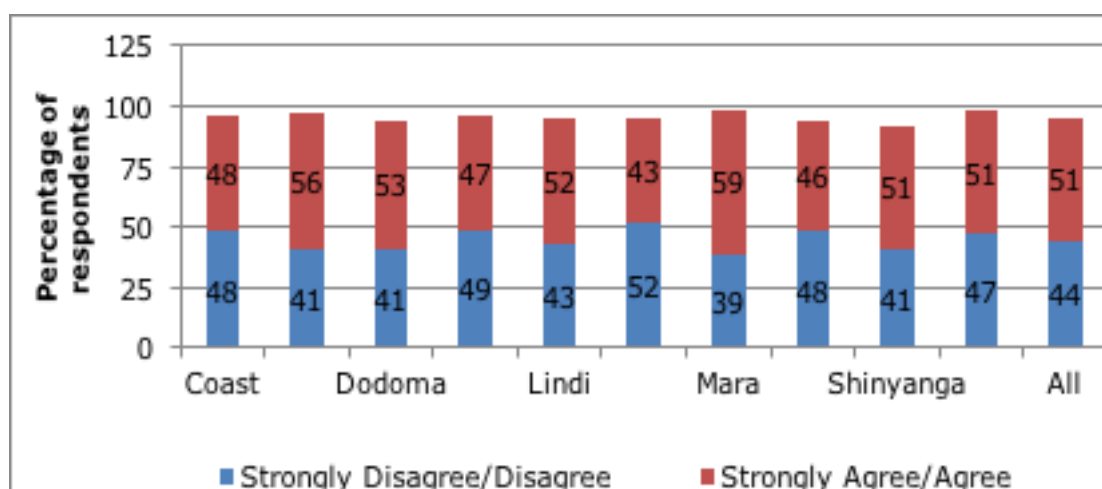
...In the Kurya community, marrying off your daughter is like selling a commodity to get cows. Most pastoralist communities are the ones who engage in child marriage, because in our community it is bad if a family doesn't have cows or sheep...

Female, 38 years old, Burega, Tarime

Figure 16 below displays general perceptions as to whether economic gains associated with bride price drive child marriage among regions. Statistically significant ($p < 0.01$, Kruskal-Wallis test of rank variance) regional observations are made, with more respondents in Mara (59%), Dar es Salaam (56%), Dodoma (53%), Lindi (52%), Shinyanga (51%) and Tabora (51%) strongly agreeing with the view that bride price and economic gains are drivers to marrying off girls.

Coincidentally, except for Dar es Salaam, these regions also have the highest rates of child marriage in Tanzania, according to this study and to TDHS 2010. Since the question measured perception, it explains why Dar es Salaam respondents recorded higher percentage, even though it is one of the two regions with a low prevalence of child marriage.

Figure 16: Married Girls' Perceptions on whether Child Marriage is driven by Economic Gains from Gifts from Marriage Ceremonies and Dowry



These findings were substantiated by qualitative data. Study participants explained how bride price plays a key role in fuelling child marriage.

The main driver is the fear that if you keep your daughter without marrying her off at the young age, then it's a loss.

It's like the tomato business—those commodities which are perishable—so the community perceives a girl like a perishable commodity; they will lose their value, and if the commodity loses its value [especially if they get pregnant] what will you do with it if you are depending on it to increase your income? Male, 40 years old, Bungurere village, Tarime

Parents force their daughters to get married because of desire for cows. The number of cows differ. It depends on the girl's behavior and the family's background. It could be 5 or 30 cows. Male, 22 years old, married as a child, Urambo, Tabora

...there are girl children who marry at ten years old. Bride price is the main source of child marriage, and this depends on the tribe, for instance the Sukuma tribe: bride price (dowry) can be 3 to 40 cows. It depends on what point is reached in negotiations, and it depends on the type of girl you marry.

Female, 63 years old, married as a child, Urambo, Tabora

In many communities, bride price is preferably paid in livestock. This may explain why many pastoralist ethnic groups in Tanzania have higher incidences of child marriages. As a source of wealth and prestige, many parents choose to marry off their daughters to increase their wealth, since the more wealthy and prestigious one is, the more respect one has (Birech, 2013).

However, bride price has significantly decreased from 40 to 60 cows in the 1950s and 60s to ten cows or less at present, due to a reduced number of cattle. But given the limited understanding of the value of a girl in relation to a commodity the bride price is still widely practiced in the country. There are also many cases where bride price is used not for financial gain of the family but to enable brothers to marry. Consider the following account:

...For those families who have male children who are about to marry, they may marry off their daughter as a child so that they can accumulate the bride price for their male child... There is this girl in the neighborhood. She lives in Dar with her father and her step mother. There was a time when people were talking that she was late in getting married, and her brother was waiting for her bride price so that it could be used for him to marry... Male, 40 years old, Bungurere village, Tarime

Since the amount of cows exchanged has decreased significantly, it was also mentioned that some ethnic groups used to see it as a curse if a family did not have a daughter to marry off so that brothers could have cows that could be used for marriage. Other traditions like those from Mtwara and Lindi use money rather than cows for bride price.

Many parents get influenced by the money, because when the girl is in the process of being married, there is money that comes in. Money for bride price is given to the girl who wants to get married. But because she is young, maybe 14 or 15, she will still hand over the money to her parents and they are the ones who will plan on how to spend it. Male, 16 years old, Mchinga Namiodi village, Lindi Rural, Lindi

There were also claims that despite the fact that bride price is so low, it still encourages parents to marry off their girls. Families wrongly perceive it will relieve them of feeding an extra mouth in the midst of poverty. The expectation that one will get a bride price that will reduce poverty is significant in driving child marriage.

Bride price is there but only a little; there are those who ask for it, but they are given very little; it is like nothing, so they marry off their daughter for nothing...

Female, 37 years old, Ngarenaro, Babati

Several study participants, including stakeholders, echoed these sentiments. In Shinyanga, for instance, when a girl child is born, the expectation is that she will get married and the family will get a bride price. As soon as the girl menstruates, plans are underway to marry her off. The girl child is in transit, waiting to grow and marry.

It was also mentioned that men feel that paying a bride price is like paying for the girl, and therefore they treat her as property rather than as a fellow human being and a wife. Several respondents mentioned that many women may be suffering abuse, but they cannot return home because their parents are unable to pay back the bride price. Therefore, bride price, although seen as a gift to the bride's parents, is like the unstated legally binding contract that once paid the girl child becomes indispensable to the groom and his family.

iv) Initiation Rites

Socio-cultural norms as they relate to marriage are highly gendered and biased. FGM and other initiation rites and dances (unyago) contribute to child marriage (CDF, 2008). FGM is performed to girls as young as nine, and once they undergo these ceremonies they are considered adults and therefore ready to marry, irrespective of their age (Boyle, Songora and Foss, 2001; CDF, 2008). In Tanzania, Mara, Manyara and Dodoma regions have high rates of FGM and child marriage (GIZ, 2011).

Table 14 shows the association between the role of traditional practices and acceptability of child marriage. Initiation per se is not necessarily a bad thing or a driver of child marriage. During the 1950s and 1960s, for example, the Kurya performed these rites at the age of 17 to 19. But that age has fallen to 12 to 15 in recent years. Once these rites were performed, then girls were deemed ready for marriage.

Initiation rites are practiced in many societies in Tanzania, but they do not always result in child marriage. The initiation might, for example, be used as an opportunity for socialization. For instance, the Chagga, who originate from Kilimanjaro and constitute one of Tanzania's most educated groups, practice FGM, but the rate of child marriage among them is low. Residents of Ruvuma also require their children/girls to perform initiation through traditional dances, but child marriage cases are not as high there as they are in Lindi.

Table 14: Association between Role of Traditional Practices (FGM, unyago and dances) and Acceptability of Child Marriage, Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient

REGION	TRANSITIONING A GIRL TO A WOMAN	PREPARING A GIRL FOR MARRIAGE	MAKING GIRLS PRODUCTIVE
Coast	0.089	0.063	0.181 *
Dar es Salaam	0.053	-0.032	-0.062
Dodoma	0.045	-0.027	0.004
Iringa	-0.092	0.241	0.110
Lindi	-0.015	0.015	0.100
Manyara	-0.221 **	-0.124	-0.191 *
Mara	0.044	-0.012	0.095
Mtwara	0.051	0.074	0.079
Shinyanga	-0.100	-0.064	-0.054
Tabora	-0.021	-0.007	-0.022

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

Prevalent in many regions of Tanzania, Unyago is performed on girls once they reach puberty, regardless of age. First, menstruation signifies a girl's readiness for marriage. The rituals vary by ethnic group, but they involve girls being kept indoors for months, being fed so that they become large (since larger girls are preferred) and trained on all marital aspects, including how to handle men sexually.

On their coming out day there is a big traditional dance to show them off to the community and prospective suitors.¹⁷ After the big dances these girls are married off, regardless of age. Dar es Salaam, Pwani, Lindi and Mtwara are famous for these unyago ceremonies (Yoder, Lugalla, and Sambaiga, 2013; Halley, 2012; Bangster, 2010; Tumbo-Masabo and Liljeström, 1994). As Halley (2012:15) argues, "A close examination of unyago and jando reveal that these practices play an underlying role in shaping adolescent sexuality both by marking the transition to adolescence and, thus, to sexual maturity, and by communicating the expectations of male and female sexual roles to youth."

Findings from quantitative data reveal that 56% and 66% of Dar es Salaam respondents confirmed that initiation rites and traditional dances, respectively, are performed on girls. Those numbers for Pwani are 74% and 86%, Lindi 93% and 93%, and Mtwara 98% and 95%. These cultural practices within communities have also contributed to the high prevalence of child marriages, as girls feel they are adults and ready for marriage once the rituals are performed. Respondents, especially stakeholders in Tarime, Masasi and Dar es Salaam, shared a concern that once girls have undergone these rituals, they will no longer listen to adults. Yet this is also the challenge of adolescence in more general terms. At puberty children feel they are adults, and they can be disobedient in school irrespective of cultural traits.

¹⁷ The girls are normally dressed half naked without a top and their breasts are exposed. People watching, young and older, will choose who came out very beautifully. The girls are normally married off after these dances.

Qualitative findings provide further and consistent evidence that cultural norms facilitate child marriage.

In my view, culture does not prevent child marriage; instead it contributes to it. For example, the Wazaramo perform the cultural ritual on their girls (wanawacheza). They practice that culture on children who are as young as 10 years old. The same goes for the Kurya and the Maasai, who practice FGM on their girls at a young age. In those cultural practices the girls are taught everything. So, even if the girl does not go to practice what she was taught herself, she becomes a possible prey for men and older boys who will consider her to be old enough because she has undergone those practices. Female, 29 years old, Ilala, Dar es Salaam

After a girl has undergone the cultural rite (unyago) in which they take children who are even under 10 years old, it makes the child feel old enough to get married. Like I told you, you can find a 12 year -old girl who will tell you that 'I am so good and I can handle a man sexually better than older women, because I was taught and told everything. If I was too young for this, they shouldn't have taught me those things in the first place, but the fact that I was taken for unyago and trained, why not practice or get married! Practice makes perfect.' Police gender desk, Masasi, Lindi

These claims were substantiated by respondents in Iringa and Coast regions, who cited that initiation ceremonies and traditional dances performed on girls in their regions encourage child marriage.

Among the Sukuma, samba and kushindikila are practices conducted during wedding ceremonies prepare girls for child marriage. As part of Sukuma (of Shinyanga) wedding celebrations, several friends of the bride are supposed to accompany the bride to her 'honeymoon', with a similar number of boys accompanying the groom. Mothers would coach their daughters to be compliant to these men's advances so they too may get married.¹⁸

There is this practice called samba when a girl reach the adolescent age. From 12 years old her parents take her to a traditional healer so that she can get traditional medicine (kuchanjwa chale) so that she can attract a male. If a girl is to be married, there is 10 days for a wedding ceremony, so this is the only time where a girl is celebrated. AGAPE, Shinyanga

Other cultural practices, as mentioned by one stakeholder, include the Maasai's culture of courting pregnancy. As the stakeholder described, among the Maasai of Arusha and Manyara,¹⁹ men like to marry children by the specific ritual of proposing to a pregnant woman. If the child turns out to be a girl, the man will eventually marry the girl. If a boy, then he will be the man's friend. The current study found that there were many young women [from Manyara region] who when growing up knew that a certain very old person is their husband and is just waiting for them to grow up so that they can marry. Some end up dropping out of school when these men come for them (see also HRW, 2014).

¹⁸ These girls are normally subjected to unprotected sex and other acts. If the girls return without being approached, the parents consider it a bad omen and that the girl is bewitched. As such, they will take her to the traditional leaders to get cleansed.

¹⁹ Maasai are mostly found in Arusha and Manyara, but they are also in many other parts of Tanzania, including Pwani where there were cases of child marriage among them. In Pwani, for instance, there was a case of an eight-year old Maasai child who was married to a 38 year old man. This girl was brought to a husband by an uncle who transferred her from Iringa, where there is another community of Maasai pastoralists, to be married as a second wife. The girl was rescued by Joyce Kiria (a woman celebrity with her weekly show about women) from Wanawake Live and sent to a shelter ran by an older Maasai woman. She started this shelter to rescue these Maasai girls from child marriage and to seek support to send them to school.

...marriages amongst the Maasai and the Mang'ati: their history is that when a girl child is born, you give dowry for her and come to collect her when she has grown, which may happen to be under 18. Male, 35 years old, Babati, Manyara

Pastoralist societies like the Maasai are commonly engaged in child marriage, because they marry a child before birth. For example, the parents receive a bride price early before birth or after birth. If it's a girl, she will marry. If a boy he will be a close friend to the one who pays the bride price. Female, Kiluvya village, Kisarawe]

Other qualitative data reveal that since these rituals prepare them for marriage and teach sexual skills, completing the rituals makes them feel as if they are adults and ready for household responsibilities, including satisfying the husband's desires. In Lindi and Mtwara, many girls drop out of school and wait for suitors. Many are also encouraged by their parents to do poorly in school so that they can get married (Makene, forthcoming 2016). In Dodoma, the Regional Administration Office pointed out that in some schools there are girls only up to the fourth grade, since most girls drop out to get married.

v) Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

An analysis of quantitative data finds no statistically significant correlation between FGM practices and acceptability of child marriage. Statistically, there is a high acceptability of child marriage in only two of the regions where initiation rituals occur, namely Coast and Iringa (see Table 15 below). Elsewhere, correlation analysis fails to find statistically significant linear associations.

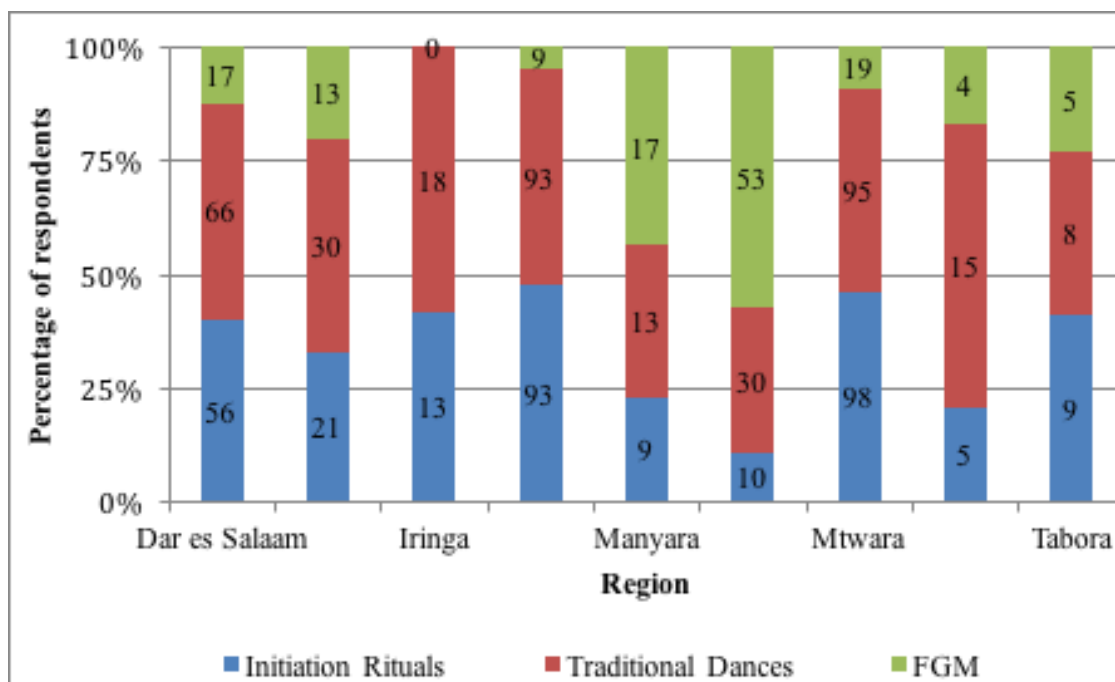
Table 15: Association between Societal Practices and Acceptability of Child Marriage, Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficient

REGION	FGM	INITIATION RITUALS	TRADITIONAL DANCES
Coast	-0.045	-0.207*	-0.062
Dar es Salaam	0.109	-0.071	-0.147
Dodoma	-0.010	0.113	0.074
Iringa		-0.351 *	-0.299*
Lindi	0.013	0.024	0.024
Manyara	-0.108	-0.016	-0.038
Mara	0.017	0.067	0.085
Mtwara	-0.003	-0.002	0.086
Shinyanga	0.099	0.018	-0.077
Tabora	-0.075	-0.054	-0.039

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

Figure 17 presents practices of FGM, initiation rites and traditional dances by region. We find that a higher percentage (53%) of Mara residents admitted to performing FGM on girls in their region, compared to only 17% of Manyara respondents. This data for Manyara is surprising, as previous research has indicated a high prevalence of FGM in the region (GIZ, 2011:1): “There are major regional variations in the prevalence of FGM as well as a marked urban/rural gap: in rural areas 18% of women have been subjected to FGM; in urban areas 7%. FGM is most widespread in the Manyara (81%), Dodoma (68 %), Arusha (55 %), Singida (43%) and Mara (38%) regions...” These findings are not surprising, as enumerators cautioned about Manyara respondents being very guarded about revealing some information during interviews. Furthermore, FGM is illegal in Tanzania, which might explain some of the data discrepancies between national data and what we found on FGM.

Figure 17: Community Practice of FGM, Initiation Rites and Traditional Dances, by Region



Qualitative data reveal that among practicing communities, FGM is viewed as a key driver of child marriage in their community, as study participants and all government officials interviewed in Mara, Dodoma and Manyara reported.

Cultural practices may contribute to child marriage in the Kurya tribe, as most girls are married at a young age because of FGM. Girls who are children after FGM are considered to be adults, and are thus ready for marriage...

Female, 27 years old, Batata, Musoma

The main cause of child marriage is culture and traditions of that particular tribe. Here in our district the main cause has been FGM. After going through FGM many parents and the girl herself feel they are ready and able to marry, and therefore they choose to get married. Police Gender Desk, Tarime

I was circumcised at the age of 11, when I was still in school, in standard 5. I finished standard 7 in September and the wedding followed in December of the same year, when I was 13. Female, 17 years old, married as a child, Kobori, Tarime

As a rite of passage the girls who undergo FGM are socialized as being mature and able to fulfil social roles associated with marriage. Even as a child who has undergone FGM at 12, a considerable amount of confidence is instilled in her that she is now a full-grown woman who can handle household responsibilities.

This is a [wrong] notion of 'empowerment' which makes children confidently believe they can handle marriage and the associated responsibilities. This attitude further translates into these children not being attentive at school and, as stakeholders in Mara revealed, the children begin disrespecting their teachers, especially if those teachers are not circumcised. Eventually, some of them leave school to get married. In Tarime enumerators were informed of similar trends. As the social welfare officer and police gender desk staff in Mara mentioned, there have been several cases where girls wanted to fight teachers because the girls no longer see themselves as children.

Following FGM, I receive many cases on how the children, both boys and girls, assert that they are adults and that they should not be disciplined by teachers or told to do things that children do... They do this especially to female teachers who are not from Mara and who are not circumcised... Some even go to the extent of wanting to physically fight teachers, and this is for both boys and girls... The unfortunate part is that some now consider being in school a waste of their time and drop out; boys go to adult jobs and girls get married... I wish they could assert that confidence in refusing to get married. Female social welfare officer, Tarime, Mara

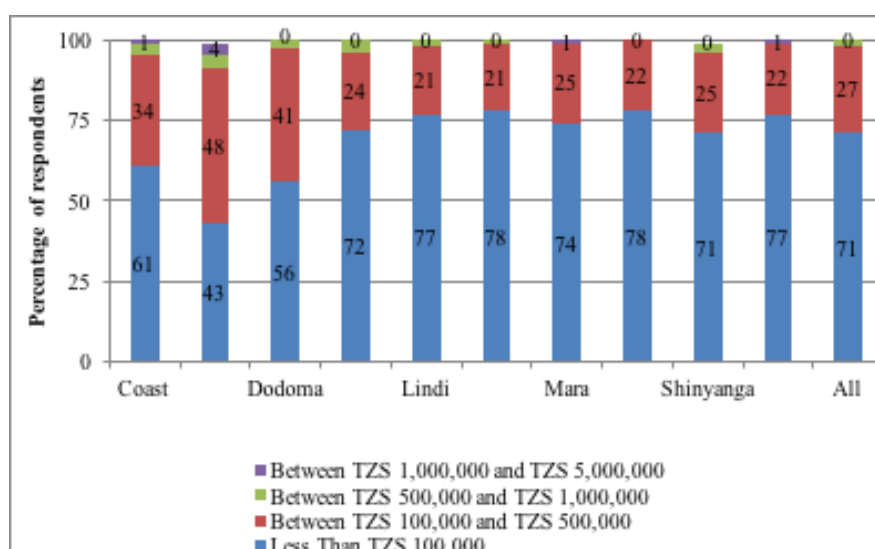
4.1.3 Structural Factors that Drive Child Marriage

4.1.3.1 Income Poverty as a Driver of Child Marriage

Child marriage is closely linked to poverty (McCleary-Sills, Parsons and Klugman 2015). Girls living in poorer households are almost twice as likely to marry before the age of 18, compared with girls in higher income households. Child marriage practices and attitudes toward accepting child marriage are often associated with income and poverty: in particular, child marriage may occur as a response to economic insecurity.

This assertion is corroborated by survey data at the national and regional level (see Figure 18) as well as by qualitative interviews. The findings in Figure 18 show a high prevalence of child marriage among families with incomes below TZS 100,000/=: and it is most prevalent in Manyara and Mtwara (with 78% each), Tabora and Lindi (with 77% each), followed by Mara (74%) and Iringa (72%). The prevalence of child marriage in higher income households was found to be minimal and in some cases not accepted at all. Qualitative interview participants alluded to poverty as a driver of child marriage in their community. Parents marry off girls to reduce the burden of taking care of extra children, and some parents felt that they were protecting girls by marrying them off. In all regions it was reported that the poor are the ones marrying off girls, while wealthier members of society send their children to school.

Figure 18: Acceptability of Child Marriage across Income Groups



Regionally, this relationship is mirrored in Coast, Manyara, Mara, and Mtwara regions, where the Spearman's Correlation coefficients are both negative and statistically significant at either the 1% or 5% levels. Statistically insignificant correlations between the two in the remaining regions suggest greater weight of drivers other than household incomes in influencing acceptability of child marriages. Furthermore, measures of association between household incomes and acceptability of child marriage both confirm the link and suggest the prevalence of other factors influencing child marriage.

On the whole, the correlation analysis in Table 16 reveals a weak but significant discordant relationship between household incomes and child marriage. That is, household acceptance of child marriage declines as incomes increase.

Table 16: Linear Association between Household Incomes and Acceptance of Child Marriage

Region	Spearman's Rho Correlation Coefficients
Coast	0.039
Dar es Salaam	0.023
Dodoma	0.104**
Iringa	0
Lindi	0.102**
Manyara	0.103**
Mara	0.049*
Mtwara	0.036
Shinyanga	0.083**
Tabora	-0.054*
All	0.145**

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$, two tailed tests

Interviews on income poverty and its effect on child marriage corroborate survey (quantitative) findings.

I know that some parents marry off their daughters because of poverty and ignorance, because they see that by marrying off their daughters early, they might be relieving some family burden. Female, 22 years old, Mkamba village, Kisarawe

It is the poor families that do not have enough food and may have so many children... and they find that they can't afford to take care of and hence marry them off to reduce the burden. Wealthy families don't do that; they send their children to boarding schools, and they don't expose them to so many things that happen in the villages.

Boy, 16 years old, Mchinga, village, Lindi

Poverty plays a big role... in our society. There is a limited means of income generation, thus the parents send their daughters to do dirty games, encouraging them to find men who will provide income in exchange for sex.

Male FGD, Kimanzichana village, Mkuranga, Coast Region

Government officials also affirmed the role of poverty in driving child marriage. All government officials and NGOs representatives who were interviewed concurred that poverty coupled with ignorance is a driver of child marriage.

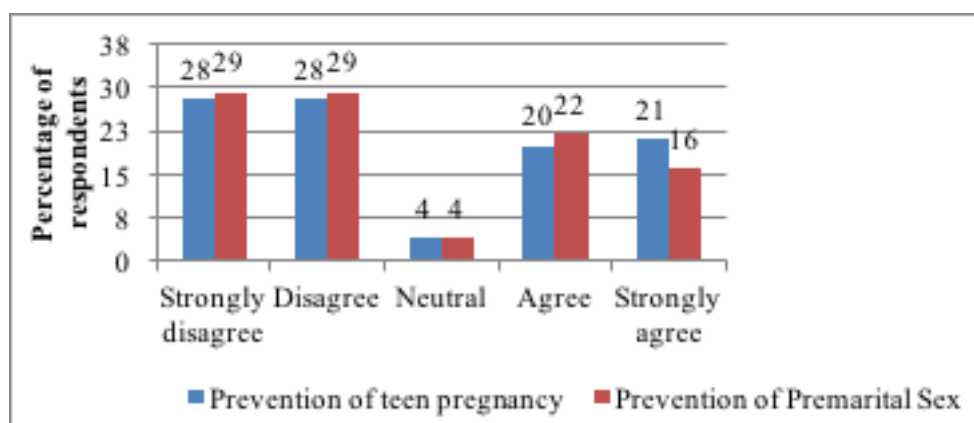
Unfortunately the girl child faces double or triple disadvantages in this society. When the family is poor the girl child has to be married to relieve the family of the burden of feeding an extra mouth. When the family cannot afford to send both children to school, it is the girl child who will most likely not be attending to school.

Official from Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG)

4.1.3.2 Adolescent Fertility and Control of Female Sexuality

Findings from this study reveal that teen pregnancy or the fear of it has driven some parents to marry off their children. Figure 19 presents the percent of respondents who see prevention of teen pregnancy and pre-marital sex as push factors for child marriage. Among study participants, 30% were women who were married as children. In total, 56% disagreed or strongly disagreed that teen pregnancy pushes girls into child marriage, while 41% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that teen pregnancy is a driver. Furthermore, 58% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that prevention of premarital sex drives child marriage, versus the 38% who agreed and strongly agreed.

Figure 19: Prevention of Teen Pregnancy and Pre-marital Sex



Based on their field experience and their work on the ground with girls, interviews with all women NGOs cited teen pregnancy as a more serious problem facing the girls than child marriage, as accounts below reveal.

Teen pregnancy has been the major issue we encounter. It is linked to the long distance that girls have to walk to go and fetch water as well as the long distance to school. This leads to most girls being exposed and thus fall into temptations by bodaboda (commuter motor cyclist) drivers and other people. TGNP representative

We encounter cases of teen pregnancy more now than before, where girls get impregnated and are jilted. TGNP representative

Several girl children who were involved in the study also commented on adolescent fertility.

...The person that made her pregnant refuses to take responsibility, and she had to remain at home and be a burden to her family. So to avoid that, parents marry their children to avoid embarrassments. Male, 16 years old, Mchinga, Lindi Rural

Most girls in this village get pregnant at a young age, like 14 or 15, before marriage. Some girls who didn't continue with secondary education are getting pregnant and marry because they have nothing to do at home. FGD female, over 18, Lindi

However, not all girls who get pregnant marry the men responsible, as sometimes the men responsible run away. In Mara, it was reported that sometimes girls who got pregnant are married off to other women, known as nyumba ntobhu.

I had this child this year. He is 2 months old. I am not married. I just got pregnant and had a child at home. The person that made me pregnant is from this village but he ran away after finding out I was pregnant. He is not very young, and we are not of the same age. He is older than me. I knew him, but I can say he forced me to have sex with him, though he never raped me. We talked and he convinced me into having sex with him. I did not know that I would become pregnant after having sex with him.

Female, 14 years old, Nitekela, Maendeleo village, Mtwara Rural

Other in-depth interview participants had varied perceptions on the prevention of teen pregnancy or prevention of premarital sex as drivers of child marriage.

...Most of girls who marry under 18 years are forced by their parents to marry, fearing that they will get pregnant if they stay long at home after puberty age. Other girls are orphans; they don't have good care from their guardians, so they decide to marry early due to violence or hard life... Female, 23 years old, Misasa village, Mkuranga

I know some parents will force their daughters to marry, especially for those who are not settled (mcharuko) so that they do not bring shame to their families.

Male, 16 years old, Mchinga village

Some girls are very hectic (micharuko/wahuni); they don't settle at their home; they run around with men all the time, thus their parents force them to marry before they get pregnant. Female, over 18, Lindi

Although there is a government directive that pregnant girls are allowed to return to school after giving birth, the study found that Lindi is the only region that is making deliberate efforts to allow young mothers to do so. Lindi choose to do so due to high rates of pregnancy, at 15% before age 15, and 61% before 18. However, even with such initiatives, some girls are not returning to school.

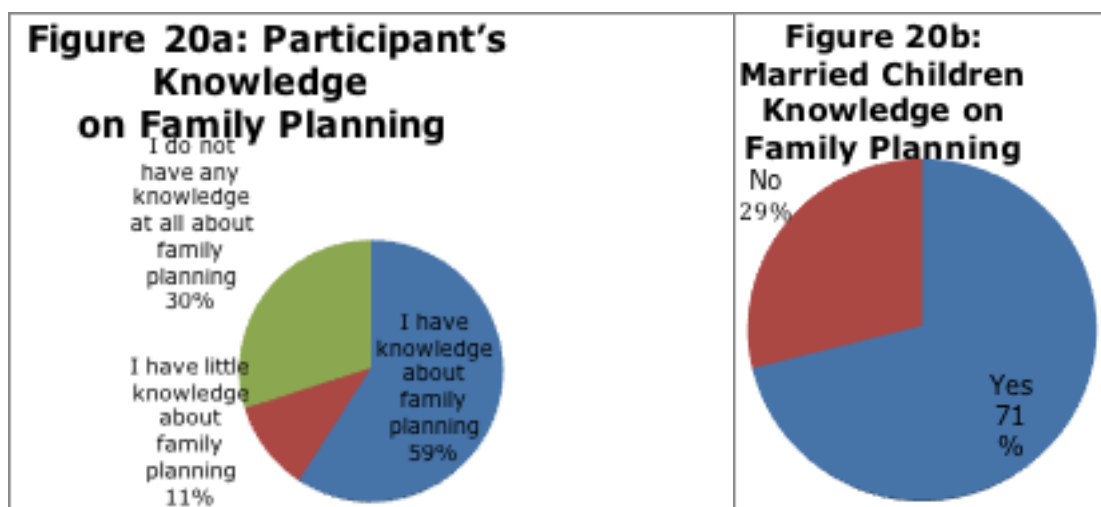
We have many cases of pregnant girls and we will allow them to return to school after giving birth. However they don't; they end up getting married, and I believe others fail to return because of stigma.

4.1.3.3 Knowledge and Access to Sexual and Reproductive Health Services

i) Knowledge about Contraceptive Use

Study participants were asked to rate their knowledge about family planning. Over half of all study participants (59%) were either knowledgeable or a little knowledgeable on modern family planning methods, compared to 30% (which is a sizeable minority) having no knowledge, as depicted Figure 20a. Those unknowledgeable risk having reproductive health problems in terms of unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted illnesses. Women who were married as children were asked if they have heard of any ways that women can avoid pregnancy. Figure 20b points out that 71% of the respondents had knowledge on family planning. These married girls were aware of the use of male condoms, implants, injections and pills.

Figure 20: Perceptions on Family Planning



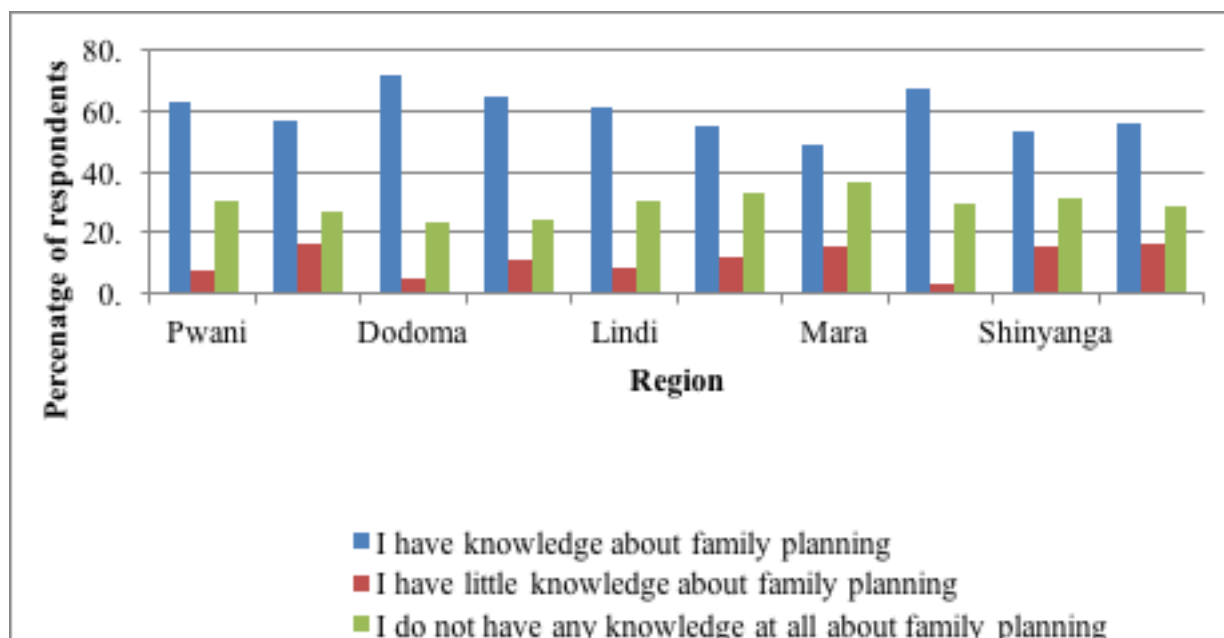
Even during qualitative interviews those who claimed to be unaware or who have not used any contraceptives knew of various methods and knew where people go to get them in their communities. The following accounts substantiate survey findings on contraceptive use and knowledge.

I have two children, one six year old and one at three months old. I still plan to have other children... Yes, I know of the injection, implants and the loop. I don't know any for men. I use the injection; we made the decision together to use it. We decided to be free for a while. Female, 21 years old, married at 14, Urambo, Tabora

No, I don't know. But I only hear of them talking about family planning, but I don't know the details about these and I have never used any of them and I don't know the methods used... I have heard of the pill and implants. They say you take the pills and you will end up having a baby only when you chose to... People get the implants inserted at Bugisi. There are some days when they come to offer the services here at Ihalo. Female, 17 years old, newly married, Ilango, Shinyaga Rural

When regional comparisons are made, the survey illustrates that awareness of family planning is high in all regions but Mara. Where at least 55% or more of survey respondents in most regions knew of various methods of contraception, only 48% of those surveyed in Mara were knowledgeable. In Dodoma, 72% of study participants aware of family planning, followed by Mtwara at 68%. By contrast, Mara has the highest percentage (36%) who mentioned having no knowledge about family planning. Others are Manyara (32%), Shinyanga (31%), Lindi and Pwani (30% each). Figure 21 shows the percent of participants' knowledge of family planning by Region.

Figure 21: Percent of Participants' Knowledge of Family Planning by Region



When data are further disaggregated by rural and urban residence, as shown in Figure 22 below, urbanites (67%) are more likely to be knowledgeable on family planning methods, compared to rural dwellers (56%).

Figure 22: Participants' Knowledge on Family Planning

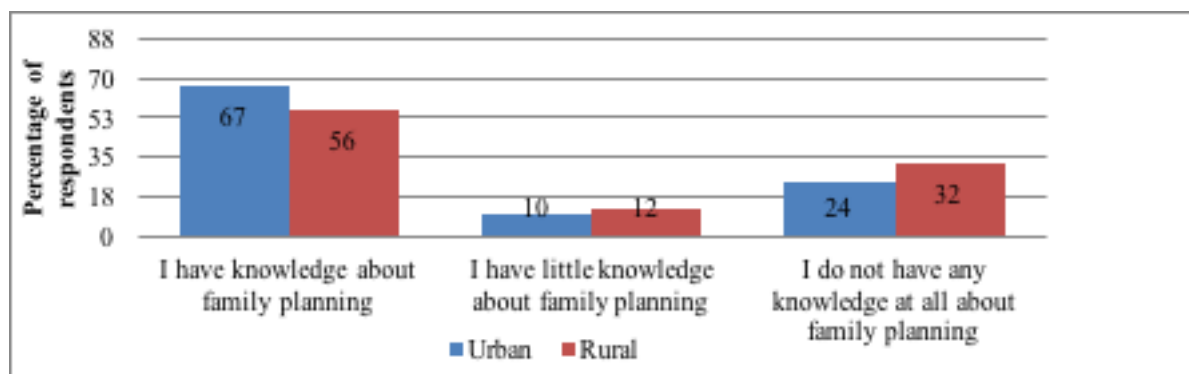
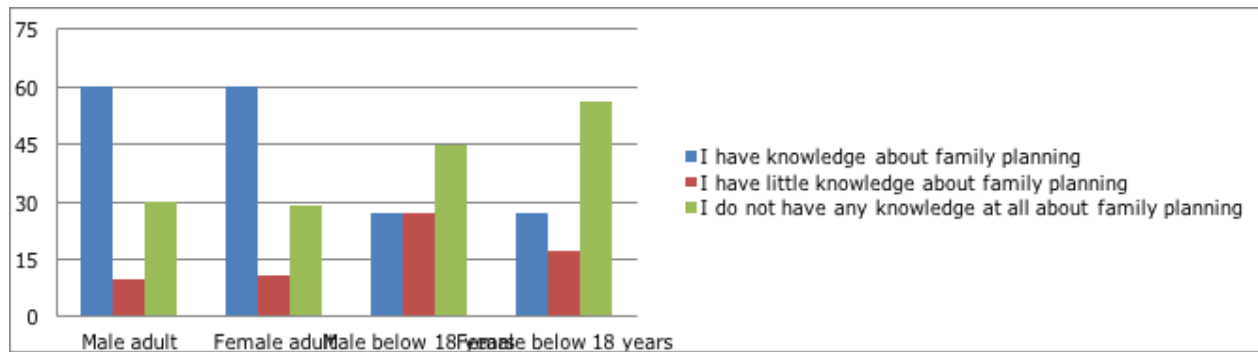


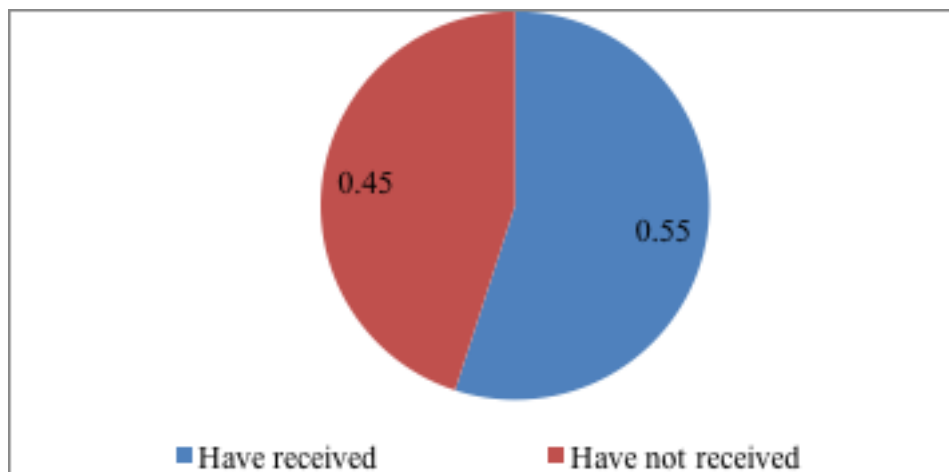
Figure 23 demonstrates knowledge of family planning by gender and age. Interestingly, the percentage of both male and female adults is equal at 60% each. The concern is the high percentage (56%) of females under 18 who are uninformed about family planning, which makes them more likely to have unplanned pregnancies. The current study findings illustrate that sexual and reproductive health education have not reached the majority of girls.

Figure 23: Knowledge on Family Planning by Gender and Age



The survey further inquired whether study participants who were married as children were informed by a health facility about the use of modern family planning methods. Study participants were asked if any staff member at the health facility in their village spoke to them about family planning. As shown on Figure 24, the majority (55%) have received such information at a health facility, compared to 46% who have not.

Figure 24: Information on Family Planning from Health Facilities



The qualitative data also support these findings, as most study participants mentioned that a healthcare worker at a clinic informed them of various contraceptives. When asked about the general attitude by villagers/community members toward contraceptive uses and the clinic staff, one study participant (a 21 year old female who was married as a child) stated that “they speak well of them; many people use them.”

Furthermore, accounts from qualitative interviews reveal that many women who were married as children did not have knowledge on modern family planning during their first pregnancy, but rather came to know and use the family planning methods after their first childbirth.

I didn't plan to have these babies at that particular time. But everything is happening according to God's wishes. As you know, when a man says "I want a baby", there is no excuse for not obeying him and not preparing the baby...

Female, 33 years old, Mnadani, Dodoma

On the other hand, some communities were lucky enough to receive knowledge of family planning from various advocates, which seems to be enlightening a good number of women:

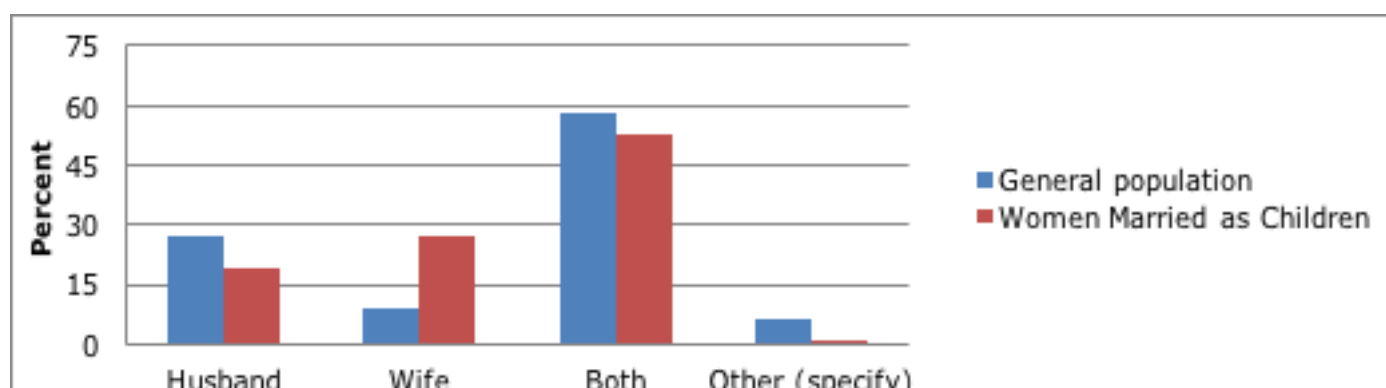
Yes I am aware of them, like pills and injections, and there are many NGOs advocating on the importance of family planning, like AGAPE, which is a non-governmental organization working on family planning and on child marriage. So here in the community, people are very knowledgeable on those methods, because of the advocacy. And the services are available in our health center, and they are free of charge. Female, 53 years old, from Ikonda B, Shinyanga Rural

I am aware of family planning methods, I plan and I check my urine to ensure I am not ovulating. I am happy that nowadays I can be free from becoming pregnant frequently, as I used to. Woman, 28 years old, Kahama, Shinyanga

ii) Decision-making about Contraceptive Use

The study further explored how decisions are made in the household regarding family planning. Figure 25 reveals that more than half of the respondents claimed to be making joint decisions between wife and husband, at 60%, while 26% reported their decisions to be made by husbands alone. Only 8% reported decisions being made by the wife alone. When women who were married as children were asked about how decisions on contraceptive use were made, about 53% mentioned that decisions are made jointly. Interestingly, more married children mentioned they make the decision on contraceptive usage, at 27% compared to 19% of the men who married children.

Figure 25: Decision-making about Family Planning at Household



Also, consider the following accounts from the qualitative data.

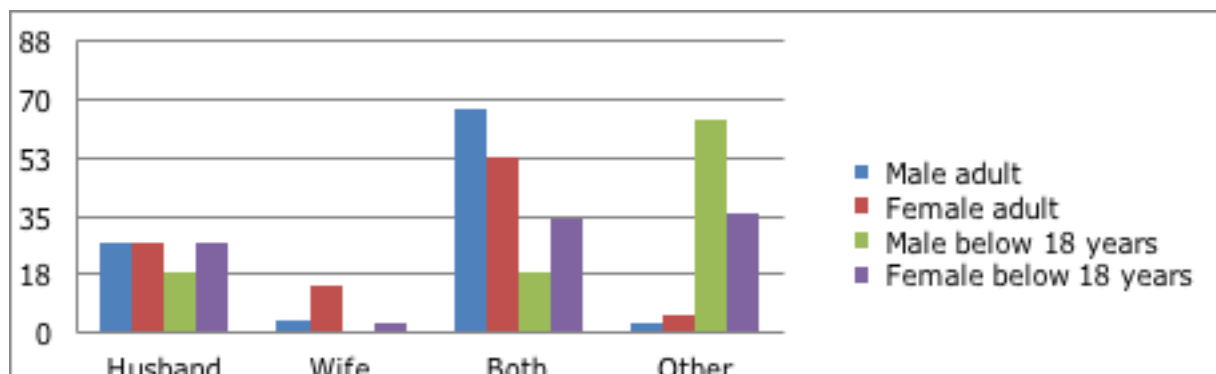
I was breast feeding and then I would get pregnant, so I would be forced to stop breast feeding the child and take care of the pregnancy. It was this way for all of them except two where I first planned and decided on my own. I started using family planning but it was a real bother to me; I was using the injection... So I stopped and I did not try any other method... I thought to myself, I will have six children and then I will go for permanent closure. But after I got the sixth child and was preparing to go for sterilization, I discovered I was pregnant. I have not yet gone for sterilization... but I will go... I have been waiting for those months when my periods start again. Female, 32 years old, married at 17, Kobori, Tarime

I have never gone to a health center to find out about family planning. But there are barriers we have personally set for ourselves when it comes to having sex, and these are the ways we use and that is why we have delayed having a baby. On my side when my wife is close to her periods... let me say we have sex on the first days. In a month we make use of the first 14 days and the remaining 14 or 15 we leave to her; we do not have sex or we may use condoms.

Male, 22 years old, married a child, Nyangoto, Tarime

When data are further compared by gender and age - on who makes decision on when to have children - more male adults (67%) than female adults (53%) mentioned decisions are made jointly. Male adults, female adults and females under 18 mentioned that the husband decides on family planning, at 27% compared to 18% for males under 18. Although a higher proportion of respondents believe the husband or the couple decides jointly, more female adults (14%) believe the wife decides, as shown in Figure 26 below.

Figure 26: Perception on Who Decides on the Use of Family Planning Methods



Although the findings reveal that most couples, especially young couples, were more likely to decide together on the use of contraceptives, having more men make decisions on matters that affect women's bodies illustrates that control of women's sexuality is rooted in gendered cultural norms.

Gendered expectations of sexuality give men more power to decide when to have children and whether to use contraceptives. As one of the in-depth interviewees stated, "when a man wants a child you can't say no." There were several women who mentioned that their husbands have refused to use contraceptives.

...I may decide to use them, but my husband may decline. We would use [contraceptives] if he were to agree. Female, 24 years old, married as a child, Temeke, Dar es Salaam

There were, however, misconceptions about modern family planning methods and its effects on the user.

I wouldn't use them because they say if something goes wrong when you use them, you will die; I don't know more than this. Female, 27 years old, Dabil, Manyara

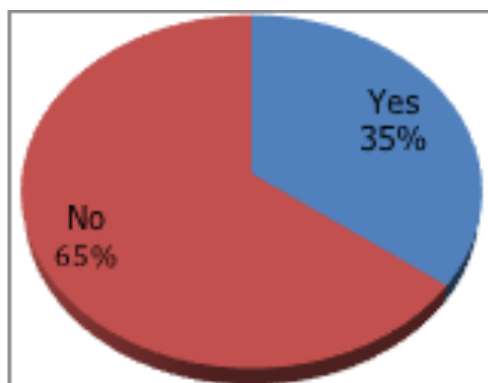
... I was really worried about family planning; feared implants may cause problems. I have not followed up on others. Male, 22 years old, married a child, Nyangoto, Lindi

... There are people who make others lose out because when they hear you went for family planning, they come and tell you that family planning is not good because it may cause cancer and so on; it may make you go for an operation, because those things they put in you are bad; they have negative effects. So on my side I never followed up on this. Male, 25 years old, married a child, Tarime, Mara

The misconceptions on family planning methods causing cancer, HIV/AIDS and other diseases affect decision making among couples and individuals on whether to use modern methods for family planning. Similar stories were echoed by rural residents (but none from urban areas) on various myths and misconceptions around contraception and family planning. If not addressed, these could impact individual's (especially women's) choices and decisions regarding contraception.

Married children were asked whether their first pregnancy was planned. As Figure 27 conveys, findings show that this was not the case for 65% of these women, which supports comments in the qualitative data. Most of them mentioned that the unplanned pregnancy led to their marriage at a young age.

Figure 27: Married Children Who Planned their Pregnancy



The qualitative data suggests that men are perceived as taking steps to ensure pregnancy. In Lindi a young married woman planned to not get pregnant until she was 18. But the woman believed that her husband took steps to ensure that she got pregnant. Interestingly, this belief, as explained in the account below, was substantiated by several other enumerators. In Lindi it appears people believe men have a way of making their wives pregnant.

Yes, I have one child; he is one year and seven months. I didn't plan to have this child now; it was accidentally. I planned to have a child at age 18 and above. My husband told me that he wants a child, but I refused until I reached 18 years. So I went to the hospital to get an injection so that I would not get pregnant. But my husband took some medicine which caused me to get pregnant. He drank half a liter of cooking oil and took some tablets/pills he got at the pharmacy. And when we slept together, I got pregnant while using family planning methods. I don't know the names of those pills, but most of men in our community use them if they want a child from their wives.

Female, 19 years old, married as a child, Kirombajuu Rural, Mtwara

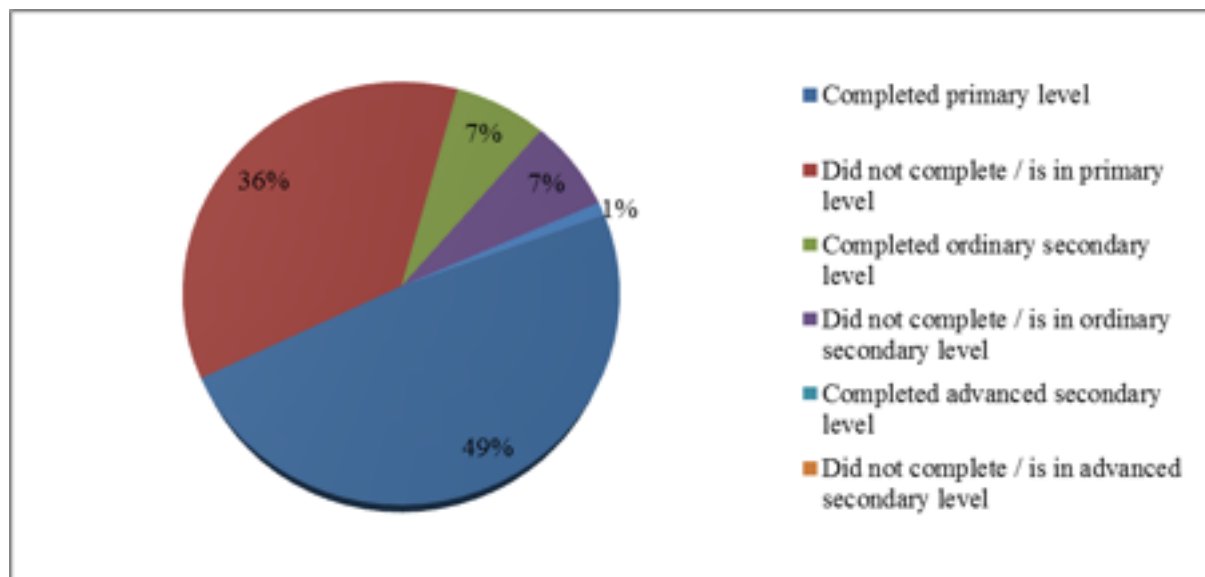
Although slightly more husbands make decisions and most couples make decisions together, many wives disclosed, during in-depth interviews, using family planning methods without their husband's knowledge. They said their husbands were not allowing them to use these methods. For those whose husbands agreed on using family planning, male condoms were mentioned by the majority, followed by injection and pills. Furthermore, myths and misconceptions about modern family planning methods are likely to affect contraceptive use, especially among women.

iii) Limited Educational Opportunities as a Driver of Child Marriage

Girls with higher levels of schooling are less likely to marry as children (Care Child Marriage Fact Sheet, 2012). Access to education, particularly post-primary school, helps to delay the age of first marriage, as the girl spends a couple more years in school. However, the findings from this study show that lack of opportunities to continue with secondary education leads to girls dropping out of school to get married.

This is evidenced by Figure 28 which illustrates that 49% of the participants got married after completing primary education, and it is likely they did have an opportunity to join and continue with secondary education. The figure also shows that 36% did not complete primary education.

Figure 28: Participant's Highest Grade of Completed Education

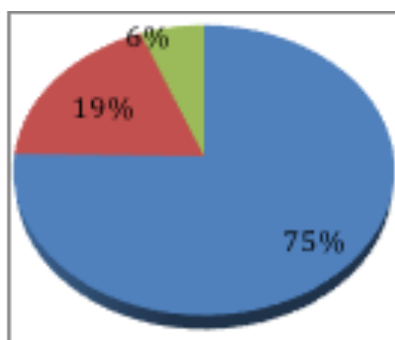


Knowledge on Whether Girls are Interested in Education

While child marriage is a barrier to educational opportunities (Population Council et al., 2015), it was still important to assess the study participants' general perceptions as to whether girls in their communities are interested in education. Societal norms of gender inequality do not necessarily value girls' education, and it is possible that the girls themselves share those values.

Indeed, findings in this study have shown that girls are valued for their ability to marry and bear children. Yet, as shown in Figure 29 below, 76% of the respondents believe that girls in their community desire education.

Figure 29: Participants' Perception of Whether Girls in the Community are Interested in Education

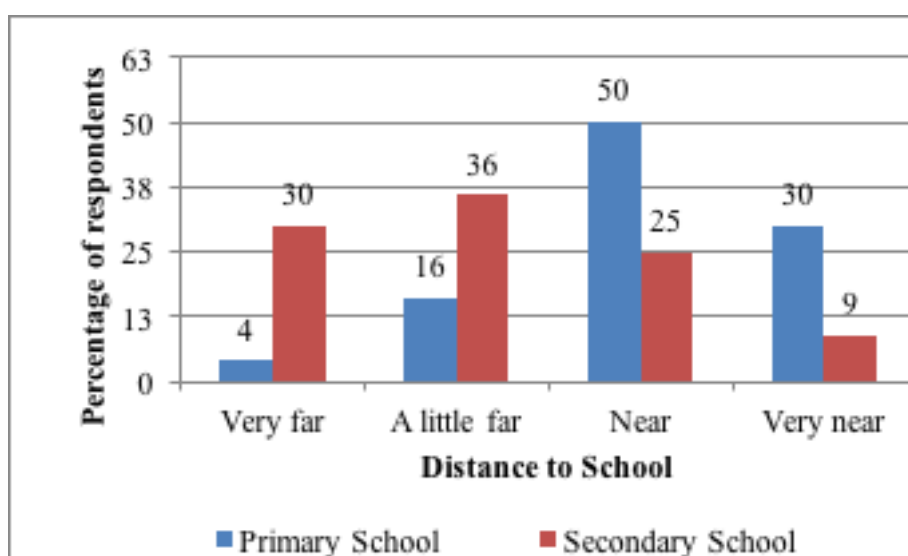


So, what factors might hinder their access to educational opportunities?

Distance to Primary and Secondary School

Distance to the nearest secondary or primary school from study participants' home was examined. Whereas 80% of respondents stated that primary schools are near or very near to study participant's home, the majority 66% stated secondary schools are either very far or far (see Figure 30). Several qualitative interview participants mentioned distance from home to school as a factor for why some girls chose to drop out of school early. Hence, distance of schools from communities is a barrier to accessing education.

Figure 30: Distance from Home to the Nearest Secondary or Primary School



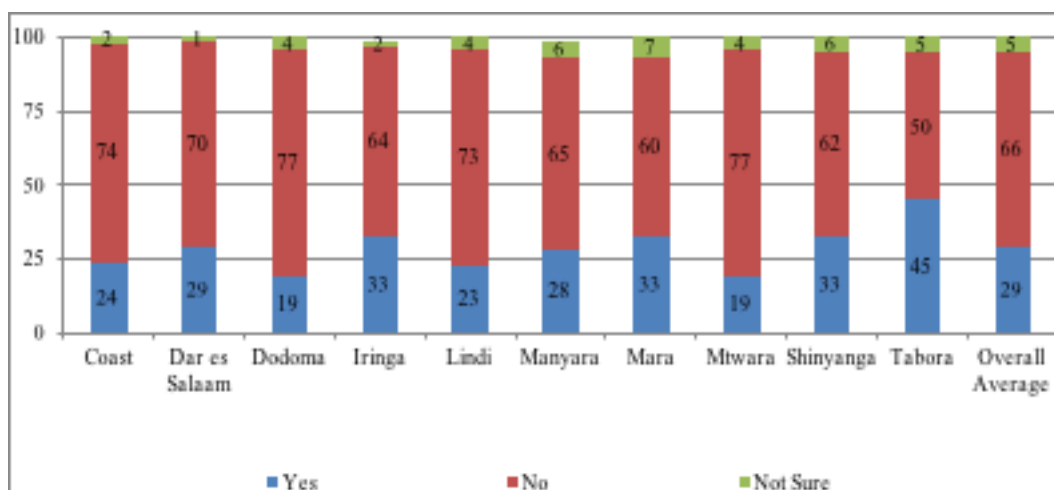
Qualitative data reveal that the challenges girls face on their way to school and back include, but are not limited to, rape, meeting men who trick them into having sexual relations with them, and having sexual relations with men who own a bodaboda so that they can get rides to and from schools. All of these challenges in turn increase the chances of pregnancy.

As such, distance from nearest secondary school could be a reason why some girls miss educational opportunities and get married. But poverty and inability to pay for school fees (Brown, 2012) were also mentioned as impeding girls' accessing education.

The study examined whether respondents know of girl children in their community who have dropped out of school to get married. It was also important to know whether these girls had had concrete opportunities to continue schooling but left to get married, or whether their marriage was timed with the end of educational opportunity (due to lack of feasible access / lack of family resources).

Findings reveal that at least one third of study participants (29%) know someone who dropped out of school to get married. When data are further disaggregated by region (see Figure 31), respondents from Tabora (45%), Mara (33%) and Iringa (33%) were more likely to know someone who dropped out of school to get married. The majority of respondents from Dodoma (77%), Mtwara (77%) and Coast (74%) regions reported not knowing girls who dropped out of school to get married. There was not much difference between rural and urban residence.

Figure 31: Knowledge of a Girl in the Community Dropping Out of School to Get Married



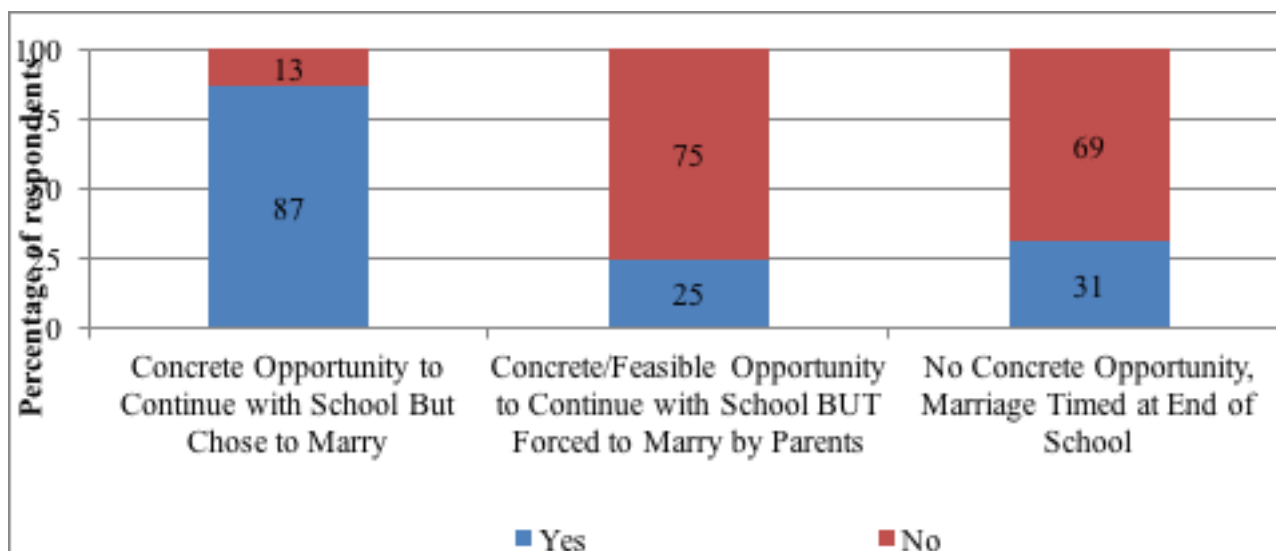
However, these survey findings appear to be inconsistent with qualitative findings, which reveal that in Dodoma, for instance, there were some schools where there were no girls in school by the fifth grade, because “they left school to get married.” In Lindi, dropout rates among girls were also reported as high due to marriage. Consider the following quote by a group of girls under 18 explaining why there were no girls in school from fifth grade and up.

Most of the girls when they reach standard four decline to go to school, citing that they already understand how to read and write. So, why should they suffer the plight of traveling long distances to attend school? FDG girls, under 18, Busi Village, Kondoa, Dodoma

Lack of or limited opportunity in the form of education in the participants’ community is seen as a barrier, and therefore the acceptable way to deal with it is to get married. Lack of educational opportunities is therefore one of the driving forces behind child marriage.

The study further explored whether girls had opportunities but chose to get married, were forced to marry, or their marriages were timed with end of school. Findings in Figure 32 below demonstrate that 87% believed that these girls had an opportunity to continue, but it was their choice to marry; 25% believed they were forced into marriage; while 31% believed there were no concrete opportunities for continued education, so marriage was planned to coincide with end of schooling.

Figure 32: Child Marriage and Timing of Schooling



These claims were also substantiated by in-depth interviews:

When I finished standard seven, my mother told me I had to go and look for someone to marry, because I had nothing to do, and she cannot pay for my school fees anymore. Also, I should be responsible for my welfare because she is no longer working for me. I have to find my own means for survival. During that time there was this man who was interested in me, and that's when I decided to marry him.

Female, 29 years old, married as a child, Babati village, Manyara

This young woman was forced into marriage as a child, and it was planned to coincide with the end of primary school. There were many such accounts from respondents, as there were no opportunities for them to continue with schooling, and some feared that if the girls remained at home, they will get pregnant and burden their families:

Some parents forced their child into marriage after they failed to proceed to secondary schools, fearing that they would get pregnant while at home and thus make them ashamed. *Female, 56 years old, Naipingo village, Nachingwea, Pwani*

There were also comments on the role played by ignorant parents.

Some parents intentionally do not pay school fees for the girls because they see it as useless to send girls to school. So, they use the money that was intended for paying school fees and contributions, to cater for other areas like buying farming pesticides and equipment. *[FGD female, under 18, Ntileka village, Masasi, Mtwara]*

All in all, poverty seems to be a major issue in forcing girl children into marriage. The challenge is how other opportunities could be made available, whether education or other options.

4.1.3.5 Legal Framework

Whereas existing Tanzanian laws, including The Law of Marriage Act of 1971, customary law and Islamic Reinstatement Act, allow children to marry, government officials and other stakeholders, when addressing child marriage, cite the Law of Child Act of 2009 and the CRC as prohibiting child marriage (for those under 18). This was mentioned by all stakeholders when asked whether the law in Tanzania could protect children against child marriage. Moreover, the study sought to compare legal consciousness on child marriage with the practice of child marriage, as well as the awareness of anyone who has faced charges because they married children.

Legal consciousness includes views and ideas about law and what is lawful and unlawful. To understand participants' legal consciousness on child marriage, the study sought to explore the general awareness of the laws prohibiting child marriage, especially among adolescent girls, and whether they have knowledge of these laws to protect themselves.

Legal consciousness is a term used for the "understandings and meanings of law circulating in social relations. Legal consciousness refers to what people do as well as say about law," (New Oxford Champion to Law, 2008:1).

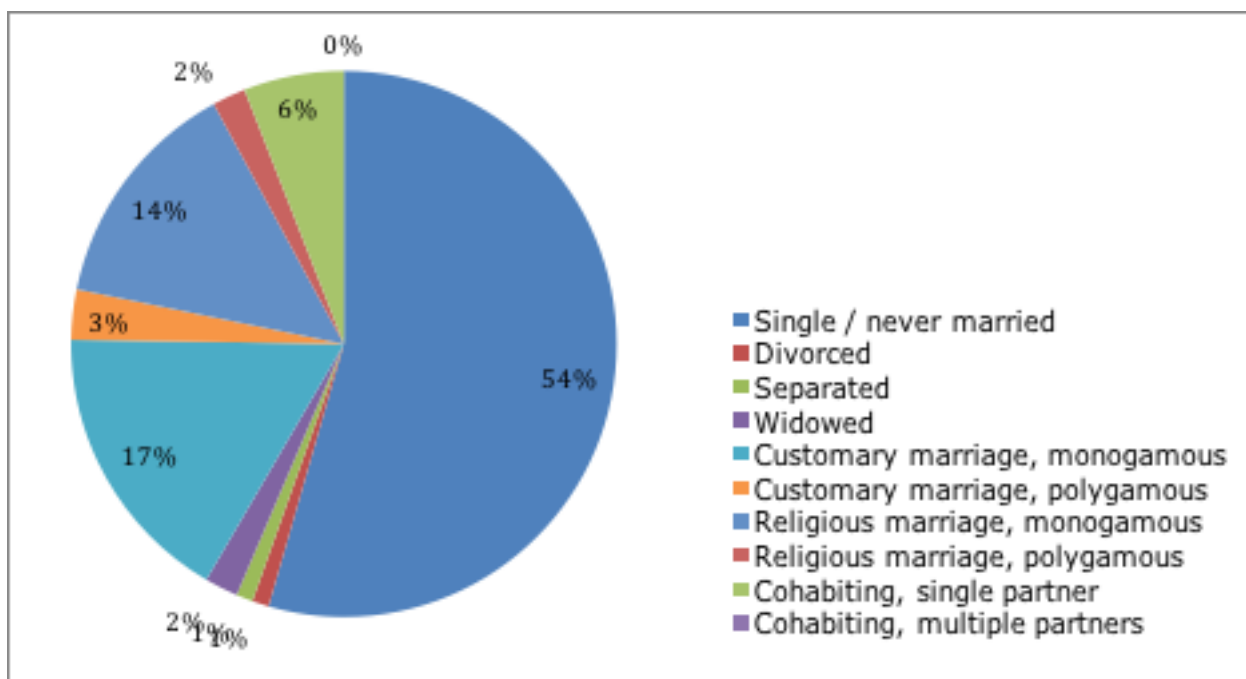
i) Knowledge of the Statutory Minimum Age of Marriage

Child marriage is legal in Tanzania, and lack of a marriage act that specifically prohibits child marriage is a driver of child marriage. Understanding respondents' awareness of the legal age of marriage for boys and girls is important because the Law of Marriage Act of 1971 allows girls as young as 14 to marry.

As Ewick and Silbey (1998) theorize individual everyday encounters with the law is of being magisterial and remote, as having the potential to be manipulated to one's advantage, and as an arbitrary power that is actively resisted. The individual interaction with law is also centered on what Ewick and Sibley call law in the books and law in practice. Their analysis is important here, as law in the books, when it comes to child marriage, allows children to marry in Tanzania. But as law is magisterial in practice, other laws and the Constitution are sometimes used to prohibit child marriage, and there are several cases when district commissioners of Butiama and Bahi intervened on behalf of girls by terminating their child marriage and returning them to school. Government officials also use the Law of the Child Act 2009 and the Sexual Offences Special Prevention Act (SOSPA) 1998 to pursue child marriage cases. At the same time, some individuals resist and manipulate the law to their advantage.

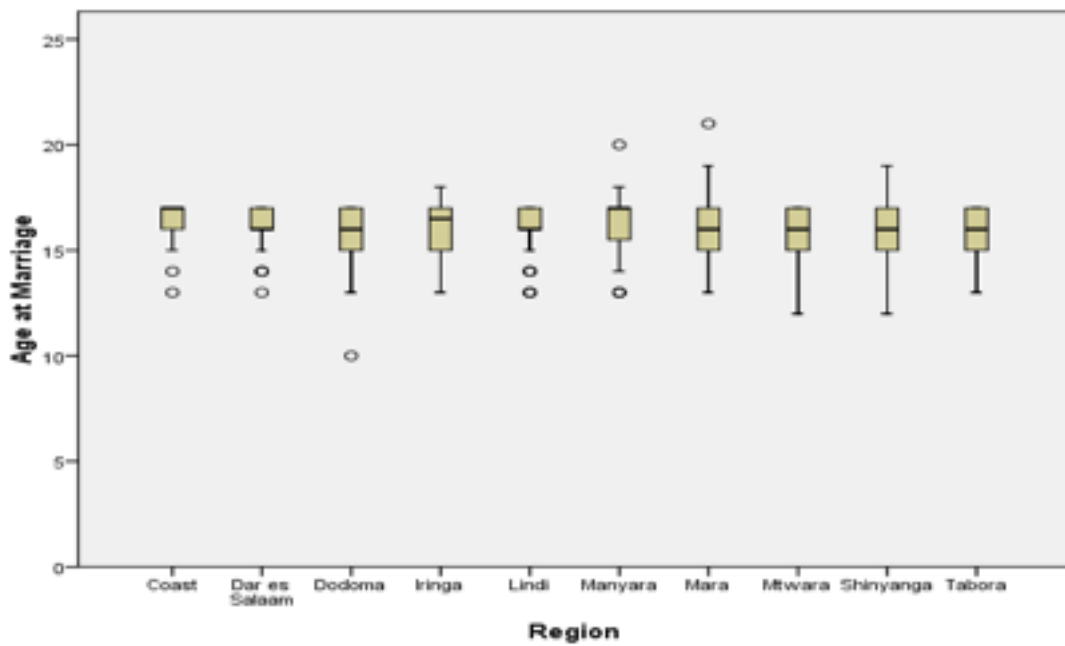
Among study participants (male and female), as shown on Figure 33, 28% were married before turning 18. Among the study regions, the average rate for females who were married before 18 is 47%. A total of 45% of respondents were married either monogamously or polygamously via custom, or cohabiting monogamously or with multiple partners which they consider marriage.

Figure 33: Marital Status



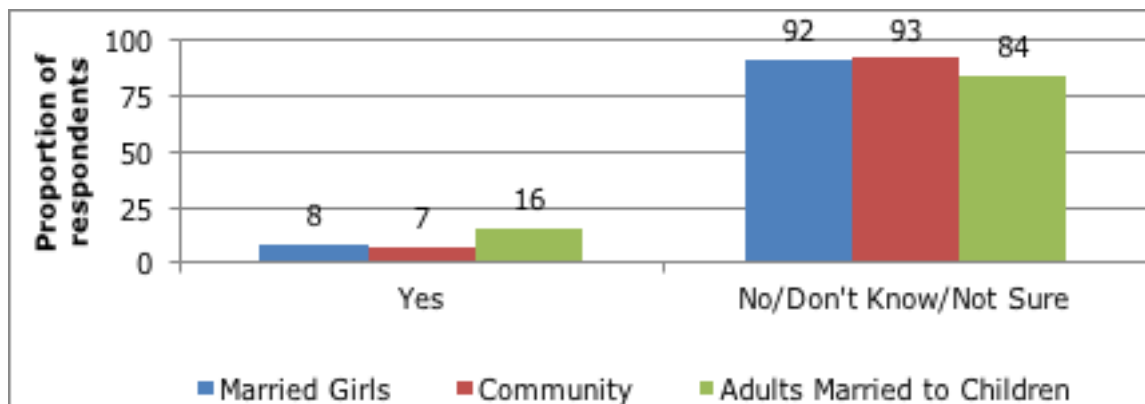
On average, the survey found that girls are married at the age of 16, while the youngest bride was 11 years old. There is minimal and insignificant regional variation on the average age at which a girl gets married, as shown in Figure 34 below.

Figure 34: Regional Variation in Age at Marriage



An overwhelming number of participants expressed ignorance of existing legislation on child marriage. As Figure 35 below reveals, five out six adults married to children claimed to have no knowledge of either civil or traditional laws on child marriage. Perhaps more alarming is the proportion of adults with knowledge of legislation protecting children and yet were still complacent in flouting it, which stood at 16%.

Figure 35: Awareness of Civil or Traditional Laws on Child Marriage



Across regions, statistically significant differences are prevalent in the lack of regulatory awareness displayed by the community, married girls, and adults married to children (Kruskal-Wallis, $p < 0.05$). There is an absolute lack of awareness of civil and/or traditional laws on child marriage in Iringa (100%), while Mara is comparably the most informed of the regions sampled (see Figure 36).

Figure 36: Awareness of Civil and/or Traditional Laws on Child Marriage across Regions

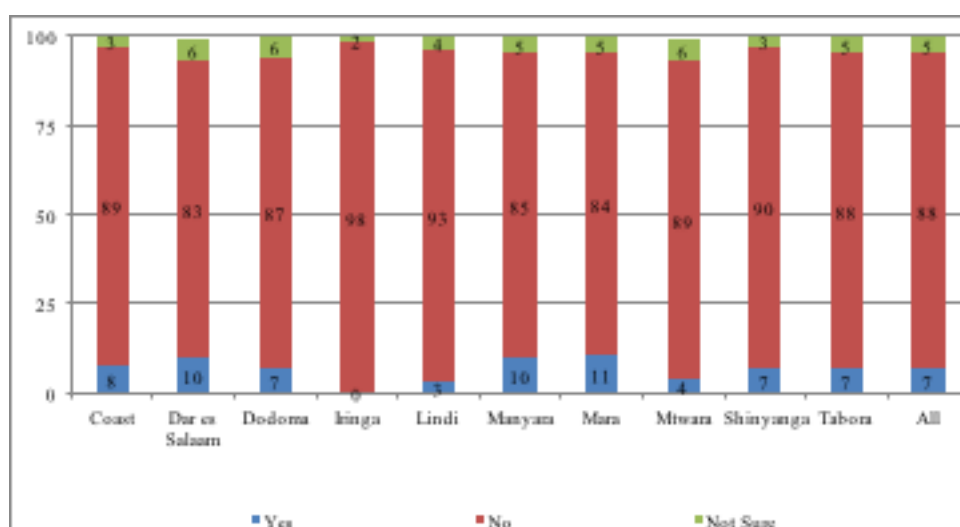
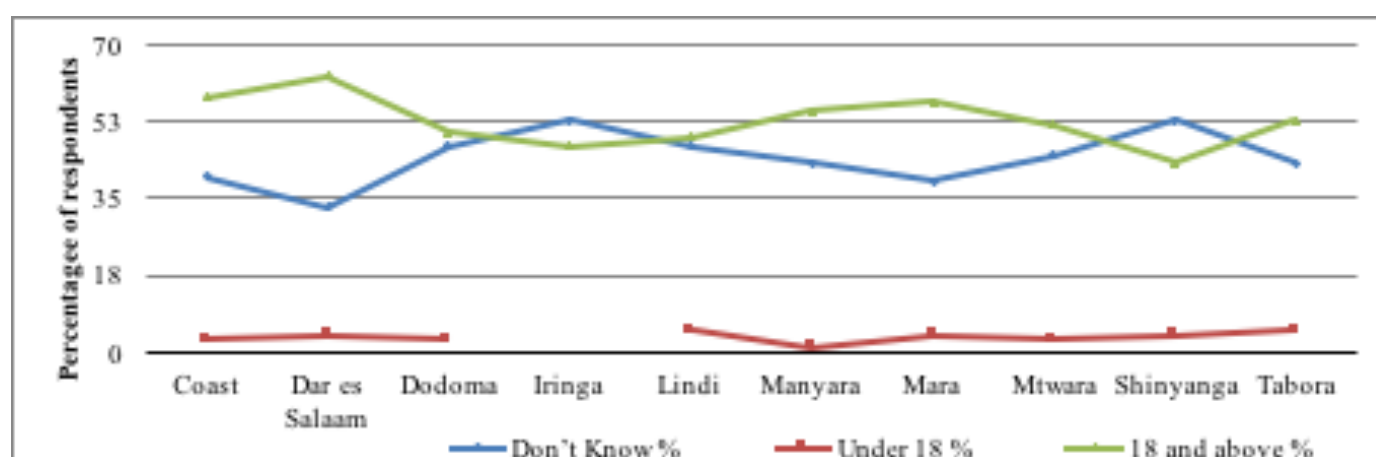


Figure 37 compares respondents' awareness of legal age of marriage by regions. The rates of unawareness are notably higher in Iringa, Lindi and Shinyanga, at 98%, 93% and 90% respectively. Regional differences in awareness further contextualize the low awareness rates presented in Figures 37 and 38.

Figure 37: Participants' Knowledge on Legal Age of Marriage for Girls by Regions



Qualitative data support survey findings, as the majority (almost all who were aware) of study participants mentioned 18 and above as legal age of marriage.

Child marriage is marrying their children off at a young age, which is below 18 years.

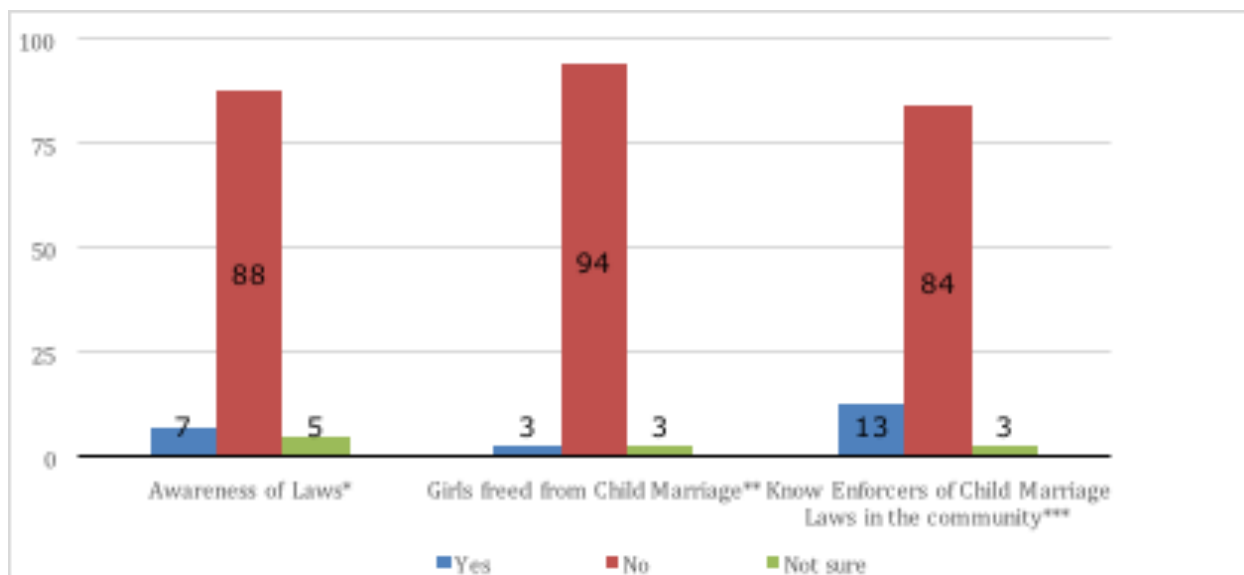
Male, 37 years old, Kimanzichana, Mkuranga

The general perception among study participants, individuals and FGDs on child marriage is that under 18 is considered child marriage. When asked about legal age of marriage, it was interesting that study participants also pointed to reasons some parents choose to marry off their girls at a young age. There were also a few study participants from in-depth interviews and FGDs, especially from Dodoma, Shinyanga, Manyara and Lindi, who did not know what child marriage is and the legal age of marriage.

ii) Enhancement and Legitimacy of Laws

Figure 38 presents data on awareness of laws prohibiting child marriage among study participants. Study participants were asked the following questions: 'are you aware of a government law that specifies a minimum age for marriage?'; 'are you aware of any girls in your community whose marriages were freed/prevented by relatives or local government officers?'; and 'are you aware of any local government leaders, child protection officers or police officers who enforce child marriage laws in their community?'

Figure 38: Participant Awareness of Laws Prohibiting Child Marriage



Findings show that most respondents were unaware of a specific law, but their experience with the law was that one could not marry a child who is under 18. In practice this matters more than their knowledge of the law. A higher percentage of study participants (88%) were unaware of such laws; 94% were unaware of any girls in their community whose marriages were freed/prevented by relatives or local government officers; and only 13% of respondents knew of offices to where they can report cases of child marriage. They include members of parliament, police gender desks, village leaders and local government officers, as seen in Appendix III.

When comparing regional awareness of minimum age law, there is not much variability as awareness is generally low in all regions. Dar es Salaam, Mara and Manyara have more respondents who are aware at 10%, 11% and 10%, respectively. All regions have a high percentage of respondents (exceeding 80% in all cases) who are unaware of the minimum age of marriage law, with Iringa and Shinyanga having the highest percentage of unaware respondents, at 97% and 90% respectively. Iringa had the fewest respondents, since it had the lowest rates of child marriage. This might explain why the data on Iringa falls on the extreme.

It should also be noted that respondents were specifically asked if they know of a specific law prohibiting child marriage. Those who mentioned knowing of a law could not cite the specific law but rather the contents, such as a child cannot marry if she is under 18 or else the parents will be sent to jail. When asked as to whether they are aware of legal sanctions against perpetrators of child marriage in their communities, only 1% of all respondents knew of cases where parents or grooms were legally sanctioned for marrying a child.

The in-depth interviews also support findings from the quantitative data, as the majority did not know about the existence of a marriage law. Most study participants were unaware of Law of Marriage in Tanzania, and some thought that there was neither religious nor government laws that specifies a minimum age for marriage. As a 19-year-old female interviewee puts it, everyone can marry when she or he thinks it is the right time to do so.

There is the Marriage Act of 1971. I don't recall it very well, but it didn't specify that the minimum age is 18. It says that girls can marry at the age 15 or 16, but I don't recall if it specifies the minimum marriage age for boys.

Male, 40 years old, Bungurere village, Tarime, Mara

Yes I am aware of the law which says that the one who gets a young child pregnant should be taken to court. And if the girl is studying and she is under 18, the man who marries or impregnates her must be taken to jail for 30 years.

Female, 47 years old, Munguri village, Kondoa Mjini, Dodoma]

There was only one study participant who knew of the Law of Marriage Act, although the person was confused on its contents. And there were those who confused the Law of Marriage Act with SOSPA. Overall, these various findings on awareness of laws show that the majority do not know or even think that there is a law guiding marriage.

4.1.4 GLOBALIZATION

While some study participants blamed local socio-cultural practices as drivers for child marriage, others blamed external influences. Globalization was cited by several study participants.

In our area, there is nothing about forcing children to marry at a very young age. What is an issue here is the whole issue of globalization and too much freedom for the children. The traditional basis for grooming children is no longer there. This leads to children (both girls and boys) having too much freedom (without control). And considering their lack of self-awareness, you find that they involve themselves in acts that can cause them problems without them knowing that by doing so they are exposing themselves to danger. Executive secretary, Masasi Youth NGO, Masasi, Mtwara

Other girls are in primary schools but their lives are already hectic (micharuko); they say that they are up to date with globalization. Globalization has exposed youth, especially girls, to many bad things, like pornography through phones. As a result they start sexual activities early and are sometimes tempted to marry young.

FGD with girls under 18 years, Ilala, Sangara, Dar es Salaam

The main issue here is globalization and the fact that children become eager to practice what they see in TV... I know some children who used to come to my house, asking to use bathroom on their way to school. They would change uniforms and wear their home clothes and make up. When I tried to stop them they attacked me with abusive words, you can imagine, and all this is due to globalization... In our days children never knew what their parents did in the bedroom, but nowadays they know because they see it all in movies and get tempted to practice... Also, these mobile phones and how people exchange nude photos, it stimulates fornication and such things... you cannot blame us for child marriage. It is the technology: they watch porn and get aroused, ending up looking for men. Female, 48 years old, Ilala, Sangara, Dar es Salaam

Ingelhart and Baker (2000) argue that modernization produces pervasive social and cultural consequences. Also, Makene (2007: 47) stated that "...technology has facilitated the spread of culture and improved the ability of the people to access information that instills negative values. For example, I observed young people increasingly visiting the internet cafes and paying to watch porn."

There has also been an outcry in the media about children missing school and spending time in places where they show movies during school hours, and most of the time it is pornography. Therefore, as stated by the study participants, access to the Western media has affected other aspects of local cultural values, and some respondents believe that since these children are not self-aware they end up copying behaviors without knowing the full consequences. The implications of globalization values and education at the national and local levels need to be better understood in order to cope with the changing situation and emerging challenges.

4.2 CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD MARRIAGE

The consequences of child marriage are overwhelming. This study finds that children’s human rights are denied as a result of child marriage, and socio-economic development in general is affected. Several child rights, as stipulated in the CRC, are denied. They include the girl’s right to education and to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health; the right to be protected from physical and mental violence, injury or abuse, including sexual abuse, rape and sexual exploitation; and the right to eventual employment.

Study participants cited the risk of girls dying during childbirth, having their child die during childbirth, as well as contracting AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases and being victims of domestic violence. This study also found that loss of educational opportunity has resulted in girls being unable to have a career, to find employment, and therefore to have their own economic basis for empowerment.

Table 17 provides a summary of consequences of child marriage, as cited by study participants. Findings reveal that child marriage affects the girl child in a myriad of ways, especially education, health (both physical and mental) and economy.

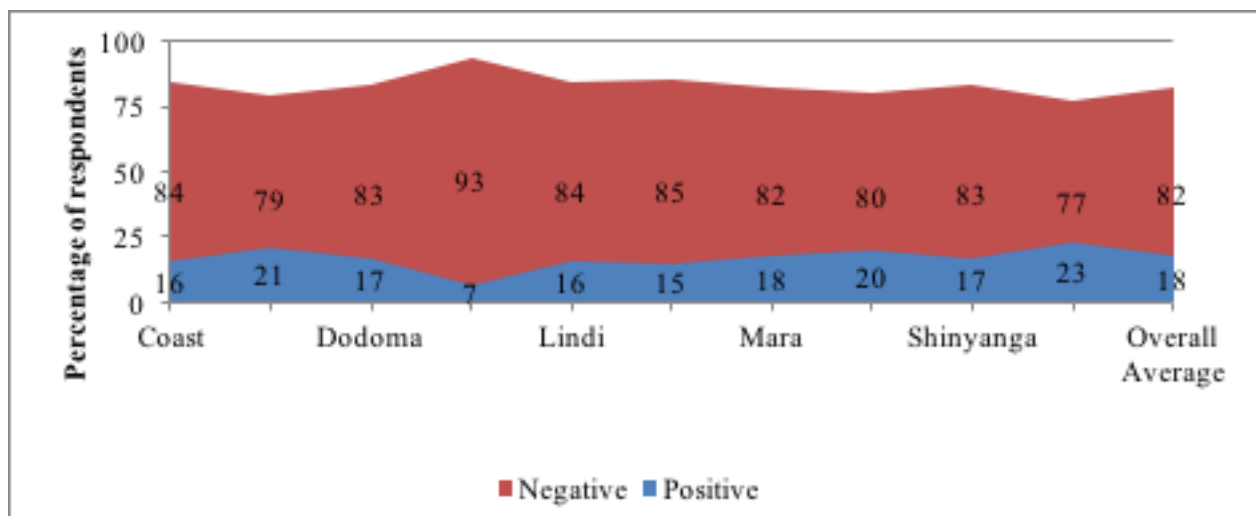
Table 17: Consequences of Child Marriage

General Consequences of Child Marriage
Lost educational opportunities
Economic insecurity and continued poverty
Contracting HIV/AIDS or STIs
Unable to have a career
Teen pregnancy
Miscarriage
Maternal mortality
Infant mortality
Verbal abuse
Physical and emotional abuse
Sexual abuse
Lack of autonomy
Psychological distress

4.2.1 General Perception toward Child Marriage

Figure 39 reveals statistically significant regional variation in the perception toward child marriage, with 93% of respondents in Iringa expressing misgivings on the potential benefits of child marriage, a full 16 percentage point difference from those in Tabora, at 77% (Kruskal-Wallis, $p < 0.05$).

Figure 39: Perceptions on the Effects of Child Marriage



The qualitative data support the above analysis, as the majority mentioned the disadvantages of child marriage. Many participants, both men and women of all ages, cited issues like inability to carry out responsibilities in the household, difficulties and risks while giving birth, and being economically unable to provide for children.

I don't know why a parent would want to marry their daughter off when she is still young. I wouldn't marry my daughter off when she is still young; she cannot manage another person's home. She cannot cook for people. Giving birth itself is a problem, as she is still a child; carrying the pregnancy itself is a problem.

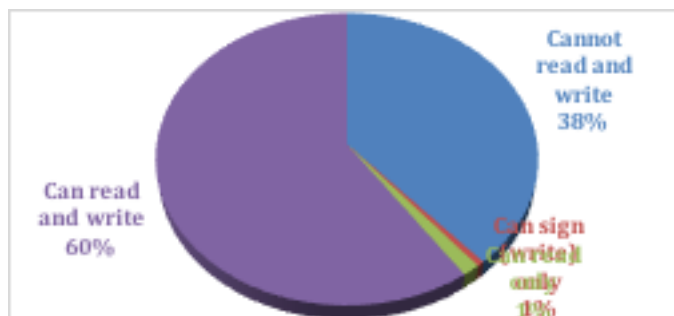
Female, 19 years old, Borega A village, Tarime, Mara

It is a disadvantage because she will not be able to care for her children, especially if she got one child soon after the other; she may not be able to cater or care for them. She may not be able to feed or cloth her children because she has not yet matured; she is not yet a grown up. FGD female over 18, Dabil, Manyara

4.2.2 Child Marriage Bars Girls' Access to Education

Brown (2012:29) states that “nowhere is the scale of the problem more evident than in education.” When girls are married off, they normally drop out of school, denying the human right for children to education. Assessing literacy rate data among study participants shows that illiteracy is somewhat high. 38% said they could not read or write, although 60% could (see Figure 40).

Figure 40: Participant Literacy

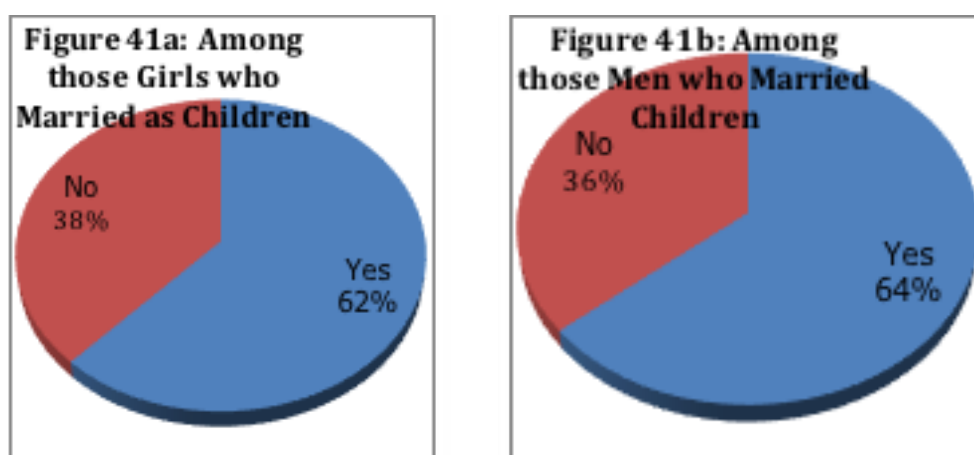


Study participants (women who were married as children and men who married children) were further asked if there are any educational consequences of child marriage (see Figures 41a and 41b). Of the men who married children, 64% believed that child marriage bars girls from continuing with their education, while 62% of girls who were married under 18 had the same view. Qualitative data support the quantitative findings that child marriage leads to school dropouts and lack of educational opportunities for girls.

...There was a girl in my village who was very bright, but her guardian forced her to marry this man as a third or fourth wife. She could have gone all the way to the university. I do not believe she is even thirty now, but she has five children already...

Female, 37 years old, Sikonge, Tabora

Figure 41: Views of the Educational Consequences of Child Marriage



Research has indicated that when women acquire education beyond the primary level, they enter into a reliable route to economic empowerment and hence economic freedom and long-term changes to the “status quo.” This also improves the standard of health and nutrition for themselves and their entire families (Birech, 2013:99). Therefore, child marriage denies women the chance to improve their lives in all the possible and necessary ways.

i) Knowledge on Whether Girls are Interested in Education

As outlined previously, it was important to assess the study participants' general perceptions as to whether girls in their communities are interested in education. As the various figures demonstrated, a large majority of the respondents believed that girls in their community were interested in education, but obstacles, including marriage, pregnancy, distance to school, and poverty, prevented them from pursuing it.

Figure 42 below shows the percentage of study participants who knew girls who have dropped out of school to get married. Nearly one third of study participants (29%) knew someone who dropped out of school to get married.

Figure 42: Participant's Knowledge of Girls in the Community who Dropped Out of School to Get Married

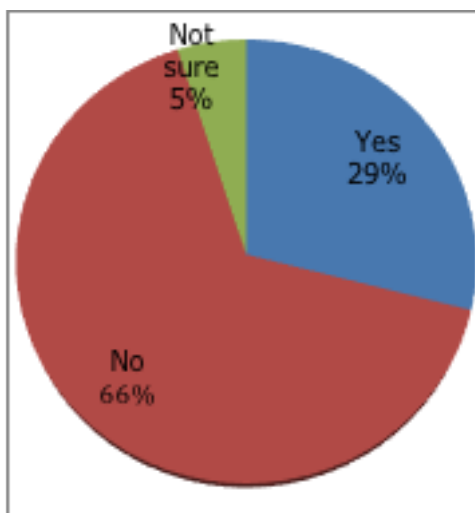


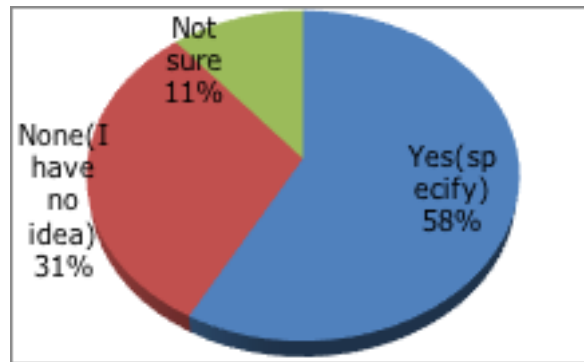
Figure 32 also mentioned that a large majority of respondents (87%) believed that these girls had an opportunity to continue, but it was their choice to marry; 25% believed they were forced into marriage; while 31% believed there were no concrete opportunities for continued education, so marriage was planned to coincide with end of schooling. Several study participants who were married as children revealed that they would have wanted to go to school, but that choice was not available. It should be noted that children do not have the power to decide to drop out of school. That is the responsibility of parents or guardians. By extension, it is untenable to say that girls (who are children) 'choose' to get married. The challenge is how other opportunities could be made available that could help girls make better career choices.

ii) Respondents' Career Goals

Education and other skills also make girls employable.

Figure 43 shows that 58% of child brides had career goals that were cut short due to marriage, while 31% had no idea or no career goals. Those with goals mentioned they wanted to be nurses, businesswomen/entrepreneurs, seamstresses, engaged in modern agriculture, teachers, accountants, etc. They cited that marriage and responsibilities of children that come with marriage shattered their plans to realize these goals.

Figure 43: Whether Married Children had Career Goals



Findings from qualitative interviews also support these claims, and participants especially recounted how difficult it is to effectively develop one's career once being married and having other family responsibilities, along with facing opposition from jealous husbands. Women gave a clear picture and real experience of how their career goals were shattered soon after marriage as children:

...when I finished school, I didn't get a chance to go to secondary school. I would have liked to be trained in other skills, as tailoring, cookery, etc., to accomplish my dreams while a young girl... FGD for girls under 18, Kondoa, Dodoma

On a separate account, another woman gave her perception:

...I don't know what girls have as goals for their future, but yes, there are those who want to further their education and have their own businesses before getting married. At the end of the day, it becomes a problem when she gets married. How can she continue with her goals when she joins a person's household? No, she doesn't follow her future goals; her work becomes giving birth and carrying out household chores. Where will she get the time to do business?... Female, 45 years old, Hysali village, Mbulu

Only one male who married a child was supportive of sending his wife back to school should she be interested. Specifically, he cited economic benefits associated with education, such as higher income, as beneficial to the family.

I would like her to continue with her schooling, because maybe she would be able to help in the future; maybe get a job or something and get a good income.

29 years old male, Namiodi village, Lindi Rural

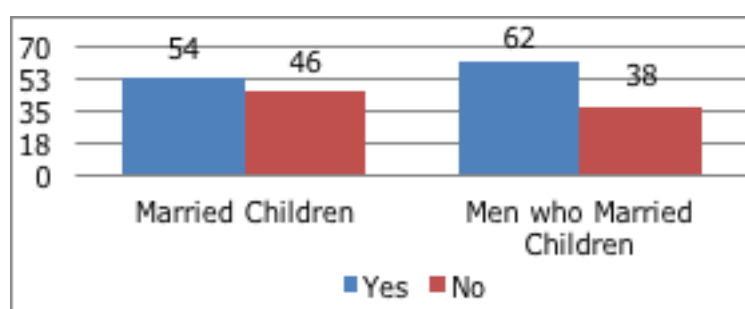
Many women respondents expressed their desire to develop skills and education but said they could not fulfil those desires due to the many responsibilities associated with married life, childrearing and other household chores. This desire is strong, especially among women who were married as children.

4.2.3 Health

Child marriage has negative health implications, especially on the affected girls. Findings show that child marriage denies girls the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health, according to the CRC, and can lead to sexual abuse, rape and sexual exploitation. Child marriage can risk girls dying during childbirth, high rates of child mortality, and contracting STIs, including AIDS.

Figure 44 shows the perception of study participants as to whether child marriage has health consequences. Ironically a higher percentage of men who married children agree there are negative effects to health (62%), compared to 54% of the women married as children.

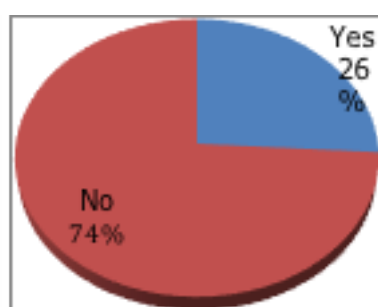
Figure 44: Participants' Perception Health Consequences on Child Marriage



i) Pregnancy and Child Birth

Giving birth when girls' bodies are not ready or mature enough to carry the baby is likely to result in complications. Teen mothers have many health complications during pregnancy and delivery (Raj et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2014; Inter African Committee, 2003). General adolescent health and reproductive health are impacted by child marriage, resulting in complications during pregnancy and childbirth (Dahl, 2010; Kennedy et al., 2012; Kim et al., 2014). Figure 45 illustrates responses to the question on the perception of whether women who were married as children experienced any complications during pregnancy and child birth. About three quarters of the respondents (74%) said 'no' to this, meaning they had a safe pregnancy and delivery, while 26% did face complications during pregnancy and child birth.

Figure 45: Whether Married Children Experience any Complications During Pregnancy and Child Birth



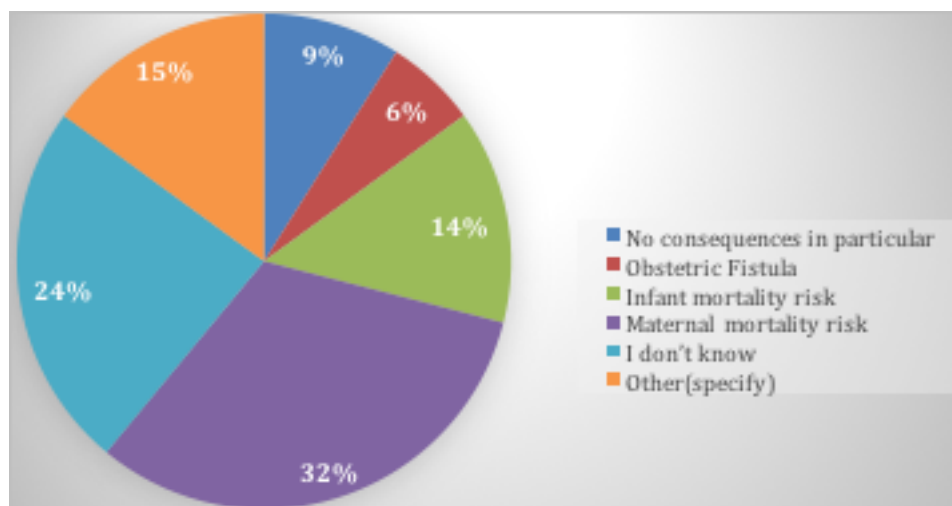
Common health-related problems experienced by married girls were explored. Figure 46 illustrates common health problems experienced by women who were married as children, including maternal mortality risks at 32%, followed by infant mortality at 14% and obstetric fistula at 6%. 9% of the respondents thought there are no particular negative health consequences.

Among the 15% who reported other complications, the majority (63%) reported miscarriage, while others (17%) reported preeclampsia. For women who were married as children, the top five most mentioned complications were severe stomach ache, miscarriage, surgical birth, anemia and over bleeding. Additional cases of preeclampsia and fistula were also mentioned.

During in-depth interviews women revealed having experienced complications which for many resulted in them losing a child through miscarriage. The majority of women who were married before 18 reported to have lost at least two or three children. Some of them were unaware they were pregnant, only to experience severe stomach pain which led to miscarriage. There were such accounts across the qualitative research.

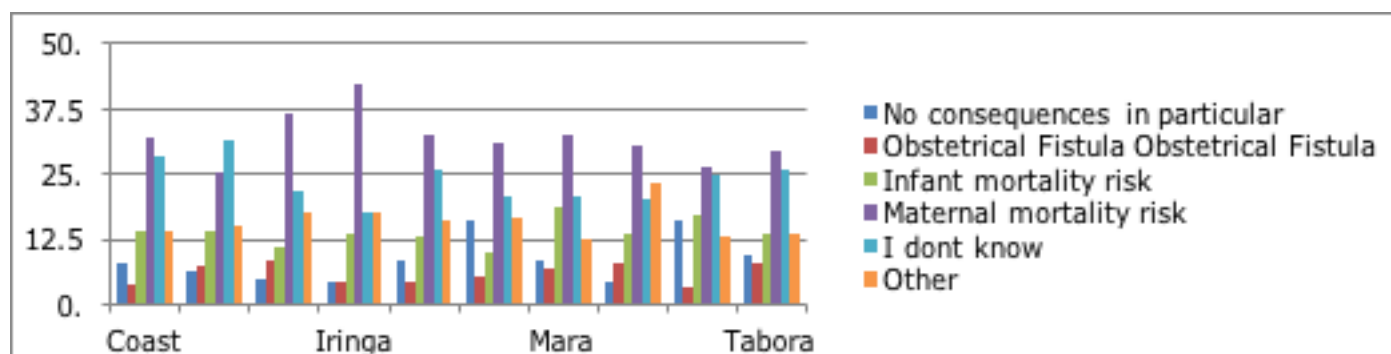
I have one child only. I didn't plan and I was not even aware of when I conceived. I thought it was a normal stomach ache. I did not realize at the first time, and I never went to the hospital clinic after knowing I pregnant, until the day I had the miscarriage. Female, 17 years old, married as a child, Shininga village, Kahama

Figure 46: Common Risks from Child Marriage in Respondent's Community



Disaggregating the data by region, as illustrated in the Figure 47, shows that 6% of respondents from both Shinyanga and Manyara mentioned no consequences. Respondents in Mara (19%) and Shinyanga (17%) reported infant mortality as a common health risk associated with child marriage. In terms of maternal mortality risks, data illustrates that in all regions respondents' awareness of maternal mortality risks is higher than the national average of 32%, except for Tabora (30%), Dar es Salaam (25%) and Shinyanga (26%). Study participants from Iringa (42%) and Dodoma (37%) most frequently reported maternal risks associated with child marriage. The implication is that more respondents are aware of child and maternal mortalities that have taken place in their communities.

Figure 47: Participants Common Risks Associated to Child Marriage by Region in Percentage



Yes since they might get pregnant early, they might end up with complications while giving during, and they have no any idea on how to raise a child because they are still young. Female, 21 years old, Munguri village, Kondoa

Early marriage can result in maternal death because when a child is pregnant, she cannot take care of that pregnancy. And because she is young, her pelvis is not strong enough to carry pregnancy, compared to adults which have the strength to carry pregnancy. Those are the negative impact of child marriage.

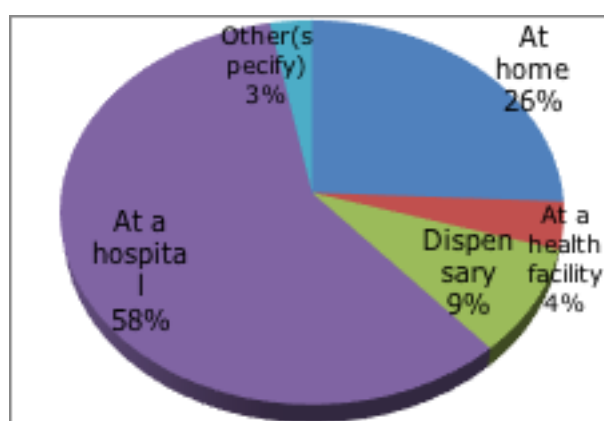
Male, 18 years old, Chirorwe, Musoma

Yes, I experienced difficulties... I stayed in the hospital in labor for three days. At that point they decided to operate on me so that they could save my life and my child. After going back home I began urinating without notice, and it came out frequently. So I went back to the hospital and the doctor who attended me told me that I had fistula because of the delay I had during childbirth. So they linked me with a CCBRT officer and took me to Dar es Salaam for further treatment.

Female, 47 years old, married as a child, Sikonge, Tabora

Figure 48 illustrates where babies were delivered, to ascertain if girls had deliveries with skilled professionals. About a quarter of the respondents (26%) mentioned delivering babies at home, compared to 63% who delivered their babies at a hospital or a healthcare facility. Some women had mentioned the stigmatization at the hospital and being treated poorly by healthcare workers because they were children giving birth. Some women interviewed blamed the mistreatment by healthcare workers as the cause of them losing their babies.

Figure 48: Where Respondents Gave Birth



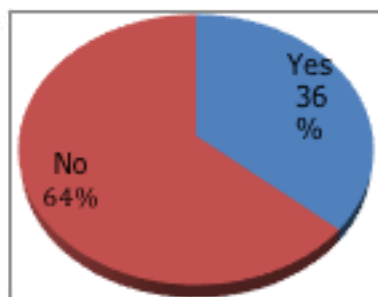
For instance, a 33 year old female who gave birth as a child recounted her experience giving birth at a health center:

...I was screaming, "I am dying, I am dying!" She slapped me in the face and cursed at me, saying that children should not give birth, and insulted me... I almost died, but after that experience I am not going to the health center anymore...²⁰

²⁰ This woman refused to have her identity and even region revealed in the report. She only agreed to have her age mentioned. She was still traumatized. She did not return to the clinic when giving birth to her three other children.

Figure 49 presents the percentage of respondents who know of family or community members who died during pregnancy or childbirth. The results indicate that 32% knew of someone who had died during pregnancy or childbirth, compared to 56% who had no such knowledge.

Figure 49: Respondents' Knowledge of Females in their Family/Community Who Died due to Pregnancy or Delivery of a Child



4.2.4 Physical Abuse and Psychological Well-being

In many cases girls who marry young are forcibly married off to men who are as much as twice their own age (Population Council et al., 2015). This makes the child wives powerless and vulnerable not only to their spouses, but the entire society.

i) Married Children's Experience of Physical Abuse

Gender Based Violence (GBV) in the form of physical, sexual and verbal abuse/domestic violence are consequences of child marriages. Many married children become victims of domestic violence. Figure 50 shows the percentage of women married as children who have experienced physical abuse in the form of slaps or beatings, or verbal abuse or threats of abandonment. Although over 50% percent have not experienced any kind of abuse, 40% of respondents have experienced verbal abuse by their husbands, while 39% have been beaten or slapped, and 35% abandoned or kicked out. Meanwhile, 61% report not experiencing beatings, 58% have never been verbally abused by their husbands, and 65% have never experienced threats of abandonment and being kicked out.

Figure 50: Married Children's Experience of Physical and Verbal Abuse and Abandonment Threats

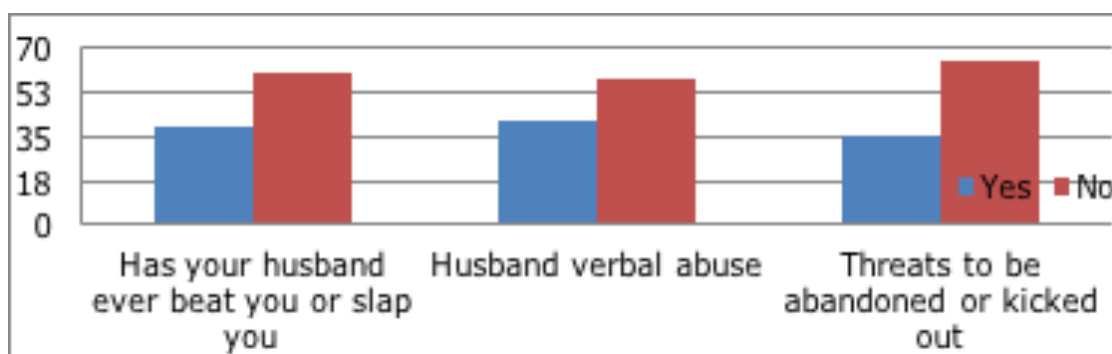
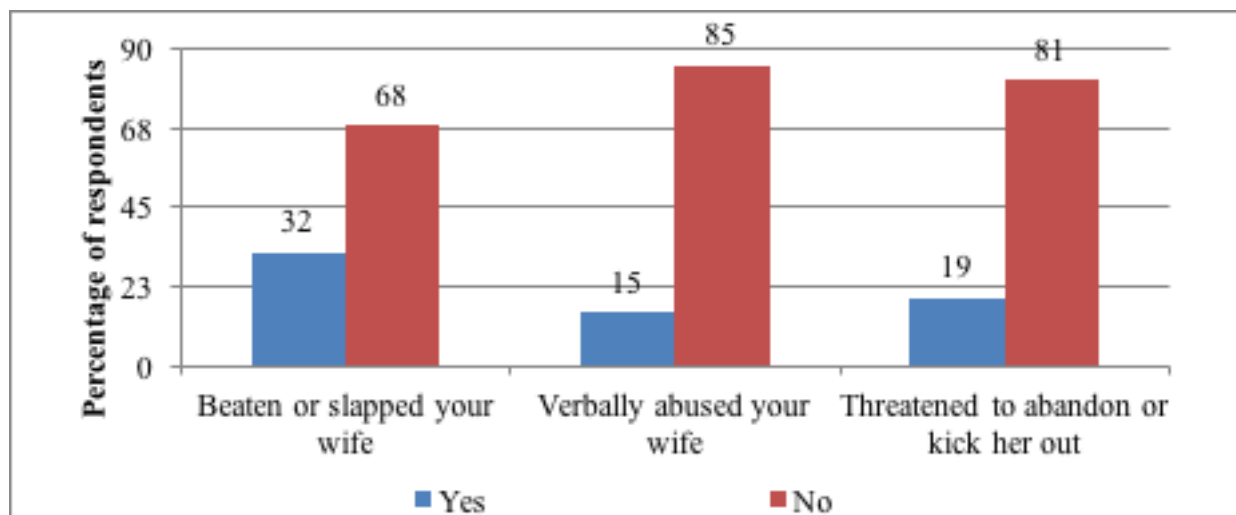


Figure 51 presents the perspectives of males who married children. It is worth noting that the majority of men respondents deny beating (68%), verbally abusing (85%) and threatening to abandon their wives (80%). The percentage of those who admit to verbal abuse and threats of abandonment is below 20%, compared to the 35% for married girls.

Figure 51: Whether Men or Women (Nyumba Ntobhu) who Married Children Beat, Verbally Abuse and Threaten to Abandon their Wives



During in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, it was reported that age differences between the couple (based on the cases they have dealt with) range from five to 50 years. It was further reported that many of these marriages (when brides are children) end in divorce, leaving a lot of children without one or both parents. Police gender desks and social welfare officers have been dealing with many cases involving child abandonment and increased rates of street children, where mothers have run away (as in the case of Tarime to the Nyamongo mines),²¹ leaving children with step mothers or grandparents to escape abuse or to try to earn a living. Children also run away to escape abuse and end up on the streets. Power differences and abuse might be reasons for why the brides choose to run away.

Child Marriage and the Case of Nyumba Ntobhu

Robi was a woman married at 12 to a woman with disabilities. She was abused a lot by the man who was chosen to sleep with her so that she could have children. The woman had a lot of scars due to the physical abuse. She had no one to provide for her, and at her age she couldn't do anything; most of the time she had to go back home to her parents to seek help. But no one listened to her, and they always told her to go back to her mother-in-law because they couldn't afford to pay back her bride price. She was supposed to endure it all because that's among the challenges of married life. Due to these abuses, sickness and her young age, she lost four of her children, resulting in more abuse from her supposed husband. She is not comfortable with this nyumba ntobhu tradition, and she doesn't want any of her relatives to experience what she has experienced.

²¹ This story was shared by an enumerator who interviewed this woman in Tarime. Robi was not her real name.

While findings indicate that divorce rates among respondents are very low (at 1%), in-depth interviews revealed increasing divorce rates among child brides, due to violence and mistreatment at home. This results in a rising number of street children and gender violence. Stakeholders in Tarime raised these concerns.

Anna²² is a 13 year old girl married to a 38 year old man. At 14 she had a child. This girl was not prepared to take on the responsibilities as a wife and a mother. Most of her friends were not married. After [finishing] school and chores she would go to play with them. One day Anna left her child at home unattended and went to play with her friends. When the husband returned and found the baby alone, he beat her so badly that she defecated on herself and was bleeding heavily... [Police Gender Desk, Tarime].

...Several times, I was even used to such life. He used to beat me almost to death. I reflect back on life with my husband, but I can never recall of any single moment that we shared with him without quarrelling. Marrying him was the biggest mistake I made in my life. I don't know why he proposed to me in the first place; maybe he was unconscious when he proposed to me, because the life I had with my husband was worse than being in prison... Female, 29 years old, Maweni village, Babati

Other women recounted the following as they narrated their experiences of threats of abandonment by their husbands:

...It is not once or twice but many times that he threatens to chase me away. He used to chase me away telling me that he never intended to marry me to begin with; it just happened accidentally... Female, 21 years old, Jionee Mwenyewe village, Urambo

...There is nothing I do that he takes seriously or into consideration. And if I dare argue with him or question him of anything, he will end up beating me and chasing me out of the house, so I would end up crying and finding other alternatives. But it reached a time when I was fed-up with this kind of life and I decided to leave him...

Female, 29 years old, Maweni, Babati

He abandoned me since the first day I entered his home; he left me the next day and went back to Babati. So I stayed alone for three years. He came back and forced me to make love to him, and that day is when I conceived my first child. After that he left and returned when my child was three months old. Life was very hard for me and I was still very young; I had no food at home. I only depended on neighbors.

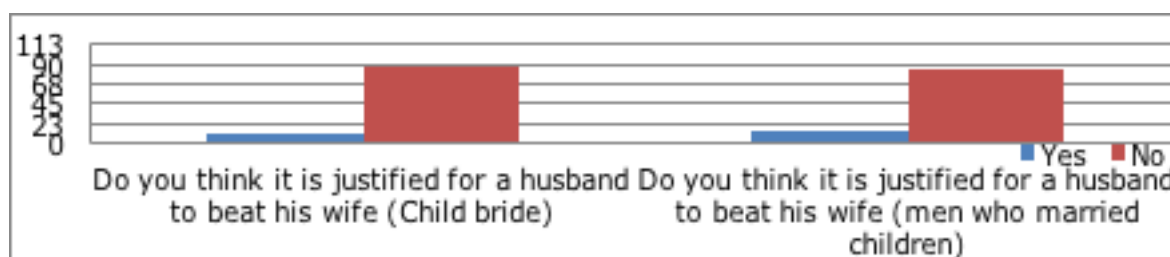
Female, 21 years old, Mbulu, Manyara

²² Anna's name is not her real name, so as to conceal her identity.

The accounts of physical and emotional abuse by study participants and stakeholders were diverse. Legal advocates dealing with women's rights reported many revealing incidents of gender-based violence. There was even a case of murder as a result of gender-based violence in Tarime, Mara. Gender norms, patriarchy and social and economic inequities that privilege men over women result in rising incidences of GBV in Tanzania (USAID, 2008; McCloskey, Williams, and Larsen, 2005).

Findings in this research have shown that GBV is generally accepted by both men and women, and the victims of GBV are usually women and girls who are also frequently held responsible for causing the abuse. The survey further explored whether respondents felt that beatings and abuse were justified. Figure 52 depicts respondents' justifications for spouse beating. Among the women victims (married with children), 11% believed it is justifiable while 89% said it is not justified. Among men (married a child) 15% found it acceptable and 85% who found it unacceptable.

Figure 52: Justifications of Beatings



Sadly, other women see beatings as something normal and justifiable.

You know violence/abuse in marriage is normal. As for me, my husband used to beat me, and it reached a time when he married another woman, although they separated after two years. But I can't say he abused me because... he didn't forget about me, even though it hurts. I tolerated the situation up to now...

Female, 64 years old, married as a child, Usisya village, Urambo

However, younger generations do not view GBV as justifiable, and some choose to run away from their homes to escape the violence.

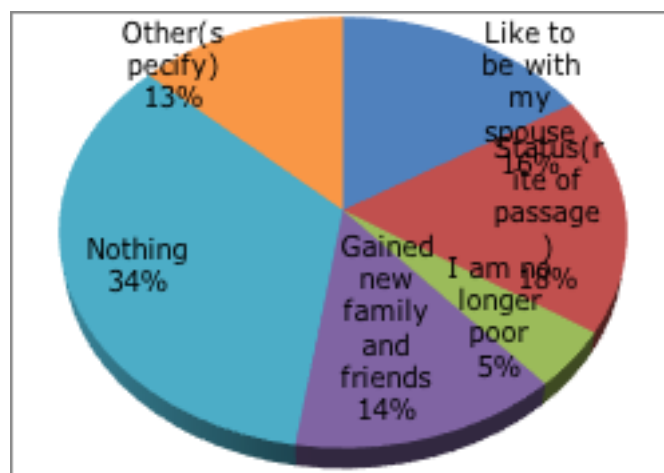
Currently my relationship with my husband is not good, That's why I am here in my parent's house with my children... I left my husband's house and run away with my children because my husband is addicted to alcohol. Every day my husband beats me to death. Even my neighbors asked if my parents are around, because every day my husband beats me. So I decided to move here to my parent's house, at least to give him chance to change. But nothing has changed...

Female, 29 years old female, married as a child, Maweni village, Babati, Manyara

ii) Psychological Effects of Child Marriage

Most women in Tanzania dream of marriage, and their value as married women increases once they have children (McCloskey et al., 2005). Psychologically, however, this study finds that girls who marry as children are affected through the denial of autonomy and decision-making. To understand the status of their social wellbeing, this study wanted to explore whether there are psychological benefits after their marriage.²³ A third of the respondents (women who were married as children) (34%) did not feel there were any psychological benefits of marriage, and very few (16%) like being with their spouses, compared to 18% who see marriage as beneficial for status. Only 5% revealed that marriage made them no longer poor, an economic benefit. 35% mentioned no psychological benefits, as shown in Figure 53.

Figure 53: Married Children's Psychological Benefits of Marriage



Marriage as a measure of status/rite of passage is believed to be crucial to women, and it is one of the few times women are celebrated in Tanzania. Despite marriage being surrounded by cultural norms that do not necessarily favor women, it results in having children which is seen as completing a woman. Despite a high prevalence of teen pregnancy, children resulting from marriage give a woman respect. Therefore, marriage is a rite of passage that gives a woman status to having legitimate children.

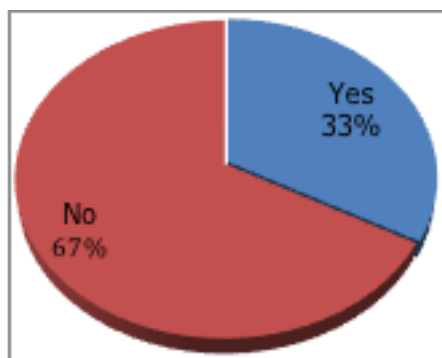
A woman who does not have children is stigmatized and viewed as less than a proper woman (McCloskey et al., 2005). It is therefore not a coincidence that when women were asked to specify 'other' psychological benefits of marriage, over 90% cited having children and a few mentioned the relationship with their husband, maturity/growing up and having their own homes.

Sociologists' definition of social prestige is derived from Max Weber (Lemert, 2004). It is a result of many attributes including social roles, psychological qualities, authority, respect and influence. Being a wife and a mother gives one status and respect in the community. Examining problems faced by married children, the survey asked if married children experienced any lack of social prestige as a result of child marriage (Figure 54). For this study social prestige is the group of privileges in a woman's home, which includes the authority, respect and influence that a woman gets upon marrying.

²³ Psychological benefits relate to status elevation as a married woman, and happiness

Women who were married before 18 were asked if they have experienced any lack of social prestige (because they were children) after the marriage. Findings reveal that the percentage of married children who did not transcend to adulthood as a result of marriage is 33%, compared to 67% who reported some adulthood status due to their marriage. This implies that at least 33% of women who were married as children are not accorded the status of 'the lady of the house', and continue to be treated as children.

Figure 54: Married Children's Experience of Social Prestige



Interviewees were asked what a decent marriage life is, and whether it is before or after 18 years of age when a person experiences decent married life.²⁴ Decent marriage was defined as based on:

...one who is married at the age of 20 or 30. Her life is better because her mind/brain is already matured, and she has grown up and is able to differentiate between what is good and what is bad. The younger one does not know what is bad and what is good; she just continues with what she was doing. FGD participant for women above 18, Dabil, Babati

The one married at an older age [most probably has a decent marriage life] because she thinks as a grown up and knows what to do to care for her husband.

FGD participant for men above 18, Dabil, Babati

...she has sufficient ethics about the marriage she has gotten into, and she has been taught... even this love we are talking about, she may have gotten to know it because of her ethics. But one married at a young age will not have been taught these ethics.

FGD participant for men above 18, Dabil, Babati

It is better to be married after 18 years because you are now grown up. You will have your own things and many more compared with that one who is married under 18 years. FGD female under 18, Kondoa, Dodoma

This depends on who is concerned, because some are married while they are young but enjoy a good life, and others are married while they are grown up enough but they don't enjoy a good life. However it is expected that those who are grown up have more capacity than those small ones. They can be good in planning for their life and house in general. FGD for girls under 18, Masasi, Mtwara

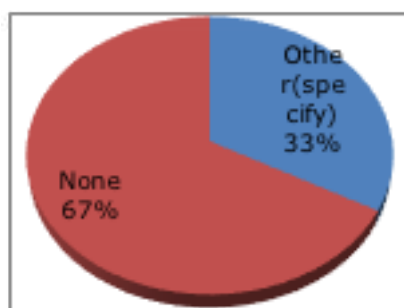
Those who married at age 18 and above are mature enough to live an independent life. They can't depend on someone, for example, when their husbands run away from them. They can stay alone and continue with life. FGD for boys under 18, Mafinga, Iringa

²⁴ Decent could be defined around happiness, good relations with their spouse, good health, decision-making ability, etc.

Maturity and independence were mentioned as important for marriage, and hence those who marry above 18 will, consequently, experience decent marriages. The issue of taking care of families was seen as a virtue that only older women can have.

Alongside examining psychological benefits of marriage, the study also examined psychological problems that married children experience after marriage (Figure 55). About 67% of the respondents reported not experiencing any psychological problems, compared to 33% who claimed to have experienced some psychological problems. 11% feel like their lives have lost its meaning, 4% like to stay alone, and 1% do not like to take part in social activities. All of these are indicators of depression, suggesting that at least 33% of respondents cited psychological problems after marriage. Those 11% cited other problems, including sadness and worry (due to loss of children), miscarriage and not having sons, constant fights with their spouses, financial worries, regret for leaving school and getting a co-wife, being asked to sleep with different men (for women who were married to other women) to bear children, painful intercourse and other difficulties. These women were worried because they felt unprepared for duties and responsibilities of being a woman of the house.

Figure 55: Married Children's Experience of Psychological Problems after Marriage



Qualitative data also supported survey findings.

I am not happy with my husband; I feel like I lost my future. I thought I would be married to the husband who is not consuming alcohol anymore.

Female, 21 years old, Jionee Mwenyewe Village, Urambo-Tabora

...my life was miserable. What I was expecting in marriage life was not the life I experienced; life was very hard to me... no one was there for me, not even my own mother, so I was depressed the entire 10 years of marriage.

Female, 29 years old, Maweni village, Babati-Manyara

4.3 STAKEHOLDERS' PERCEPTION ON CHILD MARRIAGE

Government officers and NGO representatives felt that more work needed to be done regarding child marriage. Government officials in the districts considered the creation of the existing gender desks, the Law of the Child Act and Child Development Policy as a positive direction toward addressing child marriage and other harmful traditional practices impacting girls. They also mentioned the collaborative work of the government and NGOs to increase awareness about child marriage, as well as the financial support from NGOs in the work supporting girls and women. All stakeholders interviewed mentioned the lack of a specific legislation on Minimum Age for Marriage of 18 as a major hindrance. However, government officials mentioned the use of SOSPA of 1998 and the Law of the Child Act of 2009 in prosecuting child marriage cases.

All stakeholders interviewed mentioned that educational opportunities, especially secondary schools, and parents and community leaders believing in the education of girls and treating boys and girls equally, will assist in reducing and eliminating child marriage. The availability of secondary schools will help girls stay in school longer. This goes hand in hand with the affordability and quality of the education provided. Moreover, distance from schools was mentioned as a factor which raises issues of safety for girls and temptation of falling into the hands of men who deceive these girls with gifts and transportation to school in exchange for sex. This has led to girls becoming pregnant and dropping out of school. This creates a two-way interaction between education and child marriage. Indeed, child marriage leads to drop outs from school as stipulated in Chapter 5, but pregnant girls who will eventually drop out of school are most likely to end up marrying as children—a finding in this chapter. The fieldwork was conducted before the fifth-phase government came into power and instituted free education for all up to form Four. It will be crucial to evaluate the impact of this policy directive on girls.

Other stakeholders pointed to poverty reduction efforts and education of parents and communities about the negative consequences of child marriage on the girl child. Education of parents and community elders should go hand in hand with raising awareness on the impact of traditional harmful practices. They believed there was value in educating girls to replace the current belief that girls are burdens and that, if you educate them, they will go and benefit other families into which they will marry.

Findings in this section draw from qualitative data with key stakeholders and will focus on the stakeholders' knowledge and the enforcement of marriage law, the stakeholders' perception on factors that would prevent girls from child marriage, and challenges to implement and enforce laws protecting children.

4.3.1 Stakeholders' Knowledge and Enforcement of Marriage Law

All seventeen government officials interviewed from the ministerial level down to the district level seemed to be aware of the Law of Marriage Act 1971 that specifies the legal age of marriage for girls to be 14. However, it was reported that, when government officials deal with issues of child protection, they have been trained to cite the Law of the Child Act 2009, the constitution of Tanzania, and SOSPA as laws protecting children from child marriage.

What I understand is that child marriage is when one of the persons getting married is below the age of 18. This is the understanding I get from the Child Act. But the Marriage Act that we have in this country recognizes marriages between people who are younger than 18... Female, social welfare officer, Kondo, Dodoma

... when looking at the Marriage Act and the way the Child Act defines a child, the law is not consistent... the Child Act states that, from the age of 18 years, a person can make their own decision, and even if they get married, there is no problem. But if you say that a person is allowed to marry from the age of 15, yet on the other hand, we still recognize that person as a child, the legal part is not yet clear on that.

TAMISEMI, Dodoma Municipal, Dodoma

Others mentioned that, when they attend training related to the protection of children, they are told to use SOSPA of 1998 and the Law of Marriage Act 2009 to prosecute cases related to child marriage. On several occasions, government officials or political figures have been seen on television intervening on behalf of children, taking them out of marriages and returning them to school.

4.3.2 Measures to Handle Child Marriage Cases

Government officials were also asked about measures that exist to handle child marriage cases. This study found that the creation of children social protection teams; open telephone lines to report child abuse cases, including child marriage; and community education to raise awareness on child marriage are measures that are currently in place. Below is a selection of comments from government officials explaining the measures they take to deal with child marriage cases.

As a department, we sensitize and educate communities through the community development officers on issues of child marriages, teenage pregnancies and their effects on children. We have community development officers in almost all the wards. So, we use those officers because, at our level, we coordinate the activities that need to be done, and we can't go to all the wards to do the activities... sometimes, they educate the children directly on issues of child marriages, teenage pregnancies and the effects of engaging in those behaviors at an early age and the dangers involved.

Community Development Office, Dodoma

We have also managed to get a toll free number, 116, for those who want to report a case of child abuse. We believe that this will help those who notice problems and want to report them... We have various programs like family planning and education of children on their rights. We use our officer in their respective areas to share information on the children rights with the communities.

MCDGC representative, Dar es Salaam

Children Protection and Security team: you find that many issues concerning children are followed up. More education is being provided in communities; parents are encouraged to take their children for further education after completing primary school, and the responsible officers are doing their work very well... If it happens that a child is likely to be taken away for any reason, we are able to get information because people report the issue soon enough.

Community Social Welfare Office, Mufindi, Iringa

We do take to court issues related to violation of human rights, including children rights and child marriage. I do not know the numbers off the top of my head, but we have taken to court parents who have married off their children. We have an officer in the commission in charge of children issues.

Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance

Despite the barrier of not having a law in Tanzania that prohibits child marriage, stakeholders admitted that there are measures that are taken by the government officers. These efforts by government departments need to be protected and guide the law. This illustrates the importance of creating a minimum age law for marriage so that cases of child marriage can be prosecuted, but also so that community development officers can educate communities about the law and the consequences if one marries a child.

4.3.3 Challenges to Addressing Child Marriage

Technical government officers mentioned that the challenges to implementing their work on handling child marriage cases are connected to their budget, and some politicians support harmful traditional practices. All government officials in Mara and the majority in Dodoma mentioned this.

The councilors are the challenge because they always want to do things that can be seen or tangible things so that they can impress their voters, such as building a classroom or a bridge. But they never agree to say that large amounts of money should go to activities such as child protection and security teams. Therefore, the money can be budgeted for such activities, but it never gets released when it is needed for implementing these activities. They don't care about things like child marriage, because it will not be visible when it comes to election campaigns. TAMISEMI, Dodoma

The contradiction within the law also prohibits government officials from taking to court those who marry girls who are 14 or above. They rather have to use diplomacy and educate parents because parents have not broken a law.

The contradiction in the laws affects the way we deal with the issues concerning children marriages as implementers. Like I told you, you can have a good Samaritan report an issue of a child being married off, but if the parents of the child know the laws, they will tell you that they are doing the right thing because it is legally allowed.

Community development officer, Mufindi

When you talk about the laws, there is a different pillar/organ that makes these laws (which is the parliament). We are just implementing the law. Therefore, we cannot implement differently from what the law provides. So, we find ourselves tied because the current Marriage Act still protects the parent who marries off his/her 15 year old child if they have completed primary school or when they are still below the age of 18. TAMISEMI, Dodoma

... [Action cannot be taken] even with orders that come from the President's Office; for instance, the District Commissioner DC who is directed to follow up on all the children that are not in schools when they are supposed to be in school, if he/she finds that the child was married, you can't take legal actions against the parent if the child is not below the age of 15. They are forced to use diplomatic ways to deal with parents or men who married such children... However, if the children married are below the age specified in the Marriage Act, the DCs do take such responsible people to court, and actions are taken against them. Often, media even report those cases. TAMISEMI, Mufindi

In Iringa, this study found very few cases of child marriage, consistent with TDHS 2010. The stakeholders in Iringa reported that the challenges they face with regard to girls, which in some cases could lead to child marriage, is that Iringa is a supplier of house maids in Tanzania. Many girls drop out of school or go to work in homes soon after they complete primary school.

We have one big challenge here in Mufindi. Most people in town turn to Mufindi when they wonder where to get a house girl/help (I can say Iringa generally). So, in some communities, you can't find young girls. This might explain the very low child marriage cases in Iringa. The moment girls complete standard VII, they are transported to Dar es Salaam to go work as house girls. That is something that we are struggling with. Social welfare officer, Mufindi

Also, all six government officials interviewed in Tarime complained about politicians who support and use their support for child marriage and FGM as part of their election manifesto against those contestants who said they will fight child marriage and FGM. This dynamic makes it harder to get support from the politicians, such as councilors and members of parliament. There was even a reported case of one girl married to a village executive officer.

There was a case where a girl was in standard six, but she was married to the village executive officer who was a main campaigner for this member of parliament. So now, you will recall one of your questions, when you asked whether political leaders can prevent child marriage, and I said they can't. This is shown in this scenario.

Male, 40 years old, Bungurere, Tarime, Mara

If there was a law that specifies the minimum age to be 18, it would then be possible to even challenge politicians who support these harmful cultural norms of child marriage and FGM. The law would also ensure the program implementation, budgeting and release of funds addressing child marriage. This study finds no budget item/line on child marriage specifically, but child protection generally. Most of the support that government officers get on child marriage initiatives comes from development partners and NGOs.

Another challenge raised by stakeholders when dealing with child marriage is the issue of bribery and corruption. Surprisingly, it happens on both sides, government officers and religious leaders.

Another thing is corruption... If a child is married off and it becomes known that the parents are being followed up for having married off a young girl, you find that the responsible parents are sometimes willing to bribe the person following the case up, so that they can come out with different stories. They do give them things like cows to stop the case or to prevent being reported to the respective authorities. So, the case just gets blocked, and the girl is then married. TAMISEMI, Dodoma

The parents/the person who wants to marry such a young girl will go, and if the religious leader says that this bride is too young, he will be asked what his concern is. And the religious leaders will end up being bribed. TAMISEMI, Dodoma

Corruption of government officials and religious leaders to protect people who marry young girls seems to be another difficult challenge that has to be addressed in mobilization efforts to end child marriage in Tanzania. These concerns were raised in Dodoma where, in some schools, it was reported that there were no girls at all.

4.3.4 Stakeholders' Perception on Factors that Would Protect Girls from Child Marriage

Initiatives to address child marriage in Tanzania include changing the current law that allows 14 year old children to marry, as well as enforcing laws that prevent communities from allowing children to marry early. These laws touch on education and require the minimum age for marriage to be consistent with the Law of the Child Act 2009, ACRWC, and CRC. Policy reforms, harmonization of laws, and providing education and awareness to parents and guardians could help change the mindset of people and therefore could effect change. The government, community and NGO leaders could work together to prevent child marriage.

The only thing that needs to be looked at is the Marriage Act that allows a 14 year old to marry... I can still say that the policy is to be blamed for not providing a clear direction of what the children should be occupied with until they become adults.

Compassion Anglican Church

In terms of policies and laws, the policy and law makers should review the laws and state clearly who is a child. When it comes to the issue of marriages, the provision on 'if parents agree' should be removed. Let there be a standard definition or legal provision with regard to the age of marriage.

Dodoma, Inter-African Committee

All stakeholders mentioned education as being crucial to prevent child marriage for girls: keeping girls in school longer will delay child marriage. First, educational opportunities should be provided to girls, and this was mentioned as the best solution to delay marriage. Second, it was reported that parents and community members in general should be educated on the negative effects of child marriage for girls, parental skills, and education to ensure equal treatment of all children.

Girls who are studying can delay marriage until they finish their education. Government officers can follow up on girls who have been removed from school to get married, but it is difficult to prosecute those who are not in school.

Community development officer, Tarime

Others called for parental and community education on child marriage. Participants also mentioned community sensitization to ensure that everyone is aware of the issues and works together to end child marriage.

We believe changes are brought about by the people themselves. If they get the right support, there will be nothing that will stop the changes from happening. For example, if we change the mentality of parents by making sure that they are informed about the dangers of child marriages, if they work together or pass on the information to the children, changes will be achieved, and the things that have always been practiced will change.

Police Gender Desk, Masasi

I think it's about empowering the families. I believe that if the families understand the importance of having all their children educated, it will change our communities a lot. Many girl children will be saved, and many of them will be educated.

Religious leader, Dodoma

Give parents knowledge about the importance of educating all their children irrespective of their gender, instead of them putting more value on a boy child than a girl.

Religious leader Dodoma

... This education should be given to both the parents and the children. That way, it will be easy to have the children report to the right authorities when they are being forced to marry, and the parents can be in a position to stop their children when it's the children who want to be married when they are still young... Also, officers on all levels of the government and the community generally should be educated.

Community development officer, Dodoma

Specifically on parenting skills, stakeholders mentioned the following.

Parents don't have time to talk to their children and get to know the challenges faced by their children; they lack proper parental guidance. Parents are not close to their children. As parents, it's not that we like to let our children grow without our guidance, but it's the economic conditions that force us to be that way. We also want to succeed in other aspects of life. Police Gender Desk, Mufindi

It's only education and parental skills/education on how to live and bring up their children. Women's Health group, Mufindi-Iringa

Others called for the involvement of religious leaders in educating communities about the effects of child marriage and other harmful traditional practices. There were accounts in Mara of the Seventh Day Adventist church banning FGM for its members. The stakeholders below discussed the role of religious leaders in addressing child marriage.

If the religious sects are involved, they will be able to play a role to bring changes and save the girl child from being married at a young age. They have a great influence in the communities, and when they talk about something, they are listened to.

Women's health group, Mufindi, Iringa

When it comes to religious leaders, they are being used to provide this education. Like some of us who are Christians, we are told about these issues every time we go to church. TAMISEMI, Dodoma

4.4 TAKING ACTION: PERSPECTIVES ON SOLUTIONS FOR CHILD MARRIAGE

Globally, various policies and legal and programmatic initiatives have been implemented by concerned parties on what should be done to end child marriage and help girls who are already married (Brown, 2012; Greene, 2014; UNICEF, 2001). This study explored context-specific initiatives and interventions from the perspective of Tanzanians on whether girls who marry after 18 experience marriages of a higher quality. The study also addressed what should be done for girls who are already married, focusing on the major interventions or strategies required to help them have a decent life. Finally, the study looked at what needs to be done in communities participating in this study to effect change, including inquiring about critical players.

In this section, the findings from the qualitative data are presented, analyzing political, legal and other interventions from the point of view of ordinary citizens on what actions could help reduce and eventually end child marriage in Tanzania.

4.4.1 Best Solutions for Delaying Marriage

Keeping girls in school longer is one of the best solutions to delay marriage. Girls should not only be kept longer in school, but they should also be given quality education including life- and critical-thinking skills. Girls should be kept busy and occupied until they are 18, and the best way is mandatory education until that age. Furthermore, girls' economic empowerment and educating parents on the dangers of child marriage, and teaching adults other parental skills were seen as important factors.

The study participants mentioned the need to improve the girls' economic status by giving them entrepreneurial skills so that they are engaged in income-generating activities. Income-generating activities would keep girls who are out of school occupied and give them a sense of independence. Thus, they would not have to opt for early marriage as their means of financial security. During qualitative interviews, a 19 year old girl who has so far managed to escape child marriage through the support of her brothers in Tarime mentioned:

I wish I could train and become a seamstress. My vision is to open my own store and become the best seamstress in the village. But I do not have any capital, and I have not finished my tailoring training. Both my sisters were married at 12, and they are both divorced and have four children each. I do not want that life. I will not marry until I have my own things and no man can control me.

The role of parents in delaying child marriage should not be ignored. Parents are the reasons why some girls are not married as children, because they are strict with their daughters and ensure that they do not become victims. At the same time, other parents (especially the poor and uneducated) contribute to their children marrying early. The study participants were asked, 'What are the best solutions for delaying marriage?'

Some girls delay marriage through education. Some girls can decide to study up to university, and those girls can delay their marriage. Male, 36 years old, Nachingwea, Lindi

If girls stay longer at school, they can wait to marry. Male, 41 years old, Sikonge, Tabora

Others mentioned the role of parents and the information they convey to their children on child marriage.

Some girls delay their marriage, depending on the information they received from their parents; some parents tell their children about the negative impacts of child marriage. Male, 41 years old, Sikonge, Tabora

Some girls delay getting married because of the environment in which they are living at home. Sometimes, the parents are very strict, so they are afraid to engage early with men... Female, 50 years old, Shinyanga Rural

Economic empowerment for girls was also cited as the best solution to delay marriage. Many girls are married to escape poverty at home. Giving girls opportunities to become economically independent by providing them with skills and entrepreneurial training to engage in income-generation activities will delay marriage.

...others [girls] are economically strong so men fear to propose to them because they differ in status. Female, 50 years old, Shinyanga Rural

Other girls have their business which gives them income. Therefore, they can take care of themselves without men's support. Female, 36 years old, Nachingwea, Lindi

If a girl has her own income, it is not easy for her to marry because she has money to take care of herself. Male, 36 years old, Nachingwea, Lindi

Education and especially secondary education that keeps girls in school longer can delay child marriage. Almost all participants mentioned secondary education as the best solution to delay marriage. Economic incentives and women empowerment programs, which provide an opportunity for girls to be independent and to not run into marriage as a means of financial security, are also suggested. The role of parents was also mentioned in the solutions because strict parents will not encourage or allow their girls to marry early.

4.4.2 COMMUNITY ACTORS AND GATEKEEPERS TO ENABLE ENDING CHILD MARRIAGE

Study participants were asked, 'In your community, what do you suggest should be done to effect change? Who are the critical players that are required to achieve this? Who are the gate keepers?' Policy reforms, harmonization of laws, and providing education and awareness to parents and guardians could help change the mindset of people and therefore could effect change. The government, community and NGOs were mentioned as critical players.

Men and women participants had strikingly similar responses: that law should be enforced, and once several people are prosecuted, the rest will be afraid, and this will be a step toward reducing the prevalence of and eventually ending child marriage. Consider the following accounts from male and female study participants on prosecuting those who marry or force girls to be married.

I think that the government should create a law about child marriage and spell out everything clearly, the age of marriage, punishment for the person who marries a young girl and the parents of the girl, especially when the girl is forced to get married, responsibilities of the parents, girls who get married, the men that marry those young girls, community members and leaders. If this is put in place, the rate at which young girls get married will go down. I can't say that child marriage will completely stop because of the law being in place. Just like it is with other laws, e.g., corruption law: it is in place, and people are still doing what the law prohibits but there is some sort of fear. But with child marriage, no one is afraid, because they know no one can come and ask the parents why they married their child off at that young age or why they didn't stop their child. They know that there are no consequences for them as parents. But if they knew something could happen to one or two parents, other parents will not do it. They will be afraid. Male FGD participant, over 18, Mkuranga, Pwani

Maybe for the parents that marry off their young children, it would help if a few can be taken to the police/courts and be punished. Others don't have to be punished; they just need to be threatened. The fact that a person can be taken to court is important, but the outcome doesn't matter. The rest of the parents will be afraid. So, if it happens to three or four parents, the rest will be afraid. Let such laws and punishments be known; people will not go against it. For example, this is the general election year. We do know that we are not allowed to hold any ceremonies in the village, and people are following that directive. No one can plan to have the cultural rite ceremonies in October... you will be punished.

Female FGD participant, over 18, Mkuranga, Pwani

As the accounts illustrate, study participants conveyed a strong sense of the importance of reforming legal and policy frameworks to address child marriage. This is the role of the government. Religious authorities were also mentioned by the study participants.

Religion prevents by teaching/educating them; it is not that they completely refuse, and they do not have a law that states 'Things are like this.' Religion is like the government law when it states that marriage is authorized from 18 years of age. They educate society to not do things that are not pleasing to God. They educate about child marriage... They are taught not to rush into these marriages because they are of no benefit. Female, 19 years old, Magara, Babati

The community can do nothing to prevent child marriage; the family/household is the one which can prevent child marriage. Also religion (religious leaders) can help a lot to teach people to stop child marriage because it has bad impacts on girls' lives.

Male, 40 years old, Sikonge, Tabora

Other participants mentioned NGOs as critical players, but the majority of the study participants mentioned government, religion, and families themselves. The involvement of officials, NGOs, and international actors will be crucial to change policies and laws about child marriage in Tanzania. The study participants also note that children themselves need to be empowered with life skills and given self-awareness education. Also, teachers, religious leaders, community leaders, policy makers, lawyers and researchers are critical players to ending child marriage. If all these players are involved, it should then be possible to challenge politicians who support these harmful cultural norms of child marriage and FGM.

4.4.3 Interventions and Strategies to Help Married Children have a Decent Life

In addition, this study gathered information on what kind of interventions or strategies are required to help already married girls. Study participants were asked, 'For girls who are already married, which are the major interventions or strategies required to help them have a decent life? (Hint: Decent could be defined around happiness, good relation with their spouse, good health, decision-making ability, etc.)'.

It was recognized that financial security for girls who are already married is crucial to improve their lives. And this can be achieved through education or through the development of skills that will enable married children to be economically empowered. Vocational training, startup capital (loans) to initiate income-generating activities, and entrepreneurial skills were also mentioned. Selected responses from participants from all over Tanzania and solutions were strikingly similar between males and females.

Those girls can be empowered through the government programs that empower poor household (TASAF). They can be identified and empowered by receiving capital or skills to improve their lives. Female, 54 years old, Dodoma

... if they are poor, they can be empowered by receiving capital or vocational training like tailoring skills, weaving and decorations so as to increase their income and run their lives. But if a girl is mistreated, if she is beaten for example, she can be brought back home and helped. Female, 43 years old, Ilala, Dar es Salaam

... [married girls] need to be empowered economically so that they can earn something which will help them to reduce the level of violence and abuse from their husband. Also, they need to learn from older ones about how to run their houses, like taking care of children, and this requires in-person learning practice so that they can get a clear picture and practical solutions. This education will help them because most of them are very young and they enter into marriage with an empty head about married life. Female, 50 years old, Shinyanga Rural, Shinyanga

Male study participants were of the following opinion.

Those girls can be supported by the government through groups. This means that [girls] must form groups and ask for some loans from the government so that they can do business or start a project like farming which can give them income to run their life. Male, 36 years old, Nachingwea, Lindi

Personally I think the government, NGOs and supporters can support them by providing them with entrepreneurship education/skills rather than giving them money to help them to have sustainable business. Male, 41 years old, Sikonge, Tabora

Also, there were suggestions for getting psychological help, like the following woman advised.

Those girls can be taken to vocational training to receive skills and even a little capital so that they can even run a small business. And because they already have psychological problems, they need a close follow up to make sure that their business is maturing to change their situation. Female, 47 years old, Kondoa, Dodoma

Evidence from both male and female participants centered on economic empowerment to enable married children to become self-sufficient and be less dependent on husbands. A suggestion on psychological counseling, as well as practical skills to take care of the household and children ('married children need to be given face-to-face training on women's roles and responsibilities'), were also mentioned as strategies to ensure that married children have a decent life. Respondents expect the continuation of gendered roles, which would serve to help girls be 'better wives.' The very deeply entrenched gender stereotyping of a woman's role—household chores and caring for children (reproductive work)—are always considered to come naturally because of the sexual division of labor being associated with female biological makeup, which hence supports child marriage.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented findings on the drivers of child marriage, in an attempt to respond to the questions: What are the main drivers of child marriage across regions and communities in Tanzania? Are some ethnic groups and/or regions at greater risk than others? Specifically, what are the social-cultural, political, economic and legal factors that drive child marriage?

Findings reveal that poverty [income poverty] is a key driver of child marriages, as a larger share of study participants acknowledge that more poor families marry off their girl children than wealthy families. Other drivers are socio-cultural norms and traditions, contradictory legal and policy frameworks, gender discrimination, adolescent fertility and lack of educational opportunities.

Poverty and fewer economic resources were found to drive child marriage to a large extent.

- Poor families view financial incentive/economic gains related to gifts and bride price as an incentive to marry off children. This is more so in Mara, Dodoma, Shinyanga, Lindi and Tabora. Bride price is also a socio-cultural norm, but despite the paltry amount they might get (Lindi, Mtwara) it has a significant value for temporary poverty relief.
- In Mara and most pastoral societies, families are looked down upon by their neighbors if they do not have cows or sheep.
- Poverty and economic reasons were cited as factors for parents to force their children into marriage, or girls to run away from poverty to get married. For most households child marriage acceptability declines as income increases.
- Girls are also seen as an economic burden. Therefore they resort to allowing girls to be married in order to relieve them of the burden of feeding an extra mouth.
- Income poverty also means sending the girl child out to work, and the challenges they face in those risky situations can drive them into marrying as children.
- Social-cultural norms vary by region but also drive child marriage. They include norms related to agency and choice, general perception of girls and women, tradition of FGM and unyago, maintenance of status quo and control of female sexuality.
- Whereas data on societal and community perception of girls and women and its association to child marriage was not statistically significant generally, in Lindi findings show unequal treatment of girls and boys and accommodation of child marriage as a religious belief. In Mara and Pwani societal perception of women was highly associated with child marriage.
- Family reputation was found to be a statistically significant driver of child marriage, particularly in Manyara, Mara, Shinyanga, Iringa and Tabora. Qualitative data in all regions shows family reputation as a driver. There was a major fear that girls will get pregnant and bring shame to the family. Hence for those families, protecting their honor was more important than bearing the disgrace of having a pregnant girl at home.
- FGM was significant in Mara but also practiced in Dodoma and Manyara, where a girl is considered ready for marriage regardless of age, as long as she has undergone FGM.
- In Mtwara, Lindi and Pwani, traditional dances and initiation rites of unyago are performed to over 90 percent of girls. This entails special training on sexual matters and marital affairs, which instills a false sense of confidence among girls that they are mature enough for Puberty, as in the ability to procreate, was also a significant driver.

Limited educational opportunities among study participants was also found to drive child marriage.

- In most places, schools (secondary schools) were either far away or unavailable. Parents were afraid their idle girls could get pregnant and shame the family. Also, poor families found that taking care of girls was a burden.

Furthermore, the inability to pay fees and other contributions means that many poor parents are unable to send their children to school.

Adolescent fertility was viewed as one of the drivers of child marriage and a major social problem facing the girl child.

- So as to control female sexuality, marrying off girls early prevents them from having sex outside marriage and bearing children out of wedlock.
- In further control of female sexuality, study participants reported more men than women to be the decision-makers on female contraceptive use. At the same time, the study finds girls under 18 to be the least aware of methods of family planning.

On legal and policy frameworks, there seems to be an understanding that the legal age of marriage for both boys and girls is 18 and above, despite the Law of the Marriage Act 1971 specifying the age to be 14 and above.

- That study finds age 16 to be the average age of marriage.
- More study participants were unaware that Tanzania has a minimum age of marriage by law, and for those who believed a law existed, only 1% could cite the law. The majority of participants were unaware of any religious or customary law guiding marriage decisions.
- 94% of study participants were unaware of any girl being freed from child marriage, while 84% did not know any office where they could report cases of child marriage.

Although both parents still held a considerable amount of power in deciding their children's marriage, fathers seemed to have more influence compared to mothers, exemplifying continuation of the patriarchy system which is ingrained in African cultural practices.

Religion did not seem to have any statistically significant impact on child marriage overall, with the exception of Lindi, where the shot-gun marriage (ndoa ya mkeka) tradition among Muslims was mentioned. In Dodoma, it was alluded to that some corrupted Christian priests are bribed by families to officiate underage marriage.

This chapter presents findings on the consequences of child marriage, in order to address the research question on how child marriage affects girls' lives, their future prospects and that of their families. Child marriage has negative consequences socially and economically. Child marriage not only deprives girls of their basic human rights but also hinders socioeconomic development from the individual level, to the community and national levels (Warner, et al., 2011). Findings reveal that child marriage affects the girl child in a myriad of ways, especially education, health (both physical and mental health) and economy.

Education is crucial, as it imparts individuals with knowledge and skills to function in this complex world. Findings show that although most girls have an interest in further pursuing education, many did not advance their educational career due to child marriage, which leads to school dropout and low literacy rates.

General adolescent health and reproductive health are negatively impacted by child marriage. Many married girls reported negative health consequences as a result of child marriage.

- 26% of married children reported complications during pregnancy and child birth, leading to miscarriages, obstetric fistula, and preeclampsia.
- Many study participants, especially those in Mara and Shinyanga, knew of cases of infant mortality in their community.
- At least 36% of all study participants, and especially those from Dodoma and Iringa, knew women who died giving birth in their community.

Other consequences of child marriage include physical and emotional abuse, which leads to psychological problems.

- Married children (42%) have experienced beatings from their husbands, and cases of death were mentioned.
- Over one third of married children have experienced verbal abuse, and at least a third of married children have been threatened with divorce or abandonment.
- At least 33% of study participants did not experience 'social prestige' (transition to adulthood) as a result of marriage. Qualitative data were more revealing on how these married children felt unhappy, miserable and not taken seriously, all of which result in depression, as well as incidences of girls running away from their homes and abandoning their children.

Child marriage affects women and girls negatively. Missed educational opportunities affect their economic prospects, which affect the country's overall development. Child marriage increases girls' exposure to violence and abuse, and threatens their health and the health of her children. Eventually, these negative effects of child marriage impede on the country's development and children's human rights. Finally, as findings for this study have shown, exposure to sexual activity at an early age for girl children has led to early childbirth, and to maternal and reproductive health risks.

On Stakeholder's Perception

The involvement of national state actors and NGOs as well as international actors will be crucial to changing policies and laws about child marriage in Tanzania. Stakeholders conveyed a strong sense of the importance of reforming legal and policy frameworks to address child marriage and education. Furthermore, the importance of involving religious leaders could assist in ending child marriage, because of the authority (traditional authority) that religious leaders hold in communities. Specifically, findings from this section can be summarized as follows:

On stakeholders' knowledge and enforcement of marriage law:

- All stakeholders were aware of the child marriage law (the Law of the Child Act) and how it allows 14 year olds to marry.
- Stakeholders use SOSPA and Law of the Child Act to persecute child marriage cases.

On measures that have been taken to handle child marriage:

- Community sensitization and awareness using community development officers.
- Installation of a toll free number to report child abuse cases.
- Child protection and security teams in every district to follow-up on issues of children rights.
- Prosecuting child marriage cases, especially when a girl has been removed from school.

On challenges that stakeholders face in addressing child marriage:

- The law: Child marriage is legal in Tanzania unless a child is under 14.
- Budget: The budget is very small and generally for child protection. There is no specific budget item to address child marriage.
- Politicians: Politicians protect traditional harmful practices so that they can be elected. Eliminating child marriage is not something tangible that can be showcased during elections.
- Corruption of government officials and religious leaders to protect parents and those who marry girls.

On stakeholders' perception of factors that would prevent girls from child marriage:

- Repeal the Law of Marriage Act 1971 that allows 14 year olds to marry.
- Provide education for girls.
- Educate parents and communities on the negative effects of child marriage, and sensitize them on the ethics of equal treatment of boys and girls.
- Involve religious leaders in mobilization efforts to end child marriage.

On solutions to end child Marriage

An analysis of qualitative data reveals that delayed marriage (marriage of a girl older than 18) is a recipe for a better quality marriage, as mature women (psychologically and biologically) can effectively manage marriage-related roles and responsibilities. However, already married girls can be empowered with vocational skills, loans to enable income generation activities and psychological counseling to improve the quality of their marriage.

Specifically, on whether girls who married above 18 can experience better quality marriage, the findings reveal that:

- Mature girls can handle marriage responsibilities, including finances, education and health of their children.
- Physically, girls over 18 have bodies that are ready for childbirth, and therefore experience fewer pregnancy- and childbirth-related complications.

Interventions and strategies to help already married girls include:

- Provide them with economic opportunities aimed at reducing poverty, include enrolling them in TASAF.
- Assist them in forming groups so that they can get capital to start small businesses.
- Due to the mental disorders that girls experience from child marriage, they should be provided with psychological counseling.

As for the players and gatekeepers that can help eliminate child marriage, this study finds that:

- The government is a critical player.
- Well informed parents and guardians can play a key role, but they have to be educated on the negative impacts of child marriage and other traditional harmful practices.
- If religious leaders like pastors, priests and sheikhs would preach against child marriage, their followers would be more likely to listen.
- NGOs, both national and international, and development partners are also important, along with community leaders and professionals, including teachers, lawyers and traditional elders.

On the best solutions to delay marriage:

- Education, especially secondary education for girls.
- Improving girls' economic status.
- Educating parents on the negative effects of child marriage

The role of media in spreading culture and informing citizens should not be ignored, as the media has transformative power.

5.0 Discussion of the Findings

The drivers and consequences of child marriage observed across region, gender, age, and rural and urban residence during fieldwork seem to reflect several factors. They suggest that child marriage is driven by socio-cultural norms as well as structural practices. The interaction between these social cultural norms and structural factors is complex and requires an interdisciplinary approach and multiple stakeholders with multifaceted solutions. The socio-ecological model is useful in making sense of the different levels of analysis so that the problem of child marriage can be addressed. The discussion of the findings will center on three levels of analysis—micro, meso and macro—in addressing drivers, consequences and stakeholders' perceptions of child marriage.

This study had three main objectives: to analyze the drivers of child marriage across Tanzania, exploring differences between regions; to understand the consequences of child marriage on the girl and her family; and to understand stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes toward child marriage, including recommendations for deterring the practice.

Findings reveal that poverty (income poverty) is a key driver of child marriage (see also Nour, 2009; Dahl, 2010; Brown, 2012). Participants acknowledge that poor families marry off their daughters more often than wealthy families in order to relieve the burden of caring for an extra person. Other drivers are socio-cultural norms and tradition, contradictory legal and policy frameworks, gender discrimination, adolescent fertility and lack of educational opportunities.

5.1 Drivers of Child Marriage

At the micro level, norms related to individual girls' agency, choice, aspirations, knowledge and relationship skills determine whether they will marry as children. The influence of family, friends and intergenerational trends also determines child marriage. First and foremost among drivers of child marriage at this level is the role of parents and guardians. It was observed that parents worry that if they delay their daughters' marriage they might get pregnant and bring shame to the family. Other parents consider marrying off children as a way to protect themselves and their daughters from poverty. This is also consistent with what other scholars, such as Malhotra (2011) of ICWR, and Nour (2009) and Plan International (2013), have found in other countries.

Teen pregnancy was reported by study participants, both stakeholders and individuals, as not only another driver of child marriage but also a major social problem that affects girls (Raj et al., 2009; Sonfield et al., 2013; Tumbo-Masabo and Liljeström, 1994).

41% of study participants perceived that teen pregnancy drives child marriage. Among study participants over 50% of girls below 18 were unfamiliar with contraceptive use and family planning methods, which may explain the high rates of teen pregnancy. Teen pregnancy is reported to have driven many young girls into child marriage and is simultaneously a consequence of child marriage.

According to Human Rights Watch (2014:41), '44% of women are either mothers or pregnant with their first child by age of 19; among young women aged 15–19, 23% have already begun child bearing.' During adolescence, due to lack of sex education and knowledge of reproductive health and family planning, many girls become pregnant at a very young age (Kim et al., 2013; Plan International, 2013; Nour, 2011 & 2006). Parents therefore marry off their daughters to their sexual partners to cover up the shame. The challenge is to address the scourge of poverty, growing teen pregnancy rates and avoidance of what some people see as shame in legitimate ways instead of trying to solve them through child marriage.

It is not surprising to find that family planning use and knowledge, especially among girls under 18, is very low. Knowledge of family planning is crucial since child wives start to procreate soon after marriage, before their bodies are mature enough to handle pregnancy and childbirth. Many married children did not know they were pregnant during their first and even second pregnancies, and only found out when they lost their babies. Knowledge of family planning will enable married children to space their children so that they can raise healthy babies and allow their bodies to fully recover before the next pregnancy.

The majority (56%) of girls under 18 are oblivious of any family planning methods. Given that 47% of them were married as children this has several implications. The majority of married children did not plan their first child (66%) and many were found to have been unaware they were pregnant in the first place. There seems to be no deliberate system in place to inform young women of reproductive health and family planning issues. Even among women who gave birth at a health facility, a little fewer than half received any education about family planning methods. Lack of such education, coupled with lack of schools or opportunity beyond primary schools, increases the likelihood of unplanned teen pregnancy, which drives child marriage.

Additionally, the age at which society perceives a girl to be ready for marriage was explored as it is related to the risk of child marriage. A sizable majority (40%) perceive girls under age 18 to be ready for marriage. What is astounding is the prevalence of this perception among girls under 18 themselves, which raises questions about girls' agency, their knowledge of relationships as well as their socialization within families (intergenerational trend) on matters of child marriage.

The fact that more fathers initiate and decide child marriages needs to be addressed, as child marriage is embedded in patriarchal culture (Morrel et al., 2012; McCloskey et al., 2005). Engaging men and educating both men and women about the dangers of child marriage are crucial to raising awareness about the futility of using it to solve what they see as social and economic challenges in their households and communities. Findings reveal that a high percentage of study participants believe women should be subservient to men and that men should be heads of households and hence the decision makers for families (Morrel et al., 2012; McCloskey et al., 2005; Ezer et al., 2006). It should be noted that although study findings show that some girls made the decision to marry, this is irrelevant because girls (children) cannot and should not make such decisions.

Analysis of drivers of child marriage at the meso level focused on organizational (religious organizations, schools and health centers) and community aspects (community norms and practices, social networks, and relative wealth). Poverty and ignorance and their multidimensional impacts, as well as strong adherence to social-cultural norms that are harmful to girls, are addressed.

First, lack of schools and poor school facilities, especially secondary schools in the community, and school fees were factors that denied many girls access to education, leading some girls to drop out of school early and get married. Research shows that young, uneducated mothers are likely to raise their children based on their own experiences and hence create a cycle of illiterate mothers. Unlike those who acquire education and thereby become economically and socially independent, uneducated mothers lack opportunities to rise out of poverty and are therefore unable to provide education for their children, creating the next generation of poverty-stricken child marriages (HRW, 2014:48).

Educated women are more likely to be cognizant of family planning methods, to plan and space their pregnancies and to have a career. Married children miss the opportunity to enjoy their childhood and to plan a future for themselves and their families. In the field, we encountered a woman who was 28 years old, had never attended a single class and was married with five children. Her children did not attend school, either. The denial of educational opportunities for girls living in poverty offers no hope for a future for themselves, or for their children and creates a vicious cycle (see also Walker, 2012; Brown, 2012).

Second, income poverty and ignorance drive child marriage. This study finds a strong association between poverty and child marriage, and almost all study participants during in-depth interviews cited poverty as a driver of child marriage. Poverty is widespread and results in parents' inability to pay for their children's further education or even to feed and clothe them. Therefore they find relief in marrying off their children. Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi (2003), Jain, Singh and Jain (2011) and Brown (2012) found a strong link between child marriage and poverty. Walker (2012:233) found that countries with the highest rates of early marriage are also characterized by high rates of poverty, especially household poverty, vulnerability, uncertainty, seasonal labor, and labor-surplus economies in low-productive rural settings.

In this context, poverty is a significant risk factor, as marrying girls off before the age of 18 is experienced positively by poor families, who are relieved of the responsibility of feeding, clothing and protecting the girl in an uncertain and insecure society. These poor communities in Tanzania do not have to address poverty this way, but due to ignorance and the temporary income and gifts associated with bride price, child marriage is believed to reduce poverty, although only temporarily. Community education and raising awareness is needed to combat the use of child marriage as a way of addressing the poverty challenge.

Bride price is another driver of child marriage, which cut across all regions and is also associated with poverty. The question of bride price and its role in driving child marriage is widely discussed in child marriage literature (Chowdhury, 2004; Blomqvist and Backlund 2014). Bride price paid in livestock is higher and more valued among all regions with higher prevalence of child marriage. Although the amount of livestock used as exchange for a girl has decreased, four (Shinyanga, Tabora, Mara, and Dodoma) out of five regions with higher prevalence rates of child marriage value the livestock that families receive when they marry off their daughters. What is contradictory here is that, although families might be poor, they are willing to pay the number of cows required to marry, consistent with what has been suggested by Backlund and Blomqvist (2014).

The socio-cultural norms that drive child marriage are numerous; they are also region-specific. As we have shown in this report, regions with certain cultural practices such FGM (Dodoma, Manyara and Mara) and initiation rituals into adulthood need to be sensitized to address the challenges of adolescence and adulthood, and to avoid child marriage. Rituals and rites that have harmful consequences should be fought against. FGM has been cited as one of the harmful traditional practices that deny girls their rights (CDF, 2011). Mobilization efforts to curb this practice are underway (Boyle et al., 2001). However, unyago initiation rituals (most prevalent in Lindi, Mtwara and Pwani regions) help drive child marriage and contribute to high school-dropout rates among girls, especially in Mara, Lindi and Mtwara. During these rituals, girls are at the center of attention. Unfortunately, this is one of the few moments when a girl's life is celebrated, and it is tied to marriage readiness. As much as culture is difficult to change, addressing its harmful impacts in the early years could be a source of change.

At the macro level, issues related to policy, law, socio-political ideology, and economy were examined. An interesting observation concerns individual legal consciousness and general experience with the law. In seven out of ten regions, 50% of study participants or more believed that the legal age of marriage for boys and girls is 18. Two regions with higher child marriage prevalence rates, Shinyanga and Dodoma, had notably higher percentages of respondents who were unaware of the legal age of marriage. In Tanzania, the Law of Marriage Act 1971 specifies 15 as the minimum age of marriage for girls and 18 for boys, although it can be 14 for boys and girls with parental consent. This is discriminatory. Because child marriage is taken less seriously among practicing societies, it exposes the victims to dangerous risks, not only as children but as human beings. Strict laws controlling child marriage coupled with legitimate ways to reduce poverty could be beneficial in reducing teen pregnancy as well.

5.2 Consequences of Child Marriage

Child marriage affects women and girls: it denies girls educational and economic opportunities; exposes them to HIV/AIDS, domestic and sexual violence, poverty, and powerlessness; increases their health risks and those of their children (maternal and infant mortality); and denies them a childhood. Consequently, child marriage affects economic progress not only for girls themselves but for their families and the country (Lemmon and ElHarake, 2014; Blomqvist and Backlund, 2014; Brown, 2012; ICRW, 2007; Herz and Spelling, 2004).

As Bangster (2012) reveals, girls' economic insecurity increases their vulnerability, forcing them to engage in income-generating activities, including transactional sex, and pushing them into marriage as children.²⁵ Therefore, child marriage leads to the feminization of poverty, where women form the majority of the poor and their education, livelihood and personal growth is compromised (Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi, 2003).

Child marriage leads to school dropout and low literacy rates. Married children miss out on skills that could lift them out of poverty. Many girls from Shinyanga, Dodoma and Pwani knew girls in their communities who had dropped out of school, and some schools in Dodoma have no female students beyond fourth grade as they have all dropped out to be married. As elaborated by Brown (2012), education is the most powerful tool for economic empowerment and poverty reduction. Married young girls are unable to complete their education, therefore limiting their own economic potential. Without education married girls and women are unable to enter the labor force and contribute to their household incomes, which in the long run cannot grow their local economies (see also UNICEF, 2001 and Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004).

Worldwide, 70,000 girls aged 15 to 19 years die each year during pregnancy and during child birth. Complications in pregnancy and childbirth are consistently among the leading causes of death in girls aged 15– to 19 in low income countries (Chen Wen, Fleming, Demissie, Rhoads and Walker, 2007). This shows the risks to which girls are exposed during child marriage. Furthermore, 'every day approximately 800 women die from preventable causes related to pregnancy and child birth of which 99% are from developing countries' (Birech, 2013:99). 'Demographic and health surveys conducted in more than 10 African countries show higher maternal and infant mortality rates among teenage mothers (i.e. 13 to 19 years old) than among women aged between 20 and 35' (CDF, 2008:8).

²⁵ Data on child labor was not gathered in the survey. The issues emerged during qualitative interviews with individuals, government officials and NGOs representatives about the drivers of child marriage.

The health implications of child marriage include neonatal care among others; cervical cancer; sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV; and maternal mortality as well as insufficient weight gain during pregnancy, leading to low birth weight babies (Chen, et al., 2007), as well as many other complications. These study findings reveal that about a quarter of married girls and women had complications during pregnancy and childbirth, leading to miscarriage, obstetric fistula, preeclampsia and even the death of their children.

Study participants in Mara and Shinyanga were more likely to know of cases of infant mortality in their communities, and a third of all study participants knew women in their communities who died while giving birth. These health implications associated with teen motherhood have to be addressed, as general adolescent and reproductive health are impacted by child marriage, resulting in issues of accessibility to contraceptives and complications during pregnancy and childbirth.

As Vogelstein (2013:18) argues, 'child marriage is highly correlated with domestic and sexual violence,' as many married children become victims of domestic violence (UNICEF 2001; Blomqvist and Backlund, 2014). Most cases of child marriage involve girls being married to men who are as much as twice their age, and, due to their youth, lack of education and lack of consent to the marriage, these girls are powerless in the face of harsh treatment from their husbands. Findings from this study reveal that at least 42% of married girls have experienced beatings from their husbands, and cases of death were mentioned. Also, one-third of married children have experienced verbal abuse or threats of divorce or abandonment. Research has shown that GBV is generally accepted by both men and women (USAID, 2008) and that the victims of GBV are usually women and girls, who are also frequently held responsible for causing the abuse. Married children interviewed in this study described being miserable, unhappy, and not taken seriously, all of which resulted in depression and some running away from their homes and abandoning their children.

Married children experience sexual abuse (rape) and battery and are forced to undertake arduous domestic and economic activities such as farming, while their husbands control them through beatings and threats. The majority (especially those from rural areas) tend to experience life as difficult, akin to slavery. However, the abuse does not come solely from the husband; it also may also come from his relatives or co-wives, who are often older (HRW, 2014:54). When they attempt to return home to escape abuse, most of these girls are told it is a wife's responsibility to tolerate abuse and they are sent back to their husbands. Incidents of abuse in the form of beatings and threats of abandonment cause psychological distress to girls who are in most cases unable to return home.

5.3 Stakeholders' Perceptions

Stakeholders also observed income poverty as placing girls at risk as they are viewed as an economic asset and are discriminated against. If there are only enough resources to educate one child, the boy will always be preferred (see also Uchem, 2015; Morrel et al., 2012; McCloskey et al., 2005).

Stakeholders who work on children's social protection also mention cases of abuse and even death among child brides. Stakeholders observe that psychological counseling services are needed as many married children are depressed and some are even suicidal. Unfortunately, professional mental health services are not widely available in Tanzania as people seem to be relying on traditional mechanisms which are reducing in availability with changing family structures, urbanization and development.

Stakeholders' perceptions of child marriage indicated high awareness of the impact of child marriage on the girl, her family and the community at large. The stakeholders cited the Law of the Child Act 2009 as a determinant of the minimum age of marriage and the SOSPA of 1998 as the relevant law to prosecute child marriage, although they recognize the contradictions with the Law of Marriage Act 1971. Technically, stakeholders use diplomacy in an attempt to resolve child marriage cases of children under 14 since it is legal for girls to marry at 15. Reforming the legal framework and coming up with a minimum age of marriage law in Tanzania that clearly forbids marriage of children under 18 were mentioned as crucial in addressing child marriage.

Stakeholders perceive politicians as hindering child marriage and FGM mobilization efforts. Politicians are accused of cutting or not providing funds for these efforts and using child marriage as a campaign message, defending it with the argument of cultural relativism. As much as study findings reveal local social-cultural norms as drivers of child marriage, stakeholders also cited globalization and exposure to Western media and norms as influences. For instance, pornography is widely available by clicking a couple of links on the Internet and many children these days spend much of their time on the phone or in Internet cafés watching porn or other news that is not culturally relevant and that negatively influences minds that are not yet mature enough to contextualize what they are accessing.

Parental education is seen as an important step. First, parents need to be made aware of the dangers of marrying off children and that they should not discriminate against girls when educating their children. Second, parents also need to learn better parenting skills and spend more time with their children. A challenge here is that parents are forced to spend time away from their children in order to earn income to support their families.

From the stakeholder's point of view other players are key, including children themselves, who need to be empowered with life skills and self-awareness education, as well as teachers, religious leaders, community leaders, policymakers, lawyers and researchers. Coordination between the different stakeholders and the involvement of both the formal structures of the state and the community are required for a strong social movement against child marriage.

5.4 Pathways to Ending Child Marriage

Educating both parents and community members will ensure that girls themselves, parents, government officers and community members understand the disadvantages of child marriage and are able to take appropriate action, such as reporting child marriages in their communities to the relevant authorities. Concerning the factors that would prevent girls from child marriage, the current study findings reveal that education is key, but it must be quality education that helps girls develop the life- and critical-thinking skills that will enable them to lift themselves, their children and society in general from poverty. Children should also remain in school longer, and policies and laws should be implemented to ensure that children stay in school.

Laws related to the Marriage Act 1971 should be clarified and amended to prohibit marriage for children under the age of 18, and proper enforcement mechanisms should be put in place.

Religious groups have the power to effect change in perceptions, practices and negative cultural norms in communities. If they are involved, they are likely to be listened to. For instance, in Tarime study participants mentioned that Seventh Day Adventist members do not perform FGM on women, showing the power of religion in influencing social and cultural practices.

Specifically, everyone has a role to play in effecting positive change that will lead to the end of child marriage. Action is needed at all levels, from the individual to the global.

At the individual level, the role of individual agency should not be undermined. If girls are empowered and given proper support and mentoring, they are more likely to delay marriage and understand the problems associated with child marriage. The role of parents in instilling values against child marriage, treating sons and daughters equally and valuing education for all children should be emphasized. Other stakeholders, including communities, religious leaders, teachers, government, and local and international NGOs, should all work together to address child marriage through policy, enforcement of laws, support for education and condemnation of harmful practices. Once communities are aware of the disadvantages of child marriage and other harmful traditional practices, they will take to task politicians who promote these practices to win elections.

6.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Research findings in this report address the main drivers and consequences of child marriage, as well as stakeholder perceptions across regions and cultures in mainland Tanzania, and determine whether some ethnic groups and/or regions are more at risk than others. The issue of child marriage warrants more attention now than ever before, because of its varied consequences to education, health, and the economy and denial of childhood.

In particular, the study objectives were:

- To analyze the causes and drivers of child marriage across Tanzania, exploring differences across regions;
- To understand the effect and consequences of child marriage on the girl child and her family;
- To understand stakeholders' perceptions and attitude toward child marriage, including recommending what is needed to deter the practice.

6.1 Conclusion

This study identifies poverty as a key driver of child marriage, in addition to the other drivers including socio-cultural norms and traditions, contradictory legal and policy frameworks, gender discrimination, adolescent fertility and lack of educational opportunities.

Poverty, however, is such a fundamental issue that it needs to be addressed through legitimate means instead of trying to make futile attempts to address it via child marriage. Socio-cultural norms and traditions likewise present a significant share of the contribution to child marriage. This, however, is a challenge on community education and awareness, whereby initiation and such rites can play the role of sex education and awareness of how to address challenges of adolescence and adulthood, including the imperative of avoiding child marriage.

Child marriage deprives girls of their basic human rights and negative impacts on their social and economic welfare. It further hinders socioeconomic development from the individual level, to the community and national levels. The involvement of national state actors and NGOs as well as international actors will be crucial to changing policies and laws about child marriage in Tanzania.

Stakeholders conveyed a strong sense of the importance of reforming legal and policy frameworks to address child marriage and education. Furthermore, the importance of involving religious leaders could assist in ending child marriage, because of the authority (traditional authority) that religious leaders hold in communities. Stakeholders further see the government as a critical player, together with parents and guardians, NGOs (both national and international), development partners, community leaders, teachers, lawyers, and traditional elders, among others, in educating the community on the negative impacts of child marriage and other harmful traditional practices.

The cost of child marriage is enormous. We can no longer in good faith be silent to something so destructive to the education and health of our children. As a nation we need to ask ourselves if our silence in laws, political ambition, and harmful traditional practices are merely a result of our own fear of making difficult decisions and taking actions that change the lives of thousands of girl children, who are the engine for this country's development. Given the complex and numerous drivers surrounding the practices of child marriage, the named key stakeholders need to pool resources to eliminate these practices.

6.2 Recommendations

Several major issues need to be addressed to reduce and eventually end child marriage:

Educate community members on the ills of child marriage.

Action:

- The government should engage the community of girls, boys, parents, government officers, the private sector, religious leaders and groups, and conduct education and sensitization forums to help them understand the ills of child marriage. They must be able to take appropriate actions to prevent and end child marriage, including reporting to relevant authorities if child marriage happens in their communities. Ending child marriage should be a task for all;
- The system of reporting child marriage incidences should be created/improved , including the establishment of specific helpdesks, call centers, and a hotline for child marriage;
- The Ministry of Health Community Development Gender Elderly and Children (MoHCDGEC) should pioneer a nationwide campaign to reduce and eventually end child marriage. The Local Government Authorities (LGA) and the lower ward and village levels should also take part since that is where it takes place. There should be a responsible person at the ministry whose task is to ensure child marriage is reduced and eventually ended;
- There should be a Comprehensive Communications Strategy geared to enhance/incorporate education with behavioral and mindset change that is beyond existing awareness strategies. The strategy should highlight the physical and psychological illness/effect caused by child marriages and the government, media and CSOs should be key actors to draft the strategy;
- Education intervention should be reflected in school curriculums, and target politicians. Child's rights should be integrated into the curriculum, so that children learn about their rights and responsibilities. The ministry of health and ministry of education are responsible;
- Make use of child help lines to report cases of child marriage; and
- Encourage political leaders to state facts of the issues in their endeavors to uphold collective actions.

Help the community to learn that child marriage is not a solution to poverty

Action:

- The government and private sector should establish interventions for the community to learn that child marriage is not a solution to poverty. People should also learn that there are other means to reducing poverty than through cultural practices such as bride price.
- Use the cultural practices as avenue for education and sensitization on the wrong perceptions and take against cultural practices as unyago ritual initiation, which have good intentions in the first place.
- Educate societies about the alternatives of income generating activities – provide entrepreneurial skills, use local government leaders, traditional leaders, NGOs and politicians.
- Strengthen national programs on poverty alleviation such as TASAF, etc.

Empower girls to understand what is right for them

Action:

- At the individual level, the role of individual agency should not be undermined. If girl children are empowered and given the right support and mentorship skills, they are more likely to delay marriage and understand the problems associated with child marriage.
- Emphasis should be placed on the role of parents in instilling values against child marriage, treating boys and girls equally, and seeing the value of educating all children.
- Educate girls at all levels and ensure that girls have access to education at both primary and secondary levels.
- Empower girls to be able to say 'no' to sexual persuasion and early marriage. This should be done by the government, CSOs according to their area of interest, expertise and financing.
- Strengthen Public Private Partnership (PPP) and pro-bono campaigns by the media to empower girls, along with as integration of games and sports into campaigns.

Strengthen education and learning environments for girls in both rural and urban areas

Action:

- The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), in collaboration with the MoHCDGEC, must work together with community partners to ensure availability of and access to school environments and infrastructures.
- The named ministries should establish/improve programs that will facilitate school children to stay longer in schools and limit school dropouts which may lead into child marriage. Such programs include school feeding, reliable and favorable transport to long distance schools, and hostels for girls. Moreover, programs for sensitizing both girls and boys on the issues of safety should be established and/or strengthened.
- The government should work to encourage delayed marriage. In the long run, the government through the MoESTVT, should introduce boarding schools for girls in both rural and urban areas (long term recommendation) to protect girls from child marriage.
- A mentorship programme should be instilled to create awareness on sexual and reproductive health education in schools, by using existing clubs and opening new ones. They will educate students about their rights, responsibility, health and advocate returning to education.
- The government and CSOs should work together to prepare counseling manual in all schools.
- The government, the media and CSOs should advocate for free distribution of sanitary products to girls in all schools.
- Mentor male champions should be established in the community, to advocate for girls education rights and campaigns against child marriage. This should be facilitated by the media, community and CSOs.

Use the existing Jando na Unyago to modernize training content to provide positive outcomes for girls. Here there is a need to creating Jando and Unyago manual and disseminate. To be done by government CSOs and media.

Reform and harmonize conflicting laws centered on the Marriage Act 1971.

Action:

- Clarity on the law of Marriage Act 1971 should be provided, and the provision of marrying children as young as 14 should be removed. This would clarify that marriage is only for those 18 and above. The Ministry of Constitution and Legal Affairs (MoCLA) should work with the MoHCDGEC to introduce legislation that repeals the Marriage Act 1971. The Parliament, MOHCDGEC, and CSOs should work on advocacy and bill drafting. The legislation should also inflict heavy punishments against child marriage.
- Once the Law of Marriage Act is repealed, the Police Gender Desk should be empowered with resources to enforce laws related to rights of girls and child rights.
- The Ministry of Home Affairs should enforce laws to ensure children are retained in school, and to those relating to violence against children's rights. This should be done through capacity building for law enforcers, institutional capacity strengthening, increase human resources and budget allocation on implementation. Responsible parties are the MoCLA, Ministry of Home Affairs, the Judiciary and CSOs.
- The government should provide an effective system of marriage registration, ensuring the timely and accurate reporting of all marriages. Cases of child marriage should be identified and intervened upon. Programs of marriage registration through community leaders and religious leaders should become a requirement and promoted.
- The new constitution should have a clear definition of the age of a child and rights of the children where the MoCLA, the Parliament, the Judiciary, MOHCDGEC, and CSOs are responsible parties.
- The MOHCDGEC and CSOs should work to strengthen community awareness on reporting, responding and preventing child marriage through media and publication awareness, trainings and an advocacy campaign.

Provide sexual and reproductive health education.

Action:

- Sexual health education should be provided in both schools and communities for a wider reach
- Sexual Reproductive Health Rights (SRHR) access should be offered to both married and non-married youths. SRHR education should focus on girls in marriage, girls not in marriage, boys and male adults.

Initiation ceremonies should be used to give SRHR education to girls.

- School standards 5 to 7 and O Levels should receive education on child marriage.
- There should be mandatory wellness checkups for teenagers. Health workers in the respective villages should be in charge of providing such education.
- The government, CSOs and development partners should work together to ensure SRHR reaches young women and men through schools, clubs and strong involvement of the media, particularly community radio.
- The government, CSOs, as well as faith based organizations should be involved in training for sexual reproductive health. They should create youth friendly services in health facilities.

Undertaking further research on the identified knowledge gaps:

Action:

- To permit region-specific policy action. It is recommended that research be undertaken in the regions that were not covered in this study. The knowledge generated would uncover different challenges, including socio-cultural norms, and would be useful in designing further region-specific intervention measures.
- To adapt to changing situations and enable timely action, it is important to update data on the prevalence of child marriage in all regions, so as to capture recent trends and draw lessons from the changes that may be observed from the trends.
- Additional research is needed on mitigating the negative effects of child marriage, including psychological consequences to the child and the incidence of other consequences such as fistula and mortalities among teen mothers.
- While this research has alluded to the effect of globalization, the research was not designed to investigate this aspect on child marriage. It is suggested that further research be undertaken on youth and globalization to reveal the extent to which global norms and access to information are affecting child marriage. This might highlight opportunities for global action on child marriage.
- Additional research on positive/protective factors of child marriage should be conducted to weigh pros and cons. The findings of this will be an entry point to the community.
- Research should be conducted on the roles of religions in child marriages in order to help build appropriate interventions.
- Research on behavioral change, knowledge and attitudes if people understand that it is not right why are they practicing it;
- Research on the quality of family planning knowledge that communities have access to.
- Research should be conducted on the opinions of younger girls who are at risk of becoming child brides.
- Further research on the opinions of poor families that don't marry off their children is crucial. This information would be helpful for recommending intervention.
- Participatory action research is needed to identify the community's own prioritization of action. The community should be involved as a learning process rather than extraction of information.
- Review all research over the past 10 years to get a comprehensive picture of child marriage and what has been done, and why the rates are still where they are.
- Research is needed on the impact of policies and laws in the eradication of child marriage.
- Detailed research is required on initiation ceremonies and cultural practices and their impact on gender inequality.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Summary of sample distribution in Tanzania Mainland

S/n	Regions	Prevalence rate	Number of interviews per region	Number of interviews per district	Sample districts	QUANTITATIVE SURVEY				QUALITATIVE SURVEY			
						Number of interviews per district	Number of wards	Villages	Number of hhs per village	In-depth inter-view per region	In-depth inter-view per district	Number of villages	In-depth inter-view per village
1	Shinyanga	59	444	222	Kahama TC	222	3	7	30	30	15	7	2.11
					Shinyanga DC	222	3	7	30	30	15	7	2.11
2	Tabora	58	436	218	Sikonge DC	218	3	7	30	29	15	7	2.08
					Urambo DC	218	3	7	30	29	15	7	2.08
3	Mara	55	414	207	Tarime DC	207	3	7	30	28	14	7	1.97
					Musoma DC	207	3	7	30	28	14	7	1.97
4	Dodoma	51	383	192	Dodoma MC	192	3	6	30	26	13	6	2.13
					Kondoa DC	192	3	6	30	26	13	6	2.13
5	Lindi	48	361	180	Lindi DC	180	3	6	30	24	12	6	2.01
					Nachingwea DC	180	3	6	30	24	12	6	2.01
6	Mtwara	35	263	132	Masasi TC	132	2	4	30	18	9	4	2.19
					Mtwara DC	132	2	4	30	18	9	4	2.19
7	Manyara	34	256	128	Babati DC	128	2	4	30	17	9	4	2.13
					Mbulu DC	128	2	4	30	17	9	4	2.13
8	Dar es Salaam	19	143	71	Ilala MC	71	1	2	30	10	5	2	2.38
					Kinondoni MC	71	1	2	30	10	5	2	2.38
9	Iringa	8	60	30	Mafinga TC	30	1	1	30	4	2	1	2.01
					Mufindi DC	30	1	1	30	4	2	1	2.01
10	Coast	32	241	120	Mkuranga DC	120	2	4	30	16	8	4	2.01
					Kisarawe DC	120	2	4	30	16	8	4	2.01
TOTAL		399	3000	1500		3000	44	96		400	200	96	

Appendix II: Sample Distribution for Quantitative Data Collection

	QUANTITATIVE SURVEY				SAMPLE WARD			
SAMPLE DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PER DISTRICT	NUMBER OF WARDS	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PER WARD	Villages	Number of hhs per village	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3
Kahama TC	222	3	74	7	30	Kilago	Nyihogo	Isagehe
Shinyanga DC	222	3	74	7	30	Ilola	Itwangi	Masengwa
Sikonge DC	218	3	73	7	30	Mpombwe	Misheni	Kipanga
Urambo DC	218	3	73	7	30	Vumilia	Usisya	Songambe
Tarime DC	207	3	69	7	30	Genyange	Muriba	Matongo
Musoma DC	207	3	69	7	30	Suguti	Murang	Bukima
Dodoma MC	192	3	64	6	30	Madukani	Mnadani	Kiwanja/ndege
Kondoa DC	192	3	64	6	30	Busi	Serya	Kolo
Lindi DC	180	3	60	6	30	Mtama	Mnara	Mchinga
Nachingwea DC	180	3	60	6	30	Marambo	Naipingo	Ki-paramnero
Masasi TC	132	2	66	4	30	Nyasa	Sululu	
Mtwara DC	132	2	66	4	30	Nitekela	Kiromba	
Babati DC	128	2	64	4	30	Dabil	Magara	
Mbulu DC	128	2	64	4	30	Murray	Kaina	
Ilala MC	71	1	71	2	30	Msongole		
Kinondoni MC	71	1	71	2	30	Bunju		
Mafinga TC	30	1	30	1	30	Ihowanza		
Mufindi DC	30	1	30	1	30	Sao hill		
Mkuranga DC	120	2	60	4	30	Kiman-zichana	Lukanga	
Kisarawe DC	120	2	60	4	30	Marui	Kiluvya	
	3000	44		96	600			

Appendix III: Sample for Qualitative Interviews

SAMPLE REGIONS	QUALITATIVE SURVEY		
	In-depth & FGD interview per region	In-depth & FGD interview per district	In-depth & FGD interview per village
Shinyanga	30	14	2
Tabora	30	14	2
Mara	28	14	2
Dodoma	26	12	2
Lindi	24	12	2
Mtwara	18	8	2
Manyara	18	8	2
Dar es Salaam	10	4	2
Iringa	4	2	2
Pwani	16	8	2
	200	100	

Appendix IV: Sample Distribution for Qualitative Data Collection

SAMPLE DISTRICTS	QUALITATIVE SURVEY			SAMPLE WARDS		
	IN-DEPTH & FGD INTERVIEW PER REGION	IN-DEPTH & FGD INTERVIEW PER DISTRICT	IN-DEPTH & FGD INTERVIEW PER VILLAGE	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3
Kahama TC	15	7	1	Kilago	Nyihogo	Isagehe
Shinyanga DC	15	7	1	Ilola	Itwangi	Masengwa
Sikonge DC	15	7	1	Mpombwe	Misheni	Kipanga
Urambo DC	15	7	1	Vumilia	Usisya	Songambe
Tarime DC	14	7	1	Genyange	Muriba	Matongo
Musoma DC	14	7	1	Suguti	Murang	Bukima
Dodoma MC	13	6	1	Madukani	Mnadani	Kiwanja/ndege
Kondoa DC	13	6	1	Busi	Serya	Kolo
Lindi DC	12	6	1	Mtama	Mnara	Mchinga
Nachingwea DC	12	6	1	Marambo	Naipingo	Kiparamnero
Masasi TC	9	4	1	Nyasa	Sululu	
Mtwara DC	9	4	1	Nitekela	Kiromba	
Babati DC	9	4	1	Dabil	Magara	
Mbulu DC	9	4	1	Murray	Kaina	
Ilala MC	5	2	1	Msongole		
Kinondoni MC	5	2	1	Bunju		
Mafinga TC	2	1	1	Ihowanza		
Mufindi DC	2	1	1	Sao hill		
Mkuranga DC	8	4	1	Kimanzichana	Lukanga	
Kisarawe DC	8	4	1	Marui	Kiluvya	
	200	100				

Appendix V: Group A Questionnaire

Child Marriage Questionnaires-Tanzania

- A01 Household Identification: Please double check that the ID for the household is correct (from sampling list);
- A02 Listing number (from sampling list);
- A03 Village (LC1: pre-coded);
- A04 Sub-village (LC2: pre-coded);
- A05 Ward (LC3: pre-coded);
- A06 District (use code on coversheet);
- A07 Name of primary respondent (code from roster in Section B): Surname, Religious. The surname is the same as what is called the "Last name" where the Religious name is the same as what is sometimes called the "First name".
- A08 Type of household: 1 = Male and Female adult, 2= Female adult only. This typology should be obtained from the listing exercise..
- A09 Main ethnic group of the household
- A10 Main language of the household
- A11 Start time of the interview (Use coded sheet)
- A12 End time of the interview (Use coded sheet).
- A13 Name of the enumerator
- A14 Date of first visit
- A15 Name/Code of supervisor
- A16 Final outcome of interview (use code on coversheet): This is the outcome for the household questionnaire only, not the additional individual questionnaires. This should be filled at the end of the household questionnaire

Enumerator: The respondent should be the one most knowledgeable about the age, education, income, and other characteristics of household members. They should also be aware of realities and perceptions at individual and community levels. Mhojiwa anapaswa kua Yule mwenye uelewa zaidi juu ya umri, elimu, uchumi na sifa nyingine za wanakaya na mtazamo wa binafsi na jamii.

Date / / Day Month Year

HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFICATION UTAMBULISHO WA KAYA	CODE/KANUNI
A01. Household Identification: A01. Kitambulisho cha kaya:	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A02. Phone numbers -2 A02 Namba 2 za simu	
A03. Villiage/Street:..... A03. Kijiji /Mtaa	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A04. Sub-village A04 Kitongoji	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A05. Ward A05 Kata	<input type="text"/>
A06. District (code)..... A06.Wilaya (alama)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A07. Name of primary respondent (code from roster in Section B): A07. Jina la mhojiwa wa msingi(Alama toka kwenye orodha ya kaya sehemu B)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A08. Type of head of household: A08. Aina ya mkuu wa kaya	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A09.Main ethnic group of the household A09. Kabila kuu la kaya	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A10. Main language of the household A10. Lugha kuu ya kaya	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Interview details Undani wa mahojiano	
A13. Start time of interview (hh:mm) A13. Muda wa kuanza mahojiano	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A14. End time of interview (hh:mm)..... A14. Muda wa kumaliza mahojiano.....	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A15. Name/code of enumerator:..... A15. Jina/Alama ya mhojaji	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A16. Date of (first) visit (dd/mm/yyyy):..... A16. Tarehe ya tembeleo la kwanza	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
A17. Name/code of supervisor:..... A17. Jina/ Namba ya msimamizi	<input type="text"/>
1 = Male adult, 2 = Female adult 3= Male below 18 years 4=Female below 18 years	1= Mme mtu mzima 2= Mke mtu mzima 3=Mme chini ya miaka 18 4=Mke chini ya miaka 18

Section B. Household Demographics

The respondent for this section should be the one most knowledgeable about the age, completed education, and other characteristics of household members. Please ask these questions of all household members (see household definition above for those to include or exclude as household members).

First, we would like to ask you about each member of your household. Please list the names of everyone considered to be a member of this household, starting with the primary respondent.

Kwanza tungependa kukuuliza kuhusu kila mwanakaya wako. Tafadhali orod hesha majina ya kila mmoja anayechukuliwa kua mwanakaya hii, ukianza na mhojiwa wa msingi.

ID CODE	
B01	<p>Name of household member?</p> <p>Jina la mwana kaya</p> <p>[start with primary respondent, continue with the secondary respondent, and other members in descending order of age]</p> <p>[Anza na mtoa majibu wa msingi kasha endelea na mtoa majibu secondary, na wanakaya wengine katika utaratibu wa kushuka umri]</p>
B02	<p>What is [NAME's] sex?/</p> <p>Je [JINA] ni jinsia gani?</p> <p>1 = M/ Me</p> <p>2 = F/ Ke</p>
B03	<p>What is [NAME's] relationship to the primary respondent?/</p> <p>Nini uhusiano wa [JINA] na mhojiwa wa msingi?</p> <p>CODE 1</p> <p>KANUNI 1</p>
B04	<p>What is [NAME's] age?</p> <p>[JINA] ana umri gani?</p> <p>(in complete years) (Katika miaka kamilifu)</p>
B05	<p>What is [NAME's] maritalstatus?</p> <p>Hali ya ndoa ya [JINA] ni nini?</p> <p>CODE 2</p> <p>KANUNI 2</p>
B06	<p>Can [NAME] read and write?</p> <p>Je,[JINA] anaweza kusoma na kuandika?</p> <p>CODE 3</p> <p>KANUNI 3</p>
B07	<p>Is [NAME] currently attending school?</p> <p>Je [JINA] anahudhuria shule kwa sasa?</p> <p>1 = Yes/ Ndio</p> <p>2 = No/ Hapana</p>
B08	<p>What is the highest grade of education completed by [NAME]?</p> <p>Ni daraja gani la juu la elimu [JINA] amekamilisha?</p> <p>CODE 4</p> <p>KANUNI 4</p>
B09	<p>Identify the case for Group B and C</p> <p>Bainisha kama mhojiwa achaguliwe kwa ajili ua jojaji B au C</p> <p>1=B</p> <p>2=C</p> <p>3=Not applicable</p>

1									
2									
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CODE 1 (B03) RELATIONSHIP TO PRIMARY RESPONDENT KANUNI 1 (B03) UHUSIANO NA MHOJIWA WA MSINGI		CODE 2: (B05) MARITAL STATUS KANUNI 2: (B05) HALI YA NDO	CODE 3 (B06): LITERACY KANUNI 3 (B06) KUJUA KUSOMA NA KUANDIKA	CODE 4: (B08) EDUCATION LEVEL KANUNI 4: (B08) NGAZI YA ELIMU
Primary respondent 1 Mhojiwa wa msing 1	Cousin of primary respondent 10 Binamu wa mhojiwa wa msingi 10	Single/never married 1 Sina ndoa/ sijawai kua na ndoa 1	Cannot read and write 1 Siwezi kusoma na kuandika 1	None 0 Hakusoma 0
Spouse 2 Mke/mume 2	Brother/sister-in-law . 11 Wifi/shemeji 11	Divorced 2 Mtalaka 2	Can sign (write) only 2 Naweza kuweka sahihi (kuandika tu.... 2	Completed Primary Level 1 Amemaliza elimu ya msingi 1
Son/daughter 3 Mtoto wa kiume/kike .. 3	Mother/ father-in-law 12 Mama/ baba mkwe 12	Separated 3 Tumetengana 3	Can read only 3 Naweza kusoma tu 3	Did not complete/is in Primary Level 2 Hajamaliza/yuko elimu ya Completed Ordinary Secondary level 3
Son/daughter-in-law 4 Mkwe 4	Cousin of primary respondent's spouse 13 Binamu wa mhojiwa wa msingi 13	Widowed 4 Mjane 4	Can read and write 4 Naweza kusoma na kuandika 4	Did not complete/is in Ordinary Secondary level 4 Hajamaliza/yuko Elimu ya kidato cha nne 4
Grandson/ granddaughter 5 Mjukuu 5	Other relative 14 Ndugu wengine 14	Customary marriage, monogamous 5 Ndoa za kimila/ ndoa ya mke mmoja 5		Completed Advanced Secondary Level 5 Amemaliza elimu ya kidato cha cha sita 5
Mother/Father 6 Mama/baba 6	Maid 15 Mtumishi wa ndani .. 15	Customary marriage, polygamous 6 Ndoa za kimila/ ndoa ya wake wengi 6		Did not complete/is in Advanced Secondary Level 6 Hajamaliza/yupo elimu ya kidato cha sita 6
Brother/sister 7 Kaka/dada 7	Other relationship (specify) 16 Mahusiano mengine (bainisha) 16	Religious marriage, monogamous 7 Ndoa ya dini/ ndoa ya mke mmoja 7		Completed Diploma/ Univeristy degree or above 7 Amemaliza stahashada/shahada ya chuo kikuu au juu 7
Nephew/niece 8 Mpwa 8		Religious marriage, polygamous 8 Ndoa ya dini/ ndoa ya wake wengi 8		Did not complete/is in Diploma/ University Degree or above 8 Hajamaliza stahashada/yuko stahashada/shahada ya chuo kikuu au juu 8
Nephew/niece of spouse 9 Mpwa wa mke/ mume.. 9		Cohabiting, single partner 9 Kuishi kinyumba/ mwenza mmoja 9		Completed Technical/ vocational 9 Amemaliza Mafunzo ya kiufundi 9
		Cohabiting, multiple partners 10 Kuishi kinyumba/ wenza wengi 10		Did not complete/is in technical/vocational 10 Hajamaliza/yuko mafunzo ya kiufundi 10
				Completed Adult literacy only 11 Amemaliza Elimu ya watu wazima tu 11
				Did not completed/ is in adult literacy 12 Hajamaliza/yuko elimu ya watu wazima 12

B10. What is your religion?	1=Christian	2= Muslim	3= Traditional belief	4=Other (please specify)
Dini yako ni ipi?	1. Mkristo	2=Muislam	3=Dini ya asili	4=Nyingine (tafadhali taja)

B At what age did you get married.....(NOTE: IF a female married before age 18 please use also Group B for married children)

Ulioa/uliolewa ukiwa na miaka mingapi?.....

B13. Do you have children 1) Yes 2) No
Una watoto 1) Ndio 2) Hapana

B14. How many children do you have today (excluding ones who have died)?
Una watoto wangapi ukitoa waliokufa.....

B15. How many died?
Ni wangapi wamefariki?

Section C. Socioeconomic Status

Ask these questions to primary respondent. To gather knowledge about their income and sources of income and savings. The questionnaire will elicit information on seven areas:

- Individual Perception on Child Marriage: How do Tanzanians perceive child marriage and how does this vary across age, sex, region;
- Individual Knowledge and Attitude towards Child Marriage: Tanzanians knowledge and attitude towards child marriage
- Awareness of Legal and Institutional Framework Prohibiting Child Marriage: How aware are Tanzanians on policy and laws that prohibiting child marriage and how are they using the law to justify child marriage;
- Drivers of Child Marriage: Factors that fuel families and communities to push their girls marry off at a younger age. Are these institutional of family;
- Impact of Child Marriage on Education: Here we will explore how does this affect children's education and their future prospects and that of their families.
- Impact of Child Marriage on Health: Health consequences to these girls will be explored. We also ask questions about reproductive health and whether these services are readily available to young women in the community they live.
- Cultural Attitude on Child Marriage: Women and men's cultural attitude towards girls in the community they live.

C. Socio-economic Status (Hali ya kiuchumi na kijamii)

C1 Does any member in your household own the following: (in the working condition)

1=Yes

2 = No

A	RADIO/STEREO	1	2	L	BYCICLE	1	2
B	TV/VCR/DVD	1	2	M	GAS COOKER	1	2
C	FRIDGE/FREEZER	1	2	N	ELECTRIC COOKER	1	2
D	TELEPHONE/CELL	1	2	I	MOTORBIKE/TRICYCLE	1	2
E	CUPBOARD	1	2	J	WASHING MACHINE	1	2
F	SOFA SET/ARMCHAIR	1	2	K	SEWING MACHINE	1	2
G	TABLE	1	2	L	AIRCONDITIONER/FAN	1	2
H	MOTOR VEHICLE INCLUDE (CAR)	1	2	M	BICYCLE	1	2
I	WASHING MACHINE	1	2	N	COOKER WITH GAS	1	2
J	SEWING MACHINE	1	2	O	COOKER WITH ELECTRIC	1	2
K	AIR CONDITIONER/ FAN	1	2				

Je kuna yeyote katika kaya yako ambaye anamiliki vitu vifuatavyo (vinanyofanya kazi)

1=Ndio

2= Hapana

A	REDIO/REDIOKASETI	1	2	L	BAISKELI	1	2
B	TV/VCR/DVD	1	2	M	JIKO LA GESI	1	2
C	JOKOFU/FRIZA	1	2	N	JIKO LA UMEME	1	2
D	SIMU YA MEZANI/MKONONI	1	2	I	PIKIPIKI	1	2
E	KABATI	1	2	J	MASHINE YA KUFULIA	1	2
F	MAKOCHI/KITI	1	2	K	CHEREHANI	1	2
G	MEZA	1	2	M	KIYOYOZI	1	2
H	MAGARI (KUBWA/NDOGO)	1	2	N	BASKELI	1	2
I	MASHINE YA KUFULIA	1	2	O	JIKO LA GESI	1	2
J	CHEREHANI	1	2	P	JIKO LA UMEME	1	2
K	KIYOYOZO	1	2				

C2. Does your household own land for farming or grazing? (If NO Go to QN 4)

1=Yes

2 = No

Kaya yako inamiliki ardhi kwa ajili ya kilimo au malisho ya mifugo? (Kama hapana nenda C4)

1=Ndio

2=Hapana

C3. If you answered 'yes' in no. 2, what size?

1= Less than 1 acre

2= Between 1 acre and 5 acres

3=More than 5 acres

Kama jibu ni 'ndio' kwenye swali la 2, ni ya ukubwa gani?

1= Chini ya ekari 1

2= Kati ya ekari 1 na 5

3= Zaidi ya ekari 5

C4. On average how many meals the household partakes daily?

1=1

2=2

3=3

4=Sometimes 0

Kwa wastani kaya yako inakula milo mingapi kwa siku?

1=1

2=2

3=3

4=Wakati mwingine 0

- C5. What is the total household income in TZS per month? (Please count income from all household members)
- 1=Below 100,000/=
 - 2=Between 100,000 and 500,000/=
 - 3=Between 500,000 and 1,000,000/=
 - 4=Between 1,000,000 and 5,000,000/=
 - 5=Above 5,000,000/=
 - 6=I do not know

Jumla ya kipato cha kaya yako ni kiasi gani kwa mwezi TZS? (Tafadhali hesabu kipato kutoka kwa kila mwana kaya).

- 1=Chini ya 100,000/=
- 2=Kati ya 100,000 na 500,000/=
- 3=Kati ya 500,000 na 1,000,000/=
- 4=Kati ya 1,000,000 na 5,000,000/=
- 5=Zaidi ya 5,000,000/=
- 6. Sijui

- C6. What are sources of your income for each member of the household?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 1= Farmer | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 2= Livestock | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 3= Employee (government sector) | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 4= Employee (private sector) | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 5= Businessman/woman | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 6 = Retiree (pension) | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 7= Others (Please explain i.e. gifts) | _____ |

Nini vyanzo vya kipato kwa kila mwana kaya?

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1= Mkulima | 1= ndio 2= hapana |
| 2= Mfugaji | 1= ndio 2= hapana |
| 3= Mwajiriwawaserikali | 1= ndio 2= hapana |
| 4= Mwajiriwawasektazabinafsi | 1= ndio 2= hapana |
| 5= Mfanyabiashara | 1= ndio 2= hapana |
| 6 =Mstaafu (kiinuamgongo) | 1= ndio 2= hapana |
| 7= Nyinginezo (Tafadhali Elezea i.e.kibarua, zawadi) | _____ |

- C7. Who is the major decision maker on the spending of the household income?

- 1= Myself
- 2= Both me and my spouse
- 3= My spouse alone
- 4=Someone else (Specify)_____

Ni nani mwamuzi mkuu katika matumizi ya kipato cha kaya?

- 1= Mimi
- 2= Mimi na mwenzi wangu
- 3= Mwenzi wangu pekee
- 4=mwingine (Elezea)_____

- C8. Do you have any savings?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

Je unajiwekea akiba?

- 1=Ndio
- 2=Hapana

C9. If so how much ?

Cash.....

Kind.....

Kama ndio ni kiasi gani? Fedha taslim

TZS.....

hali.....

C10. Is anyone in the household enrolled in any of the following social protection schemes?

		YES	NO	I DO NOT KNOW
A	PUBLIC SERVICE PENSION FUND (PSPF)	1	2	3
B	NATIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY FUND (NSSF)	1	2	3
C	PARASTATAL PENSIONS FUND (PPF)	1	2	3
D	LOCAL AUTHORITIES PROVIDENT FUND (LAPF)	1	2	3
E	GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES PROVIDENT FUND (GEPF)	1	2	3
F	THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE FUND (NHIF)/ CHF	1	2	3
G	TASAF-CASH TRANSFER PROGRAM	1	2	3

Kuna mwanakaya yeyote ambaye amejiunga na mfuko wowote wa hifadhi ya jamii kati ya hii ifwatayo?

		YES	NO	I DO NOT KNOW
A	MFUKOWAPENSHENIYAWATUMISHIWAUMMA (PSPF)	1	2	3
B	MFUKOWATAIFAWAHIFADHIYAJAMII (NSSF)	1	2	3
C	MFUKOWAPENSHENIWAMASHIRIKAYAUMMA (PPF)	1	2	3
D	MFUKOWAJAMIIWASERIKALIZAMITAA (LAPF)	1	2	3
E	MFUKOWAJAMIIWAWAFANYAKAZIWASERIKALI (GEPF)	1	2	3
F	MFUKOWATAIFAWABIMAYAIFYA (NHIF)/ CHF	1	2	3
G	MFUKO WA UHAWILISHAJI WA FEDHA WA TASAF	1	2	3

D. Individual Perception on Child Marriage (Mtazamo wa watu kuhusu Ndoa za Utotoni)

NO.	PERCEPTION	SCORE	
D1.	<p>Ideal age of marriage for girls.</p> <p>Umri unaofaa kwa ndoa kwa wasichana</p>	<p>(1) = Above 25 (2) = 23-25; (3) = 21-22; (4) = 19-20; (5) = 18; (6) = 16-17; (7) = Below 16</p>	<p>(1) = Zaidi ya miaka 25 (2) = 23-25; (3) = 21-22; (4) = 19-20; (5) = 18; (6) = 16-17; (7) = Chini ya miaka 16</p>
D 2.	<p>Disparity in ideal age of marriage for girls compared to boys.</p> <p>Tofauti ya umri unaokubalika wa kuolewa kwa msichana ukilinganisha na mvulana</p>	<p>(1) = 0 years; (2) = 1 year; (3) = 2 years; (4) = 3 years; (5) = 4 years; (6) = 5 years; (7) = Above 5 years</p>	<p>(1) = 0 ; (2) = Mwaka 1; (3) = Miaka 2; (4) = Miaka 3; (5) = Miaka 4; (6) = Miaka 5; (7) = Zaidi ya miaka 5</p>
D 3.	<p>Lowest acceptable age of marriage for girls.</p> <p>Umri mdogo kabisa unaokubalika kwa kufunga ndoa kwa wasichana.</p>	<p>(1) = 18 years or more; (2) = 17; (3) = 16; (4) = 15; (5) = 14; (6) = 13; (7) = 12 years or below</p>	<p>(1) = Miaka 18 au zaidi (2) = 17; (3) = 16; (4) = 15; (5) = 14; (6) = 13; (7) = Miaka 12 au chini</p>
D 4.	<p>Disparity in lowest acceptable age of marriage for girls compared to boys.</p> <p>Tofauti ya umri wa chini kabisa unaokubalika katika kufunga ndoa kwa wasichana ukilinganisha na wavulana</p>	<p>(1) = 0 years; (2) = 1 year; (3) = 2 years; (4) = 3 years; (5) = 4 years; (6) = 5 years; (7) = Above 5 years</p>	<p>(1) = 0 s; (2) = Mwaka 1; (3) = Miaka 2; (4) = Miaka 3; (5) = Miaka 4; (6) = Miaka 5; (7) = Zaidi ya miaka 5</p>
D 5.	<p>Highest acceptable age of marriage for girls.</p> <p>Umri wa juu kabisa unaokubalika kwa wasichana kuolewa</p>	<p>(1) = no upper limit; (2) = >40; (3) = 30-40; (4) = 25-29; (5) = 21-24; (6) = 19-20; (7) = 18 years or lower</p>	<p>(1) = Hakuna kiwango cha umri cha juu (2) = >40; (3) = 30-40; (4) = 25-29; (5) = 21-24; (6) = 19-20; (7) = Miaka 18 au chini</p>
D 6.	<p>Disparity in highest acceptable age of marriage for girls compared to boys.</p> <p>Tofauti ya juu kabisa kiumri inayokubalika kwa kufunga ndoa kwa wasichana ukilinganisha na wavulana</p>	<p>(1) = 0 years; (2) = 1 year; (3) = 2 years; (4) = 3 years; (5) = 4 years; (6) = 5 years; (7) = Above 5 years</p>	<p>(1) = 0 s; (2) = Mwaka 1; (3) = Miaka 2; (4) = Miaka 3; (5) = Miaka 4; (6) = Miaka 5; (7) = Zaidi ya miaka 5</p>
D 7.	<p>Nitakusomea kauli zifuatazo kasha utaniambia kama unaokubaliana au haukubaliani nazo: MSOMEA MAJIBU</p> <p>A girl is ready for marriage once she starts menstruating</p> <p>Msichana yuko tayari kuolewa anapovunja ungo</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D 8.	<p>There are advantages to marriage of girls under 18 years</p> <p>Kuna faida kuwaoza wasichana walio chini ya miaka 18</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>

NO.	PERCEPTION	SCORE	
D 9.	There are disadvantages for girls getting married under 18 years. Kuna hasara kuwaoza wasichana walio chini ya miaka 18	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D10.	Marrying girls young can help protect family honour/ reputation. Kuwaiza wasichana wadogo kunatunza heshima na kuleta sifa kwenye familia	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D11.	Girls who give birth between 15-18 years are more likely to have a healthy pregnancy/ baby (compared to girls over 18). Wasichana wanaojifungua kati ya umri wa miaka 15-18 wanaweza kujifungua salama na watoto wenye afya (ukilinganisha na wasichana walio juu ya miaka 18)	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D12.	Marrying girls young can help resolve financial problems in the family. Kuoza wasichana wakiwa wadogo kunasaidia kupunguza matatizo ya kiuchumi katika familia	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D13.	Marrying girls young can help provide them security. Kuoza wasichana wakiwa wadogo kunawapa usalama	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D14.	Early marriage of girls can help prevent sexual violence, assault and harassment. Ndoa za utotoni kwa watoto wa kike zinasaidia kuzuia unyanyasaji wa kijisia,	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D15.	Early marriage of boys can help prevent perpetration of sexual violence, assault and harassment. Ndoa za utotoni kwa watoto wa kiume zinasaidia kuwazuia kunyanyasa kijinsia	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa
D16.	Marrying under 18 years is likely to have a negative impact on a girls' education. Ndoa kwa watoto walio na umri wa chini ya miaka 18 zinaathiri elimu kwa mtoto wa kike	(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.	(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa

NO.	PERCEPTION	SCORE	
D17.	<p>arrying a girl young is preferable because younger brides are more obedient and respectful of their husbands.</p> <p>Kuoza wasichana wangali wadogo kunafaa kwa sababu wanakua na heshima na adabu kwa waume zao</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D18.	<p>Even if a girl does not want to be married, she should honour the decisions/ wishes of her family</p> <p>Hata kama mtoto wa kike hataki kuolewa anapaswa kuheshimu matakwa ya wazazi wake</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D19.	<p>Younger brides require a lower dowry than older brides.</p> <p>Bi harusi mtoto atalipiwa mahari ndogo ukilinganisha na bi harusi mkubwa</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D20.	<p>A girl should never be forced or compelled into marriage.</p> <p>Msichana hatakiwi kulazimishwa kufunga ndoa</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D21.	<p>It is sometimes ok to beat or punish a girl when she dishonours her family.</p> <p>Ni sawa wakati mwingine kumpiga au kumwadhibu msichana akikosea heshima familia yake</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D22.	<p>A wife should be subservient to her husband.</p> <p>Mke ni lazima amtii/amnynyekee mume wake</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>
D23.	<p>Men should be the heads of their household.</p> <p>Wanaume lazima wawe wakuu wa kaya zao</p>	<p>(1) = strongly disagree; (2) = disagree; (3) = neutral (4) = agree (5) = strongly agree.</p>	<p>(1) Sikubali kabisa (2) Sikubali (3) Sifungamani na upa nde wowote (4) Nakubali (5) Nakubaliana kabisa</p>

E. Individual Knowledge and Attitude on Child Marriage (Ufahamu wa Watu kuhusu Ndoa za Utotoni)

E1. Who do you consider a child in terms of age?.....

Mtu mwenye umri gani unamwona ni mtoto?.....

E2. What do you consider appropriate age to get married for a girl or a boy?

E2 A boy.....

E2B girl.....

Unafikiri ni umri gani sahihi wa kufunga ndoa kwa msichana au mvulana?

E2A mvulana.....

E2B msichana.....

E3. Besides age, what other (most important) indicators do you use to determine a girl's readiness for marriage? (MARIND)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------|------|
| 1) Physical morphology (specify) | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 2) Puberty signs (specify) | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 3) FGM | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 4) Finishing school | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 5) Pregnancy | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 6) Other (specify)_____ | | |

Ukiondoa miaka unafikiri ni vigezo gani vingine muhimu sana vinaashiria kuwa msichana yuko tayari kuolewa?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|----------|
| 1) Umbo la mwili (Elezea) | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 2) Kuvunja ungo (Elezea) | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 3) Tohara | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 4) Kumaliza shule (Elezea) | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 5) Kupata mimba (elezea) | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 6) Mengineyo (bainisha) | | |

E4. Besides age, what other (most important) indicators do you use to determine a boy's readiness for marriage? (MARIND)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------|------|
| 1) Physical morphology (specify) | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 2) Puberty signs (specify) | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 3) Circumcision | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 4) Finishing school | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 5) Self Relince | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 6) Other (specify)_____ | | |

Ukiondoa miaka unafikiri ni vigezo gani vingine muhimu sana vinaashiria kuwa mvulana yuko tayari kuoa?

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------|----------|
| 1) Umbo la mwili (Elezea) | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 2) Kubalehe (Elezea) | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 3) Kutahiriwa | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 4) Kumaliza shule | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 5) Kujitegemea | 1.Ndio | 2.Hapana |
| 6) Mengineyo (bainisha) | | |

E5. Who is the main decision maker in your family? (DECISION)

- 1) Father alone
- 2) Mother alone
- 3) Both, father and mother
- 4) The whole family
- 5) A member within family (grandfather, grandmother, uncle, brother)
- 6) A person outside family

Ni nani mwenye kutoa maamuzi kuhusu ndoa ya mtoto wa kike katika familia yako?

- 1) Mama
- 2) Mama na wanawake wengine katika familia
- 3) Baba
- 4) Baba na wanaume wengine katika familia
- 5) Baba na mama pamoja
- 6) Msichana (mhusika)
- 7) Mtu mwingine tafadhali elezea _____

E7 Who makes the decision for the male's marriage in your family?

- 1) Mother alone
- 2) Mother and other women in the family
- 3) Father alone
- 4) Father and other men in the family
- 5) Both father and mother
- 6) The boy
- 7) Someone else (Please specify) _____

Ni nani mwenye kutoa maamuzi kuhusu ndoa ya mtoto wa kiume katika familia yako?

- 1) Mama
- 2) Mama na wanawake wengine katika familia
- 3) Baba
- 4) Baba na wanaume wengine katika familia
- 5) Baba na mama pamoja
- 6) Mvulana (mhusika)
- 7) Mtu mwingine tafadhali elezea _____

E8. In your community or household, how often is the girl involved in the decision for her own marriage?

- 1) Always
- 2) Often
- 3) Sometimes
- 4) Rarely
- 5) Never

Katika jamii yako au kaya yako ni mara ngapi msichana anahusishwa kwenye maamuzi ya ndoa yake?

- 1) Daima/Mara zote
- 2) mara nyingi
- 3) Wakati mwingine/
- 4) mara chache
- 5) Kamwe

E9. Have you or anyone you know married a daughter below the age of 18?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No [if No Go to E11]

Je wewe au mtu yeyote unayemfahamu katika jamii hii amemwoza binti ambaye yuko chini ya miaka 18?

- 1) Ndio [Kama ndio nenda swali la E10. Kama hapana nenda swali la E11]
- 2) Hapana

E10. If yes, at what age _____?

Kama ndio, ulikua/alikua na umri gani _____?

E111. Have you or has anyone in your immediate family ever been forced to marry?

CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE	
Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	3
(refused to answer)	4

Je umewahi au mtu yoyote katika familia yako amewahi kulazimishwa kuolewa/kuoa?

ZUNGUSHIA DUARA JIBU MOJA	
Ndio	1
Hapana	2
Sijui	3
Amekataa kujibu	4

E11b. If yes, How many(the answers should not exceed eight

Kaman ndio, ni wangapi (Majibu yasizidi nane)

E12.1 Could you please tell me who in your immediate family has ever been forced to marry? Please start with the person who experienced this most recently. You don't have to tell me their names, just refer to them by their relationship to you; For example, it could be you, your spouse or partner, your son, daughter, brother, sister, mother or father. (Allow EIGHT responses). Did anyone else in your immediate family experience this kind of situation?

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
I know more than 8	

Unaweza kuniambia tafadhali, nani kati ya wanafamilia yako ya karibu amewahi kulazimishwa kuolewa/kuoa? Tafadhali anza na mtu ambae amepitia hali hio karibuni zaidi. Hauna haja ya kuniambia majina yao, wataje kulingana na uhusiano wako kwao; kwa mfano inaweza kua wewe, mke wako au mwenza wako, kijana wako, binti, kaka, dada, mama au baba. (Ruhusu majibu NANE). Kuna yoyote mwingine kati ya wanafamilia yako ya karibu wamepitia hali

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
Najua 8 au zaidi	

E13.1 Gender (Interviewer: code gender for each person based on the response to the previous question).
(If necessary: ask) What is the gender of your... (people referred to in question E12.1)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

Jinsia (Mhojaji:weka alama ya jinsia kwa kila mtu kulingana na jibu la swali lililopita). (Kama kuna umuhimu uliza) nini jinsia ya (watu waliotajwa katika swali la E12.1

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

E14.1 How old [are you/ are the people referred to in question 2 above NOW?] (Open-ended and code actual age) (if respondent is answering questions about himself/herself insert age from demographic questions at start of survey)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

Je, watu waliotajwa katika swali la pili juu wana umri gani kwa sasa?). Open ended and code actual age). (Kama mhojiwa anajibu maswali kuhusu yeye binafsi ingiza umri kutoka kwenye maswali ya idadi ya watu mwanzoni mwa dodoso)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

E15.1 How old were you/were the people referred to in question above at the time of the forced marriage? (open-ended question and code actual age)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

Je wewe au waliotajwa katika swali la juuwalikua na umri gani wakati wa ndoa ya lazima?

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

Did you/ people in question 2 consent to the marriage?

Je wewe au waliotajwa katika swali namba 2 mliridhia ndoa hio?

E17. In your community, who do you think influences people to marry off children at a young age?

- 1) Father
- 2) Religious leaders
- 3) Mother
- 4) Traditional leaders /elders
- 5) Elders of the clan
- 6) The government
- 7) Other (specify)_____
- 8) No one

Katika jamii yako, unafikiri ni nani ainachangia kuwaoza watoto wakiwa na umri mdogo?

- 1) Baba
- 2) Viongozi wa dini
- 3) Mama
- 4) Wazee wakimila
- 5) Wazee wa ukoo
- 6) Serikali
- 7) Wengineo (Elezea)_____
- 8) Hakuna mtu

E18. In your community, who do you think has the power to influence people NOT to marry off children at a young age?

- 1) Father
- 2) Religious leaders
- 3) Mother
- 4) Traditional leaders /elders
- 5) Elders of the clan
- 6) Serikali
- 7) Other (specify)_____
- 8) No One

Katika jamii yako, unafikiri ni nani ana mamlaka wa kuzuia ndoa za utotoni?

- 1) Baba
- 2) Viongozi wa dini
- 3) Mama
- 4) Wazee wakimila
- 5) Wazee wa ukoo
- 6) Serikali
- 7) Wengineo (Elezea)_____
- 8) Hakuna mtu

E19 Who do you think has the right to decide the right time and a person a girl should marry?

- 1) Father
- 2) Mother
- 3) Both parents
- 4) Oneself
- 5) Relatives
- 6) Other (specify)_____
- 7) No One

Unafikiri nani ana haki ya kuamwua muda muafaka na kumchagua mwenza wa kufunga na ndoa kwa mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Baba
- 2) Mama
- 3) Wazazi wote wawili
- 4) Binafsi
- 5) Ndugu
- 6) Wengineo (Elezea)_____
- 7) Hakuna mtu

E20 Who do you think has the right to decide the right time and a person a boy should marry?

- 1) Father
- 2) Mother
- 2) Both parents
- 3) Oneself
- 4) Relatives
- 7) Other (specify)_____
- 8) No One

Unafikiri nani ana haki ya kuamwua muda na kumchagua mwenza wa kufunga na ndoa kwa mtoto wa kiume?

- 1) Baba
- 2) Mama
- 3) Wazazi wote wawili
- 4) Binafsi
- 5) Ndugu
- 6) Binafsi (muolewaji)
- 7) Wengineo (Elezea)_____
- 8) hakuna mtu

F. Awareness of Laws Prohibiting Child Marriage (Uelewa wa Sheria zinazozuia Ndoa za Utotoni)

F1. What is the legal age for marriage in Tanzania for both boys and girls?

- A) Specify Girls_____
- B) Boys_____
- C) I don't know

Umri gani ni halali kisheria kwa ajili ya ndoa Tanzania?

- 1) Bainisha Msichana _____
- 2) Mvulana_____
- 3) Sifahamu

F2. At what age do girls normally get married in your village/community? _____

Kwa kawaida wasichana huolewa katika umri gani kwenye kijiji/ jamii yenu? _____

F3. To men of what age are girls normally married in your village/community? _____

Wasichana wana kawaida ya kuolewa na wanaume wa umri gani katika kijiji/jamii yenu? _____

F4. What age can be considered too early for marriage?

- 1) Specify _____
- 2) I don't know

Ni umri gani unaweza kuwa ni mdogo sana kwa ajili ya ndoa?

- 1) Bainisha _____
- 2) Sifahamu

F5. Do you think the law can stop girls from marrying at a young age?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) I don't know

Unadhani sheria inaweza kuzuia wasichana wasiolewe katika umri mdogo?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sifahamu

F6. Are you aware of government law that specifies minimum age for marriage?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No skip to F8
- 3) Not sure

Unafahamu juu ya sheria ya nchi inayobainisha kima cha chini cha umri wa kufunga ndoa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana NENDA F8
- 3) Sina uhakika

F7. Please name the law _____

Tafadhali bainisha sheria hiyo _____

F8. Are you aware of any local government leaders, child protection officers or police officers in your community who enforce laws related to child marriage?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No (SKIP TO F10)
- 3) Not sure

Je unafahamu watumishi wowote wa serikali, maendeleo ya jamii au polisi katika jamii yako wanaohusika na utekelezaji wa sheria zinazokataza ndoa za utotoni?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana (HAPANA NENDA F10)
- 3) Sina uhakika

F9. If yes: Please name them _____ (we can list options for them to select)

Kama ndio tafadhali wataje _____

- F10. Are you aware of any girls in your community who have/ reported incidences of being forced into early marriages?
- 1) Yes (Please Explain)
 - 2) No
 - 3) Not sure

Je unafahamu wasichana wowote katika jamii yako waliotoa taarifa katika vyombo vya sheria kuhusiana na kulazimishwa kuolewa utotoni?

- 1) Ndio (Elezea Tafadhali)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sina uhakika

- F11. Are you aware of any girls in your community who have had their marriages freed/ prevented by relatives, or local government officers, NGOs from early marriages?
- 1) Yes (Please Explain)
 - 2) No (SKIP TO F 15)
 - 3) Not sure

Je unafahamu wasichana wowote katika jamii yako waliookolewa na marafiki, ndugu, au maafisa wa serikali za mitaa au asasi zisizo za kiserikalik utoka kwenye ndoa za utotoni?

- 1) Ndio (Elezea Tafadhali)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sina uhakika

- F12. Were any actions taken against the groom or parents?
- 1) Yes (Please Explain)
 - 2) No 3) Not sure

Je unafahamu kama wazazi/walezi wa msichana au bwana harusi walichukuliwahatua zozote kwa kumuoza msichana mdogo

- 1) Ndio (Elezea Tafadhali)
- 2) Hapana (NENDA F15)
- 3) Sina uhakika

- F13. Are you aware of the consequences of the case for those who were concerned?
- 1) Yes (Please Explain)
 - 2) No
 - 3) Not sure

Je unafahamu matokeo ya kesi hii

- 1) Ndio (Elezea Tafadhali)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sina uhakika

- F14. Did anyone associated with such case receive jail sentence or fine or both?
- 1) Yes (Please Explain)
 - 2) No
 - 3) Not sure

Je kuna mtu yeyote aliyehusika katika kumwuoza mtoto aliyehukumiwa kifungo cha kwenda jela au kutozwa faini au zote?

- 1) Ndio (Elezea Tafadhali)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sina uhakika

F15. Are you aware of international law that specifies minimum age for marriage?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Not sure

Unafahamu juu ya sheria ya kimataifa inayobainisha kima cha chini cha umri wa kufunga ndoa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sina uhakika

F16. Please name the law _____

Tafadhali bainisha sheria hiyo _____

G. Drivers of Child Marriage (Chochezi za Ndoa za Utotoni)

Nitakusomea kauli zifuatazo kasha utaniambia kama unakubaliana au haukubaliani nazo: MSOME MAJIBU

G1. Discriminating young women fuel child marriage

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Ubaguzi kwa wasichana unachochea ndoa za utotoni

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

G2. Prevention of premarital sex drive families and communities to marry off girls young

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Ili kuzuia tendo la ndoa kabla ya kuolewa familia na jamii zinaamua kuwaoza watoto wa kike wangali wadogo

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

G3. Prevention of teen pregnancy drive families and communities to marry off girls young

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Ili kuzuia mimba za utotoni familia na jamii zinaamwua kuwaoza watoto wa kike wangali wadogo

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

G4. Desire to see grandchildren before one dies drive families to marry children

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Tamaa ya wazazi kuona wajukuu kabla hawajafa vinachangia wazazi kuwaoza watoto wao wangali wadogo

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

G5. My religion encourage marrying children at a young age

- 1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Dini yangu inahamasisha uozaji wa watoto katika umri mdogo

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

G6. Children of wealthy families marry children from other wealth families to maintain their wealth

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Watoto kutoka kwenye familia za kitajiri huozwa kwa watoto kutoka kwenye familia za kitajiri ili kuendeleza utajiri wao

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

G7. Poor families marry off their children at a young age to wealthy men to elevate their economic status

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Familia za kimaskini/duni huoza watoto wao walingali wadogo kwa wanaume matajiri ili kujiinua/kujikwamua kiuchumi

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- G8. Economic gain from gifts associated with marriage ceremonies and dowry drive child marriage
- (1) = strongly disagree;
 - (2) = disagree;
 - (3) = neutral
 - (4) = agree
 - (5) = strongly agree.

Mahari na mapato yatokanayo na zawadi za harusi vinachochea ndoa za utotoni

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- G9. Desire for respect in the community drive families to marry children young
- (1) = strongly disagree;
 - (2) = disagree;
 - (3) = neutral
 - (4) = agree
 - (5) = strongly agree.

Heshima kwenye jamii vinachangia wazazi kuwaoza watoto wao wangali wadogo

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

H. Impacts of Child Marriage on Education (Athari za Ndoa za Utotoni kwenye Elimu)

- H1. Do you have a daughter or granddaughter who is still a child?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No (Skip to H3)

Je, una binti au mjukuu wa kike ambaye bado ni mtoto?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana (Nenda H3)

- H2. What is your greatest ambition for her future? _____

Je nini matarajio yako kwa mtoto huyu kwa maisha yake ya baadae? _____

- H3. Do girls in your community have interest in education?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No (why) _____
 - 3) Not sure

Je, watoto wa kike katika jamii yako wana mwamko juu ya elimu?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana (kwanini) _____
- 3) Sina uhakika

- H4. Girls prefer staying home over going to school (READ THE ANSWERS TO THE RESPONDENT)
- (1) = strongly disagree;
 - (2) = disagree;
 - (3) = neutral
 - (4) = agree
 - (5) = strongly agree.

Watoto wa kike wanapendelea kukaa nyumbani zaidi kuliko kuenda shuleni (MSOMEE MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- H5. Parents encourage their female children to go to school

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Wazazi wanawahamasisha watoto wao wa kike kuenda shuleni (MSOMEE MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- H6. How far is your community located from the nearest primary school? (READ THE ANSWERS)

- 1) Very far
- 2) Not so far
- 3) Near
- 4) very near
- 5) I don't know

Jamii yako iko mbali kiasi gani na shule ya msingi iliyo karibu

- 1) Mbali sana
- 2) Mbali kiasi
- 3) Karibu
- 4) Karibu sana
- 5) Sifahamu

- H7. How far is your community located from the nearest secondary school?

- 1) Very far
- 2) Not so far
- 3) Near
- 4) very near
- 5) I don't know

Jamii yako iko mbali kiasi gani na shule ya sekondari iliyo karibu?

- 1) Mbali sana
- 2) Mbali kiasi
- 3) Karibu
- 4) Karibu sana
- 5) Sifahamu

H8. What level of education do most girls attain before they are married?

- 1) Some primary
- 2) Primary
- 3) Secondary
- 4) College
- 5) Specify_____
- 6) None

Ni kiwango gani cha elimu ambacho wasichana wengi hupata kabla hawajaozwa?

- 1) Hawamalizi elimu ya msingi
- 2) Elimu ya msingi
- 3) Sekondari
- 4) Chuo
- 5) Bainisha_____
- 6) Hapana

H9. Do you think a girl child should go to school?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No (Skip to H11)
- 3) Not sure

Unadhani mtoto wa kike anapaswa kwenda shule?

- 1) Ndio(Nenda H11)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) sina uhakika

H10. If Yes, which level of education do you think a girl child should go up to?

- 1) Some primary
- 2) Primary
- 3) Secondary
- 4) College
- 5) Specify_____
- 6) None

Kama ndio, ni kiwango gani cha elimu ambacho ni mwafaka kwa mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Some primary
- 2) Elimu ya msingi
- 3) Sekondari
- 4) Chuo
- 5) Bainisha_____
- 6) Hapana

H11. Do you think the type of education children receive at school give them life skills and prepare them to be contributing members of the society?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No
- 3) Don't know

Je unafikiri elimu wanayopata watoto mashuleni inawaandaa na kuwajengea uwezo wa kuchangia maendeleo katika jamii?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sijui

- H12. Children receive basic quality education to prepare them to join higher education and gainful employment?
- 1) Strongly disagree
 - 2) Disagree
 - 3) Neutral
 - 4) Agree
 - 5) Strongly agree

Watoto wanapata elimu bora ya msingi inayowaandaa kujiunga na elimu ya juu na kupata ajira (MSOMEE MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- H13. Do you think marriage at a younger age affects a girl's education? (MARGEDU)
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
 - 3) I don't know

Unadhani ndoa katika umri mdogo inaathiri elimu ya mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sijui

- H14. Do you know any girl in your community who has dropped out of school to get married?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No (If no skip to H15)
 - 3) Not sure

Unafahamu msichana yoyote katika jamii yenu alieacha shule ili kuolewa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana (Kama hapana nenda H15)
- 3) Sina uhakika

- H14A. If YES, How many_____

Kama jibu ni ndio, wangapi? _____

- H14B Did these girls had concrete/feasible opportunity to continue school but chose to leave school and get married?

- 1) They chose to quit school to get married 1.YES 2. NO
- 2) They were forced to quit school by their parents to get married 1. YES 2. NO
- 3) I don't know

Je wasichana hawa walikua na fursa ya kuendelea na masomo ila walichagua kuacha shule ili waolewe?

- 1) Walichagua kuacha shule ili waolewe 1.NDIO2. HAPANA
- 2) Waliachishwa shule na wazazi wao ili waolewe1. NDIO2. HAPANA
- 3) Sijui

- H14C. Did these girls had NO concrete/feasible opportunity to continue school, whose marriage is in essence timed to coincide with the end of educational opportunity (due to lack of feasible access / lack of family resources)?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
 - 3) I don't know

Je wasichana hawa hawakuwa na fursa ya kuendelea na masomo kutokana na kukosa rasilimali kutoka kwenye familia zao na hivyo kumaliza kwao shule ilikua wakati mwafaka wa wao kuolewa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sijui

- H15. Girls who marry as children (below 18) are likely to go back to school. (READ ANSWERS)
- (1) = strongly disagree;
 - (2) = disagree;
 - (3) = neutral (not sure)
 - (4) = agree
 - (5) = strongly agree.

Wasichana wanaoolewa wakiwa watoto (chini ya miaka 18) huweza kurudi shuleni (MSOME MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- H16. Girls who marry as children (below 18 years) are likely to get financial support for education.
- (1) = strongly disagree;
 - (2) = disagree;
 - (3) = neutral (not sure)
 - (4) = agree
 - (5) = strongly agree.

Wasichana wanaoolewa wakiwa watoto (chini ya miaka 18) huweza kupata msaada wa kifedha ili waweze kupata elimu (MSOME MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- H16A. If such girls (in the previous question?) were to get financial support to further their education who is most likely to support them? (name one).
1. Parents
 2. Other family members
 3. Husband
 4. In-laws
 5. Friends
 6. Government
 7. Private/non-profit institutions
 8. Other; please specify_____

Kama wasichana hawa (tunaowaongelea kwa swali lililopita) wataweza kupata msaada wa kifedha ili kujiendeleza kimasomo, ni nani haswa anaweza kuwapa msaada huo?

- 1) Wazazi wao
- 2) Ndugu wengine
- 3) Mume
- 4) Wakwe
- 5) Marafiki
- 6) Serikali
- 7) Mashirika binafsi na yasiyo ya kiserikali
- 8) Mengineyo (Elezea)_____

H17. Girls who marry as children are likely to face social stigma if they choose to go back to school.
(READ THE ANSWERS)

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Wasichana wanaoolewa utotoni watatengwa/watanyanyapaliwa na wenzao kama wataamua kurudi shuleni (MSOMEE MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

H18. Child care challenges are likely to deny girls who marry as children the right to further their education.

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) =neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Ukosefu wa atakayeweza kutunza watoto wakati wakiwa shuleni, kumechangia kwa wasichana walioolewa utotoni kutojiendeleza kielimu

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

H19. If girls who marry were to go back to school who would likely provide child care support?

1. Parents
2. Other family members
3. Husband
4. In-laws
5. Friends
6. Other; please specify_____

Endapo wasichana walioolewa utotoni wataamua kurudi shuleni, ni nani atakayeweza kuchukua jukumu la kutuza watoto?

1. Wazazi
2. Ndugu wengine
3. Mume
4. Wakwe
5. Marafiki
6. Wengineo; Tafadhali elezea_____

I. Impact of Child Marriage on Health (Athari ya Ndoa za Utotoni kiafya)

11. Do you think marriage of a child affects a girl's health?

- 1) Yes
- 2) Somewhat
- 3) No
- 4) Not sure

Unadhani ndoa kwa mtoto ina athiri afya ya mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Kiasi Fulani
- 3) Hapana
- 4) Sina uhakika

12. Are there common health risks related to child marriage in your community?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| 1) No consequences in particular | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 2) Obstetrical Fistula | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 3) Infant mortality risk | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 4) Maternal mortality risk | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 5) I don't know | 1=Yes 2=No |
| 6) Other (specify) | |

Kuna hatari zozote za kiafya za mara kwa mara zinazohusiana na ndoa za utotoni katika jamii yenu?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1) Hakuna madhara hasa | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 2) Fistula | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 3) Hatari ya vifo vya watoto wachanga | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 4) Hatari ya vifo vya uzazi | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 5) Sifahamu | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 6) Mengineyo (bainisha) | |

13. Have any females in your family/community died due to pregnancy or delivery of a child?

- 1) Yes (Go to I4)
- 2) No (Go to I6)
- 3) Don't know

Pameshawahi kuwa na kifo cha mwanamke yoyote katika kaya/jamii yenu kwa sababu ya ujauzito au kujifungua?

- 1) Ndio (Nenda I4)
- 2) Hapana (Nenda I6)
- 3) Sijui

14. If yes, at what age did she die? 1) Age_____ (2) I do not know

Kama ndio, alifariki katika umri gani? 1) Umri_____ (2) Sijui

15. What was the exact cause of her death?

- 1) Bleeding
- 2) Infection
- 3) Prolonged labour pain
- 4) Eclampsia
- 5) Other (specify)
- 6) Don't know

Nini kilikua chanzo hasa cha kifo chake?

- 1) Kutokwa damu
- 2) Maambukizi
- 3) Uchungu wa uzazi wa muda mrefu
- 4) Kifafa cha mimba
- 5) Mengineyo (bainisha)
- 6) Sijui

16. Have there ever been any case of miscarriages or still birth in your family/community that you are aware of?

- 1) Yes (Go 17)
- 2) No (Go 18)

Pameshawahi kuwa na matukio ya kuharibika kwa mimba au mtoto kufia tumboni wakati wa ujauzito unayoyafahamu?

- 1) Ndio (Nenda 17)
- 2) Hapana (Nenda 18)

17. If yes, what was the duration of the pregnancy, the age of the mother during pregnancy and at marriage?

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|------------------|
| 1) Duration of pregnancy | 1) _____ | 2) I do not know |
| 2) Age of the mother during pregnancy | 1) _____ | 2) I do not know |
| 3) Age of the mother during marriage | 1) _____ | 2) I do not know |

Kama ndio, ujauzito ulikua ni wa muda gani, mama alikua na umri gani wakati wa ujauzito na aliolewa katika umri gani?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| 1) Muda wa ujauzito | 1) _____ | 2) Sijui |
| 2) Umri wa mama wakati wa kujifungua | 1) _____ | 2) Sijui |
| 3) Umri wa mama wakati wa kuolewa | 1) _____ | 2) Sij |

18. How do you rate your knowledge about family planning?

- 1) I have knowledge about family planning
- 2) I have little knowledge about family planning
- 3) I do not have any knowledge at all about family planning

Una ufahamu wowote juu ya uzazi wa mpango?

- 1) Ndio, nina ufahamu juu ya uzazi wa mpango
- 2) Nina ufahamu kidogo
- 3) Hapana, sina ufahamu kabisa juu ya uzazi wa mpango

19. Do you have any access to information about reproductive health?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je, una namna yoyote ya kupata ufahamu juu ya afya ya uzazi?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

110. Who makes the decision about having children in your family?

- 1) Husband
- 2) Wife
- 3) Both
- 4) Other _____ (Specify)

Je, ni nani anafanya maamuzi juu ya swala la kuwa na watoto katika kaya yako?

- 1) Mume
- 2) Mke
- 3) Wote wawili
- 4) Mengineyo _____ (Bainisha)

J. Cultural Attitudes on Girls (Mtazamo wa Kimila kwa Watoto wa kike)

- J1. How does your tradition and culture perceive a girl child?
- 1) An equal to a boy
 - 2) Unequal to a boy child
 - 3) Other (Please specify)_____

Ni kwa jinsi gani tamaduni na mila zenu zinamchukulia mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Sawa na mtoto wa kiume
- 2) Sio sawa na mtoto wa kiume
- 3) Mengineyo (tafadhali bainisha) _____

- J2. How does your religion perceive a girl child?
- 1) An equal to a boy
 - 2) Unequal to a boy child
 - 3) Other (Please specify)_____

Ni kwa jinsi gani dini yenu inamchukulia mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Sawa na mtoto wa kiume
- 2) Sio sawa na mtoto wa kiume
- 3) Mengineyo (tafadhali bainisha) _____

- J3. Child marriage is connected to the role women play in the society
- (1) = strongly disagree;
 - (2) = disagree;
 - (3) =neutral
 - (4) = agree
 - (5) = strongly agree.

Ndoa za utotoni zinahusishwa na nafasi ya mwanamke katika jamii (SOMA MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

- J4. Are the specific traditional practices (if any) carried out on a girl child in your culture?
- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| 1) FGM | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 2) Initiation rituals | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 3) Traditional dances | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 4) Other (specify)_____ | | |
| 5) None (skip to J7) | | |

Ni taratibu gani za kimila (kama zipo) zinazofanywa kwa mtoto wa kike katika tamaduni zenu?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| 1) Tohara | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 2) Unyago | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 3) Ngoma za asili | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 4) Mengineyo (Bainisha)_____ | | |
| 5) Hakuna (Nenda J7) | | |

- J5. What is the significance of these practices (if any) on a girl child?
- | | | |
|--|-------|------|
| 1) Transition into adulthood (ask what does this mean) | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 2) Prepare girls for marriage | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 3) Prepare girls to be productive members of the society | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| 4) Other (Please Specify)_____ | | |

Nini umuhimu wa taratibu hizo (kama zipo) kwa mtoto wa kike?

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1) Kuingia kwenye utu uzima (uiliza ina maanisha nini) | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 2) Kuwaandaa wasichana kwa ajili ya ndoa | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 3) Kuwaandaa wasichana kuwa wanajamii wazalishaji | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |
| 4) Mengineyo (tafadhali banisha) | 1=Ndio2=Hapana |

J6. At what age does a girl get involved in such traditional practices? _____

Ni katika umri gani wasichana huhusishwa na taratibu hizo za kimila? _____

J7. Are there similar practices that prepare boys for marriage?

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------|-------|
| 1) Circumcision | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 2) Initiation rituals | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 3) Traditional dances | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 4) Other (specify) _____ | | |
| 5) None (Skip J9) | | |

Kuna taratibu zozote kama hizo zinazomuandaa mvulana kwa ajili ya ndoa?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| 1) Tohara | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 2) Jando | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 3) Ngoma za asili | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 4) Mengineyo (Bainisha) _____ | | |
| 5) Hakuna | | |

J8. At what age does a boy get involved in such traditional practices? _____

Ni katika umri gani wavulana huhusishwa na taratibu hizo za kimila? _____

J9. Child marriage is related to issues of honor in the family

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Ndoa za utotoni zinahusishwa na heshima/sifa njema kwenye familia. (SOMA MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

J10. Marrying (girl) children ensures purity (virginity) on their wedding day

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Kuoza wasichana wadogo kutahakikisha wanaolewa wakiwa bikira siku ya ndoa (SOMA MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

J11. A good parent in my community should arrange a marriage of their child as early as possible

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Mzazi mzuri katika jamii yangu atamwoza binti yake mapema inavyowezekana (SOMA MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

J12. In my village, members of extended family or neighbors will look down at me if I do not marry my girl child at a young age.

- (1) = strongly disagree;
- (2) = disagree;
- (3) = neutral
- (4) = agree
- (5) = strongly agree.

Katika kijiji changu, ndugu na majirani watanidharau kama mtoto wangu wa kike hataolewa akingali mdogo (SOMA MAJIBU)

- 1) Sikubali kabisa
- 2) Sikubali
- 3) Sifungamani na upande wowote
- 4) Nakubali
- 5) Nakubaliana kabisa

OUTCOME OF INTERVIEW/ MATOKEO YA MAHOJIANO

Completed/Yamekamilika.....1 Incomplete/Hayajakamilika.....2 Refused/Yamekataliwa.....3

APPENDIX VI: Group B Questionnaire

Group B: Questions to Early Married Females

1. At what age did you marry?_____

Uliolewa katika umri gani?_____

2. At what age was your husband when you married?_____

Mume wako alikua katika umri gani wakati wa kufunga ndoa?_____

3. What was the push factor behind your marriage?

- 1) Tradition
- 2) Finished school
- 3) Everyone my age was getting married
- 4) My parents decided that I should get married
- 5) Financial reasons/economic security
- 6) Other please specify_____

Sababu gani ilikusukuma wewe kuolewa?

- 1) Utamaduni
- 2) Kumaliza shule
- 3) Kila mmoja wa umri wangu alikua akifunga ndoa
- 4) Wazazi wangu waliamua niolewe
- 5) Maswala ya kiuchumi
- 6) Mengineyo (bainisha)

4. What type of marriage are you engaged into?

- 1) Arranged marriage
- 2) Consent marriage (by parents' decision)
- 3) I consented to marriage myself
- 4) Other (specify)

Je, ni anina gani ya ndoa ulionayo?

- 1) Ndoa ya kupangwa
- 2) Ndoa ya ridhaa (kwa wazazi)
- 3) Niliridhia mwenyewe kufunga ndoa
- 4) Mengineyo (bainisha)

5. Is your marriage registered?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No (Skip to 7)
- 3) Not sure

Je ndoa yako imesajiliwa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana (Nenda 7)
- 3) sina uhakika

6. If yes, where (by whom) was it registered?

- 1) Civil registrar
- 2) Traditional registrar
- 3) Church/Mosque
- 4) None
- 5) Other (specify)

Kama ndio, wapi (na ni nani) aliandikisha ndoa yako?

- 1) Msajili wa umma
- 2) Msajili wa kimila
- 3) Kanisa au Msikiti
- 4) Hakuna
- 5) Mwingine (tafadhali elezea)

7. Do you know about the legal age of marriage in Tanzania for boys and girls?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No (Skip 9)

Unafahamu juu ya umri halali wa ndoa kisheria Tanzania?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana (Nenda 9)

8. If yes, what is the legal age of marriage in Tanzania? _____

Kama ndio, umri gani ni halali kisheria Tanzania kwa kufunga ndoa? _____

9. What was your husband's level of education at the time of marriage?

- 1) Primary level
- 2) Above primary level
- 3) None
- 4) I don't know
- 5) Other (specify)

Je mume wako alikua na kiwango gani cha elimu wakati anakuoa?

- 1) Elimu ya Msingi
- 2) Zaidi ya elimu ya Msingi
- 3) Hana elimu
- 4) Sijui
- 5) Nyinginezo (Tafadhali elezea)

10. What is your husband's ethnicity? _____

Mume wako ni kabila gani? _____

11. What was your husband's employment status at the time of marriage?

- 1) Self employed
- 2) Government employee
- 3) Private sector employee
- 4) Retiree
- 5) Unemployed
- 6) Other (specify)

Mume wako alikua anafanya kazi gani wakati anakuoa?

- 1) Amejiijiri
- 2) Mfanyakazi wa serikali
- 3) Mwajiriwa wa shirika binafsi
- 4) Mstaafu
- 5) Hakuwa ameajiriwa
- 6) Nyinginezo (Tafadhali elezea)

12. What is your husband's main source of income?

- 1) Salary/employment
- 2) Business
- 3) Farming activities
- 4) Fishery
- 5) Animal husbandry
- 6) None
- 7) Other (specify)

Nini chanzo cha mapato kwa mume wako?

- 1) Mshahara/ajira
- 2) Biashara
- 3) Mkujilima
- 4) Mvuvi
- 5) Mfugaji
- 6) Hana kipato
- 7) Mengineyo (tafadhali elezea)

13. What is your husband's monthly income?

- 1) Specify _____
- 2) I don't know

Nini kipato cha mume wako kwa mwezi?

- 1) Elezea _____
- 2) Sifahamu _____

14. What is your husband's religion affiliation?

- 1) Christianity (Catholic)
- 2) Christianity (protestant)
- 3) Muslim
- 4) Pagan
- 5) A4Traditional beliefs
- 6) Other (specify)

Mumeo ni muumini wa madhahebu gani ya dini?

- 1) Mkristu (Mkatoliki)
- 2) Mkristu (Mprotestanti)
- 3) Muislam
- 4) Mpagani
- 5) Dini za kimila
- 6) Nyingine (elezea)

15. What do you think motivated your husband to marry you?

- 1) Love
- 2) Pregnancy
- 3) Family pressure
- 4) His personal interests
- 5) My family interests
- 6) His family interests
- 7) Both our family interests
- 8) Other (specify)

Je unafikiri nini kilimvutia mume wako kukuoa?

- 1) Mapenzi
- 2) Mimba
- 3) Shinikizo la familia
- 4) Kwa mvuto wake mwenyewe
- 5) Kwa mvuto wa familia yangu
- 6) Kwa mvuto wa familia yake
- 7) Kwa mvuto wa familia zetu
- 8) Nyinginezo (tafadhali elezea)

16. Who decides on marriage in your family of origin?

- 1) Father
- 2) Mother
- 3) Both parents
- 4) Oneself
- 5) Relatives
- 6) Other

Ni nani anafanya maamuzi juu ya ndoa katika kaya yenu ulikotoka?

- 1) Baba
- 2) Mama
- 3) Wazazi wote wawili
- 4) Binafsi
- 5) Ndugu
- 6) Wengineo (bainisha)

17. Who do you think has the right to decide the time and person to marry?

- 1) Parents
- 2) Father
- 3) Mother
- 4) Relatives
- 5) Oneself
- 6) Other (specify)

Unadhani ni nani mwenye haki zote za kuamua muda na mtu wa kufunga nae ndoa?

- 1) Wazazi
- 2) Baba
- 3) Mama
- 4) Ndugu
- 5) Binafsi
- 6) Wengineo (bainisha)

18. Do you have children? If yes, how many? _____

Una watoto? Kama jibu ni ndio, wangapi? _____

19. Are there any consequences of child marriage on the following:

- | | | |
|---|--------|-------|
| 1) Health | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 2) Social wellbeing | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 3) Economy | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 4) Education | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 5) Other | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 6) None (I think there are no consequences) | 1) Yes | 2) No |

Je kuna matokeo ya ndoa za utotoni katika haya yafuatayo?

- | | | |
|---|---------|-----------|
| 1) Afya | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 2) Ustawi wa jamii | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 3) Uchumi | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 4) Elimu | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 5) Mengineyo (bainisha) | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 6) Hakuna (Nadhani hakuna matokeo/athari) | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |

20. Do you feel your work load and responsibilities are reduced or increased after marriage?

- 1) Reduced
- 2) Increased
- 3) As before

Je, unajihisi mzigo wako wa kazi na majukumu kupungua au kuongezeka baada ya kufunga ndoa?

- 1) Umepungua
- 2) Umeongezeka
- 3) Kama ulivokua kabla

21. How do you describe your relationship with your husband?

- 1) As a friend/Happy
- 2) Conflict of ideas and interests
- 3) Quarrelsome
- 3) Other (specify)

Unaelezeaje uhusiano wako na mume wako?

- 1) Kama rafiki /furaha
- 2) Mgongano wa mawazo na maslahi
- 3) Ugomvi
- 4) Mengineyo (bainisha)

22. Has your husband ever beat you or slap you?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je mume wako amewahi kukupiga au kukuchapa makofi?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

23. Has your husband ever threatened to abandon you or kick you out?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je mume wako amewahi kukutishia kukuacha au kukufukuza?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

24. Has your husband ever verbally abused you?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je mume wako amewahi kukutisha kwa maneno?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

25. Do you think it is justified for a husband to beat his wife?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je unafikiri ni sawa kwa mume kumpiga mkewe?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

26. Describe your relationship with your family members (the ones you live with after marriage)

- 1) Loving
- 2) Supporting each other
- 3) Friendly to my family and friends
- 4) Hatred
- 5) Beating
- 6) Do not allow to visit my own family and friends
- 7) Other (specify)

Elezea uhusiano wako na kaya yako (unaoishi nao sasa baada ya kufunga ndoa)

- 1) Upendo
- 2) Kusaidiana
- 3) Kiurafiki kwangu, ndugu zangu na rafiki zangu
- 4) Chuki
- 5) Kipigo
- 6) Siruhusiwi kutembelea ndugu zangu au marafiki
- 7) Mengineyo (Bainisha)

27. What are your career goals?
- 1) Specify_____
 - 2) I have no idea (none)
 - 3) Not sure

Nini malengo yako ya kazi?

- 1) Bainisha_____
- 2) Sifahamu
- 3) Sina hakika

28. Do you have interest in engaging in income generating activities?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Una nia na mwamko wa kujihusisha na shughuli za kujiingizia kipato?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

29. Are you involved in income generating activities?
- 1) Yes skip to 31
 - 2) No

Unajihusisha na shughuli zozote za kuingiza kipato?

- 1) Ndio (Nenda 32)
- 2) Hapana

30. If no, would you like to be involved in any income generating activity?
- 1=Yes 2=No

Je, unapenda kushiriki katika shughuli za uzalishaji kipato?

1=Ndiyo 2=Hapana

31. What kind of income generating activity they would you want to be involved in?

- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------|------|
| A. Farming | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| B. Livestock | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| C. Business | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| D. Formal employment | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| E. Wage labourer | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| F. Don't know/not sure | 1=Yes | 2=No |
| G. Other | 1=(specify) | 2=No |

Kama hapana, aina gani ya shughuli ya kujiipatia kipato ungependa kuifanya?

- | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------|
| A=Kilimo | 1=Ndiyo | 2=Hapana |
| B=Ufugaji | 1=Ndiyo | 2=Hapana |
| C=Biashara | 1=Ndiyo | 2=Hapana |
| D=Ajira | 1=Ndiyo | 2=Hapana |
| E=kibarua | 1=Ndiyo | 2=Hapana |
| E=Sijui/sina uhakika | 1=Ndiyo | 2=Hapana |
| F=Nyingine(Taja) | 1=Ndio | 2=Hapano |

32. If you had an option of working, would you have married so young?
- 1=Yes 2=No 3=Don't know

Kama ungekuwa na namna/uwezekano wa kufanya kazi, je ungekuwa umeolewa ukiwa mdogo hivyo?

1=Ndiyo 2=Hapana 3=Sijui

33. Would you/your parents have got you married so young if you had job prospects and could earn?
- 1=Yes 2=No =Don't know

Wewe au wazazi wako wangekuzesha ukiwa mdogo hivyo kama ungekuwa na matazamio ya kuweza kupata kipato?

1=Ndiyo 2=Hapana 3=Sijui

34. Does your husband encourage you to engage in income generating activities?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je, mume wako anakuhamasisha kujihusisha na shughuli zozote za kuingiza kipato?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

35. Does your husband give you financial support?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je, mume wako anakupa msaada wa kiuchumi?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

36. Have you experienced any psychological benefits after marriage?

- 1) Like to be with my spouse
- 2) Status (rite of passage)
- 3) I am no longer poor.
- 4) Gained new family and friends
- 5) Nothing
- 6) Other (specify)

Ni faida gani za kisaikolojia umeshakutana nazo baada ya ndoa?

- 1) Napenda kuwa na mwenza wangu
- 2) Hadhi ya kuwa mke wa mtu (mila na desturi zetu)
- 3) Nimeondokana na umaskini
- 4) Nimepata ndugu wapya na marafiki
- 5) hakuna
- 6) Mengineyo (bainisha)

37. Have you experienced any psychological problems after marriage?

- 1) Like to stay alone
- 2) Loss of appetite
- 3) Do not like to take part in social activities.
- 4) Feeling of life as meaningless
- 5) Suicidal feeling
- 6) Other (specify)

Umekutana na matatizo gani ya kisaikolojia baada ya ndoa?

- 1) Hupenda kukaa pekeyangu
- 2) Kupoteza hamu ya kula
- 3) Kutopenda kushiriki kwenye shughuli za kijamii
- 4) Kuhisi maisha hayana maana
- 5) Hisia za kujiua
- 6) Mengineyo (bainisha)

38. Do you have any sexual problems?

- 1) Loss of sexual desire
- 2) Painful intercourse
- 3) Other (specify)
- 4) None

Je, una matatizo yoyote yanayohusiana na tendo la ndoa?

- 1) Kupotea kwa hamu ya tendo la ndoa
- 2) Maumivu wakati wa tendo la ndoa
- 3) Mengineyo (bainisha)
- 4) Hakuna

39. At what age did you become pregnant? (if ever)_____

Je, ulipata ujauzito katika umri gani? (kama umewahi)_____

40. Where did you deliver your baby?

- 1) At home
- 2) At a health facility
- 3) Dispensary
- 4) At a hospital
- 5) Other (specify)

Ulijifungulia wapi mtoto wako?

- 1) Nyumbani
- 2) Katika kituo cha afya
- 3) Zahanati
- 4) Hospitalini
- 5) Mengineyo (bainisha)

41. How many times do you take your baby to post-natal care?

- 1) At least once month
- 2) Once every few months
- 3) Once a year
- 4) I have never taken a child to post-natal care

Ni mara ngapi unampeleka mtoto wako kliniki kwa ajili ya huduma baada ya kujifungua?

- 1) Angalau mara moja kwa mwezi
- 2) Mara moja kila baada ya miezi kadhaa
- 3) Mara moja kwa mwaka
- 4) Sijawahi kumpeleka mtoto kwenye huduma baada ya kujifungua

42. How often does your baby get sick in a month?

- 1) At least once
- 2) Several times a month
- 3) Never

Ni mara ngapi mtoto wako anaugua ndani ya mwezi mmoja?

- 1) Angalau mara moja
- 2) Mara kadhaa ndani ya mwezi
- 3) Kamwe

43. Do you and your husband use any method of birth control?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No (If No why)

Je wewe na mumeo mnatumia njia yeyote ya uzazi wa mpango?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

44. Are you aware of any modern method of birth control?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je unafahamu njia zozote za kupanga uzazi za kisasa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapa

45. Have you heard of any ways that men or women can use to avoid pregnancy?

- 1) Yes (specify) Men _____

Women _____

- 2) No

Je unafahamu njia zozote za uzazi wa mpango ambazo wanaume na wanawake wanaweza kutumia kuinga ujauzito?

1) Ndio: wanawake (Elezea)_____

2) Ndio: wanaume_____

3) Hapana

46. Did any staff member at the health facility in your village speak to you about family planning method?

1) Yes

2) No

Je kuna mtoa huduma ya afya yoyote wa zahanati aliwahi kuongea nawe kuhusu njia za uzazi wa mpango?

1) Ndio

2) Hapana

47. When you got pregnant with (NAME) did you want/plan to get pregnant at that time?

1) Yes

2) No

Ulipokua mjamzito na (JINA) ulipanga kuwa ujauzito kwa wakati huo?

1) Ndiyo

2) Hapana

48. Do you think child marriage causes problems?

1) Yes

2) No

Unadhani ndoa za utotoni husababisha madhara?

1) Ndio

2) Hapana

49. Have you encountered any problems due to child marriage?

1) Unemployment

1= Yes

2=No

2) Less participation in social activities

1=Yes

2=No

3) School dropout

1=Yes

2=No

4) Lack of social prestige

1=Yes

2=No

5) No any problem encountered

1=Yes

2=No

6) Stigma

1=Yes

2=No

7) Health problems

1=Yes

2=No

8) Other (specify)_____

Umekutana na matatizo yeyote kutokana na ndoa ya utotoni?

1) Kutokua na ajira

1=ndio

2=hapana

2) Kutoshiriki katika maswala ya kijamii

1=ndio

2=hapana

3) Kuacha shule

1=ndio

2=hapana

4) Kukosa heshima katika jamii

1=ndio

2=hapana

5) Sijapata matatizo yeyote

1=ndio

2=hapana

6) Unyanyapaaaji

1=ndio

2=hapana

7) Matatizo ya kiafya

1=ndio

2=hapana

8) Mengineyo elezea

1=ndio

2=hapana

50. Have you experienced any complications during pregnancy and child birth?

1) Yes (Go to 51)

2) No (Go to 52)

Je, uliwahi kupata matatizo yeyote kipindi cha ujauzito na uzazi?

1) Ndio (nenda 51)

2) Hapana (Nenda n. 52)

51. What exactly were the complications _____

Ulipata matatizo gani? _____

52. Do you have co-wife/wives? (COWIFE)

- 1) Yes (Go to 53)
- 2) No (If no Go to 56)

Una mke mwenzako?

- 1) Ndio (Kama ndio nenda 53)
- 2) Hapana (Kama hapana nenda namba 56)

53. How many? _____

Wangapi? _____

54. How old is she/they? _____

Kama ndio, ana/wana umri gani? _____

56. Who decides on the following activities?

	Self	Husband	Both	other
Having and caring for children				
About one's health				
Financial matters				
Education				
Domestic and social work				

Nani ana maamuzi juu ya yafuatayo?

	Binafsi	Mume	Pamoja	Wengineo
Kupata na kulea watoto				
Juu ya afya binafsi				
Maswala ya kiuchumi				
Elimu				
Shughuli za nyumbani na kijamii				

57. Are there any existing laws, whether civil or traditional, in your community that protect a girl child from child marriage?

- 1) Yes (specify) _____
- 2) No
- 3) Don't know?

Je kuna sheria zozote za kiserikali au kimila zinazopinga ndoa za utotoni kwa mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Ndio (Elezea)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sijui

58. Where in your community do people go and report on issues concerning child marriage?

- 1) Media
- 2) Court
- 3) Police (Gender desk)
- 4) Village authority
- 5) NGOs
- 6) Other (Specify)

Katika jamii yako ni wapi wananchi huenda kutoa malalamiko kuhusiana na ndioa za utotoni?

- 1) Waandishi wa habari
- 2) Mahakama
- 3) Polisi (dawati la jinsia)
- 3) Serikali ya kijiji
- 4) Mashirika yasiyo ya kiserikali
- 5) Mengineyo (Bainisha)

OUTCOME OF INTERVIEW/ MATOKEO YA MAHOJIANO

Completed/Yamekamilika.....1

Incomplete/Hayajakamilika.....2

Refused/Yamekataliwa.....3

APPENDIX VII: Group C Questionnaire

Group C: Questions to those men (or Women) who Married Children

This section contains questions that will be asked to males or (females in the case of Mara) who married children only.

1. At what age did you marry? _____

Ultoa katika umri gani? _____

2. At what age was your bride when you married? _____

Mke wako alikua katika umri gani wakati wa kufunga ndoa? _____

3. What was the push factor behind your marriage? (PUSHFAC)

- 1) Tradition
- 2) Finished school
- 3) Everyone my age was getting married
- 4) My parents decided that I should get married
- 5) Other please specify _____

Sababu gani ilikusukuma wewe kuo?

- 1) Utamaduni
- 2) Kumaliza shule
- 3) Kila mmoja wa umri wangu alikua akifunga ndoa
- 4) Wazazi wangu waliamua nioe
- 5) Mengineyo (bainisha)

4. What type of marriage are you engaged into?

- 1) Arranged marriage
- 2) Consent marriage
- 3) Other (specify)

Je, ni aina gani ya ndoa ulionayo?

- 1) Ndoa ya kupangwa
- 2) Ndoa ya ridhaa
- 3) Mengineyo (bainisha)

5. How many wives do you have? _____

Una wake wangapi? _____

6. How old are they? _____

Umri wao ni miaka mingapi? _____

7. Is your marriage registered? (MREGIST)

- 1) Yes (Go to 8)
- 2) No (Go to 9)

Je ndoa yako imesajiliwa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

8. If yes, where (by whom) was it registered?
- 1) Civil registrar
 - 2) Traditional registrar
 - 3) Church/Mosque
 - 4) None
 - 5) Other (specify)_____

Kama ndio, wapi (na ni nani) aliandikisha ndoa yako?

- 1) Msajili wa umma
- 2) Msajili wa kimila
- 3) Kanisa au Msikiti
- 4) Hakuna
- 5) Mwingine (tafadhali elezea)_____

9. Do you know about the legal age of marriage in Tanzania for boys and girls?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No (Skip to Qn12)

Unafahamu juu ya umri halali wa ndoa kisheria hapa Tanzania?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

11. If yes, what is the legal age of marriage in Tanzania?_____

Kama ndio, umri gani ni halali kisheria Tanzania kwa kufunga ndoa? _____

12. What was your wife's level of education at the time of marriage?
- 1) Primary level
 - 2) Above primary level
 - 3) None
 - 4) Other (specify)_____

Je mke wako alikua na kiwango gani cha elimu wakati unamwoa?

- 1) Elimu ya Msingi
- 2) Zaidi ya elimu ya Msingi
- 3) Hana elimu
- 4) Nyinginezo (Tafadhali elezea)_____

13. What is your wife's ethnicity? _____

Mke wako ni kabila gani? _____

14. What is your wife's religion affiliation?
- 1) Christianity (Catholic)
 - 2) Christianity (protestant)
 - 3) Muslim
 - 4) Pagan
 - 5) Traditional beliefs
 - 6) Other (specify)

Mkeo ni muumini wa madhahebu gani ya dini?

- 1) Mkristo (Mkatoliki)
- 2) Mkristo (Mprotestanti)
- 3) Mwislam
- 4) Mpagani
- 5) Dini za kimila
- 6) Nyingine (elezea)

15. What do you think motivated you to marry your wife?

- 1) Love
- 2) Pregnancy
- 3) Family pressure
- 4) His personal interests
- 5) My/his family interests
- 6) Other (specify)

Je unafikiri nini kilikuvutia kumwoa mke wako?

- 1) Mapenzi
- 2) Mimba
- 3) Shinikizo la familia
- 4) Kwa mvuto wake mwenyewe
- 5) Kwa mvuto wa familia yangu na yake
- 6) Nyinginezo (tafadhali elezea)

16. Who decides on marriage in your family?

- 1) Father
- 2) Mother
- 3) Both parents
- 4) Oneself
- 5) Relatives
- 6) Other

Nani anafanya maamuzi juu ya ndoa katika kaya yenu?

- 1) Baba
- 2) Mama
- 3) Wazazi wote wawili
- 4) Binafsi
- 5) Ndugu
- 6) Mengineyo (bainisha)

17. Who do you think has the total right to decide the time and person to marry? (WHOSHLD)

- 1) Myself
- 2) Me or my wife
- 3) My wife and I together
- 4) Relatives
- 5) Other (specify)

Unadhani ni nani mwenye haki zote za kuamua muda na mtu wa kufunga nae ndoa?

- 1) Mimi
- 2) Mimi au mke wangu
- 3) Mimi na mke wangu pamoja
- 4) Ndugu wengine
- 5) Mengineyo (bainisha)

18. Do you have children? If yes, how many? _____

Una watoto? Kama jibu ni ndio, wangapi? _____

19. On your opinion, what are the consequences of child marriage on the following: (ONSEQ)
- | | | |
|---|--------|-------|
| 1) Health | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 2) Social wellbeing | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 3) Economy | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 4) Education | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 5) Other | 1) Yes | 2) No |
| 6) None (I think there are no consequences) | 1) Yes | 2) No |

Je, kwa maoni yako nini matokeo ya ndoa za utotoni katika haya yafuatayo?

- | | | |
|---|---------|-----------|
| 1) Afya | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 2) Ustawi wa jamii | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 3) Uchumi | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 4) Elimu | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 5) Mengineyo (bainisha) | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |
| 6) Hakuna (Nadhani hakuna matokeo/athari) | 1) Ndio | 2) Hapana |

20. Do you feel your work load and responsibilities are reduced or increased after marriage?
- 1) Reduced
 - 2) Increased
 - 3) As before

Je, unajihisi mzigo wako wa kazi na majukumu kupungua au kuongezeka baada ya kufunga ndoa?

- 1) Umepungua
- 2) Umeongezeka
- 3) Kama ulivokua kabla

21. Does your wife contribute to your family income?
- 1) Yes (Go to 22)
 - 2) No (Go to 24)

Je mke wako anachangia kipato katika kaya yako?

- 1) Ndio (nenda 22)
- 2) Hapana (Nenda 24)

22. What does she do? _____

Je anafanya shughuli gani? _____

23. How much does she contribute monthly? _____

Je anachangia kiasi gani kwa mwezi? _____

24. Do you have interest in engaging in income generating activities?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Je mke wako ana mwamko wa kujihusisha na shughuli za kujiingizia kipato?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

25. What are your wife's career goals?
- 1) Specify
 - 2) I have no idea (none)
 - 3) Not applicable

Nini malengo ya mke wako ya kazi?

- 1) Bainisha
- 2) Hana (sifahamu)
- 3) Haihusiki

26. Do you encourage your wife to engage in income generating activities?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je, unamhamasisha mke wako kujihusisha na shughuli zozote za kuingiza kipato?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

27. Do you give your wife money for her personal needs?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je, unampa mke wako pesa ya matumizi binafsi?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

28. How do you describe your relationship with your wife?

- 1) As a friend
- 2) Conflict of ideas and interests
- 3) Quarrelsome
- 3) Other (specify)

Unaelezeaaje uhusiano wako na mke wako?

- 1) Kama rafiki
- 2) Mgongano wa mawazo na maslahi
- 3) Ugomvi
- 4) Mengineyo (bainisha)

29. Have you ever beat or slap your wife?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je umewahi kumpiga au kumchapa mke wako makofi makofi?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

30. Have you ever threatened to abandon your wife or kick her out?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je umewahi kumtishia kumuacha au kumfukuza mke wako?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

31. Have you ever verbally abused your wife?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je umewahi kumdhaliisha mkeo kwa maneno?(Kumtusi, kumtolea maneno makali, kumgombeza hadharani)

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

32. Do you think it is justified for a husband to beat his wife?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je unafikiri ni sawa kwa mume kumpiga mkewe?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

33. What psychological benefits have you faced after marrying a younger wife?

- 1) Like to be with my spouse
- 2) Status (rite of passage)
- 3) Help with work
- 4) My sex life has improved
- 5) I have someone to take care of me at my old age
- 6) Nothing
- 7) Other (specify)

Ni faida gani za kisaikolojia umeshakutana nazo baada ya ndoa?

- 1) Napenda kuwa na mwenza wangu
- 2) Hadhi ya kuwa na mke kijana
- 3) Anasaidia sana kazi za nyumbani
- 4) Tendo la ndoa limeboresha
- 5) Nina mtu wa kunitunza nikizeeka
- 5) Hakuna
- 6) Mengineyo (bainisha)

34. What psychological problems have you faced after marrying a younger wife?

- 1) Worried she will leave me for a younger man
- 2) Worried she will cheat on our marriage
- 3) Afraid of persecution for marrying a child
- 4) Attracted too much attention
- 5) Worried that I will not be able to satisfy her sexually
- 6) Other (specify)

Mataizo gani ya kisaikolojia umeshakutana nayo baada ya ndoa baada ya kuo msichana mdogo?

- 1) Nina wasiwasi mke wangu ataniacha kwa ajili ya mume kijana
- 2) Nina wasiwasi anaweza kutokua mwaminifu katika ndoa
- 3) Nina hofu mkondo wa sheria unaweza kunifuatilia
- 4) Kuvuta hisia za watu tunapokua pamoja
- 5) Wasiwasi sitaweza kumridhisha kimapenzi
- 6) Mengineyo (bainisha)

35. At what age did your wife become pregnant become pregnant? (if ever) _____

Je mke wako alipata ujauzito katika umri gani? (kama umewahi) _____

36. Where did she deliver your baby?

- 1) At home
- 2) At a health facility
- 3) Dispensary
- 4) Hospital
- 5) Other (specify)

Alijifungulia wapi mtoto wako?

- 1) Nyumbani
- 2) Kituo cha afya
- 3) Zahanati
- 4) Hospital
- 5) Megnineyo (bainisha)

37. Does your wife take your baby to post-natal care?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

Je, mke wako anampeleka mtoto wako kupata huduma ya kliniki baada ya kujifungua?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

38. Do you accompany your wife to the doctor if she has to bring your child to be checked or treated?
- 1) At least once
 - 2) Several times a month
 - 3) Never

Je umewahi kumsindikiza mke wako katika kituo cha afya kumpeleka mtoto?

- 1) Angalau mara moja
- 2) Mara kadhaa ndani ya mwezi
- 3) Kamwe

39. Do you and your wife use any method of birth control?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Je wewe na mkeo mnatumia njia yeyote ya uzazi wa mpango?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

40. Are you aware of any modern method of birth control?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Je unafahamu njia yeyote ya kupanga uzazi za kisasa?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapa

41. Have you heard of any ways that men or women can use to avoid pregnancy? (PREGAVOI)
- 1) Yes (specify) Men: _____
Women _____

- 2) No

Je unafahamu njia zozote za uzazi wa mpango ambazo wanaume na wanawake wanaweza kutumia kuingia ujauzito?

- 1) Ndio: za wanawake (elezea) _____
- 2) Ndio: wanaume (elezea) _____
- 3) Hapana

42. Did any staff member at the health facility in your village speak to you about family planning method?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Je kuna mfanyakzi yoyote wa zahanati katika kijiji chako aliwahi kuongea nawe kuhusu njia za uzazi wa mpango?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

43. Do you think child marriage causes problems? (CMPROBS)
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No

Unadhani ndoa za utotoni husababisha madhara?

- 1) Ndio
- 2) Hapana

44. Has your wife ever experienced any complications during pregnancy and child birth?

- 1) Yes (Go to 45)
- 2) No (Go to 46)

Je, mke wako aliwahi kupata matatizo yeyote kipindi cha ujauzito na uzazi?

- 1) Ndio (Nenda 45)
- 2) Hapana (Nenda n. 46)

45. If Yes to N. 44 what exactly were the complications _____

Kama jibu ni ndio kwenye namba 44, alipata matatizo gani_____

46. Who decides on the following activities?

	Self	Husband	Both	other
Having and caring for children				
About one's health				
Financial matters				
Education				
Domestic and social work				

Nani ana maamuzi juu ya yafuatayo?

	Binafsi	Mume	Pamoja	Wengineo
Kupata na kulea watoto				
Juu ya afya binafsi				
Maswala ya kiuchumi				
Elimu				
Shughuli za nyumbani na kijamii				

47. Are there any existing laws, whether civil or traditional, in your community that protect a girl child from child marriage?

- 1) Yes (specify)_____
- 2) No
- 3) Don't know?

Je kuna sheria zozote za kiserikali au kimila zinazopinga ndoa za utotoni kwa mtoto wa kike?

- 1) Ndio (Elezea)
- 2) Hapana
- 3) Sijui

OUTCOME OF INTERVIEW/ MATOKEO YA MAHOJIANO

Completed/Yamekamilika.....1

Incomplete/Hayajakamilika.....2

Refused/Yamekataliwa.....3

APPENDIX VIII: In-depth Interviews Guide for Individuals (women, girls, men and boys)

Background

1. Can you briefly tell us about yourself?
Tafadhali kwa kifupi tuambie wewe ni nani?
2. What do you know about child marriage and why some parents choose to marry their daughters as children? (Probe for appropriate age, education attained, income, etc)
Unafahamu nini kuhusuana na ndoto za utotoni? (Zingatia umri, elimu aliyopata, kipato, n.k).
3. Are you aware of the government law that specifies minimum age of marriage? Please explain (Probe if they see the law as effective).
Je, unafahamu sheria yeyote ya serikali inayobainisha umri wa chini kabisa katika kufunga ndoa?
Tafadhali eleza

Cause, Consequences and Solutions for Child Marriage

4. What are the main causes of child marriage in your family/village/street? Are there families/villages/streets more at risk than others? (probe for economic, cultural, social, etc. factors)
Unafikiri nini kinasababisha ndoa za utotoni katika kijiji/mtaa? Je, unafikiri kuna familia au jamii ambazo ziko katika hali hatarishi zaidi ya kuathiriwa na ndoa za utotoni kuliko nyingine?
5. What are the main drivers of child marriage in your family/village/street? (probe for FGM, dowry, and initiation rites, etc).
Unafikiri nini huchochea ndoa za utotoni katika familia na kijiji chako?
(zingatia ukeketaji, mahari, mila, nk).
 - Do you think people are influenced by the actions of their neighbors or extended families? If so why?
Unafikiri watu wanashawishiwa na matendo ya majirani au wanafamilia mengine kuamwua kuwaoza watoto wakingali wadogo?
 - If neighbors and members of extended family marry their daughters young do you think people have an incentive to do so?
Kama majirani na wanafamilia wengine wanajihusisha na ndoa za utotoni, unafikiri hii ni motisha kwa watu wengine kufanya hivyo.
6. In your opinion, does religion play a contributing or preventing role in the whole context of early marriage?
Kwa mtazamo wako, dini inaweza kuchangia au kuzuia mazingira yanayoruhusu ndoa za utotoni?
7. In your opinion, do cultural practices play a contributing or preventing role in the whole context of early marriage?
Kwa mtazamo wako, mila na desturi inaweza kuchangia au kuzuia mazingira yanayoruhusu ndoa za utotoni?
8. In your opinion, do economic, social and political factors play a contributing or preventing role in the whole context of early marriage?
Kwa mtazamo wako, sababu za kiuchumi, kijamii, na kisiasa zinaweza kuchangia au kuzuia mazingira yanayoruhusu ndoa za utotoni?
9. What sorts of families commonly engage into the practice of early marriages? (probe for social status, economic condition, level of education, occupation and religion).
Ni familia za aina gani zinajihusisha sana na ndoa za utotoni? (Dodosa juu ya hali yao ya kijamii, kiuchumi, kielimu, kazi na dini (elezea sababu)?

10. What sorts of communities commonly engage into the practice of early marriages? (Probe for some ethnic, pastoralists, agriculturists, poor groups more at risk than others).
Je, ni jamii zipi zinajihusisha zaidi na ndoa za utotoni? (Zingatia wafugaji, wakulima au watu maskini)?
11. In your opinion, what do you consider to be decent life in marriage?
Kwa maoni yako maisha bora ni yapi?
12. Do you think girls/women who marry before or after 18 years of age experience decent marriage life? (Hint: Decent could be defined around happiness, good relation with their spouse, good health, decision making ability, etc.)
Je unafikiri wasichana/wanawake wanofunga ndoa wakiwa na umri kabla au baada ya miaka 18, ndoa zao zina ubora kuliko kuliko za walioolewa wakiwa watoto? (Maisha bora yanaweza kuwa: furaha, mahusiano mazuri na yenye usawa na waume zao, afya njema, uwezo wa kutoa maamuzi).
13. If people waited to marry their daughters later, what would be the repercussions?
Kama watu watawaoza watoto wao baadae nini kitatokea?
 - If people were to marry their daughters as early as possible what will be the benefits?
 - Kama watu watawaoza watoto wao mapema faida zake ni nini?
14. Do you think child marriage negatively or positively impacts on girls' lives and future prospects for them and their families? (Probe for education, income, sexual and reproductive health, etc)
Ni namna gani ndoa za utotoni zanaathiri maisha ya mtoto wa kike na ya familia zao?
13. Is there any impact (negative and positive) of child marriage? (probe for economic, social, education, etc.)
Una uelewa gani kuhusu na athari ya ndoa za utotoni?
14. Why do you think some girls delay their marriage? (Probe if level of education, income, etc play role)
Unadhani kwa nini wasichana wengine wanachelewa kuolewa? (dadisi kama kiwango cha elimu, kipato, n.k.vina mchango)
15. Are there any roles girls could play to prevent to end child marriage in your community?
Unafikiri wasichana wana majukumu gani wanaloweza kulifanya kukabiliana na ndoa za utotoni katika jamii yako?
16. Are there any roles family and village or community could play to end child marriage in your village?
Unafikiri familia ina majukumu gani wanaloweza kulifanya kukabiliana na ndoa za utotoni katika familia, kijiji au jamii yako?
17. For girls who are already married, how can they be supported to have a decent life?
Kwa wasichana ambao tayari wameshaolewa, unafikiri ni mbinu gani zitumike kuwasaidia ili waweze kuwa na maisha bora?
18. Is there anything that could be changed in terms of policy and laws to reduce the rates of child marriage?
Je unafikiri ni mkakati gani wa kisera na kisheria unahitajika kupunguza kasi ya ndoa za utotoni?
19. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent child marriage? (Probe for social, economic, political factors, policies, etc.)?
Je, nini kifanyike kuzuia ndoa za utotoni (ulizia kama hawajataja elimu, matarajio ya kazi, mwongezeko wa kipato kwa wazazi, n.k)?
20. Do you know of a situation where people were given incentives to keep girls in school? If so did that help to stop child marriage?
Je una taarifa zozote kuhusiana jamii ambayo watu walipewa motisha ili wawaache watoto wao mashuleni? Kama ndio je hii ilisaidia kupunguza ndoa za utotoni?
21. Do you think communities should agree to abandon the practice or it is possible for individuals to change their behaviors about child marriage? (Probe, if this would be enough or if people are afraid of being sanctioned, what should be done? Could money incentives work?)
Je, unafikiri jamii inabidi zikubaliane kuachana na ndoa za utotoni au inawezekana kwa watu binafsi kubadilika kuhusiana na ndoa za utotoni? (Ulizia kama inawezekana tu kwa watu binafsi kubadilika au watu wanaogopa kutengwa, kitu gani kifanyike? Je motisha ya kifedha inaweza kusaidia kutokomeza ndoa za utotoni?

APPENDIX IX: In-depth Interviews Guide for Early Married Females (including those who are above 18 now but married at under 18)

1. Please explain to us your relationship with your husband.
Hebu nieleezee kuhusu mahusiano yako na mumeo
2. Did you choose to get married to him? (Probe if there were there any other influences)
Je ulichagua kuolewa naye (Dodosa kama kuna vigezo vingine)
3. What drove you to marry him at the age you did?
Nini kilikuvutia kwake?
4. In your opinion, what do you consider to be decent life in marriage? (Hint: Decent could be defined around happiness, good relation with their spouse, good health, decision making ability, etc.) (please skip the question if she responded above)
Kwa maoni yako maisha bora ni yapi? (Maisha bora yanaweza kuwa: furaha, mahusiano mazuri na yenye usawa na waume zao, afya njema, uwezo wa kutoa maamuzi). (Tafadhali ruka hili swali kama mhojiwa ameshalijibu swali kabla).
5. Can you say you or other girls/women who marry before 18 years' experience more decent marriage life compared to those who marry at above 18 years?
Je unaweza kusema wewe au wasichana wengine walioolewa kabla ya miaka 18 wanaishi maisha bora ya ndoa kuliko wale walioolewa baada ya miaka 18?
6. Could you please explain your relationship with your husband when it comes to planning for your household/family and life in general? (Probe for husband job, income, decision making, etc.)
Nielezee kuhusu uhusiano wako na mumeo katika kupanga mikakati ya kaya/familia na maisha kwa ujumla. (Dodosa kazi na kipato cha mumeo wako, maamuzi, nk.)
7. Were your future prospects and plans fulfilled? Please explain.
Je mipango yako ya baadaye kimaisha ilikamilika? Tafadhali elezea.
8. Would your husband like you to continue with your education or learn any more skill?
Who would pay for it?
Je mumeo wako anapenda uendelee kimasomo na kiujuzi? Nani angelipia?
9. Do you engage in any income generating activities?
Please explain (probe for type, amount of income, etc)
Je unajishughulisha na kazi za kujipatia kipato? Tafadhali elezea. (Dodosa aina, kiasi cha kipato, nk.)
10. Is this (including those who say no in no.8) what you would like to do? Please explain.
Je hii (pamoja na waliojibu hapana no.8) ndiyo kazi ambayo ungependa kuifanya? Tafadhali elezea.
11. Has there been any experience any forms of abuse physically, mentally and sexually in your marriage? Please explain.
Je kumewahi kuweco na aina yoyote ya kukunyanyasika kimwili, kiakili na kingono katika ndoa yako? Tafadhali elezea.
12. Has he ever threatened to abandon you or chase you away? (probe on members of his family)
Je amewahi kukutishia kukufukuza au kukuacha? (ulizia kuhusu watu wengine wa familia ya mumeo wake)
13. Does your husband allow you to have friends, to visit with family and friends?
Je mumeo wako anakuruhusu kuwa na marafiki au kutembelewa na ndugu, jamaa na marafiki?
14. Have you lost any child or any experiences you have had with child birth? (Probe in case a respondent lost a child or experienced complications during pregnancy or child birth)
Na je umewahi kupoteza mtoto wakati wa uzazi au kupata matatizo yeyote ya kiafya wakati wa kujifungua?
15. Let's talk about your mental health: Are you happy? Do you ever feel hopeless, helpless and depressed?
Hebu tuongee kuhusu hali yako kiakili: Je una furaha? Je huwa unajisikia na hali ya unyonge, kukosa matumaini na huzuni mara nyingi?

Family Planning

16. Please explain if you have any children? How many children do you have? Did you plan to have these children at that particular time or later?
Tafadhali nieleze kama una watoto. Kama ndio unao watoto wangapi na umri wao? Kama ndio je lipanga kupata hawa watoto kwa wakati huo au baadae?
17. Are there services or places in your village/district where modern family planning is offered? Please explain? *(Probe for where do women go to seek these services if there are no services in your village/district?)*
Je kuna huduma zozote katika jamii unayoishi ambapo wasichana wanaweza kwenda kupata ushauri kuhusiana na uzazi wa mpango? Kama ndio ni nani anayetoa huduma hizo?
18. What is your village attitude/perception towards these services?
Wananchi wa kijiji chako chako wana mtazamo gani kuhusiana na huduma hizi za uzazi wa mpango?
19. Have you ever used/would you use such service if available?
Umewahi kutumia/unaweza kutumia huduma hiyo kama ipo?

APPENDIX X: In-depth Interviews Guide for Men married to girls/females (9-18 years) (including those girls/females who are above 18 now but married at under 18)

1. Please explain to us your relationship with your wife.
Hebu nielezee kuhusu mahusiano yako na mkeo
2. Did you choose to get married to her? (Probe if there were there any other influences)
Je ulichagua kumuoja (Dodosa kama kuna vigezo vingine)
3. What drove you to marry her at her age?
Nini kilikuvutia kwake?
4. In your opinion, what do you consider to be decent life in marriage? (Hint: Decent could be defined around happiness, good relation with their spouse, good health, decision making ability, etc.) (please skip the question if she responded above)
Kwa maoni yako maisha bora ni yapi? (Maisha bora yanaweza kuwa: furaha, mahusiano mazuri na yenye usawa na waume zao, afya njema, uwezo wa kutoa maamuzi). (Tafadhali ruka hili swali kama mhojiwa ameshalijibu swali kabla).
5. Can you say your wife or other girls/women who marry before 18 years experience more decent marriage life compared to those who marry at above 18 years?
Je unaweza kusema wewe au wasichana wengine walioolewa kabla ya miaka 18 wanaishi maisha bora ya ndoa kuliko wale walioolewa baada ya miaka 18?
6. Could you please explain your relationship with your wife when it comes to planning for your household/ family and life in general? (Probe for husband job, income, decision making, etc.)
Nielezee kuhusu uhusiano wako na mkeo katika kupanga mikakati ya kaya/familia na maisha kwa ujumla. (Dodosa kazi na kipato cha mume wako, maamuzi, nk.)
7. Do you know if your wife's future prospects and plans fulfilled? Please explain.
Je unafahamu kama mipango yako ya baadaye ya mke wako ilikamilika? Tafadhali elezea.
8. Would you like your wife to continue with education or learn any more skills? Who would pay for it?
Je ungependa mke wako aendelee kimasomo na kiujuzi? Nani angelipia?
9. Do you and/or your wife engage in any income generating activities? Please explain for each (probe for type, amount of income, etc)
Je wewe au mke wako anajishughulisha na kazi za kujipatia kipato? Tafadhali elezea. (Dodosa aina, kiasi cha kipato, nk.)
10. Is this (including those who say no in no.8) what she would like to do? Please explain.
Je hii (pamoja na waliojibu hapana no.8) ndiyo kazi ambayo mke wako angependa kuifanya? Tafadhali elezea.
11. Has there been any experience any forms of abuse physically, mentally and sexually in your marriage? Please explain.
Je kumewahi kuweco na aina yoyote ya kukunyanyasika kimwili, kiakili na kingono katika ndoa yako? Tafadhali elezea.
12. Have you ever felt like to abandon your wife, discontinuing your marriage, or asking her to leave?
Je amewahi kumtishia kumfukuza au kumuacha mkeo?
13. Do you feel comfortable if your wife spends time with friends, or visits with family and friends?
Je unajisikia Amani kama mke wako anakuwa na marafiki, au kutembelea familia yake na marafiki zake?
14. Have you lost any child or any experiences you have had with child birth? (Probe in case a respondent lost a child or experienced complications during pregnancy or child birth)
Na je umewahi kupoteza mtoto wakati wa uzazi au kupata matatizo yeyote ya kiafya wakati wa kujifungua?
15. Let's talk about your wife's mental health: Do you think your wife is happy? Does she ever feel hopeless, helpless and depressed?
Hebu tuingee kuhusu hali yake kiakili: Je ana furaha? Je huwa anajisikia na hali ya unyonge, kukosa matumaini na huzuni mara nyingi?

Family Planning

16. Please explain if you have any children? How many children do you have? Did you plan to have these children at that particular time or later?
Tafadhali nieleze kama una watoto. Kama ndio unao watoto wangapi na umri wao? Kama ndio je ulipanga kupata hawa watoto kwa wakati huo au baadae?
17. Are there services or places in your village/district where modern family planning is offered? Please explain? *(Probe for where do women go to seek these services if there are no services in your village/district?)*
Je kuna huduma zozote katika jamii unayoishi ambapo wasichana wanaweza kwenda kupata ushauri kuhusiana na uzazi wa mpango? Kama ndio ni nani anayetoa huduma hizo?
18. What is your village attitude/perception towards these services?
Wananchi wa kijiji chako chako wana mtazamo gani kuhusiana na huduma hizi za uzazi wa mpango? Kama hapana wasichana na kina mama huenda wapi kutafuta huduma hizi?
19. Have you ever used/would you use such service if available?
Umewahi kutumia/unaweza kutumia huduma hiyo kama ipo?

APPENDIX XI: In-depth Interviews Guide for Government Administrators

Introduction

1. Could you tell me what are the responsibilities of your current position?
Unaweza kunielezea majukumu ya nafasi yako ya sasa?
2. Which issues related to children are most important and why?
(Probe-about the girl-child and child marriage)
Ni maswala gani yanayohusu watoto unayaona ni ya muhimu na kwa nini? (Ulizia hususan kuhusu motto wa kike na ndoa za utotoni)
3. Do you feel the nation is responsive to children especially the girl-child demands in both rural and urban Tanzania?
Je unafikiri taifa letu ni sikivu kuhusiana na maswala ya watoto hususan mtoto wa kike kote vijijini na mijini nchini Tanzania?
4. Have you or any government official ever received complaints about child marriage performed in your area/district? What was the age of the bride? What was the age of the groom? Please explain the circumstances and outcomes?
Je wewe au ofisa mwingine wa serikali amewahi kupokea malalamiko kuhusiana na ndoa za utotoni zinafanyika katika wilaya yako au eneo lako? Umri wa bibi harusi ulikua upi? Umri wa bwana harusi ulikua upi? Tafadhali elezea mazingira na matokeo?

Cause, Consequences and Solutions for Child Marriage

- 5) What is your understanding of child marriage? (Probe for appropriate age, education attained, income, etc)
Unafahamu nini kuhusuana na ndoto za utotoni? (Zingatia umri, elimu aliyopata, kipato, n.k).
- 6) Are you aware of the government law or international convention that specifies minimum age of marriage? Please explain (Probe if they see the law as effective).
Je, unafahamu sheria yeyote ya serikali au kimataifa inayobainisha umri wa chini kabisa katika kufunga ndoa? Tafadhali eleza
- 7) What are the main causes of child marriage in the community you work and across regions of Tanzania? (Probe if some ethnic, pastoralists, agriculturists, poor groups, religion are more at risk than others?)
Unafikiri nini kinasababisha ndoa za utotoni katika mkoa unaofanyia kazi na katika mikoa tofauti? (Ulizia- Je, unafikiri kuna makundi maalum (wafugaji, makabila fulani, wakulima au watu maskini) ambayo yako katika hatari zaidi ya kuathiriwa na ndoa za utotoni kuliko mengine?)
- 8) What are the main causes of child marriage in the community (village, street, ward, etc) in which you work? Are there families/villages/streets more at risk than others? (probe for economic, cultural, social, etc. factors)
Unafikiri nini kinasababisha ndoa za utotoni katika jamii kijiji/mtaa unayofanyia kazi? Je, unafikiri kuna familia au jamii ambazo ziko katika hali hatarishi zaidi ya kuathiriwa na ndoa za utotoni kuliko nyingine?
- 9) What are the main drivers of child marriage in in the community (village, street, ward, etc) in which you work? (probe for FGM, dowry, and initiation rites, etc).
Unafikiri nini huchochea ndoa za utotoni katika familia na kijiji chako? (zingatia ukeketaji, mahari, mila, nk).
- 10) In your opinion, do economic, social (culture, religion, etc) and political factors play a contributing or preventing role in the whole context of early marriage?
Kwa mtazamo wako, sababu za kiuchumi, kijamii (mila, dini, nk), na kisiasa zinaweza kuchangia au kuzuia mazingira yanayoruhusu ndoa za utotoni?
- 11) What sorts of families and communities commonly engage into the practice of early marriages? (Probe for some ethnic, pastoralists, agriculturists, poor groups more at risk than others).
Je, ni jamii zipi zinajihusisha zaidi na ndoa za utototni? (Zingatia wafugaji, wakulima au watu maskini)?

12. What future prospects and plans do many girls have in this community?
Watoto wengi wa kike katika jamii hii wana mipango gani ya baadaye kimaisha?
13. What do you see as key school and home-related factors which contribute to some girls' successful transitions from primary to secondary school your community? (Probe– To what extent does this relate to education of parents there?)
Ni sababu gani katika jamii yako zinazohusiana na mazingira ya nyumbani ambazo zinaweza kuchangia mtoto wa kike kuendelea na masomo ya sekondari kutoka msingi? (Ulizia–Ni kwa kiasi gani hii inahusishwa na elimu)
14. Is there any impact (negative and positive) of child marriage? (probe for economic, social, education, etc.)
Una uelewa gani kuhusu na athari ya ndoa za utotoni?
15. Why do you think some girls delay their marriage? (Probe if level of education, income, etc play role)
Unadhani kwa nini wasichana wengine wanachelewa kuolewa? (dadisi kama kiwango cha elimu, kipato, n.k.vina mchango)
16. In the village/community you work in, what do you suggest should be done to effect change? (Probe in terms of policy and laws, social cultural factors?)
Katika jamii unayoishi, unafikiri ni nini kifanyike kuleta mabadiliko? (Ulizia mikakati ya kisera na kisheru, maswala ya kijamii na kiutamaduni?)
17. Who would be the critical players required to achieve this? (Probe for role of government, NGOs, policy makers, girls, parents, community, etc)
Nani watakua watendaji muhimu ile kufanikisha azma hii? (Dodosa wajibu wa serikali, taasisi binafsi, watunga sera, wasichana, wazazi, jamii, nk)
18. For girls who are already married, which are the major interventions or strategies required to support them to have a decent life? (Hint: Decent could be defined around happiness, good relation with their spouse, good health, decision making ability, etc.)
Kwa wasichana ambao tayari wameshaolewa, ni mbinu gani zitumike kuwasaidia ili waweze kuwa na maisha bora? (Maisha bora yanaweza kuwa: furaha, mahusiano mazuri na yenye usawa na waume zao, afya njema, uwezo wa kutoa maamuzi).

Implementation Questions

20. When international policies are adopted are you aware of steps are specifically taken by the government to implement these policies?
Mikataba ya kimataifa inaposainiwa nchini Tanzania, je unafahamu nini hufanyika kwa upande wa serikali ili kutekeleza sera hizi?
 - How does the government translate these policies into practices?
 - *Je serikali inafanya nini ili kutekeleza sera hizi kwa vitendo*
 - In terms of policies related to child marriage what has the government been doing to ensure the end to marrying children?
 - *Kwa upande wa sera zinazohusiana na ndoa za utotoni, serikali imekua ikifanya nini kuhakikisha inamaliza maswala ya ndoa za utotoni?*
21. In your opinion, do you think there are other government policies that lead communities to force their daughters into early marriages? (probe expulsion of pregnant girls)
Kwa mawazo yako, unafikiri kuna sera nyingine zozote za serikali zinazosababisha ndoa za utotoni? (ulizia kuhusu ufukuzaji wa wasichana mashueni wanapokua wajaawazito?)
21. Do you know of a situation where people were incentivized to keep their girls to school? (Probe also about any punitive measures for those who took their children out of school)
Je unahamu kama imewahi kutokea mahali watu wakapewa motisha kuwaacha wtoto wa kike mashuleni? (Pia ulizia kama wamewahi kuadhibiwa kwa kuwatoa watoto wa kike shuleni)?
22. If people in this community were to be convinced to abandon the practice of child marriage, what do you think should have been done to? (Probe will school be enough, money incentives, strong laws/punitive measures?)
Kama watu katika jamii wakashawishiwa kuachana na ndoa za utotoni, unafikiri nini kifanyike? (ulizia kama shule zinatoshia au motisha ya kifedha au sheria kali)

APPENDIX XII: In-depth Interviews Guide for NGOs Representatives Working With Children

Introduction and General Questions about the NGO

1. Could you start by telling me how have you been involved in this organization by telling me about your work; how did you choose to be involved in children related organization?
Unaweza kuniambia ni namna gani umekuwa ukijihusisha na hii asasi kwa kuniambia kazi zako, namna gani uliamwua kujihusisha na asasi zinazohusiana na watoto?
2. Which issues related to children are most important and why? (Probe-about the girl-child and child marriage)
Ni maswala gani yanayohusu watoto unayaona ni ya muhimu na kwa nini? (Ulizia hususan kuhusu motto wa kike na ndoa za utotoni)
3. Do you feel the nation is responsive to children especially the girl-child demands in both rural and urban Tanzania?
Je unafikiri taifa letu ni sikivu kuhusiana na maswala ya watoto hususan mtoto wa kike kote vijijini na mijini nchini Tanzania?
4. What is your work relation between your organization and the government?
Je uhusiano wako na serikali ukoje katika ufanyaji kazi?
5. What is the role of your organization in addressing issues of child marriage?
Je taasisi yako inafanya nini kupambana na ndoa za utotoni?
 - How does your organization inform the government and assist in awareness and fighting on issues related to child marriage? (probe on the NGO role in challenging and holding the government accountable on issues of child marriage)?
 - Je taasisi yako inafanya vipi kazi na serikali na kusaidia katika uelewa na upambanaji wa maswala ya ndoa za utotoni? (Ulizia kama NGO inafanya chochote na kuiwajibisha serikali katika maswala ya ndoa za utotoni)

Cause, Consequences and Solutions for Child Marriage

6. What is your understanding of child marriage? (Probe for appropriate age, education attained, income, etc)
Unafahamu nini kuhusuana na ndoto za utotoni? (Zingatia umri, elimu aliyopata, kipato, n.k).
7. Are you aware of the government law that specifies minimum age of marriage? Please explain (Probe if they see the law as effective).
Je, unafahamu sheria yeyote ya serikali inayobainisha umri wa chini kabisa katika kufunga ndoa? Tafadhali eleza
8. What are the main causes of child marriage in the community (village, street, ward, etc) in which you work? Are there families/villages/streets more at risk than others? (probe for economic, cultural, social, etc. factors)
Unafikiri nini kinasababisha ndoa za utotoni katika jamii kijiji/mtaa unayofanyia kazi? Je, unafikiri kuna familia au jamii ambazo ziko katika hali hatarishi zaidi ya kuathiriwa na ndoa za utotoni kuliko nyingine?
9. What are the main drivers of child marriage in in the community (village, street, ward, etc) in which you work? (probe for FGM, dowry, and initiation rites, etc).
Unafikiri nini huchochea ndoa za utotoni katika familia na kijiji chako? (zingatia ukeketaji, mahari, mila, nk).
10. In your opinion, do economic, social (culture, religion, etc) and political factors play a contributing or preventing role in the whole context of early marriage?
Kwa mtazamo wako, sababu za kiuchumi, kijamii (mila, dini, nk), na kisiasa zinaweza kuchangia au kuzuia mazingira yanayoruhusu ndoa za utotoni?
11. What sorts of families and communities commonly engage into the practice of early marriages? (Probe for some ethnic, pastoralists, agriculturists, poor groups more at risk than others).
Je, ni jamii zipi zinajihusisha zaidi na ndoa za utotoni? (Zingatia wafugaji, wakulima au watu maskini)?
12. What future prospects and plans do many girls have in this community?
Watoto wengi wa kike katika jamii hii wana mipango gani ya baadaye kimaisha?

13. *What do you see as key school and home-related factors which contribute to some girls' successful transitions from primary to secondary school your community? (Probe– To what extent does this relate to education of parents there?)*
 Ni sababu gani katika jamii yako zinazohusiana na mazingira ya nyumbani ambazo zinaweza kuchangia mtoto wa kike kuendelea na masomo ya sekondari kutoka msingi? (Ulizia–Ni kwa kiasi gani hii inahusishwa na elimu)
14. *Is there any impact (negative and positive) of child marriage? (probe for economic, social, education, etc.)*
 Una uelewa gani kuhusu na athari ya ndoa za utotoni?
15. *Have you or any member of your organization ever received complaints about child marriage performed in your area/district? What was the age of the bride? What was the age of the groom? Please explain the circumstances and outcomes?*
 Je wewe au ofisa mwingine wa serikali amewahi kupokea malalamiko kuhusiana na ndoa za utotoni zinafanyika katika wilaya yako au eneo lako? Umri wa bibi harusi ulikua upi? Umri wa bwana harusi ulikua upi? Tafadhali elezea mazingira na matokeo?
16. *Why do you think some girls delay their marriage? (Probe if level of education, income, etc play role)*
 Unadhani kwa nini wasichana wengine wanachelewa kuolewa? (dadisi kama kiwango cha elimu, kipato, n.k.vina mchango)
17. *What do you suggest should be done to effect change? (Probe in terms of policy and laws, interventions, strategies, social cultural factors?)*
 Katika jamii unayoishi, unafikiri ni nini kifanyike kuleta mabadiliko? (Ulizia mikakati ya kisera na kisheri, maswala ya kijamii na kiutamaduni?)
18. *Who would be the critical players required to achieve this? (Probe for role of government, NGOs, policy makers, girls, parents, community, etc)*
 Nani watakua watendaji muhimu ile kufanikisha azma hii? (Dodosa wajibu wa serikali, taasisi binafsi, watunga sera, wasichana, wazazi, jamii, nk)

APPENDIX XIII: Consent Form

Informed Consent for Child Marriage Study (REQUIRED)

Kielezo cha Ridhaa ya Utafiti wa Ndoa za Utotoni (INAHITAJIKA)

Informed Consent: Before beginning the interview, it is necessary to introduce the household to the survey and obtain their consent to participate. Make it clear to them that their participation in the survey is voluntary. Please read the following statement in the language of interview:

Ridhaa: kabla ya kuanza mahojiano, ni muhimu kuitambulisha kaya kwa utafiti na kupata ridhaa yao kushiriki. Iweke wazi kwao kwamba kushiriki kwao ni hiari. Tafadhali soma taarifa ifuatayo katika lugha ya mahojiano.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak with you. We are a research team from REPOA .We are conducting a survey to learn about child marriage in your village. You have been selected to participate in an interview which includes questions on topics such as your family background, dwelling characteristics, asset ownership, income earning activities and your knowledge on issues related to child marriage. The survey includes both a section to be asked about the household generally, in addition to sections which will be asked to a primary adult male and female in your household if applicable. These questions in total will take approximately 1.5 hours to complete and your participation is entirely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you can choose to stop at any time or to skip any questions you do not want to answer. Your answers will be completely confidential; we will not share information that identifies you with anyone. After entering the questionnaire into a data base, we will destroy all information such as your name which will link these responses to you.

We will also interview other households in your community and in other parts of Tanzania. After we collect all the information we will use the data for programming and raising awareness on child marriage issues. Do you have any questions about the study or what I have said? If in the future you have any questions regarding study and the interview, or concerns or complaints we welcome you to contact REPOA by calling +255 22 2700083.

Asante kwa fursa ya kuzungumza nanyi. Sisi ni watafiti kutoka REPOA. Tunafanya utafiti kujifunza kuhusu ndoa za utotoni katika mkoa huu. Umechaguliwa kushiriki katika mahojiano ambayo yanajumuisha maswali juu ya mada mbalimbali kama vile historia ya familia, tabia za makazi, umiliki wa mali, shughuli za kuingiza kipato na uelewa wako kuhusu ndoa za utotoni. Utafiti unajumuisha vyote, sehemu itakayoulizwa kaya kwa ujumla, na kwa kuongezea sehemu itakayoulizwa kwa wake au kwa waume katika kaya kama inahusika. Maswalihaya yatachukua jumla ya takriban saa moja na nusu kumalizika na ushiriki wenu ni hiari kabisa. Kama ukikubali kushiriki unaweza kuchagua kuacha wakati wowote au kuruka swali lolote usilotaka kujibu. Majibu yenu yatakua siri kabisa; hatutashiriki taarifa hizi zinazowatambulisha ninyi kwa mtu yoyote. Tukishaingiza mahojiano haya katika data ya msingi,tutaharibu taarifa zote kama vile majina yenu ambayo yataunganish amajibu haya na ninyi.

Pia tutahoji kaya nyingine katika jamii yenu na katika sehemu nyinigne za Tanzania. Baada ya kukusanya taarifa zote tutatumia data kutengeneza utafiti kuhusu ndoa za utotoni na namna jamii inavyoweza kuwasaidia waathirika. Mna swali lolote kuhus utafiti huu au hiki nilichosema? Kama baadae mtakua na swali lolote, kuhusiana na utafiti na mahojiano, au wasi wasi au malalamiko, tunawakaribisha kuwasiliana na REPOA kwa kupiga namba +255 22 2700083.

Please ask the participants (male and female) if they consent to the participation in the study (check one box):

Tafadhali waulize washiriki (wakike na kiume) kama wanaridhia kushiriki katika utafiti (tiki kiboksi)

	YES NDIO	NO HAPANA		YES NDIO	NO HAPANA		YES NDIO	NO HAPANA
Participant 1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Participant 2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Participant 3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mshiriki 1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mshiriki 2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mshiriki 3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I _____, the enumerator responsible for the interview taking place on _____, 2015 certify that I have read the above statement to the participant and they have consented to the interview. I pledge to conduct this interview as indicated on instructions and inform my supervisor of any problems encountered during the interview process.

If the household does not give consent to all of the data collection, stop the interview and inform your team leader. Team leaders will discuss the reason for this refusal and decide whether a partial data collection is possible for this household.

Mimi _____ mhojaji ninayewajibika na mahojiano yanayofanyika katika _____, 2015 nathibitisha kwamba nimesoma taarifa hapo juu kwa washiriki na wamerigjia mahojiano. Naahidi kufanya mahojiano haya kama ilivyoelekezwa kwenye maelezo na kutaarifu msimamizi wangu juu ya matatizo yoyote tayakayojitokeza wakati wa chakato wa mahojiano.

Kama kaya hairidhikii na ukusanyaji wote wa data sitisha mahojiano na mtaarifu kiongozi wako wa timu. Viongozi wa tumu watajadili sababu ya kukataliwa huko na kuamua kama sehemu ndogo ya ukusanyaji wa data inawezekana kwa kaya hii.

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