

**EARLY MARRIAGES IN UGANDA: A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF
DETERMINANTS ACROSS REGIONS**

- 1. Otim Jude** (Kyambogo University)
- 2. Wamala Robert** (Makerere University)

Background: Early marriage is any marriage associated with persons under the age of 18. Worldwide, early marriage disproportionately affects females, and is associated with high teenage pregnancies, alongside its negative effects. While early marriage is common in Uganda (49%), it is highest in Eastern (30%) and lowest in Central (19%); as such, not all girls face the same risk of early marriage even within a country. The factors that influence early marriages are important to know for policy implication purposes in Uganda. This study aims to investigate the socio-economic and enabling factors that influence early marriages across the regions of Uganda.

Methods: Using a weighted sample of 13,768 ever married women from the 2016 Uganda Demographic and Health Survey. Frequency distributions were used to describe the background characteristics of the women. Pearson's chi-square (χ^2) test was used to investigate the associations between early marriage and socio-economic and enabling factors and multivariable logistic regression analyses were used to examine the net-effect of socio-economic and enabling factors on early marriage.

Results: Early marriage was highest among women in Eastern region (30%), followed by Northern (27%) and Western (25%) while Central had the lowest proportion at 19%. Across the regions, the key determinants of early marriage were education level, age at first birth and age at first sex ($p < 0.05$). However, residence, wealth status and religion were only predictors of early marriage in Western region ($p < 0.05$).

Conclusions: The study underscores the need to strengthen strategies that promote girl child education, delayed initiation of sexual intercourse and child birth as measures for addressing early marriage across regions. In light of the variations in factors across regions, there is also a need to employ interventions that target women in particular regions.

Keywords: Early marriage, Region, Uganda

Introduction

Early marriages are among the main barriers to attainment of gender equality, equity and development in many developing countries (UNICEF, 2018); McCleary-Sills *et al.*, 2015). Early marriages increase the risk of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases, HIV, cervical cancer, obstetric fistulas, neonatal and maternal mortality (Singh and Samara, 2010; Rubin *et al.*, 2009; UNICEF, 2017; Nour, 2006; Jain and Kurz, 2007; Malhotra, 2010; Hindin and O. Fatusi, 2009). Globally, over 41,000 girls are affected by early marriage daily (Kes, John, Murithi, Steinhaus, & Petroni, 2017) and about 700 million women were married before their 18th birthday in 2014 (UNICEF, 2014a). If it is not prevented, the total number of women involved in early marriages is expected to increase from about 700 million to about 1.2 billion by 2050 (United Nations Children's Fund, 2014; Girls not brides, 2014).

In Uganda, early marriage is estimated at 49% (UDHS, 2016), one of the highest in the region and elsewhere (Mark Evenhjus and Jennifer Burn, 2014; UNFPA and UNICEF, 2018). While early marriage is common in Uganda, prevalence was noted highest in Eastern (30%), followed by Northern (27%), Western (25%) and lastly, Central (19%) (UDHS, 2016). Studies done on early marriage in Uganda focused on the determinants of early marriage in Uganda as a whole, in Western Uganda, statistics of early marriage, early marriage as purely a cultural phenomenon, and the effect of the enactment of the death penalty on child marriage in Uganda (UDHS, 2016; Natal Ayiga, 2013; Lubaale, 2013; Agaba *et al.*, 2006; Malé and Wodon, 2016). Studies done, do not appreciate the fact that not all girls face the same risk of becoming child brides even within a country (UNICEF, 2014a), and as such therefore, it becomes inevitable to witness the ever growing levels of early marriage across the country. Several factors are associated with early marriage, such as; wealth status, education level, residence, age at first sex, age at first birth, age of the household head, religious affiliation, and ethnicity (UDHS, 2016; Natal Ayiga, 2013; Lubaale, 2013; Agaba *et al.*, 2006; Malé and Wodon, 2016). However, due to variations in factors responsible for the causation of early marriage within countries, it is vital to separately identify them and develop workable solutions towards its complete eradication. While early marriage is common in Uganda, prevalence was noted highest in Northern (59%), followed by Western (58%), Eastern (52%), East Central (52%), West Nile (50%), Central (41%), South West (37%), and lowest in Kampala (21%)(Afghani *et al.*, 2018; Government of Uganda, 2015). It is in this regard that this study intends to understand early marriage across regions in Uganda. The data in the study was weighted. Figure 1.1 presents a derivation of the sample adopted in the study.

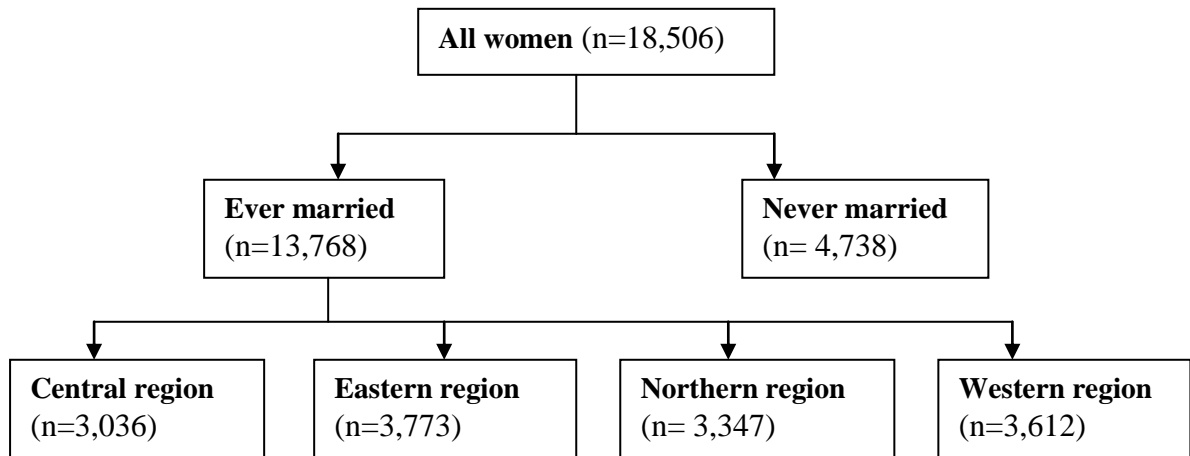


Figure 1.1 Derivation of the sample adopted in the investigation

Methods

Data obtained from the Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys (UDHS) conducted in 2016 were used. Surveys were conducted by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics. The Survey was a cross-sectional survey that collected comparable demographic and health data on women of ages, 15 – 49 in the survey periods. The samples were obtained using a two-stage cluster sampling design process which was used in the UDHS in the 2009/10 Uganda National Household survey beginning with the selection of clusters, followed by the selection of households from each cluster (UDHS, 2016). A detailed description of sampling procedures is reported in the UDHS report 2016. The 2016 UDHS interviewed 18,506 women aged 15–49 years. Only women who have ever been married were included in the sample and gave a total number of 13,768 women who were assessed in the study with 3036 were in Central, 3773 in Eastern, 3347 in Northern and 3612 were in Western region. Since this study used secondary data, research permission was obtained from MeasureDHS; data was obtained freely through submission of an abstract.

Variables and measurements

The outcome variable early marriage was assessed in the study using a binary outcome i.e. whether or not a woman got married below the age of 18. It was assessed using the question of how old were you when you first started leaving with a man?

Measures of Socio-economic and enabling factors

The explanatory variables include;

Education level, Wealth status, Religion, Age at First Sex, Age at First Birth, and Residence. Religion was categorised as Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and Pentecostals and Others. The category ‘Others’ comprised smaller religious groups; orthodox, baha’i, Baptist, Presbyterian, mammon, jehovah’s

witness, salvation army, seventh day Adventists, and the traditional believers. Wealth status was assessed using wealth index. Wealth index is a composite measure of a household's cumulative living standard. It is calculated using data on a household's ownership of assets, such as televisions and bicycles; materials used for housing construction; and types of water access and sanitation facilities. Wealth had five categories including: poorest, poorer, middle, richer and richest. Education level was categorised into the categories: none, primary and secondary or higher and residence was measured as urban or rural. The enabling characteristics included the age at first sex which was categorised as having sex before 18 years of age and having sex at 18 years and above. Age at first birth was categorised as having first child birth before 18 years of age, or between 18 to 24 years of age or at 25 years of age and above.

Statistical analysis

First, a descriptive summary of socio-economic and enabling characteristics of women across regions was done using frequency distributions. Second, an assessment of variations in early marriage by socio-economic and enabling characteristics of women across the regions was done using cross-tabular analysis and associations investigated using the Pearson Chi-square test. Third, the net-impact of socio-economic and enabling characteristics on early marriage was assessed using a logistic regression analysis in obtaining the likelihood estimates of early marriages across regions. The application of a logistic regression was based on the fact that early marriage is modelled with a binary outcome i.e. whether or not a woman got married before 18 years. Odds Ratios (OR) reporting 95 % confidence intervals were used in presentation of the results.

Results

Descriptive characteristics

Table 1, presents the descriptive results. Table 1 shows that across regions, Northern had the highest proportion with no education (21%) compared to the rest. Central had the highest with education (52%), Eastern, Northern, and Western region reported high numbers in primary level of education with 65%, 65%, and 62% respectively. Most women in Eastern (87%), Northern (86%) and Western region (80%) were rural residents, with about a half in central region (49%). The highest numbers of women were Christians i.e. Catholics and Protestants, followed by Muslims and Pentecostals. More than half of the women had first sex when they were below 18 years; with the highest proportion in Eastern (66%) and Northern region (58%) whereas Central and Western regions had the lowest, with 55% and 55% respectively.

Table 1: Distribution of women by socio-economic and enabling factor

Characteristics	Regions (%)			
	Central (n=3,036)	Eastern (n=3,764)	Northern (n=3,374)	Western (n=3,612)
Education level				
No education	5	7	21	12
Primary	43	65	65	62
Higher	52	28	15	26
Residence				
Urban	51	13	14	20
Rural	49	87	86	80
Religion				
Catholic	35	29	61	41
Protestant	26	36	23	39
Muslim	19	16	8	4
Pentecostal	18	16	9	10
Others	3	3	1	6
Wealth status				
Poor	11	48	74	30
Middle	13	22	10	29
Rich	77	31	16	41
Age at first sex				
Not had sex	14	14	16	15
Below 17	55	66	58	55
Above 18	31	20	27	31
Age at first birth				
Below 17	38	46	41	34
18-24	55	50	55	59
25+	8	4	4	7

Table 2: Distribution of Early Marriage by socio-economic and enabling factors responsible across the regions of the country

Characteristics	Regions							
	Central		Eastern		Northern		Western	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Education level								
No education	39	61	37	63	50	50	45	56
Primary	45	55	40	60	40	61	49	51
Higher	74	26	74	26	70	30	78	22
	$\chi^2= 275.2930, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 322.4436, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 137.3172, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 215.0292, p\leq 0.001$	
Religion								
Catholics	56	44	49	51	49	51	57	43
Protestant	59	41	45	55	43	57	53	47
Muslim	56	44	48	52	41	59	52	48
Pentecostal	61	39	49	51	40	61	54	46
Others	68	32	52	49	52	48	51	49
	$\chi^2= 9.7875, p=0.044$		$\chi^2= 6.9671, p=0.138$		$\chi^2= 15.6006, p=0.004$		$\chi^2= 7.9051, p=0.095$	

Wealth index								
Poor	43	57	43	57	44	56	49	51
Middle	50	50	44	56	41	59	53	47
Rich	62	38	59	41	58	42	60	40
	$\chi^2= 64.4391, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 76.3270, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 31.6263, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 29.9718, p\leq 0.001$	
Residence								
Urban	66	34	60	41	56	44	64	36
Rural	51	49	46	54	45	56	53	48
	$\chi^2= 68.0479, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 28.1497, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 19.7829, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 28.4558, p\leq 0.001$	
Age at first sex								
17 and below	42	58	36	64	29	71	36	65
18 and above	89	11	87	13	83	17	88	12
	$\chi^2= 592.2179, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 670.4323, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 855.1255, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 924.7368, p\leq 0.001$	
Age at first birth								
Below 17	24	76	20	80	11	89	13	87
18 – 24	75	25	68	32	67	33	73	28
25+	96	4	95	5	91	10	93	7
	$\chi^2= 813.6773, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 930.0413, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 1.0, p\leq 0.001$		$\chi^2= 1.2, p\leq 0.001$	

Table 2 shows the results of the cross tabulation (chi-square tests) between early marriage and socio-economic and enabling factors by regions. In Table 2, religion was the only socio-economic variable that was not significantly associated at bivariate level with early marriage across regions ($p>0.05$). The rest of the socio-economic variables were significant across the regions; education level, wealth index, and residence ($p<0.05$).

Furthermore, Table 2 show that the enabling factors (age at first birth and age at first sex) were significantly associated at bivariate level with early marriage across regions ($p<0.05$).

In Table 3, using the multivariable logistic regression model, the net impact of the explanatory variables was assessed on early marriage with all the variables analysed at bivariate level.

Table 3: Logistic regression results

Variables	Regions							
	Central		Eastern		Northern		Western	
	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI	OR	95% CI
Education level								
No education†	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.
Primary	0.82	0.58-1.17	1.17	0.89-1.53	1.06	0.85-1.32	0.93	0.72-1.19
Secondary	0.50***	0.34-0.73	0.52***	0.38-0.73	0.59**	0.40-0.87	0.45***	0.32-0.64
Higher	0.24***	0.14-0.42	0.19***	0.09-0.41	0.38**	0.21-0.71	0.23***	0.11-0.46
Religion								
Catholic†	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.
Protestant	1.21	0.75-1.21	1.21	0.99-1.48	0.97	0.77-1.23	1.27*	1.04-1.55
Muslim	0.92	0.82-1.37	0.92	0.72-1.19	1.21	0.87-1.69	1.13	0.72-1.78
Pentecostal	1.02	0.69-1.20	1.02	0.79-1.32	1.25	0.89-1.76	1.03	0.76-1.39
Others	0.85	0.46-1.50	0.85	0.51-1.42	2.32	0.81-6.63	0.87	0.59-1.29

Wealth status								
Poorest†	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.
Poorer	0.99	0.58-1.71	1.01	0.81-1.26	1.21	0.96-1.53	1.37	0.98-1.92
Middle	0.75	0.45-1.26	1.02	0.80-1.29	1.30	0.94-1.79	1.36	0.97-1.89
Richer	0.87	0.53-1.44	0.86	0.66-1.11	1.02	0.73-1.46	1.54*	1.09-2.18
Richest	0.86	0.51-1.45	0.71	0.49-1.04	0.69	0.43-1.09	1.38	0.92-2.11
Residence								
Urban†	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.	1.00	.
Rural	1.25	0.98-1.60	0.88	0.65-1.20	1.10	0.82-1.47	1.42**	1.10-1.83
Age at first sex								
Below 17†	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
Above 18	0.25***	0.20-0.32	0.25***	0.20-0.32	0.22***	0.18-0.28	0.20***	0.16-0.24
Age at first birth								
Below 17†	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
18-24	0.19***	0.16-0.23	0.19***	0.16-0.23	0.11***	0.09-0.14	0.12***	0.09-0.14
25+	0.05***	0.02-0.09	0.03***	0.01-0.07	0.03***	0.02-0.06	0.03***	0.01-0.04

* p< 0.05- **p< 0.01- *** p< 0.001; †= reference category

OR Odds Ratios

CI confidence interval

Discussion

The analysis reveals that the factors associated with early marriage across the regions of the country are; education level, age at first sex, and age at first birth. Religion, residence and wealth status were only predictors in some regions. In regards to education level, the study divulged that higher education levels (secondary and higher) were associated with reduced odds of early marriage; which may be attributed to the delay in age at marriage caused by advancement in education. This study finding resonates with the research results that note that education is focal in delaying marriages (Addaney and Azubike, 2017; Offorma, 2015). In line with this, a number of avenues to promote education in Uganda, more so girl child education have been established (Government of Uganda and UNICEF, 2015). However, more efforts are still required in some regions, due to the fact that the odds ratios decrease as education level increases but at a much slower rate especially for the girls in Northern and Western region (UDHS, 2016). There is therefore need to understand the factors that account for such variations in the education sector. Besides, the significance in age at first sex and first birth reverberates with the argument that early age of exposure to sexual activity increases on the likelihood of pregnancy and child birth, and thereby early marriage; this could be because in many Ugandan communities, teenage pregnancies and births are associated with disrespect, bad omen and bad influence in the community, which therefore propels early marriage across the country (Government of Uganda and UNICEF, 2015; Ahikire J., and Madanda A., 2011). This coincides with studies which note that early involvement in sex results into increased chances of early marriage due to the possible

outcome of pregnancy and child birth together with its resultant effects (Government of Uganda and UNICEF, 2015; Ahikire J., and Madanda A., 2011). Therefore, later engagement in sexual activity and child birth should be promoted across all the regions through the involvement of schools, parents, guardians, religious and cultural leaders in girl child sex education, financial and social support of the girl child.

The study indicated that wealth status significantly predicted early marriage among women in Western region; where women from richer wealth index had increased odds of marrying early as compared to women from the poorest wealth index. This study finding however, contradicts with studies that observe that it is poverty that influences early marriage across the regions because it lowers a woman's future expectations and sees early marriage as the only available opportunity for survival, and as an avenue for the parents to off-set themselves from financial burdens (Montazeri *et al.*, 2016; Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi, 2003; Rubin *et al.*, 2009). We therefore suggest that future studies be directed towards understanding the association between women from richer wealth index and early marriage in Western Uganda.

Our findings identified that religion significantly predicted early marriage in only Western region; whereby, protestant women had increased odds of marrying early compared to the Catholic women. Importantly, there have been no studies done to justify this variation by region of religion within any country. This therefore, informs prospect studies to focus on understanding the relationship between protestant religion and early marriage in Western Uganda.

In addition, the study results also reveal that rural residence is significantly associated with early marriage in Western region. Studies that have been done provide a general comparison of rural and urban residence in association with early marriages in a country; whereby, early marriage in rural areas is considered highest, since it is one form of legacy from the older generations to be preserved (UNICEF, 2014; Natanael M. J., Fajar M. R., 2013; UNFPA, 2012). However, no study has been conducted to understand the variations of early marriage across regions of a country based on rural and urban residence, which therefore, proposes future studies in regards to this area for total elimination of early marriages within a country.

The potency of this manuscript is that the analysis was based on the Uganda Demographic Survey data that is nationally representative.

Conclusion

The predictors of early marriage among women across regions were education level, age at first sex and age at first birth. Therefore, as Uganda continues to focus on maternal and child health by ending early marriages, it is prudent that the government understands and appreciates the regional variations in cause of early marriage. The findings of the study direct to the need for government to develop and improve on the strategies to end the vice. This finding further suggests that messages that promote early marriage in the rural areas be de-popularized by completely eliminating culturally harmful practices through de-politicizing efforts that end the practice; for example elimination of female genital mutilation, bride price and pride embedded in early marriage of the girl child in the rural areas. Additionally, the findings of the study informs government on early marriage to embrace the following strategies; mandatory free girl child education at all levels, mandatory parent education on girl child support, mandatory sex education for girls at school, and promotion of women/girl equity in society in regard to service provisions across regions. Hold sensitizations and dialogues with civil organizations, protestant religious leaders, cultural leaders and the people in Western Uganda about the disadvantages early marriage to their girl child, particularly the protestant's and those in the richer wealth index.

Availability of data

Data used is available, and please find it attached in mail. This data can be accessed from the DHS (Demographic Health Survey) program, with permission (<https://dhsprogram.com/what-we-do/survey/survey-display-504.cfm>).

References

- Addaney, M., & Azubike, O. (2017). Education As a Contrivance To Ending Child Marriage in Africa : Perspectives From Nigeria and Uganda. *Amsterdam Law Forum*, 9:2(May), 111–130.
- Ahikire J., and M. A. (2011). *A Survey on Re-entry of Pregnant girls in Primary and secondary Schools in Uganda*. Kampala, Uganda: FAWE Uganda. Retrieved from [http://www.education.go.ug/files/downloads/gender_Report on Girls Re-ntry in school.pdf](http://www.education.go.ug/files/downloads/gender_Report%20on%20Girls%20Re-ntry%20in%20school.pdf)
- Ann Warner and Allie McGonagle Glinski. (2014). *Understanding the scale of child marriage. A user guide by girls not brides*. Retrieved from <http://www.girlsnotbrides.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/GNB-factsheet-on-child-marriage-numbers-Oct-2014.pdf>
- Government of Uganda and UNICEF. (2015). *2014/2015 – 2019/2020*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/uganda/NATIONAL_STRATEGY_ON_CHILD_MARRIAGE-PRINT_READY.pdf
- Hindin, M. J., & O. Fatusi, A. (2009). Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health in Developing Countries: An Overview of Trends and Interventions. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*. <https://doi.org/10.1363/3505809>
- Jain, S., & Kurz, K. (2007). New Insights on Preventing Child Marriage: A Global Analysis of Factors and Programs, (April), 1–60. <https://doi.org/10.1002/aenm.201100274>
- Kes, A., John, N., Murithi, L., Steinhaus, M., & Petroni, S. (2017). *Economic Impacts of Child Marriage: Global Synthesis Report*. Washington, DC: The World Bank and International Center for Research on Women.
- Lubaale, Y. M. a. (2013). Child Marriages in Uganda after Enacting the Death Penalty for Defilement. *Psychology and Behavioral Sciences*, 2(3), 138. <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.pbs.20130203.19>
- Malé, C., & Wodon, Q. (2016). BASIC PROFILE OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN UGANDA Child Marriage Series with Education Global Practice Health, Nutrition and Population Global Practice Knowledge Brief, 1–4. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/130701467995446706/pdf/106421-BRI-ADD-SERIES-PUBLIC-HNP-Brief-Uganda-Profile-CM.pdf>
- Malhotra, A. (2010). *The Causes, Consequences and Solutions to Forced Child Marriage in the Developing World*. Washington, D.C. Retrieved from <http://www.icrw.org/files/images/Causes-Consequences-and-Solutions-to-Forced-Child-Marriage-Anju-Malhotra-7-15-2010.pdf>
- Mark Evenhnius and Jennifer Burn. (2014). *Just married , just a child*. Southbank: Plan International Australia.

- McCleary-Sills, J., Hanmer, L., Parsons, J., & Klugman, J. (2015). Child Marriage: A Critical Barrier to Girls' Schooling and Gender Equality in Education. *Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 13(3), 69–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2015.1075755>
- Montazeri, S., Gharacheh, M., Mohammadi, N., Alaghband Rad, J., & Eftekhar Ardabili, H. (2016). Determinants of Early Marriage from Married Girls' Perspectives in Iranian Setting: A Qualitative Study. *Journal of Environmental and Public Health*, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2016/8615929>
- Natal Ayiga. (2013). Determinants of age at first marriage in sub-Saharan Africa : A comparative study of Uganda and South Africa. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 28(1), 9–35.
- Natanael M. J., Fajar M. R., and M. R. (2013). Prevalence of Child Marriage and Its Determinants among Young Women in Indonesia. In *Child Poverty and Social Protection Conference* (pp. 1–27). Indonesia: The SMERU Research Institute.
- Nour, N. M. (2006). Health consequences of child marriage in Africa. *Emerging Infectious Diseases*. <https://doi.org/10.3201/eid1211.060510>
- Offorma, G. (2009). Girl-Child Education in Africa. Lagos. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280554452_GIRL-CHILD_EDUCATION_IN_AFRICA
- Otoo-Oyortey, N., & Pobi, S. (2003). Early marriage and poverty: Exploring links and key policy issues. *Gender and Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/741954315>
- Peninah Agaba, L. K. A. and G. R. (2006). Determinants of Age at First Marriage Among Women In Western Uganda. In *Sixth African Population Conference*. Retrieved from <https://uaps2011.princeton.edu/abstracts/110301>
- Rubin, D., Green, C., & Mukuria, A. (2009). *Addressing early marriage in Uganda*.
- Sheeba Afghani, I. A. B. and L. D. (2018). *The Multi-Sectoral Communication For Development Strategy For Adolescent Girls*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/uganda/Uganda_AG_C4D_STRATEGY_-_LORES_10102018.pdf
- Singh, S., & Samara, R. (2010). Early Marriage Among Women in Developing Countries. *International Family Planning Perspectives*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2950812>
- UDHS. (2016). *Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) and ICF. 2018. Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2016. Kampala, Uganda and Rockville, Maryland, USA: UBOS and ICF.*
- UNFPA. (2012). *Marrying too young: End Child Marriage*. UNFPA. New York, NY 10158: United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Retrieved from <http://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/MarryingTooYoung.pdf>
- UNFPA and UNICEF. (2018). *2017 Annual Report Country Profiles*. Retrieved from

https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/Global_Programme_Child_Marriage_Country_Profiles_2017.pdf

UNICEF. (2014a). *Ending Child Marriage: Progress and prospects*. New York, NY 10017, USA.

UNICEF. (2014b). *Ending Child Marriage: Progress and prospects. European Union: The European Community in Search of a Future*. New York. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-08197-4>

UNICEF. (2018). *Child Marriage in Africa. Unicef*. Retrieved from https://data.unicef.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/UNICEF-Child-Marriage-Brochure-High-Single_246.pdf

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Middle East and North Africa Regional Office and International Center for Research on Women (IRCW). (2017). *Child Marriage in the Middle East and North America*. Amman 11821.