FAMILY STRUCTURE AND EARLY MARRIAGE ON WOMEN IN INDRAMAYU REGENCY

Andy Muharry[1✉], Mohammad Hakimi[2], Budi Wahyuni[2]

[1]Public Health Study Program, Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Kesehatan Kuningan
[2]Department of Public Health, Faculty of Medicine, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Article Info

Abstract

Early marriage in Indramayu Regency in the past two years had increased to three times. The purpose of this research was to identify the age of marriage and the factors which caused early marriage by looking at the variables of family structure, education and economic status of the household. This research used matched case control study design. The data were collected using questionnaires and interview guidelines. The samples were taken using simple random sampling technique. The subject consisted of 94 people. The data were analysed using McNemar test and conditional logistic regression. The variables which had significant relationship with early marriage were father's education, education of the respondents, and economic status of the household. Meanwhile, family structure and mother's education had no significant relationship with early marriage. It can be concluded that women with low father's education and came from poor families had greater chance of getting married early.

Introduction

Early marriage is a growing phenomenon in society. It needs special attention, especially in women. Early marriage could cause several complex problems such as children which were vulnerable to domestic violence, increase of maternal morbidity and mortality due to complications in pregnancy and childbirth, and low birth weight children (Fadlyana, 2016). The prevalence of early marriage tend to vary across countries. Globally, there were more than 60 million marriages of girls under the age of 18. About 31 million occured in South Asia, 14 million in sub-Saharan Africa, and 6.6 million in Latin America and the Caribbean. In Bangladesh, more than 60% of girls married under the age of 18 and 40% to 60% of girls

had underage marriages. It is estimated that around 25,000 children experienced underage marriages (Nour, 2009). The phenomenon of early marriage is common in numerous developing countries. Meanwhile, in developed countries such as United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Austria, only a few cases were found (Vogelstein, 2013).

Riskesdas (2010) showed that 41.9% of the age of the first marriage age in Indonesia was in 15-19 age group and 4.8% in 10-14 age group. Indonesia is among countries which had high percentage of early marriage globally (ranked 37th) and the second highest in ASEAN. SDKI (2012) showed that the percentage of married women under the age of 20 is 13% with median age of marriage is 20.1 years old

and median age of first marriage in rural area is 19.7 years old. So far, the phenomenon of early marriage in women is always associated with socioeconomic status variables such as poverty and poor parent's education. Several studies showed that there were several factors related to early marriage, including socioeconomic status, residence, parent's education, culture, and family structure (Al-Ridhwany, 2014; Setyawati, 2013).

Family structure in terms of its existence can be divided into two groups, namely nuclear family and extended family. Nuclear family is a family in which there are only three social positions, namely husband/father, wife/mother, and child. Extended family is a family in which there are other family members. The first form of extended family is stem family. A stem family occurs when a married child still lives with his or her parents. The second form of extended family is lineal family which occured when more than one married child remains living with his or her parents. The third form of extended family is fully extended family which occured when there is a third generation (grandchildren) who are married and stay together in a family (Lestari, 2012).

In general, there are norms or values in a family that must be followed by each individual as a family member. Those values or norms are socialized by more senior family members (parents) to their children. Attitudes and behaviors of nuclear family members tend to be more relaxed than extended family. The attitude and behavior of family members will ultimately affect a person's marriage age (Sah, 2007). The existence of social pressure or emotional distress will urge family members to marry as part of obedience to the values and tradition of their family (Bhanji, 2014).

Indramayu Regency is located at 107 ° 52 '- 108 ° 36' East Longitude and 6 ° 15 '- 6 ° 40' South Latitude with total area of 2,099.42 km². It has a population of 1,683,459 which is consisted of 866,795 men and 816,665 women. The population density is 802 person/km². The percentage of household which are included in low to middle income category is 50.32%. Data from Office of Religious Affairs of Indramayu Regency indicates that the number of marriage cases under the age of 16 years in 2010-2012

was as many as 825 marriages. In addition, existing study results found that the number of marriages under the age of 16 years were 50 cases in 2012 and 184 cases in 2013. The increase in number of women who married early was considered by researchers as a problem that needs to be studied using family environment approach because the attitudes and behaviors of family members could influence a person's decision to marry. The purpose of this study was to identify the relationship of family structure with early marriage by paying attention to parent's education, respondent's education, and economic status of parents.

Methods

This study was a matched case control study. Matching was done based on respondents' residence. The data in this study was collected using questionnaires and in-depth interviews. The population were married women which were registered in the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) of Indramayu Regency. The subjects were married women under 16 years old age with the following criteria: women which were first marry in 2013, indigenous resident of Indramayu Regency, and her marriage was recorded at KUA of Indramayu Regency.

The control were married women aged >16 years and recorded in KUA of Indramayu Regency in 2013 which had the following criteria: first married in 2013, natives of Indramayu Regency, had been lived and settled in Indramayu Regency, came from the same village as the case (matching by residence), and registered in the same KUA on the same period as the case. The sample size was calculated using formula of minimum sample size for matched case control study which obtained 47 sample for each case and control group. Comparison of cases and control is 1:1 so the number of sample was determined to be 94 subject. The sample were obtained using simple random sampling technique.

The dependent variable was family structure which was measured by observing the presence of family member in one house. Nuclear family was a family which was consisted of husband, wife, and children. Meanwhile, extended family was a family which was consisted of husband, wife, and children, as well as other relatives, either by vertical line or

horizontal line originating from the husband or the wife (Ertem, 2008). The independent variables were father's education, mother's education, education of the respondents and socioeconomic status. Data analysis was conducted in 3 stages, namely univariate analysis, bivariate analysis using McNemar Test, and multivariate analysis using logistic regression with significance level <0.05 and confidence interval (95% CI).

Results and Discussion

A total of 94 subjects were obtained which were distributed in 18 Subregencies in Indramayu Regency. Univariate analysis showed that the average marriage age in case group was 14.6 years and in control group was 22.9 years. Extended family structure was more common in case group compared to control group with difference in proportion of 14.8%. Low level of father's education was more common in case group compared to control group with difference in proportion of 21.3%. Low level of mother's education was more common in case group compared to control group with difference in proportion of 10.6%.

Respondent with low education level were more common in case group compared to control group with difference in proportion of 83%. The proportion of respondents from rural area in both group were the same (89.4%). Meanwhile, poor socioeconomic status was more common in case group compared to control group with difference in proportion of 21.3%.

The result of bivariate analysis is shown in Table 2. Correlation between family structure and early marriage had p-value of 0.07 with OR=2.75 (95% CI=0.81-11.84). The result was not statistically significant because the p-value was more than 0.05. Meanwhile, correlation between father's education and early marriage had statistically significant p-value of 0.02 with OR=3.50 (95% CI=1.09-14.60).

There was no correlation between mother's education and early marriage with p-value=0.16 and OR=2 (95% CI=0.62-9.99). Meanwhile, there were statistically significant correlation between respondent's education and early marriage with p-value=0.00 and OR <1 and between ocioeconomic status and early marriage with p-value=0.02 and OR=3.00 (95%

Table 1. Characteristics of Research Subjects

| Characteristic | Early Marriage | | | | | |
| | Cases | | Control | | Total | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Family Structure						
Extended family	38	80.8	31	66.0	69	73.4
Nuclear family	9	19.2	16	34.0	25	26.6
Father's Education						
Low	42	89.4	32	68.1	74	78.7
High	5	10.6	15	31.9	20	21.2
Mother's Education						
Low	41	87.2	36	76.6	77	81.9
High	6	12.8	11	23.4	17	18.0
Education of the Respondents						
Low	47	100.0	8	17.0	55	58.5
High	0	0.0	39	83.0	39	41.5
Residence						
Rural	42	89.4	42	89.4	84	89.4
Urban	5	10.6	5	10.6	10	10.6
Socioeconomic Status						
Poor	24	51.1	14	29.8	38	40.4
Rich	23	48.9	33	70.2	56	59.6

Source : Primary Data

CI=1.03-10.55).

Multivariate analysis of model1 showed that the relationship of family structure to early marriage by excluding other variables was not statistically significant, although it was meaningful in practice. The coefficient value of determination (R^2) was 0.05 which meant that the family structure can predict the incidence of early marriage by 5%. Meanwhile, the other 95% must be attributed by other factors.

Analysis of model 2 was performed to find out the relationship between family structure and early marriage by involving father's education. The result showed that R^2 was increased from 5% to 13% and the OR was 2.57 (95% CI 0.74-8.89). This showed that the family structure and father's education contributed to the incidence of early marriage in women by 13% while the other 87% were caused by other factors.

Analysis of model 3 was performed to find out the relationship between family structure and early marriage by involving socioeconomic status. The result showed that R^2 was increased from 5% to 15% and the OR was 3.54 (95% CI 0.99-12.61). This showed that the family structure and socioeconomic status contributed to the incidence of early marriage

in women by 15% while the other 85% were caused by other factors.

Analysis of model4 was performed to find out the relationship between family structure and early marriage by involving both father's education and socioeconomic status. The result showed that R^2 in model4 was 23%, which was an increase from 5% in model1. The OR was 3.59 (95%CI 0.85-15.09). This showed that family structure, father's education and socioeconomic status contributed to the incidence of early marriage by 23% while the other 77% were caused by other factors.

In Table 1 we could see the difference of proportion between cases and control group. In case group, the proportion of women with extended family structure was higher than control group (80% vs 66%). The result of bivariate analysis in the Table 2 showed that family structure had no significant relationship with early marriage (p=0.07). The results of this study was different with previous study conducted by Al-Ridhwany (2014) which found a significant relationship between family structure and early marriage. Married women under 16 years old were more common in extended family (49%) than nuclear family (13.9%).

Table 2. Results of Bivariate Analysis

Cases Variable	Control E+	E-	% Discordance	χ^2	p	OR	95% CI
Family Structure							
Extended family	27	11	15.96	3.27	0.08	3.75	0.81-11.84
Nuclear family	4	5				1	
Father's Education							
Low	28	14	19.15	5.56	0.018	3.50*	1.09-14.60
High	4	1				1	
Mother's Education							
Low	32	9	11.70	1.92	0.165	2.25	0.62-9.99
High	4	2				1	
Education of the Respondents							
Low	8	39	41.49	39.0	0.00	-	-
High	0	0				1	
Socioeconomic Status							
Poor	9	15	31.91	5.00	0.025	3.00*	1.03-10.55
Rich	5	18				1	

X^2 = Chi Square OR = Odds Ratio * = significant
p = p-value CI = Confidence Interval

Table 3. The Results of Multivariate Analysis of Independent Variables, Dependent Variables and Confounding Variables

Variables	Model1 OR 95%CI	Model2 OR 95%CI	Model3 OR 95%CI	Model4 OR 95%CI
Family Structure				
Extended family	2.75 (0.87-8.63)	2.57 (0.74-8.89)	3.54 (0.99-12.61)	3.59 (0.85-15.09)
Nuclear family	1	1	1	1
Father's Education				
Low		3.34* (1.05-10.61)		3.84* (1.11-13.23)
High		1		1
Socioeconomic Status				
Poor			3.63* (1.20-10.94)	4.13* (1.26-13.47)
Rich			1	1
N	94	94	94	94
R^2	0.05	0.13	0.15	0.23
Deviance	61.75	56.82	55.43	49.97

*=sig

In this study, the difference in proportion of early marriage respondents who come from extended family structure and nuclear family structure was not large (14%). Meanwhile, previous study had a difference of 35.1%. A study which was conducted by Islam (2015), found that early marriage in women was promoted in several different ways: 45% were caused by the desire of the parents, 15% were caused by the girl's own interests, and 12% were caused by other things. The absence of early marriage relationship between respondents who come from extended family and nuclear family was because there was no difference in encouragement of children to marry.

The results of in-depth interviews indicated that early marriage was not conducted because of the encouragement of siblings or other family members. Other family members which were lived with the respondents did not encourage the respondents to get married. Conversely, they provided motivation for the respondent to finish school and become successful person, therefore he/she can help his/her parents.

Ny was the last child of four siblings. She had a relative who was married but still lived with her parents. The relationship between Ny and her brother/sister-in-law was the same as the relationship between brother and sister in common. Ny never got encouragement from parents or her brother/sister-in-law to get married early. Here is an excerpt from interviews with the respondents when she was asked about whether she was encouraged to marry by her parents or other relatives (brother-in-law, aunt or uncle).

"No. My brother and sister have never arranged marriage affairs, instead they advised me to study well and not to get married first" (Ny, 18 years old)

An information was obtained from Ny's sister which stated that she once told that she wanted to continue finish her study in high school and she wanted to work afterwards.

Another piece of information was delivered by Sr. She was the fourth child of 5 siblings. All her sisters had married, the third

sister still lived in one house with her and two older siblings which first lived adjacent next to her parents' home. Sr's relationship with her older siblings was very good especially the first one.

> "My sister is ordinary, she like to advise me to be diligent at schools, do not play on, do not dating first, so I can become a successful people and can help the parents" (Sr, 18 years old)

The multivariate analysis showed that there was no statistically significant relationship between family structure and early marriage. However, it was practically feasible to see the value of OR = 2.75 in range 95% CI 0.87-8.63. It could be said that women with extended family structures had a 2.75 times greater risk of early marriage compared with women with nuclear family structures. The value of R^2 was 5%, which meant that the influence of family structure on early marriage was only 5% and the rest 95% were caused by other factors.

The results of several studies showed that parental education was one of the factors associated with early marriage in women (Desiyanti, 2015). Multivariate analysis showed that when the father's education was included in the model, the R^2 value increased from 5% to 13%. This meant that the influence of family structure and father's education on early marriage was only 13% and the remaining 87% were caused by other factors. The results showed that the majority of father's education was low, the proportion of respondents which had low father's education was more prevalent in early married women compared with women who were not married early.

Education played an important role in a family. Highly educated parents, especially the father, would be able to prevent his daughter from early marriage. The educational background of the father might influence his attitude and behavior in married life. Father as head of the family had an important position in family decision-making, including decision in regards to marriage of his children. The risk of early marriage in women would decrease concurrent with increasing level of parent's education (Aryal, 2007). Most of the respondents

(76.60%) said that the primary decision maker in the family, especially regarding marriage, was the father. Furthermore, Sah (2007), stated that in family with higher parent's education, marriage was conducted when the children achieve particular adult age. Decision-making for marriage was not based on traditional values or customary values/local cultures. They had a desire to live prosper and were more open to new values coming from outside. Higher education and good employment were the top priorities, and then someone could start thinking about marriage. They realized that early marriage would be a continuing burden for unskilled and independent children.

Furthermore, other factors related to early marriage phenomenon that occured in society was economic factor. The result of multivariate analysis on model 3 showed that when the economic status of the family was included in model 4 concurrent with the family structure and father's education, the coefficient value was increased from 13% in model 2 to 23%. The proportion of poor families in early married women was more common than non early married women. It was in line with a study by Güler (2010), which stated that early marriage was found in many poor society.

Poverty was one of the triggering factors of early marriage in several communities, especially rural community. By conducting marriage for their daughter, the parents hoped to solve family economic problems (Vogelstein, 2013). Such conditions could stimulate the parents to immediately send their daughters into marriage when they were considered adults. Furthermore, Walker (2012), stated that in the socio-economic context, early marriage phenomenon arised as a result of vulnerable household condition, difficult future, and poverty. In such situations, women married before the age of 18 years in order for the parents to be relieved of the responsibility of providing food, clothing and to protect their children from uncertain and unsafe conditions.

The results of in-depth interviews with one of the informants found that the factor of early marriage women was inability to continue their education into higher level caused by the inability of parents to finance the cost of

education. Because the children were not going to school anymore, they would spend more time playing outside the home. Parents felt worried about such conditions and eventually the child was sent for marriage. The following opinion was submitted by Mr. Ibml.

> "Those who married at early age were those who did not attend school anymore, they did not go to school, to junior high school. Because of their social interaction, the parents are afraid they would become pregnant, therefore then are sent to marriage. But now it is rare if the girl is not pregnant in the firsthand."

Another opinion was also given by Mr. Nht about the cause of early marriage in Indramayu.

> "So in fact the 3 -ur terms (mattress, well, kitchen/kasur, sumur, dapur) was actually gone. Most of them were caused by economic problems"

In addition, the results of questionnaire analysis on the question of the reasons of marriage found that 13.83% was caused by inability to continue to study. From that result, it could be seen that there were still some respondents who married early because they dropped out from the school. Another factor associated with early marriage was exposure to mass media, printable or electronic. The development of technology and information could have a positive impact on human life. One of them is easiness in acquiring information. But the sophistication of the technology could also have negative effect. Contact with pornographic media such as books, magazines and videos that could be easily accessed via the internet could affect teenagers to have premarital sexual intercourse which results in pregnancy (Azinar, 2013, Banun, 2013). A study conducted by Situmorang (2011), in Indonesia using secondary data from the Adolescent Reproductive Health Survey in 2007 showed that 2.4% of adolescents in the 15-19 age group had premarital sexual intercourse. In general, the sanctions given to women who become pregnant as a result of promiscuity was

by sending them into marriage.

Based on the results of in-depth interviews with some informants, there was information that advances in technology and information in Indonesia also affected the lives of Indramayu people. Almost all average people had mobile phones and motorcycles as means of transportation. According to the explanation of some informants, early marriage phenomenon could also be caused by the influence of mobile phone utilization. An opinion from Mr. Ibm stated that the interaction among young people today is extremely free, even elementary school children had started dating. Children acquired pornographic content from both handphone and internet and they could end up trying to do premarital sexual intercourse.

> "Usually it is because they are pregnant first. Frankly, an extremely free association between children, young elementary student start dating, this is really dangerous. They consumed a lot of pornographic contnt in handphone, internet, etc. Then they are trying to do premarital sexual intercourse and then got pregnant."

Mr. Mhdr stated that early marriage was a solution to cover the disgrace caused by extramarital pregnancy.

> "The cause of early marriage is extramarital pregnancy. Therefore in order to cover the disgrace, marriage was perfomed. Advances in technology are misused. Nowadays, small little kid can play mobile phones. The phone can access all sorts of information, it has complete facilities. That is the main cause."

Further statement submitted by Ms. Ny stated that at first, she was asked by her boyfriend to see pictures/videos through handphone, and eventually it ended up in pregnancy.

> "At first because his son watched an adult video on his phone and then the son want to perform the scene on the video which he saw"

320

This was in line with a study conducted by Azinar (2013), which found that there is a significant relationship between acces and media contact information on premarital sexual behavior at risk with unhealthy pregnancy. Teenager is a period in the life cycle of a person which is characterized by curiosity and tendency to try and imitate what a teenager saw or heard. Lack of supervision from parents caused teenagers to act freely. Teenagers or young people usually hang out with their peers outside school hours. Mr. Mht expressed an opinion which stated that the association of young people today tend to be free, they sometimes do not go home but instead play with friends (hanging out) outside of school hours until late at night.

"So it's actually like this, sir, with the occurrence of such incidents (early marriage), it is clear that the men and women seem to have free interaction. We see many teenagers hanging out at the seafront or around Pertamina-PLTU from afternoon until midnight. At 10 pm, they already lined up on the edge of water. Yes, young people hanging around. I don't understand whether they are only hanging out, talk for a long time, or perhaps perform something (premarital sexual intercourse)"

Such teenager behavior could lead to free relationship behavior such as promiscuity. This was in accordance with a study which was conducted by Omar (2010), in Malaysia which found that teenagers which hanging out with their peers after school without supervision from parents was one factor which was associated with early pregnancy in adolescents. A study conducted by Suwarni (2015), found that parental supervision was significantly associated with premarital sexual initiation of adolescents (p value = 0.001; 95% CI = 1,198-1,973). Adolescents who received low parental supervision were 1.527 times more likely to have premarital sex initiation compared to adolescent with high parental supervision. Irmawaty (2014), found that interaction among peers could predict the intention of premarital sexual behavior when there were possession of

three things: girlfriend, friends which permit premarital sex, and friends which influence to perform premarital sex. Teenager who were under peer pressure were more likely to engage in premarital sexual practices than teenagers who were not under peer pressure (Kassa, 2014).

Conclusion

Based on the findings, analysis and discussion, it can be concluded that the average age of marriage was 15 years in case group and 23 years in control group. Most of the respondents came from extended family structure, low father's education, low mother's education and almost half of respondent had poor economic family status. Early marriage in Indramayu Regency was caused by a relatively low father's education and supported by poor family economic status. Meanwhile, family structure did not have statistically significant relationship with early marriage. Women with low father's education and came from poor families had a greater chance of getting married early. Some women with low family economic status who drop out of school spend more time outdoors (play) so that raised parent's concern of their children would fall into promiscuity acts which ultimately led them to early marriage. Most informants stated that early married cases in Indramayu Regency were caused by unwanted pregnancies due to promiscuity. Pregnancy which occured in these women generally were caused by misuse of handphone, media, and internet.

References

Al-Ridhwany, H. H. & Al-Jawadi, A. A. 2014. Early Child Marriage in Mosul at North of Iraq: Prevalence and Preference. *Middle East Journal of Family Medicine,* 12(2).

Aryal, T. R. 2007. Age at First Marriage in Nepal: Differentials and Determinants. *Journal of Biosocial Science,* 39(5): 693-706.

Azinar, M. 2013. Perilaku Seksual Pranikah Berisiko Terhadap Kehamilan Tidak Diinginkan. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat,* 8(2).

Banun, F. O. & Setyorogo, S. 2013. Faktor-faktor yang Berhubungan Dengan Perilaku Seksual Pranikah pada Mahasiswa Semester V Stikes x Jakarta Timur 2012. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kesehatan,* 5(1): 12-19.

Bhanji, S. M. & Pujani. 2014. Determinants of Child (Early) Marriages among Young Girls- A

Public Health Issue. *Journal of Womens Health Care,* (3): 161.

Desiyanti, I. W. 2015. Faktor-Faktor yang Berhubungan Terhadap Pernikahan Dini Pada Pasangan Usia Subur di Kecamatan Mapanget Kota Manado. *Jurnal Ilmu Kesehatan Masyarakat Unsrat (JIKMU),* 5(3).

Ertem, M., et al. 2008. The Factors Associated with Adolescent Marriages and Outcomes of Adolescent Pregnancies in Mardin Turkey. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* 229-239.

Fadlyana, E. & Larasaty, S. 2016. Pernikahan Usia Dini dan Permasalahannya. *Sari Pediatri,* 11(2): 136-41.

Güler, Ö. & Küçüker, H. 2010 Early Marriages Among Adolescent Girls in Afyonkarahisar, Turk. *European Journal of General Medicine,* 7(4).

Irmawaty, L. 2014. Perilaku Seksual Pranikah pada Mahasiswa. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat,* 9(1): 9.

Islam, M. T., Jubaer, M., Taher, I., Uddin, B. & Forid, S. 2015. Socio-Economic Values and Child Marriage: A Case Study on Selected Villages in Kurigram Regency. *International Journal of Natural and Social Sciences,* 2(02).

Kassa, G. M., Woldemariam, E. B. & Moges, N. A. 2014. Prevalence of Premarital Sexual Practice and Associated Factors among Alamata High School and Preparatory School Adolescents, Northern Ethiopia. *Global Journal of Medical Research.*

Lestari, S. (2012) *Psikologi Keluarga: Penanaman Nilai dan Penanganan Konflik dalam Keluarga,* Jakarta:Kencana Prenada Media Group.

Nour, N. M. 2009. Child Marriage: A Silent Health and Human Rights Issue. *Obstetrics and Gynecology,* 2(1): 51-56.

Omar, K., et al. 2010. Adolescent Pregnancy Outcomes and Risk Factors in Malaysia. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics,* 111(3): 220-223.

Sah, S. K. & SNV, N. 2007. *Socio Economic Aspect of Child Marriage,* Central Department of Sociology Antropology T.U, Kritipur:Nepal.

Setyawati, B., Fuada, N. & Salimar, S. 2013. Profil Sosial Ekonomi, Paritas, Status dan Perilaku Kesehatan pada Wanita yang Menikah Dini dI Indonesia. *Jurnal Kesehatan Reproduksi,* 4(2 Ags): 51–60.

Situmorang, R. A. 2011. *Factors Influencing Premarital Sexual Intercourse Among Adolescents in Indonesia: A Case Study of In-School Late Adolescents From Indonesia Young Adult Reproductive Health Survey (IYARHS) 2007.* Mahidol University.

Suwarni, L. & Selviana, S. 2015. Inisiasi Seks Pranikah Remaja dan Faktor yang Mempengaruhi. *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat,* 10(2): 9.

Vogelstein, R. 2013. *Ending Child Marriage: How Elevating the Status of Girls Advances* U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives.

Walker, J.-A. 2012. Early Marriage in Africa–Trends, Harmful Effects and Interventions. *African journal of reproductive health,* 16(2): 231-240.