

**DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD MARRIAGES IN ZAMBIA:
ANALYSIS OF THE ZAMBIA DEMOGRAPHIC AND HEALTH SURVERY 2014.**

By

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DECLARATION

I, **EDITH S. NAMUKONDA** hereby declare that this dissertation; represents my work, has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other University and does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of **EDITH S. NAMUKONDA** is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Population Studies at the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

Child marriage has a devastating effect on adolescent girls such as poverty, early school dropout, HIV and other related sexually transmitted diseases. According to the Zambia Demographic Health Survey (ZDHS) 2014 report, statistics indicate that child marriage is more common among girls (17%) than boys (1%).

However, the literature reveals a gap in the empirical evidence based on a national representative picture on the determinants and probable consequences of child marriage in Zambia. A comprehensive study has not been conducted which clearly represents the national picture of the causes and effects of child marriage in Zambia. Therefore, this study was conducted to explore the determinants and the associated consequences of child marriage based on information obtained from the ZDHS 2014, a nationally representative population-based survey.

The study used the ZDHS 2014 female dataset comprising of information of women within reproductive ages 15-49 years in Zambia with a sample of (n=11,094). Descriptive statistics were produced to look at the sample distributions and a correlation test was conducted to observe which variables were closely associated with the dependent variable. Bivariate analysis was later conducted to determine which variables were statistically significant and associated with the dependent variable. Models were later produced using multivariate logistic regression analysis to determine which variables emerged as highly significant and influence or affect Child marriage.

The study found out that Child marriage is highest among women who have not attended any school, and education was identified as a protective against child marriage. Girls in rural areas are likely to get married at younger ages compared to those in urban areas, though the study reveals a borderline significance. Living in Luapula [OR,0.750, CI:0.573-0.983] or Western province [OR,0.386 CI:0.290-0.515] was more protective of Child marriage compared to living in Central province. Child marriage is highly associated with physical violence as shown in the study results. Most girls married below the age of 18 years are at a higher risk of experiencing physical violence. These results are also evidence that child marriage increases the risk of physical violence among the victims, therefore Interventions to eliminate child marriage would help end physical violence.

Key words: Child marriage, Adolescent girls

DEDICATION

To my late Father Mr Toddy F. Simukonda who always encouraged me to aim higher and sacrificed his best so I could make it this far.

Special dedication to all the adolescent girls in Zambia, who have been victims of child marriage and those that still suffer its consequences.

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and welfare of the Child
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CEFM	Child, Early and Forced Marriage
HIV	Human Immune-deficiency Virus
PSAF	Panos Institute Southern Africa
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child.
UNFPA	United Nation Population Fund Agency
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZDHS	Zambia Demographic and Health Survey

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

Investigations and studies on child marriage across the globe have revealed interesting results of the effects and factors that promote child marriage. A study conducted in Zambia revealed that, both globally and in Zambia, girls appear to be statistically at a greater risk than boys of marriage, and there are significant numbers of boy husbands and fathers (Gillian Mann, 2015). There are many factors that have fuelled this practice in Zambia, include the education level of parents, poor access to quality education, lack of access to proper income generating activities, lack of strong community leadership, lack of opportunities for personal development, including access to recreational activities, and, in most cases the absence of role models to positively influence young people.

Child marriage is a practice that has largely affected many African societies. It is a violation of children's rights, deprives children of their potential to become productive and positively contribute to the development of their communities and increases the risks of children being infected with HIV/AIDS (Lake, 2014) This research was a comprehensive study of the determinants and consequences of child marriages in Zambia. Many countries in Sub Saharan Africa have recorded high rates of child marriages. Zambia is one of the most affected countries, as child marriage practice has persisted and become a part of the Zambian culture. A qualitative study on child marriage conducted in six districts in Zambia reveals that those that are more likely to engage in child marriage include children from poor families or backgrounds, those that live in the rural areas with little to no education at all, pregnant girls and their boyfriends, orphans and stepchildren, difficult or hard-to-manage children and children without adequate supervision or support (Gillian Mann, 2015).

1.2 Background of the study

Despite the revolution that has taken place in Africa over the years, child marriage has become one of the major challenges in Africa's growth. In most African countries, recent research indicates that there is an increasing rate of child marriage. A careful analysis of the Zambian statistics on child marriages has showed a very interesting trend which reflects the major problem of the impact of child marriages. The concept of child marriage arises from

the fact that there are underlying causes that have not been addressed especially in the most affected areas, hence not providing a lasting solution.

In sub-Saharan Africa, 40% of women are married as children. Child marriage is widespread in West and Central Africa, where 42% of women are married as children, and in East and Southern Africa, where child marriage affects 37% of girls. Africa is home to 15 of the 20 countries with the highest rates of child marriage in the world (Girls's Not Brides, 2015). This shows that factors causing this problem have barely been addressed because the rate is still high. However, little is known on some of the measures that have been taken to assess the impact of these child marriages. Therefore, Africa continues to record high rates of early child marriages.

Most children that are married off are often disempowered and deprived of their fundamental rights to health, education and safety. They are neither physically nor emotionally ready to become wives and mothers, therefore they are at greater risk of experiencing dangerous complications in pregnancy and child birth, becoming infected with HIV/AIDS, and suffering domestic violence. With no economic empowerment and little access to education, they and their families are more likely to live in poverty (Women and Children Legal Research Foundation, 2008). This shows that child marriage has a huge influence on the state of a society as well as a factor contributing to poverty. This problem also leads to other consequences which include suicide, self-immolation, homicide, sexual risk behaviour and psychological disorders. Others also include increases in maternal and child mortality rate.

Most studies conducted on child marriage in Zambia do not explicitly explore the drivers of child marriages or its consequences. Most studies give a broad overview of trends in selected parts of Zambia but do not dwell into what the determinates could be and ultimately the consequences. For instance, a study conducted by (Population Council, 2017), highlights the child marriage hot spots in Zambia which include Northern province, Muchinga and other parts of the Copperbelt. The study further identifies the effects Child marriage which include health risks, increased vulnerability, depriving girls of their education as well as increased risk of violence but does not explore what the determinants of child marriage are in these hot sport areas. Another study conducted on child marriage in Zambia identifies lower wealth, lower education levels, and higher labour force participation as correlates of child marriage but does not explore or identify the major determinates or consequences of child marriage (Chata Malé and Quentin Wodon, 2016). child marriage correlates have the potential to end

the life of any child even way before it begins. It is therefore necessary, to fully establish the likely consequences in order to come up with the best solution possible and further help contribute to the attainment of the fifth sustainable development goal, which is achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls. The information obtained so far within the Zambian context helps understand the diversity of settings in which child marriage takes place. Therefore, this research is focused on establishing the consequences and determinants of child marriage within the Zambia context and possibly providing recommendations that can best help curb the situation.

Child marriage is a bad practice and has sadly characterised part of the Zambian culture. It is therefore imperative to clearly define the concept as well as fully understand the patterns of child marriage at a global and at national level.

1.3 Definition of a Child

Defining who a child is in the Zambian context has proved to be a challenge, mainly as a result of legislation that has contrasting definitions. For example, the penal code under Chapter 87 of the laws of Zambia states that having sex with a 15-year-old may be liable for the crime of defilement (Government of the Republic of Zamb, 2002). The child is thus exposed to adult criminal prosecution before the general age of adulthood, which is 18 years. In addition, the Marriage Act states that the legal age for marriage is 21 years of age but allows for marriage below this age with the consent of an adult. In customary law, under which most child marriages take place, a child can be married if he/she attains puberty (PSAF, 2014). This indicates that the complexity in the definition of a child may allow for one to be a child for one particular purpose and at the same time be an adult for another purpose.

Zambia has signed two declarations regarding children's rights in which both state that a child is any person under the age of 18 years. These instruments include The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (The Children's Charter). To clarify, this study adopts the definition by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child, which defines a child as a person below the age of 18 years, with a provision for member states to lower the age if they so wish (Children's Rights Alliance , 2010).

1.4 Definition of a Marriage

Marriage is defined as a union between two people, male and female. According to (PSAF, 2014) Marriage is a union between two consenting adults of opposite sex, to the exclusion of all others. In Zambia, there are mainly two ways by which marriage can be recognized, and these are customary marriage and civil marriage.

Customary Marriage

This is a type of marriage union that is between two people in accordance with their customary practices. In most cases in Zambia, the customs do not limit the number of people who may be a part of the union, but the practice is that the union comprises one man and one or more women (Munshya, 2017). The marriages contracted under Zambian laws and traditions are usually valid only after definite steps are taken. According to the Zambian customary law, a child who attains puberty is old enough to be married (PSAF, 2014).

Civil Marriage

A civil marriage is one that is contracted in accordance with an Act of Parliament; such type of a marriage is also referred to as a statutory marriage because it emanates from a statute (Statutory Recognition of Customary Marriages In Zambia, 2017). In this marriage, two people can contract a marriage, and have it solemnized by the registrar of marriage or a gazetted minister of religion. According to the civil law in Zambia, a person aged 21 years is eligible for marriage.

Child Marriage

Child marriage is defined differently in many societies depending on what they consider as legal age entry into a marriage. Child marriage can be described as a union between two people, both or one of whom is below 18 years old. Child marriage is often referred to as early or forced marriage, since children, in most cases females, are not able to give informed consent to their marital partners at the time of marriage (Center For Reproductive Rights, 2013). This has become a common harmful practice which is being practiced in almost all regions of the world According to (UNICEF, 2005) early pregnancies, social isolation , constrained decision making and reduced life choices tend to compromise the development of the girl child when married at an early age. These are among the common factors that characterise child marriage as a harmful practice.

Child marriage refers to any marriage of a child younger than eighteen years old, in accordance to Article C of the convention of the Rights of the Child. According to the UN committee on the elimination of discrimination against women (CEDAW), the right to protection from child marriage in Article 16 states: the betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect and all necessary action including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage (CEDAW, 1994).

The report on child marriages in twelve countries in East and Southern Africa refers to child marriage as any legal or customary union involving a boy or girl below the age of 18 years (United Nations Population Fund, East and Southern Africa, 2017). A girl child needs to be physically, physiologically and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and child-bearing in order to be deemed fit for a marital union. Therefore, child marriage has to do with the age, and the psychological and physical development of the parties involved in the marriage. This term is used interchangeably with the term ‘early marriage’ to signify that one or more of the parties to a marriage are not ready for the responsibilities that come with marriage (PSAF, 2014). This also means that there are many aspects to be put into consideration for a marriage union to be approved and the age aspect remains very vital.

1.5 Global and National perspective of Child Marriage

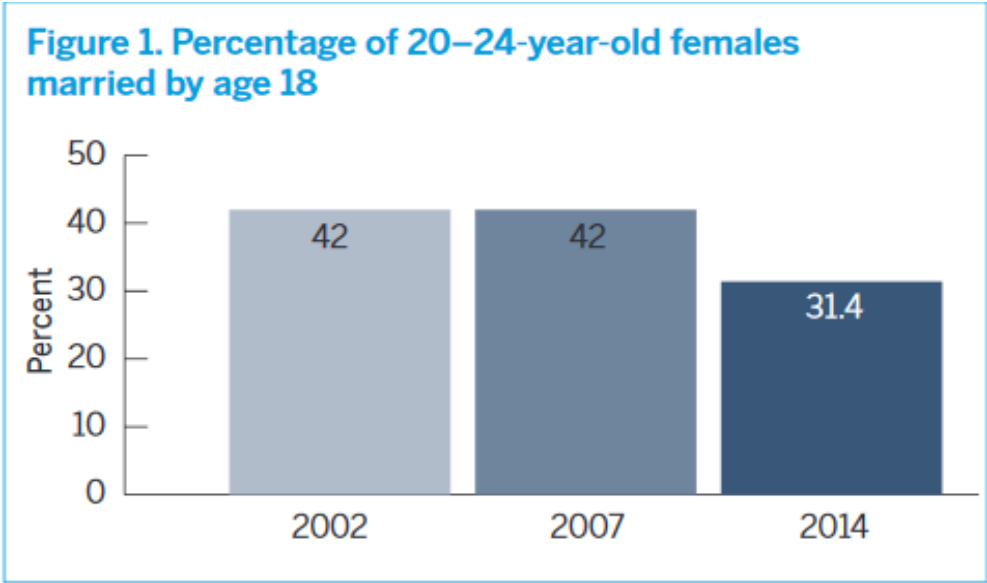
Child marriages have been experienced across the world, and each part of the world has revealed different causes and effects. It is, therefore, important to understand the patterns at a global perspective in order to have a much clearer picture of the determinants and consequences.

A global study conducted by the UN on violence against children reveals that girls are the most affected even when it comes to sexual violence and other forms of victimization leading to forced sexual unions and eventually child marriage. The study revealed that an estimated 150 million girls and 73 million boys under 18 experienced forced sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual violence in 2002. In surveys of 21 countries, at least 7% of females (ranging up to 36%) and 3% of males (ranging up to 29%) reported sexual victimisation during their childhood. Of women who reported first sex prior to the age of 15, between 11% and 45% reported it was forced (Versiani, 2005). At least 82 million girls now between 10 and 17 years old are likely to marry before they turn 18, including significant numbers of girls

married at much younger ages (Pineiro, 2006). This study clearly reveals that violation of children's rights either sexual or any other form of violence affects their general wellbeing and is one of the determinants of child marriage.

According to a study conducted by the (Glinski, Allison M, Magnolia Sexton, Lis Meyers, 2015), in understanding the global prevalence of child, early and forced marriage, fifteen million girls are married each year worldwide. In the developing world, one in three girls is married before age 18 years, and one in nine girls are married before age 15. While child marriage affects both boys and girls, girls, and women suffer disproportionately. Over 720 million women alive today were married as children, compared to 156 million men (UNICEF, 2013). Generally, girls are married at younger ages and there is often a large age difference between the female and male spouses. Further, a case study of Bangladesh and Mali, which rank among the top 10 countries in child marriage prevalence, reveals that the average age gap between spouses is approximately 7.8 and 7.4 years, respectively (UNICEF, 2001). A range of social, economic, cultural, and political factors that vary from one context to another perpetuate this practice. This clearly reveals that there is a gap between child marriage in the developing world and the developed and that girls are the most affected. Statistics recorded from the case study of Bangladesh and Mali also reveal a 7-year difference between spouses, which is likely to affect the victims in decision making or being fully able to exercise their rights.

Zambia is one of the countries with highest rates of child marriage in the world, with 31.4% of 20-24 years old females getting married before the age of 18 years (Population Council, 2017). This is however, a reduction from the prevalence rate of 42% recorded in both 2002 and 2007 Demographic and Health Survey reports (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2007). This translates into a reduction of child marriage prevalence by about 25% (UNFPA, Population council, 2017, p. 1). According to the Zambia Demographic and Health Survey Report of 2014, child marriage is more common among girls (17%) than boys (1%). It is worth noting that only 2.2% of men 20-24 age group got married by age 18 years, compared with the 31% of women in the same age group (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2014). overall, marriage occurs relatively early in Zambia among women aged 20-49, where 45% of them were married by age 18 years. These results are an implication that child marriages are highly prevalent.



Source: A policy brief on Child marriages in Zambia, by population council, 2017

Despite Zambia having focused on increasing education opportunities, it continues to report increasing rates of child marriages. Therefore, the responsibility then becomes to identify which key areas record the highest rates and how best the information gathered can help in curbing this harmful practice.

1.6 Problem Statement

Zambia comprises a total of 36.7% of young people, which is the largest population of young people ever recorded (UNFPA, 2016).. A setback on young people would generally affect its development as half of its population is below the age of 15 (Tapera Muzira, 2013). The victims who happen to be mostly the young people are supposed to be among the most productive and contribute positively to the economy’s wellbeing but are constrained by several challenges including child marriage.

The qualitative and quantitative summary developed by the Ministry of Chiefs demonstrates the prevailing situation in the Zambian context. The study highlights the trends and patterns of child marriage in the Zambian context and later identifies the risks and benefits but does not fully address the determinants (Gillian Mann, 2015). The research conducted in Zambia so far shows that child marriage is significantly high where 31.4% of women aged 20-24 years and 45% of women aged 25-49 are married by age 18 years (UNFPA, 2016).

Most of the statistics are centred only in selected parts of Zambia and explore trends and patterns but do not explicitly explore the determinant factors and consequences of child marriage across the nation. Despite the information obtained on child marriages in Zambia, there is comprehensive research to investigate the determinants and understand the consequences of child marriages at national level.

The lack of a clear study around the determinants and consequences from a national perspective creates a barrier in identifying the best solution possible as most of the information obtained is mostly localised and qualitative. This poses as a major challenge as there has not been a holistic approach developed in curbing child marriage in Zambia. This study was therefore designed to investigate the determinants and consequences of child marriage based on data obtained from the ZDHS 2014 dataset.

1.7 General Objective

To investigate the determinants and consequences of child marriages among girls aged 15-24 years in Zambia using the ZDHS 2014.

1.7.1 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the determinants of child marriage and the associated socio-economic and demographic outcomes.
2. To examine the probable consequences of child marriage and their association on the social-economic outcome of children in general.

1.7.2 Main Research Question

What are the determinants and consequences of child marriage among girls in the Zambian society?

1.8 Specific Research Question

1. What are the determinants of child marriage in Zambia?
2. What are the consequences of child marriage in Zambia?

1.9 Significance of the Study

The significance of this research is to help add to the literature of child marriage in Zambia as and to come up with recommendations in turn help curb child marriages. For Zambia to address its multidimensional development challenges among the young people which includes, unemployment, reproductive health, adolescent pregnancies it is imperative to channel attention towards uncovering the roots to these challenges. Efforts to achieve the sustainable development goals specifically the fifth target that focuses on eliminating all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilations, would require concerted efforts in addressing these challenges within the communities.

This is ultimately a smart target and an advancement towards achieving it would impact positively on Zambia's development. Hence this study is relevant in identifying what the determinants of child marriage are so that efforts can be channelled towards preventing these factors. On the other hand, the study will further highlight the consequences of child marriage and this helps to identify preventive, measures to put in place. This study will also further act as a reference point for students and other researchers who wish to do further research on this top

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Studies have been conducted both locally and internationally that address the issues of child marriages. This section provides a critical survey of literature on the studies that have been conducted on topics related to child marriage as well as some of the determinants and consequences of these marriages. In this context, researchers have different views and ideas on what really perpetuates child marriages including its consequences.

2.2 Determinant of Entry into Marriage

There are over 15 million girls that get married each year across the globe (Girls Not Brides, 2016). Several factors are attributed to the rates of child marriages that take place in different parts of the world. Researchers have explored and tried to uncover some of the underlying causes, barriers and effects of child marriages both in African and globally. Societies tend to have different reasons why they would allow children below the age of 18 years to engage in a union. One's preparedness and willingness to get married also have a role to play in child marriage. According to a report on early child marriages in Afghanistan, the determination of the appropriate marriage age must be examined from its psychological, physiological, and social aspects. A person's psychological attributes and characteristics vary throughout the different ages of his or her development process. Childhood is an age for psychological and physical growth and is not meant to be burdened by the responsibilities of a marriage and of a family (WCLRF, 2008). This clearly indicates that one must fully develop not only physically but psychologically before entering a marriage because the lack of growth might expose them to much greater risks that might even endanger their life. However, this is not the case in Afghanistan and many other African countries. A closer look at the trends and patterns of child marriage globally helps to understand what the driving forces could be.

An estimated 34% of women between 2000-2011, aged 20-24 years in most of the developing regions were married or in a union before their eighteenth birthday (UNFPA, 2012). These rates vary across countries due to the different developmental stages and challenges within these regions.

Child marriages have continued to spread in sub Saharan Africa and other parts of the world because of poverty, gender inequality, protection, and the need to reinforce family ties. Recent generated data from over 22 sub Saharan African countries revealed that child marriage is very high in Sub Sahara Africa and its sub regions with variations as high as 15% in West Africa to about 7% in East Africa (Olamijuwon, 2016). This practice is mostly common in the rural residence where there are mainly poor households and very limited access to primary education as well as other social needs.

2.3 Reasons for Early Marriage

Girls living in rural areas tend to marry at an early age or enter a union at twice the rate of their urban counterparts (44% and 22% respectively) (UNFPA, 2012). Many societies have their own reasons as to why they marry off their children at a younger ages and residence is the context under which some of these practices thrive, partly due to the customary laws in place. The difference between urban and rural livelihoods plays a huge role because mostly there is a difference in literacy rates in the urban and rural areas, most rural areas lack access to schools and therefore this affects the low level of awareness of the people concerning the laws that govern marriage as well as laws of the country. This also indicates the low level of awareness on the harms and negative consequences of child marriages and therefore shows that child marriages and residence are linked in one way or the other. A study undertaken in order to assess this in Afghanistan (WCLRF, 2008) revealed that 65% of the respondents were from rural areas and had been married off by the age of 13, while 39% of the respondents were from the urban areas. In other words, most of the child marriages took place in rural areas compared to the urban areas. Another study conducted in Eastern and Southern Africa reveal higher prevalence of child marriage in rural areas and among poorest segments of the population. Girls based in rural areas or who come from poor families are twice as likely to marry before the age of 18 years as opposed to those based in urban areas or come from rich families (United Nations Population Fund, East and Southern Africa, 2017). These studies only identify residence as one of the driving forces of child marriages from a global perspective.

Other emerging factors from other studies include gender inequality. This is coupled with the belief that girls are somehow inferior to boys therefore they are not entitled to certain privileges or are not entitled to make decisions on their own. For instance, a girl that becomes pregnant at a younger age is more likely to be forced into getting married as a way of

controlling what is perceived as inappropriate behaviour. This is done especially in most African regions, marriage is sometimes used as a problem-solving technic to having multiple sexual partners, staying out late or frequenting bars (Girls Not Brides, 2018) . In the African it is easier to control girls that have been married off at a younger age as compared to those married at older ages. Virginity on girls that are married off at a younger age is guaranteed and they tend to have prolonged reproductive periods in which to produce more children (Umemoto, 2001). Due to the patterns created within the rural societies, it builds many social pressures among young girls to marry at an early age. A study conducted in Bangladesh revealed that social pressures force girls into getting married young. A delay in the marriage of a pubescent girl would not only bring a feeling on guilt on herself but also from her parents (Rahman, 2012). In Zambia, child marriage is associated with high levels of poverty; hence it is seen as a rural phenomenon, although there are some reported cases of child marriages taking place in urban areas (Imbuwa, 2015). Most rural areas are characterized by poverty; hence parents prefer withdrawing their children from schools and offer them to marriage with mostly older men in exchange for dowry.

Early marriage in other societies is also regarded as a means of economic survival. This practice is most common in countries that have been largely affected by poverty such as those of the Middle Eastern and southern Asian societies, (UNICEF, 2001). Poverty in this case emerges as a threat standing in the way of social groups' attainment of their value –survival. In regions where poverty is acute, young girls may be regarded as an economic burden and marriages to much older men becomes rife (UNICEF, 2001). Early marriage is also perceived as an act in the best interest of the girl child and not just entirely for family survival. Since families with daughters traditionally receive animals and money as dowry from the groom, they are anxious to give in their daughters to marriage at an early age (Rwezaura, 1994). Other countries in the Middle East tend to give away their daughters for wealth or to wealthier men as a means of survival. This in a way becomes an act to the best interest of the entire family (IPPF, 2006). A study conducted among five very poor villages in Egypt by the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs with support from UNICEF (1999) also established that young girls were being married off to elderly men from oil-rich Middle Eastern countries via brokers as a survival strategy.

Families in some cases cite economic reasons for marrying girls early. Poor families may see daughter as an economic burden to shed through marriage as early as possible. (UNICEF, 2005). In Ethiopia, it is a common practice to marry off. In South Asia and Sub-Saharan

Africa, marrying girls is paired with exchanging wealth between the bride and groom's family in the form of dowry or a bride price (Anderson, 2007). Such practices tend to give poor families an incentive to marry their daughters at a young age. This also clearly indicates that there is no protection of a girl child and merely absence of a father to protect their child from this harmful practice.

Some societies perceive child marriage as a protection. Parents in societies regard early marriage as a method of protection for their daughters. They tend to be of the view that their daughters would be much safer with an intimate male guardian than without. In most conflict torn countries, this happens to be a very common practice. A report by the Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International gave an example of Northern Uganda where some families decide to marry off young daughters to militia members (Amnesty International, 1997). This is seen to defend family honour and secure protection for the family and their daughter. Countries such as Somalia often have such practices taking place especially among poor communities (Barnes, 1997).

The prevention of premarital sex is another element in some societies that leads to early child marriages. This tends to be the case because parents are of the view that this will prevent girls from engaging in unsanctioned sexual activities. Other measures are also taken in order to prevent this such as avoiding interactions beyond family unions and in some cases even stop the girls from wearing certain clothes which include trousers (UNICEF, 2001). In rural Pakistan, a five-year-old girl would have as limited exposure to the outside as possible and have already begun embracing attitudes of care and service to men. In this part of the world, they believe that "the younger the bride, the higher the chance of conditioning her into the desirable subservient behaviour" (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2018). This practice also increases the risk of exposure to early child bearing and eventually increase fertility rate in the country. Female educational advancement in this case becomes a major influence in early child marriage. While this might be the situation in certain countries such as Pakistan, the situation is different from most parts of Africa. Recent publications in Zambia suggests that teenage pregnancy is the cause of child marriage in some areas. Having a child out of wedlock is an embarrassment in some societies hence a girl will be forced to get married, to "cover the embarrassment", once she conceives (UNFPA, Population Council, 2017). When the female children become well educated, they will be more empowered and resourceful. This will give them confidence to be able to make key decisions touching their lives.

In Zambia, adolescent pregnancy is among the drivers of child marriage, 29% of girls aged 15-19 have ever been pregnant in Zambia (Population Council, 2017). There is a tendency of perceiving child marriage as a coping mechanism to deal with attached social stigma that comes with getting pregnant at a younger age. Another study conducted in Zambia revealed that while in some communities, such as Katete and Mufulira, families are starting to encourage damage payments from the father, marriage is still the cheaper option (Girls Not Brides, 2018).

The traditional and socio-cultural norms contribute towards perpetuating child marriages especially in the African regions. Such practices have characterised communities and became norms that individuals feel obligated to observing. In most places' child marriage persists because it has happened for many generations and not abiding to traditional practices could attract penalties such as exclusion from the community circles (Girls's Not Brides, 2015).

The lack of exposure to mass media is also one of the reasons that lead to child marriages. Women who are not exposed to mass media in most cases are more likely to marry earlier compared to those exposed to media. This is typical of those that are mainly in rural areas who do not have easy access to mass media unlike those in the urban areas. The type of upbringing in the rural and the urban areas are totally different and therefore affects social behaviours and eventually decision making. In the rural areas girls are denied the freedom of expression and so they have no choice but to find themselves in marriage as a result of lacking exposure.

A brief on ending child marriages in Zambia, identifies the media as one of the best platforms that can be used to communicate to both children and their families on the negative impacts of child marriages. Through accurate and in-depth information, media can educate the public on the dangers of child marriages on children, families and society at large (PSAF, 2014). Identifying talent among young people in order to keep them away from engaging in early marriages is one of the tools that is being promoted in Zambia. A report on the advocacy and communications strategy on ending child marriage in Zambia highlights how fostering a wider awareness and meaningful dialogue using media can bring positive social change especially among children and the communities (Ministry of Gender, 2013).

2.4 Consequences of Child Marriages

2.4.1 Social and physical effects

Child marriage bears physical effects on children. Various reports conducted have revealed the extent to which child marriage has an effect both physically and psychologically. An example is a report by Plan Zambia 2013 on the Situational Child Marriages in Southern Africa which includes the following:

i. Health complications

Child marriages especially among girls increases the risks of serious reproductive health problems. Maternal mortality is one of the major consequences of child marriage among girls. Studies have revealed that the risk of deaths associated with pregnancy and child birth is 5 times higher among girls aged below 15 years than their counterparts aged 20-24 and this is because child marriages inevitably expose children to early child-bearing. At this age children are less likely to be physically and psychologically matured to assume the roles of child-bearing and child-care. Children are likely to face health challenges due to the physical immaturity that comes with engaging in early sex, conceiving and rearing children, because their bodies are not ready to carry out the duties that come with a marriage. One is vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV, by the very fact that they are married, and this is obviously intensified when one marries young and, worse still, when a child marries someone who is much older than they are – as is the case in most child marriage cases. Such a situation is worsened by the fact that most children in marriages have no access to life-saving drugs and proper healthcare, including information that would help alleviate the threats to their well-being

According to the Zambia Mode of Transmission Report, people married or living together are among the largest group with the most HIV infected people.

In nearly one in five couples, either one or both people are HIV positive and couples with large age gaps between partners are at a higher risk of being HIV positive. More of the 19% of couples in which the man is 10 or more years older than the woman are HIV positive than where the age difference is smaller (National Aids Council, 2013).

ii. Exposure to physical violence

Most girls and women are in socially weak positions; they are vulnerable to Violence, including physical violence. In a marriage setting, such violence is institutionalised and makes it much difficult for them to report it or take any positive action in preventing it. As a result of constant exposure to violence, there is an increased likelihood of contracting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. HIV is not just associated with gender-based violence, but also with marriage.

iii. Psychological and Psychosocial effects

There are several negative psycho-socio, psychological, emotional and intellectual effects on children that marry at younger ages. Most children who marry young tend to be disrupted of their education opportunities, hence they are more likely to be illiterate. This ultimately increases their risk of vulnerability to poverty, social and economic abuse. When children are exposed to such abuse, they are at a higher risk of experiencing psycho-socio, emotional and psychological challenges.

iv. Economic effects

Most children married at a younger age became victims of economic abuse because they do not have the means of financially supporting or sustaining themselves. Many child marriages are also a consequence of poverty, a factor well known to their spouses, and which the latter exploit to the full. This causes many children to stay in unhappy marriages since they have nowhere else to go and no other means of survival. Another aspect of economic abuse stems from the fact that culturally, women are supposed to be reliant on their husbands for financial and other support. Some men do not allow their spouses to be in paid employment, because they want to make the women dependant on them (ZARAN, 2015). On the contrary male children are exposed to the tough responsibility of ensuring that they provide for their families and if fail to do so, they too could be victims of economic abuse by their partners and relatives. Child marriage, even though wide-spread, has far reaching consequences on children who get married and on society hence it must be eradicated.

Child marriage is a practice that subjects children to insecurity and later inability to function in society. According to the women and children legal research foundation (2008), child marriage also has negative consequences from a physiological point of view. A child who

marries before puberty will face severe health problems. In addition, because of the lack of awareness of both or one of the parties, child marriages result in the spreading of sexually transmitted diseases. Socially, a girl who marries before eighteen loses her chances to obtain a higher level of education. Her access to social and vocational successes is jeopardized, and the role and contribution of women in the society's progress is diminished.

Further research on the consequences of child marriage reveal that it cuts short or ends a girls education, compromises her reproductive rights, sexual health, future employment and earnings, and perpetuates personal and community poverty (United Nations Population Fund, East and Southern Africa, 2017).

2.5 Summary of Literature

Most literature on child marriages especially within the Zambia context identifies some of the driving forces of child marriages such as teenage pregnancies, poverty, education, lack of exposure to media and socio-cultural aspects within the communities especially those that are predominantly rural. The studies also show trends and patterns of child marriage which is very good and useful information in giving an in-depth understanding into child marriage and whether the strategies that have been implemented have worked over time. The effects of child marriage in Zambia leaves and over aching sting on the country's growth, as studies conducted have revealed the several devastating effects mainly based on qualitative data in selected part of the country. Information gathered so far has contributed towards developing comprehensive approaches in eliminating child marriages in Zambia. However, the studies reviewed have each highlighted different component, either on patterns of child marriages, driving factors or effects in selected parts of the country and not necessarily capturing the national picture. Most evidence outlined from these studies is qualitative hence this is the gap that this study intended to cover. The data used in this study captured women across the nation in their reproductive ages who have been married and hence reflects more closely to the reality.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The practice of child marriage has been observed to be most prominent in African countries. Theories suggest that child marriages emerge from different societal laws and misconceptions. In order to clearly investigate the determinants and consequences of child

marriage, this study adopted a model which stipulates that all stakeholders have different responsibilities at different levels of operation to shape and influence the life course of a child (Krug and Dahlberg, 2002). It allows for inclusion of risk and protective factors from multiple domains, and provides grounding not only for understanding the complex interplay of individual, socio-cultural, political, and environmental factors that drive child marriage, but also identification of key entry points for prevention and intervention (Powell, K. E., Mercy, J. A., Crosby, et al, 1999). This framework provides a strong theoretical foundation for explaining some of the determinants of child marriage in Zambia. The framework identifies 4 levels of influence and these include: individual-level influences at micro level include personal history issues that predispose a girl to early marriage. The interpersonal level influences are factors that increase risk of a girl getting married early as a result of how she relates with family members, peers and teachers. The presumption is that a girl's closest social circle of family members, peers and school partners shape her behaviour and experience. Community-level influences are factors that increase risk based on community and social environments, especially schools and neighbourhoods. Societal-level influences are larger, macro-level factors that influence child marriage and include gender inequality, religious or cultural belief systems, societal norms, and economic or social policies that create or sustain gaps between groups of people.

This framework was adopted as it represents the determinants of child marriage and identifies the key elements that need to be addressed. Based on the literature that has been reviewed, this framework fits into the Zambian context as most studies have revealed how the driving factors of child marriage emanate from the individual level, interpersonal, community level as well as societal level.

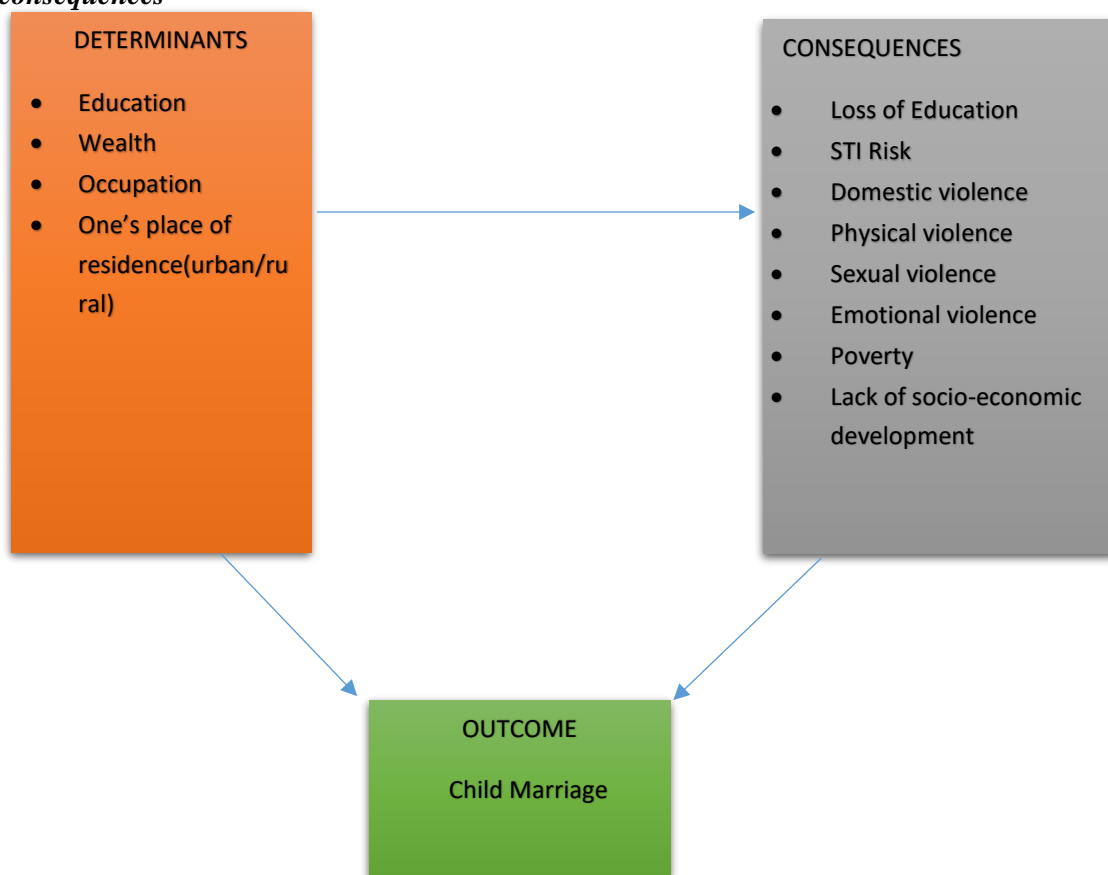
Children that grow up in environments where they have mostly witnessed marriages occurring at a tender age, tend to see that act as normal and are more likely to marry at a young age, this coupled with beliefs that favour early marriages become part of the influencing factors. The level of association with peer and family members is also one of the factors that may lead to early marriages. In this case children that are raised in environments where families are more supportive of an early marriage also tend to be easily influenced in that direction. If a child that is raised under proper parenting or a good and protective family, the chances of them ending up in a marriage at a younger age are less compared to those that grow up without the care of their parents or a caring family. There is a direct relationship between child marriages and the community. A community that lacks a proper judicial

system, lacks support from the local authorities is more likely to have more children marry at a young age. There are many reasons that lead to child marriage and the lack of legal prohibition or corporal punishment risks an increase in child marriage. The fourth level illustrates the relationship between the social-economic situation and child marriages. At this level that's religious and cultural beliefs can influence or contribute to child marriage. This also shows how the social and economic policies play a vital role in influencing child marriage.

2.7 Current Conceptual Framework on Child Marriage

The developed conceptual framework demonstrates the relationship between child marriage as the dependent variable (outcome) and the determinant variables at play. This framework shows the flow of the determinants and the consequences of child marriages.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework showing the linkage between child marriage, determinants and consequences



Source: Adapted from Dahlberg and Krug Powell, (2002) Ecological model.

2.7.1 Background Characteristics and Child Marriage

The background of an individual and their attitude or perception towards life can affect their decision to marry at a tender age. Most young girls that have had a background that is

supportive of child marriage end up married at a younger age compared to those raised in an environment that promotes individual development. The environment with regards to the family or community where a child is raised also affects one's decision to marry in that in that various communities have different cultural practices, income and educational background of the people that live there, therefore their perspective towards various practices varies. Societies where people do not have access to proper housing, water and sanitation as well as general health care services normally have little or no education background. This shows that they are not able to get into formal employment or are not able to obtain enough income to sustain them or provide for good quality services. This eventually leads to increase in poverty levels in such societies and eventually forces them to continuously marry off their young girls in order to earn a living. A child who has access to good health and has a positive health behaviour, emotional well-being, is less likely to end up in an early marriage. Most rural residence have recorded the high levels of child marriages and this is mainly because most children do not have access to good health, financial resources to take care of their needs.

2.7.2 Social Economic

The social economic characteristics are linked to the general education attainment or status of the society. Most rural areas have very limited or no access to proper education, hence they are more likely to experience loss in education. Children are not able to improve on their ability to read and write hence limited accessibility to information, their knowledge and ability to access good health and later improve their standard of living. This lowers their standards of living and the kind of housing facilities that they acquire. Most people tend to engage in farming and other very low-income generating jobs which compromise their standard of quality of housing as well as health. A child that is raised in such an environment especially a girl child is at a much higher risk of being married off at a tender age. When a girl is married off at a young age, they are denied the opportunity to obtain their education because in many cases they are not permitted to continue with their education. This results into increased illiteracy levels as most uneducated young girls often become housewives. They are not able to obtain a skill either and therefore this allows them to have increased number of children. It can only be through education that the girl child can gain independence and self-reliance and hence have a fighting chance in life. Studies have shown that education is one of the major social economic factors that influence a person's behaviour and attitude.

In general, the higher the level of education of a woman, the more knowledgeable she is about the use of health facilities, family planning methods and the health of her children (ZDHS, 2014).

Child marriage in any society has its own consequences and among them is personal development and inadequate socialization. This affects the mental health of most young girls and eventually inability for them to function and be fully productive in society. UNICEF (2001) focused that child marriage, along with little or no education, economic dependence, denial of decision-making power, inequality within the home and sexual exploitation adversely affect the mental health. A girl child tends to be more attached emotionally to her parental family than a boy child. She is more prone to psychological stress and tension because of detachment from parents after marriage. Many women tend to get depressed and suffer from inability to enjoy things fully; they struggle in many other areas of their lives and eventually experienced decreased low self-esteem. Early marriage typically cuts girls off from established support networks and friends.

Societies that mainly have high levels of illiteracy and little or no knowledge of family planning services tend to continuously experience increased rates in fertility. Young girls that are married off early mainly are less likely to use contraceptives; this is mainly because of lack of being exposed to knowledge, thus knowledge on family planning, career guidance and general health care education. Women who are married at a later stage with higher education good parenting and access to financial resources may tend to have a far much better chance of surviving or escaping child marriage compared to those with no chance at all.

In conclusion, there many factors attributed to child marriage and among them include health, education, socioeconomic status and background where one has been raised up. Each of these factors are determinants and at the same time end up being consequences and so it becomes a cycle. However, there is a direct link between child marriage, health and socioeconomic wellbeing. The framework above clearly demonstrates how that child marriage is influenced by low education attainment, background of an individual, socioeconomic status and vice versa. Therefore, child marriage is a dependent variable and wealth index, religion, region, type of place of residence and socioeconomic are independent variables.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the methodology used in this study. It includes, description of the research design, data sources and justification, it also includes the study population, sample size and description of variables. Another important component included is the description of the data analysis procedure which involved the application of the Chi square test, bivariate and multivariate regression.

3.2 The Research Design

This was a cross sectional study which focused on a sample population of women within their reproductive ages 15-49. The study was non-experimental and explanatory in nature as it did not involve any sample manipulation and entirely relied on secondary data. The study was also explanatory in that it sought to investigate the determinants of child marriage as well as examine its probable consequences among girls in general.

3.2.1 Data Sources and Justification

The study used the Zambia Demographic Health survey 2014 (ZDHS) which is a nationally representative population-based survey containing high quality data on women's socio-economic, demographic and health characteristics of the population since 1992. The data obtained covers women within their reproductive ages 15-49 from both rural and urban areas. This survey contains information for both men and women but for the purpose of this study, the data provided on women forms a good basis for this research. The information contained in the ZDHS includes age at first cohabitation, fertility, education attainment, place of residence, religion, employment status, wealth distribution and other background characteristics of respondents. Information pertaining the age at first marriage is key as it helps determine the age at first sexual intercourse therefore giving an understanding of the likely causes of marrying early. This information is very vital in this study as it helps to examine what determines child marriage, whether one's education contributes to the decision

of marrying early or not and whether some of the socio-economic factors provided are consequences of child marriage.

This dataset was therefore used as the sample of women is nationally represented indicating that data captured can be generalised to give a true picture of the status of women across the population and in turn remains the best source of data for this study.

3.2.2 The Study Population

The target population in this study was women aged 15-49 years who first married or entered a union before age 18 years. Women that reported never being married were dropped out of the sample as they were not closely associated to our target in achieving the intended objective. The information pertaining the social economic and demographic status of women was very vital in this study as there are many speculations on the major cause of child marriage; this dataset provided adequate information to establish the determinants of child marriage among girls married below the age of 18 years and the likely consequences.

3.2.3 Sample Inclusion and Exclusion

This study considered all women that had entered a marriage union before age 18 years and categorised them as child marriage. The sample also included women 19-49 years old who first married or entered a union before 18 years. This was done because according to the internationally accepted definition, the percentage of girls aged 15-19 who are married at any given time includes girls who are 18 and 19 years and no longer children. Women that had married above the age of 18 years were included and categorised as the reference category. This was done in order to clearly investigate whether there is any relationship between women that had married below 18 years (child marriage) and those married above the age of 18 years in relation to determinants or consequences variables.

3.2.4 Sample Size

The ZDHS 2014 had a total sample size of 16,411 of which 7,821 were from the urban while 8, 489 were from the rural areas. After dropping women that were not married the total sample was n=11094.

3.2.5 Data Processing and Cleaning

This study involved analysis of data using Stata 12.0. Before the process of analysis, the data was firstly weighted with variables containing the primary sampling unit (containing individual samples), stratum (defined groups) and weights. Sample weights were then applied using the women's individual sampling weights and dividing it by the constant ($\text{sampwt}=\text{v005}/1,000,000$). Finally, the dataset was set for weighting applying the survey-specific weights (svy) Stata command. This process was conducted in order to avoid any distortion in the dataset that may have occurred as a result of sampling errors. The dataset was later cleaned thoroughly by first narrowing down the dataset and creating a smaller subset to focus on the target population. After dropping all women that were not married, a command was executed to check (assert) for any missing observations within the dataset. Women that reported not married were dropped because the primary focus of the study was on women that had been married as this would help determine whether they were married at a younger age or above the age of 18 years. Determinate and Consequences variables were identified based on the conceptual framework and recoded according to the researcher's definition. The dependent variable (child marriage) was constructed using a proxy variable age-at-first cohabitation and this was because there was no independent variable within the dataset that collected data child marriage.

The ZDHS may have had some shortcoming within the data that was collected. The shortcomings may have influenced the interpretations and eventually the results of the study. There could be age misreporting, underreporting and under coverage of respondents during the initial data collection phase hence these results may have been affected. As a result of these shortcomings, it becomes vital to ensure data quality before applying any type of analysis so that the results are representative of the actual population for inferences.

In order to further refine the data, the categorical variables were cleaned by getting rid of non-response categories, missing answers, not sure or non-applicable responses. This was conducted in order to avoid biases in the results and later frequencies were conducted to ensure that all variables are uniformly distributed for each category. The determinant variables were then selected; this was done by generating variables from the dataset which have been identified from the conceptual framework as having influenced child marriage. The selected variables were later recoded, and this was done for easy identification of variables. Later, categorical variables were coded and grouped according to the researcher's definition.

3.2.6 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data in this research firstly involved descriptive analysis. frequencies were conducted, and percent distributions of selected background characteristics of child marriage were presented. This was done in order to clearly show the percentage distribution of women married below the age of 18 years and those married above the age of 18 years by socio-demographic characteristics. Later, a correlation matrix was developed in order to measure the strength of the relationship between child marriage and the selected variables as well as help identify highly correlated predictor variables in order to avoid multicollinearity during model building. Thereafter, Binary logistic regression was conducted through cross tabulations and the chi-square test in order to establish whether there was an association between the dependent variable (child marriage) and the dependent variables (education, wealth index, religion, region residence). Multiple logistic regression was conducted to explain whether child marriage is predicted by the education, wealth, religion, region or residence. Multiple logistic regression was used as opposed to other types of methods because it best helps to establish whether the changes in the dependent variable (child marriage) are as a result of changes in independent variables. It clearly shows the direction of the effects between the dependent and independent variables. This regression analysis was used to calculate Odds ratios with 95% confidence interval to estimate the association and to control the potential confounding variables. The key assumptions of this type of regressions is that there must be a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable, the residuals must be normally distributed and there must be little or no multicollinearity between variables. Despite its advantages, the limitation of using this regression is that it only helps ascertain the association but not necessarily the causal mechanism. Models were developed to show how the dependent variable was affected by introducing the independent variables to address the child marriage association with determinate and consequences variables.

3.2.7 Description of Variables

In order to fully facilitate the analysis, this section briefly gives a description of how variables were selected. The process of variable selection was based on the objective which was to investigate the determinants of child marriage, this therefore led to the selection of

variables which included the background characteristics: marital status, residence, socioeconomic: wealth index, region as well as religion. It was from these variables that independent variables were constructed as they can influence child marriage. The independent variables were further expanded and coded according the different categories under each variable: education was categorised as no education, primary, secondary, tertiary coded as 0,1,2, and 3 respectively. Wealth index was categorised as poor, middle, rich and coded as 1, 2, and 3 respectively. The variable religion was also categorised into Catholic, Protestant and Muslim with codes 1, 2 and 3 respectively. The variable region was coded as follows; Central (1), Copperbelt (2), Eastern (3), Luapula (4), Lusaka (5), Muchinga (6), Northern (7), North Western (8), Southern (9), Western (10).

Furthermore, the dependent variable was constructed from the variable of age at first cohabitation. This variable was first generated and later dropped the missing values. The variable was later recoded into five-year age groups thus 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44 and 45-49. As earlier defined in this study, this variable was divided into those married below the age of 18 (child marriage) and those married above the age of 18 (reference category). Those married below the age of 18 (Child marriage) were coded as 1 while those married above the age of 18 (reference category) were coded as 0.

The consequences variables were selected based on the literature that has been reviewed and the conceptual framework designed. In order to determine the whether HIV risk is associated to child marriage, a variable called multiple partnership was constructed. This variable constructed using question on the number of sexual partners, that one had including their spouse, in last 12 months. This variable was labelled 0 for those that had no partner, 1 for those that had one partner only and 2 for those that had more than 2 partners. The variable on perceived risk of STI was constructed using the question on reason for not having sex with husband because he has an STI. This question was used to construct the STI risk as there was no other specific question that could closely measure risk of STI among women. The variable was code 1 for those that had no perceived STI risk and 2 for those that were perceived STI risk. Domestic violence among women was categorised into three categories, physical violence, sexual violence and emotional violence. The physical violence variables were constructed using 5 questions that asked women on whether beating was justified if a wife: goes out without telling husband, neglects the children, argues with husband, refuses to have sex with husband and lastly if a wife burns food. This variable coded 0 if responses to all the questions was no and 1 if responses to all questions was yes and later labelled as physical

violence. The sexual violence variable was constructed from a question that asked women on whether they had experienced any sexual violence from their husbands. The variable was coded 1 for those that answered no and 2 for those that answered yes. The emotional violence variable was constructed from a question that asked women whether they had experienced any emotional violence. The variable was coded as 1 for those that answered no and 2 for those that answered yes and was later labelled as emotional violence.

Figure 2: Operational Definition of independent and dependent variables

Child marriage	This is a marriage or union between two people, both or one of whom is below 18 years. In this study, women between the ages 15-18 that were currently married or formerly married were categorized under child marriage.
Age	This is the exact number of years a person has lived.
Education Level	This is the highest level of education a person has successfully completed.
Wealth Quintile	This is the categorization of households into five quintiles (20%) of the total population.
Marital Status	The state of being married or not married.
Employment Status	The position of being legally employed.
Place of Residence	This is the place in which a person lives or resides or dwelling place.
Religion	The fundamental set of beliefs and practices generally agreed upon by a group of people
Region	An area, especially part of the country or world having definable characteristics.
Multiple Partnership	The measure and incidence of engaging in sexual activities with two or more people within a specific time period.
STI Risk	The chances of being infected with a sexually transmitted disease due to exposure to unprotected sex.
Domestic violence	Abuse by one person against another in a domestic setting such as in marriage or cohabitation
Physical Violence	An intentional act of causing injury or trauma to another person by way of bodily contact
Sexual Violence	An attempt to obtain a sexual act by violence or coercion
Emotional Violence	Abuse characterized by a person subjecting or exposing another person to behavior that may result in psychological trauma

3.3 Modelling Strategy

This modelling strategy involved categorising the dependent variable into binary categories. Those married below the age of 18 (child marriage) were noted as 0 and those married above the age of 18 were noted as 1 (reference category), this was the outcome variable. The determinant variables were later added to the model as predictor variables and these included the education, occupation, wealth index, religion, region and residence. The consequences variables were included in the model to determine whether there was an association with child marriage. Variables on consequences included multiple partnership, STI risk and domestic violence categorised into physical, sexual and emotional violence. The general logistic regression equation used is as follows:

$$(Outcome) y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i1} + \beta_2 x_{i2} + \dots + \beta_i x_{iq}$$

Where:

y_i : denotes the dependent variable where those married below 18 are noted 1 while those married above 18 are noted 0.

$\beta_0 \dots \beta_i$: Coefficients of the independent variables

$x_1 \dots x_{iq}$: Independent variable (determinants of child marriage)

The first part of the model included child marriage (dependent variable) and education while adjusting for continuous age, later the model was built on by adding the other predictor variables to child marriage. This process was conducted in order to determine the association of child marriage with the independent variables and whether a unit increase in the odds of the predictor variable affects a change in the dependent variable. Consequences variables were added into the models to determine association of the dependent variable (child marriage)

The following models were then developed:

- i. $y_i (CM) = \alpha + \beta_1 Age$
- ii. $y_i (CM) = \alpha + \beta_1 Age + \beta_2 education + \beta_3 wealth\ index + \beta_4 religion + \beta_5 region + \beta_6 residence$
- iii. $y_i (CM) = \alpha + \beta_1 Age + \beta_2 education + \beta_3 occupation + \beta_4 wealth + \beta_5 religion + \beta_6 region + \beta_7 residence + \beta_8 Multi\ partnership + \beta_9 STI\ risk + \beta_{10} domestic\ violence$

This parsimonious model was developed to help describe an in-depth understanding of the effects of the predictor variables on the outcome.

3.4 Limitation of the Study

Child marriage is a subject that has not been studied broadly from the Zambian perspective, the ZDHS 2014 dataset did not collect data on child marriage independently. Therefore, the major challenge in this study was that the variable of age at first cohabitation which was used to derive child marriage may have contained errors of age misreporting which may not have captured the true picture of child marriage in Zambia. The other limitation of this study was that it focused mainly on individual variables of child marriage, but there could be other broader variables such as culture that could be used to determine child marriage. The fact that this was a cross-sectional study, the study could only associations between variables and not necessarily causal effects, hence this posed as a limitation.

3.5 Ethical Consideration

The study used secondary data from the Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS 2014) dataset. The ZDHS datasets are managed by micro-international under the measure DHS, the researcher registered and requested for access to the female dataset from the DHS online archive and received approval to have access and download for the purpose of this study. Justification was provided to the measure DHS on how the dataset was going to be used as well as how the findings from the study may contribute towards developing comprehensive strategies of curbing child marriages in Zambia. Guidelines on treating data as confidential and only using it for the purpose of this study were respected.

CHAPTER FOUR

Presentation of Research Findings

4.1 Introduction to findings

The following chapter presents the findings of this study. It is divided into four sections. The first section presents the percentage distribution of women according to the demographic and socio-economic characteristics; the second section presents the correlation matrix between the child marriage and all the determinant and consequences variables. Section three presents the descriptive statistics for both the determinants and the consequences. The fourth section presents the bivariate analysis, aimed at addressing the first objective of the study which is to investigate the determinants of child marriage and the associated demographic and socio-economic factors, and the second objective, which examines the probable consequences of child marriage and their influence on socio-economic outcome of children in general. This analysis also explored the strength of the association between child marriage, its determinants and consequences as well as the significant differences.

4.2 Demographic and Socioeconomic characteristics of women in Zambia.

This section presents percentage distribution of women according to the selected background characteristics. This distribution indicates the largest percentage of women aged 15-19 (19.4%) and the highest percentage of women who had attained primary level of education (46%). More than half (53%) of the women were working and (52%) reside in the rural area. 81% of the women were Protestant as opposed to being Catholic (17.7%) and Muslim (0.5%). Eastern (12.7%), Copperbelt (10.3%), Lusaka (11.7%) and Southern (11%) provinces recorded higher percentage of women compared to Central (8.9%), Luapula (9.8%), Muchinga (8.8%), Northern (9.8%), North-western (9.7%) and Western province (8.4%). In terms of the wealth distribution, majority of the women (42%) were in the middle class while 35.6% were in the poor category and only 22% were rich.

Table 1: Background characteristics of Women

Percent distribution of women (15-49) according to demographic, ZDHS 2014

Background characteristics	Freq.	Percent (%)
Age		
15-19	2,871	19.4
20-24	2,756	18.6
25-29	2,622	17.7
30-34	2,298	15.5
35-39	1,879	12.7
40-44	1,399	9.5
45-49	976	6.6
Education		
No Education	1,225	8.3
Primary	6,941	46.9
Secondary	5,834	39.4
Tertiary	801	5.4
Occupation		
Not working	6,921	46.8
Working	7,880	53.2
Residence		
Urban	7,096	47.9
Rural	7,705	52.1
Religion		
Catholic	2,621	17.7
Protestant	12,108	81.8
Muslim	72	0.5
Region		
Central	1,207	8.6
Copperbelt	1,521	10.3
Eastern	1,871	12.7
Luapula	1,416	9.8
Lusaka	1,724	11.7
Muchinga	1,299	8.8
Northern	1,453	9.8
North Western	1,437	9.7
Southern	1,636	11.0
Western	1,237	8.4
Wealth index		
Poor	5,275	35.6
Middle	6,275	42.4
Rich	3,251	22.0

Source: ZDHS 2014

4.3 Correlation matrix of child marriage and predictor variables

In Table 2, the correlation between education and child marriage was -0.27 indicating a weak negative linear relationship. There was a weak positive linear relationship on occupation and residence with 0.04 and 0.12 respectively. Wealth index and religion both demonstrated a weak negative linear relationship with child marriage at -0.17 and -0.02 correspondingly. In terms of multiple partnership there was a negative correlation of -0.002 while perceived STI risk indicated a weak positive linear relationship at 0.01. There was no evidence of a linear relationship on all the categories of domestic violence as physical violence revealed a weak negative linear relationship with child marriage. Emotional and sexual violence both demonstrated a weak positive linear relationship with child marriage at 0.02. With regards to Region, there was a weak negative linear relationship with child marriage at -0.05. All the variables included in the correlation matrix revealed that there was no high correlation with the outcome variable, hence this was a good sign as it reduced multicollinearity in building the final models.

Table 2: Correlation test of Child marriage and Co-variates

	Child Marriage	Age	Education	Occupation	Residence	Wealth Index	Religion	Multiple partnership	Perceived STI Risk	Physical violence	Emotional Violence	Sexual Violence	Health Insurance	Region
Child marriage	1.000													
Age	-0.0433	1.000												
Education	-0.2734	-0.1322	1.000											
Occupation	0.0463	0.1473	-0.1319	1.000										
Residence	0.125	0.0169	-0.3518	0.1001	1.000									
Wealth Index	-0.1736	0.0497	0.491	-0.1574	-0.629	1.000								
Religion	-0.0246	-0.019	0.0124	-0.0223	-0.0388	0.0402	1.000							
Multiple Partnership	-0.0026	0.0451	0.0351	0.0552	-0.0658	0.0137	0.0154	1.000						
Perceived STI- Risk	0.0073	-0.0041	0.009	-0.0102	-0.0297	0.0131	0.0149	0.0345	1.000					
Physical violence	-0.096	0.042	0.1712	-0.1496	-0.1674	0.2529	0.0356	0.013	-0.0186	1.000				
Emotional Violence	0.0227	0.0345	-0.0198	0.0607	-0.0346	-0.0175	-0.0153	0.0882	0.0541	-0.0707	1.000			
Sexual Violence	0.0207	-0.0015	-0.0491	0.0917	0.0318	-0.0539	0.032	0.0623	0.0411	-0.1072	0.3286	1.000		
Health Insurance	-0.0938	0.0303	0.2205	-0.0565	-0.1381	0.2275	-0.0098	-0.0144	0.0048	0.087	0.0002	-0.022	1.000	
Region	-0.0561	-0.006	-0.009	0.158	0.0539	-0.104	0.0594	0.0351	0.0209	0.0104	-0.0218	0.0827	-0.0262	1.000

Source: ZDHS 2014

1. At exactly (+1), a perfect uphill +ve linear relationship, (+0.70) strong uphill +ve linear relationship), (+0.05) moderate uphill +ve relationship), (+0.30) weak uphill +ve linear relationship
2. At (0), No linear relationship
3. At exactly (-1), a perfect downhill -ve linear relationship, (-0.70) strong downhill -ve linear relationship, (-0.50) moderate downhill -ve linear relationship, (-0.30) weak downhill -ve linear relationship

4.4 Descriptive statistics of determinants and consequences of Child marriage

Table 3a, displays the descriptive statistics of the determinants of child marriage. There was a significant association between age and child marriage at ($p < 0.05$) with 19.2% of women having married below the age of 18 years falling in the age range 25-29. This was followed by 18.5% of women in the age range 30-34 who married below the age of 18 years. At least 15.8% of women married below the age of 18 years were falling in the age range 20-24 and 35-39.

Majority of the women (64.9%) that reported having engaged in child marriage had only attained primary level of education while 20% attained secondary level and only 0.57% had attained upto tertiary level of education. A significantly higher proportion of women engaged in child marriage reported being in employment while 35.8% were not working. About 13.6% had not obtained any level of education. More than half (62.9%) of the women in child marriage were residing in rural areas compared to 37% in urban areas..

A significantly higher proportion (81.6%) of women who were married below the age of 18 years were from the protestant category, while those from the Catholic were 18.1% and only a smaller proportion (0.35%) were from the Muslim category. Child marriage was reported highest in Eastern province (15.6%) and lowest in Western province (4.8%). About 46.5% of women that reported engaging in an early marriage were from the poor category, while 43.5% were from the middle and a smaller proportion (9.9%) in the rich category.

Table 3a: Descriptive Statistics of Determinants of Child Marriage

Determinants	Child marriage			P-value
	No (%)	yes (%)	Total (%)	
Age				
15-19	2.11	8.31	5.17	
20-24	16.07	15.86	15.97	
25-29	23.62	19.24	21.46	
30-34	20.71	18.58	19.66	
35-39	17.13	15.86	16.5	
40-44	12.38	12.55	12.47	
45-49	7.98	9.59	8.78	
				0.000***
Education				
No Education	7.61	13.64	10.58	
Primary	44.49	64.93	54.57	
Secondary	38.82	20.86	29.96	
Tertiary	9.09	0.57	4.89	
				0.000***
Occupation				
Not working	41.07	35.86	38.5	
Working	58.93	64.14	61.5	
				0.000***
Residence				
Urban	50.09	37.03	43.65	
Rural	49.91	62.97	56.35	
				0.000***
Religion				
Catholic	16.36	18.05	17.19	
Protestant	82.91	81.6	82.26	
Muslim	0.73	0.35	0.54	
				0.002
Region				
Central	8.07	8.55	8.31	
Copperbelt	10.27	9.58	9.93	
Eastern	10.63	15.64	13.10	
Luapula	10.43	10.11	10.27	
Lusaka	12.60	9.70	11.17	
Muchinga	7.86	10.57	9.19	
Northern	8.91	12.15	10.51	
North Western	9.63	8.77	9.20	
Southern	11.86	10.13	11.01	
Western	9.74	4.82	7.31	
				0.000***
Wealth Index				
Poor	34.32	46.5	40.33	
Middle	41.77	43.58	42.66	
Rich	23.91	9.92	17.01	
				0.000***

Note: (%) indicates those in child marriage(yes) and those not in child marriage(No)
Significance: * $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.1$

Table 3b shows descriptive statistics of the consequences of child marriage. There was no statistical association between multiple partnership and child marriage. A significantly higher proportion (97.5%) of women that were married a at younger age were not at risk of STI infection. The results further show that 43.6% of the women that were married below the age of 18 years experienced physical violence and the associated was significant. About 17.9% of Women that had married below the age of 18 years reported sexual violence with a borderline significance with Child marriage. Less than half (25.9%) of women reported having experienced emotional violence.

Table 3b: Descriptive Statistics of Consequences of Child Marriage

Consequences	Child marriage			p-value
	No	Yes	Total	
Multiple partnership				
No Partner	92.96	93.47	93.21	
One partner only	6.70	6.03	6.37	
More than One partner	0.34	0.50	0.42	
				0.165*
Perceived STI Risk				
No	97.55	97.52	97.53	
Yes	2.45	2.48	2.47	
				0.921*
Domestic Violence				
Physical Violence				
No	45.60	56.39	50.92	
Yes	54.40	43.61	49.08	
				0.000***
Sexual Violence				
No	83.55	82.05	82.81	
Yes	16.45	17.95	17.19	
				0.061**
Emotional Violence				
No	75.95	74.01	74.99	
Yes	24.05	25.99	25.01	
				0.035**
Education				
No Education	7.61	13.64	10.58	
Primary	44.49	64.93	54.57	
Secondary	38.82	20.86	29.96	
Tertiary	9.09	0.57	4.89	
				0.000***
Wealth Index				
Poor	34.32	46.5	40.33	
Middle	41.77	43.58	42.66	
Rich	23.91	9.92	17.01	
				0.000***

Source: ZDHS 2014, Significance: ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Note: (%) indicates those in child marriage (yes) and those not in child marriage (No)

4.5 The Determinants of Child Marriage.

This section presents bivariate associations between child marriage and socioeconomic determinants. The results in table 4a shows that the odds [OR,1.41, CI:1.335-1.508] of getting married below the age of 18 years among those women that have attained up to primary level of education is 42% more likely compared to those who have attained either secondary or tertiary level of education.

The odds of women marrying below the age of 18 years who attained secondary level of education was 46% less likely compared to those who have not attained any level of education (OR 0.544, CI:0.495-0.598) and with the association was statistically significant. Women that had attained tertiary level of education had fewer odds [OR, 0.059, CI:0.037-0.093] of engaging in child marriage hence were 94% less likely to marry at an early age and the association was statistically significant.

Findings further reveal that the odds of women who are working and married below the age of 18 years is 28% more likely compared to those women who are not working and there is still an association even after adjusting for age (OR 1.277, CI:1.149-1.419). There was a statistical significance difference [OR 1.061 CI:0.985-1.143] between child marriage and women in the middle-class category and after adjusting by age, the women in this category had reduces odds of getting married early as compared to those in the poor category. Women in the rich category were 54% less likely to get married below the age of 18 years as compared to those that were The odds of women who belong to the protestant category getting married below the age of 18 years is 3% less likely compared to those from the catholic, while the odds of those from the Muslim category getting married is 58% less likely compared to those from the catholic category. When adjusted for age, the odds of women in the protestant and Muslim show 4% and 58% respectively.

Higher odds of getting married below the age of 18 years have been recorded in Eastern (62%), Northern (43%), Muchinga (35%) and Luapula (4.7%) as compared to central province and the odds increase after adjusting for age. In terms of residence, the odds of women residing in rural area and getting married below the age of 18 years is 25% more likely compared to those living in the urban area, interestingly after adjusting for age the odds increase to 74% likelihood of women marrying below the age of 18 years as compared to those from the urban area (OR 1.742, 1.563-1.941).

Table 4a: Bivariate Analysis on Determinants of Child Marriage

Child marriage	Unadjusted		Adjusted	
	OR	C.I (95%)	OR	C.I (95%)
Age	0.999	[0.998-1.001]	1.006	[1.003 - 1.009]
Education				
No education	1.000	-	1.000	-
Primary	1.419	[1.335-1.508]	1.174	[1.040-1.326]
Secondary	0.544	[0.495-0.598]	0.458	[0.398-0.526]
Tertiary	0.059	[0.037-0.093]	0.048	[0.030-0.078]
Age	-	-	0.995	[0.992-0.997]
Occupation				
Not working	1.000	-	1.000	-
Working	1.076	[1.010-1.147]	1.277	[1.149-1.419]
Age	-	-	1.007	[1.005-1.009]
Wealth Index				
Poor	1.000	-	1.000	-
Middle	1.061	[0.985-1.143]	0.845	[0.760-0.940]
Rich	0.459	[0.392-0.537]	0.363	[0.304-0.433]
Age	-	-	1.000	[0.997-1.003]
Religion				
Catholic	1.000	-	1.000	-
Protestant	0.970	[0.918-1.025]	0.960	[0.870-1.059]
Muslim	0.421	[0.178-0.998]	0.416	[0.174-0.994]
Age	-	-	0.999	[0.995-1.003]
Region				
Central	1.000	-	1.000	-
Copperbelt	0.810	[0.690-0.952]	0.080	[0.689-1.035]
Eastern	1.620	[1.423-1.844]	1.685	[1.405-2.021]
Luapula	1.047	[0.898-1.220]	1.089	[0.892-1.331]
Lusaka	0.734	[0.617-0.872]	0.764	[0.614-0.950]
Muchinga	1.346	[1.167-1.553]	1.401	[1.155-1.701]
Northern	1.430	[1.234-1.656]	1.489	[1.227-1.806]
North Western	0.942	[0.795-1.118]	0.981	[0.794-1.213]
Southern	0.953	[0.825-1.101]	0.992	[0.819-1.201]
Western	0.546	[0.454-0.657]	0.569	[0.454-0.713]
Age	-	-	0.990	[0.987 -0.993]5
Residence				
Urban	1.000	-	1.000	-
Rural	1.255	[1.181-1.333]	1.742	[1.563-1.941]

*Significance: *p<0.01, **p<0.05, ***p<0.1 RC: Reference category, C.I: Confidence Interval*

4.6 The Consequences of Child Marriage

Table 4b, presents the findings of the association between child marriage and its consequences. The odds of perceived STI risk [OR,1.110, CI:0.828-1.489] among women married below the age of 18 years are more compared to those that do not engage in early marriage and is no statistical significance between the two variables. When adjusted by age the odds of women with perceived STI risk and getting married below the age of 18 years was 11% more likely as compared to those women who were perceived with no STI risk and the association was still not significant.

Findings in this study revealed that the odds of women who had experienced physical violence and were married below the age of 18 years were 18% less likely compared to those that did not experience physical violence and there was a statistical significance difference. Interestingly when adjusted for age, the odds of physical violence among women married below the age of 18 years were 30% less likely compared to those not experiencing physical violence with a strong significant association (OR 0.702, 0.635-0.777).

The odds of women that experienced sexual violence and were married below the age of 18 years was 12% more likely compared to those that were not experiencing sexual violence and the association is barely significant (OR 1.125, 1.000-1.266) even after adjusting for age the likelihood is 19% among women experiencing sexual violence and still no significant difference. Interestingly, the odds of women who experienced emotional violence and were married below the age of 18 years is 11% more likely compared to women who were not experiencing emotional violence and there is a statistical significance (OR 1.109, 95%, 1.002-1.228). When adjusted for age the odds of women married below the age of 18 years and experiencing emotional violence were 19% more likely and the association was significant.

The education aspect of women with regards to child marriage in these findings further revealed that the odds of women who had attained primary level of education and getting married below the age of 18 years were 42% more likely compared to those with no education attained, while odds of those who had attained up to secondary school were 46% less likely compared to those who had not been to school and in terms of tertiary level the odds were 94% less likely compared to those who had not attained any level of education and there was a statistical significance . After adjusting for the age factor, the odds of women who had attained primary level of education were 17% more likely compared to those with no level of education, while odds of those who had attained secondary level of education were 54% less likely and those with tertiary 95% less likely to get married below the age of 18 years compared to those that had not been to school and the association still remained significant. This reveals an interesting trend as the odds increase after adjusting for the age factor.

The findings presented in table 4b also reveal that the odds of women in the middle class married below the age of 18 years is 6% more likely with no significant association as compared to those who are poor while the odds of women who are rich getting married below the age of 18 years is 54% less likely as compared to those who are poor and the association is statistically significant.

When adjusted for by the age factors, the odds of women in the middle class married below the age of 18 years is 15% less likely while those who are rich are 64% less likely to get married below the age of 18 years as compared to those who are poor, and the association remains statistically significant. This shows that the risk of women who have attained higher level of education marrying early is lower as compared to those who have not been to school.

Table 4b: Bivariate Analysis on Consequences of Child Marriage

Child Marriage	Unadjusted		Adjusted	
	OR	C.I (95%)	OR	C.I (95%)
Age	-	-	0.999	[0.998-1.001]
Multiple partnership				
No partner	1.000	-	1.000	-
One partner only	0.881	[0.731-1.062]	0.901	[0.747-1.088]
More than two Partners	1.552	[0.804-2.997]	1.587	[0.820-3.070]
Age	-	-	0.999	[0.998- 1.001]
Perceived STI- Risk				
No	1.000	-	1.000	-
yes	1.081	[0.811-1.440]	1.110	[0.828-1.489]
Age	-	-	1.005	[1.003-1.007]
Physical violence				
No	1.000	-	1.000	-
Yes	0.816	[0.754-0.883]	0.702	[0.635-0.777]
Age	-	-	0.998	[0.996-1.000]
Sexual violence				
no	1.000	-	1.000	-
yes	1.125	[1.000-1.266]	1.192	[1.050-1.353]
Age	-	-	0.998	[0.996-1.000]
Emotional violence				
No	1.000	-	1.000	-
yes	1.109	[1.002-1.228]	1.189	[1.063-1.330]
Age	-	-	1.006	[1.003-1.009]
Education				
No Education	1.000	-	1.000	-
Primary	1.419	[1.335-1.508]	1.174	[1.040-1.326]
Secondary	0.544	[0.495-0.598]	0.458	[0.398-0.526]
Tertiary	0.059	[0.037-0.093]	0.048	[0.030-0 .078]
Age	-	-	1.007	[1.005-1.009]
Wealth Index				
Poor	1.000	-	1.000	-
Middle	1.061	[0.985-1.143]	0.845	[0.760-0.940]
Rich	0.459	[0.392-0.537]	0.363	[0.304-0.433]

***Bolded** values indicate significantly different (p<0.05) *C.I: Confidence Interval*

4.7 Multivariate Regression Model for Child Marriage and Predictor variables

The final models were developed with the use of multivariate logistic regression, separate multivariate models were developed which include determinants of child marriage (model 1) and later the consequences (model 2) and the final model was combined (model 3).

The first model in table 5 shows the determinants of child marriage before adjusting for continuous age. There was a strong association between education and child marriage as women who had attained primary level of education were 23% less likely to get married young as compared to those that had not attained any level of education. Attaining at least secondary level of education reduces the risk of getting married at an early age as the odds of women who had attained secondary level of education were 70% less likely to engage in child marriage and even

more for those that had attained tertiary level of education with 96% likelihood of not getting married compared to those that had not attained any education. A higher association persisted after adjusting for age in model 3 with odds of women who were in primary getting married below the age of 18 years at 24% while the odds of those who were in secondary increased to 72% and those who had attained tertiary level of education at 96% less likely to get married at an early age.

An interesting pattern on occupation shows that there was statistical significance between one's occupation and getting married at an early age as the odds of women that were working were 13% more likely to get married as compared to those that were not working. After adjusting for continuous age in the third model, results showed no significant association between occupation and child marriage. The other predictor variables used in the first model, this wealth index, religion and region were not statistically associated with Child marriage but showed similar direction of the relationship. With regards to the place of residence, there was a statistical significance observed between residence and child marriage as the odds of women in the rural area marrying at an early age were 16% more likely as compared to in the urban areas. After adjusting for continuous age in model 3, the odds [OR,1.149, CI:0.1000-1.320] revealed no statistical significance.

Model 2 in table 5 demonstrates an interesting pattern regarding the probable consequences of child marriage. The findings in this model further show that there is no statistical significance between the perceived STI risk among women, sexual violence and emotional violence. Findings presented in the bivariate analysis reveal a statistical significance for physical violence and emotional violence, but when included in the multivariate model, a slight change in the pattern of association shows that only physical violence is significantly associated with child marriage. The odds of women experiencing physical violence and married below the age of 18 years is 30% less likely as compared to those who are not physically abused and after adjusting for continuous age, the odds of women who experience physical violence and married at an early age is 12% less likely as compared to those who do not experience physical violence.

The results in model 3 of table 5 show the relation between variables after adjusting for continuous age for both the determinant variables and the consequences variables. According to these results and the two objectives stated in this study, education has been identified as being highly associated with child marriage while among the consequences, the results show that physical violence is highly associated with child marriage.

4.8 Summary of Results

The results in this chapter reveal that education is highly associated with child marriages and this was observed in both the bivariate logistic regression and the final multivariate models. Residence was associated in the first model but after adjusted for consequences, the changes in the odds ratios demonstrated no association with child marriage. Physical violence emerged as being highly associated with child marriage in the final regression models and the association was statistically significant. The pattern illustrated in these models helps to have an in-depth

understanding on the factors highly contributing towards child marriage on a bigger picture as well has the underlying consequences that are linked marrying at early age.

Table 5: Multivariate Logistic Regression: Child Marriage by Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics (Model Building)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Determinants		Consequences			
Child marriage	OR	CI (95%)	OR	CI (95%)	OR	CI (95%)
Age	0.920	[0.892-0.948]	0.999	[0.987-1.001]	0.908	[0.876-0.942]
Education						
No Education	1.000	-	-	-	1.000	-
Primary	0.767	[0.653-0.901]	-	-	0.758	[0.623-0.921]
Secondary	0.301	[0.249-0.364]	-	-	0.281	[0.225-0.351]
Tertiary	0.040	[0.024-0.065]	-	-	0.039	[0.021-0.073]
Occupation						
Not working	1.000	-	-	-	1.000	-
Working	1.131	[1.016-1.258]	-	-	1.093	[0.973-1.228]
Wealth Index						
Poor	1.000	-	-	-	1.000	-
Middle	1.062	[0.931-1.210]	-	-	1.082	[0.940-1.244]
Rich	0.860	[0.696-1.064]	-	-	0.873	[0.667-1.143]
Religion						
Catholic	1.000	-	-	-	1.000	-
Protestant	0.931	[0.819-1.057]	-	-	0.889	[0.769-1.028]
Muslim	0.635	[0.309-1.304]	-	-	0.550	[0.302-1.001]
Region						
Central	1.000	-	-	-	1.000	-
Copperbelt	1.143	[0.932-1.402]	-	-	0.941	[0.713-1.243]
Eastern	1.229	[0.999-1.511]	-	-	1.172	[0.915-1.502]
Luapula	0.812	[0.646-1.019]	-	-	0.750	[0.573-0.983]
Lusaka	1.000	[0.811-1.234]	-	-	0.977	[0.765-1.249]
Muchinga	1.099	[0.882-1.369]	-	-	1.052	[0.816-1.357]
Northern	1.103	[0.883-1.378]	-	-	1.078	[0.834-1.394]
North-western	0.820	[0.647-1.040]	-	-	0.786	[0.605-1.020]
Southern	0.884	[0.720-1.086]	-	-	0.930	[0.738-1.172]
Western	0.427	[0.333-0.547]	-	-	0.386	[0.290-0.515]
Residence						
Urban	1.000	-	-	-	1.000	-
Rural	1.155	[1.025-1.302]	-	-	1.149	[0.1000-1.320]
Consequences						
Multiple Partnership						
No Partner	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
One Partner only	-	-	0.871	[0.684-1.108]	1.044	[0.807-1.351]
More than two partners	-	-	1.981	[0.867-4.573]	1.900	[0.757-4.772]
Perceived STI risk						
No	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
Yes	-	-	1.101	[0.789-1.536]	1.123	[0.785-1.605]
Domestic Violence						
Physical Violence						
No	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
Yes	-	-	0.704	[0.628-0.780]	0.879	[0.777-0.993]
Sexual Violence						
No	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
yes	-	-	1.057	[0.912-1.227]	1.043	[0.893-1.219]
Emotional Violence						
No	-	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
yes	-	-	1.107	[0.973-1.259]	1.087	[0.942-1.253]

Source: ZDHS 2014 *Bolded values indicate significantly different (p<0.05) C.I: Confidence Interval

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

5. Summary

Zambia has continued to record rates of child marriages and this has been attributed by several factors according to the trends that have been prevailing which show that child marriage is more common among young girls at 17% compared to boys at only 1%. This study aimed at investigating the determinants and probable consequences of child marriages. This study further sought to examine the extent to which the determinants influence child marriage in Zambia and the consequences that emerge.

The study found education as protective against child marriage. Women that attain higher levels of education are less likely to marry at an early age. Most girls in rural areas are likely to get married at a younger age as compared to those in urban areas, though the study reveals a borderline significance. This simply means residence with regards to whether one lives in a rural area may not be a major factor in determining child marriage. The study further reveals that living in Luapula or Western province was more protective of Child marriage as compared to living in Central province. Furthermore, the study found that Child marriage is highly associated with physical violence as shown in the study results section. Most girls married below the age of 18 years are at a higher risk of experiencing physical violence. These results are also evidence that child marriage increases the risk of physical violence among the victims, hence the need to develop preventive measures.

5.1 Discussion

The findings generated in this study provides a basis for enhanced action of addressing the factors identified as the critical causes of child marriage as well as the major consequences. Education has been identified as one of the strongest predictors of child marriage as all the statistical tests conducted revealed a strong association between education and child marriage. Child marriage is highest among women who have not attended any school, and this is attributed to several reasons lack of schooling opportunities, poverty such, funding or even the rightful resources to encourage them to pursue their education. This coincides with a study conducted on empirical exploration of female child marriage determinants in Indonesia (Lauren Rumble, 2018), which found that education was highly predictive and protective of early marriage. For example, as compared to females with some or complete secondary education, those with lower levels (some or complete elementary) were at 6–12 percentage points (pp) increased risk of early marriage, while those who had at least some post-secondary education were at 9–33 pp decreased risk. Women who are poor are more likely to get married at an early age, and this could be because they are neither financially or economically stable or lack financial support for daily survival and therefore opt to engage in early marriage compared to those who are in the middle-income level or rich.

According to the findings of this study, women who attend either catholic or Protestants are more likely to engage in early marriages compared to those who are Muslim. In terms of region, Eastern, Northern and Muchinga have recorded the highest number of women marrying before the age of 18 years compared to the rest of the provinces. The rural area recorded the highest number of child marriages compared to the urban areas. The bivariate results revealed a relationship between child marriage and the socioeconomic determinants. In terms of the consequences those that get married below the age of 18 years are highly likely to experience domestic violence and more specifically physical violence.

The results of the models of consequences further showed a statistical significance between child marriage and physical violence, as the odds of women experiencing physical violence are higher among women married at an early age compared to those married above the age of 18 years. This indicates that gender-based violence is more prominent among women engaged in child marriage. According to an article (CAMFED, 2017), Girls who are married as children are more likely to experience domestic violence, and have a lower status in society, because too often child brides are denied their right to pursue education, employment or entrepreneurial opportunities. Interestingly the bivariate results revealed that there was no statistical significance between child marriage and perceived STI risk. This was also demonstrated in the multivariate models developed even after adjusting for continuous age factor. Most of the women married at an early age also tend to suffer health consequences and this deprives them the ability to become more productive and focus on much more other developmental issues. According to (CAMFED, 2017), Adolescent girls are disproportionately affected by HIV. Women married off at a younger age to men who have had many previous sexual partners are at higher risk of contracting HIV due to a lack of sexual and reproductive health information, and lack power to negotiate safe sex or refuse sex. They are susceptible to partner violence, and this further increases their risk of contracting HIV.

The misfortune of HIV/AIDS for girls comes full circle as AIDS is a leading cause of death amongst adults. Orphans and girls from child-headed households are at higher risk of child marriage as they lack adequate support to make ends meet. In these frantic situations, when a girl cannot afford food or shelter, let alone school fees, entering an early marriage can sometimes be the only way to survive. The effects that come with children being married off at a tender age are so enormous, and for a girl child it deprives them of the opportunity to utilize their potential to change the course of their family and later community. Getting married at an early age comes with discomfoting implications, a child is likely to end up poor and possibly suffer other health implications such as maternal mortality.

5.1.1 The socio-economic and demographic determinants of Child marriage.

Education is an important tool in eliminating child marriage. The analysis conducted in this study shows that education is highly associated with child marriage as majority of the women who are married below the age of 18 years have only attained up to primary level of education. The higher the level of education one attains, the lesser the likelihood of them getting married

below the age of 18 year. These findings are consistent with evidence from other researchers conducted on early child marriages in other countries. Girls may be married at young ages due to a lack of other alternatives, such as educational or economic opportunities, or girls may be pulled from school to be married. In the Amhara region of Ethiopia, 30 % of girls who were not in school said that the primary reason was marriage. After marriage, young girls' access to formal and even nonformal education is severely limited because of domestic burdens, childbearing and social norms that view marriage and schooling as incompatible. In Nicaragua, 45 % of girls with no education are married before they turn 18 years, compared to 28 % of girls with primary education, 16 % of girls with a secondary education and 5 % of girls with higher education. In Mozambique, some 60 % of girls with no education are married by 18 years, compared to 10 % of girls with secondary schooling and less than 1 % of girls with higher education. In Senegal, 41 % of girls with no education are married as children, whereas only 14 % of girls with a primary education marry as children (ICRW, Child Marriage and Education, 2006).

There are many underlying factors contribute towards a girl getting married at an early age. These may be individually driven which means a girl may not be interested in pursuing her education due to several reasons such as lack of support from parents or guardians, or academic inabilities. In a case where a girl child feels she is not academically capable and does not have a positive support system, she is more likely to drop out of school as opposed to one who has academic abilities or receives adequate support from her parents or guardians. A research conducted in Ethiopia and India found that a girl's capacity and desire for education as well as her self-efficacy to demand it, were identified as key psychological assets supporting school retention (Raj, 2019). A study on the impact of child marriage on education found that girls with lower education prospects because they may be weaker academically face smaller expected losses in future earnings and thereby have lower incentives to continue to study as compared to girls who are academically stronger. These girls may be more willing to marry early, or their parents may be more inclined to have them marry early. Similarly, independently of their academic abilities, girls less interested in pursuing their education may also marry earlier and might have dropped out of school even in the absence of marriage (Wodon, 2012).

Other factors that are outside the control of an individual may include parents or guardians influence. In this case the victim may not have much of a say on the decision, in most cases especially rural set up they could be forced. Mostly rural areas have limited access to mass media such as radio, T.V or newspaper which is likely to provide information on various issues including marriage or reproductive health which can expose women to modern concepts or views and help them make informed decisions. Therefore, it becomes a norm in such settings for parents to make the decisions on behalf of the child as it becomes a strategy for their economic survival.

The findings in this study further disclose that women married below the age of 18 years are more likely to be poor compared to those married above the age of 18 years. The results also reveal that women married above the age of 18 years tend to marry when they are financially stable and can be able to support themselves and their families, compared to those married below

the age of 18 years. This study reveals that child marriage is significantly associated with one's socio-economic status. The bivariate results revealed that most women who are rich are less likely to engage in a marriage below the age 18 years compared to those who are in the middle class or poor. The odds of women married below the age of 18 years and rich, were less compared to those either in the middle or poor class. This may be as a result of unequal distribution of income generating opportunities and therefore women that lack the proper skill to engage in at least one economic activity end up getting married early. This clearly shows that poverty is a very significant factor in determining child marriage in Zambia. These results are in line with studies conducted by other researchers on child marriages in Zambia. The In-depth summary report on child marriage situation in Zambia showed that Luapula province had the smallest percentage from the 20% richest quintiles while Lusaka province recorded the highest at (54.1 %), which clearly indicates the major gap in the regions in terms of distribution of wealth and resources (PSAF, 2014).

According to the Qualitative study of child marriages in six districts in Zambia, Most parents and guardians see child marriage as a potential opportunity to benefit financially from the bride price for their daughter and also as an opportunity to ease the strain on household resources (Gillian Mann, 2015) In most cases, parents tend to make very difficult choices due to economic hardships and financial constraints, and this is mainly because they try to accommodate their living situation in order to survive. This lessens their chances to have for long term investments that can help their financial situation in the long run and instead attracts short term solutions which eventually perpetuate child marriage.

Further results of this study reveal that marriage below the age of 18 is higher in the Eastern, Muchinga and Northern provinces of Zambia. These findings clearly show that the regions which are predominantly rural are more likely to have more women or girls marrying before the age of 18 years compared to other regions. There could be many reasons as to why most women in the rural area would tend to marry earlier than their counterparts in the urban areas. One of the possible reasons is that women in the rural area tend to engage in sexual intercourse earlier than their counterparts in the urban areas, regardless of their employment status or education level.

The various demographic and socio-economic factors in these regions have a significant influence on child marriage. The study further reveals that there is no statistical significance between child marriage and religion, but the results indicate that Child marriage is highest among women that belong to the protestant category compared to those from catholic and Muslim.

Women residing in the rural areas are more likely to get married at an early age as compared to those from the urban areas. In most rural areas certain beliefs and norms govern their communities and become are part of their lives. For Instance, most parents would prefer marrying off their daughter at a younger age in the effort to prevent her from becoming sexually active before marriage. In such settings, becoming sexually active before marriage brings dishonour not only to the family but to the entire community. Other findings from a study conducted by the International Centre for Research on Women revealed that, because marriage often determines a woman's status in many societies, parents also worry that if they don't marry

their daughters according to social expectations, they will not be able to marry them at all. Forced child marriage also is a route to cementing family, clan, and tribal connections or settling obligations (ICRW, *The Causes, Consequences and Solutions to Forced Child Marriage in the Developing World*, 2010). Other factors contributing to child marriage in rural also include poverty, most young people that are not engaged in any productive activity are more likely to engage in early sexual activities as a means of financial gains. In a recent report by the Zambia daily mail, in Shibuyunji one of the residents a grade seven pupil at Mutombe primary school in Shibuyunji, was not ashamed to say that children in the area were associating with older men and women with a view to reducing poverty. Many children come from poverty-stricken homes and communities that care less what they do if food is put on the table. This situation has led to many children dropping out of school due to early pregnancies and marriages and further contracting HIV and AIDS (Simona, 2015). There are many other likely causes of child marriage that have been identified by different researchers in various settings. For instance a study conducted in Nepal showed that that the major causes of incidence of child marriage in Nepalese society were lack of awareness, less access to media, low knowledge level of government policy, investment to girls taken as waste of resources, fear from unmarried, higher the education higher the dowry, reduce the cost of wedding ceremonies and weak law enforcement (Mahato, 2016). Interestingly these results also revealed that most girls living in rural areas tend to enter the union at twice the rate of their urban counterparts thus 62% and 37% respectively. This can be traced through some of the values and standards of living in the rural parts of the country.

These findings are an illustrative picture of the how education is a significant determinant of child marriage. This also implies that determinant factors can be interlinked in some way in that a high level of association for one determinant factor can lead to the other. In this case, most girls in the rural set ups do not have easy access to education as compared to those in the urban communities, hence child marriage is more common. It is however interesting to note that after building the models occupation, wealth index, religion and region had no association with child marriage. Majority of the women in Zambia are protestant while the other percentage is divided among the catholic and the Muslim. Many reasons could be behind this which may include that some of the women that attend catholic and protestant are not subjected to too many restrictive rules compared to those who are Muslim. The Muslim community restricts women especially young girls from interacting with their male counterparts, hence delays their decision to marry.

Beliefs and doctrines also appear to affect the rate of child marriage as there seems to be only 0.3% of women married below the age of 18 years in the Muslim category. This is possible due to the notions of morality and honor within the Muslim culture which is an important aspect as they mostly restrict most girls from interacting with boys.

The other reason for high level of child marriage in the predominantly rural areas identified in this study is that they are characterized by limited resources that can increase knowledge among residents on marriage. This is also attributed to the fact that most of these areas consist of certain cultures that promote child marriages. Most of these cultures do not create a good environment that fights early marriages and this is further explained by the ecological model that was adopted

for this study by (Powell, K. E., Mercy, J. A., Crosby, et al, 1999). The environment of a child influenced by either peers or family and eventually the society can affect their decision to marry. Where one resides may have an influence though this study has not found any close association between residence and child marriage. The conceptual framework adopted in this study clearly outlines how the background characteristic of residence influences child marriage. This has also been identified even in studies that have been conducted at global level, one such study is the one conducted by (UNFPA, 2012) on Ending Child Marriages which revealed that girls living in rural areas of the developing world tend to marry or enter into union at twice the rate of their urban counterparts (44 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively). In most cases areas that are predominantly rural do not promote personal development, which can either be in form of acquiring knowledge, skill or being committed towards education.

This can be explained in the sense that the availability of resources to cater for basic needs is important as it can influence one's decision to marry at a younger age or not. This can be clearly explained in two ways; firstly, from the parent's point of view and from the individual point of view. Sometimes parents are highly likely to marry off their young daughters as a means of survival. In certain parts of the world especially in rural areas, certain families regard their female children as assets or means of earning income, the poverty situation pushes them to marry off their children at a young age even without their concern. On the other hand, their cases were a young girl may not have either a parent or guardian and the poverty situation around their community drives them towards getting married at a tender age as a means of survival. This is in line with a study conducted on the determinants of child marriages among girls (Bhanji SM, 2014) which found that a young girl in a poor family is often regarded as an economic burden while marrying her to an older man is believed to bring social as well as financial benefits to the poor family. The girl is regarded as a commodity to be traded to settle the disputes or debts. At times poverty is such a critical factor that in order to attain economic safety in conditions of war or poor harvest, poor families try to attain stability by marrying their young daughters to much older men.

5.1.2 The Consequences of Child Marriage and their Influences on the Socio-Economic outcome of Children

The results in this study reveal that 17.9% of the women married below the age of 18 years have experienced sexual violence while 25.9% have experienced emotional violence and 43.6% have experienced physical violence. Most women had experienced more physical violence as the results revealed a strong association between physical violence and child marriage. This simply means domestic violence continues to thrive and remain a challenge in child marriages. These results are in line with the study conducted on Child, Early and Forced marriage by (Allison M. Glinski, 2015), married girls are at a higher risk of sexual, physical, and emotional violence. Forced sexual initiation and forced marital sex frequently accompany child, early and forced marriages. Adolescent girls 15 to 19 years are also more likely to have experienced "current violence" from a partner than women aged 45 to 49 years. This could also be the case in that sometimes-young girls cannot freely express themselves and hence confine themselves to the

inner circle of their husbands and in-laws, limiting their social network and eventually their freedom of expression. Their ability to participate in decision making is limited as well as community participation; hence they cannot fully express their views patterning issues that affect them.

Early exposure to sexual intercourse eventually increases the risk of sexually transmitted disease such as HIV/AIDS. Most young girls that marry young and have not matured enough to understand their health rights tend to be at a higher risk of having sexually transmitted diseases and limited access to good health or even health insurance. Due to lack of education, the married women are not empowered socially and economically, they lack decision making power, girl's social network and even ability to negotiate with partners and family over healthy behaviours (Bruce, 2007). Other health implications of child marriage include child marriage is maternal death. Young girls and women that barely have information about their reproductive health or how to take care of a pregnancy are most likely at a higher risk of dying and losing the pregnancy compared to those that have the knowledge and can read and write. In other words, high rates of health vulnerabilities such as access to good sexual and reproductive health services have severe consequences for young girls that enter marriage. The more knowledge and awareness are spread within the communities, the less risk of the consequences. According to the Zambia Demographic and Health Survey Report (ZDHS, 2014) 99.8 percent of women had knowledge of some form of contraceptive method. However, the use of contraceptives was lower among women with low or no education and living in rural areas (37%), compared to those with education and living in urban areas (63%). Similarly, more women in the highest wealth quintile (62%) used contraceptives as compared to those in the lowest wealth quintile (39%). This clearly indicates that one factor may lead to several other consequences, the absence of education leads to low literacy levels, low participation in decision making and eventually child marriage. Studies have shown that there are serious health implications that come with child marriage. It leads to maternal mortality, sexually transmitted diseases, cervical cancer among others (International Centre for Research on Women, 2007).

This study also reveals that, 13% of women married below the age of 18 have not attained any education, 64% have attained up to primary, 20% have attained secondary and only 0.6% have attained tertiary level of education. Those women that are older but married below the age of 18, 8% have not attained any education, 44% have attained up to primary level, 38% have attained secondary and Only 8% have attained tertiary education. This clearly shows that most women that have married below the age of 18 have only attained primary level of education and very few go up to secondary level. This is likely to be the case as most young girls may not have the opportunity to be in school or at times may not have the resources to attain up to secondary or tertiary level of education. (Allison M. Glinski, 2015) , Lack of education also has a ripple effect on other household members. Lower educational attainment is associated with decreased participation in the formal labor market and lower lifetime earnings. Additionally, children with less-well educated mothers are less likely to receive proper nutrition, less likely to be immunized against childhood diseases, and more likely to die. As lack of education is often a barrier to formal employment, women with low levels of education often face limited formal earning

opportunities. Education is a very important factor that would help reduce child marriages, in this case promoting general education within the communities that are most affected. Most of the young girls who are married below the age of 18 are most likely not exposed to education opportunities or come from communities where education is not considered as an important tool towards development. In some cases, young girls that have had the opportunity only attain up to primary level and marriage becomes an option. In most of the affected areas, the levels of illiteracy tend to increase as a result of a high rate of young girls who have not attained their education and generally lowers the standards of education attainment in the country.

According to research conducted on the child marriage situation in Zambia, the results revealed that there are various factors that make children vulnerable to and in marriage. The factors identified included education and literacy levels of children, orphan hood, single parentage, levels of access to sexual and reproductive health services, gender based violence as well as wealth levels (Gillian Mann, 2015). Most of these factors highlighted in this research play a back and forward link as determinants and as well as consequences. The results in this study further showed how that the rural set up is one of the most affected and this is due to the underdeveloped state of most areas. According to the in-depth analysis of adolescent girls, the results revealed that 17.7% of adolescent girls were not attending school with 22.2% in rural areas and 11.4% in urban areas. Eastern province recorded the lowest at 10.5% while Luapula had the highest at 26.8%. These results are in line with the findings of this study which clearly reveals that Luapula still remains among the highest regions to record low levels of education attainment and illiteracy, hence leading to child marriage.

The study also reveals that 46% of the women that married below the age of 18 were poor, 43% were in the middle category and only 10% were rich while for those that were older but married below the age of 18, 34% were poor, 41% were in the middle category and 23% were rich. This simply shows child marriage eventually promotes poverty, and the younger girls enter marriage unions without being financially stable or without acquiring any proper skill that would help them provide for their basic needs, they will continue to suffer the consequences. This study also identified that poverty is both a major determinant as well as consequence of child marriage, the health aspect also remains critical as most women are not covered under any health insurance hence a very high possibility of women experiencing other health risks.

5.1.3 Social Economic Effect

When most girls are subjected to poverty, there is a high possibility that there will be very minimal participation in any developmental activities. There is likely to be low participation of the girl child or women in decision making at every level, starting from the household level, community and eventually national level. Decision-making can be a complex process, and the ability of women to make decisions that affect the circumstances of their own lives is essential for their empowerment (ZDHS, 2007). The lack of participation of the girl child can lead to other negative consequences and eventually hinder development at all levels. According to (Allison M. Glinski, 2015), child marriage frequently leads to social isolation, which diminishes participation in household and community decision-making processes. Not only does women's involvement in

these decision-making processes help ensure that community investments go toward women-friendly services, research also shows that when women are involved in political decision-making, investments are more likely to be placed into social services, including those directly related to economic growth (such as education).

In cases where most girls are not given the opportunity to be in school, this may affect the community or country's productivity in the sense that most girls will not be able to acquire the rightful skills or knowledge needed, hence it reduces their chances of being formally employed and contribute towards the economy's productivity. Studies have found that a 1 percent increase in the number of women with secondary education can increase a country's annual per capita income growth by 0.3 percent. In 2008, Plan International estimated that in 65 low- and middle-income countries, more than \$92 million is lost globally each year because girls do not have the same secondary school attainment as boys. The loss of women's contributions to the labor force impedes the development of entire economies. The child is also most likely not able to fully know how to take care of themselves or families, they are not able to fully handle certain health risks and complications that may come with child bearing at a young age hence it puts their families at risk. The child may suffer child birth complications, and this may lead to an increased rate of maternal mortality within the community.

The results in this study build and contribute towards the evidence of quantitative literature on the child marriage situation in Zambia. Having a national perspective of the major determinant of child marriage in this context will help develop strategies that are more specific towards eliminating child marriage in Zambia.

5.2 Conclusion

Child Marriage remains high among those that have either no education or have only attained up to primary level of education. Education would play a very important role in increasing the age at marriage as most young girls will be exposed to knowledge concerning their health and help them make informed decisions. The highest cases of child marriage are recorded in the Eastern, Muchinga and Northern region of Zambia. These results are in line with the study conducted by UNICEF in 2015 on the qualitative study of child marriage in six districts of Zambia, the prevalence and correlates of child marriage and the Report card of adolescents in Zambia. The most affected regions are those that are predominantly rural and lack adequate economic development. Mostly child bearing is high in the most affected areas and this is attributed to the fact that there are more women who have not attained higher levels of education and come from poor backgrounds. This has also been revealed in the ZDHS 2014 in-depth analysis of adolescent girls that the pattern is similar in low wealth quintiles, 45% of the girls that begin child bearing are from these settings. The report further shows that among the girls married between the age group 15-19, only 37% were using contraceptives and this was attributed to the fact that they were still young and married to older men. This means that the girls were exposed to a lot of health risks, such as early and unplanned pregnancies leading to maternal mortality, transmission of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS therefore negatively contributing to Zambia's HIV/AIDS rate and maternal deaths.

Therefore, the findings of this study conclude that the socioeconomic characteristics have a strong influence on child marriage especially among poor women. Results revealed that though the level of child marriage reduced from 55% in 2007 to 49% in 2013-14, the rate is still high. Young women who are financially stable and can provide for their basic needs are less likely to marry before the age of eighteen. The rate of child marriage still indicates that it is more common in the rural areas and has been as a result of major determinants such as education. This study suggests that their must by high priority set on education especially among girls in the rural areas and a strong social financial setting must be established so that the most vulnerable girls in the rural areas can have access to it. Zambia will continue to face the consequences if the right policies or strategic plans are not put in place. Hence, there is need for concerted efforts to prevent child marriages in Zambia especially in the rural areas.

5.3 Recommendations

From the findings of the study, the following are the recommendations:

1. This study recommends that opportunities promoting education must be provided within communities that are mostly affected. This must also be coupled with sexual and reproductive health awareness and services in order to increase knowledge in health and improve the health status of the most affected areas.
2. There is need to introduce a social support system specifically in Eastern, Luapula, Northern and western province that will help promote behavioural change and attitudes towards child marriage. These regions have been identified as the most affected even by other studies, hence the need for a deliberate move.
3. There is need to strengthen communication and advocacy programs focusing on sensitizing against physical violence within the most affected communities.

5.4 Future Prospects

1. A study must be conducted that will focus obtaining information from the actual victims of child marriage, either those that are in it or were married below the age of 18 years, in order to come up with a holistic approach towards curbing this vice.
2. There is need to establish an approach that will expand the access to information on child marriage especially in the rural areas.

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