Causes and Effects of Child Marriage in Bangladesh: A Case Study at Halishahar, Chattogram, Bangladesh

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Abstract

Child marriage is one of the social diseases in Bangladesh which is an obstacle to overall progress of the country. It is still remaining a strong social custom in Bangladesh which causes high population growth rate of the country. It is a social phenomenon in Bangladesh that might be defined in many ways such as a legal problem, social problem, health problem, population problem and gender discrimination problem. Child marriage is the violation of child rights and an apparatus of discrimination against women. A considerable portion of the population of the country is children and in order to convert them into productive human resources of the country the problem of child marriage has to be addressed properly and steps should be taken immediately. This paper attempts to highlight the socio-economic causes and consequences of child marriage in Bangladesh. This paper also suggests some procedure to eliminate child marriage in Bangladesh. This research is conducted on the basis of primary and secondary data. For primary data a survey is conducted from September, 2018 to December, 2018 among 150 women aged 25 to 45 who got married before 18 years and live in slum at Santibag Area, Halishahar, Chattogram, Bangladesh. Secondary data are collected from various journals, books, reports and news paper writings.

Keywords: Child marriage, children rights, poverty, social insecurity, awareness

1. Introduction

In the social system of Bangladesh children have to depend upon their parents and family members for their well-being. State cannot ensure completely their basic needs and social security. Children are the mostly unprotected, vulnerable and weak segment of the society. Child marriage is a perennial problem. Though it’s a global problem it is more alarming for Bangladesh. It is treated as massive violation of girl’s rights because due to early marriage they cannot continue or complete their education (Jisun, 2016). Child marriage is such a problem which poses threat to the whole society. In most of the cases girls are victims of child marriage. Due to poverty and illiteracy parents especially in rural area think economically girls are burden for the family and to reduce burden of the family arrange child marriage. As mental faculties of the children are not matured enough they cannot realize the consequences of child marriage, rely on their parents, family and other relatives and they think that child marriage will be a benefit for them. Parent inspired early marriage from the fear that amount of dowry will be high with the age of their daughters (Ferdousi, 2014).

Due to lack of proper knowledge especially in Muslim families parents think that it is the religious duty of the parents to arrange marriage of their daughters when they attain puberty, as a
result marriage of a teenage girl to an older man is a common phenomenon in the rural area of Bangladesh. The rate of child marriage in Bangladesh is 52 percent (UNICEF Report, 2018) and 22.3 percent women got married within 15 years and 59 percent women got married within 18 years (UNICEF Report, 2016) and at an average women got married within 18.3 years in rural area and within 19.9 years in urban area of Bangladesh (BBS Report, 2016). But on 2nd August, 2018 in a program jointly organized by UNICEF and Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, the Ministry disclosed the data that the rate of marriage below the age of 15 came down to 10.7 percent (%) and the rate of marriage below 18 years is 47 percent (%) (Staff Correspondent, 2018). Approximately 142 million child marriages will take place in the world in 2011 – 2020 and 151 million in 2021 – 2030 (Kamal, Hassan, Alam, & Ying, 2015). Every year 12 million girls get married in Bangladesh in childhood (Staff Report, 2018).

One of the major causes of rapid increase of population in Bangladesh is early marriage. It has adverse health, intellectual, psychological impacts and it also causes dropout from school. Marriage in early age has risk of sexually transmitted diseases, cervical cancer, unintended pregnancy, delivery of low birth weight babies, maternal and child death during labour and obstetric fistulas (Nour, 2006). Eradication of child marriage in Bangladesh is not easy task. Massive awareness regarding the consequences of child marriage, education, employment, social security and supportive legislation can prevent child marriage in Bangladesh. If proper initiatives are not taken to address this problem, it will create obstruction in the way of ensuring child rights and also in the achievement of national goal (Ferdousi, 2014).

2. Child Marriage

Marriage is the foundation of all civilized communities and it is one of the oldest institutions in the history of human civilization (Faiz-ud-din, 2008). It is a legally and socially sanctioned amalgamation between two persons of opposite sex. Marriage is a contract for the procreation and the legalization of children (Hidayatullah, & Hidayatullah, 2002). Marriage is an institution ordained for the protection of society and in order that human beings may guard themselves from foulness and unchastity (Ali, 1979). Marriage is considered as the basis of social life and the beginning of family life.

Child marriage means marriage at the age of juvenility or before the age of marriage fixed by the existing law of the country. When both of the parties or either party of the marriage are minor or under the age fixed for marriage, the marriage is termed as child marriage. Marriage before 18 years is child marriage which is more common among young girls of Bangladesh (Jisun, 2016). Section 3 of the Majority Act, 1875 states that a person domiciled in Bangladesh, who has completed the age of 18 years, becomes major and he is capable of entering into any contract. But in case of marriage contract there is an exception. According to section 2 of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 2017 the legal age of marriage for a girl is 18 years and for a boy is 21 years in Bangladesh.

3. Causes of Child Marriage in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is not the only country facing the problem of child marriage rather other countries of the world are also facing the same problem. But it is a matter of great concern that the problem is more serious in Bangladesh. Poverty, lack of education, lack of awareness, economic and social status, and lack of proper religious knowledge are the key factors causing the child marriage in Bangladesh. Beside these are some other causes liable for the child marriage in Bangladesh such as insufficient social security, low employment opportunity, tradition, parents’ anxiety to protect the chastity of their daughters and flexibility of the existing laws of the country. The causes are illustrated below:

3.1 Poverty

The derivation of child marriage in Bangladesh is poverty. It is the major cause and also the
consequence of child marriage in Bangladesh. Poverty is a curse for Bangladesh as it is the main obstacle to the development of the country. It has become such an epidemic which gives birth to all problems in the society. Poor parents who cannot afford educational and other expenditure of their daughter try to reduce their financial encumbrance and they use early marriage as a means to move their financial encumbrance to the husband’s family related to their daughters. Still 24.3 percent (%) people of the country live below the upper poverty line and 12.9 percent (%) live below the lower poverty line (HIE Survey, 2016). Child marriage is directly connected with poverty as in Sylhet 11.5 percent (%) people live lower poverty line and 16.2 percent (%) live upper poverty line (Jisun, 2016) and the rate of child marriage in Sylhet is 11 percent (%) (BBS Report, 2015). In Rangpur division 30.5 percent (%) people live in lower poverty line and 47.2 percent (%) live in upper poverty line (HIE Survey, 2016) and the child marriage rate in Kurigram is 55.3 percent (%) (BBS Report, 2015). Poverty motivates poor parents to arrange early marriage for their children, especially daughters. If the poverty rate is high, the rate of child marriage is also high but if the financial condition is better the rate of child marriage is lower (Islam, Haque, & Hossain, 2016).

Figure 1: Annual income of the family of women aged 25 – 45 who got married before 18 years live in slum at Santibag Area, Halishahar, Chattogram, Bangladesh.

Source: This survey was conducted by author from September, 2018 to December, 2018 with the help of Rokshana Jannat and A.B.M. Mehadi Hossain.

Figure 1 shows that economic condition of the family has direct influence to early marriage. More than ninety percent (90%) family’s annual income of the victim of early marriage is less than TK 250000/-.

3.2 Lack of Education

Education is the key of the development of a nation. No nation can develop without proper education. Lack of education is one of the prime factors causing child marriage in Bangladesh. Education has burly negative connection with child marriage (Islam, Haque, & Hossain, 2016). Uneducated children cannot understand the consequences of child marriage as a result they do not deny their parents proposal to marry early. When a girl is dropped out from school generally her parents try to arrange her marriage as early as possible. The rate of child marriage is lower among the higher educated person and it is higher among the lower educated or uneducated persons (Islam, Haque, & Hossain, 2016). Lower educated and uneducated males are more interested to marry girls aged below 18 years than the higher educated males (Kamal, Hassan, Alam, & Ying, 2014). Education has direct impact to reduce child marriage in Bangladesh; in Barisal 15.11 percent (%) people have no education and in Rajshahi 27.9 percent (%) (Islam, Haque, & Hossain, 2016) and the rate of marriage less than 18 years is 11.7 percent (%) in Barisal and 28.5 percent (%) in Rajshahi (Islam, 2014).
Figure 2: Education of women aged 25 – 45 who got married before 18 years live in slum at Santibag Area, Halishahar, Chattogram, Bangladesh.

Source: This survey was conducted by author from September, 2018 to December, 2018 with the help of Rokshana Jannat and A.B.M. Mehadi Hossain.

Figure 2 shows that lack of education is directly linked with child marriage. Most of the girls who got early marriage have no education or completed only primary level and a very few number completed secondary level. Number of girls completed higher secondary or tertiary level is so poor that it is a matter of great concern.

3.3 Economic and Social Status

Economic and social status of the family is sometimes liable for child marriage. Some families which are not economically solvent enough treat their daughters as burden and think of getting rid of them by marrying them off early (Ferdousi, 2014). To mitigate expense of the family poor parents arrange child marriage as it ensures one person less for feeding, clothing, health and education. Dowry is a common phenomenon among the poor and lower section of the society in Bangladesh. Sometimes parents of the bride groom who do not have any other means to arrange money arrange early marriage of their son to take dowry and the parents of the bride agree because there is a fear among them that the amount of dowry will increase with the age of their daughter.

3.4 Lack of Proper Knowledge and Tradition

Due to lack of proper knowledge especially among the Muslims girls are often victim of early marriage. Sometimes Imam (Muslim religious leader) induces the parents to arrange early marriage by giving wrong explanation of religious such as it is faraz (religious obligation) for the parents to arrange marriage of their child when they attain puberty, becoming mother at early age is good for health, less aged girls are more obedient and can take proper care of the husband and their productive capacity is more etc. and for this reason people of theocratic thinking are more interested in child marriage. Beside these, the general perception prevailing in the society is that a girl will lose beauty with the growth of age and she would become attractive, as a result she will not get good bride groom; so it is wise to arrange marriage early.

3.5 Lack of Awareness

Lack of awareness and knowledge especially in the slum and rural area of Bangladesh regarding the consequences of early marriage is also responsible for child marriage. Early marriage has adverse health effects. It causes early pregnancy which is a high risk not only for the mother but also for her baby. It also has risk of sexually transmitted diseases. But due to lack of proper knowledge of negative impact of early marriage on health parents instead of preventing arrange child marriage.
3.6 Lack of Social Security

Social security system in Bangladesh is not sufficient to protect the girls. Eve teasing, street harassment to the school going girls by the teenage boys, local hoodlums and local vagrants are common in the society. Even sometimes girls are victim of eve teasing by rickshaw pullers, bus drivers, street vendors and their classmates by means of uttering indecent comments. Sometimes parents do not protest this heinous offence considering the honour of the family and sometimes they cannot protest as the local political leader gives shelter to the offenders. Failing to tolerate harassment by the local hoodlums sometimes girls commit suicide like Umme Kulsum Elora, a 14 years old a student of class eight of Dakkin Banasri Model High School, committed suicide on 20th November 2013 for not getting justice of street harassment by local hoodlum Rezaul Karim (Staff Correspondent, 2013). Sometimes girls are physically tortured or threaten or even killed if they protest of eve teasing or sexual harassment, like Nusrat Jahan. Nusrat, a student of Islamia Fazil Madrasha, Sonagazi, Feni, Bangladesh was sent on fire on 6th April, 2019 by the direction of Siraj Ud Doula, the Principal of Islamia Fazil Madrasha, Sonagazi, Feni, as her family filed a case against Siraj Ud Doula for sexual harassment on 27th March, 2019 and she died at around 9:30 pm on 10th April, 2019 (Staff Correspondent, 2019). According to the report of Ain O Shalish Kendro, a law NGO in Bangladesh, in 2018 total 271 children were raped and 35 children were killed by rape in Bangladesh and from January to May 2019 total 258 children were raped and 21 children were killed by rape, and in the last five years eighty six percent (86%) victims of rape, attempt to rape and murder by rape were children (Rahmaan, 2019). So there is anxiety among the parents to protect their daughter's chastity and also to save their life. Sometime parents become anxious that their child might be addicted to drug and might involve in criminal activities like Oishee Rahman, a 17 year old girl who killed her parents, police inspector Mahfuzur Rahman and Swapna Rahman on 18th August 2013, when her parents had taken her mobile phone (Molla, 2013). As a result most of the parents think that only marriage can protect their daughter and they arrange marriage of their daughters as early as possible.

3.7 Weakness of Law

The laws controlling child marriage in Bangladesh is very weak. Child marriage is such an offence where in parents and other close relatives are voluntarily involved, as a result it is very difficult to prevent this offence. The punishment provided by the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 2017 (Act No. VI of 2017) for person who marries child, parents and other guardian involved in child marriage and who solemnizing child marriage, is not sufficient to prevent the offence. Sometimes parents make false birth registration certificate and sometimes marriage goes unregistered (Ferdousi, 2014). As it is not possible to give exemplary punishment by the existing law, people are frequently involved in child marriage.

3.8 Broken Family

Children, especially girls of broken families, are mostly victim of child marriage. In maximum cases grandparents, paternal or maternal, or other relatives look after the children of the broken family and orphans and these relatives consider it as extra burden for them and they try to shift this burden as early as possible. For this reason they arrange early marriage as a means of shifting their liability. The girls who grow up under the guidance of step mother are typically victim of child marriage as in most of the cases step mother oppresses the girls and the father, getting no other alternative way to protect her, arranges early marriage. It is very challenging to prevent girls of the broken family and orphaned girls from the curse of child marriage as there is lack of proper guardian to shelter them (Staff Correspondence, 2018).
4. Adverse Effects of Child Marriage

Child marriage has many adverse effects on child life. It certainly concludes childhood of a girl, diminishes her right to education, reduces her economic opportunities, and puts her high risk of domestic violence and rapid pregnancies. In early marriage most of the cases, guardians ignoring the consent of the girl, arrange child marriage which they cannot do in case of an adult girl. It directly violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 as article 16(2) of the UDHR states that to enter into marriage free and full consent of the parties is required. Child marriage is not only detrimental for the girl herself but also for the family, society and country as a whole. The major consequences of child marriage are discussed below:

4.1 Drop out of School

One of the major impediments to education of women in Bangladesh is early marriage. It causes high drop out of school girls which denies the fundamental principles of state policy of Bangladesh as according to article 17 of Bangladesh Constitution the State shall adopt effective measures for free and compulsory education for all children. Child marriage has bad impression directly on girl’s education, psychological well-being, human rights and economic survival (Walker, 2012). In Nikli upazilla of Kishorgong district total fifty four (54) students were absent in Junior School Certificate (JSC) and Junior Dakhil Certificate (JDC) Examination 2015 among them thirty five (35) girls could not appear in the examination due to child marriage and in Shokhi Pur upazilla of Tangail district, in seventeen schools total forty five (45) girls could not appear in Junior School Certificate (JSC) and Junior Dakhil Certificate (JDC) Examination 2015 among them forty one (41) girls could not appear in the examination due to child marriage and rest four (4) girls were absent for other causes (Staff Correspondent, 2015). Due to drop out of school girls remain less educated, which minimize their carrier potential as well as their self-empowerment and undermines their self-confidence.

4.2 Health Problems

Early marriage has bad impacts not only for the health of the girls but also for their offspring. A married girl is in high risk than unmarried one to become infected with sexually transmitted diseases in particular HIV and human papilloma virus (HPV) (Nour, 2006).

Figure 3: Time for giving birth to first child of women aged 25 – 45 who got married before 18 years and live in slum at Santibag Area, Halishahar, Chattogram, Bangladesh.

Source: This survey was conducted by author from September, 2018 to December, 2018 with the help of Rokshana Jannat and A.B.M. Mehadi Hossain.

Figure3 shows that early marriage is directly causing early motherhood. Women live in slum; seventy three percent (73%) become mother for the first time within one year of their marriage who got married before eighteen years. In early pregnancy there is high risk of cervical cancer, malaria,
premature labour, low birth-weight, abortion etc. It also causes death of the mother and her offspring (Kamal, Hasan, Alam, & Ying, 2015). Due to early marriage girls not only remain illiterate but also unconscious who do not have proper knowledge regarding sex and sexual diseases. As a result they cannot share their physical problems with husband or other family members and cannot abstain from sexual intercourse with their husband which led her life to high risk. Due to early marriage, child gives birth to a child, which put in risk the life of the mother and her child as well.

4.3 Economic Problems

Early marriage shrinks life of a girl who cannot think anything except managing the family of her husband. Her decision making power, understanding capacity, confidence and output level become very poor. Her prospective carrier becomes demolition. Child marriage minimizes economic opportunities of a girl. She cannot acquire proper knowledge and skill due to duties and responsibilities towards the family of her husband. As a result of child marriage an immature girl cannot take right decision even for her own life, imposes upon her some extra liability to manage her husband and other sides of her husband’s family. Beside these, some traditional, family, social, cultural and religious restrictions are imposed on her. She cannot involve herself in any economic activities nor she can contribute financially to the family rather becomes burden on the husband.

4.4 Population Problems

Population problem is one of the major problems in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is already an over populated country of the world as one thousand one hundred and sixteen (1116) people are living per square kilometer and population growth rate is 1% (BBS Report, 2019) which is constantly creating pressure on land. It is a great threat for environment, food safety, social security and economic growth of the country. Child marriage is one of the root causes of increasing population in Bangladesh. Due to child marriage, girls become mother very early and their capacity of giving birth of child remain for long time and this long time they continuously give birth to child which rapidly increases population of the country.

Figure 4: Number of children of women aged 25 – 45 who got married before 18 years and live in slum at Santibag Area, Halishahar, Chattogram, Bangladesh.
Source: This survey was conducted by author from September, 2018 to December, 2018 with the help of Rokshana Jannat and A.B.M. Mehadi Hossain.

Figure 4 shows that population growth rate is directly connected with child marriage. More than twenty four percent (24.33%) women have more than five children, more twenty six percent (26.67%) women have five children and more than thirty percent (30.33%) women have four children, more than ten percent (10.67%) women have three children and only eight percent (8%) women have less than three children.
4.5 Increase of Dowry System in the Society

Child marriage is the main barrier to eliminate dowry system from the society especially from the illiterate and poor people. In poor and illiterate section of the country, parents of bride groom arrange child marriage of their son as a means to earn some money from the parents of bride during marriage as dowry and parents of the bride agree because there is a misconception prevailing in the lower section of the country that if the age of bride is more, the amount of dowry will be more. In eighty seven percent (87%) child marriage in slum, parents of bride have to give dowry during marriage and the amount of dowry is minimum TK. 15000/= and maximum TK.200000/= or more.

4.6 Barrier to Socioeconomic Development of the Country

Child marriage is a big challenge in the way of eliminating poverty from the country. In consequences of child marriage, a considerable portion of the people of the country remain illiterate, unqualified and unskilled and this section of the people cannot contribute to the socioeconomic development of the country rather become burden of the family and create obstruction to the way of achieving economic goal of the country. Beside these, child marriage has following long-term effects in the country:

- It increases high risk of child labour in the country.
- It expands child begging in the country.
- It heightens infant mortality rate in the country.
- It extends domestic violence against women in the country.
- It spreads exploitation in the society.

5. National Legislation to Foreclose Child Marriage in Bangladesh:

To avert the solemnization of child marriage, the Government of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh enacted a law namely the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 2017. It is the key law to prevent child marriage in Bangladesh. Section 2 of the Act specified minimum age for marriage in Bangladesh, 21 and 18 years for male and female respectively. Section 3 states that to restrain child marriage the government shall establish child marriage prevention committee in national, district, upazilla and union level. According to section 5 of the Act, if the court is satisfied either by itself or by the complaint of any person that a child marriage is going to be solemnized, it may prohibit such marriage and punishment for violation of such prohibition is six month imprisonment or fine not more than ten thousand taka or both. Section 7 narrates that if any male or female marry a child shall be punished with maximum two years imprisonment or fine maximum ten thousand taka or both, and if any minor gets married punishment is one month imprisonment or fine up to five thousand taka or both. Section 8 determines maximum two year imprisonment but not less than six months or fine up to fifty thousand taka or both for the parents or any guardian who arranges a child marriage and if anybody conducts, performs or directs a child marriage is liable for the same punishment as stated in section 9. Section 11 enumerates that no Marriage Registrar shall register any child marriage under Muslim Marriages and Divorces (Registration) Act, 1974; Christian Marriage Act, 1872; Special Marriage Act, 1872 and Hindu Marriage Restraint Act, 2012 and the violation of this shall be punished up to two years imprisonment but not less than six months or fine up to fifty thousand taka or both and his license or appointment shall be cancelled.

6. Recommendations

It is the high time to take proper initiatives for the lessening child marriage in Bangladesh. Collective efforts of the government, non government organizations, civil society and mass media can prevent child marriage in Bangladesh. To prevent child marriage in Bangladesh following measures are to be
taken immediately:

i. **Creating more Economic Opportunities:**
   Child marriage is directly connected with poverty. Where income is low child marriage is high. To eliminate child marriage from the country at first poverty has to be removed by creating more economic opportunities. Government has to play main role by providing opportunities to involve in economic activities for young girls of the poor families. Beside the government, to abolish child marriage private sectors have to take the responsibility of creating more employment opportunities. Government has to encourage private entrepreneurs especially women entrepreneurs, by giving special privileges such as loan on easy condition, tax exemption, supplying electricity, gas and water on priority basis etc.

ii. **Promoting Education:**
   To protect the country from the curse of child marriage there is no alternative to education. Education can play prime role to control child marriage in the country. If it is possible to prevent drop out of school rate of child marriage will be reduce dramatically. To promote education government has to increase allocation in national budget for education sector and has to give subsidy for educational materials. Government provides free cost of school fees and books for secondary level only but it has to be introduced in higher secondary level also. Government can introduce monthly stipend for each and every student to prevent drop out of school. Through proper education parents as well as young children would be able to realize the negative impacts of early marriage. So to eliminate child marriage from the country government has to ensure free and compulsory education for each and every child at minimum higher secondary level.

iii. **Raising Awareness:**
   To get success in the prevention of child marriage massive awareness regarding adverse effects of child marriage has to be created among the poor and illiterate people of the country. In this regard, electronic and print media can play a vital role. Media can persuade rural illiterate people through broadcasting various programs about the negative impacts of child marriage.

iv. **Ensure Social Security:**
   To control child marriage in Bangladesh social security systems have to be improved more. Due to lack of proper security sometimes parents stop school of their girl, sometimes to protect chastity of their girls or even to save reputation of the family they arrange early marriage. So proper security from eve teasing, street harassment to the school going girls by the teenage boys, local hoodlums and local vagrant will reduce early marriage.

v. **Initiative of NGOs and Civil Society:**
   To restrain early marriage in Bangladesh NGOs and civil society can play important role. NGOs are working in the rural area of Bangladesh for health service, sanitation, education, women employment and women empowerment etc. They have to take proper initiatives to raise awareness among rural illiterate people regarding bad impact of early marriage on health, risk of sexually transmitted diseases and bad impact of early motherhood for the mother as well as her child.

vi. **Changing Attitude:**
   Changing attitude can be one of the best strategies to eliminate child marriage in Bangladesh. Discriminating behaviors towards the girls have to change in the family, society and national level. Parents have to be aware of that both of their boys and girls are equally valuable for the family, society and country and they are not economic burdens.

vii. **Proper Implementation of Laws:**
   Flexibility of the existing laws and lack of proper implementation of laws encourage child marriage in Bangladesh. Proper implementation of existing laws and exemplary punishment for the persons involved in the child marriage can control child marriage in Bangladesh. Child marriage prevention committees under the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 2017 have to
perform their functions more sincerely. Punishment of persons involved in making false birth registration certificate has to be more severe. Non registration of marriage has to be considered severe offence.

7. Conclusion

Child marriage is express infringement of child rights though the rights of the children have been guaranteed by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and various national and international instruments. Child marriage is such a crime which not only detrimental for the bride herself but also gives birth to various troubles in family, society and national level. Child marriage should be stopped not only to save the children themselves but also to save humanity and to save productive human resources of the country. In Bangladesh the rate of child marriage is very alarming especially in the slum and rural area although minimum age of marriage is eighteen years and twenty one years for female and male respectively determined by the existing law. Although there is provision of punishment for child marriage it is very difficult to control it as parents themselves keep directly involved in the offence. Due to poverty, illiteracy, lack of awareness and proper religious knowledge it is very difficult to eliminate child marriage in the country. Moreover, due to huge irregularity in the birth registration sometimes it has become quite impossible to know actual age of the bride. To continue the development and progress of the country government has to address the problem properly and has to raise massive awareness against child marriage by taking proper initiatives. Combined efforts of the government, non government organizations, civil society and media are very necessary in this regard.

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