

Early Marriage: Trends, Causes, Consequences and Prospects in Selected Kebeles of East Gojjam Administrative Zone, Amhara National Regional State

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Abstract

This study examined the causes, consequences, trends and prospects of early marriage in Yenebrna and Garam *kebeles* by collecting primary data from 163 participants (112 respondents, 8 key informants and 42 focus group discussants) in addition to extensive review of secondary sources. It employed simple random sampling technique to collect quantitative data and purposive sampling technique to collect qualitative one using two research designs: cross sectional and approximating cross sectional with longitudinal research designs. The collected data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, and thematic and content analysis

The findings showed that all children born in the study *kebeles* are forced to marry in their early childhoods by their parents. Yet, unlike to the usual case in which early marriage of females occurs in many societies, the studied communities practice early marriage for boys and girls without any level of distinction and irrespective of their differential levels of knowledge about its ill effects. The practice of early marriage is taken for granted as a normal way of life increasingly resulting in marriage of children of all ages of every family before they reach age 18. It is also found that early married children face a number of problems: fear to play with their peers both in and out of the school; reduced confidence and school dropout. Economic and cultural reasons, and peer influence are the main reasons for parents to marry their children while all children accept their parents' decisions as a matter of good conduct; immaturity to decide on their life and socio-economic deprivation. Unlike to parents of other Ethiopian societies following Orthodox Christian religion who marry their children, at least theoretically, unto their death, all parents in the studied communities marry their children with full knowledge of their divorce.

Unless continuous and appropriate awareness raising interventions aimed to bring behavioral changes accompanied by practical actions of forbidding early marriage were put in place, it is impossible to break age old inbuilt social facts of early marriage in the studied communities. Reducing the practice, therefore, requires not only creation of greater proportion of community members who condemn the practice but also practically interventions aimed at stopping early marriage for some 3-5 consecutive years through concerted action of all.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Early marriage is a global problem whose impacts surpass the wellbeing and life options of affected individuals and their families to national development. Though it has been one of the neglected issues for a long, recently it has received global attention. As a result, bourgeoning of literature on the subject has been emerging. East Africa Regional Conference on Child Marriage (June 2013), for example, has indicated both the breadth of the problem and growing concern on it in the following statements:

In the next decade, 100 million girls are expected to marry before they are 18 years old. In Africa over 42% of girls are married before they reach the age of 18, with millions of girls being given away just before they attain puberty. Furthermore, 31 out of the 41 countries where the prevalence rates of child marriage are more than 30% are African countries. East Africa continues to have the largest burden of child marriage in Africa.

Similarly, in Ethiopia, 24.7% of women aged 15-19 were ever married, out of which 8.1% were married before age 15 (EDHS 2011). The situation is worse in the Amhara National Regional State (ANRS) where 59.5% of women aged 20-24 years were married before age 18; the median age at first marriage for the region has remained below 16 years for the last 10 years; and more than 53.3% of women gave birth before the age of 18 (EDHS 2011). Being part of the region, there is no exception to Garam and Yenebrna *kebeles* where this study was conducted.

Though the Ethiopian regional authorities started campaign against early marriage in 2003; marriage before the age of 18 years was criminalized by the family code of the ANRS since June 2003 (Berihun and Aspen 2009) and there are also a number of strategies employed by governmental and non-governmental organizations to reduce the problem, significant changes were not brought to date.

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1.2 Statement of the Problem

Early marriage is a global problem having complex causes and cross sectional impacts. Its untold impacts for divorce, prostitution, school drop outs and illiteracy have been enlisted by many studies. Similarly, its health, social and economic impacts have recently been glorified and contributed for its growing concern. Though Facilitator for Change (FC) has been working since 2012 in seven *kebeles* of the Gozamin district and made significant changes in many *kebeles* in reducing early marriage, *Yenebirna, Giraram and Enarta kebeles*, in this order, still ranked the top in practicing it.

Similarly, “the community in Gozamin district developed bylaws that restricts marriage age to at least 18, in contrast, resistance and the atmosphere of surveillance and punishment have in some cases forced early marriages to persist “undercover”” (FC, Gozamin community development for children project, 2012:20). As a result, in East Gojjam Administrative Zone (EGAZ), where this study was conducted, *kerebih* and *Mulunesh* (2014), for example, have indicated the rate of early marriage to be 87%. Despite attempts to reduce the problem since 2012 through intervention by Gozamin community development for children project, early marriage continues to be widely practiced in *Yenebirna, Giraram and Enarta kebeles* of Gozamin district in EGAZ. Yet, this study was only conducted in *Yenebirna and Giraram kebeles* for their relative proximity and higher rate of early marriage.

This urges to have contextual, clear and deep understanding of factors behind early marriage; its trends and prospects; and situations of early married boys and girls so as to develop practical intervention plans that involve key stakeholders of the community. To this effect, this research attempts to address the following objectives.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

This research generally aims to forward contextual ways of dealing with early marriage through investigation of its trends, causes, consequences and prospects. It specifically aimed at:

- ✓ point out the major causes of early marriage in the selected *kebeles*
- ✓ investigate the trends of early marriage
- ✓ examine the situations of early married boys and girls
- ✓ Indicate the prospects of early marriage in the research sites.
- ✓ suggest and apply possible intervention strategies based on the findings

1.4 Significance of the Study

Conducting an action research on this topic has the following benefits:

- ✓ Trends and prospects of early marriage were clearly described to help institute appropriate intervention.
- ✓ Actual victims, their families and other key stakeholders were consulted to understand the consequences of early marriage and be in a position to teach others
- ✓ Potential victims will develop adequate level of consciousness to protect themselves and stand for the interests of others
- ✓ Community based organizations (*Iddir, senbete*); self- help groups; farmers learning group; village based children club and child protection coordination committees will have enhanced consciousness that enables their concerted action on early marriage
- ✓ To motivate and enhance further investigation on the topic

2. Materials and methods

2.1 Study Area and Period

This study was conducted in *Yenebirna and Giraram kebeles* from December 26/2015 to March 30/ 2016. These *kebeles* were purposively selected for failing to reduce the practice despite interventions.

2.2 Research Methods and Sampling Technique

For the sake of simplicity and clarity, the discussion of each sampling technique and sample size were bravely included in each of the research methods employed in this research as discussed below.

2.2.1 Survey

To collect survey data pertinent to the objectives of the study, both open and closed ended questionnaire items were prepared, in Amharic language, (National, regional and local language), and employed. While self-administered questionnaires were distributed for those willing and able to answer, those who are unable to answer because of illiteracy were addressed through researcher administered questionnaires.

In order to collect data from representative samples, researchers attempted to obtain list of households in both *kebele* administrations. While the researchers are able to know that in *Giraram kebele* there are 1774 households of which 215 were headed by females while the remaining 1559 by males, and in *Yenebirna kebele* where out of 1241 households, 1085 were headed by males and 156 by females, in 2016, it become impossible to

obtain list of *kebele* residents.

As a result, researchers have opted to search list of residents from health extension officers of both *kebeles*. Accordingly, survey data were administered to a total of 112 respondents drawn from parents of early married boys and girls using simple random sampling. More specifically, while 60 were responded to survey in Giraram, the 52 did the same in Yenebirna *kebele* with a non-response rate of zero since the data were collected by researchers' assistants.

2.2.2 Key informant interview

A semi-structured interview guide was prepared administered to knowledgeable persons pertinent to the objectives of the study (factors and consequences of early marriage, and existing intervention programs to deal with it). Key informants were purposively recruited from respected elders of the community (3); cluster level association representatives (2); police (1) and school principals (2).

2.2.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

To collect additional and in depth data, a total of four FGDs were also conducted to elicit information pertinent to the objectives of the study by employing purposive sampling. While two FGDs were conducted with early married girls (6) and boys (6) in Yenabrna school; one FGD was conducted only with early married boys (6) in Giraram; the fourth and fifth FGD with parents of early married boys and girls and those who were themselves married before the age of 18, each consisting of six participants in both *kebeles*; the sixth and seventh FGD were held with 6 participants recruited from child protection coordination committee (CPCC) (*kebele* chairman (1), SHG (2) and members of cluster level association (CLA, all women) (3) in both *kebeles*.

The main themes included in the focus group guide were: the status of early marriage as perceived by each group; the associated reproductive and health issues, physiological, psychological, and socioeconomic problems; policy and advocacy environments; and livelihood skills. In addition to these, the FGD guide attempted to address factors that have positive as well as negative impact on early marriage, parental attitudes, and suggestions for intervention strategies.

2.2.4 In-depth interview

To collect additional data and triangulate it, this study has also employed in depth interview with 10 participants who were purposively recruited from early married girls (4); parents of early married girls (3); and women and men who are now leaders of the family but were married before age 18 (3). To collect data, interview guide was prepared.

3. Results

3.1 Introduction

This study involved a total of 172 participants. From these, 112 have responded to survey while the remaining 8, 10 and 42 participated as key informant and in-depth interviewees, and focus group discussants respectively. More specifically, 60 and 52 of the respondents were selected using simple random sampling from Giraram and Yenebirna *kebeles* respectively. The analysis of each objective of the study was discussed under separate sub-topics.

Based on the consent of research participants, qualitative data were also collected through both audio and video recording as well as having field notes without any recording. Accordingly, a total of four FGDs were also conducted to elicit information pertinent to the objectives of the study by employing purposive sampling. While two FGDs were conducted with early married girls (6) and boys (6) in Yenabrna school; one FGD was conducted only with early married boys (6) in Giraram; the fourth and fifth FGD with parents of early married boys and girls and those who were themselves married before the age of 18, each consisting of six participants in both *kebeles*; the sixth and seventh FGD were held with 6 participants recruited from child protection coordination committee (CPCC) (*kebele* chairman (1), SHG (2) and members of cluster level association (CLA, all women) (3) in both *kebeles*.

In addition, a total of 10 purposively recruited key informant interviews were also conducted with three, two and one informants respectively from respected elderly, cluster level association representatives and police officers in each *kebele*. Though it was planned to conduct key informant interview with school principals, they were exempted because of their participation in FGDs.

While interviews with police officers were video recorded, many FGDs were audio recorded depending on the consent of discussants and interviewees and availability of battery for recording devices used by the researchers during data collection. The research used triangulation where data collected through survey, interviews and FGDs were used to complement one another. Accordingly, the following results were obtained.

3.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Before analyzing the key findings obtained pertinent to the objectives of this study, an attempt was made to describe background information of the respondents. Accordingly, this sub-section discussed sex and age categories; religious affiliation, educational levels, the number of the respondents' children and their number of

years of residence in the study areas.

3.2.1 Sex and age categories, and educational levels of the Respondents

As indicated in the table below (table 4.1), significant majority of the respondents are males (85.7%) while female respondents constitute 14.3%. Age wise, too, respondents in the age categories of 25 to 59 constitute a significant majority (84.8%) while the remaining 1.8% and 13.4% are found in the age categories of 18-24 and 60 and above respectively.

Table 4.1: Sex and age categories of the Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Female	16	14.3
Male	96	85.7
Total	112	100.0
Age category of Respondents		
18-24	2	1.8
25-59	95	84.8
60 and above	15	13.4
Total	112	100.0

With respect to religious affiliations of the respondents, it was found that while 99.1% were followers of Orthodox Christianity, the rest 0.9% was found to be follower of protestant religion. That is, except one, all the respondents of this study were followers of Orthodox Christianity.

As one element of socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, data were also collected from respondents on their levels of education. As indicated in the table 4.2 below, while 3.6% of the surveyed respondents made no response pertaining to their educational statuses, a significant majority (67%) of the respondents have no formal education; 16.1% of them only completed from grade 1-4; 8% completed from grade 5-8; 0.9% completed from grade 9-12 and the remaining 4.5% hold either certificate, diploma or degree.

Table 4.2: Educational Levels of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
No response	4	3.6
No formal education	75	67.0
grade1-4 complete	18	16.1
Grade 5-8 complete	9	8.0
Grade 9-12 complete	1	.9
Certificate, diploma or degree	5	4.5
Total	112	100.0

3.2.2 The number of respondents children and their number of years of residence

With respect to the respondents' children, the findings showed that respondents having 4-6 children constitute the largest share (45.5%) followed by those having 1-3, 7-9 and 10 and above children that constitute 34.8%, 13.4% and 0.9% respectively. Yet, the remaining 5.4% of the respondents have reported of having no children. This is shown in table 4.3 as follows.

Table 4.3: The number of respondent's children

Number of children	Frequency	Percent
0	6	5.4
1-3	39	34.8
4-6	51	45.5
7-9	15	13.4
10 and above	1	.9
Total	112	100.0

Data collected to understand the number of years of residence of the respondents also shows that while majority (48.2%) of the respondents have lived from 21-40 years, the remaining 40.2%, 8% and 3.6% have been living for the last 41-60, 1-20, and 61 and above years. This can be seen from table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Number of years of residence of the respondents' in their respective kebeles

Number of years of residence	Frequency	Percent
1-20	9	8.0
21-40	54	48.2
41-60	45	40.2
above 60 years	4	3.6
Total	112	100.0

3.3 Definition of early marriage

To the open ended questions posed to respondents to examine how participants of this study understand and define early marriage, it is learned that a number of variations were observed in understanding and defining early marriage. They are, however, important in a number of ways as they provide varied insights where the local people attempt to explain. The following is a summary of thematically organized definition of early marriage as perceived by the research participants.

Table 4.5: Respondents Definition of early marriage

Definition of early marriage by respondents	Frequency
Bad culture transferred over generations because of illiteracy and as explanation for social obligation (reciprocity) and lack of knowledge in spite of darkening future aspirations of children	10
Marrying any child below the age of 18 and without the knowledge of what they do to refrain from being insulted.	44
Marrying any child below his/her puberty	38
Practice which imposes physical and psychological problems on children	10
Harmful practice people prefer to live in compliance with the community	3
Crime of child abuse	1
Total	107

3.4 Causes of early marriage

Understanding the cause of any problem is said to be half way to solve the problem. Similarly, in this study, an attempt was made to examine all of its possible causes by employing a variety of methods of data collection and diverse group of research participants (see sub-sections under section 2.2).

In the study *kebeles*, it is found that marrying many children at a time is normative practice for all families. Some of the key informants indicated this stating, “Early marriage in our society has been considered for a long period as a national proud”. In addition to this, there are many instances where all participants of this study have described the causes of early marriage. Though the study found that the causes of early marriage is rooted in only loosely demarcated social fabrics of life, for the purpose of simplicity, discussion was made by classifying them into socio-cultural and economic reasons.

3.4.1 Economic causes for early marriage

In fact, it is difficult to have a clear cut demarcation between socio-cultural causes and economic cause of early marriage. As a result, this study found that most of them are overlapping, usually one cause being explained/followed in terms of another. Yet, in an attempt to discern economic causes of early marriage, the following results were discovered (table 4.6).

Though seven of the respondents refrained from offering economic causes of early marriage, all the rest of the respondents have contributed their part. In general, obtaining dowry and *lemat/ akolkuay*³, as well as reducing the cost of arranging marriage at different times are at the center of economic reasons for early marriage. It is found that the difference among the respondents, focus group discussants and interviewees is related to their foci of attention to either of these causes. Accordingly, majority (58%) of the respondents have indicated a cultural reason -maintaining age old culture of early marriage- which encapsulates many of the economic reasons they forwarded. As indicated in table 4.6 below, this is followed by 19.6%, 7.1%, 5.4%, 3.6% and 0.9% of the respondents who respectively suggested only *lemat* collection; to get dowry, to collect *lamate/akolikuay* & to respect long lived culture of early marriage; *lemat* collection and maintaining age old culture of early marriage; obtaining dowry and maintaining culture; and to obtain dowry as the major economic reasons of early marriage in their respective *kebeles*.

Table 4.6: Economic reasons for early marriage

Economic rationales for early marriage	Frequency	Percent
to get dowry	1	.9
to collect <i>lemat/akolkuay</i>	22	19.6
to respect long lived culture of early marriage	65	58.0
to get dowry, to collect <i>lamate/akolikuay</i> & to respect long lived culture of early marriage	6	5.4
to collect <i>lamate/akolikuay</i> & to respect long lived culture of early marriage	8	7.1
to get dowry and to respect culture	4	3.6
Total	106	94.64

³ *Lemat/akolkuay* is a local term used to refer to supporting someone (close friend or relative) by preparing feasts in periods that demand higher expense (such as marriage, student graduation etc)

With slight variation, data collected from qualitative methods have also indicated a number of economic reasons contributing for early marriage. The major ones were mentioned as follows:

- To forage marriage alliance with those in power (ሀይልና ስልጣን ካላቸው ሰዎች ጋር ለመወዳጀት)
- To strengthen ties between the marriage families for social as well as economic protection and security (ያገቡኝ ዝምድና ለማጠናከር)
- Well-to-do parents desire to gain fame by sponsoring an elaborative wedding feast as a demonstration of wealth and respect (ሀብት ለማሳየት፣ድግስ ለመብላት፣ክብርና ሞገስ ለማግኘት)
- Impoverished parents desire to avoid the expense of preparing wedding feasts for each of their children (የሰርግ ወጪ ለመቀነስ)
- To prepare feasts in order to invite those who invited them (ወንጌል ለመመለስ)
- To get back one's material or financial contribution in another's wedding feast (የሾሙትን ጠላት የጋገሩትን እንጀራ፣ የሰጡትን አረቂ እና ብር ለማስመለስ)

Rational choice theories indicate that actors are rational beings who calculate cost benefit analysis in taking different actions. The study found that in *Yenebirna* and *Graram kebeles*, resident families make the most effective rational economic calculations to marry their children. Their economic rationale is that all parents decide to marry many children at a time when one of their children is expected to have reached puberty. Virtually all of the research participants have explained this as follows:

We are not only economically poor but also have many children. We want to marry all of our children at once because it is the culture we were grown up on the one side, and we do not have adequate economy to prepare marriage ceremony upon the reach of each child to puberty on the other hand. To solve the problem, if one of our child is physically "matured", we are forced to marry all the rest of our children, whatever their number is, with the oldest son/daughter. This is to reduce the expense that can be incurred if we marry every child separately.

In addition to the above rationale, many parents view as they have developed more economical ways of marriage practices than their forefathers who have been marrying each child separately incurring huge costs. Furthermore, related reasons such as the need to return "lemat", to reduce expenditure of wedding many children at different time.

3.4.2 Socio-cultural causes for early marriage

To understand socio-cultural causes of early marriage, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. As important as the economic reasons of early marriage are the socio-cultural reasons held by parents, the residents and early married boys and girls. From in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and case histories, made during the study, it is plausible to suggest that communities in *Yenebirna* and *Graram kebeles* have developed deep mental structures that led them to believe in and normalize early marriage as a fact of life. Their mental structures are frequently reflected in the thoughts of parents, grandparents, and the general public.

As a result, parents of children always influence one another to make binding relationships through their children; they also fear public blame for not marrying while going to others marriage ceremonies. They have also strong feeling of responsibility to marry their children ahead of being retired (ጉልበት ሳይደቅም ልጆቻችንን መዳር አለብን የሚለው አመለካከት በትልቁ ሰፍኖ ይገኛል) or died (ሳንሞት ልጆቻችንን መዳር አለብን). They also stated that human beings are always encircled by multiplicity of problems which cannot be escaped by simply avoiding child marriage.

Parents have also a belief that, through marriage, they can create strong relationship with those who can exert strong social and economic influence on the communities in general. Many have also reasoned that marriage provides an outlet whereby relatives from different places come in contact to play family affairs. There are also interviewees and focus group discussants who mentioned that early marriage has been practiced to create strong relation with those who have land resource. There are also useless competitions reflecting the feeling of being proud (ከማን አንሺ). These all are reflections of lack of awareness & poor perspective which are brainchild of being illiterate.

Data collected from focus group discussions and interviews also reflect much similarity with survey results on socio-cultural causes of early marriage. It is also observed that socio-cultural causes of early marriage in both the study areas, almost in all cases, are similar. According to many of focus group discussants and interviewees, the following were identified as the major causes of early marriage in both *kebeles*.

- Respect for the words of the marrying families and the elders who negotiate the marriage alliance between the marrying families (ያጋቢ ሽማግሌዎችን እና የተጋቢ ቤተሰብን ቃል ለማክበር)
- Need for social and cultural entertainment through wedding feasts (ድግስ ለማብላትና ለመደሰት)
- High social respect to gain to parents who have married children (መዳር እንደክብር ስለሚቆጠር)
- limited awareness about the dangers of early marriage (ያለ ዕድሜ ጋብቻ የሚያስከትለውን ጉዳት በአግባቡ አለመረዳት)
- limited awareness and limited effective enforcement of the current legislation against early marriage at the *woreda* level peasants association /PA/ (ያለ ዕድሜ ጋብቻ የሚከላከለውን ህግ በሚገባ አለመግደብና ተግባራዊ አለመኖሩ)
- parents failure to consult their children for marriage and marrying children's limited room and failure to

- have a say on their life choices
- Parents' desire to see their children married and settle the cultural stigma before passing away or becoming old (ሳልጥግት፣ ጉልበቴ ሳይደክም የልጅ አበባ ፣ወግ ለማየት)
- To protect from bad rumors & sayings
- Shame to participate in others wedding ceremonies without marrying one's own
- To see child marriage before death all families and their relatives
- Keep family honor
- Relatives and neighbors influence.

In addition to the above findings from qualitative data, quantitative data collected on the causes of early marriage through open-ended questionnaire were also discussed as follows. Accordingly, except 3(2.7%) of respondents who did not provide answers for the questions related to socio-cultural reasons of early marriage, an attempt was made to categorize all the responses of respondents into six broad themes.

Table 4.7: Socio-cultural factors for early marriage

Reasons for early marriage	Frequency	Percent
To gain public prestige	17	15.2
To have a lasting relation with better families	5	4.5
To avoid public nicknaming (<i>kumoker</i>) associated with having not married	69	61.6
To gain public prestige and to have lasting relations with better families	10	9
To gain public prestige & to avoid public nicknaming / <i>kumoker</i>	3	2.7
To gain public prestige, to have a lasting relation with better family & to avoid public nicknaming (<i>kumoker</i>)	5	4.5
Total	109	97.3

3.4.3 Faults in the screening process

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has been working to solve many of harmful traditional practices including early marriage. With respect to marriage, it is officially made known that no one should marry boys and girls before the age of 18. To this effect, different structures were created to legalize marriage and illegalize early marriage. In the case of this study, it is found, for example, that anyone who wants to marry his/her child must first take him/her/ them to the *kebele* administrator for first level screening. Then, he/she, with his/her son(s) or daughter(s), should go to health center (previously Debre markos hospital) for second level screening. If a son(s) and/or a daughter (s) pass all these screening steps, he/she/they will be legible for marriage. Since age is the only variable to be screened in this process, it can be designated as age screening process.

In addition to discovering these steps, this study, as it employed different techniques of data collection, also discovered steps which are not immune from illegitimate screening. While parents and *kebele* level concerned bodies suggested the existence of due care and concern in the screening process, married focus group discussant students revealed a number of challenges in which their parents marry them ahead of age 18. In the first place, though there is theoretical understanding that early marriage has its own ill effects, upon their going in each screening steps, children have no say. Many focus group discussants have said this

We go to the screening places (kebele or health centers) with our parent (only father) who tells them about our age though we stand in front of the evaluator (s).” Almost all discussants confirmed that their age is wrongly told by their respective father to the concerned bodies; they as children cannot try to falsify their fathers sayings for one thing, doing so is considered as impertinence; creates challenges for living with parents for another. Consequently, children are in critical situation where they do not have any chance to say on their matters related to early marriage irrespective of their interests.

Furthermore, some of the children have also blamed *kebele* police officers and other concerned government bodies who come to wedding feasts even if they know marriage of minors. Indeed, weak age assessment and abusing of community representatives and brides' parents.

3.4.4 Weak coordination among different stakeholders to deal with the problem

Let alone problems such as early marriage which are rooted in the culture and value systems of the communities, problems having no socio-cultural roots require concerted efforts to be dealt with. Despite this fact, it is found that no visible coordination exists among different governmental and non-governmental organizations. Nor has the problem of early marriage been dealt with a specific government organ responsible for it. Social institutions such as the school, religious institutions, and iddir and community representatives should have been actively involved to deal with it.

3.5 Trends of early marriage

In an attempt to understand the trends of early marriage, data were collected on early married boys and girls for the last two years- 2014 and 2015. Data were collected by appointing responsible individuals recruited from each got and briefed in search conference. While the results of the finding on the subject for Yenebrna *kebele* is

attached in appendix, the results of for Gramam *kebele* is shown in table 4.8 as a sample as follows:

የአባባሪው ስም	ተቁ	የተዳረገው/ችው ህግ ስም	ፆታ	የገባበት/ችበት አድራሻ	የሚማሩበት ት/ቤት	የክፍል ደረጃ	የቋረጠ/ች ከሆነ X ምልክትን ያስቀምጡ	ጋብቻው አስካሁን ካለ ከሌለ X ደግሞ ምልክትን ያስቀምጡ	የተዳሩበት ዓ.ም.	
									2006	2007
ምናል ጣሲ	1	ልተው	ሴ	10	መካከሮ	2ኛ		X		1
	2	ሰውብርቱ	ሴ	12	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	3	ታደለ	ወ	14	መካከሮ	6ኛ		X		1
ጋሻው ዘለቀ	4	አስናቀ	ወ	14	መካከሮ	7ኛ		X		1
	5	በለጠ	ወ	8	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
ሰራው ቢቃሉ	6	ምትኩ	ወ	16	መካከሮ	8ኛ		X		1
	7	ትሁኔ	ሴ	12	መካከሮ	4ኛ		X		1
	8	ንፁሀ	ሴ	14	መካከሮ	7ኛ		X		1
ታሪኩ ይታየው	9	ውበት	ሴ	8	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
	10	ሀይወቱ	ሴ	11	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	11	ትዕግስት	ሴ	8	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
ሀብታሙ ታደለ	12	ሞላልኝ	ወ	7	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
	13	ብርቱ	ሴ	13	መካከሮ	6ኛ		X		1
ባለው ስንሻው	14	ይበልጣል	ወ	11	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	15	ማሬ	ወ	13	መካከሮ	5ኛ		X		1
	16	ይቅርሰው	ሴ	11	መካከሮ	4ኛ	1	X		1
መንግስቱ ብዙየ	17	ብርቱካን	ሴ	7	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
	18	በላይሽ	ሴ	15	መካከሮ	8ኛ		X		1
አንሊይ ብዙየ	19	ሙሉቀን	ሴ	12	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	20	ጠብቀው	ወ	13	መካከሮ	4ኛ		X	1	
	21	የቆየ	ወ	15	መካከሮ	5ኛ		X		1
አስቻሉ ብናልፍ	22	ሸዋሽ	ሴ	16	መካከሮ	6ኛ	1	X		1
	23	ያለምገፍ	ሴ	7	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
አስቻሉ ብናልፍ	24	አለምሽ	ሴ	13	መካከሮ	6ኛ		X		1
	25	ተጎዳን	ወ	10	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
አናውጋው ጉቤ	26	መሰንበት	ወ	12	መካከሮ	4ኛ		X		1
	27	ብዙአየሁ	ሴ	14	መካከሮ	6ኛ		X		1
አለሽኝ ስንሻው	28	ተታዳምቅ	ሴ	15	መካከሮ	7ኛ		X		1
	29	አቤ	ወ	13	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	30	ተሸመ	ወ	11	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	31	ሽጋው	ወ	8	መካከሮ	1ኛ	1	X		1
ጌታኅ ደሴ	32	ይቻል	ወ	13	መካከሮ	5ኛ		X		1
	33	ፍትፍቴ	ሴ	9	መካከሮ	2ኛ		X		1
መኩሪያው ተመሰገን	34	ሁሉንችየ	ሴ	7	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
አማኑ ተሰፊ	35	መምሰጋናው	ወ	13	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
አባይ ሙላቱ	36	የፀዳው	ወ	13	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
ጥሊ ደመላሽ	37	አለምሽ	ሴ	15	መካከሮ	7ኛ		X	1	
	38	ትሁኔ	ሴ	16	መካከሮ	8ኛ	1	X		1
	39	ልተው	ሴ	8	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
በቃ ምትኪ	40	ታደገ	ወ	14	መካከሮ	8ኛ		X		1
	41	ሙሉቀን	ወ	15	መካከሮ	8ኛ		X		1
	42	ንፁሀ	ሴ	12	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
	43	ገደፋ	ወ	10	መካከሮ	3ኛ	1	X		1
	44	ንጉሴ	ወ	13	መካከሮ	3ኛ	1	X		1
የለው ሊወጣ	45	አገመራ	ሴ	12	መካከሮ	3ኛ		X		1
በደብል ዘለቀ	46	በላይነህ	ወ	10	መካከሮ	2ኛ		X		1
	47	አለምሽ	ሴ	13	መካከሮ	5ኛ	1	X		1
ሞሉ ሙብሬ	48	ስመንው	ወ	14	መካከሮ	7ኛ		X		1
	49	ምናሊ	ወ	8	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
ጌቱ ብርሃኔ	50	በለምላይ	ሴ	13	መካከሮ	6ኛ	1	X		1
	51	አለልኝ	ወ	15	መካከሮ	7ኛ		X		1
አራጋው ቁሜ	52	የኔሰው	ወ	13	መካከሮ	4ኛ		X		1
	53	ተጎዳን	ሴ	15	መካከሮ	5ኛ	1	X		1
	54	ሞላ	ወ	7	መካከሮ	1ኛ		X		1
ጎዕሰ ድምር					መካከሮ		9	0	16	38
ሞላ ሞሴ	55	ሰዋይነስ	ሴ	15	ግራራም	8ኛ	1			1
	56	ልተው	ሴ	12	ግራራም	2ኛ	1			1
ገበየሁ አሰፊ	57	ተስፋየ	ሴ	14	ግራራም	1ኛ		X		1
	58	ይዘንገሽ	ሴ	13	ግራራም	1ኛ		X		1
ተሸመ ሞን	59	አዲሲ	ሴ	12	ግራራም	1ኛ	1			1
	60	ውብሰራሽ	ሴ	13	ግራራም	4ኛ		X		1
አደመ አብጠው	61	ሙሉጌታ	ወ	16	ግራራም	4ኛ		X		1
አንዳሊ መኮነን	62	ምንታምር	ሴ	13	ግራራም	5ኛ		X		1
አበረ ወንዲፍራው	63	አንዱዓለም	ወ	14	ግራራም	3ኛ	1	X		1
	64	ተምቢዛት	ወ	12	ግራራም	7ኛ		X	1	
	65	ታማውት	ሴ	15	ግራራም	5ኛ		X		1
	66	ሻምበል	ወ	9	ግራራም	4ኛ		X		1
ውዱ ታረቀኝ	67	አንዱዓለም	ወ	14	ግራራም	6ኛ		X		1
	68	ስንቴ	ሴ	10	ግራራም	1ኛ		X		1
መታክት ወንድይፍራው	69	ይደነቁ	ሴ	12	ግራራም	4ኛ		X		1
ካሲ ገበየሁ	70	የኔብርቅ	ሴ	12	ግራራም	4ኛ	1			1

የአባሪው ስም	ተቁ	የተዳረገው/ችው ሀገን ስም	ጾታ	ያገባበት/ችበት እድሜ	የሚማሩበት ት/ቤት	የክፍል ደረጃ	የቆረጠ/ች ከሆነ ምልክትን ያስቀምጡ	ጋብቻው አስከሁን ካለ ምልክትን ያስቀምጡ	የተዳሩበት ዓ.ም.	
									2006	2007
አያደረ አበበ	71	ንጉስ	ወ	11	ግራራም	4ኛ		X	1	
	72	ምኒቸል	ወ	16	ግራራም	6ኛ	1			1
ሰውነቱ ጎዴ	73	ደጄ	ሴ	13	ግራራም	2ኛ		X		1
	74	በአውቀት	ወ	13	ግራራም	5ኛ		X	1	
ጫኔ ሞላ	75	አዋዥ	ወ	10	ግራራም	1ኛ		X	1	
	76	ሀብታሙ	ወ	16	ግራራም	0ኛ		X	1	
ዘላለም ብናልፍ	77	ማስተዋል	ሴ	14	ግራራም	5ኛ	1			1
	78	ትዳደድ	ሴ	11	ግራራም	3ኛ		X		1
	79	ሚገ	ሴ	4	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
	80	ምኑዩ	ወ	16	ግራራም	3ኛ		X		1
ድረስ አንየው	81	አበቡ	ሴ	14	ግራራም	1ኛ	1			1
	82	ባለምላይ	ሴ	5	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
ድረስ ሞሴ	83	ነግራው	ወ	14	ግራራም	2ኛ		X		1
	84	የአኔአየሁ	ሴ	14	ግራራም	5ኛ		X		1
	85	ሞላ	ወ	10	ግራራም	2ኛ	1		1	
	86	ይመስገን	ወ	13	ግራራም	2ኛ	1		1	
ዳግ አበባው	87	አንቸናሉ	ሴ	15	ግራራም	4ኛ		X		1
	88	ልቅናው	ወ	18	ግራራም	8ኛ		X		1
ደሴ ጋሻው	89	አባት	ወ	9	ግራራም	1ኛ		X		1
	90	ተንዳን	ሴ	15	ግራራም	5ኛ		X		1
	91	አቡሽ	ወ	4	ግራራም	1ኛ		X		1
	92	ቀረላም	ሴ	8	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
አየለ ጌታ	93	አንቻላው	ወ	5	ግራራም	1ኛ		X	1	
	94	አስናቅ	ወ	11	ግራራም	1ኛ		X	1	
	95	አንደሻው	ወ	10	ግራራም	5ኛ		X	1	
	96	ደላሲኝ	ወ	13	ግራራም	6ኛ		X		1
አርቅይሁን መሃሪ	97	አኔም አየሁ	ሴ	16	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
	98	ሚገ	ሴ	4	ግራራም	3ኛ		X		1
ምስጋናው ጫኔ	99	አስቻላ	ወ	17	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
	100	ማስረሻ	ሴ	6	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
ገርባው አየለ	101	ትትናው	ወ	15	ግራራም	6ኛ		X	1	
	102	አባቴነሀ	ወ	17	ግራራም		1		1	
	103	አሞሃሽ	ሴ	13	ግራራም	0ኛ		X	1	
	104	አንዳወቀ	ወ	16	ግራራም	2ኛ		X		1
ሙሉ መኮነን	105	አስናቅ	ወ	18	ግራራም		1		1	
	106	ቢቃሉ	ወ	12	ግራራም	1ኛ		X		1
ንንጥ አንየው	107	ራንታሽ	ሴ	15	ግራራም	4ኛ		1		1
	108	ተሰፋ	ሴ	13	ግራራም	0ኛ		X		1
	109	ጌታቸው	ወ	17	ግራራም	8ኛ		X		1
	110	አለማየሁ	ወ	14	ግራራም	5ኛ		X		1
ነገሰ ጫኔ	111	ፍትፍቴ	ሴ	12	ግራራም	0ኛ		1		1
	112	ሀይማኖት	ሴ	15	ግራራም	3ኛ		X		1
ጎዑስ ድምር					ግራራም		14		18	40
ጠ.ድምር							23		34	78

Table 4.8: Trends of early marriage for Gramam kebele

3.6 The situations and impacts of early married girls and boys

This section attempts to discern the social, economic and health situations and impacts of those who married while they are minors. To this effect, at most attempt was made to understand the impacts of early marriage. The result shows that though all the participants of this study indicated the existence of negative impacts of early marriage, they differ in their presentation of them as socio-economic and cultural impacts. Results of FGDs, and key informant and in-depth interviews revealed that research participants do not view early marriage in the same way. While some of the research participants view it as having only negative impact and some view it only from its positive impacts, significant others have a combination of both negative and positive impacts. Their varied explanations were presented as follows.

3.6.1 Socio-economic situations

In regards to their social situations, the study found that early married boys and girls in the study areas are gossiped, whispered and laughed at by their school mates. This disorients their attention from academics. A director of Gramam primary school has also highlighted increasingly low attention and higher rates of drop out of students after being married.

Economically, too, while there are situations where parents of the bridegroom and bride price offer them with economic assets (such as money, cattle, camel or a combination of these and many others) as startup capital in other societies, this is not the case in the study communities. For one thing, the marrying couples are minors who do not think of themselves, as well as thought by others, in appropriate overall maturity to take responsibility for independent life. Early marriage, for another thing, is established to answer two trivial

questions- to reduce/avoid gossip for not marrying and cultural reasons -at the expense of children's rights, wants and aspirations. Furthermore, it is the culture of the society to remarry their children after they grow up since almost all early marriages end up with divorce. Relatedly, there are a number of consequences of early marriage which cannot be exclusively classified as economic, social and cultural one. As a result, an attempt was made to classify them into positive and negative impacts as follows.

Negative impacts of early marriage

Both negative and positive impacts of early marriage are rooted in socio-cultural and economic realities which cannot be easily separable. Those who described early marriage from negative side suggest the following points:

- ለብዙ ልጅ ማስተማሪያ የሚሆን ንብረት በአራት ቀን ያልቃል።
- ከማን አንሹ በማለት ንብረት/ገንዘብን ማውደም ለተለያዩ ችግሮች የሊረዳ መጋለጥ።
- አሁን ነፍስ ሳያውቁ ይዳራሉ፤ በኋላ 2ኛ ጊዜ ስለሚዳሩ ወጪው ይጨምራል።
- ብዙ ልጅ በአንዴ ለመዳር ብዙ ወጪ ስለሚያወጡ በአንዴ ለችግር ይደረጋሉ።
- ገንዘብ ከመጨረስ ልጆች የሚማሩበትን ሀብት በአንድ ቀን ከማውደም ውጭ ሌላ ጥቅም የለውም።
- ለፍራዳ፤ ለቅቤ፤ ለጠላ፤ ለእንጀራ፤ ለአልባሳት የሚወጣው ወጪ ለኢኮኖሚ አሉታዊ ተጽዕኖ አለው።
- ለችግራችን ደራሽ ነው ብለን የሰበሰብነው ገንዘብ አላግባብ እንዲባክን ከማድረጉም በላይ ከሰው በታች እንድንሆንና እንድንራብ፤ እንድንጠማ ይዳርገናል።
- ስድብ ይኖራል (ከህብረተሰቡ ጋር አለመከባበር/አለመከበር)።
- ስድብ አለው (አምና በሬውን ሽጦ አበላ፤ አሁን ልመና ሂዶ ይበላል)።
- ህብረተሰቡ በዕለቱ መርቆ በነጋታው ዞር ብሎ ያማል።
- ቆሞ ቀር የሚባል የባህል ስድብ አለ።
- በማህበረሰቡ ዘንድ ተቀባይነት ለማግኘትና ልጆችንም ላለማስደብ።
- የተንዛዛ ድግስ ማውጣት ለውድቀት ይደርጋል።
- እኔ ከማን አንሹ ሁል ጊዜ እየዞርኩ እየተሰደብኩ እየበላሁ ብድሬን ሳልመልስ እቀራለሁ በማለት ከሀቅም በላይ መደገስ።
- በማህበርና በሰንበቴ እየዞረ/ች እየበለ/ች የማያወጣ/የማታወጣ እየተበልን እንሰደባለን።
- ከልዳረ እስካሁን ሳይድር ብሎ የሚሳደበው፤ ድሮ ብድር ውስጥ ሲገባም ይሰደባል።
- እሽሩሩ (ማሽቀበት)
- በማህበረሰቡ ውስጥ አሉባልታ- አምና ልጁን ዳረ ዘንድሮ ብድር ተበደረ
- ካልዳረ- ልጅን ሳይድር የሰው ድግስ በላ፤ከዳረም ከሀቅም በላይ ድሮ ችጋር ላይ ወደቀ
- ከሰው የመጣውን ክርም ለመመለስ ሀሳብ ነው።
- ከማህበረሰብ ጋር አለመግባባት
- የተደሩ ልጆች ያልተዳሩትን ስለሚሰድቧቸው
- የኑሮ ማሳቀቅ ማምጣት
- ከት/ት ያደናቅፋል፤ ትዳሩ ከጸና በገንዘብ ክፍፍል ላይ ጸብ ይፈጠራል፤ ለበሽታ ያጋልጣል

Similarly, those who described early marriage from positive side suggested the following points:

- ገንዘብ ንብረት/አኮልኳይ ይመለሳል (አኮልኳይ ማስመለስ)፤ ልጅ ሲዳር የሚሰጥ ስጦታ (ጥሎሽ) ስላክል አገኛለሁ።
- አድገው ሲዳሩ 2ኛ አያስቸግሩም፤ ነገር ግን ሁለት ጊዜ ስለሚዳሩ ወጪው ይጨምራል።
- የሰጡትን አኮልኳይ እና የተለያዩ ስጦታዎችን ለማስመለስ (ለመቀበል)
- ሲድሩ ለሰው የተሰጠ አቆልቋይ ሁሉ ይመለሳል፤ የበለሁትንና የጠጡትን ለመመለስ፤ ለልጆች ቁምቀር ስም እንዳይሰጥ
- ከእናት አባትና ከቅድመ አያቶቻችን የተረከብነውን ባህላችንን እንዴት እንተዋዋለን፤ ልጆቻችንን ለምን እፍራታቸውን አይከለክሉም።
- ስድብ- አይኖርም ፤
- ተበድራም ቢሆን የልጅን እፍረት ልከልክል የሚል ባህል (ስድብ አይኖርም)።፤ ብድር የማይመልስ ሁል ጊዜ እንዴት እየዞረ ይበላል እየተባለ ስለሚሰደብ፤
- ሳልሞት ልጆቼን ወግ ላድርሳቸው ስለሚባል
- ንጂ ልማድን ያስፋፋል (ያገቡ ሌሎችን ይሳደባሉ)
- እናቱ አባቱ እንዳሉ አበባ ልይ ማለት፤ የአሁኑን እንጂ የቀጠዩን እግዛብጤ ያውቃል ማለት።
- እንደ ሀገር እሆናለሁ የማለት ባህል፤ ሲወርድ ሲዋረድ የመጣ የእናት አባት ወግ።
- በትጭጭት ወቅት የሚመጣ ስጦታን ለመቀበል።
- እየዞረ እየበላ አንድ ቀን ብድር መልሶ አያውቅም እንጂ እየተባለ በማህበርና በሰንበቴ ይሰደባል።
- ድሮ ችጋር ውስጥ ተከተተ እና ድሮ ብድር ገባ የሚል ባህል
- እንደሰው እሆናለሁ ከሰው አላንስም የሚል አባባል
- እንደየከሌ ልጅህን ድረህ የቀን ስራ ብትገባ ችግር የለም የሚል አመለካከት
- በማህበረሰቡ ዘንድ ክብርና ምስጋና ለማግኘት
- ካልተዳረ ያልዳረ ሰው ሀብት ቢያንሰውም መጀመሪያ ልጅህን ደር ይበላል። ከዳረ በኋላ ደግሞ ልጅን ድሬ ብድር በለሁ ብሎ ይሳቀቃል።
- አባቶች እኔ ሳልሞት ብትድር ከእገሌ በምን ታንሳለህ ስለሚሉ።
- ቀበሌውን ያስወቅሳል፤ ድሃው ህዝብ ራሱ እየተራብ ብድር ለመመለስ ይቆማሉ፤ ሰርገኛውም ብድሬን መልስ እያለ (በቀጥታም

- በተዘዋዋሪም እንዲጨነቁ ያደርጋቸዋል።
- ስትወጣ ስትገባ ሙሽራት ሙሽራት ሲሏት እንደልቧ እንዳትሰራና እንዳታገለግል ያደረጋል።
- ካልዳረ ማህበርህን አውጣ ይባላል፤ ከዳረ በኋላ ሲጨግረው ደግሞ ልጅህን ድረህ ልመና ገባህ ይባላል።
- መገለልን ለማስወገድ፤ ስጦታ ለመሰብሰብ
- እየዘረ እየበላ አንድ ቀን እኔም ልጄን ልዳር አይልም እንጂ እየተባለ ይሰደባል።
- ልጄን የማይደር አሮጌውን የማይገድር የሚባል አባባል፤ ግራና ቀኝ ከእናት አባት ቡራኬ እንቀበል በማለት
- እሽርር (በግጥም የሚሰደብ ስድብ) ወይም ስድብ ለሚደረው ሰው ይወጣል
- መከባበር አለመኖር፤ መጀመሪያ ልጅህን ደር ብሎ ስድብ መኖር
- ከተሸለ ቤተሰብ ጋር ለመወዳጀት፤ በፊትቱላ ምክንያት ከህብረተሰቡ እንዲገለሉ ያደርጋል
- እንደገሌ ድሮ ልመና መግባት ይሻላል የሚል እሽርር
- ከፍተኛ የሆነ የባህል ዘፈን ስለሚታይ፤ በበሽታ ምክንያት ከባህል እንዲቀዳ ያደርጋል
- የቤተሰብ ብዛት መኖር በትምህርት የበለጸገ፤ ጤናማና እርስ በእርሱ የሚደጋገፍ ማህበረሰብን ለመፍጠር ፈጣኝ መሆን
- እኔ ከማን አንሹ ነው የበላሁትንና የጠጠሁትን አልመልስም፤ ያዋጣሁትን ገንዘብንስ ሳልመልስ... እየተባለ
- ሰዎች ባህልንና ሀይማኖትን በትክክል ለይተው ስላላወቁ በባህላቸው የሚፈጽሙት ጎጂ ነገሮችን ሀይማኖታቸው እንደሚያዝዛቸው በመቁጠር
- የሰጠሁትን ስጦታ ለመሰብሰብ፤ እንደብድር ያወጣሁትን አኮልኳይ ለማስመለስ፤ የልጆችን ስድብ ለመቀነስ
- ከማን አንሹ በሚል ያለዕድሜዎ ትዳራለች፤ ከማን አንሹነትን ለማስወገድ፤ ባልዬውም ትልቅ ከሆነ የለመድሬ ስለምትሄድ እርግዝና ይከሰታል፤ ያለዕድሜዎ አረገዝች ተብሎ ደግሞ ከማህበረሰቡ ትገለላለች።
- ሲወርድ ሲቀረድ የመጣ ባህልና የእናት አባት ተቀረድ ስለሆነ
- ልጆች አድገው ሲዳሩ ስለሚያስጠላ
- ካልደሩ ከማህበረሰቡ የበታችነት ስሜት መኖር
- ከማን አንሹ ነው/ከእገሌ ለንስ ነው ደግሞ ተበድራም ቢሆን እድራሉሁ ማለት
- ማህበራን ላውጣ የሚል ባህል
- ከህብረተሰቡ ዘንድ ስድብ ይቀራል።
- እናት አባት እየለን አሁን እንዳር የሚል ባህል
- ምንም እንኳን ኋለቀር አስተሳሰብ ቢሆንም ከማህበረሰቡ ጋር አብሮ ለመኖር
- የልጄን አዳኛ ሳልሞት ለማየት፤ ብድር መመለሻ፤

3.6.2 Impacts on Education

In addition to its socio-economic impacts, early marriage has serious impacts on education. Survey data collected to know the trend of early marriage for the year 2014 (2006 E.C.) and 2015(2007 E.C.) and school dropout rates shown in table 4.9 indicates that Yenebrna *kebele* has relatively higher number of early married children (Yekulea=68 & yenebrna=60) as compared to Giraram (Garam=58 & Menkiro=55). The table also shows that school drop out rate for the year 2006 E.C. is 18.03% while it is 20.17 for the year 2007 E.C. Table 4.9: Early marriage cases and the percentage of school dropout as a result of early marriage in 2006 E.C & 2007 E.C.

Kebele	Giraram				Yenebrna				Total number of early married cases in both Kebeles	Percentage of school dropouts for both kebeles
	Giraram		Menkiro		Yekulea/Yegobena		Yenebrna			
Got	The number of early married cases	school dropouts as a result of early marriage	The number of early married cases	school dropouts as a result of early marriage	The number of early married cases	school dropouts as a result of early marriage	The number of early married cases	school dropouts as a result of early marriage		
2006 E.C.	18	5	17	4	33	13	54	-	122	18.03
2007 E.C.	40	3	38	11	35	10	6	-	119	20.17
Total	58	8	55	15	68	23	60	-	241	38.2

Data collected from focus group discussion with students and interview with school directors revealed a number of psychological, developmental and moral consequences early married children face.

3.6.3 Health situations

Early marriage has also a number of health impacts. In fact, most of its health impacts are not physical and visible to a large extent. They live within the minds and heart of early married boys and girls creating fear, poor confidence, and lack of attention. To triangulate the above data, case an attempt was made to collect data using case history. However, the researchers’ tiresome attempts to obtain case histories of early married children was only partially successful because only one of the students was able to bring her case history into the researchers’ attention. This was since early married girls.

ያለዕድሜ ጋብቻ ማለት የሰውን ልጅ ህልውና የሚገዛና የሀገርን ዕድገት የሚያጎድት ነው። ስለዚህ በጣም ጎጂ ባህል ስለሆነ መንግስትና ህዝብ በመደጋገፍ ይህንን አሰቃቂና ከድህነት አርንቋ ውስጥ የሚከት አፀያፊ ተግባር ከወዲሁ መተውና መቀረፍ ይኖርበናል። በጣም አፀያፊ የሚሆንበት ምክንያትም አንድ ሰው ልጅ በሚደርስበት ወቅት የሚወጣው ወጪ በጣም ብዙ ስለሆነ ከቤተሰብ አልፎ ሀገር ህብረተሰብ ያጠቃል። ተማሪዎች በሚዳፍበትም ወቅት ትምህርታቸውን ሊቋርጡ ይችላሉ። ምክንያቱም አንድ ልጅ በሚዳርበት ወቅት ሁለት በሬ ቢኖሩት አንዱን በሬ ሽጦ በተለያዩ ወጭዎች ሊያጠፋው ይችላል። በዚያን ጊዜ ተማሪዎች መሰረታዊ ፍላጎቶች ስለማይሟሉላቸው ከትምህርት ያቋረጣሉ ። ምክንያቱም በአንድ በሬ ስለማይታረስ መሬቱም ይጠመዳል። መሬቱ በሚጠመድበት ወቅት ልጆች ትምህርት ከመማራቸው ከሰው ቤት እንዲገቡ ያለው ደጋጋሚ ግዴታ ይወስዷቸዋል። ነገር ግን ልጆችን ከመዳፍ ቢያስተምሯቸው ኑሮ ልጆችም ወላጆችም ከዚህ አሰቃቂ ከሆነ ችግር ይወጣል። ስለዚህ ይህንን አሰቃቂ ተግባር በመተው የልጆችን መሰረታዊ ፍላጎት አሟልተን ልጆችን ወደ ትምህርት ቤት መላክ ይኖርበናል። አሁን ለምሳሌ እኔና የእኔ ታናናሽ በ2007 ዓ.ም ተዳርን።

በመጀመሪያ ጊዜ አልሰማሁም ነበር ነገር ግን ከተወሰኑ ቀናት በኋላ ግን ሰማሁ። በሰማሁበት ጊዜ በጣም ተናደድኩ ። የተናደድኩበት ምክንያትም ቤተሰቦቼ የድሃ ድሃ ተብለው የሚጠሩ ስለሆነ ለዚህ ወጪ ከሚያደርጉ ይልቅ ቢያስተምሩን የተሻለ ይሆናል ብዬ ነው። ነገር ግን እነሱ ስላሰቡት እንደማይተውት ተስፋ ቆረጥሁ። ይሁንም እንጂ ለእርስ መምህሩ ብናገር ይህ ነገር ሊቀር ይችል ይሆናል ብዬ በማመልከቻ ጽፌ ሰጠሁት። ነገር ግን ብናገርም እንኳ ይህ ነገር ሊቀር አልቻለም። ቀኑም እየደረሰ መጣ በዚያን ጊዜ በጣም ተናደድኩ ብናደድም ሊቀር አልቻለም። ከዚያም ቀኑ እየደረሰ መጣ በዚያን ጊዜ ያለው ደጋጋሚ ትግማሚያለሽ ብለው ያዙኝ እኔም ተስፋ በመቆረጥ ልገመገም ሄድሁ። በዚያን ጊዜ ገምጋሚዎች ከአባቴ ጋር ተነጋገርን። ተነጋግረውም እድሜሽ ስንት ነው ሲልሽ 18 ዓመቱ ነው ባይው አለኝ ። እኔም እርሱ እንዳለኝ 18 ዓመቱ ነው አልኩት። ምክንያቱም 18 ዓመት በታች ያለ ህፃን መዳር አይችሉም። ይሁን እንጂ የእኔ እድሜ ግን 15 ዓመቱ ነበር። ከዚያን በመቀጠል ገምጋሚው መዳር ትፈልገዋለሽ አለኝ ። እኔም አምን አልኩት። ከዚያም ተገምግማ ወጣለች ብሎ ለአባቴ ነገረው በዚያን ጊዜ በጣም ተናደድኩ። ነገር ግን የማይቀር ነገር እንደሆነ አረጋገጥሁ። ከዚያም ቀኑ ሳምንት ሲቀረው ሊቀመንበሩ አገኘኝ ደነግጥኩ። ምክንያቱም ለምን ጽፈሽ ሰጠሽ ለምን ተገመገመሽ ይለኛል ብዬ። እኔም እንደጠበቅሁት ይህንን ጥያቄ ጠየቅኝ። እኔም አሁን ቀኑ ከደረሰና የተለያዩ ወጭዎች ከወጡ በኋላ ምንም ማድረግ አልቻልንም አልኩት። ነገር ግን አሁን ሳይሆን መቆጣጠር ያለብህ ቀደም ሲል የተለያዩ ወጭዎች ሳይወጡ ነበር አልኩት። ዝም አለኝ። ከዛም የሰርጉ ቀን መጡና እኔን ብቻ ነው መዳር ያለብህ አሉት። እነሱም አንድ ላይ ወጡና ተነጋገሩ። ከዚያም በሉና ዝም ብለው ሄዱ። ከዚያም ሰው ሲደናገጥ አይዘቸሁ አትደናገጡ አሏቸው። ከዚያ በኋላ እንኳን ስንት የትንሹ ትንሽ አልቀረችም ሰርጉ ሲፈጸም። እኔም ተምህርቴን አቆረጥኩ ምክንያቱም ትምህርት ቤት ለመሄድ አፈርኩ። ነገር ግን ትምህርቴ ስለቆረቆረኝ እንደገና ደግሜ ለመማር አሰብኩ። ከዚያም ትምህርት ቤት ሂጃ ተመዘገብሁ። ይሁን እንጂ ጓደኞቼ አልፈው ሲሄዱ እኔ ተመልሼ ስደግም በጣም ተናደድኩ። ነገር ግን ምንም ማድረግ አይቻልም።

ስለዚህ ይህ ሁሉ ነገር ከመፈፀሙ በፊት እዚያው እራስ በራሳችን ይህንን ነገር ማስወገድ አለብን። ይህም ሲባል ወላጆች ልጆቻቸውን ወደ ትምህርት ቤት ደብተርና አስከርቢቶ በመግዛት ወደ ትምህርት ቤት መላክ አለብን እንጂ ልጆች መዳር የለባቸውም። ምክንያቱም ተማሪዎችን ከመዳር ይልቅ ደብተርና አስከርቢቶ፣ የዶርም እየከፈሉ ማስተማር አለበት። ስለዚህ ይህንን ነገር እጅ ለእጅ በመየያዝ እኛ ተማሪዎችና ህብረተሰቡ ይህንን አገል ባህል ከሀገራችን ውስጥ ለማስወጣት ጠንክረን መሰራት ይኖርበናል።

3.7 Prospects of early marriage

As discussed throughout this paper up to this point, it is possible to deduce that unless regular, planned and concerted action is taken, it is less likely to solve the problem of early marriage in the study *kebeles*. This is partly because

- ✓ As it can be noticed from trends of early marriage (section 4.5), early marriage seems to have increases rather than showing a decreasing trend.
- ✓ Despite plenty of trainings and awareness creation search conferences and forums meant to aware all at different levels, this never helped anyone to materialize in practical terms.
- ✓ Even those who have strong sense to refrain from marrying their children at early age are highly influenced by their culture, peers, close relatives and those who want to have relationships through marriage. As a result, they have no hope to escape from the existing realities to new ones.
- ✓ Currently, it is not only those with lower education and anti-early marriage training but also those with better education, better anti-early marriage training, and serving in one of local government responsibilities also marry their children at their early ages let alone advising others.

3.8 The roles of key stakeholders on early marriage

The study found that the role of stakeholders in dealing with early marriage is found to be inconsistent, at nascent stage, irregular, and unconcerted. They have had no plan to work together and in coordination.

CHAPTER FOUR ACTION STRATEGY, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

4.1. Action strategy

Based on the data obtained from survey, focus group discussions, and in-depth and key informant interviews, researchers have suggested the following action strategies to be implemented in order to solve the problem of early marriage in *Yenebirna and Giraram kebeles*.

Challenging the dangers of early marriage by:

1. Conducting regular discussion forums with children, youth, elderly and parents to create optimal awareness on current national laws and policies on the subject in both *kebeles*.
 - ✓ The current national laws-policies legislating against early marriage. In this regard, the *woreda* justice officials should create legal awareness about the illegality of early marriage among the local community through continuous training programs at the grass root level involving councils of the

- elders, religious and community leaders, local peasant association leaders. Of courses, during 2014 & 2015 and search conference, there was legal awareness program at woreda/*kebele* level. However, these programs in most cases involved only administrative officers ,local leaders, and religious leaders (in some cases).In this respect, There is a need of empowering parents to refute early marriage for their children as well as to value education at the local level. Even parents aware of the dangers of early marriage are still practicing it because of their community, which attaches a high economical rational and early marriage for children.
2. Conducting regular discussion forums with children, youth, elderly and parents to create optimal awareness on consequences of early marriage in the two *kebeles*.
 - ✓ Though this action strategy can be done side by side with the first one, it is deliberately separated so as to give adequate weight on the role of discussing by citing known, local examples of
 - Residents who incurred high expense and benefit least by organizing early marriage. This is the economic cost of early marriage.
 - Early married boys and girls who hate the practice of early marriage by elucidating practical examples where it hurt their social life, academic achievement, and future aspirations. Here, it requires to organize few students who can either share their bad experiences and/ or present instructive *drama on early marriage* to all the stakeholders (parents, children, teachers, religious leaders, police officers).
 3. Change the attitudes of the local social structure’s “gate-keepers” (limat budin, Yegobez aleka, police officers, leaders of iddir, health extension workers, teachers & religious leaders’):
 - ✓ At the community level, a lot of power, status and authority is bestowed upon local councils of elders, religious and community leaders. These groups are the local social structure’s “yegobez aleka”, they are the ones who keep cultural practices, including early marriage, alive. In this regard, there is a need to change the attitude of these “gate-keeper” would lose their status and roles of negotiating between married families, but their role and status would be replaced by educating the local people about the consequences of early marriage. By doing so they have to be supported and rewarded by the local people and governmental officials, so that the fight against early marriage should be pursued with a lot of social and cultural sensitivity to what the local people stand for, and with reward for what they to lose through this cultural and social change in terms of respect respects of the community for the commitment to this kind of change.
 4. Developing locally binding rules against the practice of early marriage.
 - ✓ To Bridge the gap between national laws-policies and local practices, there is a need for developing locally binding rules to fight the practice early marriage in line with the current CBOs law. To facilitate their enforcement, there is need for educating the local people through the local churches and schools. To this end, the local government officials should give support to local groups take the initiative to challenge the harmful consequences of early marriage.
 5. Organizing broad and continuous “community awareness raising programs” or “discussion forms” on the dangers of early marriage based on practical terms to make it socially unacceptable.
 - ✓ Discussion forms could be conducted at community level through school teachers, health post workers, councils of elders, community and religious leaders, traditional community associations such as mahber and senbete. At the household level, parents ,especially fathers, are the key stockholders in the local initiatives to the campaign against early marriage.in this regard, there is need for giving award for those who are active in challenging the practice and bring about attitudinal change.
 6. Convincing the local people to postponing their marriages based on positive role models and evidence-based advocacy work:
 - ✓ Parents among the studied rural communities have no hope to refrain from marrying their children due to lack of educated persons and role model community members though it is possible to find the would be positive role models. In this regard, the few knowledgeable residents and those who educated their children up to higher education level who cancelled early marriage case, can play a leading role in the struggle against early marriage.
 - ✓ It championing the causes of early marriage.
 7. Organizing CBOs representatives/ “yegobez alake”/, got & religious leaders at grass root level to facilitate the implementation of bylaw developed by the community to reduce the problem of early marriage:
 - ✓ This groups facilitate discussion forums, collect different early marriage cases and approve the children above 18 age. Communicating the findings of this research with Debremarkos University, the *woreda* culture and tourism office, *woreda betekihnet*, justice, and women, children and youth affairs office to support in the struggle against early marriage.
 8. Take concerted action to implement early marriage by religious leaders, Iddir chairmen and justice:
 - ✓ This requires an integrated and collaborating effort of the government, local community based

organizations and religious institutions concerned with tackling early marriage in their locality. In this regard, all government and community based organizations should not only develop bylaw but also implement them correctly. Religious leaders should also take action up to departing from considering as a spiritual son; leaders of *iddir also* dispatch from different social issues; *woreda* justice should take action on those who practice early marriage.

4.2. Action Implementation

In section 4.1 above, researchers have proposed important actions to be implemented. In this section, we described how those actions will be implemented.

4.3 Evaluation of the Actions

This section deals with the effectiveness of the action strategies which we have implemented previously.

- ❖ Measuring the extent in which age screening process has become impersonalized
- ❖ The frequency and quality of awareness raising discussions with all the concerned bodies (children, youth, parents, religious leaders, leaders of *Iddir*, school teachers, cluster level associations and self-help groups in both *kebeles*).
- ❖ The number and types of incentives publicly provided for model residents who did not marry their children before reaching age 18.
- ❖ The number of stakeholders and their frequency of involvement in ending early marriage campaign conducted in the *kebeles*.