

**CHILD MARRIAGE PRACTICE AMONG TAMANG
COMMUNITIES OF RAMECHHAP DISTRICT IN NEPAL**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science of Tribhuvan
University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In
HOME SCIENCE**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled **Child Marriage Practice among Tamang Communities of Ramechhap District in Nepal** was prepared by Mana Kafle under our guidance. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final examinations by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled **Child Marriage Practice among Tamang Communities of Ramechhap District in Nepal** was submitted by Mana Kafle for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in HOME SCIENCE. I, hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has, therefore, accepted it for the degree.

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ABSTRACT

The main thrust of this study is to explore the various facets of child marriage practice among Tamang ethnic community of Ramechhap district, Nepal. Child marriage is a social malady especially in south Asia, Africa, Latin America and in many parts of world. Child marriage refer to any marriage of child (both sex) younger than 18 years old according to CRC, 1990. An early marriage is a common practice in different parts of Nepal. Such practice has hindered the overall development of children mainly of the girl child. The trend of child marriage at the age of enfoldment has been causing negative impact on the health of both mother and infant resulting in higher infant and maternal mortality rate. In Nepal, child marriage practice is not just restricted to Hindu Brahmins and Chhetris but also practiced by different ethnic communities. It is being widely practiced also among Tamang communities.

The practice of child marriages as a social problem is still prevalent in this day and age and is a question that needs to be dealt with. Most researches and studies state that it depends on how deeply rooted child marriage is in the social norms of that particular society. Major determinants of child marriage have been identified. Social/traditional and religious customs, demography, dowry, education, economic condition, weak legal Act, state policy etc. come in the front line. And it is overwhelmingly believed that this practice is sanctioned by society, fuelled by tradition, religion and poverty.

This study tried to explore child marriage practice prevalent in Tamang community of Nepal. Following research questions were raised in order to address the above mentioned statement:

1. What are the current trends of child marriage practice among Tamang ethnic community with special focus on girl child?
2. What are the underlying causes and consequences of child marriage?
3. What are parental gender discriminatory related attitudes?

In the light of the above research question following research objectives have been set for this study.

- 1 To find out current practice of child marriage and prevalence among Tamang ethnic communities with focus on girl child.
- 2 To identify the underlying causes and consequences of child marriage practices.
- 3 To find out parental gender discriminatory related attitudes.

Study Area and Research Methods

In the light of the above pertinent issues, this study was conducted in four VDCs of Ramechhap District (Sukajor, Bhaluwajor, Okhreni and Ramchhap), in Tamang ethnic community of Nepal with the objective of determining the trend of child marriage with identifying its causes and its socio-cultural and health impact on children specially girls and women. The study also examines the discriminatory attitudes and behavior of parents (socialization) among children. This is descriptive in nature and based on both qualitative and quantitative methods with a sample size of 440. The total Tamang population is 3786 from the selected four VDCs of Ramechhap district, Nepal.

Of the total sample, 300 early married male and female Tamang householders (respondents) in equal number were taken as key respondents for structured interview. Research was conducted through adopting non-probability sampling technique and selections of the respondents for structured questionnaire were based on the voters list of the related VDC. The age of the married couples (males/females) ranged from 17 years to 90 years. Data was collected through primary sources and for collection of data and information in the field, multiple instruments were used. A focus group comprising of 100 people from different areas were taken for participatory discussions. Likewise, there were 40 key informant groups from various walks of life. Seventeen significant case studies, comprising of 9 female and 8 male cases of child marriage from the key sample (300) were prepared for in-depth study to support the qualitative part of the research. Twenty five Tamang houses and life style of the people were directly and indirectly observed by the researcher to try to understand the socio-cultural and traditional aspects on Tamang marriage and other activities of early married householders.

Main Findings

The study reveals high prevalence of child marriage practice among both genders. The ratio of girls married at an early age is high compared to boys and there is high ratio of teen age pregnancy and motherhood. Parental gender based discriminatory attitudes is obvious as daughters are socialized only to be married early and become good housewives and mothers. Two main patterns of marriage are in practice in the Tamang community one being arranged marriages settled by the parents and the other love marriages initiated by children themselves. The findings show that a majority of the elderly and adults had arranged marriages whereas in the present younger generation some are compelled to marry early by parents while others are inclined to love and elope marriages. Data reveals that in the present context, there is a growing trend towards love and elope marriages among young generations and girls are taking more interest in this matter.

- Percentage of girls married by seventeen years is 74.7percent. Thirty five percent (35.7%) of respondents under the age of 25 had arranged marriage (parent's pressure) where as 57.2% had love and elope marriage.
- Twelve percent (12.3%) of male and female respondents agreed that child marriage governed by parents was practiced in order to prevent love and elope marriages in the community.
- The study found various reasons stated by respondents for practicing child marriage of a girl. Twenty eight percent (28.7%) of the male and female respondents mentioned traditional practice as being the reason, 20.7% said that daughters are liabilities to others, 16.1 % respondents felt that it is difficult to get a good marriage match for a mature woman, 3.3% said to be free from dowry problem and 3% said to receive punya (spiritual merit).
- The research found that 27.7% of children initiated their own marriage and eloped. In case of love marriage, 33.2% respondents mentioned use of mobile phone as the key factors of love marriage
- Majority of the respondents stated societal tradition as the main reason for early marriage among boys. Another important reason for early marriage among boys was to bring a labor force at home.

- Majority (92%) of the female gave birth their first baby below twenty years of age. Mean age of females at first childbirth is 18 years' and 7 months. 82.7 % of the female respondents delivered their first born baby at home. The mean duration of breast-feeding for son was 2 year and 6 months and 1 year and 7 months for daughters. The study found that 93% of all females eat their meals after other family members have finished eating. Daughters were found to be socialized in order to become wives and mothers and taken as liabilities to others. Play materials were found different used by son and daughters in the community.
- In religious belief, 31.7% respondents agreed on the religious belief that without son, the or of heaven are closed
- In the training of child caring and rearing, 98.3% of the male and female respondents were found to have no knowledge
- The findings showed that 23.3% male and only 10% of the female respondents were aware with media (radio, television) regarding the issues of child marriage and gender based discrimination.

Conclusion

This research goes to establish that forceful child marriage has devastating effect on the health and overall development of the children mainly of the girl child. Every possible efforts and counseling is essential even though the marriages have been conducted in children's choice.

Human rights encompass children's' rights and women's rights. Gender-based discrimination and child marriage are abuse of human rights. Effective implementation of child marriage act and action oriented programs are vital forces to prevent this practice from flourishing. Change in parental attitudes, proper religious interpretation and re-interpretation, counseling on gender equality, and attempt to change the misconception regarding the responsibility of the mother in determining the sex of the child and clarify in view of the scientific fact bout the birth of a son and daughter, community awareness about age of marriage and negative health impact of girl child due to early marriage, free and compulsory education and strict regulations regarding marriage certificates are some of the key measures that can be inculcated in the community in order to eliminate child marriage.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIMS	Asian Institute of Medical Science
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CCIC	Canadian Council for International Co-operation
CDO	Chief District Officer
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FORWARD	Foundation for Women's Health and Research and Development
FWLD	Forum for Women Law and Development
FWLD	Forum for Women Law and Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICRW	International Center of Research for Women
IDSN	International Dali Solidarity Network -
INSEK	Informal Region Service Center
ISPCK	Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
LDO	Local Development officer
MA	MulkiAin

MCH	Maternal and Child Health
MOWCSW	Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare
MWCD	Ministry for Women on Child Development
RBPW	Ramechhap Business and Professional Women
SCNN	Save the Children –Norway, Nepal
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases,
T.U.	Tribhuvan University
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
VA	Violence Against Women and Girls
WHF	World Hindu Federation
WHO	World Health Organization
WOODEN	Women Development and Environment

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Marriage is an integral social aspect of most communities worldwide. It is regarded as an auspicious event and a milestone for one to pass through in life. “In most societies, marriage is among the most significant of life events both for men and women, signaling the emergence to adulthood” (Jenson, & Thprnton, 2003, p.9). The practice of child marriage leaves no such cause for celebration for the children who are subjected to it. Child marriage practice is prevalent in global phenomenon. All too often, the imposition of marriage upon a child means that a girl or boy’s childhood is cut short and their fundamental rights are compromised. Child marriage has existed from time immemorial in Nepal. Child marriage is not new to Nepal. It is a strongly established social practice that has been carried on from generation to generation (Anmol, 2014, p.7). Until about 25-30 years ago, it was common to hear stories of children as small 6 or 8 years old having already been married in matches arranged by parents. Growing children were told by their elders that they had already been married. They had no other choice but to accept each other as spouses and begin to cohabit when they came of age (Thapa, 1996).

More than half of the world’s population consists of women and children. Since time immemorial and in various documentations of history of different cultures, direct or indirect discrimination against this group has been ascertained by scholars. The practice of child marriage is arguably the most blatant form of discrimination against children especially of girls. “Child marriage has tremendous impact on the child and family as a whole. It is also a fact the girl child being the most vulnerable in the community bear the worst brunt of this impact” (UNIFEM & WHF, 2007, p.19).

Likewise report of the International conference on population development UN (ICPD, 1994) mentions that child marriage and gender based discrimination is associated. Therefore efforts should be made to remove misconception on the discriminatory attitudes and also it has focused on the family as a basic unit from

where the sex-based discriminatory attitude emanate. Religion has sanctioned child marriage and societal practice and its traditions /cultures have ensured its continuity. Religion and child marriage has a close association which is known from the earlier writings. “Religion is a foundation stone of gender differences. Under most of the world’s religious traditions, women have been given secondary and subordinate role” (Julia, C.M. (1993, p.66). A particular religion cannot be singled out for propagating child marriage rather a variety of religions are associated with child marriage in countries throughout the world. But a research in Africa has shown positive impact of spiritual/religious involvement. The research findings of an unpublished dissertation recommended that girl-children should be encouraged to be involved in spiritual activities if their academic performance is to be increased and if their age at marriage is to be delayed (Prosper, 2013). Child marriages were common throughout history for a variety of reasons including poverty, future insecurity of children as well as for political reasons. According to International Center of Research on Women (ICRW, 2006) child marriages are still fairly widespread in some developing countries such as parts of Africa, South Asia Southeast and East Asia, West Asia, Latin America, and Oceania. In an analysis entitled “Nepal: why child marriage persists” based on the findings by Save the Children, World Vision and Plan international report highlight that Dalit girls are at particular risk of child marriage in Nepal and that concerted efforts to change the social welfare for Dalit in Nepal are needed (Save the children, world vision and plan international 2012).

Majupuria, I. (2007, p. 192) has written about marriage among Hindus and other ethnic communities. “In some cases infants are married. Children are promised as husband and wife before they are born in Tharus. Child marriage is carried out among the Hindu caste mainly for the purpose of preserving chastity of young girl or when it is difficult to obtain a wife.” The author mentions an orthodox Hindu philosophy endorsing the practice of ‘Kanyadaan’ ceremony is an integral part of an early/child marriage ceremony even today. It is the act of giving away one’s daughter who ideally ought to be in her pre-pubertal age before the onset of menstruation to the bridegroom. The Hindu Text of Manusmriti has stated that by performing the act of ‘Kanyadaan’, the parents of the girl achieve heavenly ‘Punya’ or good results, (spiritual merit) and the doors of heavens are opened for them after their death (Manusmriti, 2014).

1.2 Definition of the Term ‘Child Marriage’

Child/early marriage refers to any marriage of a child younger than 18 years old, in accordance to Article 1 of the Convention on the Right of the Child (CRC, 1989). CRC defines a child as someone who is ‘below the age of eighteen’. According to United Nation International Children’s Emergency Fund & Child worker in Nepal, “The literal meaning of child marriage is the marriage of two children of different sexes who are under age according to the legal system. And the bride- grooms are not physically, mentally and economically capable to handle a marriage situation.” (UNICEF & CWIN, p.1 (n.d.). In another word child marriage is the practice in which the parents of two small children arrange a future marriage. These children are not allowed to meet each other until the wedding ceremony is performed at their age of maturity, generally known as ‘gauna’. The definition of child varies from country to country and culture to culture with national and local Act and legal age of marriage. . In some cultures this age often falls even before the onset of their puberty. Early child marriage also includes unmatched marriage means the marriage of a very young girl with a very old man. In some case an elderly woman is married with a young boy.

“Child marriage and early marriage have been used in many issues without showing any difference (synonymously). Early marriage is the practice of giving away girls for marriage at the age of 11, 12, or 13 after which girls start producing children. It is prevalent among certain ethnic groups in Asia and Africa” (Human Rights, 2005, p.17). The Inter-African Committee (IAC) on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children has defined child marriage which is carried out below the age of 18 years and before the girl is physically, physiologically and psychologically ready to shoulder the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing as early/child marriage. In some cases children are promised as husband and wife even before they are born. There is even practice of getting embryo married among people of Bajura District, Nepal. In these cases two pregnant women have formalities of marriage with the hope that the child born of one would be male and that of the other female (Shah, A, (2014, p. 5). This practice is common in other major and ethnic communities too.

FORWARD (2014) mentions, “Child marriage can also be referred to as forced marriage where marriage is conducted without the valid consent of one or both

parties and is a marriage in which duress - whether physical or emotional - is a factor". Child marriage constitutes a forced marriage in recognition that even if a child appears to give their consent, anyone under the age of 18 is not able to make a fully informed choice whether or not to marry. In many developing countries like Nepal, it is common for girls to be coerced into early marriage.

Sagade, J, (2005, p. xxvi) has raised a question regarding the term 'Child Marriage.' According to her, the term 'child marriage' must be understood in its proper prospective as the two words are quite contradictory. Marriage is a formalized relationship with legal standing between an individual man and woman in which sexual relations are legitimized. Obviously, one would accept such a relationship only between two consenting adults. How can a child be party to a marriage s when he/she unable to understand the nature and consequences of it? How can they comply with the responsibilities that follow such marriage when they are unaware of them? Is it then correct to use the term child marriage?

Mishra, S. (1994, p.16) similarly, speaks about the relationship between man and woman who constitute the center of the social unit of family. "Early marriages were no doubt in vogue in ancient days. Socio-politic and religious circumstances compelled a father to have his daughter married as early as possible. In the two hymns of Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda unanimously inform that the marriageable girl finds her own partner from amongst the men. This was generally possible when the girl was matured."

Children's act of Nepal (1992) had defined any individual below 16 year of age is regarded as child. But Marriage Act is different. In Nepal, the recent 11th amendment of New Civil Code (1963) has set 20 years age to be completed by both boys and girls for registration marriage and in case of parental consent marriage, 21 years and 18 years completion for boys and girls respectively.

In case of violation of the law there is enough punishment to be adopted by both of the family and other associated components. Yet, despite the amendment it seems the legalities concerning the ages of marriage is accepted merely as part of literatures and not to put to set in practice.

Laws against child marriage have existed for a long time in Nepal. It is recognized as an offence against the state. However, the penalties in breaking these laws are not well implemented. Marriages of children at an early age are against human rights and girl child marriage is gender-based discrimination and abuse of human right. UNICEF & FWLD, 2007 (Forum for women law and development).

1.3 Early/Child Marriages in the Overall Context (Worldwide)

One third of girls in the developing world are married before the age of 18 and 1 in 9 are married before the age of 15. In 2010, 67 million women of 20-24 age groups around the world had been married before the age of 18. If present trends continue; 14.2 million girls will be married before their 18th birthday over the next decade. That's an average of 14.2 million girls each year. The incidence of child marriage has been falling in most parts of the world. The five countries with the highest observed rates of child marriages below the age of 18 are Niger, Chad, Mali, Bangladesh and Guinea. The top three countries with greater than 20% rates of child marriages below the age of 15 are Niger, Bangladesh and Guinea. (ICRW, 2010).

A European country Turkey has high ratio of child marriage. In the traditional city of Turkui called Arkalai, there is a trend of early marriage practice which begins at a very young age, mostly at 14 years of age. In some extreme cases, girls are found to be married as early as 10 years. It was stated that if any girl remained unmarried till the age of 16 or 18, she is considered as private property to be kept in a locker meaningless and useless without proper utilization (Kafle, M.(2008).

Despite a shift towards later marriages in many parts of the world, in the countries of South Asia a majority of girls still marry before age 18, 65% in Bangladesh, 57% in Nepal, 54% in Afghanistan, and almost 50% in India. In South Asia in 2005, 48% (nearly 10 million) of young women were married before the age of 18. The highest incidence of early marriage is found in south Asia, where 70-75 percent of women are married by age 18. Although uncommon in most developed countries, early marriage is still prevalent in developing countries around the world. The practice is highest overall in West Africa and in south and Central Asia, although rates vary considerably from country to country. In Bangladesh, Cameroon, Mali, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Uganda, more than half of today's 20-24-year-old women married before turning 18.

(ICRW, 2003). In Uganda, marriage is common among young girls. Many girls in Uganda marry by age 15. Western Uganda's age at first marriage has been 17.4, 18.2 and 17.3 for the years 2003, 2004 and 2005, respectively (Prosper, 2013).

Nagi, B.S. (1993, p. 30) mentions that in India the problem of child marriage is very complex in nature. "Religious foundations and considerations are greatly responsible for child marriage." It has become more or less a custom and the people seem to be of the opinion that they have to follow this custom due to deep rooted socio—cultural traditions. This is high in Rajasthan where males and females are getting married in their childhood. She argues that child marriage cannot be curbed merely by legislation but a correct interpretations, awareness and voluntary efforts can be effective to overcome the widespread socio-cultural problem of child marriage.

1.4 Girl Child Marriage and Health Consequences

Although, the average age at marriage has been increased and adolescent fertility rates have declined worldwide, early marriage of girls is still quite prevalent as a worldwide phenomenon. According to World Health Organization, the years 20--30 is the safest period for child bearing and in such case there is very less chance of decreasing maternal mortality rate. Medical research indicates the onset of menstruation precedes the achievement of skeletal maturity even 2 years after menarche. Developing countries like Nepal are therefore entering the three of the obstetrics' at risk –categories of "too early", "too close" and "too many" than those who marry late. (UNICEF (1993, p. 55).

Child brides are likely to become pregnant at an early age and there is a strong correlation between the age of a mother and maternal mortality. A nationally representative household survey showed early marriage especially among girls is prevalent in Nepal. "One of the prime causes of it is the parental wish and second followed by personal desire" (Nepal adolescent and youth survey, 2011).

The marriage role of a woman in Nepal is considered to be that of a wife and mother. Parents (and extended families) regard it as their duty to ensure that their daughters are married before a certain age-usually determined by the culture. The Sexual intercourse generally begins at 16 years of age. And if these young women start child

bearing means that they are exposed to the danger of pregnancy and child birth before their bodies are fully mature. Reality seems far from what the legal provisions have ensured. Majority of the girls are neglected, humiliated, oppressed and exploited in their everyday life. Social attitude toward girls are still regressive. Majorities of girls are denied care, education, health services, recreation and other basic services right from the birth. “In Nepal about 21 percent of women aged 15-19 are either pregnant or at least have one child.” (UNICEF, 2006, p.157).

Jana Swasthya Sarokara (2068, p.14) suggests that mental preparation for both couple is essential to be married. Marriage is a sensitive and big responsibility. It might change your friend’s life also. It should be based only on full faith with the partner. “Each of the couple should ask her/himself whether it is the right age for marriage.” ? The article suggests whether the couple would be is ready to spend their rest life with another partner? What would be the responsibility of a boy or girl to have a desired life after marriage and about the relationship brings other new members in the family (babies). Right age of mother to have baby and if there is joint family more relationships will be there to obey and adjust.

UNICEF (2009, p.32) has mentioned “Maternal deaths related to pregnancy and childbirth is an important cause of mortality for girls aged 15-19 worldwide, accounting 70,000 deaths per year. The younger the girl when she becomes pregnant, the greater there is the health risk. Girls who give birth before the age of 15 are five times more likely to die in childbirth than women in their twenties. If a mother is under is under the age of 18, her infant’s risk of dying in its first year of life is 60 percent greater than that of an infant born to a mother older than 19.

UNFPA (2014) mentions girls aged 10-14 is five times more likely to die in pregnancy or childbirth than girls aged 20-24. And girls aged 15-19 are twice more likely to die than girls aged 20-24. Every day in developing countries, 20,000 girls below age 18 give birth. Nine in ten of these births occur within marriage or a union. This has consequences on the health, education, employment and rights of an untold millions of girls.

1.5 Parental Discriminatory Attitudes and Behavior (Socialization)

Gender discriminatory attitudes are common world wide mainly in developing countries. Among Arabians they say why the silence? Has a girl been born? This goes on to indicate that the birth of a girl child is not welcomed. According to Korean beliefs a girl lets you down twice once at birth and second time when she is married (UNICEF, 1990).

A news in recent days that a husband had killed a 15 days nursing mother in case that she gave birth to 3 daughters continuously for three years and no son. The murder husband Rai by caste, was also the priest of his religion expressed his misery in front of the neighbors that he had no fate for son. In places where sex-selective abortions are not possible, such sex-based discriminatory stories immediately after birth are common in rural Nepal. One can imagine the extreme sexiest attitude and behavior of a father (Adhikari, R. (2015, p.13).

CWIN, (2003, p. 89) in a research findings shows family is essential because children feel secured, closer and affectionate with family. A research conducted by Child workers in Nepal showed the significance of family to young child. Majority of the children thought highly for family environment. They thought that those who have close family ties are safer than children who have problems and conflict within the family and also that unattended young children are more vulnerable to abuse.

Kafle, Mana (2066, p.236) mentions people used to believe that children learn things after birth but it is stated in scientific research that inside the fetus children learn. A research carried out by a group of scientist in London claimed that a fetus develops its power of memory and listening as early as the 20th week of gestation. Even interesting and important is that learning of children is influenced by parental thinking. Like the consumption of gross food, beverages and other the child receives the thinking process of mother and fathers also. It is internalized in the offspring through mothers/parents thought process.

Thousands of years prior to today's age, it is mentioned in the ancient holy scriptures of the Sanatan (Eternal) Dharma. Today, it is recognized that many events of great significance to the development of the child take place before birth in uterus. In order

to understand the patterns of child development fully, one must understand the factors that positively or negatively affect child development even before he or she is born.

Swami, K. (2005) has given a detail of scientific reason about such thought process in his book 'Science of Thought'. He mentions upon viewing any object through our eyes, the inverted image of the object is reflected upon the retina and transmitted via the optic nerve to the visual center in the brain and it for vision. The brain cells starts to grow during three and half months of intrauterine life. Therefore the baby receives not only nourishment from the mother but it also absorbs all the emotions and thought process of the mother. If the mother undergoes mental worry, wrong and gender-bias thought process or any form of trauma it will have a direct impact on the mental and physical development of the growing fetus. Therefore, in the process of desiring a mentally and physically healthy baby intervention should be made at the earliest possible level accompanied by a through follow up throughout the process of child birth up to a minimum of 15 years after the child is born.

R. W. Connell (1995-2005) mentions the new-born child has a biological sex but no gender. As it grows older parents and families provide strings of prescriptions, templates or methods of behavior appropriate to the one sex or the other. Family /home are the primary institution of the socialization from where a child learns about the norms, culture, values and religion of the family or of that community. Each individual is born into a culture-a set of shared ideas about the nature of reality, the nature of right and wrong, the evaluation of what is good and desirable and the nature of good and desirable versus the bad and undesirable. Certain major agencies of socialization are notably the family, the media the peer groups and the school –make their expectations and models and provide the settings in which they are appropriated by the child.

Talking families (2006, p.43) shows the significance of home and family. The home is a place where a child first learns to relate to others, communicate and explore the world around. Childhood experiences have a lasting influence in life. Parents continue shaping their children's' gender roles through the kinds of jobs they assign for them around the house. In talking families, the first school of children is home. A family is like the manufacturing unit of an industry. Before a product goes into the market, all the different components and parts are assembled and tested in the unit.

“Human beings are a product of both nature and nurture. While the former cannot be changed since our genes are inherited, the latter certainly is the primary responsibility of parents.”

Witt, S. D. (1997) finds parents as strong socializing influencers and they provide the first and most deeply experienced socialization experiences. As children grow and develop the gender stereotypes they are exposed to at home be reinforced by other elements in their environment and are thus perpetuated throughout childhood and on into adolescence. Researchers believe that parents who have clear moral convictions are according to raise children without gender discrimination because as parents they live according to their moral beliefs and prioritize them in their daily life. In other words it is gender-egalitarian way of brought up. However, most of the modern day parents give more importance to competition and survival rather than to the cultivation of ideal characteristics.

Thapaliya, Harinder (2002, p. 10) agrees gender socialization in the early years is a key factor. In most countries girls and boys are raised from the beginning to take on very different roles and to exhibit different characteristics. In girl’s child marriage, lack of education and drop out by girls during school are common problems. Some research based issues are presented as a solution to the problem. “In some cases the expected behaviors of girls may make them more likely to succeeding in schooling than boys, in other cases the expectations of girls preclude their real participation in education. In other words, while girl’s participation in education is important it needs to be addressed within the context of each country.

Gender discrimination starts from within the home from family and the parents before the baby is born. Socialization of girls is tending to be oriented toward the nurturance and responsibility. Girls are pressured with not to be involved with and connected to others. Girls are taught to be wives and mothers only. Especially in rural communities girls are still deprived of educational opportunities and nutritious food (P. S. Rakesh, (2011, p. 2).

Singh, G.C, S. (1997, p. 21) describes about the “Predominantly patriarchal Nepali society which has conditioned its girls/women to be non-aggressive submissive, soft-

spoken, tolerant and even timid, while men are programmed to be aggressive, bold, dominating and even violent. Violence is a by-product”.

Girls are still considered a burden to parents and family while the birth of a boy is celebrated. Women experience intense societal and familial pressure to produce a son and failure to do so, often carries the threat and consequences of violence or abandonment in their marriage. Women may have many pregnancies until a boy is born—putting their own health at risk. Son preference is a global phenomenon that has existed throughout history. This is notably the case in a number of South East Asian countries primarily India, China, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea. “The tradition of patrilineal inheritance in many societies coupled with a reliance on boys to provide economic support, to ensure security in old age and to perform death rites are part of a set of social norms that place greater value on sons than daughters. In addition a general trend towards declining family size occasionally fostered by stringent policies restricting the number of children people are allowed to have is reinforcing a deeply rooted preference for male offspring. As a result, women are often under immense family and societal pressure to produce sons.” The desire this way to have a son also contributes to the neglect or postnatal death of innumerable girls who are born but not desired ((WHO, 2011).

Parents are found to be more interfering in daughter’s individual decisions like interaction with boys, choice of partner and marriage time than the sons. It has been reported that if daughters marry with low caste boy, parents never accept both daughter and son-in law but in case of son the situation is different. Though parents exasperated with son they accept both son and daughter- in –law (Pokheral, 2007). Parents relate daughter’s issue with their prestige (Kafle, 2008). In Nabalparashi District of Nepal, a 23 year old husband wick by sir name has killed his 21 year old wife in charge that she brought less dowry and mainly she could not give birth of a son (Sharma, N. et al, (2015 , p. 5).

***There is an alarming example of Traditional Practice of Gender Differences by
Parents/family***

In Daud VDC of Doti District, Nepal, there is a trend the family in which the first male child is born; it is celebrated by enjoying a delightful feast together with the villagers. Human activists, teacher, government officials, representatives from the political parties, social workers etc participate in this ceremony to enjoy the program. The family having male child for the first time is supposed to provide goat/baby goat to the whole villagers and the family receives blessings from these people. Not only this, this family also invites Deude artist from outside in the village and organize a week-long special dance and songs program to add the welcome of a male child first time in their family.

Interesting again is, only males/fathers are blessed but mother of the male child is denied to participate in the program. Along with this, in the village any woman who is conceived first time is pressurized and tortured by different ways in order to have a male child. The woman development officer was surprised to see such a discriminatory action with her own eyes which was a dis-belief for her and she informed to Kantipur newspaper about it. In the Bhuwo festival of Deude village, there is trend to organize feast by providing goat to the villagers by those family who is blessed by male child first time. In far western region, they also organize feast during the 6th day of the birth of a male child. Although there is no mention in the religion about the feast program but it has continued though tradition so nobody has succeeded to stop it. According to one social worker, Tej Dumrel, besides feast, they collect plenty amount of money to organize festival. Being as a staff of NGO, also she said “I supported and gave donation because it was a tradition though against gender” (Shahi, M. (2014, p.5).

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Time and again we have seen the vicious cycle that families get trapped into as children are married off at an early age depriving them of their right to education and ruining their chances for better career opportunities. Educationist and researcher dealing with children's issues have done a lot of studies and research on child labor, education, child rights and human rights of children and women but the issues of child

marriage mainly in rural part of Nepal still needs to be researched and prioritized as the serious issue of human rights of children and gender- based discrimination of the girl child.

The issue of child marriage is multidimensional and also of seriousness in the area where child marriage still being practiced on the basis of gender-based discrimination of children especially of the girl child. Child marriage is a social malady and practice. According to oxford dictionary, malady means disease or illness and malaise is a general feeling of illness or low spirit or a long standing problem that is difficult to identify. The meaning of practice is the actual doing of something rather than the theories about it or the usual way of doing something.

Incidence of such actions and the muted response to them are symptomatic of a deep malaise in society where women are by passed in any decision making including the right to be the master of their bodies. It is mentioned in the Editorial news. (The Kathmandu Post, 2012, p.6). Despite efforts to discourage it for years child marriage is a harsh reality in Nepal. It is found that child marriage has traumatic effects specially the girls who face higher risk of maternal mortality, poor physical as well as mental health, discontinuation of education and career building opportunities, still birth or the poor health of the child and violation of series of fundamental human rights including reproductive health rights (World Vision, 2014).

Though child marriage leads to violation and deprivation of child rights for both sexes it is more so with regard to girls as it also leads to their sexual abuse and exploitation. The main goal of this 21st century and the millennium development are to achieve an equal and just society (UN, MDG, 2013.) How can there be an equal and just society until and unless our children are treated well and not deprived of their rights? Further they often do not have information about sex and child birth. Once married girls are responsible for carrying out domestic chores of which they have little knowledge. Often they suffer from domestic violence and sexual abuse. Due to their young age, they are incapable of negotiating with their life partners on all counts including sex. They are likely to become widows at a young age. Thus child marriage makes them slaves. In spite of having such severe long-term consequences on the life of young girls, the practice of child marriage is still justified in the name of safe future, religion

and morality. Millions of girls are married of at an early age not only without their consent but also even against their wishes or by force (UNICEF, 2014).

Social scientists have by and large have addressed this issue from the demographic, population and health perspectives. Against this background in this research the problem of child marriage in Nepal has been attempted to analyze in socio-cultural perspective on the basis of Universal Human Rights Approach that children's and girl's/women's right are Human Rights. Critical analysis of any social problem from a human rights perspective is a challenge particularly in the developing countries and when it is connected to women's human rights. Arguments against universal application of human rights particularly women's human rights are raised in the name of religion, culture, social values and morality. The basis of such arguments lies in the patriarchal social structure and many times it takes form of paternalistic control over women with an emphasis on the need to provide protection to women. Following pertinent issues have been raised to carry out the present research work

Research Questions and Issues

1. What are the current trends of child marriage practice among Tamang ethnic communities with special focus on girl child?
2. What are the underlying causes and consequences of child marriage?
3. What are parental gender discriminatory related attitudes?

1.7 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the research work is to find out the underlying causes, its consequences and try to find out parental gender discriminatory related attitudes.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- 4 To find out current practice of child marriage and prevalence among Tamang ethnic communities with focus on girl child.
- 5 To identify the underlying causes and consequences of child marriage practices.
- 6 To find out parental gender discriminatory related attitudes

1.8 Rational/Justification of the Study

Child marriage has been made illegal since long time in Nepal but it still remains a major and prevalent social problem in the country. Moreover, neither the government nor civil society has shown appropriate responsibility in mounting serious efforts at combating child marriage. As a result, a vast proportion of society remains ignorant about the negative and harmful consequences of early child marriage on the health, growth and development of children, especially of the girl child.

UN Human Rights (1990, p.8) speaks about “Non-discrimination is an important principle of the convention; children shall enjoy all their rights without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child’s or his or her parent’s or legal guardian’s race, color, sex, language, religion.....birth and other status.” Likewise, of the various harmful traditional/ cultural and religious practices such as female genital mutilation, virginity test, foot-binding, female infanticide, dowry death, son preference and low social/religious status and superstitious beliefs for girls needed to be taken into consideration. Of these early marriages of children has been regarded as one of the serious problem in which majority of the children, especially girls must face (UN, Human Rights, 2005). Although, given in different names and titles girl child marriage is directly or indirectly associated with all these above mentioned harmful traditional practices.

CEDAW (1979) declares marriage before the age of 18 is recognized illegal and involving children in marriage who do not have the full maturity and capacity to act. Article 16 of CEDAW mentions “Marriage and family relations and measures to eliminate discrimination of women in matters relating to marriage and family relations, ensuring the right to marriage, free choice and consent, equal rights and responsibilities towards preventing child marriage.”

UNICEF (2001, p.22) has stated that, “The south Asian region has one of the highest incidences of gender-based violence in the world. This is symptomatic of the overall inferior status of women and girls and of the unequal power relations between genders that exist in the region.”

Similarly The constitution of Nepal (1990) and the interim constitution of Nepal (2007) has guaranteed the right to equality and provides that no discrimination shall be made against any citizen in the application of general laws on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe, ideological conviction, or, any of these.

According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), article 5 mentions child marriage is a violation of human rights of both sexes which mentions no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Pradhan, Gauri (1997, p.7) has mentioned that most of the crimes in the world have been targeted against women and children. Therefore one must realize that the crime against women and children is a crime against humanity. In Nepal as well, crimes against women and children are increasing every day. “Crime like rape, child prostitution, trafficking and child marriage----- are the incidents occurring in every nook and corner of the country almost every day.”

UN women and Beyond (2008, p.4) describes the importance of education and the sensitization of boys in their primitive and formative years as most significant factors and both these should be conducted through formal education system and informal settings through peer programs. “The term ‘gender’ refers to the set of social norms, practices and institutions that regulate the relations between women and men (gender-relations). Gender equality refers to the goal of achieving equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of men and women and boys and girls. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female.”

The International Conference on Population and Development ICPD (1994, Cairo from 5 to 13 September) had emphasized the direct links between reproductive health and Human Rights placing the concerns of women and the girl child at the center of the conference themes. It was also pointed out that early marriage and early pregnancy leading to high fertility and poor sexual and reproductive health hindered/ hampered especially the girl child from pursuing fully her education and employment opportunities. The conference further emphasized that there was a need to eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl child for example son preference which resulted in harmful and unethical practices as prenatal sex selection and female

infanticide. Respect for girls and women had to be installed like in boys from an early age.

Similarly, the I C P D's (1994) 'Plan of Action' had emphasized in the light of the dominant role religion plays in shaping the image of women in each society, so efforts should be made to remove misconception in religious teachings which reinforce the unequal status of women. It focused on the family-as the family being the basic institution from where gender biases emanate. Therefore a wide-ranging motivational campaigns should be launched to educate parents to value the worth of a girl child to eliminate such biases.

Laldas, A.K, et.al. (2014,p. 88) has discussed about the dimensions that though the interim constitution of Nepal (2007) has guaranteed the right of equality to women; however, discriminations and problems concerning women manifest themselves in a number of ways in Nepal. Of them, child marriage practice and gender-based violence are still followed widely in the country. He has added, "The notion of discrimination has its connection with the notion of human dignity and respect. The notion therefore, reflects the status of human value and self-respect in a society where he/she lives in broad sense, it is the additional concept that the characteristics of the people or community are also valued in the societies and construct the prejudices of dominances, denial, or restriction, and that leads to exclusion."

Subedi, Madusudana (2010 (2010, p.17) clarifies about literatures in modern days which mention the prevalence of child marriage during ancient Vedic period. There is scholarly debate also in this issue. "Several illustrations are found in the Vedic literatures that confidently prove that child marriage was not in practice during that era. In Vedic marriage, duty, liabilities and idealism have been highlighted for the conjugal life which is possible only after maturity. The incantation read during acceptance of bride's hand in marriage with ritualism and seven-footed (Sapta-padi) ceremony confirms that mutual understanding, love and help in service both should remain intact and favorable to each other."

Although literatures and other research cases have not shown high prevalence of child marriage in Tamang community in comparison to other major and ethnic communities, neither Tamang people themselves had talked about this issue as a

problem in their community. But in reality it is not so. Pokhael (2007), Kafle, (2008), had conducted earlier research in Tamang community can be its illustration, which was conducted in Ichangu Narayan VDC in Kathmandu (SNV/NEPAL). These studies showed high prevalence of arranged marriages of children of both sexes under the prescribed legal age of marriage. Similarly, there were growing trend of love and elope marriage at an early age among school going teen- age children. But the age of the girl at marriage and ratio significantly was found high compared to boys.

Another significant reason to work in this Tamang community in child marriage is because the issues of girl's/women's were raised by Tamang people themselves in the first international conference of their community (2002, December). This group also had formulated indicators of self-development of Tamang ethnic communities. Many agendas were presented. Of these, one was the cultural image and status of children which mentioned that women's positions are satisfactory in Tamang community but due to feudal Hindu patriarchal structure which has been associated with Tamang community and because of this the overall situation of women are low and weak and discriminated. On the agenda of social transformation of Tamang people in Nepal, it was mentioned the necessity of all round development including cultural spiritual development through holistic approach. Also added in the agenda was about the right and status of these children and women of Tamang community which needed to be made higher and be promoted on the basis of the international conventions like CEDAW, CRC and so on which Nepal has ratified. The nation therefore is supposed to work to fulfill the ratified laws.

Girls are not only married early, research study shows there are high ratio of boys also married at an early age due to several reasons in different communities in Nepal and it is also prevalent in Tamang community. This is an issue of violation of human rights of male child also. In Nepalese and other society where child marriage is practiced boys also are married early. So it might not be the only issue of girl child and sex-based discrimination but as a social malady and practice which have been existed since earlier times in different major and ethnic caste in Nepal in the name of socio-cultural tradition. In Tamang community also, most of the males are married early imbedded with several socio-cultural reasons. Thus, early marriage of boys is one reason creating situations to increase girl child marriage because it has been found in research that majority of people in different communities and in Tamang community

prefer and believe to have matured groom or son in law than daughter or daughter-in-law. So if not properly addressed against boys marrying early, it will definitely enhance girl child marriage to continue in the future.

Recently, a report was prepared by United Nations Emergency Fund for Women & World Hindu Federation, 2008 (UNIFEM & WHF) in the context of gender equality and discrimination against women entitled, “Value of Eternal Vedic religion, its code of conduct and study of religious scriptures.” It seems appropriate here to mention few lines from the above research.

This research work denies the prevalence of child marriage practice among both sexes in the Vedic period. It highlights and determines on the concept of equality among men and women, which are not new to Hinduism and which is believed to be the oldest religion in the world (5000 BC—1000 BC). The image of the ‘Ardhanariswor’ shows half man and half woman as the original creator of mankind. To claim that the practice of child marriage is one of the stigmas of Hinduism is incorrect. Gender discrimination and child marriages were clearly not a part of the ancient Vedic system as can be understood from the writings of ancient texts. Therefore it was common for a girl to have the rights to choose her own husband by the means of ‘Swayambar’ in ancient times. Gender-based discrimination/violence and mal-practice like child marriage as a form of discrepancy that crept into society in the middle ages, ie, during Sutra/Smriti period—1000BC—1AD) and during Purana-Tantra period 1AD—1200AD) due to reasons like ignorance, poverty and lack of opportunities given to the girl child, mainly girls being stopped to receive education from Gurukul system. Modern literatures also mention one of the prominent factors of beginning child marriage is the foreign invasion to India and on Hinduism. Literatures mention child marriage is prevalent in different major and ethnic caste like Brahmin Chhetri, Newar, Serpa, Magar, Tamang and Rai. Data reveals that in ethnic communities like-Dom, Chamar, Kurmi, Lodha, Paswan, Gupta,Bajjiya, Kalawar, Parsi, Mauriya and Tharu communities are being victims of child marriage practice. The practice is widespread in Nepal, which can be identified from the National statistics (Anmol, A. (2014 , p. 7).

Child marriage practice is not just restricted to Hindu Brahmins and Chhetris but also practiced by the ethnic communities in Nepal as consequences of mix match of cultures among people living within the same society. In the words of Prof Srinivas, it is called Sanskritization (Srinivas, M.N. (1952).

Gole, Mohan (2071, p.56) accepts that “lot of other religion and culture has effected to wedding system of Tamangs. A tradition called ‘Four daam’ is essential in Tamang original marriage. Putting vermin powder (Sindur) and other formalities like kanyadan/ Jegga process is an adoption from Hindu influence.”

The Tamang people of IchanguNaroyal VDC, nearest to Kathmandu believe in the ‘Kanyadaan system of girls’. Of the various causes of child marriage in their community, traditional religious belief was found to be one significant cause. So study mentions that some of the Tamang family even adopted girl child in order to marry her off early or before menstruation to receive ‘Punya’ or spiritual/religious merit (Kafle, M. (2008).

1.9 Organization of the Study

Organization refers how the research work is organized. The whole study has been organized into seven major chapters which are as follows:

First chapter is as the introductory section of the study which mainly deals with background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, general and specific objectives, rational and limitation of the study.

Chapter second is review of literature. The review section being a bit larger has been divided into different sections to make convenience for reading. The sub-heading of the review are:

Historical review: The beginning is with historical review of child marriage in Nepalese context, focus with girl child. It has also dealt the Vedic Hindu traditional/religious discourse in relation that how this issue is associated in the history with child marriage.

Current status of child marriage in Nepal

Causes: Then it is followed by causes of child marriage, in the major and ethnic caste based violence on the basis of humanity and equality etc are included.

Parental attitudes and behavior (socialization) towards children: The issues of gender attitudes and child marriage have been presented to have a short glimpses of parental attitudes towards children into Smiriti/ Purana age (1000AD—1200 AD). And some

relevant religious/spiritual discourses based on the literatures are mentioned in this part.

Feminist perspective: Some feminist versions and spiritual discourse on the perspective of gender discrimination have been included.

Complete Human Being (Androgynous character /Image of Ardhanarishwor (Half man and half woman/androgynous) and the ten essential human qualities to be adopted by each individual has been stated in chart also..

Other causes of child marriage

Negative/harmful consequences: for children with focus on girls/women as a result, the increasing trend of early pregnancy and motherhood and its complications has been mentioned. Chapter second also contain about nineteen interesting research based case studies and real event of child marriage practiced obtained from abroad and different Districts of Nepal at the end of literature review. These cases have dealt the trend, underlying cause and negative health impact for girl child. The Districts are namely Africa, yamen and from Nepal,—Bajura, Bangulung, Banke, Pyuthan, Sindhupalchok, Mugu, Gorkha, Dolakha, Chitwan, Sarlahi and Rautahad. Concluding remarks from the review section and conceptual frame /theoretical frame work of the research has been presented.

Chapter three is followed by brief back ground and description of the people of the research area. Demographic description and little relevant socio-cultural description of the respondents have been presented in the table. It has tried to find out about brief history of Tamang ethnic caste in Nepal, their traditional and socio-cultural/religious aspects and the marriage system of Tamang.

Chapter four deals with research methodology and it is followed by sample size and sampling procedure through a planned and systematic way. Sampling design, descriptions of the sample, primary data collection methods, research tools and methodological limitation is stated.

Chapter five describes with the concept, practice and prevalence of child marriage practice of four VDCs among Tamang ethnic community of Nepal. It includes concept about marriage among Tamang people, age at marriage and 17 empirical case studies of the research area have been presented. Of them, female 9 case studies for

female and 8 for male are mentioned. The cases of male and female respondents, married earlier in life, vary in age, maintaining a 10 year gap for each case. The purpose of age gap is to analyze gender-based discrimination in household level parental discriminatory attitude as a result of the existing socio-cultural trend in their community from the earlier period to till now.

Chapter six deals with the underlying causes, consequences and awareness about child marriage practice. It includes socio-cultural/religious believe and gender-based attitudes in child marriage, health issues of girls/women, causes for not preferring child marriage and awareness of media and respondents suggestion to remove child marriage practice.

Chapter seven contains summary and conclusion of the research. There are key recommendations for the concerned groups. The suggestions are for the future practitioners and researchers. Besides these, appendices and references also have been incorporated at the end of the research work.

1.10 Limitation of the Study

Mainly this research study focuses only on traditional and socio-cultural aspects of Tamang communities of Ramehhap District of Nepal. The main thrust of the present study is to explore the underlying causes of child marriage and its consequences on the life of entire Tamang people where they live and work. It has tried to explore the trend of child marriage practice among both sexes (male and female). The study mainly focuses on the situation of girl child marriage and its negative health consequences in the particular community. It had also tried to find out the parental level gender discrimination among children. This study is based on only four village development committee (VDCs) of Ramechhap Districts. So findings may not be fully generalized in national level.

The total Tamang universe of four VDCs is 3,786. The present study has been based on the responses of a total of 440 people as the total number of sample from the entire Tamang universe of four VDCs of Ramechhap District. Of them there are 300 male and female Tamang householders, married at early age selected for structured interview. They vary at their ages, earlier from 15 years to till 90 years of ages, representing from four VDCs, Okhrene, Sukajor, Bhaluwajor and Ramechhap of Ramechhap district. There are more other 140 people associated with this research. Of

these, 40 participants as key informants and 100 participants from focus groups. They were interviewed and had wider discussions, representing, local concerned authorities, various government officials and human right activists. This way the total number of sample from the total Tamang universe of four VDCs is 440 in number.

Child Marriage Hot Spots

Rank	Country Name	% girls married before 18
1	Niger	75
2	Chad	68
3	Central African Republic	68
4	Bangladesh	66
5	Guinea	63
6	Mozambique	56
7	Mali	55
8	Burkina Faso	52
9	South Sudan	52
10	Malawi	50
11	Madagascar	48
12	Eritrea	47
13	India	47
14	Somalia	45
15	Sierra Leone	44
16	Zambia	42
17	Dominican Republic	41
18	Ethiopia	41
19	Nepal	41
20	Nicaragua	41

* Child marriage prevalence is defined as the percentage of women 20-24 years old who were married or in union before age 18. UNICEF State of the World's Children, 2013 – Web site: <http://www.icrw.org/child-marriage-facts-and-figures>

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Historical Review of Child Marriage

In order to locate and identify the problem in any research work, it is essential at first to have a literary assessment of the matter to be dealt with. It helps to avoid the possibility of duplication in research works and gives the work a literary genuineness. Actually, it seems a bit illogical to pass away judgment on the present without assessing the previous situation. Pokharel, R. (2066, p.253) expresses his idea that, “The literature review is based on the assumptions that knowledge accumulates, that we learn from and build on what others have done.” Hence, the importance of the review of literature in any research work needs to be emphasized. Therefore in order to maintain the similar pertinent, concerned literatures and previous national and international research work in the related issues have been tried to thoroughly review. Before starting to the real topic of child/early marriage it seems it is appropriate to have a brief look into the past historical backgrounds about marriage age in Nepal to till the present context.

Historical Review

Along with historical review, some little more information with possible illustration from the Vedic Hindu references (texts) has been tried to include in this research of the review part. There were several previous studies and literature mentioned in the review part of this study that claimed one of the significant reasons of child marriage was Vedic Hindu religion especially ‘Kanyadaan process’ of the virgin girl has been limited mainly with the Brahmin and Chhetri caste to receive heavenly merit (punya) in the name of religious spiritual belief.

“According to the country’s New Civil Code (1963) (NewMulki Ain), of 1854, marriage of a five year girl was legally permissible in Nepal. By 1976, the Mulki Ain (MA) stipulated that a girl must be sixteen if she was marrying with her guardian’s consent and eighteen if she was marrying without it”, (Lazima., B-O, 2001,p. 231). The appropriate age for marriage has shifted from five to sixteen for Nepali girls within a period of about 122 years). MA of 1854 suggests that children under the age of 12 were considered as certainly most needing protection, care and assistance from

adults, especially women. But in 1952 versions of MA remain more or less the same except for the following statement at the end showing gender differentiation, “If it is a son put him in government job when he is sixteen; if it is a daughter, request the government for Rs, 25 to 30 for her wedding after she reaches 11 and marry her with a person from the right caste”, MA, 2009v.s., no, 2:, 9).

The Mulki Ain, of 1854 was certainly inspired by Hindu orthodoxy, the influence of which has progressively increased after the Shah dynasty came into power in 1768. Hence the Hindu belief that parents earn dharma (punya) by giving the gift of a virgin girl before her puberty in what is known as Kanyadaan in Hindu weddings suggests that this belief may very well have been the guiding force behind the age boundaries set for marriage. Another silent part of this in Ain was for the age of bride groom, so it was not uncommon for men in their 30s or 40s to marry young girls of ten years or even younger till 1930s decades. For example (Sharma, 1997, Swasthaniko katha) a mythical Hindu story, the text of which is read daily for a month every year in Hindu homes even today includes the Story of Goma who was married at the age of seven to a seventy year old man.

There is some evidence in news-paper writing and life histories that suggest that marriage is viewed as an inappropriate event in childhood and child marriage was cast as a social evil to be uprooted. An editorial from the Gorkhapatra from 1959 V.S., (1902 A.D.), is particular interesting here to get insights into how certain critics viewed the practice of child marriage.

Since there are no auspicious dates for weddings after the month of Asad, there are many weddings these months. With no regard to religious texts and driven by the belief that marriage should be held before the age of eight, the practice of marrying as early as possible is prevalent these days. This practice is particularly prevalent among the Brahmans. But if we think through properly, this was not in the case in the old times under our Hindu dharma. It is learnt from the religious texts that because the Brahmins were learned, their sons and daughters had superior ability to learn and remember teachings than those of other castes; and they would according to the religious texts enter into Brahmacharya Ashram (students life characterized by celibacy and full devotion to studies) at the early age of eight and marry at sixteen and enter into Grihasthaashram (family life). Chhetris used to initiate learning at the age

of ten and learn until they were twenty before starting a married life. Similarly, Vaishyas used to learn between the ages of twelve and twenty-four and then only enter into family life.

It is sad that today parents start making preparation for wedding when their children have not even been weaned completely. This practice particularly harms employment possibilities. In addition, being with women in an early age makes men weak; the children created from their weak sperms will be very weak too and they will have short life. Because the parents marry their sons in their childhood, many do not like their wives when they become older and marry another woman. A home with two wives will never be managed well.

Even if men managed to be educated somehow, women will not get this chance. Such uneducated wife will be managing homes. Since children interact with mothers more than with fathers, they will not receive good training from mothers who are not trained themselves. Napoleon, the founder of the European civilization said that mothers must be educated to develop the country. Since the dispersion of education is equally reaching the Brahmins, Chhetris, Vaishyas and Sudras today, everyone should initiate learning at the age of 5, study until 20 and then only marry. And women must study from the age of 8 to 15 and then only marry. This nation will be developed with such a practice', (Gorkhapatra, 1959, v.s.).

The above critic at the beginning of the twentieth century has claimed child marriage to be against the teaching of Hindu religious texts that emphasize a significant period of learning and enter into family life.

This periodization of the life course into 4 neat stages under the philosophy of Varnasram in Hinduism is not found in the Mulki Ain of 1854 which is claimed by scholar to be influenced by Hindu religious texts. This editorial is testimony to the prevalence of child marriage in Nepal at the beginning of the twentieth century.

UJELI, a documentary drama on child marriage was produced and televised in Mid 1990s with support from UNICEF. It was successful in drawing the attention of media and hence contributed to the debates of children's rights, the states responsibilities

towards children and the civil society's role in educating the public through advocacy and right- based development activities.

Auto biography of Chabilal Pokharel, similarly points to the conspicuous presence of child marriage in Nepal ((Pokharel, 2035). In the text, it is mentioned that, a 76 year old Brahmin informant who had spent his childhood in the eastern district in Ramechhap, said the following: I was married when I was 11 but girls used to be married when they were 7 to 9 years old. Parents used to get worried about how to marry off their daughters if they were 11 or 12.

The other narratives from a Rai man and Tamang woman from the same period suggests that child marriage was not a practice found only among the Bahuns, Chhetri and high caste Newars but also among other ethnic caste(groups). As information on child marriage is seriously lacking, it is difficult to say to what extent it was prevalent (and still is) among various groups.

A similar situation where older brides were not available for marriage reported in 1930 when the author looked for a second wife for himself (Pokharel, 2035 vs., 45-46). He ended up marrying girl of 10 years of age when he was 32 years old. Many of the elderly informants who had spent their childhood in different parts of Nepal during the first three decades of twentieth century also talked about the difficulty of finding brides because daughters typically were married off between the ages of six and 10. For example, a seventy one year old (71) Tamang woman who grew up in the Sindhupalchok in central Nepal said the following, "Brides could not be found even if you looked in ten villages. Therefore when daughters were six or seven they will be short out and their parents would marry them off. But boys would have to sometimes wait until they were ten or twelve because of the difficulty in findings brides. I was married when i was 5 to a 12 year old boy." The prevalence of child marriage up to 1930s was also noted in a brief news piece entitled Bal-bidhuwahaaruko Sankhya (The number of child widows) that appeared in the Gorkhapatra of (1994 v.s./1937 A.D) (The above stated history of age at marriage for children/girls is based on (Onta-Bhatta., L., 2001).

In our society overall communal differences have been found regarding the subject of child marriage. There is significant difference in the concept of sex equality between the rural based population and urban dwellers. It is a socially and culturally accepted concept that women ought to marry earlier than men. According to the 2058

population census in the rural sector the average age for marriage for males was found to be 22.5yrs and that of female only 19.3yrs. Similarly, the age of marriage among urban males was found to be 24.5yrs and that of females 20.6yrs only. The population census clearly shows that girls get married at a decidedly younger age in comparison to boys. The earlier 2018 census shows the average age of marriage as 19.4 years for males and 15.1 years for females. This rate has increased over the years. The population survey of 2001 has shown the average age of marriage as 19.5 years for females. The notable point here is that this average of 19.5 years as the age of marriage was already seen among males as early as 2018 and has only recently been achieved by the female population. A survey conducted in the Rautahad district Nepal among 50 married females, majority were found married at 10-12 years of age and only 2-3 had passed SLC examination. The women were provided informal classes and it was known that the popular 'gauna' system was a cause of child marriage. Most of the parents felt safe thinking even the marriages of children are early but till 'gauna' they would become matured. Advocate Gautam, N. who conducted the survey understood that almost all mothers think, "If daughters are more educated, they might have love and inter cast marriages which are serious issues of social prestige of the family in the village." (Rauniyar, R. (2007, p.7).

2.2 Current Status of Child Marriage in Nepal

Nepal is one of the ten countries to have high child marriage prevalence. Along with marriage, there is growing ratio of teen age pregnancy in different parts of rural Nepal and pregnant women have no hospital facility to have safe delivery. Nepal holds 8th position among the countries worldwide to have high prevalence of child marriage. African countries are in the front run to have high child marriage prevalence where Niger, Chad, Mali, Bangladesh, Guinea, Central African Republic, Mozambique and Nepal runs from first position to the eight spontaneously(ICRW, 2010).

Similarly, findings from Nepal Health Demographic Survey highlighted that 55 percent women aged 25-49 were married by the age of 18 in 2011 making the country second highest after Bangladesh where it is 66 per cent of the worldwide position and Nepal falls in 20th position for child marriage and 41 % girls in Nepal are married before 18 years of age (NDHS-2011).

According to 2068 census, one lakh, thirty eight thousands and fifteen Nepali children have been married under ten years of age. Of them, one lakh, fifteen thousand and one hundred fifty are girls. On the contrary, boys are only twenty two thousands eight hundred and sixty five in numbers which is five times more of the ratio of girls. In the 10-14 years age group, thirteen lakhs sixty three thousand one hundred and seven have been married. Of them, eleven lakh one thousand and eight hundred and eighty five are girls. Boys are two lakh sixty one thousand two hundred and twenty three in numbers to marry in the same 10-14 years age groups. Similarly, in the 15—19 years age group, forty three lakh forty thousand four hundred and ninety seven girls have been married (Anmol, A. (2014, p.7).

“According to the National Census Report prepared by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal, about 47 percent of the population shows their age at their first marriage is between 15-19 age groups (CBS 2001). In this age group 55.5 percent women got married and about 99 percent of the women got married before the age of 29. The same CBS report mentions that only one percent women got married after 30 years of age while most males got married after 35. The above statistics verifies that child marriage is still a day-to-day reality in Nepal, with girl children being subjected to it more than boys.” (UNIFEM & FWLD, 2007, p.1).

Child marriages are prevalent in the various development regions of the country. Statistics show that eastern, western and central region respectively have higher prevalence as compared to mid-western and far western region. The reproduction of the married adolescent girls aged 10-19 years (16 percent) were two and half times as compared to the married boys (16 percent) in the same age group (CBS, 2001. Among the 15-19 age group, 34 percent girls as against 12 percent of boys were married (Adolescent Health and Development in Nepal, 2005) (UNIFEM & FWLD 2007).

Study reveals that Nepal has the highest rate of early/child marriage in SAARC nations. A recent survey from Dhanusha district of Nepal reports about 96% girls are married under 16 years of age and this district comes as 9th for occurring higher ratio of early marriage. Along with the socio-cultural/religious and age old tradition, their parents due to fear of dowry marry their daughter early. Especially in the Terai, where the median age for girl's marriage is 16.2 and nearly 40% of girls' aged-15-19 years

are married. The practice of dowry as bride-price is very increasing in the Terrain region. However, about 35% of women who were married between the ages of 15 years and 19 years have 1-2 children and about 30 percent have 3-4 children. Unpublished research report from Aasam Nepal showed that 60percent female and 40percent male were married early than legal age in Danusha district. The prime reasons of early marriage were parents wanted to fulfill their responsibilities early and free them from any future anxiety. Similarly, a teacher commented that the villagers consider girls in the family as a "Family object to be given away to another family therefore, the earlier the better and cheaper, too." Related to this there is also the fears of "Things getting out of hand," some parents fear elopement and hence social stigmas if grown up girls are left unmarried at home. It will be lifelong problems for the parents if that happens. There is a kind of social pressure to have the girls married by the time they reached their first menstruation. If grown up girls are left unmarried, the neighbors grow skeptical and suspect there might be something wrong with the girls in the family (Yadav, B. 2004).

Among ethnic groups, there are different beliefs that emphasize the importance of early marriage. The Majhi and Danuwar communities insist on the early marriage of their daughters because the death rituals demand the presence of married daughters who need to present the Holy Spirit with a pot of homemade whiskey and a chicken for the peace of the departed souls. Between the indigenous Ghasiyan and Chidimar of Nepalganj, child marriage for both sons and daughters is a social norm; there can be no other way. A place called Belashapur in Nepalganga, among the ethnic communities of Chidimar (bird's hunter/killer), almost hardly one can see children unmarried above 10 years of age. There is a provision of marriage after completion of 20 years of age but it is found that 34% of marriage among total marriage carried throughout the year becomes early child marriage in Nepalese context.

Practices also differ from one community to other. Some custom exists among some ethnic groups in the Terai. There are cases of parents getting their very young sons married with much older girls. "To hire a "Chaura" (Cattle Herder) and "Haura" (Plougher) costs money, on top of which they might not be sincere in their work and might steal. A daughter-in-law, on the other hand, is free from such vices and is an unpaid worker" (Dhital, R. (2007).

The most notable data from Nepal is 83.1% of girls of some ethnic groups marry before they are 15 years old. Similarly, 79.6% Muslim girls marry before they are 15 years old and 69.7% girls in the mountainous and hilly regions marry at the age of 15 whereas 55.7% in rural Nepal marry before they turn 15. Early marriage is more common in Surkhet district of mid-western Nepal. One of the findings of the study is that higher caste girls do not feel the pressure to marry at a very young age and while they are in primary school. But when they reach 13 years, pressure is put on them especially if they fail their school exams. If they are doing well their parents will often let them continue with their studies. Lower caste girls have much higher pressure and less choice (UNICEF, 2003).

There were extreme variations in the age at marriage, a lowest of 13.7 years for the Terai district of Mohottari and a highest of 25.8 years in the mountain district of Mustang had been recorded. According to literatures however, child marriage is most common in Hindu Brahmin due to religious practice but in other communities child marriage is influenced by socio cultural and economic factors. Female education and urban residence are most influencing variables to influence and rise marriage age. (Population report, 2000). In Dom communities parents prefer their children's marriage at very early age to make their children's future safe (UNICEF, 1993).

The practice of child marriage is an obstacle nearly to every developmental goal: eradicating poverty and hungry (MDG 1) ; achieving universal primary education (MDG 2) ; promoting gender equality (MDG 3) ; promoting children's life MDG 4) ; and improving women's health MDG 5 and 6 (MWCD (2/14/2013).

2.3 The Previous Research Work on Early/Child Marriage

Several national and international research works have been carried out previously in issues related to child marriage and about socio-cultural aspects of Taman ethnic communities. A similar study on early child marriage practice was conducted in the Terai region of Nepal.

Yadav, Nabal Kishor. (2009). A study on the causes and consequences of child marriage in Dhanush-dham VDC of Dhanusha District in the Musher and other Dalit communities (Chamar, Dom, Yadav among Muslim) of Terrain region of Nepal, research report.

In the study in Mushar (Dalit and suppressed, commonly known as rat eaters) communities in Terai, it is mentioned that child marriage and dowry is common mainly in the so called lower and Dalit communities like Mushar, Chamar (untouchable), Dom, Yadav and among Muslim communities. Research has shown that 45 percent of the parents have married their children between 9-12 years of age. Of the married children, 56 percent were illiterate. Majority (58percent) of the parents/guardians married their son to increase domestic labor for home. But in case of daughter's marriage, dowry was the prime cause. They have a common thinking that if the girl is matured; the dowry would be high so only option is to give daughter as early as possible.

Kafle, Mana (2008) Child Marriage Practice among Tamang Communities of Lalitpur district in Ichangu, Narayan VDC, research report.

The research reveals prevalent of child marriage practices in Tamang community. Along with forceful child marriages governed by parents/guardians, there is increasing trend of love and elopement marriages, (these days common by the name of self-initiated marriage) among the school going teen age groups. Children themselves seem to be major insisting factors associated with such self choice marriages. The prominent causes were according to parent and local people, free life style and excess use of mobile phone. Majority of them demanded a strict, separate free and compulsory school for their children to start from government side.

Shrestha, Kalpana (2009) Child Marriage in Kumal Communities of Gorkha District, Nepal, research report.

A recent study in Gorkha district of Nepal within the Kumal ethnic communities shows that practice of child marriages are common in this group. Kumal community has common practice of child marriage than other ethnic groups. The overall age at marriage of males and females was 15-19 years. Three were 92 percent of respondents married under the Nepalese legal age. When analyzed on gender wise basis, 40 percent of the boys and 50 percent of the girls got married below the legal age prescribed by Nepalese law. The research also reported that 3 percent of the girls got married under the age of 10.

Shrestha in her findings shows that majority of school children made a love and elopement marriage and there was high ratio of such self-initiated early marriage among girls and boys. Among the respondents, 58 percent had arranged marriages governed by parents and 42 percent had love and elopement marriage.

The main causes of child marriage according to the versions of respondents in this community were imitation of elders, lack of education and lack of awareness. The children in self-initiated marriages were key factors associated with it. Focus group discussions explained main causes for child marriage as based on social tradition and superstitions. Parents of earlier days followed 'kanyadaan' process in which they washed the feet of their daughter before menstruation cycle and gave in marriage as Daan to earn heavenly merit (spiritual punya). There is an emerging trend of love and elopement marriage in the community. Of the married couple, 67percent had their first baby at 10-19 age groups.

UNIFEM & FWLD (2007) Child Marriage: Legal Responses, research report.

The research study had been conducted with an aim of identifying the causes of child marriage, its impact and the gaps and weakness in the prevalent laws on child marriage. Three districts Morang, Kathmandu and Dang were identified for conducting the study. Sample surveys with 100 early married women were conducted. Similarly, 69 key informants were interviewed (Government officials and human right activists). Of these groups, 94 percent of the key informants indicated their knowledge of the occurrence of child marriage in their communities. The prime causes included religious norms, values and cultural traditions as the key factors. Out of the 100 sample survey of women 62 percent said they were married as per religious practices where child marriage was not only accepted but also practiced as a very holy and sacred social function. During the research on a question as to the forces that protect child marriage, 48 percent of the key respondents viewed that it is religious belief. Along with these, economic hardships, illiteracy and mass unawareness among parents and marrying couples as to the adverse impact of child marriages were other major causes (UNIFEM & FWLD, 2007, p.1-75).

Thulo Parsel VDC of Kavre District(n.d.), research report.

The study was conducted to understand the socio-economic and cultural status of Tamangs and the place was selected because majority of the dwellers were Tamang.

The report mentioned Tamang people marry in early years. Marriage in Tamang community starts from 16 to 40 years. The research showed that young Tamang did not mind to marry elderly aged Tamang wife. Widow marriage also existed. And they married generally among within Tamang community. Eighty householders had performed marriage at below 20 years of age. It shows that the trend of marriage in Tamang community seems low till now.

Save the children, world vision and plan international (2012) child marriage in Nepal. (Because I am a girl, BIAAG), research report.

A survey research carried out in India, Bangladesh and Nepal focuses on child marriage as a key barrier to progress in child rights. The study brings out the influence of gender norms and their interplay with the aspirations of girls and their families. Some emerging trends like child-initiated marriages have also been unearthed by the study and these will require further investigations.

The research in the study mentions the role of children in child marriage. A relatively less discussed and understood reason for child marriage that emerged is self-initiated marriage by young boys and girls. A Nepali girl's opinion was endorsed by many others. The effect of education on marriage is nullified because girls in school initiate their own marriage. There were reports from all three countries of girls under 18 choosing to get married with or without parental consent. Two factors that were seen as contributing to the increase in self-initiating marriage, one is inter-mingling of girls and boys in school and the availability of mobile phones. These developments in recent years have increased the case of communication between girls and boys and facilitated self-initiated marriage (love and elopement).

Mueller, Ruth Dixon (2008), research report

The study indicates that boys and girls aged 14 and younger are almost universally too young for sexual, marital and reproductive transition while 15 to 17 years old often are too young depending on circumstances. This suggests that 18 years is an appropriate minimum age for marriage.

This report also summarizes of recent research carried by the education department of the World Bank on child marriage and education. It had three objectives, to measure the impact of child marriage on drop-outs, literacy and education attainment. The estimates are based on data from 60 demographic and health surveys. The regions with the highest overall incidence of child marriage today as estimated through the incidence of child marriage among women born between 1985-1989 is south Asia where 45.4 percent of women born between those early years were married below the age of 18 years. Sub-Saharan Africa is next with 38 percent of women born in those years marrying before the age of 18 years. The Middle East and North Africa regions come next with an incident of 31.5 percent followed by Latin America and the Caribbean East Asia and the Pacific and finally Europe and central Asia with substantially lower incidences.

Dahal, Dili R., & Thomas E, Fricke. (1998). Transformations in the Culture of Child Bearing and Fertility among Nepal's Tamang, research report.

The empirical data was largely the result of field research in two widely separated areas of Tamang communities one in the northern most VDCs of Dhading district and the other in Kathmandu, Bhudhanilkantha surrounding area. The researcher knew from the spotty record that however that the Tamangs and a number of other ethnic groups generally classed as Tibeto-Burman have consistently lower pre-transition fertility levels than those of Indo-Aryan groups (Macfarlane, 1976, Ministry of Health 1977, Ross, 1984, Fricke, 1994). Thus Fricke reported for Timling during 1981 field work that total cumulative fertility of women up to age 49 was 5.2 births compared to 6.2 births for women in the Terai (1949:91). Even looking at aggregate figures from Banister and Thapa (1981), one finds that fertility drops as one ascends from the Terrain through the hills to the mountain region of Nepal with 6.2 6.0 and 5.6 births respectively. These aggregate figures are of course not broken down by ethnicity but the increasing density of Tibeto-Burman representations in the population as one moves across these regions supports the general conclusion that their fertility is lower.

From the analysis with the Tamang that this is most likely due to the generally later ages at marriage characteristics of Tibeto-Burman groups in the past (more recently, increasing marriage ages related to education and the like has muddied this simple relationship between ethnicity and marriage). But the tie to system of kingship and

marriage is suggested by the almost identical averages ages at marriage (age 19) for Gurung and Tamang two groups that are distinguished by their cross-cousin marriage system.

2.4 Child Marriage in the Global and South Asian Context

South Asia accounts for almost half of all child marriages that occur globally the most of any region in the world. Child marriage is particularly pervasive across South Asia and Africa where 50-70 percent of girls in some countries are married before the age of 18. Child marriage is serious human rights crisis and one of the most pressing development concerns in the world today. Child marriage defined internationally as marriage where one or both spouses are under the age of 18 is legally prohibited under national laws as well as by international human rights treaties adopted by South Asian countries; however, the practice persists with impunity. In South one of the most challenging issues of this century is gender- based discrimination. In Asia, 46% of women between age 20-24 report being married before age 18 and there occur inequality and violence against women and girls. Every year millions of girls found to be disappeared with the practice of early marriage but is defined as formal marriages or customary and statutory unions and finally recognized as marriage which happened before the legal age of 18. According to an analysis of household survey data for 49 developing countries conducted by UNICEF (2005), 48 per cent of South Asian females aged 15 to 24 had married before the age of 18(ICRW, 2013).

Gender based violence is far more prevalent than is generally acknowledged. It exists in every part of the world within all communities. "However, it has taken an even more aggressive form in South Asia in particular, where early marriage and dowry deaths, acids attacks, trafficking for prostitutions, honors killing, wife beating and rape are some of the harsh realities that women and girls face in the region" (UNICEF, 2001:1). The worldwide movement of International Planned Parenthood for eliminating child marriage with the slogan, "Girls no brides" is keenly working with alliance of more than 300 Ngos/ingos.

Turkey

Turkey has one of the highest rates of child marriage in Europe with an estimated 14% of girls married before the age of 18. In the traditional city called Arkalai, there

is a trend of early marriage practice which begins at a very young age mostly at 14 years of age. In some extreme cases girls are found to be married as early as 10 years. It was stated that if any girl remained unmarried till the age of 16 or 18 she is considered as private property to be kept in a locker meaningless and useless without proper utilization.

More than 500,000 girls under the age of 17 were married in the past 11 years in Turkey, according to Family and Social Policies Ministry data which does not include unofficial marriages. In the past 11 years, 504,957 girls between the ages of 16 and 17 got married in Turkey according to the official marriage data.

Girls between 16 and 18 can get married with their parent's permission according to Turkish law. However, it is known that many underage girls are getting married with only a religious ceremony either if their age is younger than 16 or if official marriage is not common in the areas where they are living. The ministry said it would work against child marriages via schools, mosques, health centers and even by visiting people in their houses in places where the phenomenon is most common (Child marriage: Turkey, 2015)

Bangladesh

The eradication of child marriage is slowly occurring, however, the rates are still high with 66 percent of girls are married before the age of 18. Over one third of girls are married before the age of 15. Legally, the minimum age of marriage is 21 for boys and 18 for girls. Although illegal, the practice of dowry requiring a bride's family to pay significant sums to the groom encourages the marriage of the youngest adolescents' girls because younger brides typically require smaller dowries. Dowry demands can continue after the wedding and sometimes result in violence against the brides when families are unable to pay. Only 45 percent of adolescent girls are enrolled in secondary school and even less attends regularly. New brides are expected to work in their husband's households and are subject to the same hazards as child domestic workers.

Extreme cases in Bangladesh have been recorded. For example by the age of 17, almost half of all women in Bangladesh are mothers. According to Bangladesh's demographic and health survey of 1996-1997, there are 28 million adolescents in

Bangladesh 13.7% of these are girls and the survey reported that more than half the girls below 19 were married and 5% of 10-14 year old girls were married. Another survey of women 25-29 years old reported that in Bangladesh 81% were married before the age of 18.

Pakistan

The practice of child/early and forced marriage is widespread and occurs in all regions of Pakistan with the highest prevalence in the Sindh Province (2013 October,). It disproportionately affects the close relationship between female chastity and family honor forces family members to marry girls at an early age to prevent sexual transgressions and consequent damage to family reputation. The conceptualization of the girl child as 'other's property' who has to eventually move to her husband's home prevents parents from investing in their daughter's education and daughters thus are married off at an early age to relieve parents of their 'burden' from the girl child.

A survey of adults 25-28 years old revealed that in Pakistan 37% of the girls were married before the legal ages, which at the time were 16. In Pakistan, the story of a woman's deprivations starts even before her birth because the girl-child is not particularly 'wanted' child. Her life is journey of subordination. When she is young her father decides for her on matters ranging from whether she will get any education of the all-important matters of whom she would marry. After marriage her husband and her in-laws get hold of her reins and decide matters on her behalf; like she shall or she shall not have a child every year or whether she can seek independent employment. Early and child marriage are directly attributable to deep-rooted gender inequalities, traditional practices and customs derived from Islamic law in the name of religion. A large number of girl children are sold, bartered and given as compensation to resolve family and tribal feuds.

India

History of child marriage is very old in India where more than one third of all child-brides live.. Child marriage and infant marriages were common during 18 centuries in India. UNICEF (2012) mentions there is more child marriages in rural areas than in

urban areas. 52.5 percent of currently married women in age group 20-24 years in rural areas and 28.2 percent in urban areas got married before 18 years of age. Per the latest DLHS (2007-2008) data, around 48 percent of currently married women in age group 20-24 years got married before age 18 in urban areas compared to 29 percent in rural areas. Although the gap between urban and rural areas has almost halved from 30.2 percent and point two in 1992-1993 (NFHS) to 18.6 percent and points six in 2007-2008 (DHLS). Currently married women in rural areas are twice more likely to be child brides than the urban counterparts. Nearly 25 million women in India were married in the year 2007 by the age of 18 which noted that children in India, Nepal and Pakistan may be engaged or even married before they turn 10 years old (UNICEF, 2009).

Nearly all our girls' work as sweepers says a mother from India, who is herself a sweeper and cleans toilets. When asked why early marriage or girls, they would justify answering why should I waste my time and money on sending my daughter to school where she will learn nothing of use? So why not put my girl to work? So that she will learn something about our profession? My older girl who is 15 years old and will be married soon and will be put by her mother-in-law to cleaning toilets elsewhere. Too much schooling will only give girls big ideas and then they will be beaten up by their husbands or abused by their in-laws (UNICEF, 1997).

More than 57 per cent of girls are reported to get married before they turn 18. According to the Reproductive and Child Health District Level Household Survey, 28 percent girls in overall with 34.5 percent in rural and 13 percent in urban areas are being married before they turned 18. According to a Rapid Household survey conducted across the country, 58.9 percent women in Bihar were married before the age of 18, 55.8 percent in Rajasthan, 54.9 percent in West Bengal, 53.8 percent in Utter Pradesh, and 53.2 percent in Madhya Pradesh. National Family Health Survey data suggests that the median age for marriage in India is 16.4 years. This survey also found that 65 percent of the girls are married by the time they are 18. There are additional surveys like one in 1993 which reported that in the Indian state of Rajasthan among 5,000 women, 56 percent had married before age 15 and of these 17 percent were married before they were 10 (UNICEF, 1997).

Afghanistan

More than 50 percent of Afghan girls are married or engaged by 10. Almost 60 percent of girls are married by 16. Women activists say up to 80 percent of marriages in poor rural areas are either forced or arranged. Studies mention that 57 percent of girls are married before they are 19. Most girls marry with far older men some in their 60s whom they met for the first time at their wedding. A lack of security from three decades of war and the risk of napping and rape has also promoted many families to force their young daughters into marriage. Older and wealthier husbands will pay a larger bride-price for a young girl. Some girls are bartered into marriage to repay debt or resolve a dispute. And widespread poverty still compels many parents to get their daughters married to avoid the cost of caring for them.

In fact the most common ages for girls to get married are 15 and 16. Factors such as gender dynamics, family structure, cultural, political, and economic perceptions/ideologies all play a role in determining if a girl is married at a young age. The practice of child marriage has been linked to detrimental consequences for girls, such as the inability to obtain an education and skills to work independently. Girls may also suffer physical harm as their bodies are often not developed for childbirth, resulting in emotional, mental, and physical trauma for both the girl and her child.

Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka, sex with a girl under 16 years is considered rape even she says that she consents; however, the law permits a man to legally have sex with his wife without her consent so long as she is above 12 years of age. Sri Lanka despite the fact that the country has been recognized a model in south Asia for eliminating of child marriage; reports have been emerging concerning high rates of child marriage in conflict-affected areas and where customary laws apply.

Maldives

Maldives has the lowest rate of child marriage in the SAARC region with just about 4 percent followed by Sri Lanka 12 percent and Bhutan 14percent. However, according to US Department of State 2010 human rights report, many Maldivians travel to

Pakistan or India to carry out illegal child marriages. The legal system in the country code is based on mixture of Islamic law and English common law. According to civil law, the legal age of marriage is now 18 years for girls in Maldives. However, the minimum age for marriage that is commonly observed in practice is 15. Moreover, the past 10 years there has been no record of children under 15 being married in the Maldives. The government has established children's court and units for the rights of the children to work towards eliminating child marriage and violence against children.

While girls are sometimes subjected to early marriages, girls are disproportionately affected and form the vast majority of the victims of child marriage. Neither physically nor emotionally ready to become wives and mothers, these girls are at far greater risk of experiencing dangerous complications in pregnancy and child birth, becoming infected with HIV/AIDS and suffering domestic violence.

Bhutan

While child marriage in modern-day Bhutan is not as pervasive as it is in the neighboring countries like Bangladesh and India but it remains a serious challenge to development efforts in the country's rural areas. According to the 2005 Bhutan census, 15.4 percent of girls aged 15 to 19 were married while a 2006 UNICEF report found the figure to be 14 percent. The world health organization's 2012 figures are much lower estimating that 6 percent of girls between the ages of 10 and 19 had been married. What seems clear is that child marriage has become less common in urban areas of Bhutan while girls as young as 11 years in remote villages are still reportedly marrying in secret ceremonies. Child marriage takes place in all regions but the incidence is higher in the western and central areas of the country. Up to 23 percent of adolescents' girls aged 15 to 19 are married in some regions.

2.5 Child Marriage and Gender Based Attitudes (Sutra/Smiriti and Pauranic/Tantra Period, 1000 BC--1200 AD).

One of the kinds of marriage which existed for millions of years is child marriage. Both boys and girls were married; girls were married before menstruation cycle, at the young age of 5, 6 years. Majapuriya, Indra (2007, p. 221) has written about ancient marriage of Hindus. Child marriage was an institution sanctioned by ancient Hindu

laws and assiduously practiced by their followers. The main reason was the superstition prevalent in the medieval period about 'Ritu', the first few days immediately after the menstruation cycle. "According to strict moral laws to ensure 'copulation' in the first 'Ritu' it was binding on a man to get his daughter married before she reached puberty. Sage/king Manu has written that if a girl remained unmarried after reaching puberty, the father had failed in his duty towards her. Parashar, a law specialist and sage said that the parents or guardians of a girl in whose house a girl reached puberty before marriage would definitely go to hell. These warnings by sages had their effect upon the credulous mind of the people. Child marriage became a fashion and even the marriage of infants was common."

Gautam Dharma Sutra mentions the opportunity is given to select groom by the bride herself if she is not married for three times after menstruation cycle. The text argues "Marriage" is as a religious process performed by the virgin girl during her very young age, but should be only after completion of the 'Brahmacharya' stage. It has also mentioned the age of the bride should be smaller than the groom.

UNIFEM & WHF (2008) writes basically, Smirtis and Puranas have fallowed child marriage. The Smiriti Grantha has allowed daughters to be married at any year before menstruation whereas Brahma Purana has mentioned that after 4 years of age daughters can be married at any time. But in the Great epic like Mahabharat and Ramayan, there were evident recorded girls married till 16 years of age.

The text mentions that in Mahanirwan Tantra there is discussion about social system like marriage in it. It has prohibited child marriage during that period. The text has described some criteria to develop to be an ideal bride, like to have capacity to run the groom's home, be capable and able to work by maintaining discipline. It has also mentioned that one needs to know the essential previous information of the bride before marriage.

UNIFEM & WHF (2008) also mention that according to Manusmriti, ancient Vedic literatures do not sharply mention the practice of gender discrimination towards children by their parents during the process of socialization. Literatures from that period clearly indicate that children were encouraged to develop good traits which were honored and valued in both sexes without any gender bias. It was a kind of

mental sacralization (purification) of the children to develop a healthy individual. For example, in the ancient text "Manusmriti" compiled by Manu has mentioned the 10 virtues/characteristics of ideal human beings. The Sanskrit version of the text mentions among which are—patience, forgiveness, tolerance, lack of greed, mental and physical purity, control over the sense organs, wisdom, knowledge, truth and peacefulness. These qualities of humanity were meant for both sexes as universal traits to be adopted in society in order to create ideal human beings and to establish a non-discriminatory and spiritual society.

Mishra, Srikanta (1994), p. 16-17) has described on Gautam Sutra which says that a Garhasthya (house-holder) should get a wife who is similar to him. This is therefore natural to accept that the use of the word house-holder suggests that the bride-groom is quite mature and has finished their studentship. From different events, it was known from Rigveda that the newly married girls were not 'Balastri' (child wives) but matured girls.

Nagi, BS. (1993) speaks about Max Muller who mentioned that child marriage has no sanction from either Sruti or Smiriti, "Manu", he adds, "wishes a young man to marry when he may become a Grihasta (householder), that is, he is about 24 years of age. As to the girl, she is to marry when she is fit and that may vary in different climax. Sage Manu in other reference has praised the Gandharva type of marriage for all types of caste and people

Mishra, Srikanta (1994, p.84) has talked about sage Manu and the ancient Vedic marriage. The voluntary connection of a maiden and man is to be known as Gandharva union which arises from lust. And this marriage was accepted and valid for all kinds of cast. This marriage was based upon mutual love of a man and woman. Almost all other ancient text like Batshayan's Kamasutra etc, has favored this marriage. But later on, when the introduction of child marriage came into Hindu society, Gandharva marriage somewhat became dominant (dormant). When the post puberty-marriage started in the society, it again rejuvenated. As a matter of fact the so called love marriages that are taking place today are nothing but Gandharva marriage in another name. The present research in Nepal also has shown much such love and elope types of marriages are growing in the rural parts of Nepal.

Swami, Vivekananda (1983, p. 30) had mentioned in his famous speech at the religion convention in Chicago that “several women were the creators of various Vedic mantras”. There is another one example of Swami for untouchably. When he was on travel, an individual was ringing the bell as alarm for other people not to touch him because he was a Sudra. In the autobiography of swami, it is said Vivekananda cried in tears seeing such inhuman behave and attitude and a heinous and shameful act towards humanity.

Sanjee (2011) in the websites writes and clarified about Manusmriti in the marriage of girls/women.

9.89. It is better to keep the daughter unmarried than force her to marry an undeserving person.

9.90-91. An woman can choose her own husband after attaining maturity. If her parents are unable to choose a deserving groom, she can herself choose her husband.

Thus the concept of parents forcefully deciding the groom for their daughter is against Manu. A mature daughter has full rights to choose her husband. Parents act as facilitators for the marriage and not final decision makers as wrongly practiced in many societies.

Tamang, Laxmi (2013) has comments in the writings in Manusmriti. According to her, Nepal stands on 9th and India in 17th positions, rest all nations are Islamic society that suggest Hindu dominated society, India (44.5%) and Nepal (51.4%) and Islamic society are the one who still continue child marriage practices. “I found that child marriage practice has been religiously promoted since in the Hindu society it has been promoted by the sacred book the Law of Manu (Manusmriti) by Indian Brahmin sage, Manu in its Chapter IX verse 94 it says, "A man, aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner." This has proven that Hindu society promotes child marriage, thus in India and Nepal child marriage is still prevailing.

Swami Prapannacharya (2064) has revealed that child marriage did not exist in the Vedic period. Vedic Philosopher, ed in his book, 'Veda ma ke cha?(What is in Veda?) opens that girls also performed Upanayan Sanskar which would be completed at an early age of 8 or 9 years which was before puberty. The concept of 'Swayamvar' has been described as a scientific and ancient Vedic culture for marriage and it literally translates that the bride chooses her groom by herself'. There are numerous examples of such groom selection customs. The girls are given full freedom to make their choice. The text also mentions that there are four stages for an individual in her/his lifetime to experience, in which Brahmacharya comes first. It is a period of receiving knowledge from one's guru and living in complete abstinence up to 25 years of age, which the disciples can begin their worldly life and settle down.

The author also has highlighted on female as Shakti (power) and are considered to be the complete existence of man. Shakti literally translates into 'power'. Female priest existed in ancient times. Women studied the Veda and were trained in outdoor activities like horse riding and sward fighting. It was common for a girl to have the right to choose he husband by the means of 'Swyanmbar' which involved lavish ceremony in which several men could participate and had to perform various feats in order to secure the girl's hand in marriage.

Pokharel, Rishi Ram has declared that "There is no mention of gender-based discrimination among boys and girls in the Vedas" (Pradhan, G. (2062, p.36).

Joshi, Angur Baba claims the universal qualities of human beings need to be preserved by all the individuals in a non-sexiest way. She says, "Religion is humanity, it is human value/dignity." (Pradhan, G. (2062, p.37).

Sralization of Children

It is in the scriptures, children are taken as sacred being and one of the underlying themes found in the laws, popular writings and social practices of high caste groups regarding children in Nepal is that the purity of these children is defined by their innocence, simplicity and innate goodness. Purity in children is also viewed differently among the cast groups in terms of their ritual status that is considered to be less polluting and less polluted. Such sacralization of children is epitomized in the

worshipping of young girls and boys as embodiments of certain deities, a practice found among Hindus and certain Buddhist communities. In the United States, sacralization of children in the early twentieth century was replaced by the economic value of children as workers (Zeziler, 1885). The notion of children as sacred beings existed and still exists simultaneously in Nepali society with the notion of children being worshipped to purify and used as economic resources of the family (Onta-Bhatta, I. (2001).

The researcher is interested to add a fact that during the invasion of the foreign rulers it is mentioned also in the text that thousands of small young girls were worshipped from Brahmin and other caste as Kumari, Kumara and other Goddess and Deities in order to meet the aim as mentioned earlier, to protect them anyhow from the attack and devil eye of those invaders.

But still only the process of worshiping and making children employed and economically active is not the right purification/sacralization and socialization but the neediest is the cultivation of the human characteristics/virtues in children in the early years is the right approach.

Rijal, Kamal (2008, p.7) argues the relationship between a male and female is valid only when they are bound together by marriage. It does not support the concept of 'kanyadaan' or child marriage. The Swayamvar of Sita, Sakuntala, Draupadi, Rukmani and so many others are mentioned in the ancient Vedic literatures. Besides it, the healthy practice of 'Gandharva Bibaha' or love marriage also existed then. There are numerous examples of such love marriages or 'Gandharva Bibaha'. The text mentions that the invasion in India (12-14 the centuries) pushed various factors to start the dark period like early marriage. It was long after the Vedic period, girls were married early which they called child marriage because there was no legal age of marriage that time. Gradually due to some reasons girls were restricted from education and this Upanayan Sanskar which would be completed at an early age of 8 or 9 years which was before puberty. Replacing education and this Upanayan Sanskar, early marriage was only the substitute for girls.

UNIFEM, WHF (2008) argues in the recent review of Vedic Sanatana Dharma (Eternal) scripture by the expert group (Veda) and quotes ample evidence to prove

that Sanatana Dharma does not allow the use of any violence against girls and women. Gender discrimination and child marriage was not clearly a part of the ancient Vedic system. It can be understood from the writing of ancient text. No religion in the world in its true sense has accepted gender-based discrimination.

Acharya, Meena (2003, p.5) has emphasized on the issues that females are context-specific, changing with time and context. She argues, “Gender relations are the result of socially constructed unequal power relations and are context specific.”

Prasit, Modnath (2066) has written in his book *Nari Bhandan Ra Mukti* that more than 25 Vedic mantras were created by female scholars of that period who were widely accepted as enlightened individuals. Girls observed every special ritual like boys including the thread wearing ceremony. Post the Vedic period, due to the strong influence of patriarchy, women were deprived of their educational, social, economic, religious and spiritual rights like Upanayana or thread wearing. This is also mentioned in the ancient text called ‘Waganvari. The author has clearly mentioned about the aim of Hindu religion that time to time the religious leaders modified the religious text calling it by the name “Yuga Dharma”. He also has solely supported the Universal Equality of men and women, he believes women in the very primitive days were more powerful than men, equality among both sexes was the obvious truth but after the Vedic era their position were made to decline putting different discriminatory rules and regulations in the name of positive discriminations which meant to improve and protect women in all aspects by the religious ruler/ authorities.

Ghimire, Durga (2013, p.6) expresses her deep concern regarding the inhuman practice of sex –selective abortion. Such trend is increasing mainly in some countries of south Asia. It is rapidly growing in India and according to a research paper ‘Lenset’ of Canada in 20 years period more than one crore female fetus have been aborted. Indian government is working against it. A movement called ‘Save the girl child’ in national level in India, in which famous Indian actress Hema Malini has become good will ambassador in this programme. She has said “daughters are invaluable. They not only modify societal ill practice but provide a new dimension to the whole nation. Two daughters will come with two ready-made sons.” Similarly, Indian actor Amir Kahn had also raised effective step towards sex-selective abortion through a television programme called ‘Satyamewa Jayate.’ In Nepal also, there is growing trend of sex-

selective abortion. The desire for a son is equally on rise. Nepalese abortion law has permitted to terminate thirteen weeks pregnancy in special condition only.

Pandy, Namrata (2014, p. 14) has advised to abolish violence against women and to correct the torture of mind, it is essential to develop and understand the true meaning of love through spiritual consciousness.

Tamang, Sigman (2070, p. 295).) believes that purity of mind is essential for human development and it is possible only through the teachings of Lord Buddha and mentions that Lord Gautam Buddha is the first prophet in the history of mankind who proclaimed religion to be universal. Buddha announced that anyone whosoever irrespective of caste, creed, color, community and nationality can join his religion if the adopters are ready to follow the teachings of the master, it is aim he introduced and established the religious organization. Buddha tried his best to make an equal right and status to women and low caste people. In the profound teachings of Gautam Buddha to human beings, he has emphasized non-violence and love for all beings. He declared everything arises from the mind, so one should make their mind like an ocean.

Swami Prabhupada (1986, p.655) explains the Divine and demoniac natures (traits or virtue) for an ideal man/woman to be adopted has been mentioned in the Bhagabat Gita in 16 chapters. The divine text describes 26 virtues or traits to be adopted by human beings (male/female). The Gita teaches us the devil traits also which are the qualities of a demon. One can take the support of these devil traits or virtues as defense mechanisms to protect oneself from the unnecessary attack or exploitation. This is the skill essential to adopt for both sex in times of emergency. But one should not adopt and internalize or engrave these demon virtues permanently in heart. On the contrary, the divine qualities should be internalized. But in the existing situation, all the girls have been taught the divine qualities whereas the boys are nurtured with the demon quality.

Bhasin, Kamla (2004.p.23) asserts the different traits are internalized into male group as if it is their biological character. Family, society and other have institutionalized these as masculine traits. Such wrong practices and concepts have marginalized women and made them as weaker sex and majority of males have been grown up not

only being rough and aggressive, but into hegemony, rigid, very aggressive and dictator type. “This exercise immediately makes it obvious that male and female qualities are ascribed to those with power and those without; instead of being “natural”, they are cultivated.

Karki, Chanda (2009 p. 31) has asked a question why we kill the daughters in the fetus. In our Nepalese society, when some children do bad things, mother often say, “Why you are alive? Why not dead in fetus? You have added more sufferings in this earth etc. But today innocent fetuses are being killed identifying the sex of the fetus and without any other reason.” Sons and daughters are both equal for parents. To have son or daughter in the fetus is not in our hand. But the right of a son and daughter to come out in this world from mother’s womb is equal. The birth of a daughter is not easy like of a son. The sex-selective abortion trauma is increasing in the society. When a baby is born, the home environment becomes happy. When discrimination begins inside the fetus, then the situation becomes serious and considerable. In Kathmandu area such ill trends are rapidly increasing but government and other concerned authorities are silent in this part.

Pandey, J R. (1990) clarifies about the hidden truth as girls have high religious and social value. He was upset and sad with the tendency of many less informed so called intelligent elites to put the blame on religion and culture saying that the Hindu culture has always been detrimental and obstructive to the girl child allowing her to develop her full potential and personality. When we talk about letting the girl child develop her full potential and personality, we have to be careful in setting up a standard which she is required to follow during her chronological development. Our religion and culture guides us to educate our daughters equally as the sons. Nowhere in God’s world or in the scriptures had it mentioned that the girls should be given lower preferences in the matter of food and health care? Hindu culture and religion are always very generous and liberal as regards to lift and development of the girl child. Unfortunately, a person due to poverty, illiteracy and exploitation has been misguided and largely has forgotten their spiritual heritage.

Saint Sai Baba (2006) has said people build temples and building with bricks and mortar and install idols of God in them. In fact, God is firmly installed in the hearts of all human beings being above sex, class and cast. It is only to explain this truth that

lord Krishna in the Bhagavadgita declared, *Mamaivamsho Jivaloke Jivabhuta Sanathana* (The eternal Atma in all beings is part of my being) and it is possible to realize this truth by adhering to the five human values of Sathya (truth), dharma(righteousness) Shanti(peace), Prem (love) and Ahimsa(non-violence). Where are these human values? They are not outside but all of them are within you. It is unfortunate that you search them outside, while they are very much within you. As long as you search for reflecting outside, you will not be able to recognize the objects within. Divinity is imminent in you. Hence, you should consider yourself divine and proclaim, "I am God". Then you will not have any fear or anxiety or delusion. So long as you do not realize your divinity within you, you cannot get rid of body attachment.

UK South Devon health care guide NHS Trust (n.d.) accepts that the individual is the expert when it comes to their culture, religion or spirituality. To be atheist is to have believed in the non-existence of God. The British Humanist Association, UK believes that a humanist will have no belief in any God or in life after death but there is more to humanism than the rejection of religious belief. It is also concerned with the positive affirmation and positive development of humanity. All people are equal regardless of sex, culture, age, race or sexuality and must endeavor to find solutions for problem within themselves for example serving vegetarian diet to all. The book has talked about the spiritual care which means not necessarily religious care but religious care at its best always should be spiritual on the ground of humanity.

Devkota & Ogha (2067, p.29) mention that "If one attempts to re-open the tradition, it is found that the practice of early marriage/child marriage had been widespread in particular historical period."

Chhetri, G. & Raymaghi, R. (2061, p. 329) write the fact that "After the establishment of Muslim reign in India, it is assumed that child marriage started with the intention of saving daughters through the capturing by the Muslims in the early years. The Muslim invader did not take married girls though they were in very small age."

2.6 Relevant Feminist Versions Regarding Gender Discrimination

To discourage child marriage and gender-discrimination at parental attitudes and behavior towards their offspring are essential. To have baby is not always joyful to

parents and society. But equally, the rearing and caring part of children in the very young stage is essential and needs to be efficient and ideal. Majority of the women activists/experts and feminist have agreed upon the parental and societal approach of humanism/humanization among both sexes. Therefore in this part as these women expert have spoken about gender-based discrimination being against Universal Human Rights of girls/women in the name of socio-cultural /tradition/religious customs practiced in the society which are also taken in the name of positive discrimination. They have also mentioned some determining factors as key measures to avoid the exploitation and traditional social problems of girls/women.

Child marriage is a form of discrimination against girls based on sex. Child marriage and gender-discrimination is associated with each other. Several feminists' have spoken publicly on the various discrimination and exploitation of girls/women and women's subordination to men as it being against the universal human rights. Their claim is that discrimination of women is not natural/biological but based on social construction. Therefore it can be corrected again.

The idea and argument here is supported by Tamang, Mukta's (2014, p.35) view on social inclusion. "The issue of social inclusion is about human relations based on mutual respect. It is also an issue of human existence. Dignity or absence of it affects the quality of human life. That is why it has become an issue of primary interest the world over. The concept of social inclusions assess that the current unequal social relations are human made and thus can be changed."

Contemporary feminist have argued that behavioral and psychological differences have social rather than biological causes. For instance, Beauvoir, Simone De (1972) openly claimed in her book 'The Second Sex' that one is not born, but rather becomes a woman and that social discrimination produces in women moral and intellectual effects so profound that they appear to be caused by nature.

Feminists from all era hardly believe in misogyny which believes that sex difference are based in biology and are therefore natural and also that women are lesser persons than men (Gender encyclopedia). 'In the ideology of Taoism (Chinese), Yin, the female principle and Yang, the male principle are given equal weight. The opposition,

alteration and interaction of these two forces give rise to all phenomena in the universe.

Ortner, Sherry B, in her work 'Is female to male as nature is to culture'(1974) has mentioned that the whole gender bias scheme is a construct of culture rather than a fact of nature. Woman is not in 'Reality' any closer to nature than man, both have consciousness and both are mortal. The author has accepted and explained there is universal subordination and secondary status of women and it exists within every type of social and economic arrangement and in societies of every degree of complexity. The author in her next work 'Gender hegemonies' (1990) has discussed about 'Egalitarian society' in the world. In her research work, on Kung-san, hunter-gatherers of southern Africa, she has written the ideology of equality /egalitarian system. It is not the absence of a headman and other authority figures but also a positive insistence on the essential equality of all people and the refusal to bow to the authority. Of course we have head man each one of us is headman over himself. Leaders do exist. But their influence is subtle and indirect. They never order or make demand of others and their accumulation of material goods are never more and are often much less than the average accumulation of the other households in their camp.

In the literatures, it is stated that religion has played key roles to begin and encourage child marriage and gender based discrimination throughout the world. Chatterji, Jostna (2008) disagrees it and argues that (the consultation on the authority' of the religious and the status of women was held in Bangalore, with academicians, women activists, religious leaders and members of the social organizations unanimously concluded) while all religions in their scriptures accorded equal status to women, discrimination emerged in practice due to improper interpretations and the discriminatory texts led to unjust personal laws which need to be studied from the point of view of human rights.

UNIFEM & WHF (2008, p. 21) describes the birth of a girl child was given a welcome arrival. She was considered an ornament in the family. A father without a son used to consider his daughter as precious as his son. There was even prescription for how to conceive a talented daughter. May be a continuation of Vedic tradition, it is stated in the Skunda purana that a girl-child is equal to ten sons and by rearing one

daughter; one receives the benefits of rearing ten sons. Rig-Veda prays to the goddess of light and protector of all times to give daughter.

Bennett, Lynn (2002) has asked that why to the groom's family the bride is viewed an outsider, an affine who is somehow dangerous to the central patrifocal value of agnatic solidarity?. The author has explained how the value and construction of social system has put different high and low value among women in the sacred forms of daughters/sisters and in dangerous forms as wives/in-law.

Feminists categorically regarded as Liberal, Marxist, Radical, Psychoanalytical, Socialist, Existentialist or Post modernists have raised women's questions providing a unique perspective with its own methodological strength and weaknesses. Liberalism has evolved in the process of re-conceptualizing, reconsidering, and restructuring itself. Marxist feminists believe that class ultimately better accounts for woman's status and functions. Their claim is the beginning of private property and monogamous marriage system as the root cause of women's oppression and exploitation. Radical feminists insist that women's oppression is the most fundamental form of oppression and is so deeper and ancient that it is the hardest form of oppression to eradicate and cannot be evolved by other social changes such as the abolition of class society etc.

In her *Dialectic of Sex*, Firestone, Shulamith (1970) argues that the biological sexual dichotomy particularly the biological division of labor in reproduction is the root cause of male domination like economic class exploitation, racism, imperialism and ecological irresponsibility. Sexual inequality is an oppression that goes back beyond recorded history to the animal kingdom itself.

Radical feminist Millett, Kate (1970) in her *Sexual Politics* argues that androgyny is the solution to the patriarchal imposition of 'Femininity' and 'Masculinity'. According to her, to eliminate control of men, men and women have to eliminate gender-specifically sexual status role and temperament-as it has been constructed under patriarchy. Effort is directed solely at changing cultural assumptions through male and female consciousness rising groups.

Sydie, R A. (1993, p.128) stated the view of Sigmund Freud. "For women Anatomy is destiny and his normal human being was male. The female by his definition deviant human being lacking a penis whose entire psychological structure supposedly centered on the struggle to compensate for this deficiency." Girls blame their mother for lack of a penis, in Freud view, these accounts for the devaluation of women by other women just as boys and men also devalue female. Likewise many other researchers and scholars have challenged all these theories of male supremacy. Update research shows that there are no research findings regarding the difference except biology (Encyclopedia).

Someone the Bow, the author of 'The second Sex' (1953) concludes that, 'when we pronounce the word human then both male and female are included into it'. According to religious text, 'Purush' means the vital part or the soul of the body. Therefore it does not mean male or female but the universal soul which is pervading within all human being. In these modern days because of the increasing trend of hegemony culture or extreme rigidity in masculinity, people even are considering that 'purush' is the symbolic name of male. So wherever and however the word comes as the prime source, most of the male feel proud thinking them as Purush' and many women are feeling inferior that the religious texts are also in favor of the male and so easily accept the domination of the male and society though they know they have been ill-treated. Some of the 'gurus' or those who explain the spiritual discourse is knowingly or unknowingly misguiding the overall population. Such wrong notions and wrong interpretations have helped to subordinate women in the name of religion.

Feminist scholar Learner, Greda (1986) expressed that, 'traditionalists' everywhere accept patriarchy as biologically determined and argues that it was not one event but a process developing over a period of almost 2500 years (from approximately 3100 B.C. to 600 BC) and a number of factors and forces that were responsible for the establishment of male supremacy as we see it today.

Chakravartit, Uma (2003) explains the subordination of women and the control of female sexuality are crucial to the maintenance of the caste system creating what feminist scholars have termed Brahmanical patriarchy. She has discussed the range of patriarchal practices within the larger framework of sexuality, labor, access to

material resources and also focuses on the centrality of endogamous marriages that maintain the system.

Likewise, Gal Omvedt has aptly summarized the relationship between class and caste as a material reality with a material base; it is not only a form but a concrete material content and it has historically shaped the very basis of Indian society and continues to have crucial economic implications even today.

Tongue, Rosemarie, (1997) has raised issues for discussions like should postmodern feminists work for women's liberation? Should women passionately with pride and fully preserve all that is female or should women work to go beyond the categories, 'Man' and 'Woman' to a pluralistic society unstructured by gender?.

Bhasin, Kamla (1994) in her work, 'what is patriarchy' has mentioned that gender equality is required for each one of us, (man and woman) to look into ourselves and overcome our negative 'male'(being aggressive, domineering, competitive, self-centered) and 'female'(submissive, fearful, diffident) qualities. She has added girls and boys, men and women nurture the positive male and female qualities. Finally Bhasin suggests that we believe the present day world which is experiencing, unprecedented and intolerable levels of violence and environmental degradation can be healed only through the large-scale practice of qualities like caring and nurturing in the domestic and public spheres'. "I believe one important way is for men is to get involved in child-rearing and house work." She has narrated three events that manhood/masculinity/manliness is socially constructed. In her book Exploring Masculinity: Gender (2004, 60-61), of the three events, she has discussed about Gandhiji, the Vedic philosopher and a freedom fighter saint of India as well as a well socialized individual, who cultivated the full inner man and woman within himself. Literatures mention this is (Mahapurusha) an androgynous/egalitarian / blended type of personality.

The Event of Gandhiji at (1942)

Once Gandhi was addressing a press conference among a large crowd at his ashram in Wardha, after every few minutes, he would say, 'excuse me gentlemen, I must go in, for few minutes'. He would then go into his hut and returned after 8-10 minutes. After

he did this third time, a journalist asked why he was wasting their time -why couldn't he finish the press conference and go in once and for all. Gandhi gently replied that he had to go in every few minutes because his wife Kasturba was suffering from acute diarrheas and was too weak to go to the toilet. According to Kamala Bhasin, this event shows Gandhiji tried to create a balance in his life between his mothering and public duties. For him, serving Kausturba, cleaning the Ashram toilets, spinning yarn was as important as leading the most important struggle against the colonialism. And in the final analysis, the author concludes “it is those men who are able to create a balance in their inner “man” and “woman” who become great and immortal. Strong, macho, power-wielding men might be feared, but they are not revered.

Lord Gautama Buddha

Bhasin, K (2004, p.46) believes the story of Gautama Buddha's life helps to sum up the fight between the masculine and the feminine debate. One day prince Siddhartha was playing in the garden of his palace suddenly white bird fell from the sky, its breast was pierced with an arrow. The young prince picked up the bird, plucked the arrow out and tried to revive the wounded creature. Just then, his cousin, Devadatta appeared and asked to give this wounded bird because ‘I shot it down with my arrow’. Siddhartha replied, 'it cannot be your bird, you wanted to kill it. It belongs to me, because I saved it and love it'. According to author, the story symbolizes the conflict between those who wish to control through violence and those who wish to nurture and heal, those who collect resources through violent means and those who believe in nature and adopts interdependence and co-existence.

The remaining one story is different from the above two stories, it about of a Japanese father who is a rigid male bonding type, the story briefly is mentioned below.

The story of ‘Green Widows’

Bhasin, K.(2004, p.60) indicates a Japanese father who spent all his time making a living and had no time to spend with his family and children, when asked how big his children were, he spread his hands and said, “One of them is about so big.” Then he spread them further apart and said, “The older one is so big.” He did this because he

had always seen his children sleeping. He was never at home during the day to see them otherwise.

Because young Japanese wives spend most of their time without husbands, they are called 'green widows'. The author adds that a public interest TV spot in the Netherlands about absentee fathers has a child who ask her mother who this man is, who comes to lunch every Sunday and cuts the meat.

Finally, the author analyzes and generalizes that looking after children will also bring men closer to their families and remove their isolation. They will eventually lose their hardness and their assertive male centered egos. Child- care demands complete emotional commitment, it demands selflessness, tolerance, patience, and qualities which make us better human beings. Intimate and responsible fathering could enrich the lives of men, women and children. While making a living, men should not get alienated from life itself. They must realize that only being economic fathers is not enough; they have to be social and emotional fathers too.

Analyzing over the above events and ideas it seems here appropriate to discuss about the trait or the notion of androgyny. It was not accepted in society till 1976 when Dr. Sandra Bem introduced the concept of 'Psychological Androgyny' to describe those men and women who did not fit into traditionally defined gender roles.

Dr. Sandra Bem forwarded the view that a blending of masculine and feminine dispositions is more adoptive than stereotypic emphasis on either alone. Androgyny is not a description of one's sexual orientation but embraces them all-heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual and transgender. To say that a culture or relationship is to say that it lacks rigid gender roles. People display characteristics or partake in active traditionally associated with other sex. And nowhere is this most evident than among young people across the world. Girls are doing everything that only boys were meant to and often excelling at them. Androgyny is being embraced everywhere institutionalized by entertainment and fashion cultures to create a challenging perspective on human sexuality for our times.

Wave Magazine (2011, p.31) has mentioned that androgyny is combination of (gender) both masculinity and femininity as traits of a unified gender that defines

social roles and psychological attributes. 'Androgyny' is natural' as all humans are born with male and female sex hormones but gender behavior is conditioned by social norms that differ from culture to culture.

Most researchers have concluded that human beings are androgynous (half man and half woman). Therefore, egalitarian way of socialization of children is likely to produce the best model. According to Wikipedia, the free Encyclopedia, egalitarian refers to socializing children with the belief that all people are equal and should be treated alike.

Saint Sai baba (2006) counsels students, 'when you grow up, you can be whatever you want to be.' Young girls in developed countries hear this all the time from their parents, teachers and people around them. They are encouraged to believe that girls can be just as smart, athletic and successful as boys. On the contrary, girls in developing countries are brought up to be domestic and docile only. Saibaba has said, 'oh my beloved students whatever you want to be, be a good and ideal human being, but never try to be great' can be taken as a good example for a fair and universally accepted way of socialization and humanization.

Researcher Mallak, (n.d.) says it is not that we affix specific gender roles from birth and that we expect each of the gender roles to present discrete and pure models, we also create a hierarchy of masculine and feminine traits regardless of why and whom they are attributed to. In other words being tough (masculine traits) is usually ranked as a more elevated trait than being considerate in the global system of body, whereas being loving, sensitive, or considerate is viewed as weak and of course not for men. The same is true of the dichotomy between being rational and intuitive. The assumption seems always to be that those are mutually exclusive traits. Socialization and internalization with unnatural way, 'Boys are boys, they should not cry', such sexist attitudes of socialization and internalization with male child continues discrimination. Instead boys should be taught they should not make other cry.

Firestone, Liza (2010, p.7) reveals that the positive effects of generosity include improving one's mental and physical health and promoting longevity. Research study at the University of Michigan indicates like a healthy diet, exercise and good genes, generosity increases your life span. One of the human qualities is generosity. It should

be internalized within parental attitudes and among boys and girls from the very early age.

Hindu Gods, lord Krishna, lord Rama, Princess Sabitri and many other and historical personalities mentioned in the literatures had blended personality (androgynous types) in their lives as early as 5000 years ago. Lord Krishna had various facets to his personality. While he was loved and worshipped by all the young damsels (Gopis) of his village Brindhavan as the ideal lover and the master of cupid, he was feared by demons and was respected by his friends. He played the role of sons, lover, husband, warrior, and also 'guru' to perfection. He represented the ideal man bridging the dichotomy of private and public and the norms of masculinity and femininity both within himself.

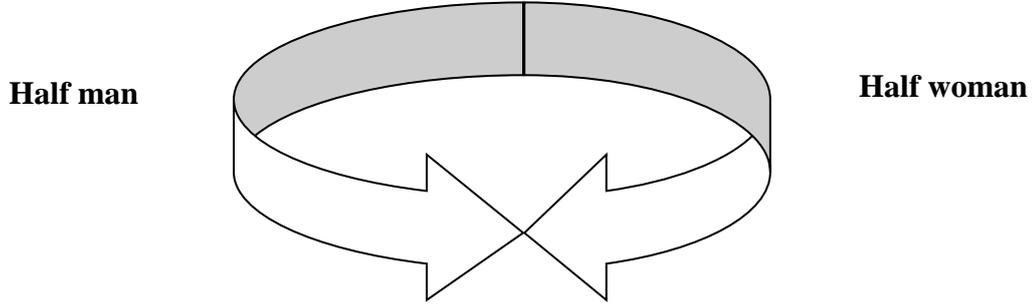
In his article 'Hansel and Gretel', Thapa, Indra (2067, p.54) mentions that "Fairy tales are generally considered as the powerful transmission of patriarchal ideas. They impose the destructive gender roles on male and female". However, the famous fairy tale 'Hansel and Gretel' transmits a message against the patriarchal assumptions of men being masculine and women being feminine. It suggests that everyone is androgynous by nature (Ardhanariswor) at heart but each individual is compelled to be masculine or feminine depending on his/her sex after birth. As a result, he/she activates one and de-activates another instinct. Androgynous individuals have been found to have higher self-esteem (Lundy and Rosenberg, 1987); Shaw, 1983, Heiburn, 1981), High levels of identity achievements (Orlogsky, 1997), and more flexibility in dating and love relationship (Delucia, 1987). (Susan D, 1997).

The global international community has become aware of the need to achieve equality between the two sexes and of the fact that an equitable society cannot be attained if fundamental human rights of half of human society that is children and women continue to be denied and discriminated on the basis of sex.

From the very beginning of creation, women and men have been treated on the basis of gender equality within the fold of the Sanatana Dharma. The Lord, it is said, God divided into two equal parts with half male and half- female figure of lord Shiva and mother Parvati combined in one figure. In Vedic literature, Ardhanaiswor is primarily

mentioned as Shiva and Shakti consisting of half man and half woman (Androgynous).

Image of Ardhanarishwor (Half man and half woman/androgynous).



Complete Human Being (Androgynous character)

In this research socio-cultural/religious aspects have been emphasized more. Religion here does not mean rituals or other sampradaya. But it refers human qualities which are their universal and eternal inner traits. The followings are the ten commands/characteristics/virtues/human qualities needed to be adopted by each individual and children of both sexes to be developed in an ideal human being.

Dhrati Kshama Dama Astyam Shoucham Indriya Nigrhah

Dhi Vidya Satyam Akrodho Dashakam Dhrma Lakshanam

Collectively, these above 10 qualities are called, 'Guna dharma'-the innate nature of human beings. Here the word 'dharma' is not used as synonym of the English word, 'religion'. Joshi, Angur Baba (2070) highlights that the word religion denotes faith in some God or Goddess and all the paraphernalia that goes with it which we call community (sampradaaya) eg, Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Judaism, Christianity, Jain, Islam etc but here the word dharma does not denote religious communities although in speaking we are used to calling them dharma on the other hand it represents human guna-dharma which as we have mentioned above represents the eternal and universal principles of human conduct accepted in common by all religions of the world. These qualities infuse in human beings the essence of human hood. Minus these qualities, we will be influenced by ever negative thoughts and

feelings and we may stoop at the level of beasts or even demons. It is dharma that elevates the human beings to the higher levels of nobleness, peace and happiness.

The meanings in brief of these ten commands/signs/symptoms/indicators/qualities/virtues of Sanatan (Eternal) Dharma are as follows.

Dhrati---means fortitude is reflected in the form of courage and strength when facing pains or troubles in life. It means the patience which is exhibited by a person even in case of difficulties of life.

Kshama—means ability to forgive and forget. Forgiveness is not an attribute of a weak but only a spiritually strong composed and broadminded person can forgive even his/her enemies for their misdeeds. People who are slaves or emotional and mood swings can never exhibit such an attribute and are unable to forgive even the small mistakes done by their best friends.

Damaha- means control over mind and desires. All the decisions in life of a person should not be governed by his/her uncontrolled desires but should be taken by stable mind, unaffected from worldly sensational craving and motions of attachment and fear

Asteyam--defines non-stealing, exhibited by the attributes like honesty and integrity. The person should believe in taking the ownership of only those which are earned hard work and labor.

Shouch---indicates internal and as well as external purity. The person should not only take care of his/her body and surroundings for cleanliness but also should try to make his/her mind pure without any negative emotions, desires and attachments.

Indriya Nigrah—means control over sensory organs. Every human being perceives his worldly five senses (Indriya) given by GOD, which are ears, skin, tongue and nose. Man receives Sabda, Sparsh, Roop, Gandha (Sound, Touch, Form, Taste and Smell) by the help of these sensory organs respectively. Control of all these sense and not allowing negative stimuli to make an impressions in the grooves of the mind is called

Indriya Nigrah (Sense control). This is also called mind control. Scriptures prescribe various methods/yoga to achieve this. Meditation is one among those methods.

Dhi—is wisdom which indicates the power to discriminate between right and wrong. This helps a person while adhering to his/her Dharma and is able to analyze and identify the right path to proceed irrespective of the difficulties in his/her and temptations to take an easy but wrong path.

Vidya—means knowledge which refers to the education as well as the practical knowledge about laws of life. The knowledge should always be crowned with humility. A person is down to earth with humility is a real knowledgeable person.

Satyam—means truthfulness which is the essence of life, the truth and following the path of truthfulness. It not only helps person in living a peaceful life but also acts as a strong spiritual armor providing strength to help person in most difficult situations of life.

Akrodho—is the absence of anger, in which the person is not angered under all circumstances and remains composed in spite of all the provocations to be observed. Generally if we take a promise not to be angry with anybody on any subject that day, time tests us hard on that very day and all the circumstances are built in such a way so as to provoke us to become angry. We should keep patience in such a scenario and prepare ourselves strongly for the victory of our will power over our emotions at the end of the day.

Essential Human Qualities to be adopted by Each Individual



2.7 Underlying causes of Early /Child Marriage

Socio-Cultural Value (Social Pressure in the Name of Social/Traditional/ and Cultural/Religious Norms)

Child marriage and gender discrimination is an emerging issue entangled with different social belief and misbelieves. It might be affected by a variety of social structure, including the person's ethnic group, employment status, religion and no religion and family.

Half of the population of the world consists of women, whose large portion is still discriminated in different phase of life directly or indirectly though there are some differences in each country, religion, society or ethnicity. Religion in all counties and situation is a cause of gender discrimination according to Human Rights. There is a belief in Hindu religion that parent without a son neither gets salvation nor would they go to heaven after death. In Muslim religion a woman is supposed to cover her face

with veil. However, it is mentioned with comparing to other religion, Buddhism seems little bit liberal. In theory, Buddhism never discriminate women nor it considers women a secondary to men conversely, in practice they still have defined different gender roles for male and female (Majpuria, I.(2007). But it is also believed and expressed by many scriptures and individuals that it is not the religion but its wrong interpretation which have been caused to discriminate women.

Women and girls often occupy a lower status in societies as a result of social and cultural traditions, attitudes, beliefs that deny them their rights and stifle their ability to play an equal role in their homes and communities.’ The literature suggests that many factors interact to place a child at risk of marriage. Of them, poverty, protection of girls, family honor and the provision of stability during unstable social periods are considered as significant factors in determining a girl's risk of becoming married while still a child. Social and gender norms, cultural beliefs contribute to the pressure put on girls to marry at a young age. Some parents believe that by marrying their daughters at an early age, they are helping her to fulfill her main societal function that of wife and mother. They may also belief that they are providing her with protection by limiting sexual relations to only one partner (and therefore reducing the risk of STD an HIV).

The decision for a young girl to marry is often made by her parents or the community. The male creating violence against women and the male himself/themselves in the process of eradication of violence against women cannot make a desired solution.

In many countries the importance of preserving family ‘honor’ and girls’ virginity is such that parents push their daughters into marriage well before they are ready. There is a belief that marriage safeguards against ‘immoral’ or ‘inappropriate behavior’. Dominant notions of morality and honor are important factors encouraging the practice of child marriage. These are influenced great by the importance placed on maintaining 'family honor' and the high value placed on a girl's virginity. It is considered that shame would be cast on a family if a girl was not a virgin when she marries. Therefore, in order to ensure that a girl's virtue remains intact, girls may be married earlier in order to ensure their virginity. Young girls may also be encouraged to marry older men, due to the perception that an older husband will be able to act as a guardian against behavior deemed immoral and inappropriate.

No matter how good their intentions may be, the reality is that an early marriage generally offers no protection at all, in fact and it strips many young girls of their childhood, their dreams, their basic human rights and their wealth.

Son Preference

Many people of the world still prefer male child than the female child. Parents celebrate the birth of the son and in case of daughter; they are likely to continue having children in the hope of having male child. The reasons behind the preference of the boys are to carry the family names, especially for women; to please the husband and to make the strong position in the family. For Hindu, a son is most to light parent's funeral pyre, if not parents could not go to heaven after death. The belief about the hell and heaven that is after death is deeply rooted in Nepali Hindus. Different cases of polyandry marriages at old age (more than eighty) with the consent of alive wife can be read and hear in the medias. Though the polyandry is an illegal act neither family member nor the neighbor complains about it.

In India, as well as in several other countries of Asia, son preference has been pervasive for centuries. Son preference is deeply rooted in patriarchal cultural and religious beliefs that uphold the essential value of having a son in a family. In Singapore also, son is desired by many families. (Tewo, A. (2014, p. 4 d/gha).

The kinship and inheritance systems in a family also powerfully drive son preference. The belief that sons are essential for social survival for a family by carrying on its lineage sustains the ideology of son preference. Sons are also seen to ensure a family's economic security over time as providers of income and resources to parents in their old age.

WHO, (2011) mentions that women experience intense societal and familial pressure to produce a son and failure to do so, often carries the threat and consequences of violence or abandonment in their marriage Women may have many pregnancies until a boy is born—putting their own health at risk. The desire to have a son also contributes to the neglect or postnatal death of innumerable girls who are born but not desired.

Sex selective abortion on the rise in Nepal

In the years since, the combination of relaxed laws and the availability of ultrasound technology have given tens of thousands of women the opportunity to abort after learning the sex of the fetus. In a culture dominated by son preference or a daughter aversion, many families say they cannot afford to have multiple daughters while waiting for a son.

It is very strange in many communities in south Asia, which may not be unrelated to the expenses involved when marrying off a daughter. The rising cost of marriage ceremonies force many families to marry their daughters' at the same time to reduce costs. Boys forced into marriage early may also suffer financially. Economic responsibilities' can place heavy burdens on them and curtail their education sooner than they might want.

Problems for girls --However, while boys can leave their wives at their parent's homes and seek employment opportunities elsewhere, this option is not available to the majority of young wives (Republica, 2011,p.7).

Economy (Poverty)

The person below the poverty line denotes that they are not capable of doing so and are deprived of basic needs. About 50% people of the total population of the world earn less than two dollars per day. According to World Bank's international standard poverty measurement system, people who earn less than one dollar per day is considered below the poverty line. 23% people in Nepal are living under the poverty line. Per capita income US Dollar is 772. It is said, poverty is a man-made artificial condition. People are not poor, but people are made poor. Poverty does not come by birth (CBS, 2011).

Poverty is measured and calculated in various dimensions such as the income level, human development and social inclusion. This is used by UNDP in its human development report (HDR) in the human development index using literacy rate as the education variable, life expectancy at birth as health variable and annual disposal income at purchase parity prices (PPP) as income variable (Koirala, G. (2068, p.940).

Women constitute for half of the world's population but work for two thirds of the working hours, but earn only 10% of the world's property and own less than 1% of it. The overwhelming majority of the labor that sustains life growing food, cooking, raising children, caring for the elderly, maintaining a house, fetching water-is done by women and universally this work is accorded low status and no pay. Though women have contributed in the domestic and national economy, but they are poor always. Bhadra, Chandra (2005) has raised the issue regarding the role of women's contribution to national economy. It was being based on the Ester's Boserup's publication on economic development in 1970 as the third world women as non-actors in the economy and being marginalized from the development arena. Similarly, Shreatha, Erere (2005, 12) discusses about the concept of 'housewife'. "Economist who are sympathetic to the housewife that her labor is useful but produces no value, that the labor she performs has use value but no social use value,"

Neupane, Mukunda (2068, p.51) identifies as one of the women's economic empowerment means "Greater access to financial resources inside and outside the household reducing vulnerability of poor women to crisis and the power to retain income and use at the decision level." He also has stressed on a healthy mind which will be encouraging to participate on economic activities. Health and wealth are always interconnected factor that are known as two sides of the same coin like poverty and social problem. Here poverty is linked with economic factor that economically poor are always deprived of every aspect.

Economy (Poverty) and Gender Discrimination in Relation to Child Marriage

Where poverty is acute, a young girl may be regarded as an economic burden and her marriage to a much older - sometimes even elderly - man is believed to benefit the child and her family both financially and socially, often representing a significant economic activity for a family. A daughter may be the only commodity a family has left to be traded and sometimes girls can be used as currency or to settle debts. A girl's marriage may also take place as a perceived means of creating stability. In uncertain times, poor harvest conditions or war, a family may believe it is necessary to ensure the economical 'safety' of their daughter and family, through marriage. In most of the low economic community, one of the prime reasons to marry daughters early is dowry problem (Adhikari., R.C. (2006, p.1).

In Africa the monetary value of bride price, or bride wealth, is linked with marriage. Bride price is a sum, either in cash or kind, used to purchase a bride for her labor and fertility. In the context of poverty, the practice of paying bride price can encourage early marriage. Young girls, a resource with which their parents can attain greater wealth, are married off a young age, for the bride price and also as a way for parents to lessen their economic burdens. In traditional society male perform the role of bread winner and the female as care taker. In some developing countries sons are still considered as the supporter of the old age and the daughters as the economic burden as they are supposed to give dowry during marriage ceremony, Though the poorer families express their inability to send their children to the school, in practice, it has been found that they send their son to the school. In societies where girls are not seen as potential contributors to the household income, for example, or where impoverished might be expected to provide large dowries for their daughters when they reach the age of marriage. Female infanticide is more likely to occur than in societies where boys and girls are seen as having complementary equally productive parts to play in sustaining the household economy.

Education

There is believed that quality education sector is played role as an agent of change. Large numbers of the girls who drop out of school is because of early marriage, and leaving many such girls/women who married early illiterate. Early marriage plans can also discourage a girl's parents from educating their daughter because they believe that a formal education will only benefit her future family in-laws. Girls tend to drop out of school shortly before or when they get married. There is a common place view that once a girl is married she has crossed the threshold into adulthood and no longer needs an education.

Lack of education also means that young brides often lack knowledge about sexual relations, their bodies and reproduction, exacerbated by the cultural silence surrounding these subjects. This denies the girl the ability to make informed decisions about sexual relations, planning a family, and her health, yet another example of their lives in which they have no control. Girls in Africa are already less likely to go to attend school than boys, particularly in poorer households, the non-education of the girl child is a problem compounded by child marriage, with studies showing a strong

correlation between a woman's age at marriage and the level of education she achieves.

Education and knowledge of truth is essential for an individual to be confident autonomous and to think critically and independently. Education plays an important role in gender discrimination. Because of the low level of education, women are forced to stay home to clean and cook. Most of the research show in the rural area of Nepal, girl do not receive higher education because they are liabilities to others. But boys are found in the ground of being bread winner therefore sent to schools. The interaction between gender bias and adult literacy suggest a vicious intergenerational cycle that keeps the girl child in a state of permanent educational backwardness.

Jenson and Thornton found little overall change in the average age at marriage for age cohorts born between 1950 and 1970 in most regions as well as little change in the incidence of child marriage. Focusing primarily on Colombia, India and Turkey, they noted strong correlations between a woman's age at marriage and the level of education she achieves, the age at which she gives birth to her first child and the age of her husband (Gender and Development, 2003). Therefore, the cyclical nature of early marriage results in a likely low level of education and life skills, increased vulnerability to abuse and poor health, and therefore acute poverty.

Sharma, Indira (2004, p.7) has discussed about why girls do not attend schools like boys. She argues that “Because of the social construction of gender in Nepalese society girls lag behind their male counterparts in educational status.”. She has explored various major causes of girls of dropping out from school. Of them early marriage/child marriage is one. The average national age of marriage for women is 17.5 years. But in most of the rural and remote areas girls get married at a much younger age. Child marriage is still practiced in many communities due to the prevailing cultural and religious beliefs.”

Education is one of the basic activities of people in all human societies. The continued existence of society depends upon the transmission of culture to the young and every society has its own way and means of fulfilling their needs. Education has come to be one of the ways of fulfilling these needs. Generally, it is believed if a person who is able to read and write short and simple sentences related to daily life in his/her

mother tongue or national language with understanding and who is able to communicate with others and perform simple tasks of calculation is known as literate and condition or that state of no knowledge of reading and writing is illiterate.

Swami Chandresh (2010) mentions the life of human being is essentially meant for education. The meaning of education is not merely imparting knowledge to the pupil in some subjects but develop in them those habits and attitude with which they may successfully face the future. It is the only way for attaining freedom from every kind of suffering as well as achieving spiritual emancipation. Education must enable a person to control his/her mind, the wild passion in it, by developing concentration, inspiration in a selfless spirit and above all, self-confidence. According to Aristotle's conception, the aim of education is to develop man's faculties, especially their mind, so that they may be able to enjoy the contemplation of the supreme truth, goodness and beauty in which perfect happiness essentially consists.

Family /National Law

Sometimes families are not even aware they are breaking the law. In some countries early marriage is so prevalent; prosecutions are seldom brought. Family law that force arranged marriages or early marriages (in some traditional society) often lead to gender discrimination. The women in these marriages are often abused both physically and sexually. Though polygamy is illegal in Nepal and a person who gets second marriage is subject to two months imprisonment and a fine. But the law does not invalidate the second marriage instead once the polygamist has served his prison term, his second marriage remains officially recognized. The society also permits a man to remarry within a few months after the death of the first wife because it is necessary for men to take care of the household, fields and children.

2.8 Consequences of Girl's Child Marriage

There are numerous detrimental consequences associated with child marriage, with physical, developmental, psychological and social implications.

Physical Consequences

When a child bride is married she is likely to be forced into sexual activity with her husband, and at an age where the bride is not physically and sexually mature this has severe health consequences.

UNICEF, (2006) has mentioned that young mothers face higher risks during pregnancies including complications such as heavy bleeding, fistula, infection, anemia, and eclampsia which contribute to higher mortality rates of both mother and child. At a young age a girl has not developed fully and her body may strain under the effort of child birth, which can result in obstructed labor and obstetric fistula. Obstetric fistula can also be caused by the early sexual relations associated with child marriage, which take place sometimes even before menarche.

According to ICRW (2014), the main causes of death among adolescent girls below age 19 in developing countries are pregnancy and child birth. Pregnant girls aged 15 to 20 are twice as likely to die in childbirth as those in their 20s, and girls under the age of 15 are five times as likely to die. These consequences are due to largely to girl's physical immaturity where the pelvis and birth canal are not fully developed. Teen pregnancy, particularly below age 15, increases risk of developing obstetric fistula since their smaller pelvises make them prone to obstructed labor. Fistula leaves its victims with urine or fecal incontinence that causes lifelong complications with infection, pain, and smell. Complications during pregnancy and birth are worsened in poor countries where child marriage is prevalent. Child brides are often isolated from their peers and abandoned if they develop health problems like fistula.

Good prenatal care reduces the risk of childbirth complications but in many instances, due to the limited autonomy or freedom of movement, young wives are not able to negotiate access to health care. They may be unable to access health services because of distance, fear, expense or the need for permission from a spouse or in-laws. These barriers aggravate the risks of maternal complications and mortality for pregnant adolescents.

A new ICRW (2014) report released in Delhi reveals that 60 percent of men surveyed in India had acted violently against their wife/partner at some point in their lives. The

study examines men's attitudes and practices around gender inequality, and offers recommendations to effectively engage men and boys in efforts to advance gender equality. Child brides are more likely to experience domestic abuse, and violence than their peers who marry later. In the newspapers one can read tragic event of bride burning in Nepal. Within 3 months 3 women were burnt alive in Nepalganga. In saptari district, one woman was raped but she failed to file the case against the violator. Violence/abuse is related to mental health and it can finally lead to post-traumatic stress and depression (Kafle, M. (2067, p. 31). Causes of Early marriages are sometimes seen by parents as a mechanism for protecting their daughters from HIV/AIDS, future husbands may already be infected from previous sexual encounters; a risk which is particularly acute for girls with older husbands. The age disparity between a child bride and her husband, in addition to her low economic autonomy, further increases a girl's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. It exacerbates the abilities of girls and women to make and negotiate sexual decisions, including whether or not to engage in sexual activity, issues relating to the use of contraception and condoms for protecting against HIV infection, and also their ability to demand fidelity from their husbands. Child brides are more likely to contract HIV than their unmarried counterparts because of their greater sexual exposure, often with an older husband who by virtue of his age is more at risk of being HIV positive.

FORWARD (2014) mentions that there is also a clear link between female genital mutilation and early marriages of girls and communities who practice FGM are also more likely to practice girl child marriages. FGM is carried out at puberty and then marriages are arranged immediately afterwards. It is also common in FGM practicing communities for a man to refuse to marry a girl or woman who has not undergone FGM, or to demand that FGM is carried out before marriage.

Developmental Consequences

Child Marriage also has considerable implications for the social development of children especially with child brides, in terms of low levels of education, poor health and lack of agency and personal autonomy. The Forum on Marriage and the Rights of Women and Girls explains that 'where these elements are linked with gender inequities and biases for the majority of young girls, their socialization which grooms them to be mothers and submissive wives, limits their development to only reproductive roles'.

Psychological and Social Consequences

It is a huge responsibility for a young girl to become a wife and mother and because girls are not adequately prepared for these roles. This heavy burden has a serious impact on their psychological welfare, their perceptions of themselves and also their relationship.

Women who marry early are more likely to suffer abuse and violence, with inevitable psychological as well as physical consequences. Studies indicate that women who marry at young ages are more likely to believe that it is sometimes acceptable for a husband to beat his wife, and are therefore more likely to experience domestic violence themselves. "Gender relations in developing countries have been affected by factors such as the economy, environmental conditions, war, and political crisis, education, religion, and western influence" (Canadian hand book (1991, p.28). Violent behavior can take the form of physical harm, psychological attacks, threatening behavior and forced sexual acts including rape. Abuse is sometimes perpetrated by the husband's family as well as the husband himself, and girls that enter families as a bride often become domestic slaves for the in-laws.

Early marriage has also been linked to wife abandonment and increased levels of divorce or separation and child brides also face the risk of being widowed by their husbands who are often considerably older. In these instances the wife is likely to suffer additional discrimination as in many cultures divorced, abandoned or widowed women suffer a loss of status, and may be ostracized by society and denied property rights.

Early and forced marriage contributes to driving girls into a cycle of poverty and powerlessness. Research show, they are likely to experience repeated violence, abuse and forced sexual relations and women who marry younger are more likely to be beaten and make them to believe that husbands can justify it.

2.9 Reproductive Health Issues on Adolescents Pregnancy and Delivery

Women like men have basic physical health needs including adequate diet, rest and access to health care, but because of their reproductive capacities, women's bodies have special biological needs over and above those of men. A broader understanding of women's health and wellbeing is therefore called for a definition that incorporates women's entire lives, the full range of their needs and activities and all the

discomforts and illness that they face. Their health needs are not only determined by their biological sex given at birth but also by a gender identity which is culturally constructed and socially produced. The tragedy of maternal mortality in developing countries is not just a health problem; it should be recognized also as a human rights issue.

The theme for World Health Day in 1998 was: "Pregnancy is Special; let's make it safe". When the World Health Assembly adopted this theme, it was setting a principle in health policy. Menstruation, pregnancy, lactation, menopause and overall gynecological health require higher nutritive intakes-more iron, calcium and protein throughout a women's life. When reviewing the state of women's health in Nepal it seems unrealistic to separate women's physical and mental health from her expected roles in a society. With the rising concern and focus on women's issues both at the national and international levels many activists, social workers, academicians and professionals are devoting their time to upgrade the status of women in society. However, the understanding of women's health is limited to the reporting of morbidity, mortality and fertility rate. Health of women is viewed only as being related to her reproductive system, thus holistic vision about women's health is lacking. Although, there are several studies conducted worldwide about the causes and negative health consequences of the girl child caused due to child marriage, very few studies have been done in Nepal.

Reproductive Health: Treatment of Nursing Mother on the Floor

Very zone hospital in Nepal is lacking maternity ward. In the maternity ward the pregnant mother to be given birth had been treated on the walking corridor due to lack of bed in the hospital. The woman was operated, she so being very cold and unhygienic environment got infection on the wound and seriously felt sick. But it is not the only problem of hospital bed equally her unhygienic food on the open corridor where visitors who come to see and provide service to the patient. The concerned doctor of the hospital said," Relative/visitors come with pollution like dust, other bacteria and infectious sources stacked to their clothes which easily get transferred into the contact with the nursing mother. If these People are advised not to go for some time to see the patient, fighting stars with the hospital personnel." (Tharu., T.S., (2013, p.5).

In 1994, more than 180 States adopted the ICPD definition of reproductive rights, recognizing that: *---Reproductive rights embrace certain human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other consensus documents. These rights rest on the recognition of the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so, and the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health. It also includes their right to make decisions concerning reproduction free of discrimination, coercion and violence, as expressed in human rights documents (U N ICPD, 1994); paragraph 7,*

According to International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, 1994) held in Cairo, Egypt from 5 to 13 September convened by the United Nations had its main objective as to emphasize the direct links between reproductive health of girl child/women and human rights placing the concerns of women and the girl child at the center of the conference themes. Concern over population explosion against prompted participants to examine the crucial causes of large families, poverty, lack of family planning, poor health, limited excess to education and lack of women's rights were identified as the main factors in that regard. It was also pointed out that early marriage and pregnancy leading to high fertility and poor sexual and reproductive health prevented the girl child from pursuing fully her education and employment opportunities. The conference reaffirmed that investment in the girl child's health, nutrition and education from infancy was crucial to development. The conference further emphasized that there was a need to eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl child for example son preference—which resulted in harmful and unethical practices such as prenatal sex selection and female infanticide. The conference urged concerned governments to increase public awareness of the value of girl children through public education, promoting equal treatment for girls and boys at all levels. It was emphasized that child marriage should be eliminated and arranged marriages discouraged.

The fourth world conference on women was held at Beijing from 4 to 15 September 1995 convened by the United Nations, adopted a platform for action concentrating on “Critical areas of concern” that had been identified as obstacles to the advancement of women in the world and set an agenda for advancement of women at national,

regional and international levels into the next century. The themes that had been identified include poverty, education, health, violence and the effects of armed or other kinds of conflict on women and human rights. The issue of traditional practices affecting the health of women and children were raised at various regional meetings held in the preparation for the conference. The draft platform for action for the conference makes specific mention of harmful traditional practices and calls for increased public awareness about violence as violation of women's human rights.

WHO defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity? Health is defined in different ways by different authors. One of the definitions defines health a quality of life which involves social, mental and biological fitness on the part of the individual which results from adaptations to the environment.

Advocate, Shrestha, Sharmila (2068,p.6) defines and mentions reproductive rights which is "From conception to till old age, a complete cycle of health and reproductive stage". It implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant. In line with the above definition of reproductive health, reproductive health care is defined as the constellation of methods, techniques and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being by preventing and solving reproductive health problems. It also includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counseling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases.

Components of Reproductive Health

Fathalla, M.F. (1997) describes being a woman has implications for health. Health needs of women can be broadly classified under four categories. First, women have

specific health needs related to the sexual and reproductive function. Second women have an elaborate reproductive system that is vulnerable to dysfunction or disease even before it is put to function or after it has been put out of function. Third women are subject to the same diseases of other body systems that can affect men. The disease patterns often differ from those of men because of genetic constitution, hormonal environment or gender-evolved lifestyle behavior. Diseases of other body systems or their treatments may interact with conditions of the reproductive system or function. Fourth because women are women they are subject to social diseases which impact on their physical, mental or social health. Examples include female genital mutilation, sexual abuse and domestic violence and early marriage and early pregnancy.

The needs of women have been traditionally addressed within the concept of maternal and child health (MCH). The needs of the woman were submerged in the needs of the mother. MCH programs and services have played and continue to play an important role in promotive, preventive and curative health care of mothers and children. MCH services tend to focus on the healthy child as the successful outcome. While mothers care is very much essential for this successful outcome because of the investment they make in the process of reproduction. This focus resulted in less emphasis being put on caring for the health risks to which mothers are liable during pregnancy and childbirth and on putting in place the essential obstetric functions and facilities to deal with them. As a result, the tragedy of maternal mortality in developing countries has now reached dimensions that can no longer be ignored.

The concept of MCH focuses special attention on women when and if they are reproducing to ensure that society gets a healthy child but often neglects their other reproduction-related health needs. Women's reproduction-related health needs are not limited to the reproductive years of their life. The girl child, the adolescent girl and the mature adult and older woman have health needs related to their future or past reproductive function. The societal attitude of looking at women as means and not ends is even more pervasive.

Sharma, Indira (2002, p.16) advises infant and child survival, growth and development cannot be improved without good maternity care. "The provision of care

for women during pregnancy and child birth is essential to ensure healthy and successful outcome of pregnancy for mother and her new born infant.”

Proper planning of births, including adequate child spacing is a basic ingredient of any child survival package. STDs and in particular HIV infection unless adequately controlled can impede further progress in child survival. Fertility regulation is a major element in any safe motherhood strategy. It reduces the number of unwanted pregnancies with a resultant decrease in the total exposure to the risk as well as a decrease in the number of unsafe abortions. Proper planning of births can also decrease the number of high risk pregnancies.

In Nepal girls/women face discrimination and marginalized in the family, society and state. As a result, in a country where the health system is already poor the level of women's health and education is particularly low. In rural Nepal, the key role of a woman is bearing children particularly sons. Reproductive and maternal health is of particular concern among Nepali women. Early and excessive childbearing weakens women, many of whom die or are chronically disabled from complications of pregnancy. It is common for Nepali women to experience a prolapsed uterus following birth. The prolapsed is often due to excessive work load which is demanding and strenuous. Often the prolapsed remains untreated for an extended amount of time. Pregnancy is taken as a natural process and for which medical care is regarded as unnecessary.

In fact, the Human Development Report (1996) reported that only 6% of births are attended by trained personnel. More than 13% of the global burden of disease is due to mental illness of which 80% is experienced in low and middle-income countries and mental disorders such as alcohol abuse, depression (including maternal depression), psychosis (notably schizophrenia) and epilepsy.

“Suicide in Nepal is on the rise and this phenomenon is not confined to urban areas only.” (G C, Singh. (1997, p.21). Suicides rates are among the highest in the world for women in the reproductive age suicides is even the leading cause of death. So a detailed mental health care package (MHCP) was developed during 2012.

Some current trend of violence against women associated with women's reproductive health, cases from different parts of Nepal and abroad

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Mishra., A., (2013, July 6) Trade of abortion flourishing. <i>Kantipur</i> daily newspaper Kathmandu: Kantipur Publications. Year 21 (139), p 6.

2.10 Parental Discriminatory Attitudes and Behave (Early Socialization) with Children

To have baby is not always joyful to parents and society. But equally the rearing and caring part of children in the very young stage is essential and needs to be efficient and ideal. Majority of the women activists/experts and feminist have agreed upon the wrong and discriminatory parental and societal attitudes and approach among both sexes. To discourage child marriage and gender-discrimination parental attitudes and behavior towards their offspring should be non-discriminatory and based on humanity.

“Several Asian countries including Nepal will have to face a great social problem in the near future because of the emerging trend of sex-selective abortion”. It is stated that china and India is in risk of this problem. In terrain area of Nepal, the gender imbalances are increasing (Adhikari, L(2007, p.10).

Each individual is born as a human being. Right after the birth they are started to treat differently according to their sex as man and woman. Gradually they are segregated in different activities in in different place like home. Sex role stereotypes are well established in early childhood .Their roles are constructed culturally in the homes and society. As they become mature, they develop gender schema (repressed consciousness) during lifetime to look as a man or woman rather than a human being, which should be corrected to eradicate discrimination from the society.

Thapaliya, Harinder (2002, p.10) indicates the research work on early gender socialization among boys and girls. “In most countries girls and boys are raised from the beginning to take on very different roles and to exhibit different characteristics. In some cases the excepted behaviors of girls may take them more likely to succeed in schooling than boys, in other cases the expectations of girls preclude their real participation in education.”

Feminist sociologists argue that the term used to describe the socially acquired characteristics associated with a particular sex is gender. And it is socially constructed not biologically determined. These feminist believe that women are biologically being like men whereas women’s subordination was socially constructed, therefore not biologically determined. Sex is biologically fixed and unchangeable but gender is

socially constructed through socialization and education along with other factors and can be changed. So the focus of feminist theories is based on gender which is changeable. Change in perception through awareness via education might be helpful in this regard. It is suggested by feminists that reading all the literature analytically and re-interpretation about gender roles is essential in this regard.

Lorber, J. (1994, p.166) in his *Paradoxes of gender* finds gender construction starts with assignment to a sex category on the basis of what genital look likes at birth. “When a couple truly shares parenting, the result is that the child has two primary care takers (Ehrensalt, 1987). Although some parents end up sharing parenting because each hold full- time job, for parents who share by choice, it is deliberate effort to give the child a more gender-neutral upbringing not by having each parent do exactly the same thing but by dividing chores and the time spent with the child equitably. Thus, she breast-feeds, the father changes diapers and walks the floor with a baby who does not want to go back to sleep right way.”

Witt, S. D. (1997) has mentioned different author’s versions in his work *gender socialization in the early years*. A child's earliest exposure to what to be male or female comes from parents (Lauer and Lauer, 1994, Antrock, 1994, Kaplan, 1991). From the time their children are babies, parents treat sons and daughters differently, dressing infants in gender specific colors, giving gender differentiated toys, and expecting different behaviors from boys and girls (Throne, 1993).

One study indicates that parents have differential expectations of sons and daughters as early as 24 hours after birth (Rubin, Provenzana, and Luria, 1974). Children internalize parental message regarding gender at an early age, with awareness about adult sex role differences being found in two- year old children (Weinraub, Clemens, Sacholoff, Ethridge, Gracely, and Myers, 1984).

One study found that children at two and half years of age use gender stereotypes in strengthen their world and are likely to generalize gender stereotypes to a variety of activities, objects, and occupations (Fagot, Leinbach, and O'Byole, 1992, Cowan and Hoffmn, 1986). Children even deny the reality of what they are seeing when it does not confirm to their gender expectations example—(That is child whose mother is a doctor stating that only men are doctors, Sheldon, 1990). Parents encourage their sons

and daughters to participate in sex-typed activities, including doll playing and engagement in housekeeping activities for girls and playing with trucks and engaging in sports activities for boys (Eccles, Jacobs, and Harold, 1990). children's toy preferences have been found to be significantly related to parental sex-typing (Etaugh and Dill, 1992, Henshaw, Kelly, and Gratton, 1992, Paretto and Sydney, 1984), with parents providing gender-differentiated toys and rewarding play behaviour that is gender stereotyped (Cartere, 1987).

While both mothers and fathers contribute to the gender stereotyping of their children, fathers have been found to reinforce gender stereotypes more often than mothers (Ruble, 1988). A study of children's rooms has shown that girl's rooms have more pink, dolls, and manipulative toys, boy's rooms have more blue sports equipment tools and vehicles (Pomerleau, Bolduc, Malcuit, and Cossette, 1990). Boys are more likely than girls to have domestic chores such as cooking and doing the laundry (Basow, 1992). This assignment of household tasks by gender, leads to children to link certain types of work with gender. Some studies have suggested that parental influences as a socializing factor has little impact on a child's sex role development (Lytton and Romney, 1991, Maccoby and Jacklin, 1980). Other research, however, suggests that parents are the primary influence on gender role development during the early years of life (Santrock, 1994, Miller and Lane in Berryman-Fink, Ballard-Reisch, and Newman, 1993, Kaplan, 1991). Because socialization is a two-way interaction, each person in the interaction influences the other (Lewis and Rosenblum, 1974). Thus, parents and children engage in reciprocal interaction, with children both responding to behaviors and eliciting behaviors (Kaplan, 1991). Also, development is influenced by many social factors and children may best be understood in terms of their environment (Bronfenbrenner, Alvarez, and Henderson, 1984). Many studies have shown that parents treat sons and daughters differently (Jacklin, D'Pietro, and Maccoby, Wolett and Lyon, and Parke and O'Leary, in Hargreaves and Colley, 1986, Snow, Jacklin, and Maccoby, 1983, Power, 1981). The parent-child relationship has effects on development that last well into adulthood, because of these long-lasting effects, the parent-child relationship is one of the most important developmental factors for the child (Miller and Laque in Berryman-Fink, et al, 1993). Parental attitudes towards their children have a strong impact on the child's developing sense of self and self-esteem, with parental warmth and support being key factors for the child

(Richards, Gitelson, Peterson, and Harting, 1991). Often, parents give subtle messages regarding gender and what is acceptable for each gender-such messages are internalized by the developing child (Aliss, 1991). (Haslett, Geist, and carte, 1992) speaks message about what is appropriate based on gender are so strong that even when children are exposed to different attitudes and experience, they will revert to stereotyped choices. (Witt.,S., D., 1997).

2.11 Relevant Case Studies from abroad and Different Parts of Nepal and its Brief Generalizations have been presented below to have a basic Understanding about Child Marriage Practices Prevalent in Selected Part of the World.

Abroad (Tanzanian-- A System of Raping Girls to Survive and Enhance Child Marriage Practice

A Tanzanian (African) 13 year old girl named Langer ran away from home when her father decided to marry her with a 30 year old adult man. In northern Tanzania, a mountain side place where about one million Masai populations are residing, only 10 percent of the total girls go to middle school there. Almost all young girls are deprived of education and compelled to marry with aged men and to accept slavery, abuse and rape. In larger's village, girls as young as 6 years of age are given in marriage. There is also an ill practice of raping the girl because when girls' are found pregnant; they are not allowed to go to school. This is socially accepted strategy which exists to make these young girls marry early with the boys who rape them (Tanzanian News from Naya patricar, 2008, p.10).

Yemen: A Bride Married at Age 9, Divorced at 10

Nujood Ali's memoir reveals how her impoverished father forced her to marry at the age of 9 with an older man, who raped her on the wedding night. She was later granted divorce, making her Yemen's first divorced child bride (CBI News from Times of India (2008, p.10).

Nepal

Bajura District

The wife of Nara Bahadur of Gumba village is 7 month pregnant. In the same village, wife of Dhana Bahadur also is pregnant. A surprising fact is by now; Nara Bahadur and Dhana Bahadur have become in-laws in relationship with each other. In case if one son and one daughter would born from the two women, the wedding would take place .In Gumba village of the Bischhumaya VDC, there is a trend in the ethnic Bhote cast family who fix the marriage of their children before birth or inside the womb/fetus. Then not even reaching 15 year, they formally marry their children. Around twenty-five families live in this village and marriages are fixed in the fetus. It is their original and traditional customs. Other three pair of their cast also has fixed their children's marriage before birth. 80 kilometer far from head quarter, Martandi, there are about thirty-eight children of fewer than 5 years of age living in the village, Nara Bahadur mentioned that marriage of these children have been settled already. Of the ethnic communities, Gurung, Lama, Kuwara etc are in the village. Their first preference of marriage lie within the cross cousin family (Mama-Chela, Phupu-Cheli), if not possible in cross cousin, then the nearest family are chosen for marriage. After the wedding at least for three years, the bride is supposed to stay in her in-law's house then only she is allowed to come to visit her parent's house. According to the local authority and social mobilizer of the village, though some advocacy programs are running in other VDC, but no such programs have been conducted in this village. Therefore, the people of this village are quite unaware of child marriage practice and its negative impact and these people accept it as normal and traditional one. Nobody in this village has passed SLC examination till now.

Earlier to this event news were published in Bajura District regarding similar cases of child marriage. To be married at the age of 9 years is actually a bit late because in the earlier days, marriages were fixed as early as when a baby was in its mother's womb. This is still a common marriage practice in Bajura district of far western Nepal, among the Bhote ethnic caste. According to their traditional values, these people take pride in getting their children married as early as possible especially daughters. According to human indicator, the life expectancy of the people of Bajura is 41 years; women have lesser life expectancy than this. There is no information about family

planning methods practiced by this community. Women generally have around 13 children by the time they reach 40 (Shah., A., 2014, p.5).

Baglung District

8 year old girl called Putali K., C, of Debisthan, studying in class 7 has been married. This marriage has proved to be a course for her. Four years back she had loved a boy of her village studying in class eight called Debendra K.C and made an elope marriage. Immediately after marriage, these couple left study. Debendra, her husband went to Saudi Arabia for job, Putali last year married with another man. She had three year old child from first husband, which almost is in orphan stage.

Likewise, Suntali Karki of Biokhola, ward number 7 also gave birth to a son before marriage at a very early age and carrying her child. She is confused to speak about who are her legal husbands, whether her own Bhinaju or other neighbors where she is working as a labor. According to the resource person of the village, in Ratna Rajya Secondary School, Devisthan Higher Secondary School, Gynendra Secondary, Nisi, Gyanodaya Secondary, Bobang Chore Gaun Secondary School and many other schools in the village, there are plenty of early married and pregnant girls. Almost all are unaware of the safe delivery and reproductive health. There is growing trend to drop out from education after marriage. According to Head Mistress of one school, almost all girls leave school before reaching class 10. According to her, girl and boys without hesitation come home with girlfriends and boyfriends. But parents do not take actions. So there is growing tendency of elopement of pregnant girls with boys. Parental consent marriage is almost zero, but she says almost 100% of children themselves take responsibilities for their marriage. According to the Head Mistress, parents take no interest towards their children; therefore children marry in the early years by themselves.

According to the head master of secondary school of Chore Gaun, not only in Dalit and ethnic group community, but child marriage is equally growing among Chhhetri community. There are countless girls married at an early age. Some come to school with carrying babies also. In the lower class, more than enough students are enrolled, but reaching in secondary grade, only boys remain. Almost all girls are already married and leave school. One girl working in the child club, who was married early,

now, has learned some lesson. According to her, learning the trend of marrying early from parental generations, as well as accepting their love/choice and early marriage easily are the prime factor to increase and continue child marriage.

When teachers try to counsel parents, those teachers are teased, so effective awareness program to parents is essential. There is no statistics available as how many such marriages occur in one year? Only in higher Secondary school, Debisthan, more than 30 children are married in one year in early age within school.

According to the Chief of the awareness club of the village, parents go to work in the field, children at home do not pay more attention to study and only use mobile phone and this is the prime cause of such early marriage. The club is doing some awareness program against it, but children even involved in the club make love and eloe for marriage. The chief of the club says, ‘this is not actually marriage but mobile marriage. Almost married children leave child club also, so it is being difficulty to make complete forum to work in the child club.

In some places of the village, there is practice of capture marriage (dragging the girl). The club members have protested it. But parents are easily accepting such marriage. In the school, so many girls are captured. But the girls who are captured for marriage do not remain longer in the in-laws house. Many of them have married again in their own choice. Very few have stayed in the home (Baral., P., 2014, p.5).

Rupendehi District

A 16 year old girl named Puspa, Dhawan, at present studying in grade 6, was married with a 17 year’s old boy two years earlier, when she was only 14 years old. She comes to school wearing all ornaments as a symbolic of married Hindu woman. Still after marriage, her continue to school is great lucky option for her. In the morning and evening time she is supposed to learn her household chores by her in-laws. Therefore she does not have time do her regular school home work. She was a brilliant student before, now her academic standard has come down. She herself and her parents no body is aware of this fact. Like Puspa in Piparhara secondary school, the processes of marriage from class 4 begin, and almost all girls are married and rarely these girls reach the higher grades. According to the Principal (Bhagirara Chaudhary) of the

school, during some years before, many girls after marriage would not again join school, but at present 50% of the married girls come to school. And this is a positive aspect of the in-laws, but these married girls are not allowed to mix with outsiders, and other groups and remain in strict discipline (mobility restricted). Though they are attending school, but being frequent absent and failure to complete the home work, these girls are not able to perform good in the examination.

Authorities and experienced people of the village say that the deep rooted religious belief that if daughters are married early, parents are liable to receive spiritual 'Punya', low investment for daughters, and also low dowry to offer if daughters are small in age, are some of the key factors of child marriages in this community. In the Terai community of Rupendehi, there is high prevalence of child marriage practice (Anmol.,A., 2014, p. 7).

Banke District (Paraspur)

A father of a 12 year old girl named Laxmi Chamar of Holia, ward number 9, Banke district, Nepal has settled her marriage. But marriage would be followed only being after 20years. It was made a written commitment by the parents of laxmi among the community people and concerned authorities of child marriage, as they raised the issues of early marriage. Such trends are also growing among other community. It might be that parents at least feel safe once their young children's marriage is settled for not indulging in love and inter-cast marriage as well as free from heavy dowry to pay for girls.

Similarly, 10 year old Phulmati was married with a 12 year boy named Pasiram of another VDC, Indrapur -8. The marriage was arranged by her parents. The newly married bride remained 15 days in her groom's house and returned to her family. Later on, her husband did not come to take her. Phulmati had some problem with walking, may be knowing this fact, her husband refused to accept her and after 10 years of marriage, he filed a case for divorce with her.

Another girl Nisha Jaharel, was only 14 year when was married, studying at grade 9. After marriage, she failed to continue her education and came back to her parental home. Two girls Manisha Begam and Tauba Ali's marriage were also broken in the

same manner. These are some of the examples of early marriage which brought family disintegration.

In the name of tradition and culture, in Muslim and Madheshi Community, there is practice of getting married at an early age of children. But as the couple grows by age, their demand, desire and interest also differ and which bring the breakdown of the marriage. A boy suffering from such practice says, 'I was married at an early age, but I do not accept the marriage done without my knowledge', luckily, Laxmi Ram was involved in anti-child marriage program, and so he became succeeded to understand the process of divorce. But other grooms like laxmi Ram are facing problem being unable to understand the legal process of divorce (Tharu., T.,S., 2014, p.19).

Pyuthan District

A survey conducted at several (Pyuthan), VDC of Rapti zone, Pyuthan District shows several case of child marriage due to different reasons. The second grader at Bidhananda Secondary School in the village, now rarely attends classes as she is caught in household drudgery. Also last week, a 13 years old girl, who was working as a child laborer, in nearby, was also married off in Bhingri VDC. No wonder a recent survey conducted by Save the Children at various parts of the District shows that a staggering 33 percent of the total marriages in the District are child marriages. The study was carried out in Arkha, Bangesal, Bhingri, Gothibang, Hansapur, Okharkot, and Puja VDCs. The prevalence of child marriage is indeed frustrating. But, it is equally frustrating that the concerned authorities have been turning a blind eye to the blatant violation of the law of the land that has put a ban on child marriage

When Republica approached the District Police Office (DPO) of Pyuthan to enquire about the recent cases of child marriage in the district, the police had a ready-made answer: Nobody has lodged a case against any child marriage. Chairperson of the United Nation's Population Fund in Pyuthan, Prem Narayan Shrestha, said that the cases of child marriage, mostly enforced by guardians, are on the rise, among the economically marginalized families in the District. The survey conducted by Save the Children has noted that child marriage is mostly concentrated in the Dalit and the Indigenous communities of the District. "Out of the total population of 15 years old youths, 42 percent of them have become the victim of child marriage in the District.

In addition to that, the trend of children getting married while studying at the lower secondary level has also drastically increased," said the authority. The National Census 2012 shows that the number of people in the District married under the age of 20 stands at 70,000, while the number stands at 9,800 for those married between the ages of 10 to 14. The census also shows that 579 children below the age of ten have been married off in the District.

Similarly, in another case, an eleven year old Padma khatri of Gothibang VDC-2 of Pyuthan was married off to a man from Siruwabari in Udayapur District last week. Her poor parents thought marrying their daughter at a tender age would ease their financial burden but they had clearly failed to realize it's devastating impact on Padma's life. The second grader at Bidhabnanda secondary school in the village, now rarely attends classes as she is caught in household drudgery. Also last week, a 13 years old girl, who was working as a child laborer in nearby Bringi VDC, was also married off (Save the children, world vision and plan international, 2012).

Sindhupalchok District

Earlier this year I visited a beautiful village in the hills of Sindhupalchok District, Nepal, and met a smart and little shy, 14 year-old girl named Laxmi. She told me about her school and her village two hours away. Two weeks later, I felt a hint of despair when I found out that she had been married off. With twenty being the legal age for marriage in Nepal, the wedding was illegal, but not a secret. The school staff and Laxmi's friends knew about it and didn't expect to see her often from then on – it was unlikely that she would ever return to school. Her story is not unique. In Nepal, 41% of girls are married before their eighteenth birthday and 10% are married before they turn fifteen. Girls like Laxmi who get married off early rarely have access to education because they are expected to drop out of school, move to their husband's home and perform domestic chores (*Girls at risk of child marriage in the beautiful village in the hills of Sindhupalchok district, Nepal, 2013*).

Mugu District

Child marriage is increasing day by day in the nearby areas of the headquarter of Mugu district in Namuna VDC. Majority of children are married early here. Ethnic and Dalit communities like Bham, Rawal, Rajuwal, Rokaya, and Mahatari etc. live in the VDC. About 22 pair of children got married in this VDC. Of the three hundred

and thirty tow householder in Bham ward, twenty five householders are Dalits. After the month of Baishak, seven pair of Dalit children are married early VDC to discourage child marriage. Child club, youth club, child welfare committee of the VDC, Governmental and non-governmental organization, all are collectively working to eliminate child marriage practice. But the result is not as desired. Parents have mentioned the cause of child marriage as their heavy burden of house work .Because of this they pressure their children to marry early. It is stated by the chairperson of child welfare committee. He also said it was a shame for him to go out in the market because large numbers of children were married early in his village.

Many steps were taken to end child marriages practice but they did not work. So, effective steps like counseling committee about marriage had been established in ward level. In the village, mothers have been found to pressure more to marry early their sons. A local woman called Hasukalla said", "When parents become old and sick, they need labor force at home to help them." So parents pressure their son to marry and bring daughter in law at home.

Child clubs of the VDC had protested some early marriage events but it did not properly work. The couples did not marry formally but they stared living together in the same house. As a result the girls were pregnant at an early age. Such trends of early pregnancy are increasing in the VDC. Thus, a new problem has emerged in the village regarding being mother at an early age without marriage. The children burn this way are not given social value and even people do not like to drink water touched by such parents. These children are called Mattuwal in the village (Malla., S., 2012, p. 9).

Gorkha District

In a society where dating is not the norm, more Nepalese teenagers are choosing to elope, forcing NGOs to change their assumptions about early and forced marriage.

When 14-year-old Deumaya from Gorkha district in Nepal, talked about getting married, she said: "I met my husband in the village. He is two years older than me. It was a love marriage – we were in love. We went to another village and stayed there for some time. When we came back, people said we were married." Deumaya's story is common in many rural Nepalese communities. While the number of child marriages have been decreasing, a staggering 41%, despite the fact that the legal age

of marriage is 20. Despite child marriage being a human rights violation and the negative effects on girls and subsequently their children being well documented in rural Nepal, an increasing number of these unions are getting love marriages. This is seen to be different from traditional arranged marriages, where two families come together and arrange their children's future spouse. In villages, dating is often impossible because of social norms. When an adolescent couple decides to be together, marriage – often by eloping against their parents' wishes – is their only choice. This practice is known to them as love marriage. Nepal is a culturally diverse country, and the prevalence of love marriages varies between communities, regions, castes and ethnic groups. Earlier studies estimated that about 10% of marriages in rural areas were decided by girls. We know from our interviews in the field that love marriages among adolescents are a growing trend, and more recent research confirms that more than 25% of marriages are based on the girl's decision.

Parents attribute the growing popularity of love marriages to increased literacy and access to mass media, such as Hindi films, operas etc. Mobile phones are also said to play a large role by enabling adolescents to talk to their peers without their parent's knowledge (Global Adolescent Girl's' Development Professional's Network, Gorkha District, 2014).

Dolakha District

A 15 year old girl, Tara Kumari Thami, a residence of Kalinchok, (about 11 miles away from the northern district of Dolakha, Nepal), is currently busy working in two houses, at both her parents' and her in-laws' house because her marriage had been fixed 6 years earlier with a 17 year old boy; an arranged marriage accepted by both families. It is a practice called 'Gauna', in which young pre-pubertal girls are married in accordance with their parents' wishes but are free to live with their own parents until they reach puberty. The marriage is confirmed by exchanging 'shaguns' or auspicious gifts between the two families. Hence, Tara kumari is obliged to perform household chores as a daughter-in-law at her husband's house (Manandhar., R., 2064 B S, p.37).

Chitwan District

It is the true story of Eastern Chitwan in Bbirendra nagar VDC. In this village there is prevalence of child marriage practice. This is the case of Aarati. She is going to be

married to a ten year old boy called Bhim Rawat. Aarati was in class three in Mahendra Aadarsh Secondary school but her husband was an illiterate boy. All the relatives and the village people were enjoying the wedding. The priest was reciting Vedic mantras. At the same time the groom was found playing on the wedding Munch. The girl named Aarati was also brought to the wedding place. She also was busy playing with her friends. Both of the couple had no idea about the meaning of marriage. The groom's father was a helper in cleaning the office in Bharatpur municipality. Aarati's father was a farmer in the village. He said that marrying daughter early was their tradition and it was also the issue of prestige. Of his four daughters, youngest was Aarti. He gave one bicycle and some money as a gift to groom party. Nobody in the village protested such open early marriage. Neighbor Rajan Malli said, "It seems it is very old tradition but it cannot be changed at a time". Likewise, another girl called Gandhi Raut, was also married early. Similarly, nine years old girl called kiran Raut of this village was married last year. But she did not know about the meaning of marriage. now, she is at her parent's home. She said," when I grow matured, they will come to take me. " (Hamal., C., 2013, p.1).

Sarlahi District

In the place called Dumdume of Lalbandi of Sarlahi district, a grade wedding ceremony took place it was a child marriage. 12 years old groom (boy) called Rakesh Malli and ten years old bride (girl) called Radha Malli (Dom ethics community) were married. The marriage was completed according to Hum tradition /culture of the malli cast. The boy said, "the marriage happened so early because he was supposed to look after pigs during the time he needed education. The boy was illiterate totally and without education he got married. Radha Malli also knows that her friends have gone to school but being totally uneducated she is going to be married. On the grand wedding ceremony there was open drum set music. The couple Radha and the Rakesh were looking happy. Radha said,"I love my marriage very much because it is just like play for me ." But both of the young couple are unaware of the fact that married life has a sensitive and major responsibility in the future. Not only did those, thirty people of the village not make any concern to such young marry. They enjoyed the wedding feast. In this malli cast, children from the age of five start to get married . The 12 year old Rakesh Malli lives in Aurahi-4 of Mahottari district, Nepal. Lalbandi is the maternal uncle's families (mamaghar of Rakesh).The father of the bride Mahabir

Malli said, " in this cast there is a tradition that children are married in their mother's house(maternal uncle /mamaghar)." Mahabir Malli is the dweller of Inerwa VDC of Dhunusa district, Janakpur.

When the married couple returns from their maternal uncle house into their family house they are known as Donga. This name / title provided by the society holds a significant and prestige and social value. Later on, Donga couple is considered as matured couple to run the house hold and physically lived together. In the Malli community, where there is one Malli family in the village, no other Malli family is allowed to stay there. There is a tradition in the village, "there exist Dom/Malli king and one Queen only. If they want moved from there, they can sell the village." the father of the grooms said. The main occupation of this cast is to make Chhiri, hand make fan, nanglo, dhakki , tati of bamboom etc. Besides this they have animal husbandry also mainly they keep pigs at home (Sarlahi District correspondence, 2007,p.16)

Rautahad District

A father, Yadab by caste, suffering from leprosy gave his pre-pubertal daughter away in an arranged marriage to a 14 year old boy from the same district, Rautahad, Nepal. As there was no one to look after him, he decided the only option was to get his daughter married and keep his son-in-law at his home to take care of him. (Puri., Y. R., 2008, p.16).

Similarly in Japha District the Gandharva people do not know about the legal aspect of marriage. They take pride in getting their sons and daughters married by the ages of 12 to 16 years which plays an important role in maintaining their social status. Apart from people residing in Jhapa, there are many other communities in Nepal who are unaware and ignorant about the legal age of marriage. In Parbat district, a woman of 72 years of age remembers how she spent a lonely life as her husband died a mere 2 days after their marriage which was arranged by their parents according to the Hindu tradition. She still believes that marrying at an early age is a good practice which keeps society tame and pure, although she has had a long and lonely life.

In Nuwakot District, a place where child marriage is commonly practiced is 'kagatigaun' (lemon village in Okharpauwa of Nuwakot District of Nepal. According to a local club working for public awareness, 7 pairs of girls from age 12---16 years of

age were given in marriage at a time by their parents. In the last decades, children below 10 years of age had been married in a group of 20-25 pairs at a time (Kafle., M.,2008).

Recent News, Events and Cases Regarding Child Marriage of Different Parts and Communities of Nepal Stated in National Newspapers and Magazines

Mishra., A., (2012, December 8).Kangaroo care for premature babies. <i>Kantipur</i> daily newspaper. Kathmandu: Kantipur Publications. Year 20. (288), p. 9.
Nepal., N., (2008, March 1 st) Age-difference, <i>Kathmandu Post</i> . Kathmandu: Kantipur Publications Groups. Volume XVI (16), p. 4.
Pandey., T.,R., (2013, March 22). Girls Raped in Chow Shed. <i>Kantipur</i> . Year 21 (33), p. 8.
Phuyal., S., (2013, july 11). Carelessness in maternal care. <i>Kantipur</i> daily newspaper Kathmandu: kantipur publications. Year 21 (144), p. 6.
Agency News Preparation for ninth marriage (2007, October 10). <i>Kantipur</i> daily newspaper Year 15(234). Kathmandu: Kantipur Publications, p. 10.
Shahi., R., B.,(2013, April 20). Risk due to unsafe abortion. <i>Kantipur</i> daily newspaper. Kathmandu: Kantipur Publications.Year 21 (33), p. 16.
Rijal, S. (2008, March 1). Violence against Women On rise. <i>Kathmandu Post</i> Kathmandu: Kantipur Publication Groups. Volume XVI (12), p. 3.
Shah, A., Bajura district (2010). A 60 year old man tried to wed a 14 year old girl by throwing vermin powder. <i>Kantipur</i> daily newspaper. Kathmandu: Kantipur Publications. Year 17 (327), p. 2.

2.12 Concluding Remarks

Child marriage practice is wide spread in Nepal. It is prevalent in major caste as well as other suppressed (Dalit) group of Nepal. Compared boys, more girls are married at an early age. This is an issue of abuse of human rights of both sexes. “Dom girls marry early to escape poverty. And they are totally unaware of the laws against child marriage.” Kafle, M. (2002, p.64). Through the literature it is found that traditional/socio-cultural/religious, economic, educational and sex- based discriminations are associated in such marriages. One of the prime reasons of it is parent’s own discriminatory attitudes to boys and girls. Parents not only discriminate

girls because of sex, but boys also are discriminated and married to serve family purpose maintain as a social tradition. In the above different case studies of child marriages under lying causes and negative health consequences of girl child has been mentioned. Literature mention child brides face severe torture in in-laws home. Along with traditional arranged marriages of small children there is growing trend of love marriages among all communities but it is more common in ethnic and Dalit groups. In such self-initiated marriages girls are taking more interest and in many elopement cases girl's envelopment is more effective than boys.

Pokharel, Samidha (2009, p.53) discusses about sex discrimination in the society which according to her occurs consciously, unconsciously, intentionally and unintentionally or sometime in the name of protection or special love or attention too. It might be the reasons for majority of the Nepalese girls/women who are aware about the societal discrimination do not consider similar behavior as discrimination though such discriminatory behavior can be seen in their daily life. Research work shows that "Education makes difference in women's perception towards the discrimination." Educational status of the women plays the prominent role on making a difference on how they perceive about discrimination. Quality education and health services play vital role to enhance women's participation in economic activities. Total unawareness or the initialization of certain discrimination helps the perpetrator of discrimination to continue the discrimination in the society.

Child marriage and gender-based discrimination is an extreme case of violation of human right of children and of the girl child. It is prevalent not only in Tamang caste but in other major caste and minor ethnic communities too. However, the contemporary Nepalese society has started to march ahead to replace proper alternative to this inhuman activities. Women's populations are more than half in Nepal. Therefore, Change in women's own thinking of any class or cast would help in bringing about change in social values, institutions and in social life as a whole. The conclusion can be drawn that Humanity is the only cast in the universe. All other are social construction that has become a system of cultural practices and created gender –based discrimination world-wide. In the spiritual system of the eternal and universal practice, there is equality on the top. There is equal spiritual/religious position of women and men, which needs to be made clear interpretation and re-interpretation. Parental ground of humanity is essential for socialization of children. Then there will be cultivation of androgynous character brought up in gender free and egalitarian type.

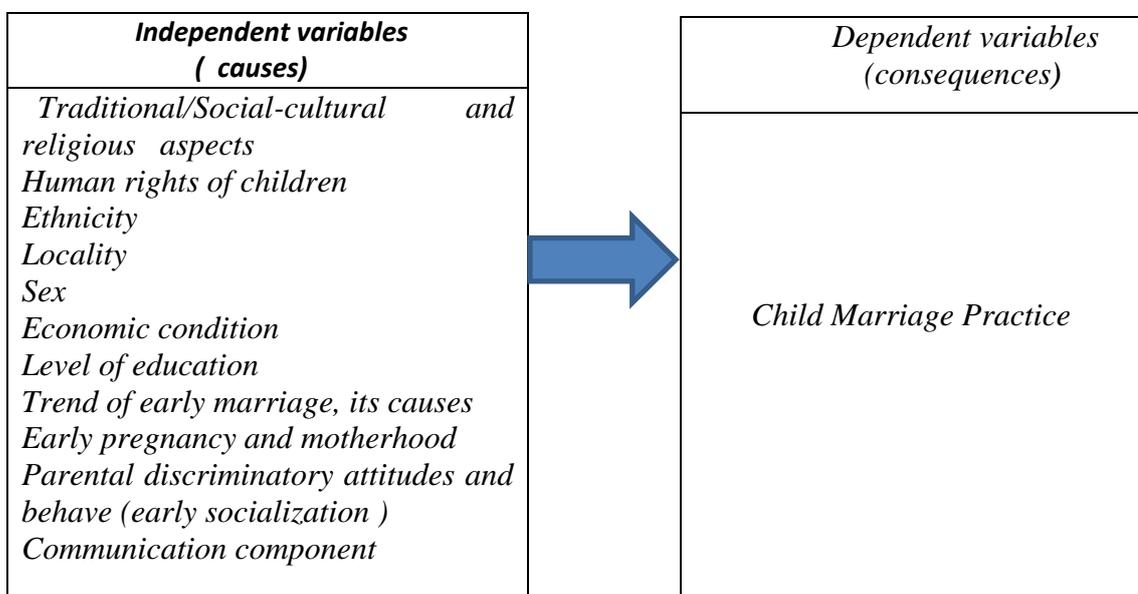
Shastri, Chandrashekhar (2002, p.212) speaks about humanity and human quality. “Human- beings are noble species interested in humanitarian works for the welfare of humanity. Man, the end product of biological evolution has a beastly nature by birth. From this point onward by Sanskara (state of consciousness), life evolves on a different plane to turn into human kind to flower in the spiritual world”. It has been mentioned in the ancient Vedic text that there was love, compassion, and kindness at the beginning. It is for individual to bring the noble qualities in his/her life transferring the inhuman traits that make them selfish and beastly in nature.”

Conceptual Framework: Key Variables

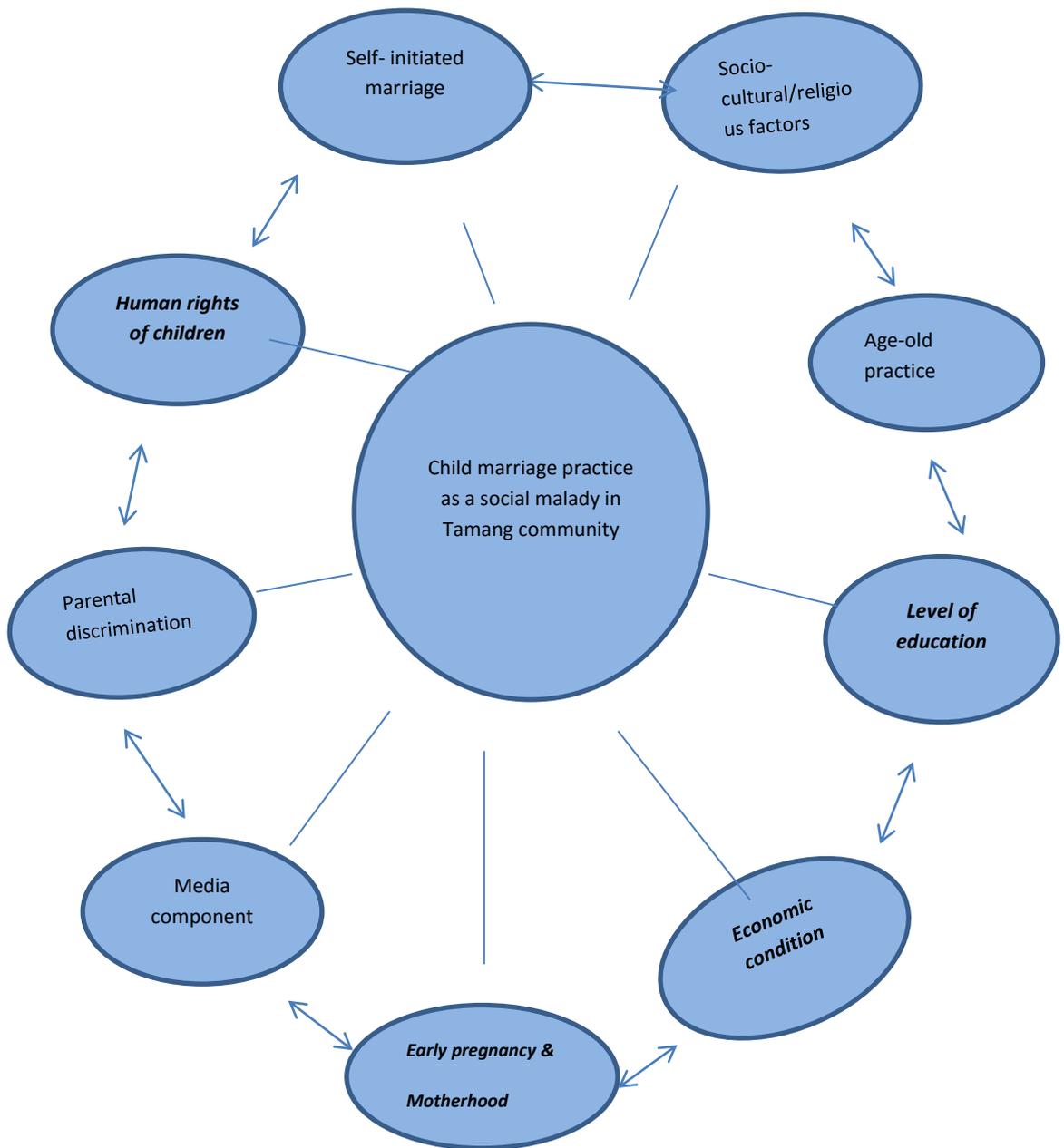
The practice of forceful child marriage among male and female in Nepal can be challenged from the Universal Human Rights perspectives. A human rights approach requires a holistic analysis of the causes and consequences of such marriages. It also requires that gender discrimination concerned with the girl child marriage as family concerns and regarded as private matter need to be understood as human and public matters.

Child marriage is wide spread in different parts of Nepal among different communities. The underlying causes of child marriage and , focus with girl-child in Nepal seems to lay a complex set of deep rooted social, cultural, religious, historical, legal, demographic and educational as well as in the everyday fact of poverty.

2.13 Conceptual Framework: Key Variables

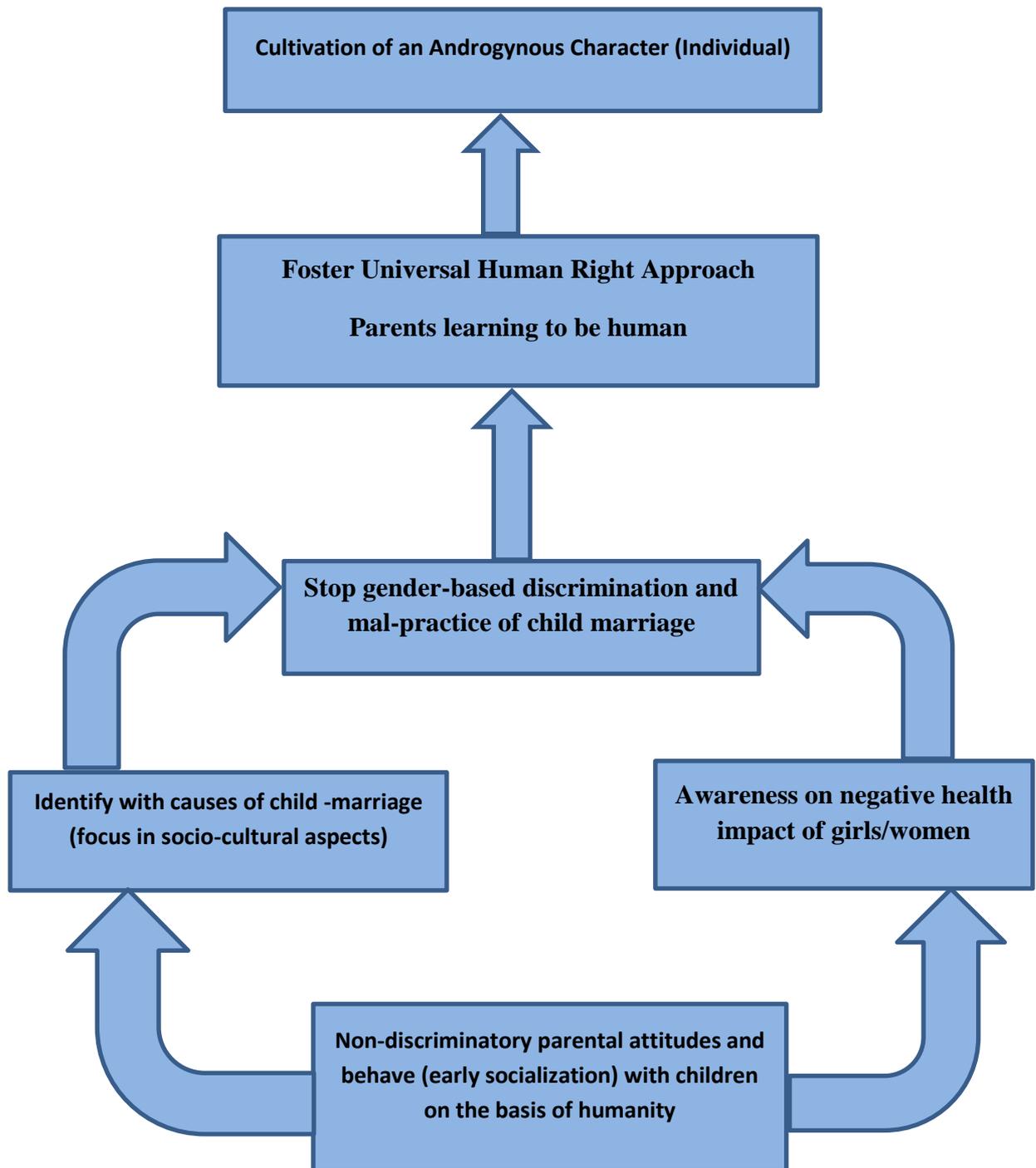


General Conceptual Framework (A)



The above diagram shows that child marriage practice is a complex social phenomenon and a age- old practice represented by various social, cultural, religious, economic, educational and gender discriminatory and human rights components of Tamang Communities in Nepal.

Broad Conceptual Frame Work (B)



The above diagram is a broader concept and plan for eliminating child marriage and sex-based discriminations. The diagram shows the vicious cycle of misery and discrimination of children and girl-child which demand parental awareness and parents learning to be human and production of an androgynous character.

Operational Definition of the Key Words

Child marriage---- Child marriage, defined internationally as marriage where one or both spouses are under the age of 18 is legally prohibited under national laws as well as by international human rights treaties adopted by South Asian countries. In the research Child/early marriage refers to any marriage of a child younger than 18 years old, which is adopted in accordance to Article 1 of the Convention on the Right of the Child (CRC, 1990).

In Nepal, the recent 11th amendment of New Civil Code has set 20 years age to be completed by both boys and girls for registration marriage. And in case of parental consent marriage, 21 years and 18 years completion for boys and girls respectively. In case of violation of the law, there is enough punishment to be adopted by both of the family and other associated components.

Similarly, practice of marrying at an early age to boys and girls also differ from culture to culture and country to country. In some cases infants are married. Children are promised as husband and wife even before they are born. In Tharu community of Nepal, infant marriages are common. There is even practice of getting embryo married in this community. In these cases, two pregnant women have formalities of marriage with the hope that the child born of one would be male and that of the other female. This practice is common in other major and ethnic communities too.

Malady—It means disease or illness and a general feeling of illness or low spirit or a long standing problem that is difficult to identify.

Practice-- The meaning of practice is the actual doing of something rather than the theories about it, or the usual way of doing something.in my research, child marriage is a social practice.

Ethnicity—In my research ethnicity means group of community people having own language and traditional/cultural practices and Tamangs are the ethnic community and caste is their ethnicity. Ethnic group is not included in the four Barna Ashranm systems, like Brahmin, Chhetri, Baishya and Sudra. Ethnic community people hold certain characteristics like own identity, own religion own traditional practices based

on social equality and social structure, own residential area according to the geographical division; own written and oral law and feeling of “we”. Such ethnic communities have no decisive power in the political issue in the formation of new Nepal and these people prefer to identify themselves as ethnic community.

CHAPTER III

AREA AND THE PEOPLE

3.1 Historical Review of Tamang Community of Nepal

Ramechhap District, a part of a Janakpur zone is one of the seventy-five district of Mid-western hill side district of Nepal. The district was named after Ramechhap village which comes from two Nepali words, Ram (person's name) and Chhap (mark). According to folklore, the village of Ramechhap was once occupied by Tamang people. A Tamang boy of the village, Ram by name received Mukhtiyari' of the village by royal decree. So, the land ownership and other legal activities were performed in the village by the stamp (Chhap). According to administrative division, this district contains 2 election constituencies, 11 ward and 55 VDCS. It is one of the small districts of the country and covers an area of 1, 546 square km. It is widely popular as a remote area but rich by a cultural capital and one of the best destinations for tourists (CBS, 2011). Naturally, Ramechhap is rich in natural and cultural beauty. The hillock and the raw mountain filled with delicious Junar plant full with the yellow fruits, are the natural glory of the region. The small rivers, ponds increase the glory of the district. Tamang is one of the most populated indigenous communities in Nepal. According to Tamamng Gedhu Sangha Nepal, the overall population of Tamang community is about 3 million and is densely populated in the central part of the country and sparsely populated all over the country. Tamang people have their own distinct Como vision, language, culture, social system and religion different from the mainstream Hindu state. The Tamang people were self-ruled and autonomous until 232 years back. In the last two hundred year's history, the Tamangs are the most discriminated an exploited community in the country due to their proximity to the capital and people of different language, culture, and religion and governance system from the ruling group. They were neither accepted in the bureaucracy, military, administrative, judicial and political system nor allowed to go to foreign countries for the better employment till 1950. They were put as reserve labor pool for the services of the ruling group. According to the 1854 Civil Code of Nepal, their status was as Shudra (second lowest rank in the Hindu hierarchical system) which can

be killed and enslaved until the new civil code formulated in 1963. The 1954 civil code was racist law based on the Hindu Manusmriti and Varna system. After the democratic change in 1950, the Tamang Peoples for the first time got organized themselves in 1956 but it was banned in 1960 with the political parties when the late king Mahendra took over the power from the elected government. The people were prohibited from getting organized till the Peoples Movement of 1990 A.D.

“We Tamangs from the very primitive period have been settling in the surroundings hills of the Katmandu valley and in the northern side in the hill sides of Nuwakot and Rashuwa district. We read Bhote words and observe lama religion so, in the earlier days people used to call us ‘Bhote’ also” (Bista., DB., 2034:28).

Tamangs form one of the major Tibeto-Burman speaking communities in Nepal and maintain a belief that they originally came from Tibet. No one seems to have any exact idea how long they have resided on the south slopes of the Himalayas. It is said that originally they were collectively called “Bhote”, meaning Tibetan and that later on the term “Tamang” was attached to them because they were horse traders. “Ta” in Tibetan means “horse” man means “trader.” “Tamang” has remained and it is all the better because the term “Bhote” has come to be a highly objectionable and derogatory term to most Nepalese.

Late king Prithvi Naratyan Shah, had once said, “Nepal is a common garden of four cast and thirty-six sub castes”. In this same garden, different kinds of flowers (ethnic groups) are blooming and they all represent different castes, cultures and religions. Nepal Government, Ministry for local development and national committee for development granted National Identities for 60 ethnic groups in 2057, B.S., Biashakh. From then and onwards, among the 60 ethnic groups, Tamang is one Nationalist’s of Nepal’.

According to 2011, census, the total population of Tamang in Nepal is 1,539,850. Of these, 202,556 in urban area and 1,337,274 people are living in rural area. The population data from Nepal Tamang Ghedhu Sanha is high in ratio compared to national census. It is estimated that above 100,000 Tamang live on Makwanpur, Kavre, Nuwakot, Patan, Bhaktapur and Katmandu district (Tamang, Parashuram, 2063).

Anne, Kukuczku talked about the bravery of Tamang people in the Nepalese constituency assembly, election of 2008. Among the 74 registered party, the Tamsaling Nepal Rasrriya Dal (TRD) promoted the concept of transforming Nepal into a federal state based on ethnic group's ancestral homelands. The history of Tamang is old and important. Likewise, many authors have spread light on the dignity and life style of these people. Haimendor (1996) had studied about Tamang 31 years ago. Frank (1874) studied about Tamang and their situation. Hooper (1981) described various issues including the socio-cultural ritual and marriage procedure (Thulo parcel VDC, Kavre (d.n.)).

Among the ethnic community, the percentage of Tamang ethnic community is 5.6%. The statistic shows that about 91.4 percent Tamang dwell on rural areas and their main occupation is agriculture whereas only 8.6 percent are the city dwellers. But recent census has shown no percent of Tamang who are city dwellers.

Majority of these community people follow Buddhist religion. The literacy level is 42percent very low comparing to other major and ethnic caste. The overall percent of education in Nepal is 65 percent (CBS, 2011).

Statistics mentions among children 38.10 percent do not attend school. The child mortality rate and infant mortality is high. The average life expectancy is 54.2 (2001 census). The economic status of these people is low, 31 percent and majority of them live under poverty line. According to CWIN, among the child laborers, 48 percent are only from Tamang communities. Tamang communities are deprived from the political, economic and any other academic opportunities (Tamang , P. (2063).

3.2 Marriage System of Tamang Community of Nepal

Among the five ethnic communities, ,Rai, Newar, Parbatiya, Maithali and Tamang, the highest of under 16 marriage (95.9%) was prevalent among Parbatiya Brahmin, and the second with Maithali (74.1%) and the third with Tamang (59%) respectively (UNICEF, 1993). The tradition of marriage in Tamang community is unique type also and in most families of the community child marriage has been found as a family tradition. The practice is not a part of their religion but mostly followed by social tradition and choice of the children involved in such marriages. There are still some

people remaining from previous generations who married according to the 'kanyadaan' system which their parents did in order to accumulate 'punya' as well as to gain social prestige. Paternal and maternal cross cousin marriage is common in Tamang, Thakali and Magar communities (Jana Jati, (2057).

Child marriage is of great economic importance for the agricultural economy. In Tamang community, the parents get their young sons married to older girls who in turn serve as labor. Some parents believe that if their daughters-in-law are older and more mature than their sons, the girl could manage her home perfectly and do hard work. Some of the boys agree that if wives are more mature than their husbands they would be more practical in household management and could tackle any problem by themselves. It has been found in the field survey that Tamang people enjoy marriage. A 78 year Tamang male respondent living with the young wife and a 6 year old daughter says, he is fond of marrying beautiful girls and has been married more than ten times till now and cannot recall as to precisely how many wives he has (Kafle., M., 2008).

A Tamang man can marry any girl from any clan except his own and his brother clan. Preferred marriage is between cross-cousins, which are to one's mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. Parallel-cousin marriage of a man to his father's daughter or mother's sister's daughter is not tolerated. Sons and daughters of one's father's brother belong to the same clan as oneself.

A widow can marry her late husband's younger brother but not the elder brother. Polyandry is absolutely forbidden, but there are a few cases of polygamy found among some rich men. There is no stigma attached to a young man's marrying an elderly widow or to a divorcee or to an unmarried girls becoming pregnant. The love affairs of unmarried girls or boys do not prejudice their future marriages. If the lover of an unmarried pregnant girl refuses to marry her/he can take the baby after it is weaned and pay some compensation to the girl. Then the mother is free to marry anyone she likes. But marriage or sexual relationships between members of the same clan are never tolerated. Offenders are expelled immediately and have no other choice but to go to an entirely new area and settle there. In cases of wife-abduction the new husband must pay sixty rupees as compensation.

Marriages mainly are of three standard types—arranged, love and elop, love and arranged, capture and cross cousin. Mostly the well to do family arranges marriage for their children. Such arrangement is made when they are only fourteen or fifteen years old. When the arrangements are agreed upon, the boy's father takes the boy and goes to the girl's house; when the actual wedding ceremony takes place. The wedding consists of putting the Tika mark on the forehead of both the boy and girl by all senior members of the family and relatives. The neighbors and relatives are fed boiled rice, mutton or buffalo meat, and given much alcohol to drink. A capture marriage usually occurs when the boy selects a bride who may not consent easily or when he wants to avoid the long procedure and expenditure of an arranged marriage. It is done even in the case of preferred cross-cousin marriage to save trouble, time and expense. If the captured girl persistently refuses to get married for three days, she is allowed to return to her parents. If she agrees, a proper wedding ceremony is organized and friends and relatives including the girl's parents are invited. a girl may be captured from a fair or a market. If her parents take the offence too seriously, they approach the boy's family making demand for compensation. Once they are pacified the rest of the procedure follows smoothly. Most Tamang young people get married by mutual agreement. When a boy and girl are in love and decide to marry, the boy asks his parents to approach her parents for their consent. Once consent is given, the wedding can be organized in the same way as in the case of an arranged marriage. If by chance either the boy's or the girl's parents do not consent to the match the only choice for them is to elope and remain hidden until their parents either agree or totally ignore them.

Holmberg, D. (2005, p. 60) has described the proper form of marriage is between cross cousin arranged by the parents. Besides, bride and groom can also conspire to elope from a festival in a form of mock capture. In some instances brides can be captured with or without their consent (Holmberg, H., (2005, p. 60).

Capture marriage is disappearing in Tamang society. But still parents have fear to send daughters outside in late night or for long journey due to be captured by own cousin and outsiders. It was expressed in the informal interview with the respondents.

3.3. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Table 3.3.1
Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

		Female		Male		Total	%
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
		150	50%	150	100%		
Religion	Buddhist	150	100%	150	100%	300	100
Kind of family	Nuclear	93	62%	83	55.3	176	58.7
	Joint	57	38%	67	44.7	124	41.3
Education	Illiterate	50	33.3%	17	12.7	67	22.3
	Literate	37	24.7%	32	21.3	69	23
	1-5 class	34	22.7%	36	24	70	23.3
	6-8 class	12	8%	28	18.7	40	13.3
	9—12	15	10%	33	22	48	16
	12+	2	1.3%	1	0.7	3	1
Occupation	House wife\ home maker	105	70%	4	2.7	109	36.3
	Jobholder	6	4%	13	8.7	19	6.3
	Student	-		2	1.3	2	0.6
	Worker\ Maid/helper	3	2%	3	2	6	2
	Wage labor	9	6%	18	12	27	9
	Farmer\agriculture	18	12%	98	66	116	38.7
	Foreign job	1	0.7%	7	4.7	8	2.7
	Other	8(hotel,lam a),poultry, vegetable	5.3%	5	3.3	13	4.3

Source: Field survey, 2068

This Table deals with the demographic characteristics of the respondents of the research area. There was diversity in the field of job or occupation. Almost all of the respondents owned at least a small piece of land to cultivate and liked to tell themselves as a farmer. But it was not sufficient for them to support their family. So they adopted other alternatives too. For women, cultivation and farming and home making were the most adopted occupations. This data also justifies the overall national figure only where larger percent of women are engaged in household chores and in agriculture compared to men.

The homemaker post shows is for women. 105(70%) women were home maker/housewives; whereas only (4) 2.7% men were found as homemaker or househusband. (98) 66% men had farming as main occupation whereas only (18) 12% women adopted farming as their main occupation.

In the field of foreign job, only (1) 0.7% woman but (4) 4.7% men were engaged. 8) 5.3% men had other job. In the field of diversity, women were less engaged. Only (5) 3.3% women had other job (trade, small business). Only (2) male 1.3% were student. In the field of job, women were behind to men.

(13) 8.7% of men had job, while only (6) 4% women had job. The specialty of this job description is no men were found as maid/helper. (3) woman 2% and (3) men 2% were maid/helper. More men were in wage labor. (18) 12% men were engaged in wage labor, but only (9) 6% women were working as wage laborer. Half of the respondents are women so this statistics has also been useful to show the discrimination being held in the part of women in comparison to men in the field of education and professional or paid job. 105, means majority of women were doing only household job as their main occupation. Also they were doing little agriculture work. Most of the Tamang family had a small piece of land as main occupation to do. Compared to this large ratio, only 4 of the male were home maker and running the house. No women were found to be student whereas 2 men were student. Ratio of worker or maid worker was similar. The male wage labor was 18 in number but 9 women had same occupation. This data shows the fact that women lack behind in cash earning because of the problem of mobility to go outside compared to men. A large portion of male figure, 98 in number claimed themselves to be the farmer as the main occupation. Many of them had their own piece of land, which they owned from their ancestors property. Some were working in others field also as wage labor in the field of agriculture.

Table 3.3.2
Level of Education of the Selected Respondents for Research

Total respondents-300		Male(150)		Female(150)		Total	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	%
Education	Illiterate	21	14.0%	50	33.3%	70	23.3
	Literate	33	22.0%	37	24.7%	70	23.3
	1-5 grade	34	22.6%	34	22.7%	68	22.7
	6—8 grade	28	18.6%	12	8%	40	13.3
	9—12 grade	33	22.0%	15	10%	48	16
	12+ graduate	1	0.7%	2	1.3%	3	1
Total		150	100	150	100	300	100

Source: Field survey, 2068

This Table deals with the education level of the respondents of the research area. Overall education is very low compared the national education level. The educational statistics are usual as everywhere showing very less percent of education among women in comparison to men.

13.3% (20) men were found illiterate; whereas (50) 33.3% women were found illiterate. In literate group, women were slightly higher in position. Men and women are found equal in grade 1—5 level education. (33)21.3% men were literate and (37) 33.3% % women were literate. (34) 22.7% male and (34) 22.7% female had received 1—5 grade school education.

Women are behind in 6-8 grade level. (26) 18.7% male and only (12) 8% female had received 6-8 grade school education. Similarly, female are back in higher level grade. (33) 22% male received 9-12 grade education but only (15) 10% women received same education. The result is ok in 12 and above grade. (2) 1.3 % female got 12and above and (1) 0.7% male respondents received 12 and above grade. Data shows only 1-2 12 and above grade respondents. Therefore, in the overall situation both male and female have been deprived from ducat on.

Table 3.3.3
Types of Family

Types of family	Male		Female			
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Total	%
Nuclear	83	55.3	93	62%	176	58.7
Joint	67	44.7	57	38%	124	41.3
Overall	150	100%	150	100%	300	100

Source: Field survey, 2068

The data in this table deals the types of family in Tamang community. (83) 55.3% and (67) 44.7% male are living in nuclear and joint family respectively. 62% (93 women) were in the nuclear family. These women come from the 15 years age to 90 years age categories. Likewise, 38% (57) female are living with the family, which is joint family.

The reason of being a larger portion of women in the nuclear family normally justifies the trend of dismantling of joint family individual's inclination to nuclear family and the demand of the modern life style. But the reality here in Tamang community is not exactly so. Men and women have very short marriage life. Many male Tamang married many times in life. Women also had more marriage than one or two times. Likewise, male Tamang left home for search of job and according to wives, without reason and even not giving information, their husband lived outside the country. One 84 year old Tamang woman was still waiting for her husband to come home because she believes without reason how man can be such cruel and inhuman. The field survey and non-formal talk analyzes some issues, majority of female, and in some cases male also are compelled to live alone in the nuclear family. Not only this, most of the Tamang children love and make elope very early in the school age, after marriage, almost of them remain separate with family members. These new generations do not care about the caste and parental consent for marriage. Therefore, these couples also are compelled to live separately as they have gone against the will of the parents. It is also one of the reasons that there is growing number of nuclear family in Tamang community.

Religion

Almost all respondents were found to be Buddhist by religion in four VDC of Ramechhap District. But, during interview time, it was found that these groups of men and women also observed the rituals of Hindu, so these people could be regarded as Hindu/Buddhist mixed religious group, though they called themselves as Buddhist by religion. Majority of them maintained all Hindu traits of birth and death along with Buddhist.

Those Tamang who were living with Brahmins and, Chhetris and other caste also, were having mixed religion Buddhist and Hindu. But Tamang living mainly with their own community, observed only Buddhist culture and religion.

Table 3.3.4

Economic Status of the Respondents

Details of the Income profile		Female		Male		Total	%
		Freq	%	Freq	%		
Income of the family	Self	9	6	130	86.6	139	46.3
	Son	5	3.3	8	5.3	13	4.3
	Husbands	127	84.6	-	-	127	42.3
	Both(m and f)	9	6	12	8	21	7
Source of Income	Job holder	19	12.7	22	14.7	41	13.7
	Worker\Maid helper	10	6.7	5	3.3	15	5
	Wage labor	6	4	15	10	21	7
	Farmer\agriculture	60	40	68	45.3	128	32.7
	Foreign job	---		13	8.7	13	4.3
	Other	2(running hotel)	1.3	6(lama by profession, trade, poultry farming)	4	6	
Average total income (yearly, monthly, weekly)	Cash	(Average)Yearly, 50,947 Nrs		Average yearly 1,18,267 Nrs	Rs. 1,69,214		Average 84,670 (annual income)

Source: Field survey, 2068

This Table deals with the economic aspects of the respondents. The above table clearly discriminates women's economic subordination in almost all the economic transactions compared to men. It is clearly justified with the yearly income.

The overall average income also differs a lot in the two sexes. Women are getting only 50,947 Nrs. But men are earning 1,18,267 Nrs. 127(84.6%) women are totally depending on the income of the husband. On the contrary, 130(86.6%) male respondents are self-earning and financially independent. In the field of foreign job, no women are engaged whereas 13 men (8.7%) are getting opportunities to work in the foreign field. In wage labor, 6 women and 15 men (4% and 10%) are working. But working as maid or domestic worker, women are more than male. 10 women (6.7%) are as maid or domestic servant but only 5(3.3%) are maid or domestic servant. In the professional job, 2 women (1.3%) and 6 men (4%) are working. These two women are running hotel and men are doing lama/priest job, poultry, trade and farming. In the field of agriculture and over all jobs, men are a head. 68 and 22 (45.3%, 14.7%) men are getting job and engaged in agriculture whereas 60 and 19 (40%, 12.7%) women are doing the same work.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Identification of the Study Area

Ramechhap District was identified for conducting research on my topic “Child marriage practice among Tamang community in Nepal, with focus on girl child”. The district has been selected purposively with the objective that it is being one of the less privileged and far remote districts of mid-eastern Nepal. Tamang people are rich in cultures. They enjoy several traditional and socio-cultural activities which have been adopted from earlier times, and these social norms are internalized in the lives of Tamang. One of the key reasons to study in this group is to try to know the socio-cultural factors associated with gender behavior and child marriage within this group. The indicators of this District show that people, almost are illiterate and live in poverty. The second important purpose to study in child marriage was to support the first international conference of Tamang people (200, December). This issue has been already stated in the justification part also. Working in the homogeneous group, it was believed the research could bring in-depth result. So, Among the 55 VDCs, 4 VDCs of Tamang ethnic community were chosen for research.

(The brief demographic information and statistics of the study area have been given in Annex section).

4.2 Primary Data Collection Process and the Sample Size

Basic data collection for study had completed within one year, in 2068. The study was purely done on a voluntary basis for which approaches were made to the VDC office persons and the respondents. Data were collected from the household or outside without disturbing their normal activities. The data collection made use of both qualitative as well as quantitative approaches.

Both primary and secondary data was collected and used for the proposed study. For primary data collection, mainly the following main five methods as tools of the research were used. I have adopted non-probability techniques to conduct this research.

Primary Data Collection Process

Research methods	Total Sample size—440	Sampling method
Structured interview(See, Annex-3)	150 male and 150 female early married Tamang householders and focus with the girl child (300).	Purposive and convenience (Combination of purposive and convenience sampling method)
Focus group Discussions (See, Annex-5)	100 people	Use of check list
Key informants discussions(See Annex-6	40 people	Use of Check-list
Case studies(see (Annex—4)	17 early married Tamang couple, comprising of 9 female and 8 male(selected from the structured interview)	In –depth interview conducted by preparing a checklist
Observation	25 Tamang houses	Non-participant and participant observation

For conducting structured interview, 10 local enumerators were hired and provided orientation (training). Among them, 2 Brahmin, one Chhetri and 7 were Tamang. But researcher took a supervisory role in the interview. Four major issues were central part of the interview — prevalence of child marriage in Tamang community, its underlying causes, trend of early pregnancy and motherhood and its negative health impact, parental discriminatory attitudes and behavior (socialization) of children in relation to child marriage.

For focus group discussions, 100 people from 10 groups were formulated, consisting of some early married male and female in each group. These groups had wider discussion about the issues and underlying cause of child marriage and about the practice of gender-based discrimination. The group also emphasized the problems of

early pregnancy and early motherhood and reproductive health factor. These groups finally gave their opinion as key measures to control the existing problem. The researcher was also involved in the discussion.

In Key informants, 40 people of different sectors of the village including police, lama priest, school children (8-12 grade), government officials, CDO, VDCs secretaries, Ngos/Ingos representatives, Women Activist, Resource Person, principle of the school and participants from different walks of life had participated in the discussion. Questions were put by researcher herself with the key informants like lama priest, CDO and VDC secretaries and other. The groups had wide discussions in the subject matter. (The interviews and discussions with focus group and key group are stated in causes of child marriage, analysis part). Apart from writings, tape recorder was also used for recording their discussions. The researcher had interviews with lama priest who conducted child marriage of Tamang, village social mobilizer, and resource person, Principal of the school, CDO, secretaries of the VDCs, Army and Police authority, journalist and old Tamang male and female to know the under lying cause of child marriage.

For case studies, 17 Tamang householders, married at early age, comprising 8 male and 9 female were selected by the researcher and had in-depth interview in broad aspects. Special interviews were conducted with focus groups and key informants by the researcher. For these groups, separate sets of check lists were also formulated. The case studies were prepared according to the age variation, which is from the lower age to a highest of both sexes. The purpose of this is to show the trend and practice of child marriage in the past days and a comparison to the present context. The age variation is from 17 year to 90 year group. About 10 year gap period is maintained, to find out the varying traditional socio-cultural situations. To prepare case studies meaningful and in depth, formal, non-formal and cross questions were asked, some sensitive issues were also discussed which were difficult to speak in formal interview. The talk was conducted alone with the respondents.

Both participant and non-participant observation was made by the researcher. About 25 houses of Tamang were observed to explain their daily life style and to see how male and female member had interacted with each other, with their daughter-in laws. Also the parental behaviors were observed with the unmarried children based on

gender. This is a small part of observation of gender attitudes at home by parents. In participant observation, the researcher was in the mela, wedding, eating and staying together in focus group discussion and in other time.

Secondary Data Collection Process

A, desktop review--A review of available literature on child marriage both in the national and international context has been conducted (refer to bibliography for details). The existing international conventions related to this have been reviewed together with the existing laws and policies in the country.

B, secondary data--Information were gathered from CBS. Information has also been gathered from published data, reports and reference materials on the web sites.

C, Case studies--Case studies along with field case studies on Tamang child marriage, past case studies of Nepal (child marriage in Tamang and in different caste) and abroad also have been documented.

Table 4.1.1

Four selected VDCs of Ramechhap District with Tamang Population

Name of the four---VDCs	Universe (Population) of Tamang Communities
Ramechhaap	1007
Okhreni	1562
Sukajor	451
Bhaluwajor	766
Total of four VDCs	3786

Source- Ramechhap District Profile (2061) (also at av-website)

The study was undertaken in the four VDCs of Ramechhe District of Nepal. They are, Ramechhaap, Okhreni, Sukajor and Bhaluwajor. Of the total universe of Tamang from 4 VDC, Ramechhap contained with high number of 1007 Tamang population, the second Okhreni, 1562, Bhaluwajor with 766 and the lowest Sukajor with 491 in

number. The lists of the householders were obtained from the respective district and VDCs offices.

Table 4.1.2
Age Variation of the Respondents

Age group	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Till 25 years	22	25	47
26---50 year	86	80	166
51—and above	42	45	87
Total	150	150	300

Field Survey, 2068

This table deals the age variation of the male and female respondents. The age variation had started from an early 15 years for female to till 90 years. The age of the respondents were categorized and presented in the research table. The total of male and female for structured interview were 300.

Male respondents from the early age of 17 years to till 85 years old were taken for interview. 25 and under age group of male respondents were 22 in number, from age group, 26 to 50 years included 89 and from 51 and above group , 42 male were in number. Thus 150 female were in total number

Similarly, in the 25 years and below age group of female, 25 females, from 26 and 50 year age, 80 and from 51 and above group, 45 female were chosen as sample of the research. Thus 150 female were in total number.

4.3 Universe, Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

Four VDCs of Ramechhap district were sleeted to conduct the research. The total Tamang universe was 3786, of them 440 people were selected as the sample size of this study. In the process of selecting the sample a minimum 10 percent of the total universe has been represented in the study. This covers the validity and reliability aspect of the data as suggested by Krejcie & Morgan (1970).

Table 4.1.3
Distribution of the Selected Key Sample/Respondents from the Universe

Total Sample Selected from the Universe		
Respondents/sample	Frequency	Total
Male	150	150
Female	150	150
Focus groups (FG)	100	100
Key informants (KI)	40	40
Observation	25 Tamang Houses	440

Field survey, 2068

The overall sample in the research is 440 from the Tamang universe of 3786 in the four selected VDCs of Ramechhap district. Of them, 300 male and female Tamanghouseholders, married in their early age were taken as key sample item for structured interview. They were educationally categorized from the illiterate (unable to read and write) to 12 grades and a till graduations level. Majority of the respondents had children. Early age of marriage was focused for female.

Remaining 100 people from various walks of life were selected for focus group discussion through checklist. Similarly, 40 different individual experts in their profession were chosen for key informants to discuss in the research topic. Besides these, the researcher was herself a non-participant and participant observer in Tamang community. About 25 Tamang houses from different location in the research area were directly and indirectly observed by the researcher herself. Its aim was to know the socio-cultural life style of Tamang people, activities of the early married couple, Tamang marriage and parental discriminatory attitudes and as behavior (socialization) with unmarried children in relation to child marriage.

In the focus groups discussions, ten different groups from 100 people were chosen from various walks of life. It was organized in the villages inside a government school. These groups widely participated with each other as they were given open questions to discuss freely and express their ideas regarding the causes and negative impact of child marriage and a proper means to rise the average age of marriage for boys and girls in their community.

Likewise there were 40 key informants selected through the use of checklist to discuss on the issue of child marriage. The programme was held in a seminar hall of the concerned VDC. In both of these activities the researcher herself was involved and had taken interview also. This way the total number of the sample became 440. The 300 married householder from structured interview, 100 from focus group discussion and 40 from key informants.

4.4 Sample Selected for Key Informants Interview

Table 4.1.4
Selected VDCs for the Research with its Ward (Sukajor)

VDCs	Local name	Ward no	Male	Female	total
Sukajor	Devisthan Bamti	9	5	5	10
	Chamboat	9	4	3	7
	Garigaun/khaldada/Bhalukhop	9	6	12	19
	Mudhekhola	4	2		2
	Hilepani	6	1	1	2
Total			18	21	39

Field survey, 2068

Of the 4 VDCs, different wards were also selected to have interview. In Sukajor, ward 9, 4 and 6 wards were taken and Altogether 39 male and female were interviewed from different local places.

Table 4.1.5
VDC Wise Sample Selected for Interview

VDCs	Local name	Ward number			
		Ward no	Male	Female	Total
Ramechhap	Salle, Babiyakharka	2	29	18	47
	Lyang,lyang	5	6	5	11
	Lama tol	9	11	17	28
	Bhangeri	9	2		2
	Simenti (Ramechhap)	7	6	12	18
Total			54	52	106

Source: Field Survey, 2068

From Ramechhap, 106 male and female were interviewed. Of them, 53 male and 52 were female. The respondents were taken from different wards, 4 wards, 5, 9 and 7, namely Salley, Lyang- lang, Lama tol, and Simenti respectively.

Table 4.1.6
VDC Wise Sample Selected for Interview

VDCs	Local name	Ward number			
		Ward no	Male	Female	Total
Okhreni	Aarukharka	2	5	3	8
	Gaitar	8	11	5	16
	Khoptar	8	9	8	17
	Dadatol	8	1	-	1
	Katunje	9	7	8	15
	Pakhatol	9	3	4	7
	Basbot	9	5	4	9
	Chyasku	5	2	5	7
	Videtar	9	9	4	13
Sautol	3	1	-	1	
Total			53	41	94

Source: Field Survey, 2068

From Okhreni, total 94 respondents were selected for interview. Of them, 53 were male and 41 were female. Male and female respondents from ward no, 2, 8, 9, and 5 locally called, Arukharka ward number 2, Gaitar, 8, Khoptar, Chyasku, 5, Videtar, 9, Katunje, Pakhatol and Basbot, were chosen for interview.

Table 4.1.7
VDC Wise Sample Selected for Interview

VDCs	Local name	Ward number			
		Ward no	Male	Female	Total
Bholuwajor	Betini	4	17	13	30
	Betini	7	6	3	9
	Kuvinde	9	2	17	19
	Navi	6	-	3	3
Total			25	36	61

Source: Field Survey, 2068

A total of 61 respondents were interviewed from Bhaluwajor VDC. Of them, 26 were male and 36 were female. 4 wards were chosen, 4, 7, 9 and 6 as locally know as Betini, Kuvinde and Navi respectively.

Table 4.1.8
VDC Wise Sample Selected for Interview

SelectedVDCs	Male	Female	Total
Ramechhap	54	52	106
Bholuwajor	25	36	61
Okhreni	53	41	94
Sukajor	18	21	39
Total	150	150	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

4.5 Method and Specific Tools

Questionnaires-- different sets of open –ended, semi-open and close-ended questionnaires were developed to achieve the research objectives. The questionnaires consisted of two parts- the first part consisting of general information and questions related child marriage and second part consisting of questions directly related to child marriage. Some essential questions were made different for the cause of male and female child marriage.

Checklist: a short checklist was developed in order to conduct research in the study area. It was use to collect focus groups and key informants and other necessary information.

Observations: Both non participant and participant observation was made by the researcher. Researcher had participated during Mela, Seminar, Get together organized by the village people in Ramechhap District, and also had tea, snacks in informal meeting. There were contacts with Tamang family before actual interview was taken. On the wedding ceremony of Tamang family, researcher had talked with the groom and lama priest.

Case studies- seventeen in- depth case studies comprising 9 female and 8 male were prepared to support the qualitative part of the research.

4.6 Data Analysis Process of the Sample

The collected quantitative data was coded and analyzed by using, computer. Data was presented in frequency distribution, ratio, and percentage. High levels statistical tool was not used, the qualitative information were used for interpreting data. The collected data have been presented, analyzed and interpreted under following headings:

- Prevalence of child marriage practice among boys and girls/male/female in the community(focus on girl child)
- Underlying causes of child/early marriage in this community(focus on girl child)
- Impact of early pregnancy and early motherhood and reproductive health of under 20 year age girls/female
- Parental discriminatory attitudes and behave(socialization) with children in relation to child marriage
- Respondents awareness of the media regarding the concerned issues

4.7 Methodological Limitations

The study was focused only with local Tamang family of Ramechhap District. In order to find out the prevalence of child marriage practice and study the root cause of child marriage in Nepal, one should take samples from several parts of the country. But the proposed study is confined within four VDCs of Ramechhap district only. And the proposed sample size is also not fully representative to the total population to be studied. However, the reliability of data have been tried to improve by using a combination of several methods.

Being far and remote areas, interviews were planned during day time. Women were found busy in the morning. Still respondents were not easily available during the interview time, especially men. Many of them were abroad from district for job; some were in their own field or working as labor in other's field for agriculture. It was hard to get especially male respondents in comparison to female because most of the men

were out for work during daytime. So, morning and holiday schedule were taken for the male respondents. The majority of the respondents were illiterate group. Very few respondents were found educated. So there was some change needed to make in the submitted proposal in case of education of the respondents. To adjust it the whole respondents group was divided into illiterate, literate, 1-5 grade, 6-8 grade, 9-12 and 12 and above) groups of male and female. The respondents were not always happy and in normal mood when they were questioned regarding child marriage. Majority of the respondents themselves had child marriage, so they felt bit nervous to talk about it due to fear of law. Many tried to escape saying that child marriage is illegal and so talking about it might bring legal aspect to them and even punishment. After open discussions and assurance they were open to talk on these issues. In some cases, the newly married couples were present in front of their parents who had child marriage; they felt guilty and ashamed to talk about it. So arrangement was made to have separate talk with these couples. The houses were scattered and situated at an enough distance to each other and almost everywhere a dog on the house was found, so some times only even 2-3 questionnaires would be completed in the whole day.

CHAPTER V

Concept, Practice and Prevalence of Child Marriage Practice Of Four, VDCs, (Sukajpr, Okhreni Bholuwajor, and Ramechhap of Ramechhap District) Among Tamang Ethnic Community of Nepal

5.1 Concept about Marriage among Tamang People

Male and female responding to an open questionnaire discussed about marriage concept in general in Tamang community. The majority of male respondents accepted marriage as natural, essential and a traditional and age old family tradition. It is essential for selecting a life partner and the basis for running a home and enhance family dynasty in the future. Many of these male said they need a companion for life, perform household chores and a partner in their old age. They think that without a wife, the home environment cannot move ahead easily and smoothly. Very few individuals believe that marriage is a union of two souls. Mainly two types of marriages were found commonly practiced in the villages. Arrange marriage settled by the parents and love marriage by children themselves. In the present context, there is arranged marriage as well as growing trend of love and elope marriage among the school going teen aged children.

Though it was known that the trend of cross cousin marriages were declining in Tamang community, the researcher also had discussions on the subject of cross cousin marriages with male groups. Cross cousin marriages take place as a common familial practice in some Tamang groups. Such marriages are arranged between first cousins for example, marrying one's maternal uncle's son or daughter. The educated and the majority of male Tamang and the educated members of the community expressed their discontent when asked if they liked the tradition of cross-cousin marriage. They were not aware of the genetic and scientific implications of such a practice nor did they know about the benefits of marrying someone who is not a near relative. They also had no idea about familial and hereditary diseases which run among several members of the same family. However, they simply described that marrying a blood relative not only seems like an unhealthy practice but also a less interesting than marrying someone from outside the family. They preferred the Brahmin and Chhetri tradition of marriage in which one is not permitted to marry another who belongs to

the same caste or is related in any way. Some of the male respondents, demanded marriage should not to be within the family and be totally arranged by parents. Most young male respondents agreed that in case of love marriage, a little cooperation from their parents, their married life would be more meaningful and productive.

The opinions of the female counterparts on marriage issue differed slightly from that of the males. The women are mostly illiterate and believe themselves to be a liability to others. They believe that a daughter is the wealth of others and that they never truly belong to their parents. The women unanimously accepted marriage and the practice of child marriage as their only fate. Almost all female respondents are averse to the idea of child marriage but believe it is designed to their fate. Being illiterate and incapable of independent survival they say that they do not have any other alternative but to get married early. Many women also complained that it is practically impossible to live with a brother who is married and that they would rather live with their in-laws than put up with the torture of the brother's wife. Besides, living away from one's husband and his family would immediately label a female as having loose morals and values. They believe that despite the probability of being unhappy, a married woman is respected by the society and is well provided for. Very few women agreed that an educated woman ought to be able to make her own choices regarding her marriage and future. They believe that all women ought to marry before they cross the prime of their lives.

When asked for their opinion on cross cousin marriages, the Tamang women had even more bit experience than expressed by the men. The women mostly feel trapped into such marriages and resent the fact that they are expected to marry their cousins without question. Most women say that they are coaxed and pressured into marriage by the male cousin. Not only this, their own parents prefer the approval of other relatives but do not care about the feelings of their own daughters. It is mainly because parents of daughters think that the groom's family carries more weight in the society than the girl's family. Very few women said that since child marriage is a tradition, they see no harm in continuing it.

Other type of marriage was capture, and it also existed in Tamang society. But now a day, this trend has decreased. Majority of the girls and respondents were against it. Capture marriage mainly tortured the girls more. In the interview one woman had

marriage by capture. The man was already married and quite mature than her. Therefore it did not last for long time because according to her, it was against her will. In the case of capture marriage, almost all the women did not like.

Table 5.1.1
Types of Marriage (Age Categorization)

Total –300	Male			Female			Total	%
	25 and under	26-50 yr	50and above	25 and under	26-51 yr	50 and above		
Love and elopement	11(7.3 %)	21(14%)	6(4%)	11(7.3%)	29(19.3%)	3(2%)	81	27%
Arrange marriage	9(6%)	63(42%)	40(26.7 %)	10(7.9%)	53(35.3%)	44(33.8 %)	219	73%
Total	20	84	50	21	82	47	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals the common marriage practice held in Tamang community of four VDC of Ramechhap District. The ratio of arrange marriage is high. 73 %(219) in the overall male and female respondents had arranged marriage, and 27 % of them (81) had love and elopement marriage.

This data has shown highest arranged marriage ratio which is 42% (63) among the male respondents of 26---50 years age group. 35. 3% (53) of the female of the same age group had arranged marriage. Likewise, 33.8% (44) female and 26.7 %(40) male of 50 years and above groups had arranged marriage.

The data justifies the fact that elderly generations and parents/householders level had arranged marriage at an early age. Then after, at present in the young generation there is arranged marriage as well as growing trend of love and elope marriage popular in the community. Data reveals that in earlier days love marriages were favored by female than male respondents.

Table 5.1.2
Trend of Cousin Marriage with Age Group

Total 300	Male			Female			Total (%)	%
	25 and under	26-50	50 and above	Below 25	26-50	50 and above		
Yes	8(5.3%)	78(52%)	34(22.7%)	13(8.7%)	61(40.7%)	39(26%)	233	77.7
No	10(6.7%)	19(12.7%)	1(0.7%)	12(8%)	15(10%)	10(6.7%)	67	22.3
Total	18(12%)	97(64.7%)	35(23.3%)	25(16.7%)	76(50.7%)	49(32.7%)	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the trend of cousin marriage. The trend of cousin marriage seems to be a part of Tamang family of Ramechhap district. Data reveals that though cousin marriage is very common among 26—50 age group people and also existed in the old days, now it is gradually decreasing among the younger generations.

The overall, 77.7 %(223) male and female respondents had accepted the trend to cross cousin marriage and 22.3 %(67) denied it. Even in the same VDC, respondents gave yes or no answer when asked about the trend of cousin marriage. So, it can be assumed that this trend differs from not only in the community but in family also.

Table 5.1.3
Preferred Types of Marriage by Male and Female Respondents

Types of Marriage Total-- (300)	Frequency	%
Arranged marriage	205	68.33%
Love marriage but arranged by parents	95	31.7%
Total	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table shows the preferences of the male and female respondents towards the types of marriages existing in Tamang community. In the data, (205)68.38% of the respondents longed to have arranged marriage. The second large group longed to get

love marriage. (95) 31.7% of these group's respondents preferred love marriage, but arranged and managed by parents.

Informal Discussions with Male and Female Respondents Regarding the Causes of Love and Arranged Marriage

Male respondents who have elopement marriages, during informal discussions, “no particular reason, it was a love and elopement marriage”. But later on parents gave consent when we came back home”. ‘I was young when I ran with my girlfriend and due to love I was compelled to marry her”.

There is some differences in the case of arrange marriage. “I was in foreign country for job. My two sisters were married. My mother became alone, as my father had died already. So my mother wanted a company to look after the home. So she forced me to marry. Otherwise, I wanted to marry after 30 years of my age. I wanted to make a complete career but I could not break my mother's wish also”. My parents wanted a helping hand to do house hold chores, they were old so they wanted their son be married before they die’. Most of the parents' were found to have arranged marriage for their young sons to bring a worker at home and due to the fear that school drop-out boys become naughty if they are not married in time, so the only option was marriage. The practice was alive in the name of social cultural norms of the society.

Female respondents have similarities explaining with the cause in child marriage in case of love and elopements marriages but there are differences in arrange marriages done by parents. In the process of arrange marriage, some female respondents say that parents are worried about their daughter's marriage if it is bit late because they are always in fear that their daughters will love with a boy from inter cast family, lower status family and elope with him etc, not only parents are worried, they say there is heard lot of criticism from the society when daughters are not married early. A matured girl cannot find suitable match also. Late marriage leads her to have compulsion to marry with an old man, already married man or with an old man having children already. Many women have accepted early marriage as a family and societal issue of prestige for parents. The economic condition of most of the Tamang family is below poverty line, there is less dowry burden while marrying in an early age by elopement, some female respondents said. Also some differences in cross cousin

(marriage in the near family member) marriage, which some women think is almost a force type of marriage for them

5. 2 Age at marriage in the Tamang Community

Table 5.1.4
Average Mean Age among Boys and Girls Less than 19 Year's Age for Marriage

Respondents	Mean age
Male (150)	18.8 Months
Female (150)	16.4 month
Both gender(N=300)	17 year and 6 month

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table verifies the fact that in the Tamang community child marriage is existing among both sexes. The ratio of girls is high compared to boy's age, and the age of marriage is low. Girl's mean age is 16 year and 4 month. On the contrary, boy's mean age is 18 years and 8 months. The average mean age of both genders is 17 year and 6 month. Of the total 300 respondents, this is the average marriage age of up to only 19 years of age.

Table 5.1.5
Percent of Female Married under 18 Years of Age (Total -150 Female)

Number of selected copies= 95 Female age at marriage	Age at marriage	
	Frequency	%
13Years	1	1.1
14 years	2	2.1
15 years	5	5.2
16 years	16	16.8
17 years	71	74.7
Total	95	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table describes the frequencies and percentage of selected 95 copies of the 150 copies of the female respondents who were married till 17 years of age. Of the

remaining 55, majority of the female respondents were found to be married at 18 years. Few were married at 19 years. The data reveals the prevalence of female child marriage practice among fewer than 18 year age groups.

According to the data of the table, (71)74.7 % female were married at the age of 17 years. The lowest percent is (1)1.1% married at 13 years of age. (2) 2.1 % were married at 14 years. Similarly, (6) 5.2 % girls were married at the age of 15 years. (16)16.8 % girls have been found marrying at the age of 16 years. This data has been differentiated from the 150 female sample respondents, and which are cases of child marriage.

Table 5.1.6

Percent of Female Married at 18 and 19 Years of Age (With Types of Marriage)

Total number of female --150 Selected number=55(36.7)	Marriage				Total	
	Arrange		Love and elopement			
	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%
18	19	34.5	13	23.6	32	58.2
19	9	16.3	14	24.5	23	41.8
	28	50.1	27	49.1	55	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

In this table the trend of marriage of 18 and 19 years female with its kind has been presented. The data shows the main two types of marriages arranged and love is prevalent in Tamang society. 34.5 % (19 in number) female has arranged marriage. In this group, (13)23.6 % had love and elopement marriage. The overall ratio of 18 years marriage including both types was (32) 58.2 %.

In the case of 19 years group, (9)16.3 % of them had arranged marriage and (14)24.5% had love and elopement marriage. The overall ratio of 19 years marriage including both types was (23)41.8 %.

Similarly, in the over all of 18 and 19 years of age groups, (28)50.1 % had arrange marriage and (27) 49.1 % in the total ratio had love and elopement marriage.

Table 5.1.7
Female Respondent's till 25 Years of Age Married under 18 Years of Age

Total number of female under 25 years age group--25 Selected Number= 14	Marriage(Total female-150)				Total	
	Arrange		Love and elop (self- initiated)			
	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%
15	1	7.2			1	7.2
16	1	7.1	2	14.2	3	21.4
17	4	28.5	6	42.8	10	71.4
Total	6	42.8	8	57.2	14	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This data shows the respondents of young age which are under 25 years of age and who were married under 18 years of age. The data has two types of marriage, arranged and love.

(1)7.1% girl had arranged marriage at the age of 15 years, 7.1% girl had arranged marriage at the age of 15 years, (1) 7.1% girl had arranged marriage at the age of 16 years.

At 16 years (2) 14.2% girls had love and elope marriage. The larger group is of 17 years age. (4) 28.5% of the girls had arranged marriage whereas (6)42.8% of these girls of the same age had love and elope marriage.

In the total of this 25 years age group, (5) 35.7% had arranged marriage and (8) 57.2% had love and elop marriage. Remaining 11 girls were married above 18 years of age.

Table 5.1.8

Percent of Male Respondents Married till up to 18 Years of Age (150 male)

Number of copies = 55	Age at marriage	
	Frequency	%
12 years	1	1.8
13 years	1	1.8
14 years	1	1.8
15 years	2	3.6
16 years	4	7.2
17 years	16	29.1
18 years	30	54.5
Total	55	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The earliest reporting case of one boy is 12 years, which is 1.8%. Likewise, (2) 1.8% and 1.8 boys were married at 13 and 14 years. (2) 3.6% boys are married at 15 years, (4) 7.2% were married at 16 years. Similarly, (16) 29.1% boys were married at 16 years of age and (30) 54.5% were married at 18 years of age. It is clear from the data that majority of the boys were married at 18 years of age.

The latest 11th amendment of new civil code allows a minimum 21 years for consent marriage and completion of 20 year for registration marriage for boys.

Table 5.1.9

Percent of Male Married at 19 Years of Age (With Types of Marriage, 150 Male)

Male age at marriage Number=49	Marriage				Total	
	Arrange		Love and elopement			
	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%
19	35	71.4	14	28.6	49	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table shows the figure of male married at 19 years of age and types of marriage also. (35) 71.4% boys had arranged marriage whereas (14) 28.6% had love and elope marriage.

Table 5.1.10
Percent of Male Married Within at 20 and 21 Years of Age (With Types of
Marriage, 150 Male)

Age of male at marriage Selected number=40	Marriage				Total	
	Arrange		Love and elopement			
	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%
20	33	82.5	5	12.5	38	95
21	2	0.5			2	5

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table shows the males married at 20 and 21 years of age and the types of marriage. (33) 82.5% of the males had arranged marriage at the age of 20 years whereas (38) 12.5% of these had love and elope marriage. The total of both types of marriage of the male at 20 years of age was (38) 95%.

Similarly, (2) 0.5% mal had arranged marriage at the age of 21 years an (2) 5% of these had love and elope marriage. It becomes clear from the data that almost boys are marred within 20 years of age.

Table 5.1.11
Percentage of Married Male Respondent's till 25 Years of Age Married under 19
Years of Age, Which are Under Prescribed the Legal Code(150 Male)

Male age at marriage Age group-till 25 years selected number---22	Marriage				Total	
	Arrange		Love and elop (self-initiated)			
	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%
17	3	13.6	2	9.1	5	22.7
18	3	13.6	2	9.1	5	22.7
19	4	18.2	6	27.3	10	45.5
20	1	4.5	1	4.5	2	9.1

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table describes the trends of marriage age of the respondents till their 25 years of age groups. (3) 13.6% boys had arranged marriage at 17 years of age, (2) 9.1% of the

same age boys had love and elop marriage. (3) 13.6% boys had arranged marriage at 18 years of age, (2) 9.1% of the same age boys had love and elop marriage. (4) 18.2% of the boys had arranged marriage at 19 years of age, (6) 27.3% of the boys of the same age had love and elop marriage. (1) 4.5% boys had arrange marriage at 20 years, (1) 4.5% of the boys of same age had love and eelip marriage. Of the 25 years respondents groups, the larger number is 10 married at 19years of age which is, 45.5%.

Table 5.1.12

Total Percentage of Male and Female (Boys and Girls) Married up to 20 Years of Age

Total—300	Frequency	Percentage
Male –150	142	94.7%
Female- 150	143	95.33%
Over all	285	95%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The table describes the majority number of male and female married under the legal age. Among the total ratio of male and female respondents, 95.33% female were early marred and 94.7% male were found married early than the legal age.

This is more justifiable table than others. It deals the trend of child marriage practice in Tamang community. The real respondents were 300 in number, of which 150 male and 150 female. But the male or female spouse was asked about his/her partner's age at marriage. So, this table has double respondents and its marriage age. The aim to do this is to know maximum number of male and female married below legal age. It is clear here that the ratio of child marriage among girls/female is high compared to boys or male counterpart. The trend of marrying at 17 years for girl is extremely high that is 70 girls(56%) were married but only 17 boys (14%) were married at the same age. Likewise, 33(26.4) girls were married at 18 years of age but 31 boys (25.4%) were married in this age. But the ratio of boys is a head among 19, 20 years of marriage. 31 boys (25, 4%) were married at 19 years and 20 girls (16%) girls /male

were married at 19 years of age. Therefore, the trend of marrying early is prevalent not only among girls, among boys group also. The legal age for registration marriage is 20 years completion for both couple and for parental consent marriage, 18 years for girls and 21 for boys. Girls married at the age of 16 is 13 in number where as 8 boys were married in the same age. The earliest age for girls reported is 13 years

Table 5.1.13

Percent of Female Taken from Male 150 Copies Married under 20 Years of Age

Male age at marriage	Frequency	%
Selected number—128		
11 years	1	0.8
13 years	1	0.8
14 years	2	1.6
15 years	3	2.3
16 years	12	9.2
17 years	32	25
18 years	31	24.2
19	27	21.1
20	19	14.8
Total	128	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table deals the frequency and percent of female married women till 20 years of age. This sample has been selected from the male respondent's 150 copies. According to data, (32) 25% of the female were married at 17 years of age. Like-wise, (12) 9.2% female were married at 16 years of age. Similarly, (3) 2.3% at 15 years, (2) 1.6% at 14 years and (1) 0.8% were married at 13 years respectively.

The high percentages of married women are at age 18 years. (31) 24.2% of the female were married at 18 years of age. Similarly, (27) 21.1% of these female were married at 19 years and (19) 14.8% of these were married at 20 years of age.

From the remaining 22 copies, women were found marrying above 20 years of age to till 24 years. Of them, 8 women were married at 21 years of age, 9 were married at 22 years, 3 at 23 years and 2 at 24 years of age. Percent of these group have not been mentioned as these groups do not under the prescribed legal age of marriage for female.

Table 5.1.14
Marriage Age of the Female Respondents and Her Husband, Married up to 20 Years of Age (150 copy of Female Including Her Spouse)

Total-30	Frequency	Percentage
Male & female	228	76%
Male(total of male-150)	85	56.6%
Female(total of female(150)	143	95.3%--
Overall	228	76%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The prevalent of child marriage is high among girls than boys. Of the 300, respondents, 228 are under aged marriage which is 76% ratio. In the case of female 95.3% are married young whereas only 56.6% of the boys were married before the legal age.

Table 5.1.15
Average Mean Age of Early Married Male and Female Child of Female Respondents (Education Level of Married Children, Total -150)

Copy of female respondents Selected number -61	Male child	Female child
Illiterate	19.2(maximum 13- minimum ---25)	18 year and 8 month (16-22)
Literate	19.1 (16-26)	16.9 (15-24)
1-5 Grade	19 (16-24)	18.9 (17-24)
6-8 Grade	20.4 (15-25)	18.6 (17-21)
9-12 Grade	20.4 (17-30)	18.5 (15-25)
12 & above grade	20.4 (19-22)	19 year

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The average mean ages of female respondent's married children are 19 year and 2 months for male child and 18 year and 8 months for female child. This data has shown some change in the rises of marriage age among male children through education. Children from, 6-8, 9-12 and above grade 9-12 grades are found to be married at 19 years and 20 year respectively.

The average mean ages of female respondent's married children are 18 year and 8 months for female child. Normally the education level of the children helps to rise age of the marriage. But in this data, the change is not influenced by education. In some cases, it has gone down. In literate groups, the age of marriage is only 16 year and 9 month where as in the illiterate group it is 18 year and 8 months. After the illiterate female groups, only 12 and above group's marriage age slightly stood up by 2 months only. This data justifies there is some influence of education among male but no significant change in female groups. It shows the trend of female marrying at an early age compared to male.

Table 5.1.16
Average Mean Age of Early Married Male and Female Child of Male
Respondents (Education Level of Married Children, Total-150)

Copy of male respondents Selected number—46	Male child	Female child
Illiterate	19 year (Minimum---18, maximum---21 years)	18 year and 1 month
Literate	19 year (Mini—17 years---21 yeas)	15 year and, 8 month
1- 5 Grade	19 year(16----24)	18 year and 9 month
6----8 Grade	20 year and 5 month (17---27 years)	18 year and 5 month
9-----12 Grade	18 year and 6 month	15 year and 6 month
12 & above grade		19 year and 2 month

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

The average mean ages of female respondent's married children are 19 year and 2 months for male child and 18 year and 8 months for female child. Normally the education level of the children, decreases age of the marriage. But in this data, the change is not influenced by education. The illiterate male children are found to be married at 19 years where as children from 9-12 grads are found to be married at 15 years and 6 month. This shows the burning trend of love and elopement marriage among the Tamang young generation of the school age, where education is not helping to rise age at marriage.

Table 5.1.17

Average Different Mean Age of Husband and Wife during Marriage from 4 Selected VDC—Bhaluwajor, Sukajor, Okhreni and Ramechhap with age categorization

Age group	Mean age (elderly husband)
Below ----- 25	3 year, 1 months
26—50	3 year
51—above	2 year

Field survey, 2068

This table shows the average different mean age of the married couple. In all the four age categories, wives are found younger than their husband. In the 25 below age group, wives are younger by three years and one month than their husbands. In the 26—50 year's age group, wives are three years younger than their spouse. Likewise, in the 51 and above age group, wives are two years older than husbands. This table analyzes that in these modern age, the tradition that husband should be of old age has remained more sharply compared to the previous old generations. Wives are younger by two year in the 50 and above group, where as in the below 25 groups the difference is more than three years.

This is also justified by the answer of old generation. Most of them did not show problem for wife being older but compared to them, many of the new generations demanded wives to be smaller than their husband.

In the overall context, this age difference is very less. In some case, even the wives are younger by 30-35 years of age.

Table 5.1.18
Respondent’s Perceptions about Child Marriage

Age categorization N=300			Total	
	Male	Female	Total	%
5-10 year	1(0.7%)	-	1	0.3
11-13 year	14(9.3%)	28(18.7%)	42	14
14-16 year	47(31.3%)	66(44%)	109	36.3
16-18 year	68(45.3%)	52(34.7%)	120	40
18 and above	16(10.7%)	4(2.7%)	20	6.7
No opinion	4(2.7)	-	4	1.3
Total	150	150	300	100

This table shows that majority of the respondents 47(31.3%) and 66(44%) of the male and female respectively perceive child marriage to be between 14 and 16. But, 68 (45.3 %) and 52(34.7%) male and female respectively consider the age 16 or above as child marriage. 16 (10.7%) and 4(2.7%) male and female respectively consider the age 11 to 13 years as child marriage.

14 (9.3%) and 28 (18.7% male and female perceive 18 years and above as child marriage. Only a few men perceive child marriage to be under 10 years of age.

When the same data is analyzed according to the level of education perspective, all four major groups said that child marriage is considered only when a child marries before the age of 16. The next large groups, categorized under all 4 groups, think the age of 16 or above also should be considered as child for marriage. They explained during informal discussions at the time of interview that the 16 year for marriage is not appropriate since neither the boy is economically independent to support the family nor the girl is physiologically fit to bear a child. They also viewed that early marriage hampers both boy’s and girl’s education.

Table 5.1.19

Respondent’s Perceptions about Child Mmarriage by Level of Education

Age categorization			Education Level					
	Male	Female	Illiterate	Literate	1-5gra	6-8 grade	9-12gr	12and above
5-10 year	1(0.7%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(lama)0.7%
11-13 year	14(9.3%)	28(18.7%)	22(7.8%)	6(2.14%)	18(6.4%)	9(3.%)	2(0.72%)	-
14-16 year	47(31.3%)	66(44%)	10(3.6%)	28(9.3%)	23(7.7%)	9(3.2%)	6(2.%)	1(0.35%)
16-18 year	68(45.3%)	52(34.7%)	9(3.%)	27(9%)	37(12.3%)	38(12.7%)	28(9.3%)	-
18 and above	16(10.7%)	4(2.7%)	(0.35%)	3(1.07%)	6(2.2%)	6(2.2%)	11(3.9%)	-

Source: Field Survey, 2068

(1) 0.3% of the male lama priest had perception about child marriage being 5-10 year of age. Even being educated equivalent o intermediate and above, was weak in his knowledge. Such priest are the main dharm gurus who does religious practices and the main person in the marriage of children.

(22)7.8% Of the overall illiterate respondents had perception about child marriage being 11-13 years. Similarly, (6)2.1% of the literate respondents said, 11-13, and (18) 6.4% of grade 1-5,(9) 3% of grade 6-8 and (2) 0.72% from grade 9—12 had perception being 11—13 years as child marriage. Education to some extent has role in the awareness about perception about the consideration of the age of child marriage. But in the 1-5 grade, respondents seem to be unaware even being little educated.

(10)3.6% of the overall illiterate respondents had perception about child marriage age as being 14—16, likewise, (28)9.3% from literate groups, (23) 7.7% from 1- 5 grade, (9) 3.2% from grade 6—8, (6) 2% from grade 9—13 and (1) 0.35% from 12 and above had the same age as their perception rearguing the age of child marriage.

Educational variable, many literate had same idea like of the illiterate groups. In the same way, even being in 1 – 5 grades, many of the respondents had perception like of

the illiterate groups. Therefore, education has not effectively worked in the awareness of the respondents.

(9)3% of the overall illiterate respondents had perception about the age of child marriage being 16—18 years, likewise, (27) 9% of the literate groups, (37) 12.3% of the 1-5 grade respondents, (38) 12.7% of the 6—8 grade and (28) 9.3% of the 9--12 grade group had perception as being 16-18. The data clarifies that majority of the literate and other educated group had 16-18 years age as perception of child marriage.

(1)0.35% of the illiterate respondents, (3)1.07% literate group, (6) 2.2% from grade 1—5, (6) 2.2% from 6-8 grad and (11) 3.9% from 9-12 grade respondents had perception about child marriage age being 18 and above.

Compared to the earlier illiterate groups, here the educational variable has given positive results showing large groups with the conception of rising in the marriage age of children 16-18 years.

This way, it shows that the more educated group, the higher level of age increment in perception.

Table 5.1.20

Respondent’s Version in Incident of Child Marriage Practice in the Community and in the Family

Numbr----300	Yes		No		No opinion		Total %
	Fr	%	Fr	%	Fr	%	
Child marriage practices in the community	148	49.3%	91	30.3%	61	20.3%	300
Incident of child marriage in the family	84	28%	148	49.3%	68	22.7%	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

Respondents were asked if they have heard about the child marriage practices in their community and in their family. 148(49.3% and 84(28.3% of the respondents reported

as they have seen or heard about child marriage in their community and in family respectively. 91(30.3%) and 61 30.3) respondents denied about the child marriage practices both in the community and in their family. Likewise, a few male, 61 (20.3%) and 68(22.7% had no opinion about the topic. Those who denied child marriage practices in their community reported that they have seen girl marrying at 15 years. It means they do not consider the 15 years as child marriage. The earliest age reported of marriage is 9 years of female child. Very few respondents reported the age 16 and above (18) also as child marriage. Respondents were categorized according to their gender and education level.

Table 5.1.21
Incident of Child marriage in Community

Total-300	Child marriage in the community			Total
	Yes	No	No pinion	
Male	82(54.7%)	41(27.3%)	27(18%)	150
Female	61(40.7%)	49(32.7%)	40(26.7%)	150
Total	143(47.7%)	90(30%)	67(22.3 %)	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This table deals the overall idea of the respondents on the incidence of child marriage practice in their community. In the overall, (143) 47.7% of the respondents accepted child marriage practice in their community whereas (90) 30% of them denied it. Of them, (67) 22.3% gave no opinion.

(82) 54.7% of the male respondents accepted the practice of child marriage in their community whereas (41) 27.3% of them denied it. Of the male respondents, (27) 18% gave no opinion. Likewise, (61) 40.7% of the female respondents accepted the practice o child marriage I their community whereas (49) 32.7% denied it. Of the female group, (40) 26.7% gave no opinion.

Table 5.1.22
Incident of Child Marriage in the Family

		Child marriage in community			Total
		Yes	No	No pinion	
Education level	Male	82(54.7%)	41(27.3%)	27(18%)	150
	Female	61(40.7%)	49(32.7%)	40(26.7%)	150
	Illiterate	29(10.3%)	12(4.3%)	30(10.7%)	71
	Literate	29(9.7%)	30(10%)	12(4.3%)	71
	1-5 grade	28(10%)	17(6.1%)	18(6.4%)	63
	6-8 grade	17(6.1%)	14(5%)	14(5%)	45
	9-12	36(12.8%)	5(1.7%)	6(2.2%)	47
	12& above	3 (one lama)	-	-	3
	Total	142(47.3%)	78(26%)	80(26.7%)	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

Table 5.1.23
Incident of Child Marriage in Family by Level of Education

Total-300		Child marriage in family			
		Yes	No	No pinion	Total
	<i>Male</i>	<i>54(36%)</i>	<i>70(46.7%)</i>	<i>26(17.3%)</i>	<i>150</i>
	<i>Female</i>	<i>40(26.7%)</i>	<i>73(48.7%)</i>	<i>37(24.7%)</i>	<i>150</i>
Education level	Illiterate	31(10.3%)	24(8%)	21(7%)	76
	Literate	29(9.7%)	36(12%)	14(4.7%)	79
	1-5 grade	18(6%)	29(9.7%)	15(5%)	62
	6-8 grade	12(4%)	17(5.7 %)	11(3.7%)	40
	9-12	25(8.9%)	12(4.3%)	3(1.1%)	40
	12& above	3(%) (one lama)			3
Total		118(39.3%)	118(39.3 %)	64(21.3%)	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This above table is to analyze whether specific group takes some issue similarly. Data makes clear that major differences between the respondents having different education level. But here the educated group also has also agreed child marriage because almost all respondents of teen age group, studying in class 9-12 grades have love and elope marriage. Therefore a large portion of male and female group agreed the fact that they have child marriage practice in community and in the family.

36(12.8%) and 25(8.9%) of the respondents accepted that they have child marriage in their community and in the family.

Likewise, (5) 1.7% and (12) 4.3% respondents of this group denied the trend of child marriage practice in their community and in the family. 6(2.2%) and 3(1.1%) gave no opinion in this matter.

Similarly 28(10%) and 14(5%) male and female respondents studying in class 1—5 grades respondents reported as child marriage practices in their community. The earliest age for child marriage in their family reported by the respondents was 13 years. Similarly, 17(6.1%) and 29(10.4%) of the respondents denied child marriage practices in their community, but they mentioned they have seen girls marrying at the age of 15 or 16 but do not consider it as child marriage, they have also mentioned during interview that if an individual is considered as citizen at the age of 16 and get ID she /he should not be considered as child. Likewise 18(6.4%) and 15(5.4%) respondents of this group gave no opinion in this matter.

17(6.1%) and 9(3.2%) of the respondents whose education level fall under middle school (6—8 grades)think there is child marriage practice in their community and in the family respectively. 14(5%) and 17(6.1%) of these group denied it. Likewise, 14(5%) and 11(3.9%) gave no opinion.

From the highly educated group, only 3 respondents above intermediate level, reported child marriage practice in the community and in the family.

25(9%) and 18(6.4%) literate respondents reported child marriage practice in their community and in the family respectively. 25(8.9%) and 31(11.1%) of them denied it. 12(4.3%) and 14(5%) gave no opinion.

29(10.3%) and 28(10%) of the illiterate respondents reported child marriage trend in the communality and in the family respectively. 12(4.3%) and 24(8.5%) of thee group

denied it. But 30(10.7%) and 21(7.5%) of the respondents from these illiterate group gave no opinion.

But on the other hand those who are conscious about the health and education think an individual should be considered child for if she /he is lesser than 16. Most of them reported 16-20 as the general age of girl for marriage.

When analyzed according to education level of the respondents, the higher the education level the lower the child marriage practices did not work here. Rather, the traditional practice and free life style and less discouragement from parents as the key elements to boost up child marriage among the youngsters group.

Table 5.1.24
Respondent's Idea Regarding the Age of Child Marriage

Options	Female -150		Male-150			
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Total	%
Marriage before menstruation cycle	5	3.3%	5	3.3%	10	3.3%
Marriage from 5 to 10 year of age	6	4%	1	0.7%	7	2.3%
Marriage of girls under 18 years of age	120	80%	122	81.3%	242	80.7%
Marriage of boys under 21 years of age	1	0.7%	5	3.3%	6	2%
Marriage after the completion of 20 years each	5	3.3%	9	6%	14	4.7%
Do not know	11	7.3%	6	4%	17	5.7%
Other	2	1.3%	4	2.7%	6	2%
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

(5)3.3% of the female, (5) 3.3% of the male and in the over all, (10) 3.3% of these respondents had thought that girls were married before menstruation cycle.

(6) 4% of the female, (1) 0.7% of the male and in the over all, (7) 2.3% respondents had an idea of marriage age of children as being, 5—10 years of age.

(120) 80% of the female, (122) 81.3% of the male had an idea of girls marriage age as under 18 years of age. In the overall, (242) 80.7% of them had such idea.

(1) 0.7% of the female, (5) 3.3% of the male and in the overall,(6) 2% of these respondents accepted marriage of boys under 21 years of age.

(5) 3.3% of the female, (9) 6% of the male and (14) 4.7% in the overall, respondents said child marriage after the completion of 20 years of age.

1.3% of the female, (4) 2.7% of the male and in the overall, (6) 2% of the respondents chose other options and gave their own idea regarding the age of child marriage. They were- 11-13, 13-14, 14—19 14-16 years.

Similarly, (11) 7.3% female, (6) 4% male, and 9(17) 5.7% in the overall ratio of respondents gave no opinion.

Table 5.1.25

Respondent’s Awareness Regarding the Marriage Settled in the Fetus (With Age Group)

Total 300	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total(300)	
	25 & below	26-50 yr	50 & above	25 & below	26-51 yr	50 & Above	Total	(%)
Yes	3(2%)	7(4.7%)	4(2.75)	9(6%)	12(8%)	3(2%)	38	12.7
No	6(4%)	37(24.7%)	14(9.3%)	16(10.7)	64(42.7%)	46(30.7)	183	61
No opinion	9(6%)	49(32.7%)	21(14%)				79	26.3
Total	18(6%)	93(31%)	39(13%)	25(8.3%)	76(25.3%)	49(16.3%)	300	

Source: Field Survey, 2068

Majority of the male and female respondents, (24.7%,42.7%) from 26 -50 years age group did not know about the marriage settle in the fetus. Likewise 30.7% female from age group 50 and above denied this fact. From the male group, a large group

from all age category gave no opinion regarding this issue. Among 33 respondents, 38(%) only accepted the marriage settled in the fetus. Some respondents who denied it said such practice is not among Tamang community but they have heard it be in other communities. The detail information about such issue has been mentioned in later chapter.

5.3 Empirical Case Studies with Generalization

The prevalence of child marriage practices is represented by the female and male case studies as presented below:

Empirical Case Studies of Female Respondents from VDCs of Ramechhap District

S.N	Current age	Name	Age at marriage	Education	Kind of marriage	Spouse age at marriage	VDC
1	17	Sanu lama	17	9 -12 gra	Love	18	Bholuwajor
2	20	Prem, K.Tamang	19	1-5 grd	love	20	Ramechhap
3	30	Radha Moktan	16	Literate	love	18	Sukajor
4	40	Dil Maya Lama	17	9—12 grd	love	18	Okhreni
5	50	Kamala Lama	18	Illiterate	Arranged	25	Ramechhap
6	60	China Maya Tamang	17	Illiterate	Arranged	22	Sukajor
7	70	Dhana Maya Tamang	15	Illiterate	Arranged	17	Okhreni
8	80	Gari Maya Tamang	17	Illiterate	Arranged	16	Sukajor
9	90	Gori Tamang	14	Illiterate	Arranged	19	Ramechha

Source: Field Survey, 2068

Female Case Studies

Case Study-1 Tamang girl Sanu lama (name changed) of 17 years old is now married to a 19 year old boy in kubhinde, Okhreni, ward number 9 of Ramechhap District. She

got her first child at the age of 18 and mother of a child before reaching 20 years of age. Now she is 23 years old and her husband is making a way to go abroad or Middle East to earn the living. As the marriage was love and elopement, parents easily did not accept them. So, they are now separated and staying in nuclear family, standing on their own feet. Sani was in class 7 in Bhalukhp where her groom was in Ramechhap studying in class 10 in schools. The married Chirring (name changed) boy is not so satisfied with the early marriage, according to him, it might bring mutual adjustment problem to the couple, it also hampers the education and career of girl. The couple not having moral and financial support from the family may suffer. So love marriage is o. k., but at least age should be 20. Compared to boy, the girl Sani was more confident about her future. She was happy because it was her choice marriage, and according to her, children would grow fast when they are young enough. Though, due to child caring and rearing, she stopped her education, but taking care of children also is equally important factor for her. It seems she is not worried about her future because she is fully dependent with her groom and with his earning.

Case Study--2

20 year old Prem Kumari Tamang of lama Tol, of Ramechhap VDC, ward number 9, now is living in joint family. She had her marriage with a 20 year boy in her own choice at 19 years of age. She was then studying in class 5. Parents did not accept the marriage, so they eloped and married. But now she has left her study incomplete and as a home maker running her home and family. Her husband works in the office. She does not know about her husband's job but she thinks, it is a private work. Her husband does not talk in detail about his job and the salary he receives. Their main income source is husband's salary. But amazing, she does not know how much he earns. When asked about the reason of child marriage in her community, she was unaware. Now she is a mother of one baby, which was born in the hospital, before she was 20 years old. She is aware of the fact that giving birth less than 20 years of age is harmful to the mother and baby both. She knows that excessive bleeding and life is risky. Her baby was born through operation. Still she believes she did not have problem in the delivery. Very few, 1-2 respondents were aware of the weight of their baby. This female knows that her baby weight was 3.5kg during birth. She is using

family planning temporary means. She thinks both parent are responsible for giving birth of son and daughter. More detail reason, she does not know. According to her, there is kanyadan practice in marriage of the daughters. And she adds that all parental side should give gift (Gardhuwa) to the bride during the process of kanyadan. The first eater at home is father group and in the last she herself. Both religion and poverty are not the prim cause of child marriage but use of mobile phone is the main cause. She prefers arranged marriage as the best and idle one. Till now, she has not taken any child caring and rearing training. She is breast-feeding her baby and will continue at least 2 years. She has heard about the marriage registration but she herself has not registered her own marriage.

This is clear that her age is under the legal age of marriage. For registration marriage, both girl and boy should complete 20 years of age. As mentioned by the VDC secretaries, she will register it later on when she will complete the age of 20.

The young Tamang woman believes in the practice of choosing different age for male and female in marriage. Her logic for this is son or the male being as the bread earner and protector of the family. She is satisfied with less than 18 years marriage for girls because girls are the liabilities to others. Once they need to go outside her parental homes, so it does not make so big difference being 1 -2 year, early or late. She says she is also satisfied with her marriage. According to her, both parents decide in her children's marriage, if it is an arranged one. But in her own marriage, parents did not decide but she and her spouse took all decision. She blames nobody to force on her marriage. She knows that child marriage means 16-18 years of age for marriage of children. She does not know how to remove child marriage and also does not know the reason to dislike it. She watches T.V., and listens radio. Mostly she prefers songs and films. She has not seen child marriage programs and reproductive health related programs till now.

Case Study -3

30 year old, Radha Moktan, of Chambot of Okhreni, VDC, ward number 9, is now a living in nuclear family. She was married at 16 year with an 18 year old boy. She got her first baby at the age of 18. It was her love and elope marriage. She is only literate. And now, she is maintaining her home as a house wife. Her husband was in the

school, now left education and works as a farmer in the field. She thinks about yearly nrs.40000 earning is from the agriculture, including both cash and assets. Her opinion regarding the causes of child marriage is tradition mainly for boys and girls. Boys are married early by parents to bring a labor at home. Girls are married early to relief from the dowry and in the community; girls are taken as the liabilities to others. Her own daughter had love and elope marriage studying in class 5 at the age of 18 years. She will choose different age to marry her children. She believes husband should be matured than wife being bread earner of the family. Besides, it is a social practice. In the society, people normally do not prefer it and believe that elderly wives bring misfortune to their spouse and family. She is not satisfied if the marriage is under 18 years for girls. From such marriage, girls are not found happy like her; education is not completed, so unable to stand on their own feet, as well as not having good understanding between the couple. She knows that both parents are responsible for giving birth to son and daughter. In her community, there is the practice of kanyadaan for daughters, but when it started she does not know. It is a normal practice that male member eat food first and then the female group have food. She takes it as positive discrimination regulated by the tradition. She thinks 2 year breast feeding for son and 1 and half for daughter is ok.

In the existing situations, most of the marriages are early due to love and elopement, so children themselves decide about their marriage. Her opinion regarding child marriage age is 14—16 years of age.

Case Study -4

40 year old Dil Maya Tamang from Okhreni VDC, Katunje, ward number 9, was married at the age of 17 with an 18 year old boy of her community. It was her first love and elope marriage. This woman has read till class 9. Now she is running a hotel and lives with her daughters. Her husband married another woman and so is separated with her. To marry several times was found as a normal trend in Tamang community. Compared to women, men married many times in life. This woman does not watch and listen any electronic media. And she is not aware of the legal age of marriage of children. She believes that husband should be matured in age because he is supposed to run the family. She knows that in arranged marriage, parental decisions are associated and in case of love marriage all decision are taken by children themselves.

She has regret for not being able to stand on her own feet due to early marriages. So, her advice is to advocate and create awareness about the legal age of marriage in the community. She was aware about the negative effect of giving birth under 20 years of age. Her first child was born in the hospital but she had no such serious health problem. She knows both parent are responsible for giving birth of son and daughter but she does not know its scientific reason. She says in Tamang community, there was no kanyadan system in the earlier days, but this has been introduced now in the community. Actually, it means to give gardhuwa to the girl from parent's side. She also has heard that the doors of heaven are closed if the parents have no son. This version is more common in Brahmin and Chhetri community than in Tamang Community.

Male member of the family have food first and then female have. She believes mobile phone as the prime factor for child marriage in case of affair. Tamang people believe in the caste value. Marriage is not accepted in the same gotra and in the inferior caste. Such couple cannot be permitted to kul puja and death ritual. There is cross cousin marriage also, but she prefers marriage out of the family and arranged by parents. She has not received any child caring and rearing training till now. She has heard about marriage registration.

Case Study -5

50 year old Kamala Tamang of Mane Tol, ward number 9, Ramechhap VDC of Ramechhap District is now living in joint family. She was married at 18 year with a 25 year old boy. It was her arranged marriage. Kamala is just a literate woman and now running her home as a home maker. She also does some agriculture work in her little piece of land. Her husband works in agriculture as main profession. But the amount of income she does not know. In her opinion, there is child marriage practice in the community and in family. She says generally, boys at 17-18 years, and girls from 16 -17 years of age are married. Mainly she explains two--reasons as the prime cause of marriage of son and daughter. Parents of the son decide marriage to fulfill labor problem at home where as daughter are taken as being liabilities to others. Beside, parents have fear that if both son and daughters are matured, they might love and bring restricted cast and gotra, which is not accepted by the family and society. She is satisfied with under 18 years marriage for girls, because daughters are made

for other family. Children now a day decide their marriage themselves. She considers child marriage from 14—16 years of age. She explains the main reason her parent forced her to marry early as it being social tradition of the community, in their community to marry at 18 for girls is the right time. Her first child was born at home but no serious problem was found and she is aware of the fact that pregnancy and child birth under 20 years of age is harmful to mother and the new born-baby. She agrees that they have kanyadan system of their daughter, but more about it she does not know. According to her, the prime reason of child marriage by children these days is the use of mobile phone. Her preferred type of marriage is arranged one. She has not taken any child caring and rearing training. She has heard about the marriage registration trend but has not done herself.

Case Study –6

60 year old China Maya Tamang of Gaurgaun, ward number 9, Sujkajor VDC, is now living at nuclear family. She was married at the age of 17 with a 2 year old boy. It was her arranged marriage. She is an illiterate woman and a home maker. She also does some agriculture work. Her husband left many years back and married another woman; such story is common in Tamang family. Her son– in- laws earn and there is pension and salary. She thinks about two and half lakhs is their annual earning. She knows child marriage is still continuing in family. Generally, at 17---19 years of age, children are married. The main reasons of child marriage in these days are the open culture and mobile. Children love and elope themselves. Her 4 daughters married this way at under 19 years of age. She thinks child marriage under 18 for girls is satisfactory for her as it brings social prestige. The main reason parents do early marriage for their children is they fear that for matured children, it is difficult to get good match. Her both parents had forced her to marry. She regrets, due to child marriage, she became unable to stand on her own feet. She suggests children should be provided free and compulsory education at least for class 12. She listens radio, watches T.V, she also has heard about child marriage related programs. She knows the legal age of marriage on parental consent, but she is unaware about the latest amendment for registration marriage. There is kanyadaan system in her community, but only the capable family does this practice, other economically weak do not do. The first food eater group are the father (male) and in the last daughter-in-law. She

thinks the prime reason for child marriage is religious practice. According to her, age of the daughter or daughter –in law should be smaller than her spouse. The logics are, makes good understanding, makes good match and bring good luck to the husband. Caste is considered as the main issue during marriage. The best type of marriage for her is arranged one. She has no taken any child rearing and caring practice. She has breast-fed her son 3 years and daughter 2 year. She has heard about marring registration and says she has done also.

Case Study –7

70 years old Dhana Maya Tamang from Kubhinde, ward number 9, of Bholuwajor VDC now is living in joint family. She was married at the age of 15 with a 17 year old boy. It was her arranged marriage. She had become the mother of her first child at 16 year of age. She is an illiterate woman. She was a home maker before, but now she cannot work. Her sons earn for her family. Their main income source is foreign job. But she is totally unaware of the amount of earning. Her husband left her earlier and married another woman. She agrees there is child marriage practice in her family. Boys at 17—18 years and girls at 16-18 were married. She explains the reason of child marriage practice in the existing period as children go outside for education and for work. They love and elope there. Her six children were married this way. She is satisfied with her marriage and also satisfied with the marriage under 18 year for girls. When her children were married, her husband had taken some decision for those who had arranged marriage. She thinks the age of child marriage as being 14-16 year. In her marriage, her mother had forced to marry her. She has heard that the doors of heaven are closed without son. But it is common in Brahmin and Chhetri community. There is kanyadan system in her community. But according to her, they do not wash the feet of the bride and groom, but only wash their hands. The male and the older woman eat first and in the last (buhari) daughter-in-law have food. She accepts the main reason of child marriage by children in her community is mobile phone. She is strict in cast value. In same gora and inferior cast it is not accepted but even it is love marriage, if it is in matching cast and gotra, the couple is allowed to come inside the home. There is cross cousin marriage going on. Her preferred type of marriage is arranged one.

Case Study --8

80 years old Gari Maya Tamang, is now living with her daughters in nuclear family in Devasthan of Sukajor VDC of Ramechhap District. She says herself as Buddhist by religion. But she observes and follows all Hindu ritual and customs also. She was married at the age of 17 with a 16 year Tamang boy, one year younger than her. It was her arranged marriage. Though she was married at 17, her first child was born after 6 years of her marriage, which is at the age of 23 she had become the mother of her first child. She is an illiterate woman and always remained a house wife in the family. When she was young and strong, she used to do some agricultural work also. Now, she cannot do this her daughters grow vegetables and work in the small land of their own. She exactly does not know about the home income. But, they have no hand mouth problem. She believes, mainly three factors are associated with child marriage.

The first and prime factor is social customs and tradition of child marriage in her community. Other two factors are if daughters are married early, there will be no tension of dowry. And the third is, daughters are taken as liabilities to others. According to her version, wife should be smaller than husband. She knows that man is the bread- earner of the family. Therefore it is natural he should be matured enough to run and financially support the family. She is satisfied with the under 18 year's marriage for girls. She is also not so happy with her marriage too. She recalls that life was quite tough during that period. In the earlier days, parents used to decide children's marriage. Her own marriage was done by the pressure of her parents. But the situation is not so now. She knows in the present context, almost all marriages are decided and chosen by the children themselves. Her opinion regarding child marriage age is 11—13 years of age for girls. She gives advices other parents and concerned people to educate their children and marry after being matured. Her whole children were born at home and have no knowledge about family planning. She thinks religion as being the main factor, children are married early. Especially girls are married early in the name of religion. She agrees that Tamang community did not have kanyadaan system in marriage for daughters. It is cultivated later on. But, these days' children marry early by themselves. It might be due to mobile and free life styles. This Tamang woman thinks they are particular in the cast system. Certain caste value and norms should be maintained in the family. If children marry opposite to this, not only

family societal people also do not accept the marriage. Her choice for marriage is arranged marriage. She remembers and thinks that she breast-fed her children till 4 years of age. She has heard about the marriage registration of children but not done.

Case Study ---9

90 year old Tamang woman, from, Ramechhap VDC, ward number 4, a place called Simontar, name called Gori Tamang, Buddhist by religion, was married at the age of 14 with a 19 year old boy of her community. It was arranged marriage, decided by parents. She she does not exactly know about the age of child marriage, but thinks 11-13 year as child marriage for girls and because of that opinion, her parents had arranged her marriage and it was a common traditional practice in the society. Her own, 3 daughters and 5 relatives were married under 17 years of age in their own consent. She is satisfied with her marriage because it was a common traditional practice in the society. She has heard that sons are the gate for heaven; sons are necessary also to perform religious and other rituals through the life, from birth to death. She declared that Tamang had no kanya daan system in their community but it has started now, she does not know its reason. Also, there is no mention in Dharma Sastra or Gurus, who have talked about the kanyadaa system. As usual, male members have food in the first turn, and then female members and daughter- In-law have their food (gender discrimination existed). She thinks that these days' children are not under their parent's control, they decide all things themselves including the marriage. Her choice of marriage is arranged marriage, decided by parents. They have trend of cousin marriage also.

Following Generalizations have been made from the above Mentioned Imprical Case Studies of Female Child

There is no serious response made for the betterment and lack of realization of urgency for the overall development of children especially of the girls at the state level.

The principle of social inclusion is only limited in slogans and not internalized by state mechanisms. Women's representation in state mechanisms is still limited.

But discriminatory attitudes towards girls/female need to be analysed and opposed mainly by female groups.

Powerful and sustainable initiatives are not taken to change the social and regressive attitudes towards girls. Maximum advocacy and counseling on social discriminatory attitudes like caste etc, religious right and re-interpretation of religious/cultural practices. Dharma gurus/priests may be helpful to conduct such activities.

More strictness to rise the age of boys at marriage in order control and stop child marriage

Excess and proper use of media component in the community is essential. Effective implementation of child marriage act and the legal registration process can bring change

Proper measures are not taken and mechanisms not developed to implement national and international commitments.

Education for all, girl's access to mainstream education is still a major challenge for meeting the national and global goal of achieving education for all by 2015. Quality based education to enhance the skill and efficiency of girl child and sometimes completing higher education job small side. Special intervention towards girl's education for various social and economic causes are hindrances to girl's enrollment and continuation.

Parental counseling and support to young children and early married couple

Some financial and social security to parents by state to cover the absence of son in the family might help to discourage the trend of waiting for a son after many daughters.

Parental level awareness and conciseness is very weak, slow and not serious of the harmful side of the children and mainly of the daughters caused due to child marriage.

Majority of the research work show the social and religious value of a son is regarded much more essential and higher to family than daughter, therefore conceptual clarity

is essential on the norms of religious belief and right interpretation and re-interpretation of human- being as an individual, not of the biological sex. It is essential to explain the spiritual /religious value of daughter is more than a son.

Empirical Case Studies of Male Respondents from four VDCs of Ramechhap District

S.N	Current age	Name	Age at marriage	Education	Kinds of marriage	Spouse age at marriage	VDC
1	19	Ramesh Tamang	17	9---12 grd	Love	17	Bholuwajor
2	25	Ram.K.Tamang	17	6-8 grd	Love	17	Okrneni
3	35	Chakra. B Motan	19	6-8 grd	Love and elop	21	Okrneni
4	45	Padma B. Lama	18	1-5 grd	Arranged	20	Bholjor
5	55	Lok B. Tamang	19	Literate	Arranged	24	Okhreni
6	65	Laxman Tamang	19	Literate	Arranged	20	Okhreni
7	75	Buddhiman Tamang	15	Illiterate	Arranged	11	Bholuwajor
8	85	Sanu Harka ManTamang	19	Lliterate	Arranged	18	Ramechhap

Source: Field Survey, 2068

Male Case Studies—1

This is the case study of a 19 year old Tamang boy called Ramesh Tamang of Bholuwajor VDC of Ramechhap District. This boy was in grade 10 at the age of 17, when he was married with a 17 year old girl of the same school, studying class 9. It was their arranged marriage. He is living in joint family now. He does not hold good job but small labor type work. He is the earner at home. He also does some domestic work in payment. This boy says he is not sure about how much he earns as income. He accepts that here is child marriage practice in the community and in the family. His own and his spouse are the example of child marriage. He thinks boys at 18-19 and girls generally at 17—18 years of age is appropriate for marriage. This male

believes main cause for marrying girls at early age is because they are liable to others. But in case of boy's early marriage, parents want to bring helping hand at home. This male is satisfied with less than 18 years marriage for girls. He gives logic that he himself is satisfied with his marriage. His both parents took decision in his arranged marriage. He has understood 16—18 year age as child marring age. For the eldest son, to be married and bring wife at home 17 is normal. So his parents had made arrangement to marry him at this age. He advises that problems of child marriage should be made aware to the couple and also other people in the community. He listens radio and has heard about the harmful impact of being pregnant and delivery before 20 years of age for females. He is not sure about the legal age of marriage of children and does not know who is responsible for giving birth of son and daughter. At home his father and all male members eat first and other female member including his wife at last. Sometime his father and mother and other female family member eat together. He prefers love but arranged by parents' marriage as best for him.

This table can be compared with this boy's grandfather's table. It is interesting that his grandfather had arranged married at 19 but this boy of 19 years old had arranged marriage at 17 year age. Hi grandmother then was married at 18 but his wife as only 17 year at marriage. This shows the trend has existed from then till now continuously.

Male Case Studies—2

This is the case study of 25 year old Ram kumar Tamang, who is now living at Gaitar, of ward number 8, Okhreni VDC of Ramechhap District. His is a nuclear family. He was married at 17 years of age with a girl of the same age. He has studied till class 4. Then he fell in love with his friend in the same school and same class. They eloped and married as family did not accept it. He became father at the age of 18. He works in the hotel as a cook by profession. He calculates roughly in a year, he is earning about one and half lakh as cash money. He believes that daughter- in-laws should be small in age than their spouse. The logic he gives behind this fact is that men are the bread earner, so it is natural he is supposed to be at least some year older than wives. He is satisfied with less than 18 years marriage for girls. He mentions reasons like daughters are liabilities to others and so some year sooner or later, girls are supposed to marry. His assumption about the age of child marriage extends from 16—18 years

of age. He is totally responsible to decide his marriage so no other factors are associated with it. This male boy also is aware of the legal age of marriage for son and daughter which was done according to parental consent. But he is not aware of the latest change made by the 11th amendment of the new Civil Code which has made 20 year to be completed by both of the couple to register their marriage without parent consent. His first baby was born at home, but there was no serious problem during child birth.

Male Case Studies—3

35 year Chakra Bahadur Moktan of Lamatol of Okhreni VDC, now is living in joint family. He was married at 19 years of age with a one year elderly wife. It was his love and elope marriage. He has studied till class 8. Now he works in a non-governmental office. He is the earner of the family. There is small piece of land also. So they do some agriculture also. But he is not sure exactly how much he earns. He agrees that child marriage practice is still continued in his community. Normally 19 years for son and 17 year for girls are ages for marriage. The main reason of child marriage in his community is love and elope or if there is no parental acceptance. He believes that age of the daughter or wife should be smaller than her spouse. So in the future he has a plan to marry his son to 21 year of age and daughter at 19 year. But he laughingly says, these days, marriage by parents almost are rare, children themselves choose and marry. But when asked why early marriage happens in his community, he knows that marrying at 18-19 for boys and 17 -18 for girls are general trend and social practice. Parents and societal people believe these are the ages in which children can take responsibilities after marriage. But this male boy is not satisfied with less than 18 years marriage for girls. His assumption age of child marriages are 16-18 years of age. According to him, there is much freedom in marriage decision in the family. So there are no other associated factors except the couple themselves. His advices to eliminate child marriage through awareness program, free and compulsory education at least class 12 and advocacy on the problems faced by early married couple in the community.

Male Case Study---4

45 year old Padma Bahadur lama from Betini ward number 4, Bholuwajor VDC of Ramechhap District is in living in joint family. He was 18 years old and in grade 5 only, marriage was settled by parents. He was married with 20 years old Tamang girl, 2 years older than her. He accepts there is practice of child marriage in the community. Boys marry at 19-20 and girls at 17-18 years of age. He mentions marrying at 18-19 o boys and 16-17 to girls are not taken as child marriage but these are the socially accepted norms considering as these age are right for marrying children. He has now three children, 2 son and on daughter. He will choose different age for marrying them in the future. He has planned to marry his son at 25—26 years and daughters to 20-21. But he says marriage of children is not in our hands. Age and everything, they will decide themselves. This male is not satisfied with less than 18 years marriage for girls. H says if he could arrange children marriage, it would be his decision only. In his opinion, age of child marriage is from 16—18 years of age. When he was married both his parents had forced him to marry. The main disadvantage he finds from early marriage being unable to stand on his own feet and no progress in economic condition. So, he suggests starting advocacy program in the issue of child marriage and its negative consequences for the couple, family, community and nation as a whole. He hears radio, watches television also. He has heard about child marriage program in radio. But he is not aware of the legal age of child marriage. His first child was born at home and no serious health problem was felt. He is aware of the fact that pregnancy and child birth under 20 years of age is harmful to moth and new born baby. He accepts the trend of kanyaan practice of daughters in his community. He mentions that the trend is like of Brahmin and Chhetri who perform kanyadaan to their daughters. During marriage, cast of the family is seriously considered.

Male Case Study---5

Lok Bahadur Tamang of 55 year age from Okhreni, ward number 9, is living in joint family. He was married at 19 years old with a 24 year old girl. The marriage was settled by the parents. His wife was 4 years older than him. This male boy is literate only. He does some agricultural work. He is earning and sons are also working and earning some income. The main source of income is agriculture. But he is not sure exactly how much their income is. His 4 children had love and elope marriage under

20 years of age. He is satisfied with under 18 years marriage for girls. Majority of the children make love and elope so all decision regarding child marriage is associated with children. His assumption about the age of child marriage is 14—16 years. He said parents had arranged his marriage thinking that this age was the right age for marriage for son. He suggests the problems faced by the early married couple must be made aware to the other community people. He has heard that without son, the doors of haven are closed. But he thinks such statement is more common in Brahmin and Chhetri community than Tamang. He accepts the trend of kanya daan for daughters in his community. According to him, it is not very old, but has started later on. During earlier days, instead of kanyadan, the process of four dam existed in the place of kanyadaan. The male or father groups have food first and then all female groups have it. He mentions Tamang people are very much rigid in cast system marriage in same gotra and restricted cast is not accepted by the family and community. His best preferable type of marriage is arranged on. He has no idea about breast-feeding period for children. He has heard about the marriage registration but has no done because it was not in practice then.

Male Case Study---6

65 year old Laxmann Tamang of Pakhatol, ward number 9, Okhrene VDC is living in nuclear family. He was married at the age of 19 with one year older girl than him. The marriage as arranged by parents. He is a literate man. At home, he is still working. He himself and his sons work in the agriculture. Cultivation of Junar fruit is the main income source. According to him, in total about one and half lakh income will come in a year. His six children already are married. All marriage is decided by them. He says age of the daughter should be smaller than her husband. But these days parents cannot decide children's marriage, they themselves make all arrangements. So age also will be decided by them. This old man is satisfied with less than 18 years marriage for girls. He explained the prime reason of his early marriage settled by the parent as it being a social tradition, he says 18 –years are regarded as the right age for marriage for sons but girl are married early. His suggestion to eliminate child marriage is to make aware about the problem faced by the early married couple to other community people. He accepts the trend of kanyadan system for daughters in his community. Jagge, is made like of Brahmin and Chhetri, but no need to give dowry, only putting

tika and talo. At home first food eater is father and male member and in the last in-laws will take it. Caste is taken as strict customs. Restricted cast and gotra are not accepted. There is cross cousin marriage also. He remembers his both children had 3 years breast feeding duration. He has heard about the marriage registration of children and he has done it.

Male Case Study---7

A 75 year old Buddhiman Tamang is staying in joint family in a place called Betini of ward number 7 of Bhaluwajor VDC of Ramechhap District. At 15, he was married with an 11 year Tamang girl. It was arranged marriage so all decisions were made from parents side. He remembers his wife became the mother of their first child at the age of 21. The delivery of the child is late though these Tamangs of the older generations were married earlier. It happened in many other older groups, which are in 51 and above age groups of women. Family planning is a taboo even among the new *generation*. So, during those days, family planning was out of the subject, but still the trend of giving birth was late. This issue can be taken for further research.

Male Case Study---8

This is the case study of the oldest respondent of the male group from Tamang community. Sanu Harka Man Tamang of 85 years old, is now living in joint family. He was married at the age of 19 with an 18 year Tamang girl. It was his arranged marriage. His wife has become the mother of his first child at the age 23. He is an illiterate man. At home, his sons and grandsons are the earning members. But he does not know the exact type of work and their income. He says there is child marriage practice in their community and family. About 16-18 are the normal age of marriage for girls and 17-20 for sons. He remembers the earlier days and the sufferings due to poverty and other. During those days children were married early. Mostly sons were married to bring a worker at home. He says not only one; they used to marry several wives to fulfill the labor demand at home. He himself married his two sons at the age of 17 and 18 years. This man thinks 14—16 years as the age being child marriage. Both parents at time had forced him to marry early. He is not aware of the media. His all children were born at home, but there was no health problem. Answering about kanyaddan, he says in my days that were not common, people say now the trend has

become popular in Tamang community, but I do not know about it. Inside the kitchen, the common trend is first male member have food and then female group. This old man is particular in caste and Gotra. Marriage in same gotra and inferior cast is not accepted. It would affect the death rituals and family worship. In those days, marriage had long process, but these days love an elopement trend has increased. The cross couis no sin marriage is decreasing. He prefers love marriage as the ideal one. He remembers, his wife had breast-fed their children, 3 year for son and 2 years for daughter. He has heard about the registration of marriage but he never did.

In the previous female case studies some Generalizations already had been drawn. So from the above male case studies ---some diferent issues will be drawn. Boys are also married at an early age and it is wide spread in tamang community is an age old social practice. There is no strict rule and regulations followed in it. Mainly boys are married by paren to bring labor force at home. When boys are married early, their human rights are abused. It hampers their overall development. There is growing trend of love and elop marriage among boys. Case studies show elderly wives were common in the earlier days. Compared to that, young generations are found rigid in this matter. Maximum awareness against child marriage practice is essential. To eliminate girl child marriage, boys also should marry late. Majority of the people prefer young wife/daughter in law. So if boys this waty continue to marry early, it will bringl be very difficult to stop the practice of child marriage.

CHAPTER VI
Underlying Causes, Consequences and Awareness About
Child Marriage Practice

6.1 Underlying Causes of Child Marriage

This chapter provides empirical data and information obtained from the field on underlying cause of child marriage, consequences of child marriage, and attitudes of people and awareness towards child marriage and awareness of Tamang people as what they think about the issue.

Table 6.1.27
Does the Village Religious Scripture Mention About the ‘Kanyadaan’ of
Daughters (With Age Group)

Total 300	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	(%)
	25 and below	26-50	50and above	25 and below	26-51	50and Above		
Yes	2(1.3%)	11(7.3%)	4(2.7%)	4(2.7%)	7(4.7%)	5(3.3%)	33	11
No	12(8%)	73(48.7%)	25(16.7%)	16(10.6%)	40(26.7%)	22(14.7%)	188	62.7
No opinion	5(3.3%)	15(10%)	19(12.7%)	5(3.3%) (25)	29(19.3%)	6(4%)	79	26.3
Total	19(6.3%)	99(33%)	48(16%)	25(8.3%)	76(25.3%)	33(11%)	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table present the data revealing the kanyadaan practice of daughters is mentioned in village religious scripture is mentioned or not. Replying the queries whether the religious text mentions about the Kanyadaan of daughter’s, (182) 60.7% of the respondents from all age categories denied the system of daughter’s Kanayadaan in their community. They without asking cross question said the trend is not of Tamang community but of the imitation of other community (Brahmin and Chhetris). Only (31) 11% respondents accepted the trend of kanyadaan of their daughter, but also these group commented that this trend is not old but has started

recently seeing the customs of Brahmins and Chhetris. They said, though kanyadaan is prevalent now, but this has started from other communities. (79) 26.3% of the respondents gave no opinion on this issue.

Table 6.1.28
The Trend of Giving Daughters in Kanyadaan (Age Categorization)

Total- 150	Male (150)			Female (150)			Total	
	25 and under	26-50 yr	50 and above	25 and under	26---50 yr	51 and above	Total	(%)
Yes	5(3.3%)	39(26%)	18(12%)	12(8%)	41(27.3%)	17(11.3%)	132	44
No	8(5.3%)	47(31.3%)	18(12%)	13(8.7%)	35(23.3%)	32(21.3%)	153	51
No opinion	5(3.3%)	7(4.7%)	3(2%)				15	5
Total	18(12%)	93(63%)	39(26)	25(16.7%)	76(50.7%)	49(32.7%)	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the social versions and believe on the trend of giving daughters in kanyadaan by parents. (132) 44% in the overall male and female respondents from all age categories accepted the trend of kanyadan practice of daughters in Tamang community. Similarly, (153) 51% of the overall male and female respondents did not accept it. Only (15) 5% of the male respondents gave no opinion.

(41) 27.3% female and (39) 26% male from 26—50 years age group accepted the trend of kanyadaan system of young girls in their community. Likewise (47) 31.3% male and (35) 23.3% female respondents of the same age group denied it. Only (7) 4.7% of the male gave no opinion.

From the small under 25 age groups, (5) 3.3 of the male and (12) 8% female accepted the practice of kanyadan. (8) 5.3% male and (13) 8.7% of the female denied it. From this under 25 age group, (5) 3.3% male gave no opinion.

In the 50 and above male group, (18)12% male accepted the trend of kanyadan in their community, equally (18) 12% of them denied it. (3) 2% of the male gave no opinion.

Likewise, (17)11.3% of the female of 51 and above age group accepted the trend of kanyadaan in their community whereas (32) 21.3% of the female from the same age group denied the trend of kanyadaan practice.

Informal Discussions with Respondent Regarding the Causes of the Trend of ‘Kanyaddan’ System in Tamang Community

Normally, it shows that the new generations are confused and have no concern regarding these issues. But actually, all of these under 25 age group are 9—12 grade school going children already have love and elope marriage, therefore they have some kind of guilty as well as fear with child marriage Act. So, these groups knowingly were not ready to answer such question. Those 25 below age group who gave opinion about the system of kanyadaan from Brahmin and Chhetris have been imitated in their Tamang community. According to them, capable parents wash the feet of their bridegroom and Ggardhuwa (gift) is given to the girl from only parental side and not from relatives. But those weak in financial condition do not give such Gardhuwa.

14 female said (26--51) said this trend of Kanyadan has appeared in recent time. It was not in the beginning. The trend is now that whole families give Gardhuwa to the girl during the time of Kanyadaan. This is according to these groups also an imitation like of Brahmin and Chhetris. They opine that when kanyadaan is performed during marriage, such marriage is regarded as the real or *pakka* marriage. Some respondents said the trend of Kanyadan is in practice in Tamang community but they do not know the reasons.

The culture of four Daam existed in Tamang marriage. It was Tamang own tradition performed instead of washing the feet of the bride –groom. This issue was discussed among 50 years and above age group. According to them, in case of arranged marriage, 4 Daam are performed instead of Swayambar. Some dowry or Gardhuwa is necessary in such arranged marriage. But in case of love and elopement marriage, parents do not observe such 4 Daam/ Kanyadaan process. Dowry or Gardhuwa is also

not necessary in such self-choice marriage. But respondents accepted that except four Daam, other trend is carried out by the imitation of the other caste. According to them, the practice of child marriage in their community was a social tradition, and they were convinced that 16-18 years was a right age for marriage for girls.

Focus Group Discussions Regarding the Causes of Child Marriage

The focus group included 100 people representing from different fields like—Head master, school teachers, students, and early married couples, old authorities of the village, parents and some other old and experienced people from the village. They accepted these days love and elopement marriages are more common; inter caste marriage among the teenagers equally increasing in Tamang society. When son and daughter go to take water, to collect wood in the forest, they fall in love and marry early without parental consent. The main reason of this is illiteracy of parents; they fail to provide moral support to their children, no control and over freedom. Also parents themselves accepted that they were ‘Matawali jatako’, literally means alcohol consumption society. Parents, being recognized by the culture most of the time drink, so they lose their brain capacity to train and guide their young children. Besides, it was due to poverty, their children seek job and wander here and there for their livelihood. They are attracted toward a luxurious and easy life than to get education. In such issue, their children mainly girls are for to be exploited in various ways. But in the family members, including mother are always found drunk and Chang with alcohol, so nobody is there to go and search for the problem of their children. Fathers and teachers complains saying mothers are the main guardians for children, but almost all Tamang mothers are alcoholic so they cannot provided support and counseling of their daughter and sons, basically fathers are out the village and wandering for work and most of them are busy in the field for labor paid work. They complained that Dharma guru, lama guru is also not interested to stop liquor consumption in their community.

Key Group Informant’s Discussions Regarding the Causes of Child Marriage

Important research questions were asked among a group of key members/ informants to discuss the issues. The group explained main causes for child marriage is based on old tradition and superstitions. Parents of earlier days followed kanyadaan process in

which they washed the feet of their daughters before menstruation cycle to earn heavenly merit (Spiritual Punya). Along with this, lower status of girls, illiteracy, lack of awareness and poor economic condition are associated factors. Nobody preferred child marriage because the young couples are not self-standing, unable to take decisions and dependable to others. The girl child as bride faces more difficulty regarding health problem during birth of the baby and provides insufficient care to the born child. To end child marriage, the focused groups suggested lot of advocacy and counseling, awareness campaign on the gender discriminatory practice between son and daughter among the parents/guardians are essential factors. The groups suggested age for marriage for boy 25 years and for girls a minimum of 20 years and the couple need to be educationally and financially capable to handle the marriage situation.

Interview with Secretaries of the four VDCs Regarding the Causes of Child Marriage

Secretary from Bhaluwajor VDCs unofficially said that government should make strict marriage registration Act in the village. The researcher had interview with them about how they manage the marriage registration or certificate where majority of the cases of the marriage were found to be under the prescribed marriage law. In the answer he mentioned that married couple sometimes even 15 or sixteen come to have registration for marriage, which is no legally possible. So the office tells them to come after reaching the legal age. Majority of such couple come even after -3-4 years of marriage having 2-3 children also. The VDC cannot give such under age marriage certificate so they are advised to come again when their age will complete. Such action is encouraging the trend of child marriage. The VDC secretary has accepted that this is a problem for them. Many of these young couple sometimes tries to protest and fight and increase their age to get marriage registration. Their main argue is, an individual is eligible at 16 years of age to get citizenship right, then why not for marriage, they don't talk about separate marriage Act (New Civil Code).Therefore, the VDCs secretaries advised that enough counseling is essential to explain citizenship process and child marriage Act in a clear way in Tamang community..

According to the secretary of the VDC, in two case of such marriage, one was saved with the help of the Ingos/NGOs working in this field, where as a 15 year girl was given to marriage by parents in this year only in the VDC, but in the same another case the team was unsuccessful to save child marriage because the earlier 15 year

young girl ran away with the boy as it was their love marriage. So it could not be succeeded. According to the secretary of the VDC, in current situation, there are growing cases of such love and elopements marriage than arranged or forced marriage by parents. Still, why the cases is not handled to police?, the answer was 'if there is complain from the victims of child marriage, it would be easy otherwise marriage in the consent though under age, is difficult to fire case in police. The answers were more or less similar from different Secretaries from other different VDCs.

Talk with Lama Priest Regarding the Causes of Child Marriage

Another key informant was lama priest of Tamang community. Lama is the religious leader who conducts social cultural aspect including child marriage in Tamang community. The researcher had interview with the lama priest regarding the small age of children mainly of the girl child. The incident had happened last year during the time of interview. When lama priêst said that kanayadaan for girls has nothing to do with lama Dharma Grantha. This does not mention about early or child marriage. He said it is the copy of Brahmin and Chhetris. His own granddaughter had eloped at 15 years of age with the same age boys in school. He hesitated to answer, but another Tamang boy who was listening to us said, just at 15 years of age, his granddaughter ran away recently, it was interesting event of child marriage. It was understood that such many more situations are rising in Tamang community.

Likewise, the researcher had interview and discussion with CDO, LDO, Principle of college and Head master of the school, Representative of the NGOs (RBPW), working against child marriage, Resource person involved in the teaching /learning process, Political activist and social mobilize, Police and Army authorities and leaders of the civil societies.

To End Child Marriage, the Focused Groups and Key Informants Suggested Some Measures, Which is Briefly Mentioned below

Proper counseling in the old age tradition and superstitions, equal value of girls, importance of education, awareness and improvement in economic condition, proper livelihood for family and small side job for children are primary measures to eliminate child marriage.

No alcohol consumption by parents and other members in the family. Explain its side effect that lose brain capacity, which fails not only to enable to guide, train and control children but also causes a long term hereditary traits in the coming offspring generations.

Parental awareness and education, mainly mother's education

Effective role of lama priest to control alcohol and awareness against child marriage as mentioning it is not the religion of lama Grantha.

Collectively work to eradicate poverty in the community level, get available basic resources like water in the very near access.

Establish self-employment opportunities in community level and in the nation,

In the present situation, to avoid love marriages among teen agers, control in the internet (target group), mobile phone, and discipline at home and in school, separate school for girls and boys

Lot of advocacy and counseling in the community, awareness campaign on parental attitudes and formal and informal education of parents, mainly parents learning to be human and highlights on the gender discriminatory attitudes are essential.

Enough counseling is essential to explain citizenship process and child marriage Act in a clear way.

Marriages to be conducted until the couple are educationally and financially capable to handle the marriage situation. Age for marriage for boy and girls 25 above to – 20 years respectively be made effective.

Lama Dharma Grantha, which is a part of Buddhism, has nothing to do with kanayadaan for girls. Role of Lama Priest for creating awareness among Tamang community about their own culture is essential.

Complain from the victims of child marriage side would be easy to work in the legal ground, otherwise marriage by choice and in the couple consent though under age, is

difficult to fire case and punish. Therefore, maximum efforts are needed to report and handle such illegal case publicly and in police authority.

More alertness, awareness and proper parental level advice is required for the girl child in the very young age regarding the issue of gender and child marriage.

Table 6.1.29

Decision Making Regarding Child’s Marriage

	Decision Maker				
	Male	Female	Both	Children	Total
Male	18(12%)	5(3.3%)	60(40%)	67(44.7%)	150
Female	13(8.7%)	7(4.7%)	76(50.7%)	54(36%)	150
Overall	31(10.3%)	12(4%)	136(45.3%)	121(40.3%)	300

Field survey 2068

This Table deals with the decision making of their children. Unless and until the reason of child marriage is known clearly it cannot be eradicated from the society. Respondents were also separately requested to mention the person in terms of gender, who will make the decision regarding their child’s marriage.

(136) 45.3% of the overall male and female respondents assumed that both male and female member (parents) of the family have prominent role on making decision regarding the child marriage.

Likewise, (121) 40.3% of the male and female respondents thought that majority of the decisions regarding child marriage are made by the children themselves.

The data shows different version of male and female in this table but it seems the first large groups to take decision in children’s marriage are both parents. And the second largest groups taking decision are children themselves. From this, it is clear that those who have love marriage decide themselves. So they are supposed to be the deciding factors in child marriage.

In the same way, (18) 12% of the male respondents said they themselves are responsible for deciding their children marriage. But these male said (5) 33% of the female is responsible and (60) 40% both parents and (67) 44.7% children are responsible to decide their marriage. This way, according to male respondent's versions, in majority of the cases children are responsible to take decision in their marriage. The lower groups to take decision are mother or female groups.

In the female version, (13) 8.7% fathers are responsible to take decision in children marriage, only (7) 4.7% female or themselves are responsible to take decision whereas (76) 50.7% of the both parents are taking decisions. According to these female respondents, (54)36% of the children themselves are responsible to take decision in their marriage.

Table 6.1.30
Respondent's Version in Choosing Different Marriage Age for Male and Female Child

	Yes		No		No opinion		
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Total
Male (150)	83	55.3%	37	24.7%	30	20%	150
Female(150)	78	52%	35	23.33%	37	24.67%	150
Overall(300)	161	53.7%	72	24.%	67	22.3%	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table discusses and examines the versions in choosing different age for male and female. (161) 53.7% in the overall of male and female respondents wanted to choose different marriage age for male and female child. Similarly, (72) 24 % of them denied it. And (67) 22.3 % of these overall group gave no opinion.

(83) 55.3 % male respondents accepted the need of making differences in choosing marriage age for male and female child, whereas (78) 52 % female respondents agreed the version that age of the spouse/couple should be different during marriage. (37) 24.7 % male and (35)23.33 % female opposed the issue of choosing different marriage age for their children. (30) 20% male and (37) 24.67 % female gave no opinion.

Informal Discussion on the Causes of Marrying Daughters at Early Age by no Opinion Group

During informal discussion, the no opinion group in data, which is a large one, did not speak during direct interview time but when there was free and relaxing discussions, most of all accepted early age for marrying daughters where as a bit late age for sons. Only a handful of literate groups were confirmed for not making age-difference to marry male and female child. The overall concepts might be due to common traditional and patriarchal thinking that girls are not parents liabilities but of others whereas sons are to continue dynasty and as bread earner. But few parents wanted their daughter to be married late because they think without education and self –standing, their daughters will suffer in her in laws house. And fear that she might suffer in her in-laws house being young and dependable. But in case if a son brings young wife they accept it because the girl will be looked after by them. This perception as discussed in the suggestion and implementation part proves to be a bias and so needs a radical change on it. But in case of daughter in law senior in age than their son, very few preferred it. According to them, elderly daughter in law or wife is beneficial for household task. The one who marry their daughter late and accept senior daughter in- law in age, idea seems almost bias less.

Table 6.1.31

Reason for Choosing Different Age in Marriage by Male and Female Respondents

Reasons for choosing different age in marriage(male and female version, Total----300	Total respondents answering the questions --133	
	Frequency	%
Traditional practice	47	15.7%
Sons are for financial support	49	16.3%
The common belief of society that elderly wives bring misfortune for their husbands And fear for loosing social prestige if daughters are no married early	13	4.3%
No opinion	167	55.7%
Other(respondents made other column and gave their own words)	24	8%
Total	300	100

24 Respondents Chose other Column and Wrote Their Own Answer which Are as Follow

Wives should be at least 1-2 year smaller than husband , mainly the traditional custom and practice belief on this issue that bride should be smaller than groom
Husband should be matured and older so that he helps to run the family
If wives are old and matured, because of the societal value, it is difficult to control women /older wives.
Women become old if they get child early and look older quickly than men
If wives/daughter in-law are older than son/husbands, they do not make good match
Older wife do not bring luck or fortune to their husbands and out of control
Equal age wife is not easily controlled and manageable by her groom and the family.

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table discusses and examines the reasons/versions in depth provided by male and female respondent for choosing different age in marriage. 15.7% of the total male and female respondents accepted traditional practice for choosing different age for bride and groom during marriage. 16.3% of these respondents said grooms/sons/husband being bread earner of the family should be older and matured than her groom/husband/bride. In this version, the economic burden of the family lying under the male member becomes clear. A son is not considered due to only religious/spiritual value for family but as insignificant economic supporter.

4.3% of these respondents mentioned a combination of reasons like – it is for the common belief of society that elderly wives bring misfortune for their husbands. They also were feared for loosing social prestige if daughters are not married early. 55.7% respondents gave no opinion.

There were some 8% respondents who chose other column to mention their own versions about this issue. This has been stated in the above column with the version of 24 male and female respondents of the distinct and based on more sexiast attitudes were found in the saying like—if wives are older, it is difficult to control them, women look become old than men if they get child early.

Informal Discussions with Male and Female Respondents for the Reasons for Choosing Different Ages for Marriage of Male and Female Child

During an open questionnaire discussions most of the Male Respondents mentioned that the societal people do not prefer aged or matured unmarried girl. If the girl remains unmarried till late age, boys and other people will not accept her for marrying later on. If son would bring other's daughter by elopement, it makes no difference but if parent's own daughters elope, there is loss of prestige in the society. In Nepalese society, when daughters cross 25 without marriage, there is then difficulty to get married, or in case of marriage might be with an old man, divorcee or widower. After the completion of education, there is no compulsion for job for a girl, but a boy or a son must stand on his own feet with a complete education and skill. A son can struggle in all aspects, can live alone, but a girl is like a rose, she must marry when she reaches certain marriageable age, otherwise it will be difficult to marry later on. The early age trend for marriage for a daughter is because girls grow faster than boys, so girls need to marry early. If girl is not married in time and remains unmarried for longer period, there is chance of love and inter caste and elopement marriage. Parents fear out of it because it may lose their prestige in the family and society. But if a son does the same, nothing happens to parents. A son has to support wife and children, so he needs to stand on his own feet, so it takes more time for him to complete his education and career. So late marriage is a practice mostly accepted by society and common for son.

In the marriage of male and female, bride should be at least 1-2 year junior to her groom. It is a family tradition and custom. When they were asked, if the girl is of more age, what happens, some said it would bring ill fate to the groom, some said the groom would be a laughing object due to criticism. It is said that "when one buys new shoe, one needs to buy a bit large than leg. In the same way if one has to marry do the reverse and "choose younger wife than the groom" is a version also expressed by some literate married respondent of this VDC. It can be assumed that such culture has promoted to lower the age of girl in marriage.

Female Respondents believe it is a common practice to marry a girl earlier than boys. There are similarities in the male and female version in many issues, but one aspect is noteworthy here to mention that women themselves have accepted the logic that they are the 'wealth of others'. They believe, a son is a son, so he must earn, so he is supposed to be matured than wife, men must have wisdom for earning bread/job

but a daughter is liable to go to other's house, when she has wisdom, she may earn or even without earning it will be all right because she will manage with in-laws property (unearned). For a girl completion of basic education is enough, but there are more responsibilities on the shoulder of a son, so earning is a compulsion for him. When girls remain unmarried for long age or being matured, there is a fear from parents side that the girl might fall in love with boys of inter caste and a low reputed family. So parents prepare early marriage for their daughters. Most of the female also like male think boys should be of more age than girl during marriage time. A son can become a wise person by himself but a daughter in village side need to marry early to have a safe position.

Table 6.1.32

Male and Female Respondent's Version Regarding the Age of Daughter –In-Law Should be Older or Younger than Son?

Options	Male 50		Female 150		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Older wives	3	2%	4	2.7%	7	2.3
Younger wives	62	41.3	71	47.3%	133	44.3
Do not know	11	7.3	5	3.3%	16	5.3
No age bar	74	49.3	70	46.7%	144	46.7
Total	150	100	150	100%	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals about the respondent's versions regarding the age of daughter-in-law should be older or lower than her spouse. 44.3% respondents believed wife should be younger than husband. Of them, 46.7% said there will be no age bar for marriage. Only 2.3 agreed if wife is older than husband. Similarly, 5.3% of these respondents gave no opinion.

In the age bar table, 49% male respondents agreed this fact but only 46.7% female agreed no age bar. If girls/female of this community continues such practice, it would bring long time to eradicate girl-child marriage. The reason is obvious, majority of the community people believe bride/girls/female should be some year than her groom. In the society where boys are also married at an very young age, then does not make an effect on it?

Table 6.1.33

Whether Age of the Wife/Daughter Should be older or Younger than Her Spouse?

Options	Male 150		Female 150		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Frequ	%
Younger wives	75	50%	98	65.3%	173	57.7
No age bar	36	24%	32	21.3%	68	22.7
Do not know	39	26%	20	13.3%	59	19.7
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals about the respondents idea and attitudes regarding the age of the wife/daughter should be older or younger than her spouse. (98) 65.3% female respondents accepted that wife should be small than husband Likewise, (75) 50% male respondents accepted small age for wife. (36)24% and (32) 22.7% male and female respectively made no particular comment and accepted that no age bar for marrying children. (59) 19.7% of the total respondents did not give opinion in this issue. Of them, (39 and 20) 26% male and 13.3% were female respectively.

This data has supported and justified the comments and results of the recent many research that women have perceived societal discrimination as positive and constructive for them.

Pokharel, Samidha (2013:32-33), in the conclusion and suggestion part, she has mentioned, “women themselves are to some extent responsible for the prevalence of discriminatory practices for them because though they are aware of discrimination/limitations, they perceive such practice to be for the sake of women's protections that these are positive and constructing discrimination to make them better”. Not only her research showed this fact but this idea is justified in this research also through the answer of the majority of the female group.

Those female who preferred small age for girl explained reasoning that matured husband takes home responsibility and earns for the family, if husband is younger or of same age, he will become like adolescents, immature and cannot take right decision, so husband should be at least some years older than wife. A 21 year old

female respondents had young husband and so she was also dissatisfied with the young husband, in an situation old husband is ok compared to young and adolescent, it will be safe side or running and supporting the family financially, take responsibility and to run the family and societal custom.

Of the male respondents who preferred small age for wives also answered in the similar manner. Majority People in the community do believe that elderly wife does not bring good fortune as well as does not make a good match too. According to the male respondents, if wife is small she can be under their spouse and family control. They believe it will be difficult to control matured wife. The table has own that in such social matter the new generation seem to be more particular than the older 50 years above group.

Table 6.1.34
Respondent’s Preferred Mean Age for Marrying Children in Future

Number—300	Age preferred by respondents
	Average Mean age
Male(Son)	25 year and 5 month
Female(daughter)	22 year and 4 month
Both	23 year and 9 month

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

This table justifies that in Tamang community; early marriage for girls in the future compared to boys will remain unchanged if necessary interventions are not carried out. The female mean age for future marriage as preferred by female is 22.4 months for girls and 25.5 months for boys. Although, the age has been increased by parents, but the difference seems to be unchanged.

Parents/respondents freely preferred themselves to choose early age for daughters and a bit later for sons to marry in the future. It shows that even after 20 –25 years, the practice of marrying girls than boys remain as like now, many young newly married respondents with no child preferred their- would be son-in-law and daughter to be married in the above way. But also they said marriage was almost not in their hands, as most of the children in their community would make love marriage or make elope marriage in their own consent. So age decision was also theirs in this regard. In the

case of in-laws almost all preferred young daughter-in-law and majority of them wanted small bride than their son. But few in-laws preferred older wife for their son in order to work hard and take household responsibilities perfectly. They also said older wife can look after their husband well in case of sickness or even can handle the situation and care for children in case husband dies.

Informal Discussions with Male and Female Respondents on Preferred age for Marriage of Children

Answering the open questions majority of the male and female respondents preferred different age to choose for marrying their sons and daughters in the future. Majority of them preferred to marry their daughters early than son. When they were asked about the age for their future daughter in law, they preferred 1-2 year small girl than their son. Very few said some year elderly girl will be o.k. to marry with their son. The reason to accept an elderly girl because she could do hard work as well as handle the home environment easily and also take of her husband at illness and during old age. Some of the newly married cupules with no child also mentioned their preferable choices of marriage age for their future child. Many of them also preferred small age for girls to marry than boys. Data has clarified this fact. But it is an alarming point to notice that even after 15--20 years, the trend of marrying girls early will remain unchanged due to such parental attitude in the Tamang society. Few respondents preferred late age to marry their daughters. They explained that their daughters have to go somebody's house so they would suffer if they are not educated and self-sufficient. But when they were asked about their daughter in- law, they wanted younger group because they are now under their supervision and younger wife brings fortune and good match. Also they will be looked after well. It seems the son's parents are biased in this situation.

During interview, few respondents did not believe in age difference for the marriage between son and daughter. But while in informal talk, majority of male and female preferred to marry daughter at an early age than son. This data has justified to the study of choosing early age for marrying daughter with reason compared to son. Of the female respondents, few but very bold and progressive mothers who were living only with their daughters were providing enough support for them, one said, "I have decided to marry my daughter when she becomes able to do something and matured, if she has love no matter I will support her like friend, I give her counseling about it even she loves some body. According to her, the society in those days was so narrow,

people used to comment “the hands which need to wash the baby’s napkin is not to hold pen” etc, such criticism also now learning adult educating in the village. Therefore it is not only poverty but societal discrimination and devaluation so that girls were not educated.

Table 6.1.35
Causes of Child Marriage in Their Community (Male and Female Version)

Causes of child marriage in their community	Female 150		Male 150 only		Total	%
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
Traditional practice	48	32%	38	25.3%	86	28.7
In order to save children from doing love and inter-cast marriage in their own choice	18	12%	19	12.7%	37	12.3
To be free from dowry problem	9	6%	1	0.7%	10	3.3
Daughters being liabilities to others(daughters) Bring labor at home (for son)	34	22.7%	28	18.7%	62	20.7
To open the gate of heaven (daughter)/	5	3.3%			5	1.6
Others	36	24%	64	42.7%	100	33.3
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table presents and assesses causes of child marriage of male and female respondents in their community. Male and female respondents in the overall (86)28.7% mentioned traditional practice as the prime cause of child marriage practice in their community. Male and female respondents were asked separately about the cause of child marriage in their community. (48) 32% of the female respondents said traditional practice as the prime cause. Similarly, (38) 25.3% of the male respondents gave same opinion regarding the cause of child marriage in their community.

Similarly, (34) 22.7% of the female and (28) 18.7% of the male respondents opined a daughters being liabilities to others. In the overall (62) 20.7% of the respondents gave same logic.

64) 42.7% of the mal and (36) 24% of the female respondents chose other options and described the reason. Majority of these mentioned mobile phone as the prim cause.

And many of the group were from the teen age and had love and elope marriage in the over all, (100) 33.3% of the respondents showed the prime cause as

Likewise, (18) 2% and (19) 12.7% of the female and male respondents respectively said boys and girls were married early by doing love and inter-cast marriage in their own choice. In the over all, (37) 12.3% of the respondents gave such opinion.

(9) 6% of the female and (1) 0.7% of the male respondents mentioned the cause of child marriage to be free from dowry problem. In the over all,(10) 3.3% of them said the same version.

Only (5) 3.3% of the female said to open the gate of heaven girls were married early and given in Kanyadan.

Table 6.1.36
Causes of Child Marriage in Their Family (Male and Female Version)

Causes of child marriage in their community	Female 150		Male 150		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Total	%
Traditional and socio-cultural practice	41	27%	55	36.7%	96	32%
In order to receive punya by marrying daughter before menstruation	7	4.7%	2	1.3%	9	3%
To cut the burden of dowry problem	18	12%		-	18	6%
Difficulty to get good match if married being matured (daughter) Increase wage labor (for son)	21	14%	3	2%	24	%
Others--	32	21.3%	48	32%	80	6.7%
Do not know	31	20.7%	42	28%	73	24.3%
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table presents and assesses causes of child marriage of male and female respondents in their family. Majority of the overall respondents, (96) 32% mentioned traditional and socio-cultural practice as the main cause of child marriage in the family. Of them, (41) 27% were the female and (55) 36.7% were male respondents. The prime reason for male arranged marriage by parents was to bring a labor at home. But for girls, it was to receive heavenly ‘Punya’ as well as be free from heavy dowry. (18)12% of the female showed the reason for child marriage was to cut the burden of

dowry problem. Male did not think it as a cause, so no male respondents answered this question. Similarly (21) 14% of the female said it would bring difficulty to get good match if married being matured for girls. On the contrary to this, only (3 2% of the male had mentioned same fact as the cause of child marriage in their family.

There were another large group of male and female who chose other options and mentioned their own cause for girl child marriage. (48) 32% of the male group said us of mobile phone among the teen age groups was the prime cause of child marriage their family. Likewise, (32) 21.3% of the female group said the same reason of child marriage in their family. Most of the respondents who said this had love and elope marriage.

(7) 4.7%of the female respondents described, in order to receive ‘Punya’ by marrying daughter before menstruation cycles as the main the cause of child marriage in their family. (2) 1.3% of the male respondents said the same reason for girl child marriage in their family. (42) 28% of the male and (31) 20.7% female gave no opinions in this subject.

Table 6.1.37
Factors Associated With Child Marriage

Number-- -300 Sex	Male		Female		Both		Child herself/ himself		
	Fr	%	Frq	%	Frq	%	Frq	%	Total
Male	19	12.7%	13	8.7%	75	50%	43	28.7%	150
Female	15	10%	15	10%	80	53.3%	40	26.7%	150
Overall	34	11.3%	28	9.3%	155	51.7%	83	27.6%	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The above Table assesses the different versions of male and female respondents in the association of child marriage. The data shows that according to male and female version (75)50% and (80) 53.3%, both of the parents are associated with child marriage. Similarly, the versions of male and female respondents, (43) 28.7% and (40) 26.7% respectively mention that children themselves are associated with child marriage.

According to male respondents, (19) 12.7% male respondents themselves were responsible as the key factors associated with their children’s marriage.

Only (13) 8.7% of the male respondents said female/mothers are associated with children marriage. Similarly, (15) 10% of the female respondents said they themselves (mother/female) are associated with child marriage.

The data shows that both the parents are found to be the main associated factors in children marriage. After this group, equally children themselves are associated in such marriages.

The trend of arrange marriage also continues like in the tradition. But because of the growing nature of the love and elope marriage, more than half of the respondents had made decisions about their marriage themselves. Elope marriage is very common and widely accepted by the society.

Both parents/respondents whose daughters themselves had eloped marriage were found to be freely talking about their marriage. It was really different than the so called higher caste Brahmin family, where an elopement marriage is taken as shame for parents of both side and those who do such practice.

Table 6.1.38
Satisfaction Level if Girl-Child Marriage is under 18 Yearsz

Total—300 Sex	Yes		No		No opinion		
	Freq	percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Total
Male(150)	60	40.%	71	47.3%	19	12.7%	150
Female(150)	66	44%	63	42%	21	14%	150
Total	126	42%	134	44.7	40	13.3	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the satisfaction level of male and female respondents whether the marriage of under 18 years of age for girls is satisfactory or not. This data supports the facts (my limitation on socio-cultural aspects) that female are the more accepters of child marriage than male. 44 %(66) of the female respondents showed satisfaction towards under 18 year for girl’s marriage. Though, they suffer very much, but these female groups are happy with such marriage mainly accepting it as tradition

and culture, and the norms of perceiving/taking discrimination as positive and right for them. This is not only the reason, besides, the clear reason behind this acceptance about can be taken as their own choice marriage, and many of the female have love and elope marriage. The woman group have been more sufferer and subordinated from early marriage, still more acceptance is from their side. It seems we need to analyze its proper under lying reason/causes in a very subtle way.

In the same way 40 %(60) male respondents were satisfied with under 18 years age marrying for girls. One clear reason of acceptance was their love and elopement marriage.

The overall 42 %(126) male and female respondents agreed and showed satisfaction towards under 18 years of marriage but 44.7 %(134) did not like it. 44.7% (40) of the overall group did not give their consent.

12.7(19) male and 14 %(21) female gave no opinion in this issue. The high ratio of no opinion group may be due to illiteracy and ignorance.

Table 6.1.39
Satisfaction Level if Girl-Child Marriage is Under 18, Analyses with Level of Education

	Total—300 Sex	Yes		No		No opinion		
		Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Total
	<i>Male(150)</i>	60	40.%	71	47.3%	19	12.7%	150
	<i>Female(150)</i>	66	44%	63	42%	21	14%	150
Education level	Illiterate	30	10%	10	3.3%	21	7.%	
	Literate	33	11%	37	12.3%	9	3%	79
	1-5 grade	23	7.7%	27	9%	7	2.3%	57
	6-8 grade	17	5.7%	22	7.3%	5	1.7%	44
	9-12 grade	23	7.7%	28	9.3%	6	2%	57
	12 and above	1	0.3%	1	0.3%	-	-	2
	Total	127	42.3	125	41.7	48	16	300

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The above same data is analyzed here with the level of education of respondents. This is carried out to analyze whether level of education (variable) does make change in the attitude of the overall respondents or not? The data has justified that it makes

difference in their attitude. 34(11.3%) illiterate respondents were satisfied with under 18 years marriage of girls and 16(5.3%) were found to be dissatisfied. 22(7.5%) of these Illiterate groups gave no opinion. These groups are not aware of their own situation being totally incapable to read and write could not analyze about their married life whether it is satisfactory or dissatisfactory. It also shows the Tamang community lacks awareness program and anti-campaigns against child marriage.

Of the total literate respondents, (33) 11% were satisfied with under 18 years marriage for girls, but (37) 12.3% of them were not satisfied. From these groups, (9) 3% gave no opinion.

Of the respondents with grade 1—5, (23) 7.7% were satisfied with under 18 year marriage for girls but (27) 9% were dissatisfied. (7) 2.3% of these groups gave no opinion. They directly did not accept but it seems they also denied opposing it being their own choice of work.

Of the Respondents from 6—8 grade, (17) 5.7% were satisfied and (22) 7.3% found to be unsatisfied. Here the education made more respondents to be dissatisfied with less than 18 years marriage. Only (5) 1.7% gave no opinion.

Of the respondents from class 9—12 were more satisfied than, 6-8 grade groups. 23(7.7%) with 9—12 class education were satisfied with under 18 years marriage. These shows even with education, respondents /spouse are inclined towards such child marriage. What would be the reason? It is because almost all these group have love and elopement marriage. Therefore they have shown positive attitude towards it just to maintain their ego and self-image in front of others. But (28) 9.3% of these groups were dissatisfied with under 18 years marriage. This way, education to some extent, has worked to discourage child marriage.

(6) 2% of these respondents gave no answer. Because of love marriage, these two some educated respondents also gave no answer.

From 12 and above respondents groups, (1) 0.3 % of these group was dissatisfied with under 18 marriage whereas another (1) respondents 0.3% was found satisfied with under 18 years marriage.

Contrary to it, in the informal discussions, many of them had shown certain dissatisfactions and also had regret about the mistake they have committed in their life. One female respondent in the same way, with a completion education of intermediate degree also have accepted under 18 years marriage for girls because of her love and choice marriage.

Table 6.1.40
Religion or Poverty, which is the Prime Causes of Child Marriage

Religion or Poverty	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	%
	25 and	26-50	50and	25 and	26-51	50 and		
Religion	2(1.3%)	17(11.3%)	5(3.3%)	6(4%)	16(10.7)	9(6%)	55	18.3
Poverty	1(0.7%)	22(14.7%)	7(4.7%)	6(4%)	10(6.7%)	6(4%)	52	17.3
Other(mobile)	4(2.7%)	27(18%)	10(6.6%)	3(2%)	30(20%)	15(10%)	89	29.7
Don't now	11(7.3%)	26(17.3%)	18(12%)	10(6.7%)	20(13.3%)	19(12.7%)	104	34.7
Total	18	92	40	25	76	49	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the respondent's knowledge on the prime cause of child marriage as which of the two religions or poverty plays significant role in it. Of the total respondents, (89) (29.7 % male and female respondents from all age categories accepted excess use of mobile phone among the school age children as the prime cause of child marriage in the existing situation. Likewise, 55(18.3%) of the total respondents took religion as the prim cause. 52(17.3%) respondents opined poverty as the main cause.

A large group, 104(34.7%) from all age categories gave no opinion in this matter.

Interesting fact is about the teen age group. The justification is almost same like in previous Table. Almost all these groups have love and elope marriage, which is below the legal age. Therefore, majority of these less than 25 years group, studying in class 12 showed reluctances for answering this questions and gave no opinion.

Only 8(%) male and female, from under 25 age group accepted, religion as the prime cause, 7 of these group accepted poverty as the main cause, and 7 of these respondents agreed mobile phone as the prime cause for child marriage.

6.2 Socio-Cultural/Religious Belief and Gender -Based Attitudes in Child Marriage

Table 6.1.41

Whether Respondents Have Heard/Read that Without Son the Doors of Heaven are closed

Sex	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	
	25 and under	26-50 year	51and above	25 and Under	26-50 year	50 and above	Total	%
Yes	4(2.7%)	27(18%)	19(12.7%)	4(2.7%)	11(7.3%)	30(20%)	95	31.7
No	14(9.3%)	67(44.7%)	19(12.7%)	21(14%)	65(43.3%)	20(13.3%)	205	68.3
Total	18(12%)	93(82%)	38(25.3%)	25(16.7%)	76(50.7%)	49(32.7%)	300	

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the respondent's cultural/religious/spiritual knowledge on the high value of son than daughter. Majority of the respondents, (95) 31.7% agreed on the religious belief that without son the doors of heaven are closed in their customs. But a lager (205) group, 68.3% denied the fact that without sons the doors of heaven are closed.

These respondents who accepted the above beliefs expressed their opinion and attitude that son will perform death rituals will run dynasty and helps parents to send heaven after death. But now a day, the trend of love and elopement and inter-caste marriage system has brought family disintegration, so married couples usually live out-side the family. That is why children of these days cannot perform their duties towards parents like in the earlier days. Immediately after such sayings, they commented though we have such practice, but it is more common in Brahmin and Chhetri caste.

Table 6.1.42**Whether Respondents have Heard A bout Sex-Selective Abortions**

Total number 300	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	
	25 and under	26---50year	50and above	25 and under	26---50year	51 above	Total	%
Yes,	9(6%)	29(19.3%)	6(4%)	9(4%)	12(8%)	3(2%)	68	22.7
No	10(6.7%)	63(42%)	33(22%)	16(10.7%)	64(42.7%)	46(30.7%)	232	77.3
Total	19	92	39	25	76	89	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the respondent's knowledge of gender discrimination and the inhumane act about sex-selective abortion. Respondents were asked whether they have heard about sex-selective abortion or not. Of the total respondents, (68) 22.7% had heard about it. (232)77.3 of them had not heard about it.

Table 6.1.43**Respondent's Awareness Being Responsible for Having Son and Daughter?**

Age-group	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	
	25 and under	26-50 year	50 and above	25 and under	26-51 year	50 and above	Total	%
Mother		1(0.7%)	1(0.7%)		2(1.3%)		4	1.3%
Father		9(6%)	2(1.3%)		5(3.3%)	1(0.7%)	17	5.7%
Both	18(12%)	62(41.3%)	16(10.7%)	19(12.7%)	46(30.7%)	10(6.7%)	172	57%
Do not know	2(1.3%)	18(12%)	20(13.3%)	6(4%)	25(16.7%)	36(24%)	107	35.7%
Total	20(13.3%)	91(60.7%)	39(26%)	25(16.7%)	78(52%)	47(31.3%)	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

This Table justifies the facts that there is lack of awareness and gender discriminatory attitudes exist in the society regarding the issue for whom being responsible to give birth of a son or daughter.

(172) 57% male and female said both father and mother are responsible to have son and daughter. (17) 5.7% of them said father being responsible and only (4) 1.3% believed mother as the responsible person to give birth to son and daughter. A large group of (107) 35.7% gave no opinion because they completely had no idea on it. Of these no opinion group, majority were female respondents.

(46) 30.7% female from age 26—50 did know as both parents being responsible for the reason for having son and daughter. Likewise, (20) (13.3%) from under25 age group answered the same reason as both parents being responsible for having son and daughter.

Only (2) 1.3% male said mother as being responsible and (6) 4% female said father is responsible. Many female gave no opinion. The larger groups were from 50 and above who were old and totally uneducated.

In the earlier days, wife would be blamed for having son and daughter, according to many respondents, this blaming is prevalent in Tamang caste. They also mentioned it is more common in Brahmin and Chhetri caste.

A young lady of 21 years of age said she just knows that both parents are responsible for having son and daughter but she does not know the scientific reason of it. Another female of 35 years, with 9—12 grade education, said she only knows that it is determined by chromosomes.

Many women did not know about the reason and responsibility of getting son and daughter regarding the concern of x and y chromosomes and about infertility. Those who said both father and mother being responsible for having son and daughter did not know the actual cause of it because most of them were illiterate. Women who bear girl child only, normally accepted as the ill fate of mother and the newborn baby in the society.

Infertility was quite out of situation. During the informal discussions, the issue was raised. Responsibility for infertility is rarely shared by the couple. The burden of infertility, however, for biological and social reasons, is unequally shared. The

infertility investigation of the female partner is much more elaborate and is associated with more inconvenience and risk. The burden of treatment also falls mostly on the female partner. Even for male infertility, the promise of successful management is now shifting to assist conception technologies, where the female assumes the major burden. The psychological and social burden of infertility in most societies is much heavier on the woman. A woman's status is often identified with her fertility, and failure to have children can be seen as a social disgrace or a cause for divorce. The suffering of the infertile woman can be very real.

The I.C.P. D's (1994) 'Plan of Action' emphasized to make clarity among parents in the scientific fact of sex determination. Parent and family members were supposed to make aware that male chromosomes determine the sex of children, it is necessary to emphasize that the mother is not responsible for selection. And the governments must, therefore, actively attempt to change the misconception regarding the responsibilities of the mother in determining the sex of the child. Conference also demanded to clarify in view of the scientific fact about the birth of son and daughter and conceptual clarity on issues regarding the infertility of parents.

Pelvic infection, for example, accounts for about one-third of all cases of infertility, worldwide, and for a much higher percentage in sub-Saharan Africa. The resultant infertility is also the most difficult to treat. The magnitude of the problem of infertility will not be ameliorated except by a combat of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), by safer births that avoid postpartum infection, and by decreasing the need for or the resort to unsafe abortion practices , (WHO (1987), cited by UNICEF, 1993).

Table 6.1.44
Food First Consumed

Female version	Male (150)	Female(150)	Total(300)			
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Total	%
Father/male members	84	56%	65	43.3%	149	49.7%
Mother/female /daughter-in-law	-					
All together(whole family)	66	44%	85	56.7%	151	50.3%
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table justifies the facts that gender discriminatory practice exist in food consumption in the home prevails in the existing situation. The male respondents said that (84) 56 % male or the father group) would consume food first. Likewise, female answered (65) 43.3 % of the male groups have food first. Likewise, (151) 50.3 % of the overall male and female respondents mentioned that they used to have food together. It is surprising nobody said that mother or the female member had food first.

Table 6.1.45
Food Last Consumed

Male and female version	Male(150)		Female(150)		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Father/male members	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mother/female/daughter-in-law	122	81.3%	140	93.3%	262	87.3
All together(whole family	28	18.7%	10	6.7%	38	12.7
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table justifies the facts that till now, majority of girls and women have food in the last. 81.3 % (122) male respondents accepted that female group will have food in the last. Likewise, (140) 93.3% of the female respondents said female group or daughter in law/wife/ consume food in the last. But in the overall situation, male and female respondents said, (262) 87.3% said the mother group or female group will have food in the last. According to the male and female respondents, only (38)12.7% in the overall had food together. When first asked how do they consume food? Many of them said they have food together, and when asked cross question, as by whom taken in the last, most of them said daughter in law/female members. People in the village and among illiterate group also, they have become conscious about telling equal status of gender, but in practice the situation is completely reverse. As usual, women are treated inferior compared to men.

Table 6.1.46

Male and Female Version on Breast Feeding Practice among Son and Daughter

N—300 Frequency		%	Son	Daughter	No opinion
Male	73	48.7	2 year and 5 month	1 year and 7 month	77(51.3 %)
Female	129	86	2.6 month	2.1 month	21(14 %)
Total	202	67.3	2.5 month	1.9 month	98(32.7%)

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals the normal trend of breast-feeding practice among Tamang family to their children. The purpose of this table is not only to find out the discriminatory practice but also to find out the trend of breast feeding practice among both sexes, which is a universally accepted trend for the better humanization and development of the child. (202) 67.3% of the male and female respondents mentioned the average mean age duration for breast feeding their children as 2 year and 5 month for son and 1 year and 9 month for daughter

(73) 48.7% male respondents gave their idea to feed 2 year and 5 months for son and 1 year and 7 months for daughter.

A large group, (129) 86% female said, 2 years and 6 month for son and 2 ear and 1 month for daughter as the duration of breast-feeding.

Clear discrimination upon the duration of feeding was found among son and daughter. But when asked about discrimination cause they said they never made any discrimination to their children. In most of the issues, in the formal talk and in practice, it differed. (77) 51.3% male Tamang including the very old and mostly the very new generations of under 25 groups did not answer saying forgot or do not know. Likewise (21) 14% of the female gave no opinion.

Table 6.1.47**Training Received by Male and Female Respondents Regarding the Issue of Child Caring/Rearing of Children (Age Categorization)**

Training received or not by respondents	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	%
	25 and undue	26-50 year	50 and above	25 and under	26---51 year	50 and above		
Yes	-		1(0.75)	1(0.7%)	2(16%)	1(0.7%)	5	1.7
No	20(13.3%)	91(60.7%)	38(25.3%)	24(16%)	76(50.7%)	46(30.7%)	295	98.3 %
Total	20(13.3%)	91(60.7%)	39(26%)	25(16.7%)	78(52%)	47(31.3%)	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the opportunities obtained by the respondents in training regarding the issue of child rearing and caring practice. Of the total respondents, almost all respondents did not get any training regarding rearing or caring of children. (5) Only 1.7% of the total male and female respondents received training on child caring and rearing. (295) of the total, 98.3% did not receive any such training,

From the 5 respondents who got training ,one male from above 50 years age group, and 1 female from under 25 age group, 2 female from 26-50 year age group and 1 female from above 50 year age groups were found to receive training. Interesting fact is that only 1 female from under 25 years group was found to receive training. In every sphere, the younger generation seem to be careless and gaining no opportunities than the old generations. This proves the children really lack to have proper caring and right kind of gender socialization in their early years.

Table 6.1.48
Types of Play among Children

Types of play played at home and in the community	Participation in the game	
	Daughter	Son
Football, Cricket, Gun, Guchha, Kawardi, Caramboard, Lakkudol Bhalyball, Chess, Basket-ball, Table-tennis, Race, Cycle, Gatta, String(dori), Chungi, Thuki gatta, Eka khutte, Bhakundo , Te-kando etc.	Football, gun, kawardi, caramboard, lakkudol bhalyball, chess , basket-ball, table-tennis, race, cycle, cricket, string(dori), chungi, thuki gatta eka khutta, kapardi, Bhakundo , Te-kando	Football, gun, kawardi, caramboard, lakkudol bhalyball, chess , basket-ball, table-tennis, race, cycle, cricket, kapardi, bhakundo

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the practice of playing games and materials by male and female child in Tamang community. Most of the types of play are played by both son and daughter in Tamang community. But Thuki gatta, Ek, khutti, Chungi etc are not played by sons. These types of change are also a socially created environment for children. In socialization, play materials have been regarded as one of the key components for bringing equality among the different sexes in the society. Therefore attention must be paid in these aspects of socialization.

6.3 Health Issues and Trend of Early Pregnancy and Motherhood of the Girls/Women

Informal Discussions with Male and Female Respondents Regarding Health Issues

Respondents with whom the researcher had formal interview and informal discussion were found almost ignorant on health issue. Majority of them were not aware in the reproductive right and harmful impact on health issues of women and girl child.

Process of delivery of the child was totally at home and guided by the experienced home member. More than 80 percent of the women delivered their first child in the hospital. Very few young women said they had their first delivery in the nearby health post and in the hospital. During informal and formal talk, few male respondents accepted that his spouse had some delivery problem. Some women also agreed they had some problem during pregnancy and delivery time. Only one male respondent from the below 25 group answered that his son was about 3 kilo during birth. But other family members are ignorant in the reproductive health of the mother and the child. Respondents were asked whether the spouse had some kind of knowledge regarding training on child caring and rearing practice. Almost all the respondents of the research group denied the fact they have had any such training. They also had no idea about any family planning means. There is some uniqueness in the reproductive issues among Tamang women. Though majority of them are married from 14 years or even earlier and continued in giving birth for majority of them denied if they had used any family planning means. Still the trend of delivery of the child is late compared to the marriage. This late trend of conceiving and delivery found common among 50 years and above age group. But early marriage and early pregnancy and child bearing is more prevalent among the below 25 years age group. This has been stated in the (Table 6.1.2) also.

Table 6.1.49
Whether Female Respondents First Baby Born at Home or in Hospital

	Male(150)			Female(150)			Total	
	25 and under	26---50 year	51and above	25 and Under	26-50year	50 and Above	Total	Percent
Hospital	7(4.7%)	17(11.3%)		16(10.7%)	7(4.7%)		47	15.7(%)
Home	8(5.3%)	73(48.7%)	40(26.7%)	9(6%)	71(47.3%)	47(31.3%)	248	82.7(%)
Total	15(10%) 4 no child	90(60%) 1 no Child	40(26.7)	25(16.7%)	78(52%)	47(31.3%)	295	96.3(%)

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the situation of female respondents whether her baby is born at home or in hospital. Almost all female 82.7 % (248) in the Tamang communities had their first delivery at home. Only 15.7 % (47) women gave birth in the hospital. Of them few were from under 25 groups who had their first delivery at the nearby hospital. Rest of the female had birth first at home. 2 respondents from these group said they had some health problem during delivery. Long delivery pain, excess bleeding, etc were the symptoms. Three female from less than 25 age groups did not have baby.

Table 6.1.50
Respondent’s Knowledge Regarding the Harmful Impact for Having Baby under 20 year of Age

Total 300	Male			Female				
	Below 25 years	26-50 year	50and above	25 and below	26-50year	51 and above	Total	%
Yes	7(4.7%)	56(37.4)	11(7.3%)	16(10.7%)	20(13.3%)	4(2.7%)	114	38
No	10(6.7%)	24(16%)	22(14.7%)	7(4.7%)	62(41.3)	43(28.7%)	168	56
No pinion		18(12%)					282	94

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals with the awareness regarding the harmful impact for having baby under 20 years of age for female. (114) 38% of the total male and female respondents had some knowledge regarding the harmful for having baby in less than 20 year of age. Likewise, 168 (56%) of them did not know about harmful effect. Compared to the female group, (74)49.3% male group seems to be more aware in this field. Only (40)26.7% of the female were aware about the harmful impact. The more knowledge

of the male might be due to literacy and having excess mobility in the society. But (18) 12% male from 26-50 year group gave no opinion in this issue-

Interesting fact is with the below 25 years group, only (23) 7.7% male and female knew it, so these groups are found more relaxed and careless in such issues. The fact has already been discussed that girls from these groups are almost all married below the legal age in their own choice and also having baby at less than 20 years of age. Therefore, even being literate (5, 6 and 9-12 grade) these groups were found being hesitated to speak openly in marriage regarding issues.

Of the total respondents few men and women from 26- 50 age group knew about the negative health impact for having child below 20 years of age. They could not verify these issues properly but just mentioned women and baby had some problems in delivery and suffered from serious diseases. One female with little education explained that women who give birth before completing 20 years of age, they might have uterine prolapsed and women become too weak due to such health problem. Serious subject to think is that even below 25 years, some educated group did not know about health issue and many denied talking saying they do not know. Ignorance of majority of them might be due to not only illiteracy, but carelessness towards health and lack of awareness and advocacy program in their village.

A young 20 years Tamang girl said, it would bring problem in the health of the mother and child and both of them have weak health. Sharmila Ghising from class 12, aged 23 said the problem during delivery before 20 years, as difficulty child bearing and might have breach birth, excess, bleeding etc. One woman said, she knows the harmful effect, there is no problem during child birth, and there are many women who give birth less than 20 years.

A 60 years old female Tamang said (China Maya) knew the effect and said it would bring problem in the health of mother and child. The young respondent, Sanu lama of Bhaluakhop, of 17, years also said she has not heard anything about the harmful effect. It is very interesting. Many 38 -- 39 years female did not know, few women knew the effect but did not answer. One 68 year oldest female also knew the effect.

Table 6.1.51

**If any Health Problem Faced by the Respondent During Having First Baby
(With Age Categorization)**

Whether Respondents have health problem	Male version(150)			Female version(150)			Total	%
	25 and under	26-50	50 and above	25 and under	26-50 year	50 and above		
Yes(have problem)		7(4.7%)		2(1.3)	7(4.7%)	1(0.7%)	17	5.7%
No(no health problem)	16(10.7) 4 no child	83(55.3%) I-no child	39(26%)	23(15.3%)	71(47.3%)	46(30.7%)	279	93%
Total	20(13.3%)	91(60.7)	39(26)	25(16.7%)	78(52%)	47(31.3%)	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table presents the opinion on the problems faced by respondents during having baby. Few respondents (17) (5.7) agreed they had health problem during delivery and pregnancy. Data shows almost all of them had delivery at home, leaving few female of under 25 age groups who got their baby in the hospital. Only (7) 4.7% male from 26-50 age group, mentioned that their spouse had health problem during delivery, which happened at home. It is an amazing fact that in over all, 93% (279) of them had no health problems. Among those who faced health problem mentioned severe bleeding and were very weak health during pregnancy and delivery.

Table 6.1.52

Ages of Women During Having First Baby (150 Female)

Age categorization								
25 and under			26---50 year			51 and above		
Frequency	%	Mean age	Frequency	%	Mean age	Frequency	%	Mean age
20	13%	18.6 m (17-20)	81	54%	19.3 m (16-26)	37	24.6 %	18.2 m (16-24)

Source: Field Survey, 2068

The above Table justifies that majority of Tamang women give birth before 20 years of age. The below 25 years group of women deliver their first child in 18 years and 6 months. This trend begins from 17 years of age and continues till 20 years of age. Compared to these groups, the 26-50 age groups have bit high child birth age which is 19 years and 3 months. The 50 and above group of women have almost similar to that of under 25 age group, that is 18 years and 2 months for having first baby.

Comparing the young under 25 years generation to the above 50 years age groups, the mean age is lower among these young girls/females. It shows no change and awareness among the people has occurred in the trend of early pregnancy and delivery of the baby.

From this figure, one can know that women/girls marry too early in these modern days because pregnancy and child birth started from 16 years to 26 years of age. Likewise, in the 50 above group, the trend varies from 16 years of age to till 24 years of age. In the above 50 year age group, child birth is late after marriage and spacing seems to be maintained and therefore may be fertility is also found low. It was mentioned in an early report in fertility among Tamang women. It mentioned female of Tibeto-Burman(Mongolian) origin have less fertility rate, compared to other Indo-Aryan group there is no mention about the cause which delayed fertility ((Dilli R, Dahal and Thomas E, Fricke, July 1998).

WHO, has warned to give birth only after the completion of 20 years of age. The problem of teen age pregnancy is widespread. Not only in developing countries, but developed countries like America also, the teen birth rates are higher.

Table 6.1.53

**Percentage of Female Having First Baby (Taken from 150 Female Respondents)
Under 20 years of age**

Female	
Frequency	%
138	92

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

This Table shows the percent of female who got baby under 20 years of age. Of the 150 female copies, 138 female were found to have their first baby under less than 20 years of age. Of the sample the small age was 17 year reported as young mother.

6.4 Causes for not Preferring Child Marriage by Male and Female Respondents

Table 6.1.54

Causes for not preferring child marriage by male and female respondents

Causes for not preferring child marriage by the respondents	Female 150		Male 50 only			
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Total	%
Child marriage making me unhappy	37	24.7%	12	8%	49	16.3%
Being unable to read and write	36	24%	32	21.3%	68	22.7%
Being unable to stand on my own feet	40	26.7%	36	24%	76	25.3%
Unable to make good economic status	17	11.3%	34	22.7%	51	17%
Lack of understanding with each other due to early marriage	4	2.7%	12	8%	16	5.3%
Others	16	10.7%	24	16%	40	26.7%
Total	150	100%	150	100%	300	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table deals the causes for not preferring child marriage by the respondents. Of them, different prime Causes for not preferring child marriage by the respondents were found, and the causes were also different among male and female.

(40) 26.7% of the female disliked it because it made them unable to stand on their own feet. (36) 24% of the male disliked it on the same ground.

Likewise, (36) 24% female did not like child marriage for being unable to read and write. But (32) 21.3% of the male disliked it in the same cause. In the case of economic status, female were found to be not conscious like men. (34) 22.7% of the male disliked child marriage as it made them unable to make good economic status whereas only (17)11.3% of the female disliked it. This shows that women's traditional perception has not been changed; they accept the socially assigned role of the female and perceive themselves not as bread-earner but bread maker. But boys like in the primitive time think and stand on the same position being as bread- maker.

Many male respondents (24)16% chose other options and described their own reasons for favoring child marriage. These males had love and elope marriage so they did not like to show their regret in this issue. Also this table shows men are egoistic in their

nature. Compared to female, more men accepted and favored child marriage as being their own choice. But some conscious men reported that such marriage especially early age is health hampering for girls. They agreed having children less than 20 years is harmful for both mother and new baby. Some male said there would be poor understanding because of the immature age of the girl.

Similarly, (16) 10.7% of the female respondents chose other options and mentioned their own reasons for favoring and not favoring child marriage. Many of them who had love and elope marriage favored child marriage as it being their own decision and choice.

Male and female respondents had problems with child marriage practice as it brought misunderstanding with each other. (12) 8% of the male respondents found it to have lack of understanding with each other whereas only (4) 2.7% of these female response felt lack of understanding with each other. In the issue of child marriage and its effect, men are found to be more conscious than women.

Informal Discussions with Male and Female Respondents with the Causes for not Preferring Child Marriage

The Male Respondents mainly did not prefer child marriage because this age of marriage is beyond proper thinking regarding the real meaning and essence of marriage and settling a life together. The couple would realize it when they grow matured. Some of the marriages have been so unsuccessful finally leading it to separation from each other. This is the real experience of many male respondents who had child marriage in their own life. Some male respondents are aware of the negative health consequences of their female partner also. They know young age is very risky to give birth to a baby for woman. Besides, she cannot manage her children in a well-balanced state; it would make her suffer a lot if her husband is not self-standing and matured enough to support her in every aspect of life.

The experience of Female Respondents accepted that when immature and dependent boy brings wife at home, there will be lot of economic problems, parents and in-laws do not support such young elopement marriage and parents/guardians separate these couple in their own survival. So there will be lot of financial crisis along with other types of problems. When the young girl gives birth of a baby, it is physically harmful as well as there is financial burden to care the baby and run home.

Majority of female respondents said child marriage hampers the life of a girl. She suffers a lot in her in-laws house. Early marriage ceases complete education. Such marriages do not last for longer period also.

Table 6.1.55
Whether Respondents Have Heard About Marriage Registration or not?

	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequen	%	Frequen	%	Frequen	%
Male	118	78.7	32	21.3	150	100
Female	102	68	48	32	150	100
Total	220	73.3	80	26.7	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

This Table deals the awareness of the respondents regarding the marriage registration process. In the overall, (220) 73.3% of the male and female respondents were found to have heard about the marriage registration process. Likewise, (80) 26.7% of them have not heard about it. By sex, (118) 78.7% of the male respondents said they have heard about marriage registration process. But (32) 21.3% of them did not hear. In the female group, (102) 8% of them have heard marriage registration whereas (48) 32% of them did not hear about it. In this table, male respondents seem to be more alert than female.

Table 6.1.56
Whether Respondents Have Registered Their Marriage or not?

	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	51	34	99	66	150	100
Female	25	16.7	125	83.3	150	100
Total	76	25.3	224	74.7	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

This Table deals whether respondents have registered their marriage or their children's marriage or not. In he overall, (76) 25.3% of them have registered the marriage. Of them (224)83.3% have not registered.

According to sex, (51) 34% of the male respondents have registered their marriage but (99) 66% of them did not. Similarly, (25) 16.7% of the female respondents have registered their marriage but (125) 83.3% did not register. The Table shows male are more aware about their marriage.

6.5 Respondent's Awareness of Media Regarding the Concerned Subject Matter

Table 6.1.57
Importance of Respondent's Awareness Regarding Radio

Gender N—300	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	74	49.3%	76	50.7%	150	100%
Female	56	37.3%	94	62.7%	150	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

This Table deals with the importance of awareness through media for being conscious to eradicate child marriage from Tamang community. Of the total 150 male respondents, (74) 49.3% listened radio but (76) 50.7% did not listen. Of the 150 female respondents, (56) 37.3% of them listened radio programs, but (94) 62.7% of these Tamang women did not listen thee programs.

Table 6.1.58
Respondent's Awareness Regarding Television

N—300	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	56	37.3%	94	62.7%	150	100%
Female	30	28%	120	80%	150	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068 B.S.

In the field of media, respondents were asked whether they watched television in their homes. (56) 37.3% of the total male respondents watched T,V programs at home. But (94) 62.7% did not watch. Female are low in number compared to male. Only (30) 28% of the female watched TV program and a large group, (120) 80% of these women did not watch the T.V program.

Table 6.1.59
Respondent's Awareness of Media Regarding Child Marriage Practice

N—300	Yes		No		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	35	23.3%	115	76.7%	150	100%
Female	15	10%	135	90%	150	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2068

This Table highlights the general awareness of the respondents regarding the issues of child marriage practice and children and women related programs. Of the 150 male respondents, only (35) 23.3% watched such programs in electronic media like radio and television. Rest of the groups, (115)76.7% did not watch. Likewise, of the total 150 women respondents, only (15) 10% were aware of such issues in media. A larger groups of (135) 90% female were unaware of the service of such programs in the media.

6.6 Suggestions/Measures to Remove Child Marriage as Suggested by the Respondents

Table 6.1.60
Measures to Remove Child Marriage

Respondent's suggestions/measures to remove child marriage	Frequency	%
	Advocacy and awareness in the legal aspect Free and compulsory education at least grade 12 to children Highlighting and make awareness about the harmful effect of child marriage	246
Other (stop using mobile among teenagers)	39	13
Do not know(no opinion group)	15	5
Total	300	100

Source: Field Survey, 2068

Among 300 respondents, 246(82%) demanded three options like –free and compulsory education at least till grade 12 to children, highlighting and make awareness about the harmful effect of child marriage and advocacy and awareness in the legal aspect needs to be implemented in the village to eliminate child marriage respectively in the first, second and third in rank. Of the remaining 54 respondents, 39 (13 %) wanted to stop mobile/band among school- age teenagers and 15 respondents (5%) did not answer. Most of the early married teen- ages also come in the no opinion group.

In the formal interview, majority of the respondents mentioned child marriage as being a socio-cultural practice in the community. The interview reveals that majority of the respondents do not know about child marriage and the legal age of marriage of their children which is appropriate to marry. They assume normally 16- 17 for girls and 17- -19 years appropriate age for marriage of their sons. Besides, during informal talk, they tried to mention the real cause and situation about it. According to majority of the respondents, mainly the parental group/couple took their own responsibility for creating such ill situation in their community.

Majority of women respondents have emphasized the importance of education and therefore without education daughters should not be married. A groom even is small by age during marriage, he can adjust more because he is not supposed to leave his house, he has high position also, family also will support him, but in case of a bride, she should stay in new house, who is some body's daughter, has rules and regulations and hard life. Along with this, some women have expressed that deep rooted cultural gender biased thinking has made women subordinate in the society. Expressions like, “the hand to wash cloth for baby is not to hold pen” etc, are its examples. Therefore together with education such sexist attitudes should be changed in a massive way.

Some male and female respondents comment that even four footed animals cannot like to be tamed, then how is it possible to tame or control a human girl or boy. Therefore, if children are willing to marry, it should be their freedom to get it, but proper counseling is essential to live a life by them. The burning issues in Tamang community are the love and elopement marriage of high or middle school children (self-initiated marriage). So, not only parents, governments also should take some

responsibilities in these issues, as for providing free and compulsory school along with small side job for financial support for home.

Parents should be a proper guide and model for their children. The time children make a scheme to elope, parents need to counsel them and tell the negative consequences of child marriage and provide assurance and support them to get them married in later life that they have affair when they grow matured and stand on their own feet. Maximum advocacy in the family as well as in the society against child marriage is essential. Parents should make the child able to understand the situation and problem by themselves, because all the time counseling is not possible. Respondents expressed views to develop matured thinking power to make responsible children to handle the future situation. "I have not heard about early marriage and its legal part", some parents said. So if it is illegal, there should be effective law and action should be taken against child marriage. Parents are needed to control and guide children from the very early age where the foundation of good character is laid. Once children fall in love, it cannot be stopped by any means; many parents whose children eloped accepted this situation as compulsion.

Some mothers have complained that the vulgar movies, the imitation of sexual behavior of the parents (who had very narrow space in the house to live separately with children) and excess freedom needs to be intervened in time. Children are compelled to stay and sleep with parents due to scarcity of separate room; they learn sexual activities which enhance them to marry early. Most of the fathers suggested that some moral codes would help children to obey their parents/guardians.

In the implication/suggestion part, the male and female respondents have suggested for conducting income-generating programs in the village. Parents are always feared for school dropout boys and girls mainly for boys. They think such boys will fall in bad peer group and become sexually naughty. So when there is no more chance of learning, only safe options are to make them married and according to them, this might help to decrease their naughty behavior. If government would start free and compulsory education, it would be meaningful to cut down this situation.

Parents should tell children their own painful experiences that they had faced in their lives and many still are facing. First parents should advice their own child, if it did not

work, then try to advice or provide counseling to somebody's son or daughter. Even they disagree, parents should allow them to marry even they are below legal age. Some of the parents were feared if child marriage of their children become public, the law would punish them all. They thought, it would bring more problem and negative impact of complaining against child marriage. They said legal process is very long and torturing. It is better one who has experience, should give counseling to the sufferer group.

Moral Downfall through Mobile

The traditional and authority group of family have filed charge against mobile call among teenagers group. Their issue is that teenagers talk immoral till late night. The decision and result will be through court whether to continue mobile or stop. Prior to this, government of Bangladesh had also made restriction in this issue among the teenagers group (Pakistan Agency news (2012, p.14).

Prohibited to Use Mobile Phone

Recently, in one district of Nepal, the girls and boys in the nursing campus in class 12 have been prohibited to use mobile phone. Students are against it. The academic administrations staffs in order to maintain discipline in the institution has carried out such acts.

Similar research was carried in Pakistan and in Bangladesh in the recent time and mobile was banned and punk styles were prohibited (to put very short dress) and also girls were restricted to walk in the street in the late night times. Such events also occurred in Nepal and some disciplinary laws were established from the administrative side to control the teen age generation (Pakistan Agency news (2012, p.14).

Although in the formal interview, majority of them directly did not claim as the only means to be mobile, but in the informal talk in the Tamang community also, major

and prim issues existed as the too much use of mobile phone by the school children, which not only spoilt education but helped to love and elope early. But teenagers those who had elope and love marriage also did not claim mobile as the prime cause.

In short, respondents recommended some measures for two types of marriage in the community. In case of arranged marriage, right counseling and right change in traditional socio-cultural attitudes and practice in society is essential. And change in behavior of parental discriminatory attitudes and behave improvement in education level, free and compulsory education from state, eradication of poverty in the community and family, job opportunity for the children and parental formal and informal education and effective implementation of child marriage Act etc can be taken as prime measures to eliminate child marriage. They also pointed out that consumption of alcohol in Tamang Community has been a serious issue. Though it is socially and culturally accepted, but it has damaged brain and health and family life. Parents, especially mothers from the consumption of alcohol fail to manage home and children .Some Tamang school teacher explained sometimes, in front of the drunkard parents, young girls are dragged by cross cousin member or outsider and taken for forceful marriage.

Similarly, in case of love marriages, along with the above measures, parental counseling and support, maintain some discipline in extreme freedom of children, band or control on the use of mobile phone, guideline by parents/guardians while copying of the modern life style, separate schools for boys and girls are important issues to be considered. Awareness and advocacy against early marriage, early pregnancy and early motherhood and its negative complications be published in the text books and widely discussed in the community.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

The study aims to explore the various facets of the prevalence of child marriage practices of both sexes in Tamang community in one of the hill District of Nepal. Unlike the other major groups like Brahmins and Chhetris, child marriage is becoming more common in Tamang ethnic community. The study shows the positive changes in minimum age at marriage, but the mean age at marriage for both boys and girls is decreasing and seems below the prescribed legal age by Nepalese law (New Civil Code 2001, 11th amendments). The reason for increment in child marriage practices might be due to the contradiction between the increment of minimum age at marriage prescribed by law and attraction towards elope marriage at an early age in Tamang community. But the ratio in number is significantly high and age at marriage of girls is low compared to boys. Majorities of the girls are discriminated at home and outside on the basis of sex. There is growing trend of early pregnancy and early motherhood in the community. Majorities of the girls/women give birth their baby in the home. Data reveals that compared to male, female respondents are less health conscious and less aware in the field of reproductive health.

In general, it was found that Tamang parents want to marry their both children (son and daughter) as early as possible as they believe that grown up adults are more likely to have love and inter-caste marriage. Besides, there are several reasons associated with children's arranged marriage in Tamang community. In case of girl's arranged marriages by parents, a majority of women and men have mentioned traditional and socio-cultural practice as the main cause. Similarly, daughters being as liabilities to others are married early and also to be free from dowry problem. In the religious cause, daughters were married and given in kanya daan to receive Punya (spiritual /heavenly merit. Parents believe by marrying daughter before menstruation might help to open the gate of heaven in next life. Some parents accepted if daughters are married being matured, it will be difficult to get good match for her in future.

Though some Tamang from the elderly generation claimed that social practices like high demand of son, other religious beliefs, low status of girl and sex based discrimination etc are not their original culture but now it is prevalent in their community due to the influence of other major caste like Brahmin and Chhetris.

It was discussed and understood in informal sessions that like in other traditional and religious society, the status of daughters are low and there is high demand for male child. Tamang people also believe that sons are the dynasty runner and bread winner of the family. They also believe significant role of son in the death ritual and a license to reach heaven for the next lives. But still many sons are married early in this community due to many reasons. In case of the early marriage for son, majority of the male and female respondents agreed that it is because of the societal tradition. Parents have fears that drop out boys are more likely to entangle in sexual affair and have love and inter-caste marriage later on. Similarly, the next main reason is to increase the labor force at home. In very few cases young boys are married with matured wives in order to handle the husband and home environment efficiently. Most of the Tamang people are living in nuclear family. Data has revealed it. The new generations who marry in their choice are compelled to live separate as parents do not allow them due to inter caste marriage or of same gotra. Other reasons to disintegration of family are Tamang male marry several times, so their spouse live in nuclear family. Women also marry and settle in other house. Many men have gone abroad to work. Women in such house are living in nuclear family.

Women are discriminated in one or another way. The trend of gender discrimination is developing in the name of positive discrimination and protective or welfare approach. Most of this discrimination has been accepted by the victims or female groups themselves. According to the majority of the respondents, they would accept their younger daughter-in-law after she eloped with their son. The reason for acceptance is that rejecting the daughter in law would make it hard for her to survive in the society and their son would be blamed for it. But if their daughter eloped with someone at an early age, they (parents) have more objections with this action and normally will not accept it because their daughter might be tortured in her husband's home, give birth at an early age or may have financial problems etc; besides, such step might let the family down in the society.

Still majority of people, even some literate group also are adopting the tradition of choosing older son-in-law than their daughters for marriage. They are following this trend in the name of tradition and for accepting men as bread winner and protector of wife and his family. This is justified by the formal and informal interview of the respondent. Alarming fact is that not only parents and in-laws, but girls/brides equally are interested to maintain the community tradition in this matter and long that their husband should be at least some year older than them/girls/brides. Therefore in such a society most of the boys also are married early, and this is natural where bride will be younger. In this way, if sons/boys of their community are allowed to practice early marriage this way, it directly affects the girl child of their community

Radical changes toward the perception about boy's and girl's marriage age are essential in the community. Until and unless the parental discrimination towards the boys and girls regarding the age of child marriage is changed, it is impossible to abolish child marriage practice in Tamang community. So, it seems a first necessity that boy's age should be strictly discouraged and restricted to marry early. And enough advocacy of legal ground and awareness of punishment about the age of marriage seem essential.

The issues of child marriage in Tamang community has been tried to analyze from an early period in relation to traditional socio-cultural/religious aspects also. The trends of marrying early among both sexes were found being existed among within the 90--92 years grandparents in the past. These traditions/cultures are more or less, continuing with the 16-17 years younger generation of today also. So, in short it can be analyzed that the social malady and practice of early marriage and parental discriminatory attitudes and behave from generations to generations has continued.

Seventeen empirical case studies based on in-depth research were prepared including both male and female who were married early. A minimum 10 years interval period was maintained in order to examine the then socio-cultural trend and compare its changes in varying situations to till date. The age variation from both male and female is from an early 17 years to till 90 years old respondents has been selected for case studies.

The case studies indicate that over all socio-cultural situations and marriage trend between male and female more or less similar in Tamang communities than that of earlier periods. 75-or 80years back, the old Tamang grandparents either male or female had arranged marriage during 15 or 16 years of age. It was known that marrying early was their family tradition. These people used to take as normal social practice to marry at 14-15 years of age. Several reasons were found associated with such arranged marriage. There were social, cultural, educational, economic and religious reasons behind the prevalence of such practice.

But the age gap between the couple was not very distinct; in some case matured old male had married young wives. In some case, elderly wives were married with some year's young husbands. Along with arranged marriages, there were practices of love and elope marriage in the community. It was also their family and socio-cultural tradition. There were cross cousin marriage and in few case of captured marriage also existed. Women were indirectly or directly discriminated on the basis of sex. Females/girls were considered as liabilities to others and so socialized on discriminatory way by parent's family members. In traditional arranged marriages of daughters, early age, virginity, kanyadaan and other religious aspects were given due consideration and value. But such social phenomenon became more distinct and popular in present context than in the past period. It was understood by the view of elderly respondents. According to them, among such cultural practices, marriage of girls, kanyadaan, and early marriage of daughters were the Hindu's religious influence and imitation mainly from major cast like Brahmin and Chhetri.

At present along with arranged marriage settled by parents, love and elop marriage (self-initiated marriages) are merging in Tamang community. It can be said today's 16-17 years younger generation also have followed the same foot-step like their father and grand-father had done during their time. According to those older generations, during their time, there was some kind of discipline and strictness, so except few cases; most of their marriages were arranged by parents. But, situations are different now in Tamang community. Children in the school age love and elope. This trend is increasing day by day. Parents are found helpless to control and maintain discipline to their children. Children do not listen to their parents, so authority people believe; it is not only due to poverty and education but because of the extreme freedom and

western life style adopted by their children in the name of social practice and it is influencing factors to increase the ratio of child marriage in their community. Many elderly respondents, mentioned extreme freedom, use of mobile phone and studying in coeducation school as the key factors of love marriage. On the contrary, during formal and informal interview to these young groups, they accepted marrying at the age of 16-17 for girls and 17-19 for boys is normal socio cultural practice in the society. Among these respondents, many had love and elope marriage. So they could not mention other reasons as they were responsible for such practice.

Most of the young respondents had eloped to marry at an early age without their parent's consent. In some case; both parents and children were found who eloped to be talking frankly about how and why they eloped. It was found that marrying by eloping is socially accepted and culturally practiced. This encourages new generations to follow the footsteps of their elders. Parental gender does not seem to have any prominent influence on child marriage. Parents/respondents reported that they are not aware of what their children are doing or what they will do. If they had some idea about their children's plan to elope, though they could not stop it, at least they would try to convince them not to do it. So some meaningful counseling from the expert group may be helpful to create awareness and handle the situation between parents and young children in Tamang community.

Talking about discipline, it might be here useful to discuss about some ideas of expert. "Autonomy is the subject to various subjects meaning throughout the life span. Research evidences have pointed to another developmental issue of autonomy during adolescents. Since adolescents possess several characteristics that encourage risk-taking behavior perhaps too much autonomy is a bad thing at this stage of life cycle. It may be that the full expression of autonomy is best saved for a time when the organism can handle it more effectively" (Thapaliya, H.(2005, p.14).

"Ideal role model is essential. If parents demonstrates sensitive, patient, dedicated and honest character towards their children, child imitate the same" (Pathaka, G. (2011, p.d/gha). Modern social learning theories mainly of reinforcement and modeling and imitation can be applied here.).

Expert of child psychology say exposure of children to violent films responsible for the activities today's kids have internalized. Moral lesson in the school curricula can play a crucial role in mitigating such types of problem" (Basnet, T. (2015, p.7).

"No school admission to married children" was implemented in Pokhara VDC, which is considered as one of the place, where most of the child marriages occur. It is stated that 47% children are married early in this VDC. The school authority believes that this action has to some extent helped to decrease child marriage (Rukum District (2015, p.9). Similar such two other rules and regulation to be adopted and followed by authority and among teen agers have been mentioned at the end of respondent's suggestion part in earlier chapter (VI,p,209).

Along with such rules, more restrictions and discipline and ban of mobile set with young boys and girls are needed to discourage child marriage. Maximum awareness seems essential on the harmful effects of child marriage and inclusion of anti-child marriage curriculum in the schools might be helpful to reduce such problems. The advocacy and clarity about the untrue traditional belief and misinterpretation of religious text that child marriage existed in the very ancient Vedic Hindu religion, to eliminate such notion and provide right and proper interpretation in this issue is essential.

Scholarly literature/research documents etc. have mentioned economic status and education as two strong variables to support early marriage in major communities and minor ethnic communities. Tamang people are less educated, many are illiterate and under poverty line. These two variables support in arranged marriages, where parents have hands to force children in early age. But these variables are not directly related in case of love marriages. In the research, data from the structured and unstructured interview, case studies, focus group discussion and key group informants, they stressed on the socio-cultural practice and other factors as causes of child marriage and in the effective measures to control; it needs first parental awareness on discrimination and then develop non-discriminatory attitudes and discipline along with formal education to the children in their early age is essential.

It is seen lack of education and unemployment are related to create social problems among individuals. Some of the respondents reported that due to the poor economic

condition and lack of job opportunities for children, parents could not provide them good education. Hence, children had nothing to do but to hang out with older people who talked about married life. Because of the talking about so-called “good life” they were attracted to elope with someone else at an early age. The proverb “An empty mind is the devil’s workshop” seems to hold true in this.

The study shows some young respondents married at early years are from 9-12 grades studying in the school; most of them have love and elope marriage. Though, under SLC and plus 2 grade cannot be taken as enough education, but it also cannot be mentioned that these children have not received education at all due to extreme poverty.

Likewise, one more similar interesting issues to discuss is, majority of the educated (9---12 grade) group has taken girl child marriage of under 18 as satisfactory to their life. The reasons seem simple, most of these teen aged school children have love and elope marriage therefore they do not want to confess the mistakes they have committed in their life. In the informal talk many of them have regrets, but to maintain prestige, in the direct interview they have accepted it and claimed them to be satisfactory. Compared to female, more male have accepted under 18 years of marriages for girls as being cultural trend in society. It might be also due to the ego of the male respondents to support the mistake they have done and also cultivating the hegemony culture (rigid type). This should be one of the reasons in the research table while analyzed with high level of education about the satisfaction of under 18 marriages; it did not rise into percentage compared to illiterate group.

Among various reasons, dowry related issues concerned with the poor economic condition also are said to be a cause discussed in the village for child marriage. In the formal interview, some respondents said if bride and groom are matured enough and have arranged marriage, it is difficult to give dowry in marriage. Likewise in arranged marriage, parents and family members wash the feet of their daughter, called’ kanyadan’ which they think as an essential and integral part of the arranged marriage. In kanyadan process, parents have liabilities to give Gardhua or dowry to daughters. Bu in case of early, love and elopement marriage, parents bear no such economic liabilities.

Although a majority of the respondents did not directly talk about dowry as the cause, but during informal talk sessions, discussions and through key informants' interview, they accepted that when children elope by themselves, dowry is not a serious problem; a small item in the form of Sagun can work and parents bear no such economic liabilities. Therefore, there is an unspoken understanding among the parents and their children concerning the issue of dowry. Thus, parents are indirectly responsible for not being strict and allowing their children to elope in order to make it easier for them financially. Though these trends are taking place in the name of following a socio-cultural practice and the so-called free modern or western life style.

Lack of awareness is one of the reasons to continue practice of child marriage and gender discrimination. In the community, data revealed that component of media is not effectively used. Females compared to males, are very low to watch and listen electronic means like radio and television. Those few respondents who have excess media facility also use entertain program only. They are not interested in issues related to child marriage and gender discrimination. Some respondents are aware of the earlier stated legal marriage age. But almost all are not aware of the latest 11th amendment of new civil code that permitted registration marriage (without parental consent) for children only after completing 20 years for both couple. Almost about ¾ of the respondents do not perceive a marriage as child marriage if the girl is more than 16 years. The reason is that society people and parents also think this age is right for marrying daughters. The trend of marrying daughters between 16-18 and boys 17-18, 19 is normal and socially accepted and many respondents in the formal interview answered that marrying at 17—18 years as normal in the society and right age for the children, especially for girls. This has been shown in the research table. Besides, they think if he/she is old enough to get a citizenship at 16 then she is mature enough to be married. Therefore legal Advocacy about the definition of child marriage would be helpful to abolish child marriage in the community.

Another significant factor is marriage registration Act is not effectively maintained. So, young couple easily can perform such illegal marriage practice. Immediate action should be taken in the registration Act to control. Besides, there should be cases against such hidden action, even after marriage; there should be law to punish the concerned group of child marriage.

The global international community has become aware of the need to achieve equality between the two sexes and of the fact that an equitable society cannot be attained if fundamental human rights of half of human society that is children and women continue to be denied and discriminated on the basis of sex. Here in this research also human rights of children and especially parental discrimination based on sex have been tried to open. But, in case of arranged or captured or forced marriages at an early age, issues of human rights seem to be appropriate. But in Tamang community, there exist love and elope marriage also, which is a part of their culture. Such self-initiated marriage is an emerging issue among teen age children, more cases are in the school going children of grade 6-7—9-10. Parents say, in such self-initiated marriage, parents have no hands at all, children are totally responsible. Therefore, special attention is essential in this type of marriage.

Most women in developing countries are unaware of their basic human rights. In this state of ignorance, this ensures their acceptance---and consequently, the perpetuation—of harmful traditional practices affecting their well-being and that of their children. Traditional cultural practices reflect values and beliefs held by members of the community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practice and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others are harmful to a specific group, such as women” (Human rights sheet, 23). Since the world conference on human right, held in Vienna in 1993, it is hoped that all states will recognize and accept the universality and the indivisibility of the human rights of women. Therefore it is the duty of the states to modify the social and cultural attitudes of both men and women, with a view to eradicating customary practices based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either sex or on stereotyped roles of gender’. In the words of Ann, Oakley, ‘Sex’ is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible difference in genitalia, the related difference in procreative function. ‘Gender’ however is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’. The distinction between ‘male’ and ‘female’ on the one hand, and ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ on the other makes it possible to clarify much of the argument about sex differences. Inequality within the family has been, and continues to be a global phenomenon. If within the family, there is no belief of

equality, and teaching gender inequality, how can we hope to find gender equality elsewhere'? (Oakley, A. (1972).

Bhasin, K (2004) has raised the issue of religion mentioning that 'there is clear connection between gender, masculinity and religion. All present day religion considers men to be superior to women. Just one fact demonstrates this---no religion accepts a woman as its head. But the same author in another context has opposed the virtue of aggressiveness of the male is not natural but as a result of social construction, that made a man an aggressive man. According to her, boys who are gentle, are not only ridiculed, they may be exploited and brutalized by aggressive men, which is harmful to them also, known as hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, one can come to the conclusion that only good virtues should be cultivated among individual regardless of sex and develop right gender-socialization and with conceptual clarity of the traditional/religious counseling can bring expected result.

Human being is a biological organism which keeps on evolving and developing till death. So they need to be social and always be conscious about their rights and duties. if any girl or boy or male or female as a human being wants to be gender-neutral and remain with equal status, they need to make a promise to keep away all of the societal people and themselves free from superstitions and wrong conception regarding male, female and their relationship with each other through basic conceptual clarity and early gender-socialization practice. Despite of this, unfortunately, girls/women are mal-treated or violated in the name of , nature, gender, culture or religion or other, at home, in society or in community, should not be discouraged but they victims of discrimination should unite and work as an inspiration to create new idea and situation and through their sorrowful experience and ideas which may encourage and may be helpful to better understand the situation of girls and women in a practical way in the existing situation. The child brides in overall context have been found discriminated, violated, tortured and therefore depressed and discouraged which push them nearby death or in the vicious cycle of grief. Economic responsibilities and domestic load can place heavy burdens on to the newly married couples and curtail their education. However, boys compared to girls suffer less. While boys can leave their wives at their parents' homes and seek employment opportunities elsewhere, this

option is not available to the majority of young wives. Even at natal home, boys feel comfortable, become safe and are free to start education and other activities

The study has explored significant knowledge that many people in Tamang community do not have the proper knowledge about the equal status of male and female child and the right age of marriage for their children, and the negative health impact of early motherhood to mother and new born baby. Even bit educated male or female are also found not aware of these issues because parents and girls/females themselves have taken the discriminatory behave as traditional and positive as well as constructive for them. Such types of worthless and useless thinking plays a great role to enhance violence and discrimination even more.

Scholarly literatures on gender based discrimination and early marriage practice written by ancient seekers/philosophers and the modern feminists and human right activists have all shown that gender- based violence is a very sensitive issue which if not addressed properly could lead to unprecedented scale of violence for girls and women in Nepal. This leads to continue early marriage practice and early child bearing resulting in high percent maternal mortality rate and the death of new born child. And internalization among all the family members and society people that all are human being, with no cast but identified and classified by their virtue and within a man, there is half woman and within a woman, there is half man as 'Ardhanariswor' mentioned the Vedic text (androgynous virtue/character). With such notion, the practice of early gender socialization of children and a clear conceptual clarity on male and female character that all are human beings and need to be treated like human beings can bring a desired situation.

'A person who (he/she) scores high in both stereotypical masculine and stereotypically feminine traits is considered androgynous.' the male who is extremely violent and bias against women, he that much equally has developed inferiority complex, 'That male who more humiliate women, he is always feared mentally to be humiliated himself', says,' Simone de Beauvoir, (1953), the author of the 'the second sex'. Almost all the postmodern feminisms have concluded the issue of women' subordination and discrimination. Their conclusion is that men are not the self (the human being or the Purusha) and women as other sex. The eternal Veda has explained on the word 'Purusha", as divine soul which is neither male, female or other animal, but it is the

universal divine soul. Human being means here male and female under the same umbrella of humanity. Therefore a proper knowledge and wisdom should be installed.

Child/early marriage and gender discrimination is harmful for both boys and girls. For eliminating such ill practices the main target groups the teenagers of the communities should be addressed properly. The religious and harmful traditional practice misconception needs to be re-interpreted as well as majority of the respondent's conception accepting gender-discrimination (inequality) and child marriage practice as normal and socio-cultural norms is untrue but a result of social construction, must be made clear to all concerned groups.

7. 2. Major Findings

Major Findings

In the last six chapters subsequently has been discussed various factors related to child marriage practices prevailing among Tamang communities of Ramechhp district, Nepal. At the same time several socio-cultural variables associated with marriage practices and their effects on general conditions of lives of people were also assessed and identified. In this analytical chapter an attempt has been made to present a summary of findings in the light of proposed objectives and research questions. The findings of the present study are divided in the following different sections.

Basic Data and Information Related Findings

- The ratio of girls/females married by 17 years is 74.7 percent.
- The ratio of girls/females married by 16 years is 16. 8 percent. Similarly, girls/female married at 15 year is 5.2 percent, 14 years, 2.1 percent and 13 years is 1.1 respectively.
- The ratio of girls/females married at 18 and 19 years of age is 58.2 percent and 41.8 percent respectively.
- Average mean age female at marriage is 16 year and. 4 months and boy's mean age of marriage is 18 year and 8 months. Average mean age of male and female bride groom is 17 year and 6 months.

- Among 25 years age group of girls/ female, 71.4 percent were married at 17 years of age, 21.4 percent girls of this age groups were married at 16 years and 7.1 percent were married at 15 years of age.
- In the overall respondents from all categories, 73 percent were had arranged marriage (parental decision) whereas 27 had love and elope marriage.
- Among the under 25 years age groups of girls/female, 35.7 percent had arranged marriage where as 57.2 percent had love and elope marriage.
- Percentage of boys married at 17 years is 29.1 percent, married at 16 year is 7.2 percent at 15 year 1.6, at 14 ,1.8, at 13 year is 1.8 and the youngest boy/male married at 12 years of age is 1.8 percent..
- The ratio of boys married at 18 years is 54.5 percent.
- The ratio of boys/males married till 25 years of age, married at 17 years is 22.7 percent at 19 years, 45.5 percent and married at 20 is years is 9.1 percent.
- The ratio of males married at 20 and 21 years of is 95 percent and 5 percent respectively.
- Mean age difference between husband and wife is 3 years and 1 month. Husbands are 3 years and 1 month older. The age gap generation is high in young generation and found lower in the elderly generation of 50 years and above groups. The trend is maintained by the young generation of below 25 years group. This simply justifies the educated new generations are more conscious to continue with the societal-trend and practice.

Causes and Consequences Related Findings

- The overall 12.3 percent of male and female respondents agreed that child marriage was practiced in order to save children from doing love and inter-cast marriage in their own choice.
- In case of girl' arranged marriages by parents, 28.7 percent of the male and female respondents mentioned traditional practice as being the reason of child marriage in their community.
- In case of girl's marriage, 20.7 percent of the male and female respondents said daughters being liabilities to others are married early.

- Of them, 3.3 percent said to be free from dowry problem. In the religious cause, 3 percent of them said to receive punya (spiritual merit) by marrying daughter before menstruation and this helps to open the gate of heaven in next life.
- Of them, 16.1 percent respondents accepted if daughters are married being matured, it will be difficult to get good match.
- In case of the early marriage for son, majority of the male and female respondents agreed that it is because of the societal tradition. And the next main reason to marry their young son is to increase the labor force at home. In very few cases matured wives are married to handle the home environment efficiently.
- In case of love marriage, 33.2 percent respondents mentioned use of mobile phone as the key factors of love marriage. According to these groups, marrying at the age of 16-17 for girls and 17-19 for boys is normal socio cultural practice in the society. Among these respondents, many had love and elope marriage. So they could not mention other reasons as they were responsible for such practice.
- In Tamang community, there exist love and elope marriage, which is a part of their culture. Such self-initiated marriage is growing among teen age children, more cases are in the school going children of grade 6-7—9-10. Parents say, in such self-initiated marriage, parents have no hands at all, children are totally responsible. Parental gender does not seem to have any prominent influence on child marriage. Majority of the respondents seemed helpless, as they could not do anything against child marriage.
- Findings of this study indicate that most of the Tamang parents were strict and rigid in cast and gotra value. Same gotra and inferior caste was not accepted by parents. Therefore, such couple who married against parental expectation was not allowed to stay at home and take part in kul puja (traditional worship).
- The data shows that both the parents are found to be the main associated factors in arranged marriage of children. 51.7 percent of both of the parents were found to be associated in child marriage, After this group, the second larger groups are children themselves associated in love and elope marriages. 27.7 percent children were associated in their marriage. 9.3 percent fathers and 1.3 percent mothers initiated child marriage.
- The data shows different version of male and female regarding marriage of children. In the case of arranged marriage, decision makers are both parents. 45.3

percent decision is taken by both parents but fathers have more influencing role. 40.3 percent children take decision in their marriage. From this, it is clear that those who have arranged marriage, parents are the deciding factors. In love marriage deciding factors are children themselves.

- In many cases basically in arranged marriages, ie 51.7 percent of both parents initiated child marriage, father alone has influential role to initiate child marriage than mothers. In case of love marriage, 27.6 percent of children themselves initiated child marriage. Fathers initiated child marriage in 9.3 percent cases and mothers in 1.3 percent cases.
- Male and female gave their opinion about the issue of age gap among the married couple. 57.7 percent of the respondents believe that age gap is essential between couples. 24 percent did not believe so. Most respondents who believed there should be some age gap between husband and wife gave two basic reasons one being social tradition and the other that the husband should be mature enough to be bread winner of the family.
- About the maturity of daughter in law, only 2.3 percent said their daughter in law should be more mature or older than their son. 57.7 percent respondents believe that a woman should be younger than her husband while 22.7 percent respondents did not have any comment (preference) regarding age gap between husband and wife. Majority of married respondents mentioned the prime cause of choosing younger wives as social custom.
- Respondents mentioned their support and denial regarding under 18 year marriage for daughter. 44 percent females accepted that it is okay for girls under 18 years to get married. And 40 percent of males accepted this trend. 42 percent girls were dissatisfied with such marriages whereas 47.3 percent males were dissatisfied.
- Economic condition in the overall of both sexes is not satisfactory. But compared to men, it clearly discriminates women's economic subordination in almost all the economic transactions. It is clearly justified with the yearly income table of the respondents. The overall average income also differs a lot in the two sexes. Women are getting only 50, 947 Nrs. But men are earning 1, 18, 267 Nrs. 127(84.6 percent) women are totally depending on the income of the husband. On the contrary, 130(86.6 percent) male respondents are self-earning and financially independent.

- Findings of the result showed that 62.7 percent of the respondents denied with the fact that village religious scripture mention about the Kanyadaan of daughters in their community.
- Many respondents had no idea regarding the Kanyadan system of daughters in Tamang community. Sixty two point seven percent (62.7 percent) of the total respondents said they had not heard about the 'Kanyadan' system of Hindu marriage. Only 11 percent of them had heard about it. Forty four percent (44 percent) of respondents accepted the increasing trend of 'Kanyadaan' whereas 51 percent of them denied it.
- The education level of the respondents of the research area shows overall education is very low compared to the national level education. The educational statistics are usual as everywhere showing very less percent of education among women in comparison to men. 14 percent (20) men were found illiterate; whereas (50) 33.3 percent women were found illiterate. In literate group, women were slightly higher in position. 37 percent of the female and 22 percent of the male were literate. Data shows only 1-2 person in the sample had received 12 and above grade education. Therefore, in the overall situation both male and female have been deprived from education.
- When analyzed with level of education, there was no significant rise at marriage at mean age of female child of male respondents; instead age at marriage was decreased. As it is clear from the data that illiterate female child had mean age of 18 years and 1 month, whereas grade 9-12 had a mean age of 15 years and 6 months.
- The same issues were analyzed with level of education. A lama priest, considered 5-10 years age for child marriage. Even being educated equivalent to intermediate and above, was weak in his knowledge. Such priests are the main dharma gurus who are the key person conducting child marriage in Tamang community. There is some change among the illiterate and 12 and above grade groups, but not satisfactorily.
- In the overall, 47.7 percent, and 31.3 percent of male and female respondents accepted incident of child marriage practice in their community and family respectively. Also analyzed by level of education, 8.9 percent of grade 9-12

respondents accepted child marriage in their family because almost all of these respondents had love and elope marriage. This shows the higher the education level, the lower the child marriage practices did not work.

- When asked why male and female respondents did not favour child marriage? Twenty-six point seven percent (26.7 percent) female disliked child marriage because it made them unable to stand on their own feet. 24 percent males disliked it on the same ground. Likewise 26 percent female did not like child marriage for being unable to read and write. 24 percent males disliked it for the same reason. Females were found to be less conscious of economic status than men. 22.7 percent males disliked child marriage as it prevented them from achieving a good economic status whereas only 11.3 percent female disliked it for the same reason.
- Due to lack of communication awareness, almost about $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the respondents do not perceive marriages as child marriage if the girl is more than 16 years. The reason is that community people and parents also think this age is right for marrying daughters. The trend of marrying daughters between 16 -17 years and boys 18 to 19 years is normal and socially accepted perception. This has been shown in the research table. Besides, they believe that if a girl is old enough to get a citizenship at 16 then she is mature enough to be married. Many of the Tamang people were found to be unaware of the legal age of marriage in the community.
- Seventy three point three percent of the overall respondents had heard about marriage registration but 26.7 percent did not hear about it. Similarly, 25.3 percent of the overall respondents have registered their marriage whereas 74.7percent have not done.

The study shows that marriage registration act has not been effectively implemented. And Majority of Tamang people are unaware about marriage registration Act in their community.

- Sanskritization and westernization both seemed to play a role in this trend of love marriage of children among Tamang community. People willingly or

unknowingly tend to adopt behavioral and lifestyle characteristics from the so called superior groups in society.

- Acculturation process, besides sankritization is another example of socio-cultural change in Tamang community.
- It seems that members of the Tamang community have also understood to have love and marry early is an issue related to lower social prestige. Many people belonging to older generations and some young couples who married by elopement denied to speak about their marriage type. They answered that their marriage was settled by parents. In one interview, a grandfather who had married at 16 years by eloping was unwilling to speak up about his marriage circumstances in front of his grandson
- Twenty –three point three percent male listened to and watched programs regarding child marriage in the media. However 76.7 percent males did not listen.
- Only ten percent females listened to and watched programs on child marriage in the media while 90 percent female respondents did not.
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- The study shows that marriage registration act has not been effectively implemented. And Majority of Tamang people are unaware about marriage registration Act in their community.

Health Consequences Related Findings

- Majority of the Tamang women were found giving birth their first child under 20 years of age. Ninety-two percent (92 percent) of the total female respondents had delivered their first baby under 20 years of age.
- And the mean age of female at first childbirth among 25 years group is 18 years and 6 months.
- Eighty-two (82.7 percent) of the female respondents delivered their first born baby at home.
- In the health related issue 93 percent of the total respondents did not show serious health problems of girl/female regarding pregnancy and child birth.

- Thirty-eight percent of the total respondents were aware of the harmful effects of having first baby at less than 20 years of age. However, 56 percent of them were not aware of this fact. Data reveals that women are less conscious about their health but men are found more alert in women's health issue. A 60 years old female Tamang said (China Maya) knew the effect and said it would bring problem in the health of mother and child. The young respondent, Sanu lama of Bhaluakhop, of 17, years also said she has not heard anything about the harmful effect. It is very interesting.
- Ninety-eight point three percent (98.3 percent) which is the majority of male and female respondents did not receive any child care training.
- Means of family planning also were found like taboo. Still there is some uniqueness in the reproductive issues among Tamang women. Though majority of them are married from 14 years or even earlier and continued in giving birth and majority of them denied if they had used any family planning means. Still the trend of delivery of the child is late compared to the marriage. This late trend of conceiving and delivery found common among the earlier 50 years and above age group. But early marriage and early pregnancy and child bearing is more prevalent among the present below 25 years age group.

Parental Gender Discriminatory Related Findings

- There were research questions on gender discriminatory issues in the home. In the overall 87.3 percent of the mother group or female group will have food in the last. According to the male and female respondents, only 12.7 percent had food together. When first asked how do they consume food? Many of them said they have food together, and when asked cross question as by whom taken in the last, most of them said daughter in law/female members. People in the village and among illiterate group also they have become conscious about telling equal status of gender but not as said in practice.
- Clear discrimination upon the duration of breast-feeding was found among son and daughter. The duration mentioned for son was 2 year and 6 months and for daughter 1 year and 7 months. 51.3 percent male Tamang including the very old and mostly the very new generations of under 25 groups did not

answer saying forgot or do not know whereas 14 percent female gave no opinion.

- Most of the types of toys are played by both son and daughter in Tamang community. But Thuki gatta, Ek khutti, Chungi etc. are not played by sons. These types of change are also a socially created environment for children. In socialization, play materials have been regarded as one of the key components for bringing equality among the sexes in the society.
- Respondents had different ideas regarding the responsibilities of having son and daughter. 57 percent of the respondents accepted that both parents were responsible for having son and daughter. Many women did not know about the reason and responsibility of getting son and daughter regarding the concern of x and y chromosomes and about infertility. Those who said both father and mother being responsible for having son and daughter did not know the actual cause of it because most of them were illiterate. Women who bear girl child only normally accepted as the ill fate of mother and the newborn baby in the society. One respondent from 9—12 grade education said she only knows that it is determined by chromosomes.
- Male and female respondents preferred 25 year and 5 months for son and 22 year 4 months for daughter as the mean age for marrying their children in future. This attitudes show that in the future also the trends of marrying daughters early than boys continue in Tamang community.
- The global international community has become aware of the need to achieve equality between the two sexes and of the fact that an equitable society cannot be attained if fundamental human rights of half of human society that is children and women continue to be denied and discriminated on the basis of sex. Here in this research also human rights of children and especially parental discrimination based on sex have been tried to open. But, in case of arranged or captured or forced marriages at an early age, issues of human rights seem to be appropriate.
- A research by Plan and ICRW, International's Global, because I am a girl (BIAAG, 2012) has similarities in the research with Tamang community in case of love marriages. The study mentions that some emerging trends like child-initiated marriages, have also been unearthed by the study, and these will

require further investigations. A relatively less discussed and understood reason for child marriage that emerged is self-initiated marriage by young boys and girls. According to one girl in Nepal, and her opinion was endorsed by many others, the effect of education on marriage is nullified, because girls in school initiate their own marriage due to 'love and self-initiation.' There were reports from all three south Asian countries (India, Nepal and Bangladesh) of girls under 18 choosing to get married with or without parental consent. Two factors that were seen as contributing to the increase in self-initiating marriage, one is inter-mingling of girls and boys in school and the availability of mobile phones. These developments in recent years have increased the case of communication between girls and boys and facilitated self-initiated marriage (love and elopement).

Suggestions/measures Recommended by the main three hundred (300) male and female Respondents of the Researched Area to Eliminate Child Marriage Practice.

Finally, there were some key suggestions/measures recommended by the key respondents to control and eliminate traditional arranged marriage and gender-based discrimination in Tamang community. These groups in the formal interview demanded some issues to be fulfilled in order to overcome parental level discrimination and the practice of child marriage.

- Of the overall respondents, 82% of the overall respondents suggested advocacy and awareness and strict implementation of the Child Marriage Act, Free and Compulsory Education at least till Grade 12 for children, Maximum Highlight and Awareness about the Harmful Effect of Girl Child Marriages as the main measures to overcome child marriage.
- Of them, 13% of the respondents suggested band on mobile phone during school education, separate school for boys and girls, and develop some disciplinary techniques to control extreme freedom in the name human rights for children.

7.3 Key Recommendations

The most significant factor is the change of women's perception regarding the positive discrimination as being sometime in some situation harmful for them. The issues have been discussed in the earlier chapters in detail.

In the research, consideration needs to be taken in case of arranged marriages of children or forceful child marriage and self-initiated marriage (love).

In case of societal and cultural diversities, differences are observed from one group to another in the status accorded to women, living on the topographical diversity of the high snow- mountain, the hills and the sub-tropical plains of the Terrain, eg the traditional Hindu-Indo-Aryan groups and to the relatively gender-egalitarian Tibeto-Burman. Therefore, consideration needs to be taken in the problems identification and implementation part.

The marriage registration act should be effectively implemented in the VDCs. Most marriages are not officially registered and many parents resort to falsifying girl's ages. Such acts are made easier in rural areas where birth certificates are often non-existent or not properly recorded.

There is also very little data on girls married before the age of 15. Available data are often outdated and fail to provide adequate information. Those cases reported of child marriages even after marriage should be considered illegal and punishment is needed in the legal ground. The reporter's name should be made confidential.

Topics related to traditional practices affecting the health of women and children should be introduced into functional literacy campaigns.

A survey and review of school curricula and textbooks should be with a view to eliminating prejudices against women, especially of gender-bias attitudes and child marriage. Instruction of the harmful effects of such practices should be included in health and sex education program. But there should be some kind of censorship; it means one should see the target group.

Co-operations with religious institutions and their leaders and with traditional authorities is required in order to clarify the wrong believes and practice and eliminate such issues which adversely affecting the health of young girls and children,

particularly issues like, discrimination against girls/women, child marriage and child-bearing by young mothers.

The family being the basic institution from where gender biases emanate, wide-ranging motivational campaigns should be launched to educate parents to value the worth of a girl child, so as to eliminate such biases.

In- view of the scientific fact that male chromosomes determine the sex of the children, it is necessary to emphasize that the mother is not responsible for selection of the future sex of children. Government must, therefore, actively attempt to make advocacy in community and national level to change and bring awareness about the misconception regarding the responsibilities of the mother in determining the sex of the child.

To stop all forms of discrimination/violence against women, all available media should be mobilized to cultivate social attitude towards humanity and discard totally unacceptable human behavior.

Traditional practices of dowry and bride-price should be condemned by government and made illegal. Acts of bride –burning should like-wise be condemned and a heavy penalty inflicted on the guilty.

Research and documentation essential to assess the harmful effects of certain traditional health -related and birth- related practices and to identify and continue some positive traditions like breast- feeding.

Registration of births and deaths, marriages and divorces should be made compulsory.

As son preference is often associated with future security, government should take measures to introduce a social security system, especially for widows, women-headed families and aged.

Immediate measures should be taken by government to introduce and implement compulsory primary and free secondary education and to increase the access of girls to technical education. It could bring meaningful change in girl's progress if free and compulsory education provided to children till class 12.

7.4 Direction for the Future Research

- One of the prime causes of girl child marriage is age gap. Grooms are found older than bride. Its reasons are mentioned as socio-cultural tradition. In many of the areas, boys are also married early. So, if such trend is not properly addressed, girl child marriage will continue. So, depth study and analysis can be made for further study in this area.
- Those who want to have research on ‘child marriage practice as social malady’ through the sociological aspects; one can peep out the social setting and their relation to the specific society. As a student of home science and gender socialization, a future researcher generalizes the facts and findings that are obtained during this study area and period.
- What is studied in this research is always open for revision and verification. But the more important to study is what is not studied. It is, therefore, suggested to future researchers to cover the following issues.
- Research is based only on Tamang ethnic community and brief work in ancient Sanatana Dharma. Beside, Hindu /Vedic system, other religious systems are not mentioned. It can be carried out in-depth in other religions too through gender-based approach.
- In many other researches, religion has been taken as the prime cause of child marriage. But wider and right type of search and research in the religious text seems to be essential for further research on this topic.
- Child marriages can be measured and examined in other aspects that are economic, political etc in depth.
- Child marriages are human right violation and gender- based violence. But this research is not so broad in this field, which other researcher can explore covering the area of human rights.in case of self-initiated marriages, some other steps be followed to create awareness of the negative effect of child marriage among young children in the community.
- My main limitation is socio-cultural aspect. It is very broad field. Hundreds of illustrations are in favor of the practice and on the contrary, many are against it. But what needs to be considered is a fact that child marriage was as not a part from ancient Vedic era and not only limited to Brahmin caste. So in wider aspects, analyzing every socio-cultural, traditional and religious, group, research should be

done as when and why this practice started? And try to open the real and true concept of it.

- Social research is never ending process. So, one can conduct research on the similar academic area in the same or different setting.

7.5 Conclusion

Effective implementation of law and action oriented programs are vital forces to eliminate child marriage. Both boys and girls must be strictly controlled to marry early. Child marriage is far-reaching issues that impact not only the lives of the children who are married, but also the lives around them. Child marriage also reinforces the gendered nature of poverty, with limited education and skills of children bringing down their potential, especially of the girl, her family, her community and her country. These impacts extend throughout a girl's adult life and into the next generation.

Most of the literatures indicate the underlying cause of child marriage as socio-cultural and religious facts. Statistics mention majority of Brahmins especially Parbitiya and Muslim Brahmins have high prevalence of child marriage because of Purda system and religious faith. Research indicated that (62% of the total 100 respondents), child marriage continued due to religious belief (UNIFEM and WHF 2007). But child marriage is occurring in other major and ethnic communities too due to low education, poverty and other reasons. It has been found in many recent researches, along with traditional forced and arranged marriages of children, there is growing trend of love and elope marriage in ethnic communities of Nepal. This is in my research case also continued in the name of social customs and practices; child marriage is being continued and self-initiated marriages among young children in the school age are growing. Various reasons are associated with forceful arranged marriages of children mainly of the girls but in case of love and elope marriages; parents primarily believe due to extreme freedom and information technologies, it is happening in the society. The origin of child marriage into the global seen and in Nepal, still has remained a mystery. Ancient literatures mention that child marriage practice was not a product of Vedic period. Later on during Smriti and Purana period, due to various reasons, it appeared in the society. Although there is law against child

marriage, but it is not implemented effectively. Being considered as a private matter, child marriage is rarely reported. There is mass ignorance about the existing laws regarding child marriage among the general population and particularly among the vulnerable children.

Scholarly literatures reveal that human being during stone-age did not consider the biological reproductive organs as an issue of differences between them. After the beginning of the institution of family men became more patriarchal and started division of labors and gender role (Bhasin, K,(1994). In this process many male scholars started to define the role of perfect women, men as bread winner and women as care taker etc. With the development of civilization and industrialization, the definition of men and women became more distinct. This way, the traditional concepts, men taken as the bread winner in the family exist till date, in the same way it was prevalent since earlier times. Such strict sexist attitudes hamper the whole human population of the entire universe, producing mal practices among boys and girls. Parents who endorse an egalitarian and democratic attitude regarding gender roles are more likely to develop broad and universal human qualities/attitudes in subordination and discrimination and to develop broad and universal human qualities/attitudes in their children. This might enhance in developing with androgynous character. Parents should not just prioritized making their children daughters and sons, but also aim towards making them ideal human beings. As the female children are treated as little women and are encouraged to help their female adults they learn how the women should behave in the society. Hence, most of the prominent cultures are transferred to forth coming generations. The culture they learn is one that views, male hood as superior to female hood.

This is possible only when parents and all other people understand the actual meaning of human being. In fact this is called a blended/androgynous personality where an individual can be fit in any situation. The good traits and the essence along with the individuality of both sexes should be honored without making one inferior or superior.

Children's/women's rights are human rights. Gender- based discrimination and child marriage are human rights abuse. Nepal is a signatory to three major international human rights instruments including CEDAW, CRC and the Children's Act of Nepal

1992 However, children, and mainly girls/women continue to suffer and the gender-based discrimination has not come under the legal purview because of the society's psychological preparation of women for sacrifice. Therefore, a national campaign of awareness on grass level against gender-based violence and other discrimination, which could be effective to sensitize inhuman attitudes and behavior to all must be effectively run.

This research goes to establish that forceful child marriage has devastating effect on the health and overall development of the children mainly of the girl child. Every possible efforts and counseling is essential even though the marriages have been conducted in children choice's choice.

Annex 1

Map of the Research Area

1.1 Map of research area (Ramechap)



1.2 Village Development Committees (VDCs)



Annex 2

Relevant statistics of the research area

Table 1: Basic social indicators of Ramechhap district

S.No.	Description	Unit	Number
1.	Population of women	Number	111555
2.	Population of men		100853
3.	Total population		212408
4.	Number of family	Number	40386
5.	Gender ratio	Men per 100: women	90.41
6.	Average family number		5.26
7.	Annual population growth	Percentage	1.22
8.	Duration for doubling the population	Year	56.8
9.	Population density	Number/ square km	137
10.	Rurban population	Percentage	0
11.	Rural population	Percentage	100
12.	Crude death rate	Per thousand	30(2006 A.D)
13.	Total fertility rate	Number (how many?)	5.8
14.	Average life expectancy (Female)	Year	49
15.	Average life expectancy (male)	Year	61
16.	Average life expectancy(Both)	Year	59.7
17.	Crude death rate	Per thousand	8.7(2006)
18.	Infant mortality rate(under 1year)	Per thousand	57
19.	Child mortality rate (under 5 year)	Per thousand	112
20.	Population going to foreign countries	Number	5527
21.	Population of disable	Number	1005
22.	Total ratio of dependent group	Percent	102.34
23.	Ratio of dependent children	Percent	85.16
24.	Ratio of dependent girl children	Percent	42.92
25.	Boys children dependent ratio	Percent	42.54
26.	Old age people dependent ratio	Percent	17.78
27.	Man women ratio	Per 100 women	90.41
28.	Children, women ratio	Per thousand	530
29.	Population of ratio old people of 75 years and above	Percent	1.90
30.	Average marriage age of male	Year	22.9 month
31.	Average marriage age of female	Year	19.75

Source: CBS, 2006, Kathmandu

Table 2: Basic education indicators of Ramechhap District

S.N.	Description	Unit	Value
1	Male literacy rate	Percent	58.43
2	Female literacy rate	Percent	26.6

3	Male and Female literacy rate	Percent	39.4
4	Total admission rate in primary school gender wise	Number	28,856
5	Average admission rate in primary school,genderwise	Number	6,592
6	Students enrolled in grade 1 and reaching 5 grade	Number	2493
7	Total enrollment rate in primary, lower secondary and secondary	Number	37,941

Table 3: Basic health indicators of Ramechhap District

S.N.	Description	Unit	Value(in percent)
1	Hospital	Number	1
2	Nursing home	Number	1
3	medical college	Number	No
4	Hospital bed for all	Number	15
5	Health clinic	Number	2
6	Health center	Number	13
7	Sub-health post	Number	41
8	ANAMI	Number	13
9	Assistant health worker(AHW)	Number	53
10	Population per doctor	Number	23779.4
11	Doctors	Number	3
12	Family planning user	Percent	22.45

Table 4: Population description of the District (Ramechhap) according to gender

S.N.	Age group	Total	Male(number)	Female(number)
	Total of all age group	212408	100853	111555
1	0---4 Year	26409	13210	13199
2	5---9 year	320161	15950	16111

3	10-14 year	30930	15495	15435
4	15---19 year	21960	10190	11770
5	20—24	14779	6318	8461
6	25---29	12416	5234	7182
7	30—34 year	12160	5539	6621
8	35—39 year	11111	5071	6040
9	40-44 year	9883	4722	5161
10	45—49 year	8679	4089	4590
11	50—54 year	7678	3516	4162
12	55-59 year	6308	3118	3190
13	60—64 year	5821	2685	3136
14	65—69year	4805	2279	2526
15	70-74 year	3372	1656	1716
16	75 and above	4036	1781	2255

Table 5: Basic education indicators of four (selected for rsearch) VDCs of Ramechhap District

5. A Okhreni VDC of Ramechhap

Name of the VDC Okhreni	Description	Total	Male	Female
1	Unable to read and wr	1398	622	776
2	Able to read only	640	306	334
3	Able to read and write	1125	683	442
4	Unidentified	8	0	8
	Total	3171	1500	1671

Table 5: (B) Basic education indicators of Sukajor VDC of Ramechhap

Name of the VDC Sukajor	Description	Total	Male	Female
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1	Unable to read and wr	654	196	458
2	Able to read only	556	141	415
3	Able to read and write	1864	1070	794
4	Unidentified	428	210	218
	Total	3502	1617	1885

Table 5: (C) Basic education indicators of VDC of Ramechhap

Name of the VDC	Description	Total	Male	Female
Ramechhap				
1	Unable to read and write	2232	733	1499
2	Able to read only	328	177	151
3	Able to read and write	1969	1259	710
4	Unidentified	83	21	62
	Total	4612	2190	2122

Table 5: (D) Basic education indicators of VDC of Boluwajor

Name of the VDC	Description	Total	Male	Female
Bholuwajor				
1	Unable to read and write	1385	426	959
2	Able to read only	506	247	259
3	Able to read and write	1006	641	364
4	Unidentified	97	49	48
	Total	2994	1719	1375

Table 6: Description of the population caste according to VDC**Table A**

S..N	Name of the VDC Baluwajor	
	Castes Number	Number
1	Majhi	1115
2	Tamang	766
3	Newar	627
4	Chhetri	488
5	Sarki	167
6	Damai/dholi	135
7	Brahmin(pahadi)	111
8	Kami	65
9	Gharti bhujel	24
10	Magar	22
11	Chepang	11
12	Unidentified cast	10
13	Thakuri	9
14	Other	8
	Total	3556

Table 6 B

S.N	Name of the VDC Okhreni	
	Castes	Number
1	Tamang	1562
2	Magar	938
3	Newar	415
4	Chhetri	263
5	Kami	225
6	Hyau	48
7	Damai/dholi	43
8	Unidentified cast	29
9	Gharti bhujel	7
10	Brahmin(pahadi")	6
11	Teli	5
12	Other	9
	Total	3550

Table 6: C

S.N	Name of the VDC Ramechhap	
	Castes	Number
1	Newar	2104
2	Tamang	1007
3	Chhetri	532
4	Brahmin (pahadi")	405
5	Kami	345
6	Majhi	202
7	Sarki	185
8	Hyau	176
9	Gharti bhujel	156
10	Magar	56
11	Damai/dholi	55
12	Unidentified dalits	43
13	Sherpa	29
14	Sunuwar	28
15	Pahari	16
16	Yadab 16	16
17	Unidentified cast	-
18	Bramin (terai)	7
19	Santhal/satar	7
20	Bhote	7
21	Badai	6
22	Rai	5
23	Gurung	5
24	Sudi	5
25	Other	10
	Total	5412

Table 6 D

S.N.	Name of the VDC	
	Sukajor	
	Castes	Number
1	Chhetri	1298
2	Magar	947
3	Newar	495
4	Tamang	491
5	Hyau	441
6	Gharti bhujel	84
7	Damai/dholi	73
8	Majhi	57
9	Kami	29
10	Sunuwar	29
11	Unidentified cast	20
12	Sherpa	13
13	Kurmi	9
14	Kohiri	6
15	Other	11
	Total	3963

Table 7: 55 VDC of Ramechhap District with Manthali, Its Headquarter

1. Gumdel	23. Rampur	45. Dimpokhari
2.Chuchure	24. OKHRENI	46.lakhanpur
3 Bamti	25 Kathjor	47Ggunsi
4 Those	26. Salupati	48.Bethan
5.Kubhukasthli	27 Sunarpani	49.Hiledevi
6.Gupteshor	28.SUKAJOR	50 khaniyapani
7. Priti	29 RAMECHHAP	51Rrakathum
8. Bhuji	30 Manthali	52.Bhirpani
9. Duragaun	31.BHALUWAJOR	53. Khadevi
10.Saipu	32.Bhatauli	54.Majhuwa
11. Rasnal	33.Pakarbas	55.Makadum
12.Betali	34.Chisapani	
13.Namadi	35.Gelu	
14.Pharpu	36.Chanakhu	
15 Khimti	37.Puranagaun	
16.Tilpung	38.Pinkhuri	
17.Nagadaha	39.Gagal bhadaure	
18.Bijulikot	40.Phulashi	
19.Gothgauni	41.Daduwa	
20.Deurali	42.Doramba	
21.Sanghutar	43.Tokanpur	
22.Himganga	44.Gaushwara	

Annex 3

Structured questionnaire of child marriage

Group-a

General information

Date-_____

Serial. No _____

Name of interviewee-_____

District-_____

VDC-_____

Ward No-_____

Ward name-_____

Area name-_____

House Number-_____

Group-1

Name of interviewee -.....

Personal and family details-

1. General questions

1.1 Full name and caste-_____

1.2 Gender—

1. Male

2. Female

1.3 Religion-_____

Code no

- 01. Hindu
- 02. Buddhist
- 03. Muslim
- 04. Christian
- 05. Other
- 06. Don't know

1.4 Type of family

- 01. Joint
- 02. Nuclear
- 03. Other

1.5 Current age of the interviewee

- 01. Age of husband/spouse at marriage
- 02. Age of wife/spouse at marriage
- 03. If possible, year of the marriage

1.6 Age of the interviewee during having first baby

- Age of husband
- Age of wife

1.7 Types of marriage

- 01 Arranged marriage
- 02 love marriage
- 03 Love and elopement marriage
- 04 Cross-cousin marriage
- 05 other

1.8 Education

- 01 Unable to understand read and write (Illiterate)
- 02 1 to 5 grade
- 02 6 to 8 grade
- 03 9 to 12 grade
- 04 Graduate and above
- 05 Other

1.9 Occupation

- 01 Home maker
- 02 Job holders
- 03 Students
- 04 Worker/domestic helper
- 05 Wage laborers
- 06 Agriculture

07 Foreign employees

07 Other

1.10 Economic

01 Who earns in the family?

.....

02 What is the real income source?

.....

03 What is the total income?

.....

04 Cash.....

05 Assets.....

06 Weekly.....

07 Monthly.....

08 Yearly

Group-b

2. Structured questions directly related to child marriage

2.1 Does child marriage still in practice

- 01 Yes
- 02 No
- 03 Do not know

2.2 If child marriage prevails

- 01 Male
- 02 Female
- 03 do not know

2.3 Any incident of child marriage in your own family?

- 01 Yes
- 02 No
- 03 Do not know

2.4 If child marriage is continued

- 01 Male Age of Male
- 02 Female
- 03 Other Female

Would you mention cause the of child marriage in your community?

01=====

=====

02=====

=====

03=====

=====

04=====

=====

2.6 Information about the married children of the respondents

Number	Sex	Age at Marriage	Education at marriage
	01 Male 02 Female		01 Unable to read and write, 02 literate; 03 1 to 5 class, 04 6 to 8 class, 05 9 to 12 class, 06 Graduate and above
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

2.7 Are there any unmarried children in your family?

01 Yes 02 No 03 Do not know

If yes

Male	Code	Age

Female	Code	Age

Other		

2.8 When do you like to marry him/her? (Age)

Male	Code	Age
Female	Code	Age
Do not know		

2.9 Do you choose difference age of your children during marriage?

01 Yes

02 No

03 Do not know

If you choose— would you mention its cause?

01=====

=====

02=====

=====

03=====

=====

04=====

=====

05=====

=====

3 If girl-child marriage has happened less than 18 years of age, are you completely satisfied with your decision?

01 Satisfied

02 Not satisfied

03 Do not know

If satisfied

3.1 Causes for under 18 years marriage for girls

01 Release from dowry problem

02 Traditional practice

03 Maintained the social prestige

04 For cultural reasons

05 For religious value

06 For the safety of the future of children.

07 Due to low economic status/poverty

08 Because I myself is satisfied with under 18 years marriage.

09 Daughters are liable to others.

10 Not understanding the legal age of child marriage.

0.11 Because I do not care about law.

0.12 Other

0.13 All of the above

3.2 Who decides to marry your children?

01 Father 02 Mother

03 Both parents 04 Children themselves

05 Other 06 Do not know

3.3 Your view regarding the definition of child-marriage

Age group

01 5--10 02 11---13

03 13---16 04 16---18

05 18--+

3.4 What do you understand by child marriage, according to our view?

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

05=====

3.5 If respondent had child marriage, why parents did so?, mention the prime reasons

01=====

=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

05=====

06=====

3.6 Who forced to marry you at an early age?

01 Father 02 Mother
03 Both (-Parents) 04 Other

3.7 Prime reasons that you do not like child marriage

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

3.8 Your important suggestions to eradicate child marriage

01 =====
=====

02 =====
=====

03 =====
=====

3.9 Do you listen radio?

01 Yes' 02 No

03 Do not know

If yes

3.10 Have you heard anything regarding child marriage?

01 yes 02 No

03 do not know

4 Which program do you listen in radio??

4 Do you watch television?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

4 Which program in Television?

4.1 Do you know the current legal age of marriage of children by the consent of the parents/guardians?

01 Yes 02 No

If yes

01 18 - 21

02 16-18

03 15-18

4.2 Have you idea about the legal age of registration marriage?

01 Yes 02 No

If yes, what age?

01 02 03

4.5 Your first baby born at home or hospital?

01 Home 02 Hospital

03 Do not know

4.4 If at home, who helped the nursing mother?

01 Mother-in-law

02 Sisters-in-law (elder/younger)

03 Village trained woman

04 Specify if any other different than these

4.5 do you know the fact that delivery under 20 years of age is harmful for the mother and the new born baby?

01 Yes 02 No

4.6 If you know, mention some its negative health impacts

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

4.7 Have you used any family planning means (for both, if woman is pregnant and continuing childbirth birth]

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know\

4.7 If means of family planning used, who has used?

01 Husband

02 Wife

03 Do not know

4.8 How the baby was born?

01 Normal process

02 Operation

03 Other.

04 Do not know

4.9 Weight of the first baby during birth, if respondent knows

Baby's weight]

01 Male 02 Female

4.10 Description of daily work routine

5 Who does what household work?

01 Son

02 Daughter

03 Mother-in-law

04 Father-in law

05 Other

5.1 Description of the household work

01 Washing.

02 Cooking

03 Cleaning the house/floor

04 Child caring/rearing.

05 Looking after the cattle

06 Bringing water

07 cutting grass

08 Bringing wood from the forest

09 Working in the field/agriculture

10 Shopping

11 All above mentioned work

5.2 These days, it is heard about sex-selective abortion, have you heard about it?

01 Yes 02 No

5.3 If yes, give some your opinion about it

.....
.....

5.4 Who is responsible for having male and female child?

01 Mother 02 Father

03 Both parents 04 Do not know

5.5 Would you like to share your opinion in this issue?

=====
=====
=====
=====

5.6 Have you read or heard that without son the doors of heaven are closed for parents??

01 Yes, I have heard 02 No, I have not read'

03 Do not know

If yes, please, mention your view in this subject

=====

=====

=====

=====

5.7 The trend of giving daughters in ‘kanyaddan’ is practiced in your community or not?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

5.8 If yes, mention your view in this issue

.....

.....

5.9 Who is the first food eater at home?

01 Father

02 Male members

03 Sons

04 Daughters.

05 Whole family, altogether

5.10 Who takes food in the last?

01 Mother.

02 Fathers

03 Daughter-in-law

04 Sons

05 Daughters

06 Other.

6 Do you think you make some differences in the distribution of food to son and daughter?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

If yes, how?

01 Tasty food to son only?

02 More food to son.

03 Other

6.1 Only daughters do the household work?

01 Yes 02 No

6.2 Both son and daughter go to school?

01 Yes

02 No

03 Do not know

If go to school

01 Which for son?.....

02 Which for daughter?.....

6.3 Daughters being liable to other, do you think education is not essential?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

6.3 Which of the son or daughters fall sick frequently?

01 Son

02 Daughter

03 Both

6.4 Do you allow going someplace out from home to your children?

01 Allow only to son

02 also allow to daughter

03 Allow both

04 Other

6.5 Why—mention cause for both yes or no answer

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

05=====

6.6 It is often heard that due to religious propose, kanyadaan of daughters are practiced, what do you think either religion or poverty as a prime cause for child marriage of daughters?

01 Because of religious purpose

02 Due to poverty

03 Other

04 Do not know

6.7 Is it necessary that the age of the son in- law should be more than daughter?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

6.8 If necessary, justify the causes

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

05=====

6.9 In the marriage of your son, age of the daughter in- law should be smaller or more than son? Please write your view in this issue

01 More 02 Small

03 No mater/no age bar 04 Do not know

6.10 Reasons

Reasons for small age

01=====

02=====

^^

Reasons for more age (elderly)

01=====

=====

02=====

7. Mention the traditional practice of Taman marriage system in short.

=====

=====

=====

=====

7.1 What is about caste in marriage? Share your view.

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

7.2 In the modern marriage practice of Tamang community, is there any change appeared? If yes, what changes are there? Please mention in brief.

01=====

02=====

03=====

04=====

7.3 Is there the practice of cross-cousin marriage?

01 Yes 02 No

If, yes, mention the relationship where marriages are accepted.

=====

If not, mention those relationships you do not accept in marriage

=====

7.4 Which type of marriage is the best and ideal type for you?

=====

7.5 It is heard that in some of the communities marriages are fixed in the fetus, have you heard or not about it?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

7.6 Which of the following virtue, you tell to our son and daughter?

- 01 Speak shyly
- 02 Speak slowly
- 03 Do not give counter/ reply if somebody told you something
- 04 Tell truth.
- 05 Do not steal
- 06 Control anger
- 07 Do not snatch other's property
- 08 Be fearless
- 09 Read and be employed
- 10 All of the above
- 11 For bot son and daughter

7.7 What types of games children play in Tamang community?

- 01 Son
=====
- 02 Daughter
=====

7.8 Have you received any training regarding child caring and caring?

- 01 yes
- 02 No

If yes, Where?

What type?.....

Who provided?-----

7.9 Does the religious scripture mention something about the 'Kanyadaan' of daughters in the village of you community?

01 Yes 02 No

03 Do not know

7.10 Where did you hear that marrying at an early age provides religious merit or punya?

01 Religious scriptures 02 Religious masters

03 Other 04 Do not know

Annex—4

Checklist to prepare Case Studies (The life history of people with child marriage)

❖ Name—
=====

❖ Surname—
=====

❖ Ethnicity-.....

❖ Age

❖ Sex—
=====

❖ Education-
=====

❖ Childhood—
=====

❖ Family background and history—
=====

=====

=====

❖ Social cultural and economic background of family-
=====

=====

Details of the circumstances of child marriage-
=====

=====

❖ Situation post child marriage-
=====

=====

❖ Cultural, health and psychological issues faced post child marriage-

❖ Life experiences post child marriage and present day social, financial and psychological condition-

Personal opinion regarding child marriage-

❖ Role played in discouraging/preventing child marriage-

❖ Comments regarding child marriage-

❖ Suggestions to prevent/reduce child marriage in the community-

Annex—5

Checklist for Focus Group discussions

- ❖ History and back ground of child marriage practice

=====

=====

- ❖ Social, cultural and religious background of child marriage practice

=====

=====

- ❖ Opinions of village people regarding child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Practice and prevalence regarding child marriage in the village

=====

=====

- ❖ Assessment of social, cultural and economic condition of village, communities

=====

=====

- ❖ Discussions on disadvantages related to work arising as a result of child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Views of women, Dalit and ethnic communities on child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Public awareness programs conducted in the village for preventing child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Efforts made by different government and non-government organizations related to child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Efforts made by community based organizations to prevent and control child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Your opinions on child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Suggestions given to prevent and control child marriage

=====

=====

❖ Any other views or opinions

=====

=====

Annex—6

Checklist for key informants

- ❖ Historical, cultural and social back ground of child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Village, person and families where child marriage is prevalent

=====

=====

- ❖ Main reasons of prevalence of child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Steps used to prevent child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Advantages and disadvantages of child marriage

=====

=====

Factors which failed to stop abolish child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Attempts made through GOs, NGOs and INGOs to stop child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Reasons for failure of attempts at stopping child marriage by different agencies and NGOs

=====

=====

- ❖ Social, religious and cultural problems faced by individuals who had child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Opinion regarding child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Suggestions to prevent/stop child marriage

=====

=====

- ❖ Your opinions and views to be added

=====

=====

Annex 7

Name list of the respondents of the district (4 VDC)

Female from Okhreni VDC

S.NO	Name(okhreni,fe male)—41	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female/Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Kamala Tamang	34	Bhalukhop	8	18	19	01,04
2	Kumari Tamang	40	Katunje	9	17	27	01
3	Ratna K. Tamang	34	Purano gaun	9	17	18	01
4	Meena Ghising	46	Katunge	9	16	24	01
5	Bhagawati Lama	30	Arukharka	2			
6	Nir M. Tamang	73	Khoptar	5	18	19	01
7	Nir lila Ghising	29	Khoptar	8	17	25	02
8	Kabita Tamang	43	Chyasku	5	19	20	01
9	Indir Lama	23	Bhalukhop	8	17	19	02
10	Kumari Tamang	43	Bhalukhop	9	17	19	02
11	Kumari Tamang	40	Bhalukhop	8	18	19	02
12	Maiya Tamang	52	Katunge	9	19	19	01
13	Basanti Tamang	30	Lamatol	2	18	19	01
14	Dhan M. Tamang	53	Basbote	9	19	19	01
15	Gyanu M.Tamang	40	Basbote	9	16	24	01
16	Phul M. Yonjon	45	Katunge	9	18	20	01
17	Chanita Ghising	35	Katunge	9	18	19	02
18	Suku M. Tamang	67	Gairatol	9	18	19	02
19	Dil. M. Lama	40	Katunge	9	17	18	02
20	Laxmi Tamang	21	Gaitar	8	18 (9-12gr)	22	01
21	Kamala Tamang	26	Katunge	9	17	25	01
22	Neeree Lama	43	Purano gaun	9	19	20	01
23	Suku M. Tamang	74	Chyasku	5	17	16	01
24	Som M. Bomjon	35	Chyasku	2	19	24	01
25	Kumari Tamang	35	Katunge	9	17	19	02

26	Hari M. Tamang	44	Jaisitol	9	18	19	02
27	Roli Tamang	49	Bhalukhop	8	19	20	01
28	Sangita Tamang	25	Gaitar	8	18 (6—8 gra	22	01
29	Padma Tamang	29	Gaitar	8	17	23	01
30	Ramina Tamang	30	Katunge	9	19	19	02
31	Uma Tamang	40	Goldada	9	17	24	01
32	Dil M. Tamang	36	Arukharka	2	18	19	01,04
33	Jaya K Tamang	30	Purano gaun	9	18	20	02
34	Pancha M.Tamang	30	Khoptar	8	17	22	02
35	Rabina Tamang	25	Basbote	9	18 (6—8gra)	17	01
36	Kumari Tamang	41	Bhalukhop	8	18	20	01
37	Kamala Ghising	71	Gaitar	8	15	30	01
38	Yam M. Tamang	38	Khoptar	8	16	25	01
39	Indra K. Tamang	31	Khoptar	8	17	22	01
40	Phul .M Tamang	56	Katunge	9	17	21	01
41	Sharmila Ghising	23	Lamatol	9	18	20	01

Female from Boljor VDC

S.N.	Name	Age	VDC Bholjor	Ward no	Female/Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Som,maya tamang	21	Betini	4	18 (6-8 grade)	19	02
2	Purna,maya tamang	24	Betini	4	17(literate)	18	02
3	Chini maya tamang	45	Betini	4	19	15	01
4	Laxmi tamang	84	Bbetini	4	16	18	01
5	Mungo maya tamang	61	Betini	4	17	26	01
6	Aita tamang	35	Kubhinde	4	16	22	01
7	Bishnu maya tamang	51	Kubhinde	9	17	20	01
8	Sancha maya tamang	40	Betini	4	17	16	01
9	Alina yonjon	21	Kubhinde	9	17(9-12grade)	18	02

10	Man K Tamang	35	Puchchhara tol	4	17	18	01
11	Januma Tamang	40	Kubhinde	4	17	20	01
12	Bhatari Tamang	52	Kubhinde	9	17	19	01
13	Tuli Mana Tamang	49	Betini	9	17	19	01
14	Janu Yonjan	22	Kubhinde	9	18(6—8)	23	02
15	Tara Tamang	30	Kubhinde	7	17	26	01
16	Sanita Yonjan	22	Kubhinde	4	16	18	01
17	Antari Bomjan	65	Betini	9	15	19	01
18	Ramri Tamang	28	Betini	9	16	19	02
19	Ful Mana Tamang	76	Kubhinde	9	15	14	01
20	Sanchari Tamang	65	Kubhinde	4	17	29	01
21	SunMaya Tamang	59	Betini	7	17	19	01
22	Nani Kanchhi Tamang	65	Betini	9	17	19	01
23	Nani Maya Tamang	44	Kubhinde	9	17	18	01
24	Shanti Tamang	36	Kubhinde	9	17	24	02
25	Nanda Tamang	38	Kubhinde	9	17	19	02
26	Sanu Lama	17	Kubhinde	9	17	18	02
27	Susma Tamang	22	Betini	4	19	19	02
28	Khisna Maya Tamang	37	Kubhinde	9	19	19	02
29	Dhana Maya Tamang	70	Betini	9	15	17	01
30	Maya Tamang	68	Betini	4	17	16	01
31	Janaki K Tamang	65	Kubhinde	7	16	15	01
32	Maya Tamang	38	Kubhinde	9	17	26	02
33	Sanu Maya Tamang	80	Kubhinde	9	17	21	01
34	Anita Moktan	17	Betini	4	17	19	02
35	Manmaya Tamang	49	Betini	4	17	19	02
36	Tuli Tamang	65	Kubhinde	9	16	18	01

Female from Ramechapa VDC

S. N O	Name	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female/Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Urmila Tamang	37	Simenti	7	18	20	01
2	Sunmaya Tamang	45	Lamatol	9	17	20	01
3	Laxmi Tamang	40	Lamatol	9	17	19	02
4	Bhishnu K Tamang	29	Lamatol	9	19	20	02
5	Dhurga K Tamang	38	Salle	2	17	23	01
6	Januka Tamang	33	Lamatol	9	17	26	01
7	Pramila Lama	30	Salle	2	17	22	02
8	Jaya K Tamang	37	Simenti	7	17	18	01
9	Kamala Lama	50	Manetol	9	18	25	01
10	Sunmaya Tamang	48	Simenti	7	14	20	01
11	Sancha K tamang	46	Salle	2	18	20	02
12	Bimala Lama	40	Salle	2	19	21	02
13	Sita Tamang	35	Salle	2	18	21	01
14	Kamala Tamang	40	Salle	2	19	19	02
15	Ramita Tamang	26	Lamatol	9	17	19	02
16	Kiran Lama	33	Lamatol	9	19	21	02
17	Anita Tamang	33	Salle	2	18	21	02
18	Kanchhi Tamang	40	Salle	2	17	20	01
19	Shanta Tamang	37	Bhalukhop	9	18	33	01
20	Sharmila Ghising	30	Lamatol	9	17	32	01
21	Sunita Tamang	39	Salle	2	17	20	01
22	Dilmaya Tamang	34	Lyanglyang	5	18	18	01
23	Sukra maya tamang	30	Simenti	7	19	19	02
24	Bimala Tamang	58	Lamatol	9	17	21	02
25	Dhyoja K tamang	55	Simenti	7	17	18	01
26	Rikhimaya tamang	47	Simenti	7	14	24	01
27	Gori Tamang	90	Simenti	4	18	19	01
28	Shree many tamang	51	Salle	2	17	24	01

29	Somati Tamang	72	Salle	2	17	17	01
30	Sommaya Tamang	55	Salle	2	19	19	01
31	Pancha Maya tamang	59	Simenti	7	16	26	01
32	Sona Maya tamang	56	Lamatol	9	16	17	01
33	Pulmaya Tamang	69	Simenti	7	16	24	02
34	Tara Tamang	23	Lamatol	9	17	24	01
35	Boli Tamang	22	Simenti	7	18	24	01
36	Rama Tamang	24	Lamatol	9	16	23	02
37	Chanamaya Tamang	20	Salle	2	18	22	01
38	Sima Lama	23	Salle	2	17	24	01
39	Laxmi Tamang	24	Simenti	7	19	20	02
40	Prem K Tamang	20	Lamatol	9	19	29	02
41	Maya Tamang	21	Salle	7	17	18	01
42	Laxmi tamang	70	Salle	2	17	25	01
43	Suku maya Tamang	60	Simenti	7	17	19	01
44	Suklaxmi Tamang	75	Lyanglyang	5	16	40	01
45	Dikel Maktang	65	Lyanglyang	5	16	28	02
46	Pulmaya Tamang	72	Salle	2	13	16	01
47	Rami Tamang	69	Salle	2	16	16	01
48	Panchamaya Tamang	70	Lamatol	9	17	20	01
49	Manmaya Tamang	71	Salle	2	18	21	01
50	Sundari Tamang	51	Lamatol	9	17	20	01
51	Pulmaya Ghising	70	Lyanglyang	5	17	22	01
52	Pulmaya Tamang	51	Simenti	7	17	19	01

Female from Sukajor VDC

S.N.	Name	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female / Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Shushila Tamang	38	Gairiganu	9	18	18	02
2	Urmila tamang	26	Bhalukhop	9	17	19	02
3	Sarwati Tamang Bomjan	28	Bhalukhop	8	18	19	01
4	Indramaya tamang	35	Debisthan	9	17	17	01
5	Indramaya Moktan	35	Debisthan	9	17	24	01
6	Shanti Ghising tamang	30	Gairiganu	9	18	19	02
7	Dilmaya tamang	38	Gairiganu	9	17	18	01
8	Nabin Moktang Tamang	32	Debisthan	9	19	18	02
9	Maiya Tamang	50	Chambot	9	17	18	01
10	Bimala Ghising	42	Gairiganu	9	19	18	02
11	Rita Ghising	26	Gairiganu	9	17	22	01
12	Sarita Tamang	36	Gairiganu	9	19	26	01
13	Urmi Tamang Bomjan	76	Chambot	9	19	18	02
14	Nimsang Moktang	74	Debisthan	9	19	28	01
15	Garimaya Tamang	80	Debisthan	9	17	16	01
16	Dilmaya Tamang	25	Bhalukhop	9	17	17	01
17	Sharmila Tamang	22	Gairiganu	9	15	21	01
18	Sita Ghising	24	Gairiganu	9	17	22	01
19	Nina Tamang	60	Gairiganu	9	17	22	01
20	Radha Moktang	30	Chambot	9	16	18	03
21	Chini Maya Tamang	70	Gairigaunt	9	17	22	01

Male from Boljor VDC

S. NO	Name	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female/Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Swasthan Lama	22	Betini	4	21	17	01
2	Bhuddiman tamag	75	Betini, Puchhartol	7	11	15	01
3	SantaK Lama Pakhrin	20	Betini	4	18	18	01
4	KanchhaTamang	22	Betini	4	18	18	01
5	Bir B Tamang	24	Betini	4	19	18	02
6	Samsheer Tamang	40	Betini	4	17	17	01
7	ParshamanTamang	67	Betini	7	17	18	01
8	Abatar Siha Tamang Bomjan	65	Betini	7	19	20	01
9	Ram B Pakhrin	52	Betini	4	17	19	01
10	Man B. Tamang	44	Kubhinde	8	21	20	01
11	Vim B. Lama	29	Betini	4	20	18	02
12	Krishna Bamjan	42	Betini	4	18	19	01
13	Kul B. Tamang	35	Betini	7	18	18	01
14	Purna Tamang	40	Betini	4	18	17	01
15	Uddba Tamang	47	Betini	7	22	20	01
16	Vim B. Tamang	30	Betini,Ma nedada	7	18	18	01
17	Rabi lal Tamang	31	Betini, Manedada	4	20	17	01
18	MangalLama	30	Betini,lam atol	4	19	18	02
19	Mewa Tamang	41	Betini	4	23	21	01
20	Padam B Lama	45	Betini	4	20	18	01
21	Ramesh Tamang	19	Betini	4	17	17	01
22	Lal shing Tamang	64	Betini, Manedada	4	18	12	01
23	Kung lama	51	betini	6	20	21	01
24	Ram bahadur bomjon	38	betini	4	21	19	01
25	Lirvabahadur tamang	42	betini	7	17	17	01

Male from Sukajor

S.NO	Name	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female/Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Chhatra b Tamang,Ghising	59	Chambot	9	19	20	02
2	Man B Tamang	68	Gairiganu	9	19	20	01
3	LakhMan Tamang	53	Chambot	9	20	19	02
4	Man B Tamang	73	Hilepani	6	17	18	01
5	Bala B Tamang	48	Chambot	9	19	19	01
6	Dambar B Tamang	28	Mudekhola	4	19	20	01
7	Yubaraj Tamnag	29	Mudekhola	4	19	20	01
8	Purna Tamang	40	Gairiganu	9	17	18	01
9	Chaturman Tamang	50	Debisthan	9	19	17	01
10	Chhatra B Tamang	37	Debisthan	9	17	20	01
11	Chuda Raj Tamang	30	Bhalukhop	9	19	16	01
12	BamBahadur Tamang Ghising	52	Debisthan	9	16	18	02
13	Man B Tamang Maktang	60	Chmabot	9	17	19	02
14	Ghyan B Maktang	39	Debisthan	9	18	20	01
15	Khim Bahajur Maktang	34	Gairiganu	9	19	20	02
16	Padma Bahadur Tamang	58	Debisthan	9	16	16	01
17	Ajam Bahadur Tamang	59	Bhalukhop	9	18	19	01
18	Om bahadur tamang(salu vdc)	50	Debisthan	9	18	20	01

Male from Ramechapa VDC

S.NO	Name	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female/Age at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1.	Sanu harkaman Tamang	85	Salle	2	18	18	01
2.	Raju Ghising	31	Salle	9	15	14	02
3.	Anil Tamang	20	Bhalukhop	9	18	19	02
4.	Sujit Lama	24	Vangeri	9	19	19	02
5.	PremK Tamang	25	Salle	2	19	19	01
6.	Bhishnu Tamang	22	Maneda da	9	18	18	02
7.	Krishna tamang	41	Lyanglyan	5	22	19	01
8.	Nabaraj Lama	35	Lamatol	9	17	17	01
9.	Nabaraj Ghising	35	Lyanglyan	5	20	18	01
10.	Milan Tamang	32	Salle	2	14	15	01
11.	Min B. tamang	40	Salle	2	17	18	01
12.	Yam B Tamang	49	Bhalukhop	9	16	18	01
13.	tula Raj Lama	45	Lamatol	9	15	18	01
14.	dhan Bahajur Muktang	80	Lynglyn g	5	16	13	01
15.	Bhin Btamang	20	Salle	2	9	19	01
16.	Nabin Muktang	35	Lynglyn g	5	18	18	01
17.	Pasang Dhokar	33	Salle	2	18	20	01
18.	Nagendra tamang	28	Salle	2	18	19	01
19.	Subas Tamang	35	Salle	2	10	20	02
20.	Hem Bahadur Tamang	45	Salle	2	18	20	01
21.	Ghyane Tamang	37	-	9	24	19	02
22.	Gopal Tamang	47	Simenti	7	17	20	01
23.	Kamal tamang	27	Simrenti	9	19	19	02
24.	Asal sing Tamang	29	Lamatol	9	17	19	02
25.	Teja B. tamang	43	Salle	2	19	20	01
26.	Bhupat tamang	41	Salle	2	20	19	01
27.	Badri B.Tamang	43	Salle	2	18	20	01
28.	Sudhir lama	23	Lamatol	9	17	17	02

29.	Tikhe Tamang	81	Simenti	7	14	20	01
30.	Sanes Tamang	22	Salle	2	18	18	02
31.	Mulak B. tamang	33	Salle	2	19	20	01
32.	Pasman Lama	36	Salle	2	19	20	01
33.	Bhom B. Tamang	36	Salle	2	20	20	01
34.	Dhan B. Tamang	55	Salle	2	22	20	01
35.	Sarn Sing Lama	55	Salle	2	17	19	01
36.	Santar B. Tamang	51	Salle	2	19	19	01
37.	Kamising Tamang	61	Salle	2	17	19	01
38.	Man Bahadur Tamang	61	Salle	2	20	21	01
39.	Imansing Ghising	79	Salle	2	22	20	01
40.	Sakuren Tamang	55	Simenti	7	20	19	01
41.	Bitu Bahadur Lama	70	Salle	2	18	19	01
42.	Abatar tamang	51	Lyanglyang	5	21	20	01
43.	Bhim B. tamang	73	Salle	2	20	19	01
44.	Bhim B. Dhokar	58	Salle	2	16	18	01
45.	Krishna lama	25	Salle	2	18	19	02
46.	Dipak Tamang	42	Salle	2	16	16	01
47.	Saroj Ghising	25	Salle	2	20	20	01
48.	Rajesh Tamang	35	Salle	2	18	20	01
49.	Mangale Ghising	50	Salle	2	22	20	01
50.	GhyanBahadur Tamang	27	Salle	2	17	16	01
51.	Hem Bahadur tamang	46	Salle	2	21	20	01
52.	Ambar Bahadur Tamang	37	Maneda da	9	16	18	01
53.	Dilli Sher Muktang tamang	40	Lyanglyang	5	17	20	01
54.	Ram Kumar Tamang	30	Simenti	7	17	19	01

Male from Okhreni VDC

S.NO	Name	Age	VDC	Ward no	Female/Ag e at marriage	Husband age at marriage	Kinds of marriage
1	Ram K. tamang	25	Gaitar	8	17	17	02
2	Ganja Man Pakhrin	44	Jhagaretar	2	17	18	01
3	Nimraj Tamang	49	Katunje	9	21	20	01
4	Jay Bahadur tamang	30	Katunje	9	19	19	02
5	Hari B Tamang	50	Khoptar	8	18	19	01
6	Kulendra Tamang	38	Gaitar	2	17	19	01
7	Hem K. Ghising	30	Basbot	9	18	19	01
8	Prem B.Ghising	40	Dagali	2	23	28	01
9	Daminart Lama	27	Gaitar	8	17	17	02
10	Khyan Bahadur Tamang	39	Gaitar	8	15	17	01
11	Chitra K.Tamang	28	Katunje	9	16	19	02
12	TejendraTamang	28	Khoptar	8	20	17	01
13	Dhan B Tamang	47	Bhalukhop	8	18	17	02
14	Krishna B Ghising	30	Gaitar	8	16	18	01
15	Keshar B. Tamang	41	Aarugharka	2	17	18	01
16	Man Bahadur tamang.	45	Dadalama tol	9	17	18	02
17	Seep B. Tamang	35	Gaitar	8	15	18	01
18	Bol Bahadur Tamang	47	Katunje	9	16	19	01
19	Krishna Tamang	41	Gaitar	5	22	19	01
20	Yubaraj Tamang	42	Aarukharka	8	18	19	01
21	Hem Bahadur ghising	48	Basbot	9	17	19	01
22	Kesare tamang	47	Aarugharka	2	19	17	01
23	Chakra B Maktang	35	Dadatol	8	21	19	02
24	Imaraj Tamang	31	Gaitar	1	18	19	01
25	Gangaram tamang	34	Sautol	3	18	19	01
26	Prithe Tamang	42	---	1	23	19	01
27	Meg Bahadur Ghising	47	Gaitar	8	19	17	01
28	Bhakta B. Tamang	40	Masimodada	8	16	32	02
29	Yashman tamang	48	Khoptar	8	17	19	01
30	Rup Bahadur tamang	38	Gaitar	8	17	18	01
31	Pre B. tamang	33	Gaitar	8	20	19	01
32	Chana B. tamang	44	Gaitar	8	19	20	02
33	Hira Bahadur tamang	38	Katunje	9	16	19	02
34	Khem Bahadur Tamang	28	Katunje	9	17	18	02
35	durga B.Tamang	40	Puranoganu	1	18	20	01

36	Tukraj Tamang	20	Khoptar	---	18	19	01
37	Man Bahadur Tamang	53	Katunje	9	18	20	01
38	Bhim Bahadur Tamang	59	Basbot	9	19	20	01
39	Padm Pakhrin (Tamang)	70	Jhagaretol	2	19	18	01
40	Some Tamang	60	Gairatar	8	17	19	03
41	Laxman Tamang	65	Pakhatol	9	20	19	01
42	Ram Bahadur Tamang	65	Gaitar	8	20	19	01
43	Jay Kumar Tamang	58	Chhyasku	6	20	18	01
44	Min Bahadur Ghising	55	Bastol	8	20	20	01
45	Imansing Tamang	77	Gaitar	8	13	18	01
46	Bir Bahadur Tamang	58	Gaitar	8	22	20	01
47	Min Bahadur Tamang	60	Gaitar	8	17	19	01
48	Lok Bahadur Tamang	55	--	1	24	19	01
49	Chhabin Ghising	20	Khoptar	8	20	20	02
50	Dhana Bahadur Tamang	45	Gaitar	8	19	20	02
51	Motilal Tamang	20	Bhalukhop	9	18	19	01
52	Dal Bahadur Tamang	24	Khuotar	8	18	19	02
53	Tikaram Tamang	19	Gaitar	9	17	19	02

Annex 8

Photographs of the Activities of Research Area



Bhalukhop VDC



Tamang boy on the wedding ceremony



Bhalukhop VDC



Interview with the lama priest by researcher



Focus Group Discusson, Gauri Shankar Higher Secondary School, Ramechhap



Interview with Tamang woman in Bhaluwajor VDC



Research VDC



Sukajor VDC



Tamang home with flag, Bhaluwajor VDC



Chief district officer, Army, Police,



Principal and other key informants in the interview



Research VDC



Research VDC



Discussion with key informants and VDC Secretaries



Local Mela (Hata) organized in Ramechhap, VDC



A popular fruit called junar of Ramechhap District



Office building at Manthali



Cultural Program Organized in the Research VDCs

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