



UÇAN SÜPÜRGE
KADIN İLETİŞİM VE
ARAŞTIRMA DERNEĞİ
FLYING BROOM WOMEN'S COMMUNICATION
AND RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

OXYMORON: 'CHILD' AND 'MARRIAGE'

Child Marriage in an Era of Polycrisis
Rapid Assessment Report





Two words that should not come together:
'Child' and 'Marriage'

Child Marriage in an Era of Polycrisis Field Research Rapid Assessment Report

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The role of the philosopher is to show what is happening and the basis of what is happening, and to help those who do not see this basis to see it. Because only then can one give direction to what is happening, set limits to action, and look with hope at the endeavours to provide people with the possibility of living humanely.

”

İoanna Kuçuradi

İnsan ve Değerleri: Değer Problemi, 1971

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ABBREVIATIONS

CRC United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

CEDAW United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

ERI Education Reform Initiative

ESHID Association for Monitoring Equal Rights

HURIDOCS Human Rights Information and Documentation Systems

ILO International Labour Organisation

IOM International Organisation of Migration

KÖVED Association for Freedom and Equality for Women

OCHA United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

TPC Turkish Penal Code

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UN Women United Nations Women's Division

Prologue

At the Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association, which we founded in 2008 with the aim of ensuring gender equality in all areas, protecting and improving the human rights of women and girls, we have never stopped making visible the words, experiences and efforts of girls and women. We draw attention to the damage, inequalities and rights violations caused by sexism, racism, speciesism, ageism, ableism, homophobia, adultism, and all other discriminatory actions and discourses to both humanity and living and non-living beings on this planet, through written or visual tools in every field we can contribute to, and with the people and communities we interact with in every environment we are in. We regard rights advocacy as a whole and focus on solidarity with all neglected and ignored segments of society.

As a manifestation of our inexhaustible hope, this research is a 'collaborative effort' to reveal how the deepening inequalities, deprivations and discriminatory policies caused by inadequate, sloppy, exclusionary and incompatible responses to emergencies that have become persistent in an era of polycrisis affect the human rights of children and women, and to influence policy priorities and resource planning allocated for implementation to be prepared and resilient to crises.

Our project was funded under the Economic and Social Rights of Disadvantaged Groups in Türkiye through Monitoring and Advocacy Partnerships, implemented in partnership with the Association for Monitoring Equal Rights (ESHİD) and Human Rights Information and Documentation Systems (HURIDOCS), supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Türkiye under the Thematic Programme on Human Rights and Democracy. We run this project in cooperation with the Association for Freedom and Equality for Women (KÖVED), aiming to reveal the current situation of child, early and forced marriage, taking into account the post-earthquake social dynamics, possible risks and data.

The field research we conducted in Adana, where KÖVED is located, enabled us not only to generate data, but also to see the need for social policy to protect the human rights of women and girls in contexts such as migration and humanitarian crises, poverty, gender inequality, access to education.

We would like to thank ESHİD and HURIDOCS not only for financial and technical support, but also for their contributions that improved our evidence-based advocacy capacity in the context of data management.

Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association

Terminology and Approach of the Research and the Analysis Report

While preparing the question set of the field research that is the subject of this report, and while analysing the data and writing the report, we took a rights-based approach as a basis:

We noted the cultural background of the interviewees with the name of the country they came from, not their nationality, such as 'Afganistanlı (from Afghanistan)' instead of 'Afghan'. While paying attention to the diversity of the interviewees in the neighbourhoods where the surveys were conducted, we analysed the data carefully in order not to cause any stigmatisation or discrimination against those communities. As we have been saying for years, one of the ethical responsibilities of this research was not to ignore the fact that child, early and forced marriages cannot be attributed to certain geographies and that this violation of rights can occur anywhere in the world for similar reasons.

While preparing the question set, we focused on asking the questions in the most understandable way, taking into account that the level of knowledge and perception of the people we will encounter in the field may differ, and we kept the concepts pronounced by the respondents intact while transferring the answers we received to the data analysis report. For example, we used the expression 'housewife', which we do not see as a profession and prefer to define as 'unpaid domestic worker', without changing it, again in line with research ethics.

In the question set, we also included some propositions to measure perceptions and attitudes. These were some prejudices, presuppositions or opinions that we always encounter in everyday language shaped by the dominant culture in the country we live in. For example, 'It is understandable for a boy who impregnates a girl to marry her'. The responses of the participants to these propositions provided important information about the view on the phenomenon of child marriage in the society.

We did not prefer to abbreviate some concepts/terms as we have frequently encountered in other sources related to our study topic. Thus, we tried to express our approach that 'Rights violations cannot be abbreviated' in this report. For example, we wrote child, early and forced marriages instead of CEFM, and gender-based violence instead of GBV.

Both during the research phase and in the writing of the report, we also referred to the bases of our information, data and interpretations: national laws and international conventions to which we are party, which have been developed to protect children from all forms of neglect, abuse, violence and discrimination. We did not adopt a language that accuses a community, region or institution; we reminded constitutional obligations and tried to produce information and data that would form the basis for policies to be developed to prevent child marriages.

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Mosaic Workshop
11 July 2024, Local Humanitarian Forum (TIF)-Local
Development and Coordination Centre, Harbiye-Hatay

PROLOGUE



Child Marriage in an Era of Polycrisis

Every year, 12 million girls in the world are married off illegally or in an attempt to legalise the status quo, under the name of tradition or belief, under the pretext of consent, or through overt coercion. It is estimated that 650 million women and girls and 115 million men and boys are married before the age of 18. If no measures are taken, it is estimated that 950 million people will be married as children by 2030 and 1.2 billion by 2050. Global crises such as pandemics, conflict, occupation and wars, migration and displacement, and climate change violate the rights of girls as well as all vulnerable groups. The COVID-19 pandemic alone added 10 million more cases of child marriage to the statistics. Most importantly, these crises roll back hard-won gains. Capitalist patriarchy and deepening gender inequality in all areas of life are the two biggest obstacles to the realisation of women's human rights, including child, early and forced marriage. Because from economic depressions to the climate crisis, from conflicts to all forms of discrimination, these are the two factors that set back human rights at the global level today. [1]

Child, early and forced marriage is a global human rights violation that encompasses a range of practices involving the marriage of children below the age of consent, often against their will and without their informed consent. It negatively affects many aspects of the right to an equal, free, dignified, healthy and safe life, including the right to education, protection from violence and access to sexual and reproductive health services. The United Nations classifies child marriage as a practice that disproportionately affects girls and is a consequence of gender inequality, reflecting deeply entrenched social norms that devalue girls and women, often prioritising familial or economic interests over the welfare of the child. [2]

As emphasised in the Joint General Recommendation No. 31 of the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and No. 18 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on Harmful Practices and General Recommendation No. 32 of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 'harmful practices are rooted in discrimination based on sex, gender, age and other grounds and are often legitimised by appealing to socio-cultural and faith-based traditions and values, as well as misperceptions of women and children from certain disadvantaged groups'. In these documents, child, early and forced marriages, which are among the harmful practices 'endemic among a wide range of communities in many countries of the world', are defined as violations of the right to the child, violence against children, gender-based violence, discrimination and crimes against humanity.

[1] Quoted from Flying Broom Association's Atlas of Child Marriages (2024).

[2] United Nations, Human Rights Report, 2020

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Child marriage not only violates people's fundamental rights, but also negatively impacts development efforts by impeding the achievement of many global goals, including gender equality, education, economic growth and ending poverty. Child marriage is an obstacle to the realisation of a more just and equitable society in which individuals can contribute to and benefit from sustainable development.

”

**Photo:**

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Talking Photos Workshop
13 July 2024, Zeytun Çocuk ve Yaşam Alanı,
Antakya-Hatay

The international community has committed to the elimination of child marriage through instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Sustainable Development Goals.

Goal 5.3 of the Sustainable Development Goals calls on States to end all harmful practices such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation by 2030. This is a powerful advocacy tool for parliamentarians to demand improved action and resources to ensure accountability within a clearly defined timeframe and at the state level. The target is an entry point for dialogue at the national level on how to strengthen existing initiatives to tackle child marriage and accelerate progress to end the practice by 2030.[3]

Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which is another important international commitment and of which Türkiye is a signatory, points to the State's obligation to 'take all legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child against physical or mental assault, violence or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, abuse or ill-treatment of any kind, including rape, while in the care of his or her parents or one of them alone, or of his or her legal guardian or guardians, or of any person having care of him or her'.

The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, in its concluding observations on the combined fourth and fifth country reports[4] of Türkiye, made the following recommendations:

- Implementation of the minimum age of marriage as 18 years without exception
- Adopting the National Strategy and Action Plan on the Prevention of Early and Forced Marriage and addressing gaps in coordination mechanisms,
- Establishment of protection plans for those harmed,
- Preparation of action plans to combat child marriage in all provinces,
- Mainstream awareness-raising campaigns targeting refugee communities on the harmful effects of child marriage on girls' physical and mental health and well-being.

[3] Translated into Turkish by Flying Broom Association as Handbook on Role of Parliamentarians in Stopping Child Marriage, abridged from the publication of Global Partnership Network to Stop Child Marriage - Girls Not Brides. <http://ucansupurgedernegi.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Cocuk-Yasta-Evlilikleri-Durdurmak-Konusunda-Parlamentarlerin-Rolu-El-Kitabi-Ucan-Supurge-Dernegi.pdf>

[4] States parties to international conventions are obliged to submit Country Reports to the committee of the relevant convention at certain intervals. The country report not submitted in its own period was sent as a consolidated report in the next reporting period.

Similarly, Article 16 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), referring to the definition of a child in the first article of the CRC (a person under the age of 18) and the unconditional best interests of the child in all cases, states the obligation of States parties to the Convention to prevent the condoning or legitimising of the marriage of minors.

Recommendation No. 21 of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women entitled 'Equality in marriage and family relations' provides additional clarifications to Article 16 of the CRC: 'The Committee sets the minimum age of marriage at 18 years for men and women. Women and men assume important responsibilities when they marry. Therefore, marriage should not be permitted unless the parties are of full age and have the capacity to act.' In its concluding observations on the eighth periodic report of Türkiye, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women recommended that 'the State party should adopt legislation prohibiting child marriage and setting the minimum age of marriage at 18 for men and women, and continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate polygamous and child marriages, including unregistered religious marriages, and require the official registration of all marriages'.

LEGAL AGE OF MARRIAGE: 18
WITH FAMILY APPROVAL: 17
WITH COURT RULING: 16



The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women and Girls, its Causes and Consequences, [5] who paid an official visit to Türkiye from 18 to 27 July 2023, similarly, emphasised that 'the legal age of marriage under the Turkish Civil Code is 18, but marriage is permitted at 17 with the consent of parents or guardians and at 16 with the approval of a judge in exceptional cases'. The Special Rapporteur made similar recommendations to the Committee on the Rights of the Child and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: 'More effective efforts should be made to eliminate child marriage, including through an explicit prohibition of child marriage in the Penal Code and de facto tolerance of religious marriage. Efforts to raise awareness of the harmful effects of early marriage on the health and development of girls should be strengthened. Awareness-raising efforts in this area should be carried out in line with the joint recommendation/general comment No.31 of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and No.18 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on harmful practices.'

[5] Press release: <https://turkiye.un.org/tr/192234-birle%C5%9Fmi%C5%9F-milletler-kad%C4%B1na-ve-k%C4%B1z-%C3%A7ocuklar%C4%B1na-y%C3%B6nelik-%C5%9Fiddet-nedenleri-ve-sonu%C3%A7lar%C4%B1-%C3%B6zel>

The reflection of these international conventions and standards on national legislation is as follows:

According to the Turkish Penal Code (TPC);

A parent or guardian who marries off a child under her/his care commits more than one offence specified below:

- Threat, blackmail (Art.106-107)
- Obstruction of the right to education and training (Art.112)
- Instigating or assisting in the commission of the offences of sexual abuse or sexual intercourse with a minor (Art.103-104) (Art.38-39)
- Human trafficking (Art.80)
- Violation of the obligation of protection, supervision, assistance and notification (Art.97-98)
- Maltreatment (Art.232)
- Violation of the obligation arising from family law (Art.233)
- Marrying a child with an unofficial marriage despite being married (Art.230)

Offences committed by mediating and witnessing marriage:

- Religious ceremonies and aiding and abetting the offences of sexual abuse or sexual intercourse with a minor (Art.103-104) (Art.39 and Art.230): Those who perform religious ceremonies may be charged with aiding and abetting the commission of the offences of sexual abuse and sexual intercourse with a minor due to the facilitating nature of this act.
- Violation of the obligation to notify (Art. 97-98): Violation of the obligation of protection, supervision, assistance and notification may be claimed for those who witness the marriage by attending the wedding etc.

Failure to report a crime:

- When a public official (judicial and administrative authorities, law enforcement officers, village and neighbourhood headperson, municipal police officers, persons in charge of educational institutions and other public institutions and organisations) learns that a crime has been committed in connection with her/his duty and neglects to notify the competent authorities or delays in this regard (Art.279).
- Members of the health profession (physicians, dentists, pharmacists, midwives, nurses and other persons providing health services) who, while performing their duties, come across an indication that an offence has been committed and neglect or delay in notifying the competent authorities (Art.280).



Child marriage is a serious threat to girls' education in particular.



The disruption and prevention of school attendance, completion of compulsory education and graduation has economic[6] as well as individual development and learning effects. Individuals who are married as children have lower access to education, which limits their access to potential employment opportunities and livelihoods. Research by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)[7] reveals the link between child, early and forced marriage and child labour. ILO defines child marriages as 'modern slavery' and shows that girls who marry at a young age have limited chances to achieve economic independence due to their low labour force participation rates. These girls are often forced to take care of household chores and care for family members, which is a barrier to access to professional career development and career opportunities.

Therefore, child marriage has tangible and measurable effects that lead to violations and discrimination not only in the focus on the human rights of children or women but also in the context of economic, social and cultural rights.

The first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child emphasise the standard that 'everyone/every child has the right to education' and thus the state's obligation to ensure, protect and prevent its violation. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art.16) defines education as being directed towards the full development of the personality and sense of dignity of the person and as including policies and techniques which strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, enable effective participation in a free society, are open and accessible to all (Art.6), and include policies and techniques to ensure the orderly economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment of the individual under conditions which protect his or her fundamental economic and political freedoms.

By signing and ratifying all these international conventions, Türkiye has undertaken to make the relevant arrangements in its domestic law.

[6] International Center for Research on Women, World Bank, Economic Impacts of Child Marriage: Global Synthesis Report, 2017

The Berkeley Economic Review, The Economics of Child Marriage, 2018

[7] Boender, Carol, The Relationship between Child Labour and Child Marriage: A discourse analysis, UNICEF, Kathmandu, 2021



However, girls in Türkiye are pushed out of the education system due to the consequences of gender-based discrimination, stereotypes and inequality, such as unpaid care work at home or work outside the home, child, early and forced marriage, child pregnancy and motherhood.

As emphasised in the introduction of the Education Monitoring Report 2023 published by the Education Reform Initiative (ERI) in November 2023;

- Successive crises affect girls and women more. It is estimated that 80 per cent of those displaced by climate change-related disasters are women and girls, and one in five of these women and girls have been subjected to sexual violence.
- Disasters and epidemics sharpen already existing inequalities. Girls, especially girls in adolescence, are most adversely affected by crisis situations in which gender inequality is further deepened.
- Intersectional situations that make children vulnerable, such as poverty and disability, increase risks such as child, early and forced marriage; sexual and physical violence, exploitation and abuse; domestic care burden; and disengagement from education processes. In such periods, it is of critical importance to ensure the physical and emotional safety of girls and their ability to continue their education.

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Collage Workshop
13 July 2024, Zeytun Çocuk ve Yaşam Alanı,
Antakya-Hatay

We are in a time of spiralling ecological, economic and social crises, particularly the climate and biodiversity crisis. Conflict, climate disasters, the ongoing effects of COVID-19 and the cost of living are increasing the risk of child marriage and threaten to reverse progress on girls' rights.

Evidence from the last 30 years shows that conflict-affected girls are 20 per cent more at risk of child marriage than girls living outside conflict zones.[8]

Children's rights organisation Save the Children has called on governments around the world to conduct research to better understand how the 4Cs (COVID, Conflict, Climate Change and the rising Cost of Living) can be prevented from reversing progress towards ending child marriage, and to keep the promises made to girls in their own laws and in global commitments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Sustainable Development Goals.

Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association continues to work to improve national laws and practices to prevent child, early and forced marriages, which is a violation of human rights, and to protect and advance rights through regulations in line with international legislation.

We hope that the field observations and data in this report will not only provide information to civil society organisations working for the prevention of child marriage, but also encourage governments to produce up-to-date and country-wide data, as data-based advocacy is critical in transforming social policies and putting pressure on decision-makers.

[8] Recommendations to Governments, the United Nations, Business and Civil Society Organisations to Prevent Child Marriage in Conflict Zones, Save the Children, translated into Turkish by Flying Broom Association: <http://ucansupurgedernegi.org/wp-content/uploads/Catisma-Bolgelerinde-Cocuk-Yasta-Evlilikleri-Onlemek-icin-Tavsiyeler.pdf>

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Storytelling Workshop
12 July 2024, Mızraklı Şeyh Seğd Ziyareti,
Samandağ -Hatay

OUR ISSUE AND RESOURCES



Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association was founded in 2008 with the aim of spreading the perspective of gender equality and empowering women and girls. Since 2010, the Association has been carrying out projects aimed at preventing child marriages and protecting and promoting the human rights of girls, conducting regional study visits, and working in cooperation, collaboration and solidarity with civil society organisations, national and international organisations, local and global networks and platforms working in the field of combating child marriage in Türkiye and other countries. As a result of all these activities and the sharing of experience and knowledge, the Association felt the need to carry its activities focused on combating child marriage to the second decade within a programme by 2023, including how the COVID-19 pandemic, disasters/crises/epidemics affect child marriages. Thus, the **Advocacy Programme on Combating Child Marriage** was designed by the Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association. The objectives of the programme are;

- Understanding the changing dynamics of child marriage (global crises such as climate change, migration and displacement)
- Diversifying means of struggle (digital generation)
- Producing information and data on the appearance of this problem in intersectional areas (child /early/forced marriages in Roma, refugee, disabled, LGBTI+ communities)

For these purposes; monitoring and communication activities in parallel with the objectives of the development agenda, community-based activities, reporting to international human rights mechanisms, projects for the multi-faceted empowerment of girls, etc. will be carried out.

In the aftermath of the Kahramanmaraş centered earthquakes on 6 February 2023, like many rights defenders in Türkiye, we, as Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association, devoted our efforts to solidarity work by participating in both sector groups coordinated by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA) (such as education, protection, child protection and gender-based violence) and civic platforms led by civil society organisations and activists to monitor the human rights situation and urgent needs with a gender and inclusion approach, advocate and report on feminist security for children and adults.

In this way, we have experienced and advocated that humanitarian interventions and disaster management and preparedness are linked to rights-based actions. For example, the criticality of the relationship between education and child protection or the importance of monitoring human rights issues (needs and baseline) for evidence-based response and policy planning have been proven once again.

This is also included in the sub-grant program of the Project on Supporting the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of Disadvantaged Groups in Türkiye through Monitoring and Advocacy Partnerships, supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Türkiye and carried out in partnership with the Monitoring Association for Equal Rights (ESHİD) and Human Rights Information and Documentation Systems (HURIDOCS). We applied to engage in rights-based advocacy that demonstrates relationality.

Our aims were;

- To make visible the direct and indirect effects of the social, economic, political and ecological consequences of the crises on child, early and forced marriage practices in communities, households and settlements experiencing discrimination and rights violations.
- To reveal the changing dynamics of child marriages.
- To produce information and data for advocacy on the solution of this problem in intersection areas.

In addition, we aimed to influence policy priorities and resource planning allocated for practices in order to be prepared and resilient to crises by revealing how disasters experienced in the age of mpolycrisisaffect the deepening inequalities, deprivations and discriminatory policies on the human rights of children and women.

On 6 February 2023, we conducted field research in Adana to answer the question of what are the direct and indirect effects of the social, economic, political and ecological consequences of the Kahramanmaraş centred earthquakes on the practices of child, early and forced marriage of girls in communities, households and settlements experiencing discrimination and rights violations.

Method and Limitations

Using the rapid assessment method, the scope of the research was limited to revealing the situation of child, early and forced marriage in socioeconomically disadvantaged households and immigrant or nomadic (foreign nationals under temporary protection, international protection, etc. and seasonal migrant agricultural workers) communities in Adana. Data and information were obtained from;

- Surveys administered to 206 adults
- A workshop held with 11 girls between the ages of 10-17
- Semi-structured interviews with 7 institution representatives in Adana

Rapid Assessment is an initial review to uncover hypotheses about the focused problems and causes, identify possible immediate intervention points and strategies, and encourage further research, analysis and advocacy in this context. Rapid assessment is an important opportunity to gather information before designing an intervention; It is used to supplement or refine existing data. [9] The main purpose is to eliminate the lack of data and information and to reveal the general situation.

“Rapid Assessment is a research methodology that uses a variety of data collection strategies simultaneously to provide an understanding of a specific social reality or situation in a specific socio-cultural context. It is usually done for the purpose of formulating a project or other type of intervention.” [10] The purpose of the research is not to create a representative sample. The rapid assessment was not intended to be representative, but instead offered an initial discovery that could inform further research and engagement and influence more specific questions in the future. Therefore, the main aim is to uncover the root causes of the problems in order to develop a forward-looking approach.

[9] <http://www.endvawnow.org/en/articles/1541-rapid-assessments.html>

[10] ILO-UNICEF (2000) Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment. Examples: UNICEF, Centre for Education and Professional Development Step-by-Step, Terre des Hommes Romania, Centre for Health Policies and Services, Council of Institutionalized Youth, World Bank, World Health Organisation (2020) Rapid assessment of the situation of children and their families with a focus on the vulnerable ones in the context of the COVID-19 outbreak in Romania.

Hayata Destek Derneği (2021) Deri Kadar Değerli mi? Türkiye’de deri sanayi işçisi ve üreticisi olmak. Kalkınma Atölyesi Kooperatifi (2018) Türkiye’de Ayakkabı İmalatında Çocuk İşçiliği Hızlı Değerlendirme Raporu. Kalkınma Atölyesi Kooperatifi (2018) Türkiye’de Mobilya İmalatında Çocuk İşçiliği Hızlı Değerlendirme Raporu.

Considering the difficulties in accessing key sources of information, especially children (under 18 years of age) and their parents/caregivers/families from whom information/data can be obtained, as well as time and resource constraints, face-to-face interviews with 200 adults and approximately 10 representatives of institutions/organisations were envisaged.

Prior to the fieldwork, a face-to-face workshop on gender and children's rights with a small number of girls over the age of 10 was added to this planning. Since collecting data directly from children on the subject carries a high degree of child protection and child safety risk, a closed workshop was held in a safe environment for children's observation, experience and knowledge transfer, led by a facilitator who is an expert and experienced in child participation and child rights.

Flying Broom Association's Child Safety Policy Document and Code of Conduct, Child and Adult Consent Forms were specificized for the research, taking into account the research needs and the project purpose. In addition, ethical procedures were determined for the workshop with children.

Data collection was based on the declarations of the respondents. Therefore, the risk or existence of child marriage was accepted as data to the extent they declared. A child protection case management process that would require the intervention of third parties or public administration was not carried out by the Flying Broom Association or other civil society organisations in the cluster or the people employed in the project.

However, according to Article 6 of the Child Protection Law No. 5395, 'Judicial and administrative authorities, law enforcement officers, health and education institutions, non-governmental organisations are obliged to report children in need of protection to the Social Services and Child Protection Agency.'

For this reason, the Action Plan Note in Case of Risk Detection, which was prepared by Flying Broom Association by making use of UNFPA's Legal Information Guide for the Prevention of Child, Early and Forced Marriages, Development Workshop Cooperative's Identification and Referral Guide for the Prevention of Child Marriages in Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Worker Families, and Nirengi Association's Abuse-Violence-Child Marriage Information Note was shared with those who would take part in the field research. In addition, a meeting with a special agenda was held to discuss the risks and steps to be taken in possible scenarios in case of a possible case or risk declaration (especially those who answered during the survey that their own child is married or will be married soon) in terms of the safety/security of the participant (and his/her child), the interviewer, KÖVED and Flying Broom Association and the work of cluster member CSOs. The meeting, where the representatives of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and Sened Association shared their knowledge and experience on field observations, institutional policies and workflows, also contributed to the action plan of the field research.

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Storytelling Workshop
12 July 2024, Yaylıca Dayanışma Evi, Samandağ-Hatay

KNOWN AND RECURRING REALITIES: RESEARCH FINDINGS

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies' Methodological Principles for Feminist Research in their 1993 book Ecofeminism, which sets out the “dedication of Women's Studies to the goal of Women's Liberation”, guided us throughout the entire process from field research design, data collection, data analysis to the writing of this report. Because, like Shiva and Mies, we always prioritise making the human rights of girls and women and their words, experiences and efforts visible and indispensable by saying ‘experience and struggle come before theoretical research’ [11].

Methodological Principles for Feminist Research

- Value judgement-free research: partial identification with research objects with conscious bias
- More authentic and valid data collection with a bottom view instead of a top (vertical) view
- Seeing research as an integral part of the struggle: integrating research into social and political action
- ‘If you want to know something, you have to change it.’: Confronting real social relations, seeing the deception
- Making the research process a process of consciousness-raising: examination, expression and manifestation of the oppressed
- Collective consciousness raising accompanied by research into women's individual and social history
- Women taking over their own history by collectivising their own experiences

[11] Shiva and Mies (1993), Page 32

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Sculpture Workshop
13 July 2024, Zeytun Çocuk ve Yaşam Alanı,
Antakya-Hatay

Since 2010, as in all our work on combating child, early and forced marriages, in this research, we aimed to make the needs and obligations visible, audible and known in order to realise the human rights of girls and women and to prevent violations of rights. For this reason, we looked closely at individual and social prejudices, i.e. perceptions and attitudes among the root causes of child marriage.

In Türkiye, which is going through one of the most difficult years of the era of polycrisis, earthquakes, floods, displacement and the economic crisis have brought many problems in the field of social policy, increasing and deepening inequalities, poverty and discrimination to the surface and made them uncoverable. UNICEF[12] and UN Women expressed the risk of an increase in child marriages after the earthquake; they included this issue in the first identification studies they carried out in the region after the earthquake. In the Provincial Action Plans for Combating Early and Forced Marriage workshops, UN Women aimed to revise the plans of 27 provinces by taking into account the risks that may occur during natural disasters.



[12] <https://www.unicef.org/turkiye/bas%C4%B1n-b%C3%BCtenleri/t%C3%BCrkiyede-meydana-gelen-depremlerden-iki-ay-sonra-insani-yard%C4%B1ma-ihiya%C3%A7-duyan-25>

In this framework, we conducted **a face-to-face survey with 206 adult women over the age of 18 in May 2024** to investigate the impact of the complex effects of the crises on the human rights of girls and women, and in particular on violence against children, violations of children's rights and the criminalisation of child marriage. Yüreğir district (in Adana province), which has neighbourhoods with low socioeconomic development indicators and received migration from Hatay, Kahramanmaraş and Gaziantep immediately after the earthquake, was selected for the survey.

'Although it has decreased in recent years, the wave of migration to our district has brought along unplanned construction and infrastructure problems. This migration wave causes problems in construction and adaptation. Our district is the most migrant attracting district in Adana province due to its mild climate zone and the suitability of its land for agriculture.' [13] (Yüreğir Municipality)



Source: Wikipedi

The information obtained from **face-to-face interviews with representatives of various institutions and organisations [14] in Adana**, the data obtained from the survey conducted in a total of 9 locations [15] in Yüreğir district of Adana, excerpts from the answers given by the participants to open-ended questions and observations of the survey team, and the Metropolitan Municipality Department of Women and Family Services in Adana, The transmissions made in **the workshop conducted with 11 girls aged 10-17** at the Women's Life Centre established in cooperation with the Women's Coalition and the Association for Women's Freedom and Equality (KÖVED) were made available to the public for evidence-based intervention and policy planning through three different and interrelated advocacy tools:

- The Rapid Assessment Report available on the online Information and Document Centre of Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association.
- Data entry into Uwazi, an open-source database tool developed by HURIDOCS.
- Advocacy Campaign conducted using Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association's social media accounts and website, as well as visits to MPs.

[13] <https://yuregir.bel.tr/yuregir-hakkinda/>

[14] The interviewed institutions and organisations were Adana Provincial Directorate of National Education, Adana Provincial Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation, Adana Metropolitan Municipality Department of Women and Family Services, Seyhan Municipality, Yüreğir Municipality, Adana Bar Association Women's Rights Centre, Freedom and Equality Association for Women.

[15] 19 Mayıs, Akdeniz, Anadolu, Bahçelievler, Çağdaşkent, Güneşli, Yamaçlı, Yeşilbağlar districts and Doğankent tent-city.



SURVEY

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Short Film Story Workshop
12 July 2024, Servas Peace School, Antakya-Hatay



NEIGHBOURHOODS

19 Mayıs Neighbourhood

RATIO **NUMBER (persons)**

13.6% **28**

Akdeniz Neighbourhood

30.6% **63**

Anadolu Neighbourhood

0.5% 1

Bahçelievler Neighbourhood

8.7% 18

Çağdaşkent Neighbourhood

0.5% 1

Doğankent Neighbourhood Tent City

30.6% **63**

Güneşli Neighbourhood

1% 2

Yamaçlı Neighbourhood

5.8% 12

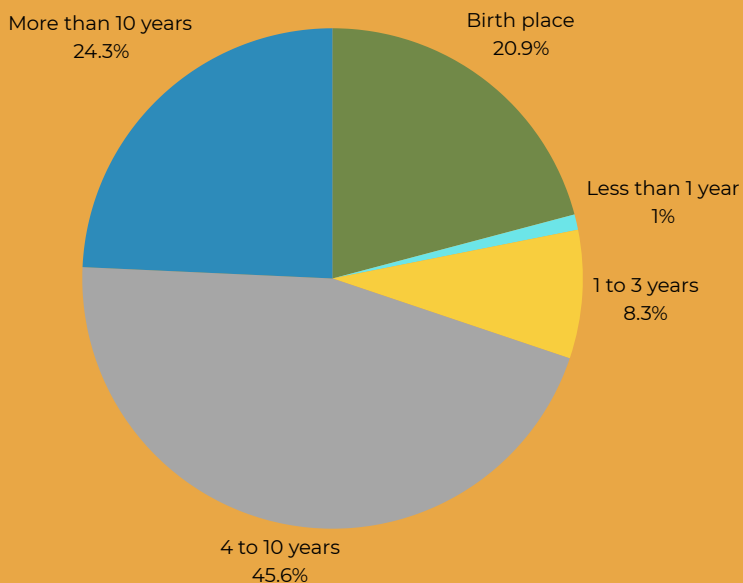
Yeşilbağlar Neighbourhood

8.7% 18



A total of **206** women from 9 locations in Yüreğir district of Adana participated to the survey.

Duration of stay/living in Adana



Only 3 participants stated that they came to Adana because of the earthquake. The survey was conducted approximately 1.5 years after the 6 February Kahramanmaraş centered earthquake. During this period, various factors such as the establishment of container centres for shelter and the completion of the repair and strengthening works of the houses that were not destroyed, the opening of businesses to meet basic needs (food, water, etc.), the opening of schools to continue education, the reopening of state institutions and workplaces in the provinces of the earthquake zone close to Adana (Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Gaziantep) resulted in the return of those who migrated to Adana from these provinces to their hometowns or to another province [16].

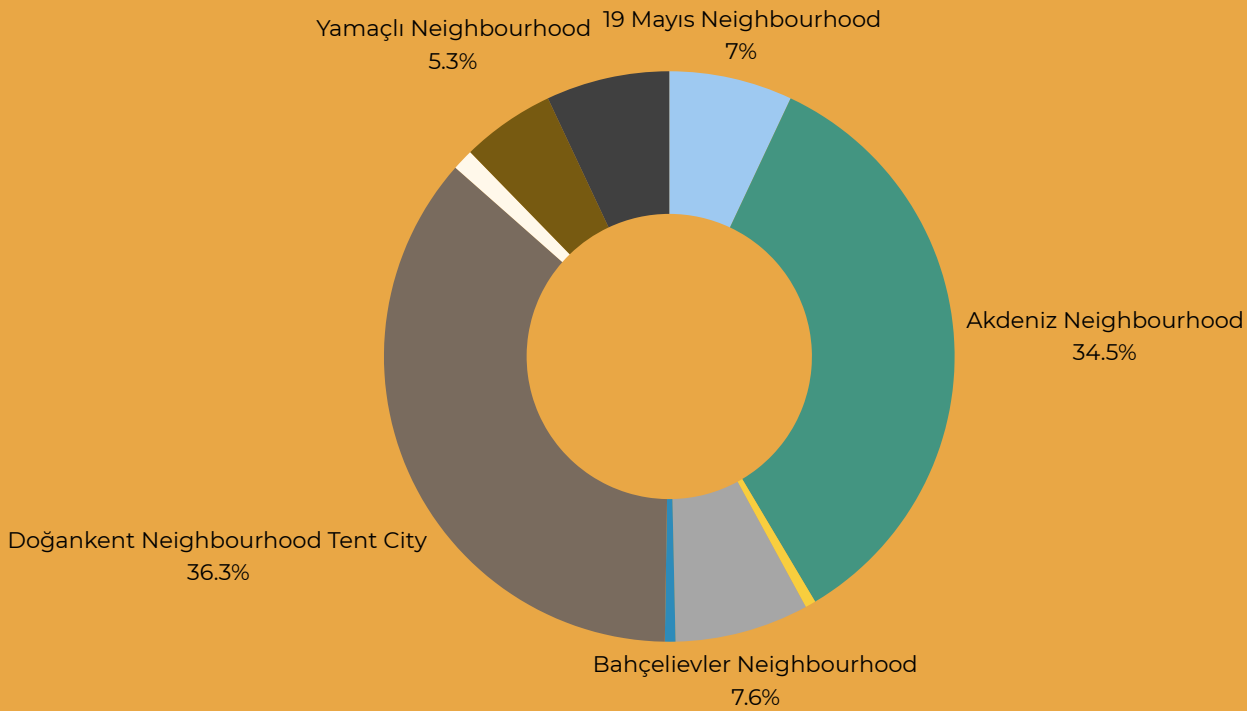
[16] Information obtained during institutional interviews.



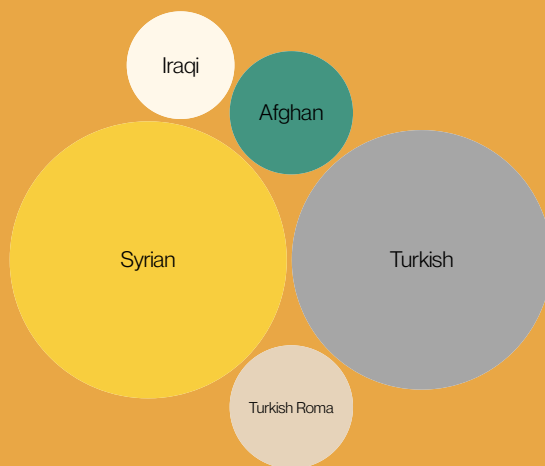
Participants who were married off before 18 years of age according to their neighbourhood (ratio)



171 respondents got married before the age of 18.



Participants were mostly from Akdeniz Neighbourhood and Doğankent Neighbourhood Tent City. Participants who were married off before the age of 18 (171 respondents in total), were also from these neighbourhoods.



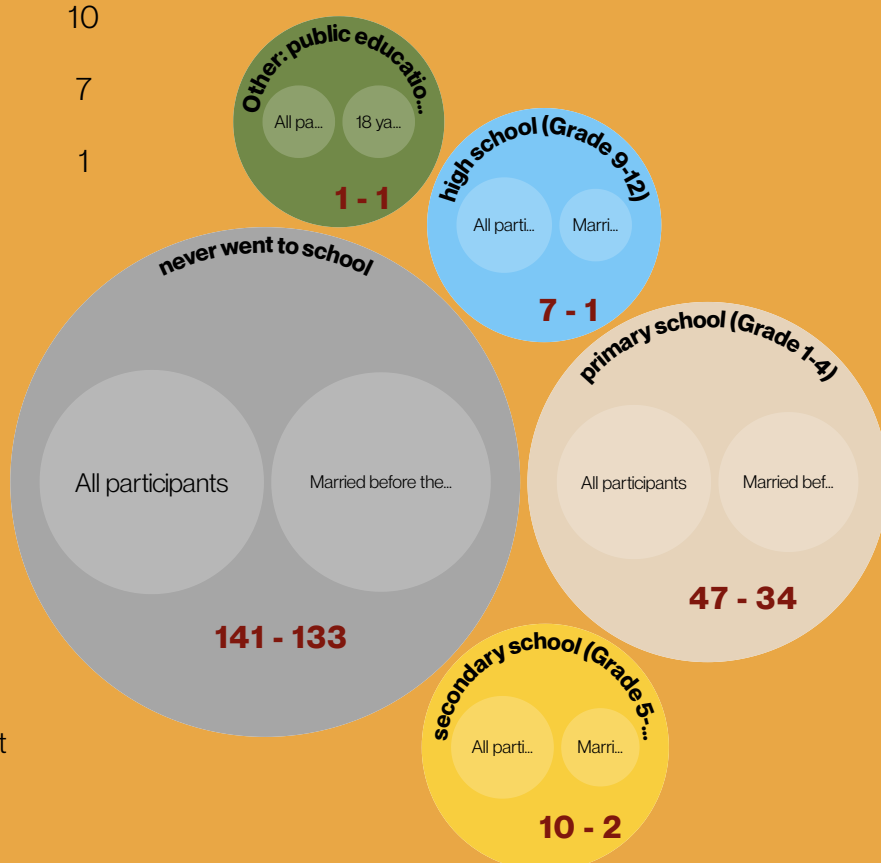
AGE	RATIO	NUMBER	NATIONALITY	RATIO	NUMBER
19-30	32%	66	Turkish	42.7%	88
31-40	26.2%	54	Turkish Roma	2.4%	5
41-50	23.8%	49	Syrian	51.5%	106
51-60	15%	31	Afghan	2.4%	5
60+	2.9%	6	Iraqi	1%	2

Half of the participants were from Syria (106 respondents) and the other half were from Türkiye (88 respondents). There were also a small number of participants: Roma (5 respondents), from Afghanistan (5 respondents) and from Iraq (2 respondents).

EDUCATION	RATIO	NUMBER
never went to school	68.4%	141
primary school (Grade 1-4)	22.8%	47
secondary school (Grade 5-8)	4.9%	10
high school (Grade 9-12)	3.4%	7
Other: Public Education Centre 2nd level literacy	0.5%	1

Educational status (number)

Approximately two-thirds of the participants (141 respondents) have never attended school. Among the respondents who were married before the age of 18 (171 respondents), approximately three-quarters (133 respondents) have never attended school. In terms of nationality, most of the respondents from Syria (106), half of the Turkish respondents (88), half of the Turkish Roma respondents (45) and all of the respondents from Afghanistan (5) stated that they had never been to school.



Approximately two-thirds of the respondents (142) were housewives and one-third were agricultural workers (47). While 69 per cent of the housewives and 81 per cent of the agricultural workers have never been to school. The rest are mostly primary school graduates.

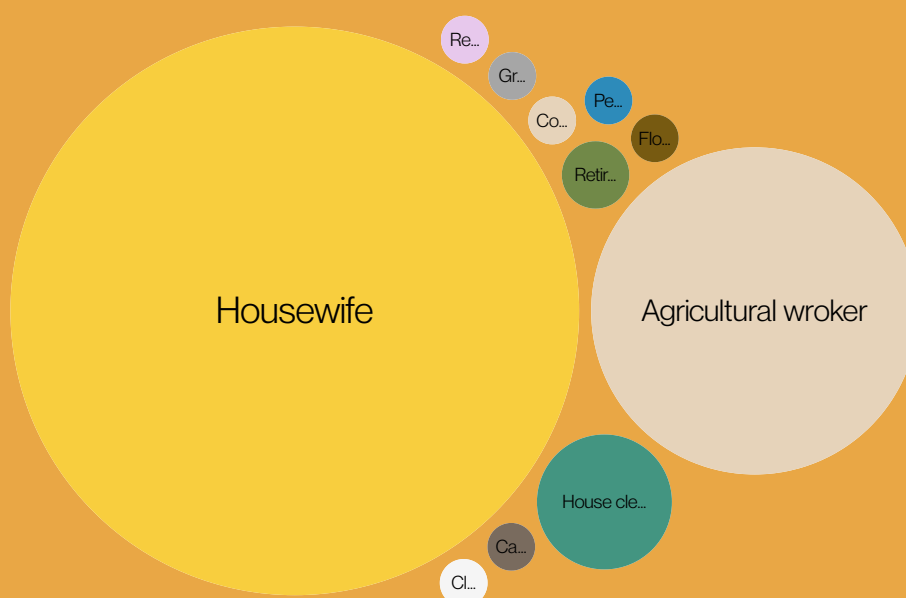


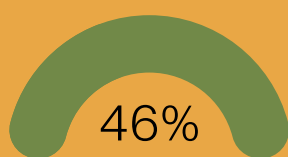
OCCUPATION	RATIO	NUMBER
Cook	0.5%	1
Caregiver	0.5%	1
Grocery	0.5%	1
Florist	0.5%	1
Retired	1%	2
Housewife	68.9%	142
House cleaner	3.9%	8
Peddler	0.5%	1
Repairperson	0.5%	1
Agricultural worker	22.8%	47
Cleaning person	0.5%	1

Housewife: 98 respondents (never went to school)



Agricultural worker: 38 respondents (never went to school)

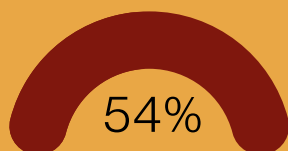




WORKING
(95 respondents)

Employment:

- 6.8% (14 respondents) are working regularly,
- 8.3% (17 respondents) are working irregularly,
- 31.1% (64 respondents) are seasonal workers.
- 49.5% are agricultural workers (47 respondents), 34.7% are housewives (33 respondents).



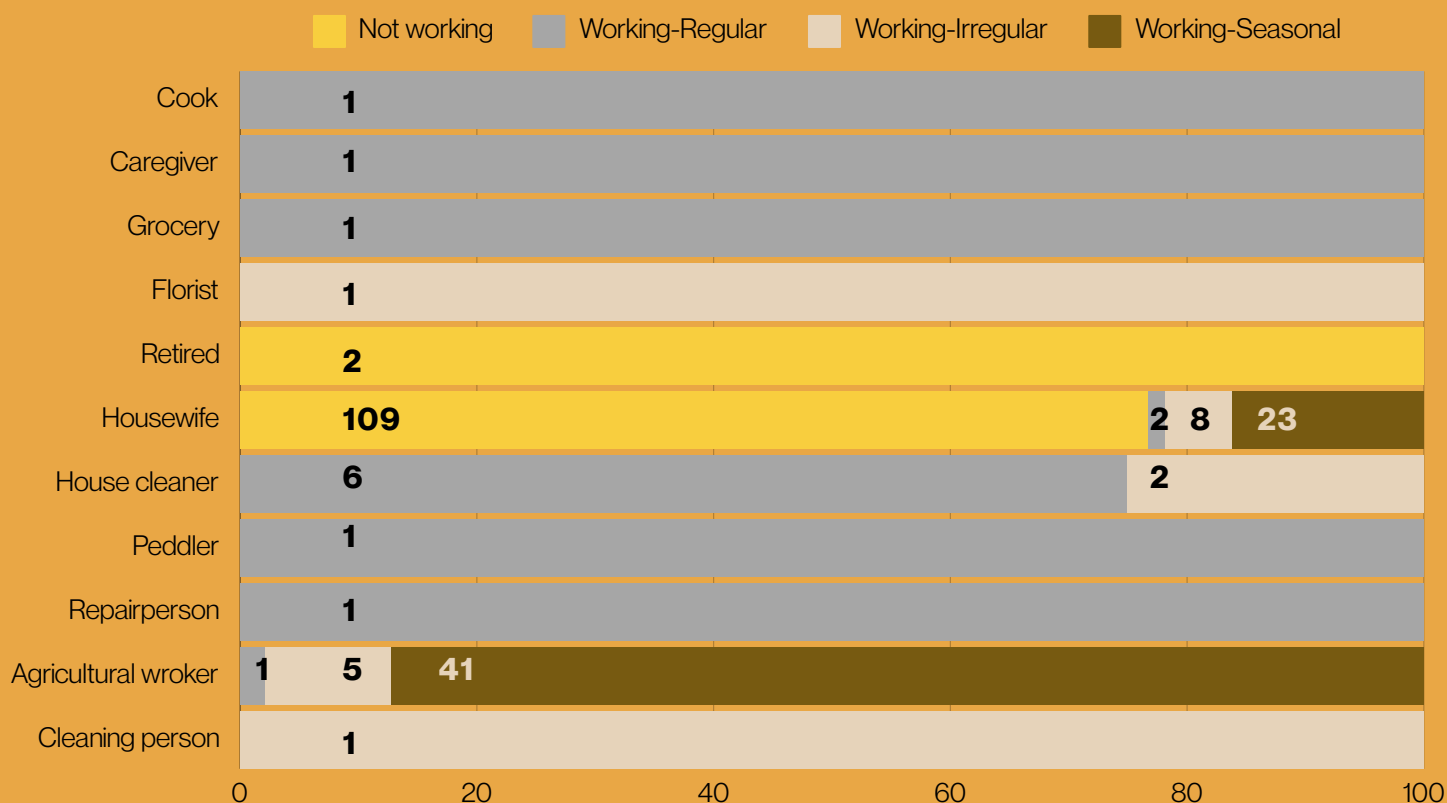
NOT WORKING
(111 respondents)

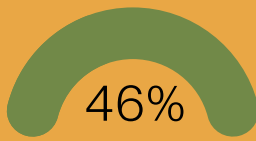
Those who are not working:

- 98.2% are housewives (109 respondents).
- 54.1% had never worked (60 respondents).
- 13.5% are unemployed and looking for a job (15 respondents).

Other reasons for not working were as follows: Having a baby, pregnancy, illness or health problems, due to age, housework and taking care of children, taking care of grandchildren/ill mother-in-law, retirement, helping husband (in grocery business), becoming unemployed as a result of migration due to earthquake, husband forbids wife from working.

Working Status of the Participants (number)

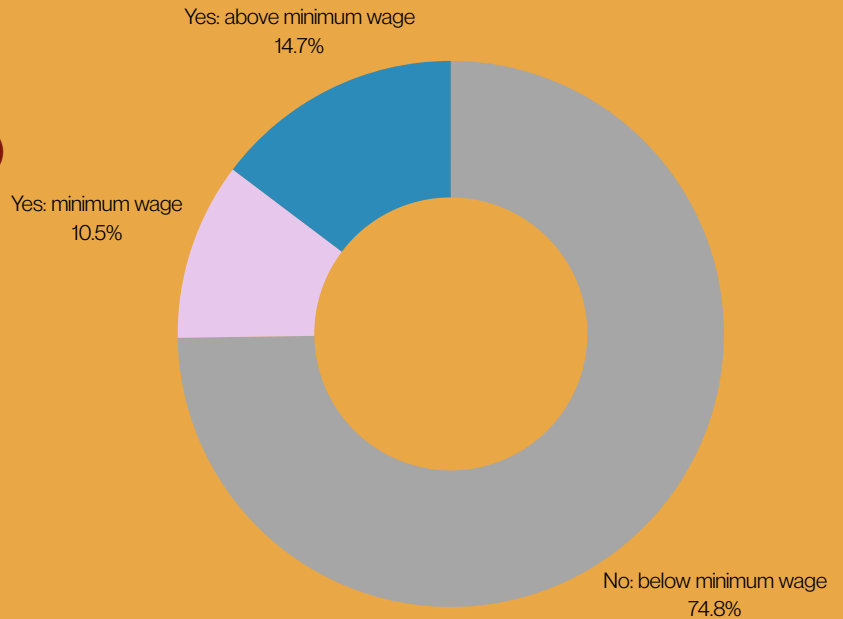
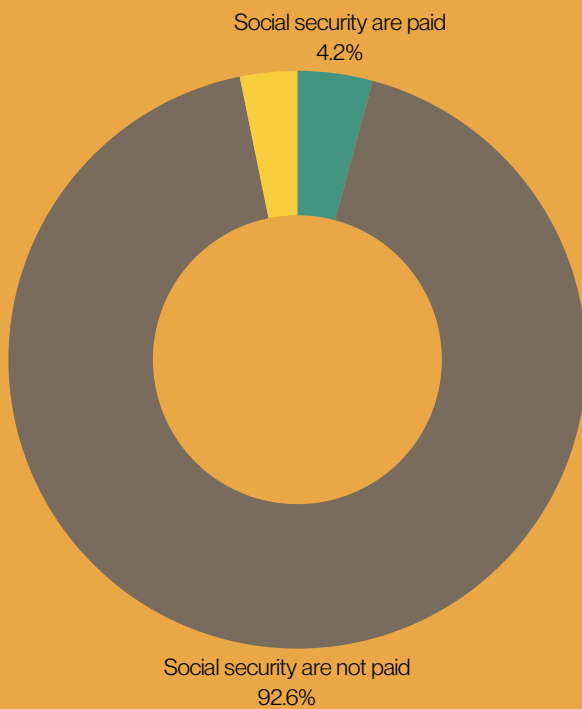




WORKING
(95 respondents)

Monthly earnings of participants who are working in comparison to minimum wage (ratio)

Social security status of participants who are working (ratio)

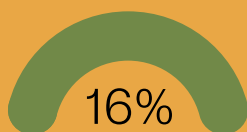


The survey is conducted with **206** women.

Only 7 out of 95 respondents who are working, stated that their social security contributions are being paid.

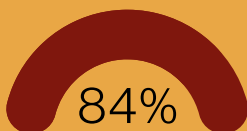
Those with Bağ-Kur (a type of social security that is paid as if self-employed) are cleaning workers. Those whose social security contribution are being paid by their employer are agricultural workers, grocers, peddlers and carers. When the monthly earnings of the employees are compared with the minimum wage, it is observed that the majority (71 respondents) earn an income below the minimum wage.

When asked about the sources of income of the household, the majority (194 respondents) answered that the salaries/wages of the individuals in the household constitute the household income.



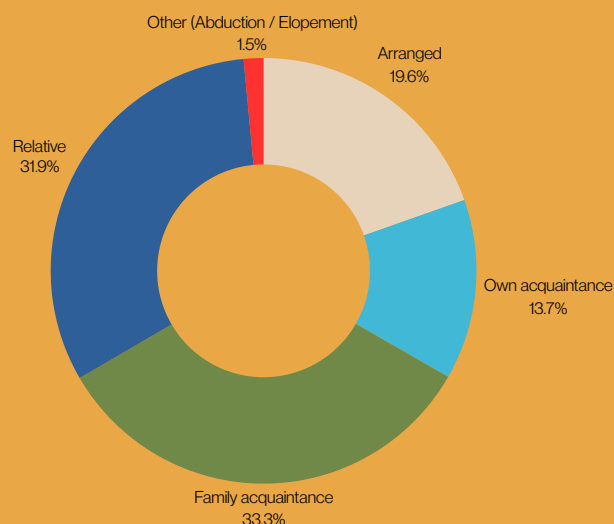
Marriage over the age of 18:
33 respondents

204 of 206 respondents stated that they were married, while 2 respondents stated that they were not married.



Marriage under the age of 18:
171 respondents

Acquaintance with the spouse (ratio)



Of those who were married, 83.8% were married when they were a child.

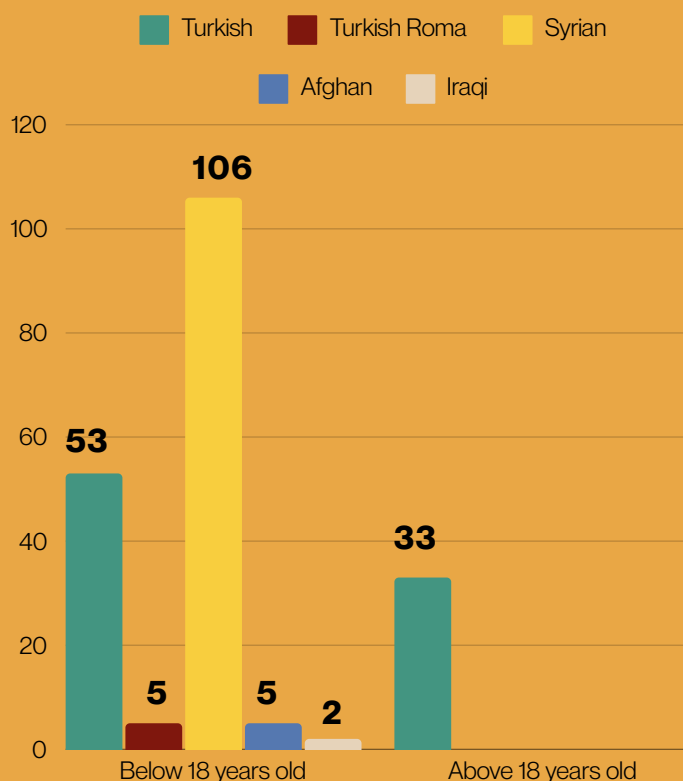
- All respondents from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, and all Roma respondents.
- 61.6% of those from Türkiye (53 respondents).
- Majority is 15 years old (59 respondents) and 16 years old (49 respondents).

42.2% (86 respondents) of those who were married have siblings [17] who were married before the age of 18.

- 34% of all respondents from Türkiye, 40% of Roma, 58.5% from Syria, 80% from Afghanistan, 50% from Iraq.
- 77.8% of all respondents from Türkiye, 77.8% of Roma, Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis have siblings who were married before the age of 18.

Regardless of gender, siblings (older or younger) were married off between the ages of 14-17, with the majority at the age of 15-16.

- Among Turkish people, mostly arranged marriages (27 respondents)
- Among Roma people, their own acquaintances (5 respondents)
- Among Syrians, their family acquaintances (46 respondents).

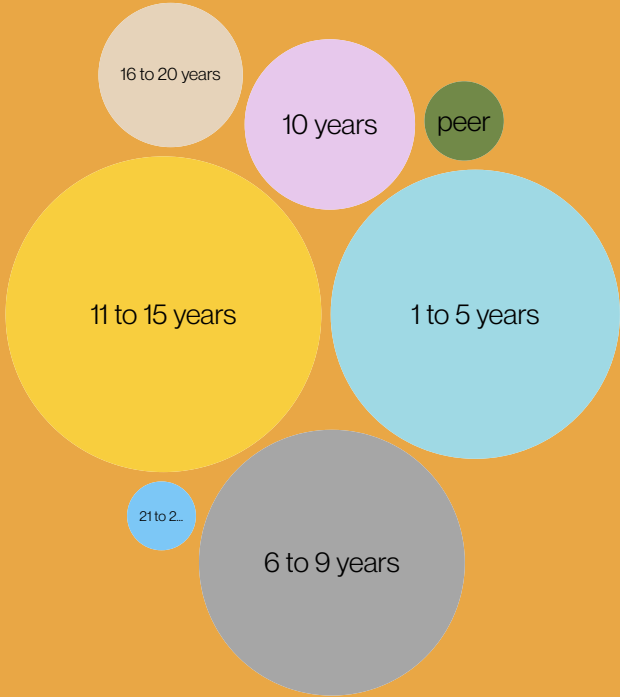
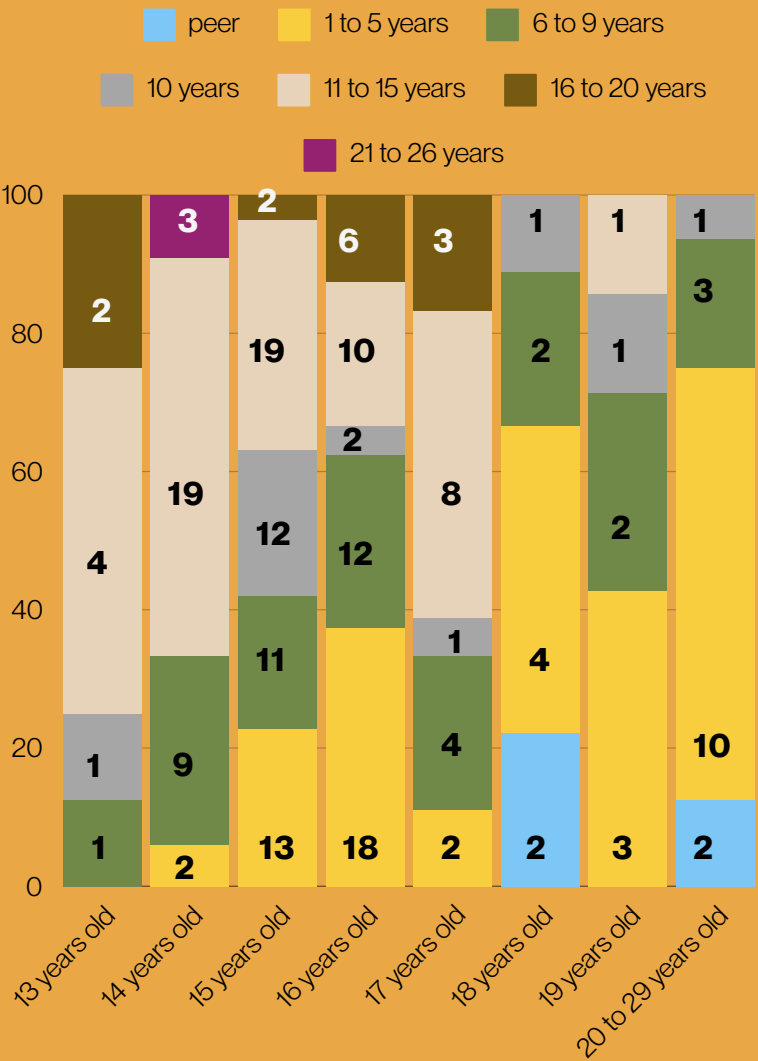


[17] 204 out of 206 participants stated that they were married, 2 stated that they were not married. 7 of them were married more than once. 2 participants have no siblings: Therefore, 204 data was analysed. About half of these 204 participants are from families with more than one child.

The analysis based on the responses of 196 participants shows that the density is 1-5 years for Turks, 11-15 years for Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis.

- Among those who answered the question;
- 57.6% (33 respondents) were married at the age of 14,
 - 33.3% of those married at the age of 15 (57 respondents),
 - 20.8% (48 respondents) of those who were married at the age of 16, were married off to **a person 11 to 15 years older than themselves.**

Age difference with the spouse (number)



When asked about the age difference with the person they got married to, 6 participants did not answer the question, one participant said that her husband was older than her but did not give any information, one participant said that her husband was 2 years younger than her, 9 participants said that their husbands were in their 20s (average calculated as 25), 4 participants said that their husbands were in their 30s (average calculated as 35).

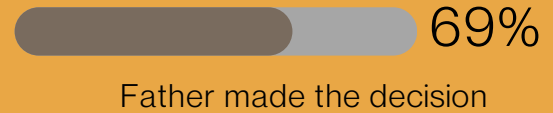
Married participants

WHO DECIDED THE MARRIAGE RATIO NUMBER

My decision 26% 53

Dad decided 69.1% 141

Other (family elder, uncle, grandfather etc.) 4.9% 10



Participants who were married before the age of 18

WHO DECIDED THE MARRIAGE ORAN SAYI

My decision 22.8% 39

Dad decided 74.3% 127

Other (family elder, uncle, grandfather etc.) 2.9% 5



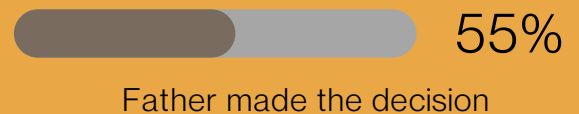
Those with siblings who were married before the age of 18 [18]

WHO DECIDED THE MARRIAGE RATIO NUMBER

My decision 42.5% 37

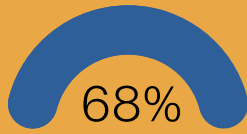
Dad decided 55.2% 48

Other (family elder, uncle, grandfather etc.) 2.3% 2

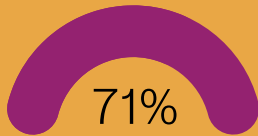


Only Roma participants (5) answered as 'It was my decision'.

[18] 87 respondents shared that they have sibling(s) who were married before the age of 18.



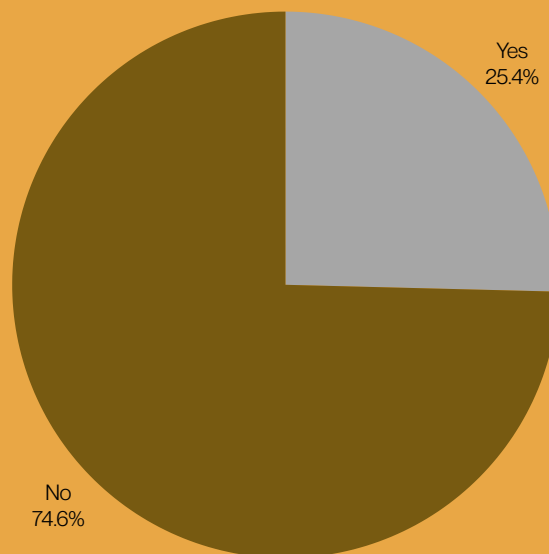
Those who lived with their spouse's family after marriage (all respondents)
139 respondents



Those who live with their spouse's family after marriage (married before the age of 18)
171 respondents

66.7% of housewives (141 respondents) and 78.7% of agricultural workers (47 respondents) answered as 'with my husband's family'.

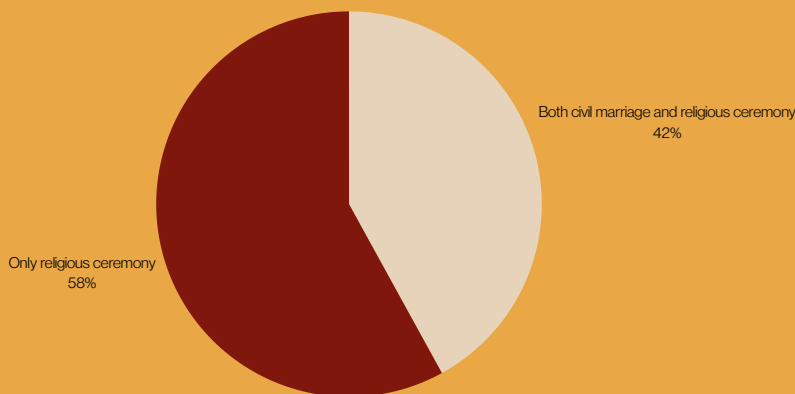
Have you been engaged before marriage? (rate)[19]



Slightly more than half of the respondents from Türkiye (43) have been engaged, almost all Roma, all respondents from Afghanistan and Iraq and almost all from Syria (98) did not experience engagement period before marriage. Those who said yes, were engaged for 1 to 2 years. For the majority, the engagement period is 5 months or 1 year. 56.9% of those who were married before the age of 18 and 43.1% of those who were married after the age of 18 were engaged.

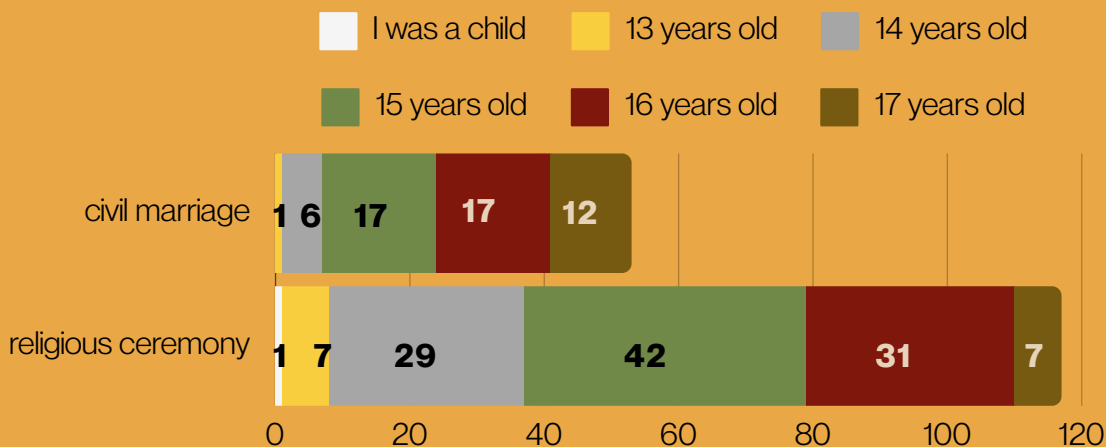
[19] Among 204 married respondents, 3 did not answer. The answers of 201 participants were used for analysis.

Marriage status with civil marriage and/or religious ceremony (proportion)[20]



118 participants stated that they were married only with a religious ceremony.

Civil and religious marriage situation of those married before the age of 18 (number)



79.1% (68 respondents) of the Turkish and all of the Roma (5 respondents) have both civil and religious marriages. **88.6% of Syrians (93 respondents), all of the Afghans (5) and Iraqis (2) only had religious ceremony.**

68.8% (117 respondents) of those who were married off before the age of 18[21] had only religious ceremony.

Among those who had both a civil marriage and a religious ceremony, 31.8% had a civil marriage in succession (on the same day, within a few days or within a week), 16.5% had a civil marriage (religious ceremony first) within 5 years, and 12.9% within 4 years.[22] For those who were married before the age of 18, having a civil marriage after a religious ceremony is directly proportional to the need for the official permission/application of their parents to turn 17 or 18 upon reaching the age of majority or the need for civil registration of children born. For this group, the official marriage after the religious ceremony is mostly in 5 years (24.5%) and 4 years (20.8%) later.

[20] Among 204 married respondents, 3 did not answer this question. Thus, 203 data were used for analysis

[21] 170 out of 171 respondents who were married before the age of 18, answered this question.

[22] The question about the time between religious ceremony and civil marriage was answered by 81 out of 85 participants who had both: one participant could not remember, 3 participant did not answer.

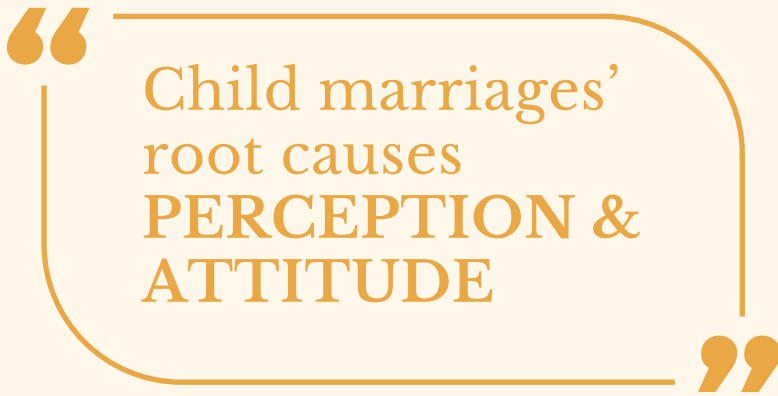
Number of children [23]

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	RATIO	NUMBER	
1	1%	2	12 married respondents and 2 unmarried
2	8.3%	16	respondents have no children. The 192
3	21.4%	41	respondents who stated that they have
4	31.3%	60	children, have a total of 882 children.
5	15.6%	30	The average number of children per
6	7.3%	14	participant was 4.6.
7	5.7%	11	
8	2.6%	5	Of those who have children, 84.4% (162
9	1%	2	respondents) were married before the
10	0.5%	1	age of 18 [23]. Respondents who have
11	2.1%	4	children: Roma (5), Syrians (101), Afghans (5)
13	0.5%	1	and Iraqis (2). 62% of Turkish respondents
15	0.5%	1	(49) have children.
16	0.5%	1	
18	0.5%	1	
No answer	1%	2	

In response to the question ‘Are any of your children under the age of 18 engaged?’, only one respondent answered that her 17-year-old daughter was engaged and will get married next year.

However, there were some cases where the research team suspected that the respondents did not share the true information about their married or engaged children.

[23] 170 out of 171 participants who were married before the age of 18 answered.



**Behaviour
as a result of ‘own will/free will’?**

OR

**Is it an internalised manifestation of social pressure,
social roles, judgements, expectations?**

For this purpose, looking at perception, the attitude caused by perception and then drawing attention to this attitude reveals root causes, problems and systems that need to be changed. It also reveals both social transformation and the realisation of human rights. Of course, whether these reasons change (positively or negatively) or remain constant should be read and analysed by taking into account the elements of the time experienced (such as pandemics, disasters, crises, elections and changes in country governance). And these findings should be used to inform efforts and actions to eliminate inequality and discrimination and reduce or eliminate potential risks.

We asked the participants about the ‘judgements, perceptions and attitudes’ that ‘excuse’ and ‘normalise’ child marriages and that are considered among the root causes as revealed by many studies in the literature.

During the design phase of the questionnaire, we thought a lot about ‘the way some of the concepts [24] in the sentences are used in everyday language’ and ‘the way they should be and transform’ in terms of feminist ethics and rights-based approach. In the end, we decided to use these concepts in everyday language that the participants would understand.

[24] ‘A girl who elope with her boyfriend’, ‘a boy who elops his girlfriend’, ‘a girl who falls pregnant’, ‘a boy who impregnanates a young woman’, ‘a grown man who gets pregnant’, ‘abortion (abortion of a baby)’



Child marriages' root causes:

PERCEPTION & ATTITUDE

AGE, PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

- It is understandable for an adolescent GIRL, i.e. a girl who has started menstruation/menstruation, to get married.
- Marriage of an adolescent BOY is understandable.

PROTECTION

- It is understandable to marry off an adolescent GIRL child to protect her from harassment and abuse.
- It is understandable to marry an adolescent BOY to protect him/her from harassment and abuse.
- It is understandable to marry an adolescent GIRL child in order to protect him/her from crime, substance abuse, etc. risks on the streets.
- It is understandable to marry an adolescent BOY to protect him/her from risks on the streets such as getting involved in crime, substance abuse, etc.

SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP

- Marrying the GIRL who elopes with her boyfriend right away is understandable.
- Marrying the BOY who elopes with his girlfriend right away is understandable .
- It is understandable marrying the adolescent GIRL to the person who she had sexual intercourse with.
- It is understandable marrying the adolescent BOY to the person who he had sexual intercourse with.
- Marrying a pregnant GIRL is understandable.
- It is understandable for a BOY who impregnates a girl to marry the girl.
- It is understandable for an adult man who impregnates a girl to marry her.
- May a pregnant girl have an abortion?

Child marriages' root causes:

PERCEPTION & ATTITUDE

INTRA-FAMILY DYNAMICS

- If the father has passed away and there are no other male elders in the family, such as brothers or uncles, it is understandable that a GIRL should be married off so that she will not be left unattended.
- If the father has passed away and there are no other male elders in the family, such as brothers or uncles, it is understandable to marry off a BOY so that he will not be left alone.
- It is understandable for a GIRL whose father remarries after his mother's death and who cannot get along with his wife to get married and leave home.
- It is understandable for a BOY whose father remarries after his mother died and who cannot get along with his wife to get married and leave home.
- It is understandable for a GIRL whose mother remarried after her father died and who cannot get along with her husband to get married and leave home.
- It is understandable for a BOY whose mother remarried after his father's death and could not get along with his wife, to get married and leave home.

PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Age and Physical Development

It is understandable to marry off an adolescent GIRL / who has begun to menstruate.



56%

I AGREE (115 respondents)

I DISAGREE (91 respondents)

If she wants to?

IF SO, I AGREE (11 respondents)

I STILL DISAGREE
(80 respondents)

It is understandable to marry off an adolescent BOY.



51%

I AGREE (106 respondents)

I DISAGREE (100 respondents)

If he wants to?

IF SO, I AGREE (19 respondents)

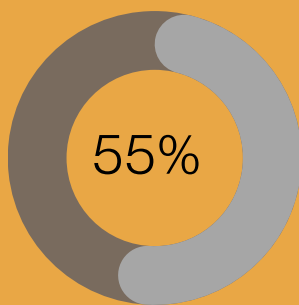
I STILL DISAGREE (81 respondents)

The majority of Turkish citizens (71 and 74 out of 93) disagreed that puberty is an reasonable prerequisite for marriage. The majority of respondents from Syria (89 and 82 out of 106) and all from Iraq (2) agreed. The answers of respondents from Afghanistan was half and half.

PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

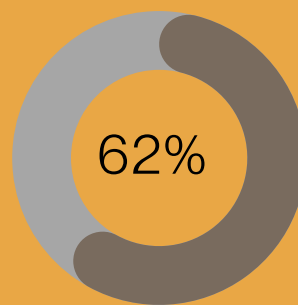
Protection

It is understandable to marry off the adolescent GIRL to protect her from harassment and abuse.



I AGREE
113 respondents
I DISAGREE
93 respondents

It is understandable to marry off the adolescent BOY to protect him from harassment and abuse.



I AGREE
78 respondents
I DISAGREE
126 respondents

Gender-based violence is a general term that refers to any harmful act committed against a person based on socially ascribed (e.g. gender-related) differences between men and women. This includes acts that cause physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering, as well as threats of such acts, such as coercion and deprivation of liberty. These acts can take place in public or private spaces. Common forms of gender-based violence include sexual violence (rape, attempted rape, unwanted contact, sexual exploitation and sexual harassment), intimate partner violence (also called domestic violence, including physical, emotional, sexual and economic abuse), child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation. [25]

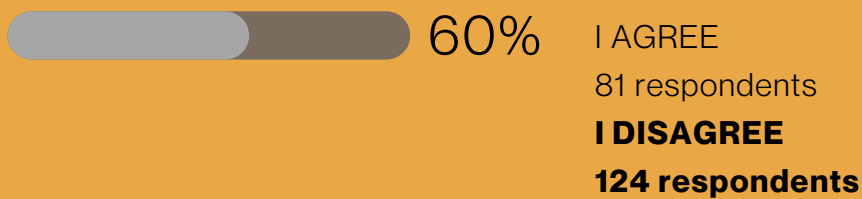
The answers of the respondents who find it 'understandable' and 'acceptable' to marry children in order to reduce the risk of harassment and abuse and to protect them from these forms of violence, which are addressed in the context of violence against children and women and gender-based violence, reveal the perception and attitude that the risk and the need to marry for protection are higher for girls. As in the previous question, Turkish citizens mostly answered 'disagree', while respondents from Syria and Iraq stated that they 'agree'. On the other hand, while 83 per cent of respondents from Syria agree for girls, this rate drops to 60 per cent for boys.

[25] UNFPA, Guidance, How to Design and Initiate Cash Support in Gender-Based Violence Case Management, 2023

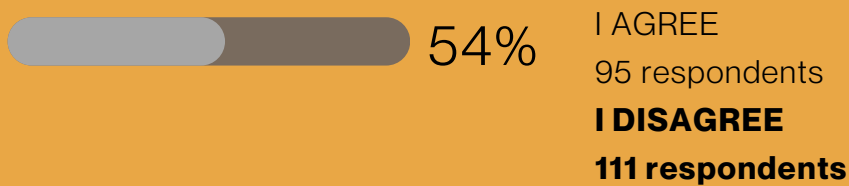
PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Protection

It is understandable to marry off the adolescent GIRL to protect her from risks in the public area such as getting involved in crime, substance abuse, etc.



It is understandable to marry off the adolescent BOY to protect him from risks in the public area such as getting involved in crime, substance abuse, etc.



Parents' or caregivers' perceptions and attitudes about the potential dangers that could harm their children and even indirectly their families in public spaces or the existing conditions of vulnerability in their living spaces also lead them to see it as 'understandable' to marry off their children to protect them.

However, the responses of the participants indicate that these risks are no longer seen as a reason for child marriage. While 62% of respondents from Syria agree for girls, this rate rises to 68% for boys.

Considering the recent and systematic discrimination, exclusion and hate speech and actions against persons under temporary protection (refugees) in Türkiye, the perceptions and attitudes of respondents from Syria may result in a more 'protective' and 'defensive' attitude due to fear and anxiety.

The taboo on sex outside marriage and pregnancy:

Children's curiosity about sexuality emerges very early and is part of healthy physical and mental development. However, due to the taboo on sexuality in conservative societies, children are often not provided with child development and age-appropriate education that provides accurate and safe information to satisfy their curiosity. In addition, children living in one-room houses or temporary settlements with their parents or other adults due to poverty and deprivation may witness the sexual behaviour of adults, and this experience may even become traumatic for them. The fact that sexual intercourse and pregnancy without the bonds of marriage or without marriage are seen as a taboo, not accepted, resulting in stigmatisation, exclusion, neglect and violence due to reasons such as being excluded from the society, being shamed, being the subject of gossip, losing the support of the extended family, going against religious teachings, etc. is also a proof that children and women do not have a say over their own bodies and lives. This attitude also leads to the marriage of girls who have sexual intercourse or become pregnant as a result of this intercourse. Girls who engage in sexual activity are probably afraid that their family will learn about it. This fear may also result in the girl wanting to marry the partner as quick as possible.

Abduction / Elopement

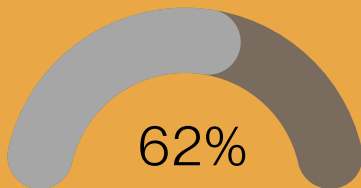
There have been cases of abduction of women since ancient times and it is even a 'tradition' in countries such as Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. There is a significant difference between abduction and elopement. A relationship that the family does not approve and will not allow marriage may cause elopement, or the man abducts the woman he wants to marry and forces her into marriage. In both cases, since the woman/girl child will be away from home, families may feel obliged to approve the marriage with the thought that she may have 'lost her virginity' by having sexual intercourse during this period.[26]

[26] Flying Broom Association, Child, Early and Forced Marriages Typology (2024)

PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Sexual Relation

Marrying the GIRL who elopes with her boyfriend right away is understandable.



I AGREE

127 respondents

I DISAGREE

79 respondents

If she wants to?

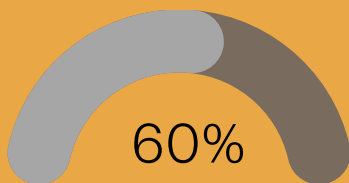
IF SO, I AGREE

10 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

69 respondents

Marrying the BOY who elopes with his girlfriend right away is understandable.



I AGREE

123 respondents

I DISAGREE

83 respondents

If he wants to?

IF SO, I AGREE

15 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

68 respondents

“

My family wanted to force me to marry someone I didn't love. I didn't want to marry that person, so I found someone else and ran away. I found out that the person I eloped with had two other wives. I realised I made a mistake, but I had to get married because I was ashamed to go back home.

”

If his girlfriend's family pressures on him?

IF SO, I AGREE

1 respondent

I STILL DISAGREE

67 respondents

Three participants answered 'I was eloped' when asked about their acquaintance with the person they married. In line with the attitude indicated by the data analysis, the statements of these participants indicate that the phenomenon of 'elopement/abduction' remains among the root causes of child marriages.

PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Sexual Relation

If an adolescent GIRL has a sexual relationship, it is understandable that she should be married off to the person with whom she had sex with.

I AGREE

131 respondents

I DISAGREE

75 respondents



If her boyfriend's family pressures her/them?

IF SO, I AGREE

8 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

67 respondents



If the other person is a child too?

I AGREE

-0-

I STILL DISAGREE

67 respondents

If an adolescent BOY has a sexual relationship, it is understandable that he should be married off to the person with whom he had sex with.

I AGREE

125 respondents

I DISAGREE

81 respondents



If his girlfriend's family pressures him/them? [27]

IF SO, I AGREE

16 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

64 respondents



If the other person is a child too?

IF SO, I AGREE

-0-

I STILL DISAGREE

64 respondents

While 68% of Turkish citizens answered as 'I disagree' for girls and 75% for boys, 90% of respondents from Syria answered 'I agree' for both girls and boys.

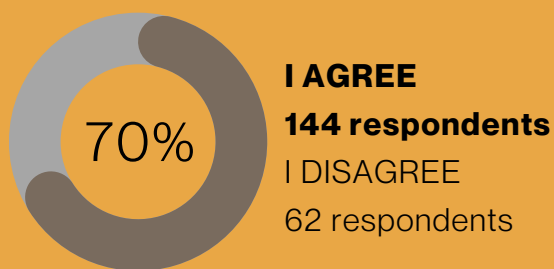
[27] One of the 81 participants who disagreed, did not answer this question. 80 participants' answers were included to the analysis.

PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Sexual Relation

Among the questions on perceptions and attitudes, the questions on pregnancy and abortion had the highest number of “agree” responses.

Marrying off a pregnant GIRL is understandable.



While 60% of Turkish citizens said “I disagree” for both a boy and a girl, 94% of respondents from Syria said “I disagree”. The fact that the person who impregnated the child was also a child slightly increased the acceptance of marriage.

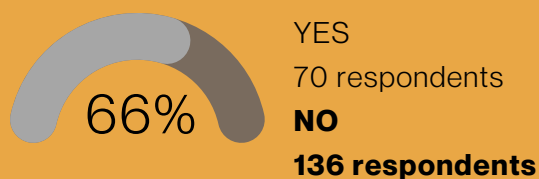
It is understandable for a BOY who impregnates a girl to marry the girl.



It is understandable for an adult man who impregnates a girl to marry her.



May a pregnant girl have an abortion?



While 66% of Turks (all Roma) said “yes”, 92% of Syrians, all Afghans and Iraqis said “no”.



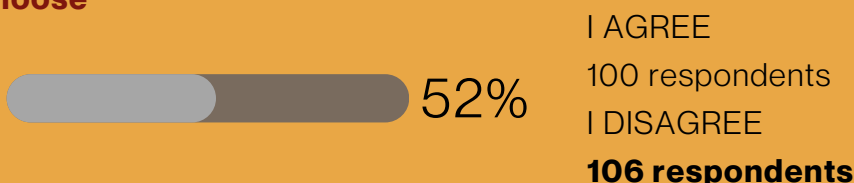
PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Family Dynamics

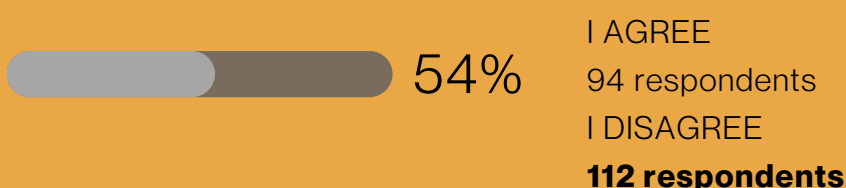
Loss/absence of the father:

In cases where the father, who in the patriarchal family order is supposed to protect the 'honor' of the girl child, dies, refuses to take care of her, is ill/elderly/disabled or divorced, and there is no male in the family to whom this gender role can be transferred, the mother or other family members may demand that the girl child be married off to a man as soon as possible to 'ensure her protection'. For the family, this is a transfer of responsibility.[28]

If the father died and there are no other male elders in the family, such as brothers or uncles, it is understandable that the GIRL is married off so that not let her run loose



If the father died and there are no other male elders in the family, such as brothers or uncles, it is understandable that the BOY is married off so that not let him run loose



While 73% of Turkish citizens answered “disagree” for girls and 78% for boys (all Roma), 66% of respondents from Syria answered “agree”.

Looking at the responses of those who were married bethe age of 18 (171 respondents): in the absence of a father or male family elder, the rate of those who disagree with marrying a girl drops to 44%, while the rate for boys does not change much with 53%. A similar situation is observed in the case of remarriage after the death of the mother or father.

[28] Flying Broom Association, Child, Early and Forced Marriages Typology (2024)

PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Family Dynamics

The need to get away from family problems:

Girls may see marriage as a remedy to get away from negativities such as unrest, violence, neglect and abuse among family members with whom they share the same house or living space.[29]

It is understandable for a GIRL whose father remarried after his mother died and could not get along with her father's wife, to get married and leave home.



I AGREE

100 respondents

I DISAGREE

106 respondents

"If the father or his wife wants?"

IF SO, I AGREE

17 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

89 respondents

It is understandable for a BOY whose father remarries after his mother's death and cannot get along with his father's wife, to get married and leave home.



I AGREE

97 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

109 respondents

"If the father or his wife wants?"

IF SO, I AGREE

16 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

93 respondents

It is understandable for a GIRL whose mother remarries after her father's death and who cannot get along with her mother's husband to get married and leave home.



I AGREE

104 person

I DISAGREE

102 respondents

"If the mother or her husband wants?"

IF SO, I AGREE

12 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

90 respondents

It is understandable for a BOY whose mother remarries after the death of his father and who cannot get along with his mother's husband, to get married and leave home.



I AGREE

98 respondents

I DISAGREE

108 respondents

"If the mother or her husband wants?"

IF SO, I AGREE

15 respondents

I STILL DISAGREE

92 respondents

[28] Flying Broom Association, Child, Early and Forced Marriages Typology (2024)

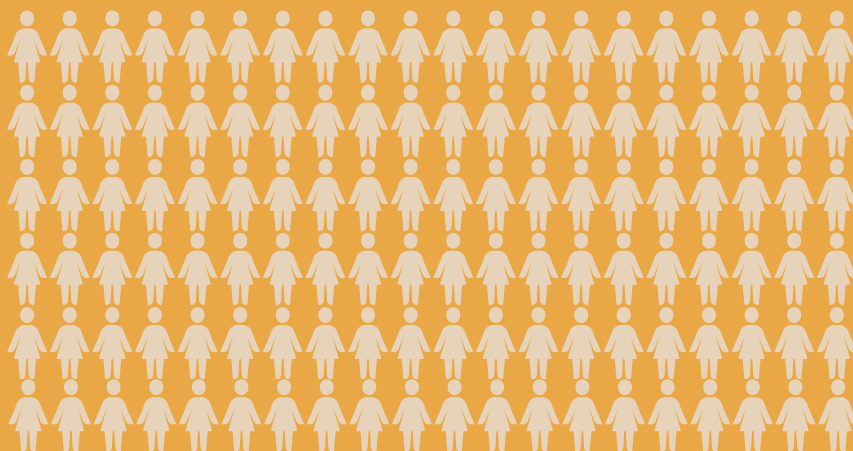
PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Financial Situation

The economics of marriage:

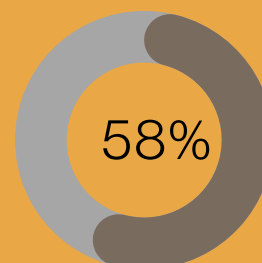
The Turkish Statistical Institute's Family Structure 2021 survey showed that bride price is practiced in 13.3 percent of marriages. According to the survey, 21 percent of marriages between the ages of 15-24 involve *bride price*. The economics of marriage can be seen as an income-generating investment tool or a solution that can contribute to people's fight against poverty; for those who are getting married, 'fixing a house', buying household goods, gold coins worn at the wedding or gifts presented at the wedding are attractive as an income. The financial means of the man and his family can also be seen as lifting the girl child out of poverty.[30]

In a poor, economically challenged family, it is understandable that a GIRL is married off for bride price.



I AGREE
120 respondents

I DISAGREE
91 respondents



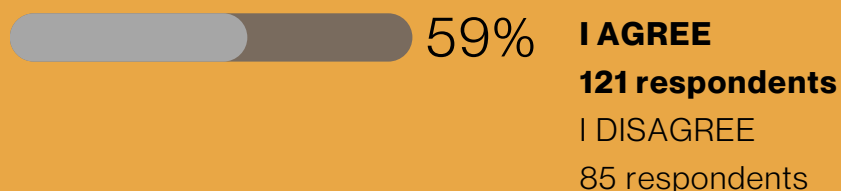
While 78% of Turkish citizens (all Roma) answered “disagree”, 89% of respondents from Syria answered “agree”.

[28] Flying Broom Association, Child, Early and Forced Marriages Typology (2024)

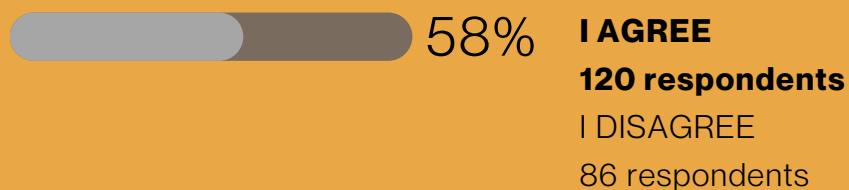
PERCEPTION and ATTITUDES

Financial Situation

In a poor, economically challenged family, it is understandable that a GIRL is married off to “have one less mouth to feed”.



In a poor, economically challenged family, it is understandable that a BOY is married off to “have one less mouth to feed”.

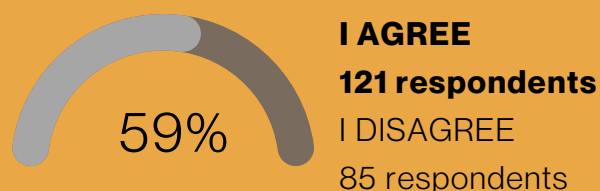


While 79% of Turkish respondents said “disagree” for girls and 80% for boys (all Roma), 91% of Syrians said “agree”.

In a poor, economically challenged family, it is understandable that the GIRL is married off to “save the child's life”.



In a poor, economically challenged family, it is understandable that the BOY is married off to “save the child's life”.



While 75% of Turkish citizens answered “disagree” for girls and 80% for boys (all Roma), 91% of respondents from Syria answered “agree”.

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Ecology Circle and Upcycling Workshop
11 July 2024, Dursunlu Evi, Defne-Hatay

WORKSHOP WITH CHILDREN





13 June 2023

Adana Women's Center



E. Age 14

Studying hairdressing at the Vocational Open Education High School.

E. Age 15
will start
Grade 10

H. Age 10
will start
Grade 4

E. Age 11
will start
Grade 7

**In group 1,
there were 6 girls aged 10-17 years.**

M. Age 10
will start
Grade 4

Z. Age 17
will start
Grade 12

F. Age 16

Completed Grade 8 and left school. Now in Grade 10 at Open High School.

i. Age 16
Dropped out in
Grade 10

N. Age 15
will start
Grade 10

**In the 2nd group, there were 5
girls aged 14-16 years.**

A. Age 14
will start
Grade 9

M. Age 14
will start
Grade 9

“

13.06.2024
KYM 2. Grup
5.kış

Ben
Kendim

Dede Nene anne baba abi kardeş abla yenge amca

arkadaş komşu akraba market bakkal market eşim kelemini aile okul öğretmen Müdür

okul arkadaş

okul personeli
-temizlik
-güvenlik
-yemekhane
-kantinisi
-öğretmen

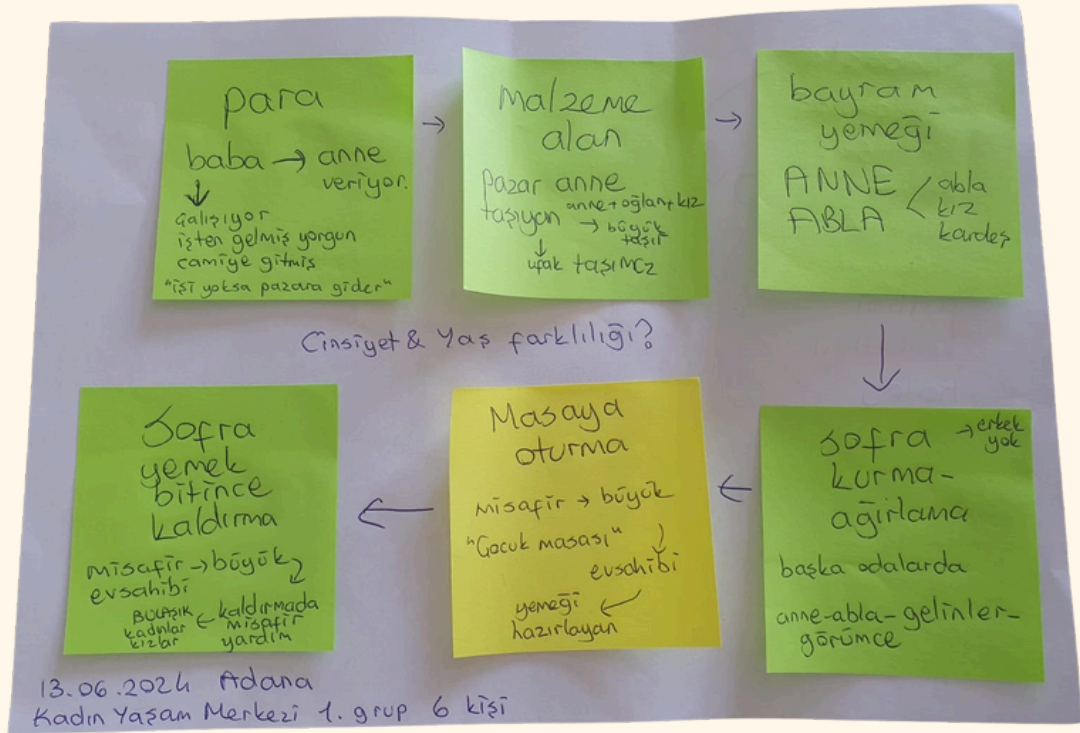
54

MY ENVIRONMENT: Me and those around me

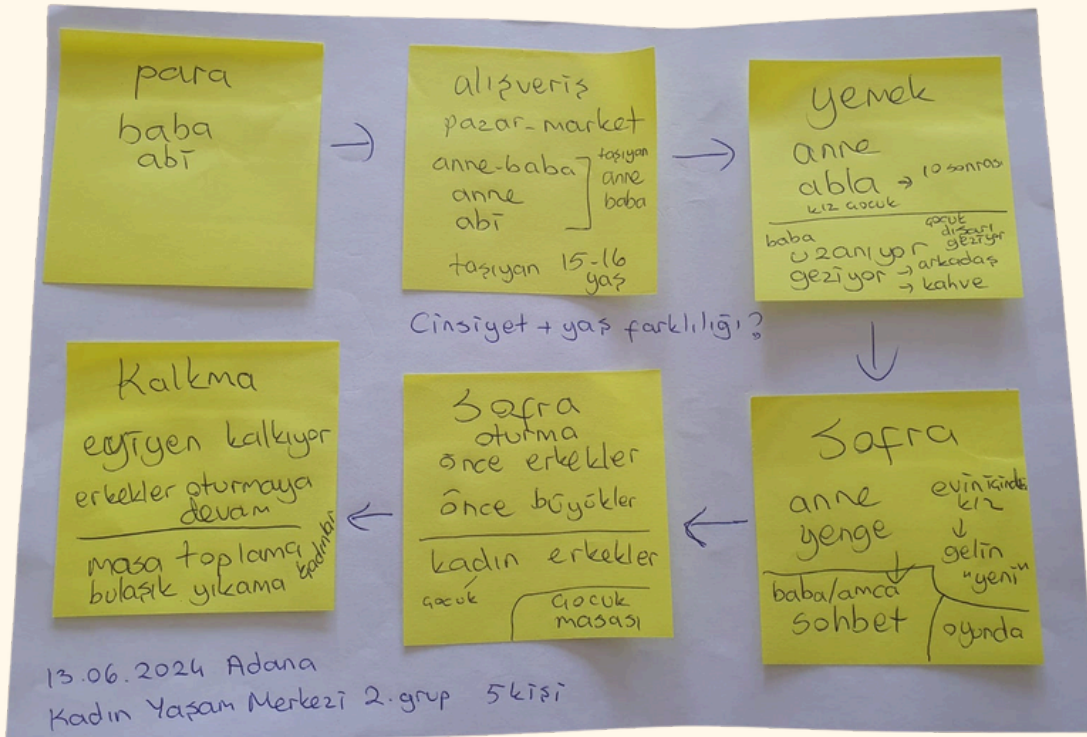
Domestic roles and responsibilities (differences - similarities - reasons - are there any changes over time?)

Does the process of preparing and hosting the holiday meal vary according to gender and age? Who makes decisions about our lives, who or what influences expectations, wishes and conditions?

BAYRAM (Religious Holiday) DINNER FLOW (1st group)



BAYRAM (Religious Holiday) DINNER FLOW (2nd group)



CHAT: Individual and social relationships marriage/marriage or being married

1st Group

Who decides on marriage?

- Father
- If the mother is against it, they are still married off, but if more people in the household are against it, it may not be happening.

“ You are a child yourself. You cannot live your childhood. It is very tiring. ”

“ [A man] who marries before the age of 18 will work harder and provide for the family. ”

“ You learn from your mother how to take care of a baby. ”

Betrothal or engagement before marriage

- One or two years. 4 years at most.
- There are 6 to 9 months between the engagement and the wedding.
- During this time, the dowry and the house are being prepared.
- “Kına” (a kind of ceremony/celebration night) is done before the wedding.

Education

Does a married girl/boy continue school?

Is marriage an obstacle to continue education?

- They drop out of school [when they get married]. Most of them are in high school.
- If the boy continues school, he cannot work, he cannot bring money home.

Civil marriage - religious ceremony

- Firstly, there is an “imam” marriage.
- 2 days or at most 3 months later, the official marriage takes place.

Place of residence after marriage

- With the in-laws: with the in-laws
- In a separate house
- In the same family apartment

Marriage after 18

When you are a child, marriage seems impossible/unusual. You wonder about it. When you grow up, you don't want it right away because your mind works, your curiosity wanes, you have seen it.

CHAT: Individual and social relationships marriage/marriage or being married

2nd Group

“There is a change. What the mothers went through [violence-oppression] their children did not suffer.”

Age of marriage

- **In this area/neighbourhood**

13-14 18 15-16
20 20-21

- **According to the adults**

- **Female**
25 after 18
22 30

- **Male**
20 18
15-16 after the military service

- **Your opinion**

- **Female**
20 18 25
22

- **Male**
22 18-19
25-26

Age difference

Peer 1 or 2 years

“They don't interfere with men (before and after 18). They always interfere with girls and women.”

Reasons for marriage before 18 years old

- she drops out of school, then family says: get married.
- so that the girl can be saved [financially]
- for love: dating is not considered appropriate.
- to get rid of family interference, bullying, pressure.

Who decides on marriage?

- father / mother
- own: “I should get married”
- grandmother / grandfather
- neighbours put pressure (social pressure)

Betrothal or engagement before marriage

- 1.5 or two years.
- It's an engagement to get to know each other.
- They can also get married directly.
- At the engagement, the “bride price” is collected if the male side is willing to give it.
- During this period, the dowry and the house are being prepared, furniture is bought.
- The day before the wedding, “kına” is organised.

Civil marriage - religious ceremony

First, a religious marriage is performed. They wait until they are 18 years old. Then the official marriage is performed.

Place of residence after marriage

- With the male spouse's family
- In their own [separate] home

CHAT: Individual and social relationships marriage/marriage or being married

2nd Group

Education

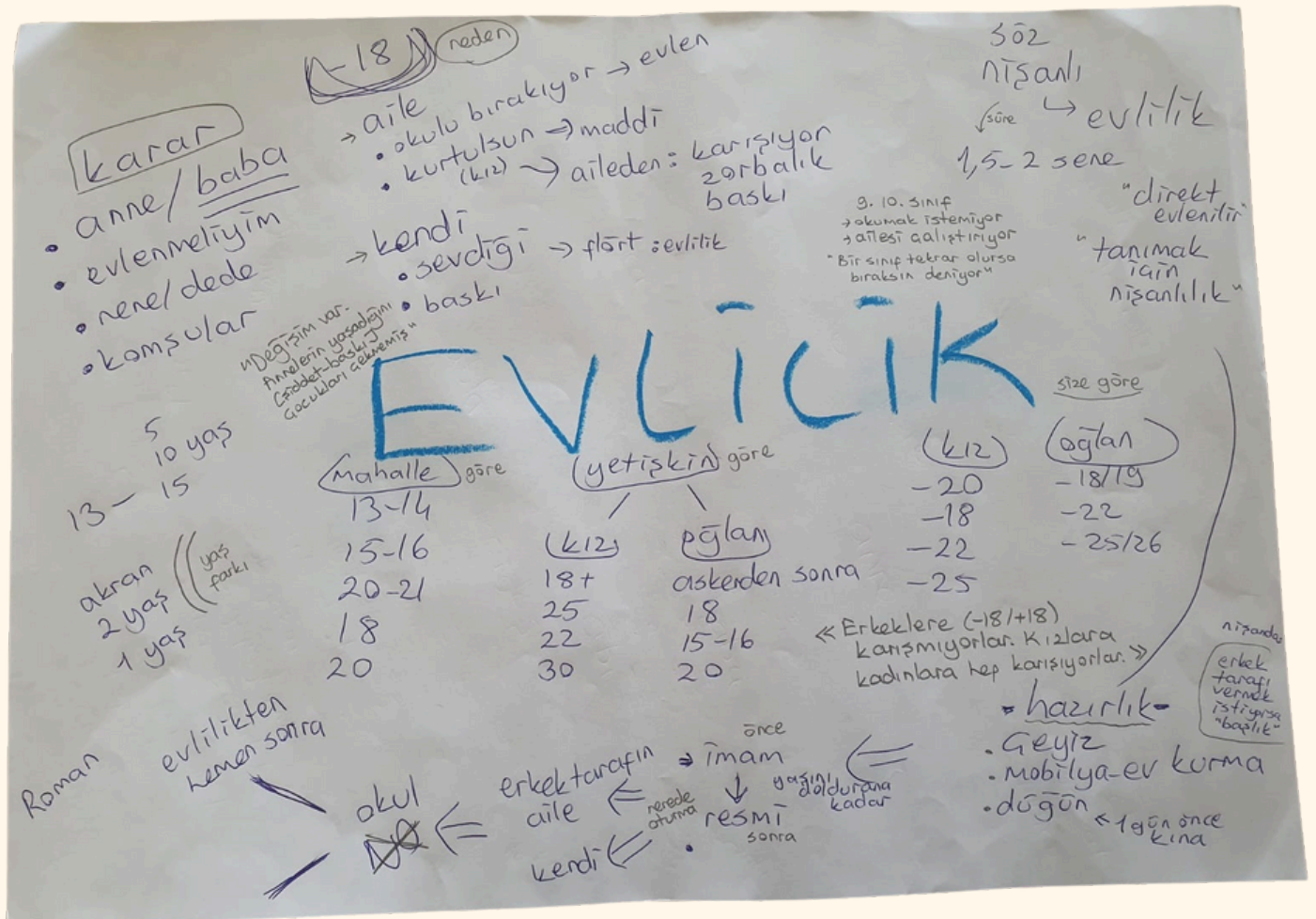
Does a married girl/boy continue school?

Is marriage an obstacle to continue education?

- Drop out of school immediately after marriage.

“ They do not want to study at 9th or 10th grade or their parents make them work [while going to school]. ”

“ If she/he repeats a grade once, she/he is told to drop out of school. ”





MEETING WITH INSTITUTIONS

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Social Circus
11 July 2024, Dursunlu Evi, Defne-Hatay



States have the greatest responsibility in preventing child marriage, protecting children from this destructive ‘tradition’, keeping them in education, and ensuring that they grow up in health and safety and with dignity. Child marriage is a subject of international human rights law and protective/preventive/supportive policies are the responsibility of governments and governmental organisations. This is a constitutional obligation. In this process, the ‘elected’ as well as the ‘appointed’, i.e. local administrations, play a major role.

The face-to-face interviews we conducted with institutions in Adana in parallel with the field research we conducted in Adana were to remind both official institutions and municipalities of this obligation and to create an agenda that child marriage should be a non-negligible topic of social policies in the city. These interviews had another purpose: To underline that child marriage is not only a matter of child marriage, but also a social problem that needs to be addressed in a wide range of areas from urban rights to education, from agricultural production to health, from poverty to domestic violence, and that needs inter-institutional coordination.

However, during our interviews with institutions, we did not come across any up-to-date, inclusive, city-wide research on child, early and forced marriages, which are widespread in Adana as in every city in the country. There was no work on the agenda of official institutions to combat this problem. The lack of an effective and sustainable children's policy that addresses child abuse and other crimes against children within the framework of international norms has a major role in this. The fact that the existing studies have been initiated and carried out with the efforts of civil society organisations is an evidence that the obligations of the social state have been undertaken by the actors of the civil sphere.

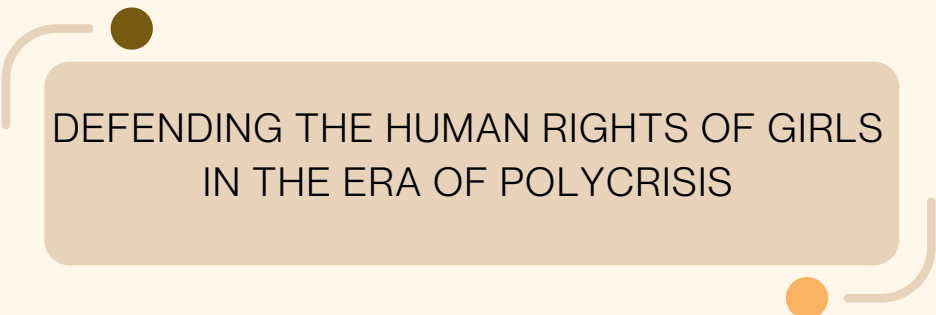
We are ready to share the results of our field research, our field observations and the analysis of the data we have obtained with the relevant official institutions, local administrations and non-governmental organisations in Adana, and to join hands to create an effective chain of intervention to prevent child marriage and to protect the human rights of girls.

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: Storytelling Workshop
12 July 2024, Yaylıca Dayanışma Evi, Samandağ-Hatay



EPILOGUE



DEFENDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF GIRLS IN THE ERA OF POLYCRISIS

The German poet Erich Kästner asks 'Who can resist a speeding train?' and answers: 'Daisies between the tracks.' It is civil society organisations all over the world that are resisting the train on the tracks, against accepted traditions and human rights violations.

We are a non-governmental organisation that has been stubbornly and patiently advocating somewhere between 'right' and 'violation' for 16 years. We explain resistance not as a matter of courage, but as a manifestation of our belief that a just and equal life is possible. In a country where civic space is increasingly shrinking and defenders of the right to life are not very popular, we know that a women's organisation that wants a strong democracy on the basis of equal citizenship, knows that this cannot be achieved without women, defends women's human rights and reminds them that it is a constitutional duty to defend them, and works for a life where girls are not sacrificed to the darkness of culture, needs more than courage. We invest in an equal, accessible and human rights-based advocacy perspective against the masculine understanding that renders women's labour and identity invisible, against entrenched prejudices and against ideological apparatuses that instrumentalize women.

Human rights advocacy is sometimes like writing on water; turning societies' established perceptions of rights, law and justice on their heads, defending equality against discrimination, proposing non-violence against violence may often seem futile. Because societies take time to change. Even if we develop the most comprehensive strategies and implement the most effective programmes, there are many examples where we cannot influence the attitudes of decision-makers. There can be no other explanation for this resistance other than the fear of equality. Despite the resistance of the public administration and their determination to frustrate all our efforts, defending children's rights in a country without a children's policy, raising our voice for gender equality in a country without a women's policy, drawing attention to the rights of disabled people in a country without a disability policy... this is exactly what we do.

Organising difficulties can be overcome, but it is very difficult to overcome some social consensus. It can be possible to move on without crushing the daisies in our way.

Flying Broom Women's Communication and Research Association

Photo:

Alternative Encounters-Hatay: 14 July 2024,
Harbiye Waterfall-Hatay

ANNEXES



SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. Do you approve to participate in the survey and confirm that your answers will be accurate?
 - 1.1. Yes
 - 1.2. No
- 2. Number (of the question form):
- 3. Date:
- 4. City:
- 5. Name of the surveyed:
- 6. Place/district:
- 7. Province:
- 8. Town:
- 9. District:
- 10. How long have you been living in this city?
 - 10.1. Less than a year
 - 10.2. 1-3 years
 - 10.3. 4-10 years
 - 10.4. More than 10 years
 - 10.5. Born here
 - 10.5.1. 10. (for who responded 1-2-3-4): Why did you come here?
 - 10.5.1.1. Because of the earthquake
 - 10.5.1.1.1. Is this your first destination after the earthquake?
 - 10.5.1.1.1.1. Yes
 - 10.5.1.1.1.2. No
 - 10.5.1.1.1.2.1. Where did you go before coming to Adana and why?
 - 10.5.1.1.2. Why did you stay in Adana after the earthquake?
 - 10.5.1.1.2.1. We have acquaintances, we came to stay with them; for shelter
 - 10.5.1.1.2.2. We don't have acquaintances but we hoped to find a place to stay; for shelter
 - 10.5.1.1.2.3. We have acquaintances, we came to find a job; to work
 - 10.5.1.1.2.4. No acquaintances but we found a job; to work
 - 10.5.1.1.2.5. No acquaintances but we thought we would find a job; to work
 - 10.5.1.1.2.6. For the child(ren) to go to school; for education
 - 10.5.1.1.2.7. Other: _____
 - 10.5.1.2. Came to Türkiye because of the conflicts in Syria (if Syrian)
 - 10.5.1.3. Other: _____

11. Gender
 - 11.1. Female
 - 11.2. Male
12. Age (or the year of birth)
13. Statue
 - 13.1. Citizen of Türkiye
 - 13.2. Temporary Protection (Syrian)
 - 13.3. International Protection (from Afghanistan...)
 - 13.4. Other (Roma...)
14. Education (last completed school/grade)
 - 14.1. Never went to school
 - 14.2. Primary school (Grade 1.-5)
 - 14.3. Secondary school (Grade 6.-8)
 - 14.4. High school (Grade 9.-12)
 - 14.5. University (4 years)
 - 14.6. Academy (2 years)
 - 14.7. Master
 - 14.8. Doctorate
 - 14.9. Other: _____
15. What is your occupation?
16. Do you have an income-generating job?
 - 16.1. No
 - 16.1.1. What is the reason? [never occupied, recently unemployed, unable to find a job, looking for a job, being unemployed due to migration after the earthquake, looking for a job, having a job but the workplace was destroyed/the workplace deteriorated, etc.].
 - 16.2. Yes - Works regularly
 - 16.3. Yes - Works irregularly
 - 16.4. Yes - Seasonal worker
 - 16.4.1. Which sector do you work in?
 - 16.4.2. Social security?
 - 16.4.2.1. Social Security is paid
 - 16.4.2.2. Social Security is not paid
 - 16.4.2.3. Bağ-Kur, pays herself
 - 16.4.3. Do you receive minimum wage on a monthly basis?
 - 16.4.3.1. Yes
 - 16.4.3.2. Yes, more than minimum wage
 - 16.4.3.3. No, under minimum wage

17. What are the sources of income of your household/family?

17.1. Livestock

17.2. Income from own agricultural land

17.3. Income from rented agricultural land

17.4. Rental income

17.5. Pension (SSI, Bağkur, etc.)

17.6. Widow's pension

17.7. Elder's pension

17.8. Orphan's pension

17.9. Disability pension

17.10. Disability caregiver pension

17.11. Conditional Education Assistance

17.12. Conditional Education Assistance for Foreigners

17.13. Social Cohesion Assistance (for those under temporary protection and international protection)

17.14. Unemployment benefit (6-10 months)

17.15. Other: _____

18. Have you ever married?

18.1. Yes

18.1.1. Once

18.1.2. More than once

18.2. No (Jump to Question 26)

19. At what age did you get married? (If married more than once, the age of the first marriage will be asked)

20. How old was the person you married?

21. Was the person you married someone you knew?

21.1. Yes - The one I know (in the sense that I have met, that I like)

21.2. Yes - Family acquaintance (not a relative)

21.3. Yes - Relative

21.4. No - Arranged marriage

2.1.5. Other: _____

22. Who made the decision to get married? Did you want it yourself? Did your family decide?

22.1. I decided

22.2. My father decided

22.3. Other:_____ [who?]

22.3.1. For the 'mother' answer: is the mother the decision-maker in the family?

22.3.1.1. Yes – father died

22.3.1.2. Yes – parents divorced

22.3.1.3. Yes – father has an illness

22.3.1.4. Yes – father is alive but left the family

22.3.1.5. Yes – father is alive, living together

23. Was there a period of engagement before marriage?

23.1. Yes

23.1.1. How long?

23.2. No

24. Did you have an imam marriage (religious ceremony) as well as a civil marriage?

24.1. Yes, both.

24.1.1. How long was the period between religious marriage and civil marriage? In which order you had it done?

24.2. No, only civil marriage

24.3. No, only imam marriage

25. When you got married, did you have a separate house or did you live with one of your parents?

25.1. We had our own house

25.2. We lived with my parents

25.3. We lived with my husband's parents

26. Did any of your siblings get married before the age of 18?

26.1. I have no siblings

26.2. No (Jump to Question 27)

26.3. Yes

26.3.1. My elder sister

26.3.2. My elder brother

26.3.3. My sister

26.3.4. My brother

26.3.2. How old was your -18 sibling(s) when they got married?

26.3.3. Who decides on marriage for your -18 sibling(s)?

26.3.3.1. Her/his own decision

26.3.3.2. Our father decided

26.3.3.3. Other:_____ [who?]

27. Do you have children? (she may not be married but may have children)

27.1. No

27.2. Yes

27.2.1. What is the gender and age(s) of your child/children? School attendance (if they are going to school which grade)?

27.2.1.2. Is your child engaged? / Are any of your children engaged? (18 years old) If below, this question will be asked)

27.2.1.2.1 .No

27.2.1.2.2. Yes

27.2.1.2.2.1. Gender?

27.2.1.2.2.2. Age?

27.2.1.2.2.3. When will (they) get married (month-year-age) (If under the age of 18, this question will be asked)

27.2.1.2.2.4. Who decided/requested their engagement/engagement (if under the age of 18, this question will be asked)

27.2.1.2.2.4.1. Own decision

27.2.1.2.2.4.2. My husband's decision

27.2.1.2.2.4.3. We as parents decided

27.2.1.2.2.4.4. Other:_____ [who?]

WORKSHOP WITH CHILDREN - AGENDA AND QUESTIONS

PART I: Introductions and drawings

1. LIFE CHART

Your life so far - life in the future (dreams/expectations and prospects)

2. MY ENVIRONMENT

Circle 1 - Family: whoever is in the house (mother-father-siblings-grandfather-grandmother-cat/dog/bird/fish)

Circle 2 - People who come to the home/those who affect the home; neighbors, relatives, friends, teachers, doctors, parents/co-workers, etc. Domestic roles, responsibilities (differences - similarities - reasons - are there any changes over time?)

PART II: Conversation/chat - individual and community relationships - marriage/marriage or being married

1. What is the age of marriage here (in your neighborhood)?
2. What do adults here think is the appropriate age for girls to get married and why?
 - 2.1. Is it different for boys? Why?
 - 2.2. And what do you think?
3. Are there girls or boys here who want to get married before 18 (themselves)? Why? [if the answer is to get pregnant: what happens if they don't get married?]
 - 3.1. What are the advantages/disadvantages (positive and negative effects) of getting married before 18? What do you think (or have seen/heard)?
4. What happens if a girl/boy's parents want her to marry at an early age and she/he refuses?
5. What happens if a family does not want to marry off their daughter/son at an early age?
6. Does engagement or betrothal take place before marriage here (in your neighborhood)?
 - 6.1. If yes, how long does it last?
 - 6.2. Do you have friends or relatives under the age of 18 who are engaged or promised?
7. What preparations are made before marriage?
 - 7.1. Is bride price paid? If yes, how much?
8. Where do married persons under the age of 18 live (own house, parents' house)?
9. Do they have babies immediately?
10. Does the married girl/boy continue school?
 - 10.1. If yes, is marriage an obstacle to continuing education?
12. Are there any girls/boys who are taken out of school because they are getting married?
13. Do you think there is a change? Compared to the time of your parents or older sisters and brothers?



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