

Age of Marriage and Long-Term Implications for Women in India: Evidence from NFHS-4



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Foreword

As India is aiming to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, it becomes imperative that the good health and well-being of women and children is given the attention it deserves. Acknowledging the long-term negative repercussions of early marriages (i.e. married before the age of 21 years) and teenage pregnancies on women in India and their offspring, the Government of India is currently contemplating raising the age of marriage for girls from 18 years (as prescribed under the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (PCMA) 2006) to 21 years and in this respect has constituted the Jaitly Committee.

Rather than relying upon anecdotal evidence justifying or negating the impact of increasing the age of marriage which has been the focus of many public debates in recent months, this report analyses the National Family Health Survey 2015 - 2016 (NFHS-4) data to ascertain how growth and development outcomes of women are affected by their age at the time of marriage. The report further explores the impact of marriage on girls who were married before the age of 21 years and women who got married at or after the age of 21 years, amongst 21-30 years old women. Additionally, this report analyses data to understand the correlation between the mothers' age of marriage and the health outcomes of their offspring.

The analysis highlights that, based on NFHS-4 analysis, while 21.2% of women got married after the age of 21 years, 62.6% of women got married before the age of 21 years. It is pertinent to note that a third (34.3%) of the women got married before the age of 18 years. Only 28.1% of the women who married before the age of 21 years had completed secondary education as opposed to 61.8% who married after the age of 21 years. Women who married early are majorly employed in agricultural and/or manual-skilled and unskilled work. Additionally, of the children born to women who got married early, higher proportion suffered from nutritional deficiency as 59.7% of their children were anaemic, 40.6% stunted, and 37.8% underweight, as compared to 56.2% anaemic, 29.1% stunted, and 27.3% underweight as seen in children of women married after the age of 21 years. Along with the issue of poor development of women and their children owing to early marriage, the analysis also found that women who got married early consider to have more children, and therefore, increasing the age of marriage for girls will help in containing the population growth which is a step forward towards sustainable living. It further underscores the need to make secondary school completion compulsory, build skills of women, empower them by opening avenues to enter the workforce and raise healthy children.

This analysis is timely and relevant for it offers policymakers, academicians as well as civil society organizations empirical evidence based on official government data to support their arguments for making amendments to the legal age of marriage of girls in India.

Introduction

“We have formed a committee to ensure that the daughters are no longer suffering from malnutrition and they are married off at the right age. As soon as the report is submitted, appropriate decisions will be taken about the age of marriage of daughters” – Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of India.

In light of the recent statement made by the Prime Minister of India on August 15, 2020, and the Government of India considering increasing the age of marriage for the girl child¹, there have been vociferous debates and discussions.

The Finance Minister of India, Nirmala Sitharaman, in her 2020 Budget speech in February proposed to appoint a task force to study and review the age of marriage for women. She noted, *“Women’s age of marriage was increased from 15 years to 18 years in 1978 by amending erstwhile Sharda Act of 1929. As India progresses further, opportunities open up for women to pursue higher education and careers. There are imperatives of lowering MMR (maternal mortality rate) as well as improvement of nutrition levels. The entire issue about the age of a girl entering motherhood needs to*

be seen in this light. I propose to appoint a task force that will present its recommendations in six months’ time.”

Since these announcements, discussions and debates by advocates in favor of the increase in age of marriage for girls and critics against these changes have been vociferous. Unfortunately, many of the current debates are guided by anecdotal evidence and fail to rely upon credible data to establish whether or not there is a genuine need to increase the age of marriage for girls to ensure their well-being.

Therefore, it is vital to understand how early marriage² impacts a girl’s future trajectory. Aiming at evidence-based understanding, Young Lives India has analyzed the National Family Health Survey 2015–2016 (“**NFHS-4**”)³ data for women in the age group of 21–30 years to determine the difference in the development outcomes of women who got married after the age of 21 years vis-à-vis those who got married before the age of 21 years.

¹ By way of background, the Government of India constituted the Jaitly Task Force to examine raising the legal age of marriage of girls to 21 years and representation from various organisation including the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (“**NCPCR**”) have been sought. While Young Lives supported NCPCR in its submission to the Jaitly Task Force, the findings from this Task Force are currently awaited.

² Early marriage is defined to include all the marriages that take place before the age of 21 years old.

³ NFHS captures data based on *prevalence* i.e. *“the total number of individuals in a population who have a disease or health condition at a specific period of time, usually expressed as a percentage of the population”*

and not *incidence* i.e. *“the number of individuals who develop a specific disease or experience a specific health-related event during a particular time period (such as a month or year)”* which is captured in Census of India data (School of Public Health. Prevalence and Incidence Defined. Retrieved from Harvard University: <https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/obesity-prevention-source/prevalence-incidence/>). The researchers have opted to rely upon NFHS-4 data as it’s the most recent data available in the country from 2015-2016 unlike Census 2011 data which is almost a decade old and may not be reflective of the demographic trends and patterns seen in the country as of date.

Data and Methodology

Data & Limitations

As the last Census of India data was recorded over a decade ago in 2011, NFHS-4 which provides the latest data (albeit from 2015-2016), has been utilized for the purpose of the analysis. NFHS provides national data for health, nutrition, and population for all the Indian States & Union Territories (“**UTs**”). Note, one of the major limitations of the NFHS-4 is that while data pertaining to maternal mortality rate (“**MMR**”) is generally recorded in Demographic and Health Surveys (“**DHS**”), the fourth round of NFHS did not have data available for MMR.

Methodology

The report uses descriptive analysis to ascertain the difference in women in the 21-30 years age group by marital status and age at marriage, further disaggregating them by their socio-demographic background, empowerment status, and health outcomes of women and their children.

For the purpose of this report, the phrase ‘*different groups of women by their age at marriage*’ refers to unmarried women⁴, women married before the age of 18 years, women married between the age of 18 and 21 years, women married before the age of 21 years, and women married after the age of 21 years. As the NFHS-4 sample is a stratified two-stage sample, all the estimates are weighted using the national sample weight

to ensure the sample is representative of the population.

Additionally, Pearson’s chi-squared test is employed to determine if the various groups of women are independent. When both dependent and independent variables are categorical, Pearson’s chi-squared test is used. It is a non-parametric test that determines whether measurement of the various groups are independent. It is an inferential statistical procedure which implies that the finding, i.e. significant (or insignificant) difference between the groups is not just a sample phenomenon but a population characteristic.

⁴ Unmarried women are anywhere between the age of 21 to 30 years at the time of NFHS-4 data collection.

Analysis of NFHS – 4

According to the NFHS-4, 62.6% of women got married before 21 years of age (reported by women in the age group of 21-30 years) (Table 1). While a third ⁵ of these women got married before they turned 18 years old, 28.3% were married after turning 18 years and before 21 years of age.

These nine States include Bihar (81%), Jharkhand (73.9%), West Bengal (73.5%), Rajasthan (73%), Andhra Pradesh (72.7%), Madhya Pradesh (71.8%), Chhattisgarh (63.4%), Telangana (63.4%), and Uttar Pradesh (62.7%). (Table A1 in Appendix A).

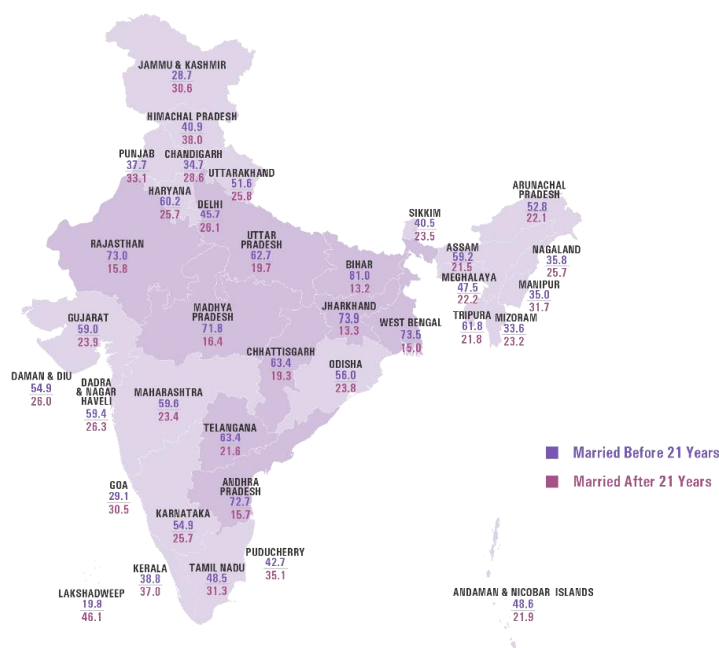
On the other hand, there are 12 (twelve) States & UTs with the prevalence of marriage higher than the national average (28.3%) of women being married between 18 and 21 years of age.

Furthermore, 28 States & UTs have the prevalence of marriage higher than the national average (21.2%) for women married after the age of 21 years. The top 5 States & UTs include Lakshadweep (46.1%), Himachal Pradesh (38%), Kerala (37%), Puducherry (35.1%), and Punjab (33.1%).⁶

Age at Marriage	%
Unmarried	16.2
Married before 18 years	34.3
Married between 18 and 21 years	28.3
Married after 21 years	21.2
Total	100

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Figure 1: Prevalence of Marriage Among Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years in India (%)



Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

⁵ Of the women who got married before the age of 21 years, 54.8% got married before turning 18 years old.

⁶ For more details, see Table A1 in Appendix A.

Age of Marriage and Place of Residence

The place of residence or location i.e., being raised in a rural or urban area has a significant impact⁷ on the women's age of marriage. Of all the rural women in the age group of 21-30 years, 69.7% got married before the age of 21 years, whereas less than half (49.2%) of their urban counterparts got married before the age of 21 years (Table 2).

Table 2: Prevalence of Marriage of Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage and Place of Residence (%)

Age at Marriage	Urban	Rural	Total
Unmarried	23.7	12.2	16.2
Married before 18 years	24	39.8	34.3
Married between 18 and 21 years	25.2	29.9	28.3
Married after 21 years	27.1	18.1	21.2
Total	100	100	100

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

While 24% of urban women got married before the age of 18 years, 39.8% of rural women got married before the age of 18 years. Between the age of 18 to 21 years, one of out every four (25.2%) urban women got married, compared to three out of ten (29.9%) of rural women. Furthermore, 27.1% of urban women got married after the age of 21 years, compared to 18.1% of rural women.

Moreover, of all the women who got married before 21 years of age, in the age group of 21-30 years, 72.5% were from rural areas. It is pertinent to note that the proportion of women getting married in rural areas as compared to urban areas kept decreasing as the age at marriage increased. To substantiate, while 75.5% of women who got married before 18 years belonged to rural areas, 68.8% and 55.4% of women who got married between 18 and 21 years and after 21 years of age, respectively, belonged to rural areas.⁸ Thus, a larger majority of women in rural areas (69%) got married before the age of 21 years as compared to urban areas (49.2%).

However, the situation is not the same across the Indian States & UTs. The top 5 (five) States with high prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years in rural areas include Himachal Pradesh (93.3%), Assam (89.4%), Bihar (89%), Meghalaya (85.2%), and Odisha (84.9%). It is pertinent to note that the 5 (five) States & UTs with high prevalence of marriage in urban areas for women before the age of 21 years include 4 UTs and the smallest State of the country viz. Delhi (99.2%), Chandigarh (97%), Goa (82.2%), Daman and Diu (73.9%), and Puducherry (73%).⁹ The results for the top 5 States are similar for different groups of women by their age at marriage (Figure 2).¹⁰

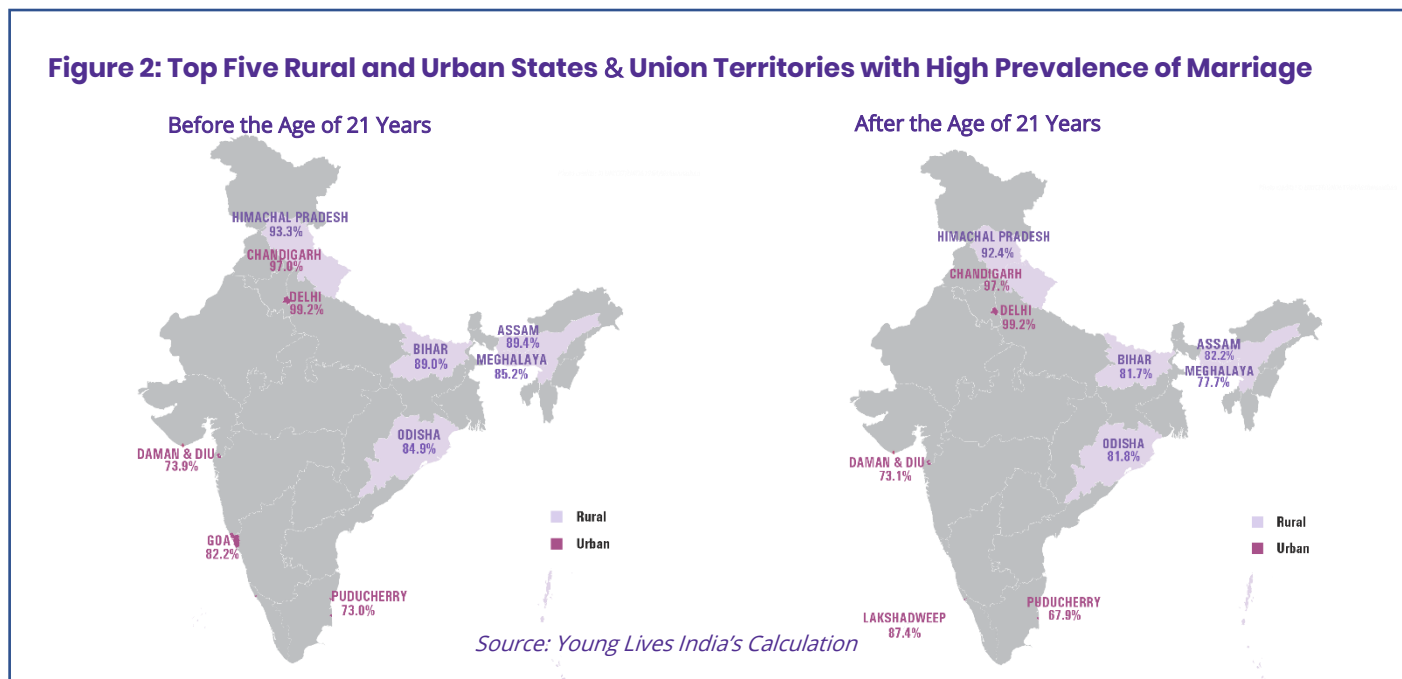
⁷ Based on the Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

⁸ For more details, see Table A2-A5 in Appendix A.

⁹ For more details, see Table A2 in Appendix A.

¹⁰ For more details, see Table A3-A5 in Appendix A.

Figure 2: Top Five Rural and Urban States & Union Territories with High Prevalence of Marriage



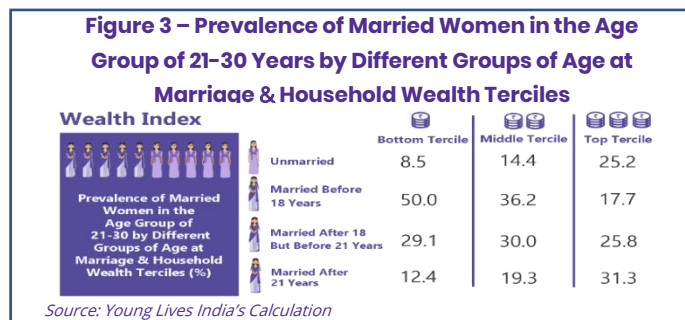
Household Wealth and the Age of Marriage

Data from NFHS-4 highlights that age at marriage for women differ significantly based on the wealth of the household¹¹. For the purpose of the analysis, the national level sample was divided into household wealth terciles, i.e., bottom, middle, and top.

As highlighted in Figure 3, the prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years is lower for women from top wealth tercile households (43.5%) as compared to bottom (79.1%) and middle (66.2%) wealth tercile households.

It is pertinent to note that while women from 50% of the bottom tercile households got married before the age of 18 years, 36.2% of women from the middle tercile households got married before 18 years, and a significantly lower percentage i.e., 17.7% of the women from the top tercile households got married before the age of 18 years.

Moreover, while 25.8% of women from the top wealth tercile households got married between the age 18 to 21 years, 30% of women from the middle wealth tercile households, and 29.1% from the bottom wealth tercile households got married between the age of 18 to 21 years. Furthermore, a quarter of girls from the top tercile households remained unmarried and a third got married after 21 years of age. This was much lower for girls from the middle (19.3%) and bottom (12.4%) wealth tercile households. This underscores that early marriage is associated with girls from poor households (Figure 3).



¹¹ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

While early marriages are seen more in the bottom and middle tercile households, the pattern varies across the Indian States & UTs. Amongst marriages that took place before the age of 21 years, 8 (eight) States have over 50% of prevalence in the bottom wealth tercile households. In 3 (three) States, the prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years was over 50% in the middle wealth tercile households. Furthermore, in 8 (eight) States & UTs over 50% of the prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years was in the top wealth tercile households.¹² Amongst marriages that take place after the age of 21 years, Bihar (53.4%) have over 50% of prevalence in the bottom wealth tercile households. In 3 (three) States, the prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years was over 50% in the middle wealth tercile households. Furthermore, in 17 (seventeen) States & UTs, the prevalence of marriage after 21 years of age is higher than the national average (50.5%) in the top wealth tercile households.

Given that the wealth terciles are taken at the national level, certain States have a higher proportion of a particular wealth tercile. Therefore, the same State appears to have high prevalence of marriage both before and after the age of 21 years in a particular wealth tercile.¹³ For instance, 68.8% of the households in Bihar are in bottom wealth tercile and therefore high proportion of marriages take place both before (73.6%) and after (53.4%) the age of 21 years in bottom wealth tercile as compared to other wealth terciles. Similarly, 87.3% of the households in Chandigarh are in top wealth

¹²These include Kerala (70.6%), Lakshadweep (69.4%), Chandigarh (68.9%), Punjab (67.4%), Delhi (64.7%), Haryana (61.6%), Goa (52.9%), and Puducherry (50.7%).

tercile, therefore, 68.9% of the marriages take place before the age of 21 years and 95.5% of the marriages take place after the age of 21 years in top wealth tercile households.

Caste and Age of Marriage

Data reveals that there is a significant difference in women's age at marriage based on their caste.¹⁴

The prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years is higher amongst the marginal castes viz. Scheduled Castes (66%), Scheduled Tribes (68.6%), and Other Backward Castes (64.2%), as compared to the Other or General Castes (53.7%). Furthermore, the prevalence of marriage after the age of 21 years is higher amongst Other Castes (25.8%) as compared to the marginal castes.

The prevalence of marriage before the age of 18 years is higher amongst Scheduled Tribe (ST) households (39.9%), as compared to other marginal castes, whereas the

Table 3: Prevalence of Marriage, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage and Caste (%)

Age at Marriage	SCs	STs	OBCs	Other	Total
Unmarried	15.3	14.5	14.6	20.5	16.1
Married before 18 years	37.6	39.9	34.9	27.3	34.2
Married between 18 and 21 years	28.4	28.7	29.3	26.4	28.4
Married after 21 years	18.6	16.9	21.2	25.8	21.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

¹³ For more details, see Table A6–A10 in Appendix A.

¹⁴ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

prevalence of marriage between the age of 18-21 years is higher amongst Other Backward Castes, as compared to other marginal castes (Table 3). The pattern varies across the Indian States & UTs. For instance, majority of the population of Lakshadweep, Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Nagaland belongs to STs¹⁵, therefore, over 90% of the marriages, whether before or after the age of 21 years, are from ST households. The top 10 States with the majority of marriages before the age of 21 years taking place in the marginal caste households include Tamil Nadu (98.9%), Chhattisgarh (95.7%), Jharkhand (91.9%), Telangana (90.9%), Karnataka (89%), Madhya Pradesh (87.9%), Arunachal Pradesh (86.8%), Bihar (86.1%), Tripura (86%), and Odisha (85.7%). Furthermore, Andaman and Nicobar Islands (70.4%), Goa (54.2%), Himachal Pradesh (51.6%), and Jammu and Kashmir

(50.2%) have a majority of marriages before the age of 21 years being undertaken in Other Castes households.¹⁶ A similar pattern is seen amongst States & UTs from all the groups of women's age at marriage.¹⁷

Highest Level of Education and Age of Marriage

Age at marriage is significantly¹⁸ different for women based on their highest level of education.¹⁹ A significant proportion of women (34.3%) in the age group of 21-30 years who got married before the age of 18 years did not receive any formal education.

For women married between 18 and 21 years, 48.9% received secondary or beyond education, this proportion increases significantly to 69.2% for women who got married after the age of 21 years (Table 4).

Table 4: Prevalence of Marriage, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage and the Highest Level of Education Received (%)

Age at Marriage	No Education	Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Tertiary
Unmarried	5.3	4.4	7.5	12.4	14.1	56.3
Married before 18 years	34.3	18.9	21.5	16.5	5.8	3
Married between 18 and 21 years	19.2	12.7	19.2	22.8	14.9	11.2
Married after 21 years	10.7	7.1	13.1	19.4	16	33.8
Total	20.3	12.3	16.8	18.2	11.9	20.5

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

¹⁵ Based on Census of India 2011, these are predominantly tribal States & UTs (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*. Retrieved from https://censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/scheduled_castes_and_scheduled_tribes.aspx).

¹⁶ For more details, see Table A10 in Appendix A.

¹⁷ For more details, see Table A11, A12 & A13 in Appendix A.

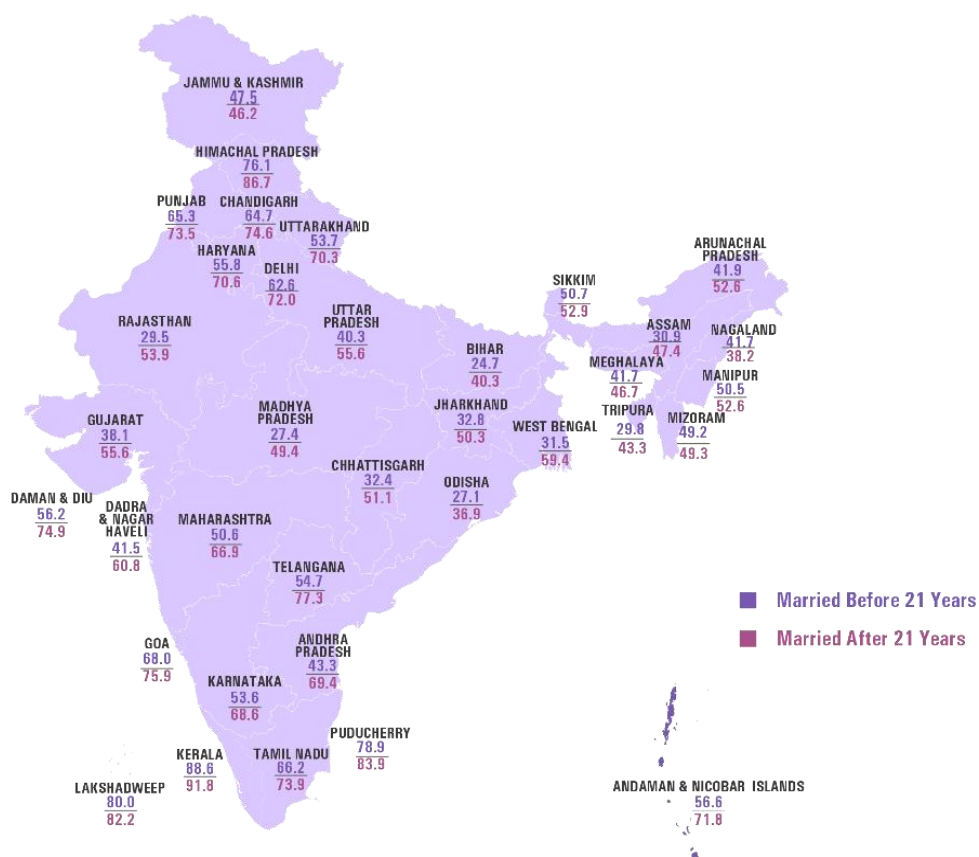
¹⁸ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

¹⁹ The different levels of education are defined as following: 'no education' refers to not having been completed Grade 1, 'primary level education' includes having completed either of Grades 1 to 5, 'upper primary level education' includes having completed either of Grades 6 to 8, 'secondary level education' includes having completed either of Grades 9 to 10, 'higher secondary level education' includes having completed either of Grades 11 to 12, and 'tertiary level education' includes having completed at least one additional year education after Grade 12.

It is pertinent to note that the completion rate of secondary education²⁰ is significantly higher among the women who got married after the age of 21 years (61.8%), as compared to women who got married before the age of 21 years (28.1%). This pattern can be seen across all the States & UTs (Figure 4).²¹

Furthermore, of women who married before the age of 18 years, only 18.3% had completed secondary level education. A similar pattern is observed across the Indian States & UTs.²²

Figure 4 – Completion of Secondary Education Amongst Married Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years (%)



Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

²⁰ Completion rate of secondary education is the proportion of women who have at least completed Grade 10.

²¹ For more details, see Table A17 & A14 in Appendix A.

²² For more details, see Table A14, A15, A16 & A17 in Appendix A.

Employment and Earnings

Economic empowerment is critical in realizing gender equality and women’s rights. It includes access to decent work, agency, and participation in economic decision making, among others²³. Based on NFHS-4 analysis, the type of employment significantly differs based on the women’s age at marriage²⁴.

Amongst women engaged in professional/ technical/ managerial work, 31.3% got married after the age of 21 years, only 7.9% and 12.5% got married before 18 years and between 18–21 years, respectively. Agricultural and manual-skilled and unskilled work is predominantly undertaken by women who got married before the age of 21 years (Figure 5).

Figure 5 – Type of Occupation for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years of Age

	Not in the Workforce	Professional/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Agricultural	Services & Domestic Labour	Manual-Skilled & Unskilled
Unmarried	14.9	48.2	50.4	31.7	9.3	22.4	21.8
Married Before 18 Years	30.5	7.9	10.4	36.2	52.2	34.6	42.9
Married After 18 But Before 21 Years	30.1	12.5	16.7	17.2	28.2	22.4	24.0
Married After 21 Years	24.6	31.3	22.5	14.9	10.2	20.6	11.3

Source: Young Lives India’s Calculation

According to World Bank (2017)²⁵, women who married early tend to have lower earnings in their lifetime as compared to women who married later due to low educational attainment, higher fertility, and large family size, which impacts the welfare of their respective households. Furthermore, in-kind payments are more common for agricultural and domestic work, with better jobs paying in cash²⁶.

The decision-making power with respect to women’s earning²⁷ is also significantly associated with their age at marriage²⁸. While 82.2% of working women, who got married after the age of 21 years are involved in deciding how to spend their earnings, only 78.5% of working women who got married before the age of 18 years got involved in these decisions (Figure 7).

²³ UN Women. (2018). *Facts and Figures: Economic Empowerment*. Retrieved from <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/economic-empowerment/facts-and-figures>

²⁴ Based on Pearson’s chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

²⁵ The World Bank. (2017). *Economic Impacts of Child Marriage: Work, Earnings, and Household Welfare Brief*.

²⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁷ Here, decision making pertains to only the money earned by the women.

²⁸ Based on Pearson’s chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

Figure 6 – Type of Earnings of Working Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years by Their Age at Marriage

	Not Paid	Cash Only	Cash and In-Kind	In- Kind Only
Married Before 18 Years	17.1	69.7	9.0	4.3
Married After 18 But Before 21 Years	18.8	70.3	7.1	3.8
Married After 21 Years	14.8	78.4	4.0	2.8

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Using the NFHS-4 data, it is found that the type of earnings received by the working women significantly differ based on the women's age at marriage²⁹. Figure 6 shows that a higher proportion of women who got married after the age of 21 years are paid in cash (78.4%), as compared to 69.7% and 70.3% of women who got married before 18 years and between 18–21 years of age, respectively.

Also, a higher proportion of women who got married before the age of 18 years are paid in-kind (4.3%), as compared to 2.8% of women who got married after the age of 21 years. This may be an indicator of the agency of girls who married later and demanded wages in cash for work rendered.

Figure 7 – Decision Regarding the Spending of the Working Women's Earnings (%)

	Married Before 18 Yrs	Married After 18 but Before 21 Yrs	Married After 21 Yrs
Respondent Alone	7.8	86.4	3.9
Respondent and Husband/ Partner	17.1	69.7	9.0
Husband/ Partner Alone	18.8	70.3	7.1
Someone Else	14.8	78.4	4.0

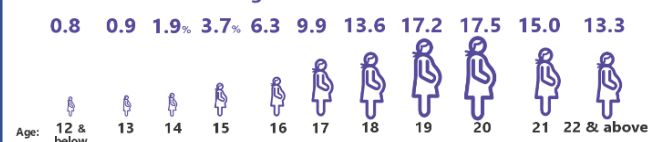
Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Teenage Pregnancy

Women's age at first birth is significantly associated with her age at marriage.³⁰ Of the women married before the age of 21, 53.5% become a teenage mother.³¹ It is pertinent to note that 34.3% of women in the age-group of 21-30 years got married before the age of 18 years (Table 1), and 79% of these became teenage mothers. WHO (2020)³² reports teenage pregnancy to be the leading cause of death amongst 15 to 19-year-old girls. Additionally, while 95.2% of women who married after 21 years gave first birth after the age of 22 years, only 13.3% of women who married before 21 years gave first birth after 22 years of age (Figure 8). According to Perez-Alvarez & Favara (2019),³³ early motherhood also has detrimental impact on the health and cognition of their children.

Figure 8

Percentage of Married Women Before the Age of 21 Years and Age at First Child Birth



Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Body Mass Index

Low body mass index³⁴ (BMI) is significantly associated with the women's age at marriage³⁵. Of all the women married before the age of 18 years, 25% had low BMI, whereas 18.6% of women who got married after the

²⁹ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

³⁰ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

³¹ For more details, see Table A16 in Appendix A.

³² World Health Organization. (2020). *Adolescent pregnancy*. Retrieved from <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/adolescent-pregnancy>

³³ Perez-Alvarez, M., & Favara, M. (2019). *Maternal Age and Offspring Human Capital in India*. (IZA DP No. 12489). Retrieved from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp12489.pdf>

³⁴ The estimate does not include women who were pregnant or had given birth to a child in the past 2 months at the time of the interview.

³⁵ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

age of 21 years had low BMI (Table 5). It is pertinent to note that literature informs about poor health outcomes amongst women who married early, specifically on account of early pregnancy.

Table 5: Percentage of Marital Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years with Low Body Mass Index (BMI) (%)

Age at Marriage	Low BMI
Married before 18 years	25
Married between 18 and 21 years	24
Married after 21 years	18.6
<i>Source: Young Lives India's Calculation</i>	

The top 5 States with low BMI among women married before the age of 21 years include Jharkhand (32.3%), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (31.4%), Bihar (28.3%), Madhya Pradesh (28.3%), and Gujarat (28.1%). Four of these top 5 States feature in the top 5 of all the other groups of age at marriage.³⁶

Ideal Number of Children as Perceived by Women Aged 21-30 Years

The ideal number of children is the number of children women aged 21-30 shared they would choose to have in their whole life. According to the DHS Guide, this number is affected by the actual number of living children of women. Age at marriage and the ideal number of children is significantly associated with each other³⁷. As highlighted by Table 6, the earlier the women are married, the more children they consider ideal. For instance, while 28.3% of the women married before the age of 18 years consider three or more children to be ideal, 19.3% of the women married between 18 to 21 years and

only 11.2% of the women married after 21 years consider it to be an ideal number. Therefore, to curb the growth in Indian population for a sustainable future, it is imperative to ensure that women are well-educated and marry when they are mature enough to start their own family.

Table 6: Ideal Number of Children as Per Women in The Age-Group 21-30 Years by Their Age at Marriage (%)

No. of children	Married before 18 years	Married between 18 and 21 years	Married after 21 years	Total
0	3.2	2.5	2.6	3.6
1	4.1	6.4	11.2	8
2	64.2	71.6	74.9	69.2
3	20.6	14.8	8.7	14
4	6.7	3.9	2.2	4.1
5	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.4
6+	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2
non-numeric response	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
Total	100	100	100	100
<i>Source: Young Lives India's Calculation</i>				

Children Born to Women Aged 21-30 Years

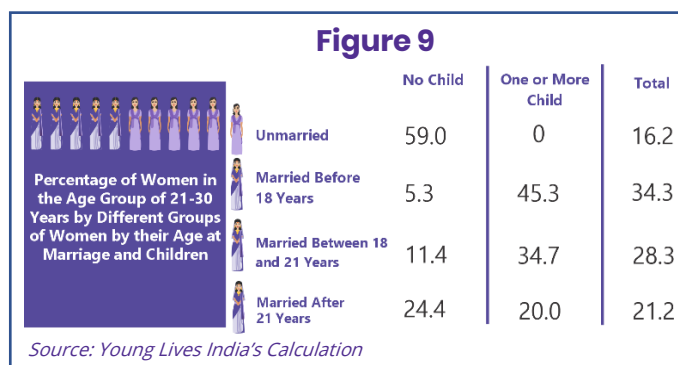
The number of children³⁸ born to women in the age group 21-30 years is significantly different among women based on their age at marriage³⁹. It is pertinent to note that 80 % of the women in the age-group 21-30 years with children, got married before the age of 21 years (Figure 9).

³⁶ See Table A17 in Appendix A.

³⁷ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

³⁸ This is taken as the total number of children ever born to the woman.

³⁹ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.



The same trend is seen across the States where over 80% of women who married before the age of 21 years had one or more children.⁴⁰ In fact, over 92% of women who got married before the age of 18 years and over 75% of women who got married between the age of 18 and 21 years had one or more children in all the Indian States & UTs.⁴¹

Of women married before the age of 18 years, 15.6% have one child, 41.7% have two children, 59.7% have three or more children. Of women married between 18 to 21 years, 33.4% have one child, 39.3% have two children, and 27.3% have three or more children.

Of women married after 21 years of age, 42.4% have one child, 21.6% have two children, and 4.5% have three or more children. Table 7 shows that the number of children born to a woman is significantly⁴² less when she is married after 21 years of age.

Nutritional Status of Children

Anthropometric measures of weight and height are used to determine the nutritional status of children. Additionally, the severity of anaemia is considered as it can cause stunting, impair cognitive development, and increase the chances of falling ill due to infectious diseases.

Anaemic level amongst the children is significantly associated with the age at which the women (their mothers) got married⁴³ (Table 8). A higher proportion of children born to women who got married before the age of 18 years are anaemic (60.1%), as compared to children born to women who got married after the age of 21 years (56.2%).

Table 7: Percentage of Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years by Different Groups of Women by Their age at Marriage and Number of Children Ever Born (%)

Total children ever born	Unmarried	Married before 18 years	Married between 18 and 21 years	Married after 21 years	Total
0	99.8	4.2	11	31.6	27.4
1	0.1	15.6	33.4	42.4	23.8
2	0.1	41.7	39.3	21.6	30
3	0	24.7	12.5	3.7	12.8
4	0	9.6	3	0.7	4.3
5	0	3	0.6	0.1	1.2
6	0	0.9	0.1	0	0.4
7	0	0.2	0	0	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Table 8: Anaemia Level of Children of Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years by Women's Age at Marriage (%)

Anaemia level	Married before 18 years	Married before 21 years	Married between 18 and 21 years	Married after 21 years
Severe	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4
Moderate	30	29.7	29.5	27.9
Mild	28.5	28.4	28.3	26.9
Not anaemic	39.9	40.3	40.6	43.8

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

⁴⁰ For more details, see Table A18 in Appendix A.

⁴¹ For more details, see Table A19 & A20 in Appendix A.

⁴² Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

⁴³ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

This is true also for stunting amongst the children which is found to be significantly associated with the age at which the women (their mothers) got married⁴⁴. Of children born to the women married after the age of 21 years, 29.1% are stunted as compared to 44% & 37.2% stunting among children born to the women who married before age of 18 years and between the age of 18-21 years, respectively (Table 9).

Table 9: Stunting Amongst Children Born to the Women in the Age Group 21-30 Years by Women's Age at Marriage (%)

Whether the child is stunted?	Married before 18 years	Married before 21 years	Married between 18 and 21 years	Married after 21 years
Yes	44	40.6	37.2	29.1
No	56	59.4	62.8	70.9

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Weight for age amongst the children is significantly associated with the age at which the women (their mothers) got married⁴⁵. While 71.9% of children born to women married after the age of 21 years weigh healthy⁴⁶ in accordance to their age, only 59.2% & 64.5% of children born to women married before the age of 18 years & between the age of 18-21 years weigh healthy, respectively (Table 10).

Table 10: Underweight & Overweight Issue Amongst Children Born to the Women in the Age Group 21-30 Years by the Women's age at Marriage

Weight category	Married before 18 years	Married before 21 years	Married between 18 and 21 years	Married after 21 years
Underweight	40.4	37.8	35.1	27.3
Healthy weight	59.2	61.8	64.5	71.9

Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

District Level Analysis

The top 100 districts with the highest prevalence of marriage before the age of 21 years belong to 11 Indian States, viz. Bihar (30), Madhya Pradesh (18), Jharkhand (12), Rajasthan (10), West Bengal (10), Maharashtra (7), Uttar Pradesh (7), Andhra Pradesh (3), Gujarat (1), Haryana (1), and Odisha (1).⁴⁷ On the other hand, the top 100 districts with the highest prevalence of marriage after the age of 21 years belong to 17 Indian States & UTs, viz. Tamil Nadu (18), Punjab (12), Kerala (11), Himachal Pradesh (10), Jammu & Kashmir (9), Karnataka (7), Haryana (6), Maharashtra (6), Manipur (5), Odisha (5), Puducherry (3), Nagaland (2), Uttar Pradesh (2), Goa (1), Lakshadweep (1), Madhya Pradesh (1), and West Bengal (1).⁴⁸

To ensure a sustainable living, the policymakers need to focus on the top 100 districts where higher proportion of marriages take place before the women are 21 years old. Additionally, studies could be undertaken to understand what has been working in the top 100 districts where higher proportion of marriages take place after women turn 21.

⁴⁴ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

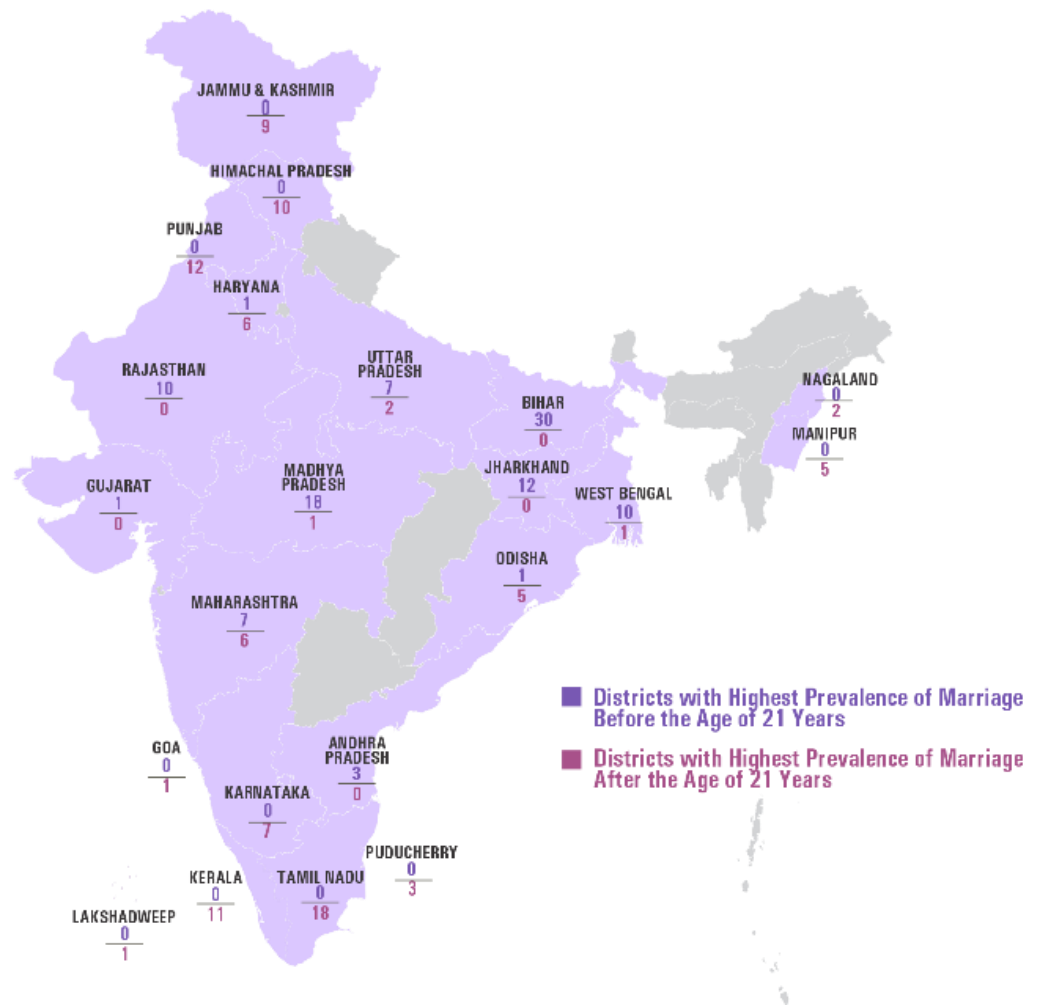
⁴⁵ Based on Pearson's chi-squared test at 1% level of significance.

⁴⁶ Body mass index between 18.5 to 24.99 kg/m² is considered healthy or normal weight.

⁴⁷ For more details, see Table A19 in Appendix A.

⁴⁸ For more details, see Table A20 in Appendix A.

Figure 10 – Top 100 Districts with Highest Prevalence of Child Marriage



Source: Young Lives India's Calculation

Conclusion

The analysis supports that early marriages devoid women of formal education, reduces their agency, and severely impact the health and upbringing of their offsprings.

According to the NFHS-4 data, nine States have higher prevalence of marriage of young women before the age of 21 years as compared to the national average (62.6%). As also reported by UNICEF (2001)⁴⁹ and Sudarsoa, Mas'udahb and Budirahayu (2020)⁵⁰, early marriage is found to be a rural phenomenon. There are 15 States in which more than 70% of marriages before the age of 21 years take place in rural areas. While early marriage is seen more amongst poor households, in eight States & UTs, over 50% of marriages before the age of 21 years take place in wealthy households. Moreover, marriage before the age of 21 years is more prominent amongst marginal castes as compared to general castes. There are 20 States & UTs in which more than 80% of marriages before the age of 21 years take place amongst marginal castes.

The analysis reveals that critical education and health outcomes amongst women who got married after the age of 21 years are significantly better compared to women who got married before the age of 21 years, as higher proportion of women completed their secondary education (61.8%) and lower proportion of women have low BMI (18.6%), if married after 21 years of age. Women who got married after the age of 21 years are seen to have a better job, earn in-cash, and have

relatively higher autonomy on spending their earnings as compared to women who got married before the age of 21 years.

An important finding pertains to teenage pregnancy which is prominent amongst the women who got married before the age of 21 years. Out of total 21-30 years old women with children, 80% got married before the age of 21 years; and the nutritional status and anaemia level of children born to women who got married after the age of 21 years (29.1% stunted, 27.3% underweight, and 56.2% anaemic) is better than the children of women who got married before the age of 21 years (40.6% stunted, 37.8% underweight, and 59.7% anaemic). In addition, women who were married before 21 years of age were found to hold beliefs that considered greater number of children as ideal, which would in turn negatively impact increase in population growth. This highlights how increasing the minimum age of marriage for women will help in containing population growth and would be a step forward towards sustainable living.

Lastly, the analysis also brings forth the shortcomings of the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006 (“**PCMA 2006**”). In spite of the enactment of PCMA, NFHS-4 found that 34.3% of women in 21-30 years of age-group were married as a child.

⁴⁹ UNICEF. (2001). *Early Marriage: Child Spouses*. (Innocenti Digest). Retrieved from <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/digest7e.pdf>

⁵⁰ Sudarsoa, Mas'udahb, S. and Budirahayu, T. (2020). Early Marriage and Women's Empowerment in Rural Areas. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 13(3).

It is pertinent to point out that according to PCMA 2006, child marriages are legally voidable (not null and void), and the onus of declaring the marriage void via filing a petition falls only on the contracting party, i.e., the individuals who got married (or by the guardian if the child is minor).

As in most cases, the guardians are involved in conducting child marriages, and the girl

herself can file the petition till two years after she attains majority, consequently, in practice this legal recourse to declare a child marriage void becomes ineffective.

Therefore, in addition to increasing the minimum age of marriage for women, there is an urgent need to look at child marriage using a human rights lens and declare all child marriages *void ab initio*.



Appendices

Appendix A

Table A1: Prevalence of Marriage Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage and the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Unmarried (%)	Married		Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)
		Married before 18 years (%)	between 18 and 21 years (%)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)=(2)+(3)	(5)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	29.5	21.6	27	48.6	21.9
Andhra Pradesh	11.5	42.7	30	72.7	15.7
Arunachal Pradesh	25.1	30.2	22.6	52.8	22.1
Assam	19.3	33.8	25.4	59.2	21.5
Bihar	5.8	51.2	29.8	81	13.2
Chandigarh	36.7	16.5	18.2	34.7	28.6
Chhattisgarh	17.3	31.9	31.5	63.4	19.3
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	14.3	30.5	28.9	59.4	26.3
Daman and Diu	19.1	26.6	28.3	54.9	26
Goa	40.4	16.1	13	29.1	30.5
Gujarat	17.1	31	28	59	23.9
Haryana	14.1	27.7	32.5	60.2	25.7
Himachal Pradesh	21.1	11.4	29.5	40.9	38
Jammu and Kashmir	40.7	12.1	16.6	28.7	30.6
Jharkhand	12.8	45.9	28	73.9	13.3
Karnataka	19.4	26.5	28.4	54.9	25.7
Kerala	24.2	11.5	27.3	38.8	37
Lakshadweep	34.1	4.6	15.2	19.8	46.1
Madhya Pradesh	11.8	42.5	29.3	71.8	16.4
Maharashtra	16.9	30.6	29	59.6	23.4
Manipur	33.3	13	22	35	31.7
Meghalaya	30.3	22.3	25.2	47.5	22.2

Table A1: Prevalence of Marriage Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage and the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Unmarried (%)	Married before 18 years (%)	Married between 18 and 21 years (%)	Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)=(2)+(3)	(5)
Mizoram	43.2	12.7	20.9	33.6	23.2
Nagaland	38.5	16.3	19.5	35.8	25.7
Delhi	28.2	22.9	22.8	45.7	26.1
Odisha	20.1	25.9	30.1	56	23.8
Puducherry	22.2	18	24.7	42.7	35.1
Punjab	29.2	12.6	25.1	37.7	33.1
Rajasthan	11.2	45.2	27.8	73	15.8
Sikkim	35.9	20.9	19.6	40.5	23.5
Tamil Nadu	20.2	21.2	27.3	48.5	31.3
Tripura	16.3	35	26.8	61.8	21.8
Uttar Pradesh	17.6	33.5	29.2	62.7	19.7
Uttarakhand	22.6	22.2	29.4	51.6	25.8
West Bengal	11.5	47.1	26.4	73.5	15
Telangana	14.9	36.3	27.1	63.4	21.6
India	16.2	34.3	28.3	62.6	21.2

Table A2: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	37.5	62.5	100
Andhra Pradesh	28.2	71.8	100
Arunachal Pradesh	24.4	75.6	100
Assam	10.6	89.4	100
Bihar	11	89	100
Chandigarh	97	3	100
Chhattisgarh	19.1	80.9	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	42.9	57.1	100
Daman and Diu	73.9	26.1	100

Table A2: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
Goa	82.2	17.8	100
Gujarat	39.3	60.7	100
Haryana	35.7	64.3	100
Himachal Pradesh	6.7	93.3	100
Jammu and Kashmir	16.7	83.3	100
Jharkhand	20.2	79.8	100
Karnataka	38.1	61.9	100
Kerala	47.3	52.7	100
Lakshadweep	69.6	30.4	100
Madhya Pradesh	24.6	75.4	100
Maharashtra	40.3	59.7	100
Manipur	33	67	100
Meghalaya	14.8	85.2	100
Mizoram	44.3	55.7	100
Nagaland	30	70	100
Delhi	99.2	0.8	100
Odisha	15.1	84.9	100
Puducherry	73	27	100
Punjab	35.9	64.1	100
Rajasthan	20.3	79.7	100
Sikkim	32.1	67.9	100
Tamil Nadu	45.4	54.6	100
Tripura	24.1	75.9	100
Uttar Pradesh	19.8	80.2	100
Uttarakhand	31.4	68.6	100
West Bengal	25.1	74.9	100
Telangana	42.2	57.8	100
India	27.5	72.5	100

Table A3: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 18 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	38.5	61.5	100
Andhra Pradesh	27.7	72.3	100

Table A3: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 18 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
Arunachal Pradesh	23.8	76.2	100
Assam	10.8	89.2	100
Bihar	10.5	89.5	100
Chandigarh	95.7	4.3	100
Chhattisgarh	17.1	82.9	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	42.3	57.7	100
Daman and Diu	80.7	19.3	100
Goa	85.8	14.2	100
Gujarat	35.3	64.7	100
Haryana	37.8	62.2	100
Himachal Pradesh	5.6	94.4	100
Jammu and Kashmir	17	83	100
Jharkhand	18.4	81.6	100
Karnataka	35	65	100
Kerala	44.8	55.2	100
Lakshadweep	69.4	30.6	100
Madhya Pradesh	20.2	79.8	100
Maharashtra	40	60	100
Manipur	32	68	100
Meghalaya	14.8	85.2	100
Mizoram	33.9	66.1	100
Nagaland	32.1	67.9	100
Delhi	99.8	0.2	100
Odisha	14.6	85.4	100
Puducherry	76.2	23.8	100
Punjab	40.8	59.2	100
Rajasthan	17.5	82.5	100
Sikkim	34.2	65.8	100
Tamil Nadu	43.6	56.4	100
Tripura	22.9	77.1	100
Uttar Pradesh	15.6	84.4	100
Uttarakhand	33.1	66.9	100
West Bengal	22.6	77.4	100
Telangana	36.5	63.5	100
India	24.5	75.5	100

Table A4: Prevalence of Marriage Between the Age of 18 and 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	36.7	63.3	100
Andhra Pradesh	28.9	71.1	100
Arunachal Pradesh	25.2	74.8	100
Assam	10.4	89.6	100
Bihar	11.8	88.2	100
Chandigarh	98.1	1.9	100
Chhattisgarh	21.2	78.8	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	43.6	56.4	100
Daman and Diu	67.6	32.4	100
Goa	77.7	22.3	100
Gujarat	43.7	56.3	100
Haryana	33.9	66.1	100
Himachal Pradesh	7.2	92.8	100
Jammu and Kashmir	16.5	83.5	100
Jharkhand	23.1	76.9	100
Karnataka	40.9	59.1	100
Kerala	48.3	51.7	100
Lakshadweep	69.6	30.4	100
Madhya Pradesh	30.9	69.1	100
Maharashtra	40.7	59.3	100
Manipur	33.5	66.5	100
Meghalaya	14.8	85.2	100
Mizoram	50.6	49.4	100
Nagaland	28.2	71.8	100
Delhi	98.7	1.3	100
Odisha	15.6	84.4	100
Puducherry	70.6	29.4	100
Punjab	33.5	66.5	100
Rajasthan	24.9	75.1	100
Sikkim	29.8	70.2	100
Tamil Nadu	46.8	53.2	100
Tripura	25.6	74.4	100
Uttar Pradesh	24.7	75.3	100
Uttarakhand	30.1	69.9	100

Table A4: Prevalence of Marriage Between the Age of 18 and 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
West Bengal	29.6	70.4	100
Telangana	49.8	50.2	100
India	31.2	68.8	100

Table A5: Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Place of Residence and the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Urban (%)	Rural (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	37.6	62.4	100
Andhra Pradesh	36.4	63.6	100
Arunachal Pradesh	32.9	67.1	100
Assam	17.8	82.2	100
Bihar	18.3	81.7	100
Chandigarh	97.5	2.5	100
Chhattisgarh	35	65	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	57.2	42.8	100
Daman and Diu	73.1	26.9	100
Goa	61	39	100
Gujarat	55.9	44.1	100
Haryana	43.2	56.8	100
Himachal Pradesh	7.6	92.4	100
Jammu and Kashmir	28.8	71.2	100
Jharkhand	40	60	100
Karnataka	51.4	48.6	100
Kerala	49.2	50.8	100
Lakshadweep	87.4	12.6	100
Madhya Pradesh	45	55	100
Maharashtra	57.5	42.5	100
Manipur	37.7	62.3	100
Meghalaya	22.3	77.7	100
Mizoram	55.4	44.6	100
Nagaland	34	66	100
Delhi	99.2	0.8	100
Odisha	18.2	81.8	100

Puducherry	67.9	32.1	100
Punjab	40.9	59.1	100
Rajasthan	40.1	59.9	100
Sikkim	34.5	65.5	100
Tamil Nadu	54.9	45.1	100
Tripura	30.9	69.1	100
Uttar Pradesh	35.8	64.2	100
Uttarakhand	42	58	100
West Bengal	50.6	49.4	100
Telangana	67.1	32.9	100
India	44.6	55.4	100

Table A6: Proportion of Households Across the Wealth Terciles for the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	10.7	36.9	52.5	100
Andhra Pradesh	14.1	52.9	33	100
Arunachal Pradesh	32.4	43.6	24	100
Assam	52.6	34.7	12.7	100
Bihar	68.8	22.3	8.9	100
Chandigarh	2.7	10.1	87.3	100
Chhattisgarh	47.6	28.3	24	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	35.7	34	30.3	100
Daman and Diu	7.4	33.1	59.5	100
Goa	3.9	23.9	72.2	100
Gujarat	18.2	34.4	47.4	100
Haryana	4.7	26.8	68.5	100
Himachal Pradesh	6.2	38.8	54.9	100
Jammu and Kashmir	19.1	41	39.9	100
Jharkhand	61	23	16	100
Karnataka	19.4	44.9	35.7	100
Kerala	1.3	22.9	75.8	100
Lakshadweep	0.3	20.6	79.1	100
Madhya Pradesh	44.9	27.5	27.6	100
Maharashtra	18.5	38.4	43.1	100
Manipur	29	49.4	21.7	100
Meghalaya	36.4	49.6	14	100

States & UTs	UTs			Total (%)
	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	
Mizoram	12.5	30.7	56.8	100
Nagaland	32.2	43.5	24.3	100
Delhi	1.2	20.4	78.4	100
Odisha	55.5	31.4	13.1	100
Puducherry	8.3	31.2	60.5	100
Punjab	1.8	18.8	79.4	100
Rajasthan	30.2	34.7	35.1	100
Sikkim	3.2	64.3	32.5	100
Tamil Nadu	12.1	45.9	42	100
Tripura	47.1	41.2	11.7	100
Uttar Pradesh	40.3	30	29.6	100
Uttarakhand	13.2	38.6	48.3	100
West Bengal	46.1	35.1	18.8	100
Telangana	16.4	42.4	41.3	100
India	32.3	33.9	33.9	100

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	14.4	41.6	44	100
Andhra Pradesh	15.3	57.5	27.3	100
Arunachal Pradesh	37.6	44.5	17.9	100
Assam	60.8	32.2	6.9	100
Bihar	73.6	20.6	5.8	100
Chandigarh	5.4	25.7	68.9	100
Chhattisgarh	55.8	28.8	15.5	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	39.2	38.2	22.6	100
Daman and Diu	11.4	40.4	48.2	100
Goa	10.6	36.5	52.9	100
Gujarat	23.1	40.1	36.8	100
Haryana	6.2	32.2	61.6	100
Himachal Pradesh	11.1	48.7	40.2	100
Jammu and Kashmir	33.7	42	24.2	100

Table A7: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years, by Household Wealth Terciles and States & UTs

Jharkhand	67.1	22.7	10.2	100
Karnataka	23.9	47.1	29	100
Kerala	1.6	27.8	70.6	100
Lakshadweep	0	30.6	69.4	100
Madhya Pradesh	52	28.2	19.7	100
Maharashtra	23.4	44.3	32.2	100
Manipur	39	47.4	13.6	100
Meghalaya	46.7	47	6.3	100
Mizoram	24.2	37	38.8	100
Nagaland	49.4	41.4	9.2	100
Delhi	2.4	32.9	64.7	100
Odisha	60.8	30	9.2	100
Puducherry	11.7	37.6	50.7	100
Punjab	3.6	28.9	67.4	100
Rajasthan	35.4	37.6	27	100
Sikkim	4.3	71.2	24.5	100
Tamil Nadu	15	51.6	33.4	100
Tripura	51.9	40.6	7.6	100
Uttar Pradesh	49.9	30.9	19.2	100
Uttarakhand	19.7	46	34.3	100
West Bengal	53	35.3	11.8	100
Telangana	19.4	47.4	33.2	100
India	40.4	35.8	23.8	100

Table A8: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 18 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years, by Household Wealth Terciles and States & UTs

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	20.1	51.1	28.8	100
Andhra Pradesh	17.5	58.7	23.9	100
Arunachal Pradesh	39.4	45.2	15.3	100
Assam	64.1	30.1	5.8	100
Bihar	77	18.9	4.1	100
Chandigarh	7.3	31.8	60.8	100
Chhattisgarh	62.1	27.4	10.5	100

Table A8: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 18 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years, by Household Wealth Terciles and States & UTs

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	40.4	38.4	21.2	100
Daman and Diu	15	44.9	40.1	100
Goa	15.5	34.5	49.9	100
Gujarat	26.9	44.4	28.7	100
Haryana	8.4	37.2	54.4	100
Himachal Pradesh	19.4	56.5	24.1	100
Jammu and Kashmir	41.3	41.2	17.5	100
Jharkhand	69.7	22.4	8	100
Karnataka	29.1	47.7	23.2	100
Kerala	2	28.7	69.3	100
Lakshadweep	0	41.2	58.8	100
Madhya Pradesh	58	27.7	14.3	100
Maharashtra	27.8	46.6	25.7	100
Manipur	49.3	41.5	9.2	100
Meghalaya	49.4	45.9	4.8	100
Mizoram	33.7	36.3	30.1	100
Nagaland	50.7	41.3	8	100
Delhi	1.7	44.4	53.9	100
Odisha	64.7	27.9	7.4	100
Puducherry	13.3	38.6	48.1	100
Punjab	4.8	34.7	60.5	100
Rajasthan	38.9	38.9	22.2	100
Sikkim	4.6	73.9	21.5	100
Tamil Nadu	16.4	54.3	29.3	100
Tripura	57.7	37.8	4.5	100
Uttar Pradesh	57.6	29.3	13.1	100
Uttarakhand	24.7	48.8	26.5	100
West Bengal	57.7	34.1	8.2	100
Telangana	22	51.9	26	100
India	46.6	35.7	17.7	100

Table A9: Prevalence of Marriage Between the Age of 18 and 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Household Wealth Terciles and States & UTs

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	9.9	34	56.1	100
Andhra Pradesh	12.1	55.7	32.1	100
Arunachal Pradesh	35.1	43.6	21.2	100
Assam	56.5	35.1	8.5	100
Bihar	68	23.4	8.6	100
Chandigarh	3.7	20.1	76.2	100
Chhattisgarh	49.3	30.2	20.5	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	37.9	38.1	24.1	100
Daman and Diu	7.9	36.2	55.8	100
Goa	4.5	38.9	56.7	100
Gujarat	18.9	35.3	45.8	100
Haryana	4.3	28	67.7	100
Himachal Pradesh	7.8	45.7	46.5	100
Jammu and Kashmir	28.2	42.6	29.1	100
Jharkhand	62.9	23.1	14	100
Karnataka	19	46.6	34.4	100
Kerala	1.4	27.4	71.2	100
Lakshadweep	0	27.4	72.6	100
Madhya Pradesh	43.4	29.1	27.5	100
Maharashtra	18.8	42	39.2	100
Manipur	32.9	50.8	16.3	100
Meghalaya	44.3	48	7.7	100
Mizoram	18.5	37.4	44.1	100
Nagaland	48.3	41.4	10.3	100
Delhi	3.1	21.3	75.6	100
Odisha	57.5	31.9	10.6	100
Puducherry	10.6	36.8	52.6	100
Punjab	3	26.1	70.9	100
Rajasthan	29.9	35.5	34.6	100
Sikkim	4	68.3	27.7	100
Tamil Nadu	13.9	49.5	36.6	100
Tripura	44.3	44.1	11.6	100
Uttar Pradesh	41	32.7	26.3	100

Table A9: Prevalence of Marriage Between the Age of 18 and 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years, by Household Wealth Terciles and States & UTs

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Uttarakhand	15.9	44	40.1	100
West Bengal	44.6	37.2	18.1	100
Telangana	15.8	41.4	42.8	100
India	33	35.9	31.2	100

Table A10: Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years, by Household Wealth Terciles and States & UTs

States & UTs	Bottom Tercile (%)	Middle Tercile (%)	Top Tercile (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	5.1	27	67.9	100
Andhra Pradesh	8.2	41.5	50.4	100
Arunachal Pradesh	28.6	39.6	31.8	100
Assam	39.8	39.9	20.3	100
Bihar	53.4	27.5	19.2	100
Chandigarh	1.2	2.9	95.9	100
Chhattisgarh	31.1	27.9	41	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	27	24.3	48.7	100
Daman and Diu	2.8	20.7	76.5	100
Goa	0	18.7	81.3	100
Gujarat	10	25.3	64.6	100
Haryana	2.4	18	79.6	100
Himachal Pradesh	2.7	31.3	66	100
Jammu and Kashmir	14.9	37.5	47.7	100
Jharkhand	46.7	22.3	31.1	100
Karnataka	11.5	40.8	47.7	100
Kerala	0.6	19.8	79.6	100
Lakshadweep	0.6	12.9	86.6	100
Madhya Pradesh	29.1	25.5	45.4	100
Maharashtra	12.1	31.8	56	100
Manipur	23.4	51.5	25.1	100
Meghalaya	35.2	50.7	14.2	100

Mizoram	8.6	37.4	54	100
Nagaland	33.2	46.1	20.6	100
Delhi	0.1	12.8	87.1	100
Odisha	42.7	37.3	20	100
Puducherry	3.8	29.9	66.3	100
Punjab	1	12.6	86.4	100
Rajasthan	17.8	26.7	55.4	100
Sikkim	2.6	62	35.4	100
Tamil Nadu	8.5	41.3	50.2	100
Tripura	35.4	43.6	20.9	100
Uttar Pradesh	25.9	28.3	45.7	100
Uttarakhand	6.8	30.1	63.1	100
West Bengal	25.2	36.7	38.1	100
Telangana	8.9	32.3	58.8	100
India	18.7	30.8	50.5	100

Table A11: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Caste and States & UTs

States & UTs	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)	Other Castes (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	7.2	4.1	18.3	70.4	100
Andhra Pradesh	22.8	5.8	53.7	17.6	100
Arunachal Pradesh	8.7	71.6	6.5	13.2	100
Assam	14.7	16.8	31.8	36.7	100
Bihar	21.2	3.8	61.1	13.9	100
Chandigarh	37.4	0	31.1	31.5	100
Chhattisgarh	14.9	32.4	48.4	4.3	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	7.3	67.1	11.1	14.4	100
Daman and Diu	14	7.3	50.2	28.5	100
Goa	8.7	12.2	24.8	54.2	100
Gujarat	11.7	16.8	50.1	21.4	100
Haryana	29.9	0.3	48.7	21.1	100
Himachal Pradesh	35.1	3.7	9.5	51.6	100
Jammu and Kashmir	17.2	25.8	6.8	50.2	100
Jharkhand	14.9	25.9	51.1	8.1	100
Karnataka	26	12.8	50.2	11	100

Kerala	9.7	2.3	71.3	16.7	100
Lakshadweep	0	100	0	0	100
Madhya Pradesh	18.6	21.5	47.8	12.1	100
Maharashtra	18.8	15.4	23.7	42	100
Manipur	7.3	36.9	19.5	36.3	100
Meghalaya	3.7	95.2	0.7	0.4	100
Mizoram	0.7	95.8	3.5	0	100
Nagaland	10.4	87.6	1.4	0.5	100
Delhi	27.3	1.1	33.8	37.8	100
Odisha	22.4	28.4	34.9	14.3	100
Puducherry	22.2	0.9	76.7	0.2	100
Punjab	43.9	0.3	21.2	34.5	100
Rajasthan	19.6	14.6	50.7	15.1	100
Sikkim	5.7	33.6	32.4	28.3	100
Tamil Nadu	31.9	2.2	64.8	1.1	100
Tripura	27.8	37.3	20.8	14	100
Uttar Pradesh	25.2	1.5	56.3	17	100
Uttarakhand	26.7	5	25.4	42.9	100
West Bengal	37	7.3	14.1	41.7	100
Telangana	20.9	9.3	60.7	9.1	100
India	23.1	10.7	46.3	19.9	100

Table A12: Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 18 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Caste and States & UTs

States & UTs	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)	Other Castes (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	4.5	2.4	14.9	78.2	100
Andhra Pradesh	23.7	6.3	54.1	15.8	100
Arunachal Pradesh	8.7	71.3	6.6	13.5	100
Assam	15	15.3	29.5	40.2	100
Bihar	22	3.6	62.3	12.1	100
Chandigarh	29.4	0	30.6	40	100
Chhattisgarh	16.2	33.6	46.2	4	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	9.8	68.7	15.1	6.4	100
Daman and Diu	15	9.3	46.6	29.1	100
Goa	6.5	8.9	22.6	61.9	100
Gujarat	12.5	17.8	52.5	17.2	100
Haryana	29.7	0.4	51.2	18.7	100

Himachal Pradesh	49.8	5	5.6	39.7	100
Jammu and Kashmir	15.2	31.3	6.9	46.6	100
Jharkhand	15.7	24.5	52.2	7.7	100
Karnataka	27	13.6	48.5	10.9	100
Kerala	8.7	3	77.1	11.3	100
Lakshadweep	0	100	0.0	0	100
Madhya Pradesh	19.2	23.1	47.4	10.4	100
Maharashtra	20.2	18.4	20.0	41.4	100
Manipur	6.6	38.9	20.6	33.9	100
Meghalaya	3.7	94.8	1.3	0.2	100
Mizoram	1.2	94.5	4.4	0	100
Nagaland	12.9	83.7	2.6	0.9	100
Delhi	25.1	0.5	38.6	35.7	100
Odisha	23.9	31.4	32.2	12.5	100
Puducherry	25.8	0.1	74.1	0.1	100
Punjab	43.2	0.2	22.0	34.6	100
Rajasthan	20.5	14.4	52.0	13.1	100
Sikkim	6.4	34.1	29.8	29.7	100
Tamil Nadu	33.7	2.8	62.5	1	100
Tripura	31.4	39.6	16.6	12.4	100
Uttar Pradesh	26.6	1.6	56.5	15.3	100
Uttarakhand	32.1	6.1	25.4	36.4	100
West Bengal	37.8	7.4	13.6	41.2	100
Telangana	22.5	11	59.9	6.6	100
India	24	11.4	46.1	18.5	100

Table A13: Prevalence of Marriage Between the Age of 18 and 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Caste and States & UTs

States & UTs	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)	Other Castes (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	9.3	5.3	20.8	64.6	100
Andhra Pradesh	21.5	5.2	53.1	20.3	100
Arunachal Pradesh	8.7	72	6.4	12.8	100
Assam	14.2	18.7	34.6	32.5	100
Bihar	19.8	4.1	59.1	17	100
Chandigarh	44.6	0	31.6	23.8	100

Table A13: Prevalence of Marriage Between the Age of 18 and 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Caste and States & UTs

States & UTs	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)	Other Castes (%)	Total (%)
Chhattisgarh	13.5	31.3	50.5	4.7	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	4.7	65.5	6.9	22.8	100
Daman and Diu	12.9	5.3	53.9	28	100
Goa	11.2	16.2	27.3	45.2	100
Gujarat	10.8	15.7	47.5	26.1	100
Haryana	30.1	0.3	46.5	23.1	100
Himachal Pradesh	29.6	3.3	11	56.2	100
Jammu and Kashmir	18.7	21.6	6.8	53	100
Jharkhand	13.8	28.3	49.2	8.7	100
Karnataka	25.1	12.1	51.8	11.1	100
Kerala	10.1	2	69	18.8	100
Lakshadweep	0	100	0	0	100
Madhya Pradesh	17.8	19.3	48.5	14.4	100
Maharashtra	17.4	12.4	27.7	42.6	100
Manipur	7.8	35.6	18.9	37.7	100
Meghalaya	3.8	95.4	0.2	0.5	100
Mizoram	0.4	96.6	3	0	100
Nagaland	8.5	90.8	0.4	0.3	100
Delhi	29.3	1.6	29.4	39.7	100
Odisha	21.1	25.8	37.3	15.9	100
Puducherry	19.6	1.5	78.7	0.3	100
Punjab	44.3	0.3	20.9	34.5	100
Rajasthan	18.2	14.9	48.6	18.3	100
Sikkim	4.8	33.1	35.2	26.9	100
Tamil Nadu	30.5	1.8	66.6	1.1	100
Tripura	23.4	34.5	26.1	16.1	100
Uttar Pradesh	23.5	1.3	56.1	19	100
Uttarakhand	22.6	4.1	25.5	47.8	100
West Bengal	35.5	7.1	14.9	42.6	100
Telangana	18.7	7	61.8	12.5	100
India	21.9	9.9	46.6	21.6	100

Table A14: Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Caste and States & UTs

States & UTs	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)	Other Caste (%)	Total (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	6	7.7	22.4	63.9	100
Andhra Pradesh	18.9	4.8	51.4	24.8	100
Arunachal Pradesh	7.9	79.4	5.5	7.2	100
Assam	12.4	19.5	36.8	31.3	100
Bihar	15.3	3.7	56	25	100
Chandigarh	32.1	0	16.2	51.7	100
Chhattisgarh	11	28.4	47.5	13.2	100
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	9.7	55.3	7.8	27.2	100
Daman and Diu	7.1	11.4	41	40.5	100
Goa	8.4	9.3	29.3	53.1	100
Gujarat	11.1	10.1	42	36.8	100
Haryana	25	0.7	43.1	31.3	100
Himachal Pradesh	21.7	3.9	19.1	55.3	100
Jammu and Kashmir	17	14.8	12	56.3	100
Jharkhand	11.3	29.8	41.5	17.4	100
Karnataka	24.5	8.1	56.7	10.6	100
Kerala	9.6	1.2	54.3	34.8	100
Lakshadweep	0.6	98.3	1.2	0	100
Madhya Pradesh	14.1	15.3	47	23.6	100
Maharashtra	16	9.7	29.3	45	100
Manipur	6.9	30.7	19.1	43.3	100
Meghalaya	2.3	96.1	1.1	0.5	100
Mizoram	0.4	98.3	1.3	0.1	100
Nagaland	3.3	95.3	0.8	0.6	100
Delhi	22.4	6	24.1	47.5	100
Odisha	19.4	19.3	38	23.3	100
Puducherry	25.1	1.3	72.6	1.1	100
Punjab	34.6	0.1	20.9	44.4	100
Rajasthan	16.2	9.7	44.9	29.2	100
Sikkim	4.7	38.3	33.6	23.4	100
Tamil Nadu	27.2	1.4	69.3	2.1	100
Tripura	25.8	38.6	20.9	14.6	100
Uttar Pradesh	18.2	1.2	52.2	28.4	100

Table A14: Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years, for Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years, by Caste and States & UTs

States & UTs	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)	Other Caste (%)	Total (%)
Uttarakhand	19.3	3.2	24.5	53	100
West Bengal	30.3	6.5	17.5	45.8	100
Telangana	15.3	3.4	59.5	21.9	100
India	19.1	7.8	45	28.1	100

Table A15: Attainment of Secondary Level Education by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage Across the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Married before 18 years (%)	Married between 18 and 21 years (%)	Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	17.7	51.5	36.5	71.8
Andhra Pradesh	22.9	46.9	32.8	69.4
Arunachal Pradesh	20	36.4	27	52.6
Assam	10.4	27.3	17.7	47.4
Bihar	13.8	26.7	18.6	40.3
Chandigarh	32.7	31.4	32	74.6
Chhattisgarh	10	26	17.9	51.1
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	18.5	38.9	28.4	60.8
Daman and Diu	29.2	54.7	42.3	74.9
Goa	22.2	50.8	35	75.9
Gujarat	13.6	33.5	23	55.6
Haryana	30.1	52.4	42.1	70.6
Himachal Pradesh	28.6	67.7	56.8	86.7
Jammu and Kashmir	16.7	27	22.7	46.2
Jharkhand	16.9	33.9	23.3	50.3
Karnataka	29.9	53.4	42	68.6
Kerala	70.9	85.1	80.9	91.8
Lakshadweep	64	80.2	76.4	82.2
Madhya Pradesh	8.5	25.1	15.3	49.4
Maharashtra	22.4	49.9	35.8	66.9
Manipur	19.7	37.9	31.1	52.6
Meghalaya	12.8	31	22.5	46.7

Table A15: Attainment of Secondary Level Education by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage Across the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Married before 18 years (%)	Married between 18 and 21 years (%)	Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)
Mizoram	9.7	37.7	27.1	49.3
Nagaland	10.9	19.6	15.6	38.2
Delhi	31.4	52.6	42	72
Odisha	11.6	21.9	17.1	36.9
Puducherry	50.3	78.3	66.5	83.9
Punjab	25.1	48.1	40.4	73.5
Rajasthan	11.5	26.7	17.3	53.9
Sikkim	17	30.3	23.5	52.9
Tamil Nadu	42.2	61	52.8	73.9
Tripura	8.1	27.7	16.6	43.3
Uttar Pradesh	18.4	35.2	26.2	55.6
Uttarakhand	19.6	45.2	34.2	70.3
West Bengal	11.2	34.4	19.5	59.4
Telangana	28.8	59.6	41.9	77.3
India	18.3	40	28.1	61.8

Table A16: Percentage of Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage and Age at First Childbirth

Age at first childbirth (in years)	Unmarried (%)	Married before 18 years (%)	Married between 18 and 21 years (%)	Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)	Total (%)
5	1.5	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0.1	0	0.1	0	0
10	0	0.1	0	0.1	0	0.1
11	0.2	0.3	0	0.2	0	0.1
12	1.6	0.7	0	0.4	0	0.3
13	1.3	1.6	0	0.9	0	0.7
14	0.1	3.3	0	1.9	0.1	1.5
15	5.6	6.4	0.1	3.7	0.1	2.9

16	1.1	11.1	0.1	6.3	0.1	5.1
17	3.2	17.3	0.3	9.9	0.2	8
18	10.9	22.4	2.1	13.6	0.3	10.9
19	10.1	16.9	17.5	17.2	0.3	13.8
20	9.7	8.9	28.7	17.5	0.5	14.1
21	20	4.8	28.3	15	3.2	12.6
22	12.7	2.7	14	7.6	19.8	10.1
23	9.8	1.4	5	3	22.7	6.9
24	4.2	0.8	2.1	1.4	19.3	5
25	5.3	0.5	0.9	0.7	13.8	3.3
26	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.3	9.3	2.1
27	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	5.5	1.2
28	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.2	0.7
29	1.6	0	0	0	1.3	0.3
30	0.1	0	0	0	0.3	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table A17: Percentage of Women in the Age Group of 21–30 Years with Low Body Mass Index by Different Groups of Women by their Age at Marriage Across the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Married before 18 years (%)	Married between 18 and 21 years (%)	Married before the age of 21 years (%)	Married before 21 years (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	10.8	13.5	13.7	12.9
Andhra Pradesh	18.5	18.3	18.5	16
Arunachal Pradesh	8.5	8.1	7	6.2
Assam	26.6	25.2	23.7	19.8
Bihar	32	30.3	28.3	26.5
Chandigarh	7.2	8.4	12.9	10.8
Chhattisgarh	29.8	29.2	26.3	21.8
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	27.7	36.8	31.4	17.2
Daman and Diu	13	11.7	13.3	11.9
Goa	11.5	19.9	17.3	9
Gujarat	31.8	29.2	28.1	24.8
Haryana	14.6	17.1	15.6	12.9
Himachal Pradesh	15	18.6	18.1	16.2
Jammu and Kashmir	14.8	13.7	11.6	10.7
Jharkhand	35.5	36.1	32.3	28.1
Karnataka	20.7	21.9	22	18.9
Kerala	7.3	9	10.1	7.9
Lakshadweep	0	6.8	17.6	13.2
Madhya Pradesh	30.5	31.1	28.3	25.7
Maharashtra	26	28.3	25.8	24.9
Manipur	9.4	9.1	9	7.9
Meghalaya	13.9	13.9	11.7	12.6
Mizoram	9.2	11	8.7	7.2
Nagaland	10.9	16.4	13.4	13.8
Delhi	7.9	8.6	11.4	7.8
Odisha	27.6	26	25.2	21.9
Puducherry	7.2	13	9.4	6.7
Punjab	12	13.2	12.3	9.8
Rajasthan	28.2	28.5	26.5	22.5
Sikkim	5.5	6.6	6	4.1
Tamil Nadu	12.7	14.5	14.5	12.5

Tripura	19.9	22.5	20.3	17.9
Uttar Pradesh	24.4	23.8	22.1	18.9
Uttarakhand	18.6	17.5	18.1	16
West Bengal	21.3	21.8	19.6	14.9
Telangana	24.6	24.2	24.5	18.6
India	25	24	22.5	18.6

Table A18: Percentage of Women in the Age Group of 21-30 Years with Children by Different Groups of Women by Their Age at Marriage Across the Indian States & UTs

States & UTs	Married before 18 years (%)	Married between 18 and 21 years (%)	Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	96.7	92.3	94.2	68.2
Andhra Pradesh	95.3	90.1	93.2	68.1
Arunachal Pradesh	97.1	86.7	92.6	64.1
Assam	97.4	91.6	94.9	72.9
Bihar	96.6	88.9	93.8	70.1
Chandigarh	98	95.5	96.7	68.9
Chhattisgarh	95.1	89.8	92.5	70.3
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	96.9	84	90.6	69.9
Daman and Diu	92	86.8	89.3	61
Goa	97.3	85.8	92.2	65.8
Gujarat	93.7	85.2	89.7	67
Haryana	97.7	91.3	94.3	68.4
Himachal Pradesh	99	93.4	95	74.9
Jammu and Kashmir	97.5	92.4	94.5	71.5
Jharkhand	95.8	89.2	93.3	70.5
Karnataka	93.7	87.2	90.4	69.3
Kerala	98.4	89.2	91.9	67.2
Lakshadweep	94.2	75.9	80.2	59.1
Madhya Pradesh	96.1	88.3	92.9	67.9
Maharashtra	94.8	88.8	91.9	64.8
Manipur	98.1	94.4	95.8	75.8
Meghalaya	98.4	93.9	96	76
Mizoram	97.8	96.5	97	80.8
Nagaland	96.7	95.1	95.8	77.4
Delhi	97.5	88	92.8	65.7
Odisha	95.4	90.5	92.7	71.8

Puducherry	97	92.7	94.5	74.9
Punjab	97	92.9	94.2	70
Rajasthan	94.8	86.4	91.6	65
Sikkim	98.3	93.6	96	57
Tamil Nadu	96.4	91.2	93.5	74.3
Tripura	98.1	93.1	95.9	72.7
Uttar Pradesh	95	87.2	91.4	64.9
Uttarakhand	97.1	89.4	92.7	70.1
West Bengal	97.4	90.4	94.9	66.2
Telangana	95.9	90.3	93.5	69.3
India	95.8	89	92.7	68.4

Table A19: Top 100 Districts with the Highest Prevalence of Marriage Before the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21-20 Years

States & UTs	District	Married before 21 years (%)	Married after 21 years (%)
Bihar	Jamui	91.9	6.4
Bihar	Madhepura	91.1	7.7
Bihar	Begusarai	89.9	7.3
Bihar	Khagaria	89.7	7.5
Jharkhand	Godda	89.1	7.3
Jharkhand	Chatra	89.1	7.3
Uttar Pradesh	Shrawasti	89	8.2
Jharkhand	Giridih	88.9	8.4
Bihar	Supaul	87.9	9.3
Jharkhand	Garhwa	87.8	7.5
Bihar	Purba Champaran	87.3	9.3
Bihar	Sheikhpura	86.5	9
Rajasthan	Barmer	86.3	9.7
Bihar	Samastipur	86.2	10.6
Bihar	Sheohar	86.2	11.8
Bihar	Gaya	86.1	7.7
West Bengal	Purba Medinipur	85.8	9
Bihar	Lakhisarai	85.6	9.7
Jharkhand	Deoghar	85.3	8.7
Bihar	Madhubani	85	11.9
Jharkhand	Kodarma	84.9	10.2
West Bengal	Maldah	84.8	9.5
Bihar	Araria	84.6	11.2

Bihar	Sitamarhi	84.3	12.8
Bihar	Nawada	84.2	10.5
Rajasthan	Sawai Madhopur	84.1	7.9
Andhra Pradesh	Prakasam	83.9	11.1
Madhya Pradesh	Tikamgarh	83.9	7.6
Maharashtra	Jalna	83.9	11.5
Bihar	Arwal	83.8	10.3
Bihar	Darbhanga	83.4	12.1
Madhya Pradesh	Rajgarh	83.3	12.2
Bihar	Banka	83.2	15
Uttar Pradesh	Lalitpur	83	9.2
Bihar	Vaishali	82.5	12
Madhya Pradesh	Singrauli	82.5	9.7
Rajasthan	Karauli	82.5	7.7
Uttar Pradesh	Mahrajganj	82.5	11.3
Maharashtra	Aurangabad	82.3	9.2
Maharashtra	Bid	82.3	13.5
West Bengal	Paschim Medinipur	82.3	12
West Bengal	Murshidabad	82	8.6
Bihar	Muzaffarpur	81.7	13.7
Madhya Pradesh	Sidhi	81.6	12.2
Bihar	Katihar	81.3	12.8
Rajasthan	Jaisalmer	81.3	16.4
Bihar	Pashchim Champaran	81.3	13.7
Madhya Pradesh	Rewa	81.3	9
Bihar	Kaimur (Bhabua)	81.2	11.4
West Bengal	Puruliya	81.2	11.5
Rajasthan	Nagaur	81.1	11.2
Bihar	Purnia	80.9	15.1
Gujarat	Banaskantha	80.9	13.9
Maharashtra	Parbhani	80.9	11.3
Rajasthan	Chittaurgarh	80.9	15.1
Madhya Pradesh	Jhabua	80.8	11.8
West Bengal	Uttar Dinajpur	80.8	11.9
Jharkhand	Dumka	80.7	13
Rajasthan	Rajsamand	80.7	14
Madhya Pradesh	Shivpuri	80.6	11.1
Madhya Pradesh	Chhatarpur	80.5	12.6
Jharkhand	Jamtara	80.4	13

Madhya Pradesh	Mandsaur	80.4	12.6
West Bengal	Dakshin Dinajpur	80.1	10.2
West Bengal	South Twenty-Four Parganas	80	13.8
Madhya Pradesh	Morena	79.8	15.7
Maharashtra	Nanded	79.8	12.7
West Bengal	Birbhum	79.8	12.2
Madhya Pradesh	Sheopur	79.7	12.8
Bihar	Saharsa	79.6	15.5
Jharkhand	Latehar	79.6	13
Rajasthan	Jalor	79.6	14
Madhya Pradesh	Dindori	79.5	11.7
Maharashtra	Latur	79.5	12.2
Madhya Pradesh	Shajapur	79.3	16
Jharkhand	Palamu	79.3	10.9
Madhya Pradesh	Bhind	79.3	14.8
Rajasthan	Udaipur	79.3	12.1
Madhya Pradesh	Vidisha	79.2	12.2
Uttar Pradesh	Chitrakoot	79.2	11.7
Andhra Pradesh	Kurnool	79.1	11.5
Haryana	Mewat	79.1	13.6
West Bengal	Bankura	78.9	14.5
Uttar Pradesh	Bahraich	78.8	17.2
Bihar	Bhojpur	78.7	13.1
Odisha	Nabarangapur	78.7	10.1
Bihar	Nalanda	78.6	14.5
Uttar Pradesh	Gonda	78.6	9.8
Jharkhand	Sahibganj	78.5	10
Madhya Pradesh	Datia	78.4	12
Madhya Pradesh	Umariya	78.4	11.8
Bihar	Jehanabad	78.3	12.6
Maharashtra	Jalgaon	78.3	14.7
Bihar	Rohtas	78.2	14.8
Madhya Pradesh	Ashoknagar	78	14.2
Rajasthan	Churu	77.9	12.9
Uttar Pradesh	Mirzapur	77.7	14.9
Bihar	Aurangabad	77.6	16.4
Andhra Pradesh	Guntur	77.5	15.1
Jharkhand	Pakur	77.5	13

Table A20: Top 100 Districts with the Highest Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21-20 Years

States & UTs	District	Married Before 21 Years (%)	Married After 21 Years (%)
Tamil Nadu	Kanniyakumari	18.8	54.1
Kerala	Ernakulam	19.4	52.2
Kerala	Alappuzha	21.4	51.7
Himachal Pradesh	Kangra	28.3	49.5
Kerala	Thiruvananthapuram	29.9	46.8
Lakshadweep	Lakshadweep	19.8	46.1
Himachal Pradesh	Hamirpur	42.3	44.6
Karnataka	Udupi	16.8	43.3
Kerala	Kottayam	21.2	41.8
Puducherry	Mahe	36.3	41.6
Kerala	Kannur	43.6	41.3
Jammu and Kashmir	Samba	28.4	41
Kerala	Thrissur	35.2	40.7
Tamil Nadu	Tirunelveli	33.7	40.6
Maharashtra	Gondiya	46	40.1
Kerala	Pathanamthitta	25.9	39.9
Himachal Pradesh	Una	32.5	39.8
Punjab	Hoshiarpur	30	39.8
Tamil Nadu	Thoothukkudi	36.5	39.5
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvarur	37.2	39.4
Maharashtra	Ratnagiri	42.2	39.3
Odisha	Jajapur	32.6	39.2
Himachal Pradesh	Bilaspur	65	39
Karnataka	Dakshina Kannada	19.2	38.9
Kerala	Kasaragod	41.1	38.8
Kerala	Kollam	33.5	38.5
Haryana	Ambala	43	38.3
Jammu and Kashmir	Kathua	30.5	38
Tamil Nadu	Ramanathapuram	45.6	38
Odisha	Puri	40.3	37.5
Punjab	Patiala	37.8	37.5
Punjab	Sahibzada Ajit Singh Nagar	35.8	37.5

Table A20: Top 100 Districts with the Highest Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21-20 Years

States & UTs	District	Married Before 21 Years (%)	Married After 21 Years (%)
Karnataka	Hassan	41.4	37.4
Tamil Nadu	Nagapattinam	38.2	37.3
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	42.2	37.1
Punjab	Rupnagar	32.1	37
Punjab	Sangrur	23.2	36.9
Puducherry	Karaikal	41.5	36.5
Himachal Pradesh	Solan	43.5	36.4
Punjab	Fatehgarh Sahib	35.4	36.4
Punjab	Gurdaspur	33	36.2
Jammu and Kashmir	Leh	21.8	36.1
Himachal Pradesh	Lahul And Spiti	33.4	36
Haryana	Panchkula	42.5	35.8
Jammu and Kashmir	Kulgam	16.2	35.8
Manipur	Bishnupur	31.5	35.6
Jammu and Kashmir	Badgam	13.9	35.4
Karnataka	Bangalore	42.3	35.2
Puducherry	Puducherry	42.2	35.2
Tamil Nadu	Sivaganga	47.2	35.2
Haryana	Kurukshetra	44.8	35.1
Tamil Nadu	Pudukkottai	40.4	35.1
Himachal Pradesh	Chamba	43.8	35
Himachal Pradesh	Kullu	44.3	34.9
Jammu and Kashmir	Ganderbal	24.8	34.9
Punjab	Faridkot	42.2	34.9
Himachal Pradesh	Sirmaur	36.5	34.8
Maharashtra	Raigarh	63.1	34.8
Punjab	Jalandhar	21.6	34.7
Odisha	Jagatsinghapur	32.6	34.6
Tamil Nadu	Chennai	39.6	34.3
Tamil Nadu	Thanjavur	43	34.3
Haryana	Karnal	50.7	34.2
Jammu and Kashmir	Jammu	31.2	34.1
Tamil Nadu	Tiruchirappalli	45.8	34
Karnataka	Shimoga	44.1	33.7
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	43.2	33.6

Table A20: Top 100 Districts with the Highest Prevalence of Marriage After the Age of 21 Years Amongst Women in the Age Group of 21-20 Years

States & UTs	District	Married Before 21 Years (%)	Married After 21 Years (%)
Odisha	Kendrapara	40.3	33.5
Manipur	Thoubal	36.2	33.4
Odisha	Bhadrak	44	33.4
Manipur	Imphal West	27.8	33.3
Manipur	Ukhrul	37.8	33.3
Jammu and Kashmir	Kupwara	33.7	33.2
Kerala	Idukki	35.8	33.2
Maharashtra	Bhandara	41.1	33
West Bengal	Kolkata	40	33
Tamil Nadu	Karur	53.9	32.8
Himachal Pradesh	Shimla	35.2	32.5
Maharashtra	Sindhudurg	39.1	32.4
Punjab	Ludhiana	37.5	32.1
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	51.1	32.1
Manipur	Tamenglong	43.3	32
Punjab	Barnala	44.5	31.9
Nagaland	Zunheboto	21	31.8
Jammu and Kashmir	Srinagar	11.4	31.7
Goa	North Goa	26.3	31.6
Uttarakhand	Garhwal	49.7	31.6
Karnataka	Uttara Kannada	35.2	31.5
Haryana	Yamunanagar	43.4	31.4
Karnataka	Bangalore Rural	53.5	31.4
Punjab	Tarn Taran	41.7	31.3
Tamil Nadu	The Nilgiris	53.5	31.3
Tamil Nadu	Virudhunagar	47.7	31.3
Uttarakhand	Dehradun	34.3	31.3
Maharashtra	Wardha	47.3	31.2
Madhya Pradesh	Balaghat	50.2	31.1
Kerala	Wayanad	46.2	30.8
Nagaland	Wokha	29.7	30.8
Tamil Nadu	Vellore	47.4	30.8
Haryana	Kaithal	54.5	30.7