BRIEFING PAPER

CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

INTERNATIONAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL LEGAL STANDARDS AND JURISPRUDENCE FOR PROMOTING ACCOUNTABILITY AND CHANGE
MISSION AND VISION

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## Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADOLESCENTS</th>
<th>People between the ages of 10 and 19</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIHRC</td>
<td>Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANNULMENT</td>
<td>When a marriage is terminated and treated legally as though it never occurred.</td>
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<td>BDT</td>
<td>Bangladesh taka, currency of Bangladesh</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment: International treaty codifying states duties to eliminate torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAT COMMITTEE</td>
<td>Committee against Torture: The United Nations body charged with interpreting and monitoring states parties’ implementation of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILD MARRIAGE</td>
<td>A legal or customary union between two people, in which one or both spouses are below the age of 18. The practice largely affects girls and has graver consequences for them as well. Also referred to as early marriage or forced marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISSOLUTION</td>
<td>The termination of a marriage through legal action, requiring a petition or complaint for dissolution by one party. Used interchangeably with “divorce,” but originates from the concept of a no-fault divorce.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIVORCE</td>
<td>The termination of a marriage through legal action, requiring a petition or complaint for divorce by one party. Used interchangeably with “dissolution,” but historically associated with termination of marriage when one or both parties are at fault.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECLAMPISIA</td>
<td>An often-fatal condition of convulsions and coma during pregnancy or delivery. Caused by preeclampsia, a condition during pregnancy characterized by hypertension (high blood pressure), fluid retention, and protein in the urine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GENERAL LAW</td>
<td>Violence that targets women or affects women disproportionately. Includes acts that inflict physical, mental, or sexual harm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE</td>
<td>Violence that targets women or affects women disproportionately. Includes acts that inflict physical, mental, or sexual harm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HABEAS CORPUS PETITION</td>
<td>A writ (legal action) that requires a person under arrest to be brought before a judge or into court.</td>
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<td>HCD</td>
<td>High Court Division</td>
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<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus is a retrovirus that infects cells of the immune system, destroying or impairing their function. As the infection progresses, the immune system becomes weaker and the person becomes more susceptible to infections. AIDS, or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, is the final stage of this progression.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HRC</td>
<td>Human Rights Committee: The United Nations body charged with interpreting and monitoring states parties’ implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.</td>
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<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: International treaty protecting individuals’ civil and political human rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: International treaty protecting individuals’ economic, social, and cultural human rights.</td>
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<td>GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LEGAL CAPACITY</strong></td>
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<td>The attribute of a person who can acquire new rights or assume duties, according to his or her own will, without any restraint arising from his or her status or legal condition.</td>
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<td><strong>MARRIAGE</strong></td>
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<td>The civil status of one man and one woman united in law for life.</td>
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<td><strong>MATERNAL MORBIDITY</strong></td>
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<td>Illness or disability in women caused directly or indirectly by factors relating to pregnancy, childbirth, or the puerperal (post-delivery) period.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>MATERNAL MORTALITY</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Deaths of women caused directly or indirectly by factors relating to pregnancy, childbirth, or the puerperal (post-delivery) period.</td>
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<td><strong>MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS</strong></td>
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<td>Eight goals endorsed by governments at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000 that range from halving extreme poverty to promoting gender equality, all by the target date of 2015.</td>
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<td><strong>MULUKI AIN</strong></td>
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<td>A Nepali legal code that includes substantive legal frameworks and administrative procedures for civil and criminal matters, revenue collection, landlord and peasant relations, and marriage and family law.</td>
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<td><strong>NCW</strong></td>
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<td>National Commission for Women</td>
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<td><strong>NGOS</strong></td>
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<td>Non-governmental Organizations</td>
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<td><strong>NHRC</strong></td>
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<td>National Human Rights Commission</td>
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<td><strong>NHRI</strong></td>
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<td>National Human Rights Institutions: Administrative bodies separate from the government established either in national constitutions or through human rights legislation to monitor human rights at the national level.</td>
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<td><strong>NPR</strong></td>
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<td>Nepali rupee, currency of Nepal</td>
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<td><strong>PCMA</strong></td>
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<td>Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, an Indian law passed in 2006.</td>
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<td><strong>PERSONAL LAW</strong></td>
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<td>Law typically relating to family and succession issues that are applicable to individuals belonging to a specific religion (unlike general law). Often allows for autonomous governance of matters such as marriage or divorce.</td>
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<td><strong>PIL</strong></td>
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<td>Public Interest Litigation: Litigation filed in a court of law for the protection of the public interest.</td>
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<td><strong>REPUĐIATE A MARRIAGE</strong></td>
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<td>To reject the authority or validity of a marriage</td>
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<td><strong>SAARC</strong></td>
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<td>South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation</td>
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<td><strong>SR ON SLAVERY</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery and its causes and consequences</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SR TCIDT</strong></td>
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<td>Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SRVAW</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its causes and consequences</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>STI</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexually transmissible infection</td>
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<td><strong>SUPPLEMENTARY CONVENTION ON SLAVERY</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TCIDT</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment</td>
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<td><strong>U.N. TMB</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>United Nations treaty monitoring body</td>
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<td><strong>UNFPA</strong></td>
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<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<td><strong>USD</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>United States dollar</td>
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<td><strong>UTERINE PROLAPSE</strong></td>
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<td>A condition where the pelvic muscles or ligaments cannot support the uterus and cause it to slip and potentially protrude from the vagina.</td>
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<td><strong>VOID MARRIAGE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The term given to marriage with no legal validity because it is prohibited by law.</td>
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<td><strong>VOIDABLE MARRIAGE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Contract with legal force and effects when made that can later be annulled by court by a recession process.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WHO</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Child marriage is a human rights crisis occurring on an alarming scale in South Asia. South Asia accounts for almost half of all child marriages that occur globally.1 — the most of any region in the world. Child marriage, defined internationally as marriage where one or both spouses are under the age of 18,2 is legally prohibited under many national laws in the region as well as by international human rights treaties adopted by South Asian countries; however, the practice persists with impunity. In South Asia, 46% of women between ages 20-24 report having been married before age 18— in 2010, this translated to 24.4 million women in the region.3 Estimates project that from 2010 to 2030, 130 million more girls in the region will be married.4

Governments in South Asia have an absolute legal obligation to eliminate child marriage. The extensive repercussions of child marriage violate the international and constitutional obligations of states to protect children’s rights and discriminate non-interference with women’s and girls’ ability to enjoy a broad range of human rights. The persistence of child marriage in South Asia indicates the widespread failure of governments to address one of the most critical human rights issues facing women and girls in the region and the absence of state accountability for violations of their human rights and constitutional rights. Child marriage does not constitute a single rights violation; rather, every instance of child marriage triggers a continuum of violations that continues throughout a girl’s life. Child marriage endangers the survival and well-being of women and girls by exposing them to forced initiation into sex and ongoing sexual violence, as well as to early, unplanned, and frequent pregnancies.5 Further, women and girls married as children are often denied educational opportunities, are isolated from society, and face a lifetime of economic dependence.6 Together, child marriage and early pregnancy trap generations of women in cycles of poverty.7 These harms result in significant violations of girls’ rights, including their reproductive rights and their right to freedom from gender-based violence. Ensuring accountability for child marriage entails both holding responsible those officials who have failed to implement laws and policies against the practice, and addressing legal and social barriers that prevent married girls seeking to leave such marriages from being able to do so. It also requires the introduction of specific legal measures and remedies to address the particular needs of married girls.

The most important finding of this brief is that by failing to enact and enforce laws that clearly and consistently prohibit child marriage, governments in the region are complicit in the violent violations of human and constitutional rights experienced by married girls. These governments are responsible for perpetuating legal and practical barriers that make girls vulnerable to child marriage and deny those trapped in such marriages effective legal remedies.

Purpose, Scope, Terminology, and Structure

This briefing paper demonstrates why governments must be held accountable for addressing child marriage in the region and discusses child marriage as a form of early and forced marriage. Child marriage is considered forced marriage under international law, because children—defined as boys and girls under 18 years of age—do not have the legal capacity to provide informed consent to marriage. The phrase “child marriage” is used in this briefing paper rather than “early and forced marriage” because it captures both the elements of age and lack of consent, and because “child” is a more precise term that can be clearly defined and protected in law. Further, childhood represents the vulnerable starting point for the continuum of reproductive and sexual rights violations discussed in this briefing paper.

The briefing paper primarily focuses on violations of women’s and girls’ reproductive rights and right to be free from sexual violence arising from child marriage in six South Asian countries—Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. These countries were selected largely due to the widely documented scope of the problem in each nation and the urgent need for accountability. The briefing paper includes Sri Lanka despite the fact that the country has been recognized as a model in South Asia for elimination of child marriage; reports have been emerging concerning high rates of child marriage in conflict-affected areas and where customary laws apply.8 The term “South Asia” does not have a uniform definition, which means that studies and reports presenting statistics or information on South Asia may include more or fewer countries than are within the scope of this report. However, where legal trends are analyzed or discussed pertaining to South Asia in this briefing paper, the term is intended to refer to the six countries noted above.

While child marriage affects both boys and girls, this briefing paper focuses on the impact on girls and women because of the significantly higher incidence of child marriage among girls and the particular risks of reproductive rights violations and sexual violence,9 experienced by girls and women who were married as children. This briefing paper discusses violations of both women’s and girls’ rights that stem from child marriage, because this continuum of violations results in harm to girls even after they have become women. The harm associated with child marriage, including the barriers to realization of girls’ full potential as well as the great risks of sexual violence and reproductive rights violations, are well-established. This briefing paper focuses on the obligation of governments to prevent and address these harms, but does not specifically analyze trends being reported in the region concerning children who enter self-initiated marriages. Child marriage in the region has many dimensions and nuances; future fact sheets and materials will continue to be added to this briefing paper to delve deeper into distinct aspects of the issue.

This briefing paper is intended to serve as a resource for those interested in using international and constitutional legal norms to establish government accountability for child marriage through human rights advocacy and litigation. It also is meant to serve as a critical resource for government officials, who act as gatekeepers of the law, to enable them to strengthen their role in enforcing existing laws and policies and bringing about necessary legal reform.

Section I contains an overview of child marriage in South Asia, including an analysis of legal trends concerning child marriage in the region. This section discusses both national laws that are applicable to the population as a whole, referred to as “general laws,” as well as personal laws that are intended to reflect specific religious ideology and apply only to members of a particular religious group. While some general laws may reflect a particular religious ideology and the religious logic, such as polygamy laws rooted in Hinduism in Nepal and in Islam in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, they are distinguished from personal laws because they apply to all individuals, regardless of religious affiliation. Section II presents the international legal standards that recognize child marriage and the continuum of harms experienced by women and girls married as children as violations of human rights. Section III discusses South Asian constitutional principles and jurisprudence that are violated by the failure of governments to address child marriage, and highlights the role of courts and national human rights institutions in ensuring accountability for these fundamental rights violations. The final section contains recommendations for governments.

GLOBAL COMMITMENT TO THE ELIMINATION OF CHILD MARRIAGE

The international community has historically and consistently condemned child marriage.10 International commitments, such as the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action and the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, affirm child marriage as a violation of human rights and call upon states to end child marriage.11 Governments have pledged through the adoption of international consensus documents to prioritize the eradication of child marriage. “strictly enforce” violations against child marriage, “make the minimum legal age at marriage,” and intensify international support for programs that focus on protection against child marriage.12

In September 2013, the Human Rights Council adopted the first ever procedural resolution specifically focused on the elimination of child, early, and forced marriages.13 One hundred countries supported the resolution, which recognizes child marriage as a human rights violation.14 Despite the scale of child marriage in the region, at the time of publication, not one of the South Asian countries featured in this publication had included support for the resolution. As of the result of the resolution, the Human Rights Council will convene a panel on child, early and forced marriage at its 26th session in 2014, and the Office of the High Commissioner will prepare a report in consultation with states, UN bodies and agencies, and civil society. Several other Human Rights Council resolutions, including on sexual violence and children’s rights, also have reaffirmed the international community’s condemnation of and commitment to eliminating child marriage.15 Human Rights Council member states have repeatedly urged governments to eliminate child marriage in law and in practice through the Universal Periodic Review process.16

In 2013, the Commission on the Status of Women also issued a resolution on violence against women that committed to “revise, enact and strictly enforce laws and regulations concerning the minimum legal age of consent and the minimum age for marriage” in order to end the practice of child marriage.17 As the 2015 deadline for the Millennium Development Goals fast approaches, the High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda has proposed the inclusion of the elimination of child marriage as a specific goal.18 Furthermore demonstrating the international community’s concern for and commitment to eliminating the practice of child marriage.

WHAT IS CHILD MARRIAGE?

“The term ‘child marriage’ is used to describe a legal or customary union between two people, of whom one or both spouses are below the age of 18. While boys can be subjected to child marriage, the practice affects girls in greater numbers and with greater consequences. Child marriage is often referred to as ‘early’ and/or ‘forced’ marriage since children, given their age, are not able to give free, true, and informed consent to their marriage partners or to the timing of their marriage. Many girls, for example, may have little understanding of or exposure to other life options. They may ‘willingly’ accept marriage as their allotted fate. An element of coercion may also be involved if families apply social or emotional pressure or urge marriage for economic reasons, or further advocate marriage in the name of tradition or religion.”

SECTION I: CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

Overview of Laws Relating to Child Marriage in South Asia and Key Trends

The legal status of child marriage in South Asia is regulated through a complex interplay of national laws, including civil codes, criminal codes, and personal laws. A review of laws related to child marriage in South Asia reveals several key gaps and inconsistencies that undermine girls’ ability to seek legal protection and remedy where child marriage persists. Marriage of girls under 18 is legally permissible under general laws in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as under personal laws throughout the region, implying that the practice is acceptable and even condoned. In many parts of South Asia, there is deference to personal laws that establish a lower age of marriage, which leads to discrimination against girls on religious grounds and increased vulnerability within certain subgroups of girls based on religious affiliation. The failure of governments to establish a uniform minimum age of marriage and clarify that the prohibition on child marriage also applies to marriages solemnized under personal laws undermines enforcement of legal bans on child marriage and creates ambiguity about legal options to leave child marriages.

Further, the absence of a legal consent requirement for marriage allows for the recognition of marriages of children, who do not have the legal capacity to consent to marriage, and makes a girl’s lack of consent irrelevant. In addition, laws in South Asia fail to recognize sexual offenses against girls within marriage, particularly nonconsensual sex, which takes the form of marital rape. These acts would otherwise constitute a sexual offense but for the legal recognition granted to child marriages. In many instances, the law prescribes unreasonable legal requirements for terminating a marriage that may obstruct and deter young girls from seeking legal remedies. Finally, the failure to ensure compulsory registration of marriage and births undermines legal prohibitions on child marriage and allows impunity to persist.

GENERAL LAWS ON CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

Child marriage is regulated in general laws in the region either through specific legislation aimed at prohibiting or preventing the practice or within national codes that include provisions concerning legal recognition of marriage. While many of these laws still grant legal recognition to marriages involving children, they do articulate minimum ages of marriage and often penalize promissory of and involvement in marriages involving spouses below these ages.

While marriage of boys under 18 years of age is penalized under general laws throughout South Asia, several general laws allow for the legal marriage of girls under 18 years, including in Afghanistan and Pakistan.26 In Afghanistan, girls can be legally married at as young as 15 years of age with parental consent and 16 without parental consent.27 However, in Bangladesh and India, legislation specifically concerning child marriage establish penalties for involvement in the marriage of girls below 18 years.28 However, in Bangladesh, the Special Marriage Act, governing nonreligious marriage, also permits girls as young as 14 to be married with consent by a girl’s father or guardian.29 In Nepal, the age of marriage for boys and girls is 18 years with parental consent and 20 years without parental consent.30 In Sri Lanka, marriage of girls and boys below 18 is prohibited in a national marriage law applicable to the general population except for Muslims, who have a separate marriage law.31

In South Asia, general laws often permit marriage to occur legally at a younger age for women and girls than men and boys. The child marriage laws in both Bangladesh and India establish a minimum age of marriage of 12 years for girls, but recognize a higher minimum age of marriage of 21 years for boys.32 In Afghanistan and Pakistan, marriage below 18 years of age is not legally permitted for boys, while marriage is permitted for girls as young as 15 in Afghanistan and 16 in Pakistan.33 Only Nepal and Sri Lanka set a consistent minimum age of marriage regardless of sex.34

PERSONAL LAWS ON CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

Marriages in South Asia, including child marriages, are typically not performed based on legal practice, but rather on the religious custom or tradition of the individuals involved.35 In the region, personal laws—which may be codified or uncodified—often set forth the requirements for marriage for individual religious communities, including the age at which marriages may be performed. Many personal laws in South Asia permit child marriage,36 allow a lower age of marriage than general law,37 or accord marriages involving children distinct legal status from general law.38 Further, personal laws in Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan recognize a higher age of marriage for boys than girls.39

LEGAL STATUS OF MARRIAGES INVOLVING CHILDREN

Clarity on the legal status of child marriages under the law is required for girls to be able to understand their legal rights and the requirements to leave such a marriage. Child marriages may be regarded as void ab initio, voidable or able to be repudiated, or valid. Marriages that are void ab initio are legally treated as though they have not taken place and can be treated so by the parties to them without having to resort to court action for an annulment. Marriages that are voidable can be ended by court action for annulment due to a defect in the marriage, although this may be limited under certain circumstances. A valid marriage can only be ended by court action for a divorce. General laws may remain silent on the legal status of child marriage,40 or set forth a legal status that allow for ambiguity by defining married or null and void legal relationships.41

Under most laws relating to child marriage in South Asia, child marriages that have already been performed are voidable42 or can be repudiated,43 however, these legal pathways out of child marriages are severely restricted by requirements that girls challenge their marriage within a certain amount of time following the marriage44 or before attainment of the age of majority or another specified age.45 Consummation of the marriage,46 or the birth of a child.47 For example, child marriage has been recognized as a ground for divorce under India’s Hindu Marriage Act, but a girl can only seek a divorce if she was married before 15 and has repudiated the marriage before 18.48 Nepali law does recognize child marriages as voidable, but only before the couple has had children.49
**SECTION I: CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA**

**CONSENT TO MARRIAGE**

General marriage laws in South Asia typically do not require consent of the parties to marriage. Only Nepal’s national law formally requires consent to marriage by both parties. General laws in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka do not require consent to marriage. In Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, laws governing nonreligious marriage do not formally require consent, but obligate each party to vow, “I take thee as my lawful spouse.” Conversely, parental consent is often permitted or required for marriages under specified ages under general marriage laws in South Asia, even where consent of the parties themselves would not be required if they were of age.

Personal laws vary in their approach to consent to marriage. Muslim law regards marriage as a contract, and, as such, both parties must give their consent and fulfill requirements related to legal capacity—namely, to be “of sound mind” and have attained puberty, which is presumed to occur at 15 years of age. Codified Muslim personal laws in Bangladesh do not explicitly discuss consent of the parties as a requirement for marriage, which means that ultimately courts determine whether consent is required in specific cases when the issue is raised for adjudication. In Pakistan, the marriage contract formulated per the rules issued under codified Muslim personal laws includes columns to record consent to marriage; however, this requirement is often circumvented by the failure to ensure marriages are registered.

Personal laws for other religions do not typically require consent. However, lack of consent may be recognized as a barrier to legal recognition of marriage. For example, the Hindu Marriage Act in India does not explicitly require consent, although marriage requires that neither party is incapable of giving consent due to “unsound mind” or “even if capable of giving a valid consent, is not suffering from a mental disorder or insanity.” Further, under the Hindu Marriage Act in India, marriages are voidable where “consent of the petitioner…was obtained by force or by fraud.”

For marriages involving parties that are under a specified age or have not undergone puberty, certain personal laws allow consent of a parent or guardian to be considered sufficient for marriage. Further, certain personal laws may require consent of a parent or guardian or a religious official, where parties are under a legally specified age or before puberty. Muslim personal law in Sri Lanka also requires the consent or permission of the male guardian of the bride, regardless of age.

**REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGE**

Registration of marriage can be essential to combating child marriage by requiring documentation of the age of the prospective spouses prior to solemnization. However, Afghanistan is the only country in South Asia that has adopted general legislation applicable to all citizens requiring registration of all marriages. Compulsory registration of marriage was ordered by the Supreme Court of India, but national legislation has not been enacted requiring registration of all marriages across the country.

Personal laws differ regarding registration of marriage, with registration being required in some laws and optional in others. Even where registration is required, the failure to register a marriage may not invalidate a marriage. Further, requirements of registration of marriage are rarely enforced, and the practice is typically not widespread. Finally, laws may also permit registration of marriage even where a girl does not meet the minimum age of marriage, such as in Sri Lanka.

**AGE RESTRICTIONS RELATED TO SEX AND CRIMINALIZATION OF MARITAL RAPE**

In most South Asian countries, rape within marriage is not criminalized, although penal codes do establish a minimum age under which sex with a girl is criminalized. In Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan, sex with a girl who is under 16 years old is considered rape. Afghanistan does not establish a minimum age in relation to sex, but punishes anyone who through violence, threat, or deceit violates the chastity of another and permits a harsher punishment where the victim is below 18. Similarly, Nepal and Sri Lanka recognize harsher punishments for sexual abuses related to younger girls. The Shia (Shiite) Personal Status Law in Afghanistan establishes that sexual intercourse with a married woman before she reaches puberty is prohibited.

Further, in certain South Asian countries, the law permits marriage to legitimize sex with a girl where it would otherwise be illegal. For example, in India, the 2012 Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act established that sex with a child under 18 is rape; however, the Indian Penal Code, which was amended in 2013, states that marital rape is only criminalized until a girl is 15 years of age. Similarly, in Sri Lanka, sex with a girl under 16 years is considered rape even if she says that she consents; however, the law permits a man to legally have sex with his wife without her consent so long as she is above 12 years of age.

In most of South Asia, marital rape involving women or girls older than the ages discussed above is not criminalized. Only Nepal clearly penalizes all instances of marital rape, regardless of the age of the wife at the time that the rape occurred. Marital rape is also one of the grounds for divorce in Nepal; however, the punishment for marital rape remains light. Pakistan’s penal code does not state that marriage is a defense to rape, which would allow for the recognition of marital rape as a crime; however, the failure to clearly criminalize marital rape has meant that courts in Pakistan continue to allow evidence of marriage to be a bar to a finding of rape.

**CONSENT TO MARRIAGE**

General marriage laws in South Asia typically do not require consent of the parties to marriage. Only Nepal’s national law formally requires consent to marriage by both parties. General laws in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka do not require consent to marriage. In Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, laws governing nonreligious marriage do not formally require consent, but obligate each party to vow, “I take thee as my lawful spouse.” Conversely, parental consent is often permitted or required for marriages under specified ages under general marriage laws in South Asia, even where consent of the parties themselves would not be required if they were of age.

Personal laws vary in their approach to consent to marriage. Muslim law regards marriage as a contract, and, as such, both parties must give their consent and fulfill requirements related to legal capacity—namely, to be “of sound mind” and have attained puberty, which is presumed to occur at 15 years of age. Codified Muslim personal laws in Bangladesh do not explicitly discuss consent of the parties as a requirement for marriage, which means that ultimately courts determine whether consent is required in specific cases when the issue is raised for adjudication. In Pakistan, the marriage contract formulated per the rules issued under codified Muslim personal laws includes columns to record consent to marriage; however, this requirement is often circumvented by the failure to ensure marriages are registered.

Personal laws for other religions do not typically require consent. However, lack of consent may be recognized as a barrier to legal recognition of marriage. For example, the Hindu Marriage Act in India does not explicitly require consent, although marriage requires that neither party is incapable of giving consent due to “unsound mind” or “even if capable of giving a valid consent, is not suffering from a mental disorder or insanity.” Further, under the Hindu Marriage Act in India, marriages are voidable where “consent of the petitioner…was obtained by force or by fraud.”

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SECTION I: CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS

Accurately assessing a girl’s age at marriage requires a system of birth registration. Birth registration is compulsory in Bangladesh, and birth certificates are to be utilized as a means of establishing the age of the prospective spouses at marriage.90 Registration of births is also compulsory in Afghanistan, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka.91 Only Pakistan does not make birth registration compulsory.92 Despite legal requirements, however, in South Asia only 36% of births are registered.93

Together, the gaps, inconsistencies, and unreasonable requirements in national legal frameworks concerning child marriage in the region have denied girls legal protection against child marriage. (See “Legal Barriers and Deterrents for Girls Seeking to Challenge Child Marriages,” pp. 18-19, for more information.) Impunity for child marriage persists throughout South Asia, resulting in grave implications for women’s and girls’ reproductive and sexual health and rights.

The Continuum of Harms Suffered by Women and Girls as a Result of Child Marriage

A woman or girl married as a child is exposed to a continuum of violations of her human rights, particularly due to the devastating impact of child marriage on her reproductive health and the increased risk of sexual violence within marriage. Child marriage involves the most vulnerable of girls, who often live in poor, rural, or conflict- or disaster-affected areas with limited access to health care and education, and compounds their already heightened risk of reproductive health harm and sexual violence.94

In South Asia, married girls experience significant pressure to become pregnant soon after marriage to prove their fertility95 and produce children, especially sons. This pressure is closely related to and dependent on men in society.96 Confronting child marriage requires governments to take meaningful steps to dismantle discriminatory patriarchal norms and stereotypes within South Asia, including as embodied in the law, that promote child marriage.

WHO RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING CHILD MARRIAGE AND EARLY PREGNANCY

The World Health Organization (WHO) has clearly recognized the connections between child marriage, early pregnancy, and poor reproductive health outcomes for adolescent girls. In its Guidelines on Preventing Early Pregnancy and Poor Reproductive Outcomes Among Adolescents in Developing Countries as well as in a 2012 report by the WHO Secretariat entitled “Early marriages, adolescent and young pregnancies,” the WHO has articulated several violence-based recommendations for governments to protect adolescent reproductive health, targeting six key objectives:

- reducing marriage before the age of 18 years;
- creating understanding and support to reduce pregnancy before the age of 20;
- increasing the use of contraception by adolescents at risk of unintended pregnancy;
- reducing coerced sex among adolescents;
- reducing unsafe abortion among adolescents;
- increasing the use of skilled antenatal, childbirth, and postnatal care among adolescents.105

The 2012 report specifically emphasizes the role of sexuality education to address harmful gender stereotypes and empower adolescent girls to avoid coerced use and prevent early pregnancy.106

Why Child Marriage Persists in South Asia

Child marriage persists in South Asia because governments have not done enough to end the practice. Child marriage is rooted in and perpetuates existing patriarchal power structures that have led to women’s subordination to and dependence on men in society.110 Confronting child marriage requires governments to take meaningful action to end discriminatory patriarchal norms and stereotypes within South Asia, including as embodied in the law, that promote child marriage.

PATRIARCHAL NORMS UNDERLYING CHILD MARRIAGE

Child marriage in South Asia reflects the dominance of patriarchal norms surrounding marriage, which view girls as objects to be “protected” and exchanged as commodities, rather than as bearers of rights.111 These norms lead to the treatment of daughters as economic burdens whose primary value is their virginity and reproductive capacity.112 In rural and poor areas, girls are particularly vulnerable to child marriage14 due to the predominance of these patriarchal views and widespread poverty.113 The risk of child marriage is also exacerbated for girls in conflict and disaster-affected areas, where there are increased risks of poverty from financial instability and sexual violence that pose a threat to girls’ bodily integrity and virginity.114

CONTROL OVER SEXUALITY AND REPRODUCTIVE CAPACITY

In South Asia, parents often consider ensuring their daughter’s marriage as their final duty in raising her.115 Marriage is seen as an institution that protects women and girls and ensures their financial and physical security.116 Generally, a girl’s virginity is a prerequisite to marriage and determines her worth as well as her (continued on p. 20)
In addition to socio-cultural barriers, a girl seeking to avert a child marriage that is imminent or leave one that has already taken place may also face serious barriers due to the complex interplay of multiple laws regarding child marriage. The following are examples of legal barriers and ambiguities that impede girls' ability to seek legal recourse for child marriage:

- **Powerlessness of girls in decision-making**: Laws in South Asia often place the onus on girls themselves to seek to avoid or dissolve child marriages, but fail to establish a simple process for leaving a marriage. (See Section I, p. 13, for further discussion.) Current legal frameworks fail to recognize the unequal power dynamics experienced by girls, who are denied autonomy as result of their status both as females and as children.1 Girls who are vulnerable to child marriage are particularly likely to grow up in patriarchal societies where they may not be aware of laws prohibiting child marriage, are not granted decision-making authority2 or do not possess the economic resources necessary for seeking legal representation and remedies. The failure to address girls' powerlessness within patriarchal societies acts as an impediment to girls' ability to utilize the law.

- **Inconsistent general and personal laws on child marriage**: Child marriage is regulated by inconsistent general and personal laws in much of South Asia, resulting in significant ambiguity concerning which law is applicable. For a girl, these inconsistencies can make it difficult to know whether her marriage is illegal and what rights she has.3 (See Section I, p. 13, for more information.) For example, although a general law on child marriage may penalize marriage below 18, the personal law applicable to a girl’s religious community may permit marriage at a much younger age. Further, general and personal laws may also accord child marriages different legal status and provide girls conflicting rights to dissolve child marriages—without clarification, girls may not know if their marriages are legally void and can be treated as if they did not happen, or if they need to seek judicial authorization for annulment or divorce. General legislation, including that which concerns child marriage, often fails to clarify which law prevails, compounding the problem.4 The weak implementation of prevention laws and penalties by local government officials entrusted with enforcement further contributes to the uncertainty about the scope of legal protection.

- **Unreasonable criteria for dissolution of marriage**: Several laws in South Asia permit the dissolution of marriages where one party is a child, but only in limited circumstances, such as before the marriage has been consummated,1 before there are offspring,2 or only within the first few years of attaining majority.3 These restrictions fail to consider the circumstances of married girls, who often lack control over consummation of marriage or pregnancy; indeed, girls who are being abused within marriage are the ones who are left without protection under such laws. The likelihood of pregnancy within the first few years of marriage also means that girls may be unable to leave a marriage within the limited time frame permitted under many laws for dissolution of child marriage. Those years may also be when married girls are the most dependent on their husbands, as they may be pregnant or have small children, and lack the education or income generating skills to provide for their family.

- **Weak laws on sexual violence and limited recognition of sexual crimes within marriage**: Many South Asian countries either fail to recognize rape within marriage as a crime4 or only recognize it as a crime through puberty5 or through 12 or 15 years of age.6 If a married girl tries to run away to escape the violence she is experiencing, in some South Asian countries, such as Afghanistan, she may be convicted of intent to have sex outside of marriage.7 Further, although sex with a girl below a statutorily established age is criminalized in most of South Asia, laws that permit child marriage undermine this protection by legitimizing coerced sexual intercourse with children. Together, these contradictory standards mean that the sexual violence married girls experience will not be considered violence under national law.

- **Lack of evidence of age at the time of marriage**: As a result of poor birth and marriage registration systems throughout most of the region, girls face significant barriers to establishing their age at the time of marriage. Without this information, girls may experience barriers in substantiating that their marriage was a child marriage in violation of the law.
SECTION I: CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

Together, these patriarchal norms and practices underlying child marriage also need to be considered in marriage-related decisions. Similarly, marriage, which legitimizes reproduction, is regarded as a decision that must be made by the elders in a family, not as a decision where a girl’s preference ought to be considered. A younger bride is thought to be more likely to submit to the demands to engage in sex and bear and raise children, in part because her youth and lack of education mean she has less negotiating power to defy stereotypical gender norms and expectations. Ultimately, child marriage operates to perpetuate patriarchal power structures that ensure women’s and girls’ subservience within the family and society.

VIEW OF WOMEN AS COMMODITIES

Child marriage also persists as a financial survival strategy, particularly in areas with significant poverty. Generally, a married girl is expected to live with her husband and in-laws. Parents often view their daughters as a financial burden, as they must bear the cost of raising them, but will not be supported by them in the future. Further, in much of South Asia, marriage comes with significant costs for the bride’s parents. Marriage at a younger age allows parents to pay a lower dowry or save on wedding costs by marrying their younger daughters along with older siblings or on designated days when mass wedding ceremonies of children are conducted. Similarly, in situations where a girl’s family receives a “bride price,” or payment, from the groom’s family, a younger bride attains a higher price. Child marriage also is utilized as a means to settle debts or to generate income. This view of girls as commodities to be bought and sold perpetuates the view that girls lack agency and that their preferences and best interests do not need to be considered in marriage-related decisions.

Together, these patriarchal norms and practices underlying child marriage also serve to trap girls within child marriage. First, due to their lack of education and isolation in society, girls are often unaware of the legal age of marriage, who can be convicted, what the punishment would be, and how to avoid a child marriage. Second, since married girls often lack education and income generating skills, they have limited options to support themselves outside of marriage. The moment a girl seeks to leave a child marriage, she will need to consider where to seek shelter and how to survive financially. Laws may involve prosecution of a girl’s parents as well as her in-laws or even her husband. Even where she can avoid prosecution of her parents, in the region the return of a married girl to her parents is highly stigmatized and discouraged. Remarriage is typically not an option, as often once a girl is married, she is presumed to have had sex and will be considered unmarriageable.

LACK OF EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT ACTION

The failure of governments to effectively address these patriarchal norms and stereotypes underlying child marriage is a significant cause of child marriage. Girls are most vulnerable to child marriage where governments have failed to condemn and address gender discrimination, protect girls from violence, and provide girls educational and employment opportunities that promote their financial independence and constitute real alternatives to child marriage. Instead, the patriarchal roots of child marriage are a significant factor in the lack of political will to ensure the clear and consistent prohibition of child marriage throughout the legal system, adequate punishment for child marriage, and the effective enforcement of the law.

There are minor punishments for violations of laws on child marriage in several South Asian countries, reflecting the weak stance governments take toward child marriage. In Bangladesh, for example, the punishment for contracting, performing, or failing to prevent a child marriage is only a maximum fine of BDT 1,000 (approximately USD 13), one month in prison, or both. Further, courts may also have wide discretionary power, allowing for the issuance of light punishments, even below statutory minimums. For example, in Nepal, the Supreme Court only issued a three day sentence and a fine of NPR 25 (approximately USD 0.25) to the father of a 13-year-old girl who confessed to entering her into a child marriage. This sentence was even lighter than the minimum penalty of three months’ imprisonment established in the law.

Further, legal prohibitions on child marriage are only as strong as their enforcement at the local level. Prosecution for child marriage remains low in the region, even where the practice is illegal, indicating impunity for the practice. The failure to appoint designated officials mandated to investigate and intervene in child marriage cases and ensure their awareness that child marriage is illegal and harmful to girls also constitutes a barrier to enforcement of child marriage laws. In the region, child marriage is often considered a personal or family issue, leading law enforcement officers to refrain from intervening as mandated under the law. Ensuring accountability for child marriage requires that officers tasked with enforcing legal prohibitions on the practice must have adequate training about the harms of child marriage and support to respond to community opposition and protection against retaliation. For example, in Nepal and Sri Lanka, although registration of marriages involving children is prohibited, registrars report facing immense social pressure to falsely register such marriages in violation of the law. Similarly, in India, activists seeking to enforce child marriage laws have faced violent retaliation. The failure of governments to ensure that frontline defenders of girls’ rights to be free from child marriage are adequately prepared and supported contributes significantly to the practice of child marriage.
Court cases have played an important role in shifting the discourse on child marriage in India by illustrating the brutal impact of child marriage on girls’ well-being and survival. Two 19th-century cases in India are widely credited with bolstering advocacy against child marriage. While the courts themselves were not an immediate source of remedy, public controversy surrounding the cases contributed to national legal reform.

Rukhmabai had been married at the age of 11, but was allowed to remain at home until she was in her 20s. In 1884, after several years of marriage, her husband filed a case for restitution of conjugal rights. Rukhmabai argued that since she could not have given legal consent to the marriage at 11 years of age, her marriage was invalid. This argument was novel in India, and sparked debates on consent of minors to marriage. The Bombay High Court initially dismissed the case, stating that “it would be a barbarous, a cruel, a revolting thing to do to compel a young lady under those circumstances to go to a man whom she dislikes, in order that he may cohabit with her against her will.”

Unfortunately, the dismissal was appealed and the case was ultimately settled out of court. However, through the controversy, Rukhmabai became a leading voice in the media against child marriage, inspiring public outcry on the issue.

““I am one of those unfortunate Hindu women whose hard lot is to suffer the unnameable miseries entailed by the custom of early marriage. This wicked practice of child marriage has destroyed the happiness of my life. It comes between me and the thing which I prize above all others – study and mental cultivation. Without the least fault of mine I am doomed to seclusion; every aspiration of mine to rise above my ignorant sisters is looked upon with suspicion and is interpreted in the most uncharitable manner.””

In 1890, Phulmonee, a girl of approximately 11 living in India, died from a rupture of her vagina after her 35-year-old husband forcibly had sex with her. Phulmonee died after 13 hours of hemorrhaging and acute pain. Unanimous medical opinion found that Phulmonee’s injuries were caused by violent sexual penetration, which her immature body could not sustain. The colonial law in India in place in 1890 only criminalized rape within marriage where the girl was under the age of 10. Since Phulmonee was older, her husband was not accused of rape, but instead was sentenced to one year in prison for “causing grievous hurt by an act so rashly and negligently done as to endanger life.” The court failed to promote a more expansive reading of the law to recognize marital rape beyond 10 years of age. However, the case fueled debates in India surrounding raising the age of sexual consent as a means of avoiding such deaths and inspired activists seeking to raise the age of consent to publicize dozens of similar stories. In 1891, the government adopted the Age of Sexual Consent Act, which raised the minimum age of sexual consent to 12. Phulmonee’s case continues to be invoked in debates surrounding marital rape and child marriage in India more than a century later.
SECTION II: INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR CHILD MARRIAGE

As parties to U.N. human rights treaties, governments in South Asia have an obligation under international law to ensure that girls are protected from child marriage and the consequences of violations resulting from the practice. These violations are particularly egregious because they are occurring against children, whom governments are obligated to take special measures to protect. Governments are accountable for violations of women’s and girls’ rights as a result of child marriage, and must offer legal remedies and ensure that they are accessible where these rights are violated.

Rights of the Child

Children are recognized under international human rights law as requiring special care and enjoyment of the right to special measures of protection. This protection is enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), as well as in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). The Human Rights Committee (HRC), which interprets and monitors compliance with the ICCPR, has established that the obligation to protect children requires states parties to “be guided by two key principles: evolving capacities and respect of the child’s right of participation.” As such, states parties must ensure that the actions of parents or legal guardians responsible for the upbringing of children would often prefer to delay marriage, yet they are married without consideration of their preference.

Reflecting this obligation, the CRC Committee has “strongly recommended[ed] that [s]tates parties review and, where necessary, reform their legislation and practice to increase the minimum age for marriage with and without parental consent to 18 years, for both girls and boys.” Further, states parties must ensure that all laws and policies, including religious laws, reflect uniform definitions of “child” as “any person below 18 years old.”

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee), which interprets and monitors compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), has similarly stated that notwithstanding CRC Article 1, the minimum age of marriage for men and women must be 18 years. These legal standards, set forth by U.N. treaty monitoring bodies (TMBs), reflect progressive development of the standard established in the 1964 Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages, which did not establish a minimum age of marriage but called for the elimination of “child marriages and betrothal of young girls before the age of puberty.” The CRC Committee has repeatedly called for states parties to ensure legislation prohibiting child marriage, appropriate sanctions where child marriage occurs, and prosecution of those involved in the performance or promotion of marriages. Further, reflecting the importance of registration of births, the CRC Committee has emphasized that states parties to CEDAW have recognized that states parties are obligated to register all births, particularly of the “important responsibilities” assumed in marriage and to ensure the attainment of “full maturity and capacity to act.” The CRC Committee has affirmed that “an adult’s consent to marriage undermines girls’ status and dignity,” and girls’ silence must not be construed as consent, or as tacit assent to the marriage. A girl’s silence must not be construed as consent, or as tacit assent to the marriage. Reproductive rights to the right of the girl child to be heard, to receive information, to negotiate the health-related information, services, and decision-making arising from lack of reproductive health information and adolescent-friendly services. (See Section I, p. 17, for more information on child marriage and women’s and girls’ autonomy.) The CRC Committee has urged states parties to establish clear policies and legislation addressing adolescent health-related issues, including on early marriage and pregnancies. The CRC Committee has affirmed that the best interests of the child standard must be observed in all health-related actions affecting children and requires ensuring children have access to appropriate information on health issues. The CRC General Comment 15 affirms that states parties must ensure girls can make “autonomous and informed decisions on their reproductive health.”

The obligation to take special measures of protection and assistance for children is violated where states parties fail to ensure that the minimum legal age of marriage is at least 18. While the CRC itself defines “child” to mean “every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier,” the CRC Committee has called on states parties to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18. The CRC has echoed this standard, stating that the obligation of special protection continues until the age of 18, regardless of any lower age of majority set forth in domestic laws.

CHILD MARRIAGE VIOLATES THE OBLIGATION TO ESTABLISH A MINIMUM AGE OF MARRIAGE OF 18

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CHALLENGE MARRIAGE VIOLATES CHILDREN’S RIGHT TO REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH-RELATED INFORMATION, SERVICES, AND DECISION-MAKING

Adolescent girls face significant risks to their reproductive health within child marriage, particularly in contexts where children already encounter barriers to reproductive health decision-making arising from lack of reproductive health information and adolescent-friendly services. (See Section I, p. 17, for more information on child marriage and women’s and girls’ autonomy.) The CRC Committee has urged states parties to establish clear policies and legislation addressing adolescent health-related issues, including on early marriage and pregnancies. The CRC Committee has affirmed that the best interests of the child standard must be observed in all health-related actions affecting children and requires ensuring children have access to appropriate information on health issues. The CRC General Comment 15 affirms that states parties must ensure girls can make “autonomous and informed decisions on their reproductive health.”

Under human rights law, no marriage may be entered into without the full and free consent of both parties. Children do not have the capacity to provide legal consent to marriage, regardless of maturity, as it is considered detrimental to their health and overall well-being. The minimum age of marriage is established as 18 in recognition of the “important responsibilities” assumed in marriage and to ensure the attainment of “full maturity and capacity to act.” The CRC Committee has affirmed that “an adult’s consent to marriage undermines girls’ status and dignity.”

The CRC Committee has emphasized that states parties must regard married girls as being in a potentially vulnerable situation because of the likelihood that they will be exposed to gender-based violence. As such, the CRC Committee has urged states parties to provide shelters to girls who escape from child marriages and to develop and provide adequate resources to implement “physical and psychological recovery programmes for child victims of harmful traditional practices,” including child marriage. The obligation to take special measures of protection and assistance for children is violated where states parties fail to ensure that the minimum legal age of marriage is at least 18. While the CRC itself defines “child” to mean “every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier,” the CRC Committee has called on states parties to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18. The CRC has echoed this standard, stating that the obligation of special protection continues until the age of 18, regardless of any lower age of majority set forth in domestic laws.

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Reflection of this obligation, the CRC Committee has “strongly recommended[ed] that [s]tates parties review and, where necessary, reform their legislation and practice to increase the minimum age for marriage with and without parental consent to 18 years, for both girls and boys.” Further, states parties must ensure that all laws and policies, including religious laws, reflect uniform definitions of “child” as “any person below 18 years old.” The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee), which interprets and monitors compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), has similarly stated that notwithstanding CRC Article 1, the minimum age of marriage for men and women must be 18 years. The CRC Committee has repeatedly called for states parties to ensure legislation prohibiting child marriage, appropriate sanctions where child marriage occurs, and prosecution of those involved in the performance or promotion of marriages. Further, reflecting the importance of registration of births, the CRC Committee has emphasized that states parties are obligated to register all births, particularly of the “important responsibilities” assumed in marriage and to ensure the attainment of “full maturity and capacity to act.” The HRC has stated that a proper minimum age of marriage is necessary to “ensure women’s capacity to make an informed and uncoerced decision.” For more information, see “Human Rights Law Does Not Recognize Parental Consent as a Substitute for an Individual’s Consent to Marriage,” p. 24.)

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An essential component of empowering girls to make decisions concerning early pregnancy is providing information about the harms of childbearing before their bodies are fully mature and counseling on how to time and space pregnancies. The CRC Committee has affirmed that states parties must ensure adolescents’ right to information about their health even if they are out of school and has recognized that adolescents must be provided sexual and reproductive health information, including about the dangers of early marriage and early pregnancy, contraception, and the prevention of STIs including HIV/AIDS. The CRC Committee also has affirmed that fulfillment of adolescents’ right to information is essential for the prevention of child marriage and for family planning.

U.N. TBMs have affirmed that ensuring adolescent decision-making also requires states parties to provide access to adolescent-friendly health services. The CRC Committee has called on states parties to reduce adolescent maternal mortality and morbidity by providing sexual and reproductive health services, including obstetric health care and counseling. States parties also must ensure adolescents’ access to short-term as well as long-term methods of contraception; emergency contraception; and safe abortion and post-abortion services, regardless of the legality of abortion.

Further, the CRC Committee has recognized that adolescent girls who have children themselves need special protection, and clarified that states parties are obligated to develop and implement, in a manner consistent with adolescents’ evolving capacities, legislation, policies, and programs to support adolescent parents and their children’s well-being. The CRC Committee has emphasized that adolescent parents often experience depression and anxiety, and has urged states parties to support adolescent parents and implement policies that allow adolescent mothers to continue their education.

CHILD MARRIAGE VIOLATES THE OBLIGATION TO PROTECT CHILDREN FROM VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL ABUSE

Child marriage is a form of violence against children. The CRC Committee has unequivocally stated that the legalization of any form of violence against children, including child marriage, is unacceptable. States parties must “take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse.” Officials at all levels of government are responsible for preventing violence against children. In addition, the CRC Committee has called on states parties to raise the age of sexual consent to prevent forced marriage and ensure the health of children.

Right to Equality and Nondiscrimination

International human rights treaties guarantee women’s rights to equality and nondiscrimination. The CEDAW Committee has explained that “(i)nherent to the principle of equality between men and women, or gender equality, is the concept that all human beings, regardless of sex, are free to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices.” States parties must ensure both formal and substantive equality, meaning that women and girls must be treated equally under the law as well as enjoy equality of results and opportunities; uphold ing this right requires states parties to ensure women’s distinct biological capacity to reproduce does not lead to violations of their rights. The CEDAW Committee has urged states parties to make use of “temporary special measures” to accelerate substantive equality, and ongoing special measures to protect women during pregnancy.

Under international law, child marriage is recognized as a violation of women’s rights to non-discrimination and equal enjoyment of their human rights. U.N. TBMs have emphasized that child marriage results from discriminatory social attitudes, and causes suffering and marginalization of women. U.N. TBMs have repeatedly expressed concern where child marriage persists despite legal prohibitions, and affirmed that states parties must ensure there is no impunity where child marriage occurs. Under CEDAW, states parties must not grant child marriages any legal effect. Further, marriage registration must be made compulsory, even if performed under religious law, as a means to ensure equality in marriage, prevent child marriage, and protect children’s rights.

CEDAW Article 16, concerning protection of women’s equal rights in marriage, specifically prohibits child marriage. Human rights law recognizes that women have the right to equality within marriage, which includes the equal right to consent to marriage and to enjoy equal roles and responsibilities within marriage. Recognizing that minority compromises legal capacity to consent, human rights law states that right to consent to marriage requires states parties to establish an appropriate minimum age of marriage to “ensure women’s capacity to make an informed and uncoerced decision.” States parties also must ensure that the law, including customary law, does not accept consent of family members or a male guardian in place of the consent of the woman herself. (See “Human Rights Law Does Not Recognize Parental Consent as a Substitute for an Individual Party’s Consent to Marriage,” p. 24, for more information.) The failure to ensure proper legal capacity and consent is a serious impediment to equality within marriage and perpetuates unequal power dynamics between women and men.

States parties have a particular obligation to protect those girls most at risk of child marriage and the harms resulting from the practice. Rural, poor, and adolescent girls, who are recognized as being most likely to be married as children, are recognized under human rights law as vulnerable subgroups of women. Further, the intersection of their gender, age, and socio-economic or geographic status increases their vulnerability to violence and reproductive health harm and exacerbates the impact of the human rights violations resulting from child marriage experienced by these subgroups. Where girls face multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, states parties have an obligation to take special measures to ensure their enjoyment of their human rights without discrimination, including their rights to reproductive health services and freedom from violence. Human rights law also recognizes the increased risk of discrimination experienced by girls in times of armed conflict and states of emergency, and has affirmed that the “obligations of States parties do not cease in periods of armed conflict or in states of emergency due to political events or natural disasters.”

CHILD MARRIAGE MAY NOT BE JUSTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF STEREOTYPES, TRADITION, IDEOLOGY, OR CULTURAL ATTITUDES

Child marriage violates women’s and girls’ right to equality and nondiscrimination by perpetuating patriarchal traditions, cultural attitudes, and stereotypes that place them below men and women under the law as well as in the application of rights and opportunities. It is discriminatory and violates the human rights of girls and women. Child marriage is a form of violence against children. It is a human rights violation and must be abolished. End child marriage now.
in a subordinate role within family and society.222 (See Section 1, p. 17 and p. 20, for more information on stereotypes underlying child marriage.) Under CEDAW, states parties must “modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superior-

ity of either of the sexes or on stereotypes roles for men and women.”223 The HRC has emphasized that, “states parties should ensure that traditional, religious and cultural attitudes are not used to justify violations of women’s right to equality before the law and to equal enjoyment of all Covenant rights.”224 (See “States Parties Must Ensure Personal Laws Do Not Legitimize Child Marriage,” p. 27, for more information.) The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR Committee), which interprets and monitors compliance with the ICESCR, has recognized child marriage among the “traditional practices that violate the physical integrity and human dignity of women and girls.”225

U.N. treaties and TMBs have recognized that states parties that permit different legal ages of marriage for men and women promote discriminatory stereotypes226 and violate human rights.227 The CEDAW Committee states that such provisions “assume incorrectly that women have a different rate of intellectual development from men, or that their stage of physical and intellectual development at marriage is immaterial.”228 The HRC has similarly rejected a recent state party’s claim that child marriage is justified on the stereotyped notion that “girls mature faster and are more likely to handle family life at an earlier age than boys.”229 States parties have an immediate obligation to enact legislation prohibiting traditional practices that are harmful to women and girls and adopt measures to modify or eliminate discriminatory traditional practices and stereotypes.230

CHILD MARRIAGE VIOLATES WOMEN’S RIGHTS TO DETERMINE THE NUMBER, SPACING, AND TIMING OF THEIR CHILDREN

Child marriage operates as a means to control women’s and girls’ sexuality and reproductive capacity, and results in significant risks of unwanted and forced pregnancies. (See Section I, pp. 16–17 and p. 20, for more information.) The preamble to CEDAW affirms that “the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination.”231 Under CEDAW Article 16, women must have the same right as men “to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights.”232 The CEDAW Committee has affirmed that women’s right to determine the number, spacing, and timing of their children is violated where women are denied autonomy in making decisions about their reproductive health by their husbands or family members or are exposed to forced pregnancies.233 Article 16 guarantees women the right to make informed decisions about contraceptive measures, which requires access to contraceptive information and services as well as sexuality education.234

CHILD MARRIAGE CONSTITUTES GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Child marriage is recognized under human rights law as form of gender-based violence.235 Freedom from gender-based violence is a human right.236 The CEDAW Committee defines gender-based violence as violence “directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately” and “includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty.”237 Child marriage has been recognized by the CEDAW Committee as a practice involving violence or coercion and as a form of forced marriage.238 Child marriage exposes women to reproductive rights violations239 and marital rape,240 both of which are recognized as forms of gender-based violence. (For more information on child marriage, sexual violence, and barriers to reproductive health services, see Section I, pp. 16–17.) The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (SRVAW) has recognized child marriage as a “cultural practice” that is harmful to women and their reproductive health, and is rooted in the desire to control women’s and girls’ reproductive capacity.241 Under the obligation to eliminate violence against women, states parties must ensure women do not experience human rights violations as a result of lack of control over their sexual and reproductive lives or poor quality of reproductive health care.242 U.N. TMBs also have criticized states parties where marital rape is not recognized as a crime.243 (See Section I, p. 14, for more information on laws on marital rape in South Asia.)

Under human rights law, states parties must exercise due diligence in addressing violence against women committed by both state and non-state actors.244 The due diligence obligation requires states parties to prevent, investigate, punish, and provide remedy for all acts of violence against women.245 States parties must address “gender-based stereotypes, power imbalances, inequalities and discrimination which support and perpetuate the use of violence and coercion in the home…and in society more broadly.”246

The SRVAW has emphasized that although historically governments have denied the legal obligation to intervene in “cultural practices” that cause violence because they occur in “private” or “domestic” spheres, international human rights standards clearly reject this “public/private differentiation” and obligate governments to eradicate all forms of violence, including within the family.247

Right to Health

The ICESCR recognizes “the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.”248 States parties have “immediate obligations” to guarantee the right to health without discrimination,249 including for women and adolescent girls.250 Ensuring the right to health without discrimination requires states parties to take effective measures to abolish traditional practices that are prejudicial to women’s and children’s health.251 Child marriage is recognized as a harmful traditional practice that is the root cause of significant violations of the right to health.252 The CEDAW Committee has affirmed that the right to health requires the proscription of betrothal and marriage of children as a means to “prevent[] the physical and emotional harm which arise from early childhood.”253 The CEDAW Committee also has recognized the long-term negative effect of child marriage on women’s enjoyment of their right to health254 and has affirmed that “states parties should ensure the right to sexual health information, education and services for all women and girls.”255

U.N. TMBs have recognized that prevention of child marriage is needed to ensure protection of the right to health.256 The ESCR Committee has affirmed that states parties must take “preventive, promotive and remedial action to shield women from harmful practices and norms that deny them their full reproductive rights.”257 Further, the
obligation to respect, protect, and fulfill the right to health\textsuperscript{244} requires states parties to abstain from imposing and enforcing discriminatory practices that affect women’s health\textsuperscript{245} and to ensure the enactment and effective enforcement of laws prohibiting child marriage.\textsuperscript{246} States parties also must prevent third parties from coercing women to undergo traditional practices, guarantee “that harmful social or traditional practices do not interfere with access to pre- and post-natal care and family-planning,”\textsuperscript{247} and launch information campaigns concerning harmful traditional practices and sexual and reproductive health.\textsuperscript{248}

**EARLY PREGNANCY RESULTING FROM CHILD MARRIAGE VIOLATES THE RIGHT TO HEALTH**

U.N. TMBs have specifically stated that early pregnancy violates a girl’s right to health by putting her at risk of maternal mortality and morbidity\textsuperscript{249} and unsafe abortion.\textsuperscript{250} Governments have an obligation to take steps to allow girls to prevent early pregnancy\textsuperscript{251} and to prioritize the reduction of adolescent maternal mortality and morbidity\textsuperscript{252} by prohibiting child marriage\textsuperscript{253} and by developing programs that provide access to contraception, safe abortion services, and comprehensive obstetric care and counseling.\textsuperscript{254}

Governments doubly jeopardize married girls’ health by failing to ensure that girls can prevent early pregnancy and that pregnant girls have access to safe and appropriate reproductive health services. The CEDAW Committee has affirmed that “it is the duty of States parties to ensure women’s right to safe motherhood and emergency obstetric services and they should allocate to these services the maximum extent of available resources.”\textsuperscript{255} The duty to ensure maternal health is recognized as a “core obligation,”\textsuperscript{256} meaning that states parties must take “deliberate, concrete and targeted” steps toward meeting this goal.\textsuperscript{257} The failure to ensure women’s and girls’ access to reproductive health services, including maternal health services, is recognized as violating women’s right to enjoy the right to health on an equal basis with men.\textsuperscript{258} The CEDAW Committee has affirmed that “[m]easures to eliminate discrimination against women are considered to be inappropriate if a health-care system lacks services to prevent, detect and treat illnesses specific to women.”\textsuperscript{259}

**CHILD MARRIAGE EXPOSES WOMEN TO COERCION AND VIOLENCE IN VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT TO HEALTH**

The obligation to ensure women’s right to health without discrimination requires states parties to protect women from violence,\textsuperscript{260} including sexual violence and violence resulting from denial of reproductive rights. Girls and women who were married as children face significant coercion and violence within the family and from society relating to reproductive decision-making, including whether to have sex, use contraceptives, become pregnant, and continue a pregnancy. (See Section I, p. 16, for more information concerning reproductive health risks and violence faced by girls and women married as children.) U.N. TMBs have established that unequal power dynamics between men and women can jeopardize women’s and girls’ right to health\textsuperscript{261} by denying them the ability to refuse sex or to insist on safe sex practices.\textsuperscript{262} The CEDAW Committee has particularly expressed concern where girls are vulnerable to sexual abuse by older men, noting the risk of physical and psychological harm and unwanted and early pregnancy.\textsuperscript{263}

Right to Freedom from TCIDT

The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) and ICCPR call on states parties to eliminate torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment (TCIDT).\textsuperscript{264} The right to be free from TCIDT cannot be diminished under any circumstance.\textsuperscript{265} States parties must exercise due diligence to “prevent, investigate, prosecute and punish”\textsuperscript{266} TCIDT committed by state agents and others acting in an official capacity.\textsuperscript{267} States parties also must exercise due diligence where TCIDT is committed by non-state or private actors when state authorities or others acting in an official capacity know or have reasonable grounds to believe that these acts are taking place.\textsuperscript{268}

U.N. TMBs have recognized that child marriage may constitute TCIDT,\textsuperscript{269} particularly where governments fail to “set a minimum age of marriage that complies with international standards,”\textsuperscript{270} do not eradicate forms of marriage that permit sexual exploitation of children,\textsuperscript{271} or allow child marriage to occur despite laws setting the minimum age of marriage at 18.\textsuperscript{272} The failure of governments to introduce and enforce uniform laws prohibiting child marriage and to eliminate discriminatory patriarchal norms about girls’ value perpetuates girls’ powerlessness to challenge the practice of child marriage. The U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (SR TCIDT) has stated that

**TCIDT may be found where “a society’s indifference to or even support for the subordinate status of women, together with the existence of discriminatory laws and a pattern of State failure to punish perpetrators and protect victims, create the conditions under which women may be subjected to systematic physical and mental suffering, despite their apparent freedom to resist.”**\textsuperscript{273}

(See Section I, pp. 17–21 for more information on why child marriage persists.)

**FAILURE TO ELIMINATE HARMFUL TRADITIONAL PRACTICES, INCLUDING CHILD MARRIAGE, CONSTITUTES TCIDT**

U.N. TMBs have recognized that harmful traditional practices, including child marriage,\textsuperscript{274} violate the right to be free from TCIDT.\textsuperscript{275} Under CAT, states parties must “create adequate conditions allowing victims to report incidents of harmful traditional practices and domestic and sexual violence without fear of reprisal or stigmatization.”\textsuperscript{276} This involves training government officials, including prosecutors and the police, about the obligation to strictly apply penal code provisions concerning the criminal nature of harmful traditional practices and other forms of violence against women.\textsuperscript{277} Further, under CAT, states parties must ensure that domestic protections against discrimination against women trump customary laws that condone discriminatory practices.\textsuperscript{278} The Committee against Torture (CAT Committee) has affirmed that under the right to be free from TCIDT, states parties must enact and implement laws that mandate registration of marriage,\textsuperscript{279} criminalize child marriage,\textsuperscript{280} prosecute any offenders,\textsuperscript{281} and ensure such marriages have no legal effect.\textsuperscript{282} Governments cannot absolve themselves of this obligation by allowing communities to create their own individual ages of marriage under personal laws.\textsuperscript{283} The CAT Committee has called for urgent legislative measures where governments allow child marriage on the basis of personal laws.\textsuperscript{284} (Continued on p. 34.)
IN FOCUS: THE POTENTIAL FOR SAARC TO CREATE ACCOUNTABILITY FOR CHILD MARRIAGE: COMPARATIVE EXAMPLES OF PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL STANDARDS

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is a regional body composed of eight member states dedicated to the economic, social, and cultural development of South Asia, including the six countries discussed in this briefing paper. SAARC member states have repeatedly pledged to protect children, including in the SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements on the Promotion of Child Welfare in South Asia (Child Welfare Convention), the Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution (Trafficking Convention), and the Colombo Statement on Children of South Asia. However, SAARC has yet to adopt a convention clearly condemning child marriage and calling on states to enforce a minimum age of marriage of 18, consistent with human rights law.

While SAARC’s Child Welfare Convention defines “children” as being below the age of 18, it only obligates governments to take steps to enforce the minimum age of marriage established in national laws. The Child Welfare Convention fails to establish 18 as the minimum legal age of marriage, despite the fact that it reaffirms SAARC member states’ commitment to uphold the Convention on the Rights of the Child and calls for compulsory civil registration of births and marriages as means to enforce national laws on minimum age of marriage. Similarly, SAARC’s Trafficking Convention requires that member states punish under criminal law traffickers who utilize child marriage as means to force children into prostitution. However, the Trafficking Convention does not define child marriage nor does it explicitly prohibit the practice.

While no SAARC convention currently specifically condemns child marriage, there have been some noteworthy developments on child marriage in SAARC statements and in advocacy work by regional organizations engaging with SAARC. For example, the SAARC Colombo Statement on Children of South Asia has recognized child marriage as a “harmful traditional practice” and resolved to “enhance and make effective child protection efforts, including eliminating child marriage.” SAARC’s Trafficking Convention requires member states to punish under criminal law traffickers who utilize child marriage as means to force children into prostitution. However, the Trafficking Convention does not define child marriage nor does it explicitly prohibit the practice.

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The first is the South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children, which is a SAARC apex body consisting of government representatives that seeks to hold governments accountable for ending all forms of violence against girls, boys, and women. The second is the South Asia Coordinating Group on Action on Violence Against Children, a network of U.N. agencies, non-governmental organizations, and other actors working together at the regional level in South Asia to coordinate activities aimed at addressing violence against women and children.

Regional instruments and formal legal and political bodies in Africa and Europe provide examples of further steps that can be taken by SAARC to create legal accountability for child marriage as a violation of women’s and girls’ rights. For example, the African Union’s Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa recognizes that all marriages require free and full consent, establishes that the minimum legal age of marriage is 18, and mandates compulsory marriage registration. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child further recognizes child marriage as a “harmful and cultural practice” and states that child marriage should be prohibited by all member states. The African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which periodically reviews states parties’ compliance with this charter, has called for legal reform where governments permit child marriage. Similarly, the Council of Europe’s Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence establishes that governments must take all necessary measures to ensure that child marriage is criminalized. Further, European Parliament Resolution 1468 recognizes child marriage as a violation of fundamental human rights, and it commits national parliaments to criminalize acts of forced marriage and to set the minimum statutory age for marriage at 18 years.

“Child marriages limit opportunities and undermine [the] wellbeing of [c]hildren, particularly girls. Child marriages often result in early and unwanted pregnancies, posing life-threatening risks for girls. This vulnerability in the South Asian region calls for a redoubled response in terms of survival, development, protection and the social disadvantages faced by...girl children.

Empowering girls is a matter of basic justice and equality and it is an obligation under human rights laws and conventions. The basic rights of children and [the] girl-child are explicitly set out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is the most widely ratified human rights treaty in history. If we truly believe that investing in girls is a catalyst for changing the world, we must do everything possible to reduce the gap between girls and boys in respect to their level of health, nutrition as well as education and other discriminatory practices based on their gender.”

-SAARC Secretary General, Inaugural Address to the Regional Consultative Meeting to Celebrate the International Day of the Girl Child, December 2013
CHILD MARRIAGE VIOLATES THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM TCIDT BY DENYING GIRLS THEIR REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

States parties are obligated under the right to freedom from TCIDT to ensure that women and girls are not exposed to grave risks to their reproductive health due to early and unintended pregnancy, preventable maternal mortality, or gender-based violence. The CAT Committee has expressed concern about child marriage as a cause of maternal mortality and child mortality.249 It has stated that state party failure to take steps to prevent acts that endanger women’s physical and mental health constitutes “cruel and inhuman treatment,”250 and it has recommended that governments “take whatever legal and other measures...necessary to effectively prevent acts that put women’s health at grave risk”—including providing medical treatment, strengthened contraceptive programs, and better access to information and reproductive health services.251

More specifically, the SR TCIDT has stated that the right to freedom from TCIDT is implicated where states are complicit in violations of reproductive rights or violence against pregnant women as a result of failing to protect their legal right to access reproductive health services.252 In recent jurisprudence, the HRC has recognized that state omission to ensure access to safe abortion services where legal can result in forced pregnancy and foreseeable physical and psychological harm, in violation of the right to freedom from TCIDT.253

THE FAILURE TO CRIMINALIZE AND ADDRESS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE, INCLUDING CHILD MARRIAGE AND MARITAL RAPE, VIOLATES THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM TCIDT

Child marriage exposes girls to forced sexual initiation and increases the risk that they will experience a lifetime of physical and sexual abuse. (See Section I, p. 16, for more information on rape and child marriage.) The SR TCIDT and U.N. TBMs have also recognized that governments’ failure to eliminate violence against women and girls, including child marriage, is a violation of their right to freedom from TCIDT.254 The SR TCIDT has affirmed that sexual violence, including rape, constitutes torture where carried out with the consent or acquiescence of government officials.255 States must criminalize all forms of violence against women, including marital rape and domestic violence; the failure to do so condones these acts of violence and discriminatorily interferes with women’s right to be free from TCIDT.256 Under this right, states parties have an obligation to punish perpetrators and to provide victims with protection; access to medical, social, and legal services; temporary accommodation; compensation; and rehabilitation.257 The SR TCIDT has stated that “[s]tates should be held accountable for complicity in violence against women, whenever they create and implement discriminatory laws that may trap women in abusive circumstances.”258 In the context of child marriage, TCIDT is clearly implicated where states parties fail to ensure that laws prohibiting child marriage are enacted and enforced, that married girls have clear and realistic legal options to leave child marriages, and that marital rape is criminalized. (See Section I, p. 18, for information on legal barriers to leaving child marriages and the limited recognition of marital rape, including involving minors, in South Asia).

Rights to Life, Privacy, and Freedom from Slavery

Child marriage violates a host of civil and political rights recognized in human rights treaties, including the rights to life, privacy, and freedom from slavery. Recognition of child marriage as a violation of these rights reflects the negative impact of the practice on girls’ dignity, which is a core element of these rights. Violations of these rights are interrelated with the right to liberty due to their implications on bodily integrity and security of the person.

RIGHT TO LIFE

Child marriage violates the right to life by exposing women and girls to reproductive health risks, including early pregnancy, and violence. (See Section I, p. 16, for more information.) Every being has an inherent right to life.259 States parties are obligated to protect individuals from arbitrary and preventable losses of life, and take steps to increase life expectancy.260 States parties are specifically obligated to ensure children’s right to life,261 and to “ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.”262 The CRC Committee has stated that states parties must take effective measures to eliminate all acts and activities that threaten the right to life of adolescents, including traditional practices such as early marriage.263

U.N. TBMs also have recognized that the right to life is violated where women and adolescent girls experience preventable maternal mortality and morbidity, including from early pregnancy and from illegal and unsafe abortions.264 The HRC has recognized that child marriage, early pregnancy, and maternal mortality and morbidity are linked,265 and has repeatedly expressed concern under the right to life where there are high levels of adolescent pregnancy.266 States parties are obligated to help adolescent girls avoid unwanted pregnancies as well as HIV/AIDS, including by strengthening access to contraceptive information and services and sexuality education programs.267 States parties also must ensure that adolescent girls are not exposed to the life-threatening risks of illegal and unsafe abortions.268

Violence against women may also constitute a violation of the right to life. The SRVAW has recognized that the right to life may be implicated where states parties condone patterns of abuse and violence against women through pervasive nonaction.269 The HRC has also recognized that the right to life may be violated where victims of rape are denied reproductive health services, including safe abortion.270

RIGHT TO PRIVACY

Child marriage violates women’s right to privacy under ICCPR Article 17, which protects the right to freedom from arbitrary and unlawful interference with privacy, family, and home and to protection of law from such interference or attacks.271 The right to privacy specifically protects women’s rights to make decisions about their private lives free from arbitrary interference by the state. Interference with individual privacy may be considered “unlawful” if it is undertaken on the basis of a national law that is in violation of ICCPR,272 and may be considered “arbitrary” if it is based on a lawful interference that is not reasonable and not in conformance with ICCPR.273

The persistence of child marriage reflects the failure of states parties to ensure that discriminatory patriarchal norms do not result in women being deprived of their human rights either by modifying laws that permit child marriage or by enforcing laws
prohibiting child marriage. (See Section I, p. 17, for more information on the persistence of child marriage.) The HRC has stated that states parties are obligated under Article 17 to ensure that the legal age of marriage meets internationally recognized standards,104 to eradicate forms of marriage that allow for the sexual exploitation of children,105 and to abolish discriminatory provisions of criminal codes and personal laws relating to marriage, including those on consent.106 The HRC has specifically stated that Article 17 is implicated where laws permit a lower age of marriage for girls than boys.107

The HRC has recognized that women’s equal right to enjoy the right to privacy may be violated where there is state interference with women's reproductive decisions or where a state fails to protect women from interference in such decisions by private actors.108 States parties are required to ensure women’s right to autonomy and privacy in the provision of health care services.109

RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM SLAVERY

Child marriage reflects the commodification of women and girls, without regard to their rights as individuals, best interests, and legal capacity to provide consent to marriage. (See Section I, p. 20, for more information on child marriage and commodification.) Under the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (Supplementary Convention on Slavery), all forms of forced marriage are defined as practices similar to slavery.110 Article 1 of the Supplementary Convention on Slavery prohibits any institution where a woman, without the right to refuse, is given in marriage in consideration for money or in kind.111 In her 2012 Thematic Report on Servile Marriage, the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Slavery (SR on Slavery) has affirmed that children cannot provide informed consent to marriage, and as such, all child marriages are considered to be forced and to fall within the slavery-like practices condemned in the Supplementary Convention on Slavery.112

The SR on Slavery has recognized child marriage as a form of “servile marriage” that gives rise to domestic servitude and marital rape113 and has stated that child marriage perpetuates the view of women and girls as commodities to be used to solidify family links and to preserve honor, as well as a “financial asset” to improve a family’s economic status.114 This view of women and girls as property is reflected in laws and practices that permit them to be married without their consent.115 Under international law, all forms of slavery, including servile marriages, are considered crimes against humanity and must be eliminated without exception.116

Article 2 of the Supplementary Convention on Slavery calls for all states parties to establish a suitable minimum age of marriage, encourage expression of consent by individuals to be married, and encourage registration of marriage.117 (See Section I, p. 15, for more information on consent requirements for marriage in South Asia.)

The HRC has specifically recognized that ICPR Article 8, the right to be free from slavery, is implicated where governments fail to eliminate discriminatory provisions in personal laws and criminal codes, including by setting a legal age of marriage that complies with international standards and by abolishing discriminatory provisions of personal laws relating to consent to marriage.118

Rights to Education, Work, and Economic Autonomy

The interrelated rights to education, employment, and economic freedom are each enshrined in international human rights treaties.119 Under CEDAW, states parties are obligated to ensure that women are able to enjoy these rights on an equal basis with men.120 U.N. TMBs have expressed concern where states parties permit child marriage due to its negative impact on children’s enjoyment of the right to education.121 The CRC Committee has recognized that girls who are married as children are “often obligated to leave school and are marginalized from social activities.”122 The CEDAW Committee has emphasized that child marriage’s impact on women’s health and ability to pursue education leads to restrictions of women’s economic autonomy.123 The CEDAW Committee has recognized economic dependence as a critical factor that prevents women from leaving violent relationships.124 U.N. TMBs have urged states parties to effectively enforce legal bans on child marriage to prevent girls from leaving school under the right to education125 and commended the adoption of laws prohibiting the withdrawal of girls from school because of marriage.126

States parties also must ensure married girls’ right to education.127 U.N. TMBs have emphasized that states parties should take steps to retain girls in school, and must ensure that early pregnancy does not interfere with girls’ ability to exercise their right to education.128 They have specifically called on states parties to strengthen and adopt re-entry policies enabling girls and young women, including specifically pregnant girls and young mothers, to return to school.129

Obligation to Provide Legal Remedies for Child Marriage

The failure of a state to establish accountability mechanisms and procedures for seeking legal redress for child marriage and to remove barriers to their accessibility violates the obligation to guarantee legal remedies for violations of human rights.130 The HRC has emphasized the obligation to ensure “accessible and effective remedies” for human rights violations and to take into account “the special vulnerability of certain categories of person.”131 Importantly, it has also noted that “a failure by a State Party to investigate allegations of violations could in and of itself give rise to a separate breach of the Covenant”132 and that “cessation of an ongoing violation is an essential element of the right to an effective remedy.”133 In discussing the obligation to provide remedies where the right to nondiscrimination is violated, the CEDAW Committee has stated that remedies established under human rights law include “different forms of reparation, such as monetary compensation, restitution, rehabilitation and reintegration of persons; measures of satisfaction, such as public apologies, public memorials and guarantees of non-repetition; changes in relevant laws and practices; and bringing to justice the perpetrators of violations of human rights of women.”134

Similarly, the CRC Committee has recognized that, “[c]hildren’s special and dependent status creates real difficulties for them in pursuing remedies for breaches of their rights,” and emphasized that states parties must ensure effective, child-sensitive procedures; accessibility to complaints procedures and courts; and appropriate reparation and measures to promote their physical and psychological recovery where rights are found to be breached.135
Rahar Maya Biswokarma, now 50, was married at 10—well before she realized what marriage really means to a girl. By the age of just 15, she had already had her first baby. A few months later, probably as a result of having to deliver the baby at a very early age, she suffered from uterine prolapse, which subjected her to a combination of pain, humiliation, and frustration for more than three decades.

“I was turned into someone’s wife before I knew what it meant to me,” says Rahar Maya, now a mother of four grownup children, all of them married. “Perhaps, I'll regret getting married early throughout my life, until my death.”

Rahar Maya was married off to Hari Narayan Biswokarma, who is five years older than her. “At that time, I didn’t know what I was supposed to do after getting married,” says Rahar Maya, adding, “Today, I wish my parents hadn’t married me off so early.”

When she knew that she would have to leave her home and parents for once and all after marriage, she could not stop crying. “I felt I was discarded and my parents no longer loved me,” says she, adding, “All my joy was gone at once.”

“My mother-in-law expected me to be like a perfect daughter-in-law. She wanted me to do all the work in the kitchen, which I wasn’t capable of. When I couldn’t perform my duty as a daughter-in-law, she scolded me. I was fearful of her shadow.”

Rahar Maya says her husband, too, was not mature enough to stand by her when she needed his support and sympathy. “Whenever my mother-in-law berated me, I would seek his emotional support,” says she. “But he would always fail me.”

Rahar Maya shared her problem with her mother, who advised her not to worry about it. But the problem, instead of dying down, became more intense, causing pain and embarrassment to her. “My husband was, of course, fully aware of the problem,” says she. “But he was indifferent to my suffering. I lived on with this problem until recently.”

Three years ago, Bhagawato Chaudhary, an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM), took Rahar Maya to a health camp. She underwent a surgery and finally got rid of the problem. “It felt like being born again,” says she. “I no longer feel pain and embarrassment.” Two years after her first child (was born), Rahar Maya gave birth to yet another baby who could not survive a measles outbreak. “I was unable to look after two children at the same time,” says she. “In retrospect, I think I could’ve saved my second child, too, if I was mature by then.”

Excerpted from: Om Astha Rai, No Country for Young Girls, República, July 12, 2013. Text has been condensed.

Examples of Human Rights Rights Violated

Rahar Maya’s story illustrates the continuum of human rights violations that child marriages trigger in the lives of girls. Rahar Maya’s marriage at the age of 10 occurred in violation of the minimum legal age of marriage established in Nepali law at that time. Although her marriage occurred 40 years ago, today almost half of girls in the region continue to be married as children and suffer the same harms as Rahar Maya—early and frequent pregnancies, pregnancy-related complications, verbal abuse, and emotional distress. Examples of violations of Rahar Maya’s rights include:

RIGHTS OF CHILDREN TO SPECIAL PROTECTION AND TO HAVE THEIR BEST INTERESTS PROTECTED:

The failure of the government in place at the time of Rahar Maya’s wedding to prohibit marriage of girls before 18 years left her vulnerable to child marriage and the continuum of violations resulting from the practice. Rahar Maya was separated from her parents, despite the grief and fear the separation caused her. She was sent to her husband’s home and exposed to the health risks of early pregnancy, was forced to perform domestic labor, and faced verbal abuse and isolation. She was only a child herself when she had her first child.
RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION:

By failing to protect Rahar Maya from child marriage through adequate enforcement of the law, the Nepal Government also violated her right to nondiscrimination, which specifically requires states parties to eliminate all forms of violence against women, including child marriage. Further, the government also failed to protect Rahar Maya from other forms of violence, including denial of her reproductive rights. Rahar Maya was unable to protect her reproductive health in part due to unequal power dynamics within her marriage, which limited her negotiating power and acted as a barrier to contraceptive information and services as well as treatment for uterine prolapse.

RIGHT TO HEALTH:

Under the right to health, the Government of Nepal is obligated to abolish traditional practices that are prejudicial to women’s and children’s health, including child marriage. Further, states must ensure that girls have the information and means to avoid early pregnancy. Rahar Maya suffered from uterine prolapse, a preventable form of maternal morbidity that significantly affects adolescent girls in Nepal, and faced years of severe pain and embarrassment as a result.

RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT (TCIDT):

The Government of Nepal’s failure to take steps to prevent and prosecute incidents of child marriage, which endangers women’s and girls’ physical and mental health, constitutes a violation of the right to freedom from TCIDT. Rahar Maya was exposed to physical and mental suffering as a result of her marriage as a child, which was further compounded by barriers to access to reproductive health services. Under the right to freedom from TCIDT, the Government of Nepal is also obligated to take steps to prevent acts that endanger women’s health, including through the provision of medical treatment, strengthened contraceptive programs, and better access to information and reproductive services.
GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTH ASIA MAY ALSO BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE FAILURE TO PREVENT CHILD MARRIAGE UNDER THEIR OWN NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS. CONSTITUTIONS IN THE REGION ECHO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES THAT FORM THE BASIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL OBLIGATION TO ELIMINATE CHILD MARRIAGE. THESE PRINCIPLES ARE TYPICALLY PROTECTED IN THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS SECTION OF NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS, WHICH ENUMERATE THE RIGHTS TO BE ACCOURED BY THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING COURTS. (SEE “FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY UNDERWRITING THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA,” P. 44, FOR MORE INFORMATION.) LIKE HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES, CONSTITUTIONAL NORMS AND JURISPRUDENCE IN SOUTH ASIA RECOGNIZE CHILDREN AS RIGHTS-HOLDERS AND ARTICULATE A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO PROTECT CHILDREN AND THEIR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED JURISPRUDENCE INVOKING FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS TO SEEK ACCOUNTABILITY FOR CHILD MARRIAGE, SEVERAL CASES FROM NATIONAL COURTS ON CHILDREN’S AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS REVEAL HOW CHILD MARRIAGE AND THE ATTENDED RISKS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH HARM MAY BE UNDERSTOOD AS IMPLICATING FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

CHILDREN’S RIGHTS IN SOUTH ASIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

THE PERSISTENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA VIOLATES CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES PROTECTING CHILDREN’S RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE REGION. REFLECTING THE VULNERABLE STATUS OF CHILDREN, THE CONSTITUTIONS OF BANGLADESH, INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND SRI LANKA ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE “SPECIAL PROVISIONS” TO PROTECT CHILDREN. NOTABLY, NEPAL’S INTERIM CONSTITUTION ESTABLISHES THE RIGHT OF THE CHILD AS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT IN ARTICLE 22, STATING THAT EVERY CHILD HAS THE RIGHT TO BE NURTURED, TO RECEIVE BASIC HEALTH CARE, AND TO HAVE SOCIAL SECURITY. NEPAL’S INTERIM CONSTITUTION FURTHER GUARANTEES CHILDREN THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM PHYSICAL, MENTAL, OR OTHER FORMS OF EXPLOITATION. THE AFGHANISTAN CONSTITUTION ESTABLISHES THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES TO ENSURE THE HEALTH AND UPGROWING OF CHILDREN WITHIN THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS PROVISIONS RELATING TO FAMILIES, AND IT PROHIBITS FORCED LABOR OF CHILDREN. TOGETHER, THESE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE UNIVERSEQUALLY RECOGNIZE CHILDREN AS RIGHTS-HOLDERS IN SOUTH ASIA AND UNDERSCORE THE SPECIAL OBLIGATION OF SOUTH ASIAN GOVERNMENTS TO ENSURE CHILDREN’S FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS. FURTHER, IN INDIA, THE DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY ALSO CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT TO DIRECT ITS POLICY TOWARDS SECURING THAT THE “TENDER AGE OF CHILDREN ARE NOT ABUSED,” THAT CHILDREN ARE GIVEN OPPORTUNITIES AND FACILITIES TO DEVELOP IN A HEALTHY MANNER AND IN CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM AND DIGNITY AND THAT CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH ARE PROTECTED AGAINST EXPLOITATION AND AGAINST MORTAL AND MATERIAL ABANDONMENT.

Courts have played an essential role in articulating the scope of protection afforded to children in South Asia. For example, in a case concerning the traditional practice of kumari, where girls are dedicated to temples for a period of time to serve as “living goddesses,” the Nepal Supreme Court has recognized the government’s constitutional obligation to protect children from physical and mental violence, as well as from any other type of violence. The Nepal Supreme Court has stated that the government is legally obligated to take “economic, social, administrative, legal and other appropriate measures for the effective enforcement of the rights granted to children by the CRC and other international treaties without any discrimination.” Further, the Nepal Supreme Court has stated that children have been granted certain rights to further the development of their personalities, including the right to free education, to medical treatment, to residence, to stay with and not be separated from one’s family, to opinion and expression, to freedom of movement, and to recreation. Finally, the Nepal Supreme Court has affirmed the best interests of the child standard set forth in the CRC, stating that it is universally recognized that the best interests of the child be given primary consideration in all actions undertaken by anyone concerning children.

The High Court Division (HCD) of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh also has affirmed the best interests of the child standard in a 2009 case appealing an order mandating the state custody of a 7-year-old girl who was about to be married. In this case, the court expressed concern where a child is separated from her mother against her will, stating that such an occurrence “can be nothing other than cruel and inhuman treatment” in violation of the CRC and the Bangladesh Constitution. The HCD of the Supreme Court Bangladesh established that a child’s view must be considered by courts in accordance with CRC Article 12. Further, the decision specifically established that the government must “ensure that the definition of ‘child’ is uniformly fixed in all statutes as anyone below the age of 18 years [Art. I CRC].” The decision also ordered the government to implement several measures to ensure legal remedies for child victims of violence, including legal aid for children to ensure representation, designated “places of safety” for children to go to at the district level, and capacity-building of local health clinics to conduct medical examinations of children.

Select Decisions by South Asian Courts on Child Marriage

Despite the profound violation of constitutional protections caused by child marriage and its extremely high incidence in the region, there is limited recognition of child marriage as a constitutional rights issue by courts in the region. (See “FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY UNDERWRITING THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA,” P. 44, FOR MORE INFORMATION.) IT IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE WHETHER THIS IS DUE TO TOO FEW CASES BEING FILED OR IF IT REFLECTS JUDICIAL ATTITUDES IN THE REGION. WHILE PUBLIC INTEREST LITIGATION (PIL) HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED AS A USEFUL TOOL IN SEEKING ACCOUNTABILITY FOR GENDER-BASED DISCRIMINATION, INCLUDING REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, IN SOUTH ASIA, THERE HAVE YET TO BE MANY PUBLIC INTEREST CASES ON CHILD MARRIAGE DECIDED BY SUPREME AND HIGH COURTS. (SEE “FFDA V. UNION OF INDIA: ATTEMPT TO UTILIZE PUBLIC INTEREST LITIGATION TO ADDRESS CHILD MARRIAGE,” P. 49, FOR MORE INFORMATION.) EVEN WITH REGARD TO INDIVIDUAL WITNESS PETITIONS, THE COURTS ARE RARELY UTILIZED AS A MEANS FOR GIRLS TO PREVENT OR ESCAPE CHILD MARRIAGES. FURTHER, EVEN WHEN CASES ARE BROUGHT, DECISIONS ARE ISSUED WITHOUT DISCUSSION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IMPlications FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS. HOWEVER, IN THE PAST TEN YEARS, A FEW CASES IN SOUTH ASIA HAVE DISCUSSED CHILD MARRIAGE AS A VIOLATION OF WOMEN’S AND GIRLS’ FUNDAMENTAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS. (SEE “JUDICIAL RECOGNITION OF WOMEN’S RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM FORCED MARRIAGE,” P. 42, FOR AN EXAMPLE OF JURISPRUDENCE RECOGNIZING WOMEN’S RIGHT TO CONSENT TO MARRIAGE.) THIS SECTION WILL PRESENT FOUR SUCH CASES FROM COURTS IN INDIA AND NEPAL, WHICH REVEAL THE JUDICIAL MINDSET CONCERNING CHILD MARRIAGE AND DISCUsS VARIOUS MEASURES INCLUDING SYSTEMIC REMEDIES NEEDED TO ELIMINATE THE PRACTICE.


In the 2006 case of Sapana Pradhan Malla for FILD and Others v. Nepal Government, the Office of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers (continued on p. 46)
IN FOCUS: FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY UNDERLYING THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM CHILD MARRIAGE IN SOUTH ASIA

Fundamental rights and principles of state policy set forth in constitutions in South Asia form a strong legal basis for recognition by courts and national human rights institutions that governments must ensure girls are free from child marriage and are protected from the continuum of harms resulting from this practice, including violations of their reproductive rights and their right to freedom from sexual and other forms of violence.

- **Right to equality and nondiscrimination:** The rights to equality and nondiscrimination on the basis of sex are recognized in the constitutions of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The constitutions of Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka further allow the government to make “special provision[s]” to protect women and children. Nepal’s Interim Constitution recognizes additional fundamental rights for women in an article that specifically guarantees women’s rights to nondiscrimination, “to reproductive health and other reproductive rights,” and to be free from “physical, mental or any other kind of violence.” Bangladesh’s and Pakistan’s constitutions also both commit to ensuring women’s equal participation in “all spheres of national life” in their respective sections outlining Directive Principles of State Policy. Jurisprudence in South Asia has recognized fundamental rights, particularly the right to equality, cannot be undermined as a result of religion, custom, or tradition. (See Section III, p. 27, for more information on this principle in international law.) Where personal laws or customary practices violate women’s or children’s rights, courts in India, Nepal, and Pakistan have issued judgments interpreting or requiring modification of such laws or practices to be consistent with women’s fundamental rights. (See Section I, p. 17 and pp. 20-21, for more information on child marriage and personal laws that condone child marriage.)

- **Right to dignity:** The constitutions of Afghanistan and Pakistan specifically recognize the right to dignity. Nepal’s Interim Constitution recognizes the right to live with dignity, while the Sri Lankan Constitution guarantees the dignity of its people in its preamble. The Supreme Court of India has ruled that it is the primary duty of the state to ensure the protection of human dignity through suitable legislation and by the creation of adequate mechanisms.

- **Rights to life and health:** The constitutions of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan each recognize the fundamental right to life. Although Sri Lanka’s Constitution does not enumerate a right to life, the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka has recognized the right to live as emanating from the right to freedom from torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment (TCIDT). Courts in the region have emphasized the need for a broad definition of the right to life that recognizes human dignity, and have recognized that protection of the right to life may include ensuring “proper... health care” or “conditions congenial to good health.” Notably, citing decisions establishing that the right to life includes the duty to preserve life and to protect dignity, the Supreme Court of India has recognized that “the right to health and medical care is a fundamental right under (the right to life).” (See Section I, p. 16, for information on risks to girls’ lives and health resulting from child marriage.)

In Nepal, the Interim Constitution explicitly recognizes citizens’ right to receive basic health care free of cost as a fundamental right. Health is also protected in the declarations of principles of state policy in certain constitutions in the region, including provisions concerning protection of citizens’ right to health in public health, rural health, the equitable distribution of economic resources to ensure health, and the right to medical relief. Both Nepal’s Interim Constitution as well as high court cases in India have recognized the fundamental right to reproductive health. (See Section III, p. 49, for more information on regional reproductive rights jurisprudence.)

- **Right to freedom from TCIDT:** The right to freedom from TCIDT is recognized as a fundamental right in the constitutions of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, while Nepal’s Interim Constitution protects the fundamental right to freedom from torture. The Afghanistan and Pakistan constitutions prohibit torture for the purpose of extracting evidence. The Afghanistan Constitution also forbids punishment contrary to human dignity. In India, the right to freedom from TCIDT has been recognized in constitutional jurisprudence interpreting the right to life. The High Court Division of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh has recognized that the right to freedom from TCIDT may be implicated where traditional laws enable violence against women. (See Section II, p. 34, for information on child marriage and the right to freedom from gender-based violence.)

- **Right to personal liberty and privacy:** The constitutions of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan specifically establish the right to personal liberty. The Constitution of Sri Lanka recognizes personal liberty in the context of arbitrary punishment or detention. The Supreme Court of India has recognized that the right to personal liberty includes the right to privacy. In addition, the right to privacy has been recognized in constitutions in South Asia to protect privacy within the home, in communication, of the person or character. The Supreme Court of India has recognized the right to privacy in relation to family life and reproduction, and stated that “[a]ny right to privacy must encompass and protect the personal intimacies of the home, the family, marriage, motherhood, procreation and child rearing.” (See Section II, p. 28 and p. 35, for more information on child marriage and women’s and girls’ lack of autonomy in decisions relating to reproduction and procreation.)

- **Right to education:** Education is recognized as a fundamental right in Afghanistan, India, Nepal, and Pakistan, and established as an objective under the Directive Principles of State Policy in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The Afghan Constitution specifically obligates the government to “devise and implement effective programs to create and foster balanced education for women.” The Bangladesh Supreme Court has specifically linked denial of education in violation of the right to education to child marriage, stating that “lack of education of the children creates a vicious cycle of poverty... The girls who are deprived of education become targets of early marriage, and as illiterate mothers, beget illiterate children which again stokes the poverty cycle.”

- **Right to freedom from slavery and exploitation:** Constitutions throughout South Asia prohibit slavery, forced labor, and exploitation. The Afghanistan Constitution prohibits forced labor, including that involving children. The Nepal Interim Constitution further recognizes the right to be free from exploitation in the name of custom, tradition, and practice. (See Section II, p. 36, for more information on child marriage and the right to freedom from slavery.)
The Supreme Court of Nepal expressed concern at the continuing prevalence of directive orders to the government to implement the relevant laws. In 2009, in legal provisions relating to child marriage and the elimination of child marriage issued directives to the government calling for the amendment of inconsistencies posed to girls’ lives and health as a result of child marriage. Citing reports aiming to assess whether the impact caused by the law among the people belonging cannot be considered to create discrimination or neglect of women’s health.

Petitioners alleged that these provisions were discriminatory on the basis of sex, and that such provisions were not discriminatory because they did not compel marriage. The Court dismissed the government’s initial argument, stating that in the absence of solid evidence, one cannot consider the assumption that women mature earlier than men to be a scientific fact. Further, the government alleged that setting an age of marriage does not compel individuals to enter marriage or produce children, but is a discretionary provision, and thereby cannot be considered to create discrimination or neglect of women’s health.

The Supreme Court of Nepal expressed concern at the continuing prevalence of child marriage and noted that it was critically important for the government to pay attention to this issue. The Court ruled in favor of the petitioners and issued directives to the government to make necessary amendments to the Marriage Registration Act and the Muluki Ain to ensure consistency and uniformity. The Court dismissed the government’s initial argument, stating that in the absence of solid evidence, one cannot consider the assumption that women mature earlier than men to be a scientific fact. The ruling rejected the government’s argument that such provisions were not discriminatory because they did not compel marriage, stating that “it is difficult to accept this argument in view of the fact that ours is a less developed country where the female literacy rate is lower than the male literacy rate and there is widespread gender discrimination in society.”

The Court stated that the provisions under the Muluki Ain were arbitrary and discriminatory as they were designed for the benefit of the wealthy. The Court recognized the real threats posed to girls’ lives and health as a result of child marriage. Citing reports affirming the greater risk of maternal mortality for girls between the ages of 15 and 19, the Court stated that “early child bearing is detrimental to the health of women, and reproduction is an act which is possible only by women.”

The Supreme Court of Nepal affirmed the government’s obligation to eradicate child marriage through effective implementation of the law. The decision expressed concern about the pervasive nature of child marriage in Nepal and the low level of prosecution of those responsible for conducting such marriages. The Court ruled that the meaning and purpose of a law can only be realized through effective implementation and not mere enactment of legislation and issued directive orders to the government to implement the relevant laws. In 2009, the Supreme Court of Nepal ruled in another case on child marriage that similarly issued directives to the government calling for the amendment of inconsistencies in legal provisions relating to child marriage and the elimination of child marriage through effective enforcement.

ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RESEARCH V. UNION OF INDIA (DELHI HIGH COURT, 2010)

In May 2010, the Delhi High Court heard the case of Association for Social Justice and Research (ASJR) v. Union of India and Others, which involved a habeas corpus petition by a non-governmental organization (NGO) to trace an underage girl who was reported to have been married to a 40-year-old man. Although it did not decide the case on fundamental rights issues, the Delhi High Court division bench decision in the ASJR case clearly recognizes child marriage as a violation of girls’ rights and discusses in depth the continuum of harms experienced as a result of this practice. The Court stated that “child marriage is a violation of human rights, compromising the development of girls and often resulting in early pregnancy and social isolation, with little education and poor vocational training reinforcing the gendered nature of poverty.” The Court emphasized that child marriage disproportionately affects girls, and recognized that girls who are married and have children under “face constrained decision making and reduced life choices” as a result of pressure to perform heavy amounts of domestic work as well as demonstrate fertility and raise children while they are still children themselves. Citing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ICPR, ICESCR, CRC, and CEDAW, petitioners argued that the government is legally bound to urgently address child marriage in Nepal.

The government’s response defended the discriminatory age provisions of the Marriage Registration Act, claiming these were based on the assumption that women mature into adults earlier in comparison to men. Further, the government alleged that setting an age of marriage does not compel individuals to enter marriage or produce children, but is a discretionary provision, and thereby cannot be considered to create discrimination or neglect of women’s health.

The Delhi High Court affirmed the ASJR decision in a full bench decision in the 2012 AND OTHERS (DELHI HIGH COURT, 2012) case. The decision stated that while parents have rights to decide the case on fundamental rights issues, the Delhi High Court division bench decision in the ASJR case clearly recognizes child marriage as a violation of girls’ rights and discusses in depth the continuum of harms experienced as a result of this practice.

The Supreme Court of Nepal ruled in another case on child marriage that similarly issued directives to the government calling for the amendment of inconsistencies in legal provisions relating to child marriage and the elimination of child marriage through effective enforcement. The Delhi High Court confirmed that the Supreme Court of Nepal had ruled in the 2009 case Lajja Devi v. State that setting a minimum age of marriage was required to prevent the violation of human rights, including the right to equality guaranteed by the 1990 Nepal Constitution.

Citing an NGO study, the Court stated that the low education, poor health, and lack of agency and personal autonomy experienced by girls married under age were “linked with gender inequalities and biases for the majority of young girls...their socialization, which grooms them to be mothers and submissive wives, limits their development to only reproductive roles.” The Court noted that lack of education is linked to limited knowledge concerning sexual relations and reproduction, and stated that this lack of education along with cultural silence concerning reproductive and sexual health denies girls the ability to make informed decisions about sexual relations, planning a family, and their own health. Further, the Court expressed concern that women who marry early are more likely to suffer abuse and violence, and to believe that such violence is acceptable— including physical abuse, psychological attacks, and sexual abuse— is acceptable. Further, the Court recognized that girls who enter families as child brides often are treated as “domestic slaves” by their in-laws. Finally, the Court emphasized that child marriage is linked to wife abandonment, divorce, separation, and increased risk of widowhood—all of which leave women vulnerable to additional discrimination in India, where divorced, “abandoned,” or widowed women are often ostracized or denied property rights.

COURT ON ITS OWN MOTION (LAJJA DEVI) V. STATE (GNCT OF DELHI) AND OTHERS (DELHI HIGH COURT, 2012)

The Delhi High Court affirmed the ASJR decision in a full bench decision in the 2012 case on its own motion (Lajja Devi) v. State (GNCT of Delhi) and Others, which concerned the case of a 14-year-old Hindu girl who left home and got married without her parents’ consent. Quoting the portions of the ASJR case detailing the severe risks of maternal mortality and morbidity as well as physical and sexual violence resulting from child marriage, the Delhi High Court again emphasized that child marriage is a violation of human rights and discusses in depth the continuum of harms experienced as a result of this practice.

The Court emphasized that child marriage disproportionately affects girls, and recognized that girls who are married and have children under “face constrained decision making and reduced life choices” as a result of pressure to perform heavy amounts of domestic work as well as demonstrate fertility and raise children while they are still children themselves. The Court noted that lack of education is linked to limited knowledge concerning sexual relations and reproduction, and stated that this lack of education along with cultural silence concerning reproductive and sexual health denies girls the ability to make informed decisions about sexual relations, planning a family, and their own health. Further, the Court expressed concern that women who marry early are more likely to suffer abuse and violence, and to believe that such violence is acceptable— including physical abuse, psychological attacks, and sexual abuse— is acceptable. Further, the Court recognized that girls who enter families as child brides often are treated as “domestic slaves” by their in-laws. Finally, the Court emphasized that child marriage is linked to wife abandonment, divorce, separation, and increased risk of widowhood—all of which leave women vulnerable to additional discrimination in India, where divorced, “abandoned,” or widowed women are often ostracized or denied property rights.

The High Court Division of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh has recognized the right of women to be free from forced marriage in the 2008 case Dr. Shipra Chaudhury and Another v. Government of Bangladesh and Others. Although child marriage is a form of forced marriage, courts in the region have only tangentially spoken about the fundamental rights implications of marriage without consent. However, speaking in a case involving the forced marriage of an adult woman, the Court ruled that forced marriage is impermissible under the law to personal liberty as enshrined in the Bangladesh Constitution. Referring to the right to consent to marriage set forth in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on Consent to Marriage and Registration of Marriage, the Court held that the right to personal liberty guarantees a woman the right to choose whom she marries free of coercion, violence, and discrimination. The decision stated that while parents have the right to advise their children, even as adults, they must not treat their children as slaves and must respect their right to freedom. As discussed in Section II, the procedures of these conventions are equally applicable to girls.

JUDICIAL RECOGNITION OF WOMEN’S RIGHT TO FREEDOM FROM FORCED MARRIAGE

The Supreme Court of Nepal affirmed the government’s obligation to eradicate child marriage through effective implementation of the law. The decision expressed concern about the pervasive nature of child marriage in Nepal and the low level of prosecution of those responsible for conducting such marriages. The Court ruled that the meaning and purpose of a law can only be realized through effective implementation and not mere enactment of legislation and issued directive orders to the government to implement the relevant laws. In 2009, the Supreme Court of Nepal ruled in another case on child marriage that similarly issued directives to the government calling for the amendment of inconsistencies in legal provisions relating to child marriage and the elimination of child marriage through effective enforcement.
violation of human rights. The Court particularly expressed concern as the practice involves young girls who lack status, power, and maturity, and leads to exposure to domestic violence, sexual abuse, and social isolation.

The Delhi High Court emphasized that the Indian Penal Code, which at that time criminalized sex with a girl under 16 outside of marriage and under 15 within marriage, legitimized child marriage by “keeping a lower age of consent for marital intercourse.” The Court stated that “consent of a girl or boy below the age of 16 years in most cases [is] a mirage and...will act as a cover up by those who are economically and/or socially powerful to pulverize the muted meek into submission.” The Court also noted that while it had not been requested to address the validity of India’s Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (PCMA) and thus could not rule on weaknesses in the law, in its view three significant gaps permitted the practice to continue: (1) child marriages are voidable, not void, under the Act; (2) the Act does not mention whether it supersedes personal laws; and (3) the Act itself does not require registration of marriages. The Court stated that “consent of a girl or boy below the age of 16 years in most cases [is] a figment of imagination [and] is an anomaly and...will act as a cover up by those who are economically and/or socially powerful to pulverize the muted meek into submission.”

The Madras High Court noted the long-standing legal condemnation of child marriage in India, despite its persistence nationally. Citing recommendations made by the Law Commission, the National Commission for Women (NCW), and the National Human Rights Commission to strengthen laws eradicating the practice, the decision emphasized that the PCMA applies to all Indian citizens, and as such, it is intended to override inconsistent provisions of the Hindu Marriage Act. The Madras High Court stated that the PCMA is a special enactment for the purpose of preventing “the evil practice of solemnization of child marriages” and “to enhance the health of the child and the status of women.” The decision affirmed that recognition of child marriage as a human rights violation is “widely accepted world over.” The Madras High Court stated that child marriage limits educational and vocational opportunities for “a large sector of the population,” leading to serious consequences for national development. Further, the Madras High Court expressed concern about the grave health consequences of marriage and consummation of marriage for young women and their children.

The Madras High Court ruled that under both the PCMA and the Hindu Marriage Act, a marriage of a girl under 18 years of age is considered voidable and “is not a valid marriage” in a strict sense; as such, men and boys who are over the legal age of marriage who marry underage girls do not attain all of the rights accorded to husbands who marry women age 18 and older. The Madras High Court stated that an adult male who marries an underage female cannot be declared her husband to husbands who marry women age 18 and older. The Madras High Court held that the best interests and welfare of the minor must be taken into account in determining custody, and directed that in this case the girl in question was to remain either with her parents or in a government home for children until she reached majority.

As in Nepal, lawyers in India have used public interest litigation to seek accountability for child marriage and implementation of legal protections. In 2003, Human Rights Law Network, on behalf of its client, the Forum of Jurists, issued a public interest case against the Union of India and various Indian states, seeking “strict implementation” of the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929, which was then in force.

The Forum petitioned the High Court on behalf of its client, the Forum of Jurists, seeking relief for the “unlawful” practice of child marriage. The petition argued that child marriage contravenes international human rights law, national law, and the constitutional obligation to protect children against exploitation and provide them with “opportunities and facilities for personal growth and development.” The petition stated that child marriage is “merely a camouflage for servitude and bondage and beggar within the meaning of Article 21.” The petition also stated the PCMA does not mention whether it supersedes personal laws; and (3) the Act itself does not require registration of marriages. The decision affirmed that recognition of child marriage as a human rights violation is “widely accepted world over.” The decision noted that recognition of child marriage as a human rights violation is “widely accepted world over.” The decision affirmed that recognition of child marriage as a human rights violation is “widely accepted world over.” The decision affirmed that recognition of child marriage as a human rights violation is “widely accepted world over.” The decision affirmed that recognition of child marriage as a human rights violation is “widely accepted world over.”

As in Nepal, lawyers in India have used public interest litigation to seek accountability for child marriage and implementation of legal protections. In 2003, Human Rights Law Network, on behalf of its client, the Forum of Jurists, issued a public interest case against the Union of India and various Indian states, seeking “strict implementation” of the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929, which was then in force.
that the “inability of women to survive pregnancy and child birth violates her [sic] fundamental right to live.” The recent jurisprudence from these courts specifically has recognized women’s rights to be free from maternal mortality and morbidity, unsafe abortion, and unwanted pregnancies, as well as to exercise reproductive self-determination.

Maternal Mortality and Morbidity: In the 2008 case of Prakashmani Sharma and Others v. Government of Nepal and Others, the Supreme Court of Nepal ruled that the constitutionally recognized fundamental right to reproductive health and other reproductive rights includes the obligation to take steps to prevent uterine prolapse, which is a form of maternal morbidity. Uterine prolapse is a debilitating pregnancy-related injury that is typically suffered by older women as a result of age, but is experienced by a disproportionate number of younger women in Nepal due to poor reproductive health care as well as early and frequent pregnancies. The Supreme Court of Nepal found that the government’s failure to adequately protect women’s reproductive rights guaranteed as fundamental rights by the Interim Constitution had contributed to the high incidence of uterine prolapse. In 2011, the Delhi High Court issued a joint decision in the cases of Lakshmi and Others v. Deep Dayal Hanigraphi Hospital and Others and Jatin v. Maternal Home, MCD, Jangirra and Others, which concern denials of maternal health care. The Delhi High Court found that reproductive rights are part of the “inalienable survival rights” implicitly protected under the fundamental right to life. The decision found that “no woman, more so a pregnant woman, should be denied the facility of treatment at any stage irrespective of her social and economic background.” In the case of Sandesh Bansal v. Union of India, decided in 2012, the Madhya Pradesh High Court recognized that women’s right to survival pregnancy and child birth arises under the right to live and is violated where maternal deaths occur, including when they occur due to inadequate health facilities and staffing.

Abortion and Reproductive Self-Determination: In 2009, the Supreme Court of Nepal recognized in the case of Lakshmi v. the Government of Nepal that reproductive rights as guaranteed in Article 20(2) include the right to reproductive self-determination, and specifically access to abortion. The case challenged the government’s failure to ensure accessible and affordable safe abortion services for women in Nepal. The Lakshmi decision recognized that “a society which recognizes the right to abortion enables a woman to enjoy a life free from unwanted pregnancy, to live her life according to her own free will, to ensure her livelihood, to free her from having to take on an inappropriate burden and to enable her to exercise her right to self-determination.” Further, the Supreme Court of Nepal recognized that “a forced pregnancy is a grave conspiracy against a woman’s freedom.” In the Lakshmi case, the Supreme Court of Nepal ruled that the right to create one’s family vests in women as the owners of their own bodies, and includes the right to decide whether and when to bear children without interference. Similarly, the Punjab and Haryana High Court in India stated in a 2011 case where a husband filed suit against a doctor who performed an abortion at the request of his wife without his consent, “it is a personal right of a woman to give birth to a child... No body [sic] can interfere in the personal decision of the wife to carry on or abort her pregnancy... woman is not a machine in which raw material is put and a finished product comes out. She should be mentally prepared to conceive, continue the same and give birth to a child. The unwanted pregnancy would naturally affect the mental health of the pregnant women [sic].” Further, the recent case of Hallo Bi v. State of Madhya Pradesh and Others, the High Court of Madhya Pradesh has specifically affirmed the importance of providing victims of rape access to abortion without requirements of judicial authorization. The decision stated, “We cannot force a victim of violent rape/forced sex to give birth to a child of a rapist. The anguish and the humiliation which the petitioner is suffering daily, will certainly cause a grave injury to her mental health.”

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Supreme courts in South Asia have recognized that violence against women, including domestic violence and rape both within and outside of marriage, results in violations of women’s rights, including the right to equality. In the 2012 case of Medha Kotwal Lele v. Union of India, the Supreme Court of India affirmed the following:

As [the] largest democracy in the world, we have to combat violence against women. We are of the considered view that the existing laws, if necessary, be revised and appropriate new laws be enacted by Parliament and the State Legislatures to protect women from any form of indecency, indignity and disrespect at all places (in their homes as well as outside), prevent all forms of violence—domestic violence, sexual assault, sexual harassment at the workplace, etc.

Similarly, the Supreme Court of Bangladesh has stated that respect for gender equality as guaranteed in the constitution requires the government to prevent sexual abuse and harassment of women.

Rape: The Supreme Court of India has specifically recognized that rape is a violation of women’s fundamental rights. In Shri Bodhisattwa Gautam v. Miss Subhra Chakraborty, the Supreme Court of India recognized that “rape is thus not only a crime not only against the person of a woman (victim), it is a crime against the entire society. It destroys the entire psychology of a woman and pushes her into deep emotional crisis. Rape is, therefore, the most hated crime. It is a crime against basic human rights and is also violative of the victim’s most cherished of the Fundamental Rights, namely, the Right to Life contained in Article 21.”

Marital Rape: The Supreme Court of Nepal recognized marital rape as a crime in the case of Meera Dhungana for FWLD v. Government of Nepal. The Court stated that the law cannot deny women rights on the basis of their marital status and held that it would be discriminatory to interpret that an act committed against a woman is an offence, but that no offence occurs if the woman is one’s own wife. The Court stated that regardless of marital status, “[s]exual intercourse with use of force and without consent is regarded as the offence of rape” and that “a marriage does not mean women turn into slaves.” The Court affirmed that “to forcibly compel [a woman] to use a part of her body against her will is a serious violation of her right to live with dignity (and) right to self-determination and it is a grave attack on her human rights.”

As the largest democracy in the world, we have to combat violence against women. We are of the considered view that the existing laws, if necessary, be revised and appropriate new laws be enacted by Parliament and the State Legislatures to protect women from any form of indecency, indignity and disrespect at all places (in their homes as well as outside), prevent all forms of violence—domestic violence, sexual assault, sexual harassment at the workplace, etc.
The cases provide significant insight into judicial perspectives on child marriage in South Asia, and reveal the potential for advocates to utilize the courts to seek recognition of elimination of child marriage as a fundamental rights obligation of governments in the region. The child-marriage-related decisions featured above indicate that courts in the region have begun to recognize child marriage as an issue of women’s and girls’ equality and a form of gender discrimination. While only the FWLD case specifically invoked the right to equality, each of the child marriage decisions reflects an understanding that elimination of this practice is crucial to realization of women’s and girls’ equality. Further, the decisions on reproductive rights and violence against women reflect judicial recognition that upholding women’s fundamental rights includes introducing and strengthening laws, policies, and programs concerning maternal health, safe abortion, marital rape, and sexual violence generally. Human rights obligations recognized in international law have informed the premise of many of these decisions, including in underscoring the severity of the harm suffered by girls and the nature of the obligations of governments.

Specifically, the child marriage cases reveal that inconsistencies in national laws significantly undermine the enforcement of legislation prohibiting child marriage by creating ambiguity concerning the parameters of girls’ rights. Although there has yet to be a comprehensive ruling by any court in the region recognizing that girls’ rights relating to marriage cannot be violated by religiously based personal laws, decisions such as T. Sivakumar and Laja Devi show the role courts can play in clarifying girls’ rights in plural legal regimes. The T. Sivakumar case, which is only decided in the context of Hindu law, also illustrates where courts have the potential to go further to protect girls from child marriage, particularly in plural legal regimes. T. Sivakumar and Smt. Seema also specifically demonstrate the role of national human rights institutions (NHRIs) in informing judicial efforts to resolve ambiguities concerning the interplay between child marriage legislation and personal laws. (See “The Role of NHRIs in Promoting Accountability for Child Marriage,” p. 52, for more information on nonjudicial human rights bodies.)

Further, these child marriage cases reflect the willingness of courts in the region to address the broader legal issues that are undermining the elimination of child marriage. Even where child marriage cases arise as individual writ petitions, rather than as PILs, courts have taken the opportunity to speak on the underlying legal issues that are impeding implementation of legislation prohibiting child marriage. For example, in the Laja Devi case, although the Delhi High Court had not specifically been asked to review the PCMA, the judges took the opportunity to identify nonlegal loopholes in legislation prohibiting child marriage. In T. Sivakumar, the court went further and articulated nonlegal remedies to ensure awareness and implementation of the law. Similarly, in the Smt. Seema case, which raised issues relating to registration of marriage in India, the Supreme Court of India also went beyond the individual case to order larger-scale reform required to ensure women’s equality. Such statements appear to reflect the openness of courts to hearing cases seeking clarification and modification of existing legislation.

Finally, these decisions highlight that a court’s understanding of the continuum of violations experienced by women and girls as a result of child marriage is integral to judicial recognition of child marriage as a fundamental and human rights issue. In each of these rulings, the court has placed significant weight on the negative reproductive health outcomes and increased risk of violence experienced by girls and women who were married as children. These decisions link child marriage to coerced sex and reproduction, and recognize that these aspects of child marriage result in the perpetuation of submissive and stereotyped roles of women. The reproductive rights and violence against women-related cases discussed demonstrate judicial recognition that governments are constitutionally obligated to protect women from these harms. Further, these cases indicate that courts may be open to petitions seeking recognition of the obligation to protect women and girls who have already been married as children from the continuum of violations that result from child marriage.
SECTION IV: CONCLUSION

The law is a critical starting point for the elimination of child marriage in South Asia. Significant gaps and inconsistencies in, as well as poor implementation of, existing laws have left girls vulnerable to grave violations of their human rights and constitutional rights arising from child marriage, including their reproductive rights and the right to be free from sexual violence. Where governments fail to ensure effective legal frameworks for the elimination of child marriage, as well as the provision of access to reproductive health care and legal remedies to already-married girls, they are complicit in the resulting harms to girls’ lives and well-being that arise from early pregnancy and sexual violence. Human rights law is clear that governments must address impunity where violations of these rights occur, including by ensuring accountability when child marriages are performed. National constitutions in countries across the region provide a firm legal basis for accountability and legal protection.

Implementation of laws prohibiting child marriage must come along with broader efforts to remove legal barriers that make girls vulnerable to child marriage and deny those trapped in such marriages meaningful legal remedies. Importantly, governments must take concrete steps to improve the overall status of girls in society by ensuring respect for their dignity and legal rights.

A photo is shown of Ashmita, left in picture, who died shortly after giving birth to a baby boy as a teenager in Nepal Village, Kathmandu Valley, Nepal on Feb. 03, 2007. The family left the baby at the hospital after their daughter’s death in hopes that someone would adopt him. They feared the father of the boy was too young to care for a baby on his own. Early marriage is a contributor to high maternal mortality rates throughout the world.

Photography: Stephanie Sinclair/VII/Toyoungtowed.org
SECTION V: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

Child marriage involves the grave and systematic abuse of young girls in violation of internationally protected human rights and fundamental rights guaranteed in national constitutions across the region. It is a deeply entrenched social and economic problem that involves complicated legal issues. The elimination of child marriage will eventually require the involvement and resolve of a broad range of private and public actors, but the binding legal obligation of governments to prevent child marriage and protect the rights of married girls is absolute and clear.

The following recommendations offer guidance to governments in South Asia regarding actions they should take to end child marriage in accordance with their human rights obligations. These recommendations are not exhaustive, but they represent important legal steps that can and must be taken by governments to demonstrate their commitment to end the practice and protect the human rights of young girls.

National legislative bodies:

Strengthen and enforce national laws prohibiting child marriage, including by establishing a consistent legal minimum age of marriage of 18.

- Undertake a high-level review of national laws relating to marriage and sexual violence to identify gaps, inconsistencies, and inadequate penalties that expose girls to the risks of child marriage and its consequences.
- Take steps to harmonize national laws and personal laws on child marriage in accordance with international human rights standards.
- Appoint and build the capacity of government officials responsible for enforcing child marriage prevention or prohibition laws at all levels of government.
- Amend existing laws to remove legal obstacles faced by girls who seek enforcement of national child marriage prevention or prohibition laws and legal remedies.
  - Eliminate unreasonable legal requirements for formally ending a child marriage.
  - Ensure that complaints filed by girls who are at risk of child marriage or have been married underage, or by a close third party, are taken seriously by local officials and that necessary legal action is taken.
  - Mandate the compulsory registration of all marriages and births throughout the country. Conduct nationwide public awareness campaigns announcing mandatory registration and establish the necessary infrastructure.

National executive bodies, including governmental ministries and law commissions:

Ensure the enforcement of laws relating to child marriage, and initiate reform where needed, to ensure that girls are not forcibly given away in marriage before the age of 18.

- Issue studies and reports on gaps, inconsistencies, and unreasonable requirements in law that allow child marriage to persist with impunity.
- Review the existing laws on child marriage, identify areas that need amendment, and bring these laws in line with national and international commitments of the state.
- Host consultations and awareness-raising events concerning the government’s legal obligation to strengthen and enforce child marriage laws under both constitutional and international human rights law.

Reduce girls’ vulnerability to child marriage by addressing the underlying causes of child marriage.

- Prohibit practices that reduce marriage to a financial transaction, such as dowry and bride price, which contribute to child marriage and the abusive treatment of girls.
- Ensure that girls have access to real alternatives to marriage, including educational opportunities and skills development programs that lead to opportunities for income generation.
- Reform school curricula to promote the equal dignity of girls and eliminate patriarchal stereotypes concerning women and girls, and train teachers to use these curricula to bring about changes in attitudes.
- Provide girls with access to sexuality education programs to ensure that they have accurate information about the health risks of child marriage and early pregnancy.
- Ensure that girls who are married under 18 years of age or have recently left a child marriage have access to financial and other forms of support, including counseling.
  - Promote the economic independence of girls, including married girls, by implementing initiatives to provide them with access to educational and skill development programs that lead to opportunities for income generation.
  - Officially recognize child marriage as a form of violence against women and children, and ensure that women and girls who seek to leave child marriages can benefit from existing policies and programs providing remedies for survivors of violence, including housing in shelter homes, legal support, and counseling.
  - Engage at the international level by supporting and co-sponsoring U.N. consensus statements, including Human Rights Council resolutions, on child marriage to demonstrate willingness to be held accountable for eliminating the practice and addressing violations.
SECTION V: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

National judicial bodies:

• Broadly interpret fundamental rights and apply directive principles to recognize child marriage as a violation of girls’ constitutional rights.
• Utilize international law to develop jurisprudence on child marriage as a violation of girls’ rights. Give legal effect to recommendations made by U.N. TMBs through judicial orders and decisions.
• Take suo moto action to address poor enforcement of legal prohibitions on child marriage and inconsistencies in national and personal laws that contribute to the continuation of child marriage.
• Ensure strict and appropriate punishment for violations of legal prohibitions on child marriage.
• Utilize opportunities created by litigation on child marriage to appoint formal committees and independent experts to investigate violations, examine inconsistencies in national laws, develop appropriate remedies, and create various avenues for legal recourse to ensure that girls can access the justice system when their rights are violated.

National human rights bodies:

• Invite, monitor, and investigate reports of child marriage and liaise with law enforcement agents, including child marriage prohibition officers, to ensure the provision of effective legal remedies.
• Engage with bodies at all levels of government that are mandated to prohibit child marriage or promote women’s and children’s development and welfare to review their progress in these areas and promote accountability at the institutional level.
• Along with key stakeholders, coordinate and lead national initiatives involving a cross-section of governmental ministries and agencies to strengthen, implement, and enforce prohibitions on child marriage and protections for married girls.
• Initiate a national conversation on child marriage as a human rights concern, and mobilize key actors from government and the private sector to engage in a dialogue about the concerted efforts needed to end the practice.
• Take steps toward the recognition of child marriage as legally void, including by exploring ways to ensure adequate awareness of this legal change before it is implemented and to protect girls who are married under local custom and may be left vulnerable due to the lack of legal status accorded to their marriage. Also, explore steps necessary to ensure that legal requirements are considered in the performance of marriage ceremonies.

Civil society organizations:

• Initiate campaigns in high-risk communities to raise awareness among parents and young girls about the legal status of child marriage and the continuum of harms resulting from the practice.
• Conduct research and disseminate evidence, including to government bodies, on the incidence of child marriage to facilitate legal accountability and to inform the development of government programs and policies to combat child marriage.
• Monitor the responses of law enforcement agents to formal complaints of child marriage in local communities to ensure the enforcement of legal sanctions against perpetrators of child marriage and disciplinary action against officials who fail to enforce the law.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation:

• Provide leadership on the issue of child marriage in the region, including by developing regional standards that reflect international human rights norms and state obligations and establishing a process of government accountability for the elimination of this practice.
• Acknowledge child marriage as a severe form of discrimination and violence against children and advocate with governments in the region to strengthen legal protections for girls in line with established international standards.

U.N. agencies and international non-governmental organizations:

• Promote accountability for child marriage, including by monitoring compliance of governments in South Asia with treaty obligations and with recommendations issued by U.N. TMBs and independent experts concerning violations ensuing from child marriage.
• Collaborate with national governments to develop national plans of action for the elimination of child marriage that improve measures to prevent and ensure accountability for the practice as well as strengthen legal response mechanisms for child marriage.

21 See, e.g., Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (India), supra note 25, art. 3(3). The IPC brings change to the punishing section of the SMA, section 18, but does not refer to section 12, which makes it illegal to marry someone under 16. The Muslim personal laws are also distinct from the IPC and the HMA. Under Muslim Personal Law, marriage can be 18 for boys and 15 for girls with parental consent; a guardian can consent for a minor (hereinafter Special Marriage Act (Bangl.)); Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act No. 8 of 1939, art. 21 (India) [hereinafter Dissolution of Muslim Marriages (India)]; supra note 25, art. 60(1). 

24 For example, under the Provision of Child Marriage Act (PCMA) in India, marriages of girls below 18 and boys below 21 are voidable at the request of either party who was a child at the time that the marriage occurred within 2 years of attaining maturity. However, child marriages are not void or voidable under the Hindu Marriage Act (HMA). Rather, a girl must seek divorce on the ground that she was married before 15 and 18 respectively, and the marriage after 15 and before 18. The Hindu Marriage Act, No. 2 of 1955, art. 13(2)(i) (India) [hereinafter Hindu Marriage Act (India)]. Section 20 of the PCMA brings change to the punishing section of the SMA, section 18, but does not refer to section 12, which makes it illegal to marry someone under 16. The Muslim personal laws are also distinct from the IPC and the HMA. Under Muslim Personal Law, marriage can be 18 for boys and 15 for girls with parental consent; a guardian can consent for a minor (hereinafter Special Marriage Act (Bangl.)); Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act No. 8 of 1939, art. 21 (India) [hereinafter Dissolution of Muslim Marriages (India)]; supra note 25, art. 60(1).


26 Civil Code (Afg.), supra note 13, sections 70-71. The marriage is 18 for boys and 15 for girls, subject to parental consent, and 16 without parental consent). Child Marriage Restraint Act (Pak.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 16 for women and 18 for men and boys).

27 Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Ordinance (Bangl.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 18 for girls and 21 for boys). Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (India), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 18 for girls and 21 for boys). Child Marriage Restraint Act (Pak.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 14 for a girl with parental consent, and 21 without parental consent) [hereinafter Special Marriage Act (Bangl.)].

28 Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Ordinance (Bangl.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 18 for girls and 21 for boys). Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (India), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 18 for girls and 21 for boys). Child Marriage Restraint Act (Pak.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 14 for a girl with parental consent, and 21 without parental consent) [hereinafter Special Marriage Act (Bangl.)].

29 Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Ordinance (Bangl.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 18 for girls and 21 for boys). Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (India), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 18 for girls and 21 for boys). Child Marriage Restraint Act (Pak.), supra note 13, art. 2(a) (minimum age of marriage is 14 for a girl with parental consent, and 21 without parental consent) [hereinafter Special Marriage Act (Bangl.)].

30 General Marriage Ordinance, supra note 13, art. 15 (Lanka); Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 17, no. 2 (Lanka); Marriage Registration Act, 2028 (1971), sec. 4(c)(d) (Nepal) (the minimum age of marriage for males and females is the same).

31 General Marriage Ordinance, supra note 13, art. 15 (Lanka); Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 17, no. 2 (Lanka); Marriage Registration Act, 2028 (1971), sec. 4(c)(d) (Nepal) (the minimum age of marriage for males and females is the same).

32 General Marriage Ordinance, supra note 13, art. 15 (Lanka); Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 17, no. 2 (Lanka); Marriage Registration Act, 2028 (1971), sec. 4(c)(d) (Nepal) (the minimum age of marriage for males and females is the same).

33 General Marriage Ordinance, supra note 13, art. 15 (Lanka); Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 17, no. 2 (Lanka); Marriage Registration Act, 2028 (1971), sec. 4(c)(d) (Nepal) (the minimum age of marriage for males and females is the same).

34 General Marriage Ordinance, supra note 13, art. 15 (Lanka); Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 17, no. 2 (Lanka); Marriage Registration Act, 2028 (1971), sec. 4(c)(d) (Nepal) (the minimum age of marriage for males and females is the same).

35 Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (Bangl.), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).; Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (India), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).; Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (Lanka), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).

36 Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (Bangl.), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).; Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (India), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).; Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (Lanka), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).

37 See, e.g., Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (India), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).; Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (Lanka), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).

38 See, e.g., Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (India), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).; Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (Lanka), supra note 25, arts. 4(2), 7(b)(ii).

39 Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 20. Maliki Act (Nepal), supra note 13, art. 17, no. 2 (Nepal) (the minimum age of marriage is 16 for a girl with parental consent; a guardian can consent for a minor (hereinafter Maliki Act (Nepal)).

40 See, e.g., The Muslim Marriage Act, No. 18 of 1995, art. 3(3) (trading the minimum age of marriage for marriage for women minus one year). The Marriage Act, No. 18 of 1995, art. 3(3) (trading the minimum age of marriage for marriage for women minus one year).
can consent to marriage and whether parental consent is needed. Shrikhet, G.K., An in Nepal: A Poor Person’s View (2000).

C. Shariat law (Pak.); supra note 28, para. 27; Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act, No. 16 of 1956 (Pak.); supra note 28, art. 100.


C. UNFPA, State of the World’s Babies, supra note 9, at 5.

D. Veronique Filippi, et al., Medicine Without Borders, supra note 37, at 22.

E. Bangladesh Penal Code, supra note 72, art. 27; Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act (Pak.), supra note 28, para. 6; Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act (Pak.), supra note 28, paras. 6, 23.


G. Obstetric fistula is a nature of damages to the vagina, rectum, or bladder which causes leakage of urine or feces. Raj and Boosheri, Child Marriage and HIV, Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 87, at 3.

H. UNFPA, State of the World’s Babies, supra note 9, at 5.

I. Bangladesh Penal Code, supra note 72, art. 21; Shiite Personal Status Law (Afg.), supra note 25, para. 29 (where a minor is to be married, parent or guardian must consent); Marriages, supra note 25, art. 100 (Pak.).

J. “father's or mother's consent to marriage is required if the woman is a minor and the marriage has not been registered under general law (Pak.).” Memorandum, supra note 25, para. 18 (Pak.), (of either party has not completed 21 years of age, the consent of that party's father or guardian must be obtained); Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (Bangl.), supra note 65.

K. For example, in Sri Lanka, which does not require consent to marriage, the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

L. Christian Marriage Act (Pak.), supra note 72, para. 27; Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act (Pak.), supra note 28, para. 6; Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act (Pak.), supra note 28, para. 17; 7; 10.

M. For example, in Sri Lanka, which does not require consent to marriage, the Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

N. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

O. “personality rights” (crr)
Policies Affecting their reproductive lives, South Asia, supra note 72, art. 27; Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act (India), supra note 28, para. 1; Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act (Pak.), supra note 29, para. 27; The Purusha Suktam (Sanskrit), supra note 28, section 429.

P. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

Q. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20; Hindu Widow’s Remarriage Act, No. 15 of 1856, art. 18 (Pak.) (provides an exemption).

R. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

S. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

T. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

U. See also Islam Personal Status Law (Egypt), supra note 23, art. 22; supra note 23, art. 27; Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (Pak.), supra note 29, para. 11.

V. Internet sources: UNFPA, State of the World’s Babies, supra note 9, at 5.

W. Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

X. Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

Y. Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

Z. Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, No. 25 of 1984 (India), see also Id. para. 176, makes marriage registration mandatory for all marriages except those performed by a religious official. Unmarried couples are subject to the penal code in other respects. See, e.g., Births, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act (Sri Lanka), supra note 24, art. 20.

107 UNFPA, Menin Tos Yoyn, supra note 1, at 12, supra note 87, at 2.


103 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

102 UNFPA, Menin Tos Yoyn, supra note 1, at 12; UNFPA, Ending Child Marriage, supra note 10, at 12.

101 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

100 UNFPA, Menin Tos Yoyn, supra note 1, at 12; UNFPA, Ending Child Marriage, supra note 10, at 12.

99 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

98 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

97 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

96 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

95 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

94 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

93 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

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88 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

87 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

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84 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

83 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

82 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

81 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

80 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

79 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

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77 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

76 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

75 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

74 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

73 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

72 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

71 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

70 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

69 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

68 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

67 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

66 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.

65 See also Jensch, Child Marriage in India, supra note 10, at 3; Raja and Boehmer, Child Marriage and HIV: Maternal Health, and Infant Mortality, supra note 80, at 13.
This provision was established in the 1963 Muluki Ain. It has been amended repeatedly since then to incrementally increase the minimum age of marriage.

...it was concluded in the Judgment of the Full Bench of the Supreme Court, December, 1995, A.I.R. 922 (1996). See also ASJR v. Union of India & Others, supra note 398, at paras. 23, 107.

Noting that the failure of the government to clarify whether the PCMA superseded any existing laws as a necessary step toward elimination of child marriage, see also Court On Its Own Motion (Lajja Dewi) v. State (India), supra note 398, T. Sivakumar v. The Inspector of Police (India), supra note 405, para. 28.

Ibid., paras. 23, 107.

Where available at http://www.thelawdictionary.org/...
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ENDNOTES

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WHO RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING CHILD MARRIAGE AND EARLY PREGNANCY

1 World Health Organization (WHO), WHO Guidelines on Preventive Early Pregnancy and Poor Reproductive Outcomes Among Adolescents in Developing Countries 24-101 (2013), WHO Secretariat, Early marriages, adolescents and young pregnancies, will be considered by the Secretariat, para. 15, 465-13 (Mar. 16, 2012) [hereinafter WHO Secretariat, Early marriages, adolescent and young pregnancies].


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PHULMONEE AND RUKHBAHMA: SHIFTING THE DISCOURSE ON CHILD MARRIAGE IN INDIA


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IN FOCUS: LEGAL BARRIERS AND DETERRENTS FOR GIRLS SEEKING TO CHALLENGE MARRIAGES


6 ICW and Government of India, India: Case Study: Open Door Policy (India) (2014) [hereinafter ICW and The Inspector of Police, (India) Court].

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3 STATES PARTIES MUST ENSURE PERSONAL LANDMARK CODES OF PRACTICE


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**ENDNOTES**


1 The creation of a South Asian Forum for Exposing Violence against Children (SAF), http://www.sawiser.edu.za/about-
saf.html.


4 Champa Singh v. State of Uttar Pradesh (India), supra note 20.

5 Consumer Education and Research Center v. Union of India, Supreme Court of India, May 21, 2007 (India).


7 Conversely, the history of reproductive rights in Bangladesh has been marked by legal challenges. In 1983, the Bangladesh National Woman Lawyers’ Association (BNWLA) filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 (on which the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1987 is modeled), arguing that it violated the fundamental right to freedom of religion under Article 25 of the Bangladeshi Constitution, the right to freedom of speech and expression under Article 25 of the Bangladeshi Constitution, and the right to privacy under Article 21 of the Bangladeshi Constitution. The Supreme Court of Bangladesh, in its judgment in the case of Smt. Seema v. Ashwani Kumar, 2 S.C.C. 578 (2006) (India), upheld the constitutionality of the Act, stating that the Act was enacted to prevent the marriage of girls below the age of 18, which was necessary to ensure their right to education, health, and fertility control. The Court also noted that the Act was consistent with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

8 Id. at 556.

9 Id. at 557.


13 Thirteen-year-old Malay Bibi from southwestern Bangladesh was found dead in 2005 in the eastern Indian state of Bihar. The official cause of death was “natural causes,” but it was widely believed that she had been murdered by her husband. Malay’s father, Shamsuddin, filed a complaint with the police, but no action was taken. In 2006, the Bangladesh Urban Law Chamber, which is a non-governmental organization (NGO) in Bangladesh, investigated the case and found evidence of murder. The NGO then filed a lawsuit on behalf of Malay’s family, arguing that the police had failed to investigate the murder properly and that the government had ignored the rights of women and children. The case was eventually settled out of court, but it highlights the challenges faced by NGOs in Bangladesh when it comes to advocating for women’s rights.

14 JUDICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE ROLE OF REGISTRATION IN ELIMINATING CHILD MARRIAGE


16 Id. at 554.

17 Id. at 555.

18 Id. at 555.

19 Id. at 556.

20 Id. at 557.

21 Id. at 558.

22 Id. at 558.

23 Id. at 559.

24 Id. at 559.

25 Id. at 560.

26 Id. at 560.

27 Id. at 561.

28 Id. at 562.

29 Id. at 563.

30 Id. at 564.

31 Id. at 565.

32 Id. at 565.

33 Id. at 566.

34 Id. at 566.

35 Id. at 567.

36 Id. at 567.

37 Id. at 568.

38 Id. at 568.

39 Id. at 569.

40 Id. at 569.

41 Id. at 570.

42 Id. at 571.

43 Id. at 572.

44 Id. at 572.

45 Id. at 573.

46 Id. at 573.

47 Id. at 574.

48 Id. at 574.

49 Id. at 575.

50 Id. at 575.

51 Id. at 576.

52 Id. at 576.

53 Id. at 577.

54 Id. at 577.

55 Id. at 578.

56 Id. at 578.

57 Id. at 578.

58 Id. at 579.

59 Id. at 579.

60 Id. at 580.

61 Id. at 580.

62 Id. at 581.

63 Id. at 581.

64 Id. at 582.

65 Id. at 582.

66 Id. at 583.

67 Id. at 583.

68 Id. at 584.

69 Id. at 584.

70 Id. at 584.

71 Id. at 585.

72 Id. at 585.

73 Id. at 586.

74 Id. at 586.

75 Id. at 587.

76 Id. at 587.

77 Id. at 588.

78 Id. at 588.

79 Id. at 589.

80 Id. at 589.

81 Id. at 590.

82 Id. at 590.

83 Id. at 591.

84 Id. at 591.

85 Id. at 591.

86 Id. at 592.

87 Id. at 592.

88 Id. at 593.

89 Id. at 593.

90 Id. at 594.

91 Id. at 594.

92 Id. at 594.

93 Id. at 595.

94 Id. at 595.

95 Id. at 596.

96 Id. at 596.

97 Id. at 597.

98 Id. at 597.

99 Id. at 598.

100 Id. at 598.

101 Id. at 599.

102 Id. at 600.

103 Id. at 600.

104 Id. at 601.

105 Id. at 601.

106 Id. at 601.

107 Id. at 602.

108 Id. at 602.

109 Id. at 602.

110 Id. at 603.

111 Id. at 603.

112 Id. at 604.

113 Id. at 604.

114 Id. at 605.

115 Id. at 605.

116 Id. at 606.

117 Id. at 606.

118 Id. at 607.

119 Id. at 607.

120 Id. at 608.

121 Id. at 608.

122 Id. at 609.

123 Id. at 609.

124 Id. at 610.

125 Id. at 610.

126 Id. at 611.

127 Id. at 611.

128 Id. at 612.

129 Id. at 612.

130 Id. at 613.

131 Id. at 613.

132 Id. at 614.

133 Id. at 614.