



RESEARCH PAPER

Child Marriages in Pakistan: Causes, Consequences and a Way Forward

Khadija Shahbaz*¹ Sidra Awan ² Asad Ali ³

1. Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College Women University Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan
2. Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College Women University Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan
3. M. Phil. Scholar, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan

DOI

[http://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2021\(5-II\)2.8](http://doi.org/10.47205/plhr.2021(5-II)2.8)

PAPER INFO

ABSTRACT

Received:

July 17, 2021

Accepted:

September 08, 2021

Online:

September 13, 2021

Keywords:

Child Marriage,
Domestic And
Sexual Violence,
Economic
Opportunities,
Health Issues,
Human Rights

***Corresponding
Author**

khadijasbz92@gm
ail.com

This qualitative study aims to comprehend the problem of child marriages, its causes and consequences and legislation made on federal and provincial level in Pakistan. Child marriages mostly occur in poor, economically deprived communities. It is observed that the driving factors of child marriage vary from area to area, especially in remote areas of Pakistan the situation is worsened and primitive forces are responsible for driving child marriages include poverty, lack of education, few job opportunities for girls, traditions, customs, and insecurity/danger especially, in a conflicting place, and fear of dishonor. Child marriage directly affects the girls' health and education more specifically. This study recommends that there must be a system to provide proper education and orientation to remove this hazardous practice from society. Law enforcement agency should play an active role and govt. institutions, Child protection bureau and women police, should work in true sense of spirit to eliminate child marriages in Pakistan

Introduction

In the world 158 countries have made laws for marriage age as 18 years or more; hence, laws are made but not enforced. 1/3rd of girls in the developing world (some of South Asian countries and African countries) are married in their childhood. South Asian countries have the largest number of child marriages under 18 including Pakistan. Though the Pakistani government has taken some tolerable steps in; improving education system and introducing gender parity in it especially in basic education and also in improving health but still there are many problems faced in both terms. In spite of being provided with the gender parity and

opportunities for both genders to complete their education (most specifically primary); there are still many girls who are deprived of even basic education and if they are getting education, they are dropped out before completion. Such cases are due to two main issues i.e.; poverty and child marriage. Both these issues are interlinked in a sense that when there is poverty, parents of child get their daughter married leading to child marriage and ultimately child marriage leads to furthermore problems i.e. depriving girl from education, even basic education, responsibilities on her before even getting mature, domestic or household workload affects and worsen health of the child, then early pregnancy before maturity leads to health issues, maternity issues and ultimately child mortality. Most of cases of child and mother mortality are result of child marriage in the world. In this research work, tried to mainly extract the child marriage causes and effects and in Pakistan how child marriage is an emblem of violation of human rights.

Literature Review

Tahir, Hasnain and Ahmer (2017) "Analysis of the Sindh Child Marriage Restraint Act 2013" they study the critical analysis of SCRA 2013 in this research. There are numerous laws introduced like the labor law fix the employment age for children at 14 years. And national identity card or citizenship card is also issued in the age of 18 years. After the 18th amendment in the constitution of Islamic republic of Pakistan, the Sindh assembly passed a Sindh child marriage restraint Act 2013 and amend the few changes in CMRA 1929. This research work is an important and effective development in the Pakistan legislation history for children rights.

Nathalie Johansson (2015) "Child Marriage: The underlying reasons and their possible solution" describes the reasons and possible solutions of child marriages in his report. A Child marriage is a complex phenomenon. Partly this topic in question is sensitive to discuss, but also circumstances seem to vary depending on the situation of regions. The focus has been put on girls marriages below the age of 18 years, due to highest number circumstance and due to the harmful consequences. Many global humanitarian organizations have been creating different reports, programs regarding this problem.

Reuben (2018) "Forced Conversions & Forced Marriages in Sindh, Pakistan" discovered the causes of forced conversion in Pakistan especially in Sindh in his report. Pakistan has approve and signed the International covenant on political and civil rights and ratified the convention on elimination of discrimination against women, under the CEDAW article 16 approve that every woman has right to enter into marriage only with their full consent and freedom. Pakistan approves the child right convention. Evidence provided by various academics, NGOs and journalist report that forced conversions and abduction are one of the serious issue facing young girls and women.

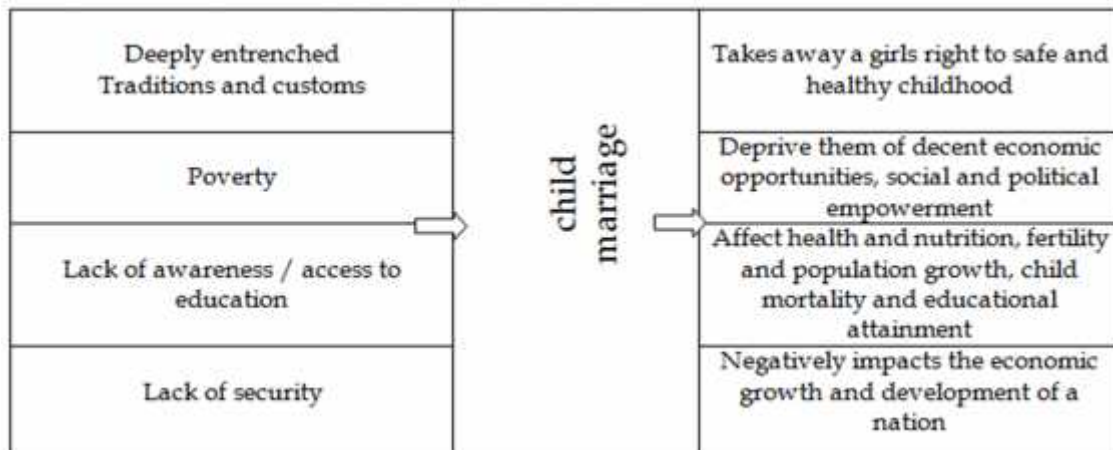
Anju Malhotra (2010) "The causes consequences and solutions to forced child marriage in the developing world" explains the understanding of causes and

consequences of early age marriages in his research. Described by the author forced child marriage is life changing step for many girls in the world. Sometimes young girls in the age of 8 or 9 are forced to trade their childhood for that can be defined by illness, isolation and violence. There is time to end child marriages through effective law and order.

UNFPA-UNICEF (2018) “Child Marriages n South Asia” explains the end of marriages in his report (2020)”. In South Asia child marriages has a highest rate in the world. 45% woman reported that they being married before the age of 18 and mostly 17% girls married before the age of 15. Many global organizations and programs work for end the child marriage. United Nations children’s fund UNICIF, United Nations populations fund UNFPA works with many others partners to end child marriages, advocate, and support and promote empowerment of adolescent girls and gender equality.

Child Marriage:

Under the age of 18 the marriage of a boy or a girl is defined as Child Marriage. The boy or a girl both refers to informal union and formal marriages before the age of 18 as if married, live with a partner (UNICEF, 2021). Hence, we can say that out of both genders; whoever is married before maturity i.e. 18 years is said to be a victim of child marriage (Halepoto, 2020). The girls are mostly seen as the child marriage victim.



Source: Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020.

To restrict child marriage there are numerous laws but still enforcement remains weak. In the world, girls married before the age of 18 Pakistan has the highest number of 6(UN-women, 2020).

The Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) set the minimum age of reaching adulthood.

According to Article 1 of the CRC;

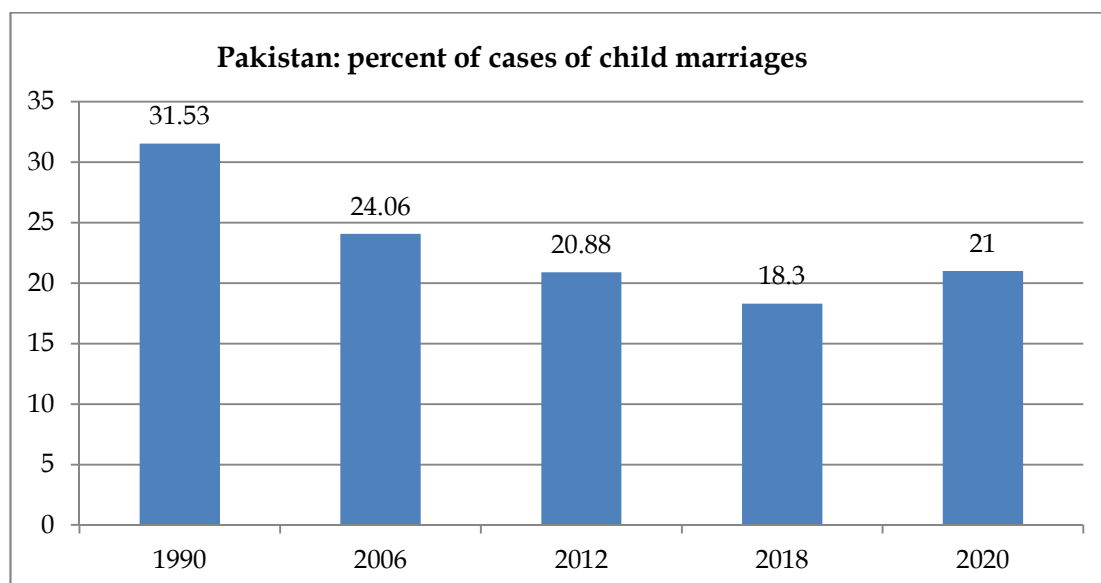
"Any human being below the age of 18 is a child," the CRC has been ratified by 194 countries.

Those countries still having early marriage i.e. below 18 years also exhibit poor indicators relating to the MDGs. They usually have high maternal mortality and morbidity rates, low education levels for girls, especially secondary education, and overall high poverty levels.

Source: Convention on the rights of child: Article 1 of the General Assembly resolution 44/25

Child Marriage in Pakistan

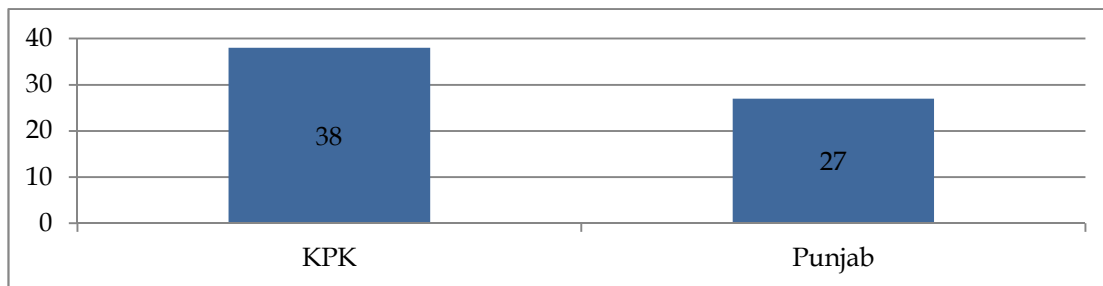
Pakistan like other developing countries has been the centre of cases of child marriage since its creation. As per the chart given below the cases of child marriages have been shown; it can be seen that during 1990s and earlier that period; the cases were on peak but with passage of time and enforcement of laws; these cases have been seen to be minimal if not completely vanished (UNCEF, 2018). But in 2018 the cases are seen to be minimal whereas after 2 years survey showed that the number of percent increased by 3 numbers (Asif, 2021).



Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020.

Current Situation in Pakistan

In Pakistan most of cases of child marriage are found in Punjab and KPK, while Sindh has also seen to be having such cases. The two major provinces i.e. Punjab and KPK were recently researched (2019-2020). The result of the survey is given below in the graph showing the percentage of incidence of child marriage in two major victim provinces of child marriages. According to the graph, KPK was seen as having more cases than that of Punjab. For KPK, the incidence of child marriage is 11 percentage points higher than that of Punjab (Khan, 2020).



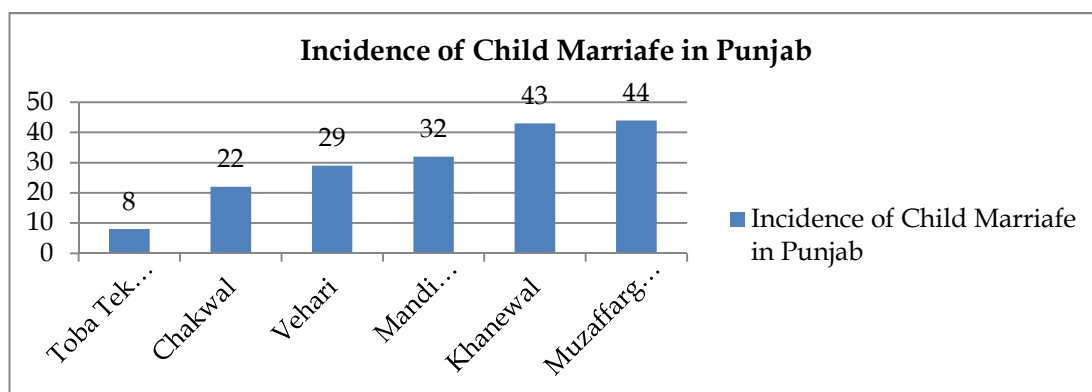
Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020

Child Marriages Incidence

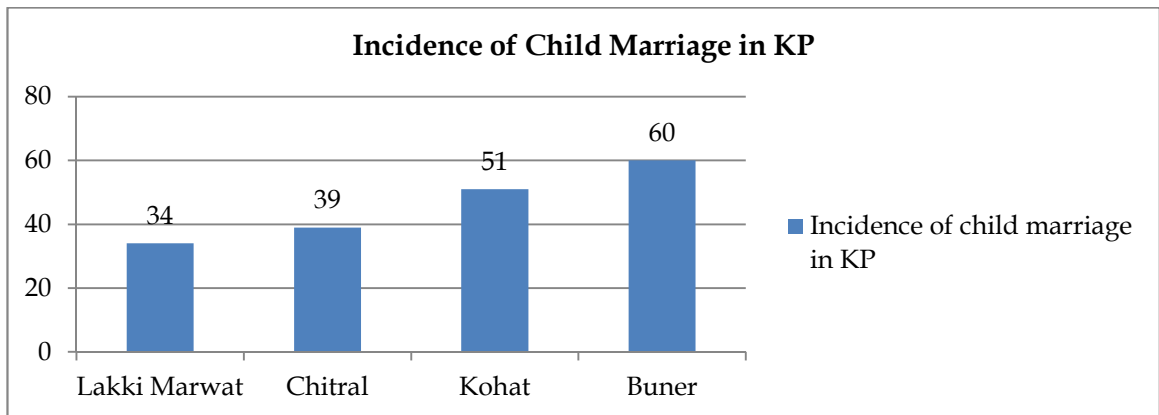
July 2019- July 2020

In terms of numbers, total number of child brides in Punjab during the period July 2019- July 2020 is 2.6 million. While for KPK, the total number of child brides is 1.1 million. The numbers are derived by using population weights on the data collected for this study and are estimates for the period 2019-2020. These numbers were also used to estimate costs of child marriage in later sections.

Below this, is the chart showing further detail of both the provinces. It shows the cities mostly affected by incidence of child marriages.



Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020



Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020.

Reasons of Child marriages in Pakistan

Behind the incidence of child marriage there are many factors or root causes in Pakistan. These root causes are as follows;

- Deprivation and lack of resources
- Job opportunities and lack of education for girls
- Danger or insecurity especially in a conflicting place
- Fear of dishonor and traditions

Deprivation and Lack of Resources

Most of the poor families think of a strategy in poverty for economic survival of their family as per of the reason that getting their daughter married earlier means less responsibility i.e. one less person to educate, to feed and clothe. In some areas there are also some traditions which compel parents to get their daughters married earlier while in other places some parents due to poverty get their daughters married earlier due to financial transactions and to gain money. This case is most specifically accustomed by people in African parts where parents get a price for getting their daughters married earlier i.e. near puberty (Malhotra, 2010).

It has been observed that specifically in Pakistan; parents who are poor get their daughters married earlier so that they have to pay a lesser dowry when their daughter is at a younger age rather than that of high price of dowry in case the daughter is adult. If we generally take overview of all cases of child marriage in the world we will be able to find out the fact that majority cases of child marriage has the root causes i.e. poverty. It means that the poor child have more chances to get married as a child in comparison to rich one.

Job Opportunities and Lack of Education for Girls

In many parts of world there is a tradition of prioritizing education for boys only and not for girls. This may be due to financial crisis or backwardness of people but this is really true, many people do not give education to their girls. Girls more likely to get married earlier who are not attending school. People think that the only purpose of girls, who have to be wife and mother in future; is looking after for children and house of his husband and when they do not have to do jobs then education is not compulsory. This is mostly seen in poor houses where parents put heed on education of their boys only and neglect education of daughter. In this scenario the only solution they think viable is getting their daughter married earlier.

Insecurity or Danger Especially in a Conflicting Place

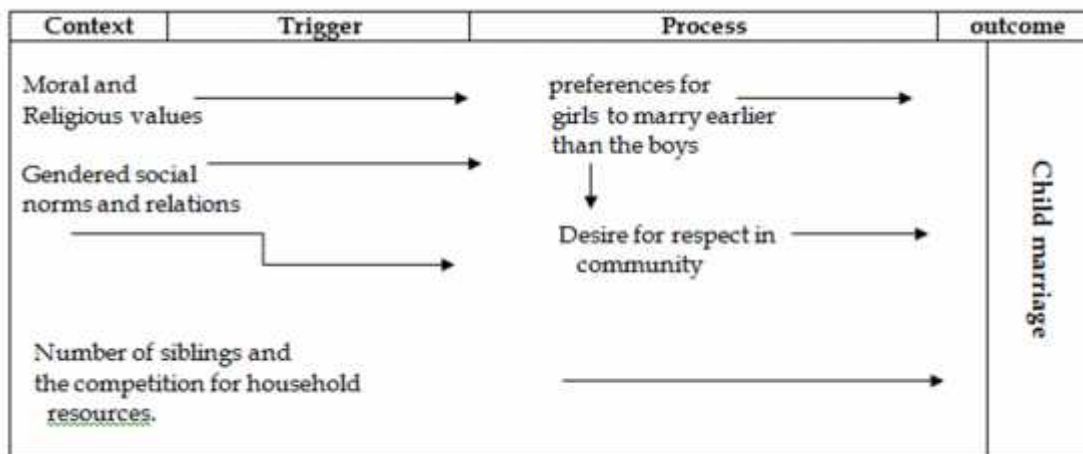
If we see that other reasons for child marriage in areas of Pakistan like tribal areas near KPK are of different nature or we can simply say, "The territorial problems". These areas have many cases of child marriage and their root causes are of a different nature. These areas are seen to be the conflicting areas and can be said to be always in a war-like situation. Due to these unsafe regions and danger that entangle on their mind all the times, the families seek an army person, a landlord or a powerful man to protect their daughter even in the case when their daughter has not reached 18 years of age or maturity. So the families living in such conflicting areas get their girl who is a child to an authority person or a powerful figure for the reason that the girl and family feel secure (Mahato, 2016).

Fear of Dishonor and Traditions

If we analyze the majority of cases of child marriage in Pakistan, we'll observe that most of cases are in KPK and Punjab. The main causes of child marriage in Punjab are poverty and less access to education of girls but for KPK and most specifically the tribal areas; there is one more reason behind most cases of child marriage. It is because of their traditions, conventions and honor. If a girl gets active sexually before marriage it is a biggest dishonor for the family that they are unable to face their community again. Hence, to avoid this disgrace they marry off their girls, earlier to avoid such a situation.

In some cases it has also been observed that parents who have to pay debt but are unable, has to get their daughter married to the son of family to whom they have to pay off their debts or loans (Malhotra, 2010).

It is also enrooted in the cultures or traditions of some places to get the children married. Some people also think that the marriage of their child to be a burden and they want to fulfill their obligation as soon as possible. This tradition in the modern times has been seen to be at least, minimal if not fully vanished. But still this has been practiced in a few parts of tribal areas.



Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020

Consequences of Child Marriage

Child marriage impacts the victim a lot. The consequences are disturbing and so much impactful. Girls who are forced to marry earlier before even being able to get married faces the following consequences;

- Maternal or child mortality
- Exposure to sexually transmitted diseases
- Violence faced by children in two contexts i.e. domestic and sexual
- Destroyed future and lack of childhood

Risks of Child and Maternal Mortality

Girls who marry and give birth before adulthood or the age of 18, when their bodies are still developing there is a huge risk of the death or illness or high health risks of the mother and the child (Malhotra, 2010).

According to a report, girls who die in the time period of their pregnancy, counts highest percentage of child brides and the majority of children who are married before maturity (UNICEF, 2007). Not only this, but the risk is also for the child as well. There is 6 times higher the risk of death of the child in the mother under 18 than that of mother higher than the age of 18. During the child birth there are also many problems faced by the mother. She faces devastating health issues. The bladder, vagina or rectum of the girl can also tear leading to extremely tremendous and painful condition which cannot be treated without a surgery. This condition is known as Obstetric fistula (WHO, 2018). This severe condition is most likely to be seen in child brides.

Greater Exposure to HIV/AIDS

There is a huge and devastating risks for the children married earlier, that they might contract with or face exposure to life risking sexually transmitted diseases. These diseases include aids (HIV). It has been seen researched that the girls from age of 15 to 18 who are married are mostly the victim of HIV and AIDS (Santosh, 2016).

Domestic and Sexual Violence

Children who are forced to marry earlier than maturity face a huge violence. As they are uneducated, they do not even know their basic rights. They are mostly the victims of violence either that's domestic or sexual and most of times emotional violence as well. A report reveals that most of domestic violence faced by girls include greatest percentage of the child brides and out of 100 sexually abused girls, 75 are those of child brides (Santosh, 2016).

Destroyed Future and Lack of Childhood

In the time of playing with dolls and friends, when on the girls, responsibilities are thrust; their childhood is destroyed. On the other hand, when they are married, they cannot even complete their basic primary education resulting in destruction of their secure future. They never become able to stand on their own foote and they simply become dependent on others. Furthermore, they are given strict burden of responsibilities, heavier than their shoulders can carry, such as domestic chores; motherhood in age when they were ought to play with dolls. Report proves that when the girls in age of getting education and awareness, are indulged into marriages, they become powerless (Malhotra., 2010). In this scenario they are collectively deprived of their basic needs, education, secure future and childhood.

Impacts on Pakistan

Punjab

The data collected through Costing Study on Child Marriage in Pakistan's Flash Survey show that, during July 2019-July 2020 given 21% incidence of child marriage in Punjab, almost 66,000 girls were unable to complete secondary education because of child marriage (Qureshi, 2020). This means that the cost of child marriage on women's secondary education is that secondary education completion rate of girls could have increased by 20 percent had these girls not been married earlier. Estimates show that for the period of 2019-2020, incidence of child marriage is mostly felt at higher level education where additional 294,000 young brides could have completed higher secondary education had then not been married below 18 years. Thus, the cost of child marriage on women's higher secondary education is that higher secondary education completion rate could have increased

by 24 percent had these girls not been married earlier (Khan, 2020). The following table shows the impact of child marriage on child brides and Pakistan;

Cost of Child Marriage on Educational Attainment in Punjab

Percent of Child Brides with no education	38%
Percent of Child Brides with secondary education	10%
Percent of child brides with above secondary education	6%
Percent of non-child brides with no education	28%
Percent of non-child brides with secondary education	12%
Percent of non-child brides with above secondary education	17%
Estimated number of child brides with no education had they not been married below 18	750400
Estimated number of child brides with secondary education had they not been married below 18	324480
Estimated number of child brides with above secondary had they not been married below 18	455600
Observed number of child brides no education	1018400
Observed number of child brides with secondary education	258620
Observed number of child brides with above secondary education	160800
Loss of Secondary Education= Estimated Number - Observed number	65660
Loss of Above Secondary Education= Estimated Number - Observed number	294800

Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020

KPK

In comparison to Punjab, the incidence of child marriage in KP is 11% greater and the costs of child marriage on education are relatively higher too. According to the results of flash survey conducted in July 2019- July 2020 there are almost 47,000 girls which were unable to complete their secondary education because of child marriage. This means that the cost of child marriage on secondary education of girls is that women's secondary education completion rate could have increased by 25% had these girls not been married earlier. Estimates show that for the period of 2019-2020, incidence of child marriage is mostly felt at higher level education where additional 89,000 young brides could have completed higher secondary education had then not been married in their childhood. Thus, the cost of child marriage on higher secondary education of girls is that higher secondary education completion rate could have increased by 45 percent had these girls not married earlier.

Effects on education due to child marriage in KP

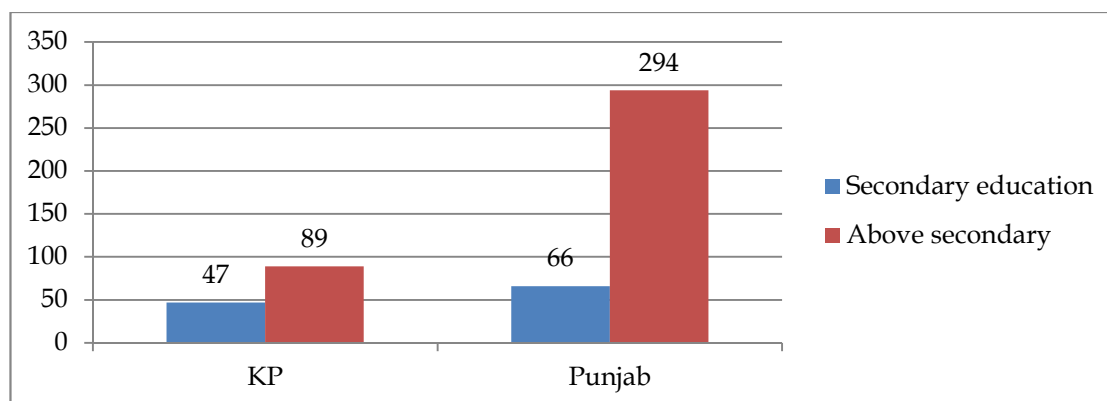
Percent of Child Brides with no education	43%
Percent of Child Brides with secondary education	5%
Percent of child brides with above secondary education	5%
Percent of non-child brides with no education	38%
Percent of non-child brides with secondary education	9%

Percent of non-child brides with above secondary education	13%
Estimated number of child brides with no education had they not been married below 18	421800
Estimated number of child brides with secondary education had they not been married below 18	99900
Estimated number of child brides with above secondary had they not been married below 18	144300
Observed number of child brides no education	477300
Observed number of child brides with secondary education	52947
Observed number of child brides with above secondary education	55500
Loss of Secondary Education= Estimated Number - Observed number	46953
Loss of Above Secondary Education= Estimated Number - Observed number	88800

Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020

Executive summary of cost/impacts of child marriages on education

Cost of child marriage: Loss in Educational Potential



Source: costing study on Child Marriage in Pakistan: A report on Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2020.

Child Marriage Restraint Acts

Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929

(XIX OF 1929) An Act was passed to restraint the solemnization of child marriage. Whereas it's convenient to restrain the ratification of child marriages and applies over all citizens wherever they may be and was said to take effect on the day of 1st April 1939.

According to the definition of this act, the word child means someone (if male) means he is under the age of 18 and (if female), it means she's under 16 years of age.

Sanctions/ punishments for violating child marriage restraint laws

Punishments for:	Details
1. Male adult above the age of 18 marrying a child	Above 18 years of age being a male, contract child marriage shall be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or simple imprisonment which may extend to one month or with both.
2. solemnizing child marriage	a Any person who conducts performs and directs child marriage shall be punishable with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or simple imprisonment which may extend to one month or with both, except he had the reason and evidences to prove that the marriage was not a child marriage.
3. Parental and guardian concern in a child marriage	(1)When a minor enters into a child marriage or any one in charge of the minor, whether guardian, parent or any other legal or illegal capacity, who promotes the marriage, permits it to be solemnized, or fails to prevent it from being solemnized due to negligence, shall be punished by a period of simple imprisonment of up to one month, alternatively, a fine of up to one thousand rupees may be imposed, or both; provided, however that no women shall be imprisoned. (2)Unless and until the opposite is proven, it will be assumed for the purpose of this section, that in cases where a minor has entered into a child marriage, the person in charge of such minor has failed to prevent the marriage for being solemnized due to negligence.

Punjab Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 23 of 1961

Same act as 1929 child marriage restraint act was enforced by Punjab government but some amendments were introduced. The word added was “and”, at the end of clause the comma appearing was replaced by a full stop.

Taking Cognizance of the Offence Committed

No court shall take cognizance of any infraction under this Act unless the Union Council files a complaint, or by such authority as Provincial Government may specify in this regard if there is no union council in the area, and no such cognizance shall be taken after the passage of one year from the day on which the alleged offence was committed (Constitution, 1961).

Punjab Amendment to the mode of committing offence 1971

The words and commas “except on a complaint made by the Union Council, or if there is no Union Council in the area, by such authority as the Provincial Government may prescribe in this behalf, and such cognizance shall in no case be

taken” appearing after the words “under this Act” and before the words “after the expiry” shall be omitted from section 9 (Punjab Ordinance, 1971).

Sindh Child Marriages Restraint Act- 2013

This bill approved by Sindh government set the age limit for legally marrying to be 18 for both the genders. Under the law and by the Act, any male over 18 years old who enter into a child marriage will be penalized with fine or imprisonment or both. It is punishable by imprisonment of up to 3 years but not less than 2 years and fine for anyone found guilty of performing, conducting or directing any child marriage, be fined and can be held in contempt of court for failing to verify the marriage as not being one between two minors without reasonable grounds to do so (Dawn, 2014).

Parents, guardians and anybody else in a position of authority who promotes child marriage, allows it to be solemnized or fails to prevent it carelessly from being solemnized will also be penalized.

Punjab Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 2015

It is illegal for an adult to marry a child under the Punjab Marriage Restraint Act, which includes boys and girls under the age of 18. The maximum sentence is six months in prison and fines of Rs.50, 000. Either a marriage between two children, or an adult and child, shall result in the same penalties for the Nikah Registrar who officiates or performs the marriage (Punjab Commission, 2015).

- Parents or guardians of either party will be punished if they facilitate or organize the marriage of a minor (anyone under the age of 18) or a child. Parents and/or guardians will be punished with imprisonment of up to 6 months and fine of Rs.50,000.
- A Complainant who wishes to report a case of child marriage will need to submit a complaint to the Union Council. The Chairman Union Council will then report the case to the Family Court, which will punish the accused person according to the penalties mentioned above.
- The Court can forbid any party from solemnizing, facilitating or organizing a child marriage through an Injunction (a Court Order preventing child marriage). This includes the groom, parents or guardians, Nikah Registrars and any other person involved. Violation of an injunction is punishable with imprisonment of up to 3 months and fine of Rs.1000

Source: The Punjab Commission on the Status of Women, Government of Punjab
Pakistan

Child Marriages Restraint (Amendment Bill), 2018

Mr. Ramesh Kumar presented the Subject Bill on Child Marriage Restraint as a Private Member's Bill in the National Assembly. A minimum age of 18 was recommended for both boys and girls to marry legally (Ahsan, 2019). Shirin Mazari

was not afraid to challenge her peers. So, she got up and voted in favor of the bill (Wasim, 2019). Senator Shibli Faraz, the leader of the house, said he supported the bill since he was a member of the committee that deliberated on it.

The Senate chairman called for a vote at the end of the bill's debate, and the bill passed with the opposition of five votes. This bill intends to "curb the scourge of child marriage widespread in the nation and prevent women from exploitation" by imposing imprisonment of up to three years and fines of at least Rs.1,00,000 or both on those who marry minors. (Pakistantoday, 2019).

Conclusion

Child marriage has been observed to have devastating impacts on children. We have already seen the causes and factors of child marriage; conclusively, I would say that there are different factors or causes varying from region to region; if in Punjab it is due to poverty; then in KPK or tribal areas, it is due to the danger or risks of territorial security due to conflicting or war-like situation in the region. Though the causes or driving factors are different, their impacts are the same all over the world. Its havocs are homogeneous. The havocs of child marriage are directly on the education and health of the children. Most of the maternal and child mortality cases have been seen to be the result of child marriage, sexually transmitted diseases and other deadly diseases have also been seen as impacts of child marriage. If we critically analyze; we'll see that the child brides, who get married under 18 are mostly illiterate and uneducated only because of early marriage. According to research, there are 21 percent cases of child marriages currently in Pakistan, where the population of Pakistan constitutes 51 percent women; if these women are uneducated and lack economic opportunities, Pakistan would never develop. Though there are many laws restricting child marriage, their implementation is still not intact. Most child marriages are the result of both the lack of awareness and ignorance of people. Hence there must be a system to provide education, orientation, and complete know-how to remove this hazardous practice from society. Government should make new laws and amend previous ones. Moreover, it should also check the implementation of such laws strictly.

Recommendations

- The penalties or punishment for anyone who contracts a child marriage must be increased and amount of fine also be clearly specified.
- When a person marries a child under 16 most specifically, it should be considered as rape hence such laws or amendments must be introduced accordingly.
- The child marriage restraint laws must be proliferated and people must be educated and awareness should be spread on the prohibition of child marriage and its penalties. All people including Nikah registrar, union council, lawyers

and all other persons must be oriented and local government should initiate training workshops to spread awareness.

- Many parents get their daughters married due to poverty they face, resultantly the girls who had gotten married due to poverty; faces more poverty as they have less economic opportunities and lack of education. Hence, child marriage is not a solution to poverty. Government must set education on basic level free of cost (including every necessary thing i.e. books, stationary and uniform) and also quality education must be introduced.
- In every province, a commission should be made on children rights protection as to check and make sure all such cases of child marriage or any other sort of child rights violation.
- To implement laws, there must be a system of checks and balances and a specific budget must be set for this purpose which should be allocated with specific intervals regularly.
- At every district level there must be specific desk or department where women police officer should intact, must be created for such cases of child marriage or forced marriages.

Reference

- Ahsan, A. (2019, May 6). Child Marriages (Restraint) Amendment Bill, 2019. *The News*
- Asif, S. (2021, April 30). Increasing number of child marriages. *The Nation*
- Constitution, P. (1961). *Punjab Muslim Family Laws Ordinance*. Punjab: Provincial Government.
- Halepoto, I. E. (2020, November 12). Child marriages. *The Nation*:
- Khan, S. K. (2020). *child marriage in Pakistan report 2020*. Asia Pacific UN women.
- Khan, D. B. (2020). *The National Commission on the Status of Women and UN women*. Asiapacific UN women
- Mahato, S. K. (2016). Causes and Consequences of Child Marriage. *International Journal Of Scientific & Engineering Research*, Volume 7, Issue 7, 6.
- Malhotra, A. (2010, July 15). *Child marriage*. ICRW
- Malhotra, A. (2010). *The Causes, Consequences and Solutions to Forced Child Marriage*. Testimony Submitted to U.S. House of Representatives Human Rights Commission s Human Rights Commission, 12.
- PunjabCommission. (2015). *Punjab Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 2015*. PCSW:
- Punjab Ordinance. (1971). *Punjab Ordinance of 1971*. Lahore: Punjab Government.
- Qureshi, M. K. (2020). *Child Marriage in Pakistan*. UK: UN Women Pakistan through the Aawaz II .
- UNCEF, A. B. (2018). *Key Drivers Of The Prevalence Of Child Marriage In South Asia*. UNCEF and UNFPA.
- UNICEF. (2007, November). *The State of the World's Children* . UNCEF:
- UN-women. (2020). *report on child marriage in Pakistan*. UN women
- Wasim, A. (2019, April 30). Child marriage restraint act 2019. *Dawn*: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1479317>
- WHO. (2018, February 19). *Obstetric fistula*. World Health Organization