

Child Marriages in India

An insight into Law and Policy

December 2013

Final Report of the Red Elephant Foundation

On submission to the OHCHR



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The Red Elephant Foundation is an initiative that is built on the foundations of storytelling, civilian peace-building and activism for the rights of women and girls.

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Introduction

Child marriage refers to the marriage of a child younger than 18 years old,¹ in accordance to Article 1 of the Convention on the Right of the Child. In simple terms, child marriage is the marriage of a person aged before majority. As a derivative interpretation of several international documents, it is a violation of human rights.² While child marriage affects both sexes, girls are disproportionately affected as they are the majority of the victims. Child marriage and child betrothal are oftentimes practices that are related to customary and religious beliefs, along with a lot of relevant economic considerations. They occur globally, in many parts of Africa and Asia and to some extent in the Americas. Globally, 36 per cent of women aged 20–24 were married or in union before they reached 18 years of age.³ An estimated 14 million adolescents between 15 and 19 give birth each year. Girls in this age group are twice as likely to die during pregnancy or childbirth as women in their twenties.⁴

Most often an arranged marriage, children, especially girls, are married off early – sometimes just after puberty, and sometimes even before – so as to bring the family some monetary earning. In many communities, a young girl brings in a lot of dowry – it doesn't matter that these girls may be too young to marry, it doesn't matter that the man she is married off to, is easily double, triple or even four times her age. These communities place significant emphasis on the fact that a woman is not allowed, or is deemed incapable of being educated or working. There is also a belief that women must reproduce early enough because they have a shorter reproductive life period in relative comparison with men.⁵ In many parts of Asia and Africa, families give birth to many children so that enough of them survive, and enough of them help by being more hands to work. If these children are sons, these families deem them economically viable assets to the family. If these children are girls, they are redundant to the family's economy except when they are married off – until which time they are only more mouths to feed.⁶ In such communities, child marriage is a transaction that often represents a

¹ Article 1, Convention on the Rights of the Child

² UNICEF, *Child Marriage Information Sheet*, May 2006

³ United Nations Children's Fund, *The State of the World's Children 2006*, UNICEF, New York, p. 131.

⁴ United Nations Population Fund, *State of World Population 2005: The promise of equality: Gender equity, reproductive health and the Millennium Development Goals*, UNFPA, New York, 2005, p. 50.

⁵ Middle East Issues, *Child Marriage: Causes and Consequences*, <http://middleeast.about.com/od/humanrightsdemocracy/a/child-brides.htm>

⁶ Trust Law, *Q+A: Why does child marriage happen?*, <http://www.trust.org/trustlaw/news/qa-why-does-child-marriage-happen>

significant economic activity for the family. In some poor African societies young girls are considered to be properties of their parents who can attain greater wealth and are married in early years.⁷ Although there are several international agreements and national laws that frown upon the practice of child marriage, it remains a common custom in most parts of the developing world.

Child marriage in India is not a new phenomenon.⁸ The practice as it prevails now, though, continues to thrive in economically disadvantaged communities, especially those that are coloured by customary and cultural practices and perspectives that encourage the early marriage of a girl child. This project will offer a complete breakup of information on Child Marriage in India, its prevalence and impact, and the legal provisions that concern the issue.

⁷ Middle East Issues, *Child Marriage: Causes and Consequences*,
<http://middleeast.about.com/od/humanrightsdemocracy/a/child-brides.htm>

⁸ Birodkar, Sudheer, "Hindu Social Customs"
http://www.hindunet.org/hindu_history/sudheer_history/practices1.html

The Prevalence and Impact of Child Marriage in India

Child marriage in India continues to thrive by and large in the rural areas more than elsewhere in the country. The factors that encourage its subsistence are usually a combination of poverty, the lack of education, continued perpetration of patriarchal relations that encourage and facilitate gender inequalities, and cultural perspectives that encourage the phenomenon to thrive.⁹

Economically, child marriages work as mechanisms that are quick income earners. A girl child is seen as a leeway to a large dowry, to be given to her family upon her marriage. Girls in many communities are not seen as assets in the family they are born into, but rather, as liabilities – especially since they are seen as more mouths to feed and no hands to work. From the economic perspective, child marriages are preferred by families that are poor, in a bid to reduce costs on the family, and to enable its economic strength by making money available for food, health and even education of the sons born to the family.¹⁰ From this standpoint, therefore, it is not wrong to conclude that girls are deemed chattels or property in the hands of their families as they are all set to be married off at the earliest.¹¹ The younger a bride, the higher her “value”, as the chastity of a young bride remains preserved.¹² In their pursuit to marry off the girls, education remains compromised – consequently culminating in the harsh reality that Indian girls without education are six times more likely to be married off early than those that have about ten years or more of education.¹³ There is also the prevailing threat that holds girls back from fighting the yoke of child marriage – honour killings. Girls that are married against their will are not allowed to fight back – for that would induce their families

⁹ UNICEF, *Child Marriage in India – An analysis of available data* (2012), at 9, <http://www.unicef.in/documents/childmarriage.pdf>; see also Word Vision UK, Research Report “Untying the Knot, Exploring early marriage in fragile states” (2013), at 35, [http://www.worldvision.org/resources.nsf/main/press-reports/\\$file/Untying-the-Knot_report.pdf](http://www.worldvision.org/resources.nsf/main/press-reports/$file/Untying-the-Knot_report.pdf).

¹⁰ UNICEF, *Child Marriage in India – An analysis of available data* (2012), at 14, <http://www.unicef.in/documents/childmarriage.pdf>; see also R Gokul, *Child marriage cases on the rise in Trichy*, *The Times of India* (June 5, 2013), http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-06-05/madurai/39763061_1_child-marriage-trichy-district-girl-children.

¹¹ Arushi Sing, *Ending child marriage in India*, *The Guardian* (March 3, 2011), <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/mar/03/ending-child-marriage-india-health>.

¹² International Center for Research on Women, *Asia Child Marriage Initiative: Summary of Research in Bangladesh, India and Nepal* (2013), at 17, <http://www.icrw.org/files/publications/PLAN%20ASIA%20Child%20Marriage-3%20Country%20Study.pdf>.

¹³ UNICEF, *Child Marriage in India – An analysis of available data* (2012), at 15, <http://www.unicef.in/documents/childmarriage.pdf>.

to kill them to preserve the “honour” of their family names and reputations.¹⁴ Another major factor that contributes to the prevalence of child marriage is the declining sex-ratio. While many clinics have and do retain and ensure that the ban imposed on sex-selection and prenatal sex determination remains steadfast,¹⁵ the law is not enforced enough to combat unsafe abortions of the female foetus, and to deal with the abandonment of the girl child after birth.¹⁶ Owing to this, in rural parts of northern India, particularly in Rajasthan, the declining sex-ratio has allowed the festering of a practice known as *Atta Satta* where a daughter is exchanged for a daughter-in-law, irrespective of her age.¹⁷

Undoubtedly, child marriage continues to thrive in India. In 2007-2008, as many as 42.9% of the surveyed segment of married women in the age group 20-24 years were married before eighteen.¹⁸ An astounding number of 23 million women in the age group of 20-24 were married before they attained their eighteenth birthdays. With that astounding percentage, India contributes as many as 40% of world’s child brides.¹⁹

¹⁴ US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2012: India (2012), <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2012&dliid=204399>.

¹⁵ Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act (1994), (India).

¹⁶ US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2012: India (2012), <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2012&dliid=204399>.

¹⁷ International Center for Research on Women, Asia Child Marriage Initiative: Summary of Research in Bangladesh, India and Nepal (2013), at 21, <http://www.icrw.org/files/publications/PLAN%20ASIA%20Child%20Marriage-3%20Country%20Study.pdf>.

¹⁸ UNICEF, Child Marriage in India – An analysis of available data (2012), at 10, <http://www.unicef.in/documents/childmarriage.pdf>.

¹⁹ These numbers are based on the 2011 Census. See UNICEF, Child Marriage in India – An analysis of available data (2012), at 10, <http://www.unicef.in/documents/childmarriage.pdf>.

Law and policy targeting Child Marriage in India

The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act was passed in 2006 following the high number of child marriages and disappointment of the already existing Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 to provide an adequate solution to this social menace.

The core provisions of the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 are as follows:

- The legal age for marriage in India is eighteen for girls and twenty-one for boys,²⁰ on the lines of what was mentioned in the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929.²¹
- By Section 16, full-time “Child Marriage Prohibition Officers” are appointed in every state and are supposed to police instances of child marriage.²² These officers are vested with the authority to prevent child marriages, make documented reports of violations, charge offenders that can also include the child’s parents and even remove children from dangerous and potentially dangerous situations.²³
- Child marriages are not considered illegal but merely voidable. The grounds for the declaration as void are laid down in the act itself.²⁴ This is done at the option of the child that has been married off – allowing her to declare her marriage void at anytime up to two years after reaching adulthood.²⁵
- The only exception where a child marriage can be declared as void even before the child reaches the age of 18, is when the child has been abducted, kidnapped, trafficked or been compelled to marry under force, deceit, coercion or misrepresentation.²⁶
- The legislation also penalizes the arrangement, performance or participation in child marriages. By Section 9, any man who is aged above eighteen who contracts for a

²⁰ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 2(a) (India).

²¹ Child Marriage Restraint Act (1929), Section 2(a) (India).

²² Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 16(1) (India).

²³ US Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2012: India (2012), <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2012&dldid=204399>.

²⁴ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 3 (India).

²⁵ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 3(3) (India).

²⁶ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 12 (India).

child marriage is punishable by imprisonment of up to two years, or may be charged with a fine of up to one lakh rupees, or both.²⁷

- By Section 10, these penalties are extended to anyone who performs, conducts, directs or abets a child marriage unless he can prove that he had reason to believe that the marriage was no child marriage.²⁸
- If the child herself contracts for a child marriage, under Section 11, any parent or guardian who actively supports the marriage or negligently fails to prevent it is punishable by way of imprisonment and or a fine.²⁹ The same provision has a clause, namely section 11(2), which speaks of a rebuttable presumption that the child's parent or guardian negligently failed to prevent the marriage.³⁰

Considering that the law is by itself rather segmented in the approach to child marriage and its various forms, and the fact that there have been many, many instances of child marriage but only a few have been reported, overall, it would be fair to conclude that the law hasn't been as successful as is ideal. The few cases that have been reported have been criminal prosecutions – most of which involve the adult spouse and or the family of the minor involved.³¹ In many instances where such cases are brought to fore, judges have ordered the minor or both spouses as the case may require, to seek counselling while they deliberate on the custody rights based on the best interests of the minor.³² As much as the legislation is centric to the interests of the minor, there are very few instances where the minors themselves in their capacity as the victims of child marriage, have successfully approached the court and filed for a declaration testifying to the effect that their marriage is void under the Prohibition

²⁷ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 9 (India).

²⁸ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 10 (India).

²⁹ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 11 (India).

³⁰ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 11(2) (India).

³¹ See, e.g., *Amnider Kaur v. State of Punjab*, Punjab-Haryana High Court (November 27, 2009), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/942424/>; *Pratapa Ram v. State, Rajasthan High Court – Jodhpur* (July 24, 2012), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/181568017>; *Anurag Kumar Gangwar Deepu v. State, Delhi High Court* (March 26, 2010), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1866210/>.

³² SEE, E.G., *Bholu Khan v. State Of Nct Of Delhi*, Delhi High Court (February 1, 2013), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/21988888/>; *Mohd. Nihal v. State, Delhi High Court* (July 8, 2008), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1476139/>; *Tahra Begum v. State Of Delhi*, Delhi High Court (May 9, 2012), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/187745978/>.

of Child Marriages Act.³³ Per se, under the law, there are no legal exceptions to the prohibition on child marriages, nor for the rule imposing a minimum age for marriage.³⁴

³³ SEE, E.G., Kanwaldeep Kaur Bhathal v. Mandeep Singh Brar, Punjab-Haryana High Court (January 14, 2013), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/33789116/>; *Indian teenager annuls her child 'marriage'*, BBC News (April 25, 2012), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-17838022>.

³⁴ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (2006), Section 1(2) (India); see also Mohd. Nihal vs State, Delhi High Court (July 8, 2008), <http://indiankanoon.org/doc/1476139/>.

Why does Child Marriage still prevail in India?

While the legal instruments outright declare child marriage to be unacceptable, ground reality is largely different. The institution of child marriage is rankled by contradictions – when consensual sex with girls below a minimum age constitutes statutory rape, the same act with a similar aged girl goes unsanctioned by the protective mantle of “marriage”.³⁵ Child marriage is clearly in violation of the rights of the girl child, who, by law, is entitled to be free from all forms of discrimination, degrading treatment, slavery and exploitation. The weft of legal provisions that emanate from international human rights law, constitutional guarantees of gender equality and gender friendly law offer these rights, but sadly, implementation is lacking.

Legal and Policy-related causes

The legal and policy-making systems fail for two reasons: one, the lack of feminist lawmaking and policy-making, and two, the lack of implementation of extant legal provisions and policies.

On the one hand, child marriage has grown on account of the conspicuous absence of women from the process of lawmaking. Consequently, law and its implementation are replicated in the male image – while the feminist methodology is missing. Feminist methodology is essentially capable of projecting feminist narratives in a manner most befitting lawmaking processes, so that they become central to the process of lawmaking. Lawmaking and the interpretation of laws excluding a gender perspective are myopic to a large extent, in that they fail to understand the reality of women’s lives, and the effect that laws have on them. On the other hand, the extant legal regime, though can be adapted despite the lack of feminist mindset pruning it, is barely implemented. The astute lack of translation from document to practice renders the law toothless, and as good as non-existent. There is a lot of potential, though, for the multiple and deviant streams of law to come together to form a convergent means prevention and punishment of child marriage. Despite the downside, there is plenty of pragmatism in couching concerns about child marriage in human rights principles. It guarantees a means to legitimize strong penalties for violations of laws and policies that can prevent child marriage. The issue, by being founded as a human rights violation, is raised as a grave public concern rather than a private matter between families. The human rights agenda

³⁵ UNICEF, Background paper for UNICEF Report on State of the World’s Children, 2007

views child marriage through the lenses of both civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights covenants.³⁶ Most of all, the human rights perspective helps to frame child marriage as a crime against women and the girl child. Child marriage disproportionately affects girls because of their sex and despite facially neutral laws, women and girls are often de facto unequal before the law.³⁷

Economic challenges

Rural communities live in a state of poverty. At the outset, they do not indulge in family planning for there is a notion that more children are more hands to work. When these children grow, educated under the bounty of some system at the behest of the government, there comes a time when the family is forced to make a choice between educating their girls and between educating their boys. Oftentimes, they choose the latter, in the belief that their sons will remain with them, while their girls will leave the house after they marry. Consequently, these families see no economic benefits emanating from educating their girls. In pursuit therefore, these girls are pulled out of school, and every prospect of being able to do meaningful work in the future is rendered difficult.³⁸

Wherever poverty is acute, a young girl is often seen and regarded as an economic burden and her marriage to a much older - sometimes even elderly - man is believed to benefit the child and her family financially. Young, unwed virgin girls are often “coveted” by rich, old men. In such kinds of communities, child marriage is deemed a transaction, and for many families, a daughter might be the only available commodity, or the only remaining commodity to be traded. Girls are used as currency to add to the family’s otherwise empty coffers, or to settle debts.

On another level, is the element of “stability” that a child marriage earns for her family. In uncertain times – such as, a time of poor harvest conditions or war, a family may feel that it is necessary to ensure the economical 'safety' of their daughter and family through marriage. Young girls are perceived and treated as a resource with which their parents can attain greater wealth.³⁹ Although child marriage is seen as a way to escape the cycle of poverty, child marriage in fact worsens the cycle of intergenerational poverty. In depriving a girl of

³⁶ UNICEF, Background paper for UNICEF Report on State of the World’s Children, 2007

³⁷ *Ibid*

³⁸ ICRW <http://www.icrw.org/what-we-do/adolescents/child-marriage>

³⁹ Forward UK <http://www.forwarduk.org.uk/key-issues/child-marriage>

education, they invariably deprive future generations of education, except for some rare exceptions that are too few and far between to become the norm. The deprivation of a girl of education sparks off a cycle, where because of her illiteracy, her family tends towards illiteracy. Invariably, the girl child of today is tomorrow's mother - as a mother, she is effectively her child's first teacher. If she is educated, she can give offer her children a sound upbringing. A woman has the maximum impact on the social and economical decisions making in the family generally. At the micro level, educated women help manage the economical requirements of the whole family. At the macro level, educated women add to the social and economical development of the nation. If a woman is uneducated, the role of the linchpin that she can play if educated, is a lost opportunity.

One point to remember, though, is that although poverty is one of the underlying causes of child marriage as parents see this as an opportunity to receive money or save money, child marriage is not restricted to poor families. Child marriage is also one way of preserving wealth in families of a higher socio-economic class. Some heavily affluent families, especially of tribal affiliations and inclinations are driven by the need to protect their girls' honour and their family name, and by direct extension, the family's wealth. This makes them marry their girls off to a family of equal wealth and repute, lest she be defiled in a later war, or, grow a mind of her own and marry one not of her equivalent standing.

Cultural and Social challenges

While to a large extent, laws and a state of economic backwardness contribute to the occurrence of child marriages, there are instances where despite the existence of both laws and a fairly affluent economic background of the family concerned, child marriages have occurred. In most such instances, a cultural practice, or what is believed to be a cultural practice, is the reason behind the continued occurrence of child marriages. However, this is not to imply that cultural reasons do not colour the mindset propelling the occurrence of child marriages even where laws don't exist, or where affluence is lacking. In these such cases, cultural mindsets and social practices form one among the repertoire of factors that encourage the practice to thrive.

In many parts of Asia and Africa, marriage is entrenched in tradition and culture. Dominant notions of morality and honour are important factors encouraging the practice of child

marriage.⁴⁰ In many such families, there is significant influence of “family honour” and the need to “protect it”. High value is oftentimes placed on the virginity of the girl – it is believed, in many such families, that if a girl is not a virgin when she marries, it brings shame and dishonour upon the family. There is also the fact that young girls are encouraged to marry older men, because certain cultural practices that dictate longevity of the older husband, sometimes due to the perception that an older husband will be able to act as a guardian against behaviour deemed immoral and inappropriate.⁴¹ Unmarried women are often seen as liabilities for family integrity and honour. This propels families to do everything they can to immunize themselves against stigma and making it safest for the family and for the girl by getting her married as close to puberty as possible.⁴² It is a practice that only reinforces a woman’s dependence on men for the rest of her life. There are also certain pockets in society coloured by a culturally driven mindset that the more children a woman bears, signifies prosperity for the family. This makes them force their girls into an early marriage so that the reproductive span is not limited.

⁴⁰ Forward UK <http://www.forwarduk.org.uk/key-issues/child-marriage>

⁴¹ *Ibid*

⁴² Time Magazine, Why is it so hard to combat child marriage? <http://world.time.com/2012/06/28/why-is-it-so-hard-to-combat-child-marriage/#ixzz263RnPD4J>

Best Practices in the Indian milieu

At the national level, there have been policies that target child marriages through incentives for the families involved. Under the National Population Policy 2000⁴³ and the National Youth Policy 2003,⁴⁴ there were strategies to address the vulnerability of girls in the context of child marriages. Some of these ideas included the provision of non-formal education and vocational training, development of livelihood skills and education and awareness of sexual and reproductive health issues. These strategies have been repeated and expanded in subsequent policies. In Rajasthan, the Mamta-Health Institute for Mother and Child started the Action Approach for the Reduction of Early Marriage and Early Pregnancy,⁴⁵ as an initiative to involve young people towards the creation of awareness on reproductive health information. This was done through the process of community mobilization and key stakeholders.⁴⁶

On the legal front, the Human Rights Law Network began advocacy and awareness towards sensitising the masses to the prohibition on child marriage with an emphasis on legal literacy. Their efforts effectively culminated in the passage of the Prevention of Child Marriages Act, 2006.

In addition to the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, the International Centre for Research on Women initiated a program called *Apni Beti, Apni Dhan*⁴⁷ (Our Daughter, Our Wealth) in 1994, to study the reason and consequence of child marriage, this was the first of a kind Conditional Cash Transfer programmes aimed at delaying child marriages. The programme provides Rs. 500 to the mother upon the birth of a girl child to cover her post-delivery needs. The government also invests in a Rs. 2, 500 long term bond in the girl's name which can be cashed for Rs. 25, 000 upon the age of majority, this is provided by the government only if

⁴³ Government of India, National Population Policy, 2000 <http://india.unfpa.org/drive/NationalPopulation-Policy2000.pdf>

⁴⁴ National Youth Policy, 2003, <http://www.youth-policy.com/Policies/IndiaNATIONALYOUTHPOLICY2003.pdf>

⁴⁵ http://www.mamta-himc.org/res_list.htm

⁴⁶ Human Rights Law Network http://hrln.org/beta/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=107&Itemid=150

⁴⁷ INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN - MOTIVATION TO PREVENT CHILD MARRIAGE- <http://www.icrw.org/media/news/motivation-prevent-child-marriage>.

the girl is unmarried.⁴⁸ It was first implemented in the state of Haryana by the Government of India. Based on an evaluation of the outcome of the programme in Haryana, the International Centre for Research on Women aims to spread the programme all over India and the rest of the world.

Taking a leaf out of the above project, the government later launched the *Balika Samridhi Yojna*,⁴⁹ implementing a Cash-Transfer scheme for every instance where a girl's marriage was delayed to after attaining majority, whereby a sum of money was payable to unmarried 18-year-olds. The International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) launched the Development Initiative for Supporting Healthy Adolescents (DISHA)⁵⁰ from 2004 until 2007. The program sought to create access to reproductive health information and education on life-skills, providing youth-friendly reproductive health services, livelihoods training for the youth and community mobilisation towards fighting child marriage.

The Institute of Health Management-Pachod (IHMP) and the ICRW implemented a Life Skills Programme in Maharashtra⁵¹ from 1997 until 2005, specifically targeting adolescent girls, to make them economically stronger, thereby delaying their marriage to after they attain majority. The Tata Steel Rural Development Society (TSRDS) implemented a Regional Initiative for Safe Sexual Health by Today's Adolescence in Jharkhand, from 2004 until 2007, focusing on behavioural change communication, incrementing capacity building and promoting awareness of sexual and reproductive health. The programme was particularly successful in delaying the marriage of girls to after majority.

⁴⁸ INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN - MOTIVATION TO PREVENT CHILD MARRIAGE- <http://www.icrw.org/media/news/motivation-prevent-child-marriage>

⁴⁹ The Balika Samridhi Yojna <http://wcd.nic.in/BSY.htm>

⁵⁰ Anjala Kanesathasan, Laura J. Cardinal, Erin Pearson, Sreela Das Gupta, Sushmita Mukherjee, Anju Malhotra, *Catalyzing Change: Improving Youth Sexual and Reproductive Health through DISHA, an Integrated Program in India* (2008) <http://www.icrw.org/publications/catalyzing-change>

⁵¹ ICRW, *Improving the Reproductive Health of Married and Unmarried Youth in India*, <http://www.icrw.org/files/publications/Improving-the-Reproductive-Health-of-Married-and-Unmarried-Youth-in-India.pdf>

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