Human Rights:

Are universal human rights laws globally applicable to combat cultural pathways that lead to modern day slavery?

Sumaya Bamakhrama

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

There is an ongoing debate between universalism and relativism, which highlights the never-ending dilemma regarding absolute morality versus cultural relativism. These theories complicate political stances regarding universal laws against modern day slavery and raise questions about whether or not universal human rights laws are truly universal in their nature, or if they are an example of western imperialism, in which a set of western laws are forced upon non-western populations who may not want to abide by them. Although both universalists and relativists agree that slavery is morally wrong, there is a gray area in the definition of slavery in which cultural practices become an obstacle to defining and targeting modern day slavery cases. Using the current objective definitions of slavery, modern day slavery, freedom, coercion, and consent, this paper examines cases which represent a gray area in the definition of modern day slavery: child labour, child brides, arranged and forced marriages, the male guardianship system, and the sponsorship system. This study also analyzes the actual underlying factors that led to these practices in order to conclude whether it is indeed a cultural practice and therefore should be protected from outside interference, or an attempt to exploit persons under the umbrella of "culture." Finally, this paper concludes that universal human rights laws are not globally applicable in their nature. Therefore a holistic approach geared toward considering different aspects, such as countries' cultural practices, is needed in order to appropriately combat the cultural pathways that lead to modern day slavery.

In an unstable world and with the current humanitarian crisis of Syrian refugees, we witness new sets of dilemmas that make us question our basic values. Last year in 2016, waves of refugees reached Europe after fleeing war zones, which exposed the European countries to conflicts concerning human rights laws. For example, young married girls under the age of 18 were arriving with their spouses and kids. In such cases, "The question is one of rights and protections - but which? When authorities stop minors cohabiting with their older spouses, are they combating child abuse or breaking up (often already traumatized) families?" (BBC News, 2016) These incidents are currently rising because of the cultural backlashes, and this issue makes us ask: Which unit do we value more to pro-

Created by Sumaya Salah Bamakhrama, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona for her seinior thesis project. Correspondence concerning this research paper should be addressed to Sumaya Salah Bamakhrama, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, (909) 263-6730. Email: sumaya.bamakhrama@gmail.com

Undergraduate Journal of Political Science, Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 2017. Pp. 148–164.

tect, the individual or the family? For some people, the answer might be easy, and they would say that all individuals must follow the laws within the countries they are located, which also should entail universal human rights laws. However, when it comes to personal beliefs or cultural practices, the question becomes more complicated. According to BBC News (2016), "The DIS cited Denmark's 'international obligations' as the trigger for its policy change, concluding that enforcing separate living quarters would violate the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child and Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which guarantees the right to one's 'private and family life.'" The current refugee crisis demonstrates the importance and urgency of the dilemma that requires our instant action regarding the universality and appropriateness of human rights laws.

However, the ongoing debate between universalism and relativism, which highlights the never-ending puzzle regarding absolute morality versus cultural relativism, complicates the political stances regarding universal laws against some cultural practices that are considered modern day slavery. This conflict raises questions about whether or not universal human rights laws are truly universal in their nature.

This paper examines the cases of child labour, child brides, arranged and forced marriages, the male guardianship system, and the sponsorship system because they fall under the umbrella of cultural norms and beliefs, which make them represent a gray area of modern day slavery. This gray area tends to be protected and supported by its people since it has different underlying factors for its occurrence. Therefore, we cannot ignore it or classify it under the concept of modern day slavery without fully grasping it. Our understanding for this analysis would allow us to judge if these practices are indeed cultural and the universal human rights laws protect them, or if the laws interfere with them and prioritize certain values over others.

Literature Review and Definitions:

No matter who we are, what background we come from, or other characteristics that define us, the international community from December 10, 1948 committed itself to protecting human rights for all of us by creating the international human rights law. For all countries who are part of the treaty, it is their duty to respect and follow that law. The Foundation of International Human Rights Law "represents the universal recognition that basic rights and fundamental freedoms are inherent to all human beings, inalienable and equally applicable to everyone, and that every one of us is born free and equal in dignity and rights" (The United Nations (UN), 1948). This foundation that discusses freedoms and rights introduces a major argument about the theory of universalism and also poses the question: Are there universal freedoms and rights?

According to universalists, human rights have been practiced throughout history and every individual was born with certain dignities and rights despite their backgrounds, such as culture, religion, or identity. In Daum's article (2011), he discusses the idea that each person has an universal ability to think critically and consequently make a rational decision; he also believes that universal rights should be adopted by all nations regardless of their cultural diversity because they are not imperialist tools being used to exert their power. In this school of thought, it is believed that there should be an unified agreement about human rights even if individuals are capable of thinking, making decisions, or belonging to different cultures. Zechenter (1997) argues that human rights are obvious and are within the limits of a person's dignity. Ignatieff (2001) adds that by discussing that human rights are universal and arguably most of the communities around the globe have practiced them throughout their history. Universalism asserts that each individual has certain inalienable rights for being human. They set these standards by applying

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, all praise to Allah by whom's blessings all good deeds are accomplished.

My very sincere gratitude goes out to my supportive family who have always believed in me.

Additionally, a special thanks goes for the Ministry of Higher Education in Saudi Arabia which provided me with the opportunity to pursue my educational career.

Last but not least, I would like to express my appreciation for my advisor, Dr. Marc Scarcelli for his insightful comments and encouragement.

clear definitions and objective human rights that are free from the chains of religion, culture, value systems, or ideology.

However, universalists agree that individual moral values are different, and each person has a right to make a decision on what he or she should believe in (Zechenter, 1997). It is important to keep in mind and take into consideration culture, politics, religion, gender, age, or nationality. Nevertheless, basic human rights should be the same everywhere because human beings are the same. The opposing concept of universalism is cultural relativism, and it is believed to be a concept that undermines international human rights law. Donnelly (2007) mentions that relativism is a challenge that cannot be avoided or justified; human rights laws should be respected and followed under all circumstances, and they cannot be violated under the name of culture, religion, politics, or any other relativism theory. He also adds that cultural relativism is very dangerous for the effective application of international human rights since it basically links human rights to customs and traditions (Donnelly, 1984). If international human rights were connected and based on individuals' beliefs, this would defeat the whole purpose of having a unified universal law and would allow for people to justify the violations of human rights by their personal practices. Renteln (1985) discusses cultural relativism in relation to human rights; relativism is a huge hindrance to universal human rights. In most societies where there is relativism, for instance in Asia, there is often a gross violation of human rights. This conflict is one of the fears that universalists try to avoid because it makes it easier for societies to use the concept of cultural norms to justify their actions and culture is a changeable concept that differs from time to time. However, universal human rights should be stable and equal at all times. For these reasons, universalism is in conflict with relativism when it comes to international human rights law.

In a different field of thought, the theory of ethical relativism which includes the concept of cultural relativism is based on the idea that principles are valid in relation to cultures and personal beliefs. Relativists argue that what determines morals and basic principles are the different backgrounds and cultures: "What is considered morally right and wrong varies from society to society, so that there are no moral principles accepted by all societies; and a dependency thesis, which specifies that all moral principles derive their validity from cultural acceptance" (Audi, 1995, p. 790). They believe that nothing like universal truths and moral principles could be applied globally at all times even if there are core and basic principles that everyone agrees on universally. However, Donnelly (1984) talks about cultural relativists who believe that culture is the main source of validity of any moral rule or right; in addition, they believe that moral rules function within the limits of a moral community. Thus, the major concept and its core is that there are no universal morals or truths that can be enforced in each society because cultures, religions, and beliefs are the origins that construct morals and truths.

Unlike universalism, this theory is all about considering and respecting cultural beliefs and religions when making any decisions or creating any law. Renteln (1988) also discusses the concept of human rights by bringing up the argument that human rights never existed in ancient civilizations, and according to him, non-Western moral systems should not have universal rights. He adds that the discussion between universal laws and relativism is portrayed as a never-ending topic in the legal world, and the main issue of discussion is whether human rights are universal in their application and nature or whether they are relative to religious and cultural backgrounds (Renteln, 1988). Relativists do not agree that human rights were practiced in history, which for them indicates that they are not compatible with people's cultures and beliefs. For this reason, it is believed that human rights are standardized Western ideologies that are being enforced for all people and nations. As Nickel (2002) argues, human rights are viewed as a tool being used by the imperialists to dominate the world and they mask themselves behind this universal language called human rights; relativism asserts that values vary in a great deal depending on different cultural perspectives. This imposing of ideas is the main fear that relativists are concerned about- an universal language or law that could control and dominate other cultures. The core of the cultural relativism theory is the respect and protection of each cultural idea, norm, or belief. Having an universal law, for relativists, means that all our agreements and understanding will be united under the same concepts and definitions, which eliminates the idea of cultural diversity. Skinner (2009) discusses that in some cultures, for instance, human rights defenders and activists are branded as Western imperialists who are violating societal norms, and this limits the application of these universal fundamental rights. It is believed that human rights law is influenced by the Western ideologies, beliefs, and thoughts without having any consideration for other societies, which makes relativists concerned about which laws matter the most and whose laws apply.

Even though relativists believe that the source of morals, values, and truths stem from culture, they could face a huge challenge and dilemma because cultural norms and beliefs are not stable and change with time. Nickel (2002) discusses that the ideology perceives culture as something that is stable and cannot be changed, but culture is very dynamic and flexible; these aspect of culture provide a huge challenge for those who argue in favor of relativism. With all this in mind, they concluded by agreeing that there are no universal morals or truths that can be applied globally.

In regard to the dilemma of modern day slavery, applying these schools of thoughts is very challenging and complex. The universal truth that both universalists and relativists agree upon is that slavery is morally wrong and against any beliefs. However, when we talk about the gray area where it is hard to apply the definition of slavery because of the cultural practices that justify it, the two theories get into a deep disagreement. For universalists, it is hard to deal with the issue of modern day slavery without setting clear, solid definitions and laws that apply to everyone in every nation, but of course, this would contradict the concept of cultural relativism. In the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Article 4 states that, "No one should be held in slavery or servitude, slavery in all of its forms should be eliminated" (UN, 1948, art. 4). Everyone agrees on this principle because the concept of slavery in itself is perceived as immoral in every culture. However, universalists believe that allowing for cultural relativism to influence the laws in actuality creates the gray area of modern day slavery because certain cultures and nations will justify their abuse of human rights under the name of norms and beliefs. Donnelly (2007) analyzes the concept of universal laws and relativism in relation to human rights and he concludes that in many societies, social interactions are regulated by traditional norms, which could lead to the abuse of human rights.

In contrast, relativists argue that the underlying effects that cause this abuse of human rights are not related to the culture, religion, or beliefs, but to the wrong interpretations of them and to the exploitation of the cultural concepts. Polisi (2011) explores the practicability of cultural relativism as a tool of enhancing the marginalization and degradation of women in certain societies, and he concludes by highlighting human rights violations committed against women and a justification that they are not related to culture. Thus, the understanding of cultures would give a better perspective of the different practices and that insight should narrow and clear the gray area of conflict in regard to certain practices that are being described as modern day slavery. Nevertheless, universalists oppose this and say that since cultures and norms are changeable with time, it is hard to understand them or place laws based on them. Craig (2010) discusses another relativist view, which is the contribution of globalization and universalization to the development of different forms of modern day slavery and that they are the factors under this problem. The argument is that globalization and universalization are what opened the new doors for human trafficking and other human rights abuse issues so solving the problem by creating a universal law is not an adequate solution.

All in all, universal law and relativism have a dilemma when it comes to international protection of human rights. Skinner (2008) says that trafficking and slavery attracts a global attention and debate in different political, social, legal and educational circles, for he concludes by saying, to end this global slavery dilemma, there should be some objectiveness. This debate between the two different theories concerning the cultural pathways that lead to modern slavery raises many questions. For example, is there actually a real problem in regard to whose laws apply? Can we reach an objective agreement? Is the objectiveness of the human rights law questionable or is the law actually universal in its nature? Can cultural norms and beliefs justify the abuse of human rights? To reach a solid conclusion about these questions, we need to examine the current definitions and laws in regard to specific examples and situations of what is considered a gray area in modern day slavery. This would allow us to see if these definitions enforce new ideologies into some cultures or if the concept of culture is being used to justify these practices that abuse human rights. Finally, it would allow us to judge if universal human rights law is globally applicable to combat cultural pathways that lead to modern day slavery dilemmas.

Before answering any of these questions, we have to lay the foundation and agree on a set of current objective definitions. This objectiveness would make the process of analyzing and examining each of the issues easier and more understandable. This would be important in understanding how the cultural gray area of modern day slavery formed even if later in the discussion we might see that not every culture actually agrees on each of these definitions and relativists might support that.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), modern day slavery is considered to be:

> The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat

> or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation (UN, 2016b).

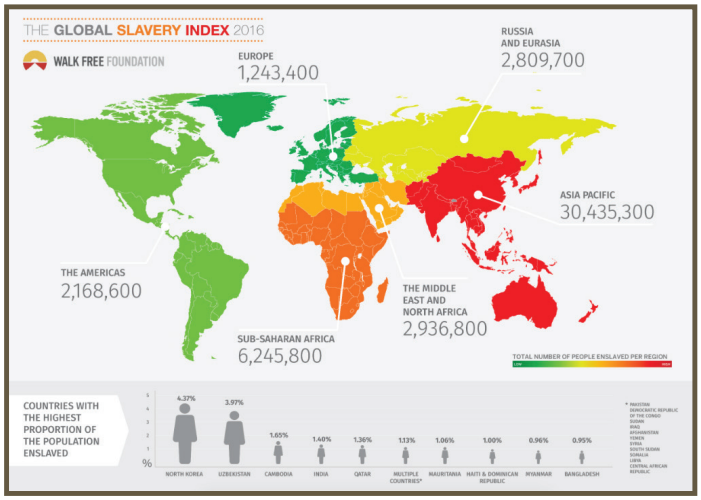
Committing any of these actions, no matter what the motive or justification, is would be considered a violation of Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that prohibits slavery, which the UNESCO defines as "an element of ownership or control over another's life, coercion and the restriction of movement and by the fact that someone is not free to leave or to change an employer"(UN, 2016b). To be very clear, the word "coercion" in the definition means "the practice of persuading someone to do something by using force or threats", and the word "free" is from the concept of freedom that means "the power or right to act, speak, or think as one wants without hindrance or restraint" (Oxford Dictionary, 2017a,b).

In a related matter to modern day slavery, understanding what or who is a child becomes very crucial because it intertwines with many cultural gray areas such as labour and marriage. Article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a child as: "A person below the age of 18, unless the laws of a particular country set the legal age for adulthood younger. The Committee on the Rights of the Child, the monitoring body for the convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below 18 and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18" (UN, 1989, art.1). Knowing the right age that defines a child matters in many ways when we come to the conversation about child labour, and child labour is actually defined as: work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development… In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age ("What is child labour", n.d.).

Marriage is also another concept that is interpreted differently depending on cultures, religions, or beliefs. To avoid any misunderstanding, I will utilize the United Nations' definition, which is "The act, ceremony or process by which the legal relationship of husband and wife is constituted. The legality of the union may be established by civil, religious or other means as recognized by the laws of each country" (UN, 2016a). In other definitions of marriage we see the word "consent" appears often; it is defined according to Oxford's Dictionary as, "The permission for something to happen or agreement to do something" (2017c). All these definitions face many different interpretations and manipulations to serve different actions and this controversy allows for the wrong justifications of certain practices.

With all this in mind, the legal world has witnessed a lot of discussion between universalism and relativism. Universal laws are rules which govern our conduct as human beings and they are considered to be most legitimate. They are also universal in application, translation and acceptance. On the other hand, relativism is a theory that asserts that human knowledge is relative to the nature of the mind and that ethical truths largely depend on the type of group and individuals holding them.

Using the objective definitions provided, this paper will be analyzing and examining a number of practices that are believed to be a type of modern day slavery to identify if universal human rights law is in its nature globally applicable, if there is any manipulation and exploitation of the concept of culture and religion, or if culture is an actual threat causing a pathway to slavery. This study will focus on some of the most controver-



Slavery impacts every region of the globe, but nowhere is the problem so acute as it is in the Asia-Pacific region. Source: https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/findings/

sial issues that have some gray area to them where drawing the line becomes hard and unclear. This will allow us to judge if it is acceptable to have a universal law or if cultural ideas and beliefs should be taken in consideration while creating the law. Establishing what the universal human rights laws entail and the complexity that arise from these laws will allow us to understand and clarify our upcoming studies.

Universal Human Rights Laws:

When referring to universal human rights laws, we are actually referencing "The International Bill of Human Rights [that] consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its two Optional Protocols" (UN, 1996). The base of all universal human rights is the concept that all human beings have one fundamental inherent basic right; "They set forth everyday rights such as the right to life, equality before the law, freedom of expression, the rights to work, social security and education. Together with the UDHR, the Covenants comprise the International Bill of Human Rights" (UN, "The Foundation", 1948). With time the treaties became more specific and focused to include and protect more rights "addressing concerns such as racial discrimination, torture, enforced disappearances, disabilities, and the rights of women, children, migrants, minorities, and indigenous peoples" (UN, "The Foundation", 1948). These basic rights are binding to all countries that ratified them. However, due to the concept of state sovereignty, there is no clear mechanism on how to enforce these laws by the international community. Yet the way these laws work in protecting our rights is by expecting those countries to respect the laws, fulfill the obligations that come with them, and to take actions to put these laws in effect.

Universal human rights laws were formed on the ground which assumes that we all think the same way and have the same beliefs, missing a fundamental and crucial element that we cannot ignore, which is cultural ideologies. As Renteln (1988) explains:

> The presupposition is that individuals stripped of their cultural and political heritage would be pure rational beings and would thus dutifully select liberal democratic principles of justice. The premise that individuals could negotiate for fundamental principles in the absence of culture is quite fantastic. And this is precisely the root of the problem: underlying the presumption of universality is the belief that all peoples think in a similar fashion (p. 349).

Cultures are patterns which are derived from certain beliefs that people practiced and embedded in their lives for generations until they became the norm for their societies. Cultural beliefs concept is considered the underlying factor for many different practices and ideologies in different cultures. This consent indicates that the current universal human rights laws are influenced by Western societies' practices and ideologies, which are culturally based; "Western philosophers in particular seem to be prone to projecting their moral categories on others. As a consequence, the presumption of universality is deeply ingrained in Western moral philosophy" (Renteln, 1988, p. 349). Western inspirations and influence had a predominant part in setting universal human rights laws and excluding other cultures. These laws were meant to include universal morals, ethics, and rights; however, this is not the case, and they actually tend to be more Western because "the Third World did not participate in great numbers when it was drafted"(Renteln, 1988, p. 351). Due to this exclusion, current laws now evolve around western values than any other societies:

> In an article entitled 'Human Rights: A Non-Western Viewpoint,' Sinha argues that the current formulation of human rights contains three elements which reflect Western values: One, the fundamental unit of society is the individual, not the family. Two, the primary basis for securing human existence in society is through rights, not duties. Three, the primary method of securing rights is through legalism where- under rights are claims and adjudicated upon, not reconciliation, repentance, or education (Renteln, 1985, p. 517).

The clarification of the contrasted beliefs and values within the laws creates a gray area and a major dilemma on whose laws should be applied. As humans and cultures we tend to believe that there is absolute morality and in all monotheistic religions, the concepts of good versus bad or right versus wrong actually exist. Nonetheless, we still do not agree on what is, in fact, right or wrong; what your culture or belief considers good or right, my culture or belief could consider bad or wrong even though we both agree that the two concepts of right and wrong exist. Thus, one view, Western, being enforced universally among all humans will face many challenges and backlashes. According to Ignatieff (2001), "Rights doctrines arouse powerful opposition because they challenge powerful religions, family structures, authoritarian states, and tribes… Thus universality cannot imply universal assent, since in a world of unequal power, the only propositions that the powerful and powerless

would agree on would be entirely toothless and anyone" (p. 109).

Child Labour:

Childhood is very treasured in all civilizations and cultures; we tend to protect it and give it considerable attention. However, in our current time it is threatened by the problem of child labour. "In India, [for example], the problem of child labour is quite alarming. It is said that roughly out of 5 children below the age of 14 years, one child is labourer which means 20 per cent children are labourer's." (Maurya, 2001, p. 493). As mentioned before, child labour in its extremes could also fall under the area of slavery because it involves depriving children of their basic needs and exploiting their vulnerability to receive payments or benefits. Even though most of the international community agree on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, we still see violations and abuse of the child worldwide without anyone's intervention, which makes it clear that there is still a loophole or an element missing in the universal laws that is preventing us from combating such practices.

In agrarian societies, child labour is not viewed as exploitive, but rather emblematic of positive cultural values. Source: https://fee.org/resources/child-labor-was-wiped-out-by-markets-not-government/

One of the factors that complicates this issue and makes it hard for us to approach is the actual age of a child. In most Western countries the legal age of a child is under 18, but in other countries the age of adulthood is below 18. Since we do not have a universal stable age of a child, we might consider a teen, who is recognized as an adult in some countries, a working child. The level of maturity that defines an adult differs in many cultures; for example, a 16 or 17-year-old person in Yemen is considered a full-grown person who can take full responsibility and work to provide for the family, unlike in Western countries. Another factor, in countries like India, China, Pakistan, or Yemen, it is the duty to help those who are elders and be part of the family business from a young age; "'In most agrarian societies, children's work is not only highly prized for its economic utility but as representing the highest ideals of the culture, viz. obedience, respect, or filial piety. Serving those above one in the domestic hierarchy of age statuses is conceptualized as moral duty, often as a sacred obligation'" (Renteln, 1988, p. 360). This cultural obligation could be misunderstood sometimes as a form of child labour, when in fact it is a cultural and religious belief in some societies. Moreover, in the most extreme situations letting and persuading children to work is a tool of survival. In such desperate circumstances, families resort to sending their children to work or the kids will fall into a deeper poverty and will not find any path of survival because the parents are not able to provide for them. Dutta states, "in a [country] like India … over 40% of the population is still living under the poverty line. Therefore, poverty may be identified as the chief cause that force children to work. It is [in fact] the financial backwardness of the parents that forced their children to work. In many poor families, children are treated as a source of income by their parents." (1987). This observation regarding poverty is very accurate due to the fact that we do not tend to see working children in rich and wealthy communities and these parents who choose to put their kids in to work believe that work will lead their children to provide them with a better future.

If the international community tried to combat this phenomenon of child labour with the current universal human rights laws, they could potentially worsen the situation since these laws do not take into account any of the actual motives that fuel the need for this practice. Moreover, under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is stated that, "The best interests of children must be the primary concern in making decisions that may affect them. All adults should do what is best for children. When adults make decisions, they should think about how their decisions will affect children" (UN, 1989, part.3). Parents who send their children to work refer to the same concept in the article of the convention, which attempts to protect children and justify their decision in sending their children to work. As we saw child labour is a necessary evil for many kids, but solely coming up with a law that bans it completely could actually cause more damage and backlash. According to Renteln (1988), "to say that A has the right to X, is to say that B has a duty to insure that A can, in fact, obtain X." (p. 344); this theory of rights and duties applies

to child labour and universal laws in the context that the Western ideas enforced in these laws assume that these working kids will, in fact, obtain their rights if they stopped working, without understanding that they might actually lose more rights or basic needs. However, child labour in most cases is defended under the idea of culture or survival, which makes it hard for universal human rights laws to combat. Universal laws do not tackle any cultural practices or beliefs, which allow for exploiters to justify all their violations under this umbrella of culture. To understand the practice of child labour better, we need to identify and classify it into different types if it is harming or preventing the development of the child, if the parents are receiving money in return for their kids' services, or if these kids desire to work or were they forced. Adding these elements of clarification and classification to the laws and making them relative to each situation would allow us as an international community to combat this practice of child labour without worsening the circumstances.

Child Brides:

The exploitation of a child could be in numerous different ways other than just labour; From the same problem of uncertainty, regarding the age of the child, many other serious issues are derived, such as child brides and forced marriages. These outrageous practices of underage and forced marriages intertwine greatly and could easily be hidden under the cultural or religious beliefs' category, especially since the act of marriage in most cases establishes its legality by religious means. As discussed before, these practices are rapidly increasing these days due to the refugee crisis and the unstable war zone regions causing huge international tension; "In 2003, the International Centre for Research on Women estimated that more than 51 million girls under 18 years were married and they expected the figure to rise to over 100 million within the next 10 years" (Thomas, 2009, p. 3). Such practices actually fall under the definition of slavery because parents put themselves in a position to make decisions for their children; their action would be classified under controlling of another venerable human being, which is part of the definition for slavery. In addition, "Forced and early marriage deprives women and young girls of their basic human rights", and this deprivation is a clear violation of international human rights laws (Thomas, 2009, p. 2).

Even though there are many strict laws to protect human rights and the child, there are loopholes that allow for such practices like child marriages to be widely performed, which implies that these laws are not appropriately formed. In many cultures the practice of child marriages is justified in many ways; for example, in some scenarios the child is in a place where marriage is a tool of survival just like the case with child labour. Poverty or instability would lead some parents to choose such decisions for their kids thinking it is better for them; "As refugees, Syrian families are reliant on dwindling resources and are lacking economic opportunities. At the same time, they are all too aware of the need to protect their daughters from the threat of sexual violence" (BBC news, 2016). In such harsh circumstances families resort to such practices to protect their young girls from severe poverty for instance, which complicates the issue of child brides for the international community to combat because it raises the dilemma of which rights are more valued to protect. Another justification for this act would be religious beliefs; "Many marriages in Uzbekistan are purely religious and not legally registered. This is, in part, because religious ceremonies allow for under-aged women to be married as well for polygamy" (Thomas, 2009, p. 13). In most Islamic cultures people refer to the underage marriage as an accepted practice under the name of the religion, but this argument has many sides to it and it is not as simple as it may seem. Muslims follow and refer to the holy book, which is the Quran, and the prophet Muhammad's, peace be upon him, orders in everything they do under the name of religion mixing what exactly were, in fact, religiously accepted acts with cultural practices that were accepted at the prophet's time and era. Historically, in Arab societies, the marriageable age was very young and it was accepted as a cultural norm; for this reason we see why the prophet, peace be upon him, married a young female in that era. However, religious extremists did not distinguish between what was a cultural norm at the time with what they consider a religious act approved by the prophet. Since Muslims also believe that the Quran and the prophet's orders are not a living document or texts, some do not try to understand or adapt to the change in culture, ignoring the fact that culture actually is a changeable concept. All of this misunderstanding and interpretation of old religious versus cultural practices makes it hard to combat this problem of child brides since some people genuinely believe that it is part of their beliefs. Furthermore, what people would use to justify the practice of underage marriages other than religion would be cultural beliefs such as in Uzbekistan; "As one Uzbek woman explained: 'My daughter is 16. My husband says that he is not going to give her in marriage before she is 20. ...[but] we won't succeed because

people are starting to criticize – how can you keep a girl home for so long? It's a terrible thing and then suddenly no one will propose. Here, the sooner she's out of your hands what comes later no longer worries us'" (Thomas, 2009, p. 9, comments in original). In this country the legal age of marriage is 17, but the people there have their own norms of marrying their girls at a young age. Applying an international law to such culture could cause more harm to its girls instead of protecting them. Thus, universal human rights laws should be written in a way that takes in consideration the consequences and cultural backlashes of their application.

In addition, in Yemen, for example, marriage is an outlet for many teen girls who are restricted from doing basic feminine practices, such as applying makeup, because they are considered just for married women to perform. In scenarios like this young girls willingly give consent to get married just so they can have other basic rights. However, this type of consent should not be valid or accepted since kids at a young age are not capable of giving a reliable consent that demonstrates their full understanding of all the obligations that come with it, and here the international community would be able to interfere. Underage marriage is protected and practiced under many cultural and religious beliefs, which complicates the stance against it, and it makes it hard to distinguish when it is indeed cultural practice or just exploitation of the circumstances and hiding it under the cultural umbrella. Thus, to combat this dilemma we need to differentiate between what is culture and what is exploitation of it, which makes the act falls under slavery. For instance, in the Muslim Middle Eastern and Christian North African countries there is a common practice, due to religious beliefs, that requires the husband to pay a certain amount of money to his future wife, which is called "Mahr" in Islam, "but in marriages between two adults …, it has less significance and is usually channeled through practical arrangements … In poor areas, however, where child marriage is most prevalent, the dowry becomes of great importance. It turns into a one-way transaction, a clear-cut payment" (Mikhail, 2002, p. 44). If we were able to understand how the religious practice actually applied, we will be able to point out easily

Abu Shouk: (left to right) Sisters Nana and Zakia Abdulrahman Mohamed Ahmed.Nana, 16 years old, got married when she was only 13 years old, and she had to stop going to the school. She is also working in the farms outside El Fasher, North Darfur, and she has no money to continue her studies. Zakia, 20 years old, was married in 2010, when she was only 17 years old. Her family arranged the marriage, but she never saw her husband until she got divorced due to the threats of her husband's second wife, currently living in Khartoum with him. She also works in farms outside El Fasher and she stays in her grandfather house. Photo by Albert González Farran, 13 December 2012. UNAMID

what could be slavery, and this distinction is going to help with combating the problem. Also, as discussed before, this type of marriage is considered a tool of survival and protection in many cases; "Analysts say early marriage is often carried out in refugee camps in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey by families trying to protect girls from poverty or sexual exploitation. Elsewhere, poor families might marry off their young daughters in exchange for dowries" (BBC, 2016). Even though in such scenarios child brides are tools to lift families of poverty, we cannot allow for such practices to become prevalent because it is clearly a form of slavery where there is exchange of a human being for money. When there is a clear-cut exchange of money and exploitation of the vulnerability of girls, the act must never be justified under any circumstances.

All in all, poverty might be a great underlying factor that leads people to exploit the cultural practice of underage marriage and turn it into a form of slavery. Therefore, combating poverty would be a better solution for these families than marrying their young children. Cheryl Thomas (2009) states, "While forced and early marriages are becoming increasingly less common among the wealthiest sectors of society in all regions of the world, they are most common still in Africa and South Asia, but also persist in certain areas of CEE/FSU and other parts of the world" (p. 3). Hence, we need to focus on educating and lifting these poor families from poverty to understand better where to eliminate such practice. Moreover, the age of a child must be taken in consideration when dealing with different cultures and societies.

Arranged and Forced Marriages:

For a marriage to be valid it needs to follow its definition which requires clear consent from both parties. To start the discussion about arranged and forced marriages we need to understand the different types of marriages first. There is a very thin line between arranged and forced marriages that requires greater attention in discussion. Penn (2011) states, "There are broadly two main types of marriage systems globally. The first are the 'love' marriages that dominate Western nations such as the United States and those in Europe. The second involves 'arranged' marriages. These are dominant in many parts of Asia and Africa" (p. 637). These two types are practiced worldwide and follow the definition of marriage, which makes them legitimate. Hence, we cannot be against one of them or classify arranged marriage as "wrong", especially since it is related to a certain cultural practice. However, we often confuse arranged marriages, which are acceptable, with forced marriages which fall under the definition of slavery. The difference between them is that arranged marriages "begin with a match-making process in which the spouses are chosen for one another by third parties to the marriage such as parents or elder relatives", but forced marriage is "a marriage in which at least one of the spouses, whether by reason of physical, emotional or psychological pressure, did not give consent to be married" (Enright, 2009, p. 331). As we see, there is a clear distinction in the definitions, but these two types of marriages intertwine and overlap, which complicates the problem when we try to identify and handle them separately. Unlike arranged marriages, forced ones fall directly under the concept of slavery since there is coercion, lack of consent, and a complete control over someone's life. Aptel (2016) asserts, "Forced marriage may amount to a form of slavery, when married children are subjected to conditions which meet the definitions of slavery and slavery like practices" (p. 316-317). Withal, this type of marriage is still prevalent in many parts of the world because people tend to wrongfully cover it under the concept of culture or sometimes religion. Therefore, we must be able to differentiate between what is culture or religion and what is exploitation of them because forced marriages must never be accepted and should be combated worldwide.

The concept of marriage has various sacred components to it which are different in each society and religion, and we should respect that without enforcing one universal type. Arranged marriages are, indeed, a respected type of marriage that is highly regarded in many cultures, but Westerners do not tend to recognize it as an acceptable type because it does not follow their way of marriage. According to Penn (2011) "[sociologists] have argued that relationships premised on notions of romantic love and mutual emotional support have come to typify the 'late modern world.' Such ideas represent an extension of earlier convergence theory with its emphasis on the spread of 'modern' values such as love, romance and independence…" (p. 637). If the universal laws are not accepting arranged marriages as a legitimate type of marriage, then we cannot say that these laws are universal in their nature and applying them universally would not be appropriate. Especially, when some cultures do not regard love marriages as a respected or strong based marriage; In addition, "Generally, love is considered a weak basis for marriage because its presence may overshadow suitable qualities in spous-

es. Therefore, arranged marriages result from more or less intense care given to the selection of suitable partners so that the family ideals, companionship, and co-parenthood can grow, leading to love" (Gupta, 1976, p. 77). Having different values and different views on a matter does not always make the act or the matter wrong. For, in order to appropriately enforce universal laws, we need to be more tolerant, understanding, and open for different cultural practices.

Some argue that forced marriage is accepted by some religions, so we cannot intervene to prevent the act; these accusations are not accurate, and those people are using the concept of religion to justify their acts. Let us examine the religion of Islam, for example, since many people associate the practice of forced marriage to it. Islam, like many religions, sanctifies the act of marriage and requires both spouses to consent and agree to it in order for the marriage to be valid, which makes it far from encouraging forced marriages. As Shaykh Ghisa (2005) says, "Islam regards marriage as a right of the individual and therefore others cannot make the decision for them. If a woman OR man is forced into marriage then the marriage would not be valid and would therefore need to be cancelled." The wrong association of this practice and Islam is very problematic because it makes the problem complicated to combat. It gives people the influence and perception that this act is approved and acceptable to practice by the name of the religion when in fact forced marriage is considered a sin in Islam. He adds, "one must also recognize that forced marriage is a problem occurring today and Islam condemns it to the highest degree. The issue of forced marriages is not one that is limited to some Muslims, but Hindus, Sikhs and other religions also acknowledge it as a problem" (Ghisa, 2005). Acknowledging that forced marriage is not approved by religion makes it easier to distinguish when marriage is done unlawfully and assures that it is appropriate for us to combat by setting universal laws against it without worrying that we are enforcing Western ideas on these cultures.

Male Guardianship:

In a country like Saudi Arabia, every woman, no matter what her age or social status is, has a male guardian who controls her life and must approve of almost all critical decisions before she can do anything. The male guardian could be her father, husband, brother, or son, which could be very humiliating. A report that was conducted in 2016 by Human Rights Watch (HRW) states: "Adult women must obtain permission from a male guardian to travel, marry, or exit prison. They may be required to provide guardian consent in order to work or access healthcare. Women regularly face difficulty conducting a range of transactions without a male relative, from renting an apartment to filing legal claims" (p. 1). This male guardian system falls greatly under what we call modern day slavery because there is the element of having control and ownership of someone else's life and in some cases restriction of movement and more. In many cases, these male guardians exploited the authority that was given to them to gain money in return, and this exploitation leads to modern day slavery. For example, "Guardians have conditioned their consent for women to work or to travel on her paying him large sums of money" (HRW, 2016, p. 1-2). When women are put in such a controlled position, the door opens for those male guardians to benefit from this vulnerability. Moreover, for some males with this much power over someone else, they could exceed the limits of power and take the exploitation to new extremes.

Saudi Arabia ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which claims "the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal rights of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights…" (UN, 1988, p. 1). With these obligations it means that Saudi Arabia is in violation of the Convention because the practice of male guardianship violates major human rights laws especially those of equality and human dignity. In the CEDAW, it is noted " that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women…" (UN, 1988, p. 1). It is clear that the male guardianship system discriminates against women and there is no equality between the two genders at all. It gives more power and authority to men, so they can have women under their control; this system also entails all parts of what we call "discrimination against women." In Article 1 of the Convention, "the term 'discrimination against women' shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex …" (UN, 1988, p. 2). With this Convention and all these restrictions and laws, we still see this system of the male guardianship practiced and prevalent; hence, what is the reason behind it and why can we not combat it?

For many Muslims and Islamic countries the idea of the male guardian tends to be exploited and justified under the name of the religion, where the text

gets interpreted differently according to whomever is interpreting it and what kind of ideologies they believe in; "Islamic scholars who support the imposition of male guardianship do so based on an ambiguous verse in the Quran. The verse states, 'Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has given the one more [strength] than the other, and because they support them from their means' (Quran 4:34)" (HRW, 2016, p. 13).The Quranic verse is not a clear verse, for it was explained and interpreted in different ways. Those Wahhabi, the most restrictive, religious extremist, always advocate to restrict women's rights, and their opinions are rarely challenged because of the male dominant society in Saudi Arabia. These misinterpretations lead people to believe that this practice is indeed a religious act, which make many Muslims defend and protect it. However, "Islamic legal experts have argued that male guardianship as interpreted by Saudi Arabia misinterprets fundamental Quranic precepts and that male scholars have elevated guardianship over Quranic concepts like equality and respect between the sexes" (HRW, 2016, p. 13). Islam is a religion that promotes equality in numerous ways, so it is hard to understand and believe that it would promote such a system. If it was, in fact, religious and the interpretations accurate, why do we not see this system prevalent in other Islamic countries? Why is it just practiced as a religious concept in Saudi Arabia? Simply, the reason is that this system is not Islamic; "Religious scholars also challenge the interpretation, including a former Saudi judge who told Human Rights Watch that the country's imposition of guardianship is not required by Sharia…" (HRW, 2016, p. 5). The Quranic verse refers to extreme situations when a female needs protection and it becomes mandatory for the male to be there for her and protect her, but that does not imply that the male is in a higher place than the female. Human Rights Watch also interviewed professors, Islamic feminists and a former Saudi judge who explained:

> According to the Sharia, there is no need for any guardian [for women], except when she travels in a risky situation… All the Sharia schools consider that women after adulthood … should be considered as an independent human being … royal orders and ministry orders talking about the permission of the guardian against the women … aren't rooted in Sharia law (HRW, 2016, p. 14).

The extreme misinterpretation of the verse allows for this system to be a clear type of modern day slavery, and we must combat it regardless of all the religious or cultural concepts that people try to exploit. The international community needs to cooperate with moderates to understand when religion is being used to justify outrageous practices that are not religious in their nature. When these societies see that we respect and understand the concept of the male guardian in its accurate and religious context, they will appreciate our understanding and work with us to eliminate and combat the exploitive system. Universal laws should have room for moderate interpretation of religious texts that involve political policies in them; thus, everyone abides by these moderate interpretations, and we avoid falling in the gray area of modern day slavery by exploiting religions.

Sponsorship System:

The Kafala or sponsorship system has a similar dichotomy to it, so it could look as if it is a cultural accepted practice or the norm in some societies, when in reality it is pure political exploitation that is covered under the idea of protecting identities. This sponsorship system is prevalent in a variety of forms, but its extreme appears mostly within the GCC countries. For example, "In Kuwait, migrant workers receive an entry visa and a residence permit only if a GCC citizen or a GCC institution employs them. The employer is also their sponsor. Sponsorship (kafala) requires the sponsor-employer (kafeel) to assume full economic and legal responsibility for the employee during the contract period" (Longva, 1999, p. 20). Workers under such system are required to stay with the same sponsor for the whole duration of their time in the country, and in many cases they must solely work with their sponsor either if it is an individual or an institution. This system violates many international laws and conventions because of the way these workers are treated under the system; according to the Global Slavery Index (GSI) (2016):

> Workers facing conditions that may amount to those of slavery. These include work performed under the threat of penalty or deportation, deprivation of food, inadequate accommodation with limited or no privacy, physical confinement in the work location or labour camp severely restricting freedom of movement, misrepresentation and substitution of types and terms of work, confiscation of identity documents, non-payment, withholding and/or deductions from pay, and unsafe working conditions in extremely high temperatures. (p. 13 5)

As we see, being involved in this system might cause degrading treatment of workers, and this type of treatment is a violation and against what is stated in Article 10 of the International Convention on the

Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families which states that there should be no inhumane treatment for any migrant worker (1990). In addition, this convention states in its Article 11 that compulsory labour should not be performed on migrant workers, which makes the sponsorship system unacceptable (UN, 1990, p. 5). With all this in mind, the sponsorship system falls under the definition and concept of slavery simply because there is control over another person's life, a sense of ownership, and restriction over movement especially among employers. Longva (1999) mentions that, "structural dependence is aggravated by a practice that constrains migrants' freedom of movement. Throughout the GCC, expatriate workers are required to surrender their passports to their employers. The documents remain in the employer's possession as long as the workers are in the country" (p. 21). Most expatriate workers in the GCC countries who are under the sponsorship system are under the new form of slavery. Even though this practice is purely exploitive and a type of slavery, it is practiced widely within some regions. To understand why and how this system is being practiced, we need to understand how it is being justified, so we can combat it appropriately.

Just like the other practices of modern day slavery, people tend to justify the sponsorship system under the umbrella of cultural norms in regions such as the GCC countries. Arabs from that region perceive themselves in a higher social structure and status than any other Arabs or foreigners. Thus, they wanted to protect their societies from being equal to others or mixed with other races and solve the unbalanced population problem by putting such a system of the sponsorship in place. With time and many years of practicing the system, it was believed that it is part of the cultural norms, and people started defending it and making it hard to combat as a type of slavery. However, the actual underlying factor of such practice is purely political, which should not be accepted and must be combated; "The GCC states are unique because of the skewed character of their demographic profile: Expatriate workers make up more than 50 percent of the total population in Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE, and more than 25 percent of the populations of Bahrain, Oman and Saudi Arabia" (Longva, 1999, p. 20). These unbalanced populations, which make indigenous people minorities in their own countries, put their governments in deep concern and lead them to create strict rules regarding all other foreigners. This political idea developed to become a problem of ethno-nationalism that is now embedded in these societies. When a concept like ethno-nationalism is prevalent in certain societies, people start to believe in the idea over time and think that is is part of their culture so they start protecting it under the name of culture, rather than understanding the root of it, which is political in such cases.

As we may think the sponsorship system is more clear cut than the other practices due to its political ground, it in fact has a gray area to it. In some cases we see migrant workers willingly enter countries with the sponsorship system knowing that they will be trapped in it. This acceptance of the facts makes it hard to say if it is slavery at this point, especially since these workers chose to give up their rights for different gains. For example, "In Dubai, expatriates willingly give up political rights such as free speech and due process, and they live precariously on short-term visas that can be revoked at any time for any reason. In exchange, they earn tax-free wages as 'economic mercenaries,' fully aware that they are there solely to work" (Ali, 2010, p. 27). When people willingly accept this kind of treatment and join the system, it is hard to say that there is controlling of someone else's life or restriction of their movement since they agreed to it. This kind of situation demonstrates the gray area of the system, but it never justifies that the system in itself is a type of modern day slavery. If someone willingly put himself in such an exploitative system and gave consent to be part of it, that does not mean that their willingness or consent was not influenced by harsher circumstances. Therefore, this sponsorship system remains under the concept of modern day slavery and should be combated.

Even though there are universal laws that protect migrant workers, we still see that the sponsorship system violates them repeatedly through different means. In the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Article 1 it is stated that, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UN, 1966). Under the sponsorship system it is very clear that migrant workers are deprived of their right to freely determine or pursue what they want or need; therefore, we need to recognize this system as a form of slavery and combat it directly, especially because of its purely political ground. Understanding the real underlying factors behind certain practices reveals what is actually culture and what is hidden under it without any connections to cultural practices or beliefs.

Conclusion:

According to the 2016 Global Slavery Index, it is estimated that there are 45.8 million people currently trapped in modern slavery (p. 8). As it can be seen, many of these incidents are derived from what people think or believe are cultural or religious practices. However, in reality, there are different underlying factors such as poverty or personal interest that play the major role in fueling such practices and exposing the concept of culture and religion to exploitation. We see these outrageous practices hidden under the umbrella of beliefs which makes it hard to target and combat with the universal human rights laws and to function appropriately without stepping on others' cultures. Additionally, having universal laws without considering the cultural or religious factor is not appropriate or ethical. Ignatieff (2001) says, "Human rights do not, and should not, delegitimize traditional culture as a whole" (p. 110). If we excluded the element of culture or if we did not have room to understand the different cultural and religious practices, we could worsen the situation in some cases, especially if poverty was the underlying factor. In addition, it could be seen as enforcing Western ideologies on other cultures; as Renteln (1988) argues in regard to unified laws, "the ethnocentric assumption in the literature leads to a narrow-minded solution which is not only unworkable, but which is also undeniably, a form of cultural imperialism" (p. 360). If people engage in certain practices believing that they are cultural or religious related acts, then we need to use the same ideologies to clarify to what extent these practices are related to their culture, or if these practices are, in fact, part of their culture or not. He adds,

> Sinha attacks the single catalogue approach because it does not take into account cultural variability. He advocates an approach which is cultural based…Sinha prefers to let societies devise their own means of paying homage to human rights standards. But while his theory is cultural sensitive, it cannot provide any universals. Hence it is no longer a theory of human rights but rather a theory of cultural rights (Renteln, 1988, p. 351).

Even though we need to consider different elements in our universal laws such as cultural practices, as Sinha argues, we cannot completely agree with him and ignore the fact that in many cases people use the concept of culture to justify their acts and that culture changes with time, which demonstrates the need for universal laws. Moreover, we need to examine the actual underlying factors that lead to such practices and classify and show the limitations of the acts, so we can combat the dilemma easier without worsening the situations. We also need to cooperate with religious moderates to understand the actual moderate interpretation of the texts, since they too are against slavery;" leaders of the world's largest faiths came together to declare their common humanitarian commitment to eradicate modern slavery" (GSI, 2016, p. 86). Many believe that "a key way to combat these crimes is for religious leaders to encourage their followers to support the abolition of exploitative practices" (GSI, 2016, p. 86). Understanding what is indeed religion or culture and what is exploitation of them is needed when forming universal laws, so we do not impose laws that contradict with legitimate cultural and religious practices.

With all this in mind, the legal world has witnessed a lot of discussion between universalism and relativism. Relativism is a theory which asserts that human knowledge is relative to the nature of the mind. Also, that ethical truths largely depend on the type of group and individuals holding them. In contrast, universal laws are rules which govern our conduct as human beings and they are considered to be the most legitimate. They are also universal in application, translation and acceptance. In all the cases examined it is evident that cultural relativism could hinder international laws in combating such practices by creating a gray area and allowing for exploiters to use the concept of culture or religion to cover for their acts. Additionally, universal laws ignore the legitimate cultural practices and distort them with other outrageous acts under the umbrella of modern slavery. These laws tend to use Western ideologies to identify and combat the problem, which worsens the situations in most cases because there is lack of understanding of other cultures' practices. Many pieces of literature have been written, either in favor of universalism or relativism. However, this research does not advocate for either one or the other, but stresses that a combination of both is needed when forming the universal human rights laws, so they can be appropriate to apply globally. A holistic approach geared towards considering different aspects and elements, such as countries' legitimate cultural practices, moderate interpretation of religious texts and practices, and understanding the actual underlying factors behind each practice is needed in order to appropriately combat the cultural pathways that lead to modern day slavery.

References

Ali, S. (2010). Permanent impermanence. Contexts, 9(2), 26-31. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/41960104

Aptel, C. (2016). Child slaves and child brides. Journal of International Criminal Justice, 14(2), 305-325.

Audi, R. (1995). The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Print.

BBC News. (2016). Migrant child brides put Europe in a spin. BBC News. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37518289

Craig, G. (Ed.). (2010). Child slavery now: A contemporary reader. Policy Press at the University of Bristol. Web.

Daum, W. (2001). Universalism and the West: An Agenda for Understanding. Harvard International Review, 23(2), 19-23.

Donnelly, J. (1984). Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights. Human Rights Quarterly, 6(4), 400-419. doi:1.

Donnelly, J. (2007). The Relative Universality of Human Rights. Human Rights Quarterly, 29(2), 281-306.

Dutta, D. (1987). Child Labour in India. Retrived from http://aygrt.isrj.org/colorarticles/3901.pdf

Enright, M. (2009). Choice, Culture and the Politics of Belonging: The Emerging Law of Forced and Arranged Marriage. The Modern Law Review, 72(3), 331-359. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/20533254

Ghisa, M. (2005). What Does Islam Say About Forced/Arranged/Love/ Secret Marriages? Retrieved from http://www.therevival.co.uk/forced-arranged-love-secret-marriages

Global Slavery Index. (2016).Walk Free Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.globalslaveryindex.org

Gupta, G. (1976). Love, Arranged Marriage, and the Indian Social Structure. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 7(1), 75-85. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/41600938

Human Rights Watch. (2016), Boxed In Women and Saudi Arabia's Male Guardianship System. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/07/16/boxed/women-and-saudi-arabias-male-guardianship-system

Ignatieff, M. (2001). The Attack on Human Rights. Foreign Affairs, 80(6), 102-116. doi:1. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/20050331

Longva, A. (1999). Keeping Migrant Workers in Check: The Kafala System in the Gulf. Middle East Report, (211), 20-22. doi:1. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/3013330

Maurya, O. (2001). Child Labour in India. Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, 36(4), 492-498. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/27767746

Mikhail, S. (2002). Child marriage and child prostitution: Two forms of sexual exploitation. Gender & Development, 10(1), 43-49.

Nickel, J. (2002). Is today's international human rights system a global governance regime?. The Journal of Ethics, 6(4), 353-371.

Oxford Dictionaries. (2017a) . Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/coercion

Oxford Dictionaries. (2017b) . Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/freedom

Oxford Dictionaries. (2017c) . Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/consent

Penn, R. (2011). Arranged Marriages in Western Europe: Media Representations and Social Reality. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 42(5), 637-650. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/41604476

Polisi, C. E. (2004). Universal Rights and Cultural Relativism Hinduism and Islam. Deconstructed. World Affairs, 167(1), 41-46.

Renteln, A. (1985). The Unanswered Challenge of Relativism and the Consequences for Human Rights. Human Rights Quarterly, 7(4), 514-540. doi:1. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/762152

Renteln, A. (1988). The Concept of Human Rights. Anthropos, 83(4/6), 343-364. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.proxy.library.cpp.edu/stable/40463371

Skinner, E. (2008). A World Enslaved. Foreign Policy, (165), 62-67.

Skinner, E. (2009). The Fight to End Global Slavery. World Policy Journal, 26(2), 33-41.

The United Nations. (1948). The Foundation of International Human Rights Law. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FactSheet2Rev.1en.pdf

The United Nations. (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The United Nations. (1966). International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx

The United Nations. (1988). Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Treaty Series, 1249, 13. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf

The United Nations. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. Treaty Series, 1577, 3.

The United Nations. (1990). International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. Human Rights Office of The High Commissioner. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CMW.aspx

The United Nations. (1996). The International Bill of Human Rights. Fact Sheet No. 2 (Rev.1).

The United Nations. (2016a). Marriage and divorce. United Nations Statistics Division - Demographic and Social Statistics.

The United Nations. (2016b). Modern Forms of Slavery. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/slave-route/modern-forms-of-slavery/

Thomas, C. (2009). Forced and Early Marriage: a Focus on Central and Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union Countries With Selected Laws From Other Countries. The United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

"What is child labour". (n.d.). International Labour Organization. International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour. Retrieved from http://ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm

Zechenter, E. (1997). In the Name of Culture: Cultural Relativism and the Abuse of the Individual. Journal of Anthropological Research, 53(3), 319-347.

Worldwide, 45.8 million people live in slavery. The nations with the highest number of slaves by proportion of their population are North Korea, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, India, and Qatar, but the countries with the highest absolute numbers of people living in modern slavery are India, China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Uzbekistan Source: https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/findings/

Sumaya Bamakhrama

Sumaya Salah Bamakhrama is an international student from Saudi Arabia, who is a fourth year Political Science major with an emphasis in International Relations. Her expected graduation date is December 2017. She intends to attend law school for international law to pursue a career as a human rights lawyer with the United Nations.

Email: sumaya.bamakhrama@gmail.com