



Unlocking Women's Economic Rights through Family Law Reform: Lessons from Case Studies across Five Regions

Hyshyama Hamin**, Julia Braunmiller*, Antonia Kirkland**

This Policy Brief draws on case studies from Chile, Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, and Nepal to show the impact of family law on women's economic opportunities. The Brief finds that family law reforms are key to expanding women's access to property and economic decision making, yet progress is constrained by discriminatory social, religious, and cultural norms. Women's rights groups are pivotal in advancing reforms, but patriarchal and religious barriers impede effective implementation. The Brief calls for sustained global partnerships and international support to promote legal equality within families, highlighting its importance for achieving gender equality and inclusive economic growth.

Removing legal, social, and economic barriers is urgent for achieving gender equality, sustainable development, and economic growth

Equality in family law is a human rights obligation under international frameworks, and the Brief "Changing Laws, Changing Lives: Family Law Reform as a Catalyst for Economic Prosperity" published in this series has shown how over 50 years, legal reforms providing equal rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance, and decision-making about household matters enabled more than 600 million women to access better economic opportunities (Behr and Braunmiller 2025). Since the 1970s, the number of economies with national-level equal family laws has risen from 37 to 85, however, the pace of reforms has slowed, as the remaining disparities—particularly in women's inheritance and marital property rights—are resistant to reform due to deep-rooted social, religious, and cultural norms. This subsequent Brief explores factors that influence women's economic rights and empowerment, drawing practical lessons and evidence—based on stakeholder interviews—from legal reforms undertaken across diverse regions.

Reforms boost economies, while discriminatory family laws limit women's opportunities

The laws on marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship,

child custody, and marital property are shaped by historical legacies, colonial influences, religion, and social dynamics. Spousal obedience rules and restrictions on women's legal capacity in areas such as employment, travel, and asset management restrict women's economic opportunities. For example, according to Women, Business and the Law 2026 data, 22 economies globally do not grant women equal rights over immovable property and 43 economies do not grant equal inheritance rights to male and female surviving spouses (World Bank 2026).

Lifting legal restrictions can:

- (1) increase women's bargaining and decision-making position within the household;
- (2) provide women with control over economic and financial resources; and
- (3) lead to shifts in societal perceptions and social norms that support women's access to employment and entrepreneurship (Behr and Braunmiller 2025).

This Brief looks at reforms (and their impact) in five countries—Chile, Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, and Nepal—where changes strengthened women's economic rights, showcasing a variety of geographical, social, legal, religious, and political contexts and drawing on reliable accounts from experts, including local judges and women's rights advocates.

Whether codified in religious family laws (as in Malaysia and Morocco) or in civil laws (as in Chile, Nepal, and

***Affiliations:** *World Bank, Development Economics, Women, Business and the Law; **Equality Now and Global Campaign for Equality in Family Law. For correspondence: jbraunmiller@worldbank.org; hhamin@equalitynow.org; akirkland@equalitynow.org.

Acknowledgements: This Brief would not be possible without the generous expert contributions of Camila Maturana from Humanas Chile; Justice Nancy Baraza, Hon. Jacqueline Ingutiah, and Advocate Nyokabi Njogu from Kenya; Upasana Rana, Rajin Rayamajhi, and Gyanu BC of Women for Human Rights–Nepal; Sabin Shrestha and Binu Lama of Forum for Women and Law (FWLD)–Nepal; Nehza Belkachla of the Democratic Association of Moroccan Women (ADFM); the team at SIS-Forum - Malaysia; our colleagues Bárbara Jiménez-Santiago, Deborah Nyokabi, and Naglaa Sarhan at Equality Now; and Daniela Behr from Women, Business and the Law. The team would also like to thank Nisha Arekapudi and Zainah Anwar for valuable comments and suggestions, and Norman Loayza, Tea Trumbic, and David Francis for valuable comments and guidance during the publication process. Nancy Morrison provided editorial assistance. All errors remain our own.

Objective and disclaimer: This series of Policy Indicators Briefs synthesizes existing research and data to shed light on a useful and interesting question for policy debate. This Brief carries the names of the authors and should be cited accordingly. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank Group, its Executive Directors, or the governments they represent. All Briefs in the series can be accessed via: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/research/brief/policy-indicators-briefs-series>.

Kenya), women’s property rights are usually tied to their marital status and conditions of divorce. Four countries examined in this Brief maintain some form of gender inequality in inheritance rights: in Morocco and Nepal these restrictions affect most women, while in Kenya and Malaysia they apply to specific religious groups. Gaps between law and practice also persist, as women continue to face legal battles for recognition of unpaid care and other nonmonetary contributions, despite legal provisions guaranteeing their rights (Table 1).

Egalitarian family law reform “may be the most crucial precondition for empowering women economically” (Htun et al. 2019). For example, in Kenya, a study showed that the reform of the Law of Succession is linked to women’s greater bargaining power within the household, higher educational attainment, improved prenatal and delivery care, reduced likelihood of female genital mutilation, and delayed marriage and childbearing (Harari 2016). In Nepal, legal reforms have provided widows with access to marital assets, helping them support themselves and their families financially.

“Many women, particularly in rural areas, who have lost their husbands or are divorced are in financially precarious situations. Obtaining a share of marital property enables them to invest in income generating opportunities, educate their children, and even obtain further education themselves to better their lives.” Gyanu BC, a Nepali women’s rights advocate.

Some commonalities emerge in the reform processes across the diverse countries featured in this Brief. First, women’s rights groups play a pivotal role in driving reforms. Second, family laws and practices based on religion and culture remain the most challenging to reform. And third,

patriarchal norms hinder effective implementation of laws.

Women’s rights groups play a pivotal role in driving reforms

Family law reform advances when grounded in evidence and research, and notably through sustained advocacy by women’s rights groups (Behr et al. 2024). Cases from Chile, Kenya, Morocco, and Nepal highlight these groups’ effective tactics: invoking constitutional provisions, pursuing strategic litigation, and aligning with regional and international standards.

Civil society groups continue to push for reform of the marital property regime in Chile

The default regime under Chile’s Civil Code mandates that the husband is the sole owner and administrator of marital property as the head of household, including the wife’s property, with a few exceptions (for example, selling real estate requires her authorization). These restrictions constrain Chilean women’s agency in household financial decisions.

An illustrative case is that of Sonia Arce, a Chilean mother of two children. When she lost her parents in 1994, Sonia and her siblings inherited their properties. Nevertheless, she needed her husband’s signature to sell her property despite being estranged from him for more than 10 years. By contrast, men in Chile can sell their inheritances without spousal consent (Estrada 2007). Since the 1990s, multiple legislative proposals have sought to reform the marital partnership regime. In 2001, Sonia, represented by Corporación Humanas and the Center for Justice and

Table 1 Pathways to women’s economic rights through family law reform across five regions

Country	Key Reforms Achieved	Key Gaps Remaining
Chile	Ongoing civil society pressure to reform marital property regime; Inter-American Commission on Human Rights found Civil Code provisions contrary to Chile’s international legal obligations.	Default marital property regime still grants husbands (legally presumed to be heads of household) sole administration of shared assets.
Kenya	Matrimonial Property Act of 2013 grants women individual land rights and formally recognizes nonmonetary contributions (e.g., domestic work, childcare) to marital assets. Law of Succession Act of 1981 equalized daughters’ inheritance rights.	Different family laws apply based on religion and custom. Since a 1990 amendment, Muslim women are entitled to only half the inheritance share of male relatives. Burden of proof falls on women to document non-monetary contributions in divorce proceedings; judicial discretion hinders equitable distribution of assets.
Malaysia	Amendments to Law Reform (Marriage and Divorce) Act in 1976 and Distribution Act in 1999 gave equal property and inheritance rights to non-Muslim women. Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) Act (IFLA) of 1984 recognizes nonmonetary contributions to marital assets.	According to Islamic personal status laws, daughters are entitled to only half the inheritance share of sons. IFLA amendments regressed protections for Muslim women, e.g. allowing polygamous husbands to claim marital assets from existing wives.
Morocco	Landmark family law reform in 2004 improved women’s marital, divorce, and custody rights. Government reform efforts underway since 2015.	Government-initiated reform proposal to improve women’s inheritance rights to the family home was rejected by the high council of religious scholars in 2024.
Nepal	Strong civil society advocacy for women’s property rights in the 1990s prompted gradual amendments to the civil code since 2002, with setback for women’s inheritance rights in 2017. Supreme Court ruling of May 5, 2026, struck down a discriminatory provision requiring widows to return inherited property upon remarriage.	Full implementation and enforcement of the ruling remains to be seen; inheritance equality not yet codified.

International Law (CEJIL), brought a case before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) on the basis that the discriminatory marriage regime is contrary to Chile’s international legal obligations. It led to a 2007 Friendly Settlement Agreement in which Chile committed to address the discriminatory provisions; however, they remain on the books (Maturana 2024). A critical opportunity to advance legal reform was missed when same-sex marriage was legalized in 2021 and exempted different-sex couples from unequal property control under the Civil Code. Women’s rights groups continue to press for equal ownership and control of marital assets for all spouses.

Strategic civil society litigation has advanced matrimonial property rights in Kenya

Former Deputy Chief Justice Nancy Makokha Baraza credits Kenyan women’s rights groups, especially the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and leading advocates, for advancing women’s rights through strategic litigation, public awareness campaigns, and engagement with ministries. The adoption of the Matrimonial Property Act of 2013—which allows a woman to purchase and register land individually and to inherit land from her parents and also recognizes a wife’s nonfinancial contributions, such as domestic work, childcare, and farm outputs—was largely a result of these efforts.

“[Before the laws were changed,...] women advocates, including myself and others, represented many women to take cases to court as these women were being excluded from accessing property and exercising autonomy even on their own property. Court action was a key strategy to push for change.” Nancy Makokha Baraza, Former Deputy Chief Justice of Kenya.

Moroccan civil society advocacy drives progress in an ongoing struggle for family law reform

Two decades of sustained mobilization by Moroccan women’s groups prompted King Mohammed VI to establish a reform commission in 2001 to address the country’s 1958 family law (“Moudawana”). In 2004, the King brought in a series of legislative reforms in response to growing anti-fundamentalist sentiments. These long-awaited reforms, despite conservative opposition in a Muslim-majority country, also expanded women’s rights in marriage and family life, allowing a woman to be head of household, removing the marital obedience provision, raising the minimum age of marriage, granting women autonomy to enter into marriage, increasing rights to divorce and child custody (albeit with conditions), and restricting polygamy through safeguards for women (such as requiring written consent from the existing wife). The law now recognizes marriage as a “partnership of equals,” outlining mutual rights and duties and shared responsibilities between spouses.

Daughters’ and widows’ property rights have emerged as a cornerstone issue of the Nepali women’s movement

Nepal’s 1975 Civil Code (“Muluki Ain”) allowed unmarried daughters to inherit parental property but required them to be older than 35 and return it to their brothers upon marriage. In the early 1990s, women’s rights advocates challenged these rules before the Supreme Court, which initially declined to strike down the clause. Thereafter, organizations such as the Forum for Women, Law and

Development (FWLD) argued that inheritance provisions violated the Constitution and international legal obligations under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), prompting nationwide debates (FWLD 2002).

Civil society advocacy was equally central to advancing widowhood rights in Nepal following the decade-long civil war of the mid-1990s, which left thousands of women widowed (Dairam 2023). In 2004, Lily Thapa, the founder of Women for Human Rights (WHR) brought a case before the court (*No. 34 of 2004 Lily Thapa vs The Prime Minister’s Office*) that prompted voiding the rule requiring widows to return marital property to the deceased husband’s family if they remarried (National Judicial Academy Nepal 2020). Legal amendments to the Muluki Ain in 2002, 2006, and 2015 gradually granted women inheritance rights to movable and immovable property regardless of marital status (Government of Nepal 2006). Yet, Nepal’s new 2017 Civil Code reintroduced discriminatory provisions requiring a widow to return inherited property upon remarriage and negating a wife’s claim to marital property in fault-based divorces initiated by the husband. On May 5, 2026, a public interest litigation filed by Lily Thapa and others brought a landmark ruling: the Supreme Court struck down the Civil Code rule as unconstitutional, affirming that a widow’s inherited property is hers to keep regardless of whether she remarries (The Himalayan 2026).

Family laws and practices based on religion and culture remain the most challenging to reform

In Kenya, Malaysia, and Morocco, reforms of discriminatory family laws are frequently slowed by conservative groups that ground their arguments in cultural or religious justifications.

Kenya’s reform to advance women’s economic rights is constrained by religious exceptions

Kenya’s pluralistic legal system applies different family laws based on religion and custom. While the Constitution guarantees equality and equal rights in marriage, it allows special courts, called Kadhis’ courts, to handle cases involving marriage, divorce, and inheritance for Muslims, applying Islamic family law. Although the 1981 Law of Succession Act initially equalized inheritance rights for daughters and sons irrespective of religious affiliation, an amendment to the Act in 1990 exempted Muslims, and subjected them to the rule prevailing before 1981, which grants daughters only half the share of their brothers’ entitlement. Inheritance reforms in Kenya have improved children’s health outcomes among non-Muslim women as a result of greater bargaining power and access to resources, while children of Muslim women with limited inheritance rights have fared worse (Ajefu et al. 2024). Yet arguments underlining freedom of religion and belief are often brought forward to continue denying equal inheritance rights for Muslim women in Kenya.

In Malaysia, parallel legal frameworks prevent access to equal inheritance rights for Muslim-majority communities

Several amendments in Malaysia to eliminate discriminatory legal provisions have been introduced since the 1970s. The

Law Reform (Marriage and Divorce) Act was amended in 1976 to abolish all forms of discrimination against non-Muslim women, including by banning polygamy and guaranteeing equal rights in marriage and divorce. The Distribution Act was amended in 1999 to mandate equal inheritance rights for widows and widowers. However, these amendments do not apply to Muslim women. Between 1983 and 1987, new Islamic personal status laws were enacted across the 13 states and three federal territories, to be enforced by state-level “Syariah Courts” – Islamic courts with jurisdiction exclusively over Muslims – governing such matters as succession, marriage, divorce, dowries, and maintenance. Unequal provisions for Muslim women remain, including with respect to Islamic law on inheritance (“Faraid”), wherein daughters are entitled to only half of the share given to sons (Musawah 2022).

In Morocco, discriminatory inheritance rights persist in the family code

An otherwise progressive reform of Morocco’s personal status / family law “Moudawana” in 2004 maintained unequal inheritance rights for women. In 2015, the National Council for Human Rights urged further reforms and in new attempts to increase women’s access to property, in September 2023, all relevant ministries formed a government committee in coordination with the High Council of Ulema (religious scholars). With active input from women’s rights groups like the Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM) and following six months of multistakeholder consultations, the Committee submitted a report with 100 proposed changes, of which 83 were approved by the King and 17 sent to the Ulema Council for a legal opinion. The review committee recommended abolishing the discriminatory provision that a family home is automatically inherited by male relatives in the event the heirs are only daughters (“ta’sib system”). However, the Ulema Council rejected this reform.

Patriarchal norms and lack of awareness hinder effective implementation of laws

Even where reforms are in place, entrenched patriarchal norms continue to constrain women’s ability to exercise their rights. Women’s rights advocates report that cultural biases related to widowhood, unmarried daughters, and women’s remarriage often compel women to negotiate within families or pursue litigation simply to obtain their lawful share. Further, gender bias within the justice system, where judicial discretion shapes definitions of women’s contributions to marital property, continues to put women’s equitable property claims at risk. Lack of awareness among couples, families, and relevant authorities also hinder implementation of reforms. For example, the Moudawana in Morocco permits spouses to jointly agree by contract on the management of marital assets; however, civil society reports that the practice of marital contracts is rare due to limited awareness.

Kenya’s legal gains on marital property have been undermined by ambiguity and low awareness

While the Marital Property Act (MPA) recognizes both monetary and nonmonetary contributions, including domestic work, childcare, management of the matrimonial home, and farm work, women face challenges in establishing a legal claim upon division of property because courts place the burden on

them to prove their contributions to marital assets (Equality Now 2024). Advocate Nyokabi Njogu of KELIN Kenya notes that legal ambiguity around how “contribution” is defined, coupled with broad judicial discretion, can result in women receiving smaller shares. For example, while the Court of Appeal revised a 2023 High Court marital property decision discriminating against women to a 50-50 division, the Supreme Court overturned it, holding that “equality of spouses does not involve the redistribution of property rights at the dissolution of marriage” (Law Library of Congress 2023). Grassroots organizations help to bridge access to justice gaps: the Come Together Widows and Orphans Organization (CTWOO) supported a widow who, despite clear legal bases faced prolonged harassment by her in-laws who denied her claim to her husband’s property. Trained by CTWOO to represent herself, and thus overcome cost barriers, she secured permanent rights to the properties within nine months of filing her case.

Islamic Family Law Act (IFLA) amendments expand and constrain Malaysian women’s property rights

Malaysia’s 1984 Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) Act (IFLA) introduced a clear statutory basis for matrimonial property division (Section 122). It pioneered recognition of both financial and nonfinancial spousal contributions, including to the home and childcare, when dividing assets. This approach, unusual compared to other Muslim family laws, reflects influence from the matrilineal “*adat perpatih*” tradition in Southeast Asia, where ancestral land passes through women and marital property is co-owned and split equally at divorce (Wain and Saleh 2024). Division of matrimonial assets frequently hinges on inconsistent judicial discretion, with cases where wives received as little as one-third—or even just 2 percent—of total matrimonial property (Musawah 2024). Further, the IFLA underwent substantive amendments in 1994 and 2006 that curtailed other protections extended to women in the 1980s. The 1994 changes allowed divorces and the conclusion of polygamous marriages without prior court permission to be registered subject to a minimal fine. In 2006, the polygamy provision was further amended to women’s disadvantage, allowing a polygamous husband to claim marital property from an existing wife in order to support a new wife (SIS Forum 2003; Musawah 2024).

Acceleration of family law reform is needed to ensure women’s economic rights

The struggle for equal inheritance and marital property rights remains active and unfinished. Legal equality within the family is a foundational economic reform: it secures women’s access to assets, increases bargaining power and resilience, and, in turn, supports higher household investment, intergenerational human capital, and inclusive growth. In order to accelerate progress, governments, and the international community should:

- 1. Facilitate constructive dialogue with women’s groups and affected communities on reform grounded in data and international law.** For example, women’s groups and the Minister of Women and Gender Equity in Chile are advocating for a reformed legal framework that guarantees full autonomy of spouses to own and control marital assets, regardless of spouses’ sex. Similarly, in Morocco, the women’s movement continues to advocate for comprehensive inheritance reform

consistent with the Constitution and international obligations.

2. Ensure that women's equal economic rights are recognized and enforceable for all women irrespective of their religion or culture. In line with international obligations stated in the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, remove restrictions that limit women's equal inheritance and marital property rights and clarify how constitutional equality applies in family law.

3. Strengthen unbiased implementation of family law reforms through judicial training and institutional capacity building. Organizations working with affected communities at the local and national levels—as well as regional and global coalitions—are well-equipped to support initiatives on egalitarian family law as an essential foundation for women's economic empowerment.

Legal equality is a critical first step to closing gender gaps in labor force participation, entrepreneurship, asset ownership, and access to finance. Where family law reforms secure equal inheritance and fair division of marital property, women's capacity to invest, start businesses, and withstand shocks rises (Equality Now 2025). Global evidence suggests that enabling women's full economic participation can spur significant growth over the next decade (World Bank 2026). Sustained international support—through technical assistance and financing, support for the drafting of legal reforms and their implementation, legal empowerment, judicial and administrative training, and rigorous data and evaluation—can help countries translate constitutional commitments and treaty obligations into enforceable rights. This is essential to “leave no one behind” and unlock the growth dividends of gender equality for women, their families, and the broader economy.

References

- Ajefu, J., E. Uchenna, N. Singh, and Z. S. Ali. 2024. “Women's Inheritance Rights and Child Health Outcomes in Kenya.” *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 45: 137–50. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-023-09895-y>.
- Behr, D. M., and J. C. Braunmiller. 2025. “Changing Laws, Changing Lives: Family Law Reform as a Catalyst for Economic Prosperity.” Global Indicators Brief No. 30, World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/099451004152527844>.
- Behr, D. M., C. Perrin, M. Hyland, and T. Trumbic. 2024. “Empowering Change: Assessing the Role of Democracy, Civil Society, and Women's Rights Groups in Advancing Legal Gender Equality.” World Bank. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099741306032438849/pdf/IDU1fb47066b136da149e1199ef17811690529dc.pdf?_gl=1*r6m55q*_gcl_au*ODI5ODY3MTM1LjE3MjAyMTQ4MDM.
- Dairam, S. 2023. “Promoting the Equality of Women: IWRAP Asia Pacific's Journey.” IWRAP-Asia Pacific. <https://www.iwraw-ap.org/resources/promoting-the-equality-of-women-the-journey-of-iwraw-asia-pacific-by-shanthi-dairam/>.
- Equality Now. 2024. *Gender Inequality in Family Laws in Africa: An Overview of Key Trends in Select Countries*. Equality Now. <https://equalitynow.org/resource/family-law-africa-report/#:~:text=Key%20findings,and%20religious%20family%20law%20systems>.
- Equality Now. 2025. *Words & Deeds: Holding Governments Accountable in the Beijing+30 Review Process*. <https://equalitynow.org/resource/words-deeds-beijing30-report/>.
- Estrada, D. 2007. “Chile: State Upholds Gender Discrimination within Marriage.” IPS News, July 23, 2007. <https://www.ipsnews.net/2007/07/chile-state-upholds-gender-discrimination-within-marriage/>.
- FWLD (Forum for Women, Law and Development). 2002. *Inheritance Rights of Nepali Women: Journey towards Equality*. <https://fwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Inheritance-Rights-of-Nepali-Women-Journey-Towards-Equality.pdf>.
- Harari, M. 2016. “Women's Inheritance Rights and Bargaining Power: Evidence from Kenya.” The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. https://faculty.wharton.upenn.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Harari_Inheritance_2016.pdf.
- Htun, Mala, Francesca, Jensenius, and Jami Nelson- Nuñez. 2019. “Gender-Discriminatory Laws and Women's Economic Agency.” *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 26 (2): 193–222. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxy042>.
- IOM (International Organization for Migration). 2016. *Barriers to Women's Land and Property Ownership in Nepal*. IOM. https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd1486/files/our_work/DOE/LPR/Barriers-to-Womens-Land-Property-Access-Ownership-in-Nepal.pdf.
- Law Library of Congress. 2023. “Kenya: Supreme Court Rules Couples Not Entitled to Automatic 50 Percent of Matrimonial Property upon Divorce.” <https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2023-02-20/kenya-supreme-court-rules-couples-not-entitled-to-automatic-50-percent-of-matrimonial-property-upon-divorce/>.
- Maturana, C. 2024. Information Provided by Camila Maturana, Director of Corporación Humanas. <https://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=270873>.
- Musawah. 2022. Country Overview Table—Malaysia. <https://www.musawah.org/resources/country-table-malaysia/>.
- Musawah. 2024. *Thematic Report on Muslim Family Laws and Muslim Women's Rights in Malaysia, 88th CEDAW Session*. May 2024. <https://www.musawah.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Submission-Malaysia.pdf>.
- National Judicial Academy Nepal. 2020. Compendium of Landmark Judgements of the Supreme Court of Nepal on Gender Justice and Equality. <https://njanepal.org.np/public/reports/21040752654-landmark-decision-english.pdf>.
- Nepal, Government of. 2006. “An Act to Amend Some Nepal Acts for Maintaining Gender Equality— 2063.” <https://landportal.org/fr/library/resources/lex-faoc134788/act-amend-some-nepal-acts-maintaining-gender-equality-2063-2006>.
- SIS Forum (formerly Sisters in Islam) Malaysia. 2003. *Violation of Women's Human Rights*. <https://sistersinislam.org/violation-of-muslim-womens-human-rights-further-discrimination-against-muslim-women-under-the-selangor-islamic-family-law-bill-2003-through-selective-gender-neutral-provisions/>.
- The Himalayan. 2026. “Supreme Court strikes down property return rule for widows remarrying”, THT Online, May 5, 2026: <https://thehimalayantimes.com/kathmandu/supreme-court-strikes-down-property-return-rule-for-widows-remarrying>.
- Wain, A., and N. Saleh. 2024. “Adat Perpatih in Malaysia—Nature, History, Practice and Contemporary Issues.” In *Matrilinal, Matriarchal, and Matrifocal Islam*. Palgrave Series in Islamic Theology, Law, and History. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-51749-5_2.
- World Bank. 2026. *Women, Business and the Law 2026: Benchmarking Laws for Jobs and Inclusive Growth*. World Bank. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-2196-7.