



Women Enabled International

account**ABILITY** toolkit

**U.N. Standards on Gender Based Violence against
Women and Girls with Disabilities**

accountABILITY:

**U.N. Standards on Gender Based Violence against
Women and Girls with Disabilities**



**Women Enabled
International**

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Cover image depicts three women in silhouette—one using a forearm crutch, one using a wheelchair, and one without any mobility aids—approaching a United Nations building in Geneva through a corridor of flags from countries around the world.

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“The “Allée des drapeaux” (“Flags Way”) at the Palais des Nations, seat of the UN Office at Geneva (UNOG).”
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The *accountABILITY Toolkit* is dedicated to the millions of disabled women and girls around the world who routinely encounter multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination. This *Toolkit* is a call to action, urging and empowering us to collectively raise our voices to demand that international human rights standards protect the rights of all women and girls, regardless of ability.

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Using this Briefing Paper

As discussed in [accountABILITY: Using U.N. Human Rights Mechanisms to Advance the Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities](#), the U.N. treaty bodies are independent human rights experts whose job it is to (1) monitor whether governments are meeting their international legal obligations under the relevant treaty, and (2) interpret the meaning and content of the corresponding human rights treaty through the development of **General Comments/Recommendations, Concluding Observations**, and, in some instances, **Individual Complaints**. Together, these three types of documents make up the “jurisprudence” of the treaty body. By looking at this jurisprudence, we can better understand what types of actions violate international human rights standards and what governments must do to meet their international legal obligations.

When we engage in international human rights advocacy—for instance, when we submit written information like shadow reports—our advocacy is strengthened with an analysis of the existing human rights standards on an issue. When we can demonstrate that treaty bodies have previously interpreted international human rights obligations in a way that supports what we are saying, we are more persuasive, treaty bodies may be more likely to take up our issues, and they may provide better guidance to governments on how they can remedy the issues that we raise.

This briefing paper provides an in-depth summary of what U.N. treaty bodies have said about gender-based violence generally, and in some instances, violence against women and girls with disabilities specifically. This paper identifies what the U.N. treaty bodies have said in their concluding observations and individual complaints through 2016 and what they have said in their general comments/general recommendations through 2017. The briefing paper uses the treaty bodies’ language as much as possible. Advocates can use this briefing paper to identify what one or more treaty bodies have said on an issue in the past to help explain why specific situations or actions violate protected rights and what governments must do to instead protect those rights. For each standard or recommendation outlined here, the briefing paper also footnotes the original source(s) for the issues discussed. Advocates can cite to these original sources to help support their interpretation of a particular human rights obligation. Although the majority of citations in this briefing paper include all identified instances where a treaty body addresses a specific issue, there are a few instances where the volume of similar concluding observations on a given topic is too large to cite to each instance; in these cases, the footnotes instead include a set of representative citations from different years and regions. When engaging in country-specific advocacy, we also recommend that advocates always review prior concluding observations for that particular country. Prior concluding observations can be found on the country’s homepage through the website of the [Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights](#) (OHCHR).*

In addition to summarizing what U.N. treaty bodies have said on gender-based violence, this briefing paper also identifies some gaps in the standards, particularly as related to women and girls with disabilities. Identification of such gaps provides opportunities for treaty bodies to strengthen their jurisprudence, ensure that their interpretations of the legal standards respond to the specific human rights issues that women and girls with disabilities face, and promote greater complementarity of international standards across all U.N. treaty bodies. We encourage advocates to consider this discussion of the gaps in the legal standards as an invitation to raise these issues in written submissions to U.N. human rights mechanisms and to give the treaty bodies more information on these specific issues to help build stronger and more responsive standards.

Several of the U.N. Special Procedure mandate holders have also taken up issues around gender-based violence and violence against women and girls with disabilities in their thematic reports. Referring to these reports in our advocacy can also strengthen our advocacy. Accordingly, we provide a brief overview of some of the most relevant Special Procedure reports issued through 2017 at the end of this briefing paper.

* Links to the country homepages for all U.N. member States can be found on the website of the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR) here: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/Pages/HumanRightsinTheWorld.aspx>.

Gender-Based Violence against Women and Girls with Disabilities: An Overview

Women and girls with disabilities[†] are at least two to three times more likely than women without disabilities to experience violence and abuse in various spheres,¹ and they are likely to experience abuse over a longer period of time, resulting in more severe injuries.² However, as the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women has noted, “the impact of the combined effects of both gender and disability have not gained sufficient attention, and violence against women with disabilities remains largely unaddressed.”³ Indeed, existing laws, policies, and programs on gender-based violence seldom address the specific concerns of women and girls with disabilities, and it is difficult to find accurate and comprehensive data disaggregated by both gender and disability.

Forms and Manifestations of Violence against Women and Girls with Disabilities

The World Health Organization defines violence against women as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.”⁴ As this definition suggests, violence committed against women with disabilities can take a variety of forms—physical, emotional, sexual, economic—and includes intimate partner violence, violence at the hands of caregivers, sexual violence, sexual harassment, human trafficking, institutional violence, and violence in conflict and post-conflict settings.⁵ Forced sterilization and forced abortions are another form of gender-based violence that women with disabilities experience; international standards on these issues are addressed in the companion briefing paper, [*accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities*](#). Women with disabilities who also belong to, or are perceived as belonging to, other groups that face heightened vulnerability to discrimination and violence—such as women with disabilities who are also immigrants, racial or ethnic minorities, indigenous, LGBT, older women, or adolescents—may experience compounded forms of gender-based violence.⁶

Protection and Remedies for Women with Disabilities

Women with disabilities encounter numerous barriers to leaving abusers and ending the cycle of violence. Women with disabilities may fear leaving or reporting their abuser because of emotional, financial, or physical dependence. For instance, women with disabilities may fear retribution, institutionalization, or loss of assistive devices and other supports, all of which can also prevent them from reporting violence.⁷ Additionally, there is a serious lack of emergency services for women with disabilities seeking to escape violent situations in the home. Shortages of accessible domestic violence shelters and available beds are widespread,⁸ and shelters and spaces that are available are often inaccessible and fail to provide reasonable accommodations to women with disabilities or exclude them altogether.⁹ Additionally shelters may have “no animal” policies that serve as a barrier to women who rely on a service animal such as a guide dog.¹⁰ Service providers, including social workers and health care providers, often lack necessary training on providing care to women and girls with disabilities who are victims of violence. Health care providers generally demonstrate a lack of sensitivity, courtesy, and support for women and girls with disabilities,¹¹ and provider misconception that persons with disabilities are not sexually active may result in the failure to perform screenings for domestic or sexual violence.¹²

Access to Justice

Women with disabilities also encounter significant barriers to reporting abusers and accessing justice. Police stations may not have the resources necessary to ensure that witnesses with disabilities are able to adequately

[†] Throughout this paper, the term “women” should be interpreted to include women and girls of all ages, unless otherwise noted.

communicate with the police or access information. For instance, sign language interpreters may not be readily accessible to assist women with hearing impairments. Information may not be available in Braille or other alternative formats, making it more difficult for women with a visual disability to pursue their complaints to the fullest extent of the law. Information about legal rights is not often provided in clear, easy-to-understand formats, which can prevent women with cognitive disabilities from understanding their rights. Stairs leading to a building, inaccessible witness chairs, lack of technology to enable persons with disabilities to understand or participate in proceedings, and failure to provide materials in alternative formats for women who are blind or sign language interpreters for Deaf women similarly create substantial barriers to justice for women with disabilities.

Stigma and stereotypes also play a significant role in limiting access to justice for women with disabilities subjected to violence. Women with disabilities may fear losing custody of their children if they report domestic violence or try to leave a violent relationship, particularly as courts may enforce the discriminatory stereotype that the non-disabled partner must be a more competent parent.¹³ Furthermore, judicial systems systematically fail to acknowledge women with disabilities as competent witnesses or give sufficient credence to their testimony, which is particularly problematic in cases involving sexual assault or other forms of gender-based violence where the complaining witness's testimony may provide the only evidence against the assailant.¹⁴ Women with cognitive disabilities can also have trouble remembering the sequence of events, which can make them seem less credible as witnesses.¹⁵ Because society generally fails to see women with disabilities as sexual beings, such stereotypes may lead judges and juries to discount their testimony.¹⁶

Barriers to access to justice can limit women's ability to seek protection or redress, such barriers can functionally perpetuate violence against women with disabilities by compelling women to remain in the abusive situation and emboldening abusers who know that the justice system is unlikely to take complaints seriously.¹⁷

Questions to Consider

The following questions, while not exhaustive, may help advocates identify key issues to raise in a country-specific submission addressing violence against women and girls with disabilities:

- ▶ What are the relevant laws, policies, programs, and national plans aimed at addressing gender-based violence? Do these laws criminalize domestic violence and/or marital rape? Do they make any provisions for violence against women with disabilities specifically?
- ▶ What are the relevant laws, policies, programs, and national plans aimed at addressing the rights of persons with disabilities? Do these laws or policies make any provisions for violence against women with disabilities specifically? Do they set up mechanisms to monitor institutions where women with disabilities live to prevent violence?
- ▶ To what extent do existing legal frameworks promote or hinder access to police stations, courts, or other public buildings for women with disabilities? Do they address who is competent to testify and/or provide for interpreters for those who need them? Are there any policies or practices in place to support women with disabilities who may require assistance to provide testimony?
- ▶ Does the State collect data on violence against women and girls with disabilities? Or is there a need for gender-based violence data to be disaggregated on the basis of disability and other characteristics?
- ▶ Is there general data on gender-based violence? Are there any quantitative or qualitative small/regional studies on gender-based violence against women and girls with disabilities that could shed light on the situation for women and girls with disabilities nationwide?
- ▶ Has the State implemented any public awareness campaigns either aimed at eliminating violence against women and girls with disabilities or at reducing negative stereotypes and discrimination against women and girls with disabilities, generally?
- ▶ Are there any prevailing cultural or other stereotypes that contribute to a heightened vulnerability to gender-based violence for women and girls with disabilities?

- ▶ To what extent, if at all, is any information on the rights of women and girls and the rights of persons with disabilities available in alternative formats?
- ▶ To what extent are existing shelters accessible to women and girls with disabilities? Does the State make any express provisions to ensure such accessibility? How well are shelters distributed geographically across the country?
- ▶ Are shelter staff or other service providers, including social workers and medical personnel, given any training on responding to women with disabilities who are victims of gender-based violence?
- ▶ Are police, judicial officials or other law enforcement personnel provided with training on responding to women with disabilities who are victims of gender-based violence or on the rights of persons with disabilities in general?
- ▶ What steps has the government taken to encourage investigation, prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of gender-based violence, particularly against women with disabilities?
- ▶ Is there any data available on the number of gender-based violence cases that have been successfully investigated and prosecuted?
- ▶ Are there any programs in place to provide legal assistance to victims of gender-based violence? To what extent are any such programs accessible to women and girls with disabilities? Are personnel in any such programs trained on working with women with disabilities who experience gender-based violence?
- ▶ To what extent are women and/or children with disabilities at risk of trafficking in the country? Are there any laws, policies, or programs that are aimed at minimizing the risk of trafficking for women and children with disabilities in particular?
- ▶ To what extent are measures being implemented to protect women and girls with disabilities who are living in refugee or displacement camps or settlements from gender-based violence? Are essential facilities in camps or settlements accessible to women with disabilities?

As discussed in Chapter 3 of [accountABILITY: Using U.N. Human Rights Mechanisms to Advance the Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities](#), it is important that the factual information provided in a written submission include detailed information and be well-substantiated, including with citations or annexed documentation. The most effective submissions will include information of the type addressed in the above questions to establish that a problem is of a systemic or generalized nature, as well as a few detailed case studies to illustrate the impact of the problem on individuals.

Human Rights Committee

The Human Rights Committee is the expert body that monitors implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Through its general comments, concluding observations, and individual complaints, the Human Rights Committee has demonstrated that the ICCPR safeguards the right to be free from gender-based violence. Failure to exercise due diligence to prevent, protect against, investigate, prosecute, and punish gender-based violence—and provide remedies to individuals who have been subjected to gender-based violence—can amount to a violation of the ICCPR. In particular, the Human Rights Committee has found that violations of the right to be free from gender-based violence contravene articles 3 (equality of men and women), 6 (right to life), 7 (right to be free from torture), 8 (right to be free from slavery), 9 (right to liberty and security of the person), 14 (right to equality before the courts), 23 (rights in the family), 24 (protection of children), and 26 (equal protection of the law).

General Comments

■ **General Comment No. 20: Prohibition of torture, or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (1992)**

In its General Comment No. 20, the Human Rights Committee explains that the right to be free from torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment prohibits “acts that cause mental suffering,” in addition to acts that cause physical pain, and that the prohibition extends to children in educational or medical institutions.¹⁸ The Human Rights Committee further notes that States have an obligation to ensure special protection with regard medical or scientific experimentation for “persons not capable of giving valid consent.”¹⁹ The Human Rights Committee also indicates that States must take “safeguards for the special protection of particularly vulnerable persons.”²⁰ Although the Human Rights Committee does not explicitly mention sexual or gender-based violence, this General Comment supports an analysis that sexual or gender-based violence in educational, medical, prison, or other institutional settings violates State obligations with respect to the right to be free from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

■ **General Comment No. 28: Article 3 (The equality of rights between men and women) (2000)**

In its General Comment No. 28, the Human Rights Committee addresses some of the measures that States must take to address gender-based violence in order to ensure men’s and women’s equal rights under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Specifically, the Human Rights Committee notes that women are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence in times of conflict, and it calls on States to report on all measures taken “to protect women from rape, abduction and other forms of gender-based violence” in times of armed conflict.²¹ The Human Rights Committee also denounces sexual and gender-based violence, including domestic violence, as a violation of ICCPR articles 7 and 24 (with respect to children), and calls on States to provide information on national laws and practices to address these forms of violence, as well as information on “measures of protection, including legal remedies, for women whose rights under article 7 have been violated.”²² The Human Rights Committee further notes that women’s equal right to privacy under article 17 of the ICCPR may be violated “where the sexual life of a woman is taken into consideration in deciding the extent of her legal rights and protections, including protection against rape.”²³ The Human Rights Committee explains that women’s equal rights under the ICCPR are also infringed upon “by laws which allow the rapist to have his criminal responsibility extinguished or mitigated if he marries the victim.”²⁴

■ **General Comment No. 31: Nature of the General Legal Obligations Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant (2004)**

In its General Comment No. 31, the Human Rights Committee affirms that States have positive obligations to prevent human rights violations by third parties (non-state actors). Specifically, in General Comment No. 31, the Human Rights Committee emphasizes that States must take positive measures to prevent torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment by private persons or entities under Article 7 of the ICCPR.²⁵ Although the General Comment does not explicitly address sexual and gender-based violence, this obligation can be understood to require States to take measures to prevent sexual and gender-based violence that violate Article 7.

■ **General Comment No. 32: Right to Equality before Courts and Tribunals and to Fair Trial (2007)**

In its General Comment No. 32, the Human Rights Committee addresses equality of access to the courts, noting that “[a]ccess to administration of justice must effectively be guaranteed in all such cases to ensure that no individual is deprived, in procedural terms, of his/her right to claim justice.”²⁶ The Human Rights Committee explains that “this guarantee prohibits any distinctions regarding access to courts and tribunals that are not based on law and cannot be justified on objective and reasonable grounds,” which means that no one may be barred from bringing suit on the basis of their sex, among other prohibited grounds.²⁷ Although disability is not expressly mentioned in the General Comment, disability is typically included in the category of “other status,” which is listed among the prohibited grounds of discrimination. The Human Rights Committee further notes that “[t]he availability or absence of legal assistance often determines whether or not a person can access the relevant proceedings or participate in them in a meaningful way,” and accordingly encourages States to provide free legal aid (noting that in certain instances, free legal assistance may be required).²⁸

Notably, this General Comment does not address the need to give credence to testimony by women and girls (and especially women and girls with disabilities) or issues of competency to testify, provision of information about rights and remedies in alternative formats, or physical access to the courts, all of which are essential to ensuring access to justice for victims of violence against women with disabilities.

■ **General Comment No. 35: Article 9 (Liberty and security of person) (2014)**

In its General Comment No. 35, the Human Rights Committee explains that State obligations with respect to Article 9 (on liberty and security of persons) include an obligation “generally to protect individuals from foreseeable threats to life or bodily integrity proceeding from any governmental or private actors,” which requires measures to both prevent such injury from occurring in the first place and to enforce criminal laws to punish such acts after the fact.²⁹ The Human Rights Committee explicitly notes that this obligation includes a duty to “respond appropriately to patterns of violence against categories of victims such as ... violence against women, including domestic violence, ... violence against children, violence against persons on the basis of their sexual orientation or gender identity, and violence against persons with disabilities.”³⁰

In this General Comment, the Human Rights Committee also notes that involuntary hospitalization and institutional custody of children are examples of deprivation of liberty³¹ and that there can be inherent harms to such deprivations of liberty.³² The Human Rights Committee explains that States must take steps to provide alternatives, such as “adequate community-based or alternative social-care services for persons with psychosocial disabilities, in order to provide less restrictive alternatives to confinement,” in an effort to counter the inherent harms of institutionalization.³³ The Human Rights Committee further emphasizes that “[t]he existence of a disability shall not in itself justify a deprivation of liberty,” but instead notes that such measures must “be necessary and proportionate, for the purpose of protecting the individual in question from serious harm or preventing injury to others.”³⁴ The Human Rights Committee goes on to note that any such deprivations of liberty must be subject to periodic judicial reviews to monitor the lawfulness of continued institutionalization.³⁵ This General Comment also outlines some measures of protection that must be accorded to “some categories of vulnerable persons,” including persons with mental disabilities, in situations involving their arrest.³⁶

Concluding Observations

Through its concluding observations, the Human Rights Committee regularly expresses concern about high rates of gender-based violence, including rape and domestic violence,³⁷ and calls on States to adopt a comprehensive approach to preventing and addressing violence against women and children in all of its forms and manifestations.³⁸

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

Comprehensive Gender-Based Violence Legislation

The Human Rights Committee routinely emphasizes a need for States to establish comprehensive laws and policies to prevent and punish domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence.³⁹ In particular, the Human Rights Committee has called on States to prohibit and criminalize both domestic violence⁴⁰ and marital rape.⁴¹ In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has called on a State to establish the specific crime of femicide.⁴² The Human Rights Committee expressed concern about at least one State's failure to legally obligate law enforcement to act with due diligence (i.e. to prevent, protect, prosecute, punish, and remedy) in incidences of domestic violence.⁴³ The Human Rights Committee has called on States to introduce or facilitate issuance of restraining orders as a means of protecting women and children from domestic violence as a component of comprehensive legislation.⁴⁴ In at least one recommendation, the Human Rights Committee called for women's participation in decision-making matters related to legislation and policy on gender-based violence.⁴⁵

Mitigating Laws

In addition to calling for enactment of comprehensive legislation, the Human Rights Committee expressed concern about existing laws that mitigate punishment for rapists or abusive spouses in certain situations—including laws that exonerate perpetrators of rape where the rapist offers to or marries the victim,⁴⁶ that lessen the criminal punishment for a husband who murders his wife on suspicion of adultery,⁴⁷ or that criminalize spousal rape only in instances of official separation⁴⁸—and has called on States to eliminate such exceptions.

Full and Effective Implementation

The Human Rights Committee also regularly expressed concern over the continuing prevalence of domestic violence even in the face of specific legislation, national plans of action, or other policies aimed at addressing such violence.⁴⁹ It has urged States to ensure the full and effective implementation of such legislative and policy efforts to curb violence against women.⁵⁰ The Human Rights Committee has further called on States to enact implementing legislation to overcome shortcomings in the effective implementation of existing laws and policies on gender-based violence⁵¹ and to allocate appropriate resources necessary for implementation.⁵² In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has called on a State to review domestic violence legislation to ensure that it encourages victims to report incidences of gender-based violence.⁵³

Customary or Traditional Law

In several instances, the Human Rights Committee has expressed concern about discriminatory treatment of women in customary law or traditional codes,⁵⁴ calling on States to adopt and implement policies to combat the discriminatory application of customary law to better protect victims of gender-based violence.⁵⁵

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Statistics and Data Collection

The Human Rights Committee frequently notes with concern the lack of statistical data on gender-based violence,⁵⁶ and has emphasized the need for States to conduct studies and collect data to establish the magnitude of the problem, its causes, and its consequences.⁵⁷ The Human Rights Committee has further called for systematic compilation of statistics on domestic violence⁵⁸ and discrimination against women⁵⁹ with a view to maintaining reliable data on the scope of these problems and to monitor trends. The Human Rights Committee

has called on at least two States to improve their research and data collection methods⁶⁰ and another State to expedite the updating of a National Information System on domestic violence.⁶¹ The Human Rights Committee has called for data to be disaggregated,⁶² including by age,⁶³ ethnicity,⁶⁴ sex,⁶⁵ and family relationships between the perpetrator and victim.⁶⁶ The Human Rights Committee has also called for this information to be made public in at least one instance.⁶⁷

Awareness-Raising

The Human Rights Committee has also expressed concern over a lack of awareness among women of their rights and the remedies available to them.⁶⁸ In order to remedy lack of awareness, the Human Rights Committee has recommended information campaigns to raise women's awareness of their rights and available remedies.⁶⁹ The Human Rights Committee has similarly emphasized, in at least two instances, the need to develop public awareness campaigns on the rights of children⁷⁰ and people with disabilities⁷¹ to combat abuse and exploitation.

The Human Rights Committee further emphasizes the need to raise awareness among both the general public⁷² and key actors—including the police,⁷³ judiciary,⁷⁴ prosecutors,⁷⁵ State officials,⁷⁶ community representatives,⁷⁷ teachers,⁷⁸ and religious or traditional leaders⁷⁹—about women's rights and gender-based violence,⁸⁰ the criminal nature of gender-based violence,⁸¹ the negative effects of such violence,⁸² and the importance of combating it.⁸³ In addressing the need for awareness raising, the Human Rights Committee has underscored the importance of encouraging non-violent forms of discipline as an alternative to corporal punishment,⁸⁴ to change the perception of women's role in society,⁸⁵ and of widely disseminating information about domestic violence—and available services—through the media,⁸⁶ educational programs,⁸⁷ and school curricula.⁸⁸

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The Human Rights Committee has repeatedly underscored States' obligations to take effective and concrete measures to combat domestic violence against women,⁸⁹ including marital rape.⁹⁰ Related to this obligation, the Committee has expressed concern where at least two States do not acknowledge domestic violence or marital rape to be a problem.⁹¹ On at least one occasion, the Human Rights Committee has emphasized in particular concern about the high incidence of domestic violence against women and girls with disabilities.⁹²

The Human Rights Committee has called on several States to address the factors that contribute to women's vulnerability to domestic violence,⁹³ including economic dependence on partners.⁹⁴ In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has lamented the disproportionate impact of gun violence on women, minorities, and children, calling for stronger enforcement of legislation aimed at preventing domestic violence perpetrators from legally obtaining a firearm.⁹⁵ The Committee has also denounced the practice in at least one State of placing victims at risk of so-called honor crimes in involuntary protective custody akin to involuntary detention, and called on the State to terminate this practice.⁹⁶

Remedies and Redress

The Human Rights Committee routinely urges States to ensure that victims of domestic violence have access to a wide range of effective remedies/redress, assistance and protection,⁹⁷ including emergency shelters,⁹⁸ safe housing,⁹⁹ crisis center hotlines,¹⁰⁰ child care,¹⁰¹ adequate child support,¹⁰² rehabilitation services,¹⁰³ legal representation,¹⁰⁴ emergency protective orders,¹⁰⁵ and victim support centers equipped to provide medical, psychological, legal, and social support.¹⁰⁶ In several instances, the Human Rights Committee has emphasized that access to redress and protection must be immediate,¹⁰⁷ and that prevention and assistance measures must receive adequate resources.¹⁰⁸ The Human Rights Committee has also clarified on at least one occasion the need to ensure that victims with "special needs," such as non-citizens, receive assistance.¹⁰⁹

Emergency Shelters

With respect to shelters for victims of domestic violence, the Human Rights Committee has lamented the inadequacy of shelters available to domestic violence victims in a number of States,¹¹⁰ noting a complete absence of shelters in some areas¹¹¹ and a lack of information about shelter availability in other States.¹¹²

Accordingly, the Committee regularly emphasizes the need to ensure a sufficient number of shelters are available¹¹³ throughout the country¹¹⁴ (which may require increasing the number of shelters¹¹⁵), and that such shelters must be adequately resourced¹¹⁶ and have qualified staff.¹¹⁷ In a few instances, the Human Rights Committee has explained that this may require increasing financial support for private¹¹⁸ or NGO-operated assistance programs.¹¹⁹ The Human Rights Committee has told at least one State that shelters should meet the specific needs of women and children with disabilities,¹²⁰ and in at least one other instance, clarified that shelters must be available to all victims of domestic violence, regardless of age or gender.¹²¹

Social Services

The Human Rights Committee has also expressed concern over insufficient social services available for victims of domestic violence,¹²² lack of funding for such services,¹²³ and a dependence on NGOs to provide services for gender-based violence victims.¹²⁴ The Human Rights Committee has called on States to strengthen the services available to domestic violence survivors¹²⁵ and to ensure an adequate number of such programs.¹²⁶ In this regard, the Human Rights Committee frequently calls for the training of relevant professionals,¹²⁷ emphasizing in particular social workers¹²⁸ and medical personnel,¹²⁹ on service provision for gender-based violence victims,¹³⁰ including the need to improve collection of medical evidence in gender-based violence cases.¹³¹ With respect to foreign victims of domestic violence, the Human Rights Committee has expressed concern in at least one instance about delays in granting legal status to victims, effectively barring them from seeking stable employment or accessing social security benefits.¹³²

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Strengthening Laws against Sexual Violence

The Human Rights Committee has emphasized the need for domestic laws to prohibit and punish sexual violence,¹³³ and has called on at least one State to raise the age of legal consent for sexual activity.¹³⁴ In at least one recommendation, the Human Rights Committee expressed concern that rape and other forms of sexual violence are viewed as customary issues and, accordingly, are dealt with in customary courts rather than criminal courts.¹³⁵ The Human Rights Committee noted with concern where at least one State narrowly defines rape to include only sexual intercourse between men and women, and called on the State to broaden the legal definition of rape to capture other forms of sexual violence, including rape of men, sexual abuse other than sexual intercourse, and incest.¹³⁶ The Human Rights Committee has also denounced legal requirements that limit prosecution of rape, including the requirement that a rape victim produce a witness¹³⁷ and the requirement of a medical certificate¹³⁸ in order for prosecution to proceed, and has said on at least one occasion that a victim's testimony should be sufficient to initiate criminal proceedings against rapists.¹³⁹

Responding to Sexual Violence

On several occasions, the Human Rights Committee has raised concerns about the fact that rape, in particular, goes underreported,¹⁴⁰ noting with concern in at least one instance that rape victims may face risk criminal prosecution themselves when they report sexual violence.¹⁴¹ The Human Rights Committee has also registered its concern at a lack of doctors and nurses trained to respond to sexual violence.¹⁴² The Human Rights Committee has called on at least one State to increase initiatives aimed at rehabilitating men convicted of sexual violence and other violent offences.¹⁴³

Sexual Violence against Children

The Human Rights Committee has raised concerns about the frequency with which children, particularly street children,¹⁴⁴ experience sexual violence,¹⁴⁵ and has called on States to take all necessary steps to put an end to such violence, including taking efforts to identify the causes of a rising number of street children,¹⁴⁶ developing programs to address these causes,¹⁴⁷ and the provision of shelters for street children¹⁴⁸ and other efforts aimed at protecting and rehabilitating children.¹⁴⁹

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The Human Rights Committee has raised concerns about rates of sexual harassment,¹⁵⁰ and on at least one occasion explicitly recognized it as a form of gender-based discrimination.¹⁵¹ In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has expressed concern at the lack of legislation aimed at eliminating sexual harassment, and called on the State to investigate and punish such harassment, to provide adequate remedies to victims of sexual harassment, and to take measures to raise awareness of the problem.¹⁵² The Human Rights Committee has also called on a couple of States to enact specific legislation to prohibit sexual harassment.¹⁵³ The Human Rights Committee expressed concern to at least one State about the persistence of the practice despite legislative advancements criminalizing sexual harassment, and called on the State to improve training to legal institutions and the police force to combat it.¹⁵⁴

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Barriers to Access to Justice

On numerous occasions, the Human Rights Committee has underscored the need for States to ensure access to justice for victims of gender-based violence.¹⁵⁵ Related to this obligation, the Human Rights Committee has expressed serious concern over ineffective police investigations into complaints of gender-based violence;¹⁵⁶ lack of coordination across law enforcement bodies in efforts to eradicate such violence;¹⁵⁷ the limited number of complaints of gender-based violence reported to or registered by authorities;¹⁵⁸ problems with issuing and/or following-up on protection orders;¹⁵⁹ the low number of gender-based violence cases that are actually brought to justice and appropriately sanctioned;¹⁶⁰ the lack of competent judicial authorities in rural areas;¹⁶¹ and sociocultural norms¹⁶²—all of which contribute to a climate of impunity around gender-based violence.¹⁶³ In a few instances, the Human Rights Committee has linked impunity for gender-based violence to high rates of femicide.¹⁶⁴ The Human Rights Committee has noted in at least one recommendation that victim behavior should not contribute to impunity for gender-based violence crimes.¹⁶⁵ The Human Rights Committee has also expressed concern over laws that required victim consent to proceed with prosecution of sexual violence crimes,¹⁶⁶ and called on at least one State to revise this requirement.¹⁶⁷ In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has expressed concern that lengthy prosecution procedures act as a barrier to victims filing complaints and can increase their vulnerability to violence.¹⁶⁸

Due Diligence Obligations

To ensure access to justice for victims of gender-based violence, the Human Rights Committee routinely calls for effective and thorough investigations into such cases,¹⁶⁹ prosecution of perpetrators of gender-based violence,¹⁷⁰ appropriate punishments for convicted perpetrators,¹⁷¹ and adequate compensation for victims.¹⁷² In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has emphasized the need for a special prosecutor to be empowered to address acts of gender-based violence committed by government officials.¹⁷³ With respect to orders of protection, the Human Rights Committee has called on States to facilitate the process for obtaining orders of protection,¹⁷⁴ has emphasized the need for police follow up to ensure the safety of victims,¹⁷⁵ and called for appropriate sanctions for those that violate protective orders.¹⁷⁶

To address the low numbers of cases that are reported to law enforcement, the Human Rights Committee has called on States to encourage victims to report instances of gender-based violence to the authorities;¹⁷⁷ to facilitate the filing of complaints of such violence;¹⁷⁸ to protect women from any form of reprisal or social stigmatization as a result of reporting gender-based violence;¹⁷⁹ and to remove the burden on victims to prove resistance¹⁸⁰ or produce a witness¹⁸¹ in cases involving sexual assault.

Training and Guidance for Relevant Authorities

The Human Rights Committee has also emphasized the need for local authorities and law enforcement¹⁸²—including police officers,¹⁸³ prosecutors,¹⁸⁴ and the judiciary¹⁸⁵—to be trained on detecting, working with, and advising victims of gender-based violence to ensure that such cases are handled appropriately.¹⁸⁶ On at least two occasions, the Human Rights Committee has called for the provision of clear guidelines to police officers to

better facilitate access to justice for victims of gender-based violence.¹⁸⁷ The Human Rights Committee has also called on several States to improve coordination across the bodies, including between state and federal entities, responsible for preventing and punishing gender-based violence to make their responses more effective.¹⁸⁸ In at least one recommendation, the Human Rights Committee called on the State to guarantee specialized professional attention to gender-based violence cases by police, lawyers, and the judiciary.¹⁸⁹

Legal Assistance to Victims

While welcoming developments in at least one State to provide legal assistance to victims of domestic violence, the Human Rights Committee expressed concern over the limited geographic scope of such assistance and called on the State to guarantee free legal assistance in domestic violence cases across the country.¹⁹⁰

Statistics and Data Collection

In a number of instances, the Human Rights Committee has noted with concern a lack of information around investigations, prosecutions, and punishments in cases involving gender-based violence,¹⁹¹ as well as the lack of information on remedies awarded to victims in such cases.¹⁹² Accordingly, the Human Rights Committee frequently calls for States to monitor investigations and prosecutions in gender-based violence cases,¹⁹³ including the use of restraining orders, types of punishments imposed, and remedies awarded.¹⁹⁴

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Barriers to Eradicating Trafficking

The Human Rights Committee regularly emphasizes that States have an obligation to combat human trafficking.¹⁹⁵ While welcoming legislative and programmatic steps that some States have taken to combat trafficking, the Human Rights Committee has expressed grave concerns over the fact that numerous States continue to serve as origin, transit, and destination countries for human trafficking.¹⁹⁶ The Human Rights Committee has lamented the lack of policy and legislative measures to respond to human trafficking,¹⁹⁷ including the failure to adequately address trafficking in the criminal code;¹⁹⁸ inadequate budgetary allocations;¹⁹⁹ shortcomings in identifying women victims of trafficking;²⁰⁰ the low number of trafficking cases that have been brought to justice;²⁰¹ the limited number of shelters available for trafficking victims;²⁰² the lack of comprehensive support for trafficking victims;²⁰³ and leniency of sentences for convicted perpetrators.²⁰⁴ In a few instances, the Human Rights Committee has expressed concern about reports of the involvement of police and government officials in trafficking, and called on the State to take steps to combat trafficking-related corruption.²⁰⁵

Obligations to Prevent and Punish Trafficking

To address these shortcomings in responding to human trafficking, the Human Rights Committee has recommended States to strengthen domestic efforts and improve international cooperation to prevent and eradicate trafficking;²⁰⁶ adopt and implement comprehensive national laws and strategies (including the obligation to criminalize human trafficking);²⁰⁷ train judges, prosecutors, law enforcement, and immigration officers and border patrol on gender-sensitivity, anti-trafficking standards, and detection of trafficking victims;²⁰⁸ intensify efforts to identify victims of trafficking;²⁰⁹ raise public awareness about trafficking and the unlawful nature of sexual exploitation;²¹⁰ prosecute²¹¹ and punish perpetrators appropriately;²¹² and address the demand for and root causes of trafficking.²¹³ The Human Rights Committee has also called for the compilation of reliable statistics on trafficking—in at least one instance suggesting that such statistics be disaggregated by gender, age, ethnicity, and country of origin²¹⁴—to better combat this phenomenon.²¹⁵

Remedies and Redress

The Human Rights Committee also routinely underscores the need for States to provide assistance, protection, and rehabilitation services to witnesses and victims of trafficking²¹⁶—including a need for appropriate shelters²¹⁷ and the opportunity to give evidence against those responsible for the trafficking.²¹⁸ In at least one recommendation, the Human Rights Committee has noted that the State must allocate sufficient resources to assistance and protection programs.²¹⁹ The Human Rights Committee clarified in at least one instance that this

may require providing support to private shelters.²²⁰ The Human Rights Committee has emphasized that victim assistance may include ensuring interpretation,²²¹ medical care,²²² counseling,²²³ social services,²²⁴ legal assistance,²²⁵ and immigration help.²²⁶ The Human Rights Committee has also emphasized that women and girls trafficked into the sex trade in particular must receive appropriate support and assistance.²²⁷ The Human Rights Committee has also called on States to ensure that victims of trafficking are awarded appropriate compensation or reparations.²²⁸ In a few instances, the Human Rights Committee has noted that protection and assistance must be equally accessible to all victims of trafficking,²²⁹ and has expressed concern where permission for trafficking victims to stay in the country was tied to cooperation with criminal proceedings.²³⁰

Trafficking of Children

The Human Rights Committee has also expressed particular concern at the prevalence of trafficking in children,²³¹ noting the specific vulnerability of ethnic minority children,²³² street children,²³³ unaccompanied immigrant children,²³⁴ and orphans,²³⁵ to such exploitation. Recalling States' obligation to ensure special protection to children,²³⁶ the Human Rights Committee has emphasized that States should increase efforts to combat trafficking in children, including providing support to economically disadvantaged families to allow them to properly care for and protect their children;²³⁷ creating mechanisms to monitor placement of children (noting that kidnappings be easily disguised as adoptions),²³⁸ rehabilitating street children,²³⁹ increasing public awareness of the problem,²⁴⁰ investigating kidnappings and cases of missing children,²⁴¹ and prosecuting and punishing perpetrators who sexually exploit children.²⁴²

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

The Human Rights Committee has raised concerns in a few instances about violence in institutional settings. On at least one occasion, the Human Rights Committee expressed concern about reports of physical abuse of persons with disabilities who reside in institutions or sheltered housing, and called on the State to increase awareness among persons with disabilities about their rights and possible forms of protection and redress.²⁴³

Violence in Schools

The Human Rights Committee has also expressed concern at reports in a few States about child abuse, sexual exploitation, and sexual harassment in schools.²⁴⁴ The Human Rights Committee has called on States to take steps to reduce sexual violence in school settings,²⁴⁵ including by raising awareness among and training educational personnel and students,²⁴⁶ improving mechanisms for early detection,²⁴⁷ encouraging reporting of suspected and actual abuse,²⁴⁸ and ensuring the thorough investigation, prosecution, and punishment of perpetrators in such cases.²⁴⁹

Sexual Violence in Prisons

Sexual violence in prisons is also an issue of concern to the Human Rights Committee,²⁵⁰ and the Committee has emphasized concern about allegations of sexual violence against juvenile offenders in particular and the lack of investigations into and prosecutions of such violence.²⁵¹ To address sexual violence in prisons, the Human Rights Committee has called for the separation of juvenile offenders from adult offenders,²⁵² alternative sanctions to jail time for juvenile offenders,²⁵³ and the investigation and prosecution of perpetrators of sexual violence in prisons.²⁵⁴ On at least one occasion, the Human Rights Committee has called for mandatory gender-sensitive training of prison officers regarding sexual violence.²⁵⁵

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The Human Rights Committee has expressed deep concern over high rates of rape and other forms of sexual violence committed in areas of conflict—especially those perpetrated by militias, armed forces, UN troops, and police²⁵⁶—and has noted in particular the difficulties that refugee and displaced women face in accessing justice for such violence.²⁵⁷

Preventing Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings

The Human Rights Committee has called on States to increase protection for civilians in areas of conflict,²⁵⁸ emphasizing the particular vulnerability of displaced persons within and around camps;²⁵⁹ strengthen the capacity to protect displaced women from sexual violence;²⁶⁰ provide victims of sexual violence with necessary assistance;²⁶¹ conduct birth registration campaigns and issue birth certificates to newborn children of refugee parents;²⁶² adopt a legal framework to address concerns specific to internal displacement;²⁶³ and create conditions that offer lasting solutions to displaced persons, including voluntary and safe return.²⁶⁴ Where security forces are responsible for sexual violence, the Human Rights Committee has urged the dismissal, investigation, prosecution, and punishment for any security force members that commit crimes involving sexual violence²⁶⁵ and has called for guidelines and compulsory human rights trainings for members of the armed forces.²⁶⁶

Access to Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings

The Human Rights Committee has emphasized that States must improve access to justice for victims of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings. In particular, the Human Rights Committee has called on States to conduct investigations, and prosecute and punish perpetrators of sexual violence of refugees and displaced persons.²⁶⁷ The Committee has also encouraged at least one State to consider developing mobile courts to facilitate access to justice for displaced persons living in camps.²⁶⁸

The Human Rights Committee has further expressed concern over the slow pace of investigations and prosecutions for sexual violence that occurred during times of conflict,²⁶⁹ as well as the lack of support that sexual violence victims experienced throughout the process²⁷⁰ and challenges they face in reporting crimes of sexual violence.²⁷¹ Accordingly, the Human Rights Committee has urged States to ensure adequate psychological support to victims of sexual violence, particularly during trials²⁷² and called on at least two States to push forward their efforts to ensure that war crimes and other human rights violations—including sexual violence—do not go unpunished.²⁷³ The Human Rights Committee further encouraged States to ensure that domestic criminal codes treat sexual violence during conflict with the seriousness that such crimes demand.²⁷⁴ The Human Rights Committee has also called on at least one State to adopt and effectively implement laws and policies aimed at ensuring access to justice and reparations for civilian victims of conflict, including survivors of sexual violence and other forms of torture, and to ensure that civilian victims of war have equal access to social benefits, including personal disability benefits.²⁷⁵

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

The Human Rights Committee has expressed concern about the disproportionate impact of gender-based violence against specific populations, including women and girls with disabilities,²⁷⁶ ethnic minorities,²⁷⁷ indigenous women,²⁷⁸ immigrants,²⁷⁹ and older women.²⁸⁰

Indigenous Women

In at least one instance, the Human Rights Committee has called for better cooperation with tribal authorities to better address the disproportionate violence that indigenous women face.²⁸¹ In another instance, the Human Rights Committee has called on a State to strengthen efforts to eliminate violence against indigenous women.²⁸²

Older Women

The Human Rights Committee has called on at least one State to take measures to protect older women who are accused of witchcraft from ill treatment and abuse, recommending the State to carry out awareness-raising campaigns about the negative effects of such violence.²⁸³

Individuals in Same Sex Relationships

The Human Rights Committee has further noted that same-sex couples may face challenges in obtaining protection against gender-based violence, and called on at least one State to ensure thorough investigations into reports of domestic violence in same-sex relationships.²⁸⁴

Immigrant Women

The Human Rights Committee has noted that immigrant women may similarly face challenges in obtaining gender-based violence protection,²⁸⁵ and called for laws and policies to ensure that immigrant victims of gender-based violence do not risk losing their visa status when reporting such violence,²⁸⁶ calling on at least one State to ensure that immigration laws do not effectively force immigrant women to remain in abusive relationships.²⁸⁷

Individual Complaints

■ Kaba v. Canada (2010)

In 2001, Diene Kaba found her husband and two practitioners of female circumcision about to perform the procedure on her six-year-old daughter.²⁸⁸ She fled with her daughter to Canada and applied for refugee status, which she was denied in 2002; she then applied for humanitarian relief based on the widespread practice of female circumcision in her home country of Guinea and the evidence of her husband's desire to perform the procedure on her daughter, but was also denied this relief.²⁸⁹ The Human Rights Committee found that Kaba's daughter was at real risk of being subjected to female circumcision if returned to Guinea, and that female circumcision was a form of torture or ill-treatment under Article 7.²⁹⁰ As such, the Committee determined that deportation to Guinea would be a violation of Article 7, read in conjunction with Article 24 (ensuring special protection for minors),²⁹¹ and that Canada must refrain from deporting Kaba's daughter.²⁹²

■ L.N.P. v Argentina (2011)

L.N.P., a member of an ethnic minority group, was raped at age 15 by three individuals who were not members of that group.²⁹³ When she reported the crime, she faced numerous barriers to accessing justice, including not being provided with information in her language, not being informed of the right to testify, and not being informed of the judgment acquitting the perpetrators such that she could not file an appeal.²⁹⁴ The Human Rights Committee found that Argentina had violated L.N.P.'s rights in several respects, including her rights to special protection as a minor, to non-discrimination based on both gender and ethnicity, to be free from torture or ill-treatment, to privacy, to access courts in conditions of equality, and to an effective remedy.²⁹⁵ As part of its judgment, the Human Rights Committee called on Argentina to provide agreed-to compensation to L.N.P. and to take measures to ensure that similar violations do not happen in the future, including by ensuring access to courts in conditions of equality.²⁹⁶

Gaps in the Standards

The Human Rights Committee has covered many of the aspects of the right to be free from gender-based violence that it can within its mandate under the ICCPR. However, there are a few areas where the Human Rights Committee could provide more thorough recommendations to States on how to better protect the right of women with disabilities to be free from gender-based violence.

With respect to legislative and policy reform, the Human Rights Committee could encourage States to ensure that laws and policies to prevent and punish domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence address the full range of forms of gender-based violence that women with disabilities face, such as violence at the hands of caregivers. Encouraging participation not just by women, but by diverse groups of women including women with disabilities, in decision-making matters related to legislation and policy would also help to address this issue. The Human Rights Committee could also better address the need to tackle the factors and root causes that contribute to the heightened vulnerability of women with disabilities to gender-based violence.

Although the Human Rights Committee has addressed the need for disaggregated data, it has not identified disability as a basis for disaggregation, and it would be important for the Human Rights Committee to include disability among the identified characteristics. The Human Rights Committee could additionally underscore the

need for disaggregated data on disability and human trafficking. The Human Rights Committee could also more consistently address the undertake awareness raising campaigns on the rights of people with disabilities to be free from violence, with a particular focus on the rights of women with disabilities to be free from gender-based violence.

The Human Rights Committee has not consistently addressed the need to ensure that services to prevent, protect, and rehabilitate survivors of gender-based violence (and information about such services) are accessible to survivors with disabilities and that service providers, social workers, and other staff are trained on the needs of disabled women who have experienced gender-based violence. Where States have not provided such information, the Human Rights Committee should urge States to assess accessibility of essential gender-based violence services for women with disabilities. Furthermore, in addressing access to justice for gender-based violence victims, the Human Rights Committee has not addressed barriers that women with disabilities face in accessing justice, such as accessibility of police stations and courts, the need for information about rights and legal procedures in alternative formats, the competency of women and girls with disabilities to testify, the need to respect legal capacity of women with disabilities, and the need to train law enforcement and judicial officers on the unique concerns of women with disabilities who have experienced gender-based violence, among others.

For violence in institutional settings, it would be important for the Human Rights Committee to underscore the need for training for institutional personnel on the rights and needs of people with disabilities, especially in light of the high rates of institutionalization (including imprisonment) of people with disabilities, and the fact that people with disabilities are more likely to experience violence in a range of institutional settings, including in prisons, schools, and mental health facilities.

Finally, the Human Rights Committee has not addressed the need for sexual and reproductive health services for victims of violence, including pregnancy termination, screening for HIV and other STIs, and services focused on the unique needs of disabled women and girls.

Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ESCR Committee) is the expert body that monitors implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Through its General Comments and Concluding Observations, the ESCR Committee has demonstrated that, under the ICESCR, States must take appropriate measures to combat gender-based violence, as well as act with due diligence to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and redress acts of violence committed against women with disabilities.²⁹⁷ In particular, the ESCR Committee has found that violations of the right to be free from gender-based violence contravenes articles 2 (non-discrimination), 3 (equal right of men and women to enjoyment of all economic, social, and cultural rights), 7 (right to just and favorable conditions of work), 10 (family protection), 11 (adequate housing), and 12 (right to health).

General Comments

■ General Comment No. 5: Persons with disabilities (1995)

In its General Comment No. 5, the ESCR Committee recognizes that women with disabilities suffer double discrimination as women and as persons with disabilities, noting, however, that this double discrimination is often neglected due to the fact that persons with disabilities are often treated as “genderless human beings.”²⁹⁸ The Committee thus encourages States to address this double discrimination.²⁹⁹ The Committee recognizes that disability-related discrimination can take various forms, including neglect, prejudices, and false assumptions, which can prevent people with disabilities from realizing their economic, social, and cultural rights.³⁰⁰

The ESCR Committee explains that the protection and assistance accorded to the family under article 10 of the ICESCR means that everything possible should be done to enable people with disabilities to remain living with their families.³⁰¹ It further notes that women with disabilities are subjected to sterilizations and abortions without their informed consent is a serious violation of the right to special protection for mothers.³⁰² Finally, the Committee emphasizes that children with disabilities, who are entitled to special protection, are “especially vulnerable to exploitation, abuse and neglect.”³⁰³

■ General Comment No. 7: The right to adequate housing (1997)

In its General Comment No. 7, the ESCR Committee emphasizes that women, children, youth, older persons, indigenous people, ethnic and other minorities, and other vulnerable individuals and groups all suffer disproportionately from the practice of forced eviction,³⁰⁴ which it defines as the “permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection.”³⁰⁵ Women are especially vulnerable to forced evictions, and, when rendered homeless, they are particularly vulnerable to acts of violence and sexual abuse.³⁰⁶ Recognizing this heightened vulnerability, the ESCR Committee explained that States owe women an additional obligation to take appropriate measures to ensure that no form of discrimination is involved where evictions occur.³⁰⁷ The Committee further called on States to adopt procedural protections to prevent the harsh effects that can result from forced evictions, such as being rendered homeless or being vulnerable to the violation of other human rights.³⁰⁸

■ General Comment No. 13: The right to education (1999)

In its General Comment No. 13, the ESCR Committee emphasizes education is essential to empowering women and safeguarding children from sexual exploitation.³⁰⁹ The Committee also calls for States to eliminate gender and other stereotyping which impedes the educational access of girls, women, and other disadvantaged groups.³¹⁰ The ESCR Committee explains that stopping girls from going to school, failing to repeal discriminatory legislation, and failing to take measures to address de facto educational discrimination all violate the right to education as protected under the ICESCR.³¹¹

■ **General Comment No. 14: The right to the highest attainable standard of health (2000)**

In its General Comment No. 14, the ESCR Committee notes that a major goal for States should be reducing women's health risks, including protecting women from domestic violence.³¹² To this end, the Committee explains that States must "take measures to protect all vulnerable or marginalized groups of society, in particular women, children, adolescents and older persons, in the light of gender-based expressions of violence."³¹³ The Committee further explains that a failure to protect women against violence or to prosecute perpetrators to discourage the continued observance of harmful traditional medical or cultural practices violates the right to health.³¹⁴ Furthermore, the ESCR Committee notes that the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health is comprised of a set of freedoms, including the right to sexual and reproductive freedom and to be free from non-consensual medical treatments.³¹⁵

In identifying State obligations to protect the right to health, the ESCR Committee explains that States must ensure that harmful social or traditional practices do not interfere with access to pre- and post-natal care and family-planning and must prevent both state and non-state actors from coercing women to undergo traditional practices.³¹⁶ Further obligations include information campaigns, including on domestic violence.³¹⁷

■ **General Comment No. 16: The equal right of men and women to enjoyment of all economic, social, and cultural rights (2005)**

In its General Comment No. 16, the ESCR Committee explains that gender-based violence is a form of discrimination that inhibits the ability to enjoy rights and freedoms, including economic, social and cultural rights, on a basis of equality.³¹⁸ In this sense, States must take appropriate measures to eliminate violence against men and women and act with due diligence to prevent, investigate, mediate, punish and redress acts of violence against them by private actors.³¹⁹ The Committee also notes that implementing Article 3, in relation to Article 10, requires States to provide victims of domestic violence with access to safe housing, remedies and redress for physical, mental and emotional damage.³²⁰

The ESCR Committee further explains that States must ensure that men and women have an equal right to choose if, whom and when to marry, that boys and girls are equally protected from practices that promote child marriage or marriage by proxy or coercion, and that women have equal rights to marital property and inheritance upon their husband's death.³²¹ States additionally must create favorable conditions to ensure the safety of children, in particular girls, on their way to and from school,³²² and must utilize information and awareness-raising campaigns to deter families from giving preferential treatment to boys when sending their children to school.³²³

■ **General Comment No. 20: Non-discrimination in economic and social rights (2009)**

In its General Comment No. 20, the ESCR Committee details the grounds on which discrimination is prohibited under the ICESCR, including sex, disability, and intersecting identities like both sex and disability.³²⁴ The ESCR Committee recognizes that discrimination is frequently encountered in families, workplaces, and other sectors of society,³²⁵ but notably, the General Comment does not discuss gender-based violence or disability-based abuses as a form of discrimination.

■ **General Comment No. 22: The right to sexual and reproductive health (2016)**

In its General Comment No. 22, the ESCR Committee recognizes that the right to sexual and reproductive health intersects with the right to be free from gender-based violence in numerous interconnected ways. First, the Committee notes that the right to sexual and reproductive health includes the right to make free and responsible decisions and choices, free of violence, coercion, and discrimination, over one's body and sexual and reproductive health.³²⁶ To that end, the Committee has an obligation to enact "laws, policies and programs to prevent, address and remediate violations of all individuals' right to autonomous decision-making on matters regarding their sexual and reproductive health, free from violence, coercion, and discrimination."³²⁷

The ESCR Committee also explains that States have an obligation to provide essential health services—including both physical and mental health services and access to post-exposure prevention, emergency contraception, and safe abortion services—to survivors of sexual and domestic violence in all situations.³²⁸

Additionally, the ESCR Committee explains that the right to sexual and reproductive health includes the right to the underlying determinants of sexual and reproductive health, including, among others, effective protection from all forms of violence, torture and discrimination.³²⁹ Accordingly, States must take necessary measures to protect individuals from harmful practices and gender-based violence that deny them their sexual and reproductive health, including female genital mutilation, early and forced marriage and domestic and sexual violence including marital rape.³³⁰ The Committee recognizes that individuals belonging to particular groups, including persons with disabilities, may be disproportionately impacted by discrimination with respect to realizing their sexual and reproductive health. For example, the ESCR Committee notes that women and girls living in conflict situations are disproportionately exposed to the high risk of violence—including systematic rape, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy and forced sterilization—that infringes on their fundamental rights.³³¹ Accordingly, the ESCR Committee explains that States must take steps to prevent and eliminate discrimination, stigmatization, and negative stereotyping, an obligation that may include the devotion of additional resources to overcome systemic discrimination.³³²

■ **General Comment No. 23: The right to just and favourable conditions of work (2016)**

In its General Comment No. 23, the ESCR Committee highlights that workers should be free from sexual and other forms of harassment, such as on the basis of sex, gender identity, and disability.³³³ The Committee further explains that legislation, such as anti-discrimination laws, the Penal Code and labor laws, should define harassment broadly, with explicit reference to sexual and other forms of harassment, such as on the basis of sex, disability, race, sexual orientation, gender identity, and intersex status.³³⁴ States have an obligation to define and prohibit harassment, including sexual harassment at work through law, ensure appropriate complaints procedures and mechanisms and establish criminal sanctions for sexual harassment; among other measures.³³⁵

■ **General Comment No. 24: State Obligations under the ICESCR in the Context of Business Activities (2017)**

In its General Comment No. 24, the ESCR Committee recognizes that investment-linked evictions and displacements often result in physical and sexual violence against, and inadequate compensation and additional burdens related to resettlement for, women and girls, in particular, indigenous women and girls due to their gender and because they identify as indigenous people.³³⁶ The Committee accordingly recommends that States parties incorporate a gender perspective into all measures to regulate business activities that may adversely affect economic, social and cultural rights.³³⁷ Moreover, the ESCR Committee explains that the obligation to protect entails a duty to adopt a legal framework requiring business entities to exercise human rights due diligence in order to identify, prevent and mitigate the risks of violations of Covenant rights, and to account for the adverse impacts caused or contributed to by their decisions and operations.³³⁸ Therefore, States should adopt measures such as imposing due diligence requirements to prevent abuses in a business entity's supply chain and by subcontractors, suppliers, franchisees, or other business partners.³³⁹

Concluding Observations

Through its concluding observations, the ESCR Committee routinely expresses concern about high rates of gender-based violence, including sexual and domestic violence,³⁴⁰ and frequently calls on States to take necessary and effective measures to combat violence against women and children.³⁴¹

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

Comprehensive Gender-Based Violence Legislation

On several occasions, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the limits of existing legislation in ensuring access to justice for victims of gender-based violence,³⁴² including gaps in provisions on the investigation and sanctioning of perpetrators.³⁴³ The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to several States about a failure to criminalize domestic violence, including marital rape and psychological violence,³⁴⁴ as well as the lack of specific legislation on domestic or gender-based violence.³⁴⁵ The ESCR Committee has also lamented the failure of some States to adopt a comprehensive strategy to combat all forms of violence against women or to support victims of domestic and gender-based violence.³⁴⁶ The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to at least one State that the legislative definition of incest throughout much of the country does not adequately protect victims of incest, including children.³⁴⁷

The ESCR Committee has called on a number of States to adopt and implement legislation, national plans of action, and other measures aimed at eliminating all forms of domestic, sexual, and other forms of gender-based violence,³⁴⁸ and has emphasized on a number of occasions the need for laws to criminalize domestic violence,³⁴⁹ spousal rape,³⁵⁰ sexual harassment,³⁵¹ and certain harmful practices, such as female genital mutilation and breast ironing.³⁵² In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has said that effective legislation must define the offenses of domestic violence and incest, as well as the sentences for perpetrators of such acts.³⁵³ The ESCR Committee has called on at least one State to ensure that a criminal law on rape comprise all forms of sexual violence, including marital rape, and provide for adequate protection of victims against additional trauma.³⁵⁴ The Committee has asked at least one other State to expressly provide for protection orders in legislation addressing domestic violence.³⁵⁵ The ESCR Committee has urged at least two States to adopt legislation providing for effective compensation to and services for victims of gender-based violence.³⁵⁶ The ESCR Committee has asked at least one State to provide information about legislative and other measures it is taking to address domestic and gender-based violence during its next review.³⁵⁷

In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has emphasized the need for a State to maintain and promote forums for direct participation by women in decision-making at the local and national level in respect to violence against women and to ensure their participation and representation by civil society.³⁵⁸

Full and Effective Implementation

In addition to gaps in existing legislation, the ESCR Committee has also expressed concern about the prevalence of violence against women and children due to inadequate implementation of legislation, national action plans, and other measures.³⁵⁹

The ESCR Committee has called on a number of States to ensure effective enforcement and implementation of laws, policies, and national action plans aimed at eliminating gender-based violence, including domestic violence,³⁶⁰ including by allocating adequate human and financial resources necessary to implement such measures.³⁶¹ It has further recommended that States adequately resource action plans and government bodies working to reduce sexual and gender violence.³⁶² In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee expressed concern about a lack of harmonization between different laws that address the crime of domestic violence, and encouraged the State to harmonize these laws to ensure effective implementation.³⁶³ The Committee has called on at least one State to assess the implementation of various measures and plans on the incidence of violence against women.³⁶⁴

The ESCR Committee has called on at least one State to involve civil society in the monitoring of a national plan to combat violence against women.³⁶⁵

Mitigating Laws

In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee expressed concern about the fact that one State maintains a Penal Code provision that exonerates rapists who marry their victims, as well as provisions that allow mitigated sentences for violent acts against girls and women that are committed under the pretext of “family honor.”³⁶⁶ The

ESCR Committee called on this State to repeal these sections of the Penal Code with a view to ensuring zero tolerance of gender-based violence.³⁶⁷

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Statistics and Data Collection

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the lack of systematic data collection on domestic violence or available statistics on violence against women, including sexual exploitation of women and children.³⁶⁸ The Committee has similarly lamented the lack of data disaggregated by sex, age, and other relevant status, as well as the relationship between victim and perpetrator.³⁶⁹ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the fact that statistical data is not readily accessible to the general public.³⁷⁰ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern to at least two States about the lack of information on the effective implementation of measures taken and their impact on the decrease of gender-based violence, as well as lack of information on the number of women affected by gender-based violence, including in rural areas.³⁷¹

The ESCR Committee has called for improved, systematic data collection on gender-based violence³⁷² and has emphasized to a few States the need for data to be disaggregated by a range of relevant factors, including sex, age, disability, ethnicity/minority status, urban/rural status, and relationship between victim and perpetrator.³⁷³ The ESCR Committee called on at least one State to carry out an in-depth analysis of available data, and called on another State to conduct research on the prevalence, causes, and consequences of all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence and marital rape, to devise targeted policies and strategies to combat all forms of violence against women.³⁷⁴

The ESCR Committee has asked at least one State to make statistical data on domestic violence readily accessible to the public.³⁷⁵ The ESCR Committee has called on several States to include information, including disaggregated data, in its next report about the incidence of various forms of violence against women and girls,³⁷⁶ together with statistics on prosecutions and convictions.³⁷⁷

Awareness-Raising

The ESCR Committee regularly urges States to use awareness raising campaigns to combat domestic and gender-based violence,³⁷⁸ including by raising awareness about the gravity and criminal nature of domestic violence³⁷⁹ and the negative effects of gender-based violence.³⁸⁰ The ESCR Committee has called on a few States to carry out awareness-raising campaigns to eliminate patriarchal attitudes and gender stereotypes and to inform women about their rights,³⁸¹ and called on another State to address the causes of domestic violence, as well as the specific needs of domestic violence victims.³⁸² The Committee has also emphasized to several States the need for awareness-raising efforts to address violence against disadvantaged and marginalized groups,³⁸³ including migrant and ethnic minority women,³⁸⁴ and to address abuse and neglect of children.³⁸⁵ It has also urged at least one State to use awareness raising campaigns to dispel the traditional belief that domestic violence is a private family matter.³⁸⁶

The ESCR Committee has recommended States target certain sectors of the population with awareness raising campaigns. For instance, the Committee emphasized to at least two States the need for awareness-raising campaigns and trainings to sensitize boys and men in particular about the unacceptability of any form of domestic violence and to combat the attitudes and behaviors that perpetuate violence against women in all forms.³⁸⁷ The ESCR Committee has also urged several States to focus on raising awareness of law enforcement officials about domestic violence.³⁸⁸ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has emphasized the need for nation-wide awareness-raising campaigns, including through use of the media, to promote substantive equality between men and women.³⁸⁹ The Committee has also emphasized on at least two occasions the need for awareness-raising efforts to reach rural or remote areas.³⁹⁰

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to at least two States about the lack of information on the impact of the State's awareness-raising campaigns on the reduction of domestic violence,³⁹¹ and in at least one

instance, asked a State to report on the impact of awareness raising campaigns in reducing domestic violence.³⁹²

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The ESCR Committee regularly expresses concern about the prevalence of domestic violence,³⁹³ noting with concern that domestic violence can lead to life-threatening physical injuries.³⁹⁴ At least once, the ESCR Committee has recognized domestic violence as a harmful practice,³⁹⁵ and in another instance, the ESCR Committee noted that domestic violence, and particularly marital rape, are particularly pervasive in forced marriages.³⁹⁶ In at least two instances, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about both the fact that women and girls with disabilities experience high rates of domestic violence and that State efforts to respond to violence against women and girls with disabilities have been inadequate.³⁹⁷ The ESCR Committee has called on a number of States to adopt and/or strengthen measures to prevent and combat domestic violence.³⁹⁸

In particular, the ESCR Committee has explicitly recognized the need to address root causes of gender-based and domestic violence.³⁹⁹ The Committee expressed concern to at least two States that the persistence of negative gender roles, including representation of women as sex objects and traditional stereotypes of women in the family and society, make women more vulnerable to domestic violence.⁴⁰⁰ In at least a few instances, the ESCR Committee has called on States to address economic inequality, particularly between men and women, which is an underlying cause of gender-based and domestic violence. For example, the ESCR Committee called on at least two States to ensure that women have equal rights to property and inheritance,⁴⁰¹ including ensuring that such rights are not dependent upon marital status.⁴⁰² In another instance, the ESCR Committee expressed concern about the impact of austerity measures on the realization of fundamental rights of disadvantaged and marginalized individuals and groups.⁴⁰³

Remedies and Redress

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern about insufficient support services for, and inadequate or ineffective measures to protect, domestic violence victims,⁴⁰⁴ citing budget cuts for such services as an underlying cause in at least two States.⁴⁰⁵ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern about a lack of shelters for victims.⁴⁰⁶ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee expressed further concern about the fact that shelters for victims of violence are inadequately resourced and that women victims of violence are often unaware of their location or the procedures necessary to access such shelters.⁴⁰⁷ In one instance, the Committee was concerned about a lack of information about available protective measures, including assistance, rehabilitation, and shelters.⁴⁰⁸ The ESCR Committee expressed concern to at least one State that health care services were inadequate to support victims of domestic violence and failed to offer appropriate treatment programs.⁴⁰⁹

The ESCR Committee has called on States to strengthen support, protective, and rehabilitation services for victims of domestic violence,⁴¹⁰ including offering adequate access to shelters and other safe housing options,⁴¹¹ crisis centers and hotlines,⁴¹² legal assistance,⁴¹³ medical care,⁴¹⁴ psychological support and counselling,⁴¹⁵ and redress and compensation.⁴¹⁶ In at least two instances, the ESCR Committee has emphasized the need to ensure that support services are available to women with disabilities and that they receive adequate assistance.⁴¹⁷ The ESCR Committee emphasized to at least one State the need to ensure that restrictive austerity measures do not undermine the protection afforded to victims.⁴¹⁸ On at least one occasion, the Committee has called for adequate staffing of victim support services,⁴¹⁹ and it has also called on at least one State to increase support services available at the local level.⁴²⁰

With respect to shelters, the ESCR Committee has emphasized the need to ensure sufficient numbers of shelters,⁴²¹ and to ensure that such shelters are well-distributed, including in rural and remote areas, to ensure they are available throughout the country⁴²² and that they receive adequate resources.⁴²³

The ESCR Committee has also underscored the need to train medical and/or social workers on domestic violence (including both how to detect and how to advise victims of domestic violence) and women's rights more

generally.⁴²⁴ The ESCR Committee in one instance expressly emphasized the need for medical and social workers to be trained on the special needs of persons with disabilities in the context of domestic violence,⁴²⁵ and in another instance, about how to detect and advise refugee women and girls who are victims of domestic violence.⁴²⁶

The ESCR Committee has called on at least one State to include information about the measures taken to address domestic violence, including facilities and remedies provided for victims, in its next report.⁴²⁷

Domestic Abuse of Children

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to a few States about the high prevalence of domestic abuse of children, expressing concern about high rates of psychological violence (including neglect), sexual abuse, and other forms of physical violence (including the use of corporal punishment).⁴²⁸ It also expressed concern about the lack of access to, and inadequate budgets for, Child Protection Units, particularly in rural areas,⁴²⁹ as well as the lack of access to psychosocial support for child victims of domestic violence.⁴³⁰

The ESCR Committee has called on at least two States to take appropriate measures to prevent and eliminate domestic violence against children, including through legislative, policy and institutional measures to prevent and counter sexual abuse and physical and psychological violence against children in the family⁴³¹ and by prohibiting all forms of corporal punishment, including in family settings.⁴³² The Committee has also urged at least one State to identify and protect children who are most vulnerable to abuse, neglect, and sexual exploitation.⁴³³ The Committee further recommended adequate access to and appropriate budgetary support for Child Protection Units to ensure support for children who are victims of such violence.⁴³⁴ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee called on a State to ensure adequate crisis centers, including safe lodging and assistance, for all victims of domestic violence, including children who are abused or neglected.⁴³⁵

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The ESCR Committee expressed concern to States about the prevalence of sexual violence, despite legislative measures to address it.⁴³⁶ It has also expressed concern to at least one State about the low number of rape cases that are brought to courts.⁴³⁷ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has emphasized the need to provide training for law enforcement officials on sexual violence.⁴³⁸ The ESCR Committee has also recommended to at least one State the provision of adequate assistance and rehabilitation to victims of sexual violence.⁴³⁹

Sexual Violence against Children

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the prevalence of sexual violence against children, particularly girls.⁴⁴⁰ In at least one other instance, the Committee expressed concern about sexual abuse of children who are left in the care of other people while their parents seek work abroad.⁴⁴¹ The Committee expressed concern to at least one State about the high rates of street children who are exposed to various forms of violence, including sexual abuse and exploitation.⁴⁴² It has further expressed concern to at least one State about the lack of information on the extent of sexual abuse and exploitation of children.⁴⁴³

The ESCR Committee has recommended that at least two States implement measures against sexual abuse of children, especially girls, including through monitoring, reporting, prosecution, and information campaigns targeting parents, communities, and children.⁴⁴⁴ It called on another State to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the extent of sexual abuse of children, with a view to reviewing the need for additional legislative or administrative measures to address the problem.⁴⁴⁵ The Committee has called on at least one State to take steps to protect children without parental care from sexual abuse and exploitation,⁴⁴⁶ and called on another State to address the root causes of street children.⁴⁴⁷ The Committee has also emphasized the need to provide support services for the physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of child victims of rape and other sexual abuse or violence.⁴⁴⁸

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to several States about the persistence of sexual harassment in the workplace,⁴⁴⁹ and has noted with concern the lack of data in one State on complaints and court cases related to sexual harassment and their outcome.⁴⁵⁰

The ESCR Committee called on several States to take all appropriate measures to combat sexual harassment,⁴⁵¹ including by ensuring implementation of existing legislation.⁴⁵² It has also requested at least two States to provide information on sexual harassment in the workplace in its next periodic report, including data on the number of cases brought to the courts and their outcome.⁴⁵³ The ESCR Committee has also recommended at least one State intensify efforts to raise public awareness about sexual harassment.⁴⁵⁴

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Barriers to Access to Justice

On several occasions, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about barriers to access to justice for victims of gender-based violence,⁴⁵⁵ including legislative gaps for the investigation and sanctioning of perpetrators and failure to provide legislative protection and assistance to victims of domestic violence,⁴⁵⁶ inadequate protection facilities,⁴⁵⁷ ineffective enforcement of existing laws,⁴⁵⁸ and insufficient coordination among different levels of governance.⁴⁵⁹ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee noted that reliance on traditional forms of justice can often override women's rights.⁴⁶⁰ The ESCR Committee has expressed concern in at least one instance that high rates of gender-based violence and sexual assault are linked to gender-biased attitudes that blame the female victim.⁴⁶¹ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State about a persistent climate of impunity for femicide and other forms of violence against women, as well as fear among victims with regard to reporting cases of gender-based violence.⁴⁶²

The ESCR Committee has emphasized to several States the need to ensure effective access to justice for victims of gender-based violence.⁴⁶³

Due Diligence Obligations

The ESCR Committee regularly expresses concern about the low numbers of domestic violence prosecutions and/or convictions,⁴⁶⁴ citing concerns about inaction, delays, and/or lack of knowledge of relevant laws on the part of law enforcement and the court system,⁴⁶⁵ lack of reporting such violence to the police,⁴⁶⁶ and lack of skilled investigations.⁴⁶⁷ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern in at least two States that perpetrators of domestic violence go unpunished or under-punished (such as in cases where penalties take the form of fines or suspended prison sentences).⁴⁶⁸ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern to several States about the lack of information on investigations, prosecutions, convictions, and sanctions against perpetrators of gender-based violence and on compensation for victims,⁴⁶⁹ and asked several States to provide such information in their next report.⁴⁷⁰ The Committee expressed concern to a few States that redress for victims of violence against women is limited,⁴⁷¹ noting to at least one State concern about the fact that protective orders are seldom issued.⁴⁷²

The ESCR Committee has recommended that States strengthen measures to respond to cases of gender-based and domestic violence, including measures to ensure prompt and impartial investigations⁴⁷³ and to prosecute and punish perpetrators of such violence.⁴⁷⁴ The Committee also has emphasized the need to guarantee effective and immediate protection, assistance, rehabilitation, and compensation to redress victims.⁴⁷⁵ The ESCR Committee has regularly recommended that States take steps to encourage reporting of domestic violence,⁴⁷⁶ including by ensuring that victims are adequately protected against retaliation,⁴⁷⁷ by raising awareness among women and girls (including of legal avenues to receive protection from domestic violence),⁴⁷⁸ by making it easier for women to file complaints,⁴⁷⁹ and by ensuring that complaints are handled without any inherent bias or skepticism toward alleged victims.⁴⁸⁰ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee called on a State to provide police protection for victims of gender-based violence,⁴⁸¹ and in another instance, it recommended the recruitment of female police officers.⁴⁸² The ESCR Committee has also called on at least one State to encourage

and facilitate coordination among all actors working on domestic violence cases,⁴⁸³ and it called on another State to monitor public officials dealing with domestic violence to ensure that they are meeting their responsibilities.⁴⁸⁴

The ESCR Committee has recommended that at least two States facilitate access to complaint procedures for women and girls with disabilities and that they ensure that domestic violence victims with disabilities receive adequate protection, support, and assistance.⁴⁸⁵

The ESCR Committee has emphasized to at least one State the need to ensure that perpetrators of sexual abuse are prosecuted and punished,⁴⁸⁶ and that child victims of sexual abuse have access to recovery and reintegration services.⁴⁸⁷

Training and Guidance for Relevant Authorities

The ESCR Committee has called on a number of States to provide training for law enforcement officials, judges, and/or prosecutors about handling gender-based and sexual violence cases and the criminal nature of domestic violence.⁴⁸⁸ It suggested at least one State specifically target police officers in police units for women with such trainings,⁴⁸⁹ and encouraged at least two States to make such trainings mandatory.⁴⁹⁰ In at least one instance, it has also called for training regarding the treatment of caste-based and other crimes related to discriminatory attitudes and prejudices.⁴⁹¹

The ESCR Committee in one instance expressly emphasized the need for law enforcement to be trained on the “special” needs of persons with disabilities in the context of domestic violence.⁴⁹²

Legal Assistance to Victims

In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the lack of free legal aid services, which prevents especially disadvantaged and marginalized individuals and groups from claiming their rights and obtaining appropriate remedies.⁴⁹³ The ESCR Committee called on several States to provide legal support for victims of gender-based and domestic violence.⁴⁹⁴ The Committee has further called on at least one State to strengthen and expand legal counseling programs by allocating necessary resources to the courts and tribunals dealing with femicide and other forms of violence against women.⁴⁹⁵ In at least one instance, the Committee has underscored the need for a State to ensure adequate protection of victims against additional trauma during the various stages of the legal proceedings.⁴⁹⁶

Access to Justice for Children

In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has recommended that a State properly investigate instances of abuse and neglect of children with a child-sensitive inquiry.⁴⁹⁷ The Committee has similarly recommended that judicial procedures be carried out to ensure better protection of child victims, including protection of their rights to privacy.⁴⁹⁸ The Committee has encouraged at least one State to provide support services to children victims of violence in legal proceedings.⁴⁹⁹ The Committee also called on at least one State to provide information on the number of cases of infanticide that are reported to the police and the number of perpetrators brought to justice.⁵⁰⁰

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to several States about the persistence of trafficking in persons, particularly women and children for sexual exploitation and forced labor, despite measures taken to combat it in most instances.⁵⁰¹ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has lamented a failure to adopt specific provisions of criminal law prohibiting trafficking in adults.⁵⁰² The Committee noted particular concern in one instance about the failure of law enforcement officers to identify victims of trafficking.⁵⁰³ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State about the prevalence of bride kidnapping.⁵⁰⁴ In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the lack of information on investigations, prosecutions, convictions, and sanctions imposed on traffickers.⁵⁰⁵

The ESCR Committee called on several States to take measures to prevent and combat various forms of trafficking,⁵⁰⁶ calling for the development and effective implementation of anti-trafficking legislation and national action plans (including through the allocation of sufficient funding),⁵⁰⁷ adequate training of law enforcement officers, the judiciary, and other relevant authorities (including to improve early identification of victims),⁵⁰⁸ investigation, prosecution, and sanctioning of trafficking cases,⁵⁰⁹ raising public awareness about anti-trafficking measures and the criminal nature of trafficking,⁵¹⁰ and increased efforts to enforce criminalization of bride kidnapping and to carry out awareness-raising campaigns on the illegality of bride kidnapping.⁵¹¹ In at least one instance, the Committee encouraged a State to adopt language that explicitly criminalizes human trafficking,⁵¹² and, in another instance, suggested that a State impose on traffickers penalties commensurate with the seriousness of the case.⁵¹³ The ESCR Committee has also called for improved measures to remedy and redress victims of trafficking, calling on at least one State to provide shelters and support for victims of bride kidnapping⁵¹⁴ and another to provide rehabilitation and reparation to trafficking victims.⁵¹⁵ Similarly, the Committee has called for improved protection and assistance for victims, including witness protection programs.⁵¹⁶ The ESCR Committee has further called for improved international cooperation to prevent and combat trafficking.⁵¹⁷

Trafficking of Children

The ESCR Committee has expressed particular concerns about trafficking and economic exploitation of children,⁵¹⁸ including for sexual exploitation⁵¹⁹ and forced marriage.⁵²⁰

The ESCR Committee has called on a few States to intensify economic and social support measures for poor, disadvantaged, and/or marginalized families to combat child trafficking, including by establishing and implementing a comprehensive regulatory framework⁵²¹ and by facilitating access to education for poor and disadvantaged children.⁵²² Similarly, the Committee has called on at least one State to improve protection and reintegration programs that focus on family empowerment, including positive parenting programs, to eliminate various forms of abuse and economic exploitation of children.⁵²³ The ESCR Committee has also recommended at least one State to investigate, prosecute, and sanction individuals responsible for child labor and trafficking.⁵²⁴

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

Institutions for Persons with Disabilities

On several occasions, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about poor living conditions in residential institutions for people with disabilities,⁵²⁵ including a lack of inspection of such institutions⁵²⁶ and substandard treatment and care.⁵²⁷ The Committee expressed concern to at least one State about high rates of suicide among women with psychosocial disabilities living in such psychiatric institutions.⁵²⁸ The Committee has called on at least one State to improve living conditions in residential institutions, including through regular inspections and the development and enforcement of appropriate standards to prevent maltreatment and neglect.⁵²⁹ The Committee requested another State to provide information about facilities for people with disabilities and legal safeguards for the protection against abuse and neglect of patients.⁵³⁰

Violence in Schools

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to at least two States about the prevalence of violence and discrimination in schools.⁵³¹ The Committee has accordingly urged that a State intensify the implementation of measures to prevent violence and discrimination in schools, including through peer programs and enhanced intra-school relations.⁵³² It has also recommended that a State systematically collect data on violence in schools, monitor the impact on student mental health and well-being, and to assess the effectiveness of measures in countering such violence.⁵³³

Institutions for Children

In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about reports of sexual, physical, and mental abuse of children at the hands of caregivers in state-run children's homes and so-called places of safety.⁵³⁴ The ESCR Committee called on the State to ensure the protection of children in state-run child care

institutions, including through the adoption of necessary reforms to effectively monitor, identify, and prosecute individuals responsible for child abuse.⁵³⁵

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to at least one State about high rates of sexual violence, including rape, in and around sites for internally displaced persons and refugee camps.⁵³⁶ The Committee has expressed concern that women and girls in communities of refugees and internally displaced persons are not afforded appropriate protection from, or remedies in respect of, violence in all its forms,⁵³⁷ including concerns about the failure of law enforcement officials to intervene in violence against refugee women and girls.⁵³⁸ Similarly, in another instance, the ESCR Committee expressed concern about the fact that women and girls who are freed from the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) receive very little support for their treatment and recovery and that they may be subject to tribal violence upon release.⁵³⁹ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern about the use of traditional conflict-resolution methods that perpetuate impunity and open the way for violence.⁵⁴⁰

The ESCR Committee has urged at least one State to take steps to investigate and punish all perpetrators of violence against refugees and internally displaced women and children.⁵⁴¹ To that end, the Committee recommended a State to assign more staff to, and include more women in, the police forces responsible for security at camps for refugees and internally displaced persons.⁵⁴² The ESCR Committee called on the State to redouble its efforts to protect women and girls from attacks by ISIL and to take specific measures to provide psychological and other necessary support services and recovery to women and girls freed from ISIL and to ensure that they are not further subjected to tribal violence.⁵⁴³ The Committee has asked at least one State to provide comprehensive information in its next report on the measures taken to protect refugee and internally displaced women and children from all forms of violence, as well as the mechanisms to offer them remedies and opportunities for social reintegration.⁵⁴⁴

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

The ESCR Committee periodically raises concerns about a heightened risk of violence for individuals with certain characteristics or identities. In at least one instance, it has urged a State to generally pay attention to the range of factors that may put certain women at a greater risk of gender-based violence, including due to social environment, drug addiction, illness, and other disadvantageous circumstances.⁵⁴⁵ The Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State that discrimination, harassment, and violence is widespread and often socially accepted when directed at members of disadvantaged and marginalized groups, including women, people with disabilities, indigenous peoples, the urban poor, internally displaced persons, religious minorities, and persons living with HIV.⁵⁴⁶

Women and Children with Disabilities

In at least two instances, the ESCR Committee has recognized that women and girls with disabilities are at disproportionate risk of domestic violence.⁵⁴⁷ The Committee has also recognized that children with disabilities are at a higher risk of being abused, stigmatized or discriminated against.⁵⁴⁸ The Committee expressed concern in at least one instance about the lack of information about safeguards against abuse and neglect for people with disabilities.⁵⁴⁹ The Committee has called on a few States to recognize the ways in which women and girls with disabilities experience domestic violence.⁵⁵⁰ For instance, the Committee expressed concern to at least one State about reports of killings of so-called “witch children,” including infants with disabilities.⁵⁵¹ The Committee called on the State to step up its efforts to prevent and halt killings of “witch children” by enacting criminal laws to prohibit the practice and organizing campaigns to raise awareness of its criminal nature among local authorities, doctors, midwives, and the population at large.⁵⁵²

The ESCR Committee has also called on States to facilitate the ability of women and girls with disabilities who are victims of gender-based violence to lodge complaints,⁵⁵³ and to ensure that they receive adequate protection,

support, and assistance in the process.⁵⁵⁴ The Committee has also called on at least one State to ensure that its child protection system includes procedures to identify, refer, and manage cases of children with disabilities,⁵⁵⁵ in addition to enhancing access of children with disabilities to services.⁵⁵⁶

Social Status

The ESCR Committee has expressed concern to at least one State that women in the Dalit caste experience multiple forms of discrimination and are more vulnerable to sexual exploitation, trafficking, and various forms of violence against women, including domestic violence.⁵⁵⁷ The Committee urged the State to implement laws and policies aimed at eliminating discrimination on the basis of caste, including sensitizing law enforcement officials, investigating and prosecuting acts of discrimination against Dalits, and conducting awareness raising campaigns on the rights of Dalits.⁵⁵⁸ The Committee further urged the State to take specific measures to protect the rights of Dalit women.⁵⁵⁹

Migrant Women

On at least one occasion, the ESCR Committee has recognized that migrant women are at greater risk of violence and abuse.⁵⁶⁰ The ESCR Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State that immigrant women may not be aware of their rights to a family reunification permit when marriage or cohabitation ends due to domestic violence.⁵⁶¹

The ESCR Committee has urged at least two States to provide adequate information to immigrant women about their rights, including in the context of domestic violence and immigration law,⁵⁶² and it called on at least one State to sign bilateral agreements with host countries to better protect the rights of migrant women workers.⁵⁶³ Recognizing the specific vulnerabilities of domestic workers to abuse, the ESCR Committee has, on at least one occasion, called on a State to establish effective mechanisms for reporting abuses and exploitation of domestic workers.⁵⁶⁴

LGBTI Persons

In at least two instances, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about the criminalization of consensual sexual relationships between same-sex couples,⁵⁶⁵ noting that such criminalization can perpetuate discrimination against LGBT individuals in all spheres.⁵⁶⁶ The ESCR Committee has called on at least one State to send a clear public message that any form of discrimination, harassment or violence against individuals for their sexual orientation is not tolerated,⁵⁶⁷ and called on another State to remove the classification of lesbianism as a sexual offence in the Penal Code.⁵⁶⁸ The Committee has further called for the swift and effective investigation, prosecution and sanctioning of violence against individuals on the basis of their sexual orientation.⁵⁶⁹

Ethnic Minority Women

In at least one instance, the ESCR Committee has expressed concern about an increase in violence against women from certain ethnic groups, and called on the State to assess the impact of measures to address gender-based violence against ethnic minority women.⁵⁷⁰

Individual Complaints

The ESCR Committee has not issued any decisions on individual complaints related to gender-based violence as of December 2016.

Gaps in the Standards

Although the ESCR Committee has explicitly addressed violence against women and girls with disabilities in a few of its General Comments and concluding observations, there are several areas where the ESCR Committee could provide more thorough guidance to States to better protect the rights of women and girls with disabilities to be free from gender-based violence.

While the ESCR Committee has called on a few States to recognize the ways in which women and girls with disabilities experience domestic violence, the Committee could do this more consistently and could also provide more concrete guidance on the myriad forms of gender-based violence that women with disabilities face and that should be reflected in laws and policies aimed at eradicating such violence, including abandonment, neglect, withholding of medications and mobility aids, and violence in long-term residential institutions. Encouraging participation not just by women, but by diverse groups of women including women with disabilities, in decision-making matters related to legislation and policy would also help to address this issue. The ESCR Committee could also better address the need to tackle the factors and root causes that contribute to the heightened vulnerability of women with disabilities to gender-based violence.

The ESCR Committee could more consistently identify disability as a basis for disaggregation of data and could additionally underscore the need for disaggregated data on disability and human trafficking. In addition, the ESCR Committee has recognized that certain groups are more vulnerable to gender-based violence, and accordingly should receive heightened attention in awareness-raising campaigns. It would be important for the Committee to recommend States undertake awareness raising campaigns on the rights of people with disabilities to be free from violence, with a particular focus on the rights of women with disabilities to be free from gender-based violence.

It would be important to see the ESCR Committee more consistently encourage States to ensure that support services are available and accessible to women and girls with disabilities who are victims of domestic and gender-based violence and to train relevant medical and service providers about the forms of violence that women with disabilities face and their unique needs in the face of gender-based violence. The ESCR Committee could also provide more concrete guidance to States about how to make support and protective services accessible, including by ensuring that transportation to and from such services is accessible, that they have physically accessible facilities, and that information is provided in a variety of formats (including Braille, easy read, and sign language). Similarly, the ESCR Committee could more consistently call on States to ensure that access to justice mechanisms are accessible to women and girls with disabilities and that law enforcement and the judiciary are trained to work with victims of gender-based violence with disabilities.

Given the strength of the ESCR Committee's General Comment No. 22 identifying the intersections between gender-based violence and sexual and reproductive health, the Committee could draw from that General Comment to encourage more States to ensure the availability of sexual and reproductive health services for victims of violence, including pregnancy termination, screening for HIV and other STIs, and services focused on the unique needs of disabled women and girls.

Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

The Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD Committee) is the expert body that monitors implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). Through its General Comments and Concluding Observations, the CRPD Committee has recognized that violence against women and girls with disabilities violates their fundamental rights protected in the CRPD and that States have an obligation to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate, prosecute, and redress acts of violence committed against women with disabilities and to combat the negative stereotypes and discrimination that make women and girls with disabilities particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence. In particular, violations of the right to be free from gender-based violence implicates CRPD articles 5 (equality and non-discrimination); 6 (women and girls with disabilities); 9 (accessibility); 11 (situations of risk and humanitarian emergencies); 12 (equal recognition before the law); 13 (access to justice); 14 (liberty and security of the person); 15 (freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment); 16 (freedom from exploitation, violence, and abuse); 17 (protecting the integrity of the person); 19 (independent living); 23 (respect for the family); 24 (education); and 25 (health).

General Comments

■ General Comment No. 1: Article 12: Equal recognition before the law (2014)

In its General Comment No. 1, the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD Committee) addresses the right to equality before the law, noting that such equality “is a basic general principle of human rights protection and is indispensable for the exercise of other human rights.”⁵⁷¹ The CRPD Committee emphasizes that this right “implies that legal capacity is a universal attribute inherent in all persons by virtue of their humanity and must be upheld for persons with disabilities on an equal basis with others,”⁵⁷² and notes that such recognition is essential to, among other things, “the right to give consent for intimate relationships and medical treatment.”⁵⁷³ The CRPD Committee importantly distinguishes between legal capacity and mental capacity, noting that “the provision of support to exercise legal capacity should not hinge on mental capacity assessments.”⁵⁷⁴

The CRPD Committee further emphasizes that legal capacity is essential to the access to justice for persons with disabilities, noting that “[p]olice officers, social workers and other first responders must be trained to recognize persons with disabilities as full persons before the law and to give the same weight to complaints and statements from persons with disabilities as they would to nondisabled persons.”⁵⁷⁵ To give full effect to this principle of legal capacity, States must provide training and awareness-raising to the police, judiciary, and other professions that may come into contact with victims of violence and abuse with disabilities. The CRPD Committee also explains that States may need to provide support in various forms—“including recognition of diverse communication methods, allowing video testimony in certain situations, procedural accommodation, the provision of professional sign language interpretation and other assistive methods”—in order to ensure that persons with disabilities are able to testify on an equal basis with nondisabled persons.⁵⁷⁶

■ General Comment No. 2: Article 9: Accessibility (2014)

In its General Comment No. 2, the CRPD Committee addresses accessibility as an essential component of the right of persons with disabilities to live independently and to participate fully and equally in society.⁵⁷⁷ The CRPD Committee emphasizes that the right to accessibility “encompass[es] the physical environment, transportation, information and communication, and services,”⁵⁷⁸ and notes that the right “should especially take into account gender and age perspectives for persons with disabilities.”⁵⁷⁹ General Comment No. 2 identifies accessibility as crucial to the realization of other fundamental rights protected in the CRPD. With respect to gender-based violence, the CRPD Committee notes that “[t]here can be no effective access to justice if the buildings in which law-enforcement agencies and the judiciary are located are not physically accessible, or if the services, information and communication they provide are not accessible to persons with

disabilities.”⁵⁸⁰ The CRPD Committee further emphasizes that “[s]afe houses, support services and procedures must all be accessible in order to provide effective and meaningful protection from violence, abuse and exploitation to persons with disabilities, especially women and children.”⁵⁸¹

■ **General Comment No. 3: Article 6: Women and girls with disabilities (2016)**

In its General Comment No. 3, the CRPD Committee examines violence as one of three key issues uniquely and disproportionately affecting the rights of women and girls with disabilities.⁵⁸² It notes that the right to be free from violence can be impacted by harmful stereotypes that heighten the risk of violence, including ones that infantilize women with disabilities, question their ability to make judgements, perceptions that they are asexual or hypersexual, and superstitions about having sex with women with disabilities or albinism.⁵⁸³ The Committee further notes that women with disabilities experience violence in unique forms, including, among others, abandonment, neglect, withholding of medication or communication and mobility aids, and refusal of caregivers to provide assistance with basic activities.⁵⁸⁴ It also notes that violence against women with disabilities takes place in many different settings, including in the family and in institutions,⁵⁸⁵ and that women and girls with disabilities are more susceptible to harmful practices due to their gender and disability.⁵⁸⁶ Finally, the Committee finds that women and girls with disabilities face barriers accessing justice, particularly following violence, exploitation, and abuse, owing to harmful stereotypes, discrimination, and lack of reasonable accommodation.⁵⁸⁷ It then recommends that States criminalize all forms of violence against women and girls with disabilities.⁵⁸⁸

■ **General Comment No. 4: Article 24: Right to inclusive education (2016)**

In its General Comment No. 4, the CRPD Committee recognizes that States must, in order to ensure the right to inclusive education, remove gender- and disability-based barriers to accessing education, including gender-based violence.⁵⁸⁹ The Committee also recognizes that persons with disabilities, particularly women and girls, are more susceptible to certain forms of violence and abuse in schools, such as the use of seclusion or restraints, other corporal punishment, and bullying.⁵⁹⁰ The CRPD Committee finds that, under the CRPD, States are required to take all appropriate age-, gender-, and disability-sensitive measures to prevent and redress this violence.⁵⁹¹

■ **General Comment No. 5: Article 19: Right to independent living (2017)**

In its General Comment No. 5, the CRPD Committee finds that persons with disabilities in general, and women with disabilities in particular, are more susceptible to violence when they are socially excluded from the community.⁵⁹² It notes that women and girls with disabilities often face more restrictions on their place of residence and living arrangements based on both gender and disability discrimination.⁵⁹³ In particular, the Committee finds that women with disabilities who face domestic violence are often more dependent on their abusers, which prevents them from leaving abusive relationships.⁵⁹⁴ As a result, the Committee recommends that States implement the right to live independently and be included in the community with particular attention to gender equality, the elimination of gender-based discrimination, and patriarchal social patterns.⁵⁹⁵ It further recommends that States ensure that shelters for victims of gender-based violence are accessible to women and girls with disabilities⁵⁹⁶ and that States monitor institutions and services delivered to persons with disabilities to ensure freedom from violence, exploitation, and abuse.⁵⁹⁷ Finally, the Committee recommends that States ensure that women with disabilities have access to redress for gender-based violence, as part of their obligation to ensure the right to live independently and be included in the community.⁵⁹⁸

Concluding Observations

Through its concluding observations, the CRPD Committee expresses concern about the heightened risk of violence that women and girls with disabilities face,⁵⁹⁹ in violation of several rights protected in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and has emphasized the need for a comprehensive approach to addressing violence against women and girls with disabilities.⁶⁰⁰

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

Mainstreaming Disability in Gender-Based Violence Legislation

In several instances, the CRPD Committee has welcomed the inclusion of disability-specific provisions in gender-based violence legislation,⁶⁰¹ including the inclusion in one State's law that provides for the aggravated offense of femicide where the victim is a woman with a disability.⁶⁰² In general, however, the CRPD Committee has expressed concern over States' lack of strategy for mainstreaming gender and disability issues into legislation and program development,⁶⁰³ including on issues around violence.⁶⁰⁴ In particular, the CRPD Committee has expressed concern in a number of instances about the failure of laws and policies on violence against women to adequately address the specific situation of women and children with disabilities.⁶⁰⁵ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee expressed additional concern about the use of derogatory language in legislation on domestic violence.⁶⁰⁶ In another instance, the CRPD Committee expressed concern that a domestic violence law might not adequately protect the range of relationships that may lead to domestic abuse of persons with disabilities, including relationships with caregivers and other support staff in live-in or home-care situations.⁶⁰⁷ The CRPD Committee expressed concern to at least two States about the absence of any legislation on domestic or gender-based violence,⁶⁰⁸ noting with additional concern that women and girls with disabilities were not included in the ongoing consultation process for the development of such legislation for one of these States.⁶⁰⁹

The CRPD Committee has accordingly called on a number of States to mainstream a disability perspective in its legislation to ensure more comprehensive consideration of the needs of women with disabilities in developing laws, policies, and programs,⁶¹⁰ including those on gender-based violence.⁶¹¹ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has called on a State to adopt legislation to prevent, investigate, and punish exploitation, violence, and abuse involving persons with disabilities, with a particular focus on women and children.⁶¹² The CRPD Committee recommends that States facilitate the full and effective participation by women with disabilities in the formulation of laws, policies, and programs on an equal basis with women without disabilities,⁶¹³ for instance through a formal consultation mechanism.⁶¹⁴ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee urged a State to ensure that domestic violence legislation capture the range of domestic relationships that persons with disabilities encounter.⁶¹⁵

Full and Effective Implementation

The CRPD Committee has expressed the need for at least one State to implement existing legislative and policy measures to prevent violence against women and girls with disabilities.⁶¹⁶ The CRPD Committee has called on another State to revise legislation and develop appropriate implementing regulations to incorporate a disability perspective, guaranteeing protection against violence for women and children with disabilities.⁶¹⁷ In its recommendations to another State, the CRPD Committee called for the development of specific measures, targets, and indicators to ensure laws, policies, and programs effectively prevent and redress violence against women and girls with disabilities.⁶¹⁸

Corporal Punishment for Children

In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has lamented the lack of an express ban on corporal punishment of children with disabilities,⁶¹⁹ and called on the State to expressly prohibit all forms of corporal punishment, ensuring that the prohibition includes practices in institutions for children with disabilities.⁶²⁰

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Statistics and Data Collection

The CRPD Committee has often expressed concern about the lack of data on persons with disabilities generally,⁶²¹ and women with disabilities in particular.⁶²² It has accordingly called on States to systematize the collection, analysis, and dissemination of statistics and data on persons with disabilities,⁶²³ emphasizing the particular need for such data collection to take into account specific groups of persons with disabilities who may be subject to multiple forms of exclusion such as women, children, and persons in institutions.⁶²⁴ To this end, the CRPD Committee has recommended that a number of States improve capacity building measures on data

collection,⁶²⁵ for instance through the development of nationally consistent measures for data collection⁶²⁶ and specific indicators that will be reflective of multiple discrimination on grounds of disability, gender, age, and other identifying characteristics.⁶²⁷ In at least two instances, the CRPD Committee has recommended funding a comprehensive data collection on the situation of women and girls with disabilities to establish a baseline of disaggregated data against which to measure progress toward the implementation of the CRPD,⁶²⁸ and further recommended on at least one occasion the establishment of a mechanism to monitor progress.⁶²⁹ The CRPD Committee has recommended data to be disaggregated by age,⁶³⁰ sex/gender,⁶³¹ disability,⁶³² place of residence,⁶³³ region,⁶³⁴ and cultural background.⁶³⁵ The CRPD Committee has called on at least two States to ensure consultation with persons with disabilities, women with disabilities, and their representative organizations in implementing such data collection strategies.⁶³⁶

The CRPD Committee expressed concern about the lack of information on violence against women and girls with disabilities in particular.⁶³⁷ As a result, it has called on a number of States to undertake data collection and/or research on violence against persons with disabilities,⁶³⁸ requesting States to pay particular attention to women, children, and persons living in institutional settings.⁶³⁹

Awareness-Raising

The CRPD Committee has urged States to launch awareness-raising campaigns targeting both the private sector and the public at large to break down cultural barriers and prejudices against persons with disabilities, including women and girls with disabilities.⁶⁴⁰ The CRPD Committee has also recommended that States conduct campaigns and education programs to raise awareness among families, guardians, medical professionals, and managers of institutions of the rights of women and girls with disabilities,⁶⁴¹ as well as of their capabilities and contributions.⁶⁴² In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has urged the integration of a disability-sensitive perspective in the development of educational programs on preventing sexual and domestic violence,⁶⁴³ and the CRPD Committee has called on at least one other State to develop awareness campaigns and educational programs on the heightened vulnerability of women and girls with disabilities to violence and abuse.⁶⁴⁴

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The CRPD Committee has routinely expressed concern about high rates of exploitation, violence, and abuse of persons with disabilities, especially women and children with disabilities, including in domestic settings,⁶⁴⁵ and the lack of preventative measures or protection against such violence.⁶⁴⁶ In a number of instances, the CRPD Committee has expressed concern that gender-based violence prevention measures and services are neither effective in addressing violence against—nor accessible to—women and girls with disabilities.⁶⁴⁷ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has also expressed concern over a lack of information on incest.⁶⁴⁸ The CRPD Committee also expressed concern to at least one State over the lack of permanent funding to prevent violence against women.⁶⁴⁹

To address these concerns, the CRPD Committee frequently encourages States to adopt measures to prevent and eliminate domestic violence against women and children with disabilities that are both effective⁶⁵⁰ and accessible.⁶⁵¹ In at least two instances, the CRPD Committee emphasized the need for adequate funding for a comprehensive and effective strategy to protecting women and girls with disabilities from gender-based violence.⁶⁵²

Remedies and Redress

The CRPD Committee routinely calls on States to ensure the protection of persons with disabilities, including women and children, from violence, exploitation and abuse.⁶⁵³ The CRPD Committee has expressed concern about the inaccessibility of women's assistance hotlines and shelters to women with disabilities,⁶⁵⁴ noting in particular concerns about both physical access to and accessible information on mechanisms for protection against gender-based violence.⁶⁵⁵ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has also expressed concern about limited geographic distribution of gender-based violence service centers.⁶⁵⁶

Accordingly, the CRPD Committee regularly urges States to offer services and information that are targeted at and accessible to women with disabilities,⁶⁵⁷ emphasizing to at least one State that such services should be age-, gender-, and disability sensitive.⁶⁵⁸ In particular, the CRPD Committee has recommended that States fund accessible helplines,⁶⁵⁹ shelters,⁶⁶⁰ victim support services,⁶⁶¹ and therapies and other measures aimed at both psycho-social and physical recovery⁶⁶² for women with disabilities who experience domestic and other forms of gender-based violence. In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has emphasized that such support services must be based in the community.⁶⁶³ In several other recommendations, the CRPD Committee emphasized the need for such services to be available throughout the country, including in rural areas.⁶⁶⁴ The CRPD Committee has also called for specific training for relevant professionals, including health care workers, school officials, counsellors, and social workers to detect and report violence against⁶⁶⁵—and provide appropriate services to—women with disabilities who are victims of gender-based violence.⁶⁶⁶ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has called on the State to collect information about women with disabilities who have benefited from gender-based violence services.⁶⁶⁷

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The CRPD Committee has lamented in several cases the heightened risk of sexual violence and abuse that women with disabilities face,⁶⁶⁸ as well as the lack of measures that at least one State has taken to prevent and combat sexual violence against children with disabilities.⁶⁶⁹ The CRPD Committee has accordingly highlighted the need for at least one State to develop an effective integrated response system to deal with sexual abuse against women with disabilities.⁶⁷⁰

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The CRPD Committee has not yet issued concluding observations on sexual harassment.

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Barriers to Access to Justice

The CRPD Committee has expressed concern over certain barriers to justice for women and children with disabilities.⁶⁷¹ Related to this concern, the CRPD Committee lamented the inaccessibility of judicial facilities,⁶⁷² authorities' reluctance to open investigations and prosecutions in cases involving violence against persons with disabilities,⁶⁷³ and the lack of credence given to witness statements by women and girls with disabilities,⁶⁷⁴ all of which contribute to a climate of impunity around violence and abuse against women with disabilities.

The CRPD Committee has also lamented a lack of appropriate accommodations for persons with disabilities in judicial proceedings,⁶⁷⁵ including a lack of gender-sensitive and age-appropriate accommodations⁶⁷⁶ and a lack of training on or protocols for handling women with disabilities who are victims or witnesses in cases involving exploitation, violence or abuse.⁶⁷⁷ The CRPD Committee has also highlighted the lack of information available in accessible formats,⁶⁷⁸ barriers to adequate or affordable sign language interpreters,⁶⁷⁹ and a lack of free legal aid⁶⁸⁰ as additional barriers to access to justice for women and girls with disabilities.

Due Diligence Obligations

The CRPD Committee has explained on multiple occasions that States have an obligation to investigate,⁶⁸¹ prosecute,⁶⁸² and punish⁶⁸³ perpetrators of such violence, and to ensure effective remedies, including compensation and reparations, for victims.⁶⁸⁴

In particular, the CRPD Committee has emphasized the need to establish institutional mechanisms aimed at protecting persons with disabilities from violence, exploitation, and abuse,⁶⁸⁵ and to ensure that such mechanisms are independent⁶⁸⁶ and geared toward for the early detection of situations of violence.⁶⁸⁷

In several instances, the CRPD Committee has encouraged States to ensure accessibility of a complaint mechanism to facilitate the handling of claims involving domestic violence and abuse against women and girls with disabilities.⁶⁸⁸

Training and Guidance

The CRPD Committee has called on a number of States to undertake effective training of personnel in judicial, police, and prison systems on the rights of persons with disabilities⁶⁸⁹ and the appropriate handling of cases of violence against women with disabilities⁶⁹⁰ to better ensure access to justice. The CRPD Committee has recommended to at least one State that such training programs for law enforcement be mandatory.⁶⁹¹ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee has also called for the development of protocols for the investigation of violence against persons with disabilities.⁶⁹²

Accessibility and Appropriate Accommodations

The CRPD Committee has called on multiple States to ensure appropriate accommodations for women and children with disabilities in legal proceedings.⁶⁹³ The CRPD Committee has indicated that such accommodations require adequate attention to the role of women with disabilities as witnesses and their ability to testify⁶⁹⁴ and to ensuring that children with disabilities receive necessary age- and disability-related accommodations to express their views.⁶⁹⁵ In at least one instance, the CRPD Committee also called for appropriate accommodations necessary to facilitate prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of violence against individuals with disabilities.⁶⁹⁶ The CRPD Committee urged at least one State to ensure that the duty of the judiciary to provide procedural accommodations for persons with disabilities are explicitly defined in legal instruments.⁶⁹⁷ The CRPD Committee further called on another State to establish effective reporting channels to ensure that victims with disabilities are taken seriously and provided with adequate support when requested.⁶⁹⁸ The CRPD Committee has also recommended at least two States improve access to judicial buildings.⁶⁹⁹

Legal Assistance to Victims

The CRPD Committee has also called on several States to provide legal assistance to persons with disabilities,⁷⁰⁰ as well as information and communications about legal cases in accessible formats⁷⁰¹ and trained sign language interpreters,⁷⁰² to promote greater access to justice.

Statistics and Data Collection

The CRPD Committee has expressed concern to at least one State about the lack of official records of cases involving exploitation, violence, and abuse of persons with disabilities, especially women and children.⁷⁰³

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The CRPD Committee has expressed concern about the lack of information on trafficking in persons with disabilities to at least one State.⁷⁰⁴ In at least one other instance, the CRPD Committee expressed concern about reports of trafficking, sexual abuse, and exploitation of women with disabilities in institutions,⁷⁰⁵ and urged the State to take all necessary measures to investigate, prosecute, and punish reports of such trafficking.⁷⁰⁶

Trafficking of Children with Disabilities

The CRPD Committee has expressed concern in several instances that children with disabilities are at risk of commercial exploitation in the context of begging.⁷⁰⁷ To address this concern, the CRPD Committee called on at least one State to investigate the situations of children with disabilities who are begging⁷⁰⁸ and urged at least two other States to take measures to prevent such exploitation.⁷⁰⁹ The CRPD Committee has further recommended in several instances that States establish programs to rehabilitate children in such circumstances and to promote their integration or inclusion in family and community life.⁷¹⁰

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

Institutions for Persons with Disabilities

The CRPD Committee has frequently expressed concern about violence and abuse against individuals with disabilities living in institutions,⁷¹¹ noting that women and girls⁷¹² and children and adolescents⁷¹³ face a heightened risk of violence in institutional settings. In at least two instances, the CRPD Committee has expressed concern about the use of institutionalization as the primary recourse in dealing with women and children with disabilities who have been abandoned or abused.⁷¹⁴ In recommendations to at least two other States, the CRPD Committee expressed concern about inadequate legislative and other mechanisms to sufficiently protect institutionalized persons with disabilities from violence.⁷¹⁵

The CRPD Committee has called on a number of States to develop appropriate guidelines, protocols, and strategies to monitor institutions that care for persons with disabilities⁷¹⁶ to prevent and eliminate violence in institutional settings⁷¹⁷ and to promote access to justice.⁷¹⁸ The CRPD Committee has emphasized in particular the need for several States to investigate without delay situations of violence, exploitation and abuse experienced by women and girls with disabilities in institutional settings⁷¹⁹ and called on them to take appropriate measures in response,⁷²⁰ including the prosecution of perpetrators.⁷²¹ In several instances, the CRPD Committee emphasized that monitoring of institutions must be handled by an independent body in accordance with the obligations of CRPD article 16(3).⁷²²

Violence in Prisons

The CRPD Committee has lamented the overrepresentation of persons with disabilities, and particularly women and children with disabilities, in prison and juvenile justice systems in at least one case.⁷²³ The CRPD Committee further expressed concern to at least two States regarding the deprivation of liberty on the basis of disability.⁷²⁴ The CRPD Committee has urged at least one State to establish mandatory guidelines to ensure that persons with disabilities in the prison system are provided with appropriate support and accommodations.⁷²⁵ The CRPD Committee has also called on at least one State to provide training to staff providing custodial care in prisons and other detention centers to prevent and protect against violence against persons with disabilities.⁷²⁶

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The CRPD Committee has not yet issued concluding observations on violence against women and girls with disabilities in conflict and post-conflict settings.

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

Older Persons

The CRPD Committee has expressed concern in at least one instance about the situation of older persons with disabilities in institutional settings, and called on the State to place a special emphasis on monitoring institutions that care for older individuals with disabilities.⁷²⁷

Persons with Albinism

The CRPD Committee expressed concern to at least one State that persons with albinism, particularly girls with albinism, experience specific types of violence, including kidnappings, killings, and attacks for the purpose of witchcraft practices.⁷²⁸ The CRPD Committee called on the State to promptly investigate cases involving violence against persons with albinism and to ensure that such cases are appropriately prosecuted and punished.⁷²⁹ The CRPD Committee also called for the establishment of shelters and redress services, including health care, counseling and free legal aid, for persons with albinism who are victims of violence.⁷³⁰ The CRPD Committee further urged the State to expand efforts to raise awareness about the rights and dignity of persons with albinism and to eliminate the stigma and myths that underpin such violence.⁷³¹

Indigenous Women

The CRPD Committee has expressed concern in at least one instance that women and girls with disabilities from indigenous communities experience high rates of gender-based violence, yet lack effective protection mechanisms⁷³² and access to justice.⁷³³

Individual Complaints

The CRPD Committee has not issued any decisions on individual complaints related to gender-based violence as of December 2016.

Gaps in the Standards

The CRPD Committee has begun to build a strong body of jurisprudence addressing gender-based violence against women and girls with disabilities. It would be important to see the Committee to regularly address this issue in each State review to build on this strong foundation to provide greater and more specific guidance to States about how to combat such violence and how to ensure that support, protections, and justice mechanisms are accessible to women and girls with disabilities and responsive to the unique ways that women and girls with disabilities experience gender-based violence.

For example, the CRPD Committee could strengthen its recommendations on awareness-raising by addressing the need for States to develop campaigns specifically on the heightened risks of violence that women and girls with disabilities face and their rights and remedies in the face of such violence, and to ensure that the information in such campaigns are available in accessible formats.

Additionally, the CRPD Committee often mentions the need for States to adopt effective measures to prevent multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination against women and girls with disabilities without expressly acknowledging domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence as a pernicious manifestation of such discrimination. It would be important for the Committee to explicitly recognize that the heightened risk of gender-based violence that women and girls with disabilities face is a form of double discrimination on the basis of gender and disability.

In addressing violence in prisons, the CRPD Committee has not addressed gender-based or sexual violence directed at women and girls with disabilities in detention settings. It would be important for the Committee to recognize the unique concerns of female prisoners with disabilities and to urge States to take specific measures to protect female prisoners with disabilities from sexual and other forms of gender-based violence.

Finally, the CRPD Committee has only periodically addressed sexual violence against women and girls with disabilities, despite the fact that women and girls with disabilities globally experience a heightened risk of sexual violence, and the Committee has not yet addressed sexual harassment of women and girls with disabilities. Nor has it taken up the issue of violence against women and girls with disabilities in conflict and post-conflict settings. It would be important for the Committee to request that States provide information on these forms of gender-based violence and to provide more concrete guidance to States on their obligations to eliminate such violence.

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) is the expert body that monitors implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Although CEDAW does not explicitly prohibit gender-based violence, through its General Recommendations, Concluding Observations, and decisions on Individual Complaints, the CEDAW Committee has demonstrated that CEDAW safeguards the right of women, including women with disabilities, to be free from gender-based violence. Under CEDAW, States must prevent, protect against, investigate, prosecute, and punish gender-based violence, while ensuring that women and girls have access to justice, adequate redress, and appropriate support services when they experience such violence. The CEDAW Committee has further called on States to take measures to protect specific groups of women—including women with disabilities—from gender-based violence. In particular, the CEDAW Committee has determined that gender-based violence is a form of gender-based discrimination in contravention of article 1 (definition of discrimination) and, as such, that violations of the right to be free from gender-based violence can implicate all other rights protected in CEDAW.

General Recommendations

■ General Recommendation No. 19: Violence against women (1992)

Through its General Recommendation No. 19, the CEDAW Committee establishes that, although CEDAW does not explicitly prohibit gender-based violence, the definition of discrimination under article 1 of CEDAW includes gender-based violence.⁷³⁴ General Recommendation No. 19 defines gender-based violence as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately⁷³⁵ and notes that such violence includes “acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty.”⁷³⁶ The CEDAW Committee recognizes that gender-based violence can be committed by both state and non-state actors, and that States have obligations to protect against gender-based violence committed in both circumstances.⁷³⁷ Concerning non-state actors in particular, the Committee finds that States have an obligation to exercise due diligence “to prevent violations of rights or to investigate and punish acts of violence, and for providing compensation.”⁷³⁸

The CEDAW Committee notes that stereotypical views, subordination of women, poverty, unemployment or discrimination in employment, conflict, rural status, and lack of access to health services all contribute to violations in the context of gender-based violence.⁷³⁹ It also notes that sexual violence, trafficking, female circumcision, dowry marriage, sexual harassment, “compulsory” sterilization or abortion, familial violence, exploitation including sexual exploitation, forced marriage, and acid attacks are all forms of gender-based violence.⁷⁴⁰ The Committee recommends that States undertake a range of measures to prevent and eliminate gender-based violence, including adopting strong legal frameworks, raising awareness about the issue, and ensuring effective complaints procedures and remedies to victims, among several other tasks.⁷⁴¹

■ General Recommendation No. 21: Equality in marriage and family relations (1994)

In its General Recommendation No. 21, the CEDAW Committee specifically notes that violence against women has a significant impact on women’s ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on an equal basis with men, and calls on States to ensure that women are free from gender-based violence in both public and family life.⁷⁴²

■ General Recommendation No. 24: Article 12 of the Convention (women and health) (1999)

In its General Recommendation No. 24, the CEDAW Committee notes that different forms of violence can impact women’s health.⁷⁴³ It notes that girl children in particular are vulnerable to sexual abuse by older men and family members, leading to physical and psychological harm, as well as the possibility of unwanted pregnancies.⁷⁴⁴ The Committee also notes that confidentiality is essential to ensuring that women and girls receive needed medical care following gender-based violence.⁷⁴⁵ The Committee recommends that States

enact and enforce laws on violence against women, implement hospital guidelines and protocols to address this violence, ensure gender-sensitive training of health care workers to detect and manage gender-based violence, and create effective complaint mechanisms and ensure appropriate sanctions when medical staff are the perpetrators of gender-based violence.⁷⁴⁶

■ **General Recommendation No. 26 on women migrant workers (2008)**

In its General Recommendation No. 26, the CEDAW Committee notes that gender-based violence in countries of origin is one factor that contributes to women's migration.⁷⁴⁷ It also finds that migration can put women at greater risk of gender-based violence by employers and others, such as when they lose their immigration status and when they are detained.⁷⁴⁸ The Committee notes that domestic workers are particularly vulnerable to physical and sexual assault, as well as other forms of abuse, by their employers, while women in other areas, such as in farm work, may be more at risk of sexual harassment.⁷⁴⁹ The Committee also finds that women migrant workers may face significant obstacles to accessing justice in these circumstances.⁷⁵⁰ The Committee recommends that States make particular efforts to protect and provide redress for migrant women who are susceptible to or have experienced gender-based violence.⁷⁵¹

■ **General Recommendation No. 27 on older women and protection of their human rights (2010)**

In its General Recommendation No. 27, the CEDAW Committee notes that both gender stereotyping and traditional and customary practices can lead to physical violence and psychological, verbal, and financial abuse against older women, particularly older women with disabilities.⁷⁵² The Committee urges States to collect data disaggregated by sex on issues affecting older women, including violence⁷⁵³ and to draft legislation prohibiting all forms of violence against older women, including those with disabilities, such as domestic and sexual violence, violence in institutional settings, and violence that is the result of traditional practices and beliefs.⁷⁵⁴ The Committee also urges States to investigate, prosecute, and punish all acts of violence against older women⁷⁵⁵ and to take special measures to protect older women from violence during armed conflict.⁷⁵⁶

■ **General Recommendation No. 28 on the core obligations of States parties under article 2 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (2010)**

In its General Recommendation No. 28, the CEDAW Committee reiterates that gender-based violence is a form of discrimination under article 1 of CEDAW.⁷⁵⁷ Concerning girls in particular, the Committee notes that they are more vulnerable to discrimination in areas such as trafficking, maltreatment, exploitation, and other forms of gender-based violence, and thus States are required to pay particular attention to the special needs of girls in these areas.⁷⁵⁸

■ **General Recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations (2013)**

In its General Recommendation No. 30, the CEDAW Committee addresses gender-based violence in conflict prevention, conflict, and post-conflict settings in several ways. In particular, the Committee notes that the risk of gender-based violence frequently increases, and in some instances is used as a weapon, during conflict.⁷⁵⁹ Women and girls are also at heightened risk of gender-based violence in post-conflict settings, though the form and setting of that violence may change.⁷⁶⁰ Specific groups of women and girls—including women and girls with disabilities, migrant women, and women combatants, among others—are even more susceptible to gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings,⁷⁶¹ and recommends that States “[a]ddress the specific risks and particular needs of different groups of internally displaced and refugee women who are subjected to multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, including women with disabilities.”⁷⁶² The Committee also notes that trafficking is more prevalent in conflict and post-conflict settings, due to the

breakdown of political, economic, and social structures and the potential increase in demand for women's sexual, military, and economic exploitation.⁷⁶³

In addition to general measures to prevent, punish, monitor, and redress gender-based violence, the CEDAW Committee recommends that States work with non-state actors to prevent human rights abuses, including gender-based violence, relating to their activities in conflict-affected areas and to establish effective accountability mechanisms.⁷⁶⁴ It notes that many forms of gender-based violence during armed conflict covered by CEDAW are also prohibited by international criminal law, and recommends that the international criminal law definition of gender-based violence should be interpreted in line with CEDAW.⁷⁶⁵

Concerning conflict prevention, the Committee finds that States have an obligation to adopt robust and effective regulations of the arms trade, including small arms, to prevent their use to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence.⁷⁶⁶ It also notes that gender-based violence can be an early warning sign of conflict, and that, accordingly, efforts to eliminate gender-based violence can help prevent escalation of conflict and the recurrence of violence in the post-conflict stage.⁷⁶⁷ It recommends that States adopt early warning and gender-specific security measures to prevent the escalation of gender-based violence.⁷⁶⁸

■ **Joint General Recommendation No. 31 of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women/General Comment No. 18 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on harmful practices (2014)**

In its Joint General Recommendation No. 31, the CEDAW and CRC Committees recognize that harmful practices are inextricably linked with gender-based violence: harmful practices themselves may constitute a form of gender-based violence,⁷⁶⁹ in some instances occur as a consequence of gender-based violence (as in the case of some so-called honor crimes),⁷⁷⁰ and in other instances can heighten the risk of gender-based violence. For instance, child marriage can increase the risk of domestic violence,⁷⁷¹ while the payment of bride prices or dowries can heighten the risk of both physical and psychological violence for women and girls.⁷⁷² To tackle harmful practices and violence against women, the Committees find that States have an obligation to challenge and change patriarchal ideologies and structures and ensure access to education so that women and girls can assert their rights and make autonomous decisions.⁷⁷³ The Committee also find that States must provide appropriate safety and security measures for victims of harmful practices and violence against women, including shelters and specialized services.⁷⁷⁴

■ **General Recommendation No. 32 on the gender-related dimensions of refugee status, asylum, nationality and statelessness of women (2014)**

In its General Recommendation No. 32, the CEDAW Committee notes that some forms of gender-related persecution, including many forms of violence against women, are recognized as legitimate grounds for international protection (i.e. the application of refugee status),⁷⁷⁵ and States should establish early identification mechanisms for asylum seekers with specific protection needs, including victims of gender-based violence and trafficking with disabilities.⁷⁷⁶ The Committee also finds that under CEDAW, States have an obligation to ensure that no woman will be expelled or returned to another State where she is at risk of a serious form of discrimination, including serious forms of gender-based violence.⁷⁷⁷

■ **General Recommendation No. 33 on women's access to justice (2015)**

In its General Recommendation No. 33, the CEDAW Committee explores how gender-based violence impacts access to justice and vice versa. It notes in particular that gender-based violence has an adverse impact on the ability of women to access justice on an equal basis with men.⁷⁷⁸ It also notes that gender stereotyping and bias have a significant impact on the ability of victims of gender-based violence to access justice,⁷⁷⁹ and that these stereotypes and biases can undermine the claims of victims and help perpetrators to escape accountability.⁷⁸⁰ The CEDAW Committee recognizes that women with disabilities may face compounded discrimination and unique barriers to access to justice, and recommends that States pay particular attention to access to justice systems for women with disabilities.⁷⁸¹ The Committee recommends, in general, that

States provide training to law enforcement, the judiciary, law students, health care providers, social workers, and others who might play an important role in cases of gender-based violence to eliminate gender stereotyping and incorporate a gender perspective into their work, among other measures.⁷⁸² It also calls on States to review rules of evidence in cases of violence against women and to improve the criminal justice response to domestic violence, including in applying for and receiving protection orders, among other measures.⁷⁸³

■ **General Recommendation No. 34 (2016) on the rights of rural women**

In its General Recommendation No. 34, the CEDAW Committee finds that rural women are disproportionately at risk of gender-based violence and lack access to justice and effective legal remedies,⁷⁸⁴ due to traditional attitudes regarding the subordinate role of women, and these risks can be exacerbated when girls leave rural communities to seek employment in town and for rural women human rights defenders.⁷⁸⁵ The Committee finds that rural women and girls are also more vulnerable to trafficking because of the economic hardships of rural life and lack of information about trafficking and how traffickers operate.⁷⁸⁶ The Committee recommends that States raise awareness in rural communities about attitudes that lead to gender-based violence and about trafficking, ensure effective access to justice and redress for victims, including legal aid and compensation, ensure integrated services for victims, implement measures to protect rural women human rights defenders, and provide training on trafficking for police, border guards, and other relevant actors.⁷⁸⁷

■ **General Recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating general recommendation No. 19 (2017)**

In its General Recommendation No. 35, the CEDAW Committee provides an updated and extensive analysis of gender-based violence.⁷⁸⁸ Importantly, this General Recommendation includes some specific recommendations around the rights of women and girls with disabilities to be free from gender-based violence, which are summarized here. In particular, the Committee finds that States have an obligation to repeal legislation that allows, tolerates, or condones forms of gender-based violence, including medical procedures performed on women with disabilities without their informed consent.⁷⁸⁹ It further calls on States to repeal all laws that prevent or deter women from reporting gender-based violence, including “guardianship laws that deprive women of legal capacity or restrict the ability of women with disabilities to testify in court.”⁷⁹⁰ The Committee also calls on States to provide appropriate and accessible protective mechanisms to prevent further or future violence, including by removing communications barriers for women with disabilities.⁷⁹¹

■ **General Recommendation No. 36 on the right of girls and women to education (2017)**

In its General Recommendation No. 36, the CEDAW Committee recognizes that violence against girls and women in and out of school is a significant factor preventing women and girls from claiming and enjoying their right to education.⁷⁹² It notes that there is a significant risk of gender-based violence for women and girls travelling to and from school⁷⁹³ and that during conflict, the presence of armed men at or near schools dissuades parents from sending their girls to school for fear that they will become victims of gender-based violence.⁷⁹⁴ The Committee also elaborates that gender-based violence in school leads girls to experience low self-esteem, lower academic achievements, and long-term adverse health outcomes,⁷⁹⁵ as well as higher dropout rates and a higher likelihood that parents will keep girls out of school.⁷⁹⁶ The Committee notes that girls with disabilities face both gender and disability discrimination in this regard.⁷⁹⁷ The Committee recommends that States adopt laws and policies that specifically focus on violence against women and girls in and around schools; recruit, train, and hire more female teachers; ensure effective access to justice and remedies for victims; and provide support services for girls experiencing violence, among other measures.⁷⁹⁸

Concluding Observations

In nearly every set of concluding observations, the CEDAW Committee has recommended that States take effective measures to prevent and eliminate gender-based violence, including intimate partner and domestic

violence, sexual violence, sexual harassment, and trafficking. The Committee has also consistently called on States to eliminate gender-based violence in certain contexts—including in prisons, schools, and during conflict or post-conflict situations—and against certain groups—including migrants, women with disabilities, minority and indigenous women, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) women. It has further called on States to ensure effective access to justice for victims of gender-based violence and effective remedies and redress measures for those victims. The CEDAW Committee has also frequently expressed concern and made recommendations to States about forced or coerced sterilization, which can be a form of gender-based violence. For more information on how the Committee has addressed forced and coerced sterilization, please see [*accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities*](#).

Because of the large volume of concluding observations on gender-based violence issues by the CEDAW Committee, the information below is an overview of representative recommendations the CEDAW Committee has issued to States. Please check the CEDAW Committee's website to access the most updated concluding observations for a particular State.

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

The CEDAW Committee has consistently recommended that States adopt and implement legislation, strategies, and action plans to tackle violence against women,⁷⁹⁹ including legislation and plans that ensure that all forms of violence against women are criminalized,⁸⁰⁰ including violence within the family⁸⁰¹ and online.⁸⁰² The Committee has called for these measures to provide for risk assessments for victims and early warning mechanisms;⁸⁰³ provide appropriate budgets and time frames for implementation;⁸⁰⁴ ensure access to restraining orders against perpetrators;⁸⁰⁵ aim to combat gender stereotypes,⁸⁰⁶ and ensure educational and awareness-raising programs about various forms of violence against women.⁸⁰⁷ The Committee has further called on States to establish national violence coordination and monitoring mechanisms with the mandate to address all forms of violence against women.⁸⁰⁸ On several occasions, the Committee has recommended that States repeal problematic legal provisions, including those that appear to condone violence against women,⁸⁰⁹ such as the criminalization of sexual relations outside marriage,⁸¹⁰ and to review gender-based violence legislation to ensure that it does not perpetuate direct or indirect discrimination against women.⁸¹¹

The Committee has called on several States to adopt legal frameworks that specifically provide women protection from psychological violence,⁸¹² at least one State to ensure protection from economic violence,⁸¹³ at least two States to criminalize so-called honor crimes,⁸¹⁴ and that at least one State prohibit stalking.⁸¹⁵ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State adopt legislation specifically prohibiting acid attacks and regulating the sale and use of acid substances.⁸¹⁶ It has recommended that at least one State amend the Civil Code to ensure that all births are registered, without exception, as a means of preventing gender-based violence.⁸¹⁷ It has recommended that at least one State ensure that gender-based violence is reflected in national health strategic plans and ensure that health care workers are trained on comprehensive clinical care for victims.⁸¹⁸

The CEDAW Committee has also recommended that States ratify other treaties related to violence against women. For instance, the Committee has recommended that States in Europe and Central Asia ratify the Council of Europe convention on preventing and combating violence against women.⁸¹⁹ It has also recommended that at least one State incorporate another regional treaty on trafficking into its legislation.⁸²⁰

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Statistics and Data Collection

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that States put in place systems to collect comprehensive and disaggregated data about all forms of violence against women,⁸²¹ including disaggregated by type of violence and by the relationship of the perpetrator to the victim, as well as age, sex, rural/urban status, and other

relevant factors, including disability.⁸²² It has called on States to also collect data on the sentence given to the perpetrator,⁸²³ as well as prosecutions and convictions⁸²⁴ and remedies or reparations given to the victims, including compensation.⁸²⁵ The Committee has called on at least one State to provide adequate human, technical, and financial resources to analyze that data.⁸²⁶ It has further called on States to collect data specifically on the implementation of laws and policies in place to deal with all forms of violence against women.⁸²⁷ The Committee has also called on at least two States to undertake a study or survey on the root causes of violence against women⁸²⁸ and on at least one other State to improve its systems for collecting data, including on violence against women and trafficking.⁸²⁹ It has further called on at least one State to conduct a study on the possible link between oversexualizing of women in the media and the increasing levels of gender-based violence.⁸³⁰

Awareness-Raising

The CEDAW Committee has also consistently recommended that States undertake awareness-raising campaigns and educational programs about gender-based violence as unacceptable and as a form of discrimination,⁸³¹ including violence against women with disabilities, ethnic minority women,⁸³² and women in rural areas.⁸³³ It has recommended that States raise awareness that marital rape is a crime⁸³⁴ and that a State undertake a large-scale public campaign to raise awareness about the criminal nature of acid attacks.⁸³⁵ The Committee has further recommended that States develop awareness-raising programs targeted at the judiciary, public officials, teaching staff, the police, social workers, and health care workers, so that they can provide adequate gender-sensitive support to victims,⁸³⁶ and also that States raise awareness among health care workers specifically on how to handle forensic examinations and health care for victims of gender-based violence.⁸³⁷

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The CEDAW Committee consistently recommends that States take steps, including through legislation, to criminalize domestic violence, punish acts of domestic violence, and punish perpetrators.⁸³⁸ The Committee has recommended that States adopt strategies and national action plans for tackling domestic violence,⁸³⁹ and that they allocate adequate funding for their implementation.⁸⁴⁰ The Committee has also called on at least one State to ensure that cases of domestic violence are heard in criminal courts, rather than family courts.⁸⁴¹ The Committee has recommended that at least one State consider establishing a monitoring mechanism to ensure the enforcement of the law on domestic violence.⁸⁴²

Concerning specific policies, the CEDAW Committee has recommended that at least one other State put in place “primary aggressor” policies related to domestic violence, though they did not define what such policies might look like.⁸⁴³ The Committee recommended another State cease the practice of dual arrests in cases of domestic violence.⁸⁴⁴ It has also recommended that at least one State amend its law to include all intimate partner relationships, including past relationships where the former partner still poses a threat of violence,⁸⁴⁵ and to another State that it ensure that its law on spousal violence also applies to all women in all family settings.⁸⁴⁶ It has further recommended that at least one State remove the element of consent from its bill on domestic violence.⁸⁴⁷ The Committee has called on at least one State to take into account convictions for domestic violence in child custody and visitation decisions.⁸⁴⁸

Protective Measures

Concerning protection orders, the Committee has recommended that States ensure that protection orders are available to victims of domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence⁸⁴⁹ and are effectively enforced,⁸⁵⁰ including civil protective measures that allow for both emergency and long-term protection.⁸⁵¹ It has further recommended that at least one State ensure that its legislation prohibiting domestic violence contains specific rights for victims to assistance, protection, and compensation.⁸⁵² The Committee called on at least one State to expedite the judicial process for issuing emergency protection orders.⁸⁵³ It has further recommended that at least one State ensure that those protection orders are in effect even during the consideration of an appeal of those orders.⁸⁵⁴ The Committee has recommended that at least one State provide specific training to

law enforcement and the judiciary on the application of protection orders⁸⁵⁵ and that another State ensure that protection orders are in place until the victim of violence is no longer at risk.⁸⁵⁶

Concerning monitoring of domestic violence programs, the Committee has called on at least one State to collect data on the number and nature of reported cases of domestic violence, on convictions and sanctions against perpetrators, and on rehabilitation measures provided to victims.⁸⁵⁷ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State provide information on the number of protection orders and availability of shelters for women victims of gender-based violence.⁸⁵⁸ It has recommended that at least one State undertake a study of how gender stereotypes and discrimination affect the judiciary and influence women's access to justice, including in the context of gender-based violence.⁸⁵⁹

The CEDAW Committee has frequently recommended that States take particular measures to protect migrant women from domestic violence. The Committee has recommended that at least one State intensify efforts to prosecute instances of domestic violence against migrant women.⁸⁶⁰ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State move towards providing long-term residency or citizenship to non-citizen victims of domestic violence,⁸⁶¹ and that another State review its laws on divorce to facilitate divorce in cases of domestic violence and provide legal aid to non-citizen women seeking divorce from citizen men on these grounds.⁸⁶²

Access to Shelters and Support Services

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that States ensure the availability of shelters for all women who are victims of domestic violence, as well as other forms of gender-based violence, and their children,⁸⁶³ including in rural areas,⁸⁶⁴ and that such shelters are adequately staffed and financed.⁸⁶⁵ The Committee has further recommended that at least two States that they cooperate with non-governmental organizations providing shelter and other support services,⁸⁶⁶ that another State ensure shelters are state-funded,⁸⁶⁷ and, in another instance, that the State provide adequate, secure, and autonomous funding to shelters and support services to women who are victims of violence.⁸⁶⁸ It has recommended that at least one State lift age limitations on access to shelters for victims of domestic violence.⁸⁶⁹ The Committee has also recommended to one State that it make childcare facilities available for victims of domestic violence⁸⁷⁰ and to another State that shelters themselves accept children.⁸⁷¹ The Committee has recommended that shelters contain psychological counseling, rehabilitation, and other support services for victims of violence.⁸⁷² It has recommended that at least one State guarantee national coverage by increasing the number of—and funding for—shelters, including for asylum-seeking and undocumented women.⁸⁷³ It has further recommended that States ensure the availability and accessibility of shelters for migrant women, rural women, women with disabilities, older women, refugees, and/or minority and indigenous women.⁸⁷⁴ The Committee has further called on at least one State to operationalize a domestic violence hotline.⁸⁷⁵

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The CEDAW Committee has consistently recommended that States amend criminal laws to expand the definition of rape,⁸⁷⁶ including by putting lack of consent at the center of this definition.⁸⁷⁷ In this regard, the Committee has recommended that at least one State revise its legislation on sexual offenses, including against children and against persons with intellectual disabilities, to be in line with international standards⁸⁷⁸ and that at least one other State amend its definition on rape to align it with international standards.⁸⁷⁹ It has further recommended that at least one State ensure that gang rape be considered an aggravating factor leading to a more severe punishment.⁸⁸⁰ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State raise the minimum penalty for statutory rape⁸⁸¹ and that another State abolish the statute of limitations for registering sexual violence cases.⁸⁸²

The Committee has then called on at least one State to establish a system to monitor and evaluate the implementation, effectiveness, and impact of legislation to combat sexual violence.⁸⁸³ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State ensure that the low number of reported cases of rape is not due to victims' fears of retribution or stigma, or a sign of lack of confidence in the police and judiciary.⁸⁸⁴ Concerning prosecutions, it has recommended that at least one State step up efforts to prosecute and convict perpetrators of rape and other sexual violence and analyze and address the high number of acquittals in these cases.⁸⁸⁵ It

has further recommended that at least one State strengthen its activities and programs related to sexual violence, sexual crimes, incest, and prostitution.⁸⁸⁶ The Committee has recommended that at least one State establish one-stop crisis centers for victims of violence, particularly rape, that include free and immediate access to medical attention, psychological counseling, legal aid, shelters, and other support services.⁸⁸⁷

Concerning particular forms of sexual violence, the CEDAW Committee has consistently called on States to amend criminal laws so as to prohibit marital rape⁸⁸⁸ or increase the penalty for marital rape.⁸⁸⁹ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State put in place a system to encourage women to report marital rape and adopt a set of indicators and monitor trends about the reporting and incidence of this crime.⁸⁹⁰ It has recommended that at least two States raise awareness among women that marital rape is criminalized.⁸⁹¹ The Committee has further recommended that a State repeal legal provisions exempting rapists from punishment if they marry their victims⁸⁹² and that another State prohibit and sanction the performance of virginity tests on women, in violation of their right to privacy.⁸⁹³

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The CEDAW Committee has frequently called on States to take effective measures to tackle sexual harassment against women in the workplace,⁸⁹⁴ including as a means of increasing their labor force participation.⁸⁹⁵ In this regard, it has called on States to criminalize sexual harassment⁸⁹⁶ or otherwise adopt legislation on sexual harassment,⁸⁹⁷ including legislation that requires employers to prevent sexual harassment and provides adequate sanctions for sexual harassment.⁸⁹⁸ The Committee has further called on at least one State to revise the definition of sexual harassment in the Labor Code to include conduct that creates a hostile work environment, require employers to prevent sexual harassment, and establish additional avenues for redress for victims and adequate sanctions for perpetrators.⁸⁹⁹ It has called on at least one other State to establish labor inspections to ensure effective labor law reporting and enforcement, including on the issue of sexual harassment.⁹⁰⁰ It has also called on at least two States to conduct an awareness-raising campaign targeted at working women in particular to break the culture of silence around sexual harassment.⁹⁰¹ The Committee has further recommended that national laws on sexual harassment in the workplace be applied to domestic workers⁹⁰² and that at least one State protect women police officers specifically from sexual harassment at work.⁹⁰³

Concerning access to justice in cases of sexual harassment at work, the CEDAW Committee has called on at least one State to conduct awareness training on reporting sexual harassment and ease the burden of proof on victims of sexual harassment in the workplace.⁹⁰⁴ It has also called on States to apply effective sanctions against perpetrators of sexual harassment in the workplace⁹⁰⁵ and on at least two States to provide effective remedies to women, including compensation.⁹⁰⁶ It has also called on at least one State to develop a safe and confidential system for filing complaints of sexual harassment and to facilitate access to justice.⁹⁰⁷

The CEDAW Committee has also addressed sexual harassment against women and girls in other forums. It has called on at least one State to undertake a study of the root causes of high dropout rates for girls from school, including due to sexual harassment,⁹⁰⁸ and on at least two States to implement a zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment in school.⁹⁰⁹ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State amend its penal code to criminalize online harassment.⁹¹⁰

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Due Diligence Obligations

The CEDAW Committee has consistently recommended that States ensure that that allegations of violence against women are effectively investigated, including on complaint of the victim alone,⁹¹¹ and that perpetrators are prosecuted and punished,⁹¹² including both state and non-state perpetrators⁹¹³ and including when the victims are sex workers.⁹¹⁴ It has also recommended that at least two States ensure “speedy” or expeditious access to justice for victims of gender-based violence⁹¹⁵ and that at least two other States strengthen the judicial

system in order to ensure justice for victims of gender-based violence and tackle cultures of impunity.⁹¹⁶ It has called on States to establish specialized courts to tackle violence against women.⁹¹⁷ It has further called on at least one State to ensure consistent sanctions for gender-based violence⁹¹⁸ and to simplify processes and enhance coordination to prevent, treat, punish, and eliminate violence against women.⁹¹⁹ The Committee has further called on at least one State to ensure that redress mechanisms are accessible to all women, including domestic workers⁹²⁰ and that at least one State ensure that information about legal remedies is available to victims of gender-based violence, including in indigenous languages and in formats accessible to women with disabilities.⁹²¹

The CEDAW Committee further consistently recommends that States encourage and/or assist women to report instances of violence,⁹²² including by destigmatizing victims and raising awareness, including among men and boys, about the criminal nature of such acts.⁹²³ The Committee has also emphasized the importance of providing legal, medical, and psychological assistance and rehabilitation, including access to shelters, to encourage such reporting.⁹²⁴ It has also called on at least one State to unify reporting procedures for victims of gender-based violence⁹²⁵ and on another State to adopt victim-centered procedural and evidentiary rules in cases of violence against women.⁹²⁶ The CEDAW Committee has urged at least two States to establish victim and protection programs in the context of gender-based violence.⁹²⁷ It has also recommended that at least one State remove requirements for victims to obtain medical certificates in order to initiate criminal proceedings for rape.⁹²⁸

Concerning effective justice, the CEDAW Committee has recommended that States ensure that gender-based violence, including domestic violence, are not addressed under mediation procedures and that victims have access to adequate remedies and redress.⁹²⁹ In particular, it has recommended that at least one State develop guidelines to specify which cases of domestic violence could be referred to “conciliation committees” and to guarantee the rights of victims whose cases are referred to these committees.⁹³⁰ Concerning another State, the Committee has recommended that police and the judiciary be trained to ensure that instances of domestic and sexual violence are not systematically referred to mediation but rather are effectively prosecuted.⁹³¹ The Committee has also recommended that another State utilize criminal penalties for perpetrators, rather than administrative fines that could inadvertently impact the financial security of the victim.⁹³² It has recommended that at least one other State ensure that decisions taken by traditional courts regarding violence against women do not violate state laws and do not lead to extrajudicial punishments.⁹³³

Training

The CEDAW Committee has consistently recommended that States train members of the judiciary and police about gender-based violence, laws on gender-based violence, and/or the rights of victims of gender-based violence,⁹³⁴ as well as how to undertake gender-sensitive investigations into such violence,⁹³⁵ and has recommended that at least two States make such training mandatory.⁹³⁶ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State monitor implementation by judicial actors and law enforcement of measures for the benefit of women victims of violence, and ensure that officials who fail to properly implement those measures are appropriately sanctioned.⁹³⁷ It has further recommended that at least one State ensure that police officers fulfill their duty to protect women and girls from violence and are held accountable.⁹³⁸ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State continue efforts to ensure the recruitment of female police officers.⁹³⁹

Remedies, Redress, and Support Services

The CEDAW Committee consistently recommends that States ensure that victims of gender-based violence have access to timely and effective remedies, such as compensation, restitution, protection, and rehabilitation.⁹⁴⁰ The Committee has called on States to provide comprehensive care to victims of violence against women, including legal aid, protection orders, medical and psychological support, shelters, counseling, and rehabilitation services.⁹⁴¹ In this regard, the Committee has recommended that at least one State cooperate with civil society organizations and international partners to deliver these services.⁹⁴² The Committee has further recommended that at least one State set up a public- and privately-funded trust fund to ensure compensation, legal aid, and other forms of reparation for victims of gender-based violence.⁹⁴³ It has recommended that at least one other State define the scope of measures of redress for women who are victims of violence, including the application of judicial measures of restitution, compensation, symbolic benefits, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees

of non-repetition.⁹⁴⁴ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State ensure that the quality of support services is regularly monitored.⁹⁴⁵

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The CEDAW Committee has consistently recommended that States adopt or strengthen implementation of legal frameworks, action plans, or strategies to tackle trafficking and/or sexual exploitation⁹⁴⁶ and to strengthen or adequately fund implementation of those plans,⁹⁴⁷ including by ensuring that they contain provisions for the rehabilitation of victims⁹⁴⁸ and fund anti-trafficking activities by relevant national institutions and non-governmental organizations.⁹⁴⁹ As part of these efforts, it has called on States to ratify the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.⁹⁵⁰ It has also called on at least one State to tackle with urgency the issue of trafficking for domestic servitude, forced and servile marriages, forced begging, sexual exploitation, and prostitution.⁹⁵¹ The Committee has further called on at least one State to more closely monitor the adult entertainment industry so as to prevent sexual exploitation.⁹⁵²

The CEDAW Committee has also called on States to ensure that instances of trafficking are investigated and that the perpetrators are prosecuted and provided punishments commensurate with their crimes,⁹⁵³ including by building capacity of the judicial authorities to undertake these investigations and prosecutions in a gender-sensitive manner⁹⁵⁴ and by tackling corruption.⁹⁵⁵ The Committee has further called on at least one State to adopt laws that specifically set up mechanisms to investigate, prosecute, and punish traffickers,⁹⁵⁶ It has called on States to engage in international, multilateral, and bilateral cooperation with other States to tackle trafficking, including through information exchange and by harmonizing legal procedures aimed at the prosecution and punishment of trafficking.⁹⁵⁷ The CEDAW Committee has urged at least one other State to ensure that victims are always treated as victims, free from prosecution and deportation, and provided with adequate assistance and support.⁹⁵⁸ The Committee has also called on at least one State to create adequate conditions for women migrant workers to bring complaints of trafficking, including by ensuring that information about their rights and remedies is in a language they can understand.⁹⁵⁹

The CEDAW Committee frequently calls on States to tackle the root causes of trafficking,⁹⁶⁰ including poverty and high unemployment,⁹⁶¹ and encourages States to undertake a study of those root causes.⁹⁶² In at least one instance, the Committee has urged a State to strengthen efforts to tackle trafficking and the complexities that come with a crime that is international in nature.⁹⁶³ It has also called on States to raise awareness about trafficking, including deceptive recruitment agencies involved in human trafficking⁹⁶⁴ and the risks and criminal nature of trafficking.⁹⁶⁵ The Committee has also consistently called on States to collect data about trafficking.⁹⁶⁶ To that end, the CEDAW Committee has urged at least one State to carry out a survey on the extent and causes of trafficking, including on women engaged in prostitution,⁹⁶⁷ called on another State to collect sex-disaggregated data on the number of prosecutions and convictions for trafficking,⁹⁶⁸ and has recommended that at least one State to collect data on both internal and cross-border trafficking.⁹⁶⁹ The Committee has further called on at least two States to undertake a survey of the extent of trafficking in women and girls and prostitution.⁹⁷⁰

The CEDAW Committee also frequently calls on States to provide support services for victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation. The Committee has called on States to establish early identification, referral, and/or support mechanisms for victims of trafficking,⁹⁷¹ including refugee women and girls⁹⁷² and women migrant workers,⁹⁷³ and has urged at least one State to build capacity of law enforcement to ensure early identification and referrals to support services.⁹⁷⁴ It has also called on States to establish shelters for victims of trafficking,⁹⁷⁵ as well as medical, legal, and psychosocial assistance and alternative income-generating opportunities.⁹⁷⁶ The Committee has recommended that at least one State ensure non-custodial accommodation is provided to victims and potential victims of trafficking, with full access to psychological and medical support,⁹⁷⁷ called on another State to ensure access to legal aid for victims,⁹⁷⁸ and, in at least one other instance, recommended the provision of financial and other forms of support to non-government organizations working with victims of trafficking, in order

to facilitate rehabilitation and reintegration.⁹⁷⁹ It has further called on at least two States to provide these support services to victims of trafficking, regardless of whether they are willing to testify against the traffickers.⁹⁸⁰

The CEDAW Committee frequently makes specific recommendations related to trafficking and migration. For instance, it has called on at least one State to take special measures to prevent refugee and asylum-seeking women and girls from falling victim to trafficking, to create a mechanism to identify victims of trafficking, and to ensure that those victims who have protection needs are referred to the asylum system.⁹⁸¹ It has further called on at least one State to raise awareness among migrant women of the risks of trafficking and sexual exploitation.⁹⁸² The Committee has also called on at least two States to provide victims with residence permits, where appropriate.⁹⁸³ It has also called on at least two States to establish effective measure for identifying victims of trafficking, particularly among foreign women.⁹⁸⁴ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State analyze the root causes of the disproportionately high number of foreign women engaged in potential trafficking, with an eye towards their specific needs and vulnerabilities,⁹⁸⁵ and has called on at least one State to abolish the sponsorship system for migrant workers, especially women and children, as a means of tackling trafficking.⁹⁸⁶

Sex Work and Prostitution

The CEDAW Committee frequently comments on sex work in the context of trafficking. In particular, it has consistently recommended that States take measures to discourage women and prevent girls from entering into prostitution⁹⁸⁷ and that States provide support for women who wish to leave prostitution,⁹⁸⁸ including non-nationals or migrant women.⁹⁸⁹ It has specifically called on at least one State to review legislation to ensure that child prostitution is prohibited and duly sanctioned.⁹⁹⁰ At the same time, it has recommended that States decriminalize women's involvement in prostitution or sex work,⁹⁹¹ that at least one State remove discriminatory parts of the Penal Code related to prostitution,⁹⁹² and that at least one State release from prison all women serving sentences for prostitution.⁹⁹³ It also has recommended that States discourage male demand for prostitution, including through criminal sanctions for consumers of prostitution.⁹⁹⁴ To this end, the Committee has called on at least one State to ensure that, during raids of brothel and individual establishments, victims of trafficking and forced sex work are not treated as offenders.⁹⁹⁵

The CEDAW Committee has further consistently recommended that States ensure that women have access to alternative means of earning income, alongside reintegration and rehabilitation programs,⁹⁹⁶ while at the same time empowering them to make their own choices about their lives.⁹⁹⁷ The Committee has recommended that at least one State tackle the root causes of prostitution, including drug addiction and sex tourism.⁹⁹⁸ It has also called on at least one State to train police and provide them with adequate guidelines on dealing with women engaged in sex work.⁹⁹⁹ It has requested that at least two States provide information on the exploitation of sex workers¹⁰⁰⁰ and that at least one State ensure punishment and penalties for those who exploit sex workers.¹⁰⁰¹ The Committee has further recommended that at least one other State prosecute instances of sexual assault by law enforcement against women engaged in sex work and punish perpetrators with appropriate sanctions.¹⁰⁰² It has also recommended that at least one State analyze the factors that lead non-nationals engaged in sex work in order to strengthen measures to prevent trafficking and exploitation.¹⁰⁰³ In one instance, the Committee further recommended that the State ensure special measures to protect women from sexual exploitation from the U.N. peacekeeping mission in the country.¹⁰⁰⁴ Finally, it has called on at least two States to specifically collect data on women engaged in sex work¹⁰⁰⁵ and on another State to provide a comprehensive assessment of the factors that lead to legal and illegal prostitution, including in different areas of the country.¹⁰⁰⁶

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

Women in Prison

The CEDAW Committee has occasionally called on States to ensure protection from gender-based violence for women in prison, including by ensuring that men are trained in a gender-sensitive manner and do not serve as front-line staff in women's institutions;¹⁰⁰⁷ meeting international standards for ensuring human rights and dignity in prisons;¹⁰⁰⁸ and ensuring that redress and oversight mechanisms are accessible, comprehensive, and

independent.¹⁰⁰⁹ It has recommended that at least one State ensure that allegations of sexual violence against women in prisons are effectively investigated and that perpetrators are prosecuted and adequately punished.¹⁰¹⁰ The Committee has also called on at least one State to ensure that women in detention are under the supervision of female guards.¹⁰¹¹

Violence in Schools

The CEDAW Committee has frequently called on States to provide safe access to education for girls,¹⁰¹² including by raising awareness among teachers and having a zero tolerance policy about sexual abuse and harassment, providing safe transportation to and from schools and security of the roads to and from schools, ensuring that schools are free from discrimination and violence,¹⁰¹³ and ensuring that perpetrators are punished appropriately.¹⁰¹⁴ It has called on at least two States to eradicate all forms of violence against women and girls in educational institutions.¹⁰¹⁵ In particular, it has called on at least one State to provide girls with access to effective remedies to complain about sexual violence in schools, as well as information about their sexual and reproductive rights.¹⁰¹⁶ It called on another State to establish multidisciplinary working groups in schools to prevent sexual violence and harassment, monitor the situation, and act on reports of sexual and other violence against pupils, particularly girls.¹⁰¹⁷ It has further called on at least one State to ensure other redress and rehabilitation for victims of violence in educational institutions, including medical examinations, psychological and social assistance, the option to change schools, counseling (including for parents), and economic compensation.¹⁰¹⁸ In addition, the Committee urged at least one State to provide training to judicial, law enforcement, and teachers on the prompt and effective investigation, prosecution, and conviction of perpetrators of sexual violence in schools.¹⁰¹⁹

The CEDAW Committee additionally recommended that at least one State prohibit corporal punishment of children, including girls, requesting that the State raise awareness about the negative consequences of corporal punishment on the psychosocial development of girls.¹⁰²⁰

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The CEDAW Committee has called on States to ensure protection for women from gender-based violence during and after conflicts¹⁰²¹ and to provide adequate reparations for victims of gender-based violence during conflict,¹⁰²² including compensation, satisfaction, official apologies, and rehabilitative services.¹⁰²³ The Committee has also called on at least one State to establish counseling centers for victims of violence during conflict, while providing adequate health services.¹⁰²⁴ It has further recommended that at least one State ensure the security of internally-displaced women as a result of conflict.¹⁰²⁵ The Committee has recommended that at least one State publicize, prosecute, and punish sexual violence committed during a dictatorship, including as a form of crimes against humanity.¹⁰²⁶ It has additionally called on at least one State to enhance the inclusion and representation of women survivors in peacebuilding institutions.¹⁰²⁷ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State ensure that public officials refrain from making disparaging statements regarding responsibility for violence against women during a conflict situation, which serve to re-traumatize the women.¹⁰²⁸ It has also recommended that at least one State ensure that textbooks present objective historical facts about violence against women during the conflict.¹⁰²⁹

The CEDAW Committee has further called on States to ensure women's equal access to justice following conflict,¹⁰³⁰ including by investigating, prosecuting, and punishing acts of sexual violence committed by security forces, defense forces, armed groups, and law enforcement during conflicts.¹⁰³¹ The Committee has also recommended that States ensure that inquiries are conducted exhaustively, impartially, and transparently,¹⁰³² that statutes of limitations do not preclude women's access to justice in these cases,¹⁰³³ and that victims have access to legal aid.¹⁰³⁴ The CEDAW Committee has called on at least one State to ensure that proceedings under a Truth and Reconciliation Commission also deal with sexual violence as a result of the conflict.¹⁰³⁵ It has called on at least one State to conduct a thorough and complete investigation into the perpetration of sexual abuse during conflict and post-conflict period.¹⁰³⁶ In another instance, the Committee called on a State to establish witness and victim protection programs specifically related to sexual violence during conflict.¹⁰³⁷

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that States take particular measures to ensure that specific groups of women are protected from gender-based violence, including women with disabilities, migrants, rural women, minority and indigenous women, and LGBT individuals.

Women with Disabilities

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that at least two States include women with disabilities in their strategies to prevent and eliminate violence against women,¹⁰³⁸ and that several other States take specific or proactive measures to protect women with disabilities from violence and abuse,¹⁰³⁹ including by providing assistance and rehabilitation.¹⁰⁴⁰ The Committee has recommended that at least two States ensure that support services for victims of gender-based violence, including shelters, recognize the “special” needs of women with disabilities.¹⁰⁴¹ It has further called on at least one State to bear in mind the “special” needs in terms of accessibility of information about gender-based violence for marginalized women and women with disabilities.¹⁰⁴² The Committee encouraged another State to disseminate clear and easy to understand information, including to women with disabilities, on the criminalization of different forms of violence.¹⁰⁴³ The CEDAW Committee has recommended that women and girls, including women and girls with disabilities, who are victims of violence have adequate access to medical, psychological, and legal assistance¹⁰⁴⁴ and that at least one State provide adequate assistance to women victims of violence, including women with disabilities, by strengthening the capacity of shelters and crisis centers.¹⁰⁴⁵ The Committee has recommended that at least two States provide access to rape crisis centers and 24-hour free helplines that provide assistance for victims of violence, including women with disabilities.¹⁰⁴⁶

The CEDAW Committee has also recommended that at least one State provide mandatory capacity-building training to law enforcement and judicial officials on gender-based violence and gender-sensitive procedures for dealing with victims, in particular women with disabilities.¹⁰⁴⁷ It has also recommended that at least one State provide adequate conditions for redress and rehabilitation for women with disabilities who are victims of violence.¹⁰⁴⁸ It has also specifically called on at least one State to ensure that women with disabilities have immediate means of redress for gender-based violence.¹⁰⁴⁹

The CEDAW Committee has also called on at least one State to establish a monitoring mechanism to evaluate the accessibility of protection and assistance services for victims of gender-based violence, including women with disabilities.¹⁰⁵⁰ It has further called on States to collect or disaggregate data on gender-based violence by disability, in addition to other factors,¹⁰⁵¹ including by conducting appropriate surveys to collect this information.¹⁰⁵²

Migrant, Refugee, and Asylum-Seeking Women

Concerning migrant women, the CEDAW Committee has called on at least one State to collect data on violence against migrant women, including when the crime is motivated by ethnicity.¹⁰⁵³ It further called on at least one State to undertake an awareness-raising campaign about xenophobic violence against migrant women.¹⁰⁵⁴ The CEDAW Committee encouraged at least one other State to hire more migrants or increase the number of persons with a migrant background on police forces as a means of intensifying dialogue between police and migrant communities and preventing violence against migrant women.¹⁰⁵⁵

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that at least one State adopt a national plan on sexual and domestic violence that takes into account the specific needs and vulnerabilities of migrant women.¹⁰⁵⁶ The Committee has also recommended that a State provide access to rape crisis centers and a 24-hour free helpline to provide assistance for victims of violence, including migrant women.¹⁰⁵⁷ The Committee called on at least one other State to establish a protection and monitoring system to protect migrant domestic workers from gender-based

State to ensure adequate security protection for refugee women housed in a camp in order to prevent gender-based violence.¹⁰⁶¹ It has further called on at least one State to ensure to include refugee camps in its strategy¹⁰⁶² and to ensure protection for women refugees and returnees from gender-based violence, as well as their access to immediate means of redress.¹⁰⁶³

Concerning migrant domestic workers, the CEDAW Committee has called on at least two States to ensure that these workers have access to complaint mechanisms in cases where employers violate labor laws and inflict other abuses, and that those instances of ill-treatment are promptly investigated and punished.¹⁰⁶⁴ It has further called on at least two States to ratify the Domestic Workers Convention of the International Labor Organization, as a means of tackling trafficking.¹⁰⁶⁵ It has also called on at least one State to protect women domestic workers from economic exploitation and sexual violence.¹⁰⁶⁶

Indigenous Women and Minority Women

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that at least one State take specific measures to protect ethnic and racial minority women from violence by state and non-state actors.¹⁰⁶⁷ The CEDAW Committee has also recommended that at least one State fund culturally-appropriate legal services for indigenous women as a means of tackling violence against women.¹⁰⁶⁸ It has recommended that at least two other States ensure that interpreters are provided so that indigenous women can access free legal services for victims of gender-based violence.¹⁰⁶⁹ The Committee has further recommended that support services for victims of gender-based violence be culturally appropriate for indigenous women.¹⁰⁷⁰ It has also recommended that at least one State provide adequate reparations in accordance with the culture and traditions of ethnic minority women.¹⁰⁷¹

The Committee has recommended that at least one State harmonize the competences of regular and traditional judges to deal with complaints of gender-based violence from ethnic minority women.¹⁰⁷² The Committee has also recommended that at least one State ensure that it provides adequate assistance and protection, including access to shelters, to ethnic minority women who are victims of gender-based violence.¹⁰⁷³

Rural Women

The Committee has recommended that at least one State adopt policies to address the vulnerability of rural women to gender-based and sexual violence, including as the result of large-scale economic development projects.¹⁰⁷⁴ It has also recommended that at least one State introduce a system of mobile courts to be available to women in rural and remote areas.¹⁰⁷⁵ It has further recommended that at least one State provide access to rape crisis centers and a 24-hour free helpline to provide assistance for victims of violence, including rural women.¹⁰⁷⁶ The Committee has recommended that at least one State ensure that medical and psychological counseling is available to women in rural areas and is adequately funded.¹⁰⁷⁷

LGBT Women

The CEDAW Committee has recommended that at least one State establish a system to effectively monitor cases of violence against women, including LGBT women, to ensure that perpetrators are punished, and that judicial officers and law enforcement are trained about LGBT women's rights under CEDAW.¹⁰⁷⁸ It has recommended that at least one State decriminalize homosexual behavior and provide effective protections from violence and discrimination against women based on their sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁰⁷⁹

Individual Complaints

■ **A.T. v Hungary (2005)**

A. T., a Hungarian national, was subject to continued death threats and severe domestic violence by her common law husband, resulting in her hospitalization.¹⁰⁸⁰ A.T. claimed that Hungarian law did not provide a mechanism for her to obtain a protection order against her husband.¹⁰⁸¹ The CEDAW Committee found that Hungary violated its obligations by failing to protect A. T., failing to adopt appropriate legislation to combat domestic and sexual violence, and for not eliminating discrimination against women in matters relating to marriage and the family.¹⁰⁸² The CEDAW Committee accordingly recommended that Hungary enact laws that prohibit domestic violence against women and to provide protection and exclusion orders, as well as support services, for victims of domestic violence.¹⁰⁸³

■ **Şahide Goekce (deceased) v Austria (2007)**

Şahide Goekce, an Austrian national of Turkish origin, was shot and killed by her husband, Mustafa.¹⁰⁸⁴ Prior to her death, Ms. Goekce was repeatedly subjected to serious physical violence and death threats by her husband.¹⁰⁸⁵ The police were regularly called and requested that her husband be detained, but the public prosecutor denied the request.¹⁰⁸⁶ An interim injunction was issued to prevent Ms. Goekce's husband from entering the family home, but he ignored this order and it was not enforced by the police.¹⁰⁸⁷ The CEDAW Committee found that Austria violated several of Ms. Goekce's rights, including her rights to life and physical and mental integrity.¹⁰⁸⁸ Among several recommendations, the CEDAW Committee called on Austria to strengthen the implementation and monitoring of its laws to protect women against violence within the family, act with due diligence to prevent domestic violence, and provide adequate sanctions for the failure of officials to do so.¹⁰⁸⁹ The Committee also recommended that Austria prosecute perpetrators of domestic violence in a speedy manner.¹⁰⁹⁰

■ **Fatma Yildirim (deceased) v. Austria (2007)**

Fatma Yildirim, an Austrian national of Turkish origin, was fatally stabbed by her husband Ifran Yildirim.¹⁰⁹¹ Prior to her death, Ms. Yildirim was repeatedly harassed by and received death threats from her husband, who also threatened to kill her three children if she divorced him.¹⁰⁹² The police made repeated requests to the public prosecutor asking that her husband be detained, but their requests were rejected.¹⁰⁹³ The CEDAW Committee found that Austria violated several of Ms. Yildirim's rights, including her rights to life and to physical and mental integrity.¹⁰⁹⁴ The Committee recommended, among several recommendations, that Austria strengthen the implementation and monitoring of its relevant law.¹⁰⁹⁵ The Committee also recommended that Austria ensure that all available remedies are employed vigilantly and in a speedy manner to prosecute perpetrators of domestic violence, and that it enhance coordination among law enforcement, judicial officers, and non-governmental organizations that work to protect women victims of gender-based violence.¹⁰⁹⁶

■ **Karen Tayag Vertido v The Philippines (2010)**

Karen Tayag Vertido, a Filipina national and a former employee of the Davao City Chamber of Commerce and Industry, claimed that the president of the Chamber, Jose B. Custodio, raped her after offering her a lift home.¹⁰⁹⁷ Courts in the Philippines challenged Ms. Vertido's credibility and acquitted the defendant.¹⁰⁹⁸ The CEDAW Committee found that the Philippines violated a number of Ms. Vertido's rights including her right to a competent tribunal.¹⁰⁹⁹ The Committee concluded that the assessment of her credibility was influenced by a number of stereotypes and gender-based myths about the "ideal victim."¹¹⁰⁰ The Committee particularly stated that stereotyping affects a woman's right to a fair and just trial.¹¹⁰¹ The Committee recommended that the Philippines provide Ms. Vertido with appropriate compensation for the violation of her rights.¹¹⁰² The Committee also called on the Philippines to remove the requirement that sexual assault must be committed by physical force or violence and instead adopt a definition of rape that places the lack of consent at its center, as well as a definition for sexual assault that requires a proof of consent by the accused and removes the need for coercion.¹¹⁰³

■ **Abramova v Belarus (2011)**

Inga Abramova, journalist and activist and a national of Belarus, was arrested for her activism to draw public attention to the “European March.”¹¹⁰⁴ Ms. Abramova was detained for five days in a facility staffed by men who had unrestricted visual and physical access to her.¹¹⁰⁵ While detained, Ms. Abramova, was subject to disrespectful and humiliating treatment by male guards.¹¹⁰⁶ The CEDAW Committee found that Belarus’ treatment of Ms. Abramova constituted discrimination based on her gender and amounted to inhuman and degrading treatment.¹¹⁰⁷ The Committee further found that the inappropriate touching and unjustified interference with her privacy constituted sexual harassment.¹¹⁰⁸ In its recommendations, the CEDAW Committee called on Belarus to take measures to protect the dignity, privacy, and physical and psychological safety of women detainees.¹¹⁰⁹ The Committee also recommended that Belarus ensure access to gender-specific health care for women detainees, establish safeguards to protect female detainees from all forms of abuse, including gender-specific abuse, and investigate and prosecute perpetrators.¹¹¹⁰

■ **V.K. v. Bulgaria (2011)**

V.K, a Bulgarian national residing in Poland, was subject to persistent domestic and economic abuse by her husband, F.K.¹¹¹¹ V.K managed to escape with her children to Bulgaria and sought protection from her husband.¹¹¹² Bulgarian courts rejected V.K’s request to issue a permanent protection order on the ground that no domestic violence took place in the month prior to the hearing.¹¹¹³ Under these circumstances, the CEDAW Committee found that Bulgaria failed to effectively protect V.K. and her children from domestic violence.¹¹¹⁴ The Committee noted that gender-based violence does not require a direct and immediate threat to the life or health of the victim, and can include acts that inflict mental harm or suffering and threats of any such acts.¹¹¹⁵ Among several recommendation, the Committee called on Bulgaria to amend its law and abolish any provisions that prevent victims of domestic violence from obtaining protection orders, including the one-month time limit, and to ease the burden of proof in favor of victims.¹¹¹⁶

■ **Kell v Canada (2012)**

Kell, a Canadian aboriginal woman, owned property with her partner who was not a member of the aboriginal community.¹¹¹⁷ After listing her partner as a co-owner, Kell was subject to domestic and economic abuse by her partner who later, without her knowledge or consent, removed her name from the Assignment of Lease and denied her access to the property.¹¹¹⁸ The CEDAW Committee found that Canada failed to ensure that Kell has the same property rights as her partner.¹¹¹⁹ Additionally, the Committee concluded that Canada discriminated against Kell on the basis of her sex, marital status, and cultural heritage when it removed her name from the lease without her consent.¹¹²⁰ The Committee recommended that Canada provide appropriate compensation to Kell for the violation of her rights and to review its legal system to ensure that aboriginal women who are victims of domestic violence have effective access to justice.¹¹²¹

■ **Jallow v Bulgaria (2012)**

Jallow, an illiterate woman from Gambia residing in Bulgaria, and her daughter were subjected to domestic violence, including mental and sexual abuse, by her husband.¹¹²² Bulgaria awarded temporary custody of Jallow’s daughter to her husband without considering the alleged domestic violence or providing translation services to Jallow.¹¹²³ Later, in order to regain custody of her daughter, Jallow felt compelled to agree to a divorce that included numerous unfavorable terms.¹¹²⁴ The CEDAW Committee found that Bulgaria violated Jallow’s rights to equality within marriage and as a parent.¹¹²⁵ In particular, the Committee found Bulgaria’s failure to take Jallow’s domestic violence claims seriously perpetuated the gender stereotype that the husband is superior and the leader of the family.¹¹²⁶ The Committee concluded that both Jallow and her daughter had been subjected to gender based discrimination and that Bulgaria failed to effectively protect them against domestic violence.¹¹²⁷ The Committee recommended that Bulgaria take measures to ensure that women victims of domestic violence, including migrant women, have effective access to justice and services.¹¹²⁸ The Committee also urged Bulgaria to adopt laws or other measures to ensure that domestic violence is taken into account when awarding custody and visitation of children.¹¹²⁹

■ **S.V.P. v Bulgaria (2012)**

V.P.P., a Bulgarian child and daughter of S.V.P., was sexually molested and subjected to an attempted rape by her neighbor when she was seven years old.¹¹³⁰ As a result of the incident, V.P.P. suffered severe trauma and was diagnosed with mental disability, while the perpetrator accepted a plea agreement and continued to live close to her house.¹¹³¹ The CEDAW Committee found that Bulgaria violated several of V.P.P.'s rights including her right to freedom from sexual violence and to have access to appropriate healthcare services.¹¹³² Further, the Committee found that Bulgaria had failed to adopt legal and policy measures that punish rape and sexual violence.¹¹³³ As a result, the Committee recommended, among other actions, that Bulgaria repeal and amend its relevant laws in relation to sexual violence and rape to ensure that such crimes are effectively investigated, that perpetrators are prosecuted, and that victims are protected from re-victimization.¹¹³⁴ The Committee also called on Bulgaria to enact policies, including health-protocols, to address sexual violence against women and girls.¹¹³⁵

■ **González v Spain (2014)**

Angela González Carreño, a national of Spain, was the mother of seven-year-old daughter, Andrea, who was murdered by her father during a court-approved parental visitation.¹¹³⁶ Prior to the murder, Ms. González, sought protective orders against the father and repeatedly reported instances of physical abuse and death threats to the police.¹¹³⁷ The CEDAW Committee found that Spain failed to take the best interests of the child into account and to act with due diligence to investigate and prosecute the father and to protect Ms. González and her daughter as victims of domestic violence.¹¹³⁸ Among several recommendations, the Committee recommended that Spain take appropriate and effective measures to take into account prior acts of domestic violence and the best interest of the child when determining custody and visitation rights.¹¹³⁹

■ **R.P.B. v. The Philippines (2014)**

R.P.B., a Filipina national who is both deaf and mute, was raped at the age of 17 by her 19-year-old neighbor.¹¹⁴⁰ R.P.B.'s neighbor was acquitted following proceedings where R.P.B. was never provided a sign language interpreter.¹¹⁴¹ The CEDAW Committee found that R.P.B. was subject to multiple forms of discrimination based on her gender and disability as a result of the Philippines' failure to provide R.P.B. with reasonable accommodation or to protect her from gender-based discrimination in access to justice on an equal basis with other victims.¹¹⁴² The Committee concluded that the Philippines violated several of R.P.B.'s rights including her right to equal protection from discrimination, including sex and gender-based discrimination, and her right to be free from harmful stereotypes.¹¹⁴³ The Committee recommended that the Philippines review and amend relevant laws on rape and sexual violence to remove any requirement that such acts be committed by force or violence and to place the lack of consent at the center of the definition of rape.¹¹⁴⁴ The Committee further recommended that the Philippines guarantee free and adequate assistance of interpreters, including in sign language, whenever necessary to access justice.¹¹⁴⁵

■ **Belousova v Kazakhstan (2015)**

Anna Belousova, a Kazakh national, worked at a school on a fixed-term contract.¹¹⁴⁶ Ms. Belousova was sexually harassed by the director of the school, who indicated that her continued employment would depend on her entering into a sexual relationship with him.¹¹⁴⁷ When Ms. Belousova refused, the director asked her to pay him almost all of her salary to keep her job.¹¹⁴⁸ The CEDAW Committee found that Kazakhstan violated several of Ms. Belousova's rights including her right to equality in employment.¹¹⁴⁹ The Committee also found that Ms. Belousova was subject to gender-based violence and that Kazakhstan violated its obligations by failing to enact laws and take appropriate measures eliminate this discriminatory treatment.¹¹⁵⁰ Among several recommendations, the Committee recommended that Kazakhstan adopt comprehensive legislation to combat sexual harassment in the workplace, ensure that victims are not required to sign any statements that impede their right to access justice, and take appropriate measures to ensure effective protection of women against all forms of gender-based discrimination in employment.¹¹⁵¹

■ X v Georgia (2015)

X, a Georgia national, married her husband following a rape that resulted in a child.¹¹⁵² X's husband was physically violent toward her and their five children. X repeatedly made complaints to Georgia's courts and police to no avail.¹¹⁵³ The CEDAW Committee concluded that Georgia has failed to fulfil its obligations and to enact laws and other measures that effectively protect women and young girls from physical and sexual abuse within the family.¹¹⁵⁴ The Committee also found that Georgia failed to take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women or abolish existing laws and practices that constitute discrimination against women.¹¹⁵⁵ Among several recommendations, the Committee recommended that Georgia increase awareness-raising campaigns, ensure that victims of domestic violence and their children are provided with adequate support, including shelter and psychological support, and introduce a zero-tolerance policy with respect to violence against women.¹¹⁵⁶

Gaps in the Standards

Although the CEDAW Committee has explicitly addressed violence against women and girls with disabilities, these recommendations would be strengthened with greater specificity as to what States must do to protect women and girls with disabilities from violence and to provide adequate redress, particularly in its concluding observations. For instance, although the CEDAW Committee frequently calls on States to ensure that shelters and support services are accessible to persons with disabilities, it rarely provides recommendations on how to make these services accessible, nor does it provide specific recommendations about how States can help women with disabilities overcome obstacles to accessing justice. Furthermore, the CEDAW Committee has not commented on some of the specific forms of violence experienced by women and girls with disabilities.

The CEDAW Committee could improve its jurisprudence on gender-based violence as it affects women and girls with disabilities by recommending that States ensure that the forms of violence that uniquely and disproportionately affect women and girls with disabilities—such as abandonment, neglect, withholding of medications and mobility aids, and violence in long-term residential institutions—are specifically included in laws, policies, and strategies to prevent and eliminate gender-based violence.

The CEDAW Committee could also more consistently call on States to remove specific barriers to accessing justice. For instance, almost every State in the world allows courts to strip women and girls with disabilities of legal capacity, which can impact their ability to testify in court or to have their claims of abuse taken seriously. The Committee, in line with the CRPD Committee, could recommend that States abolish laws that strip women with disabilities of legal capacity and replace them with supported decision-making systems, as outlined in the CRPD Committee's General Comment No. 1. Furthermore, the CEDAW Committee could provide specific guidance to States about how to make support services accessible, including by ensuring that transportation to and from such services is accessible, that they have physically accessible facilities, that information is provided in a variety of formats (including Braille, easy read, and sign language), that staff of support services are trained on the rights of women and girls with disabilities, and that shelters permit women with disabilities to bring service animals with them into the shelter.

Committee on the Rights of the Child

The Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC Committee) monitors State obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Through its General Comments and Concluding Observations, the CRC Committee frequently raises issues relating to gender-based violence with regards to both girls and boys with disabilities, including in particular under articles 2 (freedom from discrimination), 19 (protection from all forms of violence) and 39(a) (freedom from torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment). Concerning the rights of children with disabilities, the Committee has also examined their rights in particular under articles 2 (freedom from discrimination) and 23 (rights of children with disabilities). Although less frequently cited in the context of gender-based violence, articles 3 (best interests of the child), 6 (right to life, survival and development), 7 (birth registration) 12 (respect for views of the child), 13 (freedom of expression), and 29 (education) also bear on the right of children to be free from gender-based violence. Additionally, there is an Optional Protocol to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography, that has relevant protections related to, in particular, trafficking for sexual exploitation.

General Comments

■ General Comment No 3: HIV/AIDS and the Rights of the Child (2003)

In its General Comment No. 3, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC Committee) addresses how the HIV/AIDS epidemic impacts the rights of children exposed to violence and abuse.¹¹⁵⁷ Exposure to violence and abuse can increase a child's risk of contracting HIV, and contraction of HIV can also increase the likelihood that a child is exposed to violence,¹¹⁵⁸ particularly for children with disabilities.¹¹⁵⁹ The Committee emphasizes that article 19 of the CRC obligates States to protect children from all forms of violence and abuse in institutions and no matter where it takes place.¹¹⁶⁰ Moreover, the Committee explains that States must develop programs tailored to the environment that allow children to recognize and report abuse independently.¹¹⁶¹ Special attention must be paid to children in war and armed conflict situations.¹¹⁶²

■ General Comment No 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (2003)

In its General Comment No. 4, the CRC Committee addresses States' obligation "[t]o protect adolescents from all forms of intentional and unintentional injuries, including those resulting from violence."¹¹⁶³ This obligation arises out of States' article 19 obligations to "take all appropriate measures[] to prevent and eliminate: (a) institutional violence against adolescents, including through legislation and administrative measures in relation to public and private institutions for adolescents (schools, institutions for disabled adolescents, juvenile reformatories, etc.), and training and monitoring of personnel in charge of institutionalized children or who otherwise have contact with children through their work, including the police; and (b) interpersonal violence among adolescents, including by supporting adequate parenting and opportunities for social and educational development in early childhood, fostering non-violent cultural norms and values."¹¹⁶⁴ The Committee also highlights its concern about the relationship between violence and suicide and reminds States of their duty to provide adolescents with necessary support services.¹¹⁶⁵ The CRC Committee strongly encourages States to implement awareness raising campaigns, education programs, and legislation to combat gender stereotypes and harmful traditional practices.¹¹⁶⁶ Lastly, the Committee highlights the vulnerability of a number of different categories of children to violence, including those with disabilities,¹¹⁶⁷ homeless adolescents,¹¹⁶⁸ and adolescents who are sexually exploited.¹¹⁶⁹

■ General Comment No 6: Treatment of Unaccompanied and Separated Children Outside Their Country of Origin (2005)

In its General Comment No. 6, the CRC Committee enumerates States' obligation to recognize, protect and respond to the needs of unaccompanied and separated girls who have experienced or are at risk of

experiencing gender-based violence.¹¹⁷⁰ The Committee explains how States are obligated to protect girls from violence,¹¹⁷¹ especially from trafficking and other forms of exploitation,¹¹⁷² and provide culturally- and gender-sensitive rehabilitation services, as required.¹¹⁷³ Furthermore, the Committee calls on States to consider gender-based violence when conducting the initial assessment of separated or unaccompanied children¹¹⁷⁴ and to ensure that the domestic interpretation of the refugee definition includes the forms of gender-based violence that girls experience.¹¹⁷⁵ Lastly, the Committee emphasizes that States should ensure that separated and unaccompanied children receive the necessary care arrangements for both their physical and psychosocial health and protection from gender-based violence.¹¹⁷⁶

■ **General Comment No 7: Implementing Child Rights in Early Childhood (2005)**

In its General Comment No. 7, the CRC Committee explains that the right to non-discrimination includes the right to equal protection from violence for children.¹¹⁷⁷ States are directed to take all necessary measures to safeguard children from violence and abuse and to take positive measures to support children's recovery from trauma.¹¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the CRC Committee calls on States to ensure that children with disabilities receive the care they require in early childhood, including never being institutionalized solely on the grounds of disability and provision of support for parents and other caregivers.¹¹⁷⁹

■ **General Comment No 8: The Right of the Child to Protection from Corporal Punishment and other Cruel or Degrading Forms of Punishment (2006)**

In its General Comment No. 8, the CRC Committee calls on States to prohibit corporal punishment. The Committee makes clear that this obligation is part of a State's obligation to protect children from all forms of violence,¹¹⁸⁰ and that the obligation extends to violence authorized by parents, schools, and institutions.¹¹⁸¹

■ **General Comment No 9: The Rights of Children with Disabilities (2006)**

In its General Comment No. 9, the CRC Committee enumerates States' obligations and offers guidance on how to implement the rights of children with disabilities. The Committee urges States to recognize the particular vulnerability of girls with disabilities and take extra measures to ensure their protection, access to services, and full inclusion in society.¹¹⁸² Moreover, the Committee emphasizes the vulnerability of children with disabilities to all forms of abuse and urges States to take all necessary measures to prevent violence and abuse against children with disabilities.¹¹⁸³ The Committee also calls on States to take various protective measures¹¹⁸⁴ including, training and educating parents¹¹⁸⁵ and establishing a child-sensitive complaint mechanism.¹¹⁸⁶ Lastly, the Committee highlights its concern about the ongoing prevalence of forced sterilization and urges States to prohibit forced sterilization of children on the grounds of disability.¹¹⁸⁷

■ **General Comment No. 10: Children's Rights in Juvenile Justice (2007)**

In its General Comment No. 10, the CRC Committee calls on States to prevent violence occurring throughout the juvenile justice system and to ensure that perpetrators are brought to justice.¹¹⁸⁸ The Committee emphasizes that States must pay particular attention to girls and children with disabilities, the de facto discrimination they may face, and their particular needs,¹¹⁸⁹ including relating to prior abuse.¹¹⁹⁰

■ **General Comment No. 11: Indigenous Children and their Rights under the Convention (2009)**

In its General Comment No. 11, the CRC Committee reminds States of their obligation to address harmful practices and take steps to work with indigenous communities practicing harmful practices to ensure eradication of the practice.¹¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the Committee emphasizes States' obligation to protect children from sexual exploitation and abuse, especially trafficking.¹¹⁹² The Committee also highlights the particular vulnerability of young girls who are not registered at birth.¹¹⁹³

■ **General Comment No. 12: The Right of the Child to be Heard (2009)**

In its General Comment No. 12, the CRC Committee explains that States have an obligation to assess the capacity of a child to form an autonomous opinion and that a child should be presumed to have capacity to express their views.¹¹⁹⁴ The Committee stresses States' responsibility to take measures to assure all children's right to freely express their views and have their views taken into consideration without discrimination, including children with disabilities.¹¹⁹⁵ The Committee also calls on States to engage children, particularly marginalized children, in the development and implementation of policies, programs, and legislation relating to violence.¹¹⁹⁶ It further emphasizes States' need to create effective child-friendly reporting mechanisms.¹¹⁹⁷

■ **General Comment No. 13: The Right of the Child to Freedom from all Forms of Violence (2011)**

In its General Comment No. 13, the CRC Committee highlights the risks facing children with disabilities, particularly girls, including the risk of forced sterilization and violence under the guise of treatment.¹¹⁹⁸ States are called on to take specific prevention measures relating to violence against children, including measures aimed at changing attitudes that contribute to violence on the basis of gender, disability, and other power imbalances.¹¹⁹⁹ In judicial proceedings, the Committee also calls on States to treat child victims of violence in a sensitive manner that takes their disability and gender into account.¹²⁰⁰ The Committee further emphasizes that States must incorporate the gender dimensions of violence against children into their national coordinating frameworks, including by actively engaging men and boys to combat gender-based discrimination and violence.¹²⁰¹

■ **General Comment No. 14: The Right of the Child to have his or her Best Interests taken as a Primary Consideration (art. 3, para. 1) (2013)**

In its General Comment No. 14, the CRC Committee emphasizes that a child's disability does not deprive the child of the right to express their views or reduce the weight of the child's view when determining if something is in the child's best interest.¹²⁰² The Committee explains that States should consider, as one of the elements for assessing what is in a child's best interest, the child's situation of vulnerability which could include disability or a previous experience of abuse. States are further directed to conduct an individualized assessment that takes into account the human rights norms protected in other conventions, including the CRPD.¹²⁰³

■ **General Comment No. 15: The Right of the Child to the Enjoyment of the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (2013)**

In its General Comment No. 15, the CRC Committee calls on States to ensure that all programs and policies relating to children's health be grounded in gender equality, including equal access to information, education, justice, and security relating to gender-based violence.¹²⁰⁴ The Committee also explains that sexual and reproductive health education should include information about the prevention of gender-based violence.¹²⁰⁵

■ **General Comment No. 16: State Obligations Regarding the Impact of the Business Sector on Children's Rights (2013)**

In its General Comment No. 16, the CRC Committee emphasizes States' obligation to provide businesses with information about the duty to respect children's rights, particularly in areas affected by conflict or emergencies.¹²⁰⁶ This obligation includes rights relating to gender-based violence.¹²⁰⁷ The Committee explains States' obligation to implement national legislation that holds companies responsible for violence and exploitation of children and that includes mechanisms to hold perpetrators accountable.¹²⁰⁸ Moreover, the Committee calls on States to take additional measures to coordinate with the technology industry to prevent and combat digital media being used to facilitate or perpetrate gender-based violence against children.¹²⁰⁹

■ **General Comment No. 17: The Right of the Child to Rest, Leisure, Play, Recreational Activities, Cultural Life and the Arts (2013)**

In its General Comment No. 17, the CRC Committee calls on States take steps to protect children from violence in order to realize their rights to enjoy play, recreation and participation in cultural life and the arts.¹²¹⁰ To that end, the Committee explains that States should ensure that children who have experienced violence and neglect receive the recovery and reintegration supports and services necessary to enable them to engage in play and recreation and to participate in cultural life.¹²¹¹ The Committee acknowledges that arts can provide a valuable outlet for children to communicate and understand their trauma.¹²¹² The Committee also urges States to recognize the risks posed to children in parks, playgrounds, and sports facilities, such as sexual violence against girls, and to take action to protect children's rights to use these spaces safely.¹²¹³ Relatedly, the Committee calls on States to review policies relating to toys and games with regards to gender and disability stereotypes.¹²¹⁴

■ **General Comment No. 20: The Implementation of the Rights of the Child during Adolescence (2016)**

In its General Comment No. 20, the CRC Committee calls on States to take into consideration the particular vulnerabilities to violence faced by adolescent girls and adolescents with disabilities and to ensure that their needs and the risks they face are reflected in legislation, programs, and policies.¹²¹⁵ States are strongly encouraged to invest in proactive measures to promote the empowerment of girls and combat harmful gender stereotypes through both legal reform and programing.¹²¹⁶ The Committee highlights the unique forms of gender-based violence that adolescents with disabilities are at risk of, such as sterilization and sexual violence, and calls on States to “introduce measures to overcome such barriers, guarantee equal respect for the rights of adolescents with disabilities, promote their full inclusion and facilitate effective transitions from adolescence to adulthood.”¹²¹⁷ The Committee specifically highlights how the digital environment can contribute to gender-based violence and urges States to engage adolescents in developing programs that increase online safety, along with encouraging businesses to exercise due diligence with respect to children's rights.¹²¹⁸ The Committee also highlights the vulnerability of adolescents with disabilities to gender-based violence in alternative care settings and urges States to invest in supporting and protecting adolescents in alternative care.¹²¹⁹ In the educational setting, the Committee calls on States to invest in strategies to promote positive gender relations and address gender-based violence.¹²²⁰ Lastly, the Committee highlights the vulnerability of adolescents to gender-based violence in conflict and humanitarian disaster settings and urges States to engage adolescents in the development of programs and protection, reconciliation, and peacebuilding processes¹²²¹ and to address gender-based violence against adolescents during conflict.¹²²²

■ **General Comment No. 21: Children in Street Situations (2017)**

In its General Comment No. 20, the CRC Committee explains how inequalities based on gender and disability are among the primary causes of the emergence and exclusion of children in street situations.¹²²³ The Committee emphasizes the connection between this systemic discrimination and the vulnerability of children to violence, abuse, and exploitation.¹²²⁴ The Committee reminds States to take positive measures to address this discrimination and ensure equal opportunities for children from marginalized groups.¹²²⁵ The Committee also calls on States to recognize the particular vulnerability to abuse and exploitation faced by children in street situations with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities, to adopt special protection measures, and to dismantle barriers that prevent these children from accessing services (such as inclusive education).¹²²⁶ Lastly, the Committee reminds States to employ gender-sensitive responses to address the vulnerability of children in street situations to sexual violence and exploitation.¹²²⁷

Concluding Observations

In addition to the concluding observations below, the CRC Committee has also issued concluding observations related to forced or coerced sterilization, including of women and girls with disabilities, a practice that is

considered a form of gender-based violence. These concluding observations are summarized in [*accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities*](#).

Because of the large volume of concluding observations on gender-based violence issues by the CRC Committee, the information below is a comprehensive overview of the concluding observations the CAT Committee has issued to States. Please check the CAT Committee's website to access the most updated concluding observations for a particular State.

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

Legal Prohibitions

The CRC Committee has regularly expressed concern about the lack of legislation clearly defining the criminalization of various forms of gender-based violence experienced by children, including rape¹²²⁸ and domestic violence.¹²²⁹ The Committee has also articulated concern at least once about a State's failure to enumerate the legal age of consent for sexual intercourse in its legislation.¹²³⁰ On at least two occasions, the Committee also expressed concern about the lack of legislation criminalizing sexual abuse of boys, such as failure to prohibit the rape of boys¹²³¹ or stipulate an age of consent for boys.¹²³²

Similarly, the CRC Committee has also expressed concern about situations where the current legislation is deficient in some way. On at least one occasion, the Committee highlighted as problematic a State's criminal code, which allowed perpetrators to avoid criminal penalties if they married the girl whom they sexually abused or if the girl was deemed to have immoral character.¹²³³

Accordingly, the CRC Committee has recommended that States establish a comprehensive legal framework prohibiting all forms of violence, abuse, and neglect, including by more clearly defining the crimes of physical and sexual abuse, rape, marital rape, and sexual exploitation against both children and adults.¹²³⁴ At least once, the Committee recommended that a State adopt federal legislation to serve as a framework for reducing violence while also urging smaller localities within the State to adopt local legislation.¹²³⁵ The Committee expanded upon this further with two other States, recommending the prohibition of all forms of abuse and neglect of children in school, home, and alternative care settings.¹²³⁶ The Committee has also directed at least one State to revise legislation to include effective deterrents for gender-based violence¹²³⁷ and another to promulgate legislation entitling domestic violence survivors to receive necessary medical, legal, house, and social support services.¹²³⁸

The CRC Committee has also called on States to revise current laws. For example, the Committee regularly calls on States to repeal laws which discriminate against girls or that promulgate negative attitudes and stereotypes through a comprehensive strategy and effective monitoring mechanism,¹²³⁹ which the Committee recommends includes the input of girls.¹²⁴⁰ Additionally, the Committee directed at least one State to repeal legislation that excused domestic violence perpetrators¹²⁴¹ and another to amend its immigration law to recognize child-specific forms of persecution, such as trafficking or child marriage, as grounds for seeking asylum.¹²⁴²

Once these legislative changes have taken place, the Committee has called on at least one State to distribute information about the updated legislation to relevant stakeholders, particularly law enforcement officers, members of the judiciary, and other relevant professionals.¹²⁴³ The Committee has also recommended that States take proactive measures to enforce the laws and ensure that perpetrators are brought to justice accordingly.¹²⁴⁴ On at least two occasions, the Committee has emphasized the importance of prosecuting perpetrators of sexual violence, particularly teachers.¹²⁴⁵

Policies and Systems

The CRC Committee has enumerated concerns with policies relating to gender-based violence. On at least one occasion, the Committee expressed concern about a State's legislation which limited the reporting of child abuse to abuse against "young persons" and thus did not protect children under 12 years old.¹²⁴⁶ To at least one other State, the Committee expressed concern about the State's lack of a child protection policy.¹²⁴⁷

As such, the Committee has directed States to develop a national strategy and coordinating frameworks to address violence against children,¹²⁴⁸ with particular attention to the gender dimension of such violence.¹²⁴⁹ The CRC Committee has recommended that multiple States establish a system for receiving, monitoring and investigating child abuse.¹²⁵⁰ It has further called on at least two States to develop a national action plan to address the housing, health, legal, and psychological needs of child victims of sexual violence and exploitation at both national and local levels.¹²⁵¹ On at least one occasion, the Committee clarified that such a plan should include the development of effective methods of identification, systematic reporting, and investigation of sexual abuse and exploitation.¹²⁵² The Committee has also called on at least one State to address the gender-related dimensions of violence against children, particularly as these dimensions manifest in laws, policies, and action plans.¹²⁵³

National Planning and Strategies

The CRC Committee regularly suggests that States prioritize and implement the recommendations of the United Nation's study on violence against children (A/61/299) and the CRC Committee's General Comment No. 13 (2011) on the Right of the Child to Freedom from All Forms of Violence (CRC/C/GC/13).¹²⁵⁴ On a number of occasions, the Committee has also recommended that States ensure programs and policies align with the outcome documents adopted at the 1996, 2001, and 2008 World Congresses against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.¹²⁵⁵ Similarly, the Committee has also recommended that States cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Violence against Children.¹²⁵⁶

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Public-Awareness Raising Initiatives

The CRC Committee has raised concerns on at least one occasion about the lack of information available about laws, policies, and measures for preventing and combating child sexual abuse, and related training for professionals.¹²⁵⁷ To that end, the Committee has made a number of recommendations on how States should raise awareness about child sexual abuse among the public and professionals.

The CRC Committee regularly calls on States to conduct nationwide awareness raising programs about violence, including sexual abuse and domestic violence, to combat discriminatory attitudes and increase reporting.¹²⁵⁸ The Committee has explained that States should be conducting and strengthening public awareness-raising campaigns to combat gender stereotypes¹²⁵⁹ and other sociocultural norms that lead to gender-based violence and the stigmatization of children who are victims of sexual abuse, including incest.¹²⁶⁰ States are encouraged to involve children in these campaigns.¹²⁶¹ To at least one State, the Committee has recommended that the State monitor the portrayal of children in the media, on the internet, and in statements by public officials, to ensure sensitization of the public and key stakeholders about the negative impact of stereotypes on children's rights.¹²⁶²

In addition, the CRC Committee has made a number of specific recommendations for particular issues that should be highlighted through public campaigns. The Committee urged at least one State to conduct awareness-raising campaigns on the sexual exploitation of children and the dangers children who become involved in the sex business face.¹²⁶³ On at least two other occasions, the Committee has urged the State to undertake awareness raising and education campaigns to eliminate and prevent trafficking.¹²⁶⁴ The Committee has also on no less than one occasion encouraged the creation of awareness raising and educational programming to reduce stigmatization and violence against single mothers and their children.¹²⁶⁵

Professional-Oriented Awareness Raising Initiatives

On multiple occasions, the CRC Committee has recommended that States implement effective awareness raising measures aimed at professionals interacting with children who may be at risk of or experiencing gender-based violence. Specifically, the Committee has suggested States develop awareness raising programs that promote sensitization around gender-based violence for law enforcement officials, members of the judiciary, and health service providers.¹²⁶⁶

Family-Oriented Awareness Raising Initiatives

The Committee has also encouraged States to develop programs aimed at family members of people with disabilities. On at least two occasions, States have been directed to conduct public awareness raising campaigns about the availability of parental trainings for preventing child abuse and promoting positive non-violent methods of conflict resolution.¹²⁶⁷

Child-Oriented Awareness Raising Initiatives

Raising awareness among children about gender-based violence and how to report violence and abuse is regularly recommended by the Committee. The CRC Committee has recommended that multiple States should conduct awareness raising among children, particularly girls, to encourage reporting of sexual violence and abuse.¹²⁶⁸ On at least one occasion, the Committee suggested that a State's 24-hour national helpline be expanded with an outreach program to better reach marginalized children.¹²⁶⁹ The Committee has recommended at least once that adolescent girls be targeted specifically for programs which include prevention measures, education, and awareness raising.¹²⁷⁰

Data-Collection

The Committee has regularly emphasized that data collection on violence against women and children is essential to combatting gender-based violence. The Committee has noted with concern on at least one occasion the lack of data on violence against women and children and subsequent investigations, prosecutions, and convictions.¹²⁷¹ To this end, the Committee regularly calls on States to establish a consolidated data collection system and to monitor and conduct analysis of data on violence, especially as it relates to children.¹²⁷² The Committee has also recommended on at least two occasions that this data collection system be used to monitor actions taken to prevent violence.¹²⁷³ At least once, the Committee has urged a State to collect specific data on sexual exploitation of children;¹²⁷⁴ investigations of and penalties for prosecutions of sexual exploitation and redress offered to victims/survivors;¹²⁷⁵ and on child homicide, including femicide.¹²⁷⁶

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Prevalence of Violence

The CRC Committee has expressed concern about high rates of domestic violence¹²⁷⁷ and abuse of girls¹²⁷⁸ to multiple States. To at least two States, the Committee has explained that they are concerned that domestic violence is socially tolerated¹²⁷⁹ and not explicitly prohibited.¹²⁸⁰ At least once, the Committee has articulated its concern about how rarely perpetrators of such abuse are brought to justice.¹²⁸¹ The Committee has explained on no less than two occasions that its concern is based in part on how domestic violence against women can affect children, including by leading to child abuse.¹²⁸² To one State, the Committee described how its concern was rooted in how persistent and extreme gender-based discrimination, particularly that experienced by girls during childhood, exposes girls to domestic violence and sexual exploitation and abuse.¹²⁸³ The Committee has also expressed an issue with how, in at least two States, gender stereotypes about the roles and responsibilities of women in the family contributes to the high levels of violence against women and children.¹²⁸⁴ To at least two States, the Committee directed the States to address the root causes of violence against children and take tangible steps towards changing and eliminating attitudes, traditions, and behavior that serves as the justification for domestic violence against girls.¹²⁸⁵

Support Services Relating to Violence

The CRC Committee has regularly expressed concern at the lack of services for domestic violence survivors, such as shelters.¹²⁸⁶ To at least two States or more, the Committee has raised issues with reintegration programs that inadequately address the needs of child victims of domestic violence because they lack mechanisms for children to be reintegrated into their families.¹²⁸⁷ Relatedly, on at least one occasion, the Committee has expressed concern at the lack of policies and programs to address domestic violence¹²⁸⁸ and that support services for domestic violence survivors are only available through non-governmental providers.¹²⁸⁹

The CRC Committee has also made a number of suggestions for specific ways that States should better address intimate partner and domestic violence and provide services for women and children at risk of or experiencing violence. Frequently, the Committee has recommended that States guarantee the availability of specialized shelters that provide the necessary support and protection required for survivors or those at risk of violence.¹²⁹⁰ The Committee has also encouraged at least one State to implement community-based programs that aim to prevent and combat domestic violence and engage survivors and community members in training programs.¹²⁹¹ And directed no less than one State to ensure that cases of domestic violence are investigated through child-sensitive judicial procedures and prosecution and sanctioning of perpetrators.¹²⁹² Other specific recommendations made by the Committee include, ensuring that domestic violence survivors receive medical, legal, and psychological assistance and accommodation support and services;¹²⁹³ making financial support available for women and their children who are escaping a violent partner upon whom they were financially dependent;¹²⁹⁴ establishing care, recovery, and reintegration services for children who are victims of direct or indirect violence;¹²⁹⁵ availability of care and rehabilitation services for both victims and perpetrator;¹²⁹⁶ and taking measures to combat patriarchal attitudes and gender stereotyping.¹²⁹⁷

The CRC Committee has repeatedly recommended that States implement an effective strategy to address domestic violence and child protection in the State, including through allocation of sufficient financial and human resources.¹²⁹⁸ The CRC Committee has recommended to at least two States that the States undertake an autonomous and systematic national assessment of the effectiveness of existing measures to combat domestic violence and how to prevent and respond to domestic violence.¹²⁹⁹ Relatedly, the Committee has recommended that States establish a national database of domestic violence cases involving children and utilize this data to better understand the scope, causes, and nature of the violence children experience.¹³⁰⁰ The Committee further explained to at least one State that data should be collected on incidents of corporal punishment and sexual abuse in all settings.¹³⁰¹ In addition, the Committee has recommended on at least one occasion, that a State establish monitoring mechanisms for child victims of domestic violence who are reintegrated with their families.¹³⁰²

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Sexual Violence Prevalence

The CRC Committee has regularly expressed concern about the sexual violence that children experience. On many occasions, the Committee has emphasized its alarm at the high number of incidents of sexual abuse and exploitation of girls, in home, school, and alternative care settings.¹³⁰³ In particular, the Committee has documented its concern about the level of sexual abuse of children in schools¹³⁰⁴ and on one other occasion sexual abuse by clergy members¹³⁰⁵ and by the police.¹³⁰⁶ On at least one other occasion, the Committee expressed concern at the lack of awareness among children about sexual abuse and how to respond and report abuse should it occur.¹³⁰⁷ The Committee has also raised a concern at least once about the high numbers of girls under age fourteen giving birth as a result of sexual violence, often allegedly perpetrated by a family member, and failure to investigate such cases in a timely manner.¹³⁰⁸

The CRC Committee has made a number of recommendations for how States should address sexual violence. The CRC Committee has recommended that States institute mechanisms, procedures, and guidance on reporting of child abuse and exploitation and ensure that child-friendly reporting mechanisms are in place.¹³⁰⁹ Specifically, the Committee has on a number of occasions encouraged States to establish mandatory reporting of child sexual abuse and exploitation.¹³¹⁰ The Committee has directed at least two States to take all necessary measures to combat sexual abuse and exploitation through a rights-based approach that avoids re-victimization,¹³¹¹ particularly in educational settings.¹³¹²

The Committee has also called on at least one State to strengthen public education campaigns to combat gender stereotypes in the family, as a means of preventing violence.¹³¹³ Other specific suggestions for actions States should take include, taking immediate measures to protect single mothers and their children and to hold perpetrators accountable with appropriate sanctions;¹³¹⁴ conducting studies on sexual abuse and exploitation

with a gender perspective to better understand the scope of the problem and develop effective measures to prevent stigmatization and change societal attitudes;¹³¹⁵ and requiring that all professionals and staff working with children receive background checks and supervision.¹³¹⁶ Lastly, on at least one occasion, the Committee articulated the importance of paying particular attention to children with disabilities, children in alternative care settings, and migrant children held in detention centers and ensuring that perpetrators in such settings are held accountable.¹³¹⁷

Response and Supports for Sexual Violence Victims/Survivors

The CRC Committee has raised concerns on multiple occasions about the lack of sexual abuse reporting¹³¹⁸ and the regularity with which reports are dropped.¹³¹⁹ The Committee further expressed concern to at least one State about the shame and stigma attached to victims/survivors of rape.¹³²⁰ And how this stigma may lead to a reduce rate of reporting because of fear of further stigmatization.¹³²¹ On numerous occasions, the Committee has expressed alarm about the lack of psychological, counselling, and other re-integration services for young victims/survivors of sexual violence.¹³²² At least once, the Committee expressed concern that professionals working on gender-based violence issues have not received training on how to care for victims/survivors of violence in line with agreed-upon standards.¹³²³

Similarly, the CRC Committee has raised the issue on at least one occasion about the situation of single mothers and their children and their particular vulnerability to physical and sexual abuse and stigmatization;¹³²⁴ the connection between the sexual exploitation of children and poverty and the pressure to earn money;¹³²⁵ and the perception that a woman or girl who has been sexually exploited or abused results in her “economic devaluation” also prevents reporting.¹³²⁶

As a result of these concerns, the Committee has made a number of recommendations for ways in which States can improve their response and support services for victims/survivors of sexual violence. To this end, the Committee has urged at least one State to implement effective measures to ensure prompt identification of children at risk of sexual violence.¹³²⁷ The Committee has also called on States to ensure that children who are victims/survivors of violence and abuse are treated as victims/survivors and not detained or charged with crimes or stigmatized.¹³²⁸

The CRC Committee has further recommended that States implement policies and programs to support the reintegration of survivors of sexual abuse.¹³²⁹ On at least one occasion, the Committee clarified that this should include ensuring that children who are victims/survivors of sexual abuse and/or exploitation have access to child-protection centers throughout the country including in rural areas.¹³³⁰ The Committee has also directed States to ensure that child victim/survivors of sexual abuse have access to all necessary supports to aid their psychological and physical recovery and re-integration.¹³³¹ On at least one occasion, the Committee recommended that States should open shelters specifically for child victims/survivors of abuse and exploitation where they can receive supports and services for their recovery and reintegration.¹³³² On at least one other occasion, the Committee recommended a State continue self-empowerment programs for children as a support for victims/survivors of sexual violence.¹³³³

Access to Justice to Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence

On a range of different occasions, the CRC Committee has raised concerns with the lack of access to justice for sexual abuse victims/survivors. At least once the Committee expressed concern that punishment for sexually abusing children in one State was unacceptably low because there was a maximum punishment of three-years for sexual intercourse with girls ages 12-15.¹³³⁴ Likewise, on at least one other occasion the Committee raised a concern that a State’s criminal law failed to criminalize sexual abuse of married girls over the age of 15.¹³³⁵

The CRC Committee has thus made a number of suggestions for how States should improve access to justice for child victims/survivors of sexual violence. Specific recommendations for States have included establishing a legal minimum age for sexual consent;¹³³⁶ establishing an age of consent for boys as well as girls;¹³³⁷ explicit prohibition of rape of boys in legislation;¹³³⁸ and removal of any requirements that a child survivor be represented by a legal guardian.¹³³⁹

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The CRC Committee has expressed deep concern on a number of occasions about the high level of sexual harassment and abuse that young girls experience and the acceptance of violence against women in the community.¹³⁴⁰

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

The CRC Committee has expressed concern on multiple occasions its concern about how rarely perpetrators of violence are brought to justice and the inadequacy of investigations into gender-based violence and abuse.¹³⁴¹

Reporting and Investigating Violence

The CRC Committee expressed concern at least twice about the barriers children face to lodging complaints about violence they experience¹³⁴² and obtaining protection services that maintain their privacy.¹³⁴³ On at least one other occasion, the Committee expressed particular concern about the deficient measures in place to encourage reporting of abuse or violence by children with disabilities, children in alternative care settings, and migrant children.¹³⁴⁴ For those who do report, the Committee has also expressed concern at least once that domestic violence victims are discouraged from opening a case against their perpetrator and instead diverted to medical and reconciliation services.¹³⁴⁵

Consequently, the CRC Committee has called on States to establish, as a matter of urgency, effective and child-friendly procedures and mechanisms to receive, monitor, and investigate complaints and sexual abuse and violence.¹³⁴⁶ On at least one occasion, the Committee explained that these child-friendly reporting mechanisms should be available in a range of settings, including educational settings, alternative care settings, health centers, and juvenile detention centers.¹³⁴⁷

Prosecution of Gender-Based Violence

The CRC Committee has regularly informed States of its alarm at the lack of prosecution of gender-based violence against children and the insufficient sanctions imposed when a perpetrator is prosecuted. On at least one occasion, the Committee expressed concern that a State's legal system allowed for "honor" and "provocation" as legal grounds to reduce perpetrator's sentences.¹³⁴⁸ Similarly, the Committee expressed to at least one State concern that sexual exploitation and abuse was not criminalized in the State, particularly where the woman or girl is considered to be of "questionable" character.¹³⁴⁹

As a result of these concerns, the CRC Committee has made a number of recommendations for how States must improve access to justice for children victim/survivors of gender-based violence. The Committee has called on multiple States to ensure that violence against women and children is investigated, prosecuted and sanctioned.¹³⁵⁰ On numerous occasions, the Committee has explicitly called on a State party to ensure that sexual abuse of children by individuals in positions of power such as, clergy members¹³⁵¹ and teachers,¹³⁵² are effectively investigated and prosecuted. While on at least one other occasion, the Committee urged a State to ensure that violence against single mothers and their children is prosecuted and sanctioned.¹³⁵³ Furthermore, the Committee has expressed concern on at least one occasion that gender-based violence legislation classified sexual violence as an offence against mortality and recommended that the State Party clearly define the crime as a crime against a person.¹³⁵⁴

The Committee has also called on States to ensure that government institutions, law enforcement officials, social workers, health care staff, and members of the judiciary have the capacity and are trained to work with child victim/survivors of violence and abuse, including girls and children from underprivileged groups.¹³⁵⁵ The CRC Committee has urged at least one State to place particular importance on training female officers.¹³⁵⁶ To at least two States, the Committee has explicitly recommended that this training involve educating members of the judiciary about how gender stereotyping and gender-based violence can affect a girl's right to a fair trial in cases involving violence.¹³⁵⁷ At least once, the Committee suggested that a State monitor trials involving female victims/survivors.¹³⁵⁸ The Committee has further recommended on at least one occasion that a State increase

access to justice by increasing the number of available courts taking cases involving domestic violence and family violence.¹³⁵⁹

Moreover, the CRC Committee has recommended at least once that the State party prioritize ensuring that children are not re-victimized during legal proceedings and that their privacy is protected.¹³⁶⁰ On at least one other occasion, the Committee urged a State to give appropriate weight to children's views during legal proceedings relating to violence and abuse, along with the provision of support and reintegration services.¹³⁶¹ On no less than one other occasion, the Committee also directed a State to ensure that girls who were survivors of violence have access to legal and financial aid.¹³⁶²

Costs of Accessing Justice

The CRC Committee has raised its concerns about the various costs that prevent gender-based violence perpetrators from facing prosecution. The Committee expressed concerns to at least one other State about how girls who had been subject to violence faced deterrents to accessing protection because of prohibitive costs and diversions to alternative dispute resolution forums such as religious courts.¹³⁶³ In another instance, it expressed concern that the cost of medical certificates to serve as evidence in court of sexual assault was prohibitively expensive for most families.¹³⁶⁴ As such, the Committee has recommended that at least one State make medical certificates for child victims of sexual abuse and exploitation available for free.¹³⁶⁵

Remedies for Victims/Survivors of Gender-Based Violence

The CRC Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State about the failure to provide child victim/survivors with reparations.¹³⁶⁶ On at least two other occasions, the Committee expressed concern with the practice of out-of-court settlements in sexual abuse cases and law enforcement authorities involvement and encouragement of the process.¹³⁶⁷ Similarly, at least once the Committee has raised an issue with a State's traditional practice of apologies being used as reparation and as a mitigating factor for sexual offenses.¹³⁶⁸

The Committee has called on at least two States to ensure the availability of effective remedies for victims of violence, including compensation and access to redress mechanisms.¹³⁶⁹ On at least two other occasions, the Committee has called on a State to ensure that members of law enforcement and the judiciary do not promote or accept out-of-court settlements.¹³⁷⁰ The Committee has also urged at least one State party to take the necessary legislative and awareness raising steps to ensure that traditional forms of apologies are not used instead of traditional justice procedures or as a mitigating factor or reparation.¹³⁷¹

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The CRC Committee has expressed its alarm on multiple occasions about the sexual exploitation of children, including through trafficking and prostitution networks.¹³⁷² The Committee has raised concerns in particular around the subjection of female victim/survivors to honor killings or forced marriage and rejections by their families¹³⁷³ and about the particular levels of sexual exploitation of girls in mining areas.¹³⁷⁴

The CRC Committee has also expressed concern to multiple States about the lack of specialized services to identify and for children who have been exploited or trafficked, including services for boys, legal aid, shelters, and referral services.¹³⁷⁵ Moreover, at least once the Committee raised concerns at a State's lack of trained police officers, particularly female officers, and violations of victims/survivors confidentiality.¹³⁷⁶ Concerns have also been raised by the Committee at least once about the lack of prosecutions and convictions for trafficking crimes and the limited resources allocated to preventing trafficking and protecting potential victims/survivors.¹³⁷⁷

As a result, more than once the Committee has suggested that States take multi-sectoral steps to provide referral, assistance and protection services to victims/survivors of trafficking, including social services, safe housing, and gender-sensitive recovery services.¹³⁷⁸ On at least one occasion, the Committee has suggested the implementation of anti-poverty programs as a means of preventing the sexual exploitation of children.¹³⁷⁹ Similarly, the Committee has recommended to at least one State that they develop a plan of action against trafficking and sexual abuse of children,¹³⁸⁰ ensure that trafficking and abuse of children is appropriately

investigated and prosecuted (including any corrupt officials if involved),¹³⁸¹ and establish a decentralized prevention and response system which includes data collection.¹³⁸²

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

The CRC Committee has expressed concern on at least one occasion about the continued forced sterilization of girls with mental disabilities and deaf girls despite prohibition of the practice.¹³⁸³ The Committee has thus recommended at least once that the State take all necessary measures to enforce prohibitions on sterilization and garner respect for the sexual and reproductive rights of girls with disabilities.¹³⁸⁴ Similarly, the Committee has recommended on multiple occasions that the State party encourage schools and health services to detect and report abuse of children and to establish an effective reporting system accordingly.¹³⁸⁵ For more information on what the Committee has said about the sexual and reproductive health and rights of people with disabilities, see *accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities*.

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The CRC Committee has raised with many States the issue of refugee children, internally displaced children, and other children caught up in conflict and post-conflict situations who are exposed to domestic violence, harmful practices, sexual violence, and exploitation.¹³⁸⁶ On at least one occasion, the Committee has expressed concern about the lack of documentation of these cases.¹³⁸⁷ The Committee has at least once also raised a concern about the lack of sufficient health and psychosocial support and services along with reparation mechanisms for child victims of sexual violence in and outside the context of armed conflict.¹³⁸⁸ To at least one State, the Committee has raised serious concern about the violence perpetrated by military police against children in street situation or living in favelas, including sexual harassment of girls.¹³⁸⁹

As a result of these concerns, the Committee has made a number of recommendations for how States can respond to gender-based violence against children in conflict and post-conflict settings. The Committee has urged States to enhance security measures in refugee programs to protect girls from violence and exploitation and increase access to services.¹³⁹⁰ Additionally, the Committee has suggested that States establish accessible complaint mechanisms to fully investigate and prosecute abuse and exploitation against internally displaced and refugee girls.¹³⁹¹ On at least one occasion the Committee urged a State to create a single registry of victims/survivors of sexual violence, especially occurring during armed conflict, to create a more comprehensive understanding of the experiences and needs of victims/survivors and their engagement with the judicial, administrative, health, rehabilitation and compensation processes.¹³⁹² Relatedly, the Committee urged at least one other State to conduct a study of the form and nature of such violence.¹³⁹³

The Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State about girls and young women who have been exploited and used as slave labor, including sexual slavery in armed forces and have been excluded from reintegration services.¹³⁹⁴ Subsequently, the Committee has recommended to at least this one State that the State recognize the involvement of young girls in armed groups and offer them gender-specific rehabilitation services along with any compensation services they require.¹³⁹⁵ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State address the particular needs of girls previously recruited or used in hostilities, especially those girls who experienced sexual violence.¹³⁹⁶ Additionally, the Committee directed at least this one State to immediately thoroughly investigate all offenses under the Optional Protocol to the CRC including offenses related to sexual violence and to provide legal assistance and compensation to children and their families appropriately.¹³⁹⁷ Similarly, on at least one occasion, the Committee has also urged a State to ensure that child victims/survivors of sexual violence inside and outside of armed conflict situations receive the necessary follow-up for their cases¹³⁹⁸ and are adequately compensated.¹³⁹⁹

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

The CRC Committee has expressed concern on a number of occasions about particularly vulnerable populations and the intersectional violence they experience. On at least one occasion the Committee expressed concern about the structural discrimination that children with disabilities; indigenous, minority, and displaced children; children living with HIV/AIDS; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex children; and children living in remote or rural areas or marginalized urban areas, face which exposes them to violence and infringes on their rights.¹⁴⁰⁰

The Committee has thus made a number of recommendations to respond to these concerns. To at least one State, the Committee recommended that the State address the specific needs of displaced girls and ensure their protection, including from sexual violence and exploitation, by strengthening efforts to eliminate discrimination against marginalized children, committing adequate resources, and updating policies accordingly.¹⁴⁰¹

Indigenous and Ethnic Minority Women and Children

To at least one State, the Committee has expressed its alarm at the increased vulnerability of aboriginal women and children to violence, especially gender-based violence.¹⁴⁰² The Committee has also raised the issue of insufficient State programs to protect displaced minority and indigenous children, especially girls who are at particular risk of exposure to violence and discrimination.¹⁴⁰³

The CRC Committee has recommended to at least one State that they ensure that the factors contributing to high levels of violence against aboriginal women and children are understood and included in plans to combat violence.¹⁴⁰⁴ On at least one occasion, the Committee has urged a State to proactively investigate cases of sexual violence against indigenous girls and ensure effective prosecution and sanctioning of perpetrators and protection and rehabilitation of victims/survivors.¹⁴⁰⁵

Migrant Workers

The CRC Committee raised the issue in at least one State of the particular vulnerability of children of migrant workers to sexual exploitation and abuse,¹⁴⁰⁶ and urged at least one State to strengthen efforts to protect children of migrants from sexual exploitation and abuse, including through legislation that is effectively enforced and the holding of perpetrators accountable.¹⁴⁰⁷

Corporal Punishment and Bullying

The CRC Committee has expressed concern to at least one State about the existence of corporal punishment and bullying of children linking it to other forms of violence in the State.¹⁴⁰⁸ In particular, the Committee has expressed concern to at least one State about the lack of regular and systematic evaluations of mechanisms currently in place to combat violence against children in schools, on the internet, and in other contexts.¹⁴⁰⁹

As a result of these concerns, the CRC Committee has made a number of recommendations for how States should address violence in schools. To at least one State, the Committee recommended that legislative measures be taken to prohibit corporal punishment.¹⁴¹⁰ The Committee has also urged at least two States to strengthen zero tolerance policies on violence against children in schools, from sexual violence to bullying, especially against girls.¹⁴¹¹ The Committee further explained to at least two States that all forms of violence in schools should be effectively investigated through child-sensitive judicial procedure and appropriate sanctions given which maintain the right to privacy of the child.¹⁴¹² Moreover, the Committee recommended that at least one State develop monitoring mechanisms of programs implemented to reduce corporal punishment and bullying against children.¹⁴¹³ Lastly, the Committee has explained in further detail to at least one State that the State should take active measures to combat sexual violence and harassment in schools through national awareness raising and communication programs, recruitment of female school staff, unannounced school inspections, and widely publicized investigations.¹⁴¹⁴

Individual Complaints

As of January 2018, the CRC Committee has not issued any decisions on individual complaints related to gender-based violence.

Gaps in the Standards

The CRC Committee has opined with some regularity on the rights of children with disabilities to be free from violence and has on multiple occasions highlighted the particular vulnerability of girls and boys to violence. However, despite publication of General Comments on both children with disabilities (General Comment No. 9) and violence against children (General Comment No. 13), the Committee has yet to fully lay out the particularized vulnerabilities facing girls with disabilities to gender-based violence and, as such, the unique considerations and actions required by States to address gender-based violence and girls with disabilities. To this end, the CRC Committee has said very little about the needs of girls with intellectual and psychosocial disabilities and action required by States to protect their rights to be free from gender-based violence and to have access to justice to vindicate their rights.

Similarly, the CRC Committee should more comprehensively address forced sterilization of children with disabilities by adopting the framing it has used for surgical interventions on intersex children, as outlined in [*accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities*](#). For instance, the Committee should note that forced sterilization is a form of gender-based violence and can have profound physical and psychological consequences on the children involved for which they require psychological services. Furthermore, the Committee should consider calling on States to implement monitoring mechanisms to prevent the forced sterilization of children with disabilities and also provide counseling and support services to families of children with disabilities to ensure their rights to be free from violence.

The CRC Committee should also address the relationship between legal capacity and gender-based violence with regards to children with disabilities. As the CRC Committee, the Committee is in a unique position to best address States' obligations to respect, protect and fulfill the legal capacity of children with disabilities under both the CRC and the CRPD and how these two treaties interact. The Committee could build off of its discussion of capacity articulated in General Comment No. 12 to further clarify how capacity within the meaning of the CRC interacts with legal capacity as protected by the CRPD and how substituted decision-making contributes to gender-based violence.

Committee against Torture

The Committee against Torture (CAT Committee) is the expert body that monitors implementation of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT). While the torture and ill treatment framework historically has been applied to situations that disproportionately impact men, the CAT Committee has increasingly applied a gendered perspective to recognize that certain practices that disproportionately impact women can constitute torture or ill-treatment where they inflict serious physical or mental pain or suffering and are carried out for a discriminatory purpose. The CAT Committee has addressed State obligations to tackle gender-based violence, as well as denials of access to justice for victims of gender-based violence, in its general comments, concluding observations, and individual complaints, recognizing that certain violations constitute ill-treatment under article 16 (right to be free from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment) and possibly torture under articles 1 and 2 of the CAT. The Committee has also addressed State obligations with respect to gender-based violence under article 14 (right to redress).

General Comments

■ General Comment No. 2: Implementation of article 2 by States parties (2008)

In its General Comment No. 2, the CAT Committee discusses State obligations with respect to the absolute prohibition of torture. The CAT Committee explains that States must “prohibit, prevent and redress torture and ill-treatment in all contexts of custody or control, for example, in prisons, hospitals, schools, institutions that engage in the care of children, the aged, the mentally ill or disabled.”¹⁴¹⁵ The CAT Committee further emphasizes that when States fail to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate, prosecute and punish non-state actors suspected of committing torture, they are considered complicit or otherwise responsible under the Convention for consenting to or acquiescing in the impermissible acts.¹⁴¹⁶ The CAT Committee recognizes that being female can put individuals at a unique risk for gender-based forms of torture and abuse,¹⁴¹⁷ and noted that the States’ obligations extend to preventing and protecting against gender-based violence, including rape, domestic violence, female genital mutilation, and trafficking.¹⁴¹⁸

■ General Comment No. 3: Implementation of article 14 by States parties (2012)

In its General Comment No. 3, the CAT Committee extensively addresses access to justice and redress, a key part of protecting women and girls with disabilities from gender-based violence. States must enact and effectively implement legislation—and establish accessible and effective complaint mechanisms—to redress violations under the CAT.¹⁴¹⁹ Failure to investigate, criminally prosecute, or allow civil proceedings related to allegations of torture in a timely manner “may constitute a de facto denial of redress and thus constitute a violation of the State’s obligations under article 14.”¹⁴²⁰

With respect to gender-based violence, in particular, the CAT Committee emphasized that judicial proceedings must “apply gender-sensitive procedures which avoid re-victimization and stigmatization of victims of torture or ill-treatment.”¹⁴²¹ Related to this obligation, the CAT Committee underscores the importance of affording equal weight to the testimony of women and girls, and preventing the introduction of discriminatory evidence and harassment of victims.¹⁴²² Complaint mechanisms must have “specific positive measures which take into account gender aspects in order to ensure that victims of abuses such as sexual violence and abuse, rape, marital rape, domestic violence, female genital mutilation and trafficking are able to come forward and seek and obtain redress.”¹⁴²³ States are encouraged to develop shelters for victims of gender-based torture,¹⁴²⁴ and must also provide training to law enforcement officials on specifically how to handle gender-based and sexual violence.¹⁴²⁵

Concluding Observations

The CAT Committee regularly raises concerns about the prevalence of violence against women,¹⁴²⁶ and has recommended that States redouble efforts to combat all forms of gender-based violence and to ensure that all complaints are thoroughly investigated and that suspected offenders are prosecuted and, if convicted, punished appropriately.¹⁴²⁷ In addition to the issues discussed below, the CAT Committee has frequently expressed concern and made recommendations to States about forced or coerced sterilization¹⁴²⁸ and other reproductive health services (e.g. abortion),¹⁴²⁹ which can be a form of gender-based violence. For more information on how the CAT Committee has addressed forced or coerced reproductive health services, please see the [*accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities*](#).

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

Comprehensive Gender-Based Violence Legislation

The CAT Committee regularly raises serious concerns where there is an absence in the domestic law of a definition of domestic violence or any legislation criminalizing acts of violence against women (including a failure to criminalize marital rape).¹⁴³⁰ In at least one instance, the Committee has expressed concern about a failure to criminalize so-called honor crimes,¹⁴³¹ and it expressed concern to at least one other State about a failure to criminalize bride kidnapping.¹⁴³² The CAT Committee has also raised concerns in at least one instance where the statutory age for rape is 12 years and where the Penal Code includes virginity and seduction as prerequisites to define the crime rape.¹⁴³³ On at least one occasion, it expressed concerns where there was no criminalization of sexual violence other than rape.¹⁴³⁴ The CAT Committee has also expressed concern that the criminal laws of at least one State classifies rape and sexual abuse, which are extremely widespread, as “immoral acts” and “indecent assault,” respectively, and not as crimes against the person.¹⁴³⁵

The CAT Committee frequently urges States to define gender-based violence, including domestic violence, in legislation and to criminalize domestic violence (including marital rape)¹⁴³⁶ and other forms of sexual violence.¹⁴³⁷ The CAT Committee has further recommended that States adopt a legal definition of rape that defines rape and other forms of sexual violence as any sexual conduct without the consent of the victim.¹⁴³⁸ The CAT Committee has recommended that at least one State adopt, without delay, a comprehensive law punishing all forms of violence against women, including marital rape, female genital mutilation and sexual abuse and exploitation of women in prison and in conflict areas.¹⁴³⁹

Full and Effective Implementation

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to at least one State that there is no political commitment to ensuring that laws prohibiting domestic violence are implemented in practice.¹⁴⁴⁰

The CAT Committee has recommended that States effectively enforce legislative measures and other measures to combat gender-based violence, including to enforce effective mechanisms to prevent and punish all forms of violence against women and girls and to ensure that victims are provided with redress.¹⁴⁴¹

Mitigating Laws

The CAT Committee has raised concerns with several States about laws permitting reduced sentences for “honor” crimes and impunity for perpetrators of rape where they marry their victims.¹⁴⁴²

On at least two occasions, the CAT Committee has recommended the repeal without further delay of any mitigating and exculpatory provisions in the Penal Code concerning rape and “honor” crimes and encouraged an end to impunity for rape, “honor” crimes and other gender-based violence.¹⁴⁴³

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Statistics and Data Collection

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to States in relation to the lack of nation-wide statistics on gender-based violence,¹⁴⁴⁴ including sexual violence,¹⁴⁴⁵ domestic violence,¹⁴⁴⁶ trafficking,¹⁴⁴⁷ and female genital mutilation.¹⁴⁴⁸ The CAT Committee has also expressed concern to several States about a lack of data on investigations, complaints, prosecutions, and convictions for gender-based violence.¹⁴⁴⁹

The CAT Committee has called on States to collect data and information on violence against women, including domestic violence,¹⁴⁵⁰ sexual violence,¹⁴⁵¹ trafficking,¹⁴⁵² and female genital mutilation.¹⁴⁵³ In at least one instance, it has also called for a State to collect data on the particular impact of violence against women on ethnic and religious minorities.¹⁴⁵⁴ The Committee has further called for data collection on the means of redress (including compensation and rehabilitation) provided to victims.¹⁴⁵⁵ The CAT Committee has recommended to at least one State that a single consolidated system for keeping records on cases of violence against women should be established.¹⁴⁵⁶

The CAT Committee has also recommended that States compile statistical data relevant to the monitoring of the implementation of the Convention at the national level, including data on complaints, investigations, prosecutions and convictions of cases concerning torture and ill-treatment, trafficking and domestic and sexual violence, as well as of means of redress, including compensation and rehabilitation provided to the victims.¹⁴⁵⁷

Awareness Raising

The CAT Committee routinely recommends that States strengthen public awareness-raising campaigns to combat gender-based violence, including domestic violence.¹⁴⁵⁸

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to States about the high prevalence of both domestic violence¹⁴⁵⁹ and crimes committed against women and children in the name of honor.¹⁴⁶⁰ The CAT Committee has also raised concerns in at least one instance in relation to the reluctance of migrant spouses and migrant live-in workers to report violence against them,¹⁴⁶¹ and in another instance, it expressed concerns about high rates of forced marriages.¹⁴⁶²

Remedies and Redress

The CAT Committee has raised concerns to a number of States in relation to lack of facilities and shelters available for women victims of violence¹⁴⁶³ and to at least one State about insufficient support and assistance provided to victims of gender based violence during and after criminal proceedings.¹⁴⁶⁴ The CAT Committee has also expressed concern to several States about the inadequate training of medical professionals in assessing and responding to cases of domestic violence against women.¹⁴⁶⁵

The CAT Committee has recommended that States provide appropriate protection and assistance to victims of domestic violence,¹⁴⁶⁶ including access to shelters,¹⁴⁶⁷ effective restraining orders,¹⁴⁶⁸ medical and psychological support,¹⁴⁶⁹ legal services,¹⁴⁷⁰ social support schemes,¹⁴⁷¹ and compensation and rehabilitation.¹⁴⁷² On at least two occasions, the CAT Committee has recommended that a hotline to report domestic violence be operational 24 hours a day.¹⁴⁷³

The CAT Committee has further recommended that States should ensure adequate and specialized training of social workers and medical professionals in assessing and responding to cases of gender-based violence.¹⁴⁷⁴

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to a number of States about the high prevalence yet low number of complaints, investigations, prosecutions, and convictions in rape cases.¹⁴⁷⁵ The CAT Committee has on at least

one occasion raised concerns that much of the sexual violence is directed at displaced women and girls;¹⁴⁷⁶ in at least one case where the women are domestic workers,¹⁴⁷⁷ in at least two instances raised concerns that much of it includes rape of girls by close relatives,¹⁴⁷⁸ teachers,¹⁴⁷⁹ and (in one instance) classmates.¹⁴⁸⁰ The CAT Committee has, in addition, expressed its concern in relation to the stigmatization associated with this type of violence.¹⁴⁸¹

The CAT Committee has recommended that at least two States establish sexual assault centers,¹⁴⁸² and that at least two States put an end to the culture of silence and stigma that surrounds this type of violence.¹⁴⁸³ On at least two occasions, the CAT Committee has suggested training on sexual violence for social workers who are in direct contact with the victims.¹⁴⁸⁴ The CAT Committee has recommended that States ensure that the female victims of sexual violence are able to receive medical care and psychological support¹⁴⁸⁵ and has, in at least one instance, recommended that victims undergo an independent medical examination to gather evidence of these crimes.¹⁴⁸⁶

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The CAT Committee has not yet issued concluding observations on sexual harassment.

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Barriers to Access to Justice

The CAT Committee has expressed concern about the lack of access to justice for victims of gender-based violence on a number of occasions. It has expressed its concern in a few instances about the obstacles that victims of sexual violence, and particularly indigenous women and ethnic minorities,¹⁴⁸⁷ face in seeking justice for such violence, due to barriers inherent in the legal framework,¹⁴⁸⁸ unresponsiveness of the police and judiciary,¹⁴⁸⁹ and the lack of shelters where victims can take refuge.¹⁴⁹⁰ Also, in at least one instance, the CAT Committee has raised concerns in relation to lack of information provided about prosecutions for sexual violence.¹⁴⁹¹

The CAT Committee has recommended that at least one State put an end to impunity enjoyed by persons who perpetrate acts of sexual violence in a context of political crisis, be they state or non-state actors.¹⁴⁹²

Due Diligence Obligations

The CAT Committee regularly expresses concern to States about low numbers of complaints, investigations, prosecutions, and convictions of acts of gender-based violence, including domestic violence (including marital rape).¹⁴⁹³ In addition, the CAT Committee has expressed concern about factors that contribute to underreporting of gender-based violence, including reports that law enforcement officers are unwilling to register claims of domestic violence or are unresponsive or are dismissive of complaints,¹⁴⁹⁴ reports that police responding to domestic violence at times arrested and even charged the victim along with the perpetrator,¹⁴⁹⁵ and the lack of assistance and protection measures of the State to encourage women from ethnic minorities to report incidents of domestic and sexual violence.¹⁴⁹⁶ The CAT Committee has also expressed concern in relation to lack of or limited use of emergency protection orders (such as restraining orders),¹⁴⁹⁷ including reports that women who have received or applied for protection orders have not received effective protection from the State party's authorities which, in practice, resulted in a number of cases in which the victims were subsequently killed.¹⁴⁹⁸

The CAT Committee has further expressed concern that the penalties incurred for domestic violence are insufficiently severe,¹⁴⁹⁹ raising concerns with at least one State where women who seek criminal investigations of allegations of domestic violence are compelled to participate in reconciliation processes,¹⁵⁰⁰ and, with another State, concerns that the majority of convictions ended in a fine.¹⁵⁰¹ The CAT Committee has also expressed its regret to States in relation to the absence of comprehensive and disaggregated data on investigations, convictions, punishment of perpetrators and redress afforded to victims.¹⁵⁰²

The CAT Committee routinely urges States to ensure that all cases of gender-based violence, including domestic violence, are promptly, impartially, and effectively investigated; that perpetrators (including law enforcement officers) are prosecuted and, where found guilty, sentenced to a punishment commensurate with the seriousness of their crime; and that the victims are provided with adequate redress.¹⁵⁰³ The CAT Committee has also recommended on at least one occasion that a State institute criminal proceedings against perpetrators and those aiding and abetting kidnapping, even in the absence of formal complaints.¹⁵⁰⁴ The CAT Committee has also recommended that States should ensure that police officers refusing to register such complaints or offer effective protection are appropriately disciplined.¹⁵⁰⁵

The CAT Committee has on several occasions recommended that States take steps to encourage reporting of gender-based violence, including by raising awareness about the criminal nature of such acts and resources available to victims,¹⁵⁰⁶ providing adequate assistance and protection to women victims of violence (including women from ethnic minorities),¹⁵⁰⁷ and making it easier for victims to bring complaints.¹⁵⁰⁸ The CAT Committee has recommended, on at least one occasion, that a State should establish not only an effective complaints mechanism for women and girls but also a monitoring mechanism to fulfil its positive duty to prevent all forms of violence against them.¹⁵⁰⁹ The CAT Committee has also on one occasion at least recommended that a State should ensure that victims receive full redress for the harm suffered, including fair and adequate compensation and the fullest rehabilitation possible,¹⁵¹⁰ notwithstanding in at least one instance an economic crisis.¹⁵¹¹ The CAT Committee has also recommended that at least one State put a complete end to arbitrarily detaining women and girls who are victims of violence and migrant workers fleeing abusive employers in “protective custody.”¹⁵¹²

Training and Guidance

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to States in relation to inadequate training of law enforcement officials in assessing and responding to cases of domestic violence against women.¹⁵¹³

The CAT Committee has recommended that States should ensure adequate training of law enforcement officials, judges, and lawyers in assessing and responding to cases of gender-based violence, including domestic violence and sexual violence, to ensure the appropriate handling of such cases and to create the appropriate conditions for victims to report such cases to the authorities.¹⁵¹⁴ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State combat practices and prejudices among the law enforcement personnel that constitute a barrier to reporting rape, sexual violence and gender-based violence generally.¹⁵¹⁵

Legal Assistance

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to at least one State about a lack of legal aid for victims of gender-based violence.¹⁵¹⁶

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to a number of States about the problem of human trafficking and sexual exploitation, and particularly about reports of increases in this practice.¹⁵¹⁷ The CAT Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State about the failure to implement clear laws against trafficking¹⁵¹⁸ and to another State about the lack of national legislation on human trafficking.¹⁵¹⁹ The Committee has further expressed concern about the impact of trafficking on particular populations of women, including asylum seekers or female migrants,¹⁵²⁰ incarcerated women for whom traffickers post bail and subsequently force them into prostitution through debt bondage,¹⁵²¹ and women and young girls from impoverished rural regions.¹⁵²²

The CAT Committee has recommended that States vigorously implement¹⁵²³ and enforce the international and domestic legislation aimed at countering trafficking.¹⁵²⁴ In at least one case, the Committee recommended that a State intensify action against marriages of convenience that may result in human trafficking¹⁵²⁵ and monitor and assess visa regimes to prevent potential misuse.¹⁵²⁶ The CAT Committee has recommended that States allocate sufficient funds to combat trafficking,¹⁵²⁷ and has recommended that a number of States conduct national prevention and awareness-raising campaigns on the criminal nature of such acts.¹⁵²⁸

The CAT Committee has further recommended that States enhance international cooperation to combat human trafficking, including through bilateral agreements,¹⁵²⁹ and monitor the impact of such cooperation.¹⁵³⁰ In at least one instance, the Committee recommended that a State actively engage in a policy of mutual legal assistance with other countries of origin, destination or transit in cross-border trafficking.¹⁵³¹ The CAT Committee additionally has recommended that States cease the return of trafficked persons to their countries of origin if there are substantial grounds to believe that they would be in danger of torture.¹⁵³²

Due Diligence Obligations to Prevent and Sanction Trafficking

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to several States about the failure to properly investigate and sanction perpetrators of the crime of human trafficking and low rates of prosecution.¹⁵³³ It has raised concerns to at least one State about the lack of capacity or willingness of law enforcement authorities to properly identify trafficking victims.¹⁵³⁴ It has also expressed concern that many trafficking cases are charged under crimes carrying less serious punishments¹⁵³⁵ and that perpetrators are given very lenient or suspended sentences.¹⁵³⁶ The CAT Committee has also expressed concern where States have not collected sufficient data on the issue of trafficking and sexual exploitation, including a lack of information about investigations and prosecutions.¹⁵³⁷

The CAT Committee recommends that States promptly, thoroughly and effectively investigate cases of trafficking in persons and related practices, prosecute and punish those responsible with appropriate penalties¹⁵³⁸ (including any government officials complicit in trafficking).¹⁵³⁹ The CAT Committee has also recommended that several States provide specialized training to public officials and law enforcement officers on the application of trafficking laws,¹⁵⁴⁰ as well as on identifying victims of trafficking and gender-specific, investigating, prosecuting and sanctioning perpetrators,¹⁵⁴¹

The CAT Committee has also recommended that States provide it with comprehensive and disaggregated data on the number of investigations carried out, prosecutions initiated and sentences handed down for human trafficking and on the provision of redress to the victims.¹⁵⁴² It recommended that at least one State undertake research into the impact of preventive measures and criminal justice responses to counter trafficking in human beings and on the difficulties experienced in preventing such acts.¹⁵⁴³

Remedies and Redress for Trafficking Victims

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to several States about inadequate access to effective remedies and redress for trafficking victims,¹⁵⁴⁴ including in at least one instance where a State does not provide victims with the right to an effective remedy until victims have gone through an internal determination procedure to be recognized as victims of trafficking.¹⁵⁴⁵ In addition, the CAT Committee expressed concern with respect to at least one State in relation to the lack of financial resources allocated to constructing shelters for victims of trafficking;¹⁵⁴⁶ the lack of adequate support in shelters¹⁵⁴⁷ and the lack of social services to victims of trafficking.¹⁵⁴⁸

The CAT Committee has recommended that a number of States provide effective remedies to all victims of the crime of trafficking, including providing legal, medical and psychological aid and rehabilitation, as well as adequate shelter and assistance in reporting incidents of trafficking.¹⁵⁴⁹ The Committee recommended that at least one State ensure that victims of trafficking for forced sexual exploitation are not criminalized for prostitution.¹⁵⁵⁰ Similarly, in at least one other case, the CAT Committee recommended that a State establish clear identification procedures to ensure that victims of trafficking are not incorrectly identified and treated as undocumented migrants and deported without redress or remedy.¹⁵⁵¹ The CAT Committee further recommended to at least one State that it should ensure a gender-sensitive asylum procedure that responds to the specific protection needs of women and girls who are or may become victims of trafficking and should provide training to police and immigration officers on identifying and dealing with victims of trafficking and gender-specific violence.¹⁵⁵²

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

Violence in Prisons

The CAT Committee has raised concerns about rape and other forms of sexual abuse in detention settings,¹⁵⁵³ as well as concerns about the lack of access to relief for prisoners who suffer such sexual violence.¹⁵⁵⁴ The Committee has also raised concerns about the lack of appropriate health-care services in prisons,¹⁵⁵⁵ locating wings for women in men's prisons, which lack the necessary infrastructure and services for women prisoners,¹⁵⁵⁶ and the only prison for females being located in a remote geographical area.¹⁵⁵⁷

The CAT Committee has recommended that at least one State promote effective, prompt and independent mechanisms for handling complaints about sexual violence in prisons; provide specialized training to prison staff on prevention of sexual assault; and develop strategies for reducing and preventing such violence in prisons.¹⁵⁵⁸ The CAT Committee has recommended on at least one occasion that a State put measures in place to protect minors placed with adults and women in mixed gender facilities against abuse and exploitation, and undertake a study to identify the advantages and risks, as well as the impact on minors and women's reintegration in society after their release from prison.¹⁵⁵⁹ The CAT Committee has on at least one occasion recommended gender specific training to medical personnel dealing with detainees.¹⁵⁶⁰

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The CAT Committee has expressed concern to at least one State where an ongoing conflict led to higher rates of sexual violence, including against increasingly younger girls.¹⁵⁶¹ The Committee has also expressed concern on at least two occasions about slavery, abduction, and human trafficking of women and girls¹⁵⁶² and the apparent impunity enjoyed by the perpetrators.¹⁵⁶³ In at least one instance, the Committee noted with concern that the individuals charged for such acts were members of the current government of the State,¹⁵⁶⁴ and it expressed alarm in another instance at the numerous corroborated allegations of sexual violence against women as a means of intimidation and repression during protests and during searches conducted by the police, the military or opposition parties (including chants inciting men to rape women).¹⁵⁶⁵ The CAT Committee has on at least one occasion raised concerns about the use of sexual slavery ("comfort women") in a post-conflict setting.¹⁵⁶⁶

The CAT Committee has recommended that at least two States take vigorous measures to promote the protection of women and eliminate the impunity enjoyed by the perpetrators of acts of sexual violence in the context of armed conflict, whether they are state officials or non-state actors; conduct prompt, impartial and thorough inquiries; prosecute the perpetrators of such acts and, if they are found guilty, sentence them to punishment commensurate with the gravity of their acts; and provide adequate redress to victims, including in particular ensuring that women fleeing such violence have access to shelter, medical and psychological care, rehabilitation and public services, and are able to access such services without discrimination on the basis of gender or other status.¹⁵⁶⁷

In at least one instance, the CAT Committee has recommended that a State ensures that witnesses are provided with adequate protection and financial resources under a witness protection program.¹⁵⁶⁸ It has recommended that at least one State temporarily relieve all members of the government accused of grave violation of human rights of their duties and cooperate with the investigations opened by the Officer of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court with regard to these events.¹⁵⁶⁹ The CAT Committee has also recommended that at least one State issue clear orders along the chain of command to prohibit sexual violence, including in the handbooks and training for the security services, the police, and the military; that it publicly condemn and denounce in the strongest of terms the commission of rape by agents of the State and incitement to commit rape through chanting; and that it ensure zero tolerance of sexual violence by security forces.¹⁵⁷⁰ In a post conflict situation where sexual slavery was widespread and government-sanctioned, the CAT Committee recommended that at least one State cease to deny facts by government authorities and public figures of their involvement in relation to sexual slavery, given that repeated denials can re-traumatize victims.¹⁵⁷¹

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

Older Women

The CAT Committee has expressed concerns in relation to ill-treatment and lynching of elderly women accused of witchcraft.¹⁵⁷²

The CAT Committee has also on at least two occasions recommended that States take action to prevent such lynching and ill-treatment.¹⁵⁷³ Further, in at least one instance, the CAT Committee has recommended that a State continue its efforts to provide care for elderly women who are accused of witchcraft and ensure that all possible measures are taken to help such women reintegrate into society.¹⁵⁷⁴

LGBTI Individuals

The CAT Committee has raised concerns on at least one occasion about reports that vulnerable groups such as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) persons are subjected to violence and sexual abuse, in both public and domestic settings, owing to widespread negative social attitudes.¹⁵⁷⁵ The CAT Committee has in at least two cases raised concerns in relation to reports of police brutality directed at transgender women and other persons because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁵⁷⁶ The CAT Committee has also raised concerns on at least one occasion in relation to reports that homophobic crimes, particularly in the form of sexual assault and murders of gay men and transgender women, are frequent.¹⁵⁷⁷ It has also on at least one occasion raised concerns in relation to reports of harassment and violent attacks (some of which have resulted in death) against the LGBT community by members of the national police, armed forces, prison officials and municipal security patrols and arbitrary detention and physical abuse in police stations.¹⁵⁷⁸

The CAT Committee has recommended that at least one State establish a comprehensive legal framework to address discrimination and violence against individuals on the basis of their sexual orientation or gender identity, including by adopting legislative measures prohibiting hate crimes and establishing effective systems for reporting this type of violence so that the perpetrators of such acts can be investigated, put on trial, and punished.¹⁵⁷⁹ The CAT Committee has also on at least one occasion recommended that a State take effective measures to protect the LGBT community from attack, abuse and arbitrary detention; to ensure that all acts of violence are promptly, effectively and impartially investigated and prosecuted; and to ensure that perpetrators are brought to justice and victims provided with redress.¹⁵⁸⁰ The CAT Committee has on at least one occasion recommended that a State ensure the protection of vulnerable groups such as sexual minorities and establish effective policing, enforcement and complaints mechanisms with a view to ensuring prompt, thorough and impartial investigations into allegations of attacks against persons on the basis of their sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁵⁸¹

The CAT Committee has recommended in at least one instance that a State safeguard the physical integrity of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender persons who are in police custody to ensure that they are treated with dignity; ensure that murders and assaults motivated by a person's sexual orientation or gender identity are investigated; that the persons responsible are brought to justice; and provide mandatory training to law enforcement officers on the prosecution of cases involving the commission of acts of violence motivated by a person's sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁵⁸² The CAT Committee has recommended on at least one occasion that a State provide targeted training to police officers and other law enforcement officials regarding violence directed at people because of their sexual orientation or gender identity.¹⁵⁸³

Individual Complaints

■ **C.T. and K.M. v. Sweden (2006)**

C.T. lived in Kigali, Rwanda, where she was arrested in May 2002 due to her political activism.¹⁵⁸⁴ While in custody, she was repeatedly raped and threatened with death.¹⁵⁸⁵ She became pregnant with her son, K.M. In October 2002, she escaped, fled to Sweden, and requested asylum.¹⁵⁸⁶ K.M. was born in Sweden in 2003.¹⁵⁸⁷ She applied for asylum based on a fear that she would be detained and raped again, and that her life and that

of her son would be at risk, if she were to return to Rwanda.¹⁵⁸⁸ Her request for asylum was denied in March 2004 due to a perceived lack of credibility, and her subsequent appeal was rejected.¹⁵⁸⁹ The CAT Committee, in assessing the risk of torture, noted that a “pattern of gross, flagrant or mass violations of human rights in a country does not as such constitute a sufficient ground for determining that a particular person would be in danger of being subjected to torture upon his or her return to that country; additional grounds must exist to show that the individual concerned would be personally at risk.”¹⁵⁹⁰ The CAT Committee determined that, because C.T. was repeatedly raped in detention—which the Committee affirmed is a form of torture—in the past and because her son was conceived as a result of this rape by public officials (and was thus a reminder to C.T. of her torture), C.T. was at risk of torture if she were to be returned to Rwanda.¹⁵⁹¹ The CAT Committee further addressed C.T.’s perceived lack of credibility by noting “that complete accuracy is seldom to be expected by victims of torture and that such inconsistencies as may exist in [C.T.’s] presentation of the facts are not material and do not raise doubts about the general veracity of her claims.”¹⁵⁹²

■ **V.L. v. Switzerland (2007)**

V.L.’s husband was a local politician in Belarus who challenged the country’s leadership.¹⁵⁹³ He was attacked in April 2000 and subsequently fled the country, first to Belgium and then to Switzerland.¹⁵⁹⁴ In her husband’s absence, V.L. was frequently interrogated.¹⁵⁹⁵ She fled for Switzerland in December 2002.¹⁵⁹⁶ V.L. and her husband applied for asylum on December 19, 2002, but were rejected.¹⁵⁹⁷ They appealed on September 11, 2003, but this was rejected as well.¹⁵⁹⁸ On October 11, 2004, V.L. requested a revision of the decision and mentioned, for the first time, that she had been raped by police officers in Belarus, and had begun receiving threats after complaining to officers in charge of the local police department.¹⁵⁹⁹ She was then kidnapped and raped again before she fled to Switzerland.¹⁶⁰⁰ V.L. explained that she had been reluctant to report the rape because she was humiliated.¹⁶⁰¹ Swiss immigration authorities acknowledged that rape was often reported belatedly, but found her story unconvincing and ordered her to leave the country.¹⁶⁰²

The CAT Committee found that V.L.’s “explanation of the delay in mentioning the rapes to the national authorities is totally reasonable,” noting that “[i]t is well-known that the loss of privacy and prospect of humiliation based on revelation alone of the acts concerned may cause both women and men to withhold the fact that they have been subject to rape and/or other forms of sexual abuse until it appears absolutely necessary.”¹⁶⁰³ The CAT Committee added that, “[p]articularly for women, there is the additional fear of shaming and rejection by their partner or family members.”¹⁶⁰⁴ The CAT Committee also found that rape by public officials, even where it takes place outside of a formal detention setting, carries an “infliction of severe pain and suffering perpetrated for a number of impermissible purposes, including interrogation, intimidation, punishment, retaliation, humiliation and discrimination based on gender,” and thus constitutes a form of torture.¹⁶⁰⁵ Finally, the CAT Committee noted that Belarus failed to exercise due diligence to investigate, prosecute, and punish the police for raping V.L.¹⁶⁰⁶ This failure to act, the Committee found, increased the likelihood of V.L. facing additional ill treatment if she were returned to Belarus, because the perpetrators of the rapes could mistreat V.L. again with impunity.¹⁶⁰⁷

■ **Njamba and Balikosa v. Sweden (2010)**

Ms. Njamba and Ms. Balikosa, a mother and daughter, faced deportation from Sweden back to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), their country of origin.¹⁶⁰⁸ Ms. Njamba’s husband (Ms. Balikosa’s father) supported rebels in the D.R.C. and was known to local authorities.¹⁶⁰⁹ In 2004, when fighting broke out between rebels and government forces, the complainants witnessed executions, rapes, and other forms of torture, and Ms. Njamba’s husband and three of her children disappeared.¹⁶¹⁰ Ms. Njamba and Ms. Balikosa fled to Sweden.¹⁶¹¹ Their application for asylum was rejected on the basis that the asylum application did not support a claim of personal threat.¹⁶¹² In her appeal, Ms. Njamba further explained that she was HIV positive and that required medical treatment was unavailable in the D.R.C.¹⁶¹³ Her appeals were also rejected.¹⁶¹⁴ The CAT Committee noted that sexual violence was rampant throughout the D.R.C., and that the State had failed to exercise due diligence to prevent such violence, contributing to a climate of impunity for non-state actors

engaged in sexual violence.¹⁶¹⁵ In light of this reality, the CAT Committee found that there was a credible risk of torture, including a risk of rape, if Ms. Njamba and Ms. Balikosa were returned to the D.R.C.¹⁶¹⁶

■ **Bakatu-Bia v. Sweden (2011)**

Ms. Bakatu-Bia, a citizen of the D.R.C., was an open opponent of the regime.¹⁶¹⁷ The local pastor, with whom she worked and shared political views, was tortured and killed by authorities.¹⁶¹⁸ Ms. Bakatu-Bia was subsequently arrested and detained, during which time she was tortured, including being beaten and repeatedly raped.¹⁶¹⁹ In February 2006 she escaped from prison and made her way to Sweden, where she was denied asylum.¹⁶²⁰ The CAT Committee determined that, given that Ms. Bakatu-Bia had previously suffered torture (including rape) and given the widespread nature of sexual violence in conflict-affected areas of the D.R.C., there were substantial grounds for believing that Ms. Bakatu-Bia would be at risk of torture if she were returned to the D.R.C.¹⁶²¹

Gaps in the Standards

The CAT Committee has covered many of the aspects of the right to be free from gender-based violence as it relates to the right to be free from torture and ill treatment. However, the CAT Committee has not addressed how States could better protect the right of women with disabilities, in particular, to be free from gender-based violence, and could strengthen its recommendations in this regard. For example, the CAT Committee could recommend that States enact legislation on gender-based violence that reflects the full range of forms of gender-based violence that women with disabilities face. In the context of awareness raising campaigns, the CAT Committee could call on States to undertake awareness raising campaigns on the rights of people with disabilities to be free from violence, with a particular focus on the rights of women with disabilities to be free from gender-based violence.

The CAT Committee could also address the need to ensure that services to prevent, protect, and rehabilitate survivors of gender-based violence (and information about such services) are accessible to survivors with disabilities and that service providers (including health care workers), social workers, and other staff are trained on the needs of disabled victims of gender-based violence. Where States have not provided such information, the CAT Committee should urge States to assess accessibility of essential gender-based violence services for women with disabilities. Furthermore, in addressing access to justice for gender-based violence victims, the CAT Committee has not addressed barriers that women with disabilities face in accessing justice, such as accessibility of police stations and courts, the need for information about rights and legal procedures in alternative formats, the competency of women and girls with disabilities to testify, the need to respect legal capacity of women with disabilities, and the need to train law enforcement and judicial officers on the unique concerns of women with disabilities who have experienced gender-based violence, among others.

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD Committee) is the expert body that monitors implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). Through its General Recommendations and Concluding Observations, the CERD Committee has demonstrated that ICERD safeguards the right to be free from gender-based violence and that States must ensure particular protections from gender-based violence for women from racial and ethnic minority groups, indigenous peoples, and migrants and refugees. Under ICERD, States must prevent, protect against, investigate, prosecute, and punish gender-based violence against these groups and provide remedies to individuals who have been subjected to gender-based violence. In particular, the CERD Committee has found that violations of the right to be free from gender-based violence contravene articles 2 (obligation to condemn, refrain from, and prohibit racial discrimination in all its forms), 5 (non-discrimination in civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights), 6 (right to effective protection and remedy), and 7 (obligation to combat prejudices that lead to racial discrimination) of ICERD.

General Recommendations

■ **General Recommendation No. 25: Gender-related dimensions of racial discrimination (2000)**

In its General Recommendation No. 25, the CERD Committee notes that there are certain forms of racial discrimination that may be directed towards women specifically because of their gender.¹⁶²² Concerning gender-based violence, the Committee notes that members of particular racial or ethnic groups may be targeted with sexual violence in detention or during armed conflict, that domestic workers in the informal sector may be abused, and that indigenous women may be coercively sterilized.¹⁶²³ It also notes that racial discrimination may have consequences that primarily or only affect women, including pregnancy resulting from racially-motivated rape or ostracism when women are victims of rape.¹⁶²⁴ Finally, the Committee notes that women may face increased barriers to accessing justice and remedies for these violations due to gender bias and discrimination.¹⁶²⁵

■ **General Recommendation No. 29: Article 1, paragraph 1 of the Convention (Descent) (2002)**

In its General Recommendation No. 29, the CERD Committee calls on States to take into account in programs and projects the situation of women, including as victims of multiple discrimination, sexual exploitation, and forced prostitution.¹⁶²⁶ It further calls on States to take all measures necessary to eliminate multiple discrimination, including descent-based discrimination, against women, including in the area of personal security.¹⁶²⁷ The Committee also calls on States to provide disaggregated data on the situation of women.¹⁶²⁸

Concluding Observations

In addition to the issues discussed below, the CERD Committee has also frequently expressed concern and made recommendations to States about forced or coerced sterilization, which can be a form of gender-based violence. For more information on how the Committee has addressed forced and coerced sterilization, please see [accountABILITY: U.N. Standards on the Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities](#).

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY REFORM

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to at least one State where honor killings are pervasive despite a law criminalizing the practice, and that penalties under the law are not dissuasive, with some perpetrators being

pardoned.¹⁶²⁹ It has also expressed concern to at least one State where a law on domestic violence does not adequately protect women victims of domestic violence.¹⁶³⁰

The CERD Committee has recommended that States enforce their laws and policies and reinforce programs related to reducing violence against women, including ethnic minority women.¹⁶³¹ It has also recommended that at least one State adopt gender-responsive budgets and policies as a means of tackling violence against women.¹⁶³² The Committee has further recommended that at least two States adopt a national action plan related to gender-based violence against minority women¹⁶³³ and that another State strengthen the legislative framework to investigate such violence.¹⁶³⁴ The Committee has recommended that at least one State amend its domestic violence law so that it is in line with international obligations.¹⁶³⁵

DATA COLLECTION AND AWARENESS-RAISING

Statistics and Data Collection

The CERD Committee has recommended that a State establish a national database on murdered and missing ethnic minority women.¹⁶³⁶ The Committee has further called on at least one State to collect data and information on the results of programs to combat gender-based violence against minority women.¹⁶³⁷ It has also recommended that at least one State collect statistics and data generally on matters affecting indigenous and minority women, including regarding violence against women.¹⁶³⁸ The Committee has further called on at least one State to collect statistical data on incidents of sexual violence against minority women, cases reported, prosecutions, and convictions.¹⁶³⁹

Awareness-Raising

The CERD Committee has recommended that at least two States conduct public awareness campaigns about gender-based violence, including in ethnic minority communities.¹⁶⁴⁰ It has also recommended that at least one State undertake an awareness-raising campaign about the justice mechanisms available to indigenous women who are victims of gender-based violence.¹⁶⁴¹ The CERD Committee called on at least one other State to raise awareness in minority communities about the prohibition on and negative effects of gender-based violence, including what remedies are available for victims.¹⁶⁴²

INTIMATE PARTNER AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The CERD Committee has recognized that racial or ethnic minority women may be at a disproportionate risk of intimate partner or domestic violence, expressing concern to at least one State where women from disadvantaged and poor ethnic groups are often victims of domestic violence¹⁶⁴³ and to another where domestic violence particularly affects minority women.¹⁶⁴⁴

Immigration Laws and Domestic Violence

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to States where immigration requirements about legal residence may deter foreign women from leaving abusive relationships or seeking assistance for domestic violence.¹⁶⁴⁵ The Committee has in particular expressed concern to at least one State where the level of violence must meet a certain level of severity before the foreign woman can receive benefits under the law.¹⁶⁴⁶ The Committee has expressed concern to at least one State that ethnic minority women are at higher risk of life-threatening forms of violence, including spousal homicides.¹⁶⁴⁷ It has further expressed concern to at least one State where immigrant women make up a high percentage of those staying at women's shelters and recommended that the State study the factors contributing to this high rate.¹⁶⁴⁸ The CEDAW Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State where domestic violence is not considered a grounds for asylum.¹⁶⁴⁹

The CERD Committee has recommended that at least two States amend legislation to allow foreign women in abusive relationships to maintain residence status if they leave their abusers,¹⁶⁵⁰ including by ensuring that residency status is not taken away upon divorce.¹⁶⁵¹ The Committee has also recommended that there not be undue procedural obstacles to applying for residency status¹⁶⁵² and that foreign women in abusive relationships

can stay in the country if they so wish.¹⁶⁵³ It has recommended that at least one State review its law in order to ensure that the law does not prevent foreign women from leaving abusive relationships.¹⁶⁵⁴ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State amend immigration legislation to allow migrant women in abusive relationships to obtain separate residence permits from those of their abusers.¹⁶⁵⁵ The CERD Committee has recommended that at least one State fully comply with the obligation to ensure non-refoulement for migrants and refugees, including by recognizing domestic violence as a ground for asylum.¹⁶⁵⁶ It has further recommended that at least one State remove restrictions for victims of domestic violence in obtaining their residency permit if they have received social benefits in the last three years.¹⁶⁵⁷

Redress and Remedies

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to a State where rates of child marriage are high but girls under the age of 18 are not admitted into domestic violence shelters.¹⁶⁵⁸ The CERD Committee has recommended that at least one State increase the number of shelters for women and establish programs for ending violence against women.¹⁶⁵⁹ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State adopt a pending bill on domestic violence.¹⁶⁶⁰ It further recommended to at least one State that protection be provided to victims of domestic violence, regardless of age.¹⁶⁶¹

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to at least one State about the chaotic situation at migrant reception centers, where women and children face higher risks of sexual violence with inadequate response from the authorities,¹⁶⁶² and has lamented that another State that has taken inadequate steps to protect migrant women in detention centers from sexual and gender-based violence.¹⁶⁶³ It has also expressed concerns to several States about sexual violence against minority or lower caste women, usually perpetrated by men from other communities.¹⁶⁶⁴ The Committee has expressed concern to at least one State that violence against women and girls impacts their access to basic services, including education.¹⁶⁶⁵ It has also noted to at least one State that rape of minority women is caused by stereotypes about those women.¹⁶⁶⁶ The Committee has further expressed concern to at least one State about authorities discouraging foreign women engaged in prostitution from reporting gender-based violence, including rape.¹⁶⁶⁷ The Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State that migrant women are less likely to report sexual violence due to a fear of losing their residence status.¹⁶⁶⁸

The CERD Committee has recommended that at least one State redouble measures to protect persons at migrant reception centers from all forms of violence¹⁶⁶⁹ and that another State take steps to provide psychological and legal support so as to identify the specific needs of migrant women in detention centers.¹⁶⁷⁰ The Committee has also recommended that at least two States take measures to ensure that victims of sexual violence have access to education, employment, justice, and health services.¹⁶⁷¹ It has also recommended that at least one State effectively prosecute perpetrators and sanction anyone who prevents or discourages victims from reporting violence, including police and other law enforcement officers.¹⁶⁷² It has also recommended that at least one State undertake preventative measures such as police training and public education campaigns about the criminal nature of sexual violence.¹⁶⁷³ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State provide legal, medical, and psychological assistance to victims, as well as compensation.¹⁶⁷⁴ It has also recommended that at least one State register all instances of sexual violence, including rape, against minority women.¹⁶⁷⁵ Finally, it has recommended that a State make efforts to combat prejudices against minority communities and promote tolerance and intercultural dialogue as a means of tackling sexual violence.¹⁶⁷⁶

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The CERD Committee has recommended to at least one State that all forms of violence and harassment are impartially investigated by the judiciary and that perpetrators are prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law, irrespective of their national, ethnic, or other origin.¹⁶⁷⁷

ACCESS TO JUSTICE

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to at least one State where ethnic minority, migrant, and refugee women face difficulties accessing justice following gender-based violence.¹⁶⁷⁸ It has also expressed concern to at least one State where minority women face obstacles to reporting gender-based violence and achieving judicial redress, noting that this may lead to low reporting of these incidents and prevent prosecutions of perpetrators.¹⁶⁷⁹ The Committee has further expressed concern to at least one State that foreign women who are victims of gender-based violence may be deterred from filing complaints, as they may be expelled from the country if courts do not find the accused guilty of gender-based violence, classifying this as discrimination.¹⁶⁸⁰

The CERD Committee has recommended that States ensure that minority and migrant women who are victims of gender-based violence can access justice.¹⁶⁸¹ It has in particular recommended that States investigate, prosecute, and punish perpetrators of violence against women, particularly minority, migrant, and indigenous women.¹⁶⁸² It has further recommended that at least one State establish special tribunals and task forces to address violence against women, particularly sexual violence, sexual exploitation, and trafficking.¹⁶⁸³

The CERD Committee has also recommended that at least two States ensure rehabilitation and redress, including compensation, for victims.¹⁶⁸⁴ It has also recommended that at least one State undertake an awareness-raising campaign about the justice mechanisms available to indigenous women who are victims of gender-based violence.¹⁶⁸⁵ The CERD Committee has further recommended trainings for justice system actors and medical personnel on gender-based violence.¹⁶⁸⁶

TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to States where human trafficking and sexual exploitation is increasing or remains a serious problem¹⁶⁸⁷ and where it particularly affects ethnic minorities, lower caste women, refugees, and foreign workers.¹⁶⁸⁸ The Committee has also expressed concern to at least two States that lack national legislation on human trafficking.¹⁶⁸⁹

The CERD Committee has recommended that States adopt legislation on trafficking in persons,¹⁶⁹⁰ including criminal legislation.¹⁶⁹¹ The Committee has also called on at least one State to adopt a strategy to tackle trafficking and sexual exploitation, particularly when it targets minorities and foreign workers.¹⁶⁹² It has further recommended that States tackle the root causes of trafficking, in particular for women,¹⁶⁹³ including from ethnic minorities.¹⁶⁹⁴

Obligations to Prevent and Punish Trafficking

The CERD Committee has expressed concern in at least one instance about a low number of investigations and prosecutions concerning trafficking.¹⁶⁹⁵ The CERD Committee has also lamented the failure of one State to implement its laws on trafficking, including by failing to investigate cases and provide rehabilitation to victims.¹⁶⁹⁶ The Committee has expressed concern where States have not collected sufficient data on the issue of trafficking and sexual exploitation,¹⁶⁹⁷ including lack of information about investigations and prosecutions.¹⁶⁹⁸

The CERD Committee has further expressed concern where services for victims of trafficking are subject to restrictive conditions,¹⁶⁹⁹ including cooperation with the justice system.¹⁷⁰⁰ It has expressed concern to at least one State about the cessation of grants to crisis centers that particularly served victims of violence and trafficking who are ethnic minorities, the lack of adequate competencies for staff at those centers, and the difficulty in finding alternative housing when women leave those centers.¹⁷⁰¹

The CERD Committee has recommended that States ensure that perpetrators are prosecuted.¹⁷⁰² The Committee has further recommended that at least one State ensure that victims of trafficking are not prosecuted.¹⁷⁰³ The Committee suggests that States consider entering into agreements with other States to tackle trafficking.¹⁷⁰⁴ It has also recommended that at least two States provide training to police and immigration officials about trafficking and identifying victims,¹⁷⁰⁵ and that at least one State conduct a public awareness campaign about trafficking.¹⁷⁰⁶

The CERD Committee has requested that States collect information or disaggregated data on trafficking, particularly of women,¹⁷⁰⁷ including related to the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators and remedies provided to victims.¹⁷⁰⁸

Training and Guidance for Relevant Authorities

The Committee has also recommended that at least one State undertake a public awareness-raising campaign about trafficking, targeted at the most vulnerable populations.¹⁷⁰⁹ It has further recommended that least one State provide training to justice system actors and border guards on ICERD and other human rights instruments.¹⁷¹⁰ The Committee has also recommended that at least one State adequately train crisis center staff to work with ethnic minority women who are victims of violence and trafficking.¹⁷¹¹

Rehabilitation and Redress for Victims

The CERD Committee has recommended that States provide rehabilitation and redress to victims of exploitation and trafficking,¹⁷¹² including assistance, protection, temporary residence status, shelters, and medical and psychological services,¹⁷¹³ in their own language.¹⁷¹⁴ It has further recommended that at least one State amend its law on trafficking to facilitate access to services for victims.¹⁷¹⁵ The Committee has further recommended to at least one State that it provide assistance to victims of trafficking regardless of their residency status.¹⁷¹⁶ It has recommended that another State make special efforts to protect women in refugee camps from trafficking.¹⁷¹⁷

INSTITUTIONAL VIOLENCE

The CERD Committee has not yet issued concluding observations related to institutional gender-based violence.

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to at least one State where an ongoing conflict led to higher rates of sexual violence against ethnic minority and indigenous women.¹⁷¹⁸ It has further expressed concern to another State where it has not provided adequate redress—including compensation, apologies, and recognition—to foreign women who had been sexually exploited by the military during a previous war.¹⁷¹⁹ The Committee has also expressed concern to at least one State where women from ethnic and ethno-religious minority groups in war-affected areas are more vulnerable to gender-based and sexual violence, particularly at the hands of security forces.¹⁷²⁰ It has further expressed concern to at least one State where accusations of mass rape during conflict have not been adequately investigated and perpetrators have gone unpunished.¹⁷²¹

The CERD Committee has recommended that States ensure effective access to justice for victims of sexual violence, particularly victims of conflict-related sexual violence.¹⁷²² For instance, the CERD Committee called on at least one State to ensure that state forces and groups under its control do not perpetuate sexual violence, that the State exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate, and punish acts of sexual violence in conflict areas, and that it provide reparations to victims.¹⁷²³ The Committee also called on at least one other State to provide protection post-conflict to women who were victims of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence.¹⁷²⁴ It has further recommended that at least one State provide sincere apologies and adequate reparations for surviving victims of sexual exploitation during war.¹⁷²⁵ It has further called on at least one State to condemn attempts to defame women subjected to conflict-related sexual exploitation or to deny these events.¹⁷²⁶

INTERSECTIONAL VIOLENCE

Migrant and Domestic Workers

The CERD Committee has expressed concern to States where ethnic minority, migrant, and refugee women are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence,¹⁷²⁷ including where these victims are denied or lack access to assistance and justice following such violence.¹⁷²⁸ It has also noted to at least two States that foreign domestic workers are at particular risk of violence,¹⁷²⁹ including because they are not covered by national labor laws.¹⁷³⁰

The Committee has further expressed concern about ill-treatment of refugee women by law enforcement agents.¹⁷³¹

The CERD Committee has recommended that at least one State prevent and redress rights violations faced by migrant domestic workers, including debt bondage, withholding of passports, illegal confinement, rape, and physical assault.¹⁷³² The Committee has further recommended that at least one State ensure that foreign domestic workers are covered by national labor laws as a means of reducing their vulnerability to violence and sexual exploitation.¹⁷³³ It has also recommended that at least one State ensure that ethnic minority women and their representative organizations are consulted and included in efforts to combat gender-based violence and in the evaluation of programs related to this issue.¹⁷³⁴ The Committee has further recommended that at least one State take particular measures to protect women in refugee camps from violence.¹⁷³⁵

Ethnic Minority and Indigenous Women

The CERD Committee has also expressed concern to States where ethnic minority women are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence.¹⁷³⁶ The CERD Committee has recommended that States integrate a gender perspective in all efforts related to racial discrimination, based on the Committee's General Recommendation No. 25.¹⁷³⁷ It has recommended that at least one State take steps as a matter of urgency to protect minorities, particularly minority women, from violence and any attempt to violate their right to physical integrity.¹⁷³⁸ The CERD Committee has further recommended that at least one State take action to break the cycle of violence against indigenous women while taking steps to ensure redress for them.¹⁷³⁹ It has also recommended that at least one State ensure adequate prevention and service programs targeted at gender-based violence against minority and indigenous women.¹⁷⁴⁰

Individual Complaints

The CERD Committee has not issued any decisions on individual complaints related to gender-based violence as of December 2016.

Gaps in the Standards

Although the CERD Committee has frequently examined how race and ethnicity impact gender-based violence, it has not yet examined how disability can intersect with these factors to create further risks and barriers for women and girls with disabilities from racial and ethnic minorities or indigenous communities. For instance, while the Committee has frequently examined how racial or ethnic minority status can increase a woman's vulnerability to gender-based violence, it has not yet examined how disability might further make these individuals vulnerable to violence, including because women and girls with disabilities can be at a heightened risk of experiencing significant barriers to reporting violence or of having their accounts doubted by their families, law enforcement, and the judiciary. The Committee should consider more consistently including disability issues in its examinations of state reports and in its general recommendations.

Thematic Reports by U.N. Special Procedures

■ **Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women: A Human Rights-Based Approach to Integrated Services and Protection Measures on Violence against Women, with a Focus on Shelters and Protection Orders (2017)**

In her 2017 report on integrated services and protection measures on violence against women, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Dubravka Šimonovic, emphasizes that unavailability and inaccessibility of shelters is a clear violation of a woman's rights.¹⁷⁴¹ She explains that States have an obligation to ensure that shelters for women escaping violence are accessible to people with disabilities, highlighting an example of a woman who is unable to utilize a shelter because it was not equipped to accept her children, one of whom had a disability.

■ **Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Legal Capacity Reform and Supported Decision-Making (2017)**

In her 2017 report on the legal capacity and supported decision making, the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Catalina Devandas-Aguilar, identifies the ways in which gender-based violence and lack of legal capacity interact and can expose people with disabilities to violence.¹⁷⁴² The report also emphasizes the need to ensure access to justice for those who have experienced violence under substituted or supported decision-making regimes.¹⁷⁴³

■ **Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Girls and Young Women with Disabilities (2017)**

In her 2017 report on the sexual and reproductive health and rights of girls and young women with disabilities, the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Catalina Devandas-Aguilar, addresses forms of violence, abuse and other harmful practices that young women and girls with disabilities experience¹⁷⁴⁴ and identifies how these experiences of violence can create barriers to accessing sexual and reproductive health services.¹⁷⁴⁵

■ **Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: Access to Rights-Based Support for Persons with Disabilities (2017)**

In her 2017 report on access to support for persons with disabilities, the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Catalina Devandas-Aguilar, highlights how inadequate support services expose people with disabilities to violence. She also underscores States' obligations to provide services that prevent and address violence, including gender-based violence.¹⁷⁴⁶

■ **Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: The Right of Persons with Disabilities to Participate in Decision-Making (2016)**

In her 2016 report on the decision-making rights of persons with disabilities, Catalina Devandas-Aguilar, urges States to take additional measures to ensure that women and girls with disabilities can safely participate in consultations with States, especially regarding gender-based violence.¹⁷⁴⁷

■ **Report of the Special Rapporteur on Torture: Torture in Healthcare Settings (2013)**

In his 2013 report on torture in health care settings, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture, Juan Mendez, documents the increase of sexual violence against people with disabilities in health care settings, particularly people with psychosocial and intellectual disabilities,¹⁷⁴⁸ and stresses the rights of persons with disabilities to be free from forced medical interventions.¹⁷⁴⁹

- **Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women: Gender-related Killings of Women (2012)**

In her 2012 report, former U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, Rashida Manjoo examines how gender-related killings, sometimes referred to as femicide,¹⁷⁵⁰ are an extreme form of gender-based violence and States' failure to act with due diligence to combat such killings.¹⁷⁵¹

- **Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women: Women with Disabilities (2012)**

In her 2012 report on violence against women and girls with disabilities, former U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, Rashida Manjoo, addresses the various forms of violence experienced by women and girls with disabilities, the causes and consequence of such violence, and recommendations for measures States should take to combat such violence.¹⁷⁵²

- **Report of the Special Rapporteur on Education: Sexual Education (2010)**

In his 2010 report, former U.N. Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Vernor Muñoz, emphasizes the importance of sexual education for women and girls exposed to gender-based violence and how sexual education is an essential component of empowering women and reducing gender-based violence.¹⁷⁵³

- **Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women: Indicators on Violence against Women and State Response (2008)**

In her 2008 report on indicators on violence against women and State response, former U.N. Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, Yakin Ertürk, highlights the importance of ensuring that residential facilities for people with disabilities have policies on violence against women as an important protection measure.¹⁷⁵⁴

Endnotes

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- ³ Rashida Manjoo, Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences: women with disabilities, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. A/67/227 (Aug. 3, 2012).
- ⁴ World Health Organization, Health Topics: Violence against Women, http://www.who.int/topics/gender_based_violence/en/.
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- ⁷ Rashida Manjoo, Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences: women with disabilities, ¶¶ 59, 62, U.N. Doc. A/67/227 (Aug. 3, 2012); Karen Nutter, *Domestic Violence in the Lives of Women with Disabilities: No (Accessible) Shelter from the Storm*, 13 S. CAL. REV. L. & WOMEN'S STUD. 329, 340 (2004).
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- ¹⁶ Hilary Brown, *Sexual Assault: Facing Facts*, 87 Nursing Times 65 (1991); Jeanine Benedet and Isabel Grant, *Hearing the Sexual Assault Complaints of Women with Mental Disabilities: Evidentiary and Procedural Issues*, 52 McGill L.J. 515, 523 (2007); Manjoo, *Women with Disabilities*, supra note 2, para. 60.
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- 49 Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ALB/CO/2 (2013); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/AZE/CO/3 (2009); *Belize*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BLZ/CO/1 (2013); *Burundi*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BDI/CO/2 (2014); *Chad*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TCD/CO/2 (2014); *Chad*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TCD/CO/1 (2009); *Denmark*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/DNK/CO/5 (2008); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/DOM/CO/5 (2012); *Ecuador*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ECU/CO/5 (2009); *El Salvador*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/78/SLV (2003); *Finland*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/FIN/CO/6 (2013); *Georgia*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/GEO/CO/3 (2007); *Germany*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/DEU (2004); *Guatemala*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/GTM/CO/3 (2012); *Honduras*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/HND/CO/1 (2006); *Japan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/JPN/CO/6 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/79/LVA (2003); *Lithuania*, ¶ 6, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/LTU/CO/3 (2012); *Malawi*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MWI/CO/1 (2012); *Maldives*, ¶ 11; U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MDV/CO/1 (2012); *Mauritius*, ¶ 10; U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/MUS (2005); *Montenegro*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *Mozambique*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MOZ/CO/1 (2013); *Norway*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/NOR/CO/5 (2006); *Panama*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PAN/CO/3 (2008); *Paraguay*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PRY/CO/2 (2006); *Peru*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PER/CO/5 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/POL (2004); *Spain*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ESP/CO/5 (2009); *Sweden*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/SWE/CO/6 (2009); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Tanzania*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TZA/CO/4 (2009); *Ukraine*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/UKR/CO/7 (2013); *United States*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/USA/CO/4 (2014); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/UZB/CO/3 (2010); *Zambia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ZMB/CO/3 (2007).
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- 51 Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ARG/CO/4 (2010); *Chad*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TCD/CO/1 (2009).
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- ⁶² Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Malawi*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MWI/CO/1/Add.1 (2014).
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- ⁶⁴ Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cape Verde*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/CPV/CO/1 (2012).
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- ⁷⁷ Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ALB/CO/2 (2013); *Montenegro*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/UZB/CO/3 (2010).
- ⁷⁸ Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Malawi*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MWI/CO/1/Add.1 (2014).
- ⁷⁹ Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Malawi*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MWI/CO/1/Add.1 (2014); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013).
- ⁸⁰ Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ALB/CO/2 (2013); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/73/AZE (2001); *Finland*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/FIN/CO/6 (2013); *Greece*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/GRC (2005); *Montenegro*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *Norway*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/NOR/CO/6 (2011); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/UZB (2001).
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- ⁸⁹ Human Rights Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/73/AZE (2001); *Belgium*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BEL/CO/5 (2010); *Benin*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/BEN (2004); *Bulgaria*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BGR/CO/3 (2011); *Chad*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TCD/CO/1 (2009); *Colombia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/COL (2004); *Croatia*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/HRV/CO/2 (2009); *Germany*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/DEU (2004); *Italy*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ITA/CO/5 (2006); *Kenya*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/KEN (2005); *Liechtenstein*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/81/LIE (2004); *Mauritius*, ¶ 10; U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/MUS (2005); *Norway*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/NOR/CO/5 (2006); *Paraguay*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PRY/CO/2 (2006); *Portugal*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PRT/CO/4 (2012); *Serbia*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/SRB/CO/2 (2011); *Spain*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ESP/CO/5 (2009); *Sweden*, ¶ 7, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/74/SWE (2002); *Tunisia*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/TUN/CO/5 (2008); *Uganda*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/UGA (2004); *Ukraine*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/UKR/CO/6 (2006); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/UZB (2005); *Yemen*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/YEM/CO/5 (2012).
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- ³⁹⁰ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013).
- ³⁹¹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- ³⁹² ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014).
- ³⁹³ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Belarus*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BLR/CO/4-6 (2013); *Benin*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Brazil*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Greece*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guatemala*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GTM/CO/3 (2014); *Guyana*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *India*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Italy*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Mexico*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); *Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *New Zealand*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NZL/CO/3 (2012); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RUS/CO/5 (2011); *Spain*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ESP/CO/5 (2012); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012); *Trinidad and Tobago*, ¶¶ 22, 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.80 (2002); *Turkmenistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TKM/CO/1 (2011); *Ukraine*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ³⁹⁴ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- ³⁹⁵ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gambia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015).
- ³⁹⁶ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008).
- ³⁹⁷ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Belgium*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEL/CO/4 (2013); *Italy*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015).
- ³⁹⁸ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Egypt*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.44 (2000); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Italy*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015); *Montenegro*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *New Zealand*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NZL/CO/3 (2012); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RUS/CO/5 (2011); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015); *Turkmenistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TKM/CO/1 (2011); *Ukraine*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ³⁹⁹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Cambodia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KHM/CO/1 (2009); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014).
- ⁴⁰⁰ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Iceland*, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ISL/CO/4 (2012).
- ⁴⁰¹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- ⁴⁰² ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- ⁴⁰³ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ireland*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015).
- ⁴⁰⁴ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Greece*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Turkey*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TUR/CO/1 (2011); *Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015).
- ⁴⁰⁵ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Spain*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ESP/CO/5 (2012).
- ⁴⁰⁶ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010).
- ⁴⁰⁷ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015);

- ⁴⁰⁸ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- ⁴⁰⁹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bosnia and Herzegovina*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BIH/CO/1 (2006).
- ⁴¹⁰ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Benin*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Brazil*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015); *Italy*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.47 (2000); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RUS/CO/5 (2011); *Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012); *Turkmenistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TKM/CO/1 (2011).
- ⁴¹¹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Iran*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRN/CO/2 (2013); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Mexico*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010); *Turkey*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TUR/CO/1 (2011).
- ⁴¹² ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010).
- ⁴¹³ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015).
- ⁴¹⁴ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015).
- ⁴¹⁵ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Brazil*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RUS/CO/5 (2011); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012).
- ⁴¹⁶ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015).
- ⁴¹⁷ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Italy*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015).
- ⁴¹⁸ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Spain*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ESP/CO/5 (2012).
- ⁴¹⁹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013).
- ⁴²⁰ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- ⁴²¹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015);
- ⁴²² ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010).
- ⁴²³ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015).
- ⁴²⁴ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/AZE/CO/3 (2013); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *India*, ¶ 67, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Mexico*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014).
- ⁴²⁵ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015).
- ⁴²⁶ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/AZE/CO/3 (2013).
- ⁴²⁷ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 67, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008).
- ⁴²⁸ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *India*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Jamaica*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/JAM/CO/3-4 (2013); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014).
- ⁴²⁹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013).

- 430 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/JAM/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 431 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013).
- 432 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/JAM/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 433 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/JAM/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 434 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013).
- 435 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014).
- 436 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *New Zealand*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NZL/CO/3 (2012); *Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012); *Trinidad and Tobago*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.80 (2002); *Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015).
- 437 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- 438 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- 439 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mauritania*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MRT/CO/1 (2012).
- 440 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *India*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008).
- 441 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 442 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012).
- 443 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Switzerland*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHE/CO/203 (2010).
- 444 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012).
- 445 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Switzerland*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHE/CO/203 (2010).
- 446 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 447 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012).
- 448 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009).
- 449 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gambia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Ukraine*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- 450 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gambia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015).
- 451 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mongolia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- 452 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nicaragua*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008).
- 453 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gambia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008).
- 454 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gambia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015).
- 455 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *India*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Montenegro*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNE/CO/1 (2014).
- 456 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015).
- 457 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iran*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRN/CO/2 (2013); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015).
- 458 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Cambodia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KHM/CO/1 (2009); *India*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008).
- 459 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011).
- 460 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015).
- 461 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cambodia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KHM/CO/1 (2009).
- 462 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guatemala*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GTM/CO/3 (2014).
- 463 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012).
- 464 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Cambodia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KHM/CO/1 (2009); *Greece*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *India*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N.

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- ⁴⁶⁵ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/AZE/CO/3 (2013); *Benin*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *India*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010); *Togo*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.61 (2001).
- ⁴⁶⁶ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BIH/CO/1 (2006); *Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Guyana*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012); *Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015).
- ⁴⁶⁷ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bosnia and Herzegovina*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BIH/CO/1 (2006); *Guyana*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015).
- ⁴⁶⁸ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015).
- ⁴⁶⁹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013).
- ⁴⁷⁰ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Cameroon*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CMR/2-3 (2012); *Mexico*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); *Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014).
- ⁴⁷¹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cambodia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KHM/CO/1 (2009); *Iran*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRN/CO/2 (2013); *Togo*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.61 (2001).
- ⁴⁷² ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010).
- ⁴⁷³ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *India*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015); *Montenegro*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015); *United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- ⁴⁷⁴ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Belarus*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BLR/CO/4-6 (2013); *Cameroon*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CMR/2-3 (2012); *Cambodia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KHM/CO/1 (2009); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *El Salvador*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SLV/CO/3-5 (2014); *Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guatemala*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GTM/CO/3 (2014); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *India*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015); *Italy*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Montenegro*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014); *Rwanda*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *South Korea*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KOR/CO/3 (2009); *Switzerland*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHE/CO/203 (2010); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012); *Turkmenistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TKM/CO/1 (2011); *United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- ⁴⁷⁵ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Iran*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRN/CO/2 (2013); *Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Montenegro*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNE/CO/1 (2014); *Switzerland*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHE/CO/203 (2010); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TJK/CO/2-3 (2015); *Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015).
- ⁴⁷⁶ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Belarus*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BLR/CO/4-6 (2013); *Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014); *Tanzania*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TZA/CO/1-3 (2012); *Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015).
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- ⁴⁷⁸ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014); *United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- ⁴⁷⁹ ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Monaco*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MCO/CO/2-3 (2014).

- 480 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- 481 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nicaragua*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008).
- 482 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Sri Lanka*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/LKA/CO/2-4 (2010).
- 483 ESCR Committee, *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010).
- 484 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Turkey*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TUR/CO/1 (2011).
- 485 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Belgium*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEL/CO/4 (2013); *Italy*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015).
- 486 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 487 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 488 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013); *Austria*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/AUT/CO/4 (2013); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/AZE/CO/3 (2013); *Benin*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *China*, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/DOM/CO/3 (2010); *Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Finland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/FIN/CO/6 (2014); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *India*, ¶¶ 53, 67, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Mexico*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); *Mongolia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MNG/CO/4 (2015); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Portugal*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRT/CO/4 (2014); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RUS/CO/5 (2011); *Serbia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *Uganda*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/UGA/CO/1 (2015); *United Kingdom*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GBR/CO/5 (2009).
- 489 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nicaragua*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008).
- 490 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ethiopia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ETH/CO/1-3 (2012); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RUS/CO/5 (2011).
- 491 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008).
- 492 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Greece*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015).
- 493 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ireland*, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015).
- 494 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ARG/CO/3 (2011); *Chile*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CHL/CO/4 (2015); *Guyana*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GUY/CO/2-4 (2015); *Ireland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015).
- 495 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guatemala*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GTM/CO/3 (2014).
- 496 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mauritania*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MRT/CO/1 (2012).
- 497 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009).
- 498 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009).
- 499 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BRA/CO/2 (2009).
- 500 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008).
- 501 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Gambia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Thailand*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015); *Togo*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.61 (2001).
- 502 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008).
- 503 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Thailand*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015).
- 504 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 505 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- 506 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Gambia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Thailand*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015).
- 507 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *China*, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); *Gambia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013).
- 508 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Thailand*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015); *Togo*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.61 (2001).
- 509 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013).
- 510 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008).

- 511 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 512 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005).
- 513 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nicaragua*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008).
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- 515 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- 516 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *China*, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); *Nicaragua*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NIC/CO/4 (2008); *Rwanda*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013).
- 517 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); *Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- 518 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gambia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GMB/CO/1 (2015); *Greece*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015); *Mongolia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.47 (2000); *Nepal*, ¶¶ 21-22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Serbia*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015); *Togo*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.61 (2001).
- 519 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/RWA/CO/2-4 (2013); *Thailand*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015).
- 520 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- 521 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Thailand*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/THA/CO/1-2 (2015).
- 522 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/3 (2013).
- 523 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Serbia*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014).
- 524 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Greece*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GRC/CO/2 (2015).
- 525 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); *Ireland*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/KGZ/CO/2-3 (2015).
- 526 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ireland*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRL/CO/3 (2015).
- 527 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005).
- 528 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005).
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- 530 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Egypt*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.44 (2000).
- 531 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NZL/CO/3 (2012); *Serbia*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014).
- 532 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Serbia*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/SRB/CO/2 (2014).
- 533 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NZL/CO/3 (2012).
- 534 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/JAM/CO/3-4 (2013).
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- 536 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009).
- 537 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009).
- 538 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/AZE/CO/3 (2013).
- 539 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015).
- 540 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009).
- 541 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009).
- 542 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009).
- 543 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IRQ/CO/4 (2015).
- 544 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chad*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TCD/CO/3 (2009).
- 545 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Spain*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ESP/CO/5 (2012).
- 546 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008).
- 547 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Belgium*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEL/CO/4 (2013); *Italy*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015).
- 548 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ALB/CO/2-3 (2013).
- 549 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Egypt*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.44 (2000).
- 550 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Belgium*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEL/CO/4 (2013); *Italy*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/ITA/CO/5 (2015).

- 551 ESCR Committee, *Concluding Observations: Benin*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008).
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- ⁸²³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Djibouti*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Uganda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010); *Venezuela*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸²⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Uganda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010); *Venezuela*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸²⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Uganda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010); *Venezuela*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸²⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Denmark*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DNK/8 (2015).
- ⁸²⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011).
- ⁸²⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013).
- ⁸²⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010).
- ⁸³⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Norway*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012).
- ⁸³¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ALB/4 (2016); *Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Austria*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUT/7-8 (2013); *Cambodia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Panama*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAN/CO/7 (2010); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Tunisia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010); *Uganda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010); *Venezuela*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸³² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Austria*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUT/7-8 (2013).
- ⁸³³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cambodia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013).
- ⁸³⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahamas*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012).
- ⁸³⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- ⁸³⁶ See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Macedonia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013); *Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011); *Oman*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/OMN/CO/1 (2011); *Peru*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/7-8 (2014); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Uganda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010); *Zambia*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
- ⁸³⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Cambodia*, ¶ 23, U.N.

- Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013); *Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Grenada*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012); *Peru*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸³⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Australia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUL/7 (2010); *Bahrain*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Canada*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Norway*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012); *Oman*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/OMN/CO/1 (2011); *Poland*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/7-8 (2014); *Qatar*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014); *Tunisia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010).
- ⁸³⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AZE/5 (2015).
- ⁸⁴⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AZE/5 (2015).
- ⁸⁴¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Seychelles*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013).
- ⁸⁴² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012).
- ⁸⁴³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Canada*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008).
- ⁸⁴⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015).
- ⁸⁴⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015).
- ⁸⁴⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016).
- ⁸⁴⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liberia*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015).
- ⁸⁴⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Germany*, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DEU/CO/6 (2009).
- ⁸⁴⁹ See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015); *Denmark*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DNK/8 (2015); *Mexico*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8 (2012); *Peru*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/7-8 (2014); *Tunisia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010).
- ⁸⁵⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ALB/4 (2016); *Poland*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸⁵¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015).
- ⁸⁵² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Belarus*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BLR/7 (2011).
- ⁸⁵³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016).
- ⁸⁵⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015).
- ⁸⁵⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Grenada*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012).
- ⁸⁵⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mexico*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8 (2012).
- ⁸⁵⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUL/7 (2010).
- ⁸⁵⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cambodia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013).
- ⁸⁵⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Peru*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁸⁶⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUL/7 (2010).
- ⁸⁶¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Austria*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUT/7-8 (2013).
- ⁸⁶² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011).
- ⁸⁶³ See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ALB/4 (2016); *Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Australia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUL/7 (2010); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AZE/5 (2015); *Bahamas*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012); *Bahrain*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Colombia*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/7-8 (2013); *Ecuador*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015); *Egypt*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Fiji*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010); *Georgia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Japan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016); *Liberia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/RWA/CO/6 (2009); *Tunisia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010); *Uganda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010).
- ⁸⁶⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AZE/5 (2015); *Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Canada*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008); *Ecuador*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015); *Fiji*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010); *Samoa*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/WSM/CO/4-5 (2012); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013).
- ⁸⁶⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ALB/4 (2016); *Iceland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/3-4 (2014); *Macedonia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013); *Rwanda*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/RWA/CO/6 (2009).
- ⁸⁶⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahrain*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Georgia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc.

- CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 867 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Georgia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 868 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015).
- 869 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Egypt*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013).
- 870 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AZE/5 (2015).
- 871 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahamas*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012).
- 872 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/7 (2016).
- 873 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Austria*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUT/7-8 (2013).
- 874 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ALB/4 (2016); *Argentina*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/7 (2016); *Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Australia*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUL/7 (2010); *Canada*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008); *Germany*, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DEU/CO/6 (2009); *Iceland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016); *Macedonia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013); *Solomon Islands*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SLB/CO/1-3 (2014).
- 875 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Grenada*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012).
- 876 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014); *Japan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/3-4 (2014).
- 877 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Norway*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012).
- 878 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHN-HKG/7-8 (2014).
- 879 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Croatia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HRV/4-5 (2015).
- 880 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 881 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016).
- 882 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011).
- 883 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 884 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahrain*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014).
- 885 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iceland*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
- 886 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Barbados*, ¶ 238, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BAR/4 (2002).
- 887 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 888 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Albania*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ALB/4 (2016); *Bahamas*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012); *Bahrain*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Djibouti*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Ecuador*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015); *Egypt*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Fiji*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Japan*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016); *Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Norway*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012); *Poland*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/7-8 (2014); *Tunisia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010); *Zambia*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
- 889 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011).
- 890 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010).
- 891 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Barbados*, ¶ 240, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BAR/4 (2002); *Norway*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012).
- 892 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014).
- 893 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Georgia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 894 See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010); *Armenia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Djibouti*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DOM/6-7 (2013); *Georgia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Haiti*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Indonesia*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Japan*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016); *Nepal*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011); *Panama*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAN/CO/7 (2010); *Peru*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/7-8 (2014); *Seychelles*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Uganda*, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010); *Venezuela*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- 895 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009).
- 896 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Egypt*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Fiji*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010); *Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Tunisia*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010).

- ⁸⁹⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Grenada*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/3-4 (2014); *Nepal*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011); *Seychelles*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013).
- ⁸⁹⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Seychelles*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013).
- ⁸⁹⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gabon*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015).
- ⁹⁰⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Georgia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014).
- ⁹⁰¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011); *Tunisia*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010).
- ⁹⁰² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- ⁹⁰³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iceland*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
- ⁹⁰⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Haiti*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016).
- ⁹⁰⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010); *Djibouti*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015).
- ⁹⁰⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Dominican Republic*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DOM/6-7 (2013); *Haiti*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016).
- ⁹⁰⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011).
- ⁹⁰⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012).
- ⁹⁰⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Gabon*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015).
- ⁹¹⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iceland*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
- ⁹¹¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Seychelles*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013).
- ⁹¹² See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Belarus*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BLR/7 (2011); *Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Canada*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Fiji*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Georgia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Grenada*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012); *Honduras*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HON/6 (2007); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/3-4 (2014); *Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Liberia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013); *Oman*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/OMN/CO/1 (2011); *Qatar*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014); *Samoa*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/WSM/CO/4-5 (2012); *Zambia*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
- ⁹¹³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mexico*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8 (2012).
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- ⁹¹⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Dominican Republic*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DOM/6-7 (2013); *Liberia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015).
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- ⁹¹⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mexico*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8 (2012).
- ⁹¹⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mexico*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8 (2012).
- ⁹²⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Oman*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/OMN/CO/1 (2011).
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- ⁹²⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- ⁹²⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Dominican Republic*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DOM/6-7 (2013); *Liberia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015).
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- ⁹²⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/7 (2016); *Cameroon*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/3-4 (2014); *Poland*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/7-8 (2014).
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- ⁹³⁴ See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/7 (2016); *Armenia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Austria*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUT/7-8 (2013); *Bahrain*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Barbados*, ¶ 238, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BAR/4 (2002); *Cambodia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Djibouti*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Ecuador*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Macedonia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013); *Norway*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012); *Oman*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/OMN/CO/1 (2011); *Samoa*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/WSM/CO/4-5 (2012); *Seychelles*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013).
- ⁹³⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014); *Indonesia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Seychelles*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Zambia*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
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- ⁹³⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- ⁹³⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IRQ/CO/4-6 (2014).
- ⁹⁴⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/7 (2016); *Bangladesh*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Djibouti*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Georgia*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011); *Venezuela*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁹⁴¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gabon*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Grenada*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012); *Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Seychelles*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Tunisia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010); *Venezuela*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- ⁹⁴² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Haiti*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016).
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- ⁹⁴⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ecuador*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015).
- ⁹⁴⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IRQ/CO/4-6 (2014).
- ⁹⁴⁶ See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Bahrain*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Bangladesh*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Djibouti*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Egypt*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Equatorial Guinea*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GNQ/6 (2012); *Gabon*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Grenada*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012); *Haiti*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Qatar*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014); *Seychelles*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Tunisia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010); *Zambia*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
- ⁹⁴⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahamas*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012); *Cambodia*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013); *Cameroon*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Ecuador*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc.

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- ⁹⁴⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- ⁹⁴⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Macedonia*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/4-5 (2013).
- ⁹⁵⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016); *Nepal*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011); *Samoa*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/WSM/CO/4-5 (2012).
- ⁹⁵¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gabon*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015).
- ⁹⁵² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016).
- ⁹⁵³ See, e.g., CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Bahamas*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012); *Bahrain*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Cambodia*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013); *Cameroon*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Djibouti*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Egypt*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Georgia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Georgia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Grenada*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRD/CO/1-5 (2012); *Iceland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016); *India*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014); *Iraq*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IRQ/CO/4-6 (2014); *Norway*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012); *Panama*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAN/CO/7 (2010); *Qatar*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014); *Rwanda*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/RWA/CO/6 (2009); *Seychelles*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Venezuela*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014); *Zambia*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
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- ⁹⁶² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cape Verde*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/7-8 (2013); *Venezuela*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014); *Zambia*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
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- ⁹⁶⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011); *Norway*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012); *Panama*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAN/CO/7 (2010); *Rwanda*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/RWA/CO/6 (2009); *Samoa*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/WSM/CO/4-5 (2012); *Tunisia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010); *Zambia*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ZMB/CO/5-6 (2011).
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- 970 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Gabon*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015); *Iceland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
- 971 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Djibouti*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011); *Ecuador*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015); *Georgia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *Iceland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016); *Iraq*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IRQ/CO/4-6 (2014); *Venezuela*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- 972 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Djibouti*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DJI/1-3 (2011).
- 973 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Qatar*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014).
- 974 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Haiti*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016).
- 975 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Armenia*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARM/4 (2009); *Ecuador*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/3-4 (2014); *Liberia*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015); *Seychelles*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Venezuela*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- 976 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liberia*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LBR/CO/7-8 (2015); *Seychelles*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013); *Venezuela*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- 977 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Denmark*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DNK/8 (2015).
- 978 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahrain*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014).
- 979 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Georgia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 980 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014); *Norway*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NOR/CO/8 (2012).
- 981 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010).
- 982 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahrain*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014).
- 983 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahrain*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHR/3 (2014); *Ecuador*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ECU/CO/8-9 (2015).
- 984 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Georgia*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/4-5 (2014); *India*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 985 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iceland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
- 986 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Qatar*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014).
- 987 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/AUL/7 (2010); *Cambodia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013); *Germany*, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DEU/CO/6 (2009); *Tunisia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010).
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- 989 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Denmark*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DNK/8 (2015); *Iceland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
- 990 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Venezuela*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/7-8 (2014).
- 991 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bahamas*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BHS/5 (2012); *Cameroon*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CMR/4-5 (2014); *Fiji*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FJI/2-4 (2010); *Iraq*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IRQ/CO/4-6 (2014); *Qatar*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1AW (2014); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/4-5 (2013).
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- ⁹⁹⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Seychelles*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013).
- ⁹⁹⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Seychelles*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SYC/CO/1-5 (2013).
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- ¹⁰⁰² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cambodia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/4-5 (2013).
- ¹⁰⁰³ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Denmark*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DNK/8 (2015).
- ¹⁰⁰⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Haiti*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016).
- ¹⁰⁰⁵ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Egypt*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EGY/7 (2010); *Gabon*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/6 (2015).
- ¹⁰⁰⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tunisia*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TUN/CO/6 (2010).
- ¹⁰⁰⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010); *Canada*, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008).
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- ¹⁰⁰⁹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010); *Canada*, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CAN/7 (2008).
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- ¹⁰¹¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kuwait*, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/CO/3-4 (2011).
- ¹⁰¹² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Bangladesh*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BGD/6-7 (2011); *Haiti*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HTI/CO/8-9 (2016); *Uganda*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010).
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- ¹⁰²⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Panama*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAN/CO/7 (2010).
- ¹⁰²¹ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Uganda*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010).
- ¹⁰²² CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010); *Indonesia*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/6-7 (2012); *Japan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016); *Uganda*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/UGA/CO/7 (2010).
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- ¹⁰²⁴ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011).
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- ¹⁰²⁶ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/6 (2010).
- ¹⁰²⁷ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Nepal*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NPL/CO/4-5 (2011).
- ¹⁰²⁸ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JPN/CO/7-8 (2016).
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- ¹⁰³⁰ CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Rwanda*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/RWA/CO/6 (2009).

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- 1041 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ARG/CO/7 (2016); *Germany*, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/DEU/CO/6 (2009).
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- 1046 CEDAW Committee, *Concluding Observations: Finland*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FIN/7 (2014); *Iceland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ISL/CO/7-8 (2016).
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- 1234 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Morocco*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MAR/CO/3-4 (2014); *Viet Nam*, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Algeria* ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Nigeria*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NGA/CO/3-4 (2010); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Cyprus* ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Togo*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Fiji*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014); *Jordan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Botswana*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Guinea*, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Guinea*, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Mozambique* ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *India*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Afghanistan*, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011); *Jordan*, ¶¶ 31-32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Viet Nam*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Viet Nam*, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Algeria* ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Pakistan*, ¶¶ 29, 94, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Argentina*, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ARG/CO/3-4 (2010); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); *Burundi*, ¶ 42, CRC/C/BDI/CO/2 (2010).
- 1235 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
- 1236 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶¶ 50-51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1237 *Concluding Observations: Turkey*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012).
- 1238 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1239 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Eritrea*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ERI/CO/4 (2015); *Pakistan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009).
- 1240 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Mozambique* ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1241 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1242 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Sweden*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/SWE/CO/5 (2015).
- 1243 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Viet Nam*, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1244 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Malawi*, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MWI/CO/2 (2009); *Rwanda*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RWA/CO/3-4 (2013); *Cyprus* ¶¶ 35-36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Turkey*, ¶ 49, CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012).
- 1245 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1246 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Saint Lucia*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1247 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1248 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Morocco*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MAR/CO/3-4 (2014); *Liberia*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CO/2-4 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Viet Nam*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Pakistan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Holy See*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VAT/CO/2 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1249 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liberia*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CO/2-4 (2014); *Holy See*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VAT/CO/2 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Belgium*, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEL/CO/3-4 (2010); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); *Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Guinea*, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1250 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Viet Nam*, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Guinea*, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KHM/CO/2 (2011).
- 1251 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1252 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1253 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea-Bissau*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GNB/CO/2-4 (2013).
- 1254 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liberia*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CO/2-4 (2012); *Viet Nam*, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Cyprus*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Turkey*, ¶ 49, CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Nigeria*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NGA/CO/3-4 (2010); *Holy See*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VAT/CO/2 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Cyprus* ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Togo*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Colombia*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Guinea*, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Mozambique* ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *India*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1255 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc.

- CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1256 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liberia*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CO/2-4 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Holy See*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VAT/CO/2 (2014).
- 1257 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Saint Lucia*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1258 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012); *Pakistan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. RC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Nigeria*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NGA/CO/3-4 (2010); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Mozambique* ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *India*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1259 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cuba*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CUB/CO/2 (2011); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DOM/CO/3-5 (2015); *Holy See*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VAT/CO/2 (2014); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1260 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011); *Jordan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Algeria* ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Algeria*, ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Botswana*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *India*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1261 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cuba*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CUB/CO/2 (2011); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DOM/CO/3-5 (2015); *Holy See*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VAT/CO/2 (2014); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1262 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1263 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1264 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ , U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *Georgia*, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.222 (2003).
- 1265 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria*, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1266 *Concluding Observations: Turkey*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001); *Burundi*, ¶ 75, CRC/C/BDI/CO/2 (2010); *Mozambique* ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *Brazil*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BRA/CO/2-4 (2015).
- 1267 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Argentina*, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ARG/CO/3-4 (2010); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1268 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Rwanda*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RWA/CO/3-4 (2013); *Fiji*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1269 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1270 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1271 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Rwanda*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RWA/CO/3-4 (2013); *Cyprus*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1272 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Viet Nam*, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VNM/CO/3-4 (2012); *Turkey*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001).
- 1273 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Turkey*, ¶ 49, CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1274 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1275 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1276 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 28 CRC/C/BRA/CO/2-4 (2015).
- 1277 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012); *Madagascar*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012); *Cyprus* ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Colombia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Cambodia*, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. RC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Mozambique* ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1278 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Nigeria*, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NGA/CO/3-4 (2010); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001); *Pakistan*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Botswana*, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001).
- 1279 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012); *Algeria* ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).

- 1280 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1281 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1282 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ethiopia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.144 (2001); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001).
- 1283 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Nigeria*, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NGA/CO/3-4 (2010).
- 1284 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cuba*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CUB/CO/2 (2011); *Colombia*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1285 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Morocco*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MAR/CO/3-4 (2014); *Jordan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 1286 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Cyprus* ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Turkey*, ¶ 32, CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Mozambique* ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1287 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012); *Colombia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1288 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Togo*, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1289 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1290 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus* ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Turkey*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Fiji*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1291 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 1292 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C.KHM/CO/2 (2011).
- 1293 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 1294 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1295 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1296 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Botswana*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004).
- 1297 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1298 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. RC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Ethiopia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.144 (2001); *Mozambique* ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1299 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus* ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Jordan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 1300 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Morocco*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MAR/CO/3-4 (2014); *Pakistan*, ¶ 94, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Jordan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. RC.C.KHM/CO/2 (2011).
- 1301 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014).
- 1302 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
- 1303 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Guinea*, ¶¶ 50, 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Togo*, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *India*, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001); *China*, ¶ 45 U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013); *Niue*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013).
- 1304 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria*, ¶ 75, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Rwanda*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RWA/CO/3-4 (2013); *Tanzania*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Togo*, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1305 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1306 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015).
- 1307 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 45 U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1308 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1309 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Botswana*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); *Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Burundi*, ¶ 75, CRC/C/BDI/CO/2 (2010); *Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1310 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *India*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5

- (2015); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1311 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1312 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1313 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cuba*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CUB/CO/2 (2011).
- 1314 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria*, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1315 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Pakistan*, ¶ 94, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009).
- 1316 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1317 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Austria*, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUT/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1318 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Niue*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Tanzania*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Guinea*, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1319 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Niue*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1320 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011).
- 1321 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *India*, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Mozambique* ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1322 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Rwanda*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RWA/CO/3-4 (2013); *Egypt*, ¶ 82, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/EGY/CO/3-4 (2011); *Niue*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Chile*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *China*, ¶ 45 U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1323 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1324 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1325 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1326 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1327 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1328 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015).
- 1329 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014); *Pakistan*, ¶ 94, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Iraq*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Fiji*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1330 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015).
- 1331 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Burundi*, ¶ 75, CRC/C/BDI/CO/2 (2010); *Pakistan*, ¶ 94, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1332 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1333 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1334 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Niue*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013).
- 1335 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014).
- 1336 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1337 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1338 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013).
- 1339 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/4-5 (2014).
- 1340 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Egypt*, ¶ 82, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/EGY/CO/3-4 (2011); *India*, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Togo*, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012).
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- 1342 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Afghanistan*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011).
- 1343 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011).
- 1344 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Austria*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUT/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1345 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1346 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011); *Dominican Republic*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DOM/CO/3-5 (2015); *Rwanda*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RWA/CO/3-4 (2013); *Turkey*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc.

- CRC/C/TUR/CO/2-3 (2012); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C.KHM/CO/2 (2011); *Pakistan*, ¶ 94, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PAK/3-4 (2009); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001); *Nigeria*, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NGA/CO/3-4 (2010); *Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Togo*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *Colombia*, ¶¶ 20, 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1347 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1348 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1349 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1350 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012); *Cyprus* ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Togo*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014); *Cape Verde*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001); *Afghanistan*, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); *Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013); *Tanzania*, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Georgia*, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.222 (2003); *Georgia*, ¶ 623, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.222 (2003).
- 1351 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1352 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Togo*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Guinea*, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013); *Algeria* ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012).
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- 1354 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶¶ 52-53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GIN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1355 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012); *Colombia*, ¶¶ 28, 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Argentina*, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ARG/CO/3-4 (2010); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001); *Chile*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Brazil*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BRA/CO/2-4 (2015); *China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013); *Fiji*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
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- 1357 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1358 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Argentina*, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ARG/CO/3-4 (2010).
- 1359 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BRA/CO/2-4 (2015).
- 1360 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); *Mozambique*, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *India*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014); *Cambodia*, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C.KHM/CO/2 (2011).
- 1361 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cape Verde*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001).
- 1362 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014).
- 1363 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: India*, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IND/CO/3-4 (2014).
- 1364 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Togo*, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1365 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Togo*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1366 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1367 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Togo*, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1368 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1369 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Madagascar*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MDG/CO/3-4 (2012); *Niue*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/NIU/CO/1 (2013).
- 1370 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Togo*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012); *Saint Lucia*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LCA/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1371 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1372 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014); *Mozambique* ¶ 86, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *Georgia*, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.222 (2003).
- 1373 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Afghanistan*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AFG/CO/1 (2011).
- 1374 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015).
- 1375 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014); *Mozambique* ¶ 86, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *China*, ¶ 45 U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1376 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1377 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 86, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1378 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 87, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009); *Georgia*, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc.

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- 1379 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Fiji*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/FJI/CO/2-4 (2014).
- 1380 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 87, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1381 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 87, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1382 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 87, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1383 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1384 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Chile*, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1385 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Algeria* ¶ 76, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DZA/CO/3-4 (2012); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); *Togo*, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TGO/CO/3-4 (2012).
- 1386 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 74, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Colombia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 64, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015).
- 1387 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1388 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1389 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Brazil*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BRA/CO/2-4 (2015).
- 1390 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 75, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015); *Tanzania*, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015).
- 1391 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 75, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRQ/CO/2-4 (2015).
- 1392 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1393 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1394 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 77, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1395 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique* ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2009).
- 1396 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1397 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1398 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015).
- 1399 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1400 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 19s, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1401 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶¶ 20, 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1402 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
- 1403 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1404 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
- 1405 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/4-5 (2015).
- 1406 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 45 U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1407 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: China*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/CHN/CO/3-4 (2013).
- 1408 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
- 1409 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
- 1410 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003).
- 1411 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tanzania*, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TZA/CO/3-5 (2015); *Jamaica*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); *Burundi*, ¶ 75, CRC/C/BDI/CO/2 (2010).
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- 1413 CRC Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AUS/CO/4 (2012).
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- 1417 CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 2: Implementation of article 2 by States parties*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/2 (2008).
- 1418 CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 2: Implementation of article 2 by States parties*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/2 (2008).
- 1419 CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 3: Implementation of article 14 by States parties*, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/3 (2012).
- 1420 CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 3: Implementation of article 14 by States parties*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/3 (2012).
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- ¹⁴²³ CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 3: Implementation of article 14 by States parties*, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/3 (2012).
- ¹⁴²⁴ CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 3: Implementation of article 14 by States parties*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/3 (2012).
- ¹⁴²⁵ CAT Committee, *General Comment No. 3: Implementation of article 14 by States parties*, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GC/3 (2012).
- ¹⁴²⁶ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guatemala*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GTM/CO/5-6 (2013); *Honduras*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HND/CO/2 (2016); *Spain*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ESP/CO/6 (2015).
- ¹⁴²⁷ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Denmark*, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/DNK/CO/6-7 (2016); *Honduras*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HND/CO/2 (2016); *Colombia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COL/CO/5 (2015); *Spain*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ESP/CO/6 (2015); *Japan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Guatemala*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GTM/CO/5-6 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- ¹⁴²⁸ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AUS/CO/4 (2014); *Kenya*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KEN/CO/2 (2013); *Slovakia*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UZB/CO/4 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- ¹⁴²⁹ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kenya*, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KEN/CO/2 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013); *Honduras*, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HND/CO/2 (2016); *Macedonia*, ¶ , U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Poland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- ¹⁴³⁰ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Russian Federation*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/RUS/CO/5 (2012); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Mongolia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNG/CO/2 (2016); *Jordan*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JOR/CO/3 (2016); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ POL /CO/5-6 (2013); *Andorra*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AND/CO/1 (2013); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UZB/CO/4 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
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- ¹⁴³³ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mozambique*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MOZ/CO/1 (2013).
- ¹⁴³⁴ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- ¹⁴³⁵ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014).
- ¹⁴³⁶ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Russian Federation*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/RUS/CO/5 (2012); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Mongolia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNG/CO/2 (2016); *Macau, China*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CHN-MAC/CO/5 (2016); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Andorra*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AND/CO/1 (2013); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UZB/CO/4 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- ¹⁴³⁷ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- ¹⁴³⁸ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Norway*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NOR/CO/6-7 (2012); *Mozambique*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MOZ/CO/1 (2013).
- ¹⁴³⁹ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Congo*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COG/CO/1 (2016).
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- ¹⁴⁴¹ CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AUS/CO/4 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014); *Sierra Leone*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SLE/CO/1 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Mozambique*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MOZ/CO/1 (2013).
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- 1493 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Honduras*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HND/CO/2 (2016); *Jordan*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JOR/CO/3 (2016); *Switzerland*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CHE/CO/7 (2015); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Sweden*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SWE/CO/6-7 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Montenegro*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNE/CO/2 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Uruguay*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/URY/CO/3 (2014); *Andorra*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AND/CO/1 (2013); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KGZ/CO/2 (2013); *Mozambique*, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MOZ/CO/1 (2013); *Japan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Qatar*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/QAT/CO/2 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013); *Senegal*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SEN/CO/3 (2013); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/RUS/CO/5 (2012); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013).
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- 1502 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tajikistan*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AZE/CO/4 (2016); *Macedonia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Uruguay*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/URY/CO/3 (2014).
- 1503 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AUS/CO/4 (2014); *Burundi*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COL/BDI/CO/2/Add.1 (2016); *Russian Federation*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/RUS/CO/5 (2012); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Mongolia*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNG/CO/2 (2016); *Turkey*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TUR/CO/4 (2016); *Macau, China*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CHN-MAC/CO/5 (2016); *Jordan*, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JOR/CO/3 (2016); *Switzerland*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CHE/CO/7 (2015); *Serbia*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SRB/CO/2 (2015); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AZE/CO/4 (2016); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Croatia*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HRV/CO/4-5 (2014); *Sweden*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SWE/CO/6-7 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Montenegro*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNE/CO/2 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Uruguay*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/URY/CO/3 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Andorra*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AND/CO/1 (2013); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KGZ/CO/2 (2013); *Uzbekistan*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UZB/CO/4 (2013); *Mozambique*, ¶ 23, U.N.

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- 1504 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KGZ/CO/2 (2013).
- 1505 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Russian Federation*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/RUS/CO/5 (2012); *Turkey*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TUR/CO/4 (2016); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014).
- 1506 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Estonia*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Japan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Macedonia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Spain*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ESP/CO/6 (2015).
- 1507 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Macedonia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015).
- 1508 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Australia*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AUS/CO/4 (2014); *Japan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Spain*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ESP/CO/6 (2015).
- 1509 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014).
- 1510 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guatemala*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GTM/CO/5-6 (2013); *Spain*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ESP/CO/6 (2015).
- 1511 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Spain*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ESP/CO/6 (2015).
- 1512 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Jordan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JOR/CO/3 (2016).
- 1513 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tajikistan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Croatia*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HRV/CO/4-5 (2014); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KGZ/CO/2 (2013).
- 1514 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Tajikistan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Turkey*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TUR/CO/4 (2016); *Macau, China*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CHN-MAC/CO/5 (2016); *Switzerland*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CHE/CO/7 (2015); *Croatia*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/HRV/CO/4-5 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Montenegro*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNE/CO/2 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Andorra*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AND/CO/1 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Tajikistan*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TJK/CO/2 (2013); *Norway*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NOR/CO/6-7 (2012); *Sierra Leone*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SLE/CO/1 (2014); *Sweden*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SWE/CO/6-7 (2014).
- 1515 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Norway*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NOR/CO/6-7 (2012).
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- 1517 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AZE/CO/4 (2016); *Slovakia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Qatar*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/QAT/CO/2 (2013); *Peru*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- 1518 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014).
- 1519 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Congo*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COG/CO/1 (2016).
- 1520 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liechtenstein*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LIE/CO/4 (2016).
- 1521 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015).
- 1522 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Peru*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- 1523 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014); *Poland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Congo*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COG/CO/1 (2016).
- 1524 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Portugal*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PRT/CO/5-6 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013).
- 1525 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Latvia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013).
- 1526 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014).
- 1527 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014).
- 1528 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc.

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- 1529 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014).
- 1530 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014).
- 1531 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014).
- 1532 *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Poland*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Qatar*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/QAT/CO/2 (2013).
- 1533 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Portugal*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PRT/CO/5-6 (2013); *Japan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015).
- 1534 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014).
- 1535 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014).
- 1536 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015).
- 1537 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Japan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1538 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Azerbaijan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AZE/CO/4 (2016); *Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014).
- 1539 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Azerbaijan*, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/AZE/CO/4 (2016); *New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014).
- 1540 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Japan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1541 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013); *Liechtenstein*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LIE/CO/4 (2016).
- 1542 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013).
- 1543 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Portugal*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PRT/CO/5-6 (2013).
- 1544 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Portugal*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PRT/CO/5-6 (2013); *Japan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014).
- 1545 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014).
- 1546 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015).
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- 1549 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: New Zealand*, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/NZL/CO/6 (2015); *Slovakia*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SVK/CO/3 (2015); *Macedonia*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MKD/CO/3* (2015); *Ukraine*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/UKR/CO/6 (2014); *Kazakhstan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2014); *Guinea*, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014); *Thailand*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/THA/CO/1 (2014); *Cyprus*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/CYP/CO/4 (2014); *Latvia*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LVA/CO/3-5 (2013); *Poland*, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/ POL/CO/5-6 (2013); *Japan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013); *Estonia*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/EST/CO/5 (2013).
- 1550 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015).
- 1551 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Japan*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/JPN/CO/2 (2013).
- 1552 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Liechtenstein*, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/LIE/CO/4 (2016).

- 1553 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Iraq*, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/IRQ/CO/1 (2015); *USA*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/USA/CO/3-5 (2014); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KGZ/CO/2 (2013).
- 1554 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: USA*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/USA/CO/3-5 (2014); *Kyrgyzstan*, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KGZ/CO/2 (2013).
- 1555 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COL/CO/2 (2015).
- 1556 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Colombia*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COL/CO/2 (2015).
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- 1561 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Congo*, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COG/CO/1 (2016).
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- 1564 *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014).
- 1565 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Burundi*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COL/BDI/CO/2/Add.1 (2016).
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- 1569 *Concluding Observations: Guinea*, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/GIN/CO/1 (2014).
- 1570 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Burundi*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/COL/BDI/CO/2/Add.1 (2016).
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- 1572 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Kenya*, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KEN/CO/2 (2013); *Sierra Leone*, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/SLE/CO/1 (2014); *Burkina Faso*, ¶ 21 U.N. Doc. CAT/C/BFA/CO/1 (2014).
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- 1578 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Peru*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- 1579 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Uruguay*, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/URY/CO/3 (2014).
- 1580 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Peru*, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/CO/5-6 (2013).
- 1581 CAT Committee, *Concluding Observations: Mongolia*, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/MNG/CO/1 (2011).
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Women Enabled International (WEI) works at the intersection of women's rights and disability rights to advance the rights of women and girls with disabilities around the world. Through advocacy and education, WEI increases international attention to—and strengthens international human rights standards on—issues such as violence against women, sexual and reproductive health and rights, access to justice, education, legal capacity, and humanitarian emergencies. Working in collaboration with women with disabilities rights organizations and women's rights organizations worldwide, WEI fosters cooperation across movements to improve understanding and develop cross-cutting advocacy strategies to realize the rights of all women and girls.