

Preventing Maternal Mortality and Ensuring Safe Pregnancy

Government Duties to Ensure Pregnant Women's Survival and Health

Every year, more than 500,000 women die from complications of pregnancy or childbirth, with 99% of these deaths occurring in the developing world.¹ Women's rights to life, health, and non-discrimination entitle them to the services and care they need to survive pregnancy and childbirth. To fulfill their duties, governments must ensure women's access to high-quality, appropriate reproductive health care; abolish discriminatory laws and social practices prejudicial to women's health; and allow women to make autonomous decisions regarding their reproductive lives.

This briefing paper takes an in-depth look at the standards developed by six United Nations (UN) "treaty monitoring bodies," or committees, in the area of safe pregnancy and childbirth. Following a brief overview of the origin and work of the committees, the briefing paper reviews standards each body has adopted as it has monitored governments' compliance with their duties under international human rights law. Several committees have found violations of key human rights treaties where states have failed to take measures to prevent maternal mortality.

Background

Treaty Monitoring Bodies and their Role in Developing International Law

The UN treaty monitoring system was created to ensure governments' compliance with their treaty obligations.² Each of the major international human rights treaties provides for the establishment of a committee whose primary mandate is to monitor governmental progress in implementing the treaty. Monitoring is achieved primarily through a "country reporting" process, which requires states to report periodically on their efforts to respect, protect, and fulfill the human rights enshrined in a particular treaty.³ Following in-person dialogues with government representatives, committee members issue concluding observations to the reporting government. Every year, these observations are compiled in a report and sent to the General Assembly of the UN.⁴

In addition to the concluding observations, committees have the authority to issue "general comments" or "general recommendations." These documents elaborate on a treaty's broadly worded human rights guarantees in order to guide government efforts to implement the treaty, providing a working interpretation of the rights in each of the major treaties.⁵ Some committees also have a mandate to examine individual complaints of human rights violations, in which cases they issue written decisions.⁶

Key Human Rights Treaties and their Monitoring Committees	
HUMAN RIGHTS TREATY	COMMITTEE
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (<i>CEDAW</i>)	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (<i>CEDAW Committee</i>)
Convention on the Rights of the Child (<i>Children's Rights Convention</i>)	Committee on the Rights of the Child (<i>CRC</i>)
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (<i>Civil and Political Rights Covenant</i>)	Human Rights Committee (<i>HRC</i>)
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (<i>Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant</i>)	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (<i>CESCR</i>)
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (<i>Convention against Racial Discrimination</i>)	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (<i>CERD</i>)
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment (<i>Convention against Torture</i>)	Committee against Torture (<i>CAT</i>)

Taken together, the concluding observations, general comments, and case decisions of the committees guide governments and advocates in further promoting human rights. They are also a crucial tool for holding governments accountable under international human rights law. The standards elaborated upon by the committees, summarized in this briefing paper, can and should be used to measure government compliance with human rights treaty obligations. Materials cited in this paper can be used to support legal advocacy in national, regional, and international human rights institutions. They can also be used to hold governments politically accountable in campaigns aimed at ensuring that all women can experience pregnancy and childbirth in conditions of safety.

What follows is a discussion of the statements relating to safe pregnancy and childbirth made between January 1993 and June 2008 by six committees: the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee); the Committee on the Rights of the Child; the Human Rights Committee; the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination; and the Committee against Torture.⁷

1.

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

General Recommendations

General Recommendation 24: Women and Health⁸

In its General Recommendation 24, the CEDAW Committee reinforces states parties' obligations to protect women's rights relating to health, as well as their obligation to "refrain from obstructing action taken by women in pursuit of their health goals."⁹ The Committee recommends government action to ensure access to all aspects of health care for women and girls, including access to contraception, family planning services and information, and treatment for HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections.

Concluding Observations

Maternal Mortality

The CEDAW Committee has repeatedly expressed concern over high rates of maternal mortality¹⁰ and has framed the issue of maternal mortality as a violation of women's right to life.¹¹ The Committee has linked high rates of maternal mortality to lack of access to and insufficient availability of comprehensive reproductive health services¹² as well as to lack of availability of safe abortion services;¹³ lack of access to quality post-abortion care for complications resulting from unsafe

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF CEDAW

Article 12(1) *requires states parties to eliminate discrimination against women in the area of health care, in order to ensure women's equal access to health care services, including those related family planning.*

Article 12(2) *requires that states parties ensure women "appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period,*

granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.”

Article 16 *protects the right of women to decide on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education, and means to do so.*

abortion;¹⁴ high rates of teenage pregnancy;¹⁵ and poor quality of diet.¹⁶ In one instance, the CEDAW Committee noted the efforts by a state party to improve women’s reproductive health, but expressed its concern with the lack of access to obstetric care and reproductive health services, the prevalence of dilapidated clinics, and the highly negative impact of protracted armed conflict on maternal mortality rates.¹⁷ In another instance, the Committee expressed concern over obstacles women face when seeking health services, including their lack of resources, the deficient health infrastructure, and poor roads and transportation.¹⁸

In addition to requesting that countries adopt general measures aimed at reducing maternal mortality rates,¹⁹ the CEDAW Committee has specifically recommended that states parties increase access to reproductive health services and contraceptives;²⁰ ensure that births are attended by trained personnel;²¹ implement comprehensive family planning policies and programs;²² include sexual education in school curricula;²³ take measures to avoid women’s reliance on abortion as a primary means of birth control;²⁴ take measures to protect women from unsafe abortions and ensure women have access to safe abortion (in accordance with local legislation);²⁵ and develop preventive programs to address the problem of teenage pregnancy.²⁶ To address abortion-related maternal mortality, the Committee has recommended that states parties review legislation prohibiting or restricting abortion.

The CEDAW Committee has commended the efforts of states parties to improve access to reproductive health services and decrease maternal mortality rates.²⁷ It has expressed concern when country reports contain insufficient data regarding maternal mortality and the impact of measures taken to reduce maternal mortality.²⁸

Access to Reproductive Health Care

In its concluding observations, the CEDAW Committee has often expressed concern over women’s lack of access to reproductive health services and information, which it has characterized as discriminatory against women.²⁹ The Committee has recognized that the influence of religion and cultural beliefs can compromise women’s rights to reproductive health.³⁰ It has also noted that certain groups of women have more difficulty in accessing reproductive health care, among them sex workers,³¹ young women,³² low-income women,³³ rural and marginalized women,³⁴ indigenous women,³⁵ and women belonging to ethnic or religious minorities.³⁶ Recently, the Committee noted its concern about the right of access to health-care services at Israeli checkpoints and has called upon Israel to ensure that checkpoint authorities allow pregnant Palestinian women access to health-care services.³⁷

The Committee has emphasized the need for gender-sensitive reproductive health policies and programs³⁸ and has recommended that states parties gather gender-disaggregated data³⁹

on women's reproductive health needs in order to effectively implement such programs. The Committee has repeatedly stressed the need for states parties to ensure access to affordable⁴⁰ and comprehensive reproductive health care services,⁴¹ including family planning services⁴² and programs geared to increasing knowledge about, and access to, contraceptives⁴³ as well as safe abortion services.⁴⁴ It has also recommended the widespread dissemination of reproductive health and family planning information;⁴⁵ guaranteed access to emergency obstetric care⁴⁶ and quality emergency care for complications from unsafe abortion;⁴⁷ and the implementation of insurance coverage programs to increase access to reproductive health services.⁴⁸ The Committee has also expressed concern that many country reports contain insufficient or unreliable data concerning reproductive health care, including accessibility, and has directed such states parties to include specific data in their next reports.⁴⁹

2.

Committee on the Rights of the Child

General Comments

General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child⁵⁰

In its General Comment 4, the Committee on the Rights of the Child states that “the right of adolescents to access appropriate information is crucial if States parties are to promote cost-effective measures,” including family planning and protection from harmful traditional practices, such as early marriages and female genital mutilation.⁵¹ The Committee stresses that “States parties should provide adolescents with access to sexual and reproductive information, including on family planning and contraceptives, [and] the dangers of early pregnancy....”⁵² The Committee recommends that states parties ensure access to such information, regardless of marital status or the consent of parents or guardians.⁵³

The Committee also emphasizes that “[a]dolescent girls should have access to information on the harm that early marriages and early pregnancy can cause, and those who become pregnant should have access to health services that are sensitive to their rights and particular needs.”⁵⁴ Moreover, the Committee recommends states parties “take measures to reduce maternal morbidity and mortality in adolescent girls” due to early pregnancy and unsafe abortion practices.⁵⁵ The Committee urges states parties to develop and implement programs that provide access to sexual and reproductive health services, including family planning, contraception, safe abortion services, adequate and comprehensive obstetric care, and counseling.⁵⁶

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CHILDREN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION

Article 2 *prohibits discrimination on several grounds, including sex or “other status.”*

Article 6 *ensures children's right to life and requires that states parties ensure the survival and development of the child.*

Article 24 *guarantees children's right to the highest standard of health and requires that states parties take measures to ensure proper health care for mothers, children, and families.*

The Committee notes that states parties must fulfill their obligations to ensure the health and development of adolescents by taking “all appropriate legislative, administrative and other measures for the realization and monitoring of the rights of adolescents to health and development as recognized in the Convention.”⁵⁷ For example, states parties are required to fulfill their obligations by, *inter alia*, ensuring adolescents have access to the information important for their health and development and can participate in decisions regarding their health, as well as by ensuring that all adolescents have access to quality health facilities, goods, and services, including counseling and health services for mental and sexual and reproductive health that are sensitive to adolescents’ concerns.⁵⁸

General Comment 7: Implementing Child Rights in Early Childhood⁵⁹

In its General Comment 7, the Committee on the Rights of the Child urges states parties to take all possible measures to improve perinatal care for mothers and babies.⁶⁰

Concluding Observations

Maternal Mortality

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has frequently expressed concern over high rates of maternal mortality,⁶¹ particularly related to teenage pregnancy,⁶² poor maternal health,⁶³ and early marriage.⁶⁴ It has attributed these high rates of maternal mortality to unsafe or illegal abortion;⁶⁵ insufficient prenatal care and assistance at birth;⁶⁶ insufficient resources dedicated to maternal health care;⁶⁷ and lack of access to reproductive health services,⁶⁸ including the lack of adequate access to contraceptives,⁶⁹ especially for teenagers.⁷⁰ The Committee has expressed concern over the limited availability of programs and services and the lack of adequate data in the area of adolescent health, including data on early marriage and pregnancy.⁷¹ The Committee has further noted that reported maternal mortality rates may not reflect cases related to complications resulting from illegal abortions, particularly those involving pregnant adolescents.⁷²

The Committee has called upon states parties to reduce the rates of maternal mortality⁷³ and has applauded those states parties that have taken measures to do so.⁷⁴ In its concluding observation to one state party, the Committee noted the state’s strong commitment to maternal health and the significant improvements made in that area.⁷⁵ In its concluding observations to another state party, the Committee noted that the state had taken measures consistent with its previous recommendations, including conducting a national survey on maternal and child health in 1999.⁷⁶

To address high rates of maternal mortality, the Committee has asked states parties to allocate adequate resources⁷⁷ and develop comprehensive policies and programs⁷⁸ to improve the health of women and adolescent girls. It has recommended measures to improve women’s access to

pregnancy-related health care services,⁷⁹ emphasizing the importance of appropriately trained birth attendants.⁸⁰ Moreover, the Committee has recommended that measures be taken to facilitate cooperation between trained medical personnel and traditional healers, especially midwives.⁸¹ In addition, the Committee has recommended that states parties establish midwifery training programs to assure safe home delivery.⁸² The Committee has also suggested that states parties conduct campaigns to raise awareness about family planning,⁸³ reproductive health,⁸⁴ the benefits of prenatal care,⁸⁵ and the harmfulness of certain traditional practices, such as early marriage.⁸⁶ States parties should also take measures to address malnutrition and under-nutrition in pregnant women, and the Committee has suggested that states parties seek assistance from UN agencies to that end.⁸⁷

The Committee has asked states parties to increase women's and adolescents' access to comprehensive reproductive health-care services⁸⁸ as well as programs and education in order to combat maternal mortality,⁸⁹ and it has asked states parties to encourage male acceptance and use of contraceptives to avoid unwanted pregnancies.⁹⁰ Moreover, the Committee has recommended that states parties plagued by war ensure universal access to maternal health-care services and facilities throughout their country, with special attention to conflict-affected areas.⁹¹ Similarly, the Committee has recommended that states parties take all necessary measures to ensure that mothers who give birth in prison and their babies are provided access to health services.⁹²

Where illegal and unsafe abortion contribute to high maternal mortality rates, the Committee has expressed concern over the criminalization of abortion.⁹³ The Committee has recommended that one state party review legislation prohibiting abortion⁹⁴ and that another take measures to ensure that abortions can be conducted with all due attention to minimum standards of health safety.⁹⁵ The Committee has noted that legislation aimed at liberalizing criminal penalties for abortion in certain cases most likely will lower maternal mortality rates.⁹⁶ The Committee has also recommended legalizing abortion for therapeutic reasons, including to protect women's mental health.⁹⁷

Access to Reproductive Health Care

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has expressed concern over women's inability to access prenatal and maternal health services,⁹⁸ the high costs of pregnancy-related treatment,⁹⁹ and adolescents' lack of access to reproductive health services.¹⁰⁰ The Committee has also expressed concern over the lack of attention to adolescent reproductive health issues¹⁰¹ and the inadequacy of those programs already in place.¹⁰² The Committee has commented that the low level of awareness of reproductive health issues among adolescents is a concern¹⁰³ and that factors such as cultural attitudes and parents' lack of personal knowledge and communication skills may hinder adolescents' access to accurate reproductive health information and counseling.¹⁰⁴ The Committee has also noted that women in rural areas are less likely to have access to reproductive health services¹⁰⁵ and education.¹⁰⁶

The Committee has recommended that states parties develop, promote, evaluate, and/or strengthen comprehensive reproductive health policies and programs,¹⁰⁷ and that states parties ensure access to reproductive health education in schools.¹⁰⁸ In some instances, the Committee has recommended that states parties study the scope of adolescent health problems¹⁰⁹ to develop responsive programs. The Committee has repeatedly stressed the need for “user-friendly,” “youth-friendly,” “adolescent-friendly,” and “women-friendly” health services¹¹⁰ and has strongly advocated for women’s and adolescents’ increased access to reproductive health information,¹¹¹ education,¹¹² counseling,¹¹³ and services.¹¹⁴ The Committee has specifically recommended providing adolescents with information on pregnancy prevention and family planning, and making a range of contraceptives available to prevent unwanted pregnancies.¹¹⁵ The Committee has recommended that states parties undertake further measures, including the allocation of adequate human and financial resources to evaluate the effectiveness of training programs in health education, particularly with regard to reproductive health.¹¹⁶

3.

Human Rights Committee

General Comments

General Comment 6: The Right to Life¹¹⁷

In its General Comment 6, the Human Rights Committee emphasizes that the inherent right to life should not be understood in a restrictive manner and requires that states parties take positive measures to ensure this right.¹¹⁸ The Committee specifically recommends that states parties take all possible measures to increase life expectancy.¹¹⁹

General Comment 28: Equality of Rights between Men and Women¹²⁰

In its General Comment 28, the Human Rights Committee states that “[w]hen reporting on the right to life protected by article 6, States parties should provide data on birth rates and on pregnancy- and childbirth-related deaths of women....States parties should give information on any measures taken by the State to help women prevent unwanted pregnancies, and to ensure that they do not have to undergo life-threatening clandestine abortions....The Committee also wishes to have information on the particular impact on women of poverty and deprivation that may pose a threat to their lives.”¹²¹

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS COVENANT

Article 3 ensures the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights.

Article 6 recognizes the inherent right to life and to be free from arbitrary deprivation of life.

Concluding Observations

Maternal Mortality

The Human Rights Committee has consistently expressed concern over high rates of maternal mortality,¹²² which it considers a violation of women's right to life.¹²³ The Committee has linked high maternal mortality rates to the inadequate availability of family planning services,¹²⁴ early childbirth,¹²⁵ and harmful practices, including child and forced marriage¹²⁶ and female genital mutilation (FGM).¹²⁷ In its comments to one state party, the Committee urged the state to abolish the practice of FGM in order to reduce maternal mortality.¹²⁸ The Committee has also acknowledged the relationship between poverty and unemployment and high rates of maternal mortality.¹²⁹ Additionally, the Committee has noticed a correlation between maternal mortality and infant mortality and a "low level of education."¹³⁰

Noting with concern the relationship between maternal mortality and illegal and unsafe abortion,¹³¹ the Committee has taken the position that legislation prohibiting abortion implicates the right to life.¹³² The Committee has requested that states parties gather information on maternal deaths resulting from illegal and unsafe abortion to determine the extent of the problem,¹³³ and it has recommended the review or amendment of punitive and restrictive legislation.¹³⁴

Access to Reproductive Health Care

The Human Rights Committee has framed women's lack of access to reproductive health services, including emergency obstetric care, as contributing to maternal mortality¹³⁵ and as violating women's rights to equality¹³⁶ and life.¹³⁷ The Committee has recognized that the lack of availability of family planning services and information, including abortion, compromises women's ability to participate equally in all aspects of social, economic, and public life¹³⁸ and increases the incidences of unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions,¹³⁹ and maternal mortality.¹⁴⁰

The Committee has asked states parties to remove barriers to access, such as treatment costs,¹⁴¹ lack of reproductive health information,¹⁴² and restrictive abortion laws.¹⁴³ It has also recommended the implementation of legal and policy measures to ensure equal access to a full range of reproductive health-care services and information,¹⁴⁴ including contraceptives,¹⁴⁵ family planning counseling,¹⁴⁶ sex education,¹⁴⁷ and safe abortion services.¹⁴⁸

The Committee has also noted that young,¹⁴⁹ poor,¹⁵⁰ rural,¹⁵¹ and minority women¹⁵² often face additional obstacles to reproductive health care, and has recommended that states parties take additional measures to ensure these women's access to health and education facilities.¹⁵³

4.

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS COVENANT

Article 10(2) provides that “[s]pecial protection should be accorded to mothers during a reasonable period before and after childbirth. During such period working mothers should be accorded paid leave or leave with adequate social security benefits.”

Article 12 protects the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

Article 12(2)(a) requires that states parties take necessary steps to reduce the stillbirth rate and infant mortality rate and to provide for the healthy development of the child.

Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

General Comments

General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health¹⁵⁴

In its General Comment 14, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights interprets Article 12(2)(a) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as the right to maternal, child, and reproductive health, which requires states parties to implement measures to “[i]mprove child and maternal health [and] sexual and reproductive health services, including access to family planning, pre- and post-natal care, emergency obstetric services and access to information, as well as to resources necessary to act on that information.”¹⁵⁵

In emphasizing women’s right to health, the Committee underlines the need for states parties to provide a full range of high-quality and affordable health care, including sexual and reproductive services. The Committee also highlights states’ obligation to reduce women’s health risks and lower maternal mortality rates. The general comment calls for states parties to remove all barriers to women’s access to health services, education, and information, including in the area of sexual and reproductive health.¹⁵⁶

The general comment also elaborates on the application of principles of non-discrimination on the basis of gender and equal treatment with respect to the right to health,¹⁵⁷ and recommends that states parties integrate a gender perspective in their health-related policies, planning, programs, and research.¹⁵⁸

The general comment notes that the right to health gives rise to certain “core obligations” on the part of states “to ensure the satisfaction of, at the very least, minimum essential levels of...essential primary health care.”¹⁵⁹ Among these obligations is the duty to “ensure the right of access to health facilities, goods, and services on a non-discriminatory basis” and to “ensure equitable distribution of all health facilities, goods and services....”¹⁶⁰ The Committee confirms that the obligation to ensure reproductive and maternal care, both prenatal and postnatal, should have a priority comparable to core obligations.¹⁶¹

Concluding Observations

Maternal Mortality

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has consistently expressed concern to states parties about high rates of maternal mortality,¹⁶² which the Committee views as a violation of the right to health. It has urged state parties to make reducing maternal mortality a higher priority.¹⁶³

Linking high maternal mortality rates to inadequate health¹⁶⁴ and family planning services,¹⁶⁵ the Committee has recommended that states parties take measures to address the problem,¹⁶⁶ including the review of health policies¹⁶⁷ and restrictive legislation,¹⁶⁸ and the implementation of programs that increase women's access to comprehensive reproductive health care and information.¹⁶⁹

The Committee has frequently acknowledged that clandestine abortion is a major cause of maternal mortality¹⁷⁰ and has requested that states parties strengthen reproductive health programs and liberalize restrictive abortion laws to address the problem.¹⁷¹

The Committee has also expressed concern about particularly high rates of maternal mortality among rural,¹⁷² poor, uneducated, and indigenous women;¹⁷³ it has asked states parties to ensure that these populations have access to health care.¹⁷⁴

Access to Reproductive Health Care

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has expressed concern over women's inability to access reproductive health services,¹⁷⁵ and it has criticized states parties' inadequate policies and programs.¹⁷⁶ The Committee has commented that women's inability to access reproductive health care is discriminatory in that it deprives them of their ability to fully enjoy their economic, social, and cultural rights on an equal basis with men.¹⁷⁷

The Committee has asked states parties to establish policies and programs to ensure women's access to comprehensive reproductive health-care services¹⁷⁸ and to allocate adequate financial resources for their effective implementation.¹⁷⁹ The Committee has recommended that states parties take measures to improve the conditions of maternal health care, including prenatal services and birth assistance.¹⁸⁰ Along these lines, the Committee has recommended that states parties provide assistance and training to midwives.¹⁸¹ It has recommended that states parties eliminate barriers to services by ensuring their affordability¹⁸² and increasing public awareness about their availability.¹⁸³ Finally, it has recommended improving access to reproductive health education and family planning information,¹⁸⁴ including through school curricula.¹⁸⁵

5.

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF CONVENTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Article 5(e) links the right to be free from racial discrimination to the enjoyment of a number of economic, social, and cultural rights, including the right to health.

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

General Recommendations

General Recommendation 25: Gender-Related Dimensions of Racial Discrimination¹⁸⁶

In its General Recommendation 25, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recognizes that some forms of racial discrimination may be experienced only by women and may be directed at women because of their gender.¹⁸⁷ In the recommendation, the Committee states that it will take gender factors into account when evaluating and monitoring racial discrimination against women and how such discrimination affects the exercise of all their rights.¹⁸⁸ This would include the right to health.

Concluding Observations

Although the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has frequently commented on the right to be free from discrimination in exercising the right to health, the Committee has only recently started to address women's reproductive health issues. The Committee has expressed concern about the state of minority and marginalized women's reproductive health¹⁸⁹ and about the fact that these groups have disproportionately higher maternal mortality rates than the general population.¹⁹⁰

The Committee has recommended that states parties take measures to combat maternal mortality,¹⁹¹ including ensuring equal access to reproductive health services; increasing the number of available doctors and health facilities;¹⁹² and improving access to and affordability of family planning, maternal health-care, and emergency obstetric services.¹⁹³ It has urged a state party to pay particular attention to women in a disadvantaged group and to ensure their right to health is protected.¹⁹⁴ The Committee has also requested that a state party include information and data on minority women's reproductive health in future reports.¹⁹⁵

6.

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE

Article 1 defines torture as any intentional act, inflicted for reasons based on discrimination of any kind, which causes severe physical or mental suffering, and is committed with the consent or acquiescence of a public official.

Committee against Torture

Concluding Observations

The Committee against Torture has not addressed the issue of maternal mortality or access to reproductive health care in its concluding observations.

KEY CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON MATERNAL MORTALITY

“The Committee recommends that the State party allocate adequate resources to improve the status of women’s health, in particular with regard to maternal and infant mortality, and make every effort to increase access to health-care facilities and medical assistance by trained personnel, particularly in rural areas and particularly for post-natal care.” *Concluding Comment of the CEDAW Committee: Turkey, ¶ 38, UN Doc. CEDAW/C/TUR/CC/4-5 (2005).*

“While noting the considerable efforts made by the State party, the Committee remains concerned by the high maternal and infant mortality rate in Mali, due in particular to the relative inaccessibility of health and family planning services, the poor quality of health care provided, the low educational level and the practice of clandestine abortions (article 6 of the Covenant).

So as to guarantee the right to life, the State party should strengthen its efforts in that regard, in particular in ensuring the accessibility of health services, including emergency obstetric care. The State party should ensure that its health workers receive adequate training. It should help women avoid unwanted pregnancies, including by strengthening its family planning and sex education programmes, and ensure that they are not forced to undergo clandestine abortions, which endanger their lives. In particular, attention should be given to the effect on women’s health of the restrictive abortion law.” *Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee: Mali, ¶ 14, UN Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003).*

Summary Assessment

All of the committees, with the exception of the **Committee against Torture**, have expressed concern over maternal mortality and have recommended that states parties take measures to reduce maternal

mortality rates and improve maternal health. Most have addressed specific interventions to prevent maternal death, including skilled attendance at birth and access to emergency obstetric care. The **CEDAW Committee**, the **Committee on the Rights of the Child**, the **Human Rights Committee**, and the **Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** have linked the lack of access to modern contraceptive methods and high rates of teenage pregnancy to maternal mortality. While most of the committees have recognized the relationship between illegal, unsafe abortion and high rates of maternal mortality, the **CEDAW Committee** and the **Human Rights Committee** have characterized the criminalization of abortion as a violation of women's right to life and, along with the **Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** and the **Committee on the Rights of the Child**, have explicitly advocated that states parties review restrictive abortion laws. Furthermore, the **Human Rights Committee** has linked maternal mortality to harmful traditional practices, such as child and forced marriage and FGM, commenting specifically on the discriminatory cultural attitudes towards women that perpetuate such practices and contribute to high maternal mortality rates. More recently, the **Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination** has commented on the impact of the lack of accessible and affordable health services on maternal mortality rates among minority and marginalized populations.

Conclusions

- The committees could recommend more specific policies aimed at reducing maternal mortality. They could continue to encourage governments to prioritize the interventions proven to be most effective at reducing maternal mortality, including assistance at birth from a trained provider and access to emergency obstetric care. Recommendations could also include suggesting measures that would increase women's access to services, such as reducing costs; allocating resources outside of urban areas and focusing them on vulnerable populations; training and equipping health providers; and educating communities.
- To address high rates of maternal mortality among adolescents, the committees could ask states parties to remove all legal and regulatory barriers to reproductive and sexual health care for minors regardless of their marital status and to create and ensure access to comprehensive, age-specific health programs as part of the country's overall health policy.
- The committees could recommend that states parties seek input from women representing the communities being served in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs to prevent maternal death. That would help ensure that services are provided in a culturally

appropriate manner, which would in turn result in increased use of maternal health care services.

- The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination's attention to the issue of maternal health and mortality of minority and marginalized women could serve as a springboard for a more comprehensive analysis of how gender and racial discrimination intersect and how maternal and reproductive health information and services can be provided in a manner that is sensitive to and respectful of all women.
- The committees could call upon states parties to develop monitoring mechanisms, including health audits that look beyond shortfalls in service delivery and address broader socio-economic, political, and cultural barriers to maternal health.
- States parties could be called upon to develop national action plans for the reduction of maternal mortality that adopt a human rights approach, supported by strong institutions, funding and accountability mechanisms.

Endnotes:

- ¹ WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION ET AL., MATERNAL MORTALITY IN 2005 at 1 (2007).
- ² See OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS TREATY SYSTEM: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CORE HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES AND THE TREATY BODIES 7, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/docs/OHCHR-FactSheet30.pdf>.
- ³ A particular provision of each treaty establishes the treaty body and provides for its oversight mandate. See Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, *adopted* Dec. 18, 1979, G.A. Res. 34/180, U.N. GAOR, 34th Sess., Supp. No. 46, at 193, art. 17, U.N. Doc. A/34/46, (1979) (*entered into force* Sept. 3, 1981); Convention on the Rights of the Child, *adopted* Nov. 20, 1989, G.A. Res. 44/25, annex, U.N. GAOR, 44th Sess., Supp. No. 49, at 166, art. 43, U.N. Doc. A/44/49 (1989), *reprinted in* 28 I.L.M. 1448 (*entered into force* Sept. 2, 1990); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, *adopted* Dec. 16, 1966, G.A. Res. 2200A (XXI), U.N. GAOR, 21st Sess., Supp. No. 16, at 52, art. 28, U.N. Doc. A/6316 (1966), 999 U.N.T.S. 171 (*entered into force* Mar. 23, 1976); International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *adopted* Dec. 21, 1965, G.A. Res. 2106 (XX), art. 8, 660 U.N.T.S. 195 (*entered into force* Jan. 4, 1969); Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, *adopted* Dec. 10, 1984, G.A. Res. 39/46, UN GAOR, 39th Sess., Supp. No. 51, at 197, art. 17, U.N. Doc. A/39/51 (1984), 1465 U.N.T.S. 85 (*entered into force* June 26, 1987). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights *adopted* Dec. 16, 1966, G.A. Res. 2200A (XXI), U.N. GAOR, 21st Sess., Supp. No. 16, at 49, U.N. Doc. A/6316 (1966), 993 U.N.T.S. 3 (*entered into force* Jan. 3, 1976), does not actually provide for the establishment of the committee. The Economic and Social Council established the committee in 1985. ESC Res. 1985/17, U.N. ESCOR, 1985, Supp. No.1, at 15, U.N. Doc. No. E/1985/85 (1985).
- ⁴ For a fuller explanation of the work of the committees, see CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS, BRINGING RIGHTS TO BEAR 21-34 (2002).
- ⁵ Andrew Byrnes, *Toward More Effective Enforcement of Women's Human Rights Through the Use of International Human Rights Law and Procedures*, in HUMAN RIGHTS OF WOMEN 218 (Rebecca Cook ed., 1994).
- ⁶ The following treaties have either an additional optional protocol empowering the treaty monitoring body to hear individual complaints, or a similar mechanism found in the treaty itself: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.
- ⁷ This briefing paper covers materials available in the United Nations Treaty Body Database from 1993 through June 2007.
- ⁸ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999).
- ⁹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 260, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Argentina**, ¶ 304, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Argentina**, ¶ 360, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Argentina**, ¶ 380, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Armenia**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Australia**, ¶ 397, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Bangladesh**, ¶ 438, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 Part II, (1997); **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BIH/CO/3 (2006); **Brazil**, ¶ 126, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 349, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Burundi**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Cambodia**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KHM/CO/3 (2006); **Cameroon**, ¶ 59, U.N. Doc. A/55/38, (2000); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 227, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Eritrea**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 257, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Fiji**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, Part I (2002); **Gambia**, ¶ 203, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Ghana**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **India**, ¶ 78, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **India**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007); **Iraq**, ¶ 203, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Israel**, ¶ 162, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 157, U.N.

Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Laos People's Democratic Republic**, ¶ 96, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Malawi**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Maldives**, ¶ 142, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Mali**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/6 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 273, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Morocco**, ¶ 68, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Myanmar**, ¶ 129, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Nepal**, ¶ 212, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Paraguay**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAR/CC/3-5 (2007); **Peru**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 482, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Philippines**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Samoa**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/3, (2007); **Togo**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Turkey**, ¶ 375, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Ukraine**, ¶ 289, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, (2002).

¹¹ See, e.g., **Belize**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 393, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Madagascar**, ¶ 244, U.N. Doc. A/49/38, (1994).

¹² See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶ 438, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Gambia**, ¶ 203, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Georgia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ghana**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Guatemala**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GUA/CO/6 (2006); **Iraq**, ¶ 203, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Israel**, ¶ 162, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Kenya**, ¶¶ 37-38, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KEN/CO/6 (2007); **Malawi**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Mali**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/6, (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 273, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Morocco**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/4 (2008); **Nigeria**, ¶ 170, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Philippines**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).

¹³ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 380, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/6 (2006); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 349, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Burundi**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**,

¶ 228, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, 02/02/2007, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Eritrea**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Georgia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ghana**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 136, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Lebanon**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Malawi**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Mali**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/6 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 273, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (2001); **Morocco**, ¶ 68, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Myanmar**, ¶ 129, U.N. Doc. A/55/38, (2000); **Nepal**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Nigeria**, ¶ 307, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Peru**, ¶ 339, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 482, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/6 (2007); **Philippines**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Togo**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Uruguay**, ¶ 202, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, Part I (2002); **Zimbabwe**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/53/38, (1998).

¹⁴ See, e.g., **Belize**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BLZ/CO/4 (2007); **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BOL/CO/4; **Pakistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAK/CO/3 (2007).

¹⁵ See, e.g., **Eritrea**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3, (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 445, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, (2002); **Mozambique**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2007); **Paraguay**, ¶ 123, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Uganda**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).

¹⁶ See, e.g., **Russian Federation**, ¶ 545, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995).

¹⁷ See, e.g., **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶360, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COD/CO/5 (2006).

¹⁸ **Mozambique**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2007).

¹⁹ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 318, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Argentina**, ¶ 361, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Argentina**, ¶ 381, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004);

Bosnia and Herzegovina, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/BIH/CO/3 (2006); **Cameroon**, ¶ 60, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 309, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Gambia**, ¶ 204, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Guinea**, ¶¶ 128–29, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 158, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Maldives**, ¶ 143, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nigeria**, ¶ 308, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Paraguay**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (2006); **Pakistan**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/PAK/CO/3 (2007); **Paraguay**, ¶ 288, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Samoa**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Slovenia**, ¶ 215, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Turkey**, ¶ 376, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).

²⁰ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Belize**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/BLZ/CO/4 (2007); **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/BIH/CO/3 (2006); **Brazil**, ¶ 127, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Cameroon**, ¶ 60, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 396, U.N. Doc. A/54/38, (1999); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 228, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Estonia**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/EST/CO/4 (2007); **Eritrea**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Georgia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ghana**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/GHA/CO/5, (2006); **Guatemala**, ¶ 195, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Indonesia**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/IDN/CO/5 (2008); **Malawi**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MWI/CO, (2006); **Mali**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MLI/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 445, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Mongolia**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Myanmar**, ¶ 130, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Nepal**, ¶ 213, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 303, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Pakistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/PAK/CO/3 (2007); **Paraguay**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/PAR/CC/3-5 (2007); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Romania**, ¶ 315, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Togo**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Uganda**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Venezuela**, ¶ 243, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Yemen**, ¶ 397, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).

²¹ See, e.g., **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Congo**, ¶ 175, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Gambia**, ¶ 204, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Iraq**, ¶¶ 203–04, U.N. Doc.

A/55/38 (2000); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 301, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Turkey**, ¶ 376, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005).

²² See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Barbados**, ¶ 250, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/BIH/CO/3 (2006); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 275, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Eritrea**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Georgia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ghana**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 137, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Malawi**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MWI/CO (2006); **Nepal**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Nigeria**, ¶ 171, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).

²³ See, e.g., **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 228, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Mongolia**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nepal**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/54/38, (1999); **Romania**, ¶ 315, U.N. Doc. A/55/38, (2000).

²⁴ See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 275, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 136, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Romania**, ¶ 315, U.N. Doc. A/55/38, (2000).

²⁵ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶¶ 42–43, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/BOL/CO/4; **Chile**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/COL/CO/6 (2007); **Ghana**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **India**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/IND/CO/3 (2007); **Jamaica**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/JAM/CO/5 (2006); **Lebanon**, ¶ 112, A/60/38 (2005); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MEX/CO/6 (2006); **Peru**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/PER/CO/6 (2007); **Philippines**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Poland**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/POL.CO.6 (2007); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MLD/CO/3 (2006).

²⁶ See, e.g., **Barbados**, ¶ 250, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Ecuador**, ¶ 318, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Estonia**, ¶ 100, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Mozambique**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/MOZ/CO/2 (2007); **Saint Kitts and Nevis**,

- ¶¶ 101-02, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Uganda**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ²⁷ See, e.g., **Algeria**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 85, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Saint Kitts and Nevis**, ¶ 88, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 271, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ²⁸ See, e.g., **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 349, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Ghana**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/3 (2006); **Namibia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NAM/CO/3 (2007).
- ²⁹ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 258, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Bangladesh**, ¶ 438, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Belize**, ¶¶ 56–57, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Burkina Faso** 31/01/2000, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Croatia**, ¶ 109, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Cuba**, ¶ 219, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 101, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Equatorial Guinea**, ¶ 205, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 160, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Georgia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ghana**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Greece**, ¶¶ 207–08, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Guinea**, ¶¶ 128–29, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Guyana**, ¶ 621, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Hungary**, ¶ 254, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Iraq**, ¶¶ 203–04, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Kazakhstan**, ¶¶ 105–06, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶¶ 158–59, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Malawi**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 267, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Morocco**, ¶ 68, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Namibia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NAM/CO/3 (2007); **Nicaragua**, ¶¶ 300–01, 303, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nigeria**, ¶¶ 170–71, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Paraguay**, ¶ 123, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶¶ 337, 341, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 482, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Poland**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/6 (2007); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶¶ 109–10, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Romania**, ¶¶ 314–15, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **South Africa**, ¶ 134, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Vietnam**, 31/07/2001, U.N. Doc. A/56/38, ¶ 266(2001); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VNM/CO/6 (2007); **Zimbabwe**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ³⁰ See, e.g., **Belize**, ¶ 52, 01/07/99, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ghana**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Ireland**, ¶ 180, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999).
- ³¹ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 59, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **China**, ¶¶ 325–26, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Cuba**, ¶ 224, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Cuba**, ¶ 271, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 220, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Guinea**, ¶¶ 136–37, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Guyana**, ¶ 181, U.N. Doc. A/56/38, Part II (2001); **Indonesia**, ¶¶ 300, 310, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ³² See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 227, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Greece**, ¶¶ 207–08, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ireland**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Mauritius**, ¶ 211, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Mexico**, ¶ 394, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Nigeria**, ¶ 171, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Paraguay**, ¶ 123, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 341, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Zimbabwe**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ³³ See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶ 438, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Hungary**, ¶ 329, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Mexico**, ¶ 394, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 341, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **South Africa**, ¶ 134, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998).
- ³⁴ See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶ 438, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 Part II, (1997); **Benin**, ¶ 157, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Brazil**, ¶ 127, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Colombia**, ¶ 612, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 227, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Equatorial Guinea**, 18/08/2004 U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Estonia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EST/CO/4 (2007); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/2 (2007); **Kenya**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KEN/CO/6 (2007); **Laos People's Democratic Republic**, ¶ 96, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Lithuania**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Malawi**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 394, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Morocco**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/4 (2008); **Mongolia**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 123, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 341, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **South Africa**, ¶ 134, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Suriname**, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Togo**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Ukraine**, ¶ 287, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996).

- ³⁵ See, e.g., **Australia**, ¶ 397, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **New Zealand**, ¶ 279, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 341, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998).
- ³⁶ See, e.g., **Israel**, ¶ 162, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997).
- ³⁷ **Israel**, ¶¶ 257-58, U.N. Doc. A/60/38, (2005).
- ³⁸ See, e.g., **Austria**, ¶ 237, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Greece**, ¶ 206, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Iceland**, ¶ 85, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **India**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **India**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007); **Iraq**, ¶ 202, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Korea**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KOR/CO/6 (2007); **Lithuania**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Luxembourg**, ¶ 209, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Peru**, ¶ 338, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 110, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Slovakia**, ¶ 96, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Venezuela**, ¶ 243, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).
- ³⁹ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 156 U.N. Doc. A/50/3, (1995); **Cyprus**, ¶ 64, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 102, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Iceland**, ¶ 88, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Lithuania**, ¶ 161, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Luxembourg**, ¶¶ 203, 209, 222, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Maldives**, ¶ 143, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nepal**, ¶ 213, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Turkey**, ¶ 205, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).
- ⁴⁰ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Belarus**, ¶ 374, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Colombia**, ¶ 396, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Finland**, 31/05/95, U.N. Doc. A/50/38, ¶ 390; **Hungary**, 09/05/96, U.N. Doc. A/51/38, ¶¶ 254, 260; **Iceland**, ¶ 84, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Israel**, ¶ 181, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Jamaica**, ¶ 224, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 106, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Luxembourg**, ¶ 221, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Mongolia**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 110, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2000); **Serbia**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SCG/CO/1 (2007); **Slovakia**, ¶ 92, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Ukraine**, ¶ 287, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 267, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001).
- ⁴¹ See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶ 438, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Brazil**, ¶ 127, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007); **Hungary**, ¶ 330, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **India**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007); **Jamaica**, ¶ 224, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Jamaica**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JAM/CO/5 (2006); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 106, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/2 (2007); **Morocco**, ¶ 68, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Namibia**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NAM/CO/3 (2007); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 301, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Pakistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAK/CO/3 (2007); **Peru**, ¶ 340, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/6 (2007); **Philippines**, ¶ 301, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Philippines**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Poland**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/6 (2007); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 110, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2000); **Romania**, ¶ 315, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/3 (2007); **The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/3 (2006); **Togo**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Ukraine**, ¶ 290, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 186,, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 266, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VNM/CO/6 (2007); **Zimbabwe**, ¶¶ 160–61, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ⁴² See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Belarus**, ¶ 374, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Bhutan**, ¶ 120, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Burundi**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BDI/CO/4 (2008); **Cameroon**, ¶ 60, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 229, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 612, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Cuba**, ¶ 224, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Georgia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Greece**, ¶ 208, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Guinea**, ¶ 129, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Ireland**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ireland**, ¶ 397, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 106, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/2 (2007); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 137, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Mongolia**, 02/02/2001, U.N. Doc. A/56/38,

(2001); **Morocco**, ¶ 173, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Morocco**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/4 (2008); **Myanmar**, ¶ 130, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Nepal**, 01/07/99 U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 303, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nigeria**, ¶ 171, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Paraguay**, ¶ 123, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 342, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Peru**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/6 (2007); **Philippines**, 12/08/97 U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Poland**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/6 (2007); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 110, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2000); **Romania**, ¶ 315, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Serbia**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SCG/CO/1 (2007); **Slovakia**, ¶ 92, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Slovenia**, ¶ 119, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **South Africa**, ¶ 134, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Vietnam**, ¶ 267, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001).

⁴³ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Belarus**, ¶ 356, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/6 (2006); **Brazil**, ¶ 127, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 350, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Cuba**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CUB/CO/6 (2006); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 309, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Ecuador**, ¶ 318, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Estonia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 258, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Gambia**, ¶ 206, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Ghana**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Greece**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRC/CO/6 (2007); **Guatemala**, ¶ 195, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Hungary**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **India**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/2 (2007); **Laos People's Democratic Republic**, ¶ 97, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Latvia**, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc., A/59/38 (2004); **Lebanon**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Malawi**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 446, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Namibia**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NAM/CO/3 (2007); **Nepal**, ¶ 213, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004); **Paraguay**, ¶ 288, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Peru**, ¶ 483, U.N. Doc.

A/57/38 (2002); **Philippines**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Poland**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/6 (2007); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 400, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Thailand**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/THA/CO/5 (2006); **Togo**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Ukraine**, ¶ 290, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Uruguay**, ¶ 203, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2003); **Vietnam**, ¶ 266, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VNM/CO/6 (2007); **Yemen**, ¶ 397, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).

⁴⁴ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 229, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Croatia**, ¶ 117, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **India**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007); **Italy**, ¶ 360, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Jordan**, ¶ 181, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Mexico**, ¶ 426, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Morocco**, ¶ 68, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Nepal**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Peru**, ¶ 340, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).

⁴⁵ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 267, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Colombia**, ¶ 396, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 69, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Cuba**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CUB/CO/6 (2006); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 205, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Ecuador**, ¶ 318, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Finland**, ¶ 390, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Greece**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRC/CO/6 (2007); **Jamaica**, ¶ 224, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 303, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Slovakia**, ¶ 92, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Slovenia**, ¶ 119, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TJK/CO/3 (2007); **Uganda**, ¶ 338, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Zimbabwe**, ¶¶ 160–61, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).

⁴⁶ See, e.g., **Burundi**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BDI/CO/4 (2008); **Malawi**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO (2006); **Morocco**, ¶ 78; 0, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).

⁴⁷ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BOL/CO/4 (2008); **Honduras**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HON/CO/6 (2008); **Pakistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAK/CO/3 (2007); **Peru**, 08/07/98, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1, ¶ 34.

BRIEFING PAPER: MATERNAL MORTALITY

- ⁴⁸ See, e.g., **Georgia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Luxembourg**, ¶ 221, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997).
- ⁴⁹ See, e.g., **Burkina Faso**, ¶¶ 349-50, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶¶ 63-64, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Estonia**, ¶¶ 24-25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/EST/CO/4 (2007); **Guyana**, ¶ 303-04, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Italy**, ¶¶ 330-31, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Turkmenistan**, ¶¶ 36-37, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TKM/CO/2 (2006).
- ⁵⁰ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 321, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵¹ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 323, ¶ 6, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵² Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 327, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵³ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 327, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵⁴ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 328, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵⁵ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 328, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵⁶ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 330, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵⁷ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 4: Adolescent Health and Development in the Context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child* (33rd Sess., 2003), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 330, ¶ 35(b)-(c), U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ⁵⁸ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 7: Implementing Child Rights in Early Childhood*, 40th Sess., U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GC/7/Rev.1 (2006).
- ⁵⁹ Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment 7: Implementing Child Rights in Early Childhood*, 40th Sess., at 4, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GC/7/Rev.1 (2006).
- ⁶⁰ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 46,, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 49(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AZE/CO/2 (2006); **Benin**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **Botswana**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); **Cambodia**, 128, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add (2000); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc.

- CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Colombia**, ¶ 68(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.239 (2004); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Equatorial Guinea**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.245 (2004); **Eritrea**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ERI/CO/3 (unedited version) (2008); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ETH/CO/3 (2006); **Fiji**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.89 (1998); **Gambia**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.165 (2001); **Guatemala**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Guinea Bissau**, ¶ 34(b), **U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.177 (2002)**; **Haiti**, ¶ 44, **U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.202 (2003)**; **India**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.228 (2004); **Indonesia**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.223 (2004); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.213 (2003); **Malawi**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.174 (2002); **Maldives**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.91 (1998); **Mauritania**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.159 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MEX/CO/3 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.264 (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.211 (2003); **Nepal**, ¶ 60(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.261 (2005); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 48(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Pakistan**, ¶ 52(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.217 (2003); **Panama**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.233 (2004); **Peru**, ¶ 46(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/PER/CO/3 (2006); **Philippines**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Sao Tome and Principe**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.235 (2004); **Senegal**, ¶ 44,, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COG/CO/1 (2006); **Sierra Leone**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/SLE/CO/2 (unedited version) (2008); **Slovenia**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.230 (2004); **Suriname**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.130 (2000); **The Sudan**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.190 (2002); **Togo**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 255 (2005); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 51(f), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006); **Turkmenistan**, ¶ 51(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TKM/CO/1 (2006); **Uganda**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.270 (2005); **Ukraine**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.191 (2002); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001); **Venezuela**, ¶¶ 60-61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VEN/CO/2 (unedited version) (2007); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.200 (2003); **Yemen**, ¶ 55(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 267 (2005).
- ⁶² See, e.g., **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.137 (2000); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Honduras**, ¶ 60, **U.N. Doc. CRC/C/HND/CO/3 (2007)**; **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.213 (2003); **Kenya**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007); **Mexico**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.112 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.36 (1995); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.120 (2000); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999).
- ⁶³ See, e.g., **Mali**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MLI/CO/2 (2007); **Mauritania**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.159 (2001); **Turkey**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001).
- ⁶⁴ See, e.g., **Eritrea**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.204 (2003).
- ⁶⁵ See, e.g., **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.137 (2000); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.239 (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Haiti**, ¶ 46, **U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.202 (2003)**; **Honduras**, ¶ 60, **U.N. Doc. CRC/C/HND/CO/3 (2007)**; **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 58,, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.213 (2003); **Mozambique**, ¶ 46(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35,, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.36 (1995); **Paraguay**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001); **Ukraine**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.191 (2002).
- ⁶⁶ See, e.g., **India**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.228 (2004); **Mozambique**, ¶ 46(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002); **Niger**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.197 (2002); **Nigeria**, ¶ 49(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Pakistan**, ¶ 52(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.217 (2003); **Philippines**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005).
- ⁶⁷ See, e.g., **Mali**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MLI/CO/2 (2007).
- ⁶⁸ See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.74 (1997); **Burundi**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.133 (2000); **Cambodia**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/

C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.137 (2000); **Ecuador**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.93 (1998); **Guatemala**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.58 (1996); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **India**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.115 (2000); **Lao People's Democratic Republic**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.78 (1997); **Maldives**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.91 (1998); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108, (1999); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.120 (2000); **South Africa**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.122 (2000); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.200 (2003); **Yemen**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.102 (1999).

⁶⁹ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002).

⁷⁰ See, e.g., **Cambodia**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.137 (2000); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Maldives**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.91 (1998); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.120 (2000); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999).

⁷¹ See, e.g., **Kenya**, ¶ 45,, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.160 (2001); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 48, U.N.Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001).

⁷² See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 39,U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002).

⁷³ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (requesting the implementation of the Reproductive Health and Responsible Procreation Act of July 2000)(2002); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 50(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/AZE/CO/2 (2006); **Belarus**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Benin**, ¶ 52(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **Botswana**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); **Cameroon**, ¶ 43(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.164 (2001); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.239 (2004); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 62 (b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/DOM/CO/2 (unedited version) (2007); **Equatorial Guinea**, ¶ 47(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.245 (2004); **Ethiopia**,

¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ETH/CO/3 (2006); **Guinea Bissau**, ¶ 35(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.177 (2002); **Haiti**, ¶ 45(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.202 (2003); **Kenya**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.160 (2001); **Madagascar**, ¶ 48(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.219 (2003); **Mongolia**, ¶ 44(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.264 (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.211 (2003); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 49(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.265 (2005); **Niger**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.197 (2002); **Nigeria**, ¶ 49(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Philippines**, ¶ 59(d), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Senegal**, ¶ 45(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COG/CO/1 (2006); **Slovenia**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.230 (2004); **Thailand**, ¶ 52(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/THA/CO/2 (2006); **The Sudan**, ¶ 44(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.190 (2002); **Togo**, ¶ 51(a)(i), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 255 (2005); **Turkmenistan**, ¶ 52(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TKM/CO/1 (2006); **Uganda**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.270 (2005); **Yemen**, ¶ 56(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.267 (2005); **Zambia**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.206 (2003).

⁷⁴ See **Argentina**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Belarus**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Guatemala**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.213 (2003); **Malaysia**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MYS/CO/1 (2007); **Niger**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.197 (2002); **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.207 (2003); **Thailand**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/THA/CO/2 (2006); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 50(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001).

⁷⁵ **Seychelles**, ¶¶ 4, 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.189 (2002).

⁷⁶ **Guatemala**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001).

⁷⁷ See, e.g., **Burundi**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.133 (2000); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Djibouti**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.131 (2000); **Georgia**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.124 (2000); **Lesotho**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.147 (2001); **Sao Tome and Principe**, ¶ 45(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.235 (2004); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 40(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.200 (2003).

⁷⁸ See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.77 (1997); **Burundi**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.133 (2000); **Comoros**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.141

- (2000); **Côte d'Ivoire**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.155 (2001); **Dominican Republic**, ¶¶ 37–38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Lesotho**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.147 (2001).
- ⁷⁹ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 47(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Botswana**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Chile**, ¶ 40(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 239 (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Mongolia**, ¶ 44(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.264 (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 45(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.211 (2003); **Mozambique**, ¶ 51(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002); **Panama**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.233 (2004); **Paraguay**, ¶ 38(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001); **Philippines**, ¶ 59(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Seychelles**, ¶ 47(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.189 (2002); **Togo**, ¶ 51(a)(ii), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 255 (2005); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006); **Yemen**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.102 (1999); **Yemen**, ¶ 56(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add. 267 (2005).
- ⁸⁰ See, e.g., **Botswana**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.58 (1996); **Philippines**, ¶ 59(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Syrian Arab Republic**, ¶ 40(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.212 (2003); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Yemen**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.102 (1999).
- ⁸¹ See, e.g., **Gambia**, ¶ 43(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.165 (2001); **Philippines**, ¶ 59(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001).
- ⁸² See, e.g., **Panama**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.233 (2004); **Niger**, ¶ 47(e), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.197 (2002).
- ⁸³ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 40(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002); **Guatemala**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 38(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001); **Zambia**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.206 (2003).
- ⁸⁴ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 47(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Chile**, ¶ 40(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002); **Guatemala**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 38(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001).
- ⁸⁵ See, e.g., **Nigeria**, ¶ 49(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.82 (1997).
- ⁸⁶ See, e.g., **Eritrea**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.204 (2003).
- ⁸⁷ See, e.g., **Burundi**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.133 (2000); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Comoros**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.141 (2000); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.153 (2001); **Djibouti**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.131 (2000); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.58 (1996); **Guatemala**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999).
- ⁸⁸ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.106 (1999); **Cambodia**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.153 (2001); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Honduras**, ¶¶ 60 (a)-(b), 61(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/HND/CO/3 (2007); **Mexico**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.112 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.36 (1995); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999).
- ⁸⁹ See, e.g., **Cambodia**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶¶ 41, 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Lao People's Democratic Republic**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.78 (1997); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.82 (1997); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999).

- ⁹⁰ See, e.g., **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000).
- ⁹¹ See, e.g., **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 39(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.207 (2003).
- ⁹² See, e.g., **Cote d'Ivoire**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.155 (2001).
- ⁹³ See **Kenya**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007); **Uruguay**, ¶ 51, CRC/C/URY/CO/2 (2007).
- ⁹⁴ See **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999).
- ⁹⁵ See, e.g., **Mozambique**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002).
- ⁹⁶ See, e.g., **Colombia**, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006).
- ⁹⁷ See, e.g., **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999).
- ⁹⁸ See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.74 (1997); **Central African Republic** ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **India**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.115 (2000); **Lao People's Democratic Republic**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.78 (1997); **Paraguay**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.27 (1997); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 55(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.258 (2005); **Yemen**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.102 (1999).
- ⁹⁹ See, e.g., **Central African Republic**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000).
- ¹⁰⁰ See, e.g., **Algeria**, ¶ 58, CRC/C/15/Add.269 (2005); **Armenia**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.119 (2000); **Bahrain**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.175 (2002); **Botswana**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); **Cambodia**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Cameroon**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.164 (2001); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **Colombia**, ¶ 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006); **Côte d'Ivoire**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.155 (2001); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.153 (2001); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **El Salvador**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.232 (2004); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 60, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.144 (2001); **Fiji**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.89 (1998); **Gabon**, ¶ 42(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.171 (2002); **Guatemala**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Indonesia**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.223 (2004); **Ireland**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRL/CO/2 (2006); **Japan**, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.90 (1998); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.244 (2004); **Latvia**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.142 (2001); **Lesotho**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.147 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.146 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.265 (2005); **Nigeria**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Oman**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.161 (2001); **Palau**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.149 (2001); **Panama**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.233 (2004); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.120 (2000); **Philippines**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Qatar**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.163 (2001); **Samoa**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/WSM/CO/1 (2006); **Sri Lanka**, 02/07/2003, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.207, ¶ 40(2003); **Syrian Arab Republic**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.212 (2003); **Turkey**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Yemen**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.267 (2005).
- ¹⁰¹ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.247 (2004); **Bangladesh**, ¶ 59, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.221 (2003); **Benin**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.193 (2002); **Chile**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.239 (2004); **Greece**, ¶ 60(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.170 (2002); **Haiti**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.202 (2003); **Kenya**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.160 (2001); **Madagascar**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.219 (2003); **Mauritania**, ¶ 41, CRC/C/15/Add.159 (2001); **Morocco**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.211 (2003); **Nepal**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.261 (2005); **Niger**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.197 (2002); **Paraguay**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 42(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.194 (2002); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.258 (2005); **Swaziland**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/SWZ/CO/1 (2006); **The Kingdom of the Netherlands (Netherlands Antilles)**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.186 (2002); **Trinidad and**

- Tobago**, ¶ 53(d), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006); **Turkey**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001); **Uganda**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.270, (2005); **Zambia**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.206 (2003).
- ¹⁰² See, e.g., **Bangladesh**, ¶¶ 59, 60(d), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.221 (2003); **Bhutan**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.157 (2001); **Georgia**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.222 (2003); **Ghana**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GHA/CO/2 (2006); **Greece**, ¶ 60(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.170 (2002); **Guatemala**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Qatar**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.163 (2001).
- ¹⁰³ See, e.g., **Jordan**, ¶ 64, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/3 (2006); **Nepal**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.261 (2005); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 53(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006).
- ¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001).
- ¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., **Eritrea**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/ERI/CO/3 (unedited version) (2008); **Mali**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MLI/CO/2 (2007); **Tunisia**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.181 (2002).
- ¹⁰⁶ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶¶ 40(b), 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002).
- ¹⁰⁷ See, e.g., **Andorra**, ¶ 42(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.176 (2002); **Botswana**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.242 (2004); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 41(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.193 (2002); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 42(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002); **El Salvador**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.232 (2004); **France**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.240 (2004); **Gabon**, ¶ 46(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.171 (2002); **Gambia**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.165 (2001); **Ghana**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GHA/CO/2 (2006); **Greece**, ¶ 61(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.170 (2002); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Haiti**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.202 (2003); **Jamaica**, ¶¶ 43(a), (b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.210 (2003); **Jordan**, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/3 (2006); **Kenya**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.160 (2001); **Malawi**, ¶ 46(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.174 (2002); **Mali**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.113 (1999); **Mozambique**, ¶ 47(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999); **Oman**, ¶ 50(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/OMN/CO/2 (2006); **Philippines**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Poland**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.194 (2002); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 36(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.192 (2002); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 58(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.258 (2005); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 41(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.184 (2002); **Sweden**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.248 (2005); **Syrian Arab Republic**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.212 (2003); **The Kingdom of the Netherlands (Netherlands Antilles)**, ¶¶ 45(a), 49(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.186 (2002); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶¶ 54(a), (b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006); **Turkey**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999); **Zambia**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.206 (2003).
- ¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., **Kenya**, ¶ 50 (b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RUS/CO/3 (2005); **Uruguay**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/URY/CO/2 (2007).
- ¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 54(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.247 (2004); **Armenia**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.119 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Comoros**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.141 (2000); **Democratic People's Republic of Korea**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.239 (2004); ; **Kenya**, ¶ 50 (a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Japan**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.231 (2004); **Malawi**, ¶ 46(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.174 (2002); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.108 (1999); **Niger**, ¶ 49(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.197 (2002); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999); **Zambia**, ¶ 49(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.206 (2003).
- ¹¹⁰ See, e.g., **Algeria**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.269 (2005); **Armenia**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.119 (2000); **Benin**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.106 (1999); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **China**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.271 (2005); **Colombia**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/

Add.137 (2000); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.117 (2000); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.153 (2001); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Egypt**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.145 (2001); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.144 (2001); **Fiji**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.89 (1998); **Georgia**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.124 (2000); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶¶ 44–45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Iraq**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.94 (1998); **Jordan**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.125 (2000); **Latvia**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.142 (2001); **Lesotho**, ¶ 46,02/2001, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.147 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.146 (2001); **Malta**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.129 (2000); **Marshall Islands**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.139 (2000); **Mauritania**, ¶ 42(d), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.159 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.112 (1999); **Palau**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.149 (2001); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.120 (2000); **Saint Kitts and Nevis**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.104 (1999); **Saudi Arabia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.148 (2001); **Slovakia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.140 (2000); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.136 (2000); **Thailand**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.97 (1998); **Turkey**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—Overseas Territories**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.135 (2000); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Vanuatu**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.111 (1999).

¹¹¹ See, e.g., **Angola**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.246 (2004); **Argentina**, ¶ 51(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Georgia**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.124 (2000); **Honduras**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.105 (1999); **Iran (Islamic Republic of)**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.123 (2000); **Ireland**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRL/CO/2 (2006); **Jordan**, ¶ 61(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/3 (2006); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Mauritania**, ¶ 42(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.159 (2001); **Romania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.16 (1994); **Saint Kitts and Nevis**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.104 (1999); **Sao Tome and Principe**, ¶ 47(d), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.235 (2004); **Slovakia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.140 (2000); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.136 (2000); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**,

¶ 44(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.188 (2002); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—Overseas Territories**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.135 (2000); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999).

¹¹² See, e.g., **Angola**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.246 (2004); **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶¶ 53–54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.247 (2004); **Argentina**, ¶ 51(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Belarus**, ¶ 44(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Benin**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.106 (1999); **Bhutan**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.157 (2001); **Brazil**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.241 (2004); **Brunei Darussalam**, ¶ 46(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.219 (2003); **Cambodia**, ¶¶ 52–53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 52(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.168 (2001); **Central African Republic**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.138 (2000); **Chile**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **China**, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/2 (2005); **Colombia**, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.117 (2000); **Dominica**, ¶ 41(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.238 (2004); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Egypt**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.145 (2001); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.144 (2001); **Fiji**, ¶¶ 20, 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.89 (1998); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶¶ 44–45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Guinea Bissau**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.177 (2002); **Hungary**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/HUN/CO/2 (2006); **Iraq**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.94 (1998); **Italy**, ¶ 42(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.198 (2003); **Japan**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.90 (1998); **Jordan**, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/JOR/CO/3 (2006); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.244 (2004); **Latvia**, ¶ 45(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LVA/CO/2 (2006); **Lesotho**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.147 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 51(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Madagascar**, ¶ 50(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.219 (2003); **Mexico**, ¶ 51(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MEX/CO/3 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.264 (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 47(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.211 (2003); **Nepal**, ¶¶ 64(a), (c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.261 (2005); **Nigeria**, ¶ 51(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Oman**, ¶ 40(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.161 (2001); **Palau**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.149 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 42(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001); **Portugal**, ¶ 39(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.162 (2001); **Qatar**, ¶ 48, U.N.

Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.163 (2001); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/RUS/CO/3 (2005); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 58(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.258 (2005); **Saudi Arabia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.148 (2001); **Saudi Arabia**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/SAU/CO/2 (2006); **Spain**, ¶ 39(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.185 (2002); **Suriname**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.130 (2000); **Thailand**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.97 (1998); **The Kingdom of the Netherlands (Netherlands and Aruba)**, ¶ 50(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.227 (2004); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 54(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006); **Turkey**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001); **Ukraine**, ¶ 59(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.191 (2002); **United Arab Emirates**, ¶ 37(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.183 (2002); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**, ¶ 44(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.188 (2002); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 52(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.167 (2001); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999); **Yemen**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.267 (2005).

¹¹³ See **Kenya**, ¶ 50 (b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007); **Uruguay**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/URY/CO/2 (2007).

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., **Belize**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.252 (2005); **Benin**, ¶ 56(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **Cambodia**, ¶¶ 52–53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.128 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **China**, ¶ 65, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/2 (2005); **Colombia**, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.117 (2000); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶¶ 54–55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.153 (2001); **Dominican Republic**, ¶¶ 37–38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.150 (2001); **Egypt**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.145 (2001); **Ethiopia**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.144 (2001); **Fiji**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.89 (1998); **Guatemala**, ¶¶ 44–45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001); **Guinea**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.100 (1999); **Honduras**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.105 (1999); **Hungary**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/HUN/CO/2 (2006); **Ireland**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/IRL/CO/2 (2006); **Japan**, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.90 (1998); **Jordan**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.125 (2000); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.244 (2004); **Latvia**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.142 (2001); **Latvia**, ¶ 45(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/

LVA/CO/2 (2006); **Lebanon**, ¶ 58, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LBN/CO/3 (2006); **Lesotho**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.147 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 51(a), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Madagascar**, ¶ 50(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.219 (2003); **Maldives**, ¶¶ 19, 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.91 (1998); **Mauritius**, ¶ 55(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MUS/CO/2 (2006); **Micronesia (Federated States of)**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.86 (1998); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 53,, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.265 (2005); **Nigeria**, ¶ 51(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.257 (2005); **Palau**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.149 (2001); **Peru**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.120 (2000); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 41(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.184 (2002); **Samoa**, ¶ 49(c), CRC/C/WSM/CO/1 (2006); **Sao Tome and Principe**, ¶ 47(d), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.235 (2004); **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.207 (2003); **The Bahamas**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.253 (2005); **Turkey**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**, 09/10/2002, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.188, ¶ 44(c)(2002); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Venezuela**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.109 (1999).

¹¹⁵ See **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 52 (b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2007).

¹¹⁶ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 51(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.187 (2002); **Belarus**, ¶ 44(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Chile**, ¶ 42(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/S/15/Add.173 (2002); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.201 (2003); **Mauritania**, ¶ 42(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.159 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 42(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.166 (2001); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 36(c), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.192 (2002); **Turkey**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.152 (2001).

¹¹⁷ Human Rights Committee, *General Comment 6: Art. 6* (16th Sess., 1982), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 128, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).

¹¹⁸ Human Rights Committee, *General Comment 6: Art. 6* (16th Sess., 1982), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 129, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).

- ¹¹⁹ Human Rights Committee, *General Comment 6: Art. 6* (16th Sess., 1982), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 129, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹²⁰ Human Rights Committee, *General Comment 28: Equality of Rights Between Men and Women (Art. 3)* (68th Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 178, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹²¹ Human Rights Committee, *General Comment 28: Equality of Rights Between Men and Women (Art. 3)* (68th Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 178, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹²² See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.74 (1997); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Hungary**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/74/HUN (2002); **Libyan Arab Jamahiriya**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.101 (1998); **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000); **Paraguay**, ¶ 123, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add 82 (1997); **Sudan**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.10 (1993); **Zambia**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ZMB/CO/3 (2007).
- ¹²³ See, e.g., **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003).
- ¹²⁴ See, e.g., **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/COD/CO/3 (2006); **Equatorial Guinea**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/79/GNQ (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Hungary**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/74/HUN (2002); **Kenya**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/KEN (2005); **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000).
- ¹²⁵ See, e.g., **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add 82 (1997).
- ¹²⁶ See, e.g., **Sudan**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.10 (1993).
- ¹²⁷ See, e.g., **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add 82 (1997); **Sudan**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.10 (1993).
- ¹²⁸ **Senegal**, 19/11/97, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add 82, ¶ 12.
- ¹²⁹ See, e.g., **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/69/KGZ (2000).
- ¹³⁰ See, e.g., **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/COD/CO/3 (2006).
- ¹³¹ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.74 (1997); **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.76 (1997); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.107 (1999); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000); **Paraguay**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Paraguay**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PRY/CO/2 (2006); **Peru**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.72 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add 82 (1997); **Sudan**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.10 (1993); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998); **Zambia**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.62 (1996).
- ¹³² See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. **CCPR/C/CHL/CO/5 (2007)**; **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.107 (1999); **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92, (1998); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Madagascar**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MDG/CO/3 (2007); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/TTO (2000); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998).
- ¹³³ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.74 (1997); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/MDA (2002).
- ¹³⁴ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. **CCPR/C/CHL/CO/5 (2007)**; **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.107 (1999); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM

- (2001); **Kuwait**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/69/KWT (2000); **Madagascar**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MDG/CO/3 (2007); **Panama**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PAN/CO/3 (2008); **Paraguay**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PRY/CO/2 (2006); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/TTO (2000); **Zambia**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ZMB/CO/3 (2007).
- ¹³⁵ **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003).
- ¹³⁶ See, e.g., **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998); **Georgia**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.75 (1997); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/TTO (2000).
- ¹³⁷ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Kuwait**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/69/KWT (2000); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/TTO (2000).
- ¹³⁸ See, e.g., **Colombia**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.76 (1997).
- ¹³⁹ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/73/AZE (2001); **Bolivia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.74 (1997); **Colombia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.76 (1997); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.107 (1999); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/LTU (2004); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Sudan**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.85 (1997); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998); **Viet Nam**, 26/07/2002, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/VNM, ¶ 15(2002); **Zambia**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.62 (1996).
- ¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Bolivia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.74 (1997); **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/79/Add.104 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.76 (1997); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Kenya**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/KEN (2005); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.82 (1997); **Sudan**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.85 (1997); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998); **Zambia**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.62 (1996).
- ¹⁴¹ See, e.g., **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999).
- ¹⁴² See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/73/AZE (2001); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Mongolia**, ¶ 8(b), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.120 (2000); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/VNM (2002).
- ¹⁴³ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Colombia**, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/COL (2004); **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998); **Gambia**, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/GMB (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Honduras**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/HND/CO/1 (2006); **Kenya**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/KEN (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/MAR (2004); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.82 (1997); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/TTO (2000); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998).
- ¹⁴⁴ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/VNM (2002).
- ¹⁴⁵ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Colombia**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.76 (1997); **Georgia**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.75 (1997).
- ¹⁴⁶ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000).

BRIEFING PAPER: MATERNAL MORTALITY

- ¹⁴⁷ See, e.g., **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999).
- ¹⁴⁸ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001).
- ¹⁴⁹ See, e.g., **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998).
- ¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000).
- ¹⁵¹ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000).
- ¹⁵² See, e.g., **Ireland**, ¶¶ 27–28, U.N. Doc. A/55/40 (2000).
- ¹⁵³ See, e.g., **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998); **Ireland**, ¶¶ 27–28, U.N. Doc. A/55/40 (2000).
- ¹⁵⁴ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 86, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁵⁵ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 90, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁵⁶ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 92, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁵⁷ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 91, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁵⁸ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 92, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁵⁹ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 92, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁶⁰ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 92, ¶ 20(a),(e), U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁶¹ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 14: The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health (Art. 12)* (22nd Sess., 2000), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 92, ¶ 44(a), U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁶² See, e.g., **Algeria**, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.71 (2001); **Argentina**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.38 (1999); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.104 (2004); **Benin**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); **Benin**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Brazil**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.87 (2003); **Cameroon**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **China**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.6 (1996); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.16 (1997); **Gambia**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/9 (1994); **Guatemala**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.93 (2003); **Korea**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.95 (2003); **Mali**, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/17 (1994); **Mexico**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.41 (1999); **Mexico**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.47 (2000); **Morocco**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.55 (2000); **Morocco**, ¶ 13(f), U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MAR/CO/3 (2006); **Nepal**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc.

- E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Panama**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/PRY/CO/3 (2008); **Peru**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.1/14 (1997); **Poland**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.82 (2002); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.91 (2003); **Russia**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003); **Senegal**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001); **Solomon Islands**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.33 (1999).
- ¹⁶³ See **India**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); **Nepal**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/2 (2008).
- ¹⁶⁴ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Cameroon**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Gambia**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/9 (1994); **India**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); **Mali**, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/17 (1994); **Nepal**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/2 (2008); **Peru**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.1/14 (1997).
- ¹⁶⁵ See, e.g., **Cameroon**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Japan**, ¶ 55, E/C.12/1/Add.67 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); **Panama**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.1 (1996).
- ¹⁶⁶ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Japan**, ¶ 55, E/C.12/1/Add.67 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.41 (1999); **Morocco**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.55 (2000); **Nepal**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Panama**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Senegal**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001).
- ¹⁶⁷ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.38 (1999); **Cameroon**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Columbia**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.74 (2001).
- ¹⁶⁸ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.105 (2004); **Columbia**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.74 (2001); **Costa Rica**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CR/CO/4 (2008); **Poland**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.82 (2002); **Paraguay**, ¶ 32, E/C.12/PRY/CO/3 (2008); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.80 (2002).
- ¹⁶⁹ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Cameroon**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Guatemala**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.93 (2003); **Japan**, ¶ 55, E/C.12/1/Add.67 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.41 (1999); **Nepal**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Panama**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.1 (1996); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.91 (2003); **Russia**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003); **Senegal**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001).
- ¹⁷⁰ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Cameroon**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.105 (2004); **China**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); **Mauritius**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/8 (1994); **Mexico**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.41 (1999); **Nepal**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 32, E/C.12/PRY/CO/3 (2008); **Poland**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.82 (2002); **Russia**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.80 (2002).
- ¹⁷¹ See, e.g., **Nepal**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 32, E/C.12/PRY/CO/3 (2008).
- ¹⁷² See, e.g., **Algeria**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.71 (2001); **Benin**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/BEN/CO/2 (2008); **Columbia**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.74 (2001); **Japan**, ¶ 55, E/C.12/1/Add.67 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); **Nepal**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Paraguay**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.1 (1996).
- ¹⁷³ See, e.g., **Peru**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.1/14 (1997).
- ¹⁷⁴ See, e.g., **Nepal**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/2 (2008); **Paraguay**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.1 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.1/14 (1997).
- ¹⁷⁵ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.39 (1999); **Benin**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Brazil**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.87 (2003); **Georgia**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.42 (2000); **Mali**, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/17 (1994);

- Mexico**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.47 (2000); **Nepal**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/2 (2008); **Panama**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998); **Senegal**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001).
- ¹⁷⁶ See, e.g., **Cameroon**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Gambia**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/9 (1994); **Honduras**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.57 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998).
- ¹⁷⁷ See, e.g., **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.6 (1996); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.16 (1997).
- ¹⁷⁸ See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.38 (1999); **Armenia**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.39 (1999); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.20 (1997); **Benin**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Brazil**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.87 (2003); **Cameroon**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Honduras**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.57 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); **Nepal**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Panama**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998); **Russia**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003); **Ukraine**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ¹⁷⁹ See, e.g., **Nepal**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001).
- ¹⁸⁰ See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.104 (2004); **Korea**, ¶ 12/2003, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.95, ¶ 44; **Nepal**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NPL/CO/2 (2008); **Russia**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003).
- ¹⁸¹ See, e.g., **Guatemala**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.93 (2003).
- ¹⁸² See, e.g., **Algeria**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.71 (2001); **Armenia**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.39 (1999); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998).
- ¹⁸³ See, e.g., **Georgia**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.42 (2000); **Guatemala**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.93 (2003); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.91 (2003).
- ¹⁸⁴ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.39 (1999); **Benin**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Brazil**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.87 (2003); **Cameroon**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.105 (2004); **Honduras**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.57 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.96 (2004); **Mexico**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.4 (1999); **Panama**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.91 (2003); **Russia**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003); **Senegal**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001); **Ukraine**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ¹⁸⁵ See, e.g., **India**, ¶ 77, E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008); **Paraguay**, ¶ 32, E/C.12/PRY/CO/3 (2008).
- ¹⁸⁶ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Recommendation XXV: Gender Related Dimensions of Racial Discrimination* (56th Sess., 2000) in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 217, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁸⁷ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Recommendation XXV: Gender Related Dimensions of Racial Discrimination* (56th Sess., 2000) in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 217, ¶ 1, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁸⁸ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, *General Recommendation XXV: Gender Related Dimensions of Racial Discrimination* (56th Sess., 2000) in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 217, ¶ 3, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.7 (2004).
- ¹⁸⁹ See, e.g., **India**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/IND/CO/19 (2007); **Slovakia**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/304/Add.110 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/59/Misc.21/Rev.3 (2001).

BRIEFING PAPER: MATERNAL MORTALITY

¹⁹⁰ See, e.g., **India**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/IND/CO/19 (2007); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/NIC/CO/14 (2008); **United States**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6 (2008).

¹⁹¹ See, e.g., **Nicaragua**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/NIC/CO/14 (2008).

¹⁹² **India**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/IND/CO/19 (2007).

¹⁹³ **United States**, ¶ 33 (i)-(iii), U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6 (2008).

¹⁹⁴ **Israel**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/ISR/CO/13 (2007).

¹⁹⁵ See, e.g., **China**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/59/Misc.16/Rev.3 (2001).