

Abortion and Human Rights

Government Duties to Ease Restrictions and Ensure Access to Safe Services

Women's right to comprehensive reproductive health services, including abortion, is rooted in international human rights standards guaranteeing the rights to life, health, privacy, and non-discrimination. These rights are violated when governments make abortion services inaccessible to the women who need them. Under international law, governments can be held accountable for highly restrictive abortion laws and for failure to ensure access to abortion when it is legal. Governments also bear responsibility for high rates of death and injury among women forced to resort to unsafe abortion.

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 abortion. 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.

The committees have been clear that governments are bound to protect women's lives, health, and dignity by improving access to safe and legal abortion services.

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.¹ 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.² 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.³

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.⁴ Some committees also have a mandate to examine individual complaints of human rights violations, in which cases they issue written decisions.⁵

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 challenges in national, regional, and international human rights institutions. They can also be used to hold governments politically accountable in campaigns aimed at making abortion safe, legal and accessible.

What follows is a discussion of the statements relating to abortion 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.⁶

1.

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

General Recommendations

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF CEDAW

Article 12 *protects women's right to health and requires states parties to eliminate discrimination against women in the area of health care, including reproductive health care such as family planning services.*

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

General Recommendation 24: Women and Health⁷

In its General Recommendation 24, the CEDAW Committee states that it is the duty of states parties to “respect, protect and fulfill women’s rights to health care.”⁸ The Committee recognizes the importance of women’s right to health during pregnancy and childbirth as it is closely linked to their right to life.⁹ To make health services more readily available, and thereby prevent maternal mortality, the Committee explicitly requires that impediments to women’s access to lifesaving health services (such as high fees, spousal authorization, or punitive provisions imposed on women who undergo abortions) be removed.¹⁰ The recommendation explicitly states: “It is discriminatory for a State party to refuse to provide legally for the performance of certain reproductive health services for women.”¹¹

Concluding Observations

Unsafe Abortions and Maternal Mortality

The CEDAW Committee has given considerable attention to the issue of maternal mortality due to unsafe abortion in numerous sets of concluding observations.¹² The Committee has explicitly framed the issue as a violation of women’s right to life.¹³

The Committee has expressed concern regarding high rates of maternal mortality due to high numbers of abortions among adolescents,¹⁴ and unsafe,¹⁵ clandestine,¹⁶ and illegal abortions.¹⁷ It has noted that women's need to resort to unsafe abortion is linked to their lack of access to family planning services.¹⁸ The Committee has recommended that states parties increase access to family planning¹⁹ as well as to sexual and reproductive health information²⁰ to reduce the number of unsafe,²¹ clandestine,²² and illegal²³ abortions—and the maternal deaths that result.²⁴

The Committee has raised general concerns about the lack of accessibility of safe abortion,²⁵ particularly in cases of rape.²⁶ The Committee has also expressed concern regarding punitive provisions and reporting requirements that prevent women from seeking medical treatment in cases of unsafe abortion, and it has urged states parties to ensure access to post-abortion care to reduce maternal mortality.²⁷ To this end, the Committee has emphasized that access to sexual and reproductive health services is essential to reducing maternal mortality and protecting women from resorting to unsafe abortion,²⁸ and it has called upon states parties to study behavioral patterns of women to determine why they do not use available health services.²⁹ The Committee has called upon at least one state party to research the scope and impact of illegal abortion on women's health and lives.³⁰ The Committee has also recommended that states parties provide comprehensive, youth-friendly,³¹ and gender-sensitive³² reproductive health services. In one instance, it recommended that the state party provide social security coverage for abortions.³³

The Committee has called upon states parties to provide detailed information in their next periodic reports regarding incidence of abortion,³⁴ including rates and causes of maternal mortality, contraception use, access to family planning services,³⁵ and the percentage of births that take place with obstetric care.³⁶ The Committee also recommended that at least one state party conduct a survey regarding high rates of maternal mortality due to abortions, and adopt legislative and policy measures to reduce and eliminate abortion-related deaths.³⁷

Restrictive Abortion Laws

The CEDAW Committee has consistently criticized restrictive abortion laws,³⁸ particularly those that prohibit and criminalize abortion in all circumstances,³⁹ and confirmed that such legislation leads women to obtain illegal⁴⁰ and unsafe abortions.⁴¹ The Committee has often framed restrictive abortion laws as a violation of the rights to life and health.⁴² As such, it has asked states parties to review legislation that makes abortion illegal,⁴³ and recommended that states parties remove punitive provisions for women who undergo abortion⁴⁴ in line with the Committee's General Recommendation 24 (Women and Health) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.⁴⁵ The Committee also has asked states parties to ensure that new legislation conforms with CEDAW.⁴⁶ More specifically, the Committee has encouraged at least one state party to "reintroduce legislation to permit termination of pregnancy in cases of rape, incest and congenital abnormality of the foetus."⁴⁷

The Committee has praised states parties for amending restrictive abortion legislation,⁴⁸ such as by providing free legal aid in cases of abortion⁴⁹ and removing a requirement that a woman be a citizen to obtain an abortion.⁵⁰ The Committee praised one state party for facilitating a national dialogue on the issue of abortion, but also expressed its concern regarding the consequences of restrictive abortion laws in that country.⁵¹ On another note, the Committee has expressed concern regarding situations where women do not have access to safe abortion despite legalization of the procedure. It has recommended that states parties provide safe abortion services or ensure access where they are permitted by law,⁵² and review restrictive interpretations of abortion legislation.⁵³ Moreover, the Committee has examined the impact of abortion prohibitions on vulnerable groups, such as asylum seekers who cannot leave their country of residence in order to have an abortion abroad.⁵⁴

Sex-Selective Abortion

The CEDAW Committee has expressed concern regarding sex-selective abortion,⁵⁵ and it has called upon states parties to implement a comprehensive strategy to overcome traditional stereotypes regarding men's and women's roles in society, which underlie the practice.⁵⁶ Along similar lines, the Committee has recommended that a state party monitor implementation of national legislation prohibiting sex-selective abortion, which includes safeguards to prevent criminalization of women who are pressured to obtain the procedure.⁵⁷

Abortion as Primary Method of Family Planning

The CEDAW Committee has raised general concerns over the high rates of abortion,⁵⁸ particularly among adolescents,⁵⁹ and has praised efforts by states parties to reduce incidence of abortion.⁶⁰ The Committee has frequently expressed concern over the widespread reliance on abortion as a means of birth control⁶¹ and has called upon states parties to increase access to family planning services⁶² and ensure that abortion is not perceived as a method of family planning.⁶³ The Committee has expressed particular concern when national abortion rates are very high despite the wide availability of contraceptives.⁶⁴ The Committee has also expressed concern regarding forced abortions by family planning officials and called upon at least one state party to investigate and prosecute such practices.⁶⁵ The Committee has not acknowledged that access to safe, legal abortion is always needed as a backup method of family planning when methods of contraception fail.

Conscientious Objection

The CEDAW Committee has expressed concern over the lack of access to abortion services due to laws permitting conscientious objection by hospital personnel.⁶⁶ The Committee has made it clear that, in these circumstances, it considers a government's failure to ensure access to another provider willing to perform the procedure an infringement of women's reproductive rights.⁶⁷ The Committee has recommended that states parties ensure access to abortion in public health services.⁶⁸ Finally, the Committee has criticized laws requiring hospital personnel to report women who undergo abortion⁶⁹ and, in one instance, praised a state party for not allowing hospital personnel to obstruct access to abortion.⁷⁰

2.

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 survival.

Article 13 establishes children's right to impart and receive information of all kinds.

Article 24 guarantees children's right to the highest attainable standard of health and places responsibility on states parties to ensure proper health care for mothers, children, and families.

Article 37 ensures children's right to liberty and security of person.

Third-Party Authorization for Abortion

The CEDAW Committee has expressed concern over laws that require spousal authorization for a woman to obtain an abortion, even when her life is in danger.⁷¹ In one case, it recommended that a state party review its spousal authorization requirement.⁷²

Committee on the Rights of the Child

General Comments

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has not issued any general comments relating to abortion.

Concluding Observations

Unsafe Abortions and Maternal Mortality

On several occasions, the Committee on the Rights of the Child has made the link between maternal mortality and high rates of illegal,⁷³ clandestine,⁷⁴ and unsafe abortions.⁷⁵ The Committee has called upon at least one state party to undertake a study on the negative impact of early pregnancy and illegal abortion.⁷⁶ On a related note, the Committee has called upon a state party to ensure that abortions "could be conducted with all due attention to minimum standards of health safety,"⁷⁷ and recommended that states parties provide greater access to youth-sensitive and confidential counseling and reproductive health education.⁷⁸

Restrictive Abortion Laws

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has expressed concern over punitive abortion legislation,⁷⁹ including its impact on maternal mortality rates,⁸⁰ and has suggested that one state party that permits abortion on therapeutic grounds review its practices in order to prevent illegal abortion.⁸¹ It has also called upon states to consider reviewing restrictive legislation to permit abortion in cases of rape, incest, and in situations where the life of the pregnant woman is at risk.⁸²

The Committee has praised one state party for decriminalizing abortion under some circumstances and commented on the likelihood that this will reduce the rate of maternal mortality among adolescents.⁸³

Sex-Selective Abortion

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has commended a government's legal prohibition of sex-selective abortion, but it has expressed concern that sex-selective abortions continue to occur and recommends stronger implementation of laws prohibiting it.⁸⁴

Abortion as Primary Method of Family Planning

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has expressed general concern over high rates of abortion,⁸⁵ and specifically, that abortion is commonly used as a method of birth control.⁸⁶ The Committee has asked states parties to reduce the prevalence of abortion⁸⁷ and, on a related note, expressed concern over lack of available data on prevalence rates.⁸⁸ The Committee has recommended that states parties increase policies and education in an effort to reduce the incidences of abortion,⁸⁹ unwanted pregnancy,⁹⁰ and early pregnancy,⁹¹ specifically through the provision of family planning services.⁹²

Conscientious Objection

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has not commented on laws or policies allowing for conscientious objection on the part of hospital personnel in the case of abortion.

Third-Party Authorization for Abortion

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has commented that the requirement of parental consent for abortion has led to increased numbers of illegal abortions among adolescents.⁹³ While the Committee has not explicitly asked states parties to review or amend policies or legislation, it has asked them to provide adolescents with youth-friendly counseling and rehabilitation services.⁹⁴ The Committee has also advocated for adolescents' access, without parental consent, to youth-sensitive and confidential counseling, care, and rehabilitation facilities,⁹⁵ and to reproductive health and family planning information.⁹⁶

3.

Human Rights Committee

General Comments

General Comment 6: The Right to Life⁹⁷

In its General Comment 6 on the right to life, the Human Rights Committee emphasizes that the inherent right to life should not be understood in a restrictive manner. The comment requires states parties to take positive measures, mentioning in particular the need for states parties to take all possible measures to increase life expectancy.⁹⁸

General Comment 28: Equality of Rights Between Men and Women⁹⁹

In its General Comment 28, the Human Rights Committee calls upon states, when reporting on women's enjoyment of article 6 on the right to life, to "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."¹⁰⁰

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS COVENANT

Article 6 *recognizes every person's right to life.*

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS COVENANT

Article 7 *establishes the right to be free from torture and from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.*

Article 9 *establishes that all people have the right to liberty and security of person.*

The Committee also elaborates on the equality provisions in articles 2 and 3 of the Civil and Political Rights Covenant; provides examples to reinforce their applicability in various situations; and requires states parties to take steps to enable every person to enjoy the rights granted under the Civil and Political Rights Covenant.¹⁰¹

In cases where a legal duty is imposed upon doctors to report women who have undergone abortion, the Committee explicitly links abortion to women's equality in exercising their right to privacy.¹⁰² The Committee asks countries to report on laws and public or private actions that interfere with women's equal enjoyment of the right to privacy, and to take measures to eliminate such interference.¹⁰³

Concluding Observations

Unsafe Abortions and Maternal Mortality

The Human Rights Committee has discussed illegal and unsafe abortion as a violation of Article 6 of the Civil and Political Rights Covenant, the right to life,¹⁰⁴ and has made the link between illegal and unsafe abortions and high rates of maternal mortality.¹⁰⁵ The Committee has requested that states parties provide information on the effects of restrictive abortion laws on maternal mortality.¹⁰⁶ The Committee has also urged states parties to revise laws to help women prevent unwanted pregnancies and to prevent women from resorting to clandestine abortions, which put their lives at risk.¹⁰⁷

Restrictive Abortion Laws

In several sets of concluding observations, the Human Rights Committee has criticized legislation that criminalizes or severely restricts access to abortion.¹⁰⁸ It has issued recommendations to several states parties advising that they review or amend legislation criminalizing abortion.¹⁰⁹ The Committee has criticized laws requiring health-care personnel to report women who have had abortions.¹¹⁰

The Committee has criticized laws that restrict access to abortion where a woman's life is in danger.¹¹¹ In one instance, the Committee criticized unduly restrictive legislation in the context of rape, where the state party has required court documentation and limited abortion to the first two months of pregnancy; it has urged the state party to amend this restrictive law to prevent women from seeking unsafe abortion and risking their lives.¹¹²

Because restrictive abortion laws lead women to terminate pregnancies under unsafe conditions, the Committee has commented on the potential of these laws to violate the right to life.¹¹³ Along similar lines, the Committee has recommended that attention be paid to the effect of restrictive abortion laws on women's health.¹¹⁴ In one instance, the Committee expressed deep concern that restrictive abortion laws lead women to seek illegal and unsafe abortions, putting their lives and health at risk, and recommended that the state party liberalize its abortion laws and practice.¹¹⁵ It also expressed concern to one state party over a measure that requires a woman to obtain the consent of three

physicians before she can undergo an abortion, and urged the state party to amend its laws to prevent women from putting their lives at risk by resorting to unsafe abortion.¹¹⁶ The Committee has acknowledged the discriminatory, disproportionate impact of restrictive abortion laws on poor, rural women.¹¹⁷

In one instance, the Committee linked the high rate of suicide among adolescent girls with restrictions on abortion, and interpreted this as a violation of adolescents' right to life.¹¹⁸ In this case, the Committee recommended that the state party adopt all legislative and other measures, including increasing access to adequate health and education facilities, to address the problem.¹¹⁹

Sex-Selective Abortion

The Human Rights Committee has not commented on sex-selective abortion.

Abortion as Primary Method of Family Planning

The Human Rights Committee has recommended that states parties take steps to ensure that abortion is not used as a means of family planning.¹²⁰ The Committee has expressed concern where methods of contraception other than abortion were not accessible.¹²¹ The Committee has recommended increased access to family planning services,¹²² as well as education,¹²³ to reduce the rate of abortion. It has emphasized that such measures are necessary to ensure that women, including adolescents,¹²⁴ do not undergo life-threatening procedures.¹²⁵ In one instance, the Committee expressed concern that a delegation could not say whether reliance on abortion as a means of contraception was a cause of the state's high incidence of maternal mortality.¹²⁶ In that case, the Committee recommended that the state party undertake a careful assessment of abortion and maternal mortality to reduce high maternal mortality rates.¹²⁷

On a related note, the Committee has expressed concern that legal restrictions on the availability of family planning services lead to high rates of illegal abortion—one of the principal causes of maternal mortality—and has recommended that laws restricting family planning be abolished to reduce maternal mortality.¹²⁸

Conscientious Objection

The Human Rights Committee has expressed concern about the lack of information in one state party's report on the use of conscientious objection by medical practitioners and requested that it provide further information on that issue.¹²⁹

Third-Party Authorization for Abortion

The Human Rights Committee has not commented on the requirement of third-party authorization to obtain an abortion.

Individual Case

In October 2005, the Human Rights Committee handed down the landmark *K.L. v. Peru* decision, holding the Peruvian government accountable for failing to ensure access to abortion services to an individual. K.L. was a 17-year-old Peruvian girl who became pregnant with an anencephalic fetus. Doctors confirmed that the pregnancy, if continued, would pose risks to K.L.'s life. While Peru permits abortion when a woman's life or health is at risk, the public hospitals denied K.L.'s request for an abortion, claiming that there was no explicit right to abortion in cases of severe fetal impairment. As expected, the baby died four days after birth, and K.L. became severely depressed, requiring psychiatric treatment. In considering an individual complaint submitted on K.L.'s behalf under the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Committee found Peru in violation of Covenant Articles 2 (respect for and guarantee of rights); 7 (freedom from torture and cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment); 17 (right to privacy); and 24 (special measures for minors), for denying access to a therapeutic abortion permitted by its own domestic law. It ordered the state to provide K.L. with an effective remedy, including compensation, and to take steps to prevent the future occurrence of similar violations.¹³⁰

4.

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS COVENANT

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

Article 12(2) (a) *requires states parties to 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 Health¹³¹

In its General Comment 14, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights interprets Article 12(2)(a) of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Covenant as establishing a right to maternal, child, and reproductive health, which requires states parties to implement measures to accomplish the following:

[i]mprove child and maternal health, 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.¹³²

While abortion is not explicitly mentioned, it would necessarily be a part of comprehensive reproductive health and family planning services, as would emergency services that might be required for post-abortion care.

In its emphasis on women and the 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 emphasizes in particular that states parties have an obligation to reduce women's health risks and lower maternal mortality rates. The comment requires 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.¹³³

The 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 health¹³⁴ and recommends that states parties integrate a gender perspective into their health-related policies, planning, programs, and research.¹³⁵

General Comment 16: The Equal Right of Men and Women to the Enjoyment of All Economic, Social and Cultural Rights¹³⁶

The Committee indicates that ensuring equal enjoyment of article 12 “requires at a minimum the removal of legal and other obstacles that prevent men and women from accessing and benefiting from health care on a basis of equality. This includes, inter alia, ...the removal of legal restrictions on reproductive health provisions.”¹³⁷

Concluding Observations

Unsafe Abortions and Maternal Mortality

In several sets of concluding observations, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has expressed concern over the relationship between high rates of maternal mortality and illegal, unsafe, and clandestine abortions.¹³⁸ The Committee has recommended that states parties expand educational programs regarding reproductive and sexual health¹³⁹ as well as implement programs to increase access to family planning services and contraception.¹⁴⁰

Restrictive Abortion Laws

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has recognized that restrictive abortion laws contribute to the problem of unsafe abortion¹⁴¹ and high rates of maternal mortality,¹⁴² and has asked states parties on multiple occasions to legalize and decriminalize abortion, particularly when a pregnancy is life-threatening¹⁴³ or is the result of rape or incest.¹⁴⁴ It has expressed deep concern for one state party's general prohibition on abortion and lack of exceptions, and has urged the state to at least provide for exceptions where the mother's life is in danger or where the pregnancy has resulted from rape or incest.¹⁴⁵

Sex-Selective Abortion

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has noted with deep concern the frequency of abortions of female fetuses¹⁴⁶ and has characterized the trend as a threat to the reproductive health of women.¹⁴⁷ The Committee has also expressed concern that weak enforcement of one state party's provisions to prohibit sex-selective abortion has resulted in high rates of abortion of female fetuses and an increasingly skewed sex ratio.¹⁴⁸

Abortion as Primary Method of Family Planning

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has expressed general concern over the prevalence of abortion,¹⁴⁹ particularly due to lack of access to contraception,¹⁵⁰ and over the use of abortion as a common method of birth control, placing women's health at risk.¹⁵¹ In that regard, the Committee has called for states parties to develop sexual and reproductive health information programs¹⁵² and support family planning programs to decrease the prevalence of abortion.¹⁵³ More specifically, the Committee has recommended the promotion of sexual and reproductive health education to instill awareness of the danger of using abortion as a form of birth control,¹⁵⁴ and it has called upon at least one state party to ensure adolescents' access to reproductive health education.¹⁵⁵

The Committee has praised family planning policies that have resulted in decreased abortion rates.¹⁵⁶ It has also commented on states parties' failure to provide information on abortion¹⁵⁷ and called for study and analysis of high abortion rates.¹⁵⁸ The Committee has expressed concern about forced abortions and sterilizations imposed on women, particularly ethnic minorities, in the context of a state family planning program, and it has urged one state party to ensure that abortions are voluntary.¹⁵⁹

Conscientious Objection

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has not commented on laws and policies allowing for conscientious objection on the part of hospital personnel in the case of abortion.

Third-Party Authorization for Abortion

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has not commented on the requirement of third-party authorization to obtain an abortion.

5.

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

General Recommendations

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Article 5(b) *links the right to be free from racial discrimination to the enjoyment of the right to security of person and the right to protection from violence and bodily harm.*

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.*

General Recommendation 25: Gender Related Dimensions of Racial Discrimination¹⁶⁰

In its General Recommendation 25, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination specifically recognizes that some forms of racial discrimination may be experienced only by women and may be directed at women because of their gender.¹⁶¹ In this recommendation, the Committee states that it will take gender into account when evaluating and monitoring racial discrimination against women and how such discrimination affects the exercise of all other rights.¹⁶² This would include the rights to health and to life, which are implicated in the case of women and abortion.

Concluding Observations

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has expressed concern and regret that certain groups are disproportionately affected by maternal mortality as a result of lack of access to reproductive health-care and family planning services.¹⁶³ It has recommended that one state party address persistent racial disparities in reproductive health by improving access to health care and family planning.¹⁶⁴ In its concluding observations to one state party, the Committee expressed regret over the high incidence of unintended pregnancies and greater abortion rates among women belonging to a minority group.¹⁶⁵

6.

Committee against Torture

General Comments

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.*

General Comment 1: Implementation of Article 3 of the Convention in the Context of Article 22¹⁶⁶

In its General Comment 1, the Committee against Torture discusses the use of the individual complaint mechanism of Article 22 of the Convention against Torture to enforce states parties' obligations to individuals who would be at risk of torture if returned to their country of origin.

Concluding Observations

Unsafe Abortions and Maternal Mortality

The Committee against Torture expressed concern to one state party that “medical personnel employed by the State den[y] the medical treatment required to ensure that pregnant women do not resort to illegal abortions that put their lives at risk. Current legislation severely restricts access

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE

Article 3 *prohibits states parties from returning or expelling a person to another state where that person would be in danger of suffering torture.*

to voluntary abortion, even in cases of rape, leading to grave consequences, including the unnecessary deaths of women.”¹⁶⁷ The Committee recommended that the state party “take whatever legal and other measures are necessary to effectively prevent acts that put women’s health at risk, including by providing the required medical treatment, by strengthening family planning programmes and by offering better access to information and reproductive health services, including for adolescents.”¹⁶⁸

Restrictive Abortion Laws

The Committee against Torture has expressed concern regarding legislation that severely restricts access to voluntary abortion, even in cases of rape, which leads to grave consequences, including unnecessary deaths of women.¹⁶⁹

The Committee against Torture expressed concern that health providers in one state party coerced women who sought life-saving treatment after illegal abortions to provide information on who performed the abortion.¹⁷⁰ In that instance, the Committee urged the state party to eliminate the practice of extracting confessions for prosecutorial purposes from women seeking emergency medical care as a result of illegal abortions and to further investigate and review convictions where statements obtained by coercion had been admitted into evidence.¹⁷¹ The Committee also called for remedial measures, including nullifying convictions that are not in conformity with the Convention against Torture. The Committee stated that the state party must ensure immediate and unconditional treatment for persons seeking emergency care, in compliance with World Health Organization guidelines.¹⁷²

Sex-Selective Abortion

The Committee against Torture has not commented on sex-selective abortion.

Abortion as Primary Method of Family Planning

The Committee against Torture has not commented on the use of abortion as a primary method of family planning.

Conscientious Objection

The Committee against Torture has not commented on laws or policies allowing for conscientious objection on the part of hospital personnel in the case of abortion.

Third-Party Authorization for Abortion

The Committee against Torture has not commented on the requirement of third-party authorization to obtain an abortion.

KEY CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ON ABORTION

“The Committee reiterates its deep concern about restrictive abortion laws in Poland, which may incite women to seek unsafe, illegal abortions, with attendant risks to their life and health. It is also concerned at the unavailability of abortion in practice even when the law permits it, for example in cases of pregnancy resulting from rape, and by the lack of information on the use of the conscientious objection clause by medical practitioners who refuse to carry out legal abortions. The Committee further regrets the lack of information on the extent of illegal abortions and their consequences for the women concerned (art. 6). The State party should liberalize its legislation and practice on abortion. It should provide further information on the use of the conscientious objection clause by doctors, and, so far as possible, on the number of illegal abortions that take place in Poland. These recommendations should be taken into account when the draft Law on Parental Awareness is discussed in Parliament.”

*Concluding Observations of the Human Rights Committee: **Poland**, ¶ 8, UN Doc. CCPR/CO/82/POL/Rev. 1 (2004).*

“The committee acknowledges the State Party’s efforts in the area of adolescent health, but it remains concerned at the high rate of early pregnancy, and the lack of access by teenagers to reproductive health education and services and to emergency care. It is also concerned at the impact that punitive legislation regarding abortion can have on maternal mortality rates for adolescent girls. The committee suggests that a comprehensive and multi-disciplinary study be undertaken to understand the scope of adolescent health problems, including the negative impact of early pregnancy and illegal abortion. The committee encourages the State party to review its practices under the existing legislation authorising abortions for therapeutic reasons with a view to preventing illegal abortion and to improving protection of the mental and physical health of girls....”

*Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1990).*

“The committee urges the State Party to take remedial action to address the problems of clandestine abortions, unwanted pregnancies and the high rate of maternal mortality. In this regard, the committee urges the State Party to reinforce reproductive and sexual health programmes, in particular in rural areas, and to allow abortion when pregnancies are life threatening or a result of rape or incest.”

*Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: **Nepal**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66, (2001).*

Summary Assessment

All of the committees, with the exception of the **Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination**, have expressed concern over illegal and unsafe abortions. 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 explicitly asked states parties to review legislation criminalizing abortion. All of

the committees, excluding the **Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination**, have made the important connection between illegal, unsafe abortion and high rates of maternal mortality. While the **CEDAW Committee** and the **Human Rights Committee** have taken the lead in explicitly discussing restrictions on abortion as a violation of women's right to life, all the committees except the **Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination** and the **Committee against Torture** have expressed concern over the impact of abortion-related deaths on women's rights to life and health.

The **CEDAW Committee** and the **Human Rights Committee** have explicitly linked lack of access to contraceptive information and family planning services—and women's resulting reliance on unsafe and illegal abortion—to high rates of maternal mortality. The **Committee on the Rights of the Child** has also implicitly acknowledged the connection between adolescents' lack of access to family planning information and services and maternal mortality resulting from high rates of teen pregnancy and unsafe abortion, and has recommended greater access to adolescent reproductive health programs and services as a means to reduce maternal mortality.

The committees have also addressed barriers women face in attempting to access legal abortion services. The **CEDAW Committee** and the **Human Rights Committee** have addressed the issue of conscientious objection. The **CEDAW Committee** has found that provisions that allow conscientious objection without ensuring women alternate access to abortion violate women's reproductive and sexual rights. Furthermore, the **CEDAW Committee** has explicitly criticized legal requirements of spousal authorization or parental consent for a woman or girl to obtain an abortion. More recently, the **Committee on the Rights of the Child** expanded upon the needs of adolescents by calling for youth-sensitive and confidential counseling, health care facilities, and access to reproductive health and family planning information without parental consent.

The **CEDAW Committee**, the **Committee on the Rights of the Child**, and the **Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** have expressed concern regarding sex-selective abortion. The **CEDAW Committee** has called for states parties to develop strategies to overcome the practice by counteracting traditional stereotypes regarding women's roles in society, and the **Committee on the Rights of the Child** has called for stronger implementation of laws prohibiting sex-selective abortion.

The **Committee against Torture** has taken issue with the practice of coercing confessions from women seeking lifesaving, emergency medical treatment after illegal abortions and with the use of those confessions in the prosecutorial process. It has called for investigation and nullification of convictions that do not conform to the **Convention against Torture's** standards and protections. Finally, in one concluding observation, the Committee against Torture said that forcing women to resort to unsafe abortion constitutes cruel and human treatment.

Conclusions

- The committees could analyze abortion legislation and access in more depth and make recommendations accordingly. For example, in cases where restrictive national laws recognize narrow grounds for abortion, the committees could recommend that the state party ensure safe and high-quality abortion services to those women legally permitted to have an abortion. Moreover, the committees could ask states parties to interpret criminal laws pertaining to abortion in the most liberal manner possible. They could also ask governments to clarify legal and regulatory requirements for obtaining an abortion as a means to improving women's access to the procedure. In countries where abortion is generally legal but inaccessible, the committees could propose fully integrating abortion services in public health facilities and adequately training and equipping providers to ensure that they perform the procedure safely.
 - **Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights'** *General Comment 14 is an important tool, and the Committee could frame recommendations on access to safe, legal abortion based on its provisions.*
 - Similarly, the **CEDAW Committee** could use the provisions of its *General Recommendation 24 to hold states parties responsible for the failure to ensure safe and legal abortion services to women facing an unwanted pregnancy.*
 - The **Human Rights Committee** is well situated to address the conflict of rights and obligations in cases where abortion services are not available due to laws that allow hospital personnel to conscientiously object to performing the procedure. The Committee could emphasize that the right to conscientiously object belongs to the individual provider and does not affect the obligations of governments and health-care facilities to ensure that a woman has access to the procedure.
- The committees could recommend that states parties establish mechanisms of redress for women who have been denied access to abortion services where abortion is legal.
 - The **Human Rights Committee's** could more systematically characterize restrictive abortion laws, as well as the practices of forced abortions and sterilizations, as violations of women's rights to autonomy and freedom from discrimination.
 - The **Committee on the Rights of the Child** could continue its recent practice of recommending that parental consent requirements be eliminated, due to their interference with adolescents' rights to confidentiality and privacy.

- In countries where abortion has been a primary method of birth control, the committees could recommend that governments adopt policies and public education measures to increase access to a broad range of contraceptive methods, as well as reiterate that abortion needs to remain a legal, available backup method of birth control when contraceptive methods fail or when unprotected intercourse occurs.
- The **Committee against Torture** could further develop its conception of cruel and inhuman treatment by more consistently addressing the denial of safe, legal abortion services. As the Committee has acknowledged, the violence to women, including severe risk to their health and lives, that results from the denial of safe abortion services falls within the Committee's mandate. ■

Endnotes:

- ¹ 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>.
- ² 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).
- ³ For a fuller explanation of the work of the committees, see CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS, BRINGING RIGHTS TO BEAR 21-34 (2002).
- ⁴ 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).
- ⁵ 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.
- ⁶ This briefing paper covers materials available in the United Nations Treaty Body Database, available at <http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf>.
- ⁷ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ⁸ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, ¶ 13, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ⁹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹¹ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *General Recommendation 24: Women and Health*, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹² See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 304, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Belize**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Belize**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BLZ/CO/4 (2007); **Benin**, ¶ 158, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Bolivia**, ¶¶ 82–83, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Bolivia**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BOL/CO/4 (2008); **Brazil**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BRA/6 (2007); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 349, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Burundi**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Burundi**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BDI/CO/4 (2008); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 152, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Chile**, ¶¶ 209, 228, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 393, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 308, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004); **Eritrea**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Georgia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999);

- Ghana**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GHA/CO/5 (2006); **Jamaica**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JAM/CO/5 (2006); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 136, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Madagascar**, ¶ 244, U.N. Doc. A/49/38 (1994); **Malawi**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MWI/CO/5 (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**, ¶ 68, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Myanmar**, ¶ 129, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Namibia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Nepal**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶¶ 300–301, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NIC/CO/6 (2007); **Pakistan**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/PAK/CO/3 (2007); **Paraguay**, ¶¶ 108, 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Paraguay**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. /C/PAR/CC/3-5 (2005); **Peru**, ¶ 443, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Peru**, ¶¶ 300, 339, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **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); **Romania**, ¶ 314, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Zimbabwe**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ¹³ 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).
- ¹⁴ See **Mexico**, ¶ 445, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ¹⁵ See, e.g., **Moldova**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 273, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001).
- ¹⁶ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Eritrea**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Morocco**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/4 (2008); **Uganda**, ¶ 147, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ¹⁷ See, e.g., **Paraguay**, ¶ 287, U.N. Doc. A/60/38, Part I (2005); **Peru**, ¶ 482, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ¹⁸ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. (2006); **Guyana**, ¶ 621, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Ukraine**, ¶ 287, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996).
- ¹⁹ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 267, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Argentina**, ¶ 381, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004); **Benin**, 22/07/2005, U.N. Doc. A/60/38, ¶ 158; **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 275, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 350, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **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/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 229, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Cuba**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CUB/CO/3 (2006); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 102, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Democratic Republic of Congo**, ¶ 361, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COD/CO/5 (2006); **Eritrea**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Estonia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, Part I (2002); **Georgia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Greece**, ¶ 208, U.N. Doc. A/54/38, (1999); **Ireland**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Kazakhstan**, ¶¶ 76, 106, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Mali**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006); **Mongolia**, ¶ 274, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Mozambique**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2007); **Myanmar**, ¶ 130, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 301, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NIC/CO/6 (2007); **Paraguay**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Paraguay**, ¶ 288, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Peru**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/6 (2007); **Slovenia**, ¶ 119, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Togo**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Ukraine**, ¶ 290, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Vanuatu**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VUT/CO/3 (2007); **Venezuela**, ¶ 243, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Zambia**, ¶ 243, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ²⁰ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 158, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BIH/CO/3 (2006); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 350, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Eritrea**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/ERI/CO/3 (2006); **Lebanon**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Mali**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006); **Mozambique**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2007); **Namibia**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NAM/CO/3 (2007); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LCA/CO/6 (2006); **Togo**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/TGO/CO/5 (2006); **Vanuatu**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VUT/CO/3 (2007).
- ²¹ See, e.g., **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 309, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004); **Myanmar**, ¶ 130, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Paraguay**, ¶ 288, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005);
- ²² See, e.g., **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Lebanon**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005); **Mali**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006).
- ²³ See **Colombia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007).

- ²⁴ See, e.g., **Kenya**, ¶¶ 37-38, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KEN/CO/6 (2007); **Mozambique**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MOZ/CO/2 (2007).
- ²⁵ See, e.g., **Ireland**, ¶ 185, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Mexico**, ¶ 399, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Tunisia**, ¶ 246, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995).
- ²⁶ See, e.g., **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 309, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004); **Jordan**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JOR/CO/4 (2007); **Jordan**, ¶ 180, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Myanmar**, ¶¶ 129-130, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Panama**, ¶ 201, U.N. Doc. A/55/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).
- ²⁷ See, e.g., **Brazil**, ¶¶ 29-30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BRA/6 (2007); **Chile**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Honduras**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HON/CO/6 (2007); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NIC/CO/6 (2007); **Pakistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PAK/CO/3 (2007); **Peru**, ¶ 482, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Philippines**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006).
- ²⁸ See **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 309, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004).
- ²⁹ See, e.g., **Democratic Republic of Congo**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COD/CO/5 (2006); **Mali**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MLI/CO/5 (2006).
- ³⁰ See **Poland**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/6 (2007).
- ³¹ See, e.g., **Jamaica**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JAM/CO/5 (2006); **Vanuatu**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VUT/CO/3 (2007).
- ³² See **India**, ¶ 41 U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007).
- ³³ See **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 276, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000).
- ³⁴ See, e.g., **Cuba**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/CUB/CO/3 (2000); **France**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FRA/CO/6 (2008); **Georgia**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/3 (2006); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LCA/CO/6 (2006).
- ³⁵ See **Georgia**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/3 (2006).
- ³⁶ See **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LCA/CO/6 (2006).
- ³⁷ See **Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VEN/CO/6 (2006).
- ³⁸ See, e.g., **Andorra**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 258, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Belize**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Bolivia**, ¶ 82, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Chile**, ¶ 139, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Chile**, ¶ 228, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 393, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Cyprus**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 337, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Ireland**, ¶ 185, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Jordan**, ¶ 180, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Liechtenstein**, ¶ 169, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Luxembourg**, ¶ 210, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Mauritius**, ¶ 196, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Mauritius**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Namibia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Nepal**, ¶¶ 139, 147, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Panama**, ¶ 201, U.N. Doc. A/55/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Paraguay**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 339, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Portugal**, ¶ 345, A/57/38 (2002); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 140, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Suriname**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SUR/CO/3 (2007); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**, ¶ 309, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (1999); **Venezuela**, ¶ 236, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Zimbabwe**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ³⁹ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Honduras**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/HON/CO/6 (2007).
- ⁴⁰ See **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006).
- ⁴¹ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 258, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Chile**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006).6).
- ⁴² See, e.g., **Belize**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 228, 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); **Paraguay**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996).
- ⁴³ See, e.g., **Andorra**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Argentina**, ¶ 319, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Belize**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 276, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Cameroon**, ¶ 60, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Chile**, ¶ 158, U.N. Doc.

- A/50/38 (1995); **Chile**, ¶ 229, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Colombia**, ¶ 394, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 349, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 285, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004); **Ireland**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Jordan**, ¶ 181, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Mauritius**, ¶ 196, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶ 408, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Namibia**, ¶ 127, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Nepal**, ¶¶ 139, 148, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NIC/CO/6 (2007); **Panama**, ¶ 201, U.N. Doc. A/55/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Paraguay**, ¶ 131, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Peru**, ¶¶ 446, 447, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Peru**, ¶ 340, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Philippines**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006); **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines**, ¶ 148, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997); **Suriname**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/SUR/CO/3 (2007); **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**, ¶ 310, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (1999); **Zimbabwe**, ¶ 159, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ⁴⁴ See, e.g., **Liechtenstein**, ¶¶ 25-26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/ (2007); **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/NIC/CO/6 (2007); **Philippines**, ¶ 28, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PHI/CO/6 (2006).
- ⁴⁵ See **Mauritius**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MAR/CO/5 (2006).
- ⁴⁶ See **Dominican Republic**, ¶ 285, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (SUPP) (2004).
- ⁴⁷ See **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 283, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, Part I (2002).
- ⁴⁸ See, e.g., **Belgium**, ¶ 181, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Colombia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007); **France**, ¶ 239, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2003); **Saint Lucia**, ¶ 4, CEDAW/C/LCA/CO/6 (2006).
- ⁴⁹ See **Nepal**, ¶ 192, U.N. Doc. A/59/38 (2004).
- ⁵⁰ See **Sweden**, ¶ 11, CEDAW/C/SWE/CO/7 (2008).
- ⁵¹ See **Ireland**, ¶¶ 365, 396, U.N. Doc. A/60/38 (2005).
- ⁵² See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BOL/CO/4 (2008); **Colombia**, ¶¶ 22-23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007); **Jamaica**, ¶¶ 35-36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/JAM/CO/5 (2006); **Mexico**, ¶¶ 32-33, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/6 (2006); **Peru**, ¶¶ 24-25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/6 (2007); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Saint Lucia**, ¶¶ 31-32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/LCA/CO/6 (2006).
- ⁵³ See **Peru**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/PER/CO/6 (2007).
- ⁵⁴ See **Ireland**, ¶ 185, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999).
- ⁵⁵ See, e.g., **China**, ¶¶ 17, 21, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHN/CO/6 (2006); **India**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007).
- ⁵⁶ See, e.g., **China**, ¶¶ 17-18, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHN/CO/6 (2006); **India**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007).
- ⁵⁷ See **India**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IND/CO/3 (2007).
- ⁵⁸ See, e.g., **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BIH/CO/1 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 139, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Chile**, ¶ 209, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 197, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Georgia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Georgia**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GEO/CO/3 (2006); **Greece**, ¶ 207, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Guyana**, ¶ 621, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Indonesia**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/CO/5 (2007); **Hungary**, ¶ 254, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KAZ/CO/2 (2007); **Lithuania**, ¶ 158, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Namibia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Republic of Korea**, ¶ 29, CEDAW/ CCPR/CO/79/LKA (2007); **Republic of Korea**, ¶ 382(c), U.N. Doc. A/55/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Romania**, ¶ 314, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 523, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Slovakia**, ¶ 91, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Ukraine**, ¶ 287, U.N. Doc. A/51/38 (1996); **Vietnam**, ¶ 266, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VNM/CO/6 (2007).
- ⁵⁹ See, e.g., **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BIH/CO/1 (2006); **Ecuador**, ¶ 317, U.N. Doc. A/58/38 (2003); **Greece**, ¶ 207, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Mexico**, ¶ 445, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Vietnam**, ¶ 266, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VNM/CO/6 (2007).
- ⁶⁰ See, e.g., **Cuba**, ¶ 257, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Estonia**, ¶ 24, CEDAW/C/EST/CO/4 (2007); **Finland**, ¶ 378, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 362, U.N. Doc. A/57/38, Part I (2002); **Ukraine**, ¶ 266, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002).
- ⁶¹ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 66, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Cuba**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc.

- CEDAW/C/CUB/CO/3 (2006); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 101, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Georgia**, ¶ 111, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Greece**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRC/CO/6 (2007); **Hungary**, ¶ 330, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 105, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 136, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 109, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Romania**, ¶ 314, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Serbia**, ¶ 33, CEDAW/C/SCG/CO/1 (2007); **Slovakia**, ¶ 91, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 185, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/3 (2006).
- ⁶² See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 73, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/BIH/CO/1 (2006); **Burkina Faso**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/BFA/CO/4-5* (2005); **Burundi**, ¶ 62, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Cape Verde**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CPV/CO/6 (2006); **Chile**, ¶ 20, CEDAW/C/CHI/CO/4 (2006); **Georgia**, ¶ 112, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Greece**, ¶ 208, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Greece**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/GRC/CO/6 (2007); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 106, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 137, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 110, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MDA/CO/3 (2006); **Romania**, ¶ 315, U.N. Doc. A/55/38 (2000); **Slovakia**, ¶ 92, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998); **Thailand**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/THA/CO/5 (2006); **Uzbekistan**, ¶ 186, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 267, U.N. Doc. A/56/38 (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/VNM/CO/6 (2007); **Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/3 (2006).
- ⁶³ See, e.g., **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 137, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999); **Ukraine**, ¶ 266, U.N. Doc. A/57/38 (2002); **Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/MKD/CO/3 (2006).
- ⁶⁴ See, e.g., **Czech Republic**, ¶ 197, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **France**, ¶ 32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/FRA/CO/6 (2008); **Mauritius**, ¶ 196, U.N. Doc. A/50/38 (1995).
- ⁶⁵ See **China**, ¶¶ 31–32, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/CHN/CO/6 (2006).
- ⁶⁶ See, e.g., **Croatia**, ¶ 109, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Italy**, ¶ 353, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997); **Poland**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/POL/CO/6 (2007).
- ⁶⁷ See **Croatia**, ¶ 109, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998).
- ⁶⁸ See, e.g., **Colombia**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/COL/CO/6 (2007); **Croatia**, ¶ 117, U.N. Doc. A/53/38 (1998); **Italy**, ¶ 360, U.N. Doc. A/52/38 Rev.1, Part II (1997).
- ⁶⁹ See **Chile**, ¶ 229, U.N. Doc. A/54/38 (1999).
- ⁷⁰ See **South Africa**, ¶ 113, U.N. Doc. A/53/38/Rev.1 (1998).
- ⁷¹ See **Indonesia**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/IDN/CO/5 (2007).
- ⁷² See **Turkey**, ¶ 196, U.N. Doc. A/52/38/Rev.1 (1997).
- ⁷³ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.119 (2000); **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **Kenya**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007)..
- ⁷⁴ See, e.g., **Honduras**, ¶ 61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/HND/CO/3 (2007); **Mozambique**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.36 (1995).
- ⁷⁵ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **Colombia**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.137 (2000); **Peru**, ¶¶ 52–53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/PER/CO/3 (2006); **Venezuela**, ¶¶ 60–61, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/VEN/CO/2 (2007).
- ⁷⁶ See **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999).
- ⁷⁷ See **Mozambique**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.172 (2002).
- ⁷⁸ See, e.g., **Antigua and Barbuda**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.247 (2004); **Chile**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **Colombia**, ¶ 71, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006); **Kenya**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KEN/CO/2 (2007); **Liberia**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.236 (2004); **Malaysia**, ¶ 67, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/MYS/CO/1 (2007); **Nicaragua**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.265 (2005); **Ukraine**, ¶ 59, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.191 (2002).
- ⁷⁹ See, e.g., **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **Palau**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.149 (2001); **Uruguay**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/URY/CO/2 (2007).
- ⁸⁰ See, e.g., **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999).

- ⁸¹ See, e.g., **Chad**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.107 (1999); **Chile**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **Palau**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.149 (2001).
- ⁸² See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHL/CO/3 (2007); **Guatemala**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.154 (2001).
- ⁸³ See **Colombia**, ¶¶ 3, 70, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/COL/CO/3 (2006).
- ⁸⁴ See **China**, ¶¶ 28-29, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CHN/CO/2 (2005).
- ⁸⁵ See, e.g., **Albania**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.249 (2005); **Armenia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.119 (2000); **Barbados**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.103 (1999); **Belarus**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Benin**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **China**, ¶ 64, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.271 (2005); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.201 (2003); **Italy**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.198 (2003); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2007); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Latvia**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LVA/CO/2 (2006); **Lithuania**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.146 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Marshall Islands**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.139 (2000); **Romania**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.199 (2003); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.274 (2005); **Seychelles**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.189 (2002); **Sweden**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.248 (2005); **The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.118 (2000); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/TTO/CO/2 (2006); **Ukraine**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.42 (1995).
- ⁸⁶ See, e.g., **Albania**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.249 (2005); **Armenia**, ¶ 36, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.119 (2000); **Cuba**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.72 (1997); **Greece**, ¶ 60, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.170 (2002); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Latvia**, ¶ 39, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.142 (2001); **Latvia**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LVA/CO/2 (2006); **Lithuania**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.110 (1999); **Slovakia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.140 (2000); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.136 (2000).
- ⁸⁷ See, e.g., **Philippines**, ¶ 63, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.259 (2005); **Romania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.16 (1994); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.110 (1999); **The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.118 (2000).
- ⁸⁸ See, e.g., **Belize**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.99 (1999); **Benin**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.106 (1999); **Georgia**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.124 (2000); **Grenada**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.121 (2000); **Iraq**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.94 (1998); **Mali**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.113 (1999); **Saint Kitts and Nevis**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.104 (1999); **South Africa**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.122 (2000); **Suriname**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.130 (2000); **Thailand**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.97 (1998); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.156 (2001); **Vanuatu**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.111 (1999).
- ⁸⁹ See, e.g., **Albania**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.249 (2005); **Cuba**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.72 (1997); **Italy**, ¶¶ 41-42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.198 (2003); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶¶ 45-46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Lithuania**, ¶¶ 50-51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Romania**, ¶¶ 46-47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.199 (2003); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.110 (1999); **Slovakia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.140 (2000); **Tajikistan**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.136 (2000); **The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.118 (2000).
- ⁹⁰ See, e.g., **Australia**, ¶ 46, CRC/C/15/Add.268 (2005); **Cuba**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.72 (1997); **Italy**, ¶¶ 41-42, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.198 (2003); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2007); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶¶ 45-46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Lithuania**, ¶¶ 50-51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Romania**, ¶¶ 46-47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.199 (2003); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.110 (1999); **The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.118 (2000).
- ⁹¹ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/BEN/CO/2 (2006); **Suriname**, ¶ 54, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/SUR/CO/2 (2007).
- ⁹² See, e.g., **Albania**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.249

- (2005); **Kazakhstan**, ¶ 52, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/KAZ/CO/3 (2007); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶¶ 44–46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Lithuania**, ¶¶ 50–51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/LTU/CO/2 (2006); **Republic of Korea**, ¶ 51(b), U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.239 (2004); **Romania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.16 (1994); **Romania**, ¶¶ 46–47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.199 (2003); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 48, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.110 (1999); **Slovakia**, ¶ 38, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.140 (2000).
- ⁹³ See **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 45, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000).
- ⁹⁴ See, e.g., **Albania**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.249 (2005); **Barbados**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.103 (1999); **Belarus**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.201 (2003); **Kyrgyzstan**, ¶ 46, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.127 (2000); **Sweden**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.248 (2005); **Ukraine**, ¶ 59, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.191 (2002).
- ⁹⁵ See, e.g., **Albania**, ¶ 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.249 (2005); **Belarus**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.180 (2002); **Czech Republic**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.201 (2003); **Latvia**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.142 (2001); **Lithuania**, ¶ 40, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.146 (2001); **Mali**, ¶ 27, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.113 (1999); **Sweden**, ¶ 34, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.248 (2005); **Ukraine**, ¶¶ 57, 59, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.191 (2002).
- ⁹⁶ See, e.g., **Mali**, ¶¶ 27, 57, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.113 (1999); **Seychelles**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/15/Add.189 (2002).
- ⁹⁷ 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 114, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ⁹⁸ 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 114, ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ⁹⁹ 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 168, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰⁰ 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 168, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰¹ 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 168, ¶ 3, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰² 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 168, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰³ 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 168, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **El Salvador**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/78/SLV (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Kenya**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/KEN (2005); **Mauritius**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/MUS (2005); **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); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998); **Trinidad and Tobago**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/TTO (2000); **Venezuela**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/VEN (2001); **Vietnam**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/VNM (2002).
- ¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., **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); **Equatorial Guinea**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/79/GNQ (2004); **Gambia**, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/GMB (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **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); **Paraguay**, ¶¶ 208, 219,

- U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.48; A/50/40 (1995); **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. 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).
- ¹⁰⁶ See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.74 (1997); **Paraguay**, ¶ 208, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.48, A/50/40 (1995).
- ¹⁰⁷ See **Chile**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/CHL/CO/5 (2007); **Madagascar**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MDG/CO/3 (2007).
- ¹⁰⁸ 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/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); **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); **Kuwait**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/69/KWT, A/55/40 (2000); **Lesotho**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.106 (1999); **Mauritius**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/MUS (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/MAR (2004); **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); **Poland**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/POL (2004); **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.82 (1997); **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 12, CCPR/CO/79/LKA (2004); **Venezuela**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/VEN (2001).
- ¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., **Costa Rica**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.107 (1999); **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); **Kuwait**, ¶¶ 15–16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/69/KWT, A/55/40 (2000); **Lesotho**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.106 (1999); **Mauritius**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/MUS (2005); **Morocco**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/MAR (2004); **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); **Poland**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/POL (2004); **Senegal**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.82 (1997); **Sri Lanka**, ¶ 12, CCPR/CO/79/LKA (2004); **Venezuela**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/VEN (2001).
- Doc. CCPR/C/PRY/CO/2 (2006); **Peru**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.72 (1996); **Peru**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/PER (2000); **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); **Venezuela**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/VEN (2001).
- ¹¹⁰ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **Venezuela**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/VEN (2001).
- ¹¹¹ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/CHL/CO/5 (2007); **Madagascar**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/MDG/CO/3 (2007).
- ¹¹² See **Panama**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/PAN/CO/3 (2008).
- ¹¹³ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.104 (1999); **El Salvador**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/78/SLV (2004); **Guatemala**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/72/GTM (2001); **Kenya**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/KEN (2005); **Kuwait**, ¶¶ 15–16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/69/KWT, A/55/40 (2000); **Mauritius**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/83/MUS (2005); **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); **United Republic of Tanzania**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.97 (1998); **Venezuela**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/71/VEN (2001).
- ¹¹⁴ See **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003).
- ¹¹⁵ See **Poland**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/POL (2004).
- ¹¹⁶ See **Zambia**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/ZMB/CO/3 (2007).
- ¹¹⁷ See **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000).
- ¹¹⁸ See **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998).
- ¹¹⁹ See **Ecuador**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.92 (1998).
- ¹²⁰ See **Albania**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/ALB (2004).
- ¹²¹ See **Georgia**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.75 (1997).
- ¹²² See, e.g., **Argentina**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/70/ARG (2000); **Colombia**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.76 (1997); **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003); **Poland**, ¶ 11, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/79/Add.110 (1999).

- ¹²³ See, e.g., **Mali**, ¶ 14, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/77/MLI (2003).
- ¹²⁴ See **Lithuania**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/80/LTU (2004).
- ¹²⁵ See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/73/AZE (2001); **Viet Nam**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/VNM (2002).
- ¹²⁶ See **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/MDA (2002).
- ¹²⁷ See **Republic of Moldova**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/75/MDA (2002).
- ¹²⁸ See **Equatorial Guinea**, ¶ 9, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/79/GNQ (2004).
- ¹²⁹ See **Poland**, ¶ 8, U.N. Doc. CCPR/CO/82/POL (2004).
- ¹³⁰ See **K.L. v. Peru**, Comm. No. 1153/2003, 24 October 2005, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/85/D/1153/2003.
- ¹³¹ 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, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹³² 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.5 (2001).
- ¹³³ 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, ¶ 21, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹³⁴ 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, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹³⁵ 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, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹³⁶ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 16: The Equal Right of Men and Women to the Enjoyment of All Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art. 3)* (34th Sess., 2005), U.N. Doc. E/C.12/2005/4 (2005).
- ¹³⁷ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment 16: The Equal Right of Men and Women to the Enjoyment of All Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art. 3)* (34th Sess., 2005), ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/2005/4 (2005).
- ¹³⁸ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **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); **Mauritius**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/8 (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); **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); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998); **Russian Federation**, ¶ 35, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.94 (2003); **Senegal**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001).
- ¹³⁹ See, e.g., **Benin**, ¶ 42, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.78 (2002); **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Mexico**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.41 (1999); **Mexico**, ¶ 44, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/MEX/CO/4 (2006); **Nepal**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.82 (2002).
- ¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., **Brazil**, ¶ 51, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.87 (2003); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998); **Poland**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.82 (2002).
- ¹⁴¹ See, e.g., **Nepal**, ¶¶ 32–33, 55, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998); **Poland**, ¶ 29, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.82 (2002).

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- ¹⁴² See, e.g., **Bolivia**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.60 (2001); **Chile**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.105 (2004); **Mauritius**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1994/8 (1994); **Nepal**, ¶¶ 32–33, 55, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001).
- ¹⁴³ See **Nepal**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001).
- ¹⁴⁴ See, e.g., **Chile**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.105 (2004); **Kuwait**, ¶ 43, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.98 (2005); **Malta**, ¶ 41, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.101 (2004); **Nepal**, ¶ 55, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.66 (2001).
- ¹⁴⁵ See **Costa Rica**, ¶¶ 25, 46, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/CRI/CO/4 (2008).
- ¹⁴⁶ See **China**, ¶ 18, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005); **Republic of Korea**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.59 (2001).
- ¹⁴⁷ See **Republic of Korea**, ¶ 16, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.59 (2001).
- ¹⁴⁸ See **Indonesia**, ¶ 17, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/IND/CO/5 (2008).
- ¹⁴⁹ See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.104 (2004); **Cameroon**, ¶ 25, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.40 (1999); **Estonia**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.85 (2002); **Panama**, ¶ 20, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Senegal**, ¶ 26, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001); **Spain**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.99 (2004).
- ¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., **Armenia**, ¶ 15, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.39 (1999); **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.104 (2004); **Poland**, ¶ 12, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.26 (1998).
- ¹⁵¹ See **Estonia**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.85 (2002).
- ¹⁵² See, e.g., **Azerbaijan**, ¶ 56, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.104 (2004); **Estonia**, ¶ 30, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.85 (2002); **Panama**, ¶ 37, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.64 (2001); **Senegal**, ¶ 47, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.62 (2001); **Ukraine**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ¹⁵³ See **Armenia**, ¶ 19, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.39 (1999).
- ¹⁵⁴ See, e.g., **Estonia**, ¶ 53, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/Add.85 (2002); **Lithuania**, ¶ 50, U.N. Doc. (2004); Republic of **Moldova**, ¶ 49, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.91 (2003); **Ukraine**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ¹⁵⁵ See **Ukraine**, ¶ 31, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.65 (2001).
- ¹⁵⁶ See **Russian Federation**, ¶ 10, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.13 (1997).
- ¹⁵⁷ See **Switzerland**, ¶ 22, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.30 (1998).
- ¹⁵⁸ See, e.g., **Mauritius**, ¶ 245, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1995/18 (1995); **Netherlands Antilles**, ¶¶ 20, 39, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/NLD/CO/3/Add.1 (2007).
- ¹⁵⁹ See **China**, ¶¶ 36, 65, U.N. Doc. E/C.12/1/Add.107 (2005).
- ¹⁶⁰ 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 194, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁶¹ 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 194, ¶ 1, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁶² 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 194, ¶ 3, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).
- ¹⁶³ See, e.g., **India**, ¶ 24, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/IND/CO/19 (2007); **United States**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6 (2008).
- ¹⁶⁴ See **United States**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6 (2008).
- ¹⁶⁵ See **United States**, ¶ 33, U.N. Doc. CERD/C/USA/CO/6 (2008).
- ¹⁶⁶ Committee against Torture, *General Comment 1: The Implementation of Article 3 of the Convention in the context of Article 22* (16th Sess., 1996), in *Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations by Human Rights Treaty Bodies*, at 252, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001).

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¹⁶⁷ See **Peru**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/4 (2006).

¹⁶⁸ See **Peru**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/4 (2006).

¹⁶⁹ See **Peru**, ¶ 23, U.N. Doc. CAT/C/PER/4 (2006).

¹⁷⁰ See **Chile**, ¶ 4(h), U.N. Doc. CAT/CR/32/5 (2004).

¹⁷¹ See **Chile**, ¶ 7(m), U.N. Doc. CAT/CR/32/5 (2004).

¹⁷² See **Chile**, ¶ 7(m), U.N. Doc. CAT/CR/32/5 (2004).