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INTRODUCTION

1. There are nine core international human rights treaties,¹ of which Chad is a party to eight.² This includes the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In line with the Conventions' protections, this Stakeholder Report focuses upon (a) female genital mutilation and (b) domestic abuse.
2. In this submission, we make recommendations to the Government of Chad on these key issues, implementation of which would see the State move towards achieving Sustainable Development Goal 5 which aims for “gender equality and empowering all women and girls”.
3. We encourage Chad to commit to improving its human rights protection and promotion by engaging meaningfully with the fourth cycle of the UPR in 2024. This includes giving full and practical consideration to all recommendations made by Member States, effectively implementing the recommendations Chad accepts, and actively engaging with civil society throughout the process.

FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION

A. Normative and Institutional Framework of Chad

UN Human Rights Standards

1. Female genital mutilation (FGM) is defined by the World Health Organisation (WHO) as “all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons”.³ There are four types of FGM:

“Type 1: this is the partial or total removal of the clitoral glans (the external and visible part of the clitoris, which is a sensitive part of the female genitals), and/or the prepuce/ clitoral hood (the fold of skin surrounding the clitoral glans).

Type 2: this is the partial or total removal of the clitoral glans and the labia minora (the inner folds of the vulva), with or without removal of the labia majora (the outer folds of skin of the vulva).

Type 3: Also known as infibulation, this is the narrowing of the vaginal opening through the creation of a covering seal. The seal is formed by cutting and repositioning the labia minora, or labia majora, sometimes through stitching, with or without removal of the clitoral prepuce/clitoral hood and glans.

Type 4: This includes all other harmful procedures to the female genitalia for non-medical purposes, e.g., pricking, piercing, incising, scraping and cauterizing the genital area.”⁴

2. FGM breaches a wide range of international human rights protections,⁵ in particular women’s and children’s rights. The CRC protects the rights of children and, specifically, Article 24(3) provides that State parties should “take all effective and appropriate measures with a view to abolishing traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children”.⁶ Chad signed and ratified the CRC in 1990.⁷ In a similar vein, CEDAW seeks to eliminate all forms of violence against women, including FGM.⁸ Chad has been a party to CEDAW since 1995.
3. In addition, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which Chad ratified in 1995, urges State parties to “recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health”.⁹ As the WHO Constitution has clarified, “[h]ealth is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity”.¹⁰ Thus, FGM is a clear violation of the provisions of ICESCR as it affects the physical, mental, and social wellbeing of victims.

African Union Human Rights Standards

4. Chad is a member of the regional group, the African Union (‘AU’) and is a party to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (‘Banjul Charter’) which guarantees everyone’s right to “enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health”.¹¹ However, Chad is one of 12 out of 55 states comprising the AU which have not ratified or acceded to the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (‘Maputo Protocol’) adopted in July 2003.¹² The Maputo Protocol, which entered into force in November 2005, provides in Article V that “state parties shall take all necessary legislative and other measures” to eliminate “all forms of harmful practices which negatively affect the human rights of women and which are contrary to recognised international standards”, including “prohibition, through legislative measures backed by sanctions, of all forms of female genital mutilation, scarification, medicalization and para-medicalisation of female genital mutilation and all other practices in order to eradicate them”.¹³
5. Furthermore, in 2019, the Assembly of the AU established an institutional framework against FGM when it empowered the African Union Commission (AUC) to implement an AU Initiative on Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation, appointing Roch Marc Christian Kaboré – the President of Burkina Faso – as the AU Champion on Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation.¹⁴ Consequently, the AUC rolled out a continent-wide anti-FGM Plan of Action known as ‘African Union Initiative on Eliminating Female Genital

Mutilation Programme and Plan of Action 2019 – 2023’ (Saleema Initiative). It applies to all AU Member States, including Chad, and its main goal is “to galvanise political commitment and accelerate action towards zero female genital mutilation cases by 2030 in Africa”.¹⁵ All Member States are expected to address “cross border practice” of FGM, in addition to “implementing strong legislative frameworks, allocating domestic financial resources, promoting use of evidence and data, regular reporting, and the engagement of civil society and community groups” in the fight against FGM.¹⁶ In order to promote implementation, the Saleema Initiative establishes a “triangular feedback-loop” accountability framework which engages the AU accountability mechanisms, voices from rights-holders, and the voices of duty bearers.¹⁷

Domestic Law

6. On 20 April 2021, Chad’s long-time President Idriss Déby (who had been in post since 1990) died from gunshot wounds in combat against rebels, just days after a presidential election which would have effectively secured his presidency until 2033 under the country’s new constitution promulgated in May 2018.¹⁸
7. The nation’s army took control and installed a transitional military council (Conseil militaire de transition, or ‘CMT’) led by General Mahamat Idriss Deby, a son of the deceased president. The CMT originally laid out plans for an 18-month transition back to civilian rule. The transition period was further extended for another 24 months in October 2022, resulting in violent protests on the streets killing at least 50 people.¹⁹ The CMT suspended the country’s constitution and replaced it with a transitional charter and the promise of free elections within 18 months after a national dialogue.²⁰
8. Chad is still under military control without a legislature and the three branches of government are not functioning. Under the prolonged political turmoil and military control, human rights protections for women and girls appear to have been disregarded.²¹
9. However, notably, Chad’s 2018 Constitution, now suspended, prohibits FGM under Article 19, which states that:

Slavery, the trafficking in human beings, forced labor, physical or moral torture, inhuman, cruel, degrading and humiliating treatments, physical violence, feminine genital mutilations, premature marriages as well as other forms of debasement of the human being are prohibited.²²
10. The prohibition of FGM through Article 19 is a new addition that was not included in the country’s previous constitution. This was a progressive step, establishing prohibition of FGM under the supreme law of the land. Moreover, in 2002, Chad officially enacted Law 006/PR/2002 on the promotion of reproductive health, which is

the primary piece of legislation penalising FGM in Chad. However, it took 18 years (until 2020) for a decree to be issued which allowed the law to be implemented. On 14 October 2020, the Chadian President and Minister of Health and Solidarity signed a decree to implement the 2002 Reproductive Health Law (RHL).²³

11. Article 9 RHL states that:

All persons have the right not to be subjected to torture and to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of their body in general and of their reproductive organs in particular. All forms of violence such as female genital mutilation (FGM), early marriage, domestic violence and sexual abuse of a human being are prohibited.²⁴

12. Article 9 specifically prohibits all forms of violence, including FGM, but does not define it. Furthermore, the RHL does not impose a duty on anyone to report knowledge of FGM, nor does it criminalise failure to report the practice, whether planned or already performed.

13. According to a report released by Orchid Project and 28 Too Many in January 2023, based on UNICEF's Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys data collected in 2019, 34.1% of women aged 15-49 have experienced FGM in Chad.²⁵ UNICEF data indicates that 7% of girls under the age of 15 have had FGM perpetrated against them.²⁶ It was also found that 52.8% of women aged 15-49 believe that FGM should be eradicated.²⁷

B. Implementation of Recommendations from Cycle Three in 2018

14. In 2018, Chad received 204 recommendations, of which it accepted 195 and noted nine. Chad should be commended for accepting such a high number of recommendations, although it is equally important that it implements all supported recommendations.²⁸ 16 recommendations were made specifically on FGM, with a further one related to "harmful practices". All recommendations were accepted by Chad and an analysis of their implementation status is considered below.

Prevent FGM

15. Eight recommendations focused upon preventing FGM, suggesting actions such as "adopting measures" and "continuing efforts" (**Sweden (para 114.151), Chile (para 114.179), Turkey (para 114.153), Iceland (para 114.162), Slovenia (para 114.171), Gabon (para 114.182), Russia (para 114.169), and Honduras (para 114.184)**). While **Canada's (para 114.146)** recommendation did not specifically mention FGM it suggested Chad should "[c]ontinue efforts to promote gender equality and step up

efforts to combat harmful traditional practices against women and girls.” FGM is considered to be a “harmful traditional practice”.

16. Whilst such recommendations are welcomed, it is crucial that they remain specific and measurable in order to assess the level of implementation. Broad recommendations, whilst easy to accept, lack any impetus to bring about real change.²⁹ It is recommended that States adopt a SMART approach to recommendations as recognised by UPR Info.³⁰

Implementation of FGM Laws

17. Three countries identified the importance of not just passing laws prohibiting FGM, but ensuring their application in practice. **Rwanda (para 114.170)** suggested Chad should “[s]trengthen implementation of legislation and policies” related to FGM, with **Australia (para 114.176)** similarly asking Chad to “[i]ncrease its efforts to enforce prohibitions”. Whereas **Germany (para 114.183)** went further, recommending Chad to “[e]nsure effective implementation of the law against female genital mutilation in every region and investigate forms of non-compliance”. This is an important addition, focusing on all areas of Chad including those in rural areas.
18. **Uruguay (para 114.173)** and **Argentina (para 114.175)** focused their recommendations on seeking justice for FGM victims, asking Chad to “investigate” allegations and “prosecute and punish perpetrators”.
19. **These recommendations have not been implemented**, as FGM is still a significant human rights concern in Chad. Our research has found that the core focus of government efforts is on creating awareness of FGM, rather than punishing those who are responsible for perpetrating FGM. Whilst the 2002 RHL does criminalise FGM, it is not being implemented in practice. For example, the Orchid Project has highlighted a particular concern that “girls from neighbouring countries may be brought into Chad to undergo [FGM] and avoid prosecution”.³¹ As seen above, such cross-border FGM practice clearly breaches the Saleema Initiative.
20. Whilst we agree that awareness campaigns and broader education is vital to the eradication of FGM (see paragraphs 21-23 below), such action should not be taken *instead of* seeking the implementation of legislation such as the RHL. Awareness campaigns should be complementary, not substitutive of implementation of applicable laws.

Violence Against Women and Girls

21. 15 recommendations were made on the broader issue of violence against women and girls or gender-based violence, which covers both FGM and domestic abuse. These

recommendations are considered in the section on domestic abuse, in paragraphs 40-41 below.

C. Further Points for Chad to Consider

Education

22. A study by Bright Opoku Ahinkorah found that, among women in Chad, the “level of education, employment status, ethnicity, religion, wealth quintile, and community literacy level are predictors of FGM”.³² In relation to girls aged 14 and under, “age, partner’s level of education, marital status, employment status, ethnicity, religion, and mother’s FGM status were associated with FGM”.³³
23. The likelihood of a woman or a girl undergoing FGM decreased among women with higher education, those whose partners had secondary education, and those who lived in communities with higher literacy.³⁴ Education and literacy have been considered essential tools for changing attitudes towards traditional practices such as FGM.³⁵ In fact, studies have found that a “higher paternal education” decreased the likelihood of perpetration of FGM amongst girls.³⁶
24. UNICEF supports “national media campaigns with the aim of promoting behavior change and raising awareness of FGM using radio and television”.³⁷ The government should make use of these examples, looking to the successful implementation of these educative materials as a guide.
25. Another invaluable resource of education and support is civil society in Chad. Civil society organisations (CSOs) have put a great deal of effort towards engaging projects and strategies to tackle the issue of FGM, for example, multiple CSOs in Chad have been working together to bring legal action against those who perpetrate FGM.³⁸ However, whilst these CSOs carry out invaluable work, they often lack the requisite financial support, which is something the international community must address.

Ethnicity, Regions, and Religion

26. FGM prevalence varies widely across Chad, with differences showing depending upon ethnicity, regional location, and religion.³⁹ Ethnicity and region appear to be the most significant factors in the perpetration of FGM. Among women, the prevalence of FGM is the highest in Arab and Ouadai/Maba/Massalit/Mimi with figures at 89.8% and 82% respectively.⁴⁰ In contrast, the prevalence in the Kenemu-Borno ethnicity is 10.2%.⁴¹ Religion also plays a significant role.⁴² Among girls, the highest figure is in Muslims at 20%.⁴³ However, among women, the prevalence is 35.1% in Christians and 30.0% in other religions.⁴⁴ There is also a direct link between FGM and child, early, and forced

marriages. Despite the established legal framework for prohibition and punishment in Chad, FGM continues to have the support of local leaders, with impunity and political influence hindering its eradication. This links with the suggestions regarding improving education provisions: such education must also be targeted towards local and religious leaders. The role of family and community leaders cannot be over-emphasised because, as the AU notes in the Saleema Initiative, “FGM is rooted in socio-cultural norms and contexts and therefore the power to abandon the practice resides with families and communities. Only people-driven change can effectively end the practice”.⁴⁵

COVID-19 and FGM in Chad

27. The COVID-19 pandemic negatively affected FGM prevalence as it did any other forms of violence against girls and women. Social distancing precluded some of the most effective prevention programmes such as community empowerment projects and abandonment proclamations, which are typically implemented in group settings.⁴⁶ Although no recent data is available regarding gender-based violence in Chad, UNFPA reports indicate that there have been increased accounts of gender-based violence including upticks in FGM incidents in West and Central Africa since the beginning of the pandemic.⁴⁷
28. Therefore, thought must be given to how the Chadian government can best deal with the effects of a national emergency, such as the COVID-19 outbreak and lockdowns (particularly against the backdrop of persistent activities by paramilitary groups in the region), on anti-FGM support and education. This should be raised during Chad’s fourth cycle UPR and other Member States could share best practice on how they dealt with this issue.

D. Recommendations for Action by Chad

We recommend that, before the next Cycle of UPR, the Government of Chad should:

- i. Fully engage with the recommendations made during the UPR regarding FGM, providing clear responses to recommendations and setting out specific plans for implementation.
- ii. Ratify the Maputo Protocol and ensure its provisions are implemented in practice, for example, through passing and applying domestic legislation.
- iii. Commit to the Saleema Initiative and the AU cross-border FGM regional cooperation and knowledge sharing, providing a clear and achievable plan for ensuring effective implementation.
- iv. Develop education provisions for all people in Chad regarding FGM. This should include, but is not limited to, formal education and training, and other, alternative sources of media.

- v. Directly engage with local, rural, and religious leaders in terms of education and support, creating a provision specifically for them, with the aim of eliminating FGM as a cultural practice.
- vi. Establish opportunities to work with CSOs that are offering projects and strategies to tackle FGM, providing financial support where possible.

DOMESTIC ABUSE

- 29. Domestic abuse is defined as “all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim”.⁴⁸
- 30. This Stakeholder Report refers to ‘domestic abuse’ throughout, in recognition of the fact that domestic abuse includes much more than just violence. However, domestic abuse is sometimes referred to as ‘domestic violence’ or ‘intimate partner violence’ and is also included under the broad umbrella terms ‘violence against women and girls’ and ‘gender-based violence’.

A. Normative and Institutional Framework of Chad

UN Human Rights Standards

- 31. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)⁴⁹ is key when considering the protection of women from domestic abuse. In particular, General Recommendation 19 passed in 1992 provides that:

The Convention in article 1 defines discrimination against women. The definition of discrimination includes gender-based violence, that is, violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty.⁵⁰

- 32. General Recommendation 35 from 2017 updated General Recommendation 19, to provide “further guidance aimed at accelerating the elimination of gender-based violence against women”.⁵¹ Chad has been a party to CEDAW since 1995.

33. There are a number of other international human rights agreements and policies related to domestic abuse, in particular the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women 1993.⁵² Also pertinent are the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995,⁵³ the UN Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1994/945,⁵⁴ and the Commission on the Status of Women.⁵⁵

African Union Human Rights Standards

34. The Banjul Charter, as discussed in paragraph 3 above, provides protections related to domestic abuse. Importantly, Article 5 prohibits “[a]ll forms of exploitation and degradation” including “torture, cruel inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment”.⁵⁶ It also provides specific rights for women in Article 18(3), which provides that “[t]he State shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions”.⁵⁷
35. The Maputo Protocol provides more specific provisions related to violence against women. Article 4(2) provides, *inter alia*, that state parties should enact and enforce laws and measures related to preventing, punishing, and eradicating violence against women, whilst also identifying causes and consequences of such violence and educating the population.⁵⁸ Article 5(d) provides that the state should protect women from all forms of violence, abuse and intolerance.⁵⁹ However, as noted in paragraph 4, Chad is not yet a party to the Maputo Protocol.
36. Similarly, Article 9 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Older Persons in Africa (Older Persons’ Protocol) mandates State-parties to “ensure the protection of the rights of Older Women from violence, sexual abuse and discrimination based on gender” through the enactment of appropriate legislation and other measures.⁶⁰ Chad is yet to ratify the Older Persons’ Protocol which requires at least 15 AU Member States’ ratification before it can enter into force. 11 Member States have ratified it since the Protocol was adopted in 2016.⁶¹ One way that Chad can contribute to the fight against domestic abuse is to ratify the Older Persons’ Protocol and commit to implementing its provisions.
37. In addition, the AU Agenda 2063, which is the Pan-African Blueprint and Master Plan for transforming Africa, prohibits violence against women and girls in any Member State. Aspiration 6 Goal 1 of Agenda 2063 urges member-states to strengthen “the role of Africa’s women through ensuring gender equality and parity in all spheres of life (political, economic and social); eliminating all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls”.⁶²

38. Taking into account the information provided in paragraphs 4-6 regarding the context of Chad's legal system, the Constitution prohibits degrading and humiliating treatment or torture under Article 18 and Article 19 expressly prohibits physical violence, among other forms of degrading treatment.⁶³ Article 9 RHL also prohibits domestic abuse, along with other forms of violence against women and girls (VAWG).⁶⁴

B. Implementation of Recommendations from Cycle Three in 2018

39. In 2018, Chad received 204 recommendations, of which it accepted 195 and noted nine. Only one recommendation from **Ukraine (para 114.154)** specifically referred to domestic abuse. Ukraine recommended that Chad should “enact legislation aimed at preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence”. This was supported by Chad. While this recommendation's focus specifically on domestic abuse is welcomed, Chad already has a law in place (Article 9 RHL) that prohibits domestic abuse. It would be more beneficial for Member States to recommend on implementing such laws in practice, whilst also taking an ‘intersectional approach,’⁶⁵ for example, considering the interlinked effects of socioeconomic factors and domestic abuse, or race and domestic abuse.⁶⁶

40. 15 recommendations were made to Chad on the broader issues of VAWG or gender-based violence (**Philippines (para 114.147), Republic of Korea (para 114.148), Sierra Leone (para 114.149), South Africa (para 114.150), Tunisia (para 114.152), Algeria (para 114.155), Mexico (para 114.156), Canada (para 114.157), Chile (para 114.158), Djibouti (para 114.159), Gabon (para 114.160), Iceland (para 114.161), India (para 114.163), Iraq (para 114.164), and Italy (para 114.165)**). These recommendations were supported by Chad.

41. It is difficult to ascertain the level of implementation of these recommendations, as these recommendations did not specify the type of VAWG being discussed. There are particular issues that require urgent action, including domestic abuse, and so Member States should avoid using the broad term “VAWG” without specifying the violence they are referring to, as this allows for broad responses and a lack of action.⁶⁷ In particular, when referring to VAWG, Member States should specify the type of violence they are referring to and the key action the State should take.⁶⁸

C. Further Points for Chad to Consider

42. The COVID-19 pandemic has been disastrous for those experiencing domestic abuse. The UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women (SRVAW) found that it was women from already marginalised backgrounds who suffered the most in terms of domestic abuse during the lockdowns of the pandemic, including “minorities, indigenous, Afrodescendant, migrant and rural communities, older women, women and girls with disabilities, homeless women, and women deprived of liberty and victims of trafficking”.⁶⁹ Bello et al’s 2023 research reported that “[a] rapid assessment in six Sahelian countries (Chad, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, and Niger) showed that domestic violence, whether physical or verbal, increased from 40.6% before the covid-19 crisis to 52.2% during the pandemic in 2020”.⁷⁰ Further, the AU notes in the context of the COVID-19 lockdown that, “women with violent partners increasingly find themselves isolated from the people and resources that can help them”.⁷¹ In some African countries, older women became at risk of elder abuse owing to discriminatory or ageist COVID-19 restrictions imposed on them.⁷²
43. The WHO has found that “[v]iolence against women tends to increase during every type of emergency.”⁷³ The WHO stated that governments “must include essential services to address violence against women in preparedness and response plans for COVID-19, fund them, and *identify ways to make them accessible in the context of physical distancing measures*”.⁷⁴ Therefore, thought must be given to how the Chadian government can best deal with the effects of a national emergency, such as the COVID-19 outbreak and lockdowns, on domestic abuse victims. This should be raised during Chad’s fourth cycle UPR and other Member States could share best practice on how they dealt with this issue.
44. UN Secretary-General, António Guterres, specifically mentioned the “horrible global surge” of domestic abuse during the pandemic, noting that “[h]ealthcare providers and police are overwhelmed and understaffed” and “local support groups are paralyzed or short of funds. Some domestic violence shelters are closed; others are full”.⁷⁵ In its 2020 report on Chad, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) noted that the pandemic and its related restrictions “increase[d] the risk of exposure of women and girls to the risk of...domestic violence” and that it is a “recurrently underfunded cause”.⁷⁶ OCHA did, however, note that civil society was seeking to fill a gap, by seeking out external funding to support women and girls in Chad. For example, Voix de la femme was awarded funding from the EU and “organized informal debates, radio and TV broadcasts, caravans, and most of all the dissemination of judicial instruments for religious and traditional leaders, as well as meetings with women organizations to discuss gender-related questions”.⁷⁷

D. Recommendations for Action by Chad

We recommend that, before the next Cycle of UPR, the Government of Chad should:

- i. Fully engage with the recommendations made during the UPR regarding domestic abuse, providing clear responses to recommendations and setting out specific plans for implementation.
- ii. Set out a clear and realistic timetable for ratification of the Maputo Protocol and take all necessary steps to implement it in practice.
- iii. Set out a clear and realistic timetable for the ratification of the Older Persons' Protocol, supporting its entry into force within the African continent, and more specifically, in Chad.
- iv. Once the Older Persons' Protocol has entered into force in Chad, the government must commit to implementing its provisions, providing a clear and achievable plan for ensuring effective implementation.
- v. Provide up-to-date and accurate statistics regarding investigations and prosecutions of domestic abuse cases across the country during the Fourth Cycle, to allow Member States and civil society to fully assess the implementation of domestic abuse recommendations ahead of the fifth cycle review.
- vi. Provide ongoing support to civil society organisations that are seeking to educate the general public on the issue of domestic abuse. If financial assistance is unavailable, the government should provide support in other ways, for example, ensuring activities are organised, well-advertised and well-attended by the target audience.

¹ UN OHCHR, 'The Core International Human Rights Instruments and their Monitoring Bodies' <www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CoreInstruments.aspx>.

² See, OHCHR, 'Status of Ratification Interactive Dashboard' <<https://indicators.ohchr.org>>.

³ World Health Organization, 'Female Genital Mutilation' <www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/female-genital-mutilation>.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ For an overview, see Alice Storey, 'The UN's Universal Periodic Review and FGM in Somalia: The Value of Civil Society Recommendations' manuscript in preparation and on file with the author.

⁶ Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted 20 November 1989, entered into force on 2 September 1990) UNGA Res 44/25. Article 24(3).

⁷ At the date of writing, the USA is the only country not to have ratified the CRC.

⁸ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, UNGA Res 34/180, 18 December 1979, UN Doc A/RES/34/180, Articles 1 and 2; UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, CEDAW General Recommendation No. 14: Female Circumcision (1990) A/45/38 and Corrigendum; CEDAW General Recommendation No. 19: Violence against Women Adopted at the Eleventh Session of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1992) (contained in Document A/47/38); CEDAW General Recommendations Adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women Twentieth session (1999) General recommendation No. 24: Article 12 of the Convention (Women and Health) A/54/38/Rev.1.

⁹ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 16 December 1966, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 993, p. 3, Article 12.

¹⁰ World Health Organization, 'Constitution' <www.who.int/about/governance/constitution> Preamble.

¹¹ Organization of African Unity (OAU), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights ("Banjul Charter"), 27 June 1981, CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), Article 16.

¹² African Union, 'Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic becomes the 43rd African Union Member State to ratify the Protocol on Women's Rights' (AU Press Release No:/2022) <https://au.int/sites/default/files/pressreleases/41764-pr-Maputo_Protocol_Ratification.pdf>.

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- ¹³ African Union, ‘Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (“Maputo Protocol”) <https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/37077-treaty-charter_on_rights_of_women_in_africa.pdf>
- ¹⁴ African Union, ‘Galvanizing Political Commitment Towards the Elimination of Female Genital Mutilation in Africa’ (Assembly/AU/Dec.737 (XXXII)) <https://au.int/sites/default/files/decisions/36461-assembly_au_dec_713_-_748_xxxii_e.pdf>.
- ¹⁵ African Union, ‘African Union Initiative on Eliminating Female Genital Mutilation Programme and Plan of Action 2019 – 2023’ https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/41106-wd-Saleema_Initiative_Programme_and_Plan_of_Action-ENGLISH.pdf, 13.
- ¹⁶ *ibid* 10.
- ¹⁷ *ibid* 18.
- ¹⁸ John Mukum Mbaku & Adrianna Pita, ‘What does President Idriss Déby’s death mean for Chad?’ Podcase, The Brookings Institution (22 April 2021) <<https://www.brookings.edu/podcast-episode/what-does-president-idriss-debys-death-mean-for-chad>>.
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