**An Intersectional Approach to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women as a Framework To Advance Indigenous Women's Rights In Mexico**

I am submitting an excerpt of my master’s thesis that provides a legal analysis and recommendations to apply the CEDAW Convention with an intersectional perspective. I’ve only included sections of Chapter II, where I argue that if interpreted and applied with an intersectional perspective—in light of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of 1989, and CEDAW Committee’s general recommendations—CEDAW can be an effective legal framework to protect indigenous women’s rights. The complete manuscript can be accessed here: <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/57388>

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**CHAPTER III.**

**THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN**

1. **An Intersectional Analysis of CEDAW**

All areas of women’s rights provided by CEDAW are relevant for indigenous women. The Convention text, however, contains no specific reference to indigenous women. It also does not address their particular human rights concerns including collective rights, the right to a life free of violence, the right to peace, the right to culture, the right to sustainable development, and the right to inheritance. In contrast, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa not only enshrines all these rights, but also postulates special protections for elderly women, women with disabilities, women in distress, and widows.[[1]](#footnote-1)

During the “Celebrating Diversity, Heightening Solidarity Conference” held in the Philippines in 2004, indigenous women from Asia reviewed CEDAW provisions and noted several areas of concern and reflection. These concerns, which are also relevant to indigenous women in Mexico, are summarized in the following table created by Eleanor Dictaan-Bang-oa and Helen Tugendhat for the book “Realizing Indigenous Women’s Rights: A Handbook on the CEDAW”:

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| **Articles** | **CEDAW Provisions** | **Concerns Raised by Indigenous Women** |
| **Article 1** | **Discrimination**  “discrimination against women shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.” | “Indigenous women are oppressed because of race, ethnicity, gender, and class simultaneously and they must be addressed together.” |
| **Article 4** | **Temporary Special Measures**   * Temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination. * Measures aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discrimination. | “Temporary special measures should include opportunities for appropriate and sustained training and development, or provision of spaces, for indigenous women to build their capacities towards full and effective participation.” |
| **Article 6** | **Trafficking, Exploitation, and Prostitution**  “State Parties should take appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all form of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.” | “CEDAW only speaks of ‘suppressing’ all forms of traffic and exploitation of prostitution of women. Indigenous women call for governments and intergovernmental organizations to eliminate and address the root causes of trafficking, prostitution, and other forms of exploitation of women, including poverty, social marginalization, and lack of State political willingness to proactively address these issues. For indigenous women, poverty is a function of their displacement from their lands and territories and their exclusion from development initiatives.” |
| **Article 7-8** | **Political, Public Life and International Representation**   * Right to vote and hold public office. * Right to participate in government policy decision-making and implementation. * Right to participate in NGOs and civil society groups. * Right to represent the State and participate in international organizations. | * “Participation in political and public life is limited due to the double burden of indigenous women and the lack of capacities to engage. * Participation in political and public life must also be promoted and supported through indigenous peoples own self-selected representatives, institutions, or processes. * The concept of free, prior and informed consent is an essential element in participation or non-participation that adheres to the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples. This applies to all areas of decision-making from personal to public matters and requires full and effective information as basis for sound decisions.” |
| **Article 9** | **Nationality**   * Equal rights to acquire, change or retain nationality regardless of marriage to a foreigner. * Equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children. | “The misconception of indigenous peoples’ right to self-determination as tantamount to secession impedes the official recognition by States of the existence of a diversity of indigenous peoples within States/nations.” |
| **Article 10** | **Education**   * Right to equal opportunity in all levels of education. * Access to the same facilities, equipment, teachers, examinations, scholarships, and grants available to men. * Removal of stereotypes through education and revision of learning/teaching materials. * Participation in sports and cultural activities. * Information and advice on family planning. | * “Access and availability of basic education is a problem among indigenous women due to several factors, including geographical isolation, inability of government services to reach them, poverty, conflict, security issues, and preference for boys. * The sensitivity and capacity of the mainstream education system needs strengthening to be able to promote indigenous identities and culture. * Indigenous learning systems should be promoted.” |
| **Article 11** | **Employment**   * The right to free choice of profession and employment. * The right to the same employment opportunities. * Equal pay for work of equal value. * Equal treatment at workplace and equal evaluation criteria. * Health and safety protection including from harmful work during pregnancy. * Not to be dismissed/terminated on grounds of pregnancy or marital status. * Maternity leave with pay without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances. * Social services to support the combination of family and work responsibilities. | * “Economic security is not just based on cash income and employment. For most indigenous women, economic security means retaining their land as a basic livelihood source and that this same land feeds their grandchildren in the future. * The destruction of and dislocation from ancestral lands and territories therefore disenfranchises them, and the future generations, of their right to life and livelihood. * In the areas of formal economy, indigenous women often lack the basic preconditions for employment such as formal and high education requirements.” |
| **Article 12** | **Healthcare and Family Planning**   * Equal access to health care services including family planning. * Appropriate services in connection with pregnancy and childbirth. * Adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation. | “Health (physical, mental, and psychological) is a state of overall well-being, which is linked to the condition of a person’s environment. Discrimination and the denial or violation of rights in indigenous communities does not provide an enabling environment for indigenous women’s health. Indigenous women’s traditional knowledge on medicinal plants is eroding due to displacement, environmental degradation, and bio-piracy. This deprives indigenous women and their communities of their medicinal resources.  Among indigenous societies, the community is a vital element in the healing process. For indigenous women who are victims of violence, for example, family and community support are essential in their recovery and reintegration process.” |
| **Article 13** | **Economic and social benefits**   * The right to family benefits. * The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit. * The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life. | “The full development of indigenous women in terms of economic/social/cultural life and security is dependent on the recognition of their basic rights to their territories, resources, and self-determination. Part of social security is the family. The disintegration of the family due to displacement and/or conflict creates new and additional challenges for indigenous women as they attempt to negotiate new environments without support from the family.” |
| **Article 14** | **Rural women**   * The right to participate in development planning. * Right to adequate health care facilities, direct social benefits, training and education, and to organize self-help groups and co-operatives to obtain equal access to economic opportunities. * Access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform. * To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport, and communications. | “Indigenous women are equally discriminated against because of their ethnic identities whether in rural or urban settings:   * Individual ownership rights may undermine indigenous systems of livelihood and identity and alienate collective domains, facilitating faster loss of indigenous territories. * Land for indigenous women refers not only to the physical soil, but to the resources below and above it, such as water. Thus, the compartmentalized notion of land in agrarian reform and land settlement schemes does not capture the kind of security that ancestral lands and territories provide to women. * Adequate living conditions and basic security for indigenous women derive from their lands and communities.” |
| **Article 15** | **Equality before the law**   * Equality before the law and courts. * Equal rights to conclude contracts and administer property. * States must nullify contacts and other private instruments that curb women’s legal rights * Freedom of movement and right to choose residence and domicile. | “Equality before the law does not fully address the legal quandary facing indigenous women. As long as their peoples are not recognized, discrimination against indigenous women will prevail.” |
| **Article 16** | **Marriage and family relations**   * Right to freely choose a spouse and enter into marriage with full consent. * Equal rights and responsibilities during marriage and its dissolution. * Right to determine numbers and spacing of children. * Access to information education and means to family planning. * Equal rights and responsibilities regarding guardianship and adoption of children. * Equal rights in ownership, management, and disposal of property. * Nullification of child marriages. * Minimum age for marriage. | “There should be recognition of indigenous institutions and rites on marriage and family, respecting cultural diversity in ritual within the context of human rights guarantees.” |

1. **CEDAW Committee’s Recommendations and Observations Relevant to Indigenous Women**
   1. **General Recommendations**

As of March 2018, the CEDAW Committee has issued 37 General Recommendations. Eight of these—General Recommendation 24 on women and health, General Recommendation 27 on older women, General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict, and post-conflict situations, General Recommendation 33 on women’s access to justice, General Recommendation 34 on rural women, General Recommendation 35 on gender-based violence against women, General Recommendation 36 on the right of girls and women to education, and General Recommendation 37 on gender-related dimensions of disaster risk reduction in the context of climate change—specifically mention indigenous women. The first time that the CEDAW Committee made explicit reference to indigenous women was until 1999—twenty years after the adoption of the Convention—on General Recommendation 24 on women.[[2]](#footnote-2)

CEDAW Committee’s General Recommendation 27 on older women recognizes that “older women who are members of minority, ethnic or indigenous groups, internally displaced or stateless often experience a disproportionate degree of discrimination.”[[3]](#footnote-3) General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations urges States parties to “provide protection against the displacement of indigenous, rural and minority women with special dependency on land.”[[4]](#footnote-4)

In 2004, despite the lack of direct reference to indigenous women, CEDAW Committee’s General Recommendation 25 on temporary special measures incorporated the notion of “multiple forms of discrimination” against women “based on additional grounds such as race, ethnic or religious identity, disability, age, class, caste or other factors.”[[5]](#footnote-5) As stated before, in 2010, in General Recommendation 28 on the core obligations of State parties, the CEDAW Committee formally adopted the term intersectionality to reconceptualize the scope of States parties’ obligations set forth in article 2 of CEDAW.[[6]](#footnote-6)

CEDAW Committee’s General Recommendation 33 on women’s access to justice, adopted in 2015, is highly relevant for indigenous women since it recognizes the “existence of plural justice systems,” which “refers to the coexistence within a State party of State laws, regulations, procedures and decisions on the one hand, and religious, customary, indigenous or community laws and practices on the other.”[[7]](#footnote-7) General Recommendation 33 also elucidates States parties’ obligations under articles 2, 5(a) and 15 of CEDAW “to ensure that women’s rights are equally respected and that women are protected against violations of their human rights by all components of plural justice systems.”[[8]](#footnote-8)

Other CEDAW Committee’s General Recommendations that are highly significant to indigenous women are General Recommendations 12, 19, and 35 on violence against women. The latter, which was published in 2017, states that any existing norms of religious, customary, indigenous and community justice are to be harmonized with CEDAW standards. The Committee recommends to “[r]epeal, including in customary, religious and indigenous laws, all legal provisions that are discriminatory against women and thereby enshrine, encourage, facilitate, justify or tolerate any form of gender-based violence.”[[9]](#footnote-9) In particular, according to the Committee, States should repeal provisions that allow or condone child or forced marriage and other harmful practices as well as provisions that criminalize abortion, prostitution, and adultery.[[10]](#footnote-10) Indigenous women have raised specific concerns regarding CEDAW Committee’s recommendations on violence against women:

“Indigenous women use the terminology ‘violence in the name of tradition’ instead of ‘harmful traditional practices’ to emphasize the equal need to respect as well as be critical of culture, which is a product of historical experiences in peoples’ search for meaning and as part of the context where violence against women (may) occur. Abuse or violence cannot be justified simply by culture or tradition. Other areas not covered under CEDAW, but that are part of violence experiences by indigenous women, are environmental and spiritual violence from development aggression.[[11]](#footnote-11)

CEDAW Committee’s General Recommendation 34 on the rights of rural women provides an intersectional approach to several rights contained in the Convention, including the rights to participate and benefit from rural development, healthcare services, economic and social life, education, employment, political and public life, land and natural resources, and adequate living conditions.[[12]](#footnote-12) Moreover, General Recommendation 34 urges State parties to address the root causes of traffic in women and ensure that anti-trafficking legislation addresses the social and economic challenges faced by rural women and girls, especially in rural areas and indigenous communities.[[13]](#footnote-13) State parties must “ensure that indigenous women in rural areas have equal access with indigenous men to ownership and possession of and control over land, water, forests, fisheries, aquaculture and other resources that they have traditionally owned or occupied.”[[14]](#footnote-14) States parties should “strengthen customary and statutory institutions and mechanisms for defending or protecting women’s rights to land, water and other natural resources, including community paralegal services.”[[15]](#footnote-15)

In addition, States are urged to improve living conditions of indigenous women, “who reside in peripheral regions, which tend to be poorer, more isolated and less connected to social services. They should […] engag[e] local women in the design and implementation of rural development plans.”[[16]](#footnote-16) In addition, in General Recommendation 34, the CEDAW Committee took the unprecedented step of encouraging States parties to translate General Recommendation 34 into national and local languages, including indigenous and minority languages, and to disseminate it widely across all sectors.[[17]](#footnote-17)

In General Recommendation 36 on the right of girls and women to education, published in 2017, the CEDAW Committee recognizes that the majority of girls not in primary school belong to ethnic minority and indigenous groups. The factors that impede their access to education include poverty, discrimination, and instruction delivered in only one (usually the national) language.[[18]](#footnote-18) The Committee recommends States to take all appropriate measures to ensure the right of all disadvantaged groups to education by addressing stereotyping and the low socioeconomic status and living conditions of indigenous girls and women.[[19]](#footnote-19)

In its latest and 37th General Recommendation on gender-related dimensions of disaster risk reduction in the context of climate change, the CEDAW Committee underscores the need to ensure the effective participation of women and indigenous peoples in all initiatives related to climate change.[[20]](#footnote-20) It also mentions States’ responsibility under the Paris Agreement to guide climate change adaptation “by the best available science and, as appropriate, by traditional, indigenous and local knowledge systems.”[[21]](#footnote-21) The Committee recommends State parties to take positive measures to ensure that women from indigenous groups are provided with opportunities to engage in decision-making in disaster risk reduction and climate change activities.[[22]](#footnote-22) Finally, although General Recommendations 16, 21, 23, and 29 do not explicitly mention indigenous women, they are also relevant to an intersectional interpretation and application of CEDAW to advance indigenous women’s rights.[[23]](#footnote-23)

* 1. **Concluding Observations**

In 2002, in its Concluding Observations to Mexico, the CEDAW Committee recognized the effort to build a new relationship between Mexico’s indigenous population, the State, and society, including the design of the National Program for the Development of Indigenous Peoples and a constitutional amendment in favor of indigenous peoples’ rights.[[24]](#footnote-24) Nonetheless, the Committee expressed its concern regarding poverty reduction strategies in indigenous areas and urged Mexico to give priority to women, with special attention to indigenous women, in its poverty strategy.[[25]](#footnote-25)

In 2006, the CEDAW Committee indicated its concern about the level of maternal mortality rates of indigenous women as a consequence of the insufficient access to health services, including sexual and reproductive health care. The Committee noted that abortion remained one of the leading causes of maternal deaths and that women did not have access to safe abortion services. While welcoming the establishment of the national Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples, the Committee was concerned about the higher levels of poverty, illiteracy, and multiple forms of discrimination experienced by indigenous and rural women. It recommended the use of temporary special measures to address the disparities that indigenous and rural women face in relation to access to basic social services and participation in decision-making processes. The Committee requested Mexico, for the first time, to include in its next periodic report data disaggregated by urban and rural areas, by states, and by indigenous population.[[26]](#footnote-26)

In 2012, the CEDAW Committee acknowledged Mexico’s initiatives to translate the Convention into ten indigenous languages and establish indigenous women’s centers for the prevention and treatment of violence and the promotion of sexual and reproductive health. It expressed its concern, however, about the following aspects: (1) the high levels of poverty, illiteracy, and multiple forms of discrimination against indigenous rural women, particularly in Chiapas, Guerrero, and Oaxaca; (2) harmful cultural practices within the indigenous legal systems that are based on gender-stereotyped roles for men and women; (2) the lack of indigenous rural women’s access to land, property, and justice; (4) and Mexico’s public security policy against organized crime that had a negative impact on indigenous rural women, who had been subjected to higher levels of violence, including *feminicidio* by security forces. Among other recommendations, the CEDAW Committee urged Mexico to eliminate the obstacles preventing indigenous women from participating in political life, to adopt temporary measures to improve indigenous women’s access to land and property, to implement relevant legislation to prevent violence against indigenous women, and to ensure that law enforcement officials respect the human rights of indigenous women. [[27]](#footnote-27)

It is important to also pay attention to CEDAW Committee’s Concluding Observations to other countries with large indigenous populations. In 2010, for instance, the Committee congratulated Australia for the creation of forums to allow indigenous people’s voices to be heard, including an independent Indigenous Steering Committee and the National Congress of Australia’s First Peoples—with gender-balanced representation.[[28]](#footnote-28) In 2015, the Committee recommended that Bolivia implement consultation processes to seek the free, prior, and informed consent of indigenous women in decision-making processes for the exploitation of natural resources in their territories.[[29]](#footnote-29) The Committee also suggested that Bolivia organize awareness-raising campaigns in indigenous languages regarding the minimum age to marry, the principle of equality between men and women in marriage, and inheritance rights.[[30]](#footnote-30) In 2016, the Committee suggested that Canada train more indigenous women to provide legal aid to other women from their communities in domestic violence cases and on property rights. Likewise, the Committee recommended that Canada provide capacity building programs and cultural training regarding indigenous women for judges, prosecutors, and police officers.[[31]](#footnote-31)

1. Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, March 28, 2003, AU-AHSG 2nd Ord. Sess., accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.achpr.org/files/instruments/women-protocol/achpr_instr_proto_women_eng.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 24: Article 12 of the Convention (women and health)*, para. 6, Document A/54/38/Rev.1, chap. I (1999), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/453882a73.html> (“special attention should be given to the health needs and rights of women belonging to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, such as migrant women, refugee and internally displaced women, the girl child and older women, women in prostitution, indigenous women and women with physical or mental disabilities.”). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 27 on older women and protection of their human rights*, para. 13, CEDAW/C/GC/27 (2010), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ed3528b2.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations*, para.57(b), CEDAW/C/GC/30 (2013), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/5268d2064.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 25, on Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, on temporary special measures*, para. 12, (2004), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/453882a7e0.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 28 on the core obligations of States parties under Article 2 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, para. 18, CEDAW/C/GC/28 (2010), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4d467ea72.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 33 on women’s access to justice,* para. 5, CEDAW/C/GC/33 (2015), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/1_Global/CEDAW_C_GC_33_7767_E.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 33*, at para. 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 35 on gender-based violence against women, updating general recommendation No. 19,* para. 29 (c), CEDAW/C/GC/35 (2017), available <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/1_Global/CEDAW_C_GC_35_8267_E.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation No. 35,* atpara. 29(c)(i). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Tugendhat and Dictaan-Bang-oa, *Realizing Indigenous Women’s Rights*, 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 34 on the rights of rural women,* para. 15, CEDAW/C/GC/34 (2016), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/1_Global/INT_CEDAW_GEC_7933_E.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 34,* atpara. 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 34,* at para. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 34,* at para. 59(c). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 34,* at para. 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 34,* at para. 97 [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 36 on the right of girls and women to education,* para. 41, CEDAW/C/GC/36 (2017), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/1_Global/CEDAW_C_GC_36_8422_E.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. CEDAW Committee, *General recommendation 36,* at para. 56 (a)(b). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. CEDAW Committee, *General Recommendation No. 37 on Gender-related dimensions of disaster risk reduction in the context of climate change,* para. 17, CEDAW/C/GC/37 (2018), accessed May 8, 2018, http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/1\_Global/CEDAW\_C\_GC\_37\_8642\_E.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. CEDAW Committee, *General Recommendation No.* 37, at para 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. CEDAW Committee, *General Recommendation No.* 37, at para 36(c). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Tugendhat and Dictaan-Bang-oa, *Realizing Indigenous Women’s Rights*, 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. As explained above, in August 2001 the Mexican government reformed article 2 of the Mexican Constitution recognizing indigenous peoples’ rights to self-determination, autonomy, and self-governance. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, para. 417-419, A/57/38(SUPP)

    (May 2, 2002), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=A/57/38(SUPP)&Lang=En> [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Concluding comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Mexico, para. 34, 35, and 37, CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/6 (August 17, 2006), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW%2FC%2FMEX%2FCO%2F6&Lang=es> [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, para. 34-35, CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8 (August 7, 2012), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW/C/MEX/CO/7-8&Lang=En> [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Australia, para 13, CEDAW/C/AUL/CO/7 (July 30, 2010), accessed May 8, 2018, <http://undocs.org/CEDAW/C/AUL/CO/7> [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Concluding Observations on the combined fifth and sixth periodic reports of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, para 34(a), CEDAW/C/BOL/CO/5-6 (July 28, 2015) accessed May 8, 2018, <http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW/C/BOL/CO/5-6&Lang=En> [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Concluding Observations on the combined fifth and sixth periodic reports of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, para 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Concluding Observations on the combined eighth and ninth periodic reports of Canada, para 9, CEDAW/C/CAN/CO/8-9 (November 25, 2016), accessed May 8, 2018, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N16/402/03/PDF/N1640203.pdf?OpenElement> [↑](#footnote-ref-31)