

**Human Rights Watch Submission to the** **Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women**

**Review of Indonesia - 78th Pre-Sessional Working Group**

***June 2020***

We write in advance of the 78th Pre-Sessional Working Group (July 13-17, 2020) of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and its review of the Republic of Indonesia’s compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Indonesia ratified CEDAW in 1984.[[1]](#footnote-1)

**Discriminatory By-laws and Regulations (Articles 1 and 2)**

Under CEDAW, states have an obligation to “refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women,” to ensure that public authorities and institutions similarly refrain from doing so, and to “take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise.”[[2]](#footnote-2)

In its eighth periodic report, the government of Indonesia states, “The equality of all Indonesian citizens as well as their rights to non-discrimination is guaranteed under various legal provisions,” namely a) the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, in article 28I(2) on freedom from and protection against discriminatory treatment on any basis; b) Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights in article 3(2) on equality before the law, and 3(3) on freedom from discrimination.[[3]](#footnote-3)

Indonesia’s mandatory hijab regulations, which mandate that women and girls wear hijabs, prohibit them from wearing close-fitting clothing, and require them to cover their bodies except their hands, feet, and face, are contrary to its international legal obligations. Indonesia’s National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) identified how hundreds of discriminatory national and local regulations are harming women, including forcing women and girls to wear the hijab in government buildings, schools or public places, curfews, and other restrictions against women and girls.[[4]](#footnote-4)

In June 2014, Education Minister Mohammad Nuh issued a regulation that, while ambiguously worded, implied that all female Muslim students, from grades 1 to 12, must wear a hijab as part of their school uniform.[[5]](#footnote-5) Many government officials and schools have interpreted the regulation that way. Currently, most of Indonesia’s almost 300,000 public schools, particularly in the 24 predominantly Muslim provinces of a total 34 provinces, require Muslim girls to wear the hijab beginning in primary school.[[6]](#footnote-6)

Some provinces and regencies have introduced local rules that force even non-Muslim girls to wear hijabs, such as West Sumatra[[7]](#footnote-7) and Aceh[[8]](#footnote-8) on Sumatra, and Yogyakarta[[9]](#footnote-9) and Banyuwangi[[10]](#footnote-10) on Java.

Human Rights Watch opposes both forced veiling and blanket bans on the wearing of religious dress as disproportionate and discriminatory interference with basic rights.

Aceh is the only one of Indonesia’s 34 provinces that can legally adopt provincial [bylaws derived from Sharia](https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/02/indonesia-acehs-new-islamic-laws-violate-rights) (Islamic law). Since those bylaws went into effect in 2001, Human Rights Watch has [documented](https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/12/01/indonesia-local-sharia-laws-violate-rights-aceh) human rights abuses linked to enforcement of Sharia-inspired bylaws prohibiting adultery and imposing public dress requirements on Muslims. While the dress requirement is gender-neutral on its face, in practice it imposes far more onerous restrictions on women with the mandatory hijab and long skirts.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Aceh’s so-called Sharia police have interpreted the broadly worded Sharia-inspired [adultery law](https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/12/01/indonesia-local-sharia-laws-violate-rights-aceh) to prohibit merely sitting and talking in a “quiet” space with a person of a different sex to whom one is not married or related – even without any evidence of intimacy. Human Rights Watch has [documented such abuses](https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/12/01/indonesia-local-sharia-laws-violate-rights-aceh) as aggressive interrogation, conditioning the release of suspects upon their agreement to marry, and, in one case, the Sharia police’s rape of a woman during her detention.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Aceh’s 2014 bylaws, called the Principles of the Islamic Bylaw and the Islamic criminal code (*qanun jinayah*), also created discriminatory offenses that do not exist in Indonesia’s national laws. The bylaws extend Sharia to non-Muslims and criminalize consensual same-sex sexual acts as well as all *zina* (sexual relations outside of marriage). The criminal code permits as punishment up to 100 lashes and up to 100 months in prison for same-sex sex acts, while *zina* violations carry a penalty of 100 lashes.[[13]](#footnote-13)

Another challenge is the proposed new criminal code now being deliberated in the Indonesian parliament. It contains articles that would violate the rights of women, religious minorities, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people, as well as freedom of speech and association.

Certain provisions effectively censor the dissemination of information about contraception and criminalize abortions. Such unreasonable restrictions violate the right to health and jeopardize numerous other human rights, including the rights to bodily integrity, nondiscrimination, equality, privacy, information, and the right to decide on the number and spacing of children.

Articles 417, 419, and 421 of the draft violate the right to privacy, protected under international law, by prohibiting forms of private sexual conduct between consenting adults. Criminalizing extramarital sex effectively criminalizes all same-sex conduct, since same-sex relationships are not recognized in Indonesia. It will also subject all sex workers to criminal prosecution. Such provisions can reinforce or exacerbate discriminatory social norms and have heightened impact on women, who may face pressure to enter forced marriages if accused of sex outside of marriage or an increase in societal “policing” of their behavior.[[14]](#footnote-14)

*We encourage the Committee to pose the following questions to the Indonesian government:*

* Will the Indonesian government undertake a review and commit to ensuring that all discriminatory national and locals laws affecting women and girls are repealed, and all discriminatory policies are prohibited?
* Regarding Aceh, will the national home affairs minister review and repeal any discriminatory local bylaws that contradict Indonesia’s 1945 Constitution and Indonesia’s international human rights obligations?

**Harmful Practices Including “Virginity Testing” (Articles 1, 2 and 5)**

The Indonesian armed forces and some elements of the National Police are still implementing the unscientific, abusive, and discriminatory “two-finger test” or so-called “virginity tests” when recruiting young women. In 2017, senior military and police officers with knowledge of the policy told Human Rights Watch that the security forces continue to impose these cruel and discriminatory “tests,” which are officially classified as “psychological” examinations, for “mental health and morality reasons.”[[15]](#footnote-15)

In 2019, Iroth Sonny Edhie, a chief aide and head of protocol for the Indonesian defense minister, told *The Telegraph* that “virginity tests” were a central aspect of recruitment. He said, “A woman or girl should be assessed based on her virginity, it is based on our culture and our values. We have a protocol that as a woman, as a lady, you should maintain or preserve your virginity before you go [on] to marriage. Basically, this value has been preserved since our armed forces was established around 70 years ago.”[[16]](#footnote-16)

The testing includes an invasive examination of a women’s genitals and vagina, with the stated goal of determining whether her hymen is intact. Such findings are [scientifically baseless](https://reproductive-health-journal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12978-017-0319-0). While Human Rights Watch [found](https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/05/13/indonesia-military-imposing-virginity-tests) that applicants who were deemed to have “failed” were not necessarily penalized, all of the women with whom we spoke with described the test as painful, embarrassing, and traumatic.

Virginity testing is a form of gender-based violence, is a widely discredited practice, and can constitute sexual assault. In 2014, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and the Committee on the Rights of the Child issued joint General Recommendation No. 31/General Comment No. 18 on harmful practices, which included “virginity testing” as a harmful practice that states should eliminate.[[17]](#footnote-17)

In 2018, the World Health Organization, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and UN Women declared that this unscientific and discriminatory practice is a violation of women and girls’ right to privacy and physical integrity, the right to the highest attainable standard of health, the right to be protected from discrimination based on sex, the right to life, the right to be free from torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, and the rights of the child.[[18]](#footnote-18)

General Recommendation 31/General Comment 18 also mentioned child marriage, polygamy, and so-called “honor crimes.” In September 2019, Indonesia’s parliament revised the 1974 marriage law, raising the minimum age of marriage for girls and boys with parental consent from 16 to 19, but retaining a clause that allows courts to authorize marriages of girls below 19, with no minimum age restriction. Around [14 percent of girls in Indonesia](https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/child-marriage/indonesia/) are married before age 18, and 1 percent marry before age 15. On May 9, 2020, in Bantaeng, South Sulawesi, In what could be Indonesia’s first so-called “honor killing,” two brothers killed their 16-year-old sister, suspecting that she had an intimate relationship with another man.[[19]](#footnote-19) They are charged with murder.[[20]](#footnote-20)

In Indonesia, more than 57,000 people with psychosocial disabilities, including women and girls, have been subjected to *pasung* –shackled or locked up in confined space– at least once in their lives. Stigma and the absence of adequate mental health care result in these women being locked up in overcrowded and unsanitary institutions, where they face abuses – physical and sexual violence, involuntary treatment, seclusion, restraint and forced contraception.[[21]](#footnote-21)

*We encourage the Committee to pose the following questions to the Indonesian government:*

* What steps has the Indonesian government taken to stop “virginity testing”?
* Will the Ministry of Health issue a public statement condemning “virginity testing” and demand that Indonesia’s police and military cease inflicting it on female applicants?[[22]](#footnote-22)

**Indigenous Women and Land Rights (Article 14(2))**

Between 2001 to 2017, Indonesia lost 24 million hectares of forest cover, mostly on the islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Papua. Government sources estimate that oil palm plantations account for over half of all forest depletion in Indonesia, with about 14 million hectares of land under oil palm production.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Deforestation on such massive scale threatens the well-being and culture of the Indigenous population and has global significance associated with climate change. Companies clear and burn forests for oil palm plantations contributing to serious air pollution, risks to respiratory health across the region, and a spike in carbon emissions.

Indonesia is home to about 50 to 70 million Indigenous people and over 2,330 Indigenous communities. Most Indigenous communities have not been legally recognized due to a poorly set up regulatory framework.

Without forests, Indigenous women cannot pass on intergenerational knowledge and skills, such as weaving mats and baskets. They also lost the supplemental incomes from sales of these products. In cases where monetary compensation was made to some households it did not account for loss of the community’s *adat forest* (literally, customary forests), wild rubber, and other forest products that women in particular used for food or as a source of revenue.

*We encourage the Committee to pose the following questions to the Indonesian government:*

* How will the Indonesian government recognize and protect Indigenous peoples, including Indigenous women, and their community rights to land and forests?
* How will the Indonesian government ensure that Indigenous women are involved in formulating policies related to management of Indigenous peoples’ territories?
* What steps has the Indonesian government taken to review proposed, ongoing, and completed resettlement to ensure that displaced Indigenous communities, including women, were involved in planning and implementing just, fair, and equitable compensation in accordance with international human rights standards?
* What steps has the Indonesian government taken to ensure that all companies operating plantations carry out robust human rights due diligence and provide just, fair, and equitable compensation in accordance with international human rights standards?

**Lesbian and Bisexual Women and Transgender People (Article 2)**

Indonesian authorities have failed to protect the basic rights of LGBT people. Human Rights Watch has documented numerous cases of intimidation, humiliation, and arbitrary arrest on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity ever since Aceh officially enforced the Islamic criminal code in October 2015, which criminalizes same-sex relations. Women accused of “lesbian deviant behavior,”[[24]](#footnote-24) as well as trans women,[[25]](#footnote-25) have been victims of arrest. The anti-LGBT campaign intensified nationally in 2016 when top government officials issued anti-LGBT statements. [[26]](#footnote-26) Now more local governments, such as in West Java, have ordinances to criminalize same-sex relations.[[27]](#footnote-27)

As noted above, the draft criminal code punishes extramarital sex by up to one year in jail, impacting lesbian and bisexual women as well as many trans people, who are often perceived as gay.[[28]](#footnote-28)

In 2017, the Constitutional Court upheld basic rights and rejected a petition that sought to criminalize adult consensual same-sex conduct, which neither Indonesia nor the colonial Netherlands Indies had ever done throughout its history. The parliamentary drafting committee for the penal code revision process rejected similar appeals.

*We encourage the Committee to pose the following question to the Indonesian government:*

* Will the Indonesian government make it clear to parliamentarians, who currently propose criminalizing sex outside of marriage, including same-sex conduct, that such measures violate the constitution and Indonesia’s international human rights obligations?

**Protection of Education During Armed Conflict (Article 10)**

Ongoing clashes between the Indonesian security forces and Papuan militants in the five-decade low-level insurgency in West Papua and Papua provinces has had an adverse effect on education. Fifteen of the 16 schools in Nduga regency were closed as of April 2019.[[29]](#footnote-29)

Attacks on students and schools, and the use of schools for military purposes, disproportionately affect girls, who are sometimes the focus of targeted attacks and are more likely to be kept out of school due to security concerns.[[30]](#footnote-30)

Between 2015 and 2019, the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack identified 12 incidents of attacks on education, either in Papua or other provinces in Indonesia, related to repression of Papuan students who spoke out events in the region.[[31]](#footnote-31)

As of April 2020, Indonesia was contributing 2,847 troops to UN peacekeeping operations around the world. Such troops are required to comply with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations “UN Infantry Battalion Manual” (2012), which includes the provision that “schools shall not be used by the military in their operations.”[[32]](#footnote-32)

The Safe Schools Declaration is an inter-governmental political commitment that provides countries the opportunity to express political support for the protection of students, teachers, and schools during times of armed conflict;[[33]](#footnote-33) the importance of the continuation of education during armed conflict; and the implementation of the *Guidelines for Protecting Schools and Universities from Military Use during Armed Conflict.*[[34]](#footnote-34) As of June 2020, 104 countries have endorsed the Safe Schools Declaration. Indonesia has not endorsed this important declaration.

*We encourage the Committee to pose the following questions to the Indonesian government:*

* Are protections for schools and universities from military use included in the pre-deployment training provided to Indonesian troops participating in UN peacekeeping missions?
* Do any Indonesian laws, policies, or trainings provide explicit protection for schools and universities from military use during armed conflict?
* Why has the government of Indonesia not endorsed the Safe Schools Declaration, and brought the *Guidelines for Protecting Schools and Universities from Military Use during Armed Conflict* into domestic military policy and operational frameworks?

1. United Nations Treaty Database (Geneva: United Nations Human Rights), <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=80&Lang=EN> (accessed on May 28, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), G.A. res. 34/180, 34 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 46) at 193, U.N. Doc. A/34/46, *entered into force* Sept. 3, 1981, art. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. “Indonesia State Report: Eighth periodic report submitted by Indonesia under article 18 of the Convention, due in 2016,” Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, October 22, 2019, <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW%2fC%2fPER%2f9&Lang=en> (accessed on June 3, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Andy Yentriyani, Azriana, Ismail Hasani, Kamala Chandrakirana, Taty Krisnawaty, Atas Nama Otonomi Daerah: *Pelembagaan Diskriminasi Dalam Tatanan Negara-Bangsa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan, 2010), <https://www.komnasperempuan.go.id/file/pdf_file/Modul%20dan%20Pedoman/PP2_Atas%20Nama%20Otonomi%20Daerah.pdf> (accessed on May 25, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. “Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan tentang Pakaian Seragam Sekolah Bagi Peserta Didik Jenjang Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah” (Minister of Education and Culture Regulation on School Uniform for Primary and High Education), no. 45/2014, <http://simpuh.kemenag.go.id/regulasi/permendikbud_45_14.pdf> (accessed on August 7, 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. These 24 provinces have about 214 million people or around 90 percent of a total national population of 238 million in 2010. A 2019 report by the Jakarta-based Alvara Research Centre found that about 75 percent of Muslim women in Indonesia were wearing the hijab. Alvara Research Center, *Indonesia Muslim Report 2019*: *The Challenges of Indonesia Moderate Moslems* (Jakarta: December 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. In August 2005, Gamawan Fauzi, the governor of West Sumatra, issued a letter number 260/2005, calling on all Muslims to wear Islamic attire. A copy is available upon request. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Human Rights Watch, *Policing Morality: Abuses in the Application of Sharia in Aceh, Indonesia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2010) <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/11/30/policing-morality/abuses-application-sharia-aceh-indonesia>. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. “Ombudsman Minta Revisi Aturan Wajib Jilbab di SMP Yogyakarta,” (Ombusdman Asks Revision of the Mandatory Hijab Regulation in Yogyakarta School), *CNN Indonesia*, February 8, 2019, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190208074321-20-367371/ombudsman-minta-revisi-aturan-wajib-jilbab-di-smp-yogyakarta> (accessed on April 21, 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. On July 16, 2017, *Kompas* newspaper reported that Yenima Swandina Alfa, a new student in SMPN3 junior high school in Genteng area, Banyuwangi, had cancelled her enrollment after she was asked to sign a document declaring that she was willing to wear the hijab as part of her school uniform despite her Catholic faith. Banyuwangi regent Abdullah Azwar Anas apologized to her and her parents, asking the school to revoke the rule but Human Rights Watch had verified that the school did not do that as of August 2018. “Ada Diskriminasi Terhadap Siswi Non Muslim di Banyuwangi, Bupati Anas Marah,” (Discrimination Against Non-Muslim Student in Banyuwang, Regent Anas Upset), *Kompas*, July 16, 2017, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2017/07/16/23005061/ada-diskriminasi-terhadap-siswi-non-muslim-di-banyuwangi-bupati-anas-marah> (accessed on May 25, 2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Human Rights Watch, *Policing Morality: Abuses in the Application of Sharia in Aceh, Indonesia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2010), <https://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2010/12/01/policing-morality-0>. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. “Indonesia: Local Sharia Laws Violate Rights in Aceh,” Human Rights Watch news release, December 1, 2010, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/12/01/indonesia-local-sharia-laws-violate-rights-aceh>. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. “Indonesia: Aceh’s New Islamic Laws Violate Rights,” Human Rights Watch news release, October 2, 2014, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/02/indonesia-acehs-new-islamic-laws-violate-rights>. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. “Indonesia: Draft Criminal Code Disastrous for Rights,” Human Rights Watch news release, September 18, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/18/indonesia-draft-criminal-code-disastrous-rights>. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. “Indonesia: No End to Abusive ‘Virginity Tests’”, Human Rights Watch news release, November 22, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/11/22/indonesia-no-end-abusive-virginity-tests>. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Sarah Newey and Nicola Smith, “’A gross violation’: UK must demand an end to Indonesian military's invasive virginity testing, say experts,” *The Telegraph*, May 29, 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/global-health/women-and-girls/gross-violation-uk-must-demand-end-indonesian-militarys-invasive/> (accessed on June 1, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. “General Recommendation,” CEDAW and CRC, 2014, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N14/627/78/PDF/N1462778.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed on June 3, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. World Health Organization, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nation Women, *Eliminating Virginity Testing: An Interagency Statement* (Geneva: United Nations, 2018), <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/275451/WHO-RHR-18.15-eng.pdf?ua=1> (accessed on June 3, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Amy Chew, “Indonesian honour killing: brutal death of schoolgirl Rosmini Darwis, 16, sparks copycat fears,” *South China Morning Post*, May 31, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/people/article/3086764/indonesian-honour-killing-brutal-death-schoolgirl-rosmini-darwis> (accessed on June 3, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Human Rights Watch, *Living in Hell: Abuses against People with Psychosocial Disabilities in Indonesia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2016), https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/03/20/living-hell/abuses-against-people-psychosocial-disabilities-indonesia. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. “Indonesia: Medical Groups Silent on Abusive ‘Virginity Tests’”, Human Rights Watch news release, July 3, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/03/07/indonesia-medical-groups-silent-abusive-virginity-tests>. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Human Rights Watch, “*When We Lost the Forest, We Lost Everything”: Oil Palm Plantations and Rights Violations in Indonesia* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2019), <https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/09/23/when-we-lost-forest-we-lost-everything/oil-palm-plantations-and-rights-violations>. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. “Indonesia: Stop Raids on Homes of ‘Suspected Lesbians’,” Human Rights Watch news release, September 5, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/09/05/indonesia-stop-raids-homes-suspected-lesbians>. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Kyle Knight, “Vigilantes Stalk Indonesian Transgender Women,” Human Rights Watch dispatch, December 18, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/12/18/vigilantes-stalk-indonesian-transgender-women>. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Andreas Harsono, “Indonesian Police Harass Transgender Women,” Human Rights Watch dispatch, November 8, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/11/08/indonesian-police-harass-transgender-women>. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. “Indonesia: Fresh Wave of Anti-LGBT Rhetoric, Arrests,” Human Rights Watch news release, October 29, 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/10/29/indonesia-fresh-wave-anti-lgbt-rhetoric-arrests>. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. “Indonesia: Draft Criminal Code Disastrous for Rights,” Human Rights Watch news release, September 18, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/18/indonesia-draft-criminal-code-disastrous-rights>. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. “Over 37,000 displaced by separatist conflict in Indonesia’s Papua province,” *Agencia EFE,* April 3, 2019, <https://www.efe.com/efe/english/agencia-efe/over-37-000-displaced-by-separatist-conflict-in-indonesia-s-papua-province/50000270-3943024>

    “Hundreds of students flee violence in Papua,” *The Jakarta Post,* February 20, 2019, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/02/20/hundreds-of-students-flee-violence-in-papua.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, General Recommendation No. 30, Access to Education, U.N Doc. CEDAW/C/GC/30 (2013), para. 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Information provided by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual, 2012, section 2.13, “Schools shall not be used by the military in their operations.” [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Safe Schools Declaration, May 28, 2015, <https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/departementene/ud/vedlegg/utvikling/safe_schools_declaration.pdf>  
    (accessed January 23, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Guidelines for Protecting Schools and Universities from Military Use during Armed Conflict, March 18, 2014, <http://protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/guidelines_en.pdf> (accessed January 23, 2020). [↑](#footnote-ref-34)