

Universal Periodic Review

All country summary and recommendations

related to the right to a
nationality and the rights of
stateless persons

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This document highlights the **statelessness** related challenges in States that will be reviewed during the 42nd Session of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR): **Argentina, Benin, Czech Republic, Gabon, Ghana, Guatemala, Japan, Republic of Korea, Pakistan, Peru, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Ukraine and Zambia**. The issues raised in this summary include gender and racial discrimination in nationality laws, arbitrary deprivation of nationality and the child's right to a nationality. All recommending states are urged to draw on this document when formulating recommendations to States under review. In addition to this summary, the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI) and its partners made joint submissions on human rights and statelessness issues in [Czech Republic](#), [Pakistan](#) and [Switzerland](#).

Argentina

Argentina is a party both to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. No data is available on stateless people in the country. In 2019, Argentina adopted the General Law of Recognition and Protection of Stateless Persons which represents a significant milestone to address statelessness in the country. The new provision recognises the National Refugee Commission (CONARE) as the national body to address statelessness in Argentina. The Law introduces a statelessness determination procedure with free legal assistance and interpretation during the process and facilitated naturalisation rules for recognised stateless people. Further, late birth registrations will be implemented in case individuals who were born in Argentina are found to be at risk of statelessness.¹ In February 2021, UNHCR agreed to cooperate with the Argentinian Ministry of Defence for better statelessness determination by ensuring, for instance, adequate training to officials working on the procedure and public information along with reliable data on statelessness in the country.²

Proposed recommendations:

1. Monitor and regularly evaluate the implementation of the stateless determination procedure to ensure compliance with the international law.
2. Collect and make public accurate data regarding stateless people in the country.

Benin

Benin is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. No data is available on stateless people in the country. Benin adopted an Action Plan to eradicate statelessness in 2014 which was meant to be reviewed and adapted to the Banjul Action Plan five years later. However, it remains unclear if any relevant action has been taken by the Government.³ During the 37th Session of the Universal Periodic Review, Benin received six recommendations on advancing the birth registration process, particularly due to low level of registration in rural areas.⁴ Benin is a party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) to ensure a child's right to acquire a nationality. While under the law children of stateless parents have access to nationality, children of foreign parents who cannot transfer their nationality do not. Furthermore, children born out of wedlock do not have the same rights to acquire nationality as children born in wedlock to Beninese parents. Benin is also one of 25 countries that still denies women equal rights to transmit their nationality to their child and foreign spouses. In May 2022, Benin reported to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that *"a new Nationality Code is under consideration by the National Assembly, with a view to eliminating the gender-based discrimination with regard to nationality identified by the Constitutional Court."*⁵ In November 2022, the Beninese Parliament voted to revise the Nationality Code and address gender discriminatory provisions but more information is necessary on the content of the new law and steps to implement it.⁶

Proposed recommendations:

1. Ensure that all otherwise stateless children in Benin enjoy the right to acquire a nationality without discrimination.
2. Eliminate gender discrimination in nationality legislation, particularly for children born to Beninese mothers and foreign fathers and spouses married to Beninese women.
3. Continue with efforts to ensure free birth registration for all.

¹ General Law of Recognition and Protection of Stateless Persons (Ley General de Reconocimiento y Protección de las Personas Apátridas), Law 27512, (August 2019).

² UNHCR and the Argentinian Ministry of Defence, 'Agreement on Reciprocal Cooperation. Regarding the quality asylum initiative project and straightening of the procedure for determining the status of refugee and stateless person in the Republic of Argentina' (Acuerdo Marco de Cooperación Recíproca. Relativo al Proyecto de iniciativa de asilo de calidad y fortalecimiento del procedimiento de la condición de refugiado y de apátrida en la República Argentina), (Febrero 2021), available at: <https://www.refworld.org/es/docid/603891824.html>.

³ Matin Libre, 'Amnesty International Bénin/Lutte Contre l'Apatrié au Bénin: Un Atelier pour Réviser le Plan d'Action National' (Amnesty International Benin/ Fight Against Statelessness in Benin: A Workshop to revise the National Action Plan), (July 2022), available at: <https://matinlibre.com/2022/07/20/amnesty-international-benin-lutte-contre-lapatridie-au-benin-un-atelier-pour-reviser-le-plan-daction-national/>.

⁴ Human Rights Council, 'Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review. Benin', A/HRC/37/10, (January 2018); More information is available at: <https://database.institutesi.org/>.

⁵ CEDAW, 'Fifth Periodic Report Submitted by Benin Under Article 18 of the Convention, Due in 2017', CEDAW/C/BEN/5, (May 2022); More information is available at: <https://database.institutesi.org/>.

⁶ ORTB, Bénin: le code de la nationalité révisé pour plus d'égalité homme-femme, <https://ortb.bj/a-la-une/benin-le-code-de-la-nationalite-revise-pour-plus-degalite-homme-femme/> (accessed 8 December 2022).

Czech Republic

Czech Republic is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. However, Czech Republic retains a number of significant reservations to the 1954 Convention, including by restricting the right to identity papers (Article 27) and travel documents (Article 28) to stateless people holding permanent residence permits. No official data is available on stateless people in the country. UNHCR estimates 1,500 stateless people, based on a mapping study on statelessness carried out in 2018.⁷ The Czech Republic does not have a dedicated statelessness determination procedure. Since 2019, the Ministry of Interior has issued decisions identifying individuals as stateless under the 1954 Convention, but there is no clear procedure set for these decisions, although jurisprudence requires that rules applying to the refugee determination procedure should apply. There are also gaps in the legal framework to protect stateless people from arbitrary immigration detention.⁸ Czech Republic has some safeguards in place to prevent childhood statelessness, but the safeguard for children born in the Czech Republic is only partial and depends on the actions or status of parents as the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) reported when reviewing the State Party in 2021.⁹

Proposed recommendations:

1. Establish a clear and predictable statelessness determination procedure that guarantees basic procedural rights and safeguards.
2. End the detention of children and families, especially in closed immigration detention centres, and introduce feasible and accessible alternatives to detention, including non-custodial accommodation for migrant families with children.
3. Introduce a full safeguard in nationality law, policy, and practice to ensure that children born in the Czech Republic have their nationality status determined, irrespective of the actions or status of their parents, to guarantee the child's right to a nationality and ensure that stateless children born in the Czech Republic acquire a nationality.

Gabon

Gabon is not a party to either the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. It is however party to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) to ensure a child's right to acquire a nationality. No data is available on stateless people in the country. While Gabon grants nationality to children born to stateless parents, its safeguard against childhood statelessness is not comprehensive. Children born on territory to foreign parents who cannot transmit their nationality are not protected against statelessness. Further, for a child of foreign parents to acquire nationality, both parents must be born in Gabon; and children born out of wedlock face barriers in acquiring a nationality. There are also concerns about children raised by Gabonese citizens but born in border areas between Gabon and neighbouring countries. These children can claim Gabonese citizenship if they make a declaration of residence in Gabon for the preceding ten years, if they fulfil certain criteria.¹⁰ The CRC has previously expressed its concern regarding the low level of birth registration in the country.¹¹

Proposed recommendations:

1. Accede to both the 1954 and 1961 Conventions and take all steps necessary to implement them.
2. Ensure that all otherwise stateless children born in Gabon enjoy the right to acquire a nationality in accordance with the CRC and ACRWC.
3. Ensure free, universal birth registration so that all children born in the territory obtain a birth certificate.

Ghana

Ghana is not a party to either the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. However, Ghana has commitments under the Abidjan Declaration and the Banjul Plan of Action on the eradication of statelessness. No data is available on stateless people in the country. Men who wish to become citizens through marriage with a Ghanaian citizen need to be permanent residents when applying for nationality. Further, some populations in Ghana such as the ethnic Fulani and Hausa, face serious difficulties in acquiring Ghanaian nationality. They are deemed non-indigenous groups and are, therefore, not considered Ghanaians. Based

⁷ UNHCR, 'Faces of Statelessness in the Czech Republic', (December 2020), available at: <https://index.statelessness.eu/sites/default/files/UNHCR%2C%20Faces%20of%20Statelessness%20in%20the%20Czech%20Republic%20%282020%29.pdf>.

⁸ European Network on Statelessness (ENS), 'Statelessness Index. Czech Republic', available at: <https://index.statelessness.eu/country/czech-republic>.

⁹ CRC, 'Concluding Observations on the Combined Fifth and Sixth Periodic Reports of Czechia', CRC/C/CZE/CO/5-6, (October 2021); More information is available at: <https://database.institutesi.org/>.

¹⁰ Code de Nationalité (Nationality Code), Articles 10, 13 and 14.

¹¹ CEDAW, 'Concluding Observations on the Seventh Periodic Report of Gabon', CEDAW/C/GAB/CO/7, (March 2022); More information is available at: <https://database.institutesi.org/>.

on discriminatory grounds, they are denied access to nationality documentation which renders them at risk of statelessness. Undocumented migrants and refugees in protracted exile in Ghana – particularly those from Liberia and Sierra Leone - are also at risk of statelessness.¹² Several UN mechanisms expressed their concerns regarding the low number of birth registrations in the country and no official data can be found in this regard.¹³

Proposed recommendation:

1. Accede to both the 1954 and 1961 Conventions and take all steps necessary to implement them.
2. Address discrimination and protect minority ethnic groups from statelessness.
3. Ensure that all otherwise stateless children born in Ghana – including children born to refugees and migrants - enjoy the right to acquire a nationality in accordance with the CRC and ACRWC.
4. Ensure free, universal birth registration so that all children born in the territory obtain a birth certificate.
5. Conduct a mapping study on statelessness and make data on statelessness publicly available.

Guatemala

Guatemala is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. No data is available on stateless people in the country. It is unclear what efforts have been followed to ensure birth registration for all. Furthermore, there is no dedicated statelessness determination procedure to identify and protect stateless persons, which inhibits the country's ability to produce and publish clear data on statelessness, as raised by the CRC in 2021.¹⁴

Proposed recommendations:

1. Ensure free, universal birth registration and provide all children born in the territory – particularly those born in indigenous communities – with a birth certificate.
2. Conduct a mapping study on statelessness and make data on statelessness publicly available.

Japan

Japan is not a party to either the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. According to UNCHR, there were 707 stateless people in the country in 2021.¹⁵ Statelessness is not defined in Japanese law and Japan does not have a statelessness determination procedure. Further, if a stateless person without residence status is not granted 'Special Permission to Stay' they will be subjected to deportation. In such circumstances, stateless people are at risk of indefinite and arbitrary detention as there is no time limitation for the detention of "foreigners" pending removal. On 14 October 2022, the Bill for the Partial Amendments of the Civil Code and Other Laws was submitted for consideration by Parliament. This Bill contains different measures aimed to address the situation of *mukosekisha* (persons of Japanese nationality not registered on family registers) and to protect the best interests of the child. However, the Bill also includes an 'exception' to these revised rules which would allow the nationality of a child to be retroactively repealed if evidence comes to light that the parents are not the biological parents of the child.¹⁶

Proposed recommendations:

1. Accede to both the 1954 and 1961 Conventions and take all steps necessary to implement them.
2. Establish a clear and predictable statelessness determination procedure in the law that guarantees basic procedural rights and safeguards.
3. Ensure that all children born in Japan, who do not acquire any other nationality, are automatically conferred Japanese nationality at birth and that children with Japanese nationality are not deprived of their nationality.
4. End Japan's practice of indefinite detention and ensure that detention is implemented as a last resort, only when necessary and proportionate, after all alternatives are exhausted.

Pakistan

Pakistan is not a party to either the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. According to UNHCR, there were 47 stateless people in Pakistan in 2021.¹⁷ However, in

¹² R. A. Atuguba, 'Statelessness in West Africa: An Assessment of Stateless Populations and Legal, Policy, and Administrative Frameworks in Ghana', (January 2020), available at: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2331502419900771>.

¹³ More information is available at: <https://database.institutesi.org/>.

¹⁴ CRC, 'List of Issues Prior to Submission of the Seventh Periodic Report of Guatemala', CRC/C/GTM/QPR/7, (October 2021).

¹⁵ UNHCR, 'Global Trends 2021. Statelessness', Annex, Table 5, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends.html>.

¹⁶ UNCHR, 'UNHCR Comments on the Bill for the Partial Amendments of the Civil Code and Other Laws', (October 2022), available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/63610d624.html>.

¹⁷ UNHCR, 'Global Trends 2021. Statelessness', Annex, Table 5, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends.html>.

a 2021 article on COVID vaccinations, a senior government health official estimated the stateless population at 3 million.¹⁸ Pakistani nationality can be acquired both through birth and descent.¹⁹ Pakistan maintains gender discriminatory provisions in its nationality laws. Pakistan's jus soli provisions have been interpreted to provide citizenship to all children born on the territory of Pakistan, except those whose fathers have diplomatic immunity, are enemies of the state or aliens (despite the terminology used being "enemy aliens"). Further, Pakistani women cannot transmit their nationality to a foreign spouse on an equal footing with Pakistani men. Pakistan is home to extremely large populations who are stateless or at risk of statelessness such as ethnic Bengalis, Afghan refugees, Urdu speaking Biharis and Rohingyas. These groups have been completely left out of efforts to facilitate citizenship and struggle to access national identity documents as well as basic human rights.²⁰

Proposed recommendations:

1. Accede to both the 1954 and 1961 Conventions and take all steps necessary to implement them.
2. Amend section 10 of the Citizenship Act of 1951 with a view to bring it into full compliance with article 9 CEDAW by enabling Pakistani women to transmit their nationality to a foreign spouse on an equal footing with Pakistani men.
3. Expand the interpretation of Pakistan's jus soli citizenship provision in section 4 of the Pakistan Citizenship Act, in accordance with Pakistan's international law obligations, in order to facilitate citizenship acquisition of children born on the territory to non-Pakistani parents who are not deemed to be "enemy aliens."
4. Ensure equal implementation of its citizenship laws with a view to extend citizenship to Bengali, Bihari, Rohingya and other stateless groups.

Peru

Peru is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. No data is available on stateless people in the country. There is no dedicated statelessness determination procedure to identify and protect stateless persons, which inhibits the country's ability to produce and publish any clear data on statelessness. Peru hosts around 1,5 million Venezuelans. Many of them encounter obstacles to present identity documents to obtain birth certificates for their children.²¹

Proposed recommendations:

1. Establish a clear and predictable statelessness determination procedure in the law that guarantees basic procedural rights and safeguards.
2. Ensure free, universal birth registration and provide birth certificates to all children born in the territory, regardless of their own or their parents' nationality, race, religion, or legal or social status.
3. Conduct a mapping study on statelessness and make data on statelessness publicly available.

Republic of Korea

Republic of Korea is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons, but not the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. According to UNHCR, there were 202 stateless people in the country in 2021.²² However, there are no comprehensive statistics on statelessness, nor is there a procedure for the identification and protection of stateless persons. Multiple UN mechanisms recommended the Republic of Korea improve its system of birth registration. The current birth registration system excludes children without the Republic of Korea's nationality who face greater barriers on exercising their right to birth registration.²³

Proposed recommendations:

1. Accede to the 1961 Convention and take all steps necessary to implement it.
2. Establish a clear and predictable statelessness determination procedure in law that guarantees basic procedural rights and safeguards.
3. Introduce a universal birth registration system which ensures that every child born within the jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea is officially registered, regardless of their own or their parents' nationality, race, religion, or legal or social status.

¹⁸ Zia Ur Rehman, 'Bengali and Rohingya Leaders Gearing up for LG Polls,' The News, (August 2015) <https://web.archive.org/web/20150814203153/http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-4-333213-Bengaliand-Rohingya-leaders-gearing-up-for-LG-polls>, accessed 8 December 2022.

¹⁹ The Pakistani Citizenship Act, (April 1951), Articles 3 and 4.

²⁰ Imkaan Welfare Organisation, Nationality For All (NFA) and the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI), 'Joint Submission to the Human Rights Council at the 42nd Session of the Universal Periodic Review', (July 2022), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/UPR42_Pakistan.pdf.

²¹ CEDAW, 'Concluding Observations on the Ninth Periodic Report of Peru', CEDAW/C/PER/9, (March 2022).

²² UNHCR, 'Global Trends 2021. Statelessness', Annex, Table 5, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends.html>.

²³ More information is available at: <https://database.institutesi.org/>.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is not a party to either the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. According to UNHCR, there were 35 stateless people in the country in 2021.²⁴ Sri Lanka is considered to have 'resolved' a large-scale situation of statelessness among its hill country Tamil population, through the adoption of a dedicated law in 2003 which offered them recognition as Sri Lankan citizens and was subsequently implemented through a citizenship campaign. However, Hill Country Tamils remain one of the most discriminated against and economically, socially and politically marginalised communities in the country.²⁵

Proposed recommendations:

1. Accede to both the 1954 Convention and the 1961 Convention and take all steps necessary to implement them.
2. Ensure the socio-economic growth and address the marginalisation faced by the formerly stateless Tamils of Indian origin in the country.

Switzerland

Switzerland is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons, but not the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. According to the numbers provided by the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) for May 2022, 751 persons were registered as stateless, 280 as 'without nationality' and 1,144 as 'state unknown' in that year.²⁶ Switzerland has an administrative statelessness determination procedure but it is not formalised in law. Swiss nationality law does not prevent statelessness at birth. A stateless child can only acquire Swiss nationality through a 'simplified' naturalisation procedure if they reside legally in Switzerland for five years, including one year immediately before the application is made, and until the age of 18. Children born in Switzerland who would otherwise be stateless are not guaranteed the right to acquire Swiss nationality. Swiss nationality may not be revoked if this would result in statelessness. However, alleged 'foreign fighters' residing abroad may be (arbitrarily) deprived of their nationality *in absentia* and without a criminal conviction. Children of alleged 'foreign fighters' detained in Syria and Iraq face a risk of statelessness due to lack of documentation, barriers to establishing nationality through family links, and derivative deprivation of nationality.²⁷

Proposed recommendations:

1. Accede to the 1961 Convention and take all steps necessary to implement it.
2. Establish the statelessness determination procedure in law and ensure that the procedure is fair, effective and accessible to all persons in Switzerland regardless of their legal status.
3. Put in place safeguards to ensure that all children born in Switzerland who would otherwise be stateless acquire Swiss nationality automatically at birth.
4. Refrain from depriving persons of nationality in any case where the effect would be discriminatory, could render the person stateless or at risk of statelessness, could result in refoulement, encroach on prosecution interests, or when a less intrusive means is available.

Ukraine

Ukraine is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. According to UNCHR, there were 35,937 stateless people in the country in 2021, mainly from the Roma community who was affected by the 1991 dissolution of the URSS. A statelessness determination procedure was introduced in Ukrainian law in 2020 and ultimately adopted in 2021. However, due to the ongoing war, the Government closed down access to the population registers, which halted the newly established procedure and reopened some of them in May 2022. At the end of 2021, the Ukrainian Parliament passed the law which reduces the residence period required for a stateless person to apply for naturalisation from five to three years after being recognised as stateless. There are still cases of stateless detained people without a court order. A proposed country of removal does not need to be identified before detaining. There are also issues related to children's right to a nationality and birth registration. The safeguard for children born in Ukraine who would otherwise be stateless only applies if parents are legally resident in the country. Access to birth registration continues to be an issue in Ukraine as necessary documentation and evidence of a parent's legal status are difficult to obtain for some populations. Additional evidence is required for late birth registration, including a passport to register those over 16 years-old, which is impossible to acquire without a birth certificate.²⁸

²⁴ UNHCR, 'Global Trends 2021. Statelessness', Annex, Table 5, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends.html>.

²⁵ Verité Research and the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI), 'Hill Country Tamils of Sri Lanka. Towards Meaningful Citizenship', (August 2019), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/Hill_Country_Tamils_Of_Sri_Lanka_Report.pdf.

²⁶ State Secretariat for Migration, 'Statistics May 2022', available at: <https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/de/home/publiservice/statistik/auslaenderstatistik/archiv/2022/05.html>.

²⁷ Humanrights.ch, the European Network on Statelessness (ENS) and the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI), 'Joint Submission to the Human Rights Council at the 42nd Session of the Universal Periodic Review', (July 2022), available at: https://files.institutesi.org/UPR42_Switzerland.pdf.

²⁸ European Network on Statelessness (ENS), 'Statelessness Index. Ukraine', available at: <https://index.statelessness.eu/country/ukraine>.

Proposed recommendations:

1. Continue the efforts to implement the statelessness determination procedure.
2. Ensure the right to acquire a nationality for all otherwise stateless children in Ukraine in accordance with Article 7 of the CRC.
3. Introduce the universal birth registration system that guarantees every child born within the jurisdiction of Ukraine to be officially registered, regardless of their own or their parents' nationality, race, religion, or legal or social status.
4. Ensure that stateless persons are not subject to arbitrary detention.

Zambia

Zambia is a party to the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons with some reservations,²⁹ but not the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. The 2016 amendments allowed dual citizenship for the first time, the presumption of citizenship in favour of children of unknown parents, and the right to apply for citizenship for those who were born and reside in Zambia.³⁰ Despite its international obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) to protect every child's right to acquire a nationality, the 2016 Constitution and Citizenship Act of Zambia do not grant nationality to children who would otherwise be stateless. Although there have been improvements regarding birth registration in the country, the Committee on the Rights of the Child recommended the State Party to strengthen it.³¹ Zambia is also home to former refugees from Rwanda and Angola, who have been offered permanent residence, but no pathway to citizenship.³²

Proposed recommendations:

1. Remove its reservations to the 1954 Convention relating the Status of Stateless Persons, accede to the 1961 Convention and take all steps necessary to implement the Statelessness Conventions.
2. Engage in necessary law reform to ensure the right to acquire a nationality for all otherwise stateless children in Zambia, in accordance with Article 7 of the CRC.
3. Continue the efforts to ensure free birth registration for all.
4. Grant pathways to citizenship through facilitated naturalisation to former refugee from Rwanda and Angola permanently residing in the country.

²⁹ Zambia has reservations to Articles 22(1), 26, 28 and 31 of the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.

³⁰ Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative, 'Zambia', available at: <https://citizenshiprightsafrika.org/region/zambia/>.

³¹ CRC, 'Concluding Observations on the Combined Fifth and Seventh Periodic Reports of Zambia', CRC/C/ZMB/CO/5-7, (June 2022).

³² A. Mulenga, 'Refugees at Risk of Statelessness in Zambia', *Cajnews Africa*, (November 2022), available at: <https://www.cajnewsafrika.com/2022/11/21/refugees-at-risk-of-statelessness-in-zambia/>, accessed 8 December 2022.