



Kuwait
Joint Stakeholder Report for the United Nations Universal Periodic Review

**Submitted by The Advocates for Human Rights,
a non-governmental organization in special consultative status**

SALAM for Democracy and Human Rights

and

The World Coalition Against the Death Penalty

**for the 49th Session of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review
May 2025**

Submitted 11 October 2024

Founded in 1983, **The Advocates for Human Rights** (The Advocates) is a volunteer-based nongovernmental organization committed to the impartial promotion and protection of international human rights standards and the rule of law. The Advocates conducts a range of programs to promote human rights in the United States and around the world, including monitoring and fact finding, direct legal representation, education and training, and publication. The Advocates is the primary provider of legal services to low-income asylum seekers in the Upper Midwest region of the United States. In 1991, The Advocates adopted a formal commitment to oppose the death penalty worldwide and organized a death penalty project to provide pro bono assistance on postconviction appeals, as well as education and advocacy to end capital punishment. The Advocates currently holds a seat on the Steering Committee of the World Coalition against the Death Penalty.

The World Coalition Against the Death Penalty (WCADP), an alliance of more than 150 NGOs, bar associations, local authorities, and unions, was created in Rome on 13 May 2002. The aim of the World Coalition is to strengthen the international dimension of the fight against the death penalty. Its ultimate objective is to obtain the universal abolition of the death penalty. To achieve its goal, the World Coalition advocates for a definitive end to death sentences and executions in those countries where the death penalty is in force. In some countries, it is seeking to obtain a reduction in the use of capital punishment as a first step towards abolition.

SALAM for Democracy and Human Rights (SALAM DHR) is an independent nongovernmental organization that promotes adherence to international human rights standards and the principles of democracy with a focus on the Arab Gulf states, in particular, Bahrain. Founded in 2012, it advances its research and advocacy on the ground in the region and through partnerships and engagement with intergovernmental organizations and states, including in relation to specific cases and patterns of human rights violations.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This report addresses Kuwait’s compliance with its international human rights obligations with respect to the death penalty.
2. Kuwait has not abolished the death penalty, nor has it limited the application of the death penalty to the “most serious” crimes. Although Kuwait began a de facto moratorium on the use of the death penalty in 2007, authorities never codified the moratorium and Kuwait resumed executions in 2013.¹ The Kuwaiti Government also lacks transparency regarding its use of the death penalty, although according to public reporting, Kuwait has executed at least 24 individuals since 2013 and it is estimated that 54 individuals are currently on death row.² In September 2024, Kuwait executed six individuals convicted of murder.³
3. This report examines the current state of the death penalty in Kuwait and recommends Kuwait abolish the death penalty and ratify the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). This report further recommends, in the meantime, that Kuwait: (1) institute an official moratorium on executions, and (2) limit the death penalty to the “most serious” crimes, as defined by international human rights standards.

I. IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS

Acceptance of international norms

Status of Implementation: Not Accepted, Not Implemented

4. In its third-cycle Universal Periodic Review in 2020, Kuwait noted nine recommendations to ratify the Second Optional Protocol to the ICCPR (OP2), aiming at the abolition of the death penalty.⁴ Since 2020, Kuwait has not taken any steps to ratify OP2.⁵

Death penalty

Status of Implementation: Not Accepted, Not Implemented

5. In the third-cycle UPR, Kuwait noted 12 recommendations to reinstate the de facto moratorium on the death penalty and move toward complete abolition of the death penalty.⁶
6. In 2020, Kuwait asserted to the Committee Against Torture that Kuwaiti legislation prescribes the death penalty “solely for the most serious crimes, in accordance with the provisions of article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.”⁷ Kuwait also reported that the death penalty is incorporated into its domestic law since Kuwaiti criminal legislation is based on Islamic sharia, in which retribution penalties are mandatory, and that abolition of the death penalty would be “absolutely incompatible” with Islamic sharia.⁸
7. Despite these assertions, the range of offenses in Kuwait that prescribe the death penalty remains broad and includes crimes that do not meet the threshold of the “most serious” crimes within the meaning of the ICCPR Article 6, or crimes that include an intention to kill and resulting in the loss of life. Under Kuwaiti law, capital crimes include not only

intentional murder but also rape,⁹ kidnapping,¹⁰ drug trafficking,¹¹ espionage,¹² and certain military offenses.¹³ Since 1995, Kuwaiti laws have prescribed a death sentence for certain drug-related offenses.¹⁴ Since 1964, Kuwait has executed 11 people for drug-related offenses.

8. Under Kuwaiti law, three categories of offenders are exempt from the death penalty: (1) minors (people under the age of 18)¹⁵; (2) pregnant women and women with small children¹⁶; and (3) individuals with “mental illness.”¹⁷
9. Despite multiple periods in which Kuwait observed a de facto moratorium on executions (e.g., from 2007 to 2013, from 2013 to 2017, and from 2017 to 2022), Kuwait continues to carry out executions and has taken no steps toward an official moratorium. Since 2020, some of the reported executions have been for crimes that do not meet the threshold of the “most serious” crimes within the meaning of the ICCPR Article 6.
10. In 2022, Kuwait again resumed executions and executed seven individuals for murder: three Kuwaiti men and one Kuwaiti woman, and three foreign nationals, one of whom was a woman.¹⁸ In July 2023, Kuwait executed five individuals, including one convicted of “possessing with intent to traffic and use intoxicating and mind-altering drugs.”¹⁹ In addition, of the nine death sentences recorded in 2023, three were for drug-related offenses.²⁰
11. At least 30 individuals were on death row at the end of 2023.²¹

Administration of justice and fair trial

Status of Implementation: Accepted, Not Implemented

12. In the third-cycle UPR, Kuwait accepted Malta’s recommendation to “[e]ngage effectively with human rights advocates when they report procedural irregularities and due process concerns in respect of particular cases or classes of cases.”²²
13. In 2023, a member of the Kuwaiti delegation asserted to the Human Rights Committee that “the imposition of the death penalty was subject to numerous safeguards. Capital crimes were prosecuted by the Office of the Public Prosecution, which was independent and impartial. Cases were referred to a court of first instance, an appellate court and the Court of Cassation. Throughout proceedings, defendants had the rights to legal assistance and to be fully aware of the charges against them. Public defenders were appointed to represent accused persons who could not afford to hire a lawyer, witnesses were summoned upon request and free interpretation was provided for those who did not speak Arabic. Death sentences could be appealed and, if new facts or evidence came to light, reviewed. Once all appeals had been exhausted, the Amir decided whether to approve the sentence, commute it or issue a full pardon.”²³
14. Amnesty International confirms that Kuwait requires an automatic appellate review of any death sentence.²⁴ The appellate court takes into consideration the crime, the evidence, and the offender’s previous convictions. If the appellate court rejects the appeal, then the case automatically moves to the Court of Cassation (supreme court) for review.²⁵ In all cases, authorities suspend the execution of the death penalty until appellate or pardon procedures are resolved.²⁶

15. Despite these safeguards, international human rights bodies and NGOs have regularly expressed concern about the independence of the Kuwaiti judiciary.²⁷ Further, Kuwait does not impose a code of conduct on public prosecutors beyond the provisions provided the Kuwaiti Code of Criminal Procedure. There are reports of executive pressure on the judiciary as well as reports of irregular payments in exchange for favorable decisions.²⁸
16. The absence of women in the judiciary and, as discussed in greater detail in the next section, the absence training on mitigating circumstances from a gender lens, also leaves women particularly vulnerable to discrimination in capital cases. The participation of women in the judiciary remains low and there are currently 55 Kuwaiti female prosecutors.²⁹ As recently as 2021, only fifteen Kuwaiti judges were women.³⁰ The absence of women in key decision-making positions in the criminal legal system contributes to the justice system's failure to take into account women's lived experiences, particularly the experiences of women in conflict with the law.³¹ The exclusion of women from positions of power in the criminal legal system exacerbates the effects of gender bias at every stage of capital proceedings.

Violence against women

Status of Implementation: Partially Accepted, Not Implemented

17. In the third-cycle UPR, Kuwait accepted in part Thailand's recommendation to "[a]ddress all forms of discrimination and violence against women, including by promulgating effective laws to prevent, combat, and criminalize domestic and gender-based violence, simultaneously with setting up a redress mechanism for the victims,"³² rejecting "[t]he part on gender-based violence."³³
18. Authorities did not carry out a scheduled execution of a woman in September 2024, following payment of a "waiver" (also known as "blood money"),³⁴ but regarding the two women executed in 2022, a Kuwaiti government spokesperson provided the only official information to the state-run KUNA news agency: "the female Kuwaiti . . . was found guilty for premeditated crime," and "the Ethiopian woman was executed for intentional killing."³⁵ Even though no further official information is available, it is likely that the Ethiopian woman was a migrant domestic worker.³⁶ According to one report, Kuwait is facing a shortage of domestic workers "because of the reluctance of a number of countries to send their citizens, especially their female citizens, to work as maids in Kuwait after several workers were subjected to harsh treatment."³⁷ According to one report, the Ethiopian woman worked in the kitchen of a private home and had killed an Indian "colleague" over a dispute about work duties.³⁸
19. Women at risk of being sentenced to death in Kuwait face gender bias throughout the criminal legal process. The legal system fails to account for the context in which women commit crimes and often holds them to higher standards than their male codefendants.³⁹
20. Women who face extensive gender-based violence are disproportionately affected by the death penalty, including women who seek to protect themselves against their abusers.⁴⁰ Long histories of gender-based violence can result in complex trauma and can exacerbate the effects of psycho-social or intellectual disabilities.⁴¹
21. In a 2018 study, the Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide found that, in the global context, women are more vulnerable and most likely to be sentenced to death for criminal

offenses committed within the context of gender-based violence⁴² and manipulative or coercive relationships with male co-defendants.⁴³ Cornell's data indicate that most women under sentence of death have been sentenced to death for the crime of murder.⁴⁴ These women have overwhelmingly experienced prolonged domestic violence at the hands of a partner, spouse, or another family member.⁴⁵ Many women under sentence of death are survivors of gender-based violence and come from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds.⁴⁶ At a global level, sentencing courts typically fail to take into account a defendant's experience as a survivor of gender-based violence or a victim of a manipulative or coercive relationship (for example in cases where women are pressured or tricked into transporting drugs) as mitigating factors during sentencing.⁴⁷ Research also indicates that courts fail to account for power dynamics and tactics of coercive control that may affect a woman's involvement in and culpability for a crime.

22. Cases documented by the Cornell Center have shown violations of women's right to a fair trial. A 2021 follow-up study demonstrated that "fair trial principles dictate that courts should consider all relevant mitigating circumstances before imposing a sentence. In practice, however, many courts neglect gender-specific mitigation."⁴⁸
23. The Cornell Center also found that women are more likely to receive a death sentence when the adjudicating authority perceives that they are violating entrenched gender norms, being cast as the "female fatale" or the "witch." Women are often put on trial not only for acts they performed but also for allegedly being "a bad wife, a bad mother, and a bad woman."⁴⁹
24. Women perceived as the perpetrator of the crime are more likely to receive a harsher punishment than men accused of similar offenses.⁵⁰ The death penalty disproportionately affects those individuals who face "gender stereotypes, stigma, harmful and patriarchal cultural norms, and gender-based violence."⁵¹ This discrepancy has an "adverse impact on the ability of women to gain access to justice on an equal basis with men."⁵²
25. Global trends show that women sentenced to death face intersectional discrimination. According to Cornell's 2018 report, most women on death row come from backgrounds of severe socio-economic disadvantage and many are not literate, disadvantages that can reinforce unequal access to effective legal representation.⁴² These women are more likely to be unaware of their legal rights.⁴³ Illiteracy and lack of formal education among women from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds leave them more vulnerable to discrimination, coercion, and exploitation.⁴⁴ This intersectional discrimination exacerbates the risk that a woman charged with a capital crime will be subjected to an unfair trial.
26. Failure to address domestic violence in Kuwait may lead to victim-survivors of domestic violence committing a death-eligible offense. In Kuwait, the police present a bottleneck for women reporting gender-based violence,⁵³ and the law requires two male witnesses.⁵⁴
27. Foreign nationals employed as migrant workers, such as the Ethiopian woman executed in 2022, face heightened vulnerabilities. On a global scale, "[f]oreign nationals face particular disadvantages in criminal prosecutions: they often do not speak the language of the police or the courts and have difficulty accessing interpreters; they have little local support in navigating the criminal system; and their families are too far to contribute to the background investigation necessary for an adequate defense."⁵⁵ A ground breaking 2018 study by the Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide observed that in the region, many women on death row are migrant domestic workers.⁵⁶ In many cases, the female

domestic worker was accused of killing her employer, suggesting a “pattern of female migrant domestic workers sentenced to death in . . . Middle Eastern countries, who suffer from intersecting forms of oppression based on class, foreign nationality, precarious immigration status, and gender.”⁵⁷

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

28. This stakeholder report suggests the following recommendations for the Government of Kuwait:

- Abolish the death penalty and replace it with a punishment that is fair, proportionate, and consistent with international human rights standards.
- In the interim:
 - Immediately institute a de jure moratorium on executions with a view to abolishing the death penalty.
 - Commute the death sentences of any persons currently under sentence of death and replace them with penalties that are fair, proportionate, and consistent with international human rights standards.
 - Collect and regularly publish, on at least an annual basis, disaggregated data on people executed and on death row during the reporting period, disaggregated by sex, age, ethnicity, nationality, crime of conviction, profession at the time of arrest, relationship to any victim or codefendant, age of any dependent children, and current location.
 - Revise the penal code to prohibit the death penalty for any crime that does not rise to the level of “most serious,” defined as involving intentional killing by the person charged with the death-eligible offense.
 - Ensure that all individuals accused of capital crimes have access to free and effective legal representation by attorneys who specialize in death penalty cases. Ensure access to counsel at all times, from the start of the investigation through any appeals, and ensure that the defense team has sufficient funding to conduct a thorough investigation and to secure relevant expert witnesses, particularly regarding gender-specific defenses, if relevant.
 - Ensure that law enforcement, prosecutors, and defense counsel in capital cases receive training on gender sensitivity as it relates to criminal procedure and sentencing outcomes.
 - Codify gender-specific defenses and mitigation in capital cases, encompassing women’s experiences of trauma, poverty, and gender-based violence.
 - Implement measures to ensure that all judicial officers responsible for sentencing in capital cases receive comprehensive training on gender-based

discrimination, domestic violence, and tactics of coercive control that may influence or prompt a woman to commit a death-eligible offense.

- Provide the National Assembly’s Committee on the Defense of Human Rights (formed in June 2023) with a public account of measures the government has taken to ensure that death penalty practices adhere to international standards and provide the Committee with quarterly updates on measures the government has taken to reduce the scope of the death penalty and ensure that its imposition benefits from the safeguards set out in international standards.
 - Ensure that any foreign national in conflict with the law is afforded their right to consular notification under the Vienna Convention.
 - Provide heightened fair trial safeguards in capital cases in which the defendant is a foreign national, including qualified interpretation services from the time of arrest through any appeals.
 - In collaboration with civil society, carry out nationwide awareness-raising measures to mobilize public opinion in support of the abolition of the death penalty.
- Ratify the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
 - Adopt and implement a more rigorous code of conduct for public prosecutors and insulate the appointment, review, and discipline of these roles from the influence of the executive branch.
 - Ensure that there are sufficient judges and prosecutors, with adequate resources, to expeditiously resolve cases, including death penalty trials and appeals.
 - Increase the number of women with leadership positions in the criminal legal system, including judges, prosecutors, and court administrators.

¹ Human Rights Watch, *Kuwait: First Executions in 4 Years*, (Jan. 26, 2017), available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/01/26/kuwait-first-executions-4-years> (accessed September 6, 2024).

² Human Rights Watch, *Kuwait: First Executions in 4 Years*, (Jan. 26, 2017), available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/01/26/kuwait-first-executions-4-years> (accessed September 6, 2024); Aljazeera, *Kuwait hangs seven people in first executions since 2017*, (Nov. 16, 2022), available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/16/kuwait-executes-seven-people-despite-international-outcry> (accessed September 6, 2024); Amnesty International, *Kuwait: Authorities must halt imminent execution of seven prisoners*, (Nov. 15, 2022), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/11/kuwait-authorities-must-halt-imminent-execution-of-seven-prisoners/> (accessed September 6, 2024); Amnesty International, *Death sentences and executions 2022*, (May 16, 2023), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/act50/6548/2023/en/> (accessed September 6, 2024); Amnesty International, *Kuwait: Five hanged as Kuwait continues execution spree*

into second year, (Jul. 28, 2023), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/07/kuwait-five-hanged-as-kuwait-continues-execution-spree-into-second-year/> (accessed September 6, 2024).

³ Arab Times Online, Six Executed in Kuwait, Female Convict Spared at Final Hour / KD 1 mln blood money paid by woman for waiver (September 5, 2024), available at: <https://www.arabtimesonline.com/news/executions-for-7-including-three-citizens-and-a-woman/>.

⁴ U.N. Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait*, (Mar. 20, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17/Add.1 ¶ 157.1, .3, .4, .5, .6, .7, .8, .9, .10.

⁵ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, Status of Ratification Interactive Dashboard, <https://indicators.ohchr.org/> (accessed September 3, 2024); see also, World Coalition Against the Death Penalty, *Just One More Step: Ratifying International and Regional Protocols*, (Mar. 28, 2022), available at [https://worldcoalition.org/campagne/just-one-more-step-ratifying-international-and-regional-protocols/#:~:text=As%20of%2010%20June%202024,State%20of%20Palestine%20\(18%20March](https://worldcoalition.org/campagne/just-one-more-step-ratifying-international-and-regional-protocols/#:~:text=As%20of%2010%20June%202024,State%20of%20Palestine%20(18%20March) (accessed September 3, 2024).

⁶ U.N. Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait*, (March 20, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17. ¶ 157.6-8, .117-.120, .123-.124, .126, .128, .131; Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait, Addendum*, (Jun. 24, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17/Add.1.

⁷ U.N. Committee Against Torture, *Fourth periodic report submitted by Kuwait under article 19 of the Convention, due in 2020*, (Oct. 27, 2020), U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KWT/4, ¶ 129.

⁸ U.N. Committee Against Torture, *Fourth periodic report submitted by Kuwait under article 19 of the Convention, due in 2020*, (Oct. 27, 2020), U.N. Doc. CAT/C/KWT/4, ¶ 129.

⁹ Kuwait Penal Code, arts. 186-187, Law No. 16 of 1960.

¹⁰ Kuwait Penal Code, art. 180, Law No. 16 of 1960.

¹¹ Kuwait Act Concerning the Fight Against Drugs and Regulating Use and Trafficking, arts. 31, 31(2), 32(2), Law No. 74 of 1983.

¹² Kuwait Act Amending Provisions of the Penal Code, arts. 1, 6, 8, 11, 18, 23-24, No. 31 of 1970.

¹³ Kuwait Act Amending Provisions of the Penal Code, art. 11, No. 31 of 1970.

¹⁴ Amnesty International, *Five Years of Impunity: Human Rights Concerns Since the Withdrawal of Iraqi Forces*, MDE/17/01/96: www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a98c2b.html (last accessed August 31, 2024).

¹⁵ Kuwait Penal Code, art. 20, Law No. 16 of 1960.

¹⁶ Kuwait Penal Code, art. 59, Law No. 16 of 1960; Kuwait Code of Criminal Procedure, art. 218, No. 17 of 1960.

¹⁷ Kuwait Code of Criminal Procedure, art. 118, No. 17 of 1960.

¹⁸ Amnesty International, *Kuwait: Five hanged as Kuwait continues execution spree into second year*, (Jul. 28, 2023), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/07/kuwait-five-hanged-as-kuwait-continues-execution-spree-into-second-year/> (accessed September 6, 2024); *Kuwait Executes 7 including 2 Women, First Since 2017*, Agence France Presse, Nov. 16, 2022, <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/kuwait-executes-7-including-2-women-first-since-2017-3525642> (last visited Sept. 21, 2024).

¹⁹ Death Penalty Information Center, *Worldwide Wednesday's International Roundup: Bangladesh, China, Ghana, Iran, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritania, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Singapore*, (Aug. 2, 2023), available at <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/news/worldwide-wednesdays-international-roundup-bangladesh-china-ghana-iran-kuwait-malaysia-mauritania-pakistan-saudi-arabia-and-singapore> (accessed on September 6, 2024).

²⁰ Amnesty International, *Death sentences and executions in 2023*, (May 29, 2024), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/act50/7952/2024/en/> (accessed on September 6, 2024).

²¹ Amnesty International, *Death sentences and executions in 2023*, (May 29, 2024), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/act50/7952/2024/en/> (accessed on September 6, 2024).

-
- ²² U.N. Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait*, (Mar. 20, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17. ¶ 157.143; Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait, Addendum*, (June 24, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17/Add.1.
- ²³ U.N. Human Rights Committee, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Summary Record of the 4049th Meeting*, (Oct. 25, 2023), U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/SR.4049 ¶ 71.
- ²⁴ Amnesty International, *Kuwait: Five Years of Impunity: Human Rights Concerns Since the Withdrawal of Iraqi Forces*, (Feb. 1, 1996), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde17/001/1996/en/> (accessed September 6, 2024).
- ²⁵ Amnesty International, *Kuwait: Five Years of Impunity: Human Rights Concerns Since the Withdrawal of Iraqi Forces*, (Feb. 1, 1996), available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde17/001/1996/en/> (accessed September 6, 2024).
- ²⁶ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, *Reply to List of Issues*, (May 16, 2023) U.N. Document CCPR/C/KWT/RQ/4.
- ²⁷ *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/ccpr.pdf> (accessed September 6, 2024).
- ²⁸ *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/ccpr.pdf> (accessed September 6, 2024).
- ²⁹ U.N. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *Sixth periodic report submitted by Kuwait under article 18 of the Convention, due in 2021*, (Dec. 29, 2021), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/6, ¶ 50.
- ³⁰ U.N. Document CCPR/C/KWT/RQ/4 Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, *Sixth periodic report submitted by Kuwait under article 18 of the Convention, due in 2021*, (Dec. 29, 2021), U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/KWT/6, ¶ 50.
- ³¹ The Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime - A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, (Sept. 2018), 8. Available online at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf>.
- ³² U.N. Document CCPR/C/KWT/RQ/4 Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait*, (Mar. 20, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17. ¶ 157.143; Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait, Addendum*, (Jun. 24, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17/Add.1.
- ³³ Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Kuwait, Addendum*, (Jun. 24, 2020), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/44/17/Add.1.
- ³⁴ Arab Times Online, *Six Executed in Kuwait, Female Convict Spared at Final Hour / KD 1 mln blood money paid by woman for waiver* (September 5, 2024), available at: <https://www.arabtimesonline.com/news/executions-for-7-including-three-citizens-and-a-woman/>.
- ³⁵ Kuwait News Agency, *Kuwait prosecution oversees execution of 7 convicts*, (Nov. 16, 2022), available at <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=3069030&Language=en> (accessed on September 6, 2024).
- ³⁶ *See Kuwait turns to domestic workers from Ethiopia amid labour crisis*, Arab Weekly, Dec. 25, 2023, available at <https://theArabweekly.com/kuwait-turns-domestic-workers-ethiopia-amid-labour-crisis> (last visited Sept. 21, 2024).
- ³⁷ *Kuwait turns to domestic workers from Ethiopia amid labour crisis*, Arab Weekly, Dec. 25, 2023, available at <https://theArabweekly.com/kuwait-turns-domestic-workers-ethiopia-amid-labour-crisis> (last visited Sept. 21, 2024).
- ³⁸ *Kuwait: An Ethiopian Is Sentenced to Death for Killing an Indian Colleague*, Hands Off Cain, May 28, 2022, available at <https://www.handsoffcain.info/notizia/kuwait-an-ethiopian-is-sentenced-to-death-for-killing-an-indian-colleague-60352363> (last visited Sept. 21, 2024).
- ³⁹ Confidential 2021 source on file with The Advocates for Human Rights.
- ⁴⁰ World Coalition Against the Death Penalty and The Advocates for Human Rights, *Detailed Fact Sheet, Women Sentenced to Death: An Invisible Reality*, (Oct. 10, 2021).

-
- ⁴¹ World Coalition Against the Death Penalty and The Advocates for Human Rights, *Detailed Fact Sheet, Women Sentenced to Death: An Invisible Reality*, (Oct. 10, 2021).
- ⁴² Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, (Sept. 4, 2018), available at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf>.
- ⁴³ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, “*No One Believed Me*”: *A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty for Drug Offenses*, (Sept. 6, 2021), available at <https://deathpenaltyworldwide.org/publication/no-one-believed-me-a-global-overview-of-women-facing-the-death-penalty-for-drug-offenses/>.
- ⁴⁴ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, “*No One Believed Me*”: *A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty for Drug Offenses*, (Sept. 6, 2021), available at <https://deathpenaltyworldwide.org/publication/no-one-believed-me-a-global-overview-of-women-facing-the-death-penalty-for-drug-offenses/>.
- ⁴⁵ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, (Sept. 4, 2018), available at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf>.
- ⁴⁶ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, (Sept. 4, 2018), available at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf>.
- ⁴⁷ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, “*No One Believed Me*”: *A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty for Drug Offenses* (Sept. 20120), 6. Available online at <https://deathpenaltyworldwide.org/publication/no-one-believed-me-a-global-overview-of-women-facing-the-death-penalty-for-drug-offenses/>.
- ⁴⁸ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, “*No One Believed Me*”: *A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty for Drug Offenses* (Sept. 6, 2021). Available online at <https://deathpenaltyworldwide.org/publication/no-one-believed-me-a-global-overview-of-women-facing-the-death-penalty-for-drug-offenses/>.
- ⁴⁹ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, (Sept. 4, 2018), available at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf>.
- ⁵⁰ Emma Milne & Jackie Turton, *Understanding Violent Women*, in *WOMEN AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: FALLING VICTIM AND OFFENDERS?* 119, 124-25 (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- ⁵¹ U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Death penalty disproportionately affects the poor*, *U.N. rights experts warn* (Oct. 10, 2017), available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22208&LangID=E> (accessed on September 6, 2024).
- ⁵² U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Death penalty disproportionately affects the poor*, *U.N. rights experts warn* (Oct. 10, 2017), available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=22208&LangID=E> (accessed on September 6, 2024).
- ⁵³ Confidential 2021 source on file with The Advocates for Human Rights at 29-30.
- ⁵⁴ Confidential 2021 source on file with The Advocates for Human Rights at 29-30.
- ⁵⁵ The Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *No One Believed Me: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty for Drug Offenses*, September 2021, available at: “*No One Believed Me*”: *A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty for Drug Offenses* (deathpenaltyworldwide.org) at p. 16.
- ⁵⁶ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, Sept. 2018, at 17-18, available at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf> (last visited Dec. 29, 2022).
- ⁵⁷ Cornell Center on the Death Penalty Worldwide, *Judged for More Than Her Crime: A Global Overview of Women Facing the Death Penalty*, Sept. 2018, at 28, available at <https://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Judged-More-Than-Her-Crime.pdf> (last visited Dec. 29, 2022).