AN UNWANTED TRUTH?

FOCUSING THE G8:
Shining a Spotlight on Sexual Violence against Children in Conflict

April 2013
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It is possible to deliver basic humanitarian goods, food, water, shelter, to a conflict affected population whilst remaining unaware of the invisible horrors of sexual violence which many of the target population have been subjected to. It is easier to focus on the needs we can see in front of our eyes and on the television. Once the veil of ignorance is lifted, through simple enquiry, the extent and brutality of sexual violence in conflict areas is so shocking that it requires us to ask fundamental questions about our understanding of humanitarian needs, and the purpose of our presence in conflict zones.

Conflict increases sexual violence. This is most recently demonstrated by a study of over 1,000 men and women in and around Goma (DRC), in June 2012. The study found very high levels of sexual violence. A third of men who had not been displaced by the conflict reported having been perpetrators of Gender Based Violence. However, amongst men who had lost their homes because of the conflict the perpetrator rate was even higher – 50% of these men admitted to having inflicted physical violence on a female partner.

The reasons why conflict increases sexual violence are complex. This briefing paper aims to map out the different ways in which different actors – men, women and children, soldiers and civilians – become victims and perpetrators of sexual violence in times of conflict. We have only a partial picture of sexual abuse in conflict because we, the humanitarian community in general, often fail to look for it. Even when we do ask questions, we do not always ask the rights ones. The otherwise excellent study in Goma cited above did not look at all at the experiences of children, for example. The aforementioned issues have impacted the scope of our paper and it has limitations based on the lack of evidence around children's experience of sexual violence and an overreliance on African data, particularly that of the DRC.

Complex problems require complex solutions. Whilst impunity is a key element in causation, it is not the only factor at play. Sexual violence is deeply rooted in community concepts of masculinity, honour, submission of women and children, which interact disastrously with catastrophic loss of income and social structures during conflict.

The G8 have a real opportunity this year to begin their efforts with an informed approach to reducing sexual violence, by getting behind the UK Government’s Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative (PSVI) and ensuring that no assumptions are made as to who suffers from sexual violence. It is critical that political will is supported by a much bigger investment in protection, and a longer term view of the needs of survivors – male, female and children – using community and local structures at the centre of solutions. We worry that community strength may not be built on the timescale of rapid response teams and that a narrow focus on sexual violence as a women's and a legal issue will limit future action on sexual violence in conflict zones. But this year is a real chance to change all of that and get it right from the start of a global effort towards addressing one of the greatest global problems of our age.

Rob Williams
Chief Executive, War Child UK

"In light of the UK government’s new initiative on sexual violence in conflict and the opportunities presented by the UK’s presidency of the G8 this year – it is critical that an honest dialogue leading to improved international coordination on sexual violence, against all groups, is created and sustained in the long-term."
KEY POINTS

1. Sexual violence is not geographically or demographically discrete; it is a global issue that affects all ages and genders.
2. Children are a key target group due to their societal status and multiple vulnerabilities in areas affected by conflict.
3. Sexual violence is pervasive in all settings (public and private) and is more likely to be opportunistic than a tactic of war.
4. The perpetrators of sexual violence are more often civilian than they are combatants.

KEY FACTS

- In one year alone, across the world, 150 million girls and 73 million boys experienced rape or other forms of sexual violence.
- Numbers from conflicts themselves are staggering: in the Central African Republic over 50% of children surveyed reported having been victims of sexual abuse or exploitation.
- Informal testimonies from Syria document sexual violence against girls and boys as young as 7 and 11 years old.
- If you were a child in Eastern DRC during 2004 and 2008 you were almost 93 times more likely to be raped by a civilian than by a combatant.

A G(R)8 CHALLENGE

TOP TEN G8 decisions that would change and save children’s lives:

1. **PREVENT IT:** G8 countries significantly increase their funding commitment to Child Protection in order to prevent children from suffering sexual violence in the first place.
2. **CATCH IT:** G8 countries commit to sending sexual violence experts, who have specific child-expertise, as part of their emergency first response teams in crises.
3. **COORDINATE IT:** G8 countries commit to predictable and long-term support of the UN Special Representatives on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Children and Armed Conflict.
4. **TEST IT:** G8 countries conduct a multilateral pilot on preventing and responding to sexual violence to ensure commitments made at the G8 are supported by best-practice.
5. **SUPPORT IT:** G8 countries use their political status to increase diplomatic pressure on national governments to prevent and respond to sexual violence against children.
6. **UNDERSTAND IT:** G8 countries create a joint global fund for research on preventing sexual violence that accounts for all genders and all ages, to inform evidence-based action.
7. **FOCUS IT:** G8 countries each create government strategies on how they will contribute towards a reduction in sexual violence (diplomatically and programmatically).
8. **FUND IT:** G8 countries commit to dedicated budget lines on preventing and responding to sexual violence in conflict, including against boys and girls.
9. **PUSH IT:** G8 countries commit to making sexual violence a standing issue on the G8 agenda to ensure it does not lose momentum at the expense of progress.
10. **CHANGE IT:** G8 countries change the way they think and talk about sexual violence – making policy decisions that are based on fact and are free of gendered or aged assumptions.
1 CHANGING THE DISCOURSE

KEY POINTS
1. It is not just women who suffer sexual violence, it is also children
2. It is not just girls who suffer sexual violence, it is also boys
3. It is not just Africa that has sexual violence, it is a global problem
4. It is not just a ‘weapon of war’, it is pervasive in all settings

"[Sexual violence] is not only a women's issue and it is a global issue." Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict Zainab Bangura, 18 October 2012

DEFINING AND INTRODUCING THE ISSUE

Standard and accepted definitions of sexual violence paint a tainted picture of a global reality. Sexual violence has become inextricably linked with the term ‘Gender Based Violence (GBV)’ and used interchangeably with it. According to CEDAW (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) within the United Nations’ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, GBV is, “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately”.

Being defined and siloed as a ‘women’s issue’ has created a bias in the sexual violence discourse to the detriment and exclusion of children, boys and men.

Combined with the increasing association of sexual violence with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on ‘Women, Peace and Security’ adopted in 2000, heavy assumptions are being made by international actors in working to address this critical area of concern that affects people of all ages and genders, in all parts of the world.

This narrowed approach has a number of severe implications, not least for the 1325 agenda itself which has arguably been overwhelmed by the issue of sexual violence leading to a decrease in focus on women and girls’ equality and political participation – a fundamental pillar in creating the necessary systemic changes to issues that otherwise invariably underpin attacks of sexual violence.

Having become habituated to framing and discussing sexual violence within the confines of ‘women’ the International Community has veered away from the reality that no one wants to see: children are often the primary targets of attacks of sexual violence in conflict. This issue is further obscured by the problematic nature of data collection from children, a lack of any systematic studies on sexual violence that include children (solely interviewing women, for example), lack of case record maintenance by governments and local authorities and cultural sensitivity and taboos that preclude children coming forward and any subsequent research to document it if they do. But the prevailing lack of attention on the issue of sexual violence against children in conflict is inexcusable: we cannot claim ignorance of this issue.
# WHAT IS SEXUAL VIOLENCE?

## as defined by IRIN

### Rape and marital rape
The invasion of any part of the body of the victim or of the perpetrator with a sexual organ, or of the anal or genital opening of the victim with any object or any other part of the body by force, coercion, taking advantage of a coercive environment, or against a person incapable of giving genuine consent (International Criminal Court).

### Child sexual abuse, defilement and incest
Any act where a child is used for sexual gratification. Any sexual relations/interaction with a child.

### Forced sodomy/anal rape
Forced/coerced anal intercourse, usually male-to-male or male-to-female.

### Attempted rape or attempted forced sodomy/anal rape
Attempted forced/coerced intercourse; no penetration.

### Sexual abuse
Actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, including inappropriate touching, by force or under unequal or coercive conditions.

### Sexual exploitation
Any abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust for sexual purposes; this includes profiting momentarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another; sexual exploitation is one of the purposes of trafficking in persons (performing in a sexual manner, forced undressing and/or nakedness, coerced marriage, forced childbearing, engagement in pornography or prostitution, sexual extortion for the granting of goods, services, assistance benefits, sexual slavery).

### Forced prostitution (also referred to as sexual exploitation)
Forced/coerced sex trade in exchange for material resources, services and assistance, usually targeting highly vulnerable women or girls unable to meet basic human needs for themselves and/or their children.

### Sexual harassment
Any unwelcome, usually repeated and unreciprocated, sexual advance, unsolicited sexual attention, demand for sexual access or favours, sexual innuendo or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, display or pornographic material, when it interferes with work, is made a condition of employment or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment.

### Sexual violence as a weapon of war and torture
Crimes against humanity of a sexual nature, including rape, sexual slavery, forced abortion or sterilisation or any other forms to prevent birth, forced pregnancy, forced delivery, and forced child rearing, among others. Sexual violence as a form of torture is defined as any act or threat of a sexual nature by which severe mental or physical pain or suffering is caused to obtain information, confession of punishment from the victim or third person, intimidate her or a third person or to destroy, in whole or part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.
1 CHANGING THE DISCOURSE (CONTINUED)

WHAT IS CONFLICT-RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE?

Sexual violence has been defined and re-defined since its emergence onto the international agenda, but inclusive definitions, free of assumptions, are difficult to source. Where definitions do exist, stereotypical language around women is still present, as elucidated in point 9 in the above definitions box. For the purposes of this paper, conflict-related sexual violence will be referred to within the UN General Assembly’s definition of:

“Incidents or patterns […] of sexual violence, that is rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity against women, men or children. Such incidents or patterns occur in conflict or postconflict settings or other situations of concern (e.g. political strife). They also have a direct or indirect nexus with the conflict or political strife itself, that is, a temporal, geographical and/or causal link.”
1 CHANGING THE DISCOURSE (CONTINUED)

DISPELLING SOME MYTHS
Sexual violence is committed in conflict areas by a range of different actors to different extents for different reasons. In order to address the root cause of sexual violence in conflict, let alone prevent its spread and impact, it is imperative that a single focus or reductionist approach is avoided. Concerted efforts must be made to understand why sexual violence is being committed in a particular conflict – who is perpetrating it, why and against whom. It will not always be men in uniform, it will not always be used as a weapon of war, and it will not always be against women – children, including boys, as well as men are key target groups and efforts at combating sexual violence need to openly address all demographics.

There is also no single solution to the problem that can be rolled out across different conflicts: nuanced, targeted measures need to be taken that are tailored to the specific situation at hand and take full account of existing local structures. Ultimately, understanding and addressing the role and meaning of sexual violence in any given conflict-affected area requires an in-depth analysis of the shifting dynamics and triggers of sexual violence, the underlying gender inequality and prevailing cultural conditions that give sexual violence its powerful social impacts, as well as the drivers for the conflict in the first place.

CHILDREN AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE
In 2010, the United Nations Secretary-General reported that sexual violence against children continued to be a widespread phenomenon. In his latest report on conflict-related sexual violence, he once again notes the prevalence of rape and sexual violence against children and its incidence being of grave concern in 15 conflict and post-conflict countries. The report catalogues countless cases of sexual violence against children.

To put this into context: the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that in the year 2002 alone, 150 million girls and 73 million boys experienced forced sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual violence across the globe. In the absence of further comprehensive studies since, if we take the figures from 2002, and even assume that levels of sexual violence have not increased, then in the last decade 2.23 billion children could have been subject to sexual violence.

None of these figures even account for the fact many children never report incidents of sexual violence and that incidents often happen in more ‘invisible’ settings (at home or school, for example) which tend to be under the radar of research and studies that take place as well as collection of official data.

The numbers are so staggering that they are difficult to digest, but case examples elucidate time and again the scale of sexual violence against children in conflict affected countries. Examples show that sexual violence often disproportionately affects children: children and young people (under age 25) also commonly make up over 60% of the demographic in conflict affected and fragile states, meaning they are often at higher proportional risk from the outset.

EVIDENCE AND EXAMPLES
Service providers and studies that include children have mainly been undertaken in Africa and regularly report those under 18 as the most significant proportion of victims of sexual violence in conflict affected places:

• Over 50% of children surveyed in the Central African Republic reported they had been the victims of sexual exploitation and abuse.

• In July last year, protection partners in Mozambique reported that children made up almost all of the 55 rape survivors seen by one clinic.

• In the first half of 2012, 74% of sexual violence survivors treated at the HEAL hospital in Goma, DRC, were children.

• In Liberia, rape – especially of girls between the ages of 10 to 14 – is the most reported crime. Field worker reports corroborate the trend and Liberia’s own Ministry of Gender and Development says rape in Liberia is a “war against children”.

• Darfur has seen a three-fold increase in child rape since 2010.

Statistical evidence and data collection in other areas of the world, such as Afghanistan, is scarce at best and tends to be more anecdotal due to a lack of focus on non-African countries and the different types/settings of sexual violence that may be found in traditional Islamic societies.
Case reports from Syria and Afghanistan detail horrific incidents of sexual violence against children that are reflective of broader national trends and practices. International human rights groups have warned that the abuse of young children is increasing in Afghanistan and there is specific concern around the practice of "bacha bazi" – ‘dancing boys’ dressed in women’s clothes involving sexual abuse by older men. Testimonies and informal accounts from the conflict in Syria also recount many incidents of boys being subjected to sexual torture in places of detention in front of adult men and of rape being used both tactically and opportunistically on a mass scale against girls and boys as young as 7 years old.

"Civilians [in Syria] already caught in a vicious cycle of violence are also the target of sexual violence by all parties to the conflict.”

Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Zainab Hawa Bangura

The above examples are a shocking indication of the existing levels of sexual violence against children in places that are or have been in conflict. However, it is also likely that these portray only a fraction of the scale of the problem due to the fear, stigma and shame of many children that lead to them not reporting their experiences.

The REALITY OF CHILDREN REPORTING SEXUAL VIOLENCE: War Child Afghanistan case example

Fahima was forced to marry a man twice her age when she was just 13 years old. As a result of the physical abuse and the restrictions from her husband she decided to leave his house with the help of her cousin. The police took this as adultery. She was sentenced to 10 months in a Juvenile Rehabilitation Centre (JRC) for her so-called crime.

Despite glaring and consistent examples of children being targeted by perpetrators of sexual violence, action on the issue of sexual violence against children in conflict is wholly inadequate. Certain steps have been taken by the International Community to address the issue, including through the UN’s Special Representative on Children and Armed Conflict (SRSG CAAC) and this mandate has helped in the UN Security Council’s acknowledgement of grave violations against children during conflict, including sexual violence, as a peace and security issue, saying that: "high incidence and appalling levels of brutality of rape and other forms of sexual violence [are] committed against children [in conflict]." The Secretary-General reports annually on the scale of sexual violence against children in times of conflict and identifies countries and groups who perpetrate it. In his latest report he names and shames a long list of countries in which children are abused including Syria, Columbia, Cote d’Ivoire, DRC, Somalia, and Darfur. Equally, the establishment of the UN’s Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism (MRM) and its aim to systematically monitor and report on violations of children’s rights in situations of armed conflict is a key development and step in the right direction. Notwithstanding these efforts, much of the dialogue on sexual violence against children only succeeds in paying lip service to the problem.

WHAT ABOUT BOYS?

“Despite the tendency to treat sexual violence as primarily a crime against women, men and boys have historically been and continue to be targeted for sexual violence in particular and gender-specific ways that deserve the attention of the human rights community.”

Available statistics show that women and girls are most likely to experience sexual violence in conflict and should be at the centre of any initiative to combat it. Nonetheless, in the past decade incidents of sexual violence against men and boys, including sexual enslavement and forced rape, have been reported in over 25 conflicts worldwide (or almost all 59 armed conflicts identified by the Human Security Report if conflict-displacement of men and boys is included). Sectoral experts are increasingly acknowledging the seriousness of the issue, but this has not yet translated into or been adequately addressed within the common discourse or policymaking.

If data on sexual violence against children during conflict is scant then information about boys is near non-existent. However, if the overall rates of sexual violence against boys are used as a yardstick for conflict-related suffering, then the international community is ignoring the plight of a significant proportion of children victimised by wartime sexual violence. A general, global, study alerts us to 7.6% of boys having experienced sexual abuse, and the cases of Syria and Afghanistan show that rates in conflict affected areas are likely to be significantly higher than any official or gathered statistics would suggest.
1  CHANGING THE DISCOURSE (CONTINUED)

Boys are vulnerable to sexual violence during military conscription or abduction into paramilitary forces, in refugee and internally displaced settings and particularly in detention. For instance, the Secretary-General noted in last year’s report that of the 76 boys detained in juvenile rehabilitation centres on national security related charges in Afghanistan, 10 reported sexual violence or threats of sexual violence on their arrest. There have also been numerous reports of child rape, particularly of boys, in detention in Syria. According to witnesses, children were subjected to worse treatment than adults, including rape, specifically because they were children and male detainees stated they witnessed the rape of boys between the ages of 11 and 15.

The safety of boys in Afghanistan should also be a key concern of the international community. The SRSG CAAC has called on all parties to end the practice of Bacha Bazi and recently signed an Action Plan with the Afghan government that includes such a commitment. The issue remains one of virtual silence and inaction, however, due to the acutely taboo nature of the subject and complicity of senior figures of authority: “Very powerful warlords and regional commanders from all the security forces as well as anti-government forces have young boys who are taught to dance.”

CATEGORIES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN:

Stories from the field

The definition of sexual violence as defined by IRIN earlier in the chapter, categorises 9 types of sexual violence, of which children are only one. In reality, boys and girls under the age of 18 experience violations in each of these areas.

Case studies from areas in which War Child and other NGOs work are a sober awakening to this fact.

RAPE AND MARITAL RAPE

Afghanistan

Fatimah’s father is dead. Following his death, her mother was forced into an abusive relationship with her husband’s brother and she now works on the streets, sifting through garbage and selling dirty plastic bags. Fatimah was forced to marry a man much older than her when she was only 13 years old. Fatimah refused at first so her uncle arranged for her to be arrested in order to coerce her to comply. During the course of her arrest and detention she was raped by a police officer. After her release she found out that she was pregnant. Having a child outside of marriage is illegal in Afghanistan. Consequently, Fatimah was arrested again. Her mother was unable to pay the bribes for her release. Fatimah was sentenced to three years in prison, with adults who had committed serious crimes, where she had to give birth to her baby, Romina.

FORCED SODOMY/ANAL RAPE

Syria

“We were 70 to 75 people in a group cell that was three by three meters…. There were 15 and 16-year-old kids in the cell with us, six or seven of them with their fingernails pulled, their faces beaten. They treat the kids even worse than the adults. There is torture, but there is also rape for the boys. We would see them when the guards brought them back to the cell. It’s indescribable. You can’t talk about it. One boy came into the cell bleeding from behind. He couldn’t walk. It was something they just did to the boys. We would cry for them.”

SEXUAL ABUSE

DRC

During the war Nellie’s mother was raped. She fell pregnant with Nellie but struggled to live with the trauma, becoming mentally ill. This mental illness led to accusations that she was a witch and she ended up on the streets, sending Nellie to live with her grandparents. At 12 Nellie was cast out of her grandparents’ home after she asked to find her real mother. At such a young age she was highly vulnerable to the dangers of life on the street. She was befriended by an older man who cruelly coaxed her friendship with food and money and then attacked and raped her.
### 1 CHANGING THE DISCOURSE (CONTINUED)

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<th>SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND FORCED PROSTITUTION</th>
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<td><strong>Iraq</strong></td>
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| Naba’s father was disabled during the last Gulf War, in southern Iraq. Naba’s mother turned their home into brothel and was subsequently imprisoned for honour crimes. One day, prior to her mother’s arrest, Naba was forced by her mother to meet an old man in order to exchange sex for money. She was just 15 years old. As a result of being forced to have exploitative sex, Naba became pregnant. Naba left her father and slept rough. In order to feed her son, Naba started begging on the streets. She cannot face other people: she regards herself as dishonoured because she was forced to have sex with the old man at the age of 15. She describes her situation:  “I won’t talk to anybody and I won’t meet anyone because of if the people knew who I am they will be frightened and stay away from me. They will put me in jail so it’s better for me and my son to keep ourselves away from other people. I will stay with my son all the rest of my life. I want to get money to feed my son and buying medication for him”.
| Naba buys medications for her son from pharmacies. She cannot take him to the hospital because she has no legal documents for him as he was born ‘illegitimately,’ i.e. out of wedlock. To register her son would mean admitting to the rape and prostitution. |
| Juliet was 12 years old she was abducted from her home in Northern Uganda by the Lord’s Resistance Army. She was forced into sexual slavery for six years as a ’wife’ of a rebel commander. She fell pregnant when she was 16 years old – during labour, she was forced by the rebels to walk for miles as they tried to evade the Ugandan army. The journey caused Juliet to suffer a traumatic still-born birth with severe medical complications as the operation was performed by a local doctor with just a razor blade. Juliet recalls: “If your baby dies you are not supposed to mourn for it. If you do, they will kill you. You have just to go somewhere secretly and cry. When you return, you should look like nothing has happened”.
| Juliet escaped her captivation and became the head girl of her school after accelerated learning classes. She wants to become a lawyer to help girls like her. |
1 CHANGING THE DISCOURSE (CONTINUED)

THE GLOBAL NATURE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

This isn’t just an African problem

The above chapter on first-hand accounts demonstrates that sexual violence is by no means confined to the continent of Africa.

The focus on Africa is in part due to the significant scale of sexual violence in the DRC, described as the “epicentre of sexual violence”. We know from our own fieldwork that sexual violence is chronic in DRC and it should undoubtedly be a key country of concern, especially as the risk intensifies with conflict in the east surfacing once again. Some of the worst and most rampant sexual violence has also occurred in other African conflicts such as in Rwanda, Burundi and Liberia.

For reasons already noted, in traditional patriarchal societies such as Afghanistan and Iraq, the issue of sexual violence is highly difficult to calculate in terms of scale and impact and there is a consequent lack of understanding and attention to issues of sexual violence as a truly global problem. Yet sexual violence has happened across many wars and cultures and the Secretary-General’s hot list of countries where sexual violence is of real concern crosses all over the world from Africa, Asia the Americas and the Middle East.

Sexual violence is also a very real issue for Syrian children, who have been targeted within the ongoing civil war. For example, the International Rescue Committee’s Gender-Based Violence rapid assessment in August last year found from refugees that, “Rape and sexual violence were identified by focus groups and key informants alike as the most extensive form of violence faced by women and girls while in Syria”.

If sexual violence is going to be effectively addressed and prevented, it is critical that research and perceptions are open to the global nature of the problem and take it into account. Emphasis should be placed on identifying what triggers sexual violence in countries of concern and also on remaining diligent in evaluating risks in all countries that may not appear to be of immediate ‘relevance’ to the sexual violence in conflict agenda. If the African experience is anything to go by, it is most likely that sexual violence will rise up in countries where there is deeply ingrained gender inequality and a poor human rights record coupled with fragile systems of law and governance. As such, conflict in and of itself should turn our attention to this issue for children, rather than simply focusing our efforts on known geographic hotspots.

Padar Uganda
Image © David Bebber, The Times
1 CHANGING THE DISCOURSE (CONTINUED)

SEXUAL VIOLENCE IS NOT JUST A ‘WEAPON OF WAR’

A phrase coined due to mass atrocities committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda, rape as a weapon of war has become an almost standardised way of describing sexual violence in conflict.

Sexual violence has undoubtedly been used tactically to serve a very specific purpose. It is a cheap and effective way to terrorise, displace and demoralise communities and there are undeniable instances where systematic sexual violence has been engaged in by armed groups as a “deliberate and orchestrated act of psychological warfare”.

However, to see sexual violence first and foremost as a weapon of war is problematic as it is not the only reason sexual violence thrives in wartime. Taking such a simplified view risks overlooking the many forms sexual violence can take in conflict, its multiple triggers and its different actors.

We also need to keep in step with the changing face of contemporary conflicts. Rape as a weapon of war is arguably a practice in decline. It is more likely that sexual violence in conflict is simply opportunistic and a result of collapsed authority rather than on order from on high. In fact, sexual violence in the DRC – often cited as the key country where sexual violence is a weapon of war - is more likely to be a symptom of a dysfunctional, fragmented and corrupt military command system unable to prevent undisciplined, and often unpaid and drug-afflicted, troops from committing randomised looting and rape.

International efforts may, therefore, be looking in the wrong place when it comes to children and their experience of sexual violence in conflict. A number of studies suggest that trying to combat sexual violence by breaking up rebel groups and bringing their commanders to justice won’t bring about change for children who are more likely to experience sexual violence at the hands of their families and communities. As one study shows, based on hospital records, if you were a child in Eastern DRC during 2004 and 2008 you were almost 93 times more likely to be raped by a civilian rather than by a combatant.

In another study, 62% of children who had experienced sexual violence identified an unarmed civilian as the assailant. We know this as well from our own work in conflict and post-conflict countries where children consistently report that they feel most unsafe at home, where physical, emotional and sexual abuse is pervasive.

It is not just the usual suspects

Sexual violence is a lot closer to home than the discourse would suggest. Family members and community members are a large part of the problem, particularly for children, and it is well recognised that civilian-perpetrated rape is on the increase.

Part of this story of abuse was recently elucidated in a study of violence against women in paramilitary conflicts in Côte d’Ivoire. The survey found that even in the heat of conflict, the most common form of violence women experienced was from partners and family members, in contrast to combatants who accounted for only 0.4% of acts of sexual violence in the same time period. This is a sobering fact in relation to under 18s too, when you consider that over 51% of cases of sexual violence in the post-election crisis in Côte d’Ivoire were children – more than half of which were below age 15.

War Child’s work in the field has also confirmed the trend of community members being the main perpetrators of sexual violence against children, from teachers and policemen down to direct relatives.

A focus on armies, militia and rogue forces will therefore not necessarily bring a reprieve for children who are more likely to be abused by someone in their community rather than by a man in uniform. It’s not always men either - across a number of conflicts, women have been identified as key perpetrators of sexual violence.

Similarly, we also need to turn the torchlight on ourselves. The humanitarian sector is not beyond reproach: peacekeepers and aid workers are also part of the problem. Cases of sexual abuse against children have been found across 23 humanitarian, peacekeeping and security organisations with peacekeepers being identified as the most likely perpetrators.

Sexual violence spreads in times of conflict due to a potent combination of a range of factors – poverty, social disharmony, insecurity, increased vulnerability, weakened social and legal structures and gender inequality. Until we take an all encompassing approach that addresses the key components that drive sexual violence in conflict, we will never hit at the heart of the problem and will merely be glancing at the sides.
CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES RELATING TO CHILDREN EXPERIENCING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT

CAUSES

CULTURAL CONDITIONS

LOW BARRIERS

INSTITUTIONAL
• impunity
• lawlessness
• corruption
• lack of accountability

SOCIAL
• normalisation of behaviours
• communities unable to protect
• cultural attitudes and acceptance

ATTITUDES & STATUS
• lack of recognition and understanding of rights
• cultural taboos
• adherence to conduct

CONFLICT

WEAPON OF WAR
• tactical/strategic orders from military/groups to terrorise and demoralise whole communities

POWER IMBALANCE
• small arms proliferation
• culture of fear
• authority’s lack of discipline and training
• opportunist abuse of authority
• increased vulnerability

CONFLICT - STRESS
Including:
• drug and alcohol abuse
• feeling of lack of personal control
• fear of economic status
• changing gender roles
• increased anger and aggression

SOCIAL WEAPON OF WAR

CONFLICT - STRESS

CONSEQUENCES

CHILDREN IN CONFLICT AFFECTED AREAS EXPERIENCE SEXUAL VIOLENCE

INDIVIDUAL

PHYSICAL
Including:
• unwanted pregnancies
• STDs
• HIV
• fistula
• incontinence

PSYCHOLOGICAL
Including:
• PTSD
• depression
• flashbacks
• drug and alcohol abuse

LIFE LIMITING
Including:
• early forced marriage
• disrupted education and reduced livelihood options (e.g. sex work)

SOCIAL

FAMILIAL & COMMUNITY
Including:
• breakdown in social/familial structures
• fear, lack of trust and confidence, loss of cohesion

CYCLE OF ABUSE
Including:
• Possibility of victims becoming perpetrators

INTERVENTION

ABSENCE OF EFFECTIVE CHILD PROTECTION
• Insufficient local, national and international investment and understanding
• low capacity of local authorities and communities
• blindness of humanitarian interventions to child protection
• lack of implementation of the UNCRC

MISGUIDED INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTIONS
• Lack of research and data
• assumptions instead of evidence
• too heavily tied to just women
• lack of work with men and boys

INEFFECTIVE REINTEGRATION
• lack of victim support (who may turn into perpetrators)
• lack of national and international investment under article 39 of the CRC
2 TREATING THE GREATEST SOCIAL WOUND

KEY POINTS
1. Child Protection is the key to tackling prevention in all phases
2. A continuum of care in all sectors is needed to treat sexual violence
3. Solutions to sexual violence need to be community and state-led
4. To avoid misguided interventions, comprehensive global data is needed

No conflict or traditional norm is a good enough reason for one person to sexually abuse another, especially a child. Only when our prevention work effectively targets the perpetrators can we start walking the long road to making every childhood free from sexual violence.

War Child UK country Director, Uganda

WHAT IS MISSING?

Sexual violence is often rooted in deep seated cultural attitudes towards sex, gender and children. In conflict zones the added pressure of military activity, arms proliferation, loss of livelihoods, grief, rapid changes in social status, dislocation and breakdown of community cohesion and existing legal structures creates a potent mix of rage, frustration and vulnerability. Preventing sexual violence in conflict is not, however, a “mission impossible”. Particularly if international efforts take account of all angles, ensure responsibility is retained with the nation-state and that local and national action is complemented rather than obscured.

A holistic response to this complex situation would involve intervention in several important areas simultaneously including:
1. Investment in protection measures
2. Proper data collection
3. Strengthening local leadership against sexual violence
4. Mobilisation of positive community values
5. Increased accountability and a culture of non-acceptance
6. Proper treatment and support of victims and measures to prevent them being part of a cycle of ongoing violence

It is worth noting that impunity and the rule of law are only one of several lines of work and investment which are needed. Responses which emphasise legal remedies will draw resources into just one of many necessary actions, and ultimately fail to reduce vulnerability or re-establish a safe environment for women, children and men.

"The widespread occurrence of sexual violence in conflict is a threat to peace and security, as it diminishes the prospects for reconciliation and peacebuilding. It puts entire communities at risk, rips apart their social cohesion, and condemns them to a life of poverty."
Let’s Get the Numbers

Reliable and comparable cross-country data on the prevalence of conflict-related sexual violence does not exist for women, let alone children. The surveys and studies that have been done vary in their definition of sexual violence, their methods and target populations. Estimates of sexual violence vary greatly – for example, estimates of rape in war from studies done in the DRC range from 17.8% to 39.7% in women - and are not directly comparable across locations. Instead we are operating in something of a “statistical twilight” and largely designing interventions in the dark.

To make any real headway, we need good, reliable data to accurately design early warning systems and targeted interventions that take full account of the ethical issues associated with data collection from children. This also means providing the appropriate child-sensitive training and child protection guidelines to anyone conducting interviews or interacting with children to gain insights on this subject – as relaying stories of sexual violence can constitute a trauma in and of itself. There also needs to be a better way of collecting and managing data and reporting on sexual violence, the UN Security Council itself has recognised this as a key issue and formally acknowledged the need for better reporting and more systematic data collection and analysis on sexual violence.

This may seem like a daunting task but it has been done before – large scale population surveys, using common definitions and methodologies, have been undertaken at regular intervals across large numbers of developing countries for the Millennium Development Goals.

Some commentators suggest the collection and analysis of sexual violence data could be conducted as part of every major peacekeeping operation as a way of capturing as much information as possible in a systematic and comprehensive way. The UN-led Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism (MRM) for grave violations of children's rights should also form a key part of data collection strategies to ensure key information on children’s experiences of sexual violence during conflict is captured. Reviews of these mechanisms must, however, be undertaken to ensure that it is not just the ‘men in uniform’ whose crimes are captured.

As has been evidenced, any effort to collect information on sexual violence in conflict is largely confounded by the stigma associated with it and its chronic under-reporting, as well as issues around the collection, verification and comparability of data. This means that reliable information depends on survivors feeling empowered to report their experiences and seek help. As we will discuss further below, this will only happen if behavioural and attitudinal changes take place at the societal level through national ownership and long-term investment – and if the appropriate quality support services are accessible in the wake of sexual violence.
2 TREATING THE GREATEST SOCIAL WOUND (CONTINUED)

Answers from the field: children’s voices on children’s issues

Collecting data does not always have to be an entirely quantitative exercise. Children are the best channel for judging their own sense of safety and wellbeing. When given the necessary support to organise their voices, children and young people are amongst the most powerful forces for change – affecting both the today and tomorrow of a community. In Northern Uganda, for example, across districts in Acholi and Karamoja, War Child trained 200 young investigators to conduct a survey into child safety. After interviewing 3,200 children, the team had compelling and comprehensive information highlighting sexual and other abuse in schools, in homes, and in the wider community, which they used to advocate with local adult groups, with schools and with district and regional authorities. The work is already leading to concrete changes including extra protection patrols in routes to school.

INVESTING IN PROTECTION SYSTEMS

Even though the vulnerability of children to sexual violence during conflict is clear, child protection work is very poorly funded, and badly resourced. The results of UNOCHA’s Consolidated and Flash Appeals for 2009 illustrate this point well: in 2009 total funding requests under these two appeal processes, across all emergencies, was $10.4 billion of which $7.1 billion was eventually funded. Behind this average funding rate of 72% the numbers show a wide variation in the priorities expressed by donors. Requests for food aid were 85% funded whilst requests for child protection received only 32% of the required amount. Alongside education (also funded at 32%), child protection was the worst performing sector in terms of appeal response. In other words, the two areas of work most likely to provide for the protection of children from abuse and neglect were the most underfunded parts of the international humanitarian response. Worst still is the fact that funding levels for child protection in 2009 showed a marked decline from 2008: funding for child protection dropped by more than $20 million dollars (from $64.3 million in 2007 to $40.8 million) in 2009.

With little money going into the system, it cannot be claimed that child protection is a key objective for the humanitarian community - donors included.

Why is this so? Timely child protection work saves children the trauma of rape, abuse, defilement, abduction or absorption into armed forces or armed groups. Education allows children a chance to escape from the trauma of conflict and build hope for their future, acquiring skills and knowledge which will help them avoid becoming part of the next chapter of conflict in their communities.

When asked “What makes you feel unsafe?” a 15 year-old girl in Kaabong TC drew this picture and wrote “Moving in dark places is bad because you can be raped by bad people.”

Picture reflecting fear of rape from Child Safety Report Card investigations.
Uganda regional report card results 2012 reflecting children’s sense of safety in their communities.
Jeanette’s case study shows how important it is to respond early to child protection needs:

Jeanette is 17.

She fled from the village of Rugari after witnessing the bombing of her aunt’s home, but lost touch with her family in the night and is on her own in the spontaneous displaced people camp north of Goma town.

She told the War Child team “Without a family, in a displaced people’s camp with no food, I will go with the first person to offer me a family life. I am not really old enough to get married. But really I do not know what to do. I have no tent, no family, nothing.”

Jeanette’s story illustrates the vulnerability of children in conflict emergencies, especially considering the prevalence of sexual violence in and around Goma. War Child raised private funds in the UK to establish a rapid response child protection programme in the camps, setting up child safe spaces, identifying vulnerable and unaccompanied children and forming camp ‘households’ in order to register them for food aid. Children in especially vulnerable circumstances were housed outside of the camp and linked up with local NGOs and other vital support. To date, the programme has still received no funding from OCHA or other institutional donors.

Had we waited a few more weeks before responding, there is a good chance that Jeanette would not have been there any more, having fallen victim to rape, abuse or forced marriage.

SUPPORTING STATES’ RESPONSIBILITIES TO PROTECT

States party to the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child have a duty to protect children in times of conflict. The re-establishment of government effectiveness is a key part of peacebuilding, combined with delivering benefits being demanded by the community. Interventions in reducing sexual violence must look for ways to increase local ownership of the issue and build on local capacities. International responses need to ensure that they do not undermine local actors, or relieve the state of their responsibilities under the Convention of the Rights of the Child.

This is a challenge when conflict states are often characterised by weak governance and low government capacity, but also makes it all the more imperative in order that sustainable solutions are created. We also know that government employees are often perpetrators of sexual violence, and those in government who try to address these problems are often putting themselves at risk. However, there are men and women in local, district and national government who are motivated to reduce sexual violence and increase support for victims.

Answers from the field: Providing Telephone helplines towards prevention

Telephone helplines are increasingly understood by practitioners to be an effective way of not only tracking and reporting cases of abuse, but also preventing them when trends are spotted in calls that are logged in any given area. War Child has established telephone helplines on toll free numbers in Afghanistan and DRC. Our service in parts of North Kivu is integrated with existing government capacity in order to strengthen systems beyond our project timelines. The helpline is managed in partnership with the Department for Social Assistance (DIVAS) to the extent that the phone will ring in a DIVAS office. Local government officials are responsible for taking and logging the calls and there is a shared responsibility in providing referrals for children who need various forms of assistance. DIVAS currently lacks the capacity to respond to all child protection issues as a comprehensive referral system across the geographical spread of the helpline service. Even so, DIVAS is the responder in some cases, whilst in others local leaders, community groups or War Child social workers will be on hand to help. The project is structured in a way which will maximise DIVAS involvement and leadership of the helpline protection system and support ongoing capacity in the area of protection and prevention.
2 TREATING THE GREATEST SOCIAL WOUND (CONTINUED)

MOBILISATION OF POSITIVE COMMUNITY VALUES

No matter what we do to combat sexual violence in conflict, the impact will be limited so long as community attitudes towards gender and children remain unchanged. It is incredibly important to start working on community minds (especially those of men and boys) - ideally before a crisis happens or immediately in its aftermath – so that sexual violence, and its associated stigma, is reduced, survivors are empowered to speak about their experiences and seek help, communities become defenders of their members and perpetrators are discouraged.

As men are the most likely perpetrators of sexual violence, they must be engaged as partners in its prevention in order to win the battle.66 A number of programmes like Women for Women International’s Men’s Leadership Programme67 and the Sonke Gender Justice Network’s “One Man Can”, “Red Card” and “Redefining Courage”68 campaigns recognise the importance of engaging men as change makers as do a number of NGOs such as the Rwandan Men’s Resource Centre69 and Men for Gender Equality Now!70, who use mass mobilisation and sensitisation campaigns to encourage men to adopt positive masculine behaviours as a means of effectively preventing gender-based violence. A MenEngage’s project takes another approach: by calling on men to advocate for the better implementation of gender-based violence laws and policies in Kenya, Rwanda and Sierra Leone.71 Boys as well as men need to be engaged early too, especially if they have grown up in conflict areas where sexual violence has become normalised.72

There is growing evidence that working with men and boys in this way works. The South African Medical Research Council’s evaluation of the Stepping Stones initiative in the East Cape showed significant changes in men’s attitudes and practices.73 The World Health Organisation (WHO) also found that well-designed programmes involving men and boys showed compelling evidence of leading to change in attitudes and behaviours, especially those programmes that included deliberate discussions around gender and masculinity and were connected to community outreach and mass media campaigns.74 In its conclusive observations, the WHO noted that the behaviour and attitudes of men and boys, often considered unchangeable, can be changed and lead to better health outcomes for men, their partners, their families and their children75 - as well as the wider community.

Answers from the field: community-devised solutions to negative behaviours

Communities can be supported to play a strong role in child protection and in constructing positive attitudinal and behavioural change. Child Protection Committees and REFLECT groups which consist of participatory debates and monitoring, join adults and children in a partnership to increase protection and reduce all kinds of abuse. War Child has been engaging men and boys in communities to challenge views of masculinity that lead to negative behaviours and often motivate sexual violence. Since this work commenced two years ago, early evaluative studies conducted by Makerere University in Uganda estimate that the rates of sexual violence in War Child’s project areas in Uganda have seen a sharp decline (currently estimated at 47% reduction in reported cases) of incidents of sexual violence against children across 5 districts.
SUPPORT SERVICES AND THE CYCLE OF ABUSE

"There is increasingly strong evidence that exposure to violence in childhood, either as a witness to violence against one’s mother or as a victim of physical or sexual abuse oneself, pre-disposes children to be at higher risk of repeating the pattern themselves in adolescence or adulthood".76

Lori Heise

It is absolutely essential that support services are provided for all survivors of sexual violence. There are real ethical issues in conducting interviews and asking people about their experiences of sexual violence without being able to refer them to adequate support services. Equally, people are less likely to come forward if their fears outweigh the benefits of doing so. War Child knows from our work in the field that issues around confidentiality are significant and that much remains to be done on ensuring service providers follow core codes of conduct and that target communities have faith in them.

Services need to be provided in all sectors of response – as attacks of sexual violence can impact all corners of life from education and health right to livelihood options being reduced to transactional sex or early marriage. Support services for all forms of violence, abuse and neglect, and subsequent reintegration services, are also critical for reducing negative cycles of violence from victim to perpetrator.77

BRINGING PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE

The impunity that exists around sexual violence in conflict is one of the barriers to positive change in preventing it and is also one of the root causes of its proliferation. However, as the case studies in the previous chapter reinforce, tackling impunity is not always possible in certain contexts where sexual violence is not reported and it is also only one aspect of the necessary holistic approach. As a recent study on partner violence notes, “while impunity is frequently cited as a risk factor for abuse, there are few empirical studies that validate this theory.”78 Tackling impunity must be seen by policy-makers as one tool, among a set of the many measures, that must be implemented simultaneously to address sexual violence in conflict.

The numerous evidentiary and procedural hoops that then need to be jumped through to bring just one case to the halls of international justice are daunting and the road is likely to be a very long and often traumatising one. High profile international cases such as that of Lubanga79 are of course welcome developments in international justice, but provide little causal link between penal response and sexual violence prevention for communities on the ground. It is the early days of the International Criminal Court and it must be fully supported and invested in by donors, but for children, it is more important that national laws that protect them from sexual violence are not only developed but implemented - and that those closest to them, and statistically most likely to hurt them, know that sexual violence is not accepted, will be punished and that the veil of a culture of impunity has been well and truly lifted by local and national authorities.

IT IS ILLEGAL

- Rape and other forms of sexual violence against children are human rights violations, and can fall under ‘grave breaches of international humanitarian law’.
- If perpetrated systematically or strategically, sexual violence can constitute war crimes and/or crimes against humanity according to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.
Addressing sexual violence in conflict requires a holistic approach that is culturally sensitive, context and age specific and supports and builds the protection capacities of local communities, as well as the responsibility of national governments under Article 38 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child:

“In accordance with their obligations under international humanitarian law to protect the civilian population in armed conflicts, States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure protection and care of children who are affected by an armed conflict.”

1. Community-based Solutions
   • Local customs, laws and practices must be taken into account and fully considered when addressing sexual violence as an international issue. Legal action is not always the most effective solution in complex cultural and conflict contexts.
   • Boys and men must be fully engaged partners in fighting the battle against sexual violence.

2. Prevention through Protection
   • Child Protection must be prioritised as a core component of humanitarian response to prevent cases of sexual violence against children. A commensurate funding allocation must be established and donors must commit to fulfilling funding calls in this area.
   • Legal action must not be an isolated intervention but should be seen as part of a broader prevention approach to sexual violence that focuses on protection.

3. Knowledge Investment
   • Data collection and research studies on sexual violence must be genuinely inclusive and findings should be disaggregated based on both age and gender in order to design appropriate programmatic interventions.
   • The UN MRM on children in armed conflict must be accounted for in information gathering that influences broader efforts and policies to address sexual violence.

4. Appropriate interventions
   • International interventions on sexual violence should prioritise working with local communities and funding community-based approaches to prevention and aftercare, as well as creating platforms and dialogues that address the challenges of perpetrators themselves.
   • Interventions must address all aspects of the impacts and consequences of sexual violence: physical, psychological and life-limiting.
   • Interventions must ensure all aspects of the causes of sexual violence are considered including the cultural conditions, community and institutional attitudes and behaviours.
   • Services must reach all ages and genders in a time-sensitive way that reduces the likelihood of perpetuating cycles of violence.
CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

• Sexual violence disproportionately affects children in many situations and societies. The probability of children experiencing sexual violence is compounded by the fact that children and young people make up the majority demographic in many conflict affected and fragile states.

• The fear of social and judicial consequences, coupled with a lack of subsequent welfare services, prevent many children coming forward. The lack of research in the area of sexual violence against children and reductionist views of sexual violence only affecting women, mean that children are accorded low priority and suffer overwhelmingly as a consequence.

• Addressing sexual violence is a complex issue that requires multi-sectoral initiatives that cover the ‘spectrum’ of conflict; from acute humanitarian disasters right through to post-conflict and recovery stages. Practical programming must be locally-led and work across education (community sensitisation and life-skills), protection and welfare, litigation and justice.

WOUNDS MUST BE HEALED, NOT PLASTERED.

2. Statistics quoted here can be found referenced throughout the report.


6. The fact that definitions slip into using female language is indicative of the assumptions made around sexual violence.


11. UN Surveys of Undermining and Violence against Children in South America: 2009-10, p. 49.


14. This case study was collected by War Child staff in Afghanistan in 2012 and collated by the London Office.


22. This case study was collected by War Child staff in Afghanistan in 2012 and collated by the London Office.

23. This case study was collected by War Child staff in Afghanistan in 2012 and collated by the London Office.


25. See for example; NGO Advisory Council for Follow-up to the UN Study on Violence against Children (2009); See also, Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

26. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.


29. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

30. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.


32. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

33. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

34. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

35. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

36. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

37. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

38. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

39. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

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41. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

42. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

43. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

44. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

45. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

46. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

47. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

48. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

49. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.

50. All names have been changed to protect children’s identity and safety.

51. All case studies are collected by War Child staff in the field and are cases dealt with by War Child in our programming areas, with the exception of the Syria case study which is collected by Human Rights Watch. See footnote 36.
END NOTES (CONTINUED)


48. This is based on findings of the final report of a community based Child Protection consultancy - War Child UK programme in Goma, 2009. The consultancy tested at effective community based Child protection measures.


50. See: Lori L. Heise, Centre for Gender Violence and Health, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview, December 2011, chapter 2, p.4 (24 online). The statistic on combatants making up 0.4% of cases was published during a closed presentation to the UK Foreign Office by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in January 2013.


53. Liiyle S., MacKiegh J., McCormick C., Child Protection Working Group (2011), Too Little Too Late: Child protection funding in emergency, This is laid out in the UNCRC Article 38.

54. This is based on findings of the final report of a community based Child Protection consultancy - War Child UK programme in Goma, 2009. The consultancy tested at effective community based Child protection measures.

55. See: Lori L. Heise, Centre for Gender Violence and Health, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An Evidence Overview, December 2011, chapter 2, p.4 (24 online).

56. UN Security Council (2010), Resolution 1960...


62. RWAMREC, Available at: http://www.rwamrec.org/ [1 November 2012].


64. Sonde Gender Justice Network, Available at: http://www.genderjustice.org.za [1 November 2012].


70. Men for Gender Equality Now, Available at: http://www.meggen.org/index.php/homepage [1 November 2012].

