

Silent No Longer

Reintegrating Female Rape Survivors in Post-Conflict Society

Layla | Abi-Falah



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Please direct inquiries to:
The Project on International Peace and Security (PIPS)
Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations
The College of William and Mary
427 Scotland Street
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185
tele. 757.221.1441
fax. 757.221.4650
pips@wm.edu

Electronic copies of this report are available at www.wm.edu/pips

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Amy Oakes
Dennis A. Smith
Co-directors

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Layla Abi-Falah

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The Reintegration of Rape Survivors in Post-Conflict Society

Mass rape during conflict fractures communities, which contributes to broader instability and impedes post-conflict reconstruction. Social stigmas against rape lead to the abuse, exile, and humiliation of female rape survivors, preventing the inclusion of many women in the peace and reconstruction process. To achieve long-lasting peace and stability, the United States should prioritize the reintegration of female rape survivors into society. This paper proposes empowering norm entrepreneurs, establishing education-mediation campaigns, and expanding primary healthcare facilities, which respond to the needs of the community, family, and individual.

Introduction

Mass wartime rape constitutes a relatively overlooked obstacle to post-conflict reconstruction. Its effects extend beyond the individual female. Cultural stigmas and beliefs surrounding rape lead to the rejection, exile, and abuse of rape survivors on a massive scale, eroding family and community structures.

In the aftermath of conflicts marked by mass rape, communal instability persists without the active participation of a significantly large and marginalized portion of the population: female survivors. Such instability can give rise to illegal activities, such as terrorist recruitment and the augmentation of sex and drug trade networks, which impacts U.S. and international security.

Current U.S. policies, including the 2011 National Action Plan and initiatives such as *Safe from the Start*, represent a first step towards addressing the impact violence has on survivors of mass rape and their communities in post-conflict environments. As a means of augmenting current U.S. policies, this white paper proposes a three-tiered reintegration program for rape survivors on the communal, familial and individual levels. Through the empowerment of a norm entrepreneur, the establishment of education-mediation campaigns, and the expansion of primary healthcare facilities, rape survivors can reenter their post-war communities as active participants in reconstruction.

Mass Wartime Rape Obstructing Post-Conflict Reconstruction

You can't make peace without [the other] 54% of the population.

– R. Rwabuhiri, 1999¹

Although there are many well-known obstacles to post-conflict reconstruction, mass wartime rape is an impediment to stability that has received insufficient attention. Female rape survivors face rejection, exile, and abuse from their family and community after their rape due to cultural

stigmas and beliefs. This social reaction in turn cripples the community, as a significant portion of the population is unable to participate in the reconstruction process. Therefore, in post-conflict society, the exclusion of survivors impedes not only gender equality, but also long-term stability and peace.

The Challenges of Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Currently, inadequate manpower and funding, too much emphasis on rebuilding infrastructure, and a lack of coordination among actors are widely recognized obstacles to post-conflict reconstruction.²

- *Inadequate manpower and funding.* The United States and its allies have recognized the negative effects of devoting inadequate personnel and funding to post-conflict reconstruction. With insufficient resources, reconstruction efforts only serve to reproduce corrupt, pre-war institutions.³
- *Improper emphasis on physical reconstruction.* The United States has traditionally prioritized reconstruction of infrastructure over institution building and mediating social cleavages. These priorities weaken efforts to unify war-torn states.⁴ For example, in post-conflict Kosovo and Bosnia, rebuilding physical infrastructure came at the expense of addressing the ethnic tensions at the heart of the conflict. Therefore, interpersonal vengeance and property looting undermined efforts to establish the rule of law, promote human rights, and encourage reconciliation.⁵
- *Lack of coordination between actors.* A lack of coordination between third-parties and local civilians burdens international forces with tasks for which they lack a mandate or proper training to implement. Without communication and coordination with local groups and leaders, U.S. forces take on a range of reconstruction tasks and in many cases are unable to devote the time, energy, resources, and attention to proper implementation.⁶

While these are examples of well-known reconstruction challenges, mass wartime rape is an often neglected obstacle to post-conflict reconstruction. Conflicts marked by mass rape pose unique challenges. And U.S. reconstruction efforts in these societies have been especially ineffective in achieving long-term stability, due to a failure to fully address the consequences of rape.

The Ripple Effects of Mass Wartime Rape

Mass rape is a systematic form of warfare carried out on the female body for strategic ends by both rebel groups and state forces; where a massive scale, women and girls are subjected to sexual, physical invasion under coercive circumstances.⁷ The effects of mass wartime rape extend beyond the individual female, destabilizing the community and posing a significant obstacle to post-conflict reconstruction and long-term stability.

- *Continued suffering of female survivors.* Female survivors of mass rape during conflict range from infants to the elderly and can be civilians, refugees, or abducted soldiers.⁸ Survivors continue to suffer from health complications, social exclusion, and economic hardship.

The violent nature of wartime rape causes a wide range of negative health consequences, such as the contraction of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) like HIV/AIDS, fistulas, reproductive abnormalities, genital mutilation, unwanted pregnancy, and psychological trauma.⁹ Due to financial barriers, cultural stigmas, and a lack of accessible, adequate health services (or even an awareness of available services), few rape survivors seek out and receive medical care.¹⁰ Of those who do seek out medical attention, even fewer receive it within the necessary timeframe to prevent HIV transmission or unwanted pregnancy.¹¹

Rape survivors face rejection, exile, and abuse by family and the greater community.¹² In the case of family rejection, a woman or girl can no longer remain in her husband and/or parent's home.¹³ Women subject to communal rejection are ostracized by peers to such a degree that they are forced to leave the community.¹⁴ However, communal rejection typically does not occur unless the survivor has first been rejected by her family.¹⁵ They are seen as impure and having brought misfortune to their home for having sex outside of marriage. Some even report being perceived as collaborators with their attackers.¹⁶ Exclusion is especially likely for women who bear children of rape, who are widowed or abandoned by their husband, or who were abducted or gang-raped.¹⁷ Health effects, particularly the contraction or fear of contraction of HIV/AIDS, also worsen the response of family and community members. For example, husbands fear HIV/AIDS "contamination" from wives.¹⁸

Finally, the economic effects of mass rape take on three forms. First, familial and communal abandonment can lead to homelessness and poverty.¹⁹ Second, for young girls rape usually eliminates the prospect of marriage and the financial security that would accompany it.²⁰ Third, women are traditionally seen as responsible for working in the fields, cooking, cleaning, and child care. Women who are physically and psychologically injured from rape may be unable to continue the arduous physical labor required to cultivate the fields or even carryout household tasks. If they can return to work, their capacity may be highly limited, thus undermining not only their own financial stability but also that of their family and community.²¹

- *Breakdown of the family unit.* Men—including fathers, brothers, sons, but particularly husbands—are indirect victims of rape.²² Traditionally defined as the protectors of their families, men believe it is their duty to prevent the rape of their wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers. Therefore, when female family members are raped, their male family members feel that they have failed.²³ Due to their inability to perform their role in the family, many men see the rejection of rape survivors as justified. In some cases, men may attribute their decision to abandon survivors and any children who were born of rape to social and familial pressure.²⁴

- *Destabilization of the community.* Combatants target women and girls through rape, abduction, and destroying their ability to conceive as a means of assaulting the greater community.²⁵ Moreover, the honor of the community is significantly tied to the control of female sexual activity.²⁶ Because of the cultural stigma, women who were once an integral part of the community are rejected, exiled, abused, or even killed. The loss of these female community members results in overall communal instability, cementing the power of rape as a strategic weapon of war.²⁷ Therefore, rape is not only a crime against an individual woman, but also a crime against her community in an attempt to destabilize it.

In many countries, communal social networks are based on alliance structures among villages forged through arranged marriages. Mass rape can break these alliances as survivors may be considered unfit to wed, augmenting instability. Even the fear of rape can unravel long-standing social networks that provide emotional, economic, and cultural safety nets.²⁸

Mass wartime rape destabilizes family and community networks. If not mitigated, these effects can persist and inhibit successful reconstruction and long-term stability.

Mass Wartime Rape and Instability

The exclusion of female survivors from post-conflict reconstruction perpetuates societal instability, increasing the potential for state failure. Women are agents of peace and stability, and therefore constitute integral components to a successful post-conflict reconstruction process.

Women and Successful Post-Conflict Reconstruction

At the familial and communal level, women are the first to demand an end to the violence and the beginning of the reconstruction process.²⁹ Women have led efforts to create a dialogue of peace and build essential infrastructure. They initiate a new culture of peace by organizing peace education and community-based reconciliation and social reconstruction activities. In many situations, informal reconstruction efforts on the community level are almost exclusively carried out by women. However, mass wartime rape can prevent women from reassuming leadership positions during the reconstruction process and beyond.

Women take a collaborative, far-reaching approach to peacemaking by organizing across cultural and sectarian divides, thereby bringing attention to various social concerns.³⁰ Most post-conflict reconstruction efforts suffer from a “first, then” syndrome wherein other security challenges, such as uniting combatants, are prioritized over attention to female participation and empowerment.³¹ However, due to the social roles women play, post-conflict communal goals, such as building roads, establishing schools and a return to rule of law, are better accomplished with full female participation. Therefore, the participation of survivors is vital to the rebuilding of their community and the state as a whole.

Marginalized Survivors and State Failure

Some female rape survivors who have suffered familial and communal abandonment may engage in activities that further contribute to state weakness and failure.

- *Turning to terrorism.* The effects of rape can lead to the radicalization of survivors. Terrorist organizations offer women a new sense of identity and community to replace the one they lost following their rape. Acceptance into these groups comes with the promise of revenge, redemption, and ridding survivors of personal shame from their rape.³² Additionally, joining terrorist groups can be opportunistic for marginalized survivors looking for a source of income and livelihood after suffering rejection and abandonment.
- *Resorting to prostitution and the sex trade.* Women who are exiled and abandoned tend to move to the city, exacerbating conflict-induced urbanization. In such urban areas, some of these women, lacking a means of supporting themselves or their children, may turn to prostitution.³³
- *Entering the drug trade.* Female participation in drug trade organizations, a once male-dominated sphere, is growing. Dire economic situations and emotional dependence can drive some survivors to willingly join the drug trade, where they may become drug mules, recruiters, or rise further in the hierarchy. The possibility of earning money to sustain a modest livelihood is appealing to women who must financially support themselves and their children. Because of a lack of alternative opportunities, these women are frequently taken advantage of by drug trade organizations.³⁴

Washington has a significant interest in maintaining a stable international order. Thus, the threat of failed reconstruction processes leading to state failure is a threat to U.S. and international security. The United States is uniquely positioned to create sustainable peace through improved post-conflict reconstruction for conflicts marked by mass rape. By mitigating the effects of mass rape and recognizing the necessity of full female participation in society, the United States will see greater success in its post-conflict reconstruction operations.

U.S. Response to Mass Wartime Rape and Female Participation

In 2000, the United States led United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in drafting Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which highlighted the impact of armed conflict on women and acknowledged the role of women in post-conflict environments.³⁵ The goal of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, which was further strengthened by Resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960, is a peace process that recognizes the link between peace and gender equality, acknowledges conflict-related sexual violence as a tactic of war, and includes women in negotiations and the post-conflict peace-building process.³⁶

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda laid the foundation for a new U.S. policy framework regarding women and security. In the 2010 U.S. National Security Strategy, Washington recognized that countries are more peaceful and prosperous when there is greater gender equality. Then in 2011, the U.S. government enacted the U.S. National Action Plan, pledging its commitment to the U.N. Women, Peace and Security Agenda.³⁷ These efforts were continued with initiatives such as Safe from the Start and Executive Order 13595, the U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally.³⁸ These efforts aim to engage and protect women, seen as integral to U.S. efforts to promote security by preventing, responding to, and reconciling conflict—as well as rebuilding societies.

These policies represent a first step by the United States towards limiting the destabilizing effects of mass wartime rape. The following policy would build on these initiatives to further mitigate the effects of mass wartime rape on post-conflict reconstruction.

A Three-Tiered Approach to Reintegration for Survivors

Implementing a three-tiered reintegration program at the communal, familial, and individual levels would increase the likelihood that rape survivors can reenter society and positively influence the reconstruction process.³⁹

The policy is based on a comprehensive analysis of successful reintegration processes of rape survivors in post-conflict societies, which experienced mass rape. This three-tiered reintegration program presents a path for the reintegration of ostracized rape survivors, but also for the reconstruction of destabilized familial and communal networks by targeting all three levels affected by mass rape.

Fully adopting this program would provide the greatest possibility for a successful reintegration process, as the three elements of the policy are mutually reinforcing. However, implementing even one or two of these tiers will still have a positive impact on reintegration. These menu options allow for flexibility in the reintegration process based on cultural, political and social contexts. The key to this adaptability rests on the ability of local actors to take ownership of the program.

Additionally, this policy can be transformative by inducing a shift in deeply rooted social attitudes towards rape and rape survivors. While the process of changing norms is usually a long and slow, the scale of mass rape is so extreme that a window of opportunity, or a turning point, emerges.⁴⁰ The scale of the assault prompts a societal examination of attitudes towards rape and rape survivors. While the overall goal of this policy memo is the reintegration of rape survivors and a more successful post-conflict reconstruction process, ultimately this project has significant spillover effects for norms of gender equality.

The following policy could be implemented by the structures discussed in the 2011 U.S. National Action Plan, which outlines interaction between Department of State, Department of Justice and Department of Defense to fulfill the goals of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

The Community Level: Empowering Norm Entrepreneurs

Following the example of Paul Kagame in post-genocide Rwanda and Khurto Hajji Ismail in Yazidi areas of Iraq, empowering a political and social leader to oversee reintegration efforts gives legitimacy to and increases community support for the process.⁴¹ These leaders can act as norm entrepreneurs—that is, they can reshape societal attitudes towards rape survivors. The ideal candidates for a norm entrepreneur are influential local leaders and elites, such as spiritual and religious leaders, ethnic and cultural leaders, community elders, and local government leaders (e.g., village chiefs), and civil society leaders. They can use their influence to create an environment that encourages rape survivors to return and feel welcomed, but also to advocate for the necessity of accepting these women back into society. Using political and community leaders to head this process of reintegration ensures that there is greater potential for widespread change in the treatment of rape survivors.⁴²

While a norm entrepreneur can be a single person, the role can also be played by a group of influential leaders. Therefore, the creation of a cross-sectional coalition of leaders allows for the organic emergence of a norm entrepreneur. A coalition of local leaders and elites—both male and female—can focus on identifying positive, local communal norms that would in turn allow for the reintegration of female survivors in society. That is, norm entrepreneurs bring about lasting change by translating reintegration goals into the local vernacular.⁴³

The ability of a norm entrepreneur to effect change depends on the willingness of key communal leaders to participate in the process. However, in situations where a clear choice for this role is not obvious, it is better to side step the community-level reintegration process. If a third party were to select a candidate norm entrepreneur for the community, that individual is more likely to be seen as illegitimate, harming the reintegration process more than the lack of such a leader would.

The Familial Level: Establishing Education-Mediation Campaigns

Educating the family unit about rape and the nature of rape as a tool of war, enables women to receive the support they need to recover from their rape, thereby allowing for their reintegration.⁴⁴ Therefore, mediation between the female rape survivor and her family are crucial to achieving their successful reintegration.⁴⁵ Indeed, the familial response to rape survivors largely determines the community's response. Husbands, especially, are critical components of successful reintegration.⁴⁶

As evidenced by successful village-level pilot studies undergone in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Armenia, education-mediation campaigns should be centered on the goal of redefining the current, cultural understanding of rape.⁴⁷ For both men and women, marriage or family mediation can be useful as a means of helping husbands and their wives or daughters and their families move past the collective trauma from the attack.⁴⁸

- *Redefining the understanding of rape.* Rape must be redefined as a politically motivated crime that was committed in a systematic way rather than a sexual, opportunist act. A

female survivor is not responsible for her rape as she did not invite the violation with her sexuality, but was rather the target of a crime. Redefining rape in this way emphasizes that the woman is no longer a source of shame who should be excluded, but rather a survivor of politically motivated torture. Simply put, they should be treated the same as male victims of rape in war.⁴⁹ Another essential message is that male family members are also not responsible for the rape of their female family members, thereby facilitating their ability to cope with being unable to fulfill their role as protector and encouraging them to take back their wife or daughter. In reshaping perceptions of rape, attitudes towards rape survivors within the family, and by extension the community, shift with it.

While redefining rape is crucial, it is important to retain local ownership of the education-mediation campaigns. Norm entrepreneurs can help implementing parties translate and disseminate the messages to the local population. In cases where a norm entrepreneur is not readily available, men and women who participate in the campaign can become norm entrepreneurs. For example, in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kayembe, was a community leader who was so inspired by the counseling training implemented by Women for Women International's Men's Leadership program (MPL) in 2005 that he and his family began spreading the message to numerous families in his community.⁵⁰

- *Forums for campaigns.* Forums for the education-mediation campaigns take on many different arrangements. For men, namely traumatized husbands who were violent towards or abandoned their wives, guided group counseling sessions or support services can help facilitate understanding and change.⁵¹ Gender training and sensitization for men has been shown to lead to a long-term shift in attitudes.⁵² For women, guided group therapy and mediation sessions help to reshape their understanding of rape and to build support networks that last after the program ends. If sustained in the new post-conflict environment, these support networks can help foster female leadership by these survivors.⁵³

The structure of these forums, as with the educational content of the campaign, must be adapted to the local context. Therefore, norm entrepreneurs can again be important leaders of the mediation process by organizing and heading these forums.

The Individual Level: Expanding Primary Healthcare Facilities

The current state of medical care stigmatizes female rape survivors. Women and girls fear being revealed as rape survivors as facilities have open waiting areas with no privacy and health workers require proof before providing health services.⁵⁴ These realities dis-incentivize survivors from seeking the medical care that could protect them from being exiled and ostracized from their families and communities. When such facilities exist, either within her community or outside the community, seeking out care is like announcing to the community that she has been raped. When facilities do not exist, women are in many ways doomed to exile.

The creation of an all-encompassing, community-level female medical care facility for the entire communities' female population avoids stigmatizing women who seek treatment due to rape. Specifically, the incorporation of clinical care for rape survivors into local primary health care facilities enables women to overcome shame and stigma and seek medical treatment. They can seek treatment without being absent from their homes and communities, thereby more easily keeping it private.⁵⁵ This treatment is necessary for their successful reintegration in society—or to avoid exclusion in the first place.⁵⁶

- *HIV/AIDS testing.* Women are more likely to be reintegrated back into their families, or to prevent their husbands and families from rejecting them at all, when they are able to prove they were not infected with HIV/AIDS or other STIs.⁵⁷ Therefore, test results are necessary to convince a husband that his wife is not positive for the infections.⁵⁸ HIV/AIDS testing technologies and the ability to access them within the 72-hour window after rape is vital to ensuring reintegration. Therefore, testing, HIV post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP), prophylactic antibiotics for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and post-coital contraceptives must be provided in primary healthcare facilities.⁵⁹
- *Pregnancy and reproductive autonomy.* Though rape is a violent act in itself, wartime rape tends to be more violent, often injuring female reproductive abilities and leading to her rejection. Indeed, rape is used as a tool of war to target the value of women as the foundation of the community, but also as a mother of future generations. Reintegration is more likely when women are able to conceive with their husbands after rape.⁶⁰ If a woman is not able to conceive following the rape, then the woman may lose her value and be rejected. Thus, clinical services to rape survivors must include surgical care.

Because labor and delivery can be detrimental to a woman's health, primary clinical healthcare must include effective emergency contraception (EC), which can prevent unwanted pregnancies from rape if received within 120-hour window.⁶¹ Nearly 18 percent of rape survivors become pregnant as a result of their rape, which is one of the main reasons women are rejected by their family and community.⁶² This risk is higher for younger girls whose bodies are not mature enough for labor and delivery and for women who have serious pelvic injuries and scarring from the rape.⁶³

- *Trauma counseling.* Along with medical care, psycho-social counseling not only assists in the reintegration process, but also aids women to want to be reintegrated. The necessity of psycho-social counseling to combat the trauma of wartime rape has been argued by rape survivors themselves.⁶⁴ Social workers and counselors partner with primary health facilities to offer their services. In line with the practices of a number of NGOs, counselors with the greatest impact are those with previous experiences of violence and similar ethnic and cultural background of survivors. Survivors are better able to identify with someone who has faced similar experiences. Psycho-social counseling for a rape survivor does not end once reintegration into society has been achieved, as counseling may still be needed to continue combating the trauma.⁶⁵

Unlike the tiers of the reintegration program discussed above, this stage must begin during conflict to affect the post-conflict outcome for survivors. Local health workers must be trained to

respond appropriately to survivors, and these services must be widely available. Once these services are available, the community must be told where to access immediate and anonymous care in case of rape.

In the same way that norm entrepreneurs can play a role in education-mediation campaigns, education-mediation campaigns have a role to play in the success of clinical care for rape survivors. Encouraging women to seek early post-sexual violence care, raising awareness about the facilities provided and the time window necessary to receive care are examples of how campaigns can help. Additionally, seeking medical care can require that the stigma surrounding sexual violence be reduced—a process that is facilitated by education-mediation campaigns.⁶⁶

Conclusion

Mass wartime rape is an obstacle to post-conflict reconstruction as its effects reach far beyond the individual woman and destabilize both family and community structures. Although current U.S. policy presents a first step in mitigating the effects of mass wartime rape, a three-tiered reintegration program targeting the community, family, and individual level will allow policymakers to face post-conflict reconstruction holistically.

The policy outlined above has the potential to be applied to current and future post-conflict reconstruction efforts in which mass rape has been used as a tool of war. As a case of mass wartime rape, South Sudan represents a country whose future post-conflict reconstruction process could benefit from the implementation of this policy.⁶⁷

Mass wartime rape is not a crime against individual women but a crime against their society in an attempt to tear such communities apart. In South Sudan and beyond, the implementation of this policy aims to repair the social fabric and restore stability to these targeted communities and by extension the state as a whole.

¹ As noted by a Rwandan woman working with the United Nations Population Fund, “You can't make peace without 54% of the population” R. Rwabuhiri, personal interview, March 1999; Heather B. Hamilton, “Rwanda's Women: The Key to Reconstruction,” *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (May 2000), <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.562.5310&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

² PCR is not a new concept. It was defined by the World Bank in 1995 as the need for “rebuilding of the socioeconomic framework of society” and the “reconstruction of the enabling conditions for a governance and rule of law.” Post-conflict reconstruction is both state-building and peace-building in which efforts by the US and its allies help local actors in four key areas: security; governance and participation; social and economic well-being; and justice and reconciliation. See Robert C. Orr, “Winning the Peace: an American Strategy for Post-Conflict Reconstruction,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, (July 2004); Pickering, Johnathan, “Policy Coherence in International Responses to State Failure: The role of the United Kingdom in Sierra Leone,” *London School of Economics Development Studies Institute* (July 2009).

³ Ibid; Jason G. Harle, “Inside-Out: The Sierra Leone Experience with Post-Conflict State Restoration,” *Graduate Center at the City University of New York* (November 2005); Lucy Scott, “Successful Intervention? Critical reflections on the legacy of British military intervention in Sierra Leone,” *Peace, Conflict, & Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 22 (June 2016); Polona Mal et al., “Post conflict reconstruction of Bosnia,” *International Institute for Middle East and Balkan Studies*, <http://www.ifimes.org/en/8125-post-conflict-reconstruction-of-bosnia#sthash.42eQgFG2.dpuf> (accessed March 19, 2017).

⁴ Ibid; Patrice C. McMahon and John Western, “The Death of Dayton: How to Stop Bosnia From Falling Apart,” *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 2009), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/bosnia-herzegovina/2009-08-17/death-dayton>; Marcus Cox, “State Building and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Lessons from Bosnia,” *Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations* (January 2001).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Robert C. Orr, “Winning the Peace: an American Strategy for Post-Conflict Reconstruction,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, July 2004; <https://www.csis.org/analysis/winning-peace>.

⁷ The physical invasion of a sexual nature, terminology taken from the definition of rape set out by the ICTR, is defined in this paper in line with the definition of rape set forth by Elisabeth Wood (2006, 308) and Dara Kay Cohen (2016, 4) as “penetration [however slight] of the anus or vagina by the penis or another object [such as the barrel of a gun], or of the mouth by the penis.” Additionally, in this case, coercive circumstances can refer to physical force or the threat of physical force against the female herself or third parties such as family members, friends, and neighbors. It can also refer to “fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such person or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment, or the invasion was committed against a person incapable of giving genuine consent.” Threats, intimidation, extortion and other forms of duress which prey on fear or desperation constitute coercion, and coercion may be inherent in certain circumstances, [namely] armed conflict. According to this definition, a person is guilty of having committed rape when under coercive circumstance he/she (i) commits a sexual act, as defined above, with a female victim or (ii) causes another person (i.e. fellow combatant(s) and/or family member(s)) to commit a sexual act with a female victim. Such a definition is based on those outlined in the Namibian Combating of Rape Act. While definitions by NGOs and IGOs such as the UN argue for a gender neutral definition, a gendered definition, while not fully reflecting the nature of the crime, is preferable in this paper due to the ultimate goals of the policy being tailored to the female populace, who are subject to rape in far greater numbers than their male counterparts. However, what remains ungendered is the identity of the perpetrator as both women and men can be perpetrators of rape against a female victim. However, in line with UN opinions on the definition of rape, a mention of consent is removed from the definition put forth in this paper. “The issue of removing consent is primarily concerned with the protection of the survivor in court from ‘secondary victimization.’” In other words, it implies that to be considered a rape survivor one is required to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that she herself did not consent to the sexual act. Finally, the distinction of a massive scale is vital to the goals of this policy recommendation. Rape committed on such a scale that is defined as massive, systematic, extensive, and widespread and used a means of intimidation and a tactic to terrorize the female population and her respective community is defined as a war crime, a crime against humanity and an act of genocide. Rape is difficult to define numerically due to the fact that stigma against survivors makes it a largely unreported crime. However, magnitude can still be determined in order to define conflict characterized by mass rape. Dara Kay Cohen (2016) compiled an original, cross-national dataset on wartime rape which used a four-point scale ranging from 0 to 3 that reflects the magnitude of reported rape—based on the US State Department’s Country Reports on Human Rights Practices—in each conflict-year of a specific war (61-65). The two highest codes, 3 and 2, reflect rape that was described as (i) “massive or on a massive scale or systematic or used as a means of intimidation

or a tactic to terrorize the population or a tool of war (66)” and (ii) “widespread, common, extensive, frequent, widely, systematic, means of intimidation, weapon, tactic to terrorize the populace (66),” respectively. In defining mass rape, these definitions are vital. Rape is an extension of war onto the bodies of women as “the female body and reproductive capacities become one of the most significant sites of power politics.” See Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative* (2010), <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>; Dara K. Cohen, “Rape During Civil War,” *Cornell University Press* (2016); Jocelyn Kelly, “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed methods study,” *Conflict and Health* (2011), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22047181>; Rhonda Copelon, “Gender Crimes as War Crimes: Integrating Crimes Against Women into International Criminal Law,” *McGill Law Journal* (2000), <http://amsterdamlawforum.org/article/viewFile/209/397>; Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, “The Justice and Reconciliation Process in Rwanda,” *Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations* (March 2012), <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/pdf/bgjustice.pdf>; Phillip Weiner, “The Evolving Jurisprudence and the Crime of Rape in International Criminal Law,” *Boston College Law Review* 54 (2013), <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3321&context=bclr>; Karen Stefiszyn, “A Brief Overview of Recent Developments in Sexual Offences Legislation in Southern Africa,” *UN Division for the Advancement of Women* (May 2008), [http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2008/expertpapers/EGMGPLVAW%20Paper%20\(Karen%20Stefiszyn\).pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2008/expertpapers/EGMGPLVAW%20Paper%20(Karen%20Stefiszyn).pdf); Megan Mackenzie, “Securitizing Sex? Towards a theory of the utility of wartime sexual violence,” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12:2 (May 2010), 202-221; Madrespeaks, “Women Confronting ISIS: How Can We End Rape as a Weapon of War?” Filmed March 2015, YouTube video, 15:02, Posted March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzIBPKwbPJM>; Jeanne Ward and Mendy Marsh, “Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in War and its Aftermath: Realities, Responses and Required Resources,” *Symposium on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Beyond* (June 2006), <http://www.svri.org/sites/default/files/attachments/2016-01-15/CCEF504C15AB277E852571AB0071F7CE-UNFPA.pdf>.

⁸ “An estimated 40 percent of child soldiers around the world are girls, the majority of whom are forcibly or coercively conscripted. Much of the violence reportedly committed against women and girls by guerrilla groups in Colombia, for example, is in the context of forced recruitment.” See Jeanne Ward and Mendy Marsh, “Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in War and its Aftermath: Realities, Responses and Required Resources,” *Symposium on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Beyond* (June 2006), <http://www.svri.org/sites/default/files/attachments/2016-01-15/CCEF504C15AB277E852571AB0071F7CE-UNFPA.pdf>.

⁹ In terms of reproductive abnormalities, women suffer from infertility, premature labor and delivery, and miscarriages. Psychological effects include PTSD and RTS, OCD, Acute Stress Disorder, DID, eating disorders, self-injury, self-blame, panic attacks, flashbacks, and sleeping disorders. Women not only get unwanted pregnancies but can also suffer pain and even death due to unsafe abortion or maternal mortality. Girls aged 15-19 are twice as likely to die during pregnancy and childbirth; girls under 15 are five times more likely to die compared to women older than 20. Some experts estimate the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) in Eastern DRC to be 3,000 deaths per 100,000 live births, more than three times the MMR for Sub-Saharan Africa overall, for example. Although the risks of childbirth are real for any Congolese woman, they are significantly higher for young girls whose bodies are not mature enough for labor and delivery and for women who have serious pelvic injuries and scarring from the physical damage often caused by gang rape. Regardless of the true prevalence of HIV/AIDS, the risk of transmission is a legitimate concern during any unprotected sexual encounter. The risk of HIV transmission is further increased in the setting of wartime rape because gang rape is common, and because vaginal tears and lacerations, which often result from the violent nature of wartime rape, further increase the risk of HIV transmission. On a population level, however, existing evidence does not support an increased HIV prevalence in South Kivu. Thus, there is a discrepancy between what one might expect (based on the amount of sexual violence in Eastern DRC and based on the violent and traumatic nature of the rapes) and what the existing evidence shows. Women with fistulas—tears between the vagina, the anus, the bladder and the bowel—from rape cannot retain their urine or feces. No matter how often they clean, they smell. In terms of unwanted pregnancies, up to 18% of rape survivors are made pregnant by their rapist. See Nicola Jones et al., “The Fallout of Rape as a Weapon of War: the life-long and intergenerational impacts of sexual violence in conflict,” *Overseas Development Institute* (June 2014), <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8990.pdf>; Cassandra Clifford, “Rape as a Weapon of War and its Long-term Effects on Victims and Society,” *7th Global Conference on Violence and the*

Contexts of Hostility (May 2008), <http://ts-si.org/files/BMJCliffordPaper.pdf>; Global Justice Center Blog, “How the Helms Amendment Hurts Women Raped in War,” *Global Justice Center* (September 2016), <http://globaljusticecenter.net/blog/534-how-the-helms-amendment-hurts-women-raped-in-war-2>; Sarah E. Casey et al., “Care-Seeking Behavior by Survivors of Sexual Assault in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” *American Journal of Public Health* 101:6 (June 2011), <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300045>.

¹⁰ Jeanne Ward and Mendy Marsh, “Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in War and its Aftermath: Realities, Responses and Required Resources,” *Symposium on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Beyond* (June 2006), <http://www.svri.org/sites/default/files/attachments/2016-01-15/CCEF504C15AB277E852571AB0071F7CE-UNFPA.pdf>; M. Carter, “Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance,” *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>.

¹¹ 72-hour window for post-exposure prophylaxis for the prevention of HIV transmission and 120-hour window for effective emergency contraception to prevent unwanted pregnancy. See Sara E. Casey et al., “Care-Seeking Behavior by Survivors of Sexual Assault in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” *American Journal of Public Health* 101:6 (June 2011), <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300045>.

¹² “Rape is a weapon even more powerful than a bomb or a bullet,” says Jeanna Mukuninwa, a 28-year-old woman from Shabunda, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. “At least with a bullet, you die. But if you have been raped, you appear to the community like someone who is cursed. After rape, no one will talk to you; no man will see you. It’s a living death.” See Aryn Baker, “The Secret War Crime,” *Time Magazine*, <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>; Global Justice Center Blog, “How the Helms Amendment Hurts Women Raped in War,” *Global Justice Center* (September 2016), <http://globaljusticecenter.net/blog/534-how-the-helms-amendment-hurts-women-raped-in-war-2>.

¹³ “Your husband is the first person to reject you [after rape], and then comes your family. Your husband will say he cannot keep a woman who has been raped by the whole battalion, and he will repudiate you. When you go to your parents’ house, they will ask you why you have destroyed your marriage.” See Jocelyn Kelly et al., “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed-methods study,” *Conflict and Health* 5:25 (2011), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3271036/pdf/1752-1505-5-25.pdf>.

¹⁴ The practice of killing women who have been raped as a way to restore the honor of family and community is entrenched in many ISIS controlled areas. See Madrespeaks. “Women Confronting ISIS: How Can We End Rape as a Weapon of War?” Filmed March 2015, YouTube video, 15:02, Posted March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzIBPKwbPJM>.

¹⁵ Stigmatization in the community was often expressed as gossip or “finger pointing,” which intensified survivors’ feelings of shame and humiliation. Women described how often local mores created an environment conducive to the stigmatization of survivors: customs that had previously been directed towards female adulterers were now applied to victims of rape. One woman described how rape can make women feel “ashamed and unable to sit where other people are, you feel like you are nothing.” See Jocelyn Kelly et al., “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed-methods study,” *Conflict and Health* 5:25 (2011), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3271036/pdf/1752-1505-5-25.pdf>; Jocelyn Kelly et al., “If your husband doesn’t humiliate you, other people won’t: Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo,” *Global Public Health* 7:3 (March 2012), 285-298.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ M. Carter, “Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance,” UNC School of Nursing, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>.

¹⁸ Ibid; Aryn Baker, “The Secret War Crime,” *Time Magazine*, <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>; Jocelyn Kelly et al., “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed methods study,” *Conflict and Health* 5:25 (2011), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22047181>.

¹⁹ See note 18 above.

²⁰ Susan Bartels, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative*, April 2010, <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>.

²¹ Without the economic support and protection traditionally provided by men in DRC, women become exceptionally vulnerable. Congolese policy and socio-cultural customs continue to discriminate against women, effectively preventing their economic advancement and independence. See Bartels, Susan, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative*, April 2010,

<http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>; M. Carter, "Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance," *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>; Nicola Jones et al., "The Fallout of Rape as a Weapon of War: the life-long and intergenerational impacts of sexual violence in conflict," *Overseas Development Institute* (June 2014), <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8990.pdf>.

²² It has been estimated that in DRC generally women "account for 73% of those economically active in agriculture and produce more than 80% of the food crops." In South Kivu more specifically, women are responsible for such a large share of the agriculture, that they are described as being the primary driving force behind the whole subsistence economy. See Susan Bartels, "Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC," *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative*, April 2010,

<http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>; M. Carter, "Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance," *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>; Nicola Jones et al. "The Fallout of Rape as a Weapon of War: the life-long and intergenerational impacts of sexual violence in conflict," *Overseas Development Institute* (June 2014), <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8990.pdf>.

²³ These indirect victims are a clear illustration of the destructive power of mass rape during conflict as it represents conquest and domination of the targeted group and highlights the group's inadequacy. See Megan Bradley et al., "Preventing and Responding to Sexual Violence in Conflict: Next Steps in a Global Struggle," *The Brookings Institution*, October 2013, <https://www.brookings.edu/events/preventing-and-responding-to-sexual-violence-in-conflict-next-steps-in-a-global-struggle/>; Susan Bartels, "Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC," *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative*, April 2010,

<http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>; Megan Mackenzie, "Securitizing Sex? Towards a theory of the utility of wartime sexual violence," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12:2 (May 2010), 202-221.

²⁴ Jocelyn Kelly et al., "If your husband doesn't humiliate you, other people won't: Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo," *Global Public Health* 7:3 (March 2012), 285-298; Aryn Baker, "The Secret War Crime," *Time Magazine*, <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>.

²⁵ Rape's damage can be devastating because of the strong communal reaction to the violation and pain stamped on entire families. The harm inflicted in such cases on a woman by a rapist is an attack on her family and culture, as in many societies, women are viewed as repositories of a community's cultural and spiritual values. See UNICEF, "Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War," *UNICEF*, 1996, <https://www.unicef.org/sowc96pk/sexviol.htm>; Megan Mackenzie, "Securitizing Sex? Towards a theory of the utility of wartime sexual violence," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12:2 (May 2010), 202-221; Cassandra Clifford, "Rape as a Weapon of War and its Long-term Effects on Victims and Society," *7th Global Conference on Violence and the Contexts of Hostility* (May 2008), <http://ts-si.org/files/BMJCliffordPaper.pdf>; "Rape, as with all terror-warfare, is not exclusively an attack on the body- it is an attack on the 'body-politic'. Its goal is not to maim or kill one person but to control an entire socio-political process by crippling it. It is an attack directed equally against personal identity and cultural integrity." See Carolyn Nordstrom, "Rape: Politics and Theory in War and Peace," *Australian Feminist Studies* 11:23, 1991, http://www3.nd.edu/~cnordstr/Academic_Articles_files/RapePoliticsTheory.pdf.

²⁶ LaShawn R. Jefferson, "In War as in Peace: Sexual Violence and Women's Status," *Human Rights Watch World Report*, 2004, <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/402bac094.pdf>.

²⁷ "Rape as a Weapon of War and its Long-term Effects on Victims and Society," *7th Global Conference on Violence and the Contexts of Hostility* (May 2008), <http://ts-si.org/files/BMJCliffordPaper.pdf>; Jeanne Ward and Marsh Mendy, "Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in War and its Aftermath: Realities, Responses and Required Resources," *Symposium on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Beyond* (June 2006), <http://www.svri.org/sites/default/files/attachments/2016-01-15/CCEF504C15AB277E852571AB0071F7CE-UNFPA.pdf>.

²⁸ Nicola Jones et al., "The Fallout of Rape as a Weapon of War: the life-long and intergenerational impacts of sexual violence in conflict," *Overseas Development Institute* (June 2014), <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8990.pdf>; Madrespeaks. "Women Confronting ISIS: How Can We End Rape as a Weapon of War?" Filmed March 2015, YouTube video, 15:02, Posted March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzIBPKwbPJM>.

²⁹ International Center for Research on Women, “After the Peace: Women in Post-Conflict Reconstruction,” *International Center for Research on Women Information Bulletin*, 1998, https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/551499/Peace_women_post_conflict.pdf?sequence=1; Brigitte Sorensen, “Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources,” United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1998, [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/631060B93EC1119EC1256D120043E600/\\$file/opw3.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/631060B93EC1119EC1256D120043E600/$file/opw3.pdf).

³⁰ Ibid; Heather B Hamilton, “Rwanda’s Women: The Key to Reconstruction,” *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (May 2000), <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.562.5310&rep=rep1&type=pdf>; Jamille Bigio and Rachel B. Vogelstein, “How Women’s Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, <http://www.cfr.org/peacekeeping/womens-participation-conflict-prevention-resolution-advances-us-interests/p38416>; Patricia Morris, “Time to Break the Silent and Stop the Violence: Why Ending War Rape in the DRC Should be a Top Global Priority,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (2008), <https://www.csis.org/analysis/time-break-silence-and-stop-violence-why-ending-war-rape-drc-should-be-top-global-priority>.

³¹ Cristina Posa and Swanee Hunt, “Iraq’s Excluded Women,” *Foreign Policy* (July-August 2004), <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/27/iraqs-excluded-women/>; Cathy Russel, “What’s the Problem with Women, Peace and Security?” *Council on Foreign Relations Blog* (October 2015), <http://blogs.cfr.org/women-around-the-world/2015/10/26/whats-the-problem-with-women-peace-and-security/>.

³² Wartime rape in Chechnya by Russian soldiers, for example, has led to the creation of female terrorists called “Black Widows,” hoping to take revenge and regain their personal or familial honor. Additionally, in Sri Lanka, Tamil women join the Tamil Tigers to compensate for health consequences of rape such as an inability to bare children, thereby restoring their personal and family dignity. Katharina Von Knop, “The Female Jihad: Al-Qaeda’s Women,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30:5 (2007), <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10576100701258585?src=recsys>.

³³ Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (2010), <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>.

³⁴ Council on Hemispheric Affairs, “The Rise of Femicide and Women in Drug Trafficking,” *Council on Hemispheric Affairs*, October 2011, <http://www.coha.org/the-rise-of-femicide-and-women-in-drug-trafficking/>; Corin Bailey, “Exploring Female Motivations for Drug Smuggling on the Island of Barbados: Evidence From Her Majesty’s Prison, Barbados,” *Feminist Criminology* 8:2, 117–141.

³⁵ Natalie F. Hudson, “Securitizing Women and Gender Equality,” *Journal of Human Rights* 8:1 (2009), <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14754830802686526>.

³⁶ United Nations, “Women, peace and security,” *United Nations*, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml> (accessed March 21st, 2017); Sara Ellen Davies, Zim G. Nwokora, Eli Starnes, and Sarah Teitt. “Responsibility to protect and women, peace, and security: aligning the protection agendas,” *Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers* (2013); Valerie M Hudson et al., “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States,” *International Security* 33:3 (Winter 2008-2009), http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3303_pp007-045.pdf; Minna Lyytikäinen, “Gender Training for Peacekeepers: Preliminary Overview of United Nations Peace Support Operations,” *UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women* (2007), http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/UN/un-instraw_gendertrainingpk_2007.pdf.

³⁷ The goal of this National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security is as simple as it is profound: to empower half the world’s population as equal partners in preventing conflict and building peace in countries threatened and affected by war, violence, and insecurity. Achieving this goal is critical to our national and global security. Deadly conflicts can be more effectively avoided, and peace can be best forged and sustained, when women become equal partners in all aspects of peace-building and conflict prevention, when their lives are protected, their experiences considered, and their voices heard. The engagement and protection of women as agents of peace and stability will be central to the United States’ efforts to promote security, prevent, respond to, and resolve conflict, and rebuild societies. See The White House, “United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security,” *The White House* (December 2011), https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US_National_Action_Plan_on_Women_Peace_and_Security.pdf; Jan Carney, “Fact Sheet: The Obama Administration’s Comprehensive Efforts to Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women and Girls Worldwide,” *White House Office of the Press Secretary* (2013), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/04/19/fact->

sheet-obama-administration-s-comprehensive-efforts-promote-gender-e; Jamille Bigio and Rachel B. Vogelstein, "How Women's Participation in Conflict Prevention and Resolution Advances U.S. Interests," *Council on Foreign Relations*, <http://www.cfr.org/peacekeeping/womens-participation-conflict-prevention-resolution-advances-us-interests/p38416>.

³⁸ The Obama Administration made the empowerment and protection of women and girls a central part of U.S. foreign policy and national security as *Safe from the Start* aims to prevent and respond to gender-based violence in humanitarian emergencies worldwide. The goal is to reduce the incidence of GBV and ensure quality services for survivors from the very onset of emergencies through timely and effective humanitarian action. In 2012, President Obama issued Executive Order 13623 directing departments and agencies to implement the first ever United States Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally. In the Memorandum, President Obama reaffirmed that "promoting gender equality and advancing the status of all women and girls around the world remains one of the greatest unmet challenges of our time, and one that is vital to achieving our overall foreign policy objectives." See U.S. Department of State, "Safe from the Start," *U.S. Department of State*, <https://www.state.gov/j/prm/policyissues/issues/c62378.html>; U.S. Department of State and USAID, "United States Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-Based Violence Globally: 2016 Update," *U.S. Department of State and USAID*, 2016, <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/258703.pdf>.

³⁹ The concept of "inclusive security," a diverse, citizen-driven approach to global stability, emphasizes women's agency, not their vulnerability. Rather than gender fairness, this concept is driven by efficiency: Women are crucial to inclusive security since they are often at the center of NGOs, popular protests, electoral referendums, and other citizen-empowering movements whose influence has grown with the global spread of democracy. An inclusive security approach expands the array of tools available to police, military, and diplomatic structures by adding collaboration with local efforts to achieve peace. See Cristina Posa and Swanee Hunt, "Women Waging Peace," *Foreign Policy* (November 2009), <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/11/19/women-waging-peace/>.

⁴⁰ "The change in attitude likely has several explanations," says Yifat Susskind, "But perhaps the most powerful motivator was the scale of the crisis – the fact that the abductions could not be explained away as "shameful" individual cases. It's harder to blame a women for being raped when it has happened to everyone. The numbers of women who are sexually assaulted has created a tipping point and de-stabilized the social norm that result in honor killings. Broader structural and social changes were required for his leadership to have an effect. And here, the crisis of the genocide, and the institutional chaos it created, was critical." See Madrespeaks, "Women Confronting ISIS: How Can We End Rape as a Weapon of War?" Filmed March 2015, YouTube video, 15:02, Posted March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzIBPKwbPJM>; Swanee Hunt, "The Rise of Rwanda's Women: Rebuilding and Reuniting a Nation," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/rwanda/2014-03-30/rise-rwandas-women>.

⁴¹ "In Rwanda, Kagame came to power and began a trend of appointing women to high places of power, personally insisting on a critical mass of women in governance. Women in the RPF (now the country's ruling political party) also point out that many of today's leaders were raised by single mothers in the pre-genocide refugee camps. The hardships these young widows faced as a result of exclusion from their country stayed with their sons who were building the movement. 'Men who grew up in exile know the experience of discrimination. Gender is now part of our political thinking. We appreciate all components of our population across all the social divides, because our country has seen what it means to exclude a group.'" In Iraq, in the wake of the mass abductions, forced conversions and the rape of Yazidi women and girls by militants starting in August 2014, Yazidi spiritual leaders, namely the top one—Khurto Hajji Ismail, known as Baba Sheikh—issued an edict telling families and communities to accept and reintegrate rape survivors, especially those who had been abducted into ISIS slave trade and been forced to convert to Islam (an unpardonable sin in the Yazidi religion) during their captivity, to return home. Women and girls are not automatically being rejected and shunned but are being quietly welcomed back. This essentially told Yazidis to abandon the tradition of honor killings. The first group of women who escaped captivity in August sat down with Baba Sheikh, who personally welcomed them back into the faith, assuring their families that they were still Yazidi. As the spiritual leader, he has the power to offer pardons, but when it comes to rewriting doctrine he's expected to meet with a council of religious advisors. Initially, Yazidi religious leaders spoke privately to escapees and their families, but as the numbers grew, he felt the need for an official, public change in doctrine. See Swanee Hunt, "The Rise of Rwanda's Women: Rebuilding and Reuniting a Nation," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/rwanda/2014-03-30/rise-rwandas-women>; Madrespeaks, "Women Confronting ISIS: How Can We End Rape as a Weapon of War?" Filmed March 2015, YouTube video, 15:02, Posted March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzIBPKwbPJM>; George, Susannah, "Yazidi Women

Welcomed Back to the Faith,” *UNHCR*, <http://tracks.unhcr.org/2015/06/yazidi-women-welcomed-back-to-the-faith/> (accessed March 16th, 2017).

⁴² Women for Women International, “Ending Violence Against Women in Eastern Congo: Preparing Men to Advocate for Women’s Rights,” *Women for Women International* (Winter 2007), http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/mensleadershipfullreport_002.pdf.

⁴³ “This process was successful with female genital mutilation: It changes because the male leaders, predominantly in the villages in these cases, the chiefs, the imams, have come together, said there-- for example, in terms of religious practice, there’s no reason that any of the teachings mandate this practice, and begin to hear out the community, particularly listening to the women and what it represents in their lives - - the pain, the degradation, often death in childbirth, et cetera, et cetera. And what has been happening in community after community is after this kind of intensive effort, the community votes and they’re essentially changing a norm. It’s no longer this practice that’s essential; it’s we want to protect the health of the women in our community. And that becomes the norm.” See Megan Bradley et al, “Preventing and Responding to Sexual Violence in Conflict: Next Steps in a Global Struggle,” *The Brookings Institution* (October 2013), <https://www.brookings.edu/events/preventing-and-responding-to-sexual-violence-in-conflict-next-steps-in-a-global-struggle/>.

⁴⁴ J.K. Reimer et al., “The Road Home: Toward a model of ‘reintegration’ and considerations for alternative care for children trafficked for sexual exploitation in Cambodia,” *Hagar/World Vision Cambodia* (March 2007), <http://hagarinternational.org/international/files/The-Road-Home.pdf>.

⁴⁵ Women stressed how important the relationship with their husbands is in determining the community’s response to rape. “They can also help [survivors] to get respected from other people, because if your husband doesn’t humiliate you, other people won’t.” See Jocelyn Kelly et al., “If your husband doesn’t humiliate you, other people won’t: Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo,” *Global Public Health* 7:3 (March 2012), 285-298; Jocelyn Kelly, “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed methods study,” *Conflict and Health*, 2011, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22047181>.

⁴⁶ All of the women in this group received mediation and identified it as a contributing factor to their reintegration: “At first he [my husband] chased me away and only accepted me after four months of mediation.” See M. Carter, “Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance,” *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>.

⁴⁷ 2012 pilot program for male partners of rape survivors developed by a psychologist in tandem with Promundo, a U.S.-based NGO that focuses on domestic violence. The program, called Living Peace, targets men who have been flagged as particularly violent or who have abandoned their wives. Over a 15-week series of guided group therapy sessions, the men are taught that rape is not their wives’ fault and that it is no reflection of their inability to provide for and protect their families. They also learn how to be better husbands and fathers. See Aryn Baker, “The Secret War Crime,” *Time Magazine*, <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>.

⁴⁸ Jocelyn Kelly et al., “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed methods study,” *Conflict and Health*, 2011, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22047181>.

⁴⁹ “That’s how men describe being raped: politically motivated rape as a form of torture.” See Madrespeaks, “Women Confronting ISIS: How Can We End Rape as a Weapon of War?” Filmed March 2015, YouTube video, 15:02, Posted March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzIBPKwbPJM>.

⁵⁰ Kayembe says, “Like a true convert, I want my other friends to learn what I learnt. So I go from house to house, together with my wife and children to dialogue with other households.... So far we have touched the lives of 58 families, but the work goes on and on.” See Patricia Morris, “Time to Break the Silent and Stop the Violence: Why Ending War Rape in the DRC Should be a Top Global Priority,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, 2008, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/time-break-silence-and-stop-violence-why-ending-war-rape-drc-should-be-top-global-priority>.

⁵¹ Aryn Baker, “The Secret War Crime,” *Time Magazine*, <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>; Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative* (2010), <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>.

⁵² Women for Women International, “Ending Violence Against Women in Eastern Congo: Preparing Men to Advocate for Women’s Rights,” *Women for Women International* (Winter 2007), http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/mensleadershipfullreport_002.pdf.

⁵³ Aryn Baker, “The Secret War Crime,” *Time Magazine*, <http://time.com/war-and-rape/>.

⁵⁴ Sara E. Casey et al., “Care-Seeking Behavior by Survivors of Sexual Assault in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” *American Journal of Public Health* 101:6 (June 2011), <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300045>; Kate Cronin-Furman, “What’s New in Sexual Violence in the DRC (An Interview with Jocelyn Kelly),” *Wronging Rights Blog*, <http://www.wrongingrights.com/2010/06/whats-new-in-sexual-violence-in-the-drc-an-interview-with-jocelyn-kelly.html> (accessed March 23, 2017).

⁵⁵ In Liberia, for example, mobile sexual and gender based clinics existed that attached to private and public healthcare facilities and came equipped with trained staff. See United Nations in Liberia, “Standard Operating Procedures for GBV Services at One-Stop Centres,” *United Nations in Liberia*, 2013, <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/liberia/docs/docs/One%20Stop%20Centres%20for%20SGBV%20services%20final.pdf>; Kate Cronin-Furman, “What’s New in Sexual Violence in the DRC (An Interview with Jocelyn Kelly),” *Wronging Rights*, <http://www.wrongingrights.com/2010/06/whats-new-in-sexual-violence-in-the-drc-an-interview-with-jocelyn-kelly.html> (accessed March 23, 2017).

⁵⁶ See note 54 above.

⁵⁷ Jocelyn Kelly, “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed methods study,” *Conflict and Health*, 2011, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22047181>.

⁵⁸ “[Service organizations] can show [your husband] documents you got from the hospital proving that you are not infected. In that situation he can accept to take you back home. But if you are infected he will repudiate you immediately.” All of the women who tested HIV negative were either immediately accepted or ultimately accepted back by their husbands. Two of the three women that were initially rejected but ultimately accepted were found to be HIV negative and they stated that their negative status was a reason for their reintegration. See Jocelyn Kelly, “Experiences of female survivors of sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: a mixed methods study,” *Conflict and Health*, 2011, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22047181>; M. Carter, “Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance,” *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>.

⁵⁹ Militants with HIV/AIDS are specifically used to infect the target population as part of mass wartime rape. However, it is important to note that there has never been an observation of high numbers of HIV/AIDS infections after mass rape. This is key as continuation of marital and familial relations are contingent on being HIV negative. Sexual violence survivors need to be aware that HIV PEP and post-coital contraceptives are most effective if given within the first 72 hours and that beyond this period, they are unlikely to be beneficial. PEP and EC constitute a minimum standard of clinical care that must be made available to survivors of sexual assault. See Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (2010), <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>; Sara E. Casey et al., “Care-Seeking Behavior by Survivors of Sexual Assault in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” *American Journal of Public Health* 101:6 (June 2011), <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300045>.

⁶⁰ M. Carter, “Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance,” *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>.

⁶¹ Sara E. Casey et al., “Care-Seeking Behavior by Survivors of Sexual Assault in the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” *American Journal of Public Health* 101:6 (June 2011), <http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300045>.

⁶² M. Carter, “Exile and Reintegration among Rape Survivors in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Factors Influencing Rejection and Acceptance,” *UNC School of Nursing*, <https://nursing.unc.edu/files/2012/11/Exile-and-Reintegration-Among-Rape-Survivors-in-the-Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-M-Carter.pdf>.

⁶³ Global Justice Center Blog, “How the Helms Amendment Hurts Women Raped in War,” *Global Justice Center* (September 2016), <http://globaljusticecenter.net/blog/534-how-the-helms-amendment-hurts-women-raped-in-war-2>; Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative* (2010), <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>.

⁶⁴ Patricia Morris, “Time to Break the Silent and Stop the Violence: Why Ending War Rape in the DRC Should be a Top Global Priority,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (2008), <https://www.csis.org/analysis/time-break-silence-and-stop-violence-why-ending-war-rape-drc-should-be-top-global-priority>.

⁶⁵ Leah Wickham, “The Rehabilitation and Reintegration Process for Women and Children Recovering from the Sex Trade,” *Virginia Tech Institute for Policy and Governance* (2009), http://www.ipg.vt.edu/papers/Wickham_Sex%20Trafficking%20Victims.pdf.

⁶⁶ Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, “Now the World Is Without Me: An Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC,” *Harvard Humanitarian Initiative* (2010), <http://www.hhi.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/publications/now-the-world-is-without-me.pdf>.

⁶⁷ Between April and September 2015 alone there were a documented 1300 cases of rape—a number that is most likely only a snapshot of the real total. Some women were taken as wives and even kept for sexual slavery by soldiers. The United Nations has reported the documented rape to be a part of a premeditated attack—a tactic of war—on the civilian population of the other ethnic group. See Cumming-Bruce, Nick, “Mass Rape, a Weapon of War, Traumatizes South Sudan,” *The New York Times* (March 2016), <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/12/world/africa/un-reports-systematic-rape-in-south-sudan-conflict.html>.