

## Violence against Women in Conflict

By Sanne Weber, April 2009

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**'In Congo, it is more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier,' according to Patrick Cammaert, who led MONUC, the UN mission there, until March 2007. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), rape has become a daily routine for nearly all parties to the conflict.<sup>i</sup> During times of war, women are frequently targets of sexual and other forms of violence, often systematically perpetrated. However, their needs tend to be neglected in the aftermath. The international community has shown willingness to deal with violence against women, but it has proven difficult to challenge the persistent gender prejudices that help perpetuate impunity for such crimes.**

Although wars and other forms of armed conflict generally harm a large part of the affected population, women are extremely vulnerable to the violence they unleash. Like everyone else, they suffer the consequences of war, which may include injury, displacement, the loss of family members and other forms of suffering, but this is often compounded by gender-based violence, frequently sexual in nature. The taboos associated with such crimes, which affect not only the victim's sense of honour but also her family's, lead to the neglect of the women affected and impunity for the perpetrators.

Impunity Watch therefore aims to initiate a programme focusing on impunity for sexual violence against women, analysing the measures taken to address it and seeking to increase the voice of women in transitional justice processes. This article explains the legal and political framework in this area, and ends with some case studies that demonstrate the need for action.

- *International legal framework*

Violence against women is clearly prohibited under international law. The Geneva Conventions which regulate armed conflict expressly forbid sexual violence in times of war. More recently, the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC) defined various forms of sexual violence, such as rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and forced pregnancy, as crimes against humanity and war crimes in both international and internal armed conflicts. Sexual violence in these circumstances is considered to be more grave a crime than during peacetime, because of the way it is used as a weapon to target not only the direct victim, but also the collective to which the victim belongs.<sup>ii</sup> The gravity of these crimes has been confirmed in various judgments of the *ad hoc* courts for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Their jurisprudence demonstrates that sexual violence can amount to genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes if the acts in question form part of a large-scale campaign against a civilian population, and are sufficiently linked to the context of the conflict.<sup>iii</sup>

Gender-based violence can also be viewed from a human rights perspective, for women's rights are human rights. This means that general human rights treaties also apply to women, implying that the state has a duty of due diligence to investigate, prosecute and punish sexual

crimes. The state also can also be held responsible for failing to prevent human rights violations, even for crimes perpetrated by non-state actors.<sup>iv</sup> Within the UN human rights system, a special treaty with respect to women exists. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted in 1979 and has been ratified by 185 countries to date. Its text does not explicitly address violence against women, although it can be assumed that sexual, gender-based violence qualifies as such discrimination. This was confirmed by the CEDAW committee in a general recommendation made in 1992.<sup>v</sup>

Both the American and African regional human rights systems have further developed an instrument that specifically aims to address violence against women. The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women (Belém do Pará Convention), which was adopted in 1994 and has been ratified by 32 countries, commits its states-parties to pursue policies to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women. Individuals or groups of individuals may file complaints with the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights denouncing violations of the convention.<sup>vi</sup> In 2003 the African Union adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, which has since been ratified by 21 countries. This protocol explicitly calls for the protection of the right to life, integrity and security of women, the elimination of harmful practices and the protection of women in armed conflicts. It covers a wide array of women's rights, however, including social, economic and political rights, and is therefore less specifically aimed at combating violence.<sup>vii</sup> The European human rights system does not feature instruments that focus on the protection of women from violence.

- *Political framework*

Women's rights were placed on the international political agenda in 1995 at the Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing. Its main goal was to have women's rights treated as human rights, and therefore as equally valuable as those pertaining to men. The Declaration emerging from this conference demanded commitment to equal rights, responsibilities, opportunities and participation for women. The platform for action adopted aimed to remove all obstacles preventing women from active participation in all spheres of public and private life. Special attention was given to certain topics, including violence against women and women in armed conflict. Furthermore, a wide range of topics related to women was addressed, ranging from women's health and education to women and the media.<sup>viii</sup>

Five years after the Beijing World Conference, during a special session of the UN General Assembly named 'Beijing+5: Women 2000', the implementation of the platform for action was reviewed. Progress was found to have been made on some topics, such as the integration of women into the labour force and civil society organisations, but it was agreed that violence and poverty remained major obstacles to gender equality. Moreover, women were still not equal in decision-making processes, either at national or international level, while increasing globalisation was creating new challenges, such as the trafficking of women. A new declaration was made, aiming to incorporate women's rights into a holistic approach to equality and the promotion and protection of all human rights.<sup>ix</sup>

The UN has since acted more directly on women and armed conflict with the passage of two Security Council resolutions. Resolution 1325, adopted in 2000, calls for the incorporation of women in conflict prevention, management and resolution processes, and the adoption of a more gender sensitive perspective in general. It also calls on parties to armed conflict to adopt special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, and invited the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes, resulting in the publication of annual reports on women and peace and security from 2006 onwards.<sup>x</sup> Resolution 1820 was adopted in 2008, and deals exclusively with sexual violence. It calls for

the protection of civilians from sexual violence and defines when its perpetration constitutes a war crime. It also calls for the provision of assistance to victims of sexual violence.<sup>xi</sup>

These resolutions demonstrate the willingness of the UN to deal with the problem of gender-based and sexual violence against women. Their implementation is up to individual states, many of which have developed national action plans pursuant to them. For example, the Dutch government has developed its National Action Plan 1325, which provides for collaboration between the Dutch Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Interior, non-governmental, women's and peace organisations, and research centres to promote women's rights and participation in public and private life. Dutch peace missions abroad should also be more gender sensitive, as should Dutch foreign policy in general. The plan is very ambitious and lacks clear objectives, benchmarks and deadlines. It remains to be seen, therefore, how effective it will be and when its first results will be produced.<sup>xii</sup> Similarly, little information is currently available on the nature and results of the '1325 EU partnership', an initiative which is supposed to engage Dutch non-governmental organisations in improving understanding of gender perspectives and the implementation of Resolution 1325.

- *Cases of violence against women*

The following case studies demonstrate the main obstacles and challenges that hinder the achievement of justice for violence against women.

### **Latin America: Guatemala and Colombia**

In Guatemala, an internal armed conflict between guerrilla groups and the army took place between 1960 and 1996. The root causes of the conflict lay in the severe discrimination, poverty and inequality suffered by the majority of the population, which is overwhelmingly indigenous. In the counter-offensive launched to quell the movement for improving the Maya's position in society, its members became the primary victims of gross human rights violations. The most extreme violence took place between 1978 and 1982, when acts of genocide were committed, including the massacre and destruction of entire Mayan villages. The armed conflict took the lives of more than 150,000 people, while over 50,000 people disappeared.

Women were hit hard by the violence, as the inequality that already existed within Guatemala's macho culture was reinforced in the context of war. Politically active women – social leaders, guerrilleras, relatives of guerrilleros – were particularly affected. They were punished as enemies of the state for claiming their rights, as well as for challenging established gender roles by getting involved in politics. Sexual violence was rife. According to the Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH), rape was used as a strategy of war against the population. During most massacres, women were separated from the men, raped and executed. They also suffered various other forms of sexual violence, including sexual slavery, forced unions and sexual torture. It is however difficult to give an accurate number of the women affected by sexual violence – as a result of the stigma attached to it, many victims do not dare to come forward to tell their stories for fear of being rejected by their husbands or families.<sup>xiii</sup>

Even though both of the truth commissions that examined the events of the Guatemalan conflict paid considerable attention to violence against women, and despite the inclusion of provisions on women's rights in the Peace Accords – such as the protection of female-headed households and positive discrimination to increase women's participation in public life – few measures have been taken to protect, assist and compensate the women who suffered.<sup>xiv</sup> A reparations programme, the Programa Nacional de Resarcimiento (PNR), has been established, which includes victims of rape and sexual violence among those eligible for economic

indemnification, yet its implementation has so far been very slow. Here, the above-mentioned fear of stigmatisation, as well as the inaccessibility of the PNR central office, both geographically and due to lack of resources, are the most likely factors preventing victims from receiving reparations.<sup>xv</sup> Impunity for all conflict-era violence is almost absolute, a result of the general inefficiency of the judicial system and victims' silence. Stigmatisation and exclusion therefore need to be challenged for justice for sexual violence to come about. This is extremely acute, as impunity for sexual violence has reinforced the increase in sexual violence in post-conflict Guatemala. Since the armed confrontation, hundreds of women have been murdered in ways similar to those used during the armed conflict.<sup>xvi</sup>

In Colombia, a conflict between various left-wing guerrilla groups, the army and right-wing paramilitary forces has been ongoing for four decades. Unequal land distribution is at its root, compounded by problems related to drug cartels. Both the guerrilla and paramilitary groups are involved in drug trafficking and dealing, and both are responsible for the violence in Colombia. Since the start of the conflict, approximately 70,000 Colombians have died, and since 1985 around three million people have been internally displaced.<sup>xvii</sup> This is particularly damaging to women and children, who account for 73% of all internally displaced persons (IDPs). Many of the IDPs are widows and single mothers who were forced to flee after their husbands were killed. They have subsequently had to adapt to a new social role and take over their husbands' responsibilities. This has proven very hard for many, partly as a result of existing gender patterns in Colombia whereby women are subordinated to men.

Moreover, women have frequently suffered sexual violence during the conflict, including rape, abduction, forced prostitution and sexual enslavement. This has been perpetrated by all parties, although most frequently by the paramilitary. It has even been justified in army-occupied areas because of 'reasonable male needs'. It is difficult to establish the exact number of victims, as only an estimated 17% report them, while others remain silent for fear of threats and stigmatisation. In this regard, few services are available for women who have suffered sexual violence, and those that are available are offered by non-governmental organisations and the UN, rather than the government. The fact that many women have been killed after being raped, but only their killing documented, also makes it difficult to establish the scale of the problem.<sup>xviii</sup>

The problem of violence against women is hard to tackle in Colombia, as it is overshadowed by the many other problems the country experiences as a result of the ongoing conflict. Moreover, the decades of violence experienced by Colombians has made many indifferent to it. Violence has become a part of everyday life, which is also reflected in the high level of domestic violence observed. Furthermore, the stigma attached to violence against women prevents many victims from coming forward. Generally subordinated to men, women suffer discrimination in other spheres of life also, not least in access to the labour market and earnings, leaving many struggling to make a living or destitute. Discrimination is often worse in areas controlled by paramilitary forces, where women are forced to live up to conservative gender roles, implying 'rules of conduct' that prescribe the way women should dress and behave.<sup>xix</sup>

## **Africa: Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone**

For more than a decade, the DRC has been plagued by violence brought about by several wars. The first Congolese war took place in the aftermath of the Rwandese genocide of 1994, as the ethnic hatred spilled over to Hutus and Tutsis living in Zaire, as the DRC was then called. Over a million Hutu refugees had fled into Zaire, which led to fighting between them, supported by Zairian armed forces, and Rwandese and Zairian ethnic Tutsis living there, supported by Uganda. In 1998, the second Congolese war broke out between the forces of DRC President Joseph Kabila, supported by Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia, and an alliance of

armed groups supported by Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. Central to the conflict was the control of natural resources, such as coltan, which form a major source of financing for all armed groups.<sup>xx</sup> A peace agreement was signed in 2002, but violence has continued. At present, the conflict has intensified again in eastern DRC, in the Kivu region. Fighting is ongoing between the Congolese army and Tutsi rebel forces commanded by Laurent Nkunda and supported by Rwanda. In a development this January, though, Nkunda was arrested in Rwanda. It is as yet unclear whether he will be handed over to the DRC for prosecution. Since 1998, more than 3.8 million people have died in the conflict.<sup>xxi</sup>

In the conflicts in the DRC, sexual violence has been perpetrated on a large scale by the army, non-state armed groups and civilians. In 2004 it was reported that even peacekeepers from the UN MONUC mission had sexually exploited women. Women – increasingly young girls – suffer rape, sexual slavery and forced marriage. Rape is often perpetrated in front of the victim's family, or forced between victims. Women are also sexually mutilated. The exact number of victims is hard to establish, but it is certain that a massive number of women and girls have been affected. Indeed, some estimates put the number of Congolese women who have suffered rape at one in every three.<sup>xxii</sup> The Kivu region is particularly affected - in South Kivu alone, more than 26,000 women sought medical assistance for rape-related injuries in 2006. This figure likely represents just the tip of the iceberg as hospitals are often geographically inaccessible to many victims, meaning only a small proportion can receive health services. Moreover, as in the case studies discussed above, women who have suffered rape are often ostracised and rejected by their families, which impedes many from seeking help.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Few remedies are available to women who have suffered sexual violence. Few hospitals offer specialised treatment for sexual health problems, and those that do are overwhelmed by the huge number of victims seeking assistance. Impunity with respect to sexual violence is rampant; members of the army are allowed to remain within its ranks even when they have been implicated in rape or gang rape. The state does not allocate sufficient budgetary resources to the compensation of victims, although it does provide a small grant to demobilised fighters. This reflects the generally deplorable position of women in the DRC, who are discriminated against in almost every sphere of life. In this regard, the UN Development Programme ranks the DRC's record as one of the worst in the world, placing it 130<sup>th</sup> out of 136 countries in its gender-related development index.<sup>xxiv</sup> A dangerous development recently observed is the increasing implication of civilians in rape. In 2007, they were responsible for more than 40% of all such crimes committed. This indicates the normalisation of violence after a decade of war, and bodes ill for the future prospects of women.<sup>xxv</sup>

In Sierra Leone, the armed forces fought rebels in a civil war lasting from 1991 to 2002, prompted by frustration over corruption, bad governance, economic repression and human rights abuses. Peace agreements were signed in 1999, but the war did not officially end until two and a half years later. A Special Court for Sierra Leone was established in 2002, as well as a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which published a report in 2004. It is estimated that during the war 50,000 people died, 100,000 were mutilated, 400,000 sought refuge in neighbouring countries and another million people were internally displaced. During the conflict, women and girls fell victim to various forms of sexual violence, such as rape and gang-rape, abduction followed by sexual slavery, sexual mutilation and forced incest. According to UNICEF estimates, over 250,000 women and girls were raped during the conflict. Apart from sexual violence, many women were killed or were forcibly displaced. The 1999 peace accords included an amnesty for all crimes, including those of a sexual nature, committed during the conflict, with the exception of crimes against humanity, war crimes, genocide and other serious human rights violations.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Since the end of the conflict, women have been active in demanding justice and reparations. The Women's Task Force lobbied for gender balance within transitional justice institutions, which led to the appointment of three women to the seven-member TRC and three female

judges to the eleven-member Special Court. The TRC dedicated special public and closed hearings to women, which were very successful. In its recommendations to the government, it urged the establishment of a Special Fund for War victims, for which women who suffered sexual and other forms of violence and their children would be eligible beneficiaries. The TRC also indicated that amputees and other war wounded, victims of sexual violence, children and war widows were in most dire need of health care and psychosocial support. It also recommended making symbolic reparation, such as public apologies to victims.<sup>xxvii</sup> Women themselves have demanded socioeconomic reparations, such as shelter, skills training, education for their children and medical facilities. This is in keeping with research on trauma that shows victims are often more interested in reparations that relieve their most urgent needs, such as poverty, than in mental health services.<sup>xxviii</sup>

The government accepted the TRC's recommendations with respect to reparations and declared it would do its best to implement them. Yet so far no committee has been established to implement reparations, nor is there a timeline for this. The fact that the government has never created a register of victims may add to the problem. Meanwhile, ex-combatants have enjoyed benefits arising from the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programme. This indicates where the government's priorities lie. The fact that violence against women is generally accepted, while women have unequal positions and rights compared to men, and female circumcision is widely practised, presents challenges in the implementation of reparations for women. The fact that the government has indicated its willingness to implement such measures is a step forward, although it remains to be seen if women will benefit to the same extent as men.<sup>xxix</sup>

## **The former Yugoslavia**

During several bloody wars that took place from 1991-95 and 1998-99, the former Yugoslavia disintegrated into seven new states. More than 100,000 people were killed during these conflicts, while sexual violence was widespread, especially in the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There, it is estimated that between 14,000 and 50,000 women were victims of such crimes, most of whom were Bosniak [Bosnian Muslim]. Rape was used as a strategy of war during the conflict, with many women held in the numerous detention camps and raped repeatedly. This not only affected these women's sense of honour and shame, but also that of the men who found themselves powerless to protect them. Rape was often used as a means of social engineering, with women in camps raped until they became pregnant with 'ethnically cleansed babies'.<sup>xxx</sup>

Sexual violence was also widespread in the Kosovo war of 1998-1999. The Serbian army, police, paramilitaries and prison guards who ran the province perpetrated systematic rape, sexual mutilation and sexual enslavement until their defeat by international forces. Rape was particularly frequent during March to June 1999, the period in which NATO carried out bombing of Yugoslavia in order to end the Kosovo conflict.<sup>xxxi</sup>

The ICTY has addressed wartime sexual violence in the former Yugoslavia, establishing that rape can be a war crime, a crime against humanity and an act of genocide. Moreover, in February 2001 it convicted three men for rape, sexual torture and enslavement during the war in Bosnia. This was a groundbreaking verdict, reaffirming that sexual violence can in itself constitute a war crime.<sup>xxxii</sup>

- *Conclusion*

It is apparent, based on the resolutions and case studies discussed above, that the international community is conscious of the need to combat violence against women. But

although the international legal and political framework for this exists, many countries are unable to tackle the serious problems of gender-based violence that they experience. The main challenge when it comes to combating this is the taboo attached to the subject. As long as women do not dare to come forward and report their suffering for fear of being rejected, isolated and ostracised by their husbands, families and communities, it will remain impossible to reach those affected. In addition, governments need to be more aware of their duty of due diligence with respect to human rights violations in general, and human rights violations against women in particular. This implies that states are obliged to investigate, prosecute and punish, and also prevent, human rights violations, and are in violation of their international legal obligations if they neglect women in this regard.

Another problem is the failure of the governments concerned to allocate adequate resources to combating violence against women. This indicates the low priority that most attach to this problem – and frequently to women in general. In many countries, and certainly in the cases discussed in this paper, women occupy an unequal position compared to men. They often have less access to health, education, labour and other sectors and services. As long as women are not treated equally, they will not receive the support, be it psycho-social, medical or financial, that they deserve.

As a result, women are generally either left to deal with their war trauma themselves or, if they choose to report the crimes they suffered, rejected by their families and therefore condemned to destitution. Reducing violence against women and achieving justice and reparations for its victims therefore depends on breaking the taboo surrounding the topic. If women are not condemned for seeking help when they suffer attack, they can be reached, treated and assisted to carry on with their lives. Moreover, to prevent violence against women altogether, and sexual violence in particular, it is essential to challenge the underlying disadvantages experienced by women as a result of gender-based discrimination and disrespect. Only in this way can the root causes of sexual violence be dealt with.

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<sup>i</sup> 'Congo in Wurggreep van Geweld', Trouw (29 October 2008).

<sup>ii</sup> Wolfgang Schomburg and Ines Peterson, 'Genuine Consent to Sexual Violence under International Criminal Law', The American Journal of International Law 101 (2007) 121-122, 138.

<sup>iii</sup> *Ibid.* 129-130.

<sup>iv</sup> UNIFEM, Not a Minute More: Ending Violence against Women (New York, 2003) 19-20, 75-76.

<sup>v</sup> 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women', <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>> (last accessed on 20 November 2008).

<sup>vi</sup> 'Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women', <<http://www.oas.org/CIM/english/Convention%20Violence%20Against%20Women.htm#5>> (last accessed on 20 November 2008).

<sup>vii</sup> 'Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa', <[http://www.achpr.org/english/\\_info/women\\_en.html](http://www.achpr.org/english/_info/women_en.html)> (last accessed on 20 November 2008).

<sup>viii</sup> 'Fourth World Conference on Women', <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/>> (last accessed on 13 November 2008).

<sup>ix</sup> 'Beijing +5 Process and Beyond', <<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/beijing+5.htm>> (last accessed on 13 November 2008).

<sup>x</sup> UN Security Council, Resolution 1325 U.N.Doc S/RES/1325 (2000) and UN Secretary-General, Report of the Secretary-General: Women and peace and security U.N.Doc S/2008/622 (25 September 2008).

<sup>xi</sup> UN Security Council, Resolution 1820 U.N.Doc S/RES/1820 (2008).

<sup>xii</sup> 'Dutch National Action Plan on Resolution 1325', <<http://www.minbuza.nl/binaries/en-pdf/nap1325-en.pdf>> (last accessed on 20 November 2008).

<sup>xiii</sup> Claudia Paz y Paz Bailey, 'Guatemala: Gender and Reparations for Human Rights Violations' in Ruth Rubio-Marín, What happened to the Women?: Gender and Reparations for Human Rights Violations (New York, 2006) 97-99.

<sup>xiv</sup> UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Mission to Guatemala U.N.Doc E/CN.4/2005/72/Add.3 (2005) 5.

<sup>xv</sup> *Ibid.* 111, 116.



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- <sup>xvi</sup> Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector (DCAF, 2007) 77 and Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Mission to Guatemala 10.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Ibid. 73.
- <sup>xviii</sup> UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Mission to Colombia U.N.Doc E/CN.4/2002/83/Add.3 (2001) 14, 23 and Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 73.
- <sup>xix</sup> Marie Vlachová and Lea Biason (eds.), Women in an Insecure World: Violence against Women Facts, Figures and Analysis (DCAF, 2005) 178 and UN Special Rapporteur, Mission to Colombia 8, Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 73.
- <sup>xx</sup> Ingrid Palmay, Engendering Wartime Conflict: Women and War Trauma (CVSR, 2005) 9 and UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo U.N.Doc A/HRC/7/6/Add.4 (2008) 4-5.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 41.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Vlachová and Biason (eds.), Women in an Insecure World 115.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Ibid. and UN Special Rapporteur, Mission to the DRC, 6-7, 10-12.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Ibid. 15-22.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Caroline Tosh and Yigal Chazan, Special Report: Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (IWPR, 2008) 5.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 57 Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Violence against Women perpetrated and/or condoned by the State during Times of Armed Conflict U.N.Doc.E/CN.4/2001/73 (2001) 29.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Jamesina King, 'Gender and Reparations in Sierra Leone: The Wounds of War remain open' in Rubio-Marín, What happened to the Women? 255-259, 262-269.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Palmay, Engendering Wartime Conflict 17.
- <sup>xxix</sup> King, 'Gender and Reparations in Sierra Leone' 249-250, 270-273.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 117 and Maria B. Olujic, 'Embodiment of Terror: Gendered Violence in Peacetime and Wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina', Medical Anthropology Quarterly 12(1) (1998) 39, 45.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 125 and Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Violence against Women perpetrated and/or condoned by the State 24.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict 117 and Schomburg and Peterson, 'Genuine Consent to Sexual Violence' 129-130.