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Conflict-Related Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys: Survivors Sidelined in Peace Agreements

Ella MacLeod



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List of Abbreviations

AN	Agreement Number
AU	African Union
CRSV	Conflict-Related Sexual Violence
CRSVAM	Conflict-Related Sexual Violence Against Men (encompasses CRSV against both men and boys)
DDR	Demilitarization, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICL	International Criminal Law
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PA-X	PA-X Peace Agreements Database
RSF	Rapid Support Forces
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SV	Sexual Violence
SAF	Sudanese Armed Forces
SRSG-SVC	The Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict
UN	United Nations
UNDDPA	UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs

Key Findings

- 1 Conflict-Related Sexual Violence Against Men (CRSVAM) is often overlooked for several reasons.** There is a data vacuum on CRSVAM due to: a lack of disclosure among survivors; men who disclose are significantly more likely to be overlooked; and narrow definitions of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) do not include common forms of CRSVAM. CRSVAM is also often not recognised in international mechanisms for accountability, and some domestic criminal codes even criminalise sexually violated men. Humanitarian programming often focuses on women and children and excludes men as victims and survivors.
- 2 Parties in peace negotiations rarely address or prioritise CRSV in peace processes,** and there has been no significant increase in peace agreements that address Sexual Violence (SV) within the timeframe of peace agreements recorded in the PA-X Peace Agreements Database (PA-X). Only 3% of peace agreements between 1990 and 2024 include references to SV.
- 3 The Juba Agreement (2020) is the only peace agreement recorded in PA-X to consider CRSVAM in its definition of SV.** However, the agreement only includes CRSV against women in the definition of the ceasefire, representing a contradiction of who is considered a victim or survivor of CRSV. United Nations (UN) efforts to address SV in the Sudan peace process have likely resulted in internationally bargained provisions for CRSV that lack local ownership and thus effective implementation. However, the agreement might still be of value for the establishment of transitional justice initiatives in the future.
- 4 Men and boys as victims and survivors of CRSV are sidelined in peace agreements.** Thirty-two percent of peace agreements with SV provisions in PA-X contain one or more provisions that only address SV against women. Contrasting with the lack of provisions that consider the gendered harms of CRSVAM, this shows how men and boys have been sidelined as victims and survivors of CRSV in peace agreements.
- 5 Peace agreements serve as a unique opportunity to address CRSVAM, its gendered harms and the needs of survivors.** It is therefore important that peace agreements incorporate gender-inclusive provisions in defining victims and survivors of CRSV to not reinforce or silence CRSVAM.

- 6 Efforts to address CRSVAM must be holistic and multi-faceted** across different levels and stakeholder groups to address the data vacuum on CRSVAM, to develop consistent and inclusive understandings of CRSV in International Criminal Law, to develop gender-transformative humanitarian programming, and to raise awareness and enhance advocacy efforts.

Introduction

For a long time, international efforts to address Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in conflict settings have 'relied on the assumption that women and girls are the major victims of such violence'.¹ In reality, men and boys also face major risks of GBV, including Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV), based on 'culturally constructed notions about gender roles'.² Acts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence Against Men (CRSVAM) are driven by heteronormative scripts of domination that shape warfare practices³ and often happen alongside other forms of torture, most commonly in detention centres.⁴ CRSVAM is not a mere instrument of violence used to enforce power, but also an instrument of political violence and other types of violence, shaped by the objectives of the perpetrators.⁵

The lack of recognition of CRSVAM creates the assumption that survivors have not only been stripped of their masculinity, but also consented to the act, which in turn would bring their sexuality into question.⁶ Masculinity and sexuality can also be interconnected with national identity, as seen in the example of how CRSV in former Yugoslavia was used to undermine these three essences of identity collectively by 'victimising' them.⁷ Zarkov explains how CRSV is utilised to target ethnic populations: 'When his manhood also symbolises ethnic identity, the loss is not only individual but also applies to the entire ethnically defined community'.⁸

While primary data in conflict settings show that women are more affected by CRSV than men, research also shows that men are more commonly affected than generally assumed.⁹ The question thus remains: Why are men and boys overlooked as survivors of CRSV?

While a growing body of literature is recognising that male survivors of CRSV are often overlooked in research, legal proceedings and humanitarian programming, this report addresses a gap in the literature by assessing CRSVAM in peace agreements. The report refers to survivors who are 'men and boys'. While this approach poses limitations to addressing the experiences, concerns and needs of survivors of other genders and sexes,¹⁰ it does not suggest they should be excluded. It is important that data collection, international frameworks, and humanitarian programming take into account the experiences of all people and how CRSV affects them differently based on both gender and sexuality. Inclusive conceptualisations of gender, therefore, need to 'actively incorporate the voices and remedy the experiences of sexual and gender minorities'.¹¹

Section 1 sets out how CRSV affects men, why it is overlooked in research, legal proceedings and humanitarian programming, and why peace agreements should address CRSV, despite the challenges in doing so. Section 2 presents a mixed methods study of references to Sexual Violence (SV) in peace agreements, using the PA-X Peace Agreements Database, focusing on how male survivors are sidelined in peace agreement provisions.¹² Section 3 includes a case study of the Juba Agreement in Sudan, which is the only peace agreement listed in PA-X to directly include male survivors in the definition of CRSV. The report concludes with a discussion in Section 4, arguing for a holistic approach to address CRSVAM, highlighting that peace agreements alone can only do so much.

1. CRSVAM in Research, Law, and Peace Processes

This section sets out how and why male survivors of CRSV are often overlooked in research, legal proceedings and humanitarian programming, including through global evidence gaps, United Nations Security Council Resolutions (SCR), international criminal accountability, and domestic legal frameworks. This Section also focuses on why peace processes should be a vehicle for addressing CRSV, how it is addressed in peace mediation, and the challenges of integrating the issue of CRSV into peacemaking.

1.1 CRSVAM in Research and Programming

There is a global problem with a lack of disclosure of CRSVAM, which remains a challenge in data collection and thus the development of humanitarian programming.¹³ For example, a network of Syrian doctors medically examined Syrian male former detainees and recorded that 88% reported at least one form of CRSV.¹⁴ This study stands in stark contrast to studies that only address percentages of men and boys who disclose their experience with CRSVAM. A study in Uganda by the Refugee Law Project had found that 4% of men disclosed having experienced rape, and 9% disclosed having experienced genital trauma.¹⁵ However, this study, among many others, does not effectively address the data vacuum as it only discusses disclosure rather than actual prevalence. Carpenter points out that, 'while it is plausible that women and girls comprise the vast majority of rape victims, the truth is we have no means of assessing that without gender disaggregated prevalence data'.¹⁶

The lack of disclosure of CRSVAM is often characterised by entrenched gender norms as well as cultural and religious taboos.¹⁷ Survivors who are male may not recognise or report CRSVAM because the 'victimisation' could be considered a threat to their masculinity and heterosexuality.¹⁸ It is often a reflection of norms that view men and boys who are survivors of CRSV as 'weak' and bringing shame upon their families and community.¹⁹ The exploitation of deeply rooted gender norms in its utilisation as a method of warfare and torture, both in detention centres and in active combat, preys on the gender identities of survivors, whom they attempt to 'emasculate' by 'feminising' and thereby humiliating the survivor and their associated community.²⁰ This implication is deeply serious, as the concept of 'masculinity' as a possessed essence is something so deeply entrenched in 'lives, feelings, laws and corporeality'.²¹ As the stigmatisation following disclosure can hold the power to strip survivors of their gender, sexual and national identity and instil such a strong feeling of shame in the community that they risk abandonment by their families and communities, survivors often feel reluctant to disclose their experience. Male survivors are therefore less likely to report CRSV, as well as describe the incident as CRSV.²²

Underreporting by investigators also contributes to evidence gaps on CRSVAM. Most studies still rely on 'gender ideas'²³ rather than 'gender evidence'²⁴ to determine who is considered vulnerable in conflict settings, thereby failing to adopt gender-sensitive approaches to reporting on CRSV in conflict settings.²⁵ As a result, there is an 'evidence gap', characterised by an absence of well-researched and documented figures of CRSVAM.²⁶ In a study on CRSV and other wartime violence in Peru, testimonies gathered by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Committee (PTRC) included 336 narratives of CRSV.²⁷ Among these narratives, 34% were male. However, only 30% of these testimonies were flagged as cases of CRSV by interviewers, and only 10% of such cases were flagged where the survivors were male. Male survivors were therefore significantly more likely to be overlooked even when disclosing their experience with CRSV.

Another reason why CRSVAM is overlooked is the language often used by survivors who decide to disclose their experiences. As CRSVAM is often considered taboo or believed not to exist at all, many survivors believe they are the only ones who have experienced it.²⁸ Male survivors might therefore not have the vocabulary to describe their experience.²⁹ For example, in many cases of anal rape used as a form of CRSVAM in the African Great Lakes region, perpetrators told survivors before the incident that they would 'make them a woman'.³⁰ It is common for survivors of SV to avoid direct language when disclosing traumatic events, and many male survivors thereby described cases of anal rape as having been 'treated as a woman'.³¹ Survivors of CRSVAM would also sometimes describe their experience in a brief and passing manner, indicating CRSV in a generalised account of violence, for example, by saying that they were 'beaten all over their bodies'.³² Others would refer to being 'humiliated', 'disgraced' or referring to the experience as physical 'torture'.³³

Narrow definitions of CRSV further exacerbate the evidence gap. Heteronormative approaches to defining CRSV often adopt a narrow definition that fails to consider forms of CRSV that more commonly affect men and boys, such as 'forced perpetration', where a person is forced to rape or sexually assault another person.³⁴ Such acts of CRSV often include males forced to perpetrate against family members or male prisoners forced to perpetrate against each other.³⁵ Certain forms of CRSVAM, such as 'forced nudity'³⁶, most often perpetrated to humiliate the survivor based on entrenched gender norms, are also often overlooked because they are understood and considered as forms of 'torture' rather than CRSV.³⁷ The exploitation of gender norms in the perpetrators' use of CRSVAM is also demonstrated in cases where males are secondary victims when forced to witness crimes of CRSV, most often against female relatives, and thus considered unable to fulfil their roles as protectors in line with heteronormative views of gender identity.³⁸

In a screening of experiences of violence amongst war-affected South Sudanese Refugees in Northern Uganda by the Refugee Law Project, 0.6% of women compared to 1.84% of men reported being forced to perpetrate acts of CRSV. Dolan highlights that forced perpetration, among certain other forms of CRSV, is therefore a type of CRSV that disproportionately affects men.³⁹ While such percentages might look small, the numbers represent survivors in the thousands, warranting proper humanitarian programming that also makes services available for survivors who are male.⁴⁰ These statistics highlight that while most studies show higher rates of disclosure of CRSV among women than men, adopting a gender perspective in studies on CRSV would likely identify higher numbers of CRSVAM.

While survivors of CRSVAM find it difficult to disclose their experience, different support and service providers also often fail to recognise CRSVAM.⁴¹ In humanitarian programming, organisations generally include a focus on assisting specific categories of people based on the influence of the media and donors, which will often lead to the exclusion of other groups.⁴² In this regard, international institutions addressing human security through protection schemes often rely upon a 'gendered understanding of who is to be secured, characterised by the exclusion of civilian males'.⁴³ Humanitarian campaigns often continue invoking such ideas to incentivise the allocation of resources and advocacy because the use of language and imagery that frames the innocence and vulnerability of women and children is considered the most effective approach transnationally.⁴⁴ Such practices re-produce 'exclusive gender justice debates that essentialize women as ever-vulnerable victims in need of patriarchal protection, and that exclude consideration for the roles of masculinities as well as sexual and gender minorities'.⁴⁵ While there are tendencies to acknowledge this programming gap, they are often still excluded from the analyses.⁴⁶

1.2 CRSVAM in Legal and Policy Systems

Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 (2000)⁴⁷ and its successors raised awareness on CRSV against women and girls, but Chris Dolan argues they have also 'deepened the silence' around CRSVAM.⁴⁸ CRSVAM was not explicitly mentioned in any resolution until SCR 2106 (2013):⁴⁹

UNSC Res 2106 (2013)

Noting with concern that sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations disproportionately affects women and girls, as well as groups that are particularly vulnerable or may be specifically targeted, while also affecting men and boys and those secondarily traumatised as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members.⁵⁰

This statement seems to categorise women and girls with groups who are 'vulnerable' and 'targeted', while listing men and boys as an 'other' category, implying that they are less affected.⁵¹ It thereby fails to recognise that men and boys can also be considered 'vulnerable' or 'targeted' in cases of CRSV. While the resolution only went as far as recognising the existence of CRSVAM, it caused a positive ripple effect and several high-level documents referenced CRSVAM the same year.⁵² However, UN reports on SV have since then adopted the practice of pointing out the existence of CRSVAM as the sole reference in such reports.⁵³ The lack of recognition is also apparent in legal systems both internationally and domestically, as explained in the following sections.

There has been little accountability for survivors of CRSVAM, but most advances have happened in International Criminal Law (ICL) and at the International Criminal Court (ICC).⁵⁴ The ICC Rome Statute recognises SV as a crime regardless of gender.⁵⁵ However, the jurisprudence has yielded mixed results. In the ICC's first conviction including charges of CRSV in the case of Bemba, crimes of CRSVAM were included and considered as a crime against humanity.⁵⁶ He was, however, later acquitted in 2018.⁵⁸ In contrast, in the Kenyatta case, the Pre-Trial Chamber only recognised cases of anal rape as cases of SV, arguing that acts that had targeted parts of the body associated with sexuality were rather motivated by ethnic prejudice as an intended attempt to demonstrate tribal 'cultural superiority'.

The Pre-Trial Chamber instead included the act of forced sterilisation of men under crimes against humanity of 'other inhumane acts'.⁵⁹ By dismissing a broader consideration of CRSVAM in cases with an ethnic prejudiced motivation, the court failed to consider the inherent interconnection between CRSV 'victimisation' with masculine and ethnic identities when CRSV is employed 'precisely as a tool of asserting cultural superiority in conflict scenarios with ethnic dimensions'.⁶⁰ The inconsistent application of international criminal law in the case of CRSV shows that there is yet to be a concise and agreed-upon understanding of its definition in legal practice.⁶¹

Another challenge in accountability for CRSVAM is the lack of recognition in domestic legal systems. In 90% of conflict-affected countries, the law does not protect male survivors of SV, especially in judicial systems that only recognise women as victims and men as perpetrators of SV in gender-exclusive legal definitions.⁶² Many jurisdictions, especially among those whose penal codes were established under British colonial rule, define rape as penetration only of a vagina by a penis, thereby excluding acts of SV against men and boys.⁶³ In 67 states globally, the law also criminalises sexually violated men.⁶⁴ In such jurisdictions, male survivors are often considered to have committed what is described as 'an act against the order of nature' regardless of consent.⁶⁵ In countries where penal codes do not include SV against men and boys and also criminalise same-sex intercourse, such laws work against survivors who may be subject to criminal punishment, sometimes even life imprisonment.⁶⁶

1.3 CRSV in Peace Processes

In 2008, the adoption of UN SCR 1820⁶⁷ recognised CRSV as a matter of international peace and security and demanded that parties to armed conflict take appropriate steps to protect civilians from acts of CRSV.⁶⁸ Despite a growing body of literature highlighting the benefits of addressing CRSV in peace agreements to enhance the sustainability of the peace, parties to conflict rarely address or prioritise the matter in peace negotiations.⁶⁹

In the PA-X Gender database, 66 of the total 2,144 peace agreements in PA-X contain one or more 'sexual violence' provisions – a total of only 3%. The lack of priority to include SV provisions in peace agreements is evidenced below in Graph 1, which shows that despite the spike in agreements with SV provisions in 2015, there has not been a significant increase in references to SV in peace agreement provisions recorded over time in PA-X.



Figure 1: Inclusion of SV provisions in Peace Agreements, 1990-2024. Source: PA-X Peace Agreements Database, Version 9.

Figure 1 shows the inclusion of SV provisions in peace agreements listed in PA-X from 1990 until 2024. The data is based on the year of the signing of peace agreements from the CSV file collected from PA-X under the category 'sexual violence'.⁷⁰

There are multiple reasons why CRSV should be addressed through a peace process. Although peace agreements may herald the cessation of armed or militarised violent conflict, acts of CRSV are often not completely brought to an end.⁷¹ Without peace agreement provisions that specifically address CRSV, parties responsible for implementation might 'face fewer incentives to ensure that it is adequately addressed'.⁷² Peace agreements are also commonly used to inform peacekeeping operations, and if CRSV has not been identified as part of the violence in a conflict, it is likely that peacekeepers are not trained or equipped to prevent it.⁷³

CRSV can also cause extremely damaging effects on social relationships between individuals, within households and entire communities.⁷⁴ These effects undermine the likelihood of achieving durable solutions because they can cause fear within communities and may trigger acts of violence.⁷⁵ These consequences are clearly reflected in SCR 1820, which reclassified SV as a security issue relevant to the peace process due to its potential to exacerbate situations of armed conflict and impede international peace and security efforts.⁷⁶ When left unaddressed, parties may lose confidence in the agreement and the peace process as a whole if cycles of CRSV as a form of violence continue through acts of vengeance and vigilantism.⁷⁷ Addressing CRSV at the beginning of the peace process could 'increase the durability of peace by mitigating security fears and improving transparency, accountability and confidence among parties'.⁷⁸

Peace agreements can have an influence on the structure of peacebuilding measures, post-conflict reconstruction and development.⁷⁹ Leaving CRSV unaddressed in post-conflict peacebuilding measures could thus undermine the whole process and its three most essential elements: 'social stability, economic recovery and effective state authority'.⁸⁰ Including CRSV provisions in peace agreements is therefore important to prevent and address CRSV in post-conflict peacebuilding processes.

However, there are multiple obstacles to incorporating CRSV into peace processes and their resultant agreements. Raising and emphasising the issue of CRSV can be difficult in peace mediation due to social taboos and stigma.⁸¹ While those affected by CRSV might want to raise this concern in mediated peace processes, there are in some cases 'a pervasive sense of denial, because sexual violence is regarded as a natural, if unfortunate, by-product of war, destined to wane when a deal is struck and conflict ends'.⁸² In situations where the parties at conflict have all engaged in acts of CRSV, there is also often a resulting conspiracy of silence if there is no opposing side with an interest in raising the issue in the negotiations.⁸³

Whether or not accountability for CRSV should be included in peace agreements is still a contested issue. The initiation of investigations and legal proceedings to prosecute CRSV is important to ensure that perpetrators are not 'rewarded' and to signal that the physical security of the population is a real concern.⁸⁴ However, several diplomats interviewed by Aroussi have expressed that insisting on addressing accountability for CRSV could endanger the peace process and create deadlocks in peace mediation.⁸⁵ A Swedish diplomat stressed that accountability for CRSV in peace agreements is not possible because the peace process is often an elite bargain between parties who are also perpetrators, who are thus unwilling to sign an agreement that would address accountability for CRSV.⁸⁶ A senior Irish diplomat also highlighted that in many countries with a high level of conflict, the justice system might have collapsed and thus been left unable to ensure accountability.⁸⁷ However, while most interviewees argued that details of how justice should be pursued should rather be decided in a post-conflict stage, they agreed that peace agreements should include general commitments to justice for survivors of gender-based crimes.⁸⁸

Peace agreements also need to be coordinated across different actors and stakeholders beyond the main parties to a conflict.⁸⁹ Measures for accountability in peace agreements are often brought forward as a compromise between various protagonists in the conflict, as well as the peace mediators.⁹⁰ For example, independent third parties may be brought in to contribute enforcement powers or promote compliance, but their participation could come with the use of their bargaining position to import vested interests in the name of 'the interests of the international community'.⁹¹ Several international actors have drafted guidelines for mediation that include the importance of addressing CRSV in mediated peace processes, including the UN⁹² and the African Union (AU).⁹³ Other stakeholders, such as victims and survivors' representatives, women's groups and other interest groups might also have an interest in addressing CRSV in the mediated peace process. The process is therefore likely to be influenced by potential vested interests or mediation styles of different actors and stakeholders in the process.

2. CRSVAM in Peace Agreements: A Mixed Methods Study

This Section presents a descriptive quantitative overview and qualitative analysis of how SV is addressed in peace agreements, followed by a mixed analysis of the gendered nature of such provisions. Using data from PA-X, the section provides examples of how different peace agreements deal with SV by creating new topical categories. The data and analytical findings are combined with the findings from dataset 2, looking at the role of gendered subjects in SV provisions in peace agreements, to understand how we can better include male victims and survivors of CRSV in peace agreements.

2.1 Methodology

Datasets 1 and 2 are based on a study of the PA-X Results Export Report from the search of 'sexual violence' as a sub-category of 'violence against women' in PA-X Gender.⁹⁴ The total result shows 67 agreements with a reference to sexual violence. While the category 'sexual violence' is coded under the category 'violence against women' in PA-X Gender, the results include 'any specific prohibition or mention of sexual violence, rape, sexual harassment etc. in a peace agreement'.⁹⁵ The codebook (Version 9) also states that PA-X Gender is an open-access database which, as of Version 9, includes 'all peace agreements between 1990 and 2024 which have provisions on women, girls, gender or sexual violence',⁹⁶ highlighting that all provisions with mention of sexual violence are coded irrespective of gender. Of these results, the 'Outcome of the First Consultative Pankar Agreement' (2002)⁹⁷ has been excluded because the listed provision did not clearly show a reference to sexual violence agreed upon by the parties, but rather a provision relating to 'violence against women' more broadly.⁹⁸ The total number used for this dataset is therefore 66 agreements.

Whether a peace agreement has a provision falling within any of the topical categories in the datasets is a binary variable, and the agreements will therefore receive the value '1' in a topical category when it contains one or more corresponding provisions. Peace agreements can have repetitive references to sexual violence corresponding to the same topical category, but cannot exceed the value '1' in each category in the datasets, regardless of how many times provisions falling within the same category appear in the agreement text. However, many of the peace agreements with reference to SV, particularly comprehensive peace agreements, can have multiple SV provisions that fall within multiple of these categories. An agreement can therefore have the binary value '1' in several different topical categories. The manual coding of Dataset 1 has, in some instances and where relevant, been done in conjunction with cross-referencing with similar categories in PA-X.

However, the generation of the results in Dataset 1 does not fully rely on the results from cross-referencing with the PA-X database, as the categories might not always be related or could be overlapping with other categories, as explained in the definitions of the categories for Dataset 1 in the following section.

Beyond this binary value, Wise expresses that 'simply counting provisions overlooks the fact that peace agreements vary in the detail and strength of conflict parties' written commitments', contrasting the strength of rhetorical commitments and substantive provisions to address violence against women.⁹⁹ Therefore, the study includes qualitative analysis of the content and language of provisions, to establish not only if a peace agreement addresses SV, but *how* an agreement references SV.

There are several limitations to this study. Peace agreements do not fit neatly into different types of classification, and the choice of classification may therefore be a matter of dispute.¹⁰⁰ As the datasets have been manually coded by the author only, it is possible that a different person would have coded certain provisions differently. In addition, provisions with vague wording can be hard to categorise correctly without an in-depth understanding of the contextual reasons behind the wording of certain provisions, thus limiting the accuracy of manual categorisation. Local understandings and practices of CRSV and how to reconcile after such atrocities might also differ from common Western understandings of what CRSV is and what 'justice' looks like. The categorisation of provisions might therefore be subject to limitations pursuant to the author's positionality as a Western researcher with pre-conceived notions of, for example, what justice or commitments as concepts entail.

It is also not always clear what groups are meant to be protected under certain SV provisions. For example, some gender-neutral provisions might have been included with the parties' intention for the wording to imply the protection of only women if brokered between parties who do not recognise CRSVAM. As explained by Bell, understanding whether references 'constitute evidence of 'a gender perspective' in any full sense would involve knowing how or why provisions got there'.¹⁰¹ Some provisions can be ambiguous in whether or not the language implies that the provision applies only to 'women and girls'.¹⁰² Nonetheless, while this report utilises and argues for an approach with a closer look at the language on the provision-level of peace agreements with a wide array of limitations, it also invites a discussion on how to best categorise peace agreements when examining the issue of CRSV and CRSVAM to bring more attention to this overlooked issue.

While this report argues for the inclusion of SV provisions in peace agreements, not all provisions included can be assumed to be 'positive' or comprehensive.¹⁰³ In agreements that adopt gender-neutral definitions of SV, they might not be gender-neutral in how they are operationalised, especially in countries where legal systems do not recognise CRSVAM or survivors who are men are criminalised.¹⁰⁴ While it may not be fully possible to understand the influence behind why gender-neutral or gender-essentialist approaches have been adopted and what influence they would bear, the data provide a helpful starting point to address these questions.

One of the greatest limitations of this study is that peace agreements themselves are not the only way to address CRSV. In this regard, it is difficult to examine the impact of including references to CRSV in peace agreements without a comprehensive analysis of the context of a conflict and what other measures are implemented to address both CRSV and CRSVAM. Such limitations are demonstrated in the analysis in the case study on the Juba agreement, which, as an isolated incident of a reference to CRSVAM in PA-X, cannot sufficiently inform future peace processes on the impacts of inclusion of references to CRSVAM due to the vast differences in realities in different conflicts and the lack of public information regarding the discussions on the topic of CRSV in the peace process. However, the case study of the SV provisions in the Juba agreement is still a valuable opportunity for authors to start examining why it was included and its local impacts, particularly for those with an understanding of the localised realities in the conflict or experience from the peace process.

2.2 Dataset 1: CRSV provisions in Peace Agreements

In Dataset 1, data from PA-X Gender has been used to manually categorise peace agreements with reference to SV. This exercise generated the following categories:

- (1) *Rhetorical/symbolic references*: References to SV that recognise its existence/prevalence or general commitments to end SV without a specific measure to do so.
- (2) *Ceasefires*: Any mention of SV in provisions for an actual ceasefire and related mechanisms, such as listing SV as a prohibited act as part of the ceasefire.¹⁰⁵
- (3) *Security Sector*: Any mention of SV in security sector provisions, such as security guarantees, security sector reform, military or police conduct, training of security forces, or the integration and demobilisation of combatants.¹⁰⁶
- (4) *Transitional justice*: Any mention of SV in transitional justice provisions, including post-conflict protocols for justice mechanisms, reparations, reconciliation and assistance to victims.¹⁰⁷
- (5) *Legal reform and policy development*: Any mention of SV in relation to legal reform or policy development, such as a relevant provision in a new constitution, a commitment to criminalise or outlaw, the establishment or commitment to a right to be protected, or the updating of penalties.

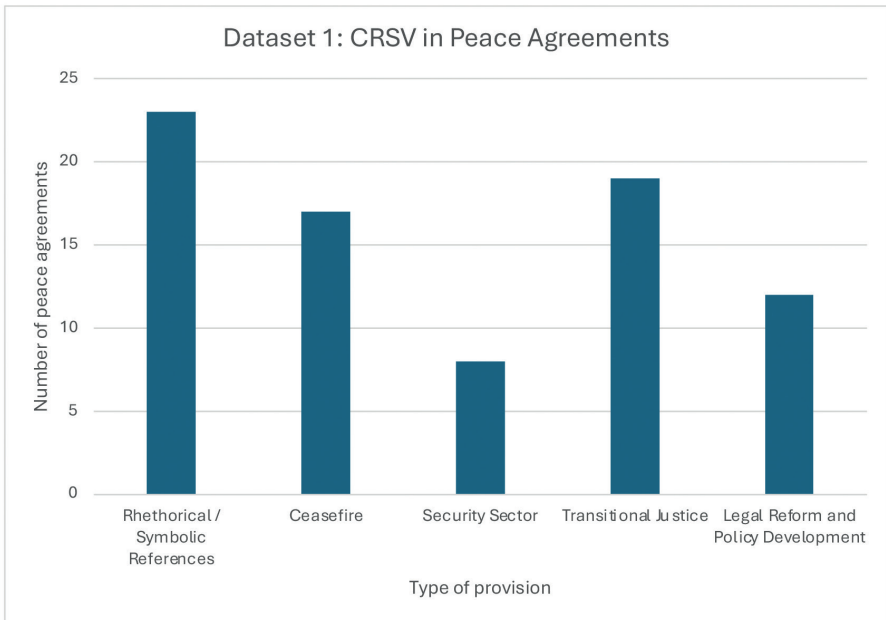


Figure 2: Number of Peace Agreements according to Type of SV reference. Source: CRSV in Peace Agreements Dataset 1

The literature and reports on CRSV do not consistently categorise the way CRSV is addressed in peace agreements; categorising by a mix of peace agreement 'types', 'elements', or 'stages'.¹⁰⁸ Having analysed all references to sexual violence in the 66 agreements with SV provisions recorded in PA-X, what stood out in the findings is that the way that SV is included in a peace agreement does often not correspond to the 'type' of peace agreement nor the 'stage' of the peace process used for categorisation in the literature. For example, the Comprehensive Agreement concluded between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal is in PA-X coded as under the stage 'comprehensive', while the peace agreement itself only contains one provision coded as SV in PA-X.¹⁰⁹

The stage does thus not accurately reflect the way SV is included in the agreement since it is not included across the comprehensive parts of the agreement, nor in any way that would provide tangible or symbolic reparation or support to victims and survivors. It would also not fit neatly within a single category often referenced in the literature. In this dataset, the provision with reference to sexual violence in this agreement is instead coded as a provision with a rhetorical/symbolic reference, as it only includes a general commitment to stop sexual exploitation and abuse.

This agreement is an example of why an analysis of the specific language in the provision would give a clearer picture of how sexual violence is incorporated into such agreements. To effectively engage with the literature and categorise the agreements in a dataset with available categories in PA-X, this report therefore categorises peace agreements with SV provisions by the 'type'/'element' of provisions. These are based on a mix of pre-established categories from the literature and new categories that, in the authors' opinion, better reflect the elements present in the 66 peace agreements with SV provisions. The corresponding categories in PA-X for ceasefire, security sector, and transitional justice have been used to manually cross-reference the results in Dataset 1. However, the results generated from Dataset 1, in some instances and for the purposes of this study, intentionally diverge from the results in these categories in PA-X. The rationale for these decisions is explained in the relevant sections below.

2.2.1 Rhetorical/symbolic references

Jenkins and Goetz highlight that 'early-stage' agreements can contain provisions relating to the prevention of SV or remedies for its effects. The authors note that 'such agreements hold significant opportunities to place sexual violence on the agenda and to address the needs of survivors' through 'humanitarian access agreements' and 'confidence-building measures'.¹⁰ However, early-stage agreements (similar to the pre-negotiation category in PA-X) better describe a 'stage' of a peace process rather than an element of a peace agreement. If applying this method using PA-X, the results show that only three peace agreements with reference to SV are categorised in the 'pre-negotiation' stage. For this report and dataset, the new category 'rhetorical/symbolic references' has been included instead because many of the relevant provisions can be found across several 'stages' of peace agreements.

CRSV can be addressed in rhetorical/symbolic provisions that put CRSV on the agenda or produce symbolic commitments between parties to combat CRSV and address the needs of survivors.¹¹¹ Rhetorical/symbolic provisions are the most prevalent way that peace agreements address SV, which can be found in 23 of the 66 peace agreements (35%) with reference to SV. Many of these provisions represent a form of symbolic recognition; for example, provisions in which parties raise concern over SV taking place as a form of grievance or address its role as a driver or consequence of continued violence in the conflict.¹¹² These provisions also include general mentions of the impacts of SV in the conflict or particularly affected groups.¹¹³ Such references may function as declarations rather than a real commitment to the implementation of the measure.¹¹⁴ However, they might represent 'important opportunities to signal zero-tolerance for sexual violence and to generate a commitment to preventing it'.¹¹⁵

Rhetorical/symbolic provisions can also take the form of parties making general commitments to upholding international or domestic laws that aim to protect people from SV.¹¹⁶ However, the data only includes such commitments that make a direct reference to SV in the peace agreement. Rhetorical/symbolic provisions can also address the issue of SV informally, such as through commitments to consider reports on SV¹¹⁷ or third parties urging the parties to the conflict to consider SV in the peace process.¹¹⁸ Lastly, rhetorical/symbolic references also include general commitments of parties to prevent, combat or remedy SV, without any concrete measure of how they will do so.¹¹⁹ Though many such references are symbolic, they can act as a foundation for subsequent measures to address SV in provisions with more concrete plans for implementation, such as in ceasefires.¹²⁰ Rhetorical/symbolic provisions are both general and broad, and more examples may be included in current and future peace agreements that have not yet been accounted for in the author's description of the category.¹²¹

2.2.2 Ceasefires

In order to determine which provisions with reference to sexual violence fall within the category of a ceasefire provision, provisions in PA-X Gender under the sub-issue 'violence against women – sexual violence' have been manually coded in Dataset 1 using the definition in the PA-X code for 'CeProv: Ceasefire Provisions': 'provisions for an actual ceasefire, and associated mechanisms'.¹²² The results have been cross-referenced with provisions that are categorised as SV provisions in PA-X Gender and ceasefire provisions in PA-X, which are accurately reflected in Dataset 1.

Of the 66 peace agreements addressing SV in PA-X, 17 (26%) contain at least one reference to SV in ceasefire provisions. Most commonly, mentions of SV in ceasefire provisions list SV as a prohibited act under the ceasefire agreement.¹²³ Language prohibiting SV as part of the ceasefire can exist in provisions across different sections of a peace agreement.¹²⁴ Its inclusion thereby signals the seriousness of the offence to the peace agreement parties, survivors and the public because acts of CRSV then constitute a breach of the ceasefire agreement.¹²⁵ However, many ceasefire agreements still fail to include SV as a prohibited act.¹²⁶ Other examples include provisions relating to the governing of the ceasefire, such as through monitoring or implementation measures.¹²⁷

Ahmad and Tank advise that mediators drafting ceasefire agreements should consider the following areas: 'preparing the ground and confidence-building measures; prohibiting sexual violence; promoting command responsibility; and ensuring a robust monitoring arrangement'.¹²⁸ The advice highlights the importance of considering comprehensive solutions that also integrate elements from other topical categories in Dataset 1. The UN Department for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA)'s 2017 Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies also highlights that ceasefire provisions should, at a minimum, prohibit acts of SV in the code of conduct of the ceasefire, and must be addressed across agreements, focusing on the importance of its inclusion in provisions for accountability and monitoring.¹²⁹ It also spotlights the important role of women as contributors and participants in monitoring and implementation bodies to enhance the sustainability of ceasefires because their inclusion facilitates access to information and reports from witnesses and survivors.¹³⁰

2.2.3 Security Sector

In the coding for Dataset 1, security sector provisions follow the definition in the PA-X code for 'security sector' and its subcategories,¹³¹ with the omission of the sub-category 'ceasefire', since it is a separate category in this dataset.¹³² The results generated from the manual categorisation of PA-X Gender SV provisions with the topical category 'security sector' have been cross-referenced with provisions that are categorised under the 'security sector' category in PA-X. However, not all provisions that correspond to both categories in PA-X have been coded in Dataset 1 because some provisions contain separate references to both 'security sector' and 'sexual violence' without directly relating the two concepts. For example, some provisions include a list with separate references to elements of the conflict, such as 'torture', 'corruption' and 'sexual violence'. As the purpose of this study is to look at how 'sexual violence' is addressed in peace agreements, such provisions have not been coded in the security sector category in Dataset 1.

Only 8 of the 66 peace agreements (12%) addressing 'sexual violence' in PA-X include such references in security sector provisions, therefore being the least represented category. Peace agreement provisions in PA-X coded in 'security sector' that address SV include limitations on extending safety and security guarantees to perpetrators of SV during peace talks with rebel forces;¹³³ commitments to protect vulnerable groups from SV during demobilisation efforts;¹³⁴ commitments by armed forces to provide security and protection from SV;¹³⁵ and commitments by the armed forces to refrain from acts of SV.¹³⁶

In its guidance for addressing CRSV in mediation, the UN highlights that addressing CRSV in security arrangements can 'help to protect against and prevent future occurrences and build effective, responsive security institutions'.¹³⁷ UN SCR 1820 (2008) 'Demands that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence' through relevant security sector measures. Such measures include, for example, 'enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians...' and 'vetting armed and security forces to take into account past actions of rape and other forms of sexual violence, and evacuation of women and children under imminent threat of sexual violence to safety'.¹³⁸ UN SCR 2106¹³⁹ and 2467¹⁴⁰ also require that, as part of ceasefires, orders should be 'issued through respective chains of command to prohibit sexual violence'.¹⁴¹

Ahmad and Tank highlight that to prevent legacies of CRSV, parties should address CRSV in DDR (Demilitarisation, Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration) provisions that provide for the screening of perpetrators of SV before absorption into national security forces.¹⁴² Furthermore, they point out that SSR (Security Sector Reform) provisions should design: 'mandates for security and military reform commissions that are specifically tasked with protecting civilians from sexual violence'; 'Training and staffing of security forces who are equipped to prevent and educate on sexual violence in conflict, in addition to recruiting women'; and 'including women's groups that can work with survivors of sexual violence within the security sector oversight and monitoring bodies such as the Civilian Advisory Council on Security'.¹⁴³

2.2.4 Transitional Justice

For the category 'transitional justice', SV provisions in PA-X Gender in Dataset 1 have been manually coded using the definition in the PA-X code for 'transitional justice' and its sub-categories addressing issues such as post-conflict protocols for justice mechanisms, reparations, reconciliation and assistance to victims.¹⁴⁴ The results generated from the manual categorisation in Dataset 1 have been cross-referenced with SV provisions in PA-X Gender that are also coded in the category 'transitional justice' in PA-X. However, not all provisions coded as both 'sexual violence' and 'transitional justice' in PA-X have been coded accordingly in Dataset 1. For example, some provisions coded as 'sexual violence' and 'transitional justice' provisions in PA-X are formulated as a recognition of who should be considered 'victims' according to the parties, which thus fits better with the new category 'rhetorical/symbolic references' in Dataset 1. As this study utilises a different set of categories made for a detailed textual analysis of how SV is dealt with on the provision level in peace agreements, some of the provisions coded as both SV and transitional justice provisions in PA-X are rather coded as 'rhetorical/symbolic references' or 'legal reform or policy development' in cases where the author believes they better correspond to these categories.

The category 'transitional justice' includes a wide range of provision topics such as amnesties, judicial proceedings, truth and reconciliation mechanisms, vetting, assistance to survivors, reparations and reconciliation. Out of the 66 peace agreements that address SV in PA-X, 19 (29%) contain provisions on SV relating to transitional justice. Peace agreements have addressed the issue of transitional justice in different ways.

Firstly, peace agreements can offer amnesties for crimes of SV or allow perpetrators to take governmental or military positions, which could undermine the peace process as a whole.¹⁴⁵ Peace agreements should therefore exclude blanket amnesties, and where amnesties are offered, they should exclude serious crimes, including SV.¹⁴⁶ UN SCR 2106 and 2467 also established that agreements should exclude SV from amnesty provisions.¹⁴⁷ Of the 19 agreements that contain provisions for transitional justice that address SV in PA-X, seven include limitations to amnesties or a moratorium in legal proceedings in the case of perpetration of SV.¹⁴⁸ In five of these agreements, the limitation to the amnesty is the only transitional justice provision addressing SV in the agreement.¹⁴⁹ While such provisions are important to address impunity for acts of SV, they do not offer any concrete form of justice themselves, unless they also directly call for or provide for the initiation of legal proceedings to prosecute cases of SV.

Two of the peace agreements with provisions for transitional justice that address SV contain commitments to offer protection to survivors of SV in legal proceedings.¹⁵⁰ Offering protection to survivors or witnesses of SV during legal proceedings is important to ensure that statements are confidential for the safety of survivors. Several transitional justice provisions addressing justice for SV contain commitments to initiate legal proceedings to prosecute SV or initiate investigations.¹⁵¹ Justice provisions in peace agreements in PA-X also include the initiation of fact-finding missions¹⁵² and the establishment of institutions to address and investigate acts of SV.¹⁵³ Transitional justice provisions that address SV also include references to reparations offered to survivors.¹⁵⁴ In designing provisions for post-conflict reparations, the approach should consider the 'local victims' experience of harm and its correlation with the expected reparations.¹⁵⁵ Finally, transitional justice provisions that address SV in peace agreements in PA-X include measures to provide support to survivors of SV, often through medical or legal support.¹⁵⁶

According to Aroussi, 'Justice for wartime sexual violence cannot be dissociated from the issues of reparation, restitution and restoration'.¹⁵⁷ It is thus important that transitional justice measures also address the long-term legacy of CRSV.¹⁵⁸ In addition to addressing the reduction of physical violence, agreements must address rebuilding relationships in families and communities by addressing the attached stigmatisation of SV.¹⁵⁹ To do so, transitional justice measures should be comprehensive;¹⁶⁰ while criminal prosecutions can bring some level of justice, truth-telling processes and reparations will also be necessary in order to address the impacts and legacies of CRSV.¹⁶¹ Clark argues that measures must also be 'holistic' by also addressing the socioeconomic effects of CRSV with a focus on human development.¹⁶²

2.2.5 Legal Reform

The last category of provisions addressing SV in peace agreements is provisions that provide concrete measures for legal reform or policy development. Of the 66 agreements in PA-X with SV provisions, 12 (18%) fall under this category. Examples from the agreements in PA-X that address SV include provisions that provide for the establishment or reform of constitutions that include provisions aimed at protecting civilians against acts of SV¹⁶³ or amendments to criminal codes to outlaw or amend penalties for SV.¹⁶⁴ The SV provisions from PA-X that have been manually coded under this category for legal reform or policy development are designed to meet a higher standard of justice for survivors of CRSV and form part of the longer-term strategy to address SV. However, it does not rule out that future examples could also include provisions that either impede or worsen existing frameworks or policies in this regard. This category is different from the other categories of 'sexual violence' provisions in that it not only addresses CRSV but also contains provisions aimed at addressing SV happening in peacetime.

2.3 Dataset 2: Gendered Subjects in Sexual Violence Provisions

In the following dataset, the 66 peace agreements under the category 'sexual violence' from PA-X have been manually divided into five categories of 'gendered subjects' to explore the gender gap in SV provisions. The dataset relies on the PA-X Results Export Report for the category 'sexual violence' to manually categorise which groups or gendered identities the 66 peace agreements address. While this dataset is created to compare how peace agreements address women and men in SV provisions, the categories 'children/youth' and 'other' have also been included in order to give a comprehensive overview of the groups addressed.

The five categories are:

- (1) *Neutral provisions*: references to sexual violence that do not attach a specific category of gender, age or other group to the victims and survivors in the provision.
- (2) *Women and girls*: references to sexual violence that specifically refer to women and/or girls,¹⁶⁵ or specific language that implies the provision only refers to women.¹⁶⁶

- (3) *Men and boys*: references to sexual violence that directly address men or boys, as well as gender-inclusive language with references to male victims and survivors.¹⁶⁷
- (4) *Children and youth*: references to sexual violence that specifically address children or youth without a reference to gender.¹⁶⁸
- (5) *Other*: any references to any other groups or individuals. There are currently few provisions addressing groups other than women and children. The two agreements currently coded under 'other' are provisions addressing indigenous women.¹⁶⁹

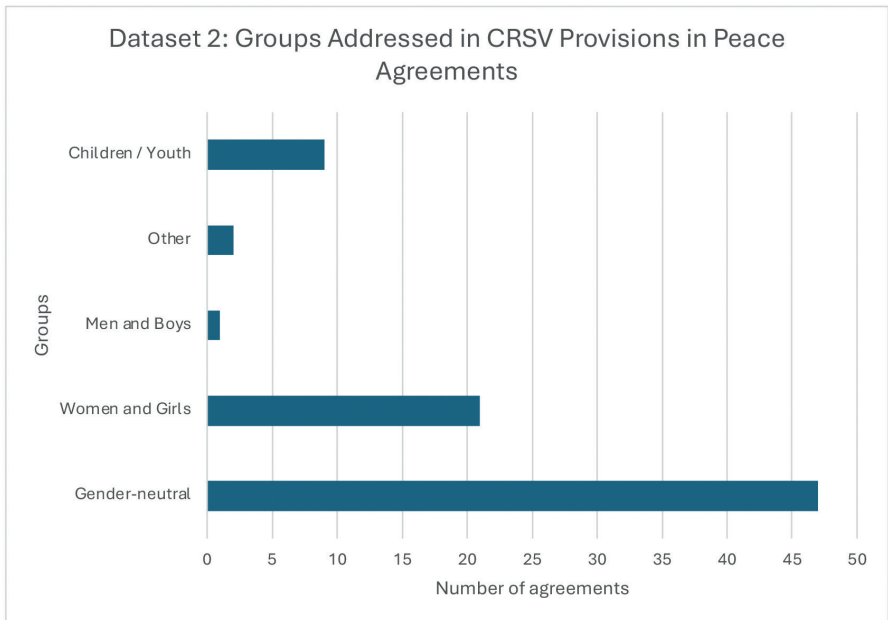


Figure 3: Number of Peace Agreements according to Type of Group Addressed in SV reference. Source: Groups Addressed in CRSV Provisions in Peace Agreements Dataset 2

The Juba agreement (2020)¹⁷⁰ is the only example of a peace agreement addressing CRSVAM in PA-X (Version 9) between 1990 and 2024, and it is therefore not possible to develop a holistic understanding of how to address CRSVAM in peace agreements based on current practice. The recommendations in this Section are instead informed by how peace agreement provisions have addressed SV to understand how they can be amended to also address the inherent problems behind why CRSVAM is overlooked and under-prioritised. Different types of commitments made in provisions in peace agreements vary in detail and strength,¹⁷¹ and looking at different categories of provisions relevant to addressing SV is therefore important to understand how peace agreements can better address CRSVAM through tailored approaches to address gendered harms and needs.

2.3.1 Gendered Subjects in Rhetorical/Symbolic Provisions

Ten of the 23 agreements (43%) with rhetorical/symbolic provisions addressing SV contain provisions that only refer to female victims and survivors. Examples of provisions only addressing CRSV against women include symbolic recognition,¹⁷² general commitments between parties to respect human rights with reference to SV,¹⁷³ as well as general commitments to protect women from SV and refrain from acts of SV.¹⁷⁴ While some of these provisions help shine a light on the fact that CRSV disproportionately affects women, they should not displace rhetorical/symbolic references that also include men and boys as victims and survivors.

Calls for more comprehensive rhetorical/symbolic provisions include mitigation measures and thorough data gathering to assist in identifying patterns of CRSV.¹⁷⁵ Goetz points out that such work 'should be grounded in gender-related conflict analysis to guide civilian protection measures and mediation, and to build awareness of the gender-differentiated impact of armed conflict'.¹⁷⁶ Rhetorical/symbolic references in peace agreements could also serve as an opportunity to address the stigma attached to SV in settings where national action plans remain silent on the issue, and grassroots initiatives, while often providing valuable resources to survivors, may be few in numbers, underfunded and often primarily directed to women.¹⁷⁷ General commitments to prevent, combat or remedy SV should thus ensure that such commitments use gender-inclusive language in the definitions of victims and survivors or, at the very least, gender-neutral language that does not exclude victims and survivors who are male.¹⁷⁸ Rhetorical/symbolic provisions could also include informal measures to address CRSVAM, such as references to reports, earlier commitments, joint communications, frameworks for cooperation with external entities or national action plans that address CRSVAM.¹⁷⁹

2.3.2 Gendered Subjects in Ceasefire Provisions

While many peace agreements fail to list SV as a prohibited act part of the ceasefire, there are no ceasefire provisions in the peace agreements in PA-X that directly address CRSVAM so far.¹⁸⁰ Out of the 17 agreements with ceasefire provisions that address SV, the Juba Agreement (2020) is the only agreement with a ceasefire provision which is written to include only women.¹⁸¹

Ceasefire provisions should either incorporate direct references to the inclusion of CRSVAM or use gender-neutral provisions if CRSVAM has already been included in the peace agreement's definition of who constitutes survivors and victims of SV. Parties to the peace process should also ensure that provisions relating to the governing of the ceasefire ensure that staff are adequately trained to spot, understand and report on gendered dimensions of SV.

2.3.3 Gendered Subjects in Security Sector Provisions

Out of the eight peace agreements that contain 'security sector' provisions that address SV, four agreements (50%) contain provisions that only address women.¹⁸² In such agreements, the armed forces make commitments to refrain from acts of SV against women or to protect women from acts of SV. When prohibiting SV as a form of warfare and asserting command responsibility for acts of SV, it needs to be clearly stated that such a prohibition applies to all cases of SV, regardless of gender, and parties should ensure that such provisions in codes of conduct adopt a gender perspective.¹⁸³ The parties should prepare appropriate facilities during the separation of forces and in cantonment sites, and establish security environments that are appropriate and gender-sensitive to different needs.¹⁸⁴ Programmes for the protection of civilians from CRSV and the staffing and training of security forces should also adopt a gender perspective to understand how to better protect men and boys from CRSV. Such an approach should take into account that CRSV against men and boys most often happens in detention and in conjunction with other forms of mistreatment recognised as torture.¹⁸⁵

2.3.4 Gendered Subjects in Transitional Justice Provisions

Three of the 17 agreements (18%) with transitional justice provisions addressing SV in PA-X only address measures for female victims and survivors.¹⁸⁶ The Juba Agreement's (2020) provision on reparations is the only agreement which includes mention of CRSVAM in its gender-inclusive language when defining who shall constitute 'victims'.¹⁸⁷ While few of the transitional justice provisions contain gender-exclusionary definitions of SV, they are often operationalised in 'narrow, limiting and exclusionary terms' in line with dominating conceptualisations of gender in transitional justice.¹⁸⁸ It is therefore important that provisions do not rely on gender binaries of victimhood, not only for the inclusion of CRSVAM, but also to ensure that women can be acknowledged not just as victims or survivors but also as agents of change in enacting transitional justice.¹⁸⁹

Transitional justice provisions represent a deal on how to address the legacy of conflict to consolidate the power balance in political settlements.¹⁹⁰ Bell and McNicholl explain that, 'As such, the ways in which they integrate gender issues are revealing both for how gender is understood to connect to the conflict, and therefore how gender concerns might be understood to inform the project of inclusion which must address the conflict'.¹⁹¹ Peace agreements could thus serve a unique role in calling for investigations with a gender perspective that considers different gendered harms in conflict to address gaps in criminal accountability.¹⁹² Robert O'Mochain warns that without transitional justice measures to support survivors to live with their trauma, male targets are more likely to be consumed by repressed pain and frustration that would impel them towards 'revenge, retribution and violent acting out'.¹⁹³ He argues that serious attempts to prevent a return to conflict should therefore include transitional justice measures with inclusive conceptualisations, despite their potential to disturb traditional notions of masculinity.¹⁹⁴

2.3.5 Gendered Subjects in Legal Reform and Policy Development Provisions

Out of the 12 agreements that contain SV provisions falling within the category legal reform or policy development in PA-X, five (42%) contain provisions that are only addressed to female survivors of SV. Examples include the establishment of a constitutional right of women not to be subjected to SV,¹⁹⁵ the criminalisation of acts of SV against women,¹⁹⁶ and the updating of penalties in cases of SV against women.¹⁹⁷

The fact that almost half of the agreements with provisions for legal reform or policy development with reference to SV recorded in PA-X only address women, and that there are none that address men and boys as victims or survivors of SV, is deeply problematic. Provisions for legal reform should, alongside calls for criminalisation of CRSV, directly address the marginalisation of sexually violated men who, in 90% of conflict-affected countries, are offered no legal protection and are further criminalised in 67 states.¹⁹⁸ New legal instruments, such as constitutions or human rights charters, as well as policies developed to address SV, should ensure that provisions are defined in gender-inclusive or gender-neutral terms.

2.4 CRSV in Peace Agreements: Sidelining Male Victims and Survivors

Of the 66 agreements with references to SV recorded in PA-X, 21 (32%) contain provisions only addressing women and girls, whilst only one agreement (the Juba Agreement, 2020) addresses men and boys directly through gender-inclusive language. The stark contrast echoes the argument from the first Section that men and boys are often overlooked as survivors of CRSV, highlighting how they are also sidelined in peace processes and peace agreements.

This report argues that including gender informed provisions that address 'men and boys' is important to ensure that peace agreements and their related peace processes do not contribute to the silencing of CRSVAM. Human rights commitments during peace processes have the opportunity to limit violence and practices of exclusion, address complex gendered harms and integrate a gender perspective on such harms.¹⁹⁹ Bell also argues that a gender perspective would be expected to 'influence how the peace agreement deals with issues which do not mention gender but which fundamentally structure gender relations'.²⁰⁰ However, the concept of the 'gender perspective' itself, after the adoption of SCR 1325,²⁰¹ within the UN system and beyond, has often been used as synonymous with a focus on women or gender mainstreaming.²⁰² This report, therefore, argues that peace agreements could serve as a unique opportunity to address CRSVAM, its gendered harms and the needs of survivors who are male to inform humanitarian programming in conflict and peacebuilding.

Gendered assumptions can 'piggy-back on seemingly sex-neutral categories' that can undermine the moral logic of the norms pursued.²⁰³ This is apparent in the case of GBV as part of the human security discourse, which continues to be defined by dominant narratives of violence against women and the exclusion of civilian males as victims and survivors, as well as subjects of protection measures.²⁰⁴ Such gender stereotypes and imagery can become part of how organisations think and operate, and possibly lead to disregarding men and boys as victims and survivors despite best intentions.²⁰⁵ These gender stereotypes are also apparent in how 'sexual violence' is categorised under the issue of 'violence against women' in PA-X, despite the database's gender-neutral coding for 'sexual violence', which includes any reference to SV in peace agreements regardless of gender. Charman calls for further analysis on the linking of gender to SV against women, but not to men, as it 'risks concealing the gender dimensions of this form of violence'.²⁰⁶ In order to combat the negative effects of gender stereotypes of victims and survivors in SV provisions, definitions of SV in peace agreements should use gender-inclusive language that also directly includes men and boys. Direct inclusion is important because gender-neutral definitions do not themselves protect against 'pervasive and symbolic constructions of male and female sexuality'.²⁰⁷ The ICC is itself an example of how a progressive legal framework on CRSV can prove futile in some cases without constant effort, prioritisation and a high degree of gender-sensitivity in the prosecution and judiciary, which Altunjan attributes to gender-blind investigations, inadequate understandings of sexual violence, intersectionality, and gendered harms.²⁰⁸ Whilst designing inclusive definitions of victims and survivors of SV is a symbolic form of recognition of CRSVAM, it is important to ensure inclusion from the outset because definitions are likely to act as a foundation for subsequent measures in peace agreements and peace processes.²⁰⁹

Carpenter argues that in the human security agenda, 'the emphasis must remain on gender, rather than on men, but gender must be defined inclusively so as not to remain synonymous only with women'.²¹⁰ She further urges that human security advocates and those seeking to address GBV must adopt a gender-inclusive approach to address the needs and vulnerabilities of people across different dimensions of 'gender, ethnicity, class, age, and other social distinctions'.²¹¹ While this report supports the notion that provisions with gender-inclusive language are likely to be helpful in combating gender essentialism in light of defining who constitutes a victim or survivor of CRSV, such measures might not be far-reaching enough to make a gender-transformative impact by addressing gendered harms, nor provide gender-informed support to survivors.

This is apparent in SCR 2467²¹² and the Juba Agreement (2020),²¹³ which both use gender-inclusive language by including men and boys as victims of SV, but do not offer any guidance on what support is needed for survivors who are male.²¹⁴ It is important that peace agreements implement a gender perspective that takes into account the specific harms and needs of survivors who are male to ‘factor in the ways in which the very concept of a peace process and peace agreement is itself gendered’²¹⁵ through the use of gender essentialisms and the impact of gender stereotypes attached to gender-neutral provisions. Adeboyejo highlights that men and boys who are survivors of CRSV need holistic and comprehensive support to address physical, psychological, and social needs through access to medical care, mental health support, psychosocial counselling, and legal assistance.²¹⁶

To ensure that survivors who are male can access such services, peace agreements should go further by including gender-transformative provisions that directly address CRSVAM to: address the stigma faced by male survivors to promote disclosure; ensure that investigators and support personnel are trained to recognise and report CRSVAM; ensure that men and boys are offered protection from CRSV in volatile conflict-affected environments; ensure that support services are gender-sensitive; and ensure domestic laws and policies do not criminalise men and boys who have experienced CRSV.

3. Case Study: CRSVAM in the Juba Agreement for Sudan

To further analyse the role of including SV provisions with reference to 'men and boys', this Section examines how CRSVAM was addressed in the case study of the Juba Agreement (2020) for Sudan. This case study was chosen because it is the only peace agreement to date in PA-X which explicitly mentions 'men' as survivors of rape, and this section therefore explores possible reasons for how and why it was included, as well as the possible impact of including such provisions in the context of this peace process. The assessment of the role of the agreement in addressing CRSVAM in Sudan also looks at the role of the UN in this process, to show how international bargaining for SV provisions, coupled with a lack of local ownership, can affect implementation efforts.

In 2019, Bell and McNicholl pointed out that 'given increased emphasis on issues such as male-on-male sexual violence, ... the absence of direct, explicit provision for men and boys is interesting and speaks to a relative silencing of issues affecting 'boys as boys' in discourses of victimhood'.²¹⁷ Since then, the Juba Agreement (2020) is the only peace agreement in PA-X with a reference to 'men' in relation to SV, stating that victims shall include 'male and female' survivors of rape.²¹⁸ This type of inclusion aligns with Bell and McNicholl's finding that agreements coded as making reference to 'men' or 'boys' in almost every instance simply use gender-inclusive language by referring to 'men and women'.²¹⁹ While the provision in the Juba agreement directly includes male survivors of SV, it currently only represents one out of 66 agreements coded with reference to 'sexual violence' in PA-X.

Sudan Peace Agreement (Juba Agreement) (2020)

Title 2. CHAPTER 4: COMPENSATION AND REPARATIONS PROTOCOL, General Principles

10. For purposes of the Peace Agreement, the term "victims of the conflict in Darfur" shall mean:

10.1. Individuals and groups affected by the conflict in Darfur, including male and female survivors of rape, victims of physical, mental, and psychological injuries or those who lost their property or whose basic rights were violated.

It is also worth noting that this form of inclusion did not extend into the other chapters in the same agreement addressing SV. In the protocol for the permanent ceasefire and final security agreement, the parties agreed that prohibited acts should encompass acts of SV – but only against women. The lack of inclusion of CRSVAM in the prohibited acts of the ceasefire is a big shift from the reparations protocol, which acknowledged male survivors of CRSV. Without the option to interview different parties and stakeholders in the mediated peace process, it is not possible to conclude why the parties would first make a big step in recognising male survivors of CRSV, only to backtrack in the establishment of the ceasefire with a contradictory provision excluding CRSVAM.

Sudan Peace Agreement (Juba Agreement) (2020)

Title 2. Chapter 8: Permanent ceasefire and final security agreement protocol

18. Prohibited Acts

18.4. Using force and violence against civilians and subjecting them to maltreatment, including sexual violence against women, which constitutes a violation of international law and relevant domestic law.

The case of Sudan also raises the question of the UN 'bargaining' for the consideration of CRSV in a peace process, and how this has affected implementation efforts for SV provisions in the Juba Agreement (2020).²²⁰ In 2020, the Republic of Sudan and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC), on behalf of the UN, signed a 'Framework of Cooperation'. A renewed framework was later signed in 2025.²²¹ The frameworks are agreements to re-evaluate and strengthen the collective response to CRSV during the Sudanese civil war. Although the frameworks are not peace agreements, they are arguably more comprehensive in addressing CRSV and contain 'peace agreement style' provisions for all categories mentioned in this paper: rhetorical/symbolic references, ceasefire, security sector, transitional justice, and legal reform and policy development. The 2025 framework even goes beyond the categories in 'peace agreements' used in this report by addressing the participation of CRSV survivors and women-led organisations in political processes. Although adopted parallel to attempted peace processes in Sudan, the frameworks display a close connection to peace efforts, as the provisions show striking similarity to provisions addressing SV in peace agreements in PA-X.²²²

In the framework signed in 2025, the parties note that there has been an increase in the use of CRSV as a method of warfare by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), but that individuals of the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) were also implicated in some cases. However, both frameworks include a notable provision, stating that the frameworks are part of the determination of delisting the SAF from the SRSG-SVC list of actors suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of acts of SV.

Framework of Cooperation Between the Republic of Sudan and the United Nations on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in Conflict (2025)

The present Framework of Cooperation will undergo periodic assessments of progress by the signing parties, as part of the determination of delisting of the Sudanese Armed Forces from the Secretary-General's list of actors that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape or other forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict on the agenda of the Security Council, and further adopting a nationally owned prevention plan at its termination to combat sexual violence in Sudan.²²³

This provision is striking as it suggests that the comprehensive plan to prevent and eradicate CRSV by the Republic of Sudan is part of a type of 'bargain' with the UN. The SRSG-SVC has several links to the UN sanctions committee and has regularly briefed the committee in the past.²²⁴ Delisting would therefore likely reduce the chances of UN sanctions targeted at a listed state.

The Juba Agreement (2020) has been referred to as an isolated achievement in the inclusion of substantive provisions to address gender-based violence.²²⁵ However, since the agreement was signed, the UN has continued to document cases of CRSV by Sudanese Armed Forces, as well as credible reports that 'humanitarian service providers supporting victims, including doctors, have faced threats from parties to the conflict for reporting sexual violence'.²²⁶ A lack of implementation was later evidenced as 'neither warring party has taken meaningful steps to prevent its forces from committing rape or attacking health care, nor to independently and transparently investigate crimes committed by their forces'.²²⁷

The Global Survivors Fund has also reported that survivors have experienced threats, arrest and torture for speaking to human rights groups, deterring them from engaging in advocacy, reporting, seeking support and justice.²²⁸ It is therefore questionable whether the commitments by either party to the conflict to combat SV in the Juba Agreement (2020) were sincere.

Bell highlights the importance of 'understanding the limitations of internationally 'forced' agreements with internationally-placed provisions' in relation to gender and its potential negative effects on implementation.²²⁹ In this regard, Pospisil argues that the parties to the conflict in Sudan have very little interest in mediation beyond what it can offer in terms of legitimacy, highlighting that the mediation efforts are strongly impacted and driven by the competing interests of external powers.²³⁰ As the UN has entered into these agreements with Sudan, providing an opportunity for legitimacy through the incentive of delisting, the question remains whether the agenda for addressing CRSV in the frameworks and the Juba Agreement was simply a result of incentive-based diplomacy carried out by the UN.

In this regard, the Juba Agreement thus serves as an example that the inclusion of provisions to address CRSV and CRSVAM may not be effective if they are implemented as internationally bargained provisions in a peace agreement. In order to address this gap in local ownership, gender provisions should be informed by 'how the political and military elites understand the political settlement they are crafting, and in particular, the political economy of how they understand their interests and incentives to be affected',²³¹ To address the negative impacts of heavy international involvement coupled with a lack of local ownership that has been ongoing in Sudan,²³² it is important that future efforts to address CRSV also include survivors in the peace process with a focus on grassroots mobilisation, awareness and advocacy. The Global Survivors Fund also points out that the agenda for inclusion of CRSV provisions was not completely futile, as 'the existence of the Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan might be the only open opportunity for establishing transitional justice mechanisms after the end of the war'.²³³

4. Holistic Efforts to Address CRSVAM Beyond Peace Agreements

In this final Section, the report recommends necessary steps for adopting a holistic approach to address CRSVAM, highlighting that peace agreements alone can only do so much.

4.1 Understanding the Gendered Harms of CRSVAM

In order to understand the needs of victims and survivors of CRSVAM, research is needed to understand the many ways in which CRSV, as part of a wider agenda looking at gender-based violence, is targeted against men and boys, its impact on survivors and their needs based on specific harms and vulnerabilities.²³⁴ For example, Schulz's publication on perspectives on CRSVAM from northern Uganda with a survivor-centric approach concluded that despite finding a variation of experiences, survivors' priorities in the region were broadly centred on acknowledgement, recognition and reparations.²³⁵ However, a small group of male survivors in Northern Uganda also held a diverging viewpoint on reparations, seeing reparations in the form of payments as an initiative with significant drawbacks they believe will cement gendered harms.²³⁶ Such studies are helpful to inform the peace process based on the varying localised needs of CRSV survivors. While this report suggests general recommendations for how to better include survivors of CRSVAM in peace agreements, these are not rigid. They should still be informed by a holistic gender perspective based on cultural and localised understandings of harms and needs in each peace process.²³⁷

A better understanding of the gendered harms of CRSVAM could also improve legal accountability for male survivors. The inconsistent application of international criminal law in the case of CRSV shows that there is yet to be a concise and agreed-upon understanding of its definition in court practice and that there is a need for a 'functional and gender-sensitive conceptualisation of what makes an act of violence sexual in nature'.²³⁸

4.2. Addressing the CRSVAM Data Vacuum

Studies that rely on empirical research in this field must properly take into account the disproportionate lack of disclosure of male survivors, expand definitions to include common forms of CRSVAM, and seriously examine the gendered experience of both women and men in complex emergencies.²³⁹ Future studies should also address CRSV in connection to inclusive understandings of gender and its connections to survivors' identities, sexuality, ethnicity and nationality as a result of a higher reluctance to disclose experiences of CRSV.²⁴⁰

4.3 Gender-transformative Humanitarian Programming

In cases where communities as a whole are reluctant to acknowledge CRSVAM and consider it to concede an essence of weakness upon the community,²⁴¹ it becomes increasingly important for humanitarian programming to consider the impact of such stigma and taboo on how services and support are likely to either not be offered or not to be appropriate for survivors who are men and boys. Several NGO practitioners have shared their concern that drawing attention to gender-based violence against men and boys would draw attention away from women's issues and divert already limited funds away from initiatives set up to assist women.²⁴² However, the 'trade-offs' of this approach are dire, as the attention to men and boys in humanitarian programming is one of the biggest gaps,²⁴³ with the consequence of men and boys as survivors of CRSV being silenced and not able to access support services.

4.4 Greater Awareness and Advocacy

Adeboyejo highlights that in order to address the impacts of CRSVAM, multifaceted interventions including outreach programs, community engagement and intragroup reconciliation are required to 'challenge harmful stereotypes, promote gender equality, and provide culturally sensitive support services for male survivors.'²⁴⁴ Schulz further explains that in order to promote local ownership by transcending gendered barriers of top-down measures, transitional justice initiatives must also include 'non-institutionalized and non-formalized means, composed of everyday processes, situated on the micro-level and driven participatory by conflict-affected communities directly'.²⁴⁵ It is thus clear that peace agreements alone cannot address the challenges faced by CRSVAM. Efforts to combat and remedy CRSVAM should therefore ensure that interventions happen alongside efforts to raise awareness and promote local advocacy that engages men and boys as allies in ending GBV to foster 'environments where male survivors feel safe, supported, and empowered to seek justice and healing'.²⁴⁶

Conclusion

The reasons why CRSVAM is overlooked in peace agreements are manifold, including a data vacuum that does not sufficiently account for CRSVAM, a lack of recognition of the existence of CRSVAM and gaps in humanitarian programming. Based on the data from PA-X, this report confirms that there has been no significant increase in peace agreements that address SV over the timespan recorded by PA-X (Version 9) from 1990–2024, with only 3% of peace agreements including such references in the totality of all peace agreements in PA-X. The totality represents 66 peace agreements, among which only one (the Juba Agreement, 2020) includes a reference to CRSVAM. The results reflect that peace processes are not making meaningful progress in addressing CRSV in peace agreements, nor CRSVAM as victims and survivors remain sidelined and silenced in peace processes. To improve such efforts, studies on CRSV and the development of humanitarian programming should adopt a gender perspective to better identify and highlight the prevalence and disclosure of CRSV and CRSVAM.

The case study of the Juba Agreement (2020) shows how the inclusion of the consideration of CRSVAM might prove ineffective when addressed as a result of international pressure without sufficient measures to enhance local ownership, reflecting broader implications of how the inclusion of international actors with vested interests in peace processes might influence the outcome. However, the agreement might still prove valuable as a framework for transitional justice when the conflict ends.

In addressing CRSV, the most common provision categories included in peace agreements are rhetorical/symbolic references. Among the peace agreements with such provisions, almost half contain provisions that only address women. In totality, almost a third of peace agreements with provisions that address SV include provisions that only address women. To address this gap, peace agreements should use gender-inclusive provisions in defining who constitutes victims and survivors of CRSV to ensure that the agreement does not reinforce the silencing of male victims and survivors. In order to address the overlooked nature of CRSVAM, peace agreements should also include gender-transformative provisions that address the gendered harms and needs specific to different survivors. However, it is important that such measures happen alongside multi-faceted interventions aimed at raising awareness about CRSVAM and supporting survivors.

Endnotes

¹ R Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations' (2006) 37 *Security Dialogue* 83, 97.

² *ibid.*

³ Paula Drumond, 'Sex, Violence, and heteronormativity: Revisiting performances of sexual violence against men in former Yugoslavia' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*, (Routledge 2018) 162.

⁴ Carpenter (n 1) 94.

⁵ Sara Meger 'The political economy of sexual violence against men and boys in armed conflict' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018) 112.

⁶ Chris Dolan, "'Only a fool...' why men don't disclose conflict-related sexual violence in an age of global media' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018) 169.

⁷ Dubravka Zarkov, 'The Body of the Other Man in Ruth Jamieson' in Ruth Jamieson, *The Criminology of War* (Routledge 2014) 336.; *Ibid* 341; Dolan (n 8) 169.

⁸ Zarkov (n 7) 336.

⁹ Chris Dolan, 'Victims who are men' in Fionnuala Ni Aoláin et al, *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict* (Oxford University Press 2018) 92.

¹⁰ Marysia Zalewski, 'Provocations in debates about sexual violence against men' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018) 35.

¹¹ Philipp Schulz, *Male Survivors of Wartime Sexual Violence: Perspectives from Northern Uganda* (University of California Press 2020) 703 <<https://www.luminosoa.org/site/books/m/10.1525/luminos.95/>> accessed 13 May 2025, 706.

¹² While this report is focused on CRSV, it also utilises the term SV when used in relation to the PA-X as it is the term used for the coding and since some of the provisions in this database refer to SV more generally.

¹³ Dolan (n 9) 92; Dolan (n 6) 168.

¹⁴ Priya Gopalan, 'Breaking Binaries and Honing-in on Harms: Inclusive Approaches Towards Sexual and Gender-Based Crimes' in Takeh B. K. Sendze, Adesola Adeboyejo, Howard Morrison, and Sofia Ugwu, *Contemporary International Criminal Law Issues* (T.M.C Asser Press 2023) 271.

¹⁵ Dolan (n 6) 171.

¹⁶ Carpenter (n 1) 98.

¹⁷ UNHCR, 'Working with Men and Boy Survivors of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Forced Displacement' (UNHCR, Refugee Law Project 2012) 4 <https://www.refugeelawproject.org/files/working_papers/Working_with_Men_and_Boy_Survivors_of_Sexual_and_Gender-Based_Violence_in_Forced_Displacement.pdf> accessed 29 May 2025.

¹⁸ Michele Leiby 'Uncovering men's narratives of conflict-related sexual violence' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018) 141.

¹⁹ UNHCR (n 17) 4.

²⁰ Meger (n 5) 112.

²¹ Zalewski (n 10) 30.

²² Leiby (n 18) 142.

²³ Referring to preconceived notions or stereotypes about gender roles and vulnerabilities.

²⁴ Referring to findings on the topic of gender informed by empirical or investigative research, in this context looking at the role of gender in conflict in relation to CRSV.

²⁵ Dolan (n 9) 93; R Charli Carpenter, "'Women and Children First': Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991–95" (2003) 57 *International Organization* 661, 663.

²⁶ Dolan (n 9) 92.

²⁷ Leiby (n 18) 142.

²⁸ Dolan (n 6) 168.

²⁹ Leiby (n 18) 141.

³⁰ Dolan (n 6) 168.

³¹ Leiby (n 18) 141; Chris Dolan, (n 6) 168.

³² Leiby (n 18) 142.

³³ *ibid* 142.

³⁴ Carpenter (n 1) 95.

³⁵ *ibid*.

³⁶ For example, while the Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict (SVAC) dataset's definition of sexual violence does not exclude male victims, its coding does not include forms of sexual violence that disproportionately affect men, such as forced nudity. See: Dara Kay Cohen, Ragnhild Nordås and Robert Ulrich Nagel, 'Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict Data Project (SVAC) 3.0, 1989-2019: Codebook and Instruction Manual' (PRIO 2021) 16–17.

³⁷ Leiby (n 18) 142; Thomas Charman, 'Sexual Violence or torture? The framing of sexual violence against men in armed conflict in Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch Reports' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018); UN OHCHR 'Special Rapporteur urges global action against sexual torture in armed conflict' (UN OHCHR, 24 October 2024) <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/10/special-rapporteur-urges-global-action-against-sexual-torture-armed-conflict> accessed 14 August 2025; Dolan, (n 11) 93.

³⁸ Meger (n 5) 112.

³⁹ Dolan (n 9) 97.

⁴⁰ *ibid* 28.

⁴¹ UNHCR (n 17) 4.

- ⁴² R Charli Carpenter, "'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups': Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue" (2005) 49 *International Studies Quarterly* 295, 328.
- ⁴³ Carpenter (n 1) 85.
- ⁴⁴ Carpenter (n 42) 327.
- ⁴⁵ Schulz (n 11) 705.
- ⁴⁶ Carpenter (n 1) 85.
- ⁴⁷ UNSC Res 1325 (2000) S/RES/1325.
- ⁴⁸ Dolan (n 9) 86.
- ⁴⁹ Gopalan, (n 14) 272.
- ⁵⁰ UNSC Res 2106 (2013) UN Doc S/RES/2106 page 1-2.
- ⁵¹ Dolan (n 9) 90.
- ⁵² Gopalan (n 14) 272.
- ⁵³ Caroline Cottet, 'Medical approaches to sexual violence in war, in guidelines, and in practice' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018) 97.
- ⁵⁴ Dolan (n 9) 97.
- ⁵⁵ Dolan (n 6) 168.
- ⁵⁶ Patricia Viseur Sellers and Leo C. Nwoye, 'Conflict-related male sexual violence and the international criminal jurisprudence' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018) 226.
- ⁵⁷ 'Bemba Case: The Prosecutor v. Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo - ICC-01/05-01/08' (*International Criminal Court*) <<https://www.icc-cpi.int/car/bemba>> accessed 5 August 2025.
- ⁵⁸ Patricia Viseur Sellers and Leo C. Nwoye (n 49) 227.
- ⁵⁹ Tanja Altunjan, 'The International Criminal Court and Sexual Violence: Between Aspirations and Reality' (2021) 22 *German Law Journal* 878, 886.
- ⁶⁰ *ibid* 886–887.
- ⁶¹ Altunjan (n 59) 891.
- ⁶² Schulz (n 11) 703.
- ⁶³ Dolan (n 6) 168.
- ⁶⁴ Schulz (n 11) 703.
- ⁶⁵ Dolan, (n 6) 168.
- ⁶⁶ *ibid* 168-169.
- ⁶⁷ UNSC Res 1820 (2008) S/RES/1820.

⁶⁸ Neven Ahmad and Pinar Tank, 'Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Peace Negotiations' (PRIO Centre on Gender, Peace and Security 2021) Gender and Mediation Background 5, 1.

⁶⁹ Robert Jenkins and Anne-Marie Goetz, 'Addressing Sexual Violence in Internationally Mediated Peace Negotiations' (2010) 17 *International Peacekeeping* 261, 4.

⁷⁰ In its codebook, PA-X Gender defines 'sexual violence' as 'any specific prohibition or mention of sexual violence, rape, sexual harassment etc. in a peace agreement'. See: Bell, Christine, Sanja Badanjak, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Adam Farquhar, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Sean Molloy, Kevin McNicholl, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, and Laura Wise, 'PA-X Gender Peace Agreement Database and Dataset Version 9: Codebook' (PeaceRep: PA-X Gender Peace Agreements Database and Dataset Version 9 2025) 14 <www.peaceagreements.org/wggsearch> 14.

⁷¹ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 3.

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ UNHCR (n 17) 4–5.

⁷⁵ UNHCR (n 17); 'Conflict-Related Sexual Violence' (United Nations Peacemaker) <<https://peacemaker.un.org/en/thematic-areas/women-peace-security/conflict-related-sexual-violence/>> accessed 14 May 2025.

⁷⁶ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 2; *ibid.* 6.

⁷⁷ UN DPA, 'Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies' (UN DPA 2017) 4.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 2.

⁸⁰ *ibid.* 6.

⁸¹ Sahla Aroussi, "'Women, Peace and Security": Addressing Accountability for Wartime Sexual Violence' (2011) 13 *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 576, 586.

⁸² Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 4.

⁸³ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 4.

⁸⁴ Anne Marie Goetz, 'Ukraine Settlement Options: Addressing Sexual Violence in the Ukraine Conflict' (Cambridge Initiative on Peace Settlements) 8.

⁸⁵ Aroussi (n 81) 586.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *ibid.* 587.

⁸⁸ *ibid.* 586.

⁸⁹ Christine Bell and Laura Wise, 'Peace Processes and Their Agreements', *Contemporary Peacemaking* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham 2022) 399 <https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-82962-9_19> accessed 27 June 2025.

⁹⁰ Aroussi (n 81) 581.

⁹¹ Christine Bell, 'Peace Agreement Third Party Enforcement' in Christine Bell (ed), *On the Law of Peace: Peace Agreements and the Lex Pacificatoria* (Oxford University Press 2008) 1 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199226832.003.0010>> accessed 27 June 2025; *ibid* 194.

⁹² UN DPA, 'Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements' (UN DPA, Policy and Mediation Division, Mediation Support Unit 2012); *ibid* 14; *ibid* 16; UN DPA (n 77).

⁹³ ACCORD and African Union, 'African Union Mediation Support Handbook' (2014) 83; *ibid* 134; *ibid* 135; *ibid* 149.

⁹⁴ To download a copy of the report, go to PA-X Gender: Peace and Transition Process Gender, go to 'search by agreement content', 'issue' and 'sexual violence' and export the results as a PDF.

⁹⁵ Bell, Christine, Sanja Badanjak, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Adam Farquhar, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Sean Molloy, Kevin McNicholl, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, and Laura Wise, 'PA-X Gender Peace Agreement Database and Dataset Version 9: Codebook' (PeaceRep: PA-X Gender Peace Agreements Database and Dataset Version 9 2025) 14 <www.peaceagreements.org/wggsearch>.

⁹⁶ *ibid* 2.

⁹⁷ 'Outcome of the First Consultative Pankar Agreement' (2002) (AN: 2536)

⁹⁸ *ibid*; The reference coded as sexual violence in the agreement is the following: 'GS soldiers and Arab militias raid and burn villages and kidnap and kill women and children' and stands as an argument made in the case against disarmament in discussions between the parties.

⁹⁹ Laura Wise, 'Peace Agreements with a Gender Perspective Are Still an Exception, Not the Rule - LSE Women, Peace and Security Blog' (*LSE Women, Peace and Security blog* -, 18 June 2021) <<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2021/06/18/peace-agreements-with-a-gender-perspective-are-still-an-exception-not-the-rule/>> accessed 14 May 2025.

¹⁰⁰ Christine Bell, 'Peace Processes, Peace Agreements, and Human Rights: What Are They?' in Christine Bell (ed), *Peace Agreements and Human Rights* (Oxford University Press 2003) 29–31 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199270965.003.0002>> accessed 27 June 2025.

¹⁰¹ Christine Bell, 'Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for Their "Gender Perspective"' (Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh 2015) 17 <<http://www.politicalsettlements.org/research/publications/reports/>> 6.

¹⁰² Bell (n 101) 15; See for example: In the case of the use of the term 'crime against chastity' in AN 640 (1995), 274 (2000) and 402 (2001) in the Philippines.

¹⁰³ For example, in the 2005 peace process in Algeria, while SV is listed as a limitation to a moratorium offered to certain actors, offences listed in the limitations still include reduced sentences for perpetrators. See: 'Project de charte pour la paix et la réconciliation nationale' (2005) (AN 1595).

¹⁰⁴ Schulz (n 11) 703.

¹⁰⁵ Dataset 1 is coded according to the PA-X code for ceasefire provisions. See: Christine Bell, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Robert Forster, Jennifer Hodge, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, Laura Wise, 'PA-X Codebook, Version 9' (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep), University of Edinburgh 2025) 68.

¹⁰⁶ Dataset 1 is coded according to the PA-X definition for the category Security Sector and its subcategories with the omission of the subcategory ceasefire in order to avoid duplication in Dataset 1. For the definitions see: *ibid* 68.

¹⁰⁷ Dataset 1 is coded according to the PA-X definition for Transitional Justice and its subcategories. For the definitions see: *ibid* 72.

¹⁰⁸ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 1; Ahmad and Tank (n 68) 2.

¹⁰⁹ Comprehensive Agreement concluded between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (2006) (AN 333) 9.

¹¹⁰ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 8.

¹¹¹ *ibid*.

¹¹² See for example: The 'Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi' (2000) (AN 306); 'The Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region' (2013) (AN 789).

¹¹³ See for example: the 'Agreement on the Victims of Conflict, Comprehensive System for Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-repetition, including the Special Jurisdiction for Peace; and Commitment on Human Rights' (2015) (AN 1547) in Colombia.

¹¹⁴ Aroussi (n 81) 585.

¹¹⁵ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 9.

¹¹⁶ See for example: AN 335, AN 810, AN 811 and AN 884.

¹¹⁷ See for example: The 'New Decade, New Approach' (2020) (AN 2270) agreement in the Northern Ireland peace process.

¹¹⁸ See for example: 'Witnessing the Juba Peace Agreement: Troika statement' (2021) (AN 2386).

¹¹⁹ See for example: 'Accord de cessation des hostilités en République Centrafricaine (Brazzaville Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities)' (2014) (AN 818); and the 'Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region' (2004) (AN 349)

¹²⁰ UN DPA (n 92) 19–20.

¹²¹ See ANNEX II

¹²² Christine Bell, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Robert Forster, Jennifer Hodge, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, Laura Wise, 'PA-X Codebook, Version 9' (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep), University of Edinburgh 2025) 68.

¹²³ See for example: 'Ceasefire Agreement' (also referred to as the Lusaka Agreement) (1999) (AN 319)

¹²⁴ UN DPA (n 92) 18.

¹²⁵ *ibid* 15.

¹²⁶ Goetz (n 84) 6.

¹²⁷ See for example: 'Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, Republic of South Sudan' (2017) (AN 1966)

¹²⁸ Ahmad and Tank (n 68) 2.

¹²⁹ UN DPA (n 77) 31.

¹³⁰ *ibid* 30.

¹³¹ The PA-X subcategories include SsrGua: Security Sector (General), SsrPol: Police, SsrArm: Armed Forces, SsrDdr: DDR, Ssr: Intelligence service, SsrPsf: Rebel/opposition/Para-statal forces, SsrFf: Withdrawal of foreign forces, Cor: Corruption, SsrCrOcr: Crime/Organised crime, SsrDrugs: Drugs and Terr: Terrorism.

¹³² Christine Bell, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Robert Forster, Jennifer Hodge, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, Laura Wise, 'PA-X Codebook, Version 9' (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep), University of Edinburgh 2025) 68.

¹³³ 'Agreement on Safety and Security Guarantees' (2000) (AN 274).

¹³⁴ 'Agreement on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, Juba, Sudan' (2008) (AN 685).

¹³⁵ 'Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD)' (2011) (AN 853).

¹³⁶ Jeddah Declaration of Commitment to Protect the Civilians of Sudan (2023) (AN 2543).

¹³⁷ UN DPA (n 92) 29.

¹³⁸ UNSC Res 1820 (2008) S/RES/1820 para 3.

¹³⁹ UNSC Res 2106 (2013) S/RES/2106.

¹⁴⁰ UNSC Res 2467 (2019) S/RES/2467.

¹⁴¹ Goetz (n 84) 6.

¹⁴² Ahmad and Tank (n 68) 3.

¹⁴³ *ibid* 4.

¹⁴⁴ The code follows the definitions in the PA-X codebook for Transitional justice comprised of the following subcategories: TjGen: Transitional Justice General, TjAm: Amnesty/pardon, TjCou: Courts, TjMech: Mechanism, TjPrir: Prisoner release, TjVet: Vetting, TjVic: Victims, TjMis: Missing, TjRep: Reparations, TjNR: Reconciliation. See: Christine Bell, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Robert Forster, Jennifer Hodge, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, Laura Wise, 'PA-X Codebook, Version 9' (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep), University of Edinburgh 2025) 68.

¹⁴⁵ Jenkins and Goetz (n 69) 7.

¹⁴⁶ Aroussi (n 81) 586.

¹⁴⁷ Goetz (n 84) 6.

¹⁴⁸ Including AN 1737; AN. 640; AN 1595; AN 793; AN 1369, AN 1547; and AN 2401. AN 2325 also contains such a provision although it is not coded as such in PA-X and therefore not included in the dataset.

¹⁴⁹ Including PA-X AN. 640; AN 1737; AN 1595; AN 1369; and AN 2401.

¹⁵⁰ See: In the 'Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement' (2007) (AN 137), the parties agreed to offer protection to victims of sexual violence during proceedings. A similar provision can be found in AN 667.

¹⁵¹ See for example: Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD) (2011) (AN 853).

¹⁵² See for example: 'Joint Report of the Dialogue Table between the Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army' (2015) (AN 1398).

¹⁵³ See for example: In the 'Accord préliminaire à l'élection présidentielle et aux pourparlers inclusifs de paix au Mali (Accord préliminaire de Ouagadougou) (2013) (AN 813).

¹⁵⁴ See for example: In the 'Sudan peace agreement (Juba Agreement)' (2020) (AN 2325).

¹⁵⁵ Ana Iris Loperena, Fabián Rosas, Paula Cáceres, Laura Carianil, Angela Santamaria, 'Reparations for Indigenous Women Subjected to Sexual and Environmental Violence in the Colombian Post-Peace Agreement' (2023) 17 32, 36.

¹⁵⁶ See for example: 'Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region' (2004) (AN 349).

¹⁵⁷ Aroussi (n 81) 558.

¹⁵⁸ Janine Natalya Clark, *Rape, Sexual Violence and Transitional Justice Challenges: Lessons from Bosnia-Herzegovina* (1st edn, Routledge 2017) 224–225 <<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781351718585>> accessed 15 May 2025.

¹⁵⁹ Rose Khan, 'Male Victims and Female Perpetrators of International Crimes' (LSE Women, Peace and Security, 20 July 2022) <<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2022/07/20/male-victims-female-perpetrators-of-international-crimes/>> accessed 5 August 2025 9.

¹⁶⁰ See for example: the 'Agreement on the Victims of Conflict, 'Comprehensive System for Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-repetition, including the Special Jurisdiction for Peace; and Commitment on Human Rights in Colombia' (2015) (AN 1547) para 40; *ibid* para 67; *ibid* para 5.1.3.4.1.

¹⁶¹ Goetz (n 84) 8.

¹⁶² Clark (n 158) 226.

¹⁶³ See for example: 'Political Constitution of Colombia' (1991) (AN 163).

¹⁶⁴ See for example: 'Agreement on the Implementation, Compliance and Verification Timetable for the Peace Agreements' (1996) (AN 284); 'Pacte de Non-Agression et Reconciliation Communautaire' (2016).

¹⁶⁵ The coding for 'women and girls' in PA-X is combined with 'gender' and encompasses provisions that specifically address women and girls, including but not limited to, references to sexual violence and gender violence. Because this report attempts to highlight the overlooked nature of CRSVAM, the coding for 'women and girls' will only encompass specific references to women and girls. The category 'women and girls' also includes provisions with specific language implying it only applies to women, such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and Crime against Chastity (this can be context specific). The category also includes provisions that are clearly implied to only apply to women and girls.

¹⁶⁶ Agreement 238 refers to classifying sexual harassment as a criminal offence, and agreement 214 refers to updating the penalties for sexual crimes, but have been classified as provisions coded for women because they both fall under provisions for the rights of indigenous women. However, it is worth noting that the outcome of such an agreement might also benefit men if it is implemented in a gender-neutral way.

¹⁶⁷ For the purpose of this report, the inclusion of gender-inclusive language is important because the context of CRSV is increasingly being used to signal that men and boys can be victims or survivors of CRSV too.

¹⁶⁸ While this category is not gender-related, it is included in the dataset in order to give a comprehensive overview, as a substantial amount of the provisions are written to address children.

¹⁶⁹ If peace agreements in the future mention other groups, it would warrant expanding datasets beyond the current categories in further studies on inclusion in CRSV provisions in peace agreements. For example, looking at the inclusion of references to LGBTQ+ people, specific ethnic groups, religious groups or other groups of people. None of these groups are currently mentioned in any of the provisions coded under 'sexual violence' in PA-X.

¹⁷⁰ 'Sudan peace agreement' (Juba Agreement) (2020) (AN 2325)

¹⁷¹ Wise (n 99).

¹⁷² See: AN 785, AN 1943 and AN 1845.

¹⁷³ See: AN 810 and AN 333.

¹⁷⁴ See: AN 213, AN 668, AN 2147 and AN 2147.

¹⁷⁵ Goetz (n 84) 3.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Sofie Rose, 'Stigmatization and Social Death of Survivors of Wartime Sexual Violence' (2023) 3 *Global Studies Quarterly* 9 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksad021>> accessed 24 July 2025.

¹⁷⁸ In this report, the term 'gender-inclusive' language is used to describe definitions that directly addressed the included groups. For example, stating that 'victims shall constitute women, girls, men and boys'. The term gender-neutral is used to describe definitions that do not include a reference to any particular gender.

¹⁷⁹ Jenna Russo and Lauren McGowan, 'UN Tools for Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analysis of Listings and Sanctions Processes' (International Peace Institute 2024) 6.

¹⁸⁰ Goetz (n 84) 6.

¹⁸¹ The Juba Agreement only includes SV against women as a prohibited act as part of the ceasefire. See: 'Sudan peace agreement' (Juba Agreement) (2020) (AN 2325).

¹⁸² See: AN 1436, AN 1544, AN 213 and AN333.

¹⁸³ Goetz (n 84) 7.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Marysia Zalewski, Paula Drumond, Elisebeth Prügl and Maria Stern 'Introduction' in Marysia Zalewski et al, *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (Routledge 2018).

¹⁸⁶ See: AN 640, AN 349 and AN 404.

¹⁸⁷ 'Sudan peace agreement (Juba Agreement)' (2020) (AN 2325).

¹⁸⁸ Schulz (n 11) 705.

¹⁸⁹ Laura Wise, 'From Protests to Paper: Using PeaceFem to Analyse Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes' (PeaceRep - Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform, University of Edinburgh 2023) 8.

¹⁹⁰ Christine Bell and Kevin McNicholl, 'Principled Pragmatism and the "Inclusion Project": Implementing a Gender Perspective in Peace Agreements' (2019) 9, 28.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*

¹⁹² Altunjan (n 59) 892.

¹⁹³ CAJPHR, 'The Cost of Silence: Examining the Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence on Male Survivors' (Centre for African Justice, Peace and Human Rights: The Sexual Violence Team 2025) 6th Edition, 5.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ See: The 'Constitution of Nepal 2015' (AN 1361)

¹⁹⁶ See: 'Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples' (1995) (AN 283); 'National Dialogue Conference Outcomes Document' (2014) (AN 1400).

¹⁹⁷ See: 'Actions and Measures for Chiapas Joint Commitments and Proposals from the State and Federal Governments, and the EZLN' (1996) (AN 214); and 'Validation of the Reviews and Amendments on Dukana-Dillo-Maikona Declaration' (2017) (AN 1910).

¹⁹⁸ Schulz (n 11) 703.

¹⁹⁹ Christine Bell and Catherine O'Rourke, 'Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and Their Agreements' (2010) 59 *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 941, 17; Wise (n 105).

²⁰⁰ Bell and O'Rourke (n 199) 17.

²⁰¹ UNSC Res 1325 (2000) S/RES/1325

²⁰² Bell (n 101) 5.

²⁰³ Carpenter (n 25) 689; Carpenter (n 1) 85.

²⁰⁴ Carpenter (n 25) 690.

²⁰⁵ Carpenter (n 42) 329.

²⁰⁶ Charman (n 37) 208.

²⁰⁷ Khan (n 159).

²⁰⁸ Altunjan (n 59) 892.

²⁰⁹ UN DPA (n 92) 19–20.

²¹⁰ Carpenter (n 1) 99.

²¹¹ *ibid.*

²¹² UN SCR 2467 (2019) S/Res/2467.

- ²¹³ 'Sudan peace agreement' (Juba Agreement) (2020) (AN 2325)
- ²¹⁴ Centre for African Justice, Peace and Human Rights, (n 197) 26.
- ²¹⁵ Bell (n 101) 6.
- ²¹⁶ Centre for African Justice, Peace and Human Rights (n 193) 23.
- ²¹⁷ Bell and McNicholl (n 89)16.
- ²¹⁸ 'Sudan peace agreement' (Juba Agreement) (2020) (AN 2325) 33.
- ²¹⁹ Bell and McNicholl (n 89) 16.
- ²²⁰ 'Framework of Cooperation Between the Republic of Sudan and the United Nations on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in Conflict' (2020).
- ²²¹ 'Framework of Cooperation Between the Republic of Sudan and the United Nations on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in Conflict' (2025) 1.
- ²²² 'Framework of Cooperation Between the Republic of Sudan and the United Nations on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in Conflict' (2025) 1. For examples of 'peace agreement style' provisions in the framework see: rhetorical/symbolic references (page 1-3); ceasefire (page 5); security sector (page 2); transitional justice (page 1-2; 5); legal reform and policy development (page 3-4); addressing the participation of CRSV survivors and women-led organizations (page 5).
- ²²³ *ibid* 5–6; See also a similar provision in the 2020 framework: Framework of Cooperation Between the Republic of Sudan and the United Nations on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in Conflict' (2020).
- ²²⁴ Russo and McGowan (n 179) 9.
- ²²⁵ Wise (n 99).
- ²²⁶ UNSG, 'Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: Report of the United Nations Secretary General' (2024) S/2024/292 39.
- ²²⁷ Laura Wise, 'Gender, Peace Agreements, and Fragmentation' (PeaceRep, 1 October 2024) <<https://peacerep.org/2024/10/01/gender-peace-agreements-and-fragmentation/>> accessed 14 May 2025.
- ²²⁸ Global Survivors Fund, Salmeen Charity, Nuba Women for Education and Development Association and Rights for Peace, 'Reparations for Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: Country Briefing - Sudan' (2023) 4–5.
- ²²⁹ Bell (n 101) 17.
- ²³⁰ Jan Pospisil, 'From Paralysis to Pluralism: Repoliticising Mediation in Sudan' (PeaceRep, 1 August 2025) <<https://peacerep.org/2025/08/01/from-paralysis-to-pluralism-repoliticising-mediation-in-sudan/>> accessed 5 August 2025.
- ²³¹ *ibid*.
- ²³² Aroussi (n 81) 582.
- ²³³ Global Survivors Fund, Salmeen Charity, Nuba Women for Education and Development Association and Rights for Peace (n 237) 4.
- ²³⁴ Schulz (n 11) 164.

²³⁵ *ibid.*

²³⁶ Philipp Schulz, "'Luk Pe Coo,' or Compensation as Dowry? Gendered Reflections on Reparations for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence against Men' (2018) 12 *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 537, 537.

²³⁷ *ibid* 548.

²³⁸ Altunjan (n 59) 891.

²³⁹ Carpenter (n 1) 98.

²⁴⁰ Dolan (n 6) 168.

²⁴¹ UNHCR (n 17) 4.

²⁴² Carpenter (n 1) 99.

²⁴³ *ibid* 87.

²⁴⁴ Centre for African Justice, Peace and Human Rights (n 193) 24–26.

²⁴⁵ Schulz (n 11) 705.

²⁴⁶ Centre for African Justice, Peace and Human Rights (n 193) 26.

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PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform is a research consortium based at Edinburgh Law School. Our research is rethinking peace and transition processes in the light of changing conflict dynamics, changing demands of inclusion, and changes in patterns of global intervention in conflict and peace/mediation/transition management processes.

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