# HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PREVENTION OF CONFLICT

Illustrative Examples and Potentials in Combating Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

In Collaboration with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
Methodology, Education, and Training Section

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

**CEDAW** - Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

**CRSV** - Conflict-related Sexual Violence

DRC - Democratic Republic of the Congo

HRE - Human Rights Education

**HRET** - Human Rights Education and Training

MARA - Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements

METS - Methodology, Education, and Training Section

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

**OHCHR** - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

RMR - Regional Monthly Review

SGBV - Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

**UNESCO** - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**UN** - United Nations

**UPR** - Universal Periodic Review

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Addressing the challenge of conflict and preventing it has been an issue of contention within the United Nations (UN) since the drafting of the UN Charter. Failures to prevent the Bosnian Genocide and the Rwandan Genocide were turning points for reassessing the UN's approach towards tackling conflict and mass atrocities. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan critically stated that "the international community needs to move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention" (United Nations Secretary-General 1999).

The 2018 United Nations report, "Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict," presented the UN's "new paradigm" toward conflict prevention. This includes practices and programs that are sustainable, inclusive, and targeted, meaning they address both prevention and recurrence. The "Call to Action for Human Rights" and the "Human Rights Up Front Initiative" called for a human rights-based approach to prevention (United Nations Secretary-General 2020, 6). OHCHR has been instrumental in spearheading this approach, with its mandate to promote human rights and address the root causes of violations and conflict (OHCHR 2023d).

In collaboration with OHCHR METS, this report aims to investigate how OHCHR's human rights practices, in the area of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), can contribute to conflict prevention along three key areas of practices:

- 1. Human rights education (HRE)
- 2. Human rights monitoring
- 3. Promoting accountability and effective remedies

This report makes the claim that human rights practices in the area of SGBV can assist in conflict prevention. It analyzes interviews, reports, and academic literature to investigate the connection between the above human rights practices and conflict prevention. Using Johan Galtung's framework of the conflict life cycle (Galtung and Fischer 2013, 62), this report investigates how work in each practice area can be seen as tools for conflict prevention in each phase (before conflict, during conflict, and post-conflict).

This report begins by delineating the conceptual framework and methodology. It then presents the main results of this report in three sections, each one addressing a key practice area. The results suggest that OHCHR practices in the area of SGBV can prevent conflict along each phase of the conflict cycle. HRE could be helpful prior to conflict in phase 1, as it can establish stable institutions that protect human rights and combat SGBV, while simultaneously rejecting conflict. Human rights monitoring is useful in every phase, as it can contribute to a reduction of SGBV which is widely understood as a conflict driver, and can contribute to early warning in phase 1. In phase 2 of conflict, monitoring and accountability and effective remedies can provide a deterrent effect against future violations and thus prevent the exacerbation of conflict. All areas of practice can help prevent conflict recurrence after phase 3, by laying the groundwork for structural change throughout society.

## 2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section illustrates the relationship between human rights violations and conflict, utilized as a framework throughout this report. It is summarized as the following: Human rights violations destabilize societies and illustrate structural inequalities that lead to violence. This, in turn, can affect the outbreak, exacerbation, and recurrence of conflict. In order to address the violations that can cause and drive conflict throughout its life cycle, effective human rights practices are necessary. This would form a foundation for the prevention of conflict.

The UN defines conflict as the following:

**Violent conflict** can take various forms, including interstate war, armed conflict, civil war, political and electoral violence, and communal violence, and can include many actors, including states and nonstate actors, such as militias, insurgents, terrorist groups, and violent extremists (World Bank and United Nations 2018, 8).

Galtung, well-known as the founder of Peace Studies, categorized conflict into three phases, referred to as the **conflict life cycle**. Phase one is before the outbreak of conflict, phase two is during violence, and phase three is after the resolution of conflict, which can include conflict recurrence (Galtung and Fischer 2013, 62).

## Human rights practices as a tool of conflict prevention

**Human rights** are the norms that express expectations about appropriate behavior and capture ideas about the equal moral worth of all human beings (United Nations 2023). They are inherent to all individuals, irrespective of their nationality, race, religion, gender, or any other characteristic, and are enshrined in the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and international human rights treaties (A/RES/217 A (III) 1948).

In recent years, scholars have placed greater recognition of foregrounding human rights considerations as a key component of sustainable peace (Fuentes Julio and Drumond 2018a). The connection between **human rights violations** and conflict flows in mutual directions – they can be seen as both a cause and an outcome of conflict (Parlevliet 2018, 18). Human rights violations occur at each of the three phases of conflict, and can impact the outbreak of violence, severity and length of the conflict, and the possibility of conflict occurring again (Galtung and Fischer 2013; OHCHR 2023b; 2023c). The figure below depicts the nexus between the conflict life cycle adapted from Galtung and human rights violations.



Figure 1: The Conflict Life Cycle

Taking into consideration the scope of this report, OHCHR has aimed in recent years to strengthen its focus on conflict prevention through **human rights practices**. Human rights practices refer to the actions, policies, and behaviors undertaken by individuals, organizations, and governments to promote and protect human rights (OHCHR 2023d).

## SGBV as an example of human rights violation that drives conflict

SGBV, which includes conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), is one example of a violation of human rights (CEDAW/C/GC/35 2017). It has been shown to be both a driver of conflict outbreak, an exacerbating factor during conflict, and continues to occur after conflict (S/RES/2171 2014; S/RES/1820 2008). As conceptualized by OHCHR, SGBV can include "any harmful act directed against individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of their gender" (Rule of Law and Democracy & Women's Rights and Gender Sections et al. 2014).

Academic literature supports that SGBV is linked with the conflict life cycle. Before the outbreak of conflict (phase 1), the perpetuation of violent gender norms can lead to increased SGBV, which then becomes a driver of violent conflict (Caprioli 2005, as cited in Kapur and Rees 2019; Billaud 2023). Existing gender inequalities promote violence (Kapur and Rees 2019, 138), thus 'priming' communities and states for conflict (Caprioli 2005, as cited in Kapur and Rees 2019). Hudson et al. found that when the physical security of women is increased, the outbreak of conflict is quantitatively less likely (Hudson et al. 2008, 42). Research by Davies et al. finds that gender-specific indicators, such as SGBV, may be a useful early warning indicator for predicting mass atrocities (Davies, Teitt, and Nwokora 2015, 243).

There is also literature and evidence that SGBV increases during active conflict (phase 2) (Nordås and Cohen 2021, 206; Swaine et al. 2019, 4; Ellsberg et al. 2020). Some research argues that CRSV can be viewed as a continuation of SGBV that occurred before conflict, rooted in patriarchal structures (Nordås and Cohen 2021, 196; Card 1996; Enloe 2000). Finally, in post-conflict settings (phase 3), feminist approaches suggest that sustainable peace can only be achieved if SGBV is addressed (Swaine et al. 2019, 4). Nagel found that SGBV can be an indicator of potential conflict recurrence, as reports of SGBV by non-state actors can be used for the recruitment and maintenance of fighters (Nagel 2021, 56, 57). Ultimately, this literature illustrates the need to address SGBV as a conflict driver and the potential human rights practices can have in this area, which could assist with conflict prevention.

However, many scholars note tension points between those working in conflict prevention and human rights fields (Simpson 2017; Lutz, Babbitt, and Hannum 2003; Fuentes Julio and Drumond 2018b). The conflict prevention field tends to focus on conflict resolution, whereas a human rights-based approach would seek to rectify the underlying tensions that lead to conflict, as well as promote societal changes to encourage long-term peace. Paula Drumond and Claudia Fuentes Julio encapsulate the issue succinctly: "...the tradeoffs between human rights and conflict resolution are usually framed as an either/or choice between peace and justice" (Fuentes Julio and Drumond 2018b, 8). Recognizing some of the tensions between the two fields in practice, as well as the academic debates about them, is helpful in understanding why human rights have not been fully incorporated into conflict prevention work, despite both academic literature and the UN suggesting their mutual compatibility.

This report aimed to fill a gap in the literature described above, by evaluating how the human rights practices of OHCHR, specifically in the area of SGBV, can contribute to conflict prevention.

## 3 METHODOLOGY

This report employed a qualitative mixed-methods approach to data gathering, consisting of semi-structured interviews and analysis of reports and literature. The interviewees were provided with questions catered to their experiences beforehand, while also allowing for spontaneity of response. The interviewees include five OHCHR staff members and five academic experts. The OHCHR staff members are human rights officers that have been kept anonymous at their request for the purpose of this report. The academic interviewees were selected based on their extensive experience with the human rights-based approach to prevention and their expertise in the area of SGBV. They are:

- Julie Billaud, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the Geneva Graduate Institute, Author of *Kabul Carnival: Gender Politics in Postwar Afghanistan* (The Ethnography of Political Violence)
- Andrew Clapham, Professor of International Law at the Geneva Graduate Institute, Former Member of the UN Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan
- Sara E. Davies, Professor of International Relations at Griffith University, Australia
  and Deputy Director (Indo-Pacific Research) of the Australian Research Council
  Centre of Excellence for the Elimination of Violence Against Women
- **Erik Melander,** Professor in the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, Former Director of Uppsala Data Conflict Program (UCDP)
- Felisa Tibbitts, Chair in Human Rights Education in the Department of Law, Economics and Governance at Utrecht University, UNESCO Chair in Human Rights and Higher Education

Narratives gathered from the interviews, as well as UN reports, documents, and existing academic research, provided the data for the research. By identifying and analyzing the data, this report illustrates the relationship between human rights practices, human rights violations, conflict, and prevention. Further, it identifies the human rights practices of OHCHR in combating SGBV, in order to illustrate their contributions to conflict prevention. Ultimately, this research aimed to provide an understanding of how these OHCHR practices can be viewed as a tool of conflict prevention.

The three key areas of practice were chosen (HRE, human rights monitoring and promoting accountability and effective remedies) as they are human rights practices pursued by OHCHR (Friberg 2017, 7). Understanding the effect of OHCHR's interventions in these areas can strengthen UN-wide capacities in conflict prevention.

# 4 RESEARCH AND INTERVIEW FINDINGS

The following three sections comprise the main research and interview findings of this report along each practice area. Figure 2 below summarizes the findings of this research. It shows how each of the studied practice areas can have an effect on conflict prevention, and in which phase of conflict that effect occurs. It also showcases the illustrative examples of OHCHR human rights practices in the field of SGBV that are discussed in each section.

**Figure 2: Summary of Research Findings** 

Practice Area	Human rights education	Human rights monitoring	Promoting accountability and effective remedies
Impact on Conflict Prevention	(Phase 1) HRE can promote individual and communal behaviors that reject violence, encourages respect for human rights, and equality.  (Phase 1,3) Communal change can drive the establishment of strong institutions that ensure a widespread enjoyment of human rights.  (Phase 1,3) HRE's goal to provide education that empowers victims of violence can help to address structural inequalities that drive conflict and actively works to reject conflict.	(Phase 1) Information on SGBV violations gathered through human rights monitoring practices may be valuable for early-warning of conflict.  (Phase 1,2,3) Monitoring mechanisms can help to hold countries accountable for gender and structural inequalities and SGBV (incl. CRSV) and thus could contribute to structural change and conflict prevention.  (Phase 2) Monitoring missions and field offices may be valuable to deter SGBV due to the monitoring field presence.  (Phase 2,3) Information gathered can form a valuable basis for accountability efforts and the prevention of conflict recurrence.	(Phase 2) In conflict, promoting accountability and effective remedies for CRSV may change the behavior of combatants by deterring them from committing future violations of CRSV.  (Phase 2,3) It can set long-term norms of accountability for CRSV and SGBV in local and national legal frameworks.  (Phase 3) Transitional justice tha addresses CRSV can prevent future conflicts from recurring by remedying gender inequalities that drive conflict.
Role of OHCHR	OHCHR's efforts in collecting HRE data, training professionals, providing educational materials, supporting nonformal education entities and nongovernmental organizations (NGO), and keeping HRE on states' agendas through reporting mechanisms have been instrumental in promoting effective HRE practices.	OHCHR collects and analyzes information on human rights issues. It gathers data and utilizes human rights mechanisms and field presences to monitor and prevent violations, including SGBV and CRSV.	OHCHR and their field presence assist national governments and local NGOs in providing accountability and effective remedies for victims of CRSV by providing expertise, funding, and support to local and national actors both during and after conflict. Field presences also store and prepare information about CRSV violations so that it can be used later in judicial proceedings.



# 4.1 HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

This section illustrates the relationship between the human rights practice of HRE and conflict prevention, through its role in combating SGBV. This section finds that HRE contributes to preventing human rights violations by empowering individuals and establishing societies with a human rights culture, working in phase 1 of the life cycle of conflict to prevent the outbreak of conflict. While challenges exist, the work of OHCHR and its collaboration with other organizations has advanced this agenda forward. The analysis of interviews with experts in the field of HRE, as well as reports and academic literature, reveals a direct link between HRE and conflict prevention at various levels, as it fosters attitudinal and behavioral changes that form the foundation for strong institutions, contributing to long-term peace and conflict prevention. HRE programs address the human rights violations that lead to conflict, through the example of SGBV, by empowering individuals, reducing inequalities, and promoting gender-just societies.

## HRE, conflict prevention, and combating SGBV

In the Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (HRET), HRE is defined as:

All educational, training, information, awareness-raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal response for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms (A/RES/66/137 2012).

HRET programmes, used in both formal and non-formal education, are created and commissioned by the UN, including OHCHR and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), as well as NGOs, and national education systems (OHCHR n.d.). They can include academic curriculums, civic/citizenship education, military training, conflict mitigation techniques, NGO field training, civil society advocacy/campaigns, UN personnel training programs, among others (A/HRC/15/28 2010). HRE programs aim to generate "changes in participants' attitudes and behaviors," and encourage "HRET-specific traits, such as conflict resolution skills, effective communication, or empathy" (Deane et al. 2021, 1).

HRE programmes can be a tool for prevention, as they can educate against the discriminatory practices that give rise to structural inequalities, tensions, and violence, which can manifest before or after conflict. Professor Felisa Tibbitts, Chair in Human Rights Education at UNESCO, illustrated the empowering effect that HRE can have on an individual, as they learn of their rights and act as rights holders. She depicted the role it can play in social change, and how it can help to achieve sustainable peace:

Human rights education brings to the table, in schools and outside of schools, the notion of individual solidarity and trying to address them through individual actions. So that speaks to people [...] working in their own countries on issues that they see as human rights violations, including violence against women [...] And we have it in every society [...] vulnerable groups whose violations of human rights are happening regularly and systemically and are engaged in a social change movement (Tibbitts 2023).

Educators' perspectives on HRE's impact on conflict prevention reveal an evidence base for the relationship between HRE, social change, and conflict prevention. A comprehensive study conducted by the Columbia School of International and Public Affairs in 2021 identified 85 HRE programs in over 60 conflict-affected countries. Experts and field workers interviewed in the study unanimously believe there is a direct link between HRE and conflict prevention, noting its effects at the individual, family, and community levels. The study demonstrates HRE's success in fostering behavioral and institutional changes, promoting communal understanding, tolerance, equality, and respect for human rights while rejecting violence that may lead to conflict (Deane et al. 2021). HRE can ideally help to ensure a "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women" (United Nations Secretary-General 2020).

This culture can lead to the establishment of "strong institutions to address grievances, and assisting in development and long-term structural prevention" through the establishment of national human rights institutions (Friberg 2017, 15), illustrating the link between HRE and preventing conflict outbreak (phase 1 of the conflict life cycle). Likewise, it can be an "element in the process of reestablishing stable and just post-war societies," helping to prevent conflict recurrence (phase 3) (Bernath, Holland, and Martin 1999).

With an understanding of HRE's function in conflict prevention, HRE plays a role in combating the human rights violation of SGBV (*A Path to Dignity: The Power of Human Rights Education* 2012). As explained previously, a root cause of conflict is the violation of human rights, due to systemic inequalities and structural violence that lead to the rise of tensions (Agbakwa 2003). Through behavioral and institutional change, HRE can reduce these systemic inequalities, discrimination, and violence that deprive individuals of their rights, specifically illustrated through the gender and sexual inequalities that drive SGBV. This is visible through the work of the HRE programme for women in Turkey (*A Path to Dignity: The Power of Human Rights Education* 2012; Tibbitts 2016). With Turkish women being the educators in this programme, Tibbits surveyed 87 educators on the personal impact HRE has had on their personal lives. The educators expressed "increased knowledge on the topics of reproductive rights, women's sexuality, and related

government policies" and that they "had gained skills that would increase their capacity to claim their rights" (Tibbitts 2016, 11-12).

SGBV is largely driven by gender inequalities (Chege 2007; OHCHR Staff 3 2023). If conflict is conducive to and arises through an environment of toxic gender norms and SGBV (Billaud 2023), then HRE can educate and train against these socializations that lead to conflict, both by empowering the victims and affecting perpetrators (Chege 2007). UNESCO, through its publication Education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective, expresses the potential of HRE, which promotes gender equality and the respect of the rights of women, in societies with gender and systemic inequalities:

These concepts and approaches to tolerance in schools and classrooms are integral, too, to peaceful and gender-just classrooms [...] guiding learners in the development of a community committed to peace, to mutual respect (Reardon 2001, 186).

Ultimately, as SGBV mostly occurs due to the violation of the rights of women (Osler and Yahya 2013), education programs have been at the forefront of teaching HRE through women's rights and gender equity, in order to address the root institutional and societal causes of SGBV (United Nations Girls' Education Initiative 2019). Returning to Galtung's three phases of conflict, HRE can become a tool that addresses human rights violations that manifest before the outbreak of conflict (phase 1), as well as a tool that establishes strong national human rights institutions post-conflict through behavioral change (phase 3). This also helps to prevent the recurrence of conflict by combating the human rights violations that occur before and during conflict.

### HRE, OHCHR, potentials, and limitations

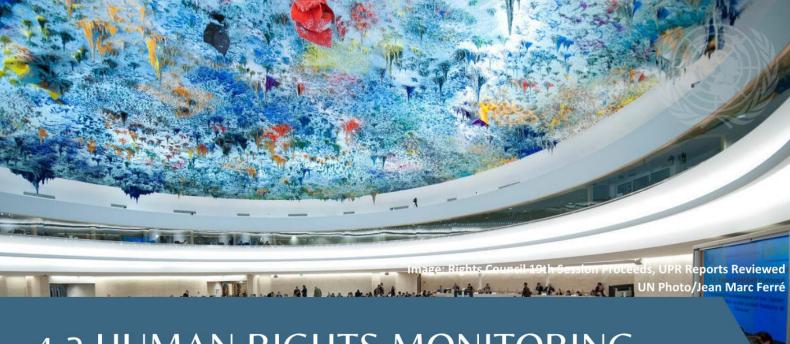
Tibbitts offered insights into the role of OHCHR, particularly in collaboration with other UN bodies, in ensuring the implementation of HRE curriculums. She particularly mentioned the practices of OHCHR in collecting country reports on HRE, and analyzing the prevalence of HRE across states: "There are indications that governments are treating human rights education more and more seriously, and there are different indicators also from [OHCHR] to validate that" (Tibbitts 2023). As an example, compared to the 1990s, more states are participating in their submission of country reports on HRE as part of their engagement in the World Programme for Human Rights Education (OHCHR 2004). Likewise, Tibbits stated that alongside OHCHR, UNESCO has "commissioned research on the status of human rights and other themes, such as gender, and gender equality" in curriculums and textbooks (Tibbitts 2023). She indicated that while UNESCO often emphasizes research into HRE through national school curriculums, OHCHR is "also looking in ways that UNESCO is not, such as the training of professionals" and "the training of law enforcement officials" (Tibbitts 2023).

This emphasis on not just providing curriculum for students, but also training teachers, officials, civil servants, and other professionals is spearheaded by OHCHR and human rights mechanisms, such as General Recommendation XIII on the training of law enforcement officials in the protection of human rights (A/48/18 1993). When interviewing a senior human rights officer at OHCHR, they highlighted the importance of their work in this area:

That's also in essence one of the ways in which we are at least looking at human rights education, not just human rights education in the field and communities, it's also how you train the trainers themselves as well, [...] you have to start from the top and work your way down (OHCHR Staff 2 2023).

Tibbitts also expressed that OHCHR's resources, particularly their reporting mechanisms and consultative processes on HRE through the World Programme, have been key in actively keeping HRE on states' agendas. Focusing on the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), she referred to the potential of developing UPR reports on HRE to "be able to use this as a tool for advocating" for HRE (Tibbitts 2023). Conclusively, OHCHR, in "working through both charter-based and treaty-based mechanisms and the World Programme," is essential to maintaining HRE on the agenda (Tibbitts 2023).

However, there exist roadblocks to implementing HRE successfully (Struthers 2015). As the responsibility falls mainly on states, there are many cases where human rights have been superficially treated in national curriculums, as rights often "operate in tension and may be denied in societal contexts where conservative, patriarchal values prevail" (Osler and Yahya 2013, 189). Tibbitts addressed that many curriculums only mention the founding documents of the UN, without critical analysis to how they relate to human rights violations. There is potential to address this challenge, however, and OHCHR's work with non-formal education programs can assist with this, through their initiative in "providing expert advice, developing and disseminating methodological tools based on good practice, and sharing resources worldwide" (Friberg 2017, 32). Tibbitts stated that the challenge of providing effective HRE "has been taken up better by non-formal education entities, such as Amnesty International or other NGOs, with a mission related to human rights and human rights education in particular" (Tibbitts 2023). Even though HRE represents only a small percentage of the total budget of OHCHR, "the development of a voluntary fund to support the work of NGOs, and their requirement that member states report on their human rights education work," have been key practices in advancing HRE (Tibbitts and Rehman 2003).



# 4.2 HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING

This section addresses human rights monitoring as a key practice of the human rights system and OHCHR. Human rights monitoring refers to "the collection, verification, analysis and use of information to address human rights problems" (OHCHR 2011). The work of OHCHR, both through the human rights monitoring mechanisms as well as their field presences, is central to the monitoring of human rights violations (OHCHR 2023d; 2011, III). The research finds that the monitoring practices of SGBV/CRSV may be valuable tools of prevention along the phases of the conflict cycle: First, in all phases, human rights monitoring can assist in promoting long-term structural change and thus form a basis for prevention. Second, indicators of SGBV could be a valuable tool for early-warning of conflict (phase 1). Third, during and after conflict (phase 2,3) human rights monitoring could contribute to deterring CRSV and serve as a basis for accountability, thus preventing the exacerbation and recurrence of conflict. There are still some challenges and limitations in the relationship between monitoring and prevention, including the limited use of human rights mechanisms for early-warning.

## SGBV-monitoring and conflict prevention through structural change

Combating SGBV and gender inequality assists in structural change that lays the groundwork for long-term prevention of "all forms of physical violence" and thus conflict (Melander 2023). Human rights mechanisms are mainly considered as tools to address the root causes of conflict, which is essential for sustainable conflict prevention. OHCHR views that, by informing on the implementation of human rights, identifying and assessing the root causes of conflict, and providing recommendations human rights monitoring mechanisms can contribute to structural transformation and conflict prevention (OHCHR 2020a, 8-9).

Specifically focusing on the area of SGBV (incl. CRSV), it is assumed that human rights mechanisms can contribute to structural change in the following ways. First, Professor Julie Billaud pointed out that the UPR has played a key role in mainstreaming women's rights (Billaud 2023). By discussing women's rights and SGBV on an international stage, the UPR helps to hold countries

accountable for gender and structural inequalities that lead to SGBV (Coomaraswamy 2015, 358; Bulduk 2019, 16-17). Second, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination and against Women and its Committee (CEDAW) has been central to advancing normative and legal development on women's rights (O'Rourke and Swaine 2019, 670; Freeman, Chinkin, and Rudolf 2012, 13). OHCHR staff views CEDAW as a key instrument to promote a holistic approach to women's rights and promote long-term structural change by influencing representatives of member states to apply these recommendations on a national level and by providing activists with a tool for advocacy (OHCHR Staff 4 2023). Third, country visits conducted by Special Procedures, such as the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women and Girls, draw attention to underlying human rights issues and provide recommendations to governments (OHCHR Staff 4 2023), which are often incorporated into national legislation.

## SGBV-monitoring and early-warning

Early-warning and early-action is a key tool of conflict prevention (Friberg 2017) — whereby the human rights data gathered by OHCHR, including on SGBV, may be valuable. Viewing SGBV as an early-warning indicator of conflict is key to conflict prevention, as it can illuminate drivers of conflict that would otherwise be hidden (Coomaraswamy 2015, 198). Literature confirms that high levels of SGBV can be indicative of rising tensions and militarization of society which is precursor to conflict (Coomaraswamy 2015, 198; Davies, Teitt, and Nwokora 2015, 243). According to Professor Sara Davies, SGBV prevalence data is an imperative indicator that needs to be considered in a holistic manner with other indicators of conflict. However, a crucial challenge is that so far, the inclusion of gender sensitive early warning lacks consistency and lacks open accessibility across the UN system (Davies 2023).

Within the UN, SGBV is also conceptualized as an indicator for conflict and atrocities, which include genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing). The Special Advisors on the Prevention of Genocide and on the Responsibility to Protect have developed a framework for the prevention of atrocity crimes, identifying indicators and risk factors, whereby SGBV is viewed as "enabling circumstances or preparatory action" for atrocity crimes (United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect 2014, 16). The United Nations Development Fund for Women developed a project on gendered early warning indicators in the Solomon Islands, whereby SGBV is identified as a "breakdown of social control" (Goetz and Treiber 2006; Moser 2006, 6).

OHCHR has been committed to increasing its early-warning capacities through various partnerships and programs, as well as existing human rights mechanisms (OHCHR 2023b; A/HRC/RES/45/32 2020). OHCHR views the existing human rights mechanisms as a tool that can play a role in early warning of conflict, as they bring attention to human rights violations and thus risks factors of conflict on the global stage (OHCHR 2020c; 2023b; 2023c).

OHCHR staff also incorporate the output of the UN human rights mechanisms into the Regional Monthly Reviews (RMR), where OHCHR shares human rights data, including on gender equality, for a UN-wide early-warning analysis (OHCHR 2023b; Damplo and Saad 2019, 20-21).

Human rights monitoring data is used in the RMR, illustrating once more how human rights monitoring can serve as key practice that contributes to the UN prevention efforts (OHCHR Staff 2 2023). However, our interviewees highlighted both the present limitations of human rights mechanisms alongside their future potential for early warning (Clapham 2023; Davies 2023; OHCHR Staff 3 2023). OHCHR staff affirmed that the different elements of the human rights monitoring mechanisms and field offices exchange relevant information to provide a basis for early-warning (OHCHR Staff 5 2023; OHCHR Staff 4 2023). The human rights system has some elements particularly linked to early warning; yet those vary across the system: The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has an early warning and urgent procedures mechanism with the purpose of drawing the attention of the UN system to specific situations or initiating field visits (OHCHR 2023a). However, the Committee on CEDAW – like most of the treaty-based committees – does not possess this capacity (OHCHR Staff 3 2023; International Service for Human Rights 2020). Another tool with potential for early warning are the urgent appeals and communications of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women and Girls that can serve as an advocacy tool to draw attention to specific situations (OHCHR Staff 5 2023). Yet, Professor Andrew Clapham points out that the UN human rights system is primarily reactionary instead of preventive (Clapham 2023). Davies suggested that to advance the focus and capacities on early warning, it would be beneficial to further analyze data on SGBV/CRSV collected through the mechanisms, such as CEDAW and the UPR, and see if identified patterns can be used for early warning (Davies 2023).

Another example of human rights monitoring and early-warning are the preventive efforts of OHCHR in Kenya, prior to the election of 2022. The past elections in Kenya have been characterized by a high level of violence, including SGBV. OHCHR supported various activities aiming at peaceful elections – including specifically focusing on SGBV. For instance, they identified SGBV hotspots based on early warning information and an analysis of trends and threats of potential SGBV. The election saw a reduction of electoral related SGBV compared to 2017, to which OHCHR's support and presence may have contributed (OHCHR 2022b; 2023g, 180).

## CRSV-monitoring, preventing exacerbation, and basis for accountability

Monitoring activities specifically related to CRSV are also part of preventing the exacerbation of conflict. One central mechanism in monitoring CRSV are the Monitoring, Analysis and Reporting Arrangements (MARA) under the purview of the Special Representative on CRSV. Its purpose is to systematically gather information on CRSV (Office of the SG on SVC 2023; 2011). In 2022, OHCHR worked in close collaboration with the Special Representative on CRSV and contributed to evaluating the MARA (OHCHR 2022b, 410). On the ground, OHCHR supports the MARA in Libya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia, and Iraq (OHCHR 2023h, 205; 2022a, 49, 189; 2021, 416). However, MARA lacks necessary funding and operational integration into UN missions on the ground (Dönges and Kullenberg 2019, 172). MARA is viewed as an instrument of possible deterrence (Coomaraswamy 2015, 13; Dönges and Kullenberg 2019, 172; Davies 2023). Our interviewees highlighted the role of field presences and affirmed that international presence on the ground may contribute to CRSV prevention and ultimately conflict prevention (Davies 2023; OHCHR Staff 2 2023; OHCHR Staff 3 2023).

Conclusively, another tool – mainly focusing on documenting conflict and post-conflict human rights violations – are HRC-mandated commissions of inquiry, fact-finding missions or investigation (OHCHR 2023e). Those investigations contributed to investigating and monitoring CRSV in South Sudan and Burundi (OHCHR 2020a; A/HRC/45/32 2020; A/HRC/49/CRP.4 2022). OHCHR is actively engaged in supporting these investigations and also provides gender advisors to the commissions. The investigations, and their focus on CRSV, can play a key role in creating the basis for accountability and transitional justice, which will be addressed in further detail in the next section (OHCHR 2015a, 3-7; Coomaraswamy 2015, 113).



# 4.3 ACCOUNTABILITY AND EFFECTIVE REMEDIES

This section shows how promoting accountability and effective remedies for the human rights violation of CRSV can be a tool for conflict prevention in both situations of active conflict (phase 2) and post-conflict (phase 3) of the conflict life cycle. It highlights examples in the DRC and South Sudan, where efforts to address CRSV have been applied, and indicates how these examples can be seen through a conflict prevention lens.

The human right to accountability and effective remedies is thoroughly articulated in international legal instruments (A/RES/217 A (III) 1948; A/RES/2200A (XXI) 1966), and refers to the obligation of states to investigate violations of human rights, provide access to justice to victims, provide remedies including reparation and access to relevant information, and additionally take actions to prevent further violations (A/RES/66/147 2015). Human rights practices can promote accountability and effective remedies for harms both within and outside of official transitional justice programs – which include several legal and non-legal practices that fall under the umbrella of transitional justice. These are fact-finding, truth commissions, judicial proceedings, legal and/or constitutional reform, and apologies (OHCHR 2023f). Ultimately, these efforts can serve as a tool to change the behaviors of combatants and reduce violence, address deep-rooted conflict drivers, and establish norms of accountability that can remain post-conflict.

### Conflict mitigation in situations of active conflict

The research of this report indicates that implementing accountability for the human right violation of CRSV during conflict (phase 2) can be a tool to deter conflict participants from committing CRSV and thus reduce violence. In many conflicts, CRSV has been used to incentivize or pay combatants to be willing participants in violence (United Nations Secretary-General 2022; UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict 2022, 28). Ensuring that accountability and effective remedies for CRSV are implemented reduces the sense that crimes of CRSV will go unpunished, thus creating a deterrent effect against similar crimes in the future. According to Clapham, "some of the

incentive to engage in the conflict might be related to sexual violence" and, "the greater the sense of accountability, the less likely it is that people will engage in sexual violence" (Clapham 2023).

Several activities undertaken by OHCHR's field office in the DRC, the Joint Human Rights Office, aim to provide victims of CRSV with support related to accountability and effective remedies, in the face of ongoing conflict. These include:

- The establishment of an "Access to Justice" program, which works with and supports local NGOs in running legal clinics for victims of CRSV (OHCHR 2020d);
- Assisting in drafting a law on reparations for victims of CRSV, which has been adopted into the DRC's national strategy (OHCHR 2020d);
- Establishing a national toll-free hotline to assist victims of SGBV/CRSV with healthcare and legal assistance (OHCHR 2020d);
- Providing funding to national courts so they have the resources to put crimes of CRSV to trial (OHCHR 2022b);
- Establishing a system of mobile courts that has provided justice to SGBV victims who would otherwise lack access to the court system (OHCHR 2015b).

Furthermore, OHCHR is engaged with the UN Team of Experts on the Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, which provides assistance to states with promoting accountability for CRSV. In the DRC, the team has supported the work of OHCHR field office, especially through providing expertise toward the implementation of mobile courts (United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the SG on Sexual Violence in Conflict 2021). Thus, these programs in the DRC are aimed at providing accountability and effective remedies for CRSV and can also be understood through the impact they can have on reducing the exacerbation of conflict.

## Preventing conflict recurrence in post-conflict contexts

In phase three of conflict, while violence may have ended, addressing the crimes that occurred during conflict is critical to prevent conflict from recurring. Transitional justice measures are often put in place in post-conflict settings to help provide justice and reconciliation to victims, and therefore allow societies to move toward peace (Mellado et al. 2020, 14). Framework documents, Human Rights Council resolutions, and reports issued by the UN have all declared that transitional justice, previously seen solely as a tool for conflict resolution, is also a fundamental tool for prevention (United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect 2014; OHCHR 2020b; A/HRC/RES/42/17 2019).

Our research suggests that transitional justice measures targeted specifically at violations of CRSV have the potential to prevent conflict recurrence because they can create norms of accountability that persist post-conflict, and address deep rooted conflict drivers. Fostering post-conflict accountability can create "justice cascades," in that promoting accountability for violations of human rights that occurred during conflict can create sustained norms of accountability in national and local legal frameworks (McCargo 2015, 3). In the context of CRSV, Billaud indicated that these norms can eventually lay the foundation for a "cultural shift," whereby SGBV both in and out

of conflict becomes seen as unacceptable (Billaud 2023). This can reduce conflict recurrence after phase 3, because it can prevent further violations of SGBV/CRSV, which are conflict drivers. However, as noted by Clapham, the dissemination of these norms into national and local courts is sometimes restricted by the top-down nature of internationally-led transitional justice programs (Clapham 2023). This challenge can be partially remedied by providing support to national courts both before international tribunals or truth commissions are implemented, so they can begin the work of prosecuting crimes as soon as possible (Clapham 2023).

Globally, OHCHR has been instrumental in promoting transitional justice processes that are gender-sensitive and include participation and consultation with victims of CRSV (Rule of Law and Democracy & Women's Rights and Gender Sections et al. 2014). OHCHR also engages with post-conflict justice measures for SGBV through partnerships with other UN agencies, (I)NGOs, the government of the host nation, and victims' support organizations (Mellado et al. 2020, 17; Friberg 2017, 34). OHCHR has also noted that providing effective remedies, specifically reparations, for victims of CRSV can help to address economic inequalities that can lead to SGBV (OHCHR 2014, 5), and which could be a further driver of conflict resurgence if not addressed.

Even when accountability for CRSV is not immediately pursued in post-conflict situations, monitoring work of OHCHR field presences helps to collect and prepare information for future accountability. Clapham, who was a former member of the Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan, which represents OHCHR in that country, highlighted that the commission worked to identify units and individuals responsible for CRSV. This information could then be used later by prosecutors in judicial processes (Clapham 2023). Beyond its utility for future accountability, the data gathered by the field office in South Sudan is frequently referenced in Security Council debates and resolutions. Clapham shared his opinion that collecting and preparing this information for future accountability efforts directly worked to prevent CRSV and further exacerbation of conflict (Clapham 2023).

Despite these potential uses and conflict preventive impacts, promoting accountability and effective remedies for CRSV remains underutilized. According to Billaud, it is sometimes framed in post-conflict contexts as "not representing the emergency of the moment," and is therefore deprioritized (Billaud 2023). While some literature on the topic agrees with our interviewees that accountability and effective remedies are critical to prevent societies from returning to conflict (Ibrahim and Kaufman 2018), others, however, feel that pursuing accountability for all conflict-related violations is not the best path toward peace for post-conflict societies. This is because they can easily recreate or reinforce pre-conflict inequalities if not designed carefully (Loyle and Appel 2017).

Nevertheless, this research highlights how accountability and effective remedies for SGBV/CRSV can be an important aspect of conflict prevention work in both phase 2 and phase 3 of the conflict lifecycle. OHCHR's work toward advocating for and in providing accountability and effective remedies for CRSV in both DRC and South Sudan can be seen as mechanisms for conflict prevention, mitigation, and conflict non-recurrence based on the narratives shared by the interviewed experts.

## 5 REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The link between human rights practices and conflict prevention is complex and multifaceted. This research has aimed to further our understanding of this linkage through studying human rights practices in the area of SGBV along the three practice areas. These are HRE, human rights monitoring, and promoting accountability and effective remedies. Through the framework of Galtung's conflict life cycle, the findings show that while the methods may differ, human rights practices in the area of SGBV may be valuable for conflict prevention, along every phase. In phase 1, prior to conflict, HRE can help to establish stable institutions that protect human rights and combat SGBV, while simultaneously rejecting conflict. In every phase, human rights monitoring also contributes to a reduction of SGBV which is widely understood as a conflict driver, and can contribute to early warning in phase 1. In phase 2 of conflict, monitoring and accountability and effective remedies can provide a deterrent effect against future violations and thus prevent the exacerbation of conflict. Finally, in phase 3 of conflict, all three areas of practice can help to prevent conflict recurrence through laying the groundwork for structural change throughout society.

The work of OHCHR showcases positive examples in the linkage between SGBV and prevention along the practice areas. For example, their work in both supporting non-formal HRE initiatives through the provision of funds, tools, and guidance, as well as monitoring the presence of HRE through the UPR and the World Programme of HRE, have proved instrumental practices to keeping and advancing HRE in the international agenda. Likewise, the work of the Human Rights Commissions, OHCHR's collaboration with the MARA, and the efforts of OHCHR in Kenya prior to the 2022 election constitute positive illustrative examples of how OHCHR can contribute to conflict prevention. OHCHR field offices in the DRC and South Sudan have worked to support national institutions in providing accountability and remedies to victims of CRSV in situations of active conflict and post-conflict. Our research indicates that OHCHR's human rights practices may also be viewed as conflict prevention practices.

The experts we interviewed reaffirmed the need for a human rights-based approach to conflict prevention. Nevertheless, challenges remain. First, human rights work that addresses SGBV remains under-utilized as a tool of conflict prevention. Some reasons for this underutilization can be traced back to the inherent challenges of addressing SGBV. The interviewees pointed out the political and cultural sensitivities of addressing SGBV both before, during, and after conflict (Tibbitts 2023; Davies 2023; Billaud 2023; OHCHR Staff 3 2023; OHCHR Staff 5 2023). Furthermore, there are challenges to quantitatively monitoring the prevalence of SGBV and CRSV, as well as proving a causal link between human rights work in SGBV/CRSV and conflict prevention (OHCHR Staff 1 2023; Davies 2023; Clapham 2023). OHCHR staff pointed out that it might also be a challenge to integrate a stronger approach on conflict prevention in their work without diverting attention away from their core human rights mandate (OHCHR Staff 3 2023; OHCHR Staff 4 2023).

Second, although this research showcases several illustrative examples of human rights work in the area of SGBV, OHCHR itself has yet to explicitly conceptualize and evaluate the potential of this work as conflict preventive. Finally, interviewees indicated that there is a lack of logistical

capacity in their ability to incorporate the conflict prevention lens into their work (OHCHR Staff 3 2023; OHCHR Staff 4 2023).

This report exists as a first step in articulating the ways that human rights practices in the area of SGBV could be seen through the lens of conflict prevention. However, several avenues are possible for further research. It would be beneficial to continuously explore the relationship between human rights, SGBV and conflict prevention and existing practices across the UN system – both by the UN as well as academia. There is potential to dive deeper into the differential aspects of combating different types of SGBV and the potential this has on conflict prevention, as well as to further understand how different social or political contexts can make these practices more or less effective as a conflict prevention tool.

Ultimately, this research suggests that HRE, human rights monitoring, and accountability and effective remedies in the area of SGBV can contribute to both the immediate reduction of violence and long-term structural change. All of this shows the importance of addressing conflict prevention through a human-rights lens, and of further integrating this approach into the UN's new paradigm of conflict prevention.

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## **APPENDIX**

Master Catalogue of Interview Questions: OHCHR SGBV/CRSV Prevention

### Introduction

- 1. Could you please introduce yourself and the work that you do with the OHCHR in regard to:
  - a. Human Rights Education
  - b. Early-warning signs, indicators, and monitoring systems regarding SGBV and CRSV
  - c. Protection activities of civilians during conflict
  - d. Promoting accountability and effective remedies in combating SGBV
  - e. other activities?

### **Specific Practices**

- 2. What specific practices exist in the [area] in combating SGBV?
  - a. Can you provide specific examples, personal narratives, case studies?
- 3. How might these practices and their effect on combating SGBV relate to the prevention of conflict?
- 4. At a micro or a macro-level, or long-term and short-term perspective, what has been the effect of these practices? Can you share any particular examples or case studies?
- 5. What challenges have you encountered, or what challenges do you foresee in the implementation of these practices?

## **Human Rights Education**

- 6. What specific practices in HRE play a role in promoting gender equality?
  - a. How has the promotion of gender equality contributed to preventing sexual and gender-based violence?
  - b. In turn, how has the prevention of SGBV manifest in the field and contribute to preventing conflict?
- 7. From your perspective, what is the relationship between human rights education and gender equality?
- 8. What is the relationship between gender inequality and sexual and gender-based violence?
- 9. What role does human rights education play in combating sexual and gender-based violence?

Early-warning signs, indicators, and monitoring systems regarding SGBV and CRSV

- 10. How do early-warning systems in the UN incorporate a gender perspective (with specific indicators on gender-based violence)?
  - a. Why is it important to incorporate a gender perspective in early-warning systems?
  - b. How does it contribute to the prevention, mitigation, and resolution of conflict?
- 11. What role do the mechanisms and instruments of the OHCHR play in the early warning of and monitoring of conflict?
  - a. How do they contribute to the prevention, mitigation, and resolution of conflict?
- 12. Can you provide specific examples, personal narratives, case studies?

## Protection activities of civilians during conflict

- 13. During conflict, what is the OHCHR doing to prevent conflict related violence? What are the success stories? (MARA, Women Protection Advisors, further projects)?
  - a. How do they contribute to the prevention, mitigation, and resolution of conflict?
  - b. Can you provide specific examples, personal narratives, case studies?

## Promoting accountability and effective remedies in combating SGBV

- 14. What role does promoting accountability for sexual and gender-based crimes play in transitional justice programs?
  - a. What are the short and long-term impacts of not addressing sexual and gender-based violence in transitional justice programs?
  - b. Are there reasons why transitional justice programs would not incorporate a gender perspective?

### **Link Practices and Conflict Prevention**

- 15. When have these practices been instituted? Before, during, and/or after conflict?
- 16. What effect have these practices had on conflict prevention, mitigation, and/or resolution?

## **Human Rights and Conflict Prevention**

This project aims to explore the link between combating sexual and gender-based violence and conflict prevention. We conceptualize conflict as a cycle where human rights practices play a role in prevention, in mitigation, and in the resolution of conflict.

- 17. Do you have any concrete experiences and projects you could share with us, in which the promotion of human rights contributed to conflict prevention?
- 18. How are gender-based violence and the conflict cycle related? How can combating sexual and gender-based violence contribute to conflict prevention at different parts of the conflict cycle?
- 19. Where would you consider [area] to be most active in this cycle? Why? To what effect?

### Future/Recommendations

- 20. Do you know of any examples that illustrate challenges in combating SGBV/CRSV to prevent conflict?
- 21. What concerns/recommendations do you have for the future?