Evidence *for* Action:

What Works to Prevent Conflict-Related Sexual Violence

Preventing conflict-related sexual violence requires urgent action

The use of sexual violence has featured in wars throughout history and continues to be an urgent concern in modern conflicts in Ukraine, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Ethiopia, amongst others. It occurs alongside many other forms of violence that women and girls experience throughout their daily lives, which escalate in scale and severity during conflict, such as intimate partner violence (IPV), trafficking, and sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment (SEAH).

The international community has committed to ending conflict-related sexual violence through the women, peace and security agenda.[1] Ten years on from the launch of the UK's Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict Initiative (PSVI) in 2012, there is a growing call to strengthen global action on prevention, including with UN Action's new Framework for the Prevention of Conflict Related Sexual Violence and the launch of Phase II of the UK's What Works to Prevent Violence flagship programme.

Evidence from research and practice show that conflict-related sexual violence is not an inevitable consequence of conflict and can be prevented. This brief aims to help policymakers understand 'what works'. It is based on a high-level synthesis of existing evidence and practice on conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) and wider violence against women and girls (VAWG) in conflict-affected settings, complemented by consultations with humanitarian stakeholders and survivors' groups and networks. A longer accompanying report provides further details on entry points for effective action.

> Conflict-related sexual violence is a human rights abuse, a violation of international law and a war crime. The term encompasses multiple forms of sexual violence (e.g., attempted or completed rape, sexual slavery, forced abortion, enforced sterilisation, forced marriage) directly or indirectly related to conflict and perpetrated against women, girls, men or boys.
>
> For a full definition, see Conflict-Related Sexual Violence Report of the United Nations Secretary-General (S/2019/280)

Conflict-related sexual violence is a widespread and systemic problem with devastating consequences

An estimated **20-30%** of women and girls in conflict-affected settings experience non-partner sexual violence.[2]

Conflict-related sexual violence has been widely documented across diverse conflicts but is not inevitable. In 2021, the UN recorded 3,293 cases of conflict-related sexual violence.[3] Given the extent of under-reporting, this is likely to be a tiny fraction of the cases that occurred. Population-based prevalence data suggests an estimated 20-30% of women and girls have experienced non-partner sexual violence in conflict-affected settings, compared to around 6% globally. These estimates vary by context, suggesting that armed conflict is not always associated with increases in sexual violence.

Rooted in gender inequality, conflict-related sexual violence can be strategic and opportunistic. It is both uniquely associated with the dynamics of an armed conflict and reflects the same patriarchal norms and values that underpin violence against women and girls globally. Sexual violence may be a tactic to terrorise enemy or civilian groups, humiliate enemies, build cohesion within armed groups, reward combatants, and reduce the reproductive capacity of rival groups.[4] It may also be used as a 'practice' of armed groups – tolerated by armed groups but not necessarily a military tactic of warfare.[5]

Conflict-related sexual violence is one of multiple, compounding forms of violence that women and girls experience during times of conflict. Other forms of violence against women and girls that intensify during conflicts include intimate partner violence, trafficking, and child and early marriage. Sexual exploita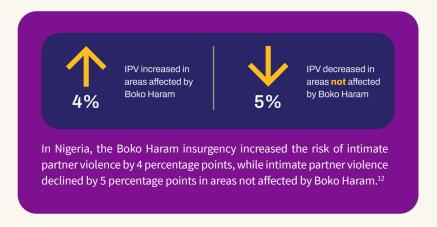tion, abuse and harassment may also increase during armed conflict and displacement due to unequal power dynamics between those with money, influence, and power (including peacekeepers, aid workers, military contractors) and those without. Conflict-related sexual violence is increasingly being perpetrated in online spaces as a form of warfare and violent extremism.[7] While prevention and response efforts may target certain forms of violence, they should do so as part of holistic efforts to address multiple forms of violence. Furthermore, conflict-related sexual violence should be understood within a continuum of lifelong violence against women and girls; from early childhood sexual abuse to sexual violations in adulthood within intimate partnerships.[8]

Around 2 in 5 (40%) of women (aged 18-30) surveyed in Monrovia, Liberia reported engaging in transactional sex with UN personnel. With each additional battalion of UN peacekeepers deployed, the risk of engaging in transactional sex increased.[6]

Even in armed conflict, most sexual violence is perpetrated by women's partners. There are extremely high levels of partner sexual violence in conflict settings. In Somalia, 25% of women had experienced partner sexual violence, while 4% experienced non-partner sexual violence.[9] Many women experience both partner and non-partner violence in conflict settings,[10] which can continue into the post-conflict period as former combatants return home to their partners.[11]

4% IPV increased in areas affected by Boko Haram

5% IPV decreased in areas **not** affected by Boko Haram

In Nigeria, the Boko Haram insurgency increased the risk of intimate partner violence by 4 percentage points, while intimate partner violence declined by 5 percentage points in areas not affected by Boko Haram.[12]

Studies also show that non-partner sexual violence is primarily perpetrated by non-combatants.[13] In South Sudan, only 6% of reported perpetrators of non-partner sexual violence were armed actors,[14] while in DRC only 7% of reported incidents of non-partner sexual violence were reported as militia-related.[15] Perpetrators are often known to the victim, as acquaintances, family members, community members or people from another community.[16]

Conflict-related sexual violence is also perpetrated against men and boys, but at lower rates than against women and girls. While prevalence data is limited, 6-9% of men in South Sudan and 1.4% in Somalia reported experiencing some form of sexual violence during their lifetime.[17] Men and boys may be particularly at risk of violence when they are part of armed groups (including by perpetrators from within their own ranks), during recruitment into military forces, in detention centres, and during displacement.

Some populations are particularly at risk of experiencing sexual violence during conflict such as women and girls with disabilities, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI+) people. Adolescent girls are at heightened risk of sexual violence from both partners and non-partners during armed conflict, as well as controlling behaviours and child, early and forced marriage under the guise of 'protection' from conflict-related sexual violence.[19]

Over half of

Syrian LGBTQI+ refugees interviewed in a study had been sexually abused, with 84% of these believing they were targeted by armed groups on all sides of the conflict due to their sexual orientation/gender identity.[18]

Non-partner physical or sexual violence

32% Women **with** disabilities

16% Women **without** disabilities

In Dadaab Refugee Camp in Kenya, women with disabilities were twice as likely (32%) as women without disabilities (16%) to report they had experienced non-partner physical or sexual violence before arriving in the camp.[20]

Conflict-related sexual violence has significant immediate and long-term consequences. As well as impacting their physical and mental health, survivors often face stigma and community rejection.[21] Conflict-related sexual violence can have long-term impacts on girls' educational outcomes, including parents' likelihood to pull their girls out of school as a precautionary measure.[22] It can also have wider impacts on peace and lead to continued cycles of revenge attacks and further sexual violence. This violence can continue to increase in severity as attacks between rival groups continue.

In South Sudan, 2 in 10 (20%) of adolescent girls (15-18 year olds) in conflict settings have already experienced an incident of non-partner sexual violence.

A girl's odds of experiencing non-partner sexual violence were three to seven times higher if her village or community had been attacked. [23]

Conflict-related sexual violence is preventable

Preventing conflict-related sexual violence requires an understanding of its drivers. Violence prevention often uses a socio-ecological model to understand the complex interplay between factors at the individual, interpersonal, community, institutional and societal levels that put people at risk of conflict-related sexual violence or protect them from experiencing or perpetrating violence.

As the diagram to the right shows, some existing risk factors for men's perpetration and women's victimisation are exacerbated by conflict (e.g., unequal gender dynamics), while other risk factors are newly introduced because of conflict (e.g., availability of arms). Preventing CRSV requires actions throughout each of these levels, as highlighted in UN Action's Framework for the Prevention of Conflict Related Sexual Violence.

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Socio-ecological Framework for Drivers of CRSV and Other Forms of Conflict-affected VAWG (Adapted from: Murphy et al. 2022)

Risk factors and drivers exacerbated in conflict and post-conflict contexts

Societal • Institutional • Community • Interpersonal • Individual

Individual: Socio-demographics, Alcohol and drug use, Experience of violence during childhood, Stigma, Mental health and disabilities

Supranational • Patriarchal norms and practices • Economic crisis • Lack of rule of law • Lack of female representation in the security • Normalization of violence and VAWG • Child, early and forced marriage • Unequal power and controlling behaviors • Stress and poverty • Unequal gender dynamics • Culture of Impunity • Supressed civil society

Displacement, separation from family, and female headed households • Re-integration of combatants • Changing gender roles due to conflict and displacement

Newly introduced risk factors and drivers in conflict and post-conflict contexts: Availability of arms • Abuse of power by humanities • Opportunistic rape • Rape strategy and practice • Ideological Extremism • Competition for resources • Forced enlistment/abduction of women and girls • Community violence targeting women • State failure • Lack of attention to VAWG in peace and statebuilding • Emphasis on hyper masculinities • Normalisation of violence

Evidence shows that with careful design and implementation, we can prevent violence against women and girls. There has been a significant expansion over the last decade in rigorous policy-relevant evidence on what works to prevent violence against women and girls in low and middle-income settings, including from Phase 1 of the UK's What Works to Prevent Violence Programme, with significant effect sizes demonstrated of around 50%. While few evaluations measure the impact on conflict-related sexual violence specifically, there are rigorous studies on wider violence against women and girls in conflict settings that may provide important insights for prevention of conflict-related sexual violence. The table on the following page assesses the evidence for the effectiveness of initiatives to prevent conflict-related sexual violence specifically, as well as initiatives that seek to prevent other forms of violence against women and girls, such as intimate partner violence, that could be adapted to prevent conflict-related sexual violence. It also examines initiatives that target risk factors in conflict settings, such as normalisation of violence and unequal gender dynamics, and approaches to support an enabling environment for prevention.

Evidence overview of promising approaches to prevent CRSV

	INITIATIVES TO PREVENT CRSV	INITIATIVES TO PREVENT WIDER VAWG THAT COULD BE EFFECTIVE TO PREVENT CRSV	INITIATIVES THAT TARGET RISK FACTORS FOR VAWG/CRSV IN CONFLICT SETTINGS	INITIATIVES TO SUPPORT AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT TO PREVENT CRSV
APPROACHES	**Localised security initiatives,** e.g., alternative fuel projects or armed accompaniment when collecting firewood.	**Community-based social norms change,** e.g., Rethinking Power in Haiti; Transforming Masculinities in eastern DRC.	**Participatory approaches to identifying and mitigating risk,** e.g., Empowered Aid in Lebanon and Uganda.	**Advancing gender equality,** e.g., pass and allocate budgets to implement national laws, statutes or penal codes to prevent discriminatory practices, language, or any other form of systemic discrimination.
	Interventions to promote positive masculine norms within the security sector e.g., Living Peace in DRC and Burundi.	**Lifeskills interventions targeting adolescent girls,** such as Girl Empower in Liberia, which integrated girls' mentoring with conditional cash transfers and reduced child marriage and risky sexual behaviours.	**Women and Girls Safe Spaces (WGSS)** to build social networks and skills and access GBV services, e.g., COMPASS, which has been seen to improve outcomes for girls that may reduce their risk factors for VAWG, but did not demonstrate a reduction of violence, potentially because of the focus only on girls themselves and not the wider community.	**Supporting women's rights organisations, women human rights defenders and women's movements.**
	UN missions and peacekeepers. Some policy-focused research has demonstrated reductions in CRSV after the introduction of peacekeepers and case studies have documented how missions can support state forces to reduce impunity. However, there are also documented increases in SEA associated with deployment of peacekeepers.	**Livelihoods and economic empowerment programming with social empowerment/ gender transformative approaches.** While data from non-conflict settings has shown these approaches can reduce VAWG, evidence in conflict settings is mixed. However, there are examples of reductions in IPV from some studies e.g., pairing village savings and loan groups, paired with gender-dialogue groups for couples decreased physical IPV in Côte d'Ivoire.	**Emergency cash transfers,** where cash is linked to VAWG response programmes and services, e.g., emergency cash transfer programmes in Syria helped reduce negative coping strategies for women, which may reduce risks for non-partner sexual violence. However, reported IPV increased.	**Women's meaningful participation in peacebuilding and establishing accountability mechanisms** such as national human rights institutions, civilian oversight bodies and independent monitoring bodies.
			School-based programming, e.g., Peace Education in Afghanistan has shown declines in peer violence, corporal punishment and patriarchal attitudes, but impacts on VAWG were not evaluated.	**Adoption and implementation of International human rights treaties and the domestication of international human rights law.**
			Mental health and reintegration support to aid the transition from armed groups to civilian life in post-conflict societies and reframe militarised masculinities after leaving armed groups. These approaches may reduce risk factors for CRSV perpetration (e.g., mental health) but there is insufficient evidence to know if they reduce the perpetration of VAWG. More broadly, interventions targeting the military during armed conflict is weak.	**Establishing effective and survivor-centred justice systems** at international, national and community level.
				Use of national and global commitments – by state and non-state actors and the UN, e.g., Geneva Call's Deeds of Commitment.
				Use of sanctions in a targeted and consistent way, with sexual violence as an independent criterion, e.g., Central African Republic.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	Overall, there is weak evidence (primarily relying on M&E data and qualitative data) or no evidence on the effectiveness of initiatives to prevent CRSV specifically.	Some rigorous evidence (RCT and quasi-experimental data) is available for interventions targeting wider forms of VAWG in conflict. However, these results need to be replicated in further contexts and most evidence more strongly links these approaches to reductions in IPV rather than non-partner sexual violence. Further adaptation and evaluation are needed to test the effectiveness of these approaches for CRSV specifically.	Some evidence from interventions that have impacted risk factors for experiencing or perpetrating VAWG or CRSV in conflict settings but results have not shown an impact on reducing women's experiences of violence (or have not been evaluated for this).	Efforts to create an enabling environment to prevent CRSV do not necessarily require (or have) data on their impact on preventing CRSV. However, research is needed (and largely missing) on how to ensure each approach is most effectively employed.

NOTES

Red is not enough evidence to make any assessment on the effectiveness of the approach on preventing CRSV or VAWG in conflict.

Orange is some evidence on improving violence outcomes but it isn't sufficient to draw a firm conclusion.

Violet are approaches that have been shown to impact risk factors but haven't impacted on violence outcomes (or haven't been evaluated for this).

Green is data from impact evaluations (either an RCT or quasi-experimental design) that shows significant reductions in violence outcomes.

Black text are approaches that are understood to support an enabling environment but, on its own, likely cannot prevent CRSV. As these approaches are generally not candidates for impact evaluations, an overall assessment of the evidence is not given.

Overall, there is underinvestment in evidence on CRSV and VAWG in conflict settings. These assessments are meant to guide but are not definitive. The best available data is from only one or two studies, with varying study designs and evaluations, making it difficult to generalise the overall effectiveness of this approach. We also recognise that alternative evaluation methods are more appropriate for some approaches (e.g. working with non-state groups). For all approaches, practice-based knowledge is an important source of learning. The sources for these studies are provided as part of the next section and references.

While no assessment of the evidence is given for enabling environment factors as these initiatives are not necessarily appropriate for impact evaluations (either because they should be components of wider change efforts – e.g., trainings, commitments not to use CRSV – or because they are wider efforts – e.g. strengthening justice systems – that occur for many reasons including affecting the use of CRSV), further research is needed to understand how best to implement these initiatives and document the outcomes they are able to achieve.

An effective approach to preventing conflict-related sexual violence considers both immediate physical protection as well as longer-term action to empower and shift inequitable gender norms/constructs of masculinity. Throughout all phases of a conflict, access to quality, survivor-centred response services are a prerequisite to ethical and effective prevention.

Even prior to a conflict, efforts to prevent conflict-related sexual violence can begin. For example: developing national action plans for women, peace and security and gender-based violence that include prevention provisions for conflict-related sexual violence, enacting relevant legislation to criminalise violence against women and girls, promoting norms change within military and security sector institutions, and supporting gender equality and the empowerment of women.

Once a conflict begins, immediate security needs often take priority, with key approaches to mitigate the risk of violence against women and girls laid out in the Guidelines for Integrating Gender-based Violence in Humanitarian Action. Even during acute emergencies, best practice shows that working with women and girls builds accountability and feeds into longer-term empowerment strategies that can help reduce further incidences of conflict-related sexual violence and other forms of violence against women and girls.

Initiatives that work to change the behaviour of security sector actors while they are deployed/engaged in armed warfare are rare, but emerging evidence suggests they may be able to transform understandings of masculine norms and reduce men's use of violence.[24]

Empowered Aid

The Empowered Aid participatory action research project works with women and girls to identify potential areas of risk for sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment and create strategies to reduce these risks. Pilot studies in ongoing humanitarian aid operations in Uganda (Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement) and Lebanon (the city of Tripoli) showed promising results in reducing women's fear and increasing satisfaction with aid distribution, for example through door-to-door distribution modalities which avoided SEAH-related risks associated with taxis or going to a distribution site. The project is now supporting aid actors in East Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia to strengthen the enabling environment for safe access to humanitarian aid for all crisis-affected people, including women and girls in all their diversity.[27]

> In Uganda, at the food distribution pilot, where the proportion of female staff increased to 100% and volunteers were majority female, household survey respondents reported **higher levels of feeling "free of fear"** than other food distribution sites (84% vs 77%).

Promoting positive masculine norms within the security sector

Living Peace uses a combination of psychosocial support and group education to prevent violence in post-conflict settings. In DRC, the model has been integrated into the training curricula of the Police and Defence force. Over the course of 15 weekly group sessions with the Congolese National Police, men are encouraged to adopt new positive norms of masculinity in their own families and wider communities. They reflect on what it means to be a man and how to promote security, peace and gender equality, in partnership with women. An evaluation found decreased use of violence, including physical violence against wives and children, by male (and, in some cases, female) participants. Living Peace has been adapted to other contexts, including Sierra Leone, Lebanon, Cameroon, Brazil, and the United States.[28]

Life-skills interventions targeting adolescent girls

In Liberia, Girl Empower integrated girls' mentoring with conditional cash transfers. Girls aged 13-14 years participated in 32 weeks of curriculum-based sessions led by young female mentors from the community. It also tested the additional impact of a cash payment, conditional on a girl's attendance in the weekly life-skill sessions. A rigorous impact evaluation found the programme reduced rates of child marriage and increased condom use, as well as improved gender attitudes, life-skills, and sexual and reproductive health. Girls in the group that received cash transfers had a slightly greater, but statistically significant, chance of experiencing non-consensual touching. The study highlighted the need to monitor unintended risks and build in careful protection considerations when delivering cash.[29]

As crises become increasingly protracted, there are opportunities to shift to the longer-term violence prevention programming required to tackle unequal gender relations and norms that drive violence. There is more high-quality evidence[25] on the effectiveness of these initiatives, including from stable settings. However, many of these programmes were designed to reduce multiple forms of intimate partner violence rather than conflict-related sexual violence specifically. Despite this, evidence is emerging that community-based social norms approaches can successfully reduce sexual violence.

Community based social norm change

In the DRC, the Transforming Masculinities project engaged faith leaders and community 'gender champions' to critically reflect on ideas around gender and use of violence in conflict-affected communities. Faith leaders then shared these concepts with the wider community through sermons, prayer groups, youth groups and counselling. Community action groups were also set up to provide basic psychosocial support to survivors and help them access medical treatment. A baseline/endline study found significant reductions in both partner and non-partner violence, as well as improved gender attitudes.[26]

24% ↓ 4%
Non-partner sexual violence

69% ↓ 29%
Intimate partner violence

In post-conflict societies, there is a need to address the long-term consequences for survivors as well as newly introduced risks, such as the return of combatants. It is the responsibility of the state, together with a strong civil society, to improve the enabling environment to prevent further cases of violence against women. This includes decreasing conflict-related sexual violence, increasing gender equality, reducing impunity of perpetrators, and supporting the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda to break the cycle of violence.

Recommendations

Based on the evidence reviewed and consultations with survivors, several overarching recommendations for policymakers are identified below.

Policy and Diplomacy

Support global efforts to implement UN Action's Framework for the Prevention of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, including supporting countries to develop and implement action plans to meet global commitments[30] to prevent conflict-related sexual violence and the multiple compounding forms of violence that women and girls experience during conflict. Diplomatic efforts can help ensure that national action plans on women, peace and security include budgeted operational provisions to prevent conflict-related sexual violence and that these plans link to the work of national action plans on gender-based violence.

As part of this, it is important to support survivor-centred, ethical data collection and monitoring (e.g., Murad Code, GBVIMS) to track the effectiveness of these initiatives and document trends in sexual violence in emergencies beyond verified cases of conflict-related sexual violence to build a more holistic understanding of violence against women and girls in conflict. Other priorities include political influencing to ensure countries adopt and adhere to international human rights treaties, ensuring sexual violence is addressed in any ceasefire or peace agreements, and support to facilitate meaningful participation of diverse groups of survivor-led organisations and women's rights organisations in prevention and peacebuilding processes.

Programming

Support and invest in the careful adaptation of promising evidence-informed, survivor-centred programmes that seek to prevent conflict-related sexual violence and other highly elevated forms of violence against women and girls in conflict (e.g., intimate partner violence, sexual exploitation, abuse and harassment), including:

→ **Prioritise risk mitigation and 'do no harm' as a minimum requirement from the earliest stage of a conflict** in all aspects of humanitarian action, underpinned by robust complaints and accountability mechanisms. Promising approaches include localised security initiatives such as armed accompaniment during firewood collection or sex-segregated lines at distribution points. As part of this, it is important to expand investment in quality, survivor-centred response services, which are critical for effective and ethical prevention programming.

→ **Resource and implement evidence-informed programming** to prevent multiple forms of violence against women and girls in conflict settings, including conflict-related sexual violence. There is promising evidence from impact evaluations in conflict settings that the following approaches can be effective at reducing violence against women and girls when carefully designed and implemented: community-based social norms change, and life skills interventions combined with gender-transformative approaches that target adolescent girls. Further pilots and evaluations are needed to understand if these approaches can be adapted to reduce conflict-related sexual violence specifically.

→ **Innovate and evaluate approaches which may have potential** for preventing conflict-related sexual violence and other forms of violence against women and girls but currently lack a rigorous evidence base, including adapting norm change approaches for security actors and livelihoods, and economic empowerment programming with gender-transformative approaches. There is evidence[31] that the following approaches reduce risk factors that lead to violence against women and girls and should be evaluated for their potential impact on preventing conflict-related sexual violence: schools-based approaches, women and girls' safe spaces, mental health interventions, emergency cash transfers, and gender-sensitive reintegration of former combatants.

→ **Support longer-term initiatives to strengthen the enabling environment to prevent conflict-related sexual violence**, including by promoting gender equality, such as flexible funding for women's rights organisations and survivor-led organisations who are on the frontline of prevention, influencing and diplomatic approaches to strengthen laws and their implementation, investment in girls' higher education, and ensuring women's meaningful participation in peacebuilding and accountability mechanisms.

Research

Invest in rigorous, ethical, applied research to address the gaps in the evidence base on what works; and the synthesis and communication of this evolving evidence to shape more effective international action. Priorities for research set out in the main report include how existing approaches used in conflict-affected settings may impact outcomes around conflict-related sexual violence (e.g. women and girls' safe spaces), piloting and learning about how newer approaches (e.g. social norms change within institutional security sector actors) can most effectively be implemented and if they can successfully reduce conflict-related sexual violence, and testing how to adapt approaches to reach women and girls facing multiple, intersecting forms of discrimination including age, ethnicity, disability, and sexuality.

Endnotes

1   Established by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and expanded in subsequent resolutions. In addition, 18 International Human Rights Treaties cover the use of CRSV and VAWG in conflict.

2   Ellsberg, M., Ovince, J., Murphy, M., Blackwell, A., Reddy, D., Stennes, J., Hess, T., & Contreras, M. (2020). No safe place: Prevalence and correlates of violence against conflict-affected women and girls in South Sudan. PloS One, 15(10), e0237965–e0237965; Hynes, M., Ward, J., Robertson, K. and Crouse, C. (2004), A Determination of the Prevalence of Gender-based Violence among Conflict-affected Populations in East Timor. Disasters, 28: 294-321; Palm, S., le Roux, E., Bezzolato, E., Deepan, P., Corboz, J., Lele, U., O'Sullivan, V., Jewkes, R. (2019). Rethinking relationships: moving from violence to equality. What Works to End Violence; Vu, A., Adam, A., Wirtz, A., Pham, K., Rubenstein, L., Glass, N., et al. (2014). The Prevalence of Sexual Violence among Female Refugees in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: a Systematic Review and Meta-analysis. PLOS Current Disasters, 1.

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10   Ellsberg, M., Ovince, J., Murphy, M., Blackwell, A., Reddy, D., Stennes, J., Hess, T., & Contreras, M. (2020). No safe place: Prevalence and correlates of violence against conflict-affected women and girls in South Sudan. PloS One, 15(10), e0237965–e0237965.

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15   Palm, S., le Roux, E., Bezzolato, E., Deepan, P., Corboz, J., Lele, U., O'Sullivan, V., Jewkes, R. (2019). Rethinking relationships: Moving from violence to equality. What Works to End Violence.

16   Ellsberg, et al. (2020) Ibid; Palm et al., (2019) Ibid.

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25   Data from impact evaluations (either an RCT or quasi-experimental design) that shows significant reductions in violence outcomes, as shown in green in the evidence table

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30   e.g., the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which frames the Women, Peace and Security agenda, the Call to Action on Protection from Gender-based Violence in Emergencies, the World Humanitarian Summit's Five Core Commitments to Women and Girls, and the Sustainable Development Goals.

31   As shown in the evidence table on promising approaches