

Flygtningenævnets baggrundsmateriale

Bilagsnr.:	696
Land:	Sudan
Kilde:	Insecurity Insights
Titel:	Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan
Udgivet:	7. november 2023
Optaget på baggrundsmaterialet:	8. april 2024

Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan

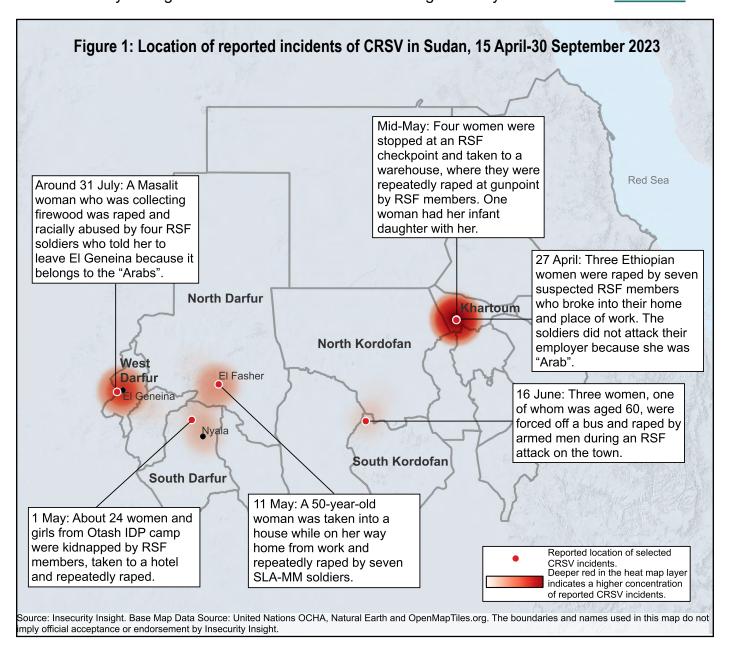
15 April to 30 September 2023



Introduction

On 15 April 2023 violent clashes erupted between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and Rapid Support Forces (RSF) (See <u>Conflict Parties</u>). Just a few days later, on 17 April 2023, the first incidents of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) were publicly reported. By the end of May, reports of sexual violence perpetrated by conflict actors were widespread. As of July 2023 according to the government's <u>Combatting Violence against Women Unit</u>, at least 88 incidents of CRSV have been verified.

This report discusses the patterns visible in the available information on occurrences of CRSV since the start of the current conflict. During this conflict, incidents of CRSV have been attributed to the RSF, SAF and the Sudan Liberation Army led by Minni Minawi (SLA-MM). The vast majority of incidents were allegedly perpetrated by RSF soldiers. RSF commanders have dismissed these accusations by calling them isolated incidents and claiming that they were unable to **intervene**.

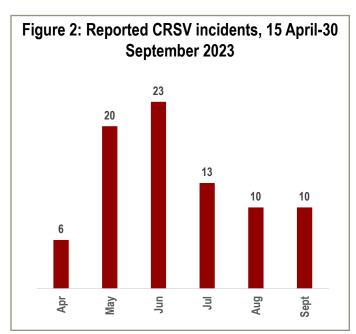


Number of analysed incidents	Women and men affected
82	278

This brief analyses give the reported details of where and how these incidents took place according to available information, and discuss patterns of situational context and perpetrator behaviour. The examination of patterns of reported sexual violence provides important insights into how some of this violence is carried out and the factors and elements that led to such acts. This report is based on an analysis of 82 incidents of reported CRSV between 15 April and 30 September 2023. This data is available on **HDX**.

These incidents were identified and used in this report based on available information, including on the location where the incidents occurred and details on the perpetrators involved. The reported details have not been independently verified, and there is a risk that some of the reported incidents may be based on false or incomplete facts. This data is available on <u>HDX</u>.

Figure 2 shows CRSV incidents included in this analysis for the period in question. These incidents do not show the full scale of CRSV being perpetrated in the current conflict. They also do not include other forms of gender-based violence that are also likely to increase in periods of conflict and insecurity, such as domestic violence.



Key findings

- The vast majority of incidents have physically targeted Sudanese women and girls. Men have also been affected by CRSV, including when they have been forced to witness or participate in attacks.
- CRSV against women and girls has been most frequently reported from urban areas that also
 witnessed the heaviest fighting, which trapped many civilians in their homes. Women and girls
 were attacked in their homes when conflict actors broke into residences to loot in Khartoum, or
 during house-to-house searches in Darfur.
- Women and girls were also at risk of sexual violence while attempting to flee cities into nearby regions or countries. People who sought refuge in Sudan after fleeing conflicts in neighbouring countries have also been affected by sexual violence, with reports suggesting that they were initially targeted.
- RSF or affiliated forces were implicated in more than two-thirds of reported incidents of CRSV.
 SAF and SLA-MM fighters have also been implicated, but to a much lesser extent, while 84% of all reported incidents were perpetrated by groups of men rather than single individuals.
- Due to widespread attacks on health infrastructure, survivors have been unable to access timely life-saving medical treatment. Some survivors have resorted to seeking medical advice through social media groups that have been specifically set up to assist survivors.

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- Most of these incidents have been reported by survivors or persons who witnessed sexual violence after they managed to flee the conflict.
- Both widespread telecommunication blackouts and the shame and stigma associated with this
 type of violence mean that reported incidents over-represent the experience of better connected
 individuals who are both willing and able to report. Less active documentation work and active
 engagement of institutions where such incidents can be reported in more remote areas may
 result in the underreporting of sexual violence from rural communities.
- The majority of analysed incidents of CRSV were reported by journalists and through news outlets that have been reporting on violence against civilians in the conflict. As a result, there has been an increase in raids on news outlets and attacks on journalists in order to force them to stop such reporting.
- CRSV is not a new concern in Sudan. Since 2020 Insecurity Insight has recorded <u>166 incidents</u> of sexual violence in the country, with nearly two-thirds of these incidents being reported in Darfur.

Early reports of conflict-related sexual violence

For various reasons, reports of CRSV usually take time to surface. In recent conflicts the earliest reports of sexual violence tended to be reported by health professionals who sounded the alarm that CRSV was occurring as they begin to treat survivors. However, particularly while fighting creates high levels of insecurity, survivors may have difficulties in accessing critical medical treatment and some may even be unable to access health facilities. Reports from health-care professionals are a first indication that sexual violence is being used in conflict, especially because they are the first to record it, but these reports do not provide an accurate picture of the full scale of the violence, especially since some survivors and families will not seek medical care due to a lack of access or the shame and stigma surrounding these incidents.

Today, various countries, including Sudan, have designated institutions tasked with monitoring or recording incidents of sexual violence. However, during active fighting, institutions where sexual violence incidents are usually reported may be suspended or difficult to access. Survivors may also be afraid of speaking out in fear of retaliation, especially if the perpetrators are still in the area. During active conflict official information usually takes a long time before it is released. Most survivors and their families need time to decide whether or not they will speak out, and when they decide to do so the structures that would provide a safe procedure to follow may not be in place.

Journalists and community activists often start to report incidents via media outlets when institutions do not publicly report such incidents. Civil society organisations and journalists often work together to raise the alarm on human rights abuses. Social media plays an important role in bringing to light emerging incidents as organisations, community members, and survivors use it to report incidents.

Accessing such early reports is important to understand some of the patterns of violence, to organise support for survivors and to ensure that all mechanisms are used to encourage conflict parties to prohibit any form of sexual violence. At a later stage, documentation of conflict-related violence is important to acknowledge suffering and hold perpetrators to account.

Information on CRSV from Sudan

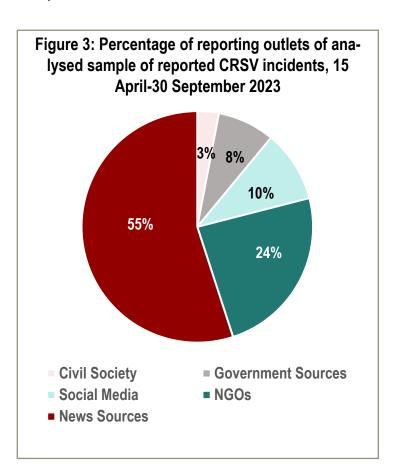
This report has been compiled with publicly available information covering the first five and a half months of the intensified conflict since 15 April 2023. As in many other conflicts, some reports were provided by health-care workers. In the current conflict in Sudan incidents of CRSV were primarily reported through journalists and news outlets that spoke directly with survivors, civil society associations, and other entities.

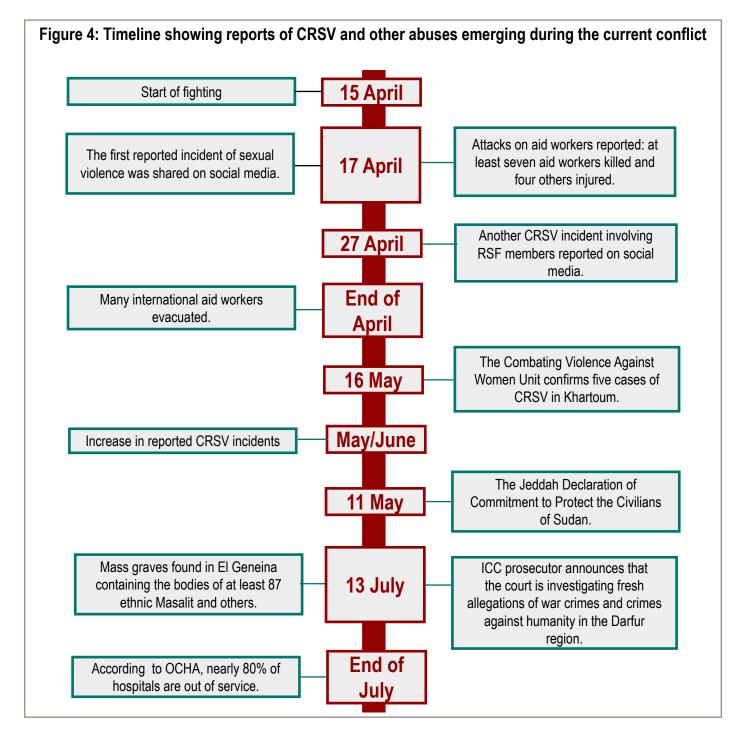
The first reports of CRSV were reported through social media, particularly X (formerly Twitter). Activists, medical and legal professionals, and community members used social media not only to report incidents of CRSV, but also to warn others and provide a support network for survivors and women at risk of sexual violence. The majority of incidents reported online alleged that RSF members were primarily responsible for the majority of incidents of CRSV (as well as other human rights abuses). According to Insecurity Insight's **social media monitoring**, the social media space in Sudan is dominated by users who are mostly Khartoum-based and have pro-SAF views, therefore incidents perpetrated by SAF members may be less likely to be reported through such media.

The majority of incidents of CRSV (and other forms of violence against civilians) are being reported through news outlets. As a result, according to the Sudanese Journalists Syndicate, there has been an increase in raids and attacks on journalists, particularly in Khartoum. These attacks force journalists to stop their work and consequently turn certain areas into what have been called "dark spots", affecting what gets reported and how it is reported.

Female journalists may be particularly at risk of sexual violence in retaliation for their work. In May 2023 a female journalist was abducted from her home in West Darfur and then beaten and raped by armed men who were reportedly backed by RSF soldiers. During the attack she was questioned about her work documenting human rights abuses in West Darfur.

Since the start of the conflict the **Combatting** Violence against Women Unit, a Sudanese government unit tasked with combatting violence against women, has been documenting and reporting incidents of CRSV. By July it had documented 56 incidents in Khartoum and 46 in the Darfur region, all of which were allegedly perpetrated by RSF forces or RSF-affiliated militia. However, according to a report by **UNFPA** in early May, central and state-level helplines usually managed by this unit were suspended, which limited survivors' access to services.





Patterns of reported sexual violence

Women and girls the main targets, but men also victims

Almost all of the reported incidents analysed in this sample affected women and girls. However, this does not imply that men have not been targeted by CRSV, especially since it is a known fact that CRSV perpetrated against men is significantly underreported. Within the analysed sample of incidents, in some incidents men were forced to witness the rape of their family members and loved ones. In one incident at the beginning of May 2023 two men were held at gunpoint and forced to watch their wives being raped by RSF soldiers in Khartoum, while in another incident a man was shot and killed after intervening in an attempted rape of his wife. Some men were also forced by perpetrators to participate in mass rapes. In an unspecified location, civilian men were kidnapped and locked inside a warehouse with 12 women who were raped by armed men, some of whom were wearing RSF uniforms. The kidnapped men were forced to participate in the rapes.

Initial reports of CRSV involved attacks on foreign women

The <u>first reports of sexual violence</u> began to emerge almost immediately after the fighting started. These reports suggested that foreign women were initially being targeted. On 17 April 2023 an international aid worker was sexually assaulted after the RSF broke into a hostel hosting INGO expats and kidnapped two Nigerian aid workers. The incident was reported on social media and followed widespread reports of aid workers being attacked and places where aid workers were staying being broken into. It is unclear whether they were actually targeted first or whether these incidents gained the most attention on social media. By the first week of May the majority of international INGO staff had been evacuated from Sudan.

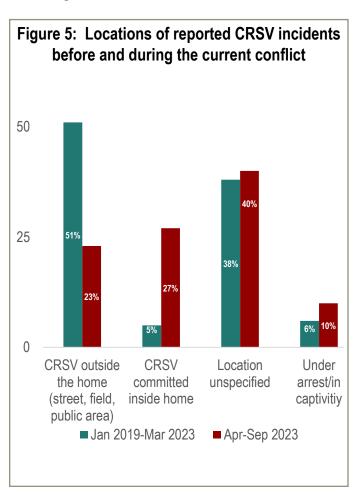
A few days after the first incident of sexual violence against Nigerian aid workers, another two incidents were reported on social media involving sexual violence affecting at least five refugee women in Khartoum. About a month after the onset of the fighting, the Combatting Violence against Women Unit reported that there had been at least five reported cases of sexual violence, three of which affected female refugees. From the analysed sample of reported incidents, sexual violence was used against refugees from Ethiopia, Eritrea and South Sudan. In one incident a woman reported via online social media that two Ethiopian women were raped after RSF forces broke into her family residence in Khartoum where the refugees worked. According to her report, the soldiers decided to leave the woman's family alone because "she was Arab" and then proceeded to the upper levels of the building where they found the two Ethiopian women, whom they then raped.

Following this report, there was a significant increase in the number of reported incidents of CRSV being published through news outlets and other media that also detailed sexual violence against Sudanese women and girls.

Survivors attacked in their homes or while fleeing the conflict

Clashes between warring parties occurred mainly in urban areas across the country, with Khartoum; West, South and North Darfur; the Kordofan states; and parts of Blue Nile seeing the heaviest fighting. Of these urban conflict zones, CRSV was most frequently reported from Khartoum city and West Darfur. However, there may be fewer reports in other areas due to lower connectivity and poorer telecommunications infrastructure.

The extent to which the CRSV reported since 15 April 2023 occurred in people's homes is particularly striking when the patterns of reported sexual violence are compared to those of previous years. CRSV was already a critical issue in Sudan before the current escalation of conflict. Between 2020 and 14 April 2023, monitoring by Insecurity Insight has recorded 82 incidents of sexual violence, with nearly two-thirds reported in Darfur. Comparison between the patterns typical of previous periods of the conflict with the violence reported since April 2023 underlines the extent to which CRSV has been brought into homes in urban centres.



Before April 2023 women victims of sexual violence frequently reported attacks occurring outside their homes. Many such attacks were reported to have occurred when women were working in their fields or were in public areas, such as markets, or when collecting firewood and fetching water. In urban areas women reported being the victims of sexual violence while attending demonstrations or being held in police custody.

With active urban combat taking place in the streets during the current conflict, civilians have stayed inside their homes as much as they could and only left occasionally to obtain basic supplies such as water, food or medicine.

The reported incidents show the extent to which since 15 April 2023 conflict actors have perpetrated acts of sexual violence inside homes. Of the analysed sample, 27% of incidents reportedly occurred inside the home. This compares to 5% of CRSV cases being reported to have occurred inside the home before 15 April. After this date CRSV inside homes was mainly perpetrated by members of the RSF, who from the very start of the conflict were reported to be breaking into private residences and buildings, including buildings that hosted UN and INGO personnel.

Women and girls were also at risk of CRSV while attempting to flee cities. By the end of June, 2.5 million had been displaced, as people attempted to flee conflict inside their cities. Women and girls reported being raped by conflict actors while travelling on buses: often these buses were stopped at checkpoints and the women were forced off the bus and raped. Internally displaced women are also at risk of being exposed to sexual exploitation and abuse inside camps or temporary shelters.

Additionally, a large number of women have reportedly been abducted in Omdurman, parts of Khartoum North (Bahri) and in Darfur. According to the Missing People Initiative, over 229 people have gone missing since the start of the conflict, including women and girls. Reports have appeared online that RSF forces are holding these women hostage to seek ransom from their families and possibly selling them in markets in North Darfur. In our analysed sample, in at least eight incidents survivors reported being taken and held captive in warehouses, hotels and abandoned houses, where they were held with other women and girls and repeatedly raped by their captors. In one incident in Nyala city, South Darfur, it was reported that an unspecified number of women and girls were being held inside a Nyala University dormitory that had allegedly been occupied by RSF soldiers. The report claimed that three of the women had been abducted from Khartoum.

It is possible that the extent of sexual violence inflicted on women while pursuing livelihood activities in rural areas remains underreported in the current conflict.

RSF or affiliated forces implicated in more than two-thirds of reported incidents of CRSV

Since 15 April 2023 the vast majority of reported incidents of CRSV have involved RSF soldiers carrying out acts of sexual violence, including gang rapes. From the sample of analysed incidents, RSF soldiers or RSF-affiliated militia were reportedly implicated in over two-thirds of reported incidents.

According to Insecurity Insight's data included in this sample, half of the reported incidents occurred in Khartoum state, primarily in Omdurman and Khartoum North, and in areas controlled by the RSF. In these areas, where RSF soldiers were the only visible presence on the street, there are several reports of their forcefully entered civilian homes, markets, hospitals, and other private and public spaces and committing acts of sexual violence.

Perpetrators were also identified from the uniforms they wore during the attacks. At least two incidents were also recorded and shared online by the perpetrators. During one attack, a video of which surfaced online in June, three perpetrators videoed themselves attacking a woman. Although

they were not wearing any uniforms and had no signs of belonging to any armed group, one of the men was identified by a member of the public as allegedly being part of the RSF.

There are also two reports of CRSV involving gang rapes from areas controlled by the SAF in Khartoum. In one incident in May, after two SAF soldiers raped a woman, a group of civilians grabbed and attacked the alleged perpetrators.

The Rapid Support Forces (RSF)

The RSF originated from the Janjaweed militias, who were headed by Hemedti (the current commander of the RSF). In 2003 the Janjaweed were used by the government at the time to crush non-Arab Darfuri rebel groups. During this "Darfur war" they were accused of committing widespread war crimes and crimes against humanity. By 2017 they had gained the status of a "regular force" and were legitimised as an independent security force. During the 2019 protests the RSF were accused of using sexual violence to break up protests. On 3 June 2019 hundreds of RSF soldiers stormed the sit-in in front of the army headquarters and terrorised the protesters, killing and raping many of them. The <u>Sudanese Rights Group (Huqooq)</u> identified 39 victims and 19 witnesses of sexual and gender-based violence during this incident.

To this day the majority of perpetrators who committed these incidents have still not been held to account. Although the war in Darfur was referred to the International Criminal Court (ICC) based on allegations of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, so far no one has been prosecuted. Similarly, no one was held to account for the widespread violence of the 3 June 2019 massacre.

Communal tensions in the Darfur region

The conflict has reignited communal tensions across Darfur, with Arab militias – who are linked to the RSF – appearing to take advantage of the security vacuum in the region. Since the start of the conflict, the RSF and allied militia have attacked towns and villages across Darfur, with satellite imagery showing that various villages and towns in the region have been razed to the ground and there are reports of militiamen specifically targeting civilian infrastructure such as markets, schools and health infrastructure. On 13 July a mass grave of people from the Masalit tribe was found outside El Geneina city in West Darfur. Following this discovery, Prosecutor Karim Khan of the ICC announced that the ICC is investigating fresh allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur.

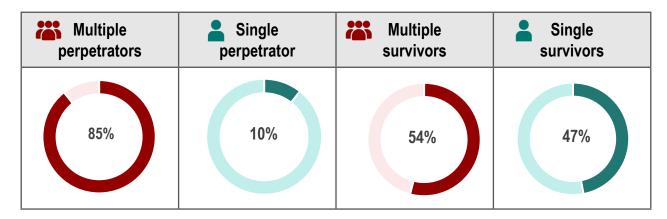
From the sample of incidents analysed for this report, nearly half the attacks occurred in Darfur; however, these figures likely grossly underrepresent the reality on the ground. Incidents have mainly been reported by individuals who managed to flee the affected areas. Widespread internet and telecommunications blackouts across the region persist, making it difficult to communicate with those who remain. This presents a terrifying prospect for those women and girls who have remained or who are still attempting to flee.

The majority of analysed CRSV acts occurred in West Darfur, which reported active fighting a few days into the conflict. Women and girls were targeted in their homes in El Geneina city and at checkpoints while attempting to flee to neighbouring Chad. Survivors reported that they were targeted because of their tribal affiliations, a claim based on the fact that perpetrators demanded to know their tribal affiliations before raping them. In one incident a group of 40 men, women and children who were attempting to flee the conflict in El Geneina were stopped at an RSF checkpoint. Those individuals who were from the Masalit tribe were whipped and beaten. The men and four women were abducted and one of the witnesses to the incident claimed that these women were likely raped.

In some incidents, survivors claimed that during the attack their attackers racially abused them, and some survivors were told to leave the city because it "belonged to the Arabs". Another survivor reported that her attackers said that they "should rape the Nuba women until they gave birth to our babies". Human rights activists who were reporting on human rights abuses being committed against the Masalit tribe said they were specifically targeted during house-to-house searches in an attempt to silence them.

As in Khartoum, the largest number of CRSV incidents in Darfur were believed to have been perpetrated by the RSF. However, members of the SLA-MM were also implicated in at least two incidents of sexual violence in the analysed sample. Both incidents were reported in El Fashir city in North Darfur in mid-May and involved groups of perpetrators. It is unclear whether this paints an accurate picture of what is occurring on the ground or whether incidents involving the RSF were more likely to be widely reported.

Most CRSV incidents were gang rapes



Over 85% of incidents were perpetrated by groups of soldiers, and in at least three incidents women were attacked by groups of more than five men. In some incidents the perpetrators abducted groups of women and held them in locations where they were repeatedly raped.

10% of reported incidents were perpetrated by single individuals. However, in almost all these incidents the men were accompanied by larger groups of men. In one incident the perpetrator was part of a group of eight men – two of whom were reportedly wearing RSF uniforms – who broke into a woman's home in West Darfur. In another incident an individual raped a woman on three separate occasions inside her house in West Darfur, and on each occasion he brought another man with him who either held the woman down or on one occasion also participated in the rape.

Widespread violence against health care reducing survivors' access to medical treatment

Survivors of sexual violence require access to timely medical treatment that can be life-saving. Medical care is crucial in the 72 hours following sexual violence to prevent HIV, sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies. Prior to the conflict, survivors of CRSV already encountered difficulties in accessing health services and medical treatment.

Four months into the conflict approximately 80% of hospitals and health facilities were <u>no longer functioning</u> in cities and towns affected by the conflict. According to monitoring by Insecurity Insigh t, since the start of the conflict there have been 149 reported incidents of attacks on health care, with 15 units of health infrastructure being destroyed and 38 facilities damaged. Khartoum, North Darfur, North Kordofan, South Darfur and West Darfur states reported the most incidents, which coincides with the states that reported the most CRSV incidents.

In El Geneina, where according to the analysed sample nearly a third of incidents were reported, it has been said that **only one hospital is still in operation**, but civilians were unable to access it. Survivors who did manage to reach medical facilities were not able to receive emergency post-rape care because it was either unavailable or they did not disclose the sexual violence they had experienced to staff in time.

Survivors may also be unable to obtain care or fearful of going to health facilities for medical treatment because these facilities are occupied by conflict actors who may be associated with the perpetrators of these attacks. In Khartoum and North Kordofan states at least 31 health facilities were forcefully occupied either by RSF (who were implicated in the majority of incidents) or SAF forces. In Khartoum city, after a 12-year-old girl was raped by two RSF soldiers, her parents were advised against taking her to the nearest hospital for treatment because it was controlled by the RSF, and so they bought medical supplies from a pharmacy instead.

Conclusion

Understanding patterns of sexual violence is important to assist populations in need.

CRSV causes unacceptable harm to civilians, both physically and mentally. It has important implication for health care, education and protection. As such it is important for aid agency programming to understand the exposure populations in need may have had to sexual violence. Sexual violence has important implications for health-care programmes in terms of both drugs and professional skills. It can be very challenging for health workers to address these at-times very serious injuries that require specialised medical or surgical skills. The extent to which sexual violence occurs in protection settings poses challenges for aid agencies seeking to care for the displaced. Curriculums for education in emergencies need to take into account the exposure of students and teachers to gross violations that fundamentally affect both their well-being and ability to learn.

• Accountability is needed to create a neutral humanitarian space.

Sexual violence also has implications for the humanitarian principles more widely and how aid and care can be delivered in conflict. For example, many frontline health workers report that in the absence of adequate accountability and justice that they are unwilling to treat injured soldiers from armed groups known to carry out sexual violence. While an understandable sentiment, such attitudes nevertheless undermine the principles of the neutrality of access to health care, with implications for the wider aid sector. Health workers are much more likely to embrace neutrality in the provision of health care if authorities are in place to render justice for such crimes. During periods of the violent breakdown of order, health workers and other frontline aid workers who witness the brutality and consequence of sexual violence often feel a duty to address conflict-related harm to civilians, because nobody else does. Very often this goes beyond just providing care for the survivor or survivors, but includes reporting incidents and denying care to perpetrators. The humanitarian space can only exist if there are effective bodies that address justice and accountability in the face of such targeted violence against civilians.

Understanding patterns of sexual violence helps to see the underlying mechanisms and strategies.

Understanding the nature of conflict-related violence is important for any accountability mechanism. Understanding the trends and patterns of these types of incidents enables us to see whether these incidents are opportunistic criminal incidents perpetrated by rogue soldiers or are being used as part of a strategy of war against local communities.

It remains difficult to prove that sexual violence is being used as a strategy of war that is directed or ordered by senior commanders. However, the sheer number of incidents that have been reported since April 2023 suggests that these incidents are much more than opportunistic actions. Despite claims by commanders that the incidents are either not occurring or out of their control, the extent of the attacks makes it difficult to believe that commanders are unaware of the actions of the soldiers under their command.

In particular, the extent to which CRSV is carried out by groups – rather than individual men – makes it very unlikely that these reported events were one-off incidents involving men taking advantage of the chaos of the conflict. The fact that so many of the reported incidents were reportedly carried out by groups of men acting together makes it unlikely that the commanders of these men were unaware of what was taking place. In addition, the extent to which sexual violence is reported to have occurred during break-ins at private homes suggests planned acts of violence.

The incidents analysed in this report do not provide a full picture of the scale of the sexual violence that has taken place during the five-and-a-half months of intensified conflict in Sudan. Reported incidents of sexual violence are simply the tip of the iceberg, and many more incidents go unreported for various reasons, including shame, stigma, fear of retaliation or the lack of effective ways to report them. The stigma surrounding these attacks makes it harder for survivors to report them or seek medical treatment.

The shutdown of communication networks, the silencing of journalists and human rights activists, and medical facilities being inaccessible all hamper the reporting of these incidents. Health professionals – who are often the first point of contact for survivors and may also be the first to raise the alarm about increasing incidents of sexual violence – must be protected. Survivors' access to timely health care is essential and life-saving. There needs to be a collective effort from all persons involved to hold perpetrators to account and provide a platform for survivors to safely report these attacks. Mechanisms to investigate and prosecute perpetrators also need to be set up.

Recommendations for aid agencies

- The vast majority of CRSV goes unreported. Many displaced individuals may have either experienced or witnessed sexual violence, therefore aid agencies need to be aware that their staff are likely to encounter survivors, and appropriate referral systems for treating survivors need to be mapped out beforehand, including safe reporting channels.
- Staff working with survivors of such violence need to have the proper psychosocial support in order to protect them from vicarious traumatisation.
- Displaced women and girls who have fled the conflict are more vulnerable to being sexually exploited and abused inside camps or temporary shelters.

Data limitations

This document was compiled as part of an incident-based approach to documenting incidents involving CRSV. Incident descriptions from multiple sources were cross-checked and consolidated into a single dataset and coded using standard definitions. The incidents reported are neither a complete nor a representative list of all attacks involving sexual violence during the current conflict in Sudan, and have not been independently verified.

Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan 15 April to 30 September 2023

The figures presented in this report can be cited as the total number of publicly available reports of attacks and the number of individuals affected by such CRSV in Sudan between 15 April and 30 September 2023, as identified by Insecurity Insight.

The dataset suffers from limitations inherent in the information provided by the sources used. These publicly available sources use different methodologies, and certain biases within individual sources influence the data. Also, the information provided may contain inaccuracies. Most importantly, the cases referred to are not a representative sample of incidents of sexual violence in Sudan, but merely reflect those attacks that have been reported by survivors, their families, members of the public and professionals working with survivors.

Definitions used in this report

Conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) is defined as strategic violence used by conflict parties to achieve their political or military objectives and includes acts of sexual violence such as rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, or any other form of sexual violence against women, men, girls or boys.

Terminology used to refer to sexual violence:

- Mass rape refers to an incident where multiple survivors or victims were subjected to sexual violence in the same location at the same time.
- Gang rape refers to an incident where a single survivor or victim was sexually assaulted by multiple perpetrators.
- Survivor refers to an individual who has experienced sexual violence and survived.
- Victim refers to an individual who has been killed during or after an act or acts of sexual violence.

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