

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE STOCKHOLM
School of Human Rights and Democracy

DEGREE PROJECT
Autumn, 2023

“Invisible children”

A qualitative study on the work of organisations to
promote support for future children born of war

Author: Sofia Sandahl

Supervisor: Emma Sundkvist
University College Stockholm

Acknowledgments

Appreciation is expressed to every participant who generously devoted their time and shared their valuable experiences to help me expand the substance of my paper.

Secondly, I would like to thank my partner Dominic for his invaluable help, feedback, and encouragement throughout the process of researching and writing this paper. I want to thank him for his steadfast support and belief in me, not just in this project, but in all aspects of my life. Lastly, I want to thank my supervisor, Emma Sundkvist. Her mentorship, insights, and constructive criticism helped with shaping my ideas and improving the quality of my work.

” ... the children have become a symbol of the trauma the nation as a whole went through, and society prefers not to acknowledge these needs.”

- Women, War and Peace, by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

Abstract

Sexual violence perpetrated against women during armed conflicts represents a severe violation of their fundamental human rights. This heinous act not only inflicts significant harm on the women themselves but also results in the birth of children conceived due to wartime rape. Previous research has marked that children born of war encounter various forms of discrimination, stigma, neglect, abuse, and sometimes limited access to education and healthcare. As a vulnerable group, children born of war often have single mothers who have experienced sexual violence, resulting in potential lack of support from their family and communities. This paper investigates the circumstances and obstacles faced by children born of war but also what is necessary to properly support these children, according to the five organisations interviewed. It shines light on the need for comprehensive support systems to address their specific needs in the future, such as the urgent need for early interventions and psychological support, along with providing children born of war the opportunity to connect with their biological heritage to foster a sense of identity amongst others.

Key words

Stigmatisation; discrimination; neglect; abuse; children; children born of war; war children; ostracism; organisations; CRC

ABBREVIATIONS

CBOW: Children Born of War

BiH: Bosnia-Herzegovina

CRC: Convention on the Rights of the Child

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	2
ABSTRACT	4
KEY WORDS	4
ABBREVIATIONS.....	4
INTRODUCTION.....	6
1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT AREA	8
1.2 AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	8
1.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH	9
1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	14
1.4.1 FOUR FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES IN THE CRC	14
1.5 METHOD AND MATERIAL	16
1.5.1 METHOD.....	16
1.5.1.1 APPROACH	18
1.5.1.2 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	19
1.5.2 MATERIALS.....	19
2. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS.....	20
2.1 WHAT DISCRIMINATION DO CHILDREN BORN OF WAR EXPERIENCE?.....	20
2.1 HOW CAN ORGANISATIONS EFFECTIVELY ADDRESS THE DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED BY CHILDREN BORN OF WAR, FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PROMOTING AND SAFEGUARDING CHILDREN'S RIGHTS?	23
2.1.1 INCLUDING CHILDREN BORN OF WAR, AND MORE RESEARCH	23
2.1.2 DO NO HARM.....	24
2.1.3 STIGMA REDUCTION AND WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY	25
2.1.4 ENGAGE STAKEHOLDERS	26
2.1.5 IDENTITY FINDING	27
2.1.6 PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT AND HEALTH CARE	29
3. CONCLUSION	31
3.1 FUTURE RESEARCH	32
4. BIBLIOGRAPHY	32

Introduction

Sexual violence during armed conflicts has a long historical path, as exemplified by the abduction of women from the neighboring Sabine communities by the Romans 1799. This incident, known as the The Rape of the Sabine Women, occurred when the Romans invited the Sabines to a festival, only to engage in violent confrontations with the Sabine men and thereafter abduct their women. These women had to marry Roman men and bear their children, serving the purpose of increasing the Roman population.¹

Rape in conflict is also used as a weapon to terrorize and degrade a particular community and to achieve a specific political end ... The humiliation, pain and terror inflicted by the rapist is meant to degrade not just the individual woman but also to strip the humanity from the larger group of which she is a part ... Combatants who rape in war often explicitly link their acts of sexual violence to this broader social degradation.²

Sexual violence in armed conflict has been used for centuries, and if current conflicts in Ukraine, DRC, and Myanmar are any indication, sexual violence is likely to accompany war for the foreseeable future as well.³ The children of the vulnerable women become a living legacy of the sexual violence that its mother endured. These children are called a “hidden population”.⁴ One of the problems with the stigma created around sexual violence and children born of war (CBOW) is that a lot of people affected by these crimes feel discriminated and therefore keep silent about their history – they hide. This in turn leads to misleading data and the area thus remains mainly hidden and under-researched. The lack of data and analysis can lead to an incorrect view that the problem is minor. Consequently, due to the lack of statistics, there is less data available for other CBOW to draw upon. This gap in our collective

¹ Antonia Holden. *The Abduction of the Sabine Women in Context: The Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions*. Vol. 112, No. 1 (Jan., 2008), pp. 121-142 (22 pages). The University of Chicago Press. 2008. P. 121.

² Human Rights Watch. *Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm> (Accessed 2022-12-01)

³ Bulent Diken, Carsten Bagge Laustsen. *Becoming Abject: Rape as a Weapon of War*. Body and Society 11(1):111-128. SAGE Publications. 2005. P. 111.

⁴ Saskia Mitreuter, Heide Glaesmer, Philipp Kuwert and Marie Kaiser. *Loneliness and lack of belonging as paramount theme in identity descriptions of Children Born of War*. Frontiers in Political Science. 2022. P. 10.

knowledge means that many children and woman's story is not getting told, documented, heard, and suitable support is not provided and followed up on.⁵

CBOW in all its forms have been subject to hardship in one way or another, and they are defined by the crime that was the cause of their conception – that can have a devastating consequence on their lives. Without appropriate support, it can affect children's ability to live fully. All children, regardless of the reason for their birth, have basic rights as laid out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).⁶ Norwegian children fathered by German soldiers during the occupation between 1940-1945 was found with “poorer health, higher suicide rates, lower education and income levels than other Norwegians from the same age cohort”.⁷ In general it is viewed that CBOW often need more support, regardless of whether they have been abandoned, live with their parent, or separated from their family. Psychological, physical, and financial problems can arise, and it becomes important that CBOW receive the adequate support needed to be shaped as a natural part of society and not marginalised.⁸

Over the last few decades, organisations such as International Network for Interdisciplinary Research on Children Born of War (INIRC-CBOW), The Children Born of War Project (CBOW Project), War Child och Children Born of War (CHIBOW) has been created. These organisations have been created by the civil society to connect the gap in information and knowledge by collecting data and information on CBOW across different contexts, the promotion of collaborative research projects, the development of recommendations for securing CBOW's rights

⁵ Ingvill C. Mochmann. *Children Born of War – A Decade of International and Interdisciplinary Research*. *Historical Social Research* 42 (1): 320-346. doi: 10.12759/hsr.42.2017.1.320-346. GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, 2017. P. 326.

⁶ Ingvill C. Mochmann, Sabine Lee. *The human rights of children born of war: case analyses of past and present conflicts*. In: *Historical Social Research* 35 (2010), 3, pp. 268-298. URN: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ss0ar-310771>. P. 270 (P. 5 in PDF).

⁷ Elisa Van Ee, Rolf Kleber. *Growing Up Under a Shadow: Key Issues in Research on and Treatment of Children Born of Rape*. *Child Abuse Review*. 2013. P. 3.

⁸ Glorieuse Uwizeye, Holli A DeVon, Linda L McCreary, et al. *Children born of genocidal rape: What do we know about their experiences and needs?* Wiley Periodicals LLC; *Public Health Nurs*. 2021;1–10. P. 8.

in partnership with NGOs and governmental organisations, and the advancement of medical therapies tailored to the specific needs of CBOW.⁹

1.1 Introduction to the subject area

Previous research indicates that CBOW experience hardships and vulnerabilities, including various forms of abuse, neglect, stigma, discrimination within their families and communities, which can contribute to their economic disadvantage. In some cases, this includes infanticide. To effectively address these challenges, it is crucial to adopt a child rights perspective and involve CBOW in the formulation of guidelines and policies within the local community. The insight gained from children is helpful for the development and implementation of protective legislation and facilitating substantial improvements that are relevant and positively impactful for children. This paper incorporates the perspectives of five organisations that identify necessary measures for successfully supporting CBOW and addressing these children's short-term and long-term needs and supporting the realisation of their human rights.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The purpose of this paper is to address two key research questions concerning CBOW and the organisations supporting them. Firstly, the study aims to identify what types of discrimination CBOW experience according to the five organisations I have interviewed. This question will be exploring the various appearances and impacts of discrimination within their societal and familial contexts. Secondly, the research seeks to investigate the role of organisations in supporting the actualisation of child rights for CBOW, examining the strategies and involvements used to address the specific needs and challenges faced by these children. By exploring these research questions, this paper aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the discrimination faced by CBOW and the measures required to promote their rights and well-being.

⁹ Interdisciplinary and International Research Network on Children Born of War. <https://www.childrenbornofwar.com/#:~:text=The%20aim%20of%20this%20interdisciplinary,thereby%20expanding%20the%20evidence%20base> (Accessed: 2023-05-09).

Research questions

1. What discrimination do children born of war experience?
2. How can organisations effectively address the discrimination experienced by children born of war, from the perspective of promoting and safeguarding children's rights?

1.3 Previous research

To answer the research questions, this paper employs an empirical theory consisting of a child rights perspective. To deepen my understanding of the term “children born of war” and previous studies on the subject this paper uses research from Kai Grieg, Eithne Dowds, Prof. Dr. Ingvill C. Ødegaard (formerly Mochmann), Prof. Charli Carpenter, Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, and a paper by Glorieuse Uwizeye, Holli A DeVon, Linda L McCreary, *et al.* about *Children born of genocidal rape: What do we know about their experiences and needs*.

A common view of the term “war children” or “children born of war” is a child born to a locally based mother and a father from a hostile group or peacekeeping forces during and after armed conflict or war.¹⁰ The discussion of CBOW has long been overlooked, however, many new organisations and research papers have been written on the subject.¹¹ A lot of studies suggest that CBOW are stigmatised, discriminated against and/or hidden from the community by society. These children often get unwanted and insulting names within society and the state, such as “tyskerunge” (children of German soldiers in Norway and Denmark), “war leftovers” (children of Canadian soldiers in Europe), “bùhi điền” (dust of life – children of American soldiers

¹⁰ Kai Grieg. *The War Children of the World*. Bergen, War and Children Identity Project (WCIP), 2001. P. 6.

¹¹ Eithne Dowds. *Children Born of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict*. P. 4.

in Vietnam), and “Chetnik babies”.¹² Siobhan McEvoy-Levy argues that CBOW often falls in the cracks of the heinous crime of sexual violence used in war as either a weapon to humiliate the enemy, a tool for genocidal practice, and the violation of human rights.¹³

In Rwanda 1994, the largest number of war-related sexual violence has been documented. Genocide of the minority population Tutsi was committed by the soldiers of the majority population Hutus. This resulted in approximately one million deaths and an estimated 100,000 to 250,000 women were raped during the months of the genocide. The children who were born because of the mass rapes are called “the children of bad memories” and “children of hate”.¹⁴

The experience of sexual assault imposes a substantial psychological burden on individuals, leading to a state of heightened stress and mental suffering. Consequently, offspring are subjected to this prenatal stress. Additionally, some children have survived unsuccessful abortion efforts made in secret, as well as deliberate instances of pre-and postnatal malnourishment deliberately inflicted upon the fetus or newborn, aiming to cause distress and hardship.¹⁵

Ødegaard believes that there are five ways to help children born of war:

1. Provide material support to mothers and children;
2. Information campaigns to prevent discrimination;
3. Assistance in claiming compensation from fathers;
4. Assistance in claiming compensations from governments, and;

¹² Ingvill C. Mochmann. *Children Born of War*. P. 323.

¹³ Charli R. Carpenter (red.). *Born of War: Protecting Children of Sexual Violence Survivors in Conflict Zones*, Kumarian, Bloomfield, Conn., 2007. P. 149.

¹⁴ Kai Grieg. *The War Children of the World*. P. 44.

¹⁵ Glorieuse Uwizeye, Holli A DeVon, Linda L McCreary, et al. *Children born of genocidal rape*. P. 6.

5. Assistance in locating fathers (and mothers) of children born of war.

Nevertheless, Ødegaard points out that a CBOW needs more support than only these five points. An adequate system that gives CBOW the right to, among other things, medical and health care, school, and citizenship is also needed.¹⁶ Some CBOW may encounter inner turmoil as they navigate their sense of identity, experiencing a disconnect from their mother's community and concurrently harboring an aversion towards establishing connections with their biological fathers. This ambivalence is primarily rooted in the reprehensible acts perpetrated by the fathers against their mothers.¹⁷ Some mothers have reported that their children, in the context of war, have been perceived as heavy responsibilities they bear without adequate support from their families, communities, or governmental institutions. This lack of support, which would have been available had they not experienced sexual assaulted, can contribute to situations where mistreatment and abuse of these children may occur.¹⁸

Charli Carpenter is a professor of political science and legal studies at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst with a focus on international law and human security. In Carpenter's books *Forgetting Children Born of War* and *Born of war* concerns the discrimination and stigmatisation CBOW withstand. Carpenter believes that children have rights under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in regards of being a human, and this declaration states that children have fundamental rights such as food, schooling, medical assistance, protection, and safety. States must therefore ensure that children are not harmed by negligence, abandoned, or even die. CBOW are particularly vulnerable to these types of neglect.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ingwill C. Mochmann. *Children Born of*. P. 59.

¹⁷ Eithne Dowds. *Children Born of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict*. P. 4.

¹⁸ Glorieuse Uwizeye, Holli A DeVon, Linda L McCreary, et al. *Children born of genocidal rape*. P. 6.

¹⁹ Charli R. Carpenter. *Forgetting children born of war: setting the human rights agenda in Bosnia and beyond*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2010. P. 18.

Carpenter also argues that CBOW, both as youth and in adulthood, have a greater risk of suffering damage in physical, psychological, and financial respects. The physical problem lies in the fact that the mother has been exposed to physical, psychological, and sexual violence, which leads to trauma and can also lead to the fetus not developing as carefully. Although one cannot exclusively see that it is precisely the sexual violence that specifically caused functional variations, studies have shown that CBOW in former Yugoslavia were born with these types of difficulties. The stigma around these pregnancies is vast, and there are cases where the mother does not want anyone to know about the pregnancy and thus gives birth outside the hospital, without the help of professional doctors. This in turn can lead to the child not receiving the assistance it needs as a newborn, and in some cases the mother dies during childbirth when the complications become far too great. If the woman doesn't have a functioning network around her when she dies, there is slim chances that the child will survive.²⁰ The physical damage intertwines with the psychological when a woman chooses to keep the child, which is not always to the child's advantage. A journalist describes a woman from the genocide in Rwanda and the problems a mother can feel towards a child who came into the world due to sexual violence she suffered:

Sometimes she wakes up resentful. It is during these days that she finds her temper short and she hits her child. A few times she has tried to give him away. Out of anger she tells him lies: "You are not even mine. I picked you from the trash." Sometimes she cries for hours, unable to function. "I really beat him for such petty things, and I feel I can't love anymore", she whispered.²¹

But these children have proven to some to be part of the healing process the woman goes through. Some women see the child as a reason to continue living and work towards overcoming the trauma she was exposed to. The financial difficulty lies partly in the fact that, if the woman chooses to keep and raise the child, she becomes ostracised and thus

²⁰ Charli R. Carpenter. *Forgetting children born of war*. pp. 23-24.

²¹ *Ibid.* P. 26.

does not have the same safety net around her as previously. Because of this loneliness and vulnerability, it thus becomes difficult to maintain a good education and finances.²²

It has been argued by practitioners in this area that child justice programs are adequate, but that preventive work of redistributing resources to counter gender-based violence may be a good approach. The idea is that working towards countering gender-based violence will reduce gender-based violence in the long term and then reduce sexual violence in war and conflict. Others believe that extra protection resources specifically for these children is a necessity as an oversight can mean additional vulnerability as their special needs are not necessarily part of the protection system that organisations and states practice.²³ Carpenter argues that there are too few statistics and documents about these vulnerable CBOW, and that this is because states and organisations do not collect useful data. She believes that it may be a conscious choice by states to not document properly because they do not want to admit that human rights need to be reviewed. Consequently, organisations should encourage and pressure states that this type of documentation is important and should be maintained. It is also important to carry out careful research on different types of conflicts, cultures in relation to regions and whether the situation of CBOW is different in these positions and in such cases how and why. This is implemented work that must take place over several years for it to have a real effect and be helpful.²⁴ Research has indicated that group therapy can serve as a valuable form of support for both mothers and CBOW. Either if they want to attend separate sessions where they can engage with individuals who have undergone similar experiences, or if they want a joint session aimed at fostering the development of a resilient and nurturing bond between mother and child.²⁵

Between 20,000 and 50,000 women were subjected to some form of sexual violence during the war in former Yugoslavia, and approximately 4,000 women became pregnant after the systematic rapes that took place.²⁶ These war children are now

²² Ibid. pp. 30-31.

²³ Charli R. Carpenter (ed.). *Born of War*. P. 211.

²⁴ Ibid. pp. 213-214.

²⁵ Glorieuse Uwizeye, Holli A DeVon, Linda L McCreary, et al. *Children born of genocidal rape*. P. 8.

²⁶ Kai Grieg. *The War Children of the World*. P. 48.

young adults and decided in 2018 to assemble and create Forgotten Children of War Association together with some human rights activists. They work towards eliminating the stigma surrounding their position and are demanding political and legal recognition. Forgotten Children of War Association participated in a Workshop on Advancing Reparations for Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence at the UN Headquarters in New York²⁷, but they have also been able to pass a law 14 July 2022 in Brčko District where they are recognised as civilian victims of war within the newly adopted Law on Civilian Victims of War.²⁸

1.4 Theoretical framework

This paper seeks to examine child rights issues of children born of war and therefore uses the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) with the theoretical framework of a child rights perspective. This approach serves as a crucial bridge, effectively translating the theoretical articles of the CRC into tangible measures, processes, and remedies to address the unique needs and challenges of children born of war.²⁹ A child rights perspective is broad and to align it with my analysis, I have focused on the readings provided by Rebecca Thorburn Stern, Louise Dane, Julia Dahlqvist, and Pernilla Leviner in their respective contributions to *Barnkonventionen i praktiken: rättsliga utmaningar och möjligheter* specifically addressing the four fundamental articles of a child rights perspective.

1.4.1 Four fundamental articles in the CRC

Viewing a child rights perspective with the assistance of Thorburn Stern, Dane, Dahlqvist and Leviner is taking article 2 free from discrimination, article 3 child's best

²⁷ Children Born of War. *Forgotten Children of War Association Invited to UN Headquarters*. <https://www.chibow.org/single-post/2019/12/19/forgotten-children-of-war-association-invited-to-un-headquarters> (Accessed 2023-04-23)

²⁸ TRIAL International. *Children born as a result of wartime rape get their first legal recognition in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/children-born-as-a-result-of-wartime-rape-get-their-first-legal-recognition-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina/> (Accessed 2023-04-26).

²⁹ UN Sustainable Development Group. *Principle One: Human Rights-Based Approach*. 2022. <https://unsdg.un.org/2030-agenda/universal-values/human-rights-based-approach> (Accessed 2023-05-14).

interest, article 6 right to life and article 12 child participation in decision-making in the CRC into account whenever a discussion is held about a child and its rights. The four authors emphasise the importance of each four of these articles, notwithstanding all articles are important, in a child rights perspective. Here I will briefly draw the link between each of the four articles in the CRC with particular relevance to the child rights perspective.

Article 2 argues the right of a child to not get discriminated of any kind, regardless of the child's colour, sex, language, religion, disability, birth or other status. This article pinpoints that states must prevent such potential discrimination.³⁰ Thorburn Stern also highlights that it is not just the discrimination towards the child itself that is prohibited, but also regarding it's caregivers discrimination grounds stated above. A child, while dependent on its caregivers, must be regarded as an autonomous individual and not be judged based on the caregivers' history, political opinions, religious beliefs, or similar causes.³¹

Article 3 emphasises prioritising a child's best interests in all events of a child's life. This article determines states commitment to safeguarding children's well-being and passing necessary laws.³² Dane argues that the individuality of each child is a fundamental factor, such that an approach with optimal development of one child might prove wrong for another. We should strongly emphasise making sure that any decisions made are in the best interest of that specific child's needs and situation.³³

Article 6 acknowledge that every child possesses the right to life, and that the state parties commit to maximising each child's chances of survival and overall development.³⁴ Dahlqvist and Leviner says that the state parties shall proactively

³⁰ *Convention on the Rights of the Child: text of the draft convention as adopted by the Working Group at second reading*, United Nations, [New York], 1989. P. 2.

³¹ Åhman, Karin, Leviner, Pernilla & Zillén, Kavot (red.), *Barnkonventionen i praktiken: rättsliga utmaningar och möjligheter*, Upplaga 1, Norstedts juridik, Stockholm, 2020. pp. 57–58.

³² *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 2.

³³ Åhman, Karin, Leviner, Pernilla & Zillén, Kavot (red.), *Barnkonventionen i praktiken*. pp. 76–77.

³⁴ *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 3.

implement measures aimed at guaranteeing the extension of a child's lifespan and ensuring a life considered with fundamental dignity. However, the caregivers' have a big part in a child's survival and development, even the child itself can give state parties restricted opportunities to ensure an optimal child growth.³⁵

Article 12 ensures that children that are able can express their opinions and have the right to do so freely in all matters regarding them, and that their views shall be considered appropriately based on their age and maturity. It also promises that state parties will offer children a chance to, either through direct involvement or representation, participate in legal and administrative processes.³⁶ Leviner emphasises the importance to understand that what a child wants is not always what is best for the child, this can therefore conflict with article 6 as discussed earlier. Article 12 highlights the significance of collaborative engagement between adults and children, where mutual understanding of the child's requests is strongly taken in count. Alongside, it involves the capacity to discover the child's best interest and explain why certain decisions were determined to the child. Leviner continues to say that we should go from a child focus to a child inclusive approach.³⁷

As you will read further down in this paper, it is obvious that these four fundamental CRC articles are vital to keep in mind when supporting CBOW and their families.

1.5 Method and material

1.5.1 Method

This paper follows a qualitative research study, utilising interviews as the primary data collection methods. Interviews have been conducted with organisations engaged in supporting CBOW, allowing for firsthand insights into their experiences and the challenges they encounter. The interview data, along with the findings derived from a

³⁵ Åhman, Karin, Leviner, Pernilla & Zillén, Kavot (red.), *Barnkonventionen i praktiken*. pp. 95–96.

³⁶ *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 4.

³⁷ Åhman, Karin, Leviner, Pernilla & Zillén, Kavot (red.), *Barnkonventionen i praktiken*. pp. 111–121.

systematic analysis of relevant literature, will be used to generate a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The combination of qualitative interviews and a literature study will enable the emergence of insightful and informed results, contributing to the existing knowledge on CBOW and guiding future support initiatives.

Primarily, the intention of this paper was to directly engage with adults who were CBOW during the war in former Yugoslav. The objective was to obtain first-hand information from this specific population, as I have viewed some of them in documentaries and articles. I attempted to find contact details, however, this proved challenging. I instead contacted two individuals through Facebook, with one of them not providing a response and the other expressing initial interest but following communication breakdown, resulting in the cancellation of the planned interview. Consequently, a shift in focus was made towards exploring organisations involved in supporting CBOW. Efforts were directed towards identifying child-focused organisations involved in the former Yugoslavia, but due to difficulties finding these specific organisations, attention was expanded to include global organisations dedicated to addressing the needs of CBOW.

ResearchGate has served as a primary platform for sourcing academic research, in addition to the insights gained through interviews, thereby creating a fundamental component of data collection for this study. The scholarly literature, websites, articles, and books constantly underscored the widespread nature of stigmatisation and discrimination experienced by CBOW, both within their communities and, unfortunately, within their own families. I identified I must have this as one of my main research questions.

I started searching on “children of war”, but it became evident that this broad category did not align with the specific focus of the research. Recognising the existence of various categories of war-affected children, the search aim was redirected to “children born of war” and “children born of war time rape”. Notably, scholars Charli

Carpenter, Sabine Lee, and Ingvill C. Ødegaard consistently emerged from the search, highlighting their significance as key individuals to engage with. While Ødegaard agreed to an interview, the contributions of all three researchers are used in this paper.

1.5.1.1 Approach

I sent 25 emails to different organisations who have expertise working with children affected by war and I have asked the reader to direct the email to the person within the organisation who is most appropriate. In the cases where I have had a direct email to the respondent, I sent an email directly to this person. In my email I explained who I am and what I am asking of them, in my case it was a 30-minute interview. I also explain that they have the option to participate but be anonymous, and that they can withdraw their participation at any stage until the essay is submitted as a final version in May 2023 or at a time when the paper is fully approved by my supervisor.

Sometimes I have received positive answers back and thus been able to book a meeting, while in other cases I have received a polite answer that they do not have time due to either the size of the organisation or due to time constraints. Some organisations I didn't hear from at all. The organisations and respondents from whom I received a positive response, I could either book a physical meeting, if their offices were stationary in Stockholm, while with others I instead booked a digital meeting via either Zoom, Teams or Google Meet. I provided the respondents with my questions before the interview as I wanted them to be able to prepare their answers for a productive meeting.

Ingvill C. Ødegaard was very supportive and asked if I wanted to submit my request for conducting interviews in Children Born of War Project's newsletter. I accepted her offer and from the newsletter I got several people emailing me and showing interest. I have used two of the organisations that got in contact with me in my paper. Because I was short on time and did not have a digital meeting with the last two organisations, instead I sent them the consent form and document with my questions. They then responded in the document and sent it back to me together with a signed consent form.

My questions to the organisation representatives were roughly 11 questions, depended on whom I was talking to. I have not used all these questions in my paper as the first questions was to know more about the interviewed person and the others, I have not found necessary for the scope of this paper. I have instead combined the most valid ones into two research questions stated above.

1.5.1.2 Ethical considerations

I ensured that each interview participant was fully apprised of the entirely voluntary nature of their involvement in my paper, emphasising their autonomy to choose for anonymity or to retract their participation at their preference, without the obligation to provide specific reasons for their decision. In instances where recordings were generated during the interview process these audio files were systematically deleted upon successful transcription, aligning with my commitment to safeguarding privacy and confidentiality.

It is noteworthy that no individual has chosen to withdraw their participation from this paper, nor have any expressed the preference for anonymity. Consequently, considering this collective agreement, I have proceeded to include the actual names of all participants alongside the organisation's name, further enhancing transparency and the contextual understanding of the study.

1.5.2 Materials

My primary material is consisting of interviews with organisations. I interviewed one person from each organisation, and their name and organisation are Peter Brune from War Child, Ingvill C. Ødegaard from The Children Born of War Project, Amina Hyjdur from TRIAL International, Enachu Frederick Edmos from Purewish Foundation Uganda, and Winfried Behlau from Thistleflower. The reason why these organisations are relevant and suitable for this essay is because they work to improve support for CBOW, but some also work with a preventive aim against future CBOW and difficulties that come with that title.

I will also use the CRC to support basic rights that a child has. Initially, the idea of directly engaging with CBOW to gather firsthand insights seemed compelling but proved to be challenging. Moreover, the ethical principle of do no harm prompted a shift in attention towards organisations dedicated to supporting CBOW.

2. Discussion and analysis

Under this section I go through what each organisation respondent had to share. Based on this information, I will analyse which similarities the various organisations give, as well as which rights in the CRC are important to focus on in the implemented work.

2.1 What discrimination do children born of war experience?

Ingvill C. Ødegaard from The Children Born of War Project states that in some cases the discrimination starts much earlier than when the child starts school, as “the discrimination may start very early in many areas, such as not even being able to stay alive”. Which in the CRC, under article 6, recognises every child's inherent right to life and mandates that states must prioritise the child's survival and development.³⁸ Ødegaard further mentions the Second World War, where some midwives were asked not to assist in a birth if it was too complicated, and because of this there have been indications that Norwegian war children decreased in numbers. However, Ødegaard adds, it is unclear if this is because the children died, or if the mother did not register the child at birth for reasons of her own.

... we know from other conflicts that children may get killed upon birth because the mothers are so traumatised and don't want them. That's why we say we deal with a hidden population. They often don't know about their biological background, and we don't know about what we call the sampling frame, we don't know how many we are actually talking about. We don't know how many were not registered, and how many did not live. So that's why I always think it's pretty

³⁸ United Nations. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. 1989. P. 3.

tricky when people try to estimate how many children born of war they are. Because all I say is that once we know that there's one, it's very likely there are many more.³⁹

CBOW are, as stated previously in my paper, a hidden population. Janet Njelesani writes mainly about violence against children with disabilities, but these two groups can be seen, to some extent, as having similarities in the stigma and discrimination against them. Njelesani interviews a parent to a disabled child who stated “a child who is hidden has no rights”⁴⁰, which supports Ødegaard’s view of the problem with the hidden population – this is accurate to some extent. A child in the sole object of being a human and a child does have rights both under the UDHR and CRC, however, a child who is not registered with the authorities or is living in situations of marginalisation or exclusion, may face obstacles to access and enjoy his or her rights fully. Due to not being registered the child may experience lack of access to sufficient services such as healthcare, education, and protection, or they may be at greater risk of mistreatment, abuse, and neglect. Additionally, they may not have legal identity, making it difficult for them to access basic services, travel, or participate in society.⁴¹

Amina Hyjdur from TRAIL International start by saying that “unfortunately, not enough research has been done on the experiences of children born of war, as well as experiences of survivors who give birth to children as a result of wartime rape”. Hyjdur mentions the Forgotten Children of War Association which was founded by children born out of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina together with human rights activists, because they felt hidden, invisible, and lacked sufficient help.⁴²

... stigmatisation, isolation, and medical marginalisation of the children as well as their mothers, who in turn faced double stigma, not only as survivors of sexual violence, also as mothers of children that were born. Unfortunately, Bosnian roots are still highly embedded in the idea of imposing shame or other harmful stigmatisation and stereotype on wartime sexual violence

³⁹ Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

⁴⁰ Janet Njelesani. “*A child who is hidden has no rights*”: Responses to violence against children with disabilities. Child Abuse & Neglect. New York: New York University, 2019. P. 65 (P. 8 in PDF).

⁴¹ Ingvill C. Mochmann, Sabine Lee. *The human rights of children born of war*. pp. 273-274 (pp. 5-6 in PDF).

⁴² Amina Hyjdur, TRAIL International 2022-12-15.

survivors instead of the perpetrator ... The saddest thing about the stigmatisation is that oftentimes it happens in the in the primary communities in small communities around the survivor, sometimes even within the family.⁴³

Hyjdur mentions the stigmatisation and discrimination faced by children in administrative offices. For instance, Ajna, the President of the Association for Forgotten Children of War, initiated the "Name One Parent" campaign to address the harmful practice in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina where only the father's name could be officially recorded. This initiative not only aims to protect the rights and well-being of children but also addresses the broader impact on individuals within society.⁴⁴

Enachu Frederick Edmos from Purewish Foundation Uganda discuss the issue with children who have been abducted by rebel groups and return home, he says that they “are considered to be rebels and killers, the society does not embrace them, limited access to education, poor health and they are given names that stigmatises them and make them feel unwelcomed”.⁴⁵ According to the CRC, Article 28 is violated by denying children equal opportunity to education, while Article 24 confirms their right to the highest attainable standard of health. Such violations hinder children's overall development and well-being, perpetuating inequalities and prevents them from reaching their full potential.⁴⁶ Edmos also expresses concern that a child that is born in camps being either an orphan or having just one parent – that might as well also be stigmatised – doesn’t have someone to stand up for them and therefor “are not given basic needs and support”.

Winfried Behlau from Thistleflower is a child born of war from World War II, he expresses that “most of us suffered discrimination by the neighborhood, teachers, authorities, law and last not least by members of the own family. This resulted in a

⁴³ Amina Hyjdur, TRAIL International 2022-12-15.

⁴⁴ Amina Hyjdur, TRAIL International 2022-12-15.

⁴⁵ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

⁴⁶ United Nations. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 7-8.

behavior of shame and silence”. This emphasises the need for working with the community to reduce discrimination, which is established under article 2 of the CRC. This article stresses the obligation for states to take necessary measures to protect children from discrimination or punishment.⁴⁷

2.1 How can organisations effectively address the discrimination experienced by children born of war, from the perspective of promoting and safeguarding children's rights?

2.1.1 Including children born of war, and more research

Ødegaard mentions that most organisations to her knowledge have not been working directly with CBOW. Not involving CBOW in decision-making processes can empower their sense of marginalisation and feeling forgotten. It can also perpetuate the historical pattern of treating these children as objects of charity rather than as active agents of their own lives. Working directly with CBOW can help to promote their agency, and dignity, and foster a sense of ownership over their own healing and recovery process. It is therefore essential for organisations to have a child-centered approaches that prioritise children's voices, perspectives, and experiences. Ødegaard discussed the potential help CBOW could have received and said that organisations can mobilise the voices of other CBOW, that this action would make more people feel secure enough to speak out.⁴⁸

Hyjdur thinks that conducting further research to better understand the specific needs of these children and actively involving them in defining their goals are also regarded

⁴⁷ United Nations. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 2.

⁴⁸ Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

as significant priorities.⁴⁹ These views support what Leviner emphasises further up in this paper, that it is important to include children in decision makings regarding their situation and support, as stated in article 12 in the CRC.⁵⁰ Edmos states that to effectively support CBOW, it is critical to research, and conduct needs assessments to understand their specific requirements and challenges.⁵¹

2.1.2 Do no harm

Ødegaard suggests a better collaboration and more exchange between NGO's, humanitarian organisations and academics, that the work right now is too much in silos. She suggests that collaboration is the only way forward because the challenges we face today are far too great to not work together. However, Ødegaard adds that “that requires a cultural change from both sides. Both from academia and from a humanitarian organisation”. She further discusses that she believes we know enough to recognise where we may make big mistakes that possible is harmful practice when assisting CBOW, but also how to avoid this from happening in the future.⁵²

Ødegaard expresses a notable concern regarding the allocation of resources to organisations working with CBOW. Despite existing knowledge on organisational effectiveness, the increased attention and potential government funding require careful selection to ensure capable organisations receive the funds. Ødegaard emphasises the importance of choosing organisations that possess the necessary expertise and understanding to effectively address the unique needs of this population. Given the limited experience of most organisations in this area, thorough evaluation is crucial to ensure optimal strategies are implemented.⁵³ She also highlights the importance of aligning good intentions with the principle of do no harm. Ødegaard emphasised the need for careful consideration of potential consequences and proactive thinking to

⁴⁹ Amina Hyjdur, TRAIL International 2022-12-15.

⁵⁰ *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 4.

⁵¹ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

⁵² Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

⁵³ Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

prevent unintended mistakes and ensure the well-being of those being assisted. She continues...

And then the other thing is that it's one thing about having good intentions, the other thing is ... working according to the principle of doing no harm. It's amazing how many mistakes can still be done when you don't think about the consequences, because you're so concerned with doing good, but you always must think one step ahead of what a harm may be that you had not thought of.⁵⁴

When working with CBOW, prioritising their safety, well-being, and dignity is crucial, as highlighted by Ødegaard. These children are often vulnerable to physical and psychological harm due to their experiences of discrimination and potential trauma. They often face difficulties in forming stable attachments, accessing education, healthcare, and other essential services. To safeguard their protection and support, it is vital to implement the principle of do no harm, whether physical, emotional, or psychological, when working with CBOW or their families and communities.

2.1.3 Stigma reduction and working with the community

Edmos mentioned the importance of addressing stigma and discrimination ensures that these children are treated with dignity and respect.⁵⁵ When it comes to working with stigma reduction within the community, this can be done via awareness-raising campaigns that promote positive attitudes and behaviors towards CBOW and their families.⁵⁶ Another way of reducing stigma is to collaborate with key stakeholders that have influence and authority within the community. Working with important

⁵⁴ Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

⁵⁵ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

⁵⁶ Kai Grieg. *The War Children of the World*. P. 14; P. 54.

allies such as local leaders, religious leaders, educators, and healthcare providers to promote positive attitudes towards CBOW.⁵⁷

Since most CBOW are ostracised and stigmatised Ødegaard also suggest awareness campaigns as a measure of support, as well as working with the family and communities.⁵⁸ This is something Peter Brune from War Child also believes is one of the top ranked working points:

... it is once again to support the parents. It is important with care giver support and intervention. But also, stigma reduction. Treat the baby and the mother with love. Work with the community.⁵⁹

Hyjdur emphasises that education is a primary focus when working with CBOW, although she adds that “definitely the issue of combating stigmatisation of children born of war as one of the top priorities”.⁶⁰

2.1.4 Engage stakeholders

Behlau highlights the delayed legislative response in Germany to address the needs of mothers and children affected by war, emphasising the prolonged duration it took to establish a law that provided financial support comparable to that received by orphans. Behlau continues to discuss that it draws attention to the official designation of affected individuals as “war damage” and sheds light on the trouble of children left behind by German soldiers in the USSR, where their identities were systematically erased under Stalin's regime. This historical void in Soviet history underscores the importance of organisations offering psychological assistance to mothers and children

⁵⁷ Kirstin Wagner, Heather Tasker, Sabine Lee, *et al.* *Born between war and peace: Situating peacekeeper-fathered children in research on children born of war.* *Frontiers in Political Science.* 4:945617. doi: 10.3389/fpos.2022.945617. 2022. P. 9; Ingvill Constanze Mochmann, Dorien J Detombe. *The COMPRAM Methodology and Complex Societal Problems-an Analysis of the Case of Children Born of War.* Germany: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, 2010. P. 119 (P. 8 in PDF).

⁵⁸ Ingvill C. Ødegaard, *The Children Born of War Project* 2022-12-16.

⁵⁹ Peter Brune, *War Child* 2022-12-09.

⁶⁰ Amina Hyjdur, *TRAIL International* 2022-12-15.

and advocates for their role in educating governments and the general population about these experiences. Behlau emphasises the importance on thinking about “who is victim and who is guilty, who is the perpetrator”.⁶¹ Brune also expressed the weight of aiming the focus to “who is responsible” rather than casting shame and blame on CBOW’s.⁶²

Edmos states that advocating for CBOW’s rights and guiding stakeholder engagement and dialogue to publish findings and reports can promote awareness, collaboration, and informed decision-making in addressing their unique needs and ensuring their well-being. Edmos is also advocating for laws and policies focused on CBOW’s protection and welfare, the importance to ensure that CBOW’s rights are upheld, and their unique circumstances are addressed. Capacity building and collaboration among stakeholders, including governments, NGOs, and communities, is crucial for sharing expertise, resources, and best practices to maximise the impact of support programs. Adequate funding is fundamental to sustain and expand initiatives aimed at supporting CBOW.⁶³

2.1.5 Identity finding

A human being does not possess one identity but several, Ødegaard believes that it is not possible to avoid the fact that a child often wants to know certain things about a parent. Among other things, it can be good to know about underlying diseases. During the war in BiH, some of the war children's files with information in orphanages were destroyed, this was seen to protect the children about how they came into the world. Ødegaard believes that this action was faulty as the adults that made this decision also took away the child's chance to learn more about its background. Although this does not in reality remove the identity of the child, it removes the chance for the child to make this decision for itself.⁶⁴ Article 7(1) in CRC holds important meaning as it

⁶¹ Winfried Behlau, Thistleflower 2023-04-06.

⁶² Peter Brune, War Child 2022-12-09.

⁶³ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

⁶⁴ Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

underscores the right of a child to possess knowledge concerning their biological parents. The deliberate demolition of documents upon a child's birth constitutes a breach of this right. Such actions hinder the child's ability to access vital information regarding their familial heritage.⁶⁵ Hyjdur also argue that documentations should be kept for the child to make this decision:

... within the Child Convention, an article says that the child has the rights to know their identity. They have the rights, they can either use it or not, it's up to the child ... children should have the right to know if it's something they want to know.⁶⁶

Behlau discusses complex situations where some in search for their father “found roots in the former USSR, discovering the lies of a life”. He also mentions that DNA tests sometimes showed incest.⁶⁷ The experience of discovering such information could be profoundly unsettling and has the possibility to challenge one's sense of identity and belonging. Incest is a taboo in many cultures and societies and discovering that one's biological father is also a close relative can cause powerful feelings of shame, confusion, and even disgust. However, getting this information and finding ways of coping with it might still be better than being hindered from getting information about your biological father.

Edmos argue that:

... the search for identity and understanding of identity is a complex and personal journey that can take many forms. It is important for organisations working with children born of war to provide a range of support services, including counselling and mental health support, to help children navigate this journey in a safe and supportive environment.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ United Nations. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. P. 3.

⁶⁶ Amina Hyjdur, TRAIL International 2022-12-15.

⁶⁷ Winfried Behlau, Thistleflower 2023-04-06.

⁶⁸ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

Why counselling and mental health support can provide a safe and supportive space for children born of war is that we then let the children explore their experiences and feelings. It is not uncommon that children born of war feel isolated or like they do not have anyone to talk to about their experiences. Studies have shown that the effects of trauma can be passed down through generations – a child can inherit a parent’s trauma. Trauma can impact the social and emotional development of children, it may also create a struggle with emotional regulation, have difficulty forming attachments to others, and may exhibit behaviors such as aggression or withdrawal, the child has the possibility to “... become a container for the unwanted, troubling experiences of the parent”.⁶⁹ Organisations can offer a safe and confidential space for CBOW to process their emotions and work through the challenges they face by providing access to counselling and mental health support.

2.1.6 Psychological support and health care

Brune explains that their organisation started with the war in former Yugoslavia, and their focus was back then to bring music educators and child psychologists, amongst others. He emphasises the importance of working with children's own terms to talk about what their needs are but also about stigma and traumas. That people need food and good health, but he believes the mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS), is often overlooked. Brune states that the psychosocial support and the mental health are so intertwined that it needs to be a priority in the preventive perspective.⁷⁰

Providing access to healthcare is something that Edmos also finds crucial for supporting children born of war, prioritising their physical well-being and addressing potential health issues resulting from their war-affected circumstances. Addressing their mental health needs is equally important, as many of these children experience trauma and psychological challenges, which can be addressed through counseling and

⁶⁹ Rachel Yehuda, Amy Lehrner. *Intergenerational transmission of trauma*. pp. 243-244 (pp. 1-2 in PDF).

⁷⁰ Peter Brune, War Child 2022-12-09.

therapy. Access to education is vital to break cycles of poverty and displacement, empowering them with knowledge and opportunities. Supporting economic empowerment through vocational training makes them for a more stable and secure future.⁷¹

Under my 'earlier research' I discussed Ødegaard's five ways to help children born of war, and when asked if these still apply after more research on her part, she replied that "... support of medical and social psychological trauma" also should be added.⁷²

Brune says that War Child have a care giver system, and that it consists of "nine interventions, and they are based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child". He further discusses that the understanding of what kind of psychosocial support that should be provided to CBOW is of great importance, and the importance of early action. It is essential to act early with potential mental illness as this has a way of increase greatly before the age of 18. He says that...

If you are involved in something difficult as a seven-year-old, let's say sexual abuse, and you don't do anything about it, then it will grow and become more difficult to handle later. You need to deal with it early and provide support at the right level.⁷³

Edmos mentions that early detection and intervention is of importance, that this will enable organisations to provide support and the correct service to CBOW promptly. Edmos argues that CBOW "require support throughout their lives and organisations should prepare to provide long term support and services that are sustainable over time". He also emphasises the significance in understanding the unique needs CBOW have, that organisations are required to addressing "their physical and psychological health needs, providing education and vocational training, and addressing issues related to stigma".⁷⁴

⁷¹ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

⁷² Ingvill C. Ødegaard, The Children Born of War Project 2022-12-16.

⁷³ Peter Brune, War Child 2022-12-09.

⁷⁴ Enachu Frederick Edmos, Purewish Foundation Uganda 2023-03-11.

Behlau also argues that providing psychological support becomes paramount in supporting CBOW. This can help the children build up their self-esteem and avoiding feelings of inferiority.⁷⁵ By offering them opportunities to express their emotions, thoughts, and fears in a safe and nurturing environment this may establish trust and open lines of communication.

3. Conclusion

Using a framework with a Human Right-Based Approach, this paper has successfully demonstrated that CBOW face significant discriminations such as limited access to education and poor health. These important factors in a child's life hinder their overall growth and welfare, making the inequalities even greater as the child grows up and may have to rely on the social system in regards of job security and healthcare. Additionally, past CBOW suffered discrimination by neighbours, teachers, authorities, law and sometimes members of their own family due to their heritage.

In the interviews with these five organisations, early action was mentioned by a few of the candidates and appear to be highly necessary, as well as the psychological support. Granting children the opportunity to take part of their biological heritage seems crucial for their understanding of identity and background. Due to discrimination being profound, stigma reduction is essential. Organisations should work with the caregivers and the community to ensure that discrimination and stigma is as minimal as possible for CBOW, their mothers and other family members. It is vital to find procedures of implementation that locally support CBOW, because different cultures and societies have varying ways of operating and customs. Understanding cultural differences for each society and implementing the principle of do no harm is crucial, "one fits them all"-mentality does not work in these scenarios. However, even though

⁷⁵ Winfried Behlau, Thistleflower 2023-04-06.

cultures are different, one can still map similarities for how and when CBOW can be exposed to stigma and discrimination, and it is a task for the international community to make use of this information and ensure that CBOW are exposed as little as possible.

3.1 Future research

Susan Harris Rimmer, in her chapter titled *Protecting Children of Sexual Violence Survivors in Conflict Zones* in the book *Born of War*, proposes a fascinating suggestion regarding the benefits for women and CBOW if they were to be recognised as war veterans. This would give them access to social benefits that some CBOW are struggling with receiving. While Rimmer's analysis primarily centers on victims in East Timor, this concept could work as a global phenomenon as well.⁷⁶ The vulnerability experienced by women who are victims of rape, particularly in the context of wartime, has been widely acknowledged. This vulnerability extends to their CBOW, who often face neglect and marginalisation within their societies and families, leading to significant economic challenges. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore this option further.

4. Bibliography

Amina Hyjdur. TRAIL International. Interview. Conducted by Sofia Sandahl. 15 December 2022.

Antonia Holden. *The Abduction of the Sabine Women in Context: The Iconography on Late Antique Contorniate Medallions*. Vol. 112, No. 1 (Jan., 2008), pp. 121-142 (22 pages). The University of Chicago Press. 2008.

⁷⁶ Charli R. Carpenter (ed.). *Born of War*. P. 72.

Bulent Diken, Carsten Bagge Laustsen. *Becoming Abject: Rape as a Weapon of War*. *Body and Society* 11(1):111-128. SAGE Publications. 2005.

Carpenter, R. Charli (red.), *Born of War: Protecting Children of Sexual Violence Survivors in Conflict Zones*, Kumarian, Bloomfield, Conn., 2007.

Charlie R. Carpenter. *Forgetting children born of war: setting the human rights agenda in Bosnia and beyond*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2010.

Children Born of War. *Forgotten Children of War Association Invited to UN Headquarters*. <https://www.chibow.org/single-post/2019/12/19/forgotten-children-of-war-association-invited-to-un-headquarters> (Accessed 2023-04-23).

Convention on the Rights of the Child: text of the draft convention as adopted by the Working Group at second reading, United Nations, [New York], 1989.

Eithne Dowds. *Children Born of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict: The International Criminal Court, Ecological Environments and Human Development*. Queens University Belfast, 2019.

Elisa Van Ee, Rolf Kleber. *Growing Up Under a Shadow: Key Issues in Research on and Treatment of Children Born of Rape*. Child Abuse Review. 2013.

Enachu Frederick Edmos. Purewish Foundation Uganda. Interview. Conducted by Sofia Sandahl. 11 March 2023.

Glorieuse Uwizeye, Holli A DeVon, Linda L McCreary, Crystal L Patil, Zaneta Thayer, Julianne N Rutherford. *Children born of genocidal rape: What do we know about their experiences and needs?* Wiley Periodicals LLC; Public Health Nurs. 2021;1–10.

Human Rights Watch. *Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm> (Accessed 2022-12-01).

Ingvill C. Mochmann. *Children Born of War – A Decade of International and Interdisciplinary Research*. *Historical Social Research* 42 (1): 320-346. doi: 10.12759/hsr.42.2017.1.320-346. GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, 2017.

Ingvill C. Mochmann, Dorien J Detombe. *The COMPRAM Methodology and Complex Societal Problems-an Analysis of the Case of Children Born of War*. Germany: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, 2010.

Ingvill C. Mochmann, Sabine Lee. *The human rights of children born of war: case analyses of past and present conflicts*. In: *Historical Social Research* 35 (2010), 3, pp. 268-298. URN: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-310771>.

Ingvill C. Ødegaard. The Children Born of War Project. Interview. Conducted by Sofia Sandahl. 16 December.

Interdisciplinary and International Research Network on Children Born of War. <https://www.childrenbornofwar.com/#:~:text=The%20aim%20of%20this%20interdisciplinary,thereby%20expanding%20the%20evidence%20base> (Accessed: 2023-05-09).

Jacqueline Bhabha. *Arendt's Children: Do Today's Migrant Children Have a Right to Have Rights?* Vol. 31, No. 2 (May, 2009), pp. 410-451 (42 pages). The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Janet Njelesani. *“A child who is hidden has no rights”*: *Responses to violence against children with disabilities*. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. New York: New York University, 2019.

Kirstin Wagner, Heather Tasker, Luissa Vahedi, Susan A. Bartels, Sabine Lee. *Born between war and peace: Situating peacekeeper-fathered children in research on children born of war*. *Frontiers in Political Science*. 4:945617. doi: 10.3389/fpos.2022.945617. 2022.

Kai Grieg. *The War Children of the World*. Bergen, War and Children Identity Project (WCIP), 2001.

Kendra Cherry. *What Is Attachment Theory? The Importance of Early Emotional Bonds*. Verywell Mind. 2023. <https://www.verywellmind.com/john-bowlby-biography-1907-1990-2795514> (Accessed 2023-05-13).

Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm, Rahel Kunz. *SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN ARMED CONFLICT: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*. Geneva, Switzerland: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2007.

Michael S. Baker, Jacob Baker, Frederick M. Burkle. *Russia's Hybrid Warfare in Ukraine Threatens Both Healthcare & Health Protections Provided by International Law*. *Annals of Global Health*. 2023; 89(1): 3, 1–6.

Peter Brune. *War Child*. Interview. Conducted by Sofia Sandahl. 09 December 2022.

Rachel Yehuda, Amy Lehrner. *Intergenerational transmission of trauma: A systematic review of the literature*. *World Psychiatry* 2018; 17:243–257 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/wps.20568> (Accessed 2023-05-04).

Saskia Mitreuter, Heide Glaesmer, Philipp Kuwert and Marie Kaiser. *Loneliness and lack of belonging as paramount theme in identity descriptions of Children Born of War*. *Frontiers in Political Science*. 2022.

Sharihan Kamal Muhammad. *Trauma Theory*. 2015. P. 3

https://www.academia.edu/33182937/Trauma_theory (Accessed 2023-05-13).

Siobhan McEvoy-Levy. *Born of War: Protecting Children of Sexual Violence Survivors in Conflict Zones, Children Born of Wartime Rape and Human Rights Culture*. Kumarian, Bloomfield, Conn., 2007.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. *Report On the Human Rights Situation in Ukraine - 1 August 2022 to 31 January 2023*. March 2023

<https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/ukraine/2023/23-03-24-Ukraine-35th-periodic-report-ENG.pdf> (Accessed 2023-05-06).

TRIAL International. *Children born as a result of wartime rape get their first legal recognition in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. <https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/children-born-as-a-result-of-wartime-rape-get-their-first-legal-recognition-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina/> (Accessed 2023-04-26).

United Nations. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. 1989.

United Nations. UN News Global perspective Human stories.

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/06/1119832> (Accessed 2022-12-12).

United Nations Sustainable Development Group. *Universal Values Principle One: Human Rights-Based Approach*. <https://unsdg.un.org/2030-agenda/universal-values/human-rights-based-approach> (Accessed 2023-05-14).

Winfried Behlau. Thistleflower. Interview. Conducted by Sofia Sandahl. 06 April 2023.

Women and girls who become pregnant as a result of sexual violence in conflict and children born of sexual violence in conflict - Report of the Secretary-General (S/2022/77).

Åhman, Karin, Leviner, Pernilla & Zillén, Kavot (red.), *Barnkonventionen i praktiken: rättsliga utmaningar och möjligheter*, Upplaga 1, Norstedts juridik, Stockholm, 2020.