GLOBAL CENTRE FOR THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

Intersectionality and Atrocity Crimes: Reflecting on the Experiences of Youth in Atrocity Situations

Mass atrocity crimes – genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing – are often perpetrated against populations based on shared identity characteristics, including ethnicity, religious belief, race or linguistic community. In many contexts, individuals face compounded risks when they belong to more than one marginalized group. The risks these individuals face are shaped by the unique social and political configurations of a given context, where assumptions about power and identity intersect.

There is growing recognition that the failure to address complex social identities can obscure or deny the human rights inherent to all. Atrocity prevention strategies and frameworks therefore must reflect the diversity of populations around the world and the ways in which overlapping identities may heighten vulnerability and risks to atrocity crimes. Intersectionality is defined as both "a concept and theoretical framework that facilitate recognition of the complex ways in which social identities overlap and, in negative scenarios, can create compounding experiences of discrimination and concurrent forms of oppression." In atrocity situations, applying an intersectional lens helps to identify triggers, early warning signs and the dynamics of identity-based violence and marginalization that may otherwise be overlooked. Moreover, it also enables a more accurate and comprehensive understanding of protection needs by acknowledging the diversity within a particular group or community and their non-homogenous experiences.2

This policy brief focuses on the unique risks youth face in atrocity situations, particularly where intersecting forms of identity contribute to and compound vulnerabilities. This brief seeks to highlight the need for atrocity prevention strategies that meaningfully center youth perspectives, in all their diversity, and include them in decision-making processes at national, regional and multilateral levels.

To explore these issues, the brief draws upon case studies on the Gaza Strip, El Salvador, Sudan and the Uyghur community in and beyond China. These <u>case studies</u>³ build on testimony and insights shared during an event hosted by the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect and the European Union on 18 April 2024. At the event, youth activists who champion the rights of young people, including those with marginalized ethnic identities, disabilities or from the LGBTQIA+community, shared their experiences across various atrocity contexts and discussed strategies for more inclusive and responsive atrocity prevention efforts.

YOUTH VULNERABILITY TO AND EXPERIENCE OF ATROCITY CRIMES

In situations where populations are at risk of mass atrocity crimes, identity – including race, ethnicity, religion, gender identity, sexual orientation or disability – can expose certain groups to further marginalization, discrimination and oppression. For youth, these risks are often compounded by their age and social status.⁴ Positioned between childhood and adulthood, young people face vulnerabilities associated with both life stages and represent a critical cross-section of identity; their experiences are shaped not only by their age, but also by its intersection with other aspects of their identity.

While atrocity crimes impact people of all ages, their consequences on children and youth can be particularly severe. Atrocity crimes may result in mass displacement, starvation and the disruption of key social services, such as education, often causing long-term psychological and physical harm – all of which have profound and lasting consequences on youth development.⁵ In both conflict and non-conflict settings, children and youth face distinct risks. They may be intentionally targeted, abused or exploited, especially when they belong to marginalized communities or a minority group. In some contexts, particularly those marked by tension, discrimination or conflict, as young people mature and their identities become more defined or visible, they may become more

vulnerable to harm, including atrocity risks such as targeted violence or persecution.

Despite existing UN frameworks and mechanisms, such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Children and Armed Conflict mandate, the Youth, Peace and Security agenda, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Youth Forum and several UN Security Council (UNSC) meetings and resolutions, as well as the UN Secretary-General's 2022 report The Responsibility to Protect: Prioritizing Children and Young People, the specific ways in which youth are disproportionately affected by atrocity crimes remain underexplored and unaccounted for. Grave violations against children which can constitute war crimes and/or crimes against humanity - are documented by the UNSC-mandated Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism, yet there is still a significant gap in understanding the extent to which youth are disproportionately vulnerable to and impacted by atrocity crimes.6

One reason these gaps persist is that youth perspectives, concerns and experiences are often dismissed, overlooked or minimized by decision-makers, and excluded from formal decision-making spaces. Young people with multiple marginalized identities face even greater barriers to formal decision-making processes, further compounding their vulnerability undermining their potential to shape effective prevention strategies. These barriers include personal security concerns, harassment and profound consequences stemming from rejection or marginalization by their families, particularly for youth with diverse gender or sexual identities. In some contexts, youth who speak out may also place their families at risk, especially in contexts where transnational repression is present. This exclusion, especially for those with multiple marginalized identities, not only perpetuates cycles of harm but undermines their potential to meaningfully shape more effective and holistic atrocity prevention strategies. Nonetheless, young people have continued to find ways to engage.

YOUTH AS AGENTS OF CHANGE FOR ATROCITY PREVENTION

Although children and youth are disproportionately impacted by atrocity crimes, and require specific protection strategies, they must not be seen as solely victims. Around the world, young people have emerged as powerful agents of change – inspiring

intergenerational resistance and organizing global movements for peace, justice, human rights and climate change, demanding their right to shape the world that they will soon inherit. Their experiences, particularly those shaped by intersecting identities, can inform and shape more inclusive and representative atrocity prevention, mitigation and response strategies.

Despite their varied and complex vulnerabilities, young people can meaningfully contribute to the protection of themselves and their communities, as well as towards efforts aimed at building and sustaining peace. The participation of children and youth in atrocity prevention helps break cycles of violence. Youth intimately understand the issues that affect their lives and can envision innovative solutions - often more inclusive and responsive than those designed by adults. Involvement in these efforts can also serve as a coping mechanism during atrocity situations, improving young people's selfconfidence, skills and knowledge while catalyzing positive community-level change that vulnerability to violence and other rights violations.7

Many have pursued opportunities to participate in and engage with formal decision-making and multilateral spaces, while also creating alternative platforms to advocate for communities facing atrocity risks. Through social media, grassroots organizing, transnational solidarity networks, among other innovative ways, youth are pioneering new methods of engagement that expand the reach and impact of their activism – even when traditional avenues are blocked.

The following section examines the efforts of youth-led organizations and activists working to confront the complex, multidimensional risks facing young people in atrocity situations. Drawing on examples from the case studies, this section highlights how youth are engaging in atrocity prevention through diverse and innovative means. These initiatives showcase the resilience, creativity and leadership of young people as they build alternative pathways to support vulnerable communities and advance inclusive prevention efforts.

Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territory – A focus on the Gaza Strip

Gaza, where almost half of the population is under age 18, has become the world's most dangerous place to be a child. Following 7 October 2023, when Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups launched a coordinated assault in Israel, the Israeli government unleashed a brutal military offensive on Gaza. Israel has subjected

Palestinians in Gaza to genocidal acts, including killings, causing serious bodily or mental harm and deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about their destruction. The UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) concluded that statements made by high-level Israeli military and government officials are evidence of genocidal intent, while the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the OPT, including East Jerusalem, and Israel determined that Israel has committed war crimes and crimes against humanity during its military operations and attacks in Gaza.

The escalation has compounded the pre-existing vulnerabilities of young people and children in Gaza, who have long experienced persecution, dispossession, atrocity crimes and intergenerational trauma linked to their Palestinian identity. In addition to leaving much of Gaza uninhabitable, Israel's widespread bombardment has destroyed the majority of school buildings9 and decimated health facilities,10 denying children and youth their fundamental right to education and healthcare. Deliberate starvation, resulting from the blockade and denial of humanitarian aid, has resulted in preventable deaths and diseases, particularly impacting children and youth.11 The UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East warned that Israel's war on Gaza risks creating a "lost generation of permanently traumatized Palestinian youth."12

Youth-Led Response: Youth Advisory Panel

Established in 2021, the Youth Advisory Panel (YAP) in Palestine is a youth-led initiative comprised of 18 youth leaders from across Palestinian communities in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. YAP aims to amplify the voices of Palestinian youth at local, regional and multilateral levels. While its original mandate focused on providing policymakers with advice to mobilize meaningful action, the crisis in Gaza has forced the organization to assume a humanitarian relief role. ¹³

YAP has designed and implemented various initiatives to address the concerns and priorities of Palestinian youth regarding issues such as mental health, political participation and gender equality. The organization has also contributed to a variety of policy processes and strategies, including the National Strategy for Enhancing the Political Participation of Palestinian Women and the Gender Equality Strategy led by the Palestinian Ministry of Women's Affairs, as well as the Arab Youth, Peace and Security Strategy adopted by the Arab Council of Ministers at the League of Arab States. Additionally, YAP members have represented Palestinian youth at

international forums, such as the Arab Forum for Sustainable Development at the UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia headquarters in Beirut, the ECOSOC Youth Forum and the Commission on the Status of Women organized by UN Women.

Despite overwhelming challenges, YAP exemplifies the determination of Palestinian youth to lead, advocate and protect their communities. Their work demonstrates how youth participation can drive policy change, advance inclusive development and strengthen atrocity prevention strategies, especially in contexts marked by systemic discrimination and ongoing crimes.

El Salvador

El Salvador has experienced a prolonged human rights and security crisis rooted in its violent past, including a 12-year civil war that ended in 1992, and was compounded by governance failures. Despite the end of the civil war, the legacies of the violence have persisted — most notably through the rise of gangs, which have perpetrated grave abuses, including extortion, kidnapping, rape and murder. Salvadoran children and youth facing gang violence and abuses are vulnerable to forcible recruitment and use, killing and maiming, abduction and arbitrary arrests through the crime of "unlawful association."¹⁴

Since taking office in 2019, President Nayib Bukele has implemented increasingly authoritarian measures that have severely undermined human rights protections and democratic institutions. His administration weakened judicial independence and concentrated executive power under the guise of restoring public order. President Bukele has also pursued a "war on gangs" resembling past governments' "iron fist" crackdowns in 2003 and 2004. Salvadoran security forces have committed widespread human rights violations, including mass arbitrary detention, torture and other forms of ill-treatment against detainees, and conducted indiscriminate raids, particularly targeting low-income and marginalized neighborhoods. Security forces have been accused of extrajudicial executions, sexual violence and torture.

In the context of broader human rights violations and abuses, LGBTQIA+ adults and youth are particularly vulnerable. They are often targets of homophobic and transphobic violence and discrimination by police, gangs and the public. ¹⁵ Although the government has previously acknowledged some violations by security officials against LGBTQIA+ populations, abuses persist in

defiance of laws, policies, constitutional requirements and international human rights commitments. ¹⁶ LGBTQIA+ youth are particularly vulnerable to extortion and exploitation as they often do not have support from their families, resulting in many fleeing their homes to escape domestic or intrafamilial abuse or other factors that may trigger violence. In 2022 the organization COMCAVIS TRANS reported that nearly two-thirds of the LGBTQIA+ people they assisted had fled from gangs, with death threats given as the primary reason. ¹⁷

Amid this repression, LGBTQIA+ youth, particularly those at the intersection of other marginalized identities, are at heightened risk of persecution and possible crimes against humanity. Under the policies adopted by President Bukele, LGBTQIA+ populations are facing increasing challenges and shrinking civic space for sexual diversity. These developments reflect a broader pattern of entrenching patriarchal and heteronormative power structures, often a precursor to widespread or systematic targeting of gender diverse populations.¹⁸

Youth-Led Advocacy: COMCAVIS TRANS

Founded in 2008, COMCAVIS TRANS is a pioneering organization that supports trans women and the broader LGBTQIA+ community in El Salvador. The organization provides a safe space where trans women can openly express their identities and strengthen their knowledge about HIV and antiretroviral therapy, human rights, stigma, discrimination, gender identity and other topics of interest.¹⁹ Through community-level leadership groups, the organization offers workshops on activism, grassroots advocacy and human rights, empowering LGBTQIA+ youth to become advocates for themselves and their communities. COMCAVIS TRANS has grown into a national movement working to amplify the voices of LGBTQIA+ people facing systemic marginalization.

In their advocacy, COMCAVIS TRANS has mobilized in support of legislative protections for gender diverse youth and worked to ensure that queer and trans voices are represented in national policy and decision-making spaces. In an environment where civil society is under increasing threat and youth participants face barriers, COMCAVIS TRANS serves a critical role in defending civic space and advancing atrocity prevention strategies through inclusive, youth-led advocacy.

Sudan

Since violent clashes broke out on 15 April 2023 between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF), both parties have engaged in a fight to preserve and expand control. The conflict has been characterized by indiscriminate and deliberate attacks against civilians and civilian objects, often with rocket shells, bombardments and heavy artillery, including in densely populated areas, and the widespread use of sexual violence. The UN Human Rights Councilmandated Fact-Finding Mission has concluded that the SAF and RSF, and their allied militias, are responsible for largescale violations of human rights and International Humanitarian Law (IHL), many of which amount to war crimes and/or crimes against humanity. The RSF have utilized the conflict to accelerate a systematic campaign of ethnic cleansing and largescale attacks targeting non-Arab communities in Darfur and other regions, with possible acts of genocide.

Amid the ongoing crisis, people with disabilities are facing disproportionate and often overlooked risks. These risks arise both from pre-existing disabilities and injuries sustained during the conflict. Displacement, bombardment and famine conditions compound these risks in lethal ways. Individuals with mobility-related disabilities or those who have lost access to assistive devices may be unable to escape areas of escalating violence due to the difficulty of replacing assistive devices, physical barriers or the dependence on caregivers. Those with sensory disabilities, such as hearing impairments, may struggle to respond to urgent threats like airstrikes and gunfire. The situation is even more precarious for young people with disabilities, who often rely on their families for care and support. Displaced youth with disabilities are at heightened risk of family separation during hurried evacuations and may be left behind,20 exposing them to violence, abuse and exploitation.21

In displacement camps, such as Zamzam in North Darfur - where a famine determination22 was issued by the Famine Review Committee of the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification - essential services are not designed to accommodate the specific needs of people with disabilities.²³ Children and youth with disabilities are often overlooked in access to humanitarian assistance, particularly when resources are scarce, such as in a famine environment, compounding their exclusion and suffering.²⁴ Meanwhile, healthcare infrastructure in cities like Khartoum, where most hospitals have been rendered nearly non-functional, has made access to disability-specific medical care nearly impossible.25 The disruption of essential services and restrictions on humanitarian aid exacerbate these risks, as people with disabilities frequently require additional support to ensure their survival and dignity.

Youth Activism and Intersectional Advocacy: Elkhansaa Fahad

Amid these intersecting crises, youth are taking on critical advocacy roles to protect the rights of the most vulnerable. Elkhansaa Fahad, a young Sudanese disability rights activist and digital campaigner, has emerged as a leading voice for the disability rights and justice movement.²⁶ Through her digital platform, Elkhansaa advocates for social justice, disability rights and gender equality, using digital tools to raise awareness of the unique challenges faced by women and youth with disabilities, particularly in rural and conflict-affected areas. She has also established a grassroots support network for Sudanese women with disabilities, creating a space for them to collaborate and raise awareness about the challenges faced by those with intersecting forms of marginalization.

In a context where intersecting identities heighten risks and vulnerabilities, youth activists demonstrate the resilience and leadership of young people in confronting systemic discrimination.

China (Uyghur Muslims)

Under the guise of combating religious extremism, in recent years Chinese authorities in the so-called Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (the Uyghur Region) have increased persecution of the ethnic Uyghur community, as well as Kazakhs, Kyrgyz and other predominantly Muslim and/or Turkic groups. While China has perpetrated repressive campaigns against these groups for several decades, abuses significantly escalated following the 2017 passage of the "Regulation on Deextremification," which imposed severe restrictions on religious freedom and practice, including through preventing individuals from praying, growing beards or playing Uyghur music. Since then, Uyghurs and other predominantly Muslim and/or Turkic groups, have been subject to mass arbitrary detention, often accompanied by widespread rape, sexual abuse and torture, as well as coercive campaigns to reduce birth rates, including through forced abortions and sterilizations.

In August 2022 the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights determined that the extent of arbitrary and discriminatory detention of Uyghurs and other predominantly Muslim and/or Turkic groups may amount to crimes against humanity, with conditions still in place that enable ongoing serious human rights violations.

Uyghur youth face targeted policies designed to sever cultural identity and impose assimilation. The government has prohibited them from speaking their own language in schools and universities, while young people are often sent outside the Uyghur region for a secondary education and face unemployment and discrimination.27 UN experts have warned that the Chinese government has exponentially increased policies that allow for the forcible removal of children and youth from their families and cultural anchors and transferred to state-run orphanages or boarding schools.28 These repressive and discriminatory policies severely limit freedom of movement, freedom of opinion and expression, access to education and access to their families, language and religious and cultural practices, contributing to the systematic destruction of Uyghur cultural heritage and identity. These policies - which have increased state control over family life - likely violate Article II of the Genocide Convention.

China's transnational surveillance and repression of Uyghurs frequently targets youth and students. Some have faced crackdowns at foreign universities, resulting in forced detention or the threat of retaliation against their relatives in the Uyghur Region if they do not comply with government demands to return.²⁹ Chinese embassies also use student groups, such as the Chinese Students and Scholars Association, to organize protests and monitor Chinese students' involvement with human rights issues, creating a climate of fear that stifles dissent and activism among youth.³⁰

Youth Organizing and Activism: The Uyghur Youth Initiative

In the face of cultural erasure and transnational repression, Uyghur youth are creating spaces for solidarity, resistance and remembrance. One such effort is the Uyghur Youth Initiative (UYI), a Germany-based youth-led initiative launched in 2022 to empower Uyghur youth, raise awareness in their schools and communities and preserve cultural identity.³¹ UYI brings together Uyghur youth activists from diverse backgrounds, including the diaspora, to build community and share their experiences, concerns and aspirations in safe and inclusive spaces. These spaces allow for open dialogue and collaboration, fostering a sense of solidarity and empowerment among young Uyghurs.

UYI organizes advocacy campaigns and events to raise awareness about the Uyghur genocide and ongoing atrocities in the Uyghur Region. Through workshops, seminars, demonstrations and cultural events, UYI encourages youth participation in human rights advocacy. UYI uses digital platforms and multimedia campaigns to amplify the voices of young Uyghurs and their unique perspectives and experiences with a global audience through social media platforms and storytelling initiatives. It has also established a network with other Uyghur youth organizations and activists around the world, expanding solidarity across borders. In doing so, UYI not only counters the narrative of state repression but reclaims space for youth agency, resistance and hope.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The resilience, leadership and lived experiences of young people – particularly those with intersecting identities – must be acknowledged as essential to atrocity prevention. The international community must not only recognize this resilience but actively create space for youth voices to be heard, included and meaningfully incorporated in policy and decision-making processes.

The following recommendations aim to support inclusive, intersectional and youth-responsive approaches to atrocity prevention across civil society and multilateral spaces.

For Civil Society

- Include young people as researchers and stakeholders in atrocity prevention efforts. Ensure youth, in all their diversity, are meaningfully represented in the design, implementation and evaluation of early warning systems.
- Ensure that analysis, advocacy and programming are intersectional, accounting for the diverse and unique compounding risks faced by individuals with marginalized identities.
- Train youth leaders and activists in IHL and International Human Rights Law, the protection of civilians, the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse and the prevention of and response to atrocity crimes. This should include training on the risk factors and indicators of atrocity crimes.

¹ UN Network on Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, "Guidance Note on Intersectionality, Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities," 22 September 2022. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/minorities/30th-anniversary/2022-09-22/GuidanceNoteonIntersectionality.pdf.

² UN Network on Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, "Guidance Note on Intersectionality, Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities."

For Multilateral Actors

- Partner with civil society organizations that have expertise in intersectionality, youth engagement and atrocity prevention to co-design and implement responsive programming that:
 - Is sensitized to discriminatory ideologies and policies of exclusion and reinforces and strengthens national human rights protection systems.
 - Includes atrocity prevention strategies that are gender-competent, survivor-centered and informed by an intersectional approach.
- Ensure inclusive representation and the participation of groups that are underrepresented and marginalized in decision-making bodies at the local, regional and national levels, with a focus on increasing the participation of minority groups in political and public life.
- Engage with UN youth mechanisms to integrate atrocity prevention into broader youth, development and peace agendas, including the Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth, the UN Youth Office and the ECOSOC Youth Forum.
- Build inclusive dialogue with all relevant stakeholders, including youth and local leaders, grass-roots organizations and religious leaders, to find tailored and acceptable solutions that are sensitive to the unique risks faced by youth in a given context.³²
- Leverage and develop cross-sectoral policies that respond to the needs and lived realities of youth affected by or at risk of atrocity crimes. This includes integrating youth perspectives in education, employment, healthcare, justice and social protection systems.
- Adopt and effectively implement relevant international standards and frameworks, including the Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Paris Principles and the Vancouver Principles, the Safe Schools Declaration and the Political Declaration on the Use of Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas.

³ While multiple atrocity risks are evident across the various contexts examined in each case study, these sections focus and expand on the specific vulnerabilities discussed in the event.

⁴There is no universally agreed definition of the youth age group. The UN — without prejudice to definitions adopted by member states — defines 'youth' as persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years. The UN considers persons 14 and under to be children, except in the context of protections under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which defines 'children' as persons up to the age of 18. Therefore, some ambiguity remains as to when a person transitions from childhood to youth. This policy brief

- does not seek to resolve this ambiguity but notes that, while children and youth face distinct risks, persons who fall within this transitional age group may experience risks associated with both children and youth, as well as risks unique to their identity. While there are general patterns of vulnerability based on age, the risks a person faces are shaped by their specific context and individual identity.
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- ⁶ Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, "Summary of the UN Secretary-General's 2022 Report on R2P, The Responsibility to Protect: Prioritizing Children and Young People."
- ⁷ Adrianne Lapar, remarks at the panel "The Role of Children and Youth in Atrocity Prevention," hosted by the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 22 June 2022. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jCtgZDXJgvo&t=2s.
- ⁸ UN Children's Fund, "Childhood displaced in Gaza," February 2024. Available at: https://www.unicef.org/stories/childhood-displaced-gaza.
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