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**The way we talk about sexual  
violence:  
Beyond a gender normative  
understanding of sexual violence in  
global politics**

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M-IR

## Declaration

I, Stine Aspevik Bosheim, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature *Stine A. Bosheim* ..... Date *31.08.21* .....



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## Abstract

Conflict-related sexual violence has received increasing attention in global politics the past decades through an increasing body of research on the subject matter as well as efforts to combat the issue through international political and legal instruments. The portrayal of conflict-related sexual violence is often to consider men as perpetrators of sexual violence against women. This dissertation seeks to broaden the understanding of conflict-related sexual violence beyond such a gender-normative approach. The aim is to identify to what extent there is a gendered treatment of conflict-related sexual violence in discourse held at the United Nations Security Council as well as in academic articles prominent journals of International Relations. This dissertation examines possible explanations for such a gender treatment. Also examines potential implications of gendered treatment of conflict-related sexual and discuss potential explanations for the existence of gender treatment trough a limited body of research on conflict-related sexual violence beyond a gender normative approach.

*Keywords: International Relations, feminist theory, gender normativity, conflict-related sexual violence, discourse, the United Nations*

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## Abbreviations

3RP	The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan that covers countries neighbouring Syria
CRSV	Conflict related sexual violence
DRC	The Democratic Republic of Congo
GBV	Gender-based violence
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTR	The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IO	International Organisation
IR	International Relations
LGBTQI+	People who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning and intersex
MARA	Monitoring, Analysis, and Reporting Arrangements
MDSV	Male-directed sexual violence
MONUSCO	The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NGO	Non-governmental organisations
OHCHR	United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner
SCR	The United Nations Security Council Report
SRSV-SVC	The office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict
SV	Sexual violence
TOE	Team of Experts on the Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolutions
WPS	Women, Peace and Security





## 1. Introduction

Sexual violence has existed throughout the history of humankind, across time and geographical borders, and particularly evident in times of war. Up until recently sexual violence has been considered an unfortunate consequence of war, something of which does not warrant particular interest.

During the 1990s, however, following the Rwandan genocide and the war in Yugoslavia, sexual violence against women came to be recognized in the United Nations (UN) not only as an unfortunate consequence of war but as means of war. Since then, sexual violence, and in particular conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) has become a trending topic in international organisations and scholarships and is today considered a security concern punishable as a crime against humanity, genocide and war crime under international law.

Wartime sexual violence is commonly understood as an act of aggression perpetrated by men against women (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). This portrayal is not only extremely limited, it is a perception that cause harm to thousands of victims as well as limiting the scope of understanding the issue (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). However, sexual violence is committed by all sexes and all sexes are subjected to sexual violence (Sjoberg, 2016). Empirical evidence from Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo, shows that around one of four men has been exposed to CRSV (Chynoweth, 2017; Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010). Moreover, research from the DRC shows that women were responsible for 10 per cent of CRSV against men and about 30 per cent of CRSV against women (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010).

The way we talk about and understand conflict-related sexual violence does not include the range of victims and perpetrators nor a broader scale of the needs of survivors or the complexity and range in strategies to combat it. Our everyday language as well as the discourse in the discipline of international relations are flooding with gendered dichotomies, including masculinity and femininity, perpetrator and victim, warrior and civilian, public and private spheres. In IR and in global politics, gender expectations are often based on assumed group characteristics that distinguish men and women, rather than individual characteristics (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). This is also the case of CRSV, as the discourses in politics, practices and research at an international level continue to consider sexual violence as a notion of male-on-female violence (Cohen, 2014; Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl, & Stern, 2018).

The way we talk about violence affects the way we act on violence. The assumed dichotomy that women are the sole gender exposed to sexual violence and men as the sole gender that perpetrate acts of sexual violence reproduces the (mis)understanding of sexual violence and reinforce false assumptions of gender roles. It also reinforces the narrative of women as a weaker gender and disregard men's experiences of such crimes. On a theoretical level this gender normative understanding of sexual violence condemns CRSV committed contrary to expected gender norms as unimportant and something of which does not warrant our attention, which also limits the scope of understanding of the issue of CRSV and how it is being tackled (Turchik, Hebenstreit, & Judson, 2016).

There is still a scarce understanding of the contextual and overall power relations that produces sexual violence where men are not the only perpetrators and women are not the only victims. Therefore, this dissertation challenges the notion of the gender categories of men and women by investigating the discrepancies between people's lives and the normative language used to describe them. I uphold a feminist approach to this study, not limited to an understanding of women as weak and in need of protection and men as the protector and aggressor, but rather to explore the social construct of gender and its influence not only on CRSV but the understanding, portrayal and approach to the issue. I argue that gender analysis is crucial to understanding and approach women's sexual violence in war as well as the male-directed sexual violence, as gender is one category of which is evident in both research and politics on the issue (Cohen, 2014).

This dissertation challenges gender norms linked to the victim/perpetrator dichotomy and rethinks our notion of CRSV beyond a gender normative approach (for a definition on gender normativity see chapter 1.2.4). It also suggests that such rethinking is necessary in the theorisation of conflict-related sexual violence as something *people* do, not only men, and something *people* are subjected to, not only women. This dissertation investigates CRSV from a non-heteronormative and gender binary approach, meaning inclusion of same-sex violence (male on male violence and female on female violence), male on female and female on male violence. Rethinking the phenomena of CRSV enables us to account not only for the situation of women in conflict, but the gendered complexities that previously were excluded from the discourse. By including men as potential victims and women as potential perpetrators, this dissertation argues that the definition, understanding and theorisation of sexual violence can give recognition to all victims, aid in the understanding and theorisation of the crime and may change strategies to combat the issue.

## 1.1 Research question

The main objective of this dissertation is to investigate possible implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV based on stereotypical and heteronormative gender norms and expectations. Therefore, the research question is as follows:

*What are the implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV in policy making and production of knowledge in the field of International Relations?*

In order to answer this question, I will first establish to what extent there is a gendered treatment of CRSV. This will be done by investigating the language used to describe victims and perpetrators of CRSV. International organisations such as the United Nations (UN), set an international standard for how the issue of conflict-related sexual violence is talked about, and how it is being treated. Therefore, the UN is important to investigate, as the discourse within the organisation is not only significant for the organisation itself but also indicative for the discourse on a broader level in global politics. Academic articles are important to investigate in order to ascertain what interest exists in the topic of CRSV overall as well as with regards to gender.

Therefore, the main research question has the following sub questions:

1. To what extent is there a gendered treatment of conflict-related sexual violence in the production of knowledge in the field of International Relations and in Global Politics?
  - a. To what extent are women and men represented as potential victims and/or perpetrators of CRSV in academic journals?
  - b. To what extent are women and men represented as potential victims and/or perpetrators of CRSV in UNSC reports and resolutions?

This dissertation will investigate how gender, in relation to the role of potential victims and perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence, is reflected in UNSC reports and resolutions as well as academic articles of global politics (to see the specific limitations with regards to the UNSC reports and academic articles see chapter 3.4). It will do so in order to see to what degree gender treatment is evident both in the production of knowledge in the field of IR as well as in international policymaking. More specifically it questions whether the current discourse is based on a conventional and gendered understanding of CRSV. This is necessary in order to investigate its potential implications in the respected areas. International organisations such as the United Nations, set an international standard for how the issue of conflict-related sexual violence is understood and how it is being treated. If exclusively

portraying women and girls as victims, the existence of men and boys as victims are excluded, thus rendered not only unimportant but non-existent (Zalewski, Drumond Prügl & Stern, 2018).

The same regards articles and journals covering the subject matter. If prominent academic articles and journals fail to acknowledge the widespread issue of CRSV against men and boys or recognise the possibility of women as perpetrators of such crimes, the dichotomy of women as victims and men as perpetrators is sustained. Women and men who do not fall into the stereotypical gender expectations are investigated based on previous research and literature in order to uncover potential implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV in policymaking and in the production of knowledge.

This dissertation is two folded. First, while this research assumes that CRSV to a large degree is understood as a crime against women perpetrated by men, I will investigate this assumption by examining the language used in academic journals and UNSC reports and resolutions to uncover whether they are gender inclusive or gender specific in their portrayal of victims and perpetrators of CRSV. Second, I will discuss potential implications of a gender treatment of CRSV by examining research into CRSV from a gender inclusive approach. CRSV understood in an inclusive manner – where both men and women are considered potential victims and perpetrators – is an under-studied and under-theorised topic in the field of International Relations, something of which this dissertation will investigate (Zalewski, Drumond Prügl & Stern, 2018). I wish to analyse different realities of CRSV contrary to popular belief and common gender assumptions – realities that are rarely discussed. Including the unpleasantness of women’s violence and invisible men in jurisprudence in cases of sexual violence.

All in all, this dissertation will examine how our notions of gender norms are visible through different aspects of society, represented by UNSC resolutions and reports and academic journals, but also in the media and in international law. This dissertation is about gender norms and gender expectations that are manifested in the gendered victim-perpetrator dichotomy. However, it is also about language. It is about how words not only represent reality but manifest it. It is about how words are used and misused consciously or unconsciously and how words can affect policymaking, the production of knowledge and people’s lives.

## 1.2 Key concepts and their definitions

There are many important concepts in this dissertation, many of which revolves around the concept of gender and the feminist approach to its social construction. Gender expectations,

gender norms and gender stereotypes are entrenched in our social, political, communal and everyday lives and it is important to not only distinguish them from one another, but to understand how they are related. Therefore, these concepts will be elaborated to a broader extent in chapter 1.2.3. compared with the other sections in this chapter. In the following sections where I will introduce several other key concepts important to this study, including definitions of sexual violence and CRSV, conflict, victim and perpetrator.

### 1.2.1 Sexual violence and conflict-related sexual violence

The definition of sexual violence is not unilateral. Different states, national and international organisations use different definitions, which results in different practises, regulations and legal frameworks. *Conflict-related sexual violence* is based on the UN definition of CRSV which refers to “rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilization, forced marriage and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict” (United Nations, n.d.).

Reflecting the disciplinary location of this dissertation in the field of International Relations the focus is on conflict-related sexual violence, however, sexual violence and conflict-related sexual violence is here used interchangeably. This needs clarification. For while this dissertation considers sexual violence whether defined as conflict-related or not, the context is different. One important aspect of the distinction between conflict-related sexual violence and sexual violence is the stakeholders that can affect retributions and penalties (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl, & Stern, 2018). While most national legal systems include sexual violence in one form or another as a crime and, it is also up to national governments decide themselves whether they wish to partake in regulations, rules and agreements found in international legal frameworks. However, all states that are members of the United Nations, are bound by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) where sexual violence is included as potential crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide and where perpetrators of such crimes may be prosecuted (UN General Assembly, 1998). Thus, for international legal actions crimes of sexual violence are pursued legally as a part of conflict.

### 1.2.2 Conflict

Conflict is understood in this dissertation equal to the definition of conflict made by the Department of Peace and Conflict Research of Uppsala University, which draws a distinction between state-based and non-state armed conflict with the following definitions:

A state-based armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year. “Armed conflict” is also referred to as “state-based conflict”, as opposed to “non-state conflict” ... [which is] the use of armed force between two organised armed groups, neither of which is the government of a state, which results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year. (Uppsala University Department of Peace and Conflict Research, n.d.)

### 1.2.3 Victims and perpetrators

Victims are in this dissertation considered to include all genders exposed to crimes of sexual violence as defined in chapter 1.2.1 (While all genders are included in the definition, this dissertation focuses on the genders of men and women, see more on this in the limitations chapter 3.4.). The terms victims and survivors are here used interchangeably, while being aware of debates surrounding the distinctions between the terms (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). With the use of survivors, one avoids a passivity inherent in the notion of victims. However, with the term victim one can also gain recognition and legal aid as well as avoid the notion that survivors in some way are always empowered by their experiences.

Victims are further defined in line with the UN handbook on Conflict-related sexual violence, which profile victims of CRSV often to be civilians “...who may be targeted due to their actual or perceived membership to a political, ethnic, or religious minority group, or based on their actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity” (United Nations, 2020, p. 8). The link between sexual violence and conflict is according to the UN Handbook evident in the profile of perpetrators who are “usually affiliated with either State or non-State entities [which may] use CRSV to terrorize local populations believed to be supporters of their enemies” (United Nations, 2020, p. 8). They further define State and non-State entities to include “national armed forces, police, or other security entities; terrorist entities or networks; local militias; armed groups; or traffickers” (United Nations, 2020, p. 8).

### 1.2.4 Gender, sex, gender expectations norms and binaries

*Gender/sex.* *Sex* refers to the biological characteristics of a person, including sex organs, chemical composition etc. and is today by most understood to be limited to biological male and/or female (Sjoberg, 2016). These biological sexes are often linked to the socially construction of gender. *Gender* refers to a set of socially constructed attributes and expectations

that relates to a person based on their assumed belonging in a certain gender category. In other words, gender refers to a set of *expectations* for what it means to be a *man* and what it means to be a *woman*.

*Masculinity/femininity.* The gender category of male is also linked to the notion of *masculinity*, while the gender category of female is linked to *femininity*, a distinction also based on behavioural expectations based on assumed sex and gender. Men are expected to show masculine characteristics, such toughness, aggression, rationality and protector. Women are expected to show attributes of femininity, such as sensitivity, emotionality, peace-loving and protected (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). As an example, if a man behaves aggressively or dominant, he is often understood as behaving according to the characteristics of his gender – much like the saying “boys will be boys” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). However, when a woman behaves aggressively or dominant, she is understood to show attributes that are not normal for her gender and is thus behaving contrary to her gender (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015).

*Gender expectations/gender normativity.* *Gender role expectations* are linked to both the biological sex and the socially constructed gender and prevails despite the increasing evidence that people do not fit neatly into the categories of male and female (Sjoberg, 2016). Gender role expectations are not constant categories of what it means to be a man or what it means to be a woman, but rather that across time and space there are different and changing expectations of what women are and what men are (Sjoberg, 2016) . The expectations for men and women are often understood as *gender normativity*, a concept that comprises the idea that people can be understood, and their actions predicted, based on their biological and social membership of the gender categories of men and women (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 33). Gender normativity is, like gender expectations in general, not constant, but they are used to organise both political and social life, leading people to live surrounded by gendered expectations and gender norms (OHCHR, n.d.)

*Gender binary/dichotomies.* The gender/sex distinction is also evident in *gender binaries*, meaning gendered expectations for what constitute a *man* and what constitute a *woman*, and that the two, and only these two. also entails that the category of man and the category of women are easily distinguishable and mutually exclusive – one is *either* a man *or* a woman (Sjoberg, 2016). People understood as men and people understood as women are perceived dichotomously, as masculine or feminine, public or private, perpetrator or victim, aggressive or peace-loving.



Gender expectations are only ideal types, meaning that women can show attributes of masculinity, just as men can show attributes of femininity (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Equally people can be understood as male or female, as well as either/or and neither/nor (Sjoberg, 2016). As previously stated, many people fall outside a gender binary way of thinking. This dissertation is about these people, those who behave or are forced to behaving outside gendered expectations linked to their gender, more specifically linked to the act of sexual violence.

### 1.3 Significance of the study/relevance

Wartime sexual violence is a trending topic amongst international organisations (IO), non-governmental organisations (NGO), politicians and the civil society. In October 2000 the first UNSC resolution on wartime sexual violence was ratified. In 2009 The office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC) was launched. In 2018 Denis Mukwege and Nadia Murad were awarded the Nobel peace prize for their efforts to combat CRSV. Meanwhile, hundreds of articles have been written about the subject matter, numerous initiatives have been instigated by several NGO's and IO's. Yet, there is very little research onto the topic of female perpetrators of CRSV, or male victims of wartime sexual violence. Several papers, books and reports suggest that this male-directed sexual violence or violence perpetrated by women occurs, however, in most cases without any elaboration, explanations or further investigations.

The researchers that do however investigate sexual violence from outside a gender normative approach are unilateral in pointing to the lack of theorisation, investigation, research and discussion into this subject matter (including Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018; Sjoberg, 2016; Dolan, 2014a; Chynoweth, 2017). The dichotomy of male perpetrators of sexual violence against female victims allows for little to no distinctions in the complexity and intersectionality of victims and perpetrators, which may also overlap (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010). Men lack access to healthcare systems and legal rights (Dolan, 2014b) while women are continuously excluded as potential perpetrators thus limiting our understanding and strategies to combat the issue (Sjoberg, 2016).

Sexual violence understood in gender normative terms are seen at all levels of society (Sjoberg, 2016; Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018) and the lack of research beyond a gender normative understanding of CRSV may have implications both on international efforts to combat the issue, on a theoretical level with regards to understand the complexity of the issue as well as for the victims, particularly male victims who suffer from lack of access to

health care and legal aid (Dolan, 2014b). Therefore, this dissertation addresses the issue of CRSV beyond a gender normative understanding of CRSV.

#### 1.4 Implications of gender treatment of CRSV – an outline

This dissertation will pair critical feminist theorising and the analysis of sexual violence against men *and* women’s sexual violence in war and conflict. By doing so, I intent to identify and discover implications of a gendered treatment of conflict-related sexual violence. It is neither just about women’s violence, male victimisation, nor women’s violence against men, it is about investigating existing narratives on CRSV and questioning it through gender lenses. I will nuance the notion of gender and question assumed gender characteristics to linked to a person based on their assumed membership in a specific gender category. It is about policymakers and scholars studying gender and power relations between genders, between men and women, men and men and women and women. It is about assumed and unassumed gendered relationships between victims and perpetrators of wartime sexual violence and the many gendered expectations of victims and perpetrators of wartime sexual violence.

In chapter 2 “Breaking the myths and gender dichotomies” problematise the gender narrative of sexual violence as an act of violence perpetrated by men against women. I introduce several key concepts important to the investigation and analysis of CRSV, including gender, gender expectations and gender norms and discuss the complex relationship between them. I discuss gender expectations, gender norms, gender expectation and ideas of what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman. I introduce the uncomfortable existence of sexual violence against men, and the persistent myths about male victims while also present the issue of women’s violence and the absent discursive recognition of violence among women elaborating on several misconceptions on women’s violence.

Chapter 3, “methodology” constructs the framework for this dissertation and its research design. I go through the research strategy, sampling, data collection and data analysis of academic articles and UNSC reports as well as literature on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach. The mixed methods strategy becomes evident, as the UNSC reports and the investigation into the academic articles are both based on content analysis of co-occurrence and discourse analysis. This part of the research is done in order to establish to what extent there is a gendered treatment of victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. The literature on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach is analysed through discourse analysis. This is done in order to examine previous research beyond a gender normative understanding of CRSV

as well as uncover potential implications for gender treatment of the issue as well as possible explanations if its existence.

Chapter 4, “The way we talk – discourse within the UNSC, academic articles and international legal frameworks” investigates the language concerning victims and perpetrators of CRSV used at an international level, specifically at the UNSC and its resolutions and reports on CRSV, legal frameworks, and academic articles in the field of International Relations. This chapter uncover to what extent there is a gendered treatment found in at the level of international policymaking and the production of knowledge represented by resolutions and reports by the UNSC and academic articles of IR journals. This chapter suggests that the discourse on the subject of sexual violence seems to be very much in line with traditional gender normative thinking, where men are considered perpetrators of sexual violence and women are their victims and that the discourse on CRSV on an international level is highly gendered.

Chapter 5, “The Way we Work – Implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV” suggests that the analysis in chapter 4 represent a significant part of a discursive structures that reproduce and reinforce gender binaries. It further complicates the notion of gender normativity by examining the potential negative implications of gender treatment of CRSV. This chapter analyses the role of the UNSC, scholars, legal frameworks in reinforcing and reproducing gender binaries and its implications for victims. Finally, chapter 5 discuss potential explanations for the current gendered treatment of CRSV through the persistence of gender myths, hegemonic masculinities and limitations found in academia

Chapter 7,” conclusion” summarise the previous chapters through this present the answers for the research question. The dissertation culminates with a chapter on “further research” that state the need for more research on the subject matter.

## 2. Breaking the myths and gender dichotomies

Feminists have fought to bring women's issues and experience to the forefront in all aspects of our social life, the political agenda, into academia, and in our everyday lives. This is a constantly ongoing challenge. Through decades of lobbying, activism and communication, feminist scholars and activists have managed to bring equality between genders into the highest political forum of our time, the United Nations (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Today the UN has its own forums on women's issues, including the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. One particular issue concerning women and girls have received immense focus, namely conflict-related sexual violence. The attention to CRSV as a global issue, is long overdue, and its recognitions has required decades of feminist activism and lobbying (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018).

In 2018 Deni Mukwege and Nadia Murad won the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to combat CRSV. With this new wave of recognition, the attention and visibility of CRSV as an international security concern and the efforts to combat the issue are increasing (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). Major international organisations today include wartime sexual violence as a serious security issue, for example like the UN which has commenced several initiatives in attempts to combat the issue, and most recently made a handbook on sexual violence (United Nations, 2020). While the efforts to combat the issue are increasing, the gendered norms engrained in these international efforts are persistent and reproduced by the discourse found in the very same institutions (e.g., in the UNSC, see chapters 4.1- 4.3 for analysis of the discourse in UNSC). Gender myths are persistent in the discourse subjecting wartime sexual violence, which is also evident in the international political arena.

In the following sub-chapters I will elaborate on existing gender norms, expectations and myths surrounding victims and perpetrators of CRSV. I will also look into empirical evidence of wartime sexual violence contrary to gender normative discourse both pertaining male-directed sexual violence and women's act of sexual violence in war and conflict. This chapter ends with an introduction to the theoretical framework for this dissertation, namely feminism, more specifically poststructuralist feminism and critical feminism. However, it is important to mention that in all chapters of this dissertation several feminist assumptions are put forward, not necessarily explained and defended as feminist assumptions outside of chapter 4.7 on feminism), including gender as a social construct (for definition of gender see chapter 1.2.4).

## 2.1 Gender dichotomies as constitutive of reality

“sexual violence [is] mostly perpetrated by men against women”. (World Health Organization, 2021)

Gender expectations, gender norms and gender stereotypes are entrenched in our social, political, communal and everyday lives. They are continuously reinforced and reproduced through discourse found at local, national and international levels of society (Sjoberg, 2016). And all levels of society are flooding with gender dichotomies that divide men and women based on gender expectations as well as assumed gender characteristics (Sjoberg, 2016). Such dichotomies include the idea of what it means to be a woman and what it means to be a man which in turn is linked to concepts such as femininity and masculinity, victim and perpetrator, weak and strong, peaceful and aggressive. Gender expectations are also found in global politics – expectations that are based on assumed group characteristics rather than on individual differences (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). This results in persistent gender myths that are being reproduced and reinforced through the discourse subjecting all matters political and social, including that of wartime sexual violence.

The issue of wartime sexual violence is considered by the international community to be a power act of feminisation, not only of its victims but also those surrounding the victims (Sjoberg, 2016). This is often reduced as an act of gender subordination perpetrated by men against women – an assumption based on essentialist gendered assumptions of patriarchy found not only in the international arena, but also in academia and the society in general (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). It is often “read with a number of shortcuts and essentialist assumptions to understand sexual violence in war and conflict as an act of gender subordination perpetrated against women, by men” (Sjoberg, 2016, pp. 187-188). These assumptions and narratives are sustained by the language found at the global political arena, narratives upon which Sjoberg argues to be sustained “in part because they make sexual violence clearly intelligible, in part because they fit with inherited notions of gender roles in wars and conflict, and in part because they can (if not fully corrected) account for the majority of sexual violence cases in wars and conflict throughout history (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 188).

However, all genders commit acts of sexual violence, and all genders are subjected to sexual violence (Sjoberg, 2016). Some scholars (e.g., Abrams, 2016) argue that the feminist movement has approached the issue of CRSV through a strategy of containment, where the experiences of women as victims have been emphasised while men’s experiences have been

excluded violence so that the understanding of the issue would be limited to seeing women as victims and men as perpetrator. This is, according to Abrams (2016) a deliberate strategy by feminists as not to lose the long overdue recognition of women and women's experiences in global politics (Abrams, 2016). On a larger scale several authors have addressed ways in which the feminist movement can be strengthened through inclusion of female violence (e.g., Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). White & Kowalski (1994) argue that denying female aggression, including within the context of domestic violence and intimate relationships, sustains male power, as well as the idea of women as inherently peaceful, thus undermining gender as a social construct.

Other scholars, like Chris Dolan (2014a) argues that this containment policy is also found at the highest international political level, namely in the UNSC. Dolan argues that this kind of discourse in reality is patriarchy in the form of the UN Security Council that has stolen the feminists' clothes by portraying women as weak (victims) and men as strong (perpetrators) through decades of gender binary discourse. Simultaneously, stories of female perpetrators surface from time to time (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). However, in these cases, yet other scholars argue that if the women are no longer defined as victims, they become perpetrators equal to male perpetrators (Sjoberg, 2016). This in turn leads to the assumption that if women are equally capable of men of being perpetrators there is no longer a need for a feminist movement emphasising female victimhood (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). The inclusion of women as perpetrators or men as victims does not entail a weakening of the feminist movement, nor that the feminist movement is not necessary. The feminist movement and feminist theorisation may however aid in challenge and rethink the notion of CRSV and the gendered dichotomies and binaries that revolves it (elaboration on feminism ability to challenge the notion of CRSV is found in chapter 5.2).

## 2.2 Myths of masculinity and men

“Men cannot be raped”. (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017)

Most all aspects of sexual violence are understudied and undertheorized, including that of wartime sexual violence against men. This section discusses sexual violence against men in light of the very limited knowledge we have about the issue, its extent, the motivations behind and the effects on its victims (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). Reports of sexual violence against men and boys in times of war are beginning to emerge from numerous conflicts across time and place, e.g., Syria (Chynoweth, 2017), Democratic Republic of Congo (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010) and former Yugoslavia (Drumond, 2018). Sexual violence

against men is perpetrated more often than previously assumed, it is perpetrated at home, in detention centres and prison, in close relations and by authorities, by men and by women (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018).

Sexual violence is, as mentioned several times throughout this dissertation, traditionally understood to be perpetrated by men against women. The increasing knowledge about sexual violence against men thus begs important questions about gender expectations, dynamics of war, understandings about, and experiences of masculinity and femininity and whether our assumptions and knowledge about CRSV is outdated. Especially because the knowledge we do have on sexual violence against men is largely based on the experiences of female victims.

Victims of sexual violence commonly face several different issues and concerns, including physical, psychological, social and socio-economic concern which may differ significantly across genders (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017; Dolan, 2014b). Firstly, male victims, like female victims, often face stigmatisation by their immediate surroundings, but men face stigmatisation as they are expected to not only be able to defend themselves but also their families. Men are supposed to be masculine, to show attributes of aggression and dominance, therefore, to not being able to defend oneself from sexual violence is thus considered by many as to be shameful and a rift in one's masculinity (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016).

Secondly, male victims are in a legal blind spot internationally as international legal frameworks have been developed in a way that explicitly consider women and girls as victims, thus excluding even the possibility of male victims making it impossible to prosecute in most cases (Dolan, 2014b). This is also evident in discourse by international organisations and NGO's as male victims of sexual violence are often explained to have survived torture, rather than sexual violence (Charman, 2018). The legal treatment of sexual abuses against men as "inhumane acts, "cruel treatment", "torture" and "persecution"- rather than "sexual violence" (Charman, 2018, pp. 202-205). Male survivors of sexual violence also report that they do not have access to humanitarian resources for survivors of sexual violence (Dolan, 2014b) and in cases where they do have access, the "doctors, counsellors and even aid workers frequently endorse homophobic ideas" (Dolan 2014b, p.4). Such ideas are one in many myths of male victims of sexual violence.

Cultural, historical and social norms of masculinity together with gendered assumptions are prevailing in most societies, making it difficult for people from all levels of society (including, lawyers, doctors, judges, researchers etc.) to contemplate male victims of sexual

violence. The misconception that men cannot be raped is according to Riberio & Ponthoz, (2017) based on several gender stereotypes. One, men are naturally aggressive, very much in line with masculine traits of domination. Two, men are strong and can therefore defend themselves. Thirdly, men who have been subjected to same-sex acts of sexual violence are homosexual (for further discussion on this particular misconception see chapter 4.5 on legal frameworks). Fourthly, sexual violence is motivated by sexual desire and is therefore heterosexual, thus ignoring sexual violence as an act of power rather than satisfaction (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017, p. 266).

### 2.3 Empirical recordings of sexual violence against men – cases from DRC, Liberia and Syria

This section examines accounts of wartime sexual violence against men. However, as previously stated, research on male-directed sexual violence (MDSV) is very limited, and the research that do exist suffers from varied definitions and methodologies making it difficult to determine an extent of the issue (Chynoweth, 2017). This is not only caused by lack of research and methodological differences, but also the sensitivity of the issue (Leiby, 2018) The scarcity of data on MDSV is often due to under-reporting and reporting barriers survivors meet, particularly men as well as lack of interest by stakeholders (Dolan, 2014b; Duroch & Schulte-Hillen, 2014). Moreover, “the analysis of sexual violence against men often rests on what we know about sexual violence from these familiar gendered framings” including myths about men and masculinity as well as women as victims of sexual violence (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018, p. 3).

Despite the ambiguous nature of statistical data onto the extent of male victims of sexual violence the numbers shown in the following sections are telling (Leiby, 2018). The extent of male victims of sexual violence, no matter how ambiguous, far exceed the expectations of society as something that just does not happen (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017). In the following chapters I will introduce findings from Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo as empirical evidence of male-directed sexual violence.

#### 2.3.1. DRC and Liberia

Following the recent conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), CRSV as a widespread issue is evident, particularly in the Eastern DRC and several IO’s and NGO’s have documented cases of CRSV in the region. Most recently in 2020, the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)



documented 1,053 cases of CRSV, against 675 women, 370 girls, 3 men and 5 boys in the provinces of North Kivu, South Kivu, Ituri and Tanganyaka (SRSG-SVC, 2021). In 2000 Kirstin Johnson et.al. conducted research on the extent of sexual violence in the Eastern DRC and found that the prevalence of sexual violence was considerably higher than assumed at the time (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010). The research also found that the prevalence of sexual violence against men was much higher than previously assumed. The research stated that 23.6 per cent of all men in the DRC have experienced sexual violence in their lifetime, out of which 64.5 per cent were conflict related (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010).

The discrepancy between the two reports may have several different causes, including being caused by the sensitivity of the issue, stigmatisation of victims of sexual violence whether female or male (United Nations, 2020) or it even may be related to the method of data collection, in particular considering the report from Syria (see chapter 2.3.2) share similar findings to that of Johnson's the data from the SRSG-SVC report.

The report by Johnson et.al. does in any rate suggest that men are victims of sexual violence to a far greater extent than previously assumed, as well as the dichotomy of gender is at the very least problematic, as several men and women in the study are both perpetrators and victims. Johnson et.al. also conducted a similar study in Liberia, where they found that former combatants had experienced sexual violence to a far greater extent than civilians (Johnson, Asher, Rosborough & et al, 2008). Among former combatants, 32.6 per cent of men and 42.3 per cent of women experienced SV compared to 7.4 and 9.2 per cent among male and female non-combatants respectively (Johnson, Asher, Rosborough & et al, 2008).

### 2.3.2. Syria

In 2016 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) requested a report on sexual violence against men and boys in the Syrian crisis, a year later Dr. Sarah Chynoweth, released the report "We keep it in our heart" on behalf of the UNHCR (Chynoweth, 2017). Dr. Chynoweth investigated sexual violence against men (SVM) in 3RP (The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan that covers countries neighbouring Syria) countries. She found between 19.5 and 27 per cent of men in key 3PR countries reported to having experienced sexual violence as boys (Chynoweth, 2017). While the extent of SVM in Syria or 3RP countries do not become clear in the report, the study confirms that men and boys are subjected to sexual violence, and that refugees are particularly at risk (Chynoweth, 2017). The report concludes that a vicious cycle is in place:

...due to ad hoc service availability, limited community outreach, and sociocultural and other barriers, services are inaccessible to many male survivors, who therefore report less, which in turn limits the evidence base to respond and reinforces myths that SVM is rare—thus limiting the availability and accessibility of services. This cycle must be disrupted. (Chynoweth, 2017, p. 66)

The findings in the report coincide in large with the findings in Eastern DRC where almost one-quarter of men reported having experienced SV. These empirical recordings are primarily investigating the extent of MDSV rather than the experiences of male victims, and how that may be similar or distinct from that of female victims. However, what these recordings do suggest is that MDSV is existing and that there is reason to believe that the issue is far more widespread in the context of conflict than previously assumed.

#### 2.4 *Femme fatal* – the uncomfortable existence of women’s sexual violence

“the denial of women’s aggression profoundly undermines our attempt as a culture to understand violence, to trace its causes and to quell them”. (Pearson, 1997, p. 243)

Throughout history women have been subordinated in society and in politics, often affected by perceptions of women and their acts as inherently peaceful (Sjoberg, 2016). Women behaving contrary to this perception are considered to show signs of anti-social behaviour as they are not supposed to be violent and thereby making them *unwomanly* (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). Women behaving violently are countering society’s expectation of their gender and are thus often not paid attention to. In global politics women’s violence is commonly ignored, thus making the study of violence largely based on men and men’s experiences – which also makes global politics an arena where gender stereotypes, norms and expectations are reproduced.

Whereas sexual violence against is becoming increasingly known as a widespread issue of wartime sexual violence, sexually violent women are almost invisible in discourse found in international politics (Sjoberg, 2016). However, there has been some interest in recent years to investigate female perpetrators of sexual violence. While research on female perpetrators of sexual violence is a rather new area of study, the research still is extremely limited. A study done by Dr. Sarah Greathouse et. al. from 2015 found that most existing research on female perpetrators are exploratory and with very small sample sizes (Greathouse, et. al., 2015). Moreover, the sample sizes are often limited to already incarcerated populations, where the perpetrators committed sexual violence against children and juveniles, making the sample less representative of society as a whole, but also to represent only a limited and very specific subset

of perpetrators. In addition, as with any research on sexual violence, the definitions differ substantially (as previously suggested in chapter 1.2.1).

When men behave aggressively or dominant it may very well be frowned upon, but those men will also be understood to be fulfilling common traits for their gender, typically brushed away with the saying *boys will be boys*. However, when women behave aggressively or dominant, they are often viewed as showing anti-social behaviour and unwomanly, as violence is not considered normal for their gender (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). Violent women are contradicting every expectation and norm for what constitutes what it means to be a woman. They do not fit into the idea of a passive, innocent and caring woman, they are therefore often considered not only as *bad*, but bad at being women (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015).

These expectations and assumptions about women do not aid in understanding and combating CRSV – it is rather a hindrance. It is important and necessary to recognise women as potential perpetrators of wartime sexual violence “both for its own sake and for correcting a number of assumptions in media scholarly, and jurisprudential treatments of what wartime sexual violence is, when it occurs, and how it is/should be addressed” (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 187). The lack both consensus of what constitutes female perpetrators, and the recognition of their overall existence makes it not only difficult to understand perpetrators of wartime sexual violence but also discover new and better ways to combat the issue.

#### 2.4.1 Myths about women’s acts of sexual violence

“Women are more peaceful than men”. (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 8)

Female perpetrators of sexual violence, like male victims of sexual, are surrounded by myths and misconceptions, myths which together render female perpetrators almost invisible (Sjoberg, 2016). According to Laura Sjoberg, there are several prevailing myths of female perpetrators of sexual violence. First, women are more peaceful than men and do not commit sexual violence. This is a common misconception suggesting that there is something inherently peaceful in people categorised as women that is not found in people categorised as men. It builds on the idea that women are *naturally* peaceful contrary to men as naturally aggressive (1.2.4). According to Sjoberg this is “one of the most abiding myths of our time” (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 187).

A second myth is that when women commit sexual violence, they do so for different reasons than men. Sjoberg and Gentry (2015) found that violent women are portrayed as being unwomanly and that there is something wrong in their constitution as women. They further

argue that violent women are by the media in particular portrayed as either mothers, monsters or whores, thus linking their violence to gender characteristics of women (for further elaboration on the narratives of mothers, monsters and whores, see chapter 5.2.1.1 under 5.2.1 on the portrayal of violent women). These narratives serve to distinguish “real women” from that of the violent ones (Sjoberg, 2016).

A third myth is that if women are perpetrators of sexual violence, it is no longer important to look at women as victims (Sjoberg, 2016). According to Sjoberg (2016), a common result of the recognition of women’s violence is to erase gender as a significant concept when talking about sexual violence in war and conflict. This, Sjoberg argues, is because in the few cases women’s violence is recognised it is defined as reverse gender subordination where female perpetrators are in power and thus not victims anymore (Sjoberg, 2016). This is not the case, easily contradicted by the fact that the majority of victims of sexual violence still is women and girls (United Nations, 2020).

## 2.5 Empirical recordings of sexual violence perpetrated by women – cases from Iraq and DRC

Sexual violence can be committed by all sexes against all sexes (Sjoberg, 2016). Yet female perpetrators of sexual violence are almost non-existing in literature or research on the topic of sexual violence. This begs the question of whether gender expectations are so entrenched in all levels of society that neither researchers nor organisations contemplate women’s violence. This chapter elaborates on the existence of female violence, mostly from a qualitative approach. This is not to say it is unimportant to look at the extent of women’s violence, but rather because there is a huge gap in research pertaining to this particular subject. However, a 2007 report investigating sexual violence in armed conflict give evidence of female perpetrators of SV in several of the 51 countries included in the study (Bastrick, Grimm & Kunz, 2007). This is also evident in the research by Johnson et. al on SV in the DRC (see chapter 2.5.2. for the specific findings on female perpetrators of SV in DRC). Yet, this research will also include the single case of findings from Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, as this is one of the few cases of female acts of sexual violence that has become known on a global basis (Sjoberg, 2016).

### 2.5.1 Iraq

Female perpetrators are seldom present in global discourse of wartime sexual violence, however, there are a few exceptions, one of which is found in recordings from the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Abu Ghraib became known in the early 2000s as one of the most notorious

prisons, with torture, sexual abuse and regular executions and where pictures of American soldiers tortured and sexually abused prisoners went viral (Hersh, 2004). Lynndie England, a female prison guard at the prison became known as the “leash girl” and portrayed by the media as the symbol of the torture and malpractice at Abu Ghraib Prison (Daily Mail, 2012). While her male colleagues were also portrayed in the media, England and her acts are emphasised beyond comparison to her male colleagues, both in number and in way of portrayal (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). England was later convicted by a United States Military Court and served a three years sentence for partaking in abuse at the prison (Cloud, 2014).

### 2.5.2 DRC

The research done by Johnson et.al (as previously introduced in chapter 2.3.1) investigated sexual violence in the Eastern DRC and found that 39.7 per cent of all women in the study have experienced sexual violence in their lifetime, 74.3 per cent of which were conflict related. In the study women also reported to have perpetrated CRSV in 41.1 per cent of cases against other women and 10 per cent of CRSV against men (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010).

These accounts, while limited, are representations of women’s violence in war and conflict and that women are in fact actors of violence and to a larger extent than popular beliefs suggest (Sjoberg, 2016). Gender expectations and norms are so entrenched in all levels of society, which become increasingly evident with regards to the topic of sexual violence, as the existence of research and literature onto the subject is as limited as it is. The existing literature on male-directed sexual violence, while limited, is increasing to some extent (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). However, literature and research on women’s violence is almost non-existing in comparison making it very difficult to analyse and approach. To insure focus on the genderings of language this dissertation will employ feminist theories, specifically poststructuralism feminism and critical feminism to investigate existing discourses of CRSV.

## 2.6 Feminism – a theoretical framework

This dissertation makes a feminist case for studying sexual violence. In the following section I will elaborate on feminism as both a theoretical branch as well as a political and activist movement. I will further elaborate on poststructuralist feminism and critical feminist theories which are the specific branches of feminism used in this dissertation. I will end this chapter by introducing the concept of CRSV in feminist literature.

Feminism emerged as a theoretical branch of IR in the late 1980s and early on put emphasis on the inclusion of women and women’s experiences in the field of IR (Tickner &

Sjoberg, 2016). This included advocacy for focusing on women's subordination in global politics as well as the invisibility of women and women's experiences in policymaking and the production of knowledge, in social, communal and political life. IR feminists advocate for the importance of looking at international politics through gendered lenses. By doing so, feminism challenges several assumptions in the international arena, which to a large extent has been – and still is – dominated by men (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Feminism has further affected most academic disciplines and serves as an adversary to male-dominant production of knowledge. For example, in medicine, feminists have uncovered the enormous gap between research on female diseases compared to that of men (Neumann, 2019).

Feminism examines areas in the field of International Relations that for a long time, and still is to some degree, considered minor, irrelevant and unnecessary, contrary to the current dominant beliefs and ideas at the time. Initially, investigating women, women's rights, women's issues was of little importance on the international arena, an arena that was led by and for men. Yet the feminist movement has proven their right to their seat at the table of international relations theories. They have shown the effects of neglecting women in the international arena and demanded women's issues to be considered on a global political level as well as, heard and reflected upon – issues long deemed unworthy in an international context, again contrary to the dominant ideas. Following this logic areas that are at one point deemed irrelevant and of no importance may become highly relevant a few decades later. Not because it just happens, but because people investigate, explore, inspect and advocate those very aspects, issues or areas. For instance, feminist security studies were long laughed away as an irrelevant and unnecessary subfield in security concerns but has proven to have given unvaluable insight to security concerns, and thus highly relevant (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016).

### 2.6.1 Feminism and language that holds power

Across a wide spectrum of analysis – in media outlets, in scholarly research, and in jurisprudence decision-making, descriptions, definitions, and prosecutions of sexual violence in war and conflict make the existence of female perpetrators of that violence discursively impossible. (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 54)

This dissertation makes a feminist case for investigating CRSV outside the dominant perception of victims and perpetrators through feminist poststructuralism and critical feminism. Critical feminists explore what lies behind the manifestation of gender, gender assumptions and gender power in global politics (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). They also

investigate gender as formed by the meaning given to the concept – “ideas that men and women have about their relationships to one another” (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016, p. 183). Feminist poststructuralists emphasise meaning manifested through language and discursive practices. In other words, specific linguistic constructions (language) are considered constitutive for the social reality and the way it is being understood (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Particularly the relationship between knowledge and power, meaning investigating those in power to create knowledge. Poststructuralist feminists are also interested in the dichotomised constructions of language that often emphasise masculine traits over feminine (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016, p. 185).

Investigating gender from a discursive angle means to investigate how gender, sexuality and norms are produced through discursive practices and the link between discourse and power (Egeland & Jegerstedt, 2011). In other words, language used to describe social issues, such as sexual violence, has the power to define the way we understand them. Any social issue becomes an issue when portrayed about as an issue, otherwise it will not be known to us, we would not consider them issues but rather social phenomena. When investigating how and why certain phenomena become securitised language plays a key role.

The way we talk about any chosen subject affect the way we understand the world around us, and how we approach and deal with the specific matter in our social life – ranging from brands we see in commercials and are dominating the market resulting in us buying that very same brand to the portrayal of relationships between nations affects how we think about state A and state B. Likewise, when we do not talk about a certain matter, that matter seems irrelevant, and we might not even know about its existence. This is one of the main motivations in feminist theory, namely raising marginalised issues related to gender, e.g., women’s issues and women’s lives, to the forefront forcing us to take it into consideration both in our everyday life as well as in the international arena.

This dissertation is inspired by feminist poststructuralism which views language and discourse as defining of our understanding of reality (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Feminist poststructuralism is also concerned with those who holds this power, in most cases, men, and that define the understanding of reality. Production of knowledge is therefore an element of power that is important. Poststructuralist feminism also builds on IR scholars such as Robert Cox and the notion of knowledge as always being for someone and for some purpose (1981). The discourse also becomes a justification for any chosen approach to an issue, by the public, by politicians (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). The discourse thus constitutes more than just the

words used to describe a topic, it also becomes constitutive of the policies and ways of knowing.

### 2.6.2 Feminism and sexual violence in conflict

Feminists seeks to draw attention to marginalised and unnoticed issues often linked to women's issues and women's subordination, including inequality between gender in legislations, queer rights or sexual violence. Through decades of lobbyism and activism the global political arena has become increasingly involved with topics of gender equality, women's issues and rights (Zalewski, Drumond, Prüg & Stern, 2018). The feminist movement also had an important role in pushing forward the landmark UNSC Resolution 1325 that recognise sexual violence as a crime of war and calling for the protection of women and girls in particular against such crimes (Dolan, 2014a).

Feminists uses gender as a reference for analysis in the field of IR and in global politics. However, feminist theorists, while advocating for gender lenses, has traditionally focused on the gender of women in the subject matter in which they pursuit. And while I investigate conflict-related sexual violence through feminist lenses, I also recognise that feminism has failed to properly address the issue of sexual violence against men or women as potential perpetrators of such crimes. Abrams (2016) argue that feminists have attempted to contain the issue of conflict-related sexual violence so that the understanding of the issue would be limited to seeing women as victims and men as perpetrators as means of sustaining the recently achieved recognition of violence against women (for more on this discussion see chapter 5.2 and 5.2.3).

Feminism as both a theoretical approach as well as a movement has traditionally advocated for female rights, and the visibility of women and women's issues (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). This has traditionally meant a focus on material realities. Ehrlich (2002) argues that in several feminist writings, focus on discourse has been countered with material realities such as low pay and rape, and that these are portrayed as more significant than discursive constructions or potential structures of marginality. Ehrlich (2002) further argues that "a simple dichotomizing of 'the discursive' and 'the material' does little to illuminate the intersection of the two, that is, the way that discursive practices can have material effects"(Ehrlich, 2002, p.5).

When investigating CRSV, its victim and its perpetrators, and the portrayal of these, gender is a commonly used category of reference. For example, women and girls are explicitly mentioned as victims of SV in most United Nations Security Council Resolutions (for overview



of gendered language in UNSCR see chapter 4.2). Therefore, post-structuralist and critical feminist theory are employed. I investigate discursive practices and how they may inform the understanding of gender, as well as the power of knowledge that may be found at an international level, specifically in the United Nations Security Council, and the discursive practices in academic articles pertaining international politics as suggestive of current understanding and knowledge of CRSV. In the following chapter I will explain the research design for this research as well as limitations and several research-gaps this dissertation faces.

### 3. Methodology and research design

The topic of CRSV, understood outside a gender normative approach (e.g., perpetrated by women or against men) is understudied and under-theorised, implying a significant need for research – *and* with different methodological approaches. Therefore, this dissertation is two folded, one part being quantitative and one being qualitative. In the following sections I will elaborate on the research design of this dissertation, including introducing the sampling and data collection as well as analysis methods, research limitations as well as introducing myself as a researcher of CRSV.

In this dissertation I examines the perception of victims and perpetrator of sexual violence in conflict. More specifically I explore the perception found in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) reports and resolutions on the subject matter as well as in academic articles. I am conducting this research with the strategy of mixed methods based on content analysis. Mixed methods refer to research that combines qualitative and quantitative research (Bryman, 2016, p. 635). The design of this dissertation is therefore a cross-sectional research design of content analysis with elements of both quantitative and qualitative research strategies. Cross-sectional design involves collection of data on “a sample of cases and at a single point in time” in order to detect “patterns of association” between cases and examine relationships between them (Bryman, 2016, p. 53).

In other words, variations in content of the sample units are under investigation. In the quantitative elements of this research, this means that variation in gender language in the UNSC resolutions and reports as well as in academic articles of International Relations (IR) are examined. This is done to uncover whether there is a gender treatment of CRSV found in the UNSC and in academic articles of IR. Making this research content analysis of co-occurrence (Further elaboration on the analysis of this study can be found in chapter 3.2). The qualitative elements of this research examine specific literature on CRSV contrary to dominant gender binary understandings, where both similarities and variation between the sample units are investigated This is done in hope of gaining new insight and analyse potential implications of existing gender binary assumptions by international stakeholders and in the production of knowledge.

The content analysis based on mixed methods in this research is conducted by first collecting results from the quantitative research before discussing the findings in light of poststructuralist feminism by the use of qualitative research. By doing mixed methods I am not

bound by the strict rules of quantitative methods, but I can still keep the advantage of investigating a bigger picture while also being able to investigate CRSV in depth while not completely distinct the findings from a bigger picture. I uphold that both qualitative and quantitative methods are of great value and the use of both allows for a broad investigation of gender treatment in policymaking and the production of knowledge as well as its potential implications. of any subject matter. The following sections will elaborate on sampling, data selection, collection and analysis before discussing validity and ethics of the research as well as limitations and presenting myself as a research in this dissertation.

### 3.1 Sampling and data selection

This research is based on a non-probability sampling with fixed criteria, or in other words purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016) As the research examines discourse, purposive sampling is used to ensure relevant sample units to answer the research question (Bryman, 2016) Purposive sampling refers to the sampling approach conducted “so that all units of analysis are selected in terms of criteria that will allow the research question to be answered” (Bryman, 2016, p. 410).

The sampling approach is multifaceted as the research is both qualitative and quantitative as well as investigating several different aspects simultaneously – including the UNSC and academic articles. First level is the type of cases (academic articles, UNSC resolutions and reports) which serves as exemplifying cases, which Bryman describes as cases that “exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member” (Bryman, 2016, p. 62). They serve as representation of production of knowledge and policymaking on an international level and may represent similar traits beyond this research. This does not mean that the findings from either the academic articles or UNSC reports are generalisable, but they might be suggestive of tendencies found at an international level.

The sample units were identified based on two criteria, one concerning the field of which they are found; academic articles in major and global reaching journals of IR, making the sample units part of the production of knowledge, and UNSC reports and resolutions, where the sample units are informing on policymaking. A third criterion is also a part of the analysis, as the reports and articles must include the words “victim” and/or “perpetrator, “sexual violence” and gender specific language (e.g., him, her, boy, girl, woman, man). Second level of the sampling approach relates to the sample area or context; this dissertation examines perceptions amongst policymakers, represented by the UNSC, and in the production of

knowledge, represented by major journals of International Relations both of which are global reaching on an international level.

The third level refers to the investigation of existing literature on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach. the literature analysed in chapter 5 are included based on their common perception on CRSV beyond a gender-normative approach, as most scholars and articles look at CRSV in a conventional way where men are perpetrators and women are victims. These were collected through convenience, in this case based on knowledge of existing sample units, as well as snowballing. Snowball sampling refers to the recruitment of relevant informants that in turn suggests other potential informants relevant to the research (Bryman, 2016, p. 415). In this case, books, reports and articles investigating CRSV beyond a gender normative approach were informed by other works they had cited, which then became available to me through footnotes, links to other works etcetera (For elaboration on data collection of UNSC resolutions, reports and academic articles see chapter 3.2).

### 3.1.2 UNSC Reports

The topic of sexual violence, and in particular conflict-related sexual violence has become a topic of interest that I have followed for several years and something of which I also investigated at bachelor's level. For my bachelor's dissertation I wrote about CRSV against men and to what extent the language used in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) reports and resolutions include men and boys as potential victims of CRSV. The research and results from my bachelor's dissertaion will be applied and developed in this dissertation.

In my previous dissertation I used the database of the United Nations Security Council Reports (SCR). The SCR were used in a quantitative data analysis of co-occurrence with the objective to investigate the language used to describe victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. More specifically whether the language used to describe victims and perpetrators of sexual violence are gender specific or gender inclusive. This was continued in the research done in this dissertation as the database was updated with new reports from the past previous years, but not in set-up or in any other way. I eliminated all irrelevant reports by using the key words "conflict" and "sexual violence" and further narrowed the scope by eliminating all reports that mention "sexual violence" less than twice or where sexual violence was included outside descriptions of organs of the UN or not elaborated on in the report giving me 110 relevant reports by March 2018 which constituted the study for my BA. With the new additions

of this year the sample size is 119 by July 2021. All UNSC resolutions to include the subject of CRSV is examined with the same research strategy and analysis as the UNSC reports.

### 3.1.2 Academic articles in IR journals

From 2000-2020, thousands of articles have been published on the topic of wartime sexual violence. Therefore, to ensure a relevant sample group, several criteria have been made. I made several parameters for limiting the scope of study with regards to academic articles and the articles are selected based on the following criteria: Firstly, the articles must be published in journals of International Relations or in similar fields and/or subfields such as gender studies, security studies or international affairs. I decided on 9 major IR journals found in the database of J-store. Secondly, the articles are published between 2000-2020. This timeframe is not a random timeframe of which making it easier to further delve into the research topic. The time frame is intentionally set from 2000 until today as to include the year of UNSC resolution 1325, which has resulted in an increasing attention into the subject of wartime sexual violence. The research therefore allows for examining changes than may be seen with regards to the number of articles on the subject matter, the phrasing or other changes that may have followed the infamous resolution (Dolan 2014a). Thirdly, the articles must include the words “sexual violence” and “conflict”, whereas “sexual violence” must be included more than once. These parameters left 127 number of articles from the period of 2000-2020 that talks about Wartime sexual violence.

### 3.1.3 Literature on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach

Research on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach is limited but is important to delve into in order to examine potential implications of gender treatment of CRSV. Such literature constitutes the qualitative elements of this research and therefore comprises of a small sample size. This literature was selected through convenience, in this case based on knowledge of existing sample units, as well as snowballing. Snowball sampling refers to the recruitment of relevant informants that in turn suggests other potential informants relevant to the research (Bryman, 2016, p. 415). In this case, books, reports and articles investigating CRSV beyond a gender normative approach were informed by other works they had cited, which then became available to me through footnotes, links to other works etcetera (For elaboration on data collection of UNSC resolutions, reports and academic articles see chapter 3.2). To clarify, chapter 3.1.2 refers to articles used to uncover potential gender treatment of CRSV in the field

of IR while this chapter refers to sources on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach used to discuss implications of a potential gender treatment of CRSV.

### 3.2 Data collection and analysis

Quantitative methods will be used for content analysis of both UNSC reports and resolutions as well as academic articles. Alan Bryman defines content analysis as an “approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner” (2016, p. 689). In quantitative research it is often referred to as ethnographic content analysis which can be understood in accordance with the definition by Berg & Lune as: “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings” (Berg & Lune, 2012, p. 349). Content analysis is employed both in the examination of UNSC resolutions and reports as well as in the examination of academic articles.

*UNSC reports.* The method for data analysis is content analysis of co-occurrence, more specifically to analyse the number of reports covering sexual violence and the number of times any sex is mentioned in relation to the notion of “victim” or “perpetrator” of sexual violence in the reports, based on the sample size of 119 of July 2021. My previous research (as referred to in chapter 3.1.2) strictly investigated the frequency of gender specific language in the UNSC reports, more specifically the frequency of the words, *women, girls, men, boys* and *children* in the reports. Therefore, I have developed and extended the research. It is extended with regards to the timeframe, as all reports from April 2018 to July 2021 are included in addition to the reports from previous study. The research is also developed to include another branch, namely persons/individuals and similar phrasings in order to get a clearer picture of the language used in the reports (See appendix 8.2). It is, however, important to mention that while “persons/individuals” are not gender specific words, does not mean that they are gender sensitive, nor does it entail that in the reports that use these phrasings are sensitive of the gendered complexities of war.

Moreover, in a large number of the reports the word “persons” are often used in contexts where the crime of sexual violence is not in focus, but rather used to exemplify issues of war or mentioned one-two times in a specific case report. By continuing the research from my bachelor’s thesis, I am able to increase the data pool of which I am analysing. It also allows me not only to gather more data for the research but also to see whether there are any changes is

the perception of men, boys, women and girls as potential victims and perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict within the United Nations Security Council Reports.

*Academic articles.* The data will be collected from different internet sources, e.g., google scholar, and later transferred to “R”, a statistical analysis software. The data will then be cleaned before it is being coded. The reason for adding a qualitative approach is to investigate a higher number of cases (articles). I will then by the use of “R” investigate correlation between specific gender in relation to the role of victims and/or perpetrators, this is called text mining. Text mining refers to the process of structuring text to identify potential patterns and is often used to examine word frequencies (Silge & Robinson, 2017).

The articles were collected through a 3-step process. Because of licensing barriers there are many obstacles in retrieving full access to big scale data. However, Ithaka, an NGO that works for open access in academia, made it possible to access and collect a large amount of data in the right format. Ithaka, as a newly launched organisation that collaborates with J-store, aided me in collecting academic articles from the nine journals, all of which are accessible through J-store, with the parameters as stated above (see chapter 3.1.1.). They then provided me with a JSON file, giving me complete access to all data pertaining in each article. This access one usually gets only through paid memberships of certain journals.

There are several reasons why this is a preferred way of accessing large scale data. First of all, one avoids the issue of putting pressure on the servers to the specific journals which might lead to denied access in the future, which would not only be problematic for me, but extremely problematic for the university as a whole. Second, when collaborating with Ithaka, the articles come in the format of json rather than PDF, which both save space on the computer and time spent on formatting the data compatible for using in any software. There is also a third reason why this way is preferred. Academic articles are as mentioned under several barriers and by collaborating with the project by Ithaka, I do not only get access to the data I need for my study, I also aid them in developing their site to in the best way as possible aid students and researchers in accessing large scale data.

The analysis of the academic articles is a content analysis of co-occurrence, where I have looked at sentences that include “sexual violence” and gender specific phrasing or pronoun (e.g., man, women, she, her, girl, boy etc.). The data analysis of the academic articles was performed using the statistical software package R. The software package of R was chosen based on previous experience from using this software. The articles were uploaded as a big

(8gb) JSON file accessed through Ithaka. The data collected through Ithaka was then analysed using several packages from tidyverse (package collection developed by Hadley Wickam), most importantly tidyr (Silge & Robinson, 2017). This is a part of the tidyverse package, which is used to clean up data, filtering out irrelevant elements (Silge & Robinson, 2017). Firstly, tidyr was used to process the raw text into a usable/synonym format, but it also made it possible to break down each article (JSON file) into sentences. More importantly it filtered out and left a collection of usable/relevant sentences that included the phrase “sexual violence” and a specific gender pronoun (including, men, women, boys, girls) found in the articles respectively.

To elaborate on the three-step process done in R: First, the articles were filtered several times to eradicate duplicates and irrelevant sentences. Tidyr made it possible to do a test on a smaller sample to ensure that the sentence extraction process was done correctly. Second, tidyr was used to collect the relevant sentences that both include the phrase “sexual violence” and a gender specific word/pronoun. Third, when these sentences were collected the last step was to create a readable output for further analysis outside of the software package R. This file was then uploaded to Excel for further analysis (see appendix 8.1). The last step of the analysis was then to go through each sentence and investigate the existence of victim and/or perpetrator within. This was done by manually counting the co-occurrence of the phrasing “victims” and/or “perpetrator” of sexual violence *and* a gender specific phrasing, e.g., man, woman, girl, boy victim. This left a final result (see appendix 8.1) giving the basis for the result of the investigation as is discussed in chapter 4.4.

By investigating academic articles in the field of International Relations I intend to uncover to what extent the gendered victim/perpetrator is evident in the field. By doing so it is important to clarify, much like this dissertation, all papers have directions and limitations, therefore, I am not that interested in uncovering the frequency of gendered language in each article. I rather investigate how many articles out of those comprising sexual violence are gendered. This can tell me something about the bigger picture, and the general knowledge, interest and/or recognition of gender inclusive thinking in academia.

Interpretations were both a part of the counting of the UNSC reports as well as the academic articles, as each sentence is different, and it is not possible to get a useful answer by limiting the findings to a certain structure of a sentence. Thematic categories for descriptions of victims of CRSV were necessary in order to systemise the sentences and the reports, as I am examining the frequency of co-occurrence in each article and UNSC report. The excel files were developed by making twelve and eleven categories to UNSC reports and academic articles



respectively (see appendix 8.1 and 8.2) while the data was being analysed and new information was gathered. These specific categories were derived from the research questions and the data collection. The thematic categories include women and victim of sexual violence, boy and victim of sexual violence or LGBTQI+ and SV in both the academic articles and the UNSC reports (for the full list of all categories see appendix 8.1).

*Literature beyond a gender normative approach.* I wanted to investigate books and articles that looks at CRSV from a non-conventional perspective, therefore it is necessary to find similarities and variations between the existing literature, in particular because the existing literature is limited and in order to interpret the findings from the quantitative research of this study. Therefore, discourse analysis is employed in the examination of literature beyond a gender normative approach in order to identify key elements in the literature that might explain gender treatment of CRSV and its implications. Discourse analysis refers to the analysis of different discourses and the ways in which it informs understandings of reality (Bryman, 2016, p. 691).

Discourse analysis is thus, in line with poststructuralism, an examination of what lies behind the choice of words, by those who hold the power to define what is considered important and what is considered not to be. According to Bryman (2016) discourse analysis implies a recognition that any discourse is selective and subjective as it entails a selection from many viable renditions and that in the process a particular depiction of reality is built. Discourse analysis as a methodological approach to social research has two distinct ontological and epistemological features which are intertwined. Firstly, it denies the existence of an external reality on an ontological level. Secondly, it is constructionist, meaning it considers the social reality as constructed on the epistemological level (Bryman, 2016). This also entails that the discourse of social reality can change over time and space.

### 3.3 Validity and research ethics

The intention of my study is to learn more about the understanding of sexual violence, in particular CRSV, through investigating UNSC reports as well as academic journals that is prominent and holds power in the production of knowledge in the field of IR. By approaching this through both qualitative and quantitative research strategies I hope to be able to not only be able to learn about a few specific cases in detail, but also being able to say something of a larger picture in the production of knowledge and in policymaking. However, by employing mixed methods I face several concerns regarding reliability and validity. Reliability and

validity refer to qualitative criteria used both in quantitative and qualitative research strategies.

One issue combining qualitative and quantitative methods is the differences between them regarding both ontology and epistemology and that they are opposites (Bryman, 2016). However, there is an increasing body of research that employ mixed methods and with a variety of collection and analysis methods (Bryman, 2016). An argument for the use of mixed method is triangulation, as one research strategy may be used to cross-check against the other. Triangulation refers to the use of more than one method of data collection or analysis in the study of any social phenomena and is often used to increase credibility of the research (Bryman, 2016, pp.384-386).

The mixed methods strategy of this research also serves to increase trustworthiness of this research in several ways, including the embedded triangulation of combining two research strategies as well as examine the subject of CRSV with limited pre-existing data from a broader perspective than possible by the use of only one research strategy. This is particularly important considering the lack of similar research in existence. Trustworthiness refers to a set of criteria to evaluate qualitative research in particular as qualitative research is not as transferable or easy to reproduce as quantitative one (Bryman, 2016, 384). Qualitative research, including elements of this study, examine perceptions, ideas and assumptions, which are likely to differ across time and space, between the sample units as well as across researchers. This makes it difficult if not impossible to apprehend an objective understanding of the social world that is being examined (Lamont, 2015). To increase credibility of the content analysis of the academic articles, a small sample of the total sample size were tested to ensure that the sentence extraction process was done correctly before examining the total sample size.

### 3.4 Research gap and limitations

This dissertation will shed light over under-communicated issues of sexual violence, to better understand causes, to better understand how to respond and to place sexual violence in a broader context outside gender stereotypes. By looking at this issue from a certain perspective of the particular discipline of International Relations, one might, elevate issues and explain them in ways that are disconnected from the real world. A theoretical approach is necessarily limited, as no theory can explain in full the complexities of the world – and by choosing a theoretical approach one necessarily focuses on certain issues over others, as I do in this dissertation when writing about women and men as victims and perpetrators, and what I

criticise the dominant perspective of sexual violence in global politics, particularly with regards to gendered dichotomy of victim/perpetrator.

This dissertation faces several limitations; firstly, the fact that it is an under-studied, under-theorised and under-noticed topic makes it difficult to gather data as well as evaluate the reliability and credibility of existing literature. It is of course an advantage being able to compare but also read how other researchers have theoretically approached the same topic, on the other hand the lack of existing literature and theorisation allows me to delve into different theories and methods and select approaches that I find interesting and suitable without necessarily considering or being “coloured” by existing research.

Secondly, the dissertation does not focus on the experiences of the victims, but rather the politics and theoretical understanding of the issue. Therefore, the dissertation might seem somewhat detached from reality and not take into account the social aspects and consequences as means for answering my research question. However, I purposely chose not to include the experiences or social aspects as a large number of the data analysed is quantitative and I found it to be sufficient to answer my research question. I am however aware that the experiences and social aspects of the individuals could be used in such a study to give further insights into the topic and thereby use qualitative social arguments to answer the research topic and give further insights to CRSV.

Thirdly, gender is here considered to be a socially constructed category and while this dissertation uses the gender categories of men and women, I do not consider these categories as absolute or binary opposite, but rather fluid and non-binary (interpretation and definition of gender is found in chapter 1.2.4). When I discuss the topic of CRSV in light of gender, I consider all genders as potential perpetrators and potential victims of such actions. However, that does not mean that I consider all victims equal or all perpetrators equal. When I say that all genders are subjected to CRSV and all genders can commit CRSV I address the issue beyond a gender normative understanding of victims and perpetrators of SV. Where I suggest that instead of forcing our ideas of CRSV to be heteronormative and binary we should see the victims as victims of heinous crimes, crimes they are dealing with differently and individually. That they are seen and helped, not because of their gender, but because of the crime that was perpetrated against them. Where we attempt to combat the crime by investigating based on motivations, causes, time and space rather than limiting the understanding and explanation for it to gender. We are more than our gender, so the chances are that our actions are too. We *are* more than our gender; the chances are that so are our traumas and experiences.

Fourthly, I mainly focus on discourse in reports and resolutions by the UNSC as well as academic articles found in major journals in the field of IR and do to some extent try to emphasize the problems with gendered language structures when discussing CRSV. However, I am aware that there are many other institutions nationally and transnationally that either work directly with or write about the topic of sexual violence. I am also aware that there are many other institutions nationally and internationally that may inform global discourses and gender assumptions. Hence, despite having a large number of data, there are other areas where data could be gathered and analysed. And finally; it is only to be expected that there are several practical limitations when writing a dissertation in the middle of a pandemic. The fact of not being able to physically meet other students and my supervisor in order to discuss different parts of my thesis. Also, the lack of proper working spaces and the library did affect my work as well as informed the methods and sample selection of this dissertation.

### 3.5 Reflexivity and introspection

This dissertation makes a feminist case for investigating the way we talk about sexual violence in conflict. The way we talk about sexual violence define how we understand it and. The dissertation reviews the current literature on sexual violence and identify gaps concerning male victims and female perpetrators, something that needs to be addressed. The main motivation for this dissertation is that the issue of conflict-related sexual violence is in large treated as a binary, with female victims and male perpetrators. Yet, in reality the picture is not as black and white. As an understudied topic I wish to learn how we approach the topic of sexual violence, bearing in mind that all sexes are subjected to sexual violence and all sexes commit acts of sexual violence.

My first meeting with the topic of CRSV beyond a gender normative approach was while on an exchange programme in Kyoto as a part of my bachelor's. I was presented an elective course called something like "violence against men". In the first class the professor introduced the topic in an overall manner while including examples of sexual violence against men. My immediate thought was that "do men experience sexual violence". I then felt ashamed for never even considering the issue. I also felt a need to educate myself on the subject matter which has then evolved to include different elements of gendering contrary to gender normativity, in particular with regards to CRSV.

CRSV can be interpreted, understood and approached in different ways, based on ideas, perceptions and assumptions. This implies that it is difficult to achieve objective truths

(Lamont, 2015). As a researcher I too approach this topic with my own references and ideas, as a Norwegian girl that has never experienced what I am studying, and with a theoretical starting point of feminist poststructuralism. I too put meaning and my interpretations into this dissertation. For instance, I assume a gendered understanding of sexual violence as the dominant attitude in the production of knowledge, and that this results in reproduction of gender myths and stereotypes that does not reflect reality. It thus becomes important to increase the trustworthiness of the research and its findings.

As a master student of International Relations from Norway, with no experience of conflict and no experience of sexual violence, I cannot talk for the victims of such crimes. I cannot put myself in their shoes and understand the consequences such experiences have led to. What I can do, is to shed light over an issue that is widespread – worldwide – and that is not limited to war and conflict. An issue that has received attention internationally but is experienced personally. I can address the issue of sexual violence, where the human is in focus, where human rights are at the centre, and where the understanding of victims and perpetrators are not limited to gender. Empirical evidence show that the majority of victims are women, and that the majority of perpetrators are men. However, this does not entail that the minority of victims and perpetrators are insignificant, in numbers or importance. Therefore, this dissertation will be about these minorities, in attempt to add to the research into sexual violence. This research is aimed at those few (or not so few) cases of sexual violence that do not follow the presumed gender roles, where both men and women can be perpetrators and both men and women can be victims.

As stated earlier, all genders are subjected to and commit acts of sexual violence. My reason for investigating this topic is that I assume that this is not reflected in most UN resolutions and reports, and rather that they are based on presumed gender stereotypes that do not reflect the whole of reality. Therefore, I wish to investigate to what extent my assumption is true as well as to present research on this topic from a non-binary point of view and whether this is the case in academic articles as well. That does not mean that I do not recognise the many women that are exposed to sexual violence, or that women indeed are suffering from crimes of sexual violence in greater numbers than men. Likewise, I do recognise that men are more likely to commit acts of sexual violence. This dissertation is not about the majority of perpetrators and victims of sexual violence. This dissertation is about discourse, and the gendered representation of victims and perpetrators. I question whether this is the best approach to tackling sexual violence and offer a gender inclusive approach of which I argue to be

valuable in approaching the topic of sexual violence and how to combat it.

Sexual violence is committed by all sexes/genders and all sexes/genders are subjected to sexual violence. Therefore, it is important to have a gender-sensitive approach when dealing with survivors and perpetrators of such crimes and lower the barriers for men and boys to come forward. It is also important in academia – in the study of sexual violence both in times of conflict and in times of peace. A gender-sensitive approach allows the researcher to further investigate the complexity of the crime (United Nations, 2020). A gender-sensitive approach can give the researcher a broader understanding of the underlying causes of sexual violence, which is not only based on the uneven power balance between men and women. A gender-sensitive approach can give the researcher knowledge of the extent and ways of which female perpetrators commit the crime. To give attention to male victims can and female perpetrators can all in all, to a great extent widen the scope for understanding the issue of sexual violence, and its many underlining assumptions, true or not.

## 4. Analysis: The way we talk – discourse within the UNSC, academic articles and international legal frameworks

Language matters – the way we talk about something affects our understanding of it and how we approach it (Egeland & Jegerstedt, 2011). All sexes commit acts of sexual violence and all sexes are subjected to sexual violence. Yet, the way we talk about sexual violence is that it is an act of violence committed by men, against women. This chapter investigates discursive practices pertaining CRSV in order to obtain to what extent there are gendered treatment of victims and perpetrators of CRSV. This is done by investigating UNSC resolutions and reports, academic articles, international legal frameworks and to some extent in the media. UNSC resolutions and reports are investigated in order to uncover to what extent there is a gendered treatment of victims and perpetrators of CRSV in policymaking organs such as the UNSC. Academic articles are investigated to uncover trends in the production of knowledge on CRSV and legal frameworks and the media is included to broaden the discussion of gendered discourse at an international level. The following chapters establish to what extent gender exclusive or inclusive language is evident within the UNSC and academic articles before chapter 5 discuss potential implications of gendered treatments of CRSV.

### 4.1 The United Nations

The United Nations (UN) was founded to ensure lasting peace and security internationally and remains to this day the biggest and most important international organisation to serve this goal. The UN sets an international presidency for what becomes considered an international security and what remains national concerns or even rendered insignificant. The UN holds a power to build structures for how an issue is perceived and approached, not only within the organisation but beyond, in national and international politics, legal matters and by the media – as is the case with CRSV.

The UN has commenced several initiatives to combat inequality and ensure women's rights and has recognized the particular need to emphasis women's lives and issues in order to gain these rights. Today the UN has its own forums on women's issues, including the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, and gender equality is embedded in the Sustainable development goals from 2018. Earlier, in 2009, the UN launched the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC) with the mandate to combat CRSV as an international security issue (United Nations, n.d.). More recently the UN

launched a handbook on sexual violence, thus keeping pressure on fighting the issue (United Nations, 2020).

Conflict-related sexual violence has become increasingly important as a security concern through emphasis put forward by the UNSC in the past couple of decades. This is especially true following the launch of UNSC resolution 1325 (United Nations Security Council, 2000). UNSCR 1325 (2000) is considered a historic milestone as it recognised women and girls as disproportionately affected by war and conflict and was the first resolution ever to call for the protection of women and girls against gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual violence (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Since then, the UNSC has adopted several resolutions on Women, Peace and Security with focus on sexual violence and GBV. In the following section I will go through each UNSC resolution that entails the issue of sexual violence with focus on whether the language used to describe victims and perpetrators is gender inclusive or gender specific.

## 4.2 Sexual violence in UNSC resolutions

The United Nations Security Council resolutions (UNSCR) on CRSV is considered groundbreaking for placing the issue on the political agenda both amongst nations, international organisations (IO's) and non-governmental organisations (NGO's) (United Nations, 2020). UNSCR 1325 (2000) was the first resolution to emphasise women's needs as well as consider sexual violence as a security concern. UNSCR 1325 has since been followed by several resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). These resolutions do not only include CRSV as a security concern but also promote gender perspectives in efforts to both prevent, resolve and rebuild from conflict (United Nations, 2020).

### 4.2.1 UNSCR 1325 (2000)

Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict... Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls. (United Nation Security Council, 2000).

UNSCR 1325, is a milestone in its recognition of sexual violence as a security concern and the need to protect women and girls from GBV and SV. This resolution, now considered the first



landmark resolution on Women, Peace and Security, addresses the importance of not only recognising female victims of war, but the importance of including women in peace processes both in times of war and in post-conflict situations (Dolan, 2014a).

UNSCR 1325 was followed by several resolutions on women, peace and security, including UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR1888 (2009) and UNSCR 1960 (2010) all of which reaffirms UNSCR 1325. UNSCR 1820(2008) also recognised that coercive measures, like sanctions, can be considered against parties who commit acts of CRSV (United Nations Security Council, 2008). UNSCR 1888 (2009) calls for a more systematic reporting of cases of CRSV to the Security Council. It also called for the appointment of a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC), which was established a year later (United Nations Security Council, 2009). It further created the mandate of the Team of Experts on the Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict (TOE) to assist national authorities to strengthen national legal frameworks in order to ensure accountability for perpetrators of CRSV. UNSCR 1960 (2010) requested the Secretary-General to track and monitor implementations of strategies to combat CRSV by parties to the conflict as well as to add a list of parties to the conflict who are suspected of being responsible for CRSV in the Annual Report on Sexual Violence in conflict. The UNSCR 1960 also created the Monitoring, Analysis, and Reporting Arrangements (MARA) to provide an UN-wide information gathering and analysis mechanism on CRSV (United Nations Security Council, 2010).

What these resolutions all have in common is their confirmation of sexual violence as a severe act of violence against civilians, in particular against women and children, and the need to protect these groups from the crime. By explicitly considering women as victims, men as possible victims are discursively excluded, rendering male victims of CRSV invisible. However, a potential catalyser for a paradigm shift came with UNSCR 2106 in 2013, as it was the first resolution to explicitly include men and boys as potential victims of CRSV.

#### 4.2.2 UNSCR 2106 (2013)

Noting with concern that sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations disproportionately affects women and girls, as well as groups that are particularly vulnerable or may be specifically targeted, while also affecting men and boys and those secondarily traumatized as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members; and emphasizing that acts of sexual violence in such situations not only severely impede

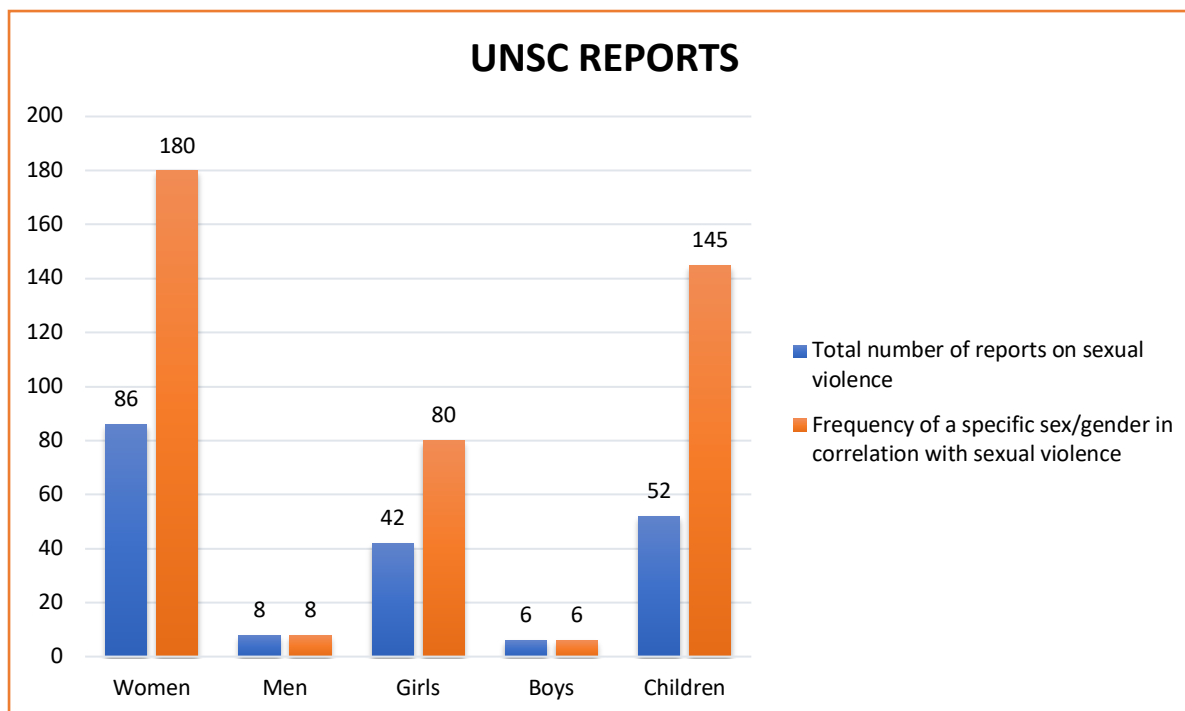
the critical contributions of women to society, but also impede durable peace and security as well as sustainable development. (United Nations Security Council, 2013)

UNSCR 2106 (2013) might not be considered a landmark equal to that of UNSCR 1325, but UNSCR 2016 *is* ground-breaking as it is the first resolution to acknowledge men and boys as potential victims of sexual violence thus bringing male victims of SV out of the shadow and into the light, although in a passive and secondary nature. UNSCR 2331 (2016), on the other hand – as the most recent resolution to include men and boys as potential victims of CRSV – do not consider them secondary to that of women (United Nations Security Council, 2016). The resolution focuses on survivors’ need to access help through relief programs, legal aid and health care, and that such services should include “women with children born as a result of wartime rape, as well as men and boys who may have been victims of sexual violence in conflict, including when it is associated with trafficking in persons in armed conflict” (United Nations Security Council, 2016). UNSCR 2331 (2016) is yet another resolution to consider both women and girls, and men and boys as victims of sexual violence, might imply a shift in the view on victims of sexual violence.

Most of the UNSC resolutions explicitly consider women and girls as potential victims of CRSV, with a few exceptions. UNSCR 2106 (2013) was the first UNSCR to also include men and boys as potential victims of CRSV, although in a secondary manner. 2331 (2016) however, include men and boys as potential victims of CRSV in need of access to legal aid and health care services. To some extent UNSC 2016 (2013) and 2331 (2016) represent two anomalies in UNSCR on CRSV as most of the resolutions explicitly consider women and girls as victims of CRSV. However, they may also represent an increasing recognition of male victims of sexual violence as they both evolve from and builds on preceding resolutions.

### 4.3 Sexual violence in United Nations Security Council Reports

The United Nations Security Council Report (SCR), with the slogan “Independent, Impartial and Informative”, is a database created to ensure increased transparency of the UNSC. This is done by making available information on any, and all issues pertaining the UNSC – including thematic, regional, country-based and annual issues (Security Council Report, n.d.). This section comprises findings from reports made available through the SCR and the results are as followed:



The graph above shows two main findings from the SCR. On one hand, it shows the total number of reports on sexual violence to include gender specific language in relation to the role of victim of sexual violence (the blue colour). On the other, the total frequency of gender specific language in relation to the role of victim and/or perpetrator of sexual violence in all of the reports (orange colour).

An overall conclusion of these results is that the UNSC Reports have a clear tendency to consider women and girls, and women and girls alone, as victims of sexual violence. Of the 118 reports in this research a total 86 reports include women and girls as victims of SV, 86 of which exclusively consider women and/or girls as potential victims. Men are explicitly mentioned as potential victims of SV in eight reports, five of which also include boys as potential victims. One report exclusively present at men and boys as potential victims of sexual violence, thus excluding women and girls as potential victims, a report on the findings from Dr. Chynoweth on the Syrian Crisis (see chapter 2.3.2 for more on CRSV in the Syrian Crisis) (Chynoweth, 2017).

A majority of the SCR reports in this study include the topic of SV only to small extent. Some reports, most of which are related to the thematic issue of Women, Peace and Security (WPS), are more comprehensive and investigatory in relation to CRSV. The WPS Agenda was initiated by the UNSCR 1325 (2000) and is a framework for how to include gender, in particular women and women's experiences in processes of conflict-prevention and peacebuilding as well as in times of conflict (Saedi & Walczak, 2019). The WPS Agenda

builds on four pillars, prevention, participation, protection, relief and recovery – all of which relates to the inclusion of women and girls before, during and after conflict situations (Saedi & Walczak, 2019) Bearing this in mind, reports on WPS might give the idea of an exclusive focus and emphasis on women and girls as victims of CRSV. However, WPS reports are also the only reports, together with the report on the Syrian Crisis (Chynoweth, 2017) to include men as potential victims of CRSV (for more on the findings in the report on the Syrian Crisis, see chapter 2.2.2 and see appendix 8.2 for an overview of the specific reports that include male victims). A 2013 WPS report also highlights the issue of SV against men and boys as an emerging concern, particularly in the context of detention (Security Council Report , 2013, p. 9).

When looking at the frequency of gender specific language of victims of CRSV, women and girls are mentioned 260 out of 274 times – representing almost 95 per cent of the cases. The word ‘children’ is specifically mentioned 145 times in the reports, while girls are mentioned 80 times and boys 6 times, making it far more common to use gender inclusive language than gender specific language when considering children (see graph above).

Another finding from the research of the SCR is the correlation between reports published at SCR and the development of resolution on CRSV against men. Among the few reports to include men as potential victims of SC the amount peaked around the time of the development and release of UNSCR 2106 (2013) (see appendix 8.2 for overview of UNSC reports and chapter 4.2.2 for more info on UNSCR 2106, the first res. to include men and boys as potential victims of CRSV). During the timespan of one and a half years, from late 2011 to early 2013, four reports explicitly mention men and boys as potential victims of SV. Only one report before 2011 explicitly mentioned men and boys as potential victims of SV, while three reports after 2013 explicitly mention men and boys. One report released in 2014 on WPS, a second released in 2018 on the Syrian Crisis report “We keep it in our hearts” and a third in 2019 which is on SV in conflict. Only a few reports include the notion of perpetrators, in these few cases they are describes as male, but whether the overall perception of perpetrators of SV is gender specific or not is, difficult to determine because of the limited references to perpetrators.

The analysis of the UNSC reports builds on a previous analysis from 2018 which opens up for some reflections about recent developments and allows for comparison between the 2018 analysis and this year’s analysis. Firstly, there have been less reports on the subject matter per year the past three years compared to before 2018. This suggests that the topic has lost

some attention recently (See appendix 8.2 for overview of timeline of publications). A second development from the 2018 study is that a new element of CRSV has been included in SCR, children born of SV in conflict zones. This has also been brought up in later UNSCR, such as UNSCR 2331, as mentioned in chapter 4.2.2 (United Nations Security Council, 2016). Third, there are two reports that explicitly use the phrasing “individuals” as subjected to sexual violence (see appendix 8.2 for the details on the specific reports).

A fourth development from the 2018 research is the total number of reports not exclusively subjecting women as victims of wartime sexual violence has increased. There has been a minor shift in the ratio of gender specific language used in the reports, as women and girls stood for 95.3 per cent of all gender specific references of victims of SV by 2018, and by summer 2021 this number has decreased to 94.8 per cent. However, because this is caused by a single report from 2019 (see appendix 8.2 on the specifics of the reports) I do not consider this specific result as suggestive of any development or changes in the language used by the UNSC on victims of SV. Furthermore, the total percentage of reports considering women as the sole gender category to be potential victims of sexual violence is similar and the total percentage of reports considering men as perpetrators is the same.

The UNSC has commenced several initiatives to combat the issue of CRSV, and the topic receives particular attention through The Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC). The SRSG-SVS also releases annual reports on CRSV. Moreover, in 2020 the UN launched a handbook specifically on CRSV violence (United Nations, 2020). This will be examined in the following chapter as it represents one of the latest trends in the UN on the discourse of CRSV.

#### 4.3.1 Later trends in the UN

The UN launched in 2020 a handbook for United Nations Field Missions on Preventing and Responding to conflict-related sexual violence (United Nations, 2020). This handbook is the first of its kind and serves as a guidance to all UN personnel deployed to UN Field Missions as well as to support the implementations of CRSV mandate by the UN Field Missions (United Nations, 2020). The UN handbook on CRSV also represent a change in the approach to CRSV by the UN as it clearly advocates for a gender-sensitive approach to the victims and perpetrators of sexual violence (United Nations, 2020, p. 15). The UN handbook lists several recommendations to Field Mission personnel for applying a survivor-centred and gender-sensitive approach in the investigation of CRSV, including; “using respectful and non-

discriminatory language and taking into account the different situations, risks and needs, of women, girls, men and boys and others to ensure behaviours and practices respect human rights of all people participating in judicial processes” (United Nations, 2020, p. 119). The handbook also states “the assumption that (possible) victims/survivors of CRSV are synonymous with female victims/survivors of CRSV should be avoided. Men and boys can also be victims/survivors of CRSV” (United Nations, 2020, p. 15). The handbook also argues that usage of gender-sensitivity language helps to avoid erasing women at “phrases that reaffirm and perpetuate harmful gender stereotypes” (United Nations, 2020, p. 81).

While this handbook recommends the application of *gender-sensitive* language, where presumptions are laid aside and the possibility of men and boys, and women and girls, to be subjected to sexual violence is recognised, the handbook itself does not lead with a clear example. While the definitions presented in the handbook are gender inclusive, there is a clear focus on CRSV against women and girls. The quote above is also in line with the conventional understanding of gender to translate “gender to “women” and “victims of sexual violence to “female victims of sexual violence” (Dolan, 2014a). In this case, such language does in fact erase men from the role of victim rather than include women.

Victims and perpetrators alike *are* discursively distinguished by their gender within the UNSC. In line with conventional perceptions of victims and perpetrators of CRSV, women are perceived as victims – and men as perpetrators. This binary understanding is evident in the discourse covering the issue of CRSV within the UNSC. While the UNSC has increased its attention to CRSV through several recent reports, new UNSC resolutions as well as the latest handbook on CRSV, the UNSC discourse on CRSV remains in large gender exclusive, to first and foremost consider women and girls as victims, and men as perpetrators.

The language used in UNSC resolution and reports create an understanding of CRSV to be perpetrated by men against women and girls, which also have a potential for creating a structure onto how CRSV is dealt with. Although the UN handbook on CRSV urges all UN personnel to act with a gender-inclusive approach which may directly affect strategies and the ways of which CRSV is treated the handbook also consider women and girls to be the main focus when discussing victims of CRSV (United Nations, 2020).

The discourse held in the UNSC thus does assist in creating a gendered structure of understanding and dealing with CRSV. The gendered victim/perpetrator dichotomy is substantiated by the portrayal of women and girls as particularly vulnerable to SV and the

discursive exclusion of male victims. The UNSC resolutions and reports are lacking in recognising the complexity of victims and perpetrators of CRSV, which is not limited to gender assumptions and stereotypes. The results of this study confirm a gender treatment of CRSV through the portrayal of victims of sexual violence based on gender assumptions rather empirical recordings. There is a clear negligence of MDSV, which leads to limited and ad-hoc services (Chynoweth, 2017) that does not consider differentiated individual, social and communal consequences experienced by victims of SV.

#### 4.4 Academic articles

Language holds power. The way we talk about an issue affect our knowledge of it and vice versa, the production of knowledge defines the way we talk about issues or whether something is considered an issue at all. Scholars of IR, equally to other scholars builds on previous research and contribute with new findings, debates and further enhances focus on an issue by writing about it.

A quick search on google scholar with the search words “Democratic republic of Congo sexual violence gives 63 600 hits in less than a second. Changing the search words to *Democratic Republic of Congo* and *sexual violence “against women”* gives 21 100 results. However, if I change from “against women” to “against men” a mere number of 2420 articles appear. The same trend is also seen over time. If I narrow the timeline from 1990 to 2000 the search words “Democratic Republic of Congo Sexual Violence “against women” gives 637 results, while “against men” gives 94 results. From 2000-2010 the search gives 5640 results on Democratic Republic of Congo Sexual Violence “against women” and 389 “against men”. From 2010- today the search gives 15 400 results “against women” compared to 1970 “against men gives 1970. This suggests that the topic of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has gotten increasing attention the past couple of decades, like the topic of sexual violence in general. It also suggests that women to a far greater extent is considered victims of sexual violence in academia compared to that of men.

This section investigates several major IR journals to find out whether they are gender inclusive or upholds a gender normative view on CRSV. Contrary to the UN reports, academic articles are not as easy to consider gender inclusive or not, as they have limitations, may look at a specific issue, thus excluding others and so on. However, the number of articles discussing CRSV from a non-gender normative approach is telling of an overall perception of the issue, and whether it warrants attention or not. In the following paragraphs, the results from the

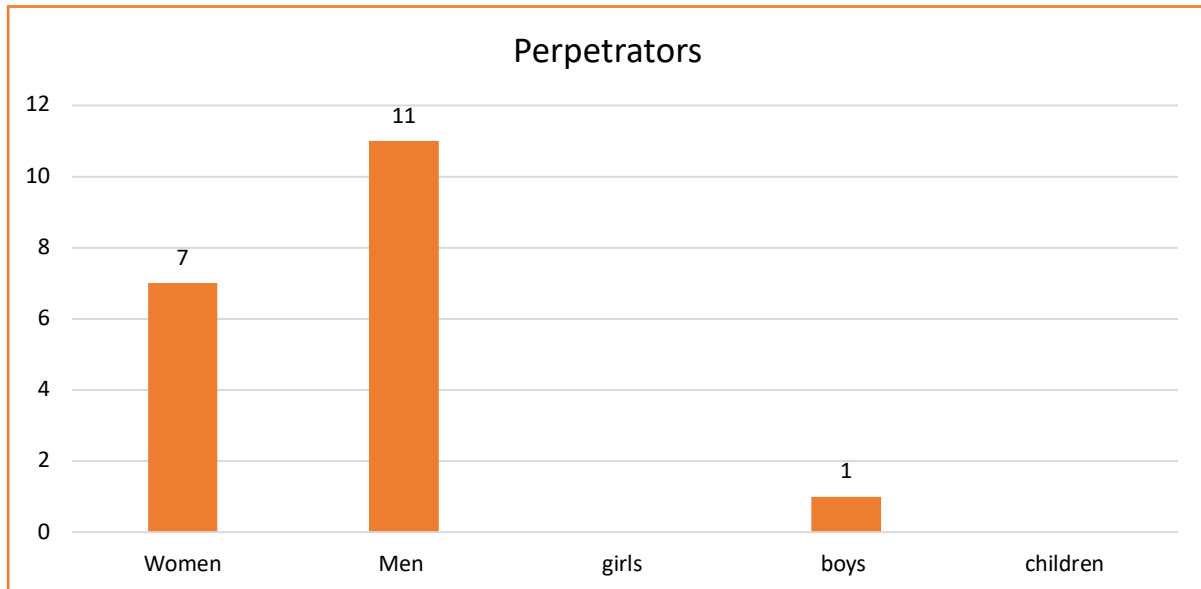
academic articles will be presented through the inclusion of gender specific language of the role of victims and/or perpetrator of sexual violence.



This graph above shows the total number of articles that include gender specific pronoun in relation to the role of victim of SV (see appendix 8.1 for full overview of all results). A total of 40 articles use gender specific pronouns of victims and/or perpetrators of sexual violence. 36 articles include women as victims of sexual violence, out of which 18 consider women and/or girls as the sole victim of sexual violence. In addition, 13 articles include men as victims, 4 include boys as victims, 13 include girls as victims and 4 include children as victims of sexual violence. Moreover, one article specifically includes people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning and intersex (LGBTQI+) as exposed to sexual violence. The discourse of victims of sexual violence seems to be somewhat more nuanced compared to that of the UNSC reports. While women represent the gender that in most cases are considered victims of sexual violence – several articles also gender categories and across age.

Concerning the notion of perpetrator, the picture is a bit different. This graph below shows the total number of articles that include gender specific pronoun in relation to the role of perpetrator of SV. Eleven articles specifically include the notion of men as perpetrators of





sexual violence, seven include women and one include boys. Several articles include the state, UN peacekeepers, security forces or rebel groups as perpetrators of sexual violence without explicitly including gender. There are also several interesting results from the research into discourse held in academic articles. Firstly, there is given less attention to the gender of perpetrators of SV held in these articles compared to victims of SV. Secondly, most articles consider both adults and children to be potential victims, but all articles, with one exception consider adults to be perpetrators of sexual violence. As already stated, one article explicitly mentions boys as potential perpetrators of SV. The same article also explicitly includes men as potential perpetrators and women as potential victims.

The difference in gender specific pronoun of perpetrators and victims of SV may be explained by the fact that men are assumed to a greater extent than women to find themselves in the public sphere as well as in the role of a protector of which these categories represent (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). It may also be explained by a general lack of interest in investigating perpetrators based on their gender, or even by an intrinsic assumption of men being the sole gender that can perpetrate sexual violence. It is also worth noting that several of the articles in this study specifically make a note of female perpetrators of SV. However, most articles do not have the sole purpose of investigating sexual violence, quite the contrary, only a few articles elaborate on the issue of sexual violence beyond a standardised phrasing, such as “sexual violence against women”.

As seen above, most articles in IR journals consider men to be perpetrators of CRSV against women. Contrary to UNSC reports these academic articles have limitations and gaps,

several of which have been made clear as well. What the findings in the articles do suggest is that most scholars write about SV against women and are therefore likely to also consider CRSV as something men do against women. However, contrary to the UNSC resolutions and reports, the articles included in this study show a far more nuanced picture of victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. Several articles explicitly point to the lack of focus on male victims and female perpetrators, elements of which are not found in the UNSC reports. Gender-inclusive language is also found in international legal frameworks, while the picture of national legal frameworks is quite different, both of which will be discussed in the following chapter.

#### 4.5. International legal frameworks

Sexual violence has historically thought to be a national concern whether considered as an act of crime or not. Sexual violence takes many forms and is found in all levels of society from being an element of domestic violence to be considered a crime against humanity on an international level. On a national level, the state is responsible for ensuring security for its subjects and prosecution in cases crimes perpetrated within its borders. Several scholars also argue that most international legal instruments “have been developed in a way that often explicitly exclude men as a class of victims of SV and women as a class of perpetrators of SV (Dolan, 2014a; Dolan 2014b; Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018; Sjoberg, 2016).

A survey done by Chris Dolan, investigated the effects of legal frameworks on access to justice for survivors of sexual violence (Dolan 2014b). The report found that men and boys are often excluded from legal protection and are more often than women explicitly considered as perpetrators of SV. In fact, the survey found that in 28 countries women were explicitly excluded as potential perpetrators. The survey also found that 62 countries, representing about two thirds of the world’s population, recognise women and women alone, as potential victims of rape and 67 countries criminalise same-sex acts, making it problematic to report same-sex abuse as they may risk prosecution themselves. It also found that “90 per cent of men in conflict-affected countries are in situations where the law provides no protection for them if they become victims of sexual violence” (Dolan, 2014b, p.6). One way in which international legal instruments are gendered is seen through the specific language used to define crimes of SV. Another is to what extent cases of MDSV of female perpetrators are attended in international courts. According to Sellers and Nwoye MDSV is seldom addresses in international courts, and when they are there is a lack of uniform judicial approach and prosecutorial strategy (Sellers & Nwoye, 2018, p. 211).

In times of war and conflict violence, including sexual violence, increase, and the state often lacks the means to provide security and prosecute perpetrators. In these cases, international legal frameworks may apply. In other words, international tribunals may prosecute perpetrators of crimes against humanity, war crimes and/or genocide. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was the first international tribunal to recognise rape and sexual violence as a potential genocide. The ICTR found that:

rape and sexual violence certainly constitute infliction of serious bodily and mental harm on the victims and are even... one of the worst ways of inflicting harm on the victim... Sexual violence was an integral part of the process of destruction, specifically targeting Tutsi women and specifically contributing to their and the destruction of the Tutsi group as a whole. (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017, p. 53)

#### 4.5.1 Crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes

Sexual violence is illegal under international law, and International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Criminal Law (ICL) may apply in cases of SV (ICRC, 2005). Sexual violence is also considered illegal under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) as it may comprise elements of war crimes, crimes against humanity and/or genocide where perpetrators of such crimes may be prosecuted (UN General Assembly, 1998). The Rome Statute contains a gender inclusive definition of SV, which allows for the protection of male victims as well as the prosecution of female perpetrators (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017, p. 274). It is through the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (the ad hoc tribunals or ICTY and ICTR) that rape, in particular, was first prosecuted as a war crime, crime against humanity and act of genocide (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017).

Acts of SV may constitute war crimes if committed in times of conflict by a combatting party of the conflict against protected persons, including civilians and others who are not party to the conflict (United Nations, 2020, p. 22). Acts of SV may also be considered a crime against humanity if it reaches the scale of being committed as a widespread or systematic attack, committed, tolerated or ignored by a government or de facto authority (including organized armed group (United Nations, 2020). Acts of SV can be considered a crime against humanity, both in times peace and conflict therefore prosecutable not only in times of war, but also in post-conflict situations (United Nations, 2020). Acts of SV constitute genocide when “person commits a prohibited act with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical,

racial or religious group” and further” It is a crime against the group, which is committed through doing harm to individuals because of their membership to a particular group and as an incremental step in the overall objective of destroying the group” (United Nations, 2020, p. 22). Through these elements of international law, perpetrators of SV that comprises elements of war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide are personally held accountable, including military commanders and their subordinates. A military commander can also be held responsible for crimes committed by persons under his or her command (United Nations, 2020). While military commanders can be held responsible for the actions of their subordinates, no commander has never been prosecuted for crimes perpetrated by forces under their control – not until 2019.

*The case against Bosco Ntaganda.* On 8<sup>th</sup> of July 2019, Bosco Ntaganda was found guilty “beyond reasonable doubt, of 18 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity, committed in Ituri, DRC, in 2002-2003” (International Criminal Court, n.d.) The charges included murder, rape, sexual slavery and recruiting and using children. The former Congolese rebel leader, Ntaganda was sentenced to a total of 30 years of imprisonment. On 30 March 2021, the ICC Appeals Chamber confirmed the conviction and the sentence making the decisions final. The case against Ntaganda is in several ways historic. It is not only first conviction at the ICC against a commander for SV committed by his troops, it is also first time the ICC has convicted someone for sexual slavery. Moreover, it is one of the few existing sentences for crimes of sexual violence against men (International Criminal Court, n.d.).

There is a clear gendered treatment of CRSV in UNSC resolutions and reports, and while the legal language found at an international level is gender inclusive, MDSV is seldom addressed in international courts. And although the international legal framework exists in gender-neutral forms, the majority of national legal frameworks are not (Dolan, 2014b). UNSC resolutions and reports explicitly assume that women are victims of sexual violence leaving male victims of SV without proper health care or legal aid. Similarly, women’s involvement in committing CRSV is in large rendered invisible in UNSCR reports and international legal frameworks – and thus discursively invisible by definition. The following chapter discuss potential implications and explanations for the prevailing gender treatment of CRSV found at an international level, particular in the production of knowledge and in policymaking.

## 5. Analysis: The Way we Work – Implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV

“Sexual violence is a threat to every individual's right to a life of dignity, and to humanity's collective peace and security”. (António Guterres, 2017).

The very beginning of the UN charter states that “We the peoples of the United Nations... reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small” (United Nations , 1945, p. 3). Yet, the discourse held in UNSC resolutions and reports is to a large extent limited to only consider women as victims of CRSV and men as their perpetrators. Female perpetrators are completely invisible as potential perpetrators in UNSC reports and resolutions on SV and are therefore made discursively impossible – an unthinkable possibility outside a small academic community as suggested in chapter 4.4. Men are on the other hand, to some extent included as potential victims of CRSV both within the UNSC, in international legal frameworks) as well as in academic articles. During Antonio Guterres period as a UN Secretary-General the focus on CRSV has increased, and if the quote in the beginning of this chapter holds truth, a gendered treatment of CRSV is also a direct threat to collective peace and security (United Nations Peacekeeping, n.d.).

Bearing in mind the findings in the previous chapter there is a clear gendered treatment of CRSV evident in UNSC resolutions and reports and to some extent in academic articles. The following chapters discuss potential implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV both in policymaking and in the production of knowledge. I will discuss implications both with regards to the exclusion of female perpetrators as well as the exclusion of male victims of sexual violence. In the following section on implications of a gendered treatment in policymaking the focus will be limited to mostly focus on male victims of sexual violence. This is not to say that there are no implications in policymaking with regards to the exclusion of female perpetrators, but rather that the implications of the exclusion of male victims is evident both in legal and discursive matters and that this causes consequences for the male survivors of sexual violence. However, in chapter 5.2 I will to a large extent discuss the exclusion of female perpetrators of CRSV based on the concept of females as violent agents (Sjoberg, 2016) or rather the framing that they are not (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). These chapters also discuss potential explanations for the existence of current gender treatment of CRSV.

## 5.1 Gender treatment and its implication on policymaking – (Re)enforcement of gender binaries

Human rights states that all humans are created equal (United Nations , 1945). However, for centuries women and girls have been suppressed, abused, not given as much as a vote. While a lot has changed in the past century, the suppression of women in all levels of society is still very much present (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Therefore, in line with feminist theorists, women’s issues and women’s rights are important to put forward as to even out the imbalance and existing power structures that has developed through the centuries (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). Feminists uphold that social issues, such as women’s issues and issues faced by minorities are important and need to be studied, investigated and understood (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). The attention to conflict-related sexual violence as a global issue, is long overdue, and its recognitions has required decades of feminist activism and lobbyism. Research on CRSV beyond a gender normative understanding however, where male victims and female perpetrators are recognised, are still inadequate.

Both men and women can be both perpetrators and victims of CRSV (2.3-2.4) An exclusion of male victims and female perpetrators have implications both on policymaking and the production of knowledge. This far, prevention and treatment of sexual violence have been informed almost exclusively on the notion of male perpetrators and female victims. While this is true in a majority of SV cases, this notion completely overlooks and minimise the needs of the minority, in particular that of minority victims. According to Turchik et. al. male victims and LGBTQI+ victims face more barriers in order to get access to health care services, in addition to the services accessible to these groups are very limited (Turchik, Hebenstreit, & Judson, 2016).

Laura Sjoberg considers wartime sexual violence “whether strategic or transgressive... an act of feminization as devalorization both towards its direct victims and to the group(s) of which those victims are seen to be a part” (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 187). And further that this is often “in the media, in scholarship, and in the courts, read with a number of shortcuts and essentialist assumptions to understand sexual violence in war and conflict as an act of gender subordination perpetrated against women, by men (Sjoberg, 2016, pp. 187-188). These assumptions and narratives are sustained by the global political arena, narratives upon which Sjoberg argues to be sustained “in part because they make sexual violence clearly intelligible, in part because they fit with inherited notions of gender roles in wars and conflict, and in part because they can

(if not fully corrected) account for the majority of sexual violence cases in wars and conflict throughout history (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 188).

Sexual violence against men is an understudied and under-theorised issue that we know very little about. While the knowledge and recognition of MDSV is increasing through a small body of research, the gender normative understanding of CRSV is still standing strong, evident in academic articles (4.4) and in the UNSC (see chapter 4.2-4.3) which in turn reproduces gender normative understanding of the issue. Chris Dolan argues that while UN resolutions, in particular UNSCR 1325, on the protection of women and girls have succeeded in drawing attention to needs of many women, the international community has in large failed to properly acknowledge and respond to CRSV as a whole, explaining it by a “systematic reluctance to confront the reality of conflict-related sexual violence against men” (Dolan, 2014a, p.83).

The lack of gender-inclusive discourse and definitions in UNSC reports and resolution cause a direct discursive exclusion of men and boys as potential victims of CRSV, which also have impacts in both legal and political matters. Dolan claims patriarchy in the form of the UN Security Council has stolen the feminists’ clothes by portraying women as weak and men as strong through decades of gender binary discourse (Dolan, 2014a). He further argues that to proscribe to gender normative language when engaging in the topic of conflict-related sexual violence is inadequate, at best and that that the exclusion of men and boys as potential victims of CRSV not only is discriminatory and thus not very much like feminism, but it essentially prevents a true understanding of the act which results in lack of tools and approaches to deal with the crime (Dolan, 2014a).

Dolan marks the adoption of UNSCR 2106 as a potential paradigm shift as it is the first UNSC resolution to also consider men as potential victims of CRSV, although in a passive and secondary nature (2014a). Dolan consider the resolution to discursively open up for the possibility of a more nuanced and inclusive approach to gendered powers and its location in conflict situations. Dolan advocates for a gender-sensitive approach which according to him is the way to act in the true name of feminism and finds that UNSCR 2106 (2013) is an important step for the international community and how it “does gender” (Dolan, 2014a, p.80). The discursive exclusion of men and boys as potential victims of CRSV renders all aspects of combating the issue of CRSV to be oriented towards female victims and thereby sustain a gender normative understanding of the issue as well as gendered misconceptions Male victims are thus left without legal or health aid, not recognised as victims of crimes of sexual violence (read more on limitations in legal frameworks in chapter 4.5).

### 5.1.1 The victims

The gender normative understanding of CRSV held in the UNSC directly affects people, as people behaving or exposed to actions outside a gender normative understanding of CRSV are discursively excluded and unrecognised. This is particularly harmful for victims, including men, boys, and members of LGBTQI+-community, people targeted based on their socio-economic class, ethnicity or nationality (Turchik, Hebenstreit & Judson, 2016). Several scholars point to men as understood to be secondary victims to that of women, for example by being forced to watch or perform violations against other (Dolan, 2014a; Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). This exact phrasing is also seen in UNSCR 2106 (see chapter 4.2.2).

The language held in most of UNSC reports and resolutions (4.2-4-3) is of a gender normative nature. And while it is important to recognise that men are to a far greater extent responsible for crimes of sexual violence and women to a greater extent are victims of these crimes (e.g., Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010). Emphasis on this facts however, where CRSV beyond a gender normative treatment is not included, creates and reaffirms the notion of men as not potential victims. This has several implications including increased stigma experienced by male victims. People subjected to sexual violence across genders often experience stigma and exclusion from their community causing several victims to remain silent around their experiences and traumas (Dolan, 2014b). It is also found that male victims of sexual violence have increased inability to work and therefore jeopardised capacity to secure income. This is highly problematic as men still today is in large considered the provider for the family (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017, p. 26). This becomes increasingly evident in countries where there is not only no legal coverage of male victims, but where these men are faced with the misconception of being gay because of the experienced they have been subjected to (Dolan, 2014b). This is further implicated by the fact that homosexuality is in many countries criminalised (Dolan, 2014b).

In her study from the Syrian crisis, Dr. Sarah Chynoweth found through that several informants noted the lack in sexual and health services for men and boys (Chynoweth, 2017). Several of the focus groups also specifically asked for more services as well as education on the topic in hope of ensuring better response and prevention to MDSV. Others also noted the problematic link between SV and sexual and reproductive health services with a program Officer commenting “How can a man seek SGBV care in a place that is for maternity?” (Chynoweth, 2017, p. 51). This further substantiates the argument that sexual violence is assumed directed at women, which might result in double-stigmatization of men, who already feel feminized by



the crime itself (for more on the report on MDSV in the Syrian crisis, see chapter 2.3.2). The findings in the report coincide in large with the findings in Eastern DRC (see chapter 2.3.1) – almost one-quarter of men reported having experienced SV. Such recordings do suggest is that MDSV is existing and is far more widespread than previously assumed. However, with the existing gender expectations of men still very much evident in international organisations (chapter 4) the myth of men as not subjected to sexual violence is kept very much alive. This also goes beyond subjective feelings of victimisation; it is about people being discriminated based on gender, and how society choose to perceive/treat certain people, not only through laws and regulations and aid and health care, but in everyday conversations.

### 5.1.2 The power of politics and the constitution of the UN

The topic of MDSV or rather, the notion of SV being directed at women and girls is related both to actors and structures in our society. The topic of SV is constructed, deconstructed, produced and reproduces in an international setting, both by persisting gender structures and by major actors in the international community – actors of which are created by their social and cultural surrounding, including social norms and ideas of masculinities (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). There has also been a shift in international politics from regarding states as the main unit of protection to include and increase focus human security (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). This is also manifested through international efforts to combat the issue of CRSV. When states no longer only seek to protect themselves, but include human security, it is arguably “easiest” to protect the most visible victims first, including victims of sexual violence. Instead of focusing on using gender-inclusive terms in relation to SV, it has been important in the UN to engage in protection of women, and by doing so the situation of male survivors is marginalised.

The gendered treatment of CRSV can be understood as an intentional ignorance as a part of a political agenda, but it can also be caused by a general lack of knowledge of existing gender hierarchies and the occurrence of MDSV itself causing negligence. National legal frameworks may serve as a potential example of both lack of knowledge as well as an intentional exclusion of the issue of MDSV. We know that SV do occur (Johnson, Scott & Rughita, 2010) yet the legal coverage of male victims is in many cases non-existing (see chapter 4.5). Some scholars, like Larry May argue that the exclusion of male victims in international legal frameworks is a positive thing as it should be handled nationally (May, 2005). May argues that:

Unless there has been a complete breakdown in the rule of law in a particular country, international tribunals should only be concerned with prosecuting individuals for rapes that are group-based in that the harms are directed against individuals because of their group membership or where there is some kind of state or state-like involvement. (May, 2005, p. 96)

The UN consists of 193 member states, many of which do not cover male victims of sexual violence through their national legal frameworks. In addition to neglecting MDSV, national legal frameworks demonstrate a tendency to criminalise same-sex intercourse and 62 countries, representing almost two thirds of the world's population, only recognise women as potential victims of rape (see more on this in chapter 4.5). As a result, male victims are at risk of being prosecuted for the violations against them (Riberio & Ponthoz, 2017). It also implies a lack of will in recognising male victims. When national legal frameworks are lagging in recognising male victims, what are then the incentives to proscribe a gender-inclusive language at an international level. The legal language which cause exclusion and criminalisation of male victims as discussed in chapter 4.5, as well as the language held at the UNSC directly cause a reproduction of gender treatment of CRSV. Through the language used at the UNSC are explicitly considered victims and men are explicitly considered perpetrators. This strenghtens the notion and idea of gender binaries linked to vcitms and perpetrators of SV and that one can be only ether, or (Sjoberg, 2016).

The discourse on an international level is also sustained through assumptions of gender hierachies that are shared globally. This has been argued by several scholars, Hooper (1998) argues that there is a link between masculinities and the system of international relations; Nagel (1998) connects masculinities with the construction of nationality; Gitting et.al. (1996), demonstrated how masculinity in First World countires are based on history of the empire; and Ouzgane and Coleman (1998) emphasised the importance of postcolonial studies when looking at the dynamics of masculinities today (Hooper, Nagel, Gitting et.al and Ouzgane and Coleman as sited in Connell, 2005, p.72). Furthermore: “when a pattern of masculinity begins to become institutionalized beyond the confines of specific nations, it becomes a globalizing masculinity competing for hegemony within the world gender order” (Sabo, 2005, p. 342). To see more on hegemonic masculinity, (see chapter 5.2.2).

In the UNSC resolutions and reports men are more or less completely excluded as potential victims of SV by the language used. This implies that men and their rights are not protected by these resolutions, in addition to discursively *erasing* the possible existence of male

victims (United Nations, 2020). This causes a vicious circle of invisibility of male victims of SV. Male victims are left without proper health care services or legal aid and limited ad-hoc services. They are also met with misconceptions and social consequences of stigma and exclusion from the community. Men therefore tend to report less, which in turn gives an inadequate evidence enforced by academic negligence. This further reaffirms the myth that men are not subjected to sexual violence.

Based on the overall lack of knowledge and research onto the topic of MDSV, strategies to understand and combat the issue is difficult to implement. By making a direct link between sexual violence, gender-based violence and violence against women, men are not only discursively excluded but excluded from the policymaking processes. It reaffirms the understanding and assumption that sexual violence is mostly, if not only directed at women and girls. The development of international law, UNSC resolutions, agenda, and policies are still in their early days. Increased attention to the issue of CRSV may eventually lead to a more complex approach to the issue, where male victims and female perpetrators are included, and where gender is not the only characteristics linked to victims and perpetrators of CRSV. The discursive exclusion of male victims creates a structure of inaction, as male victims are considered a non-problem, thus not necessary to consider – in politics or in academia (Dolan 2014a). Gender-inclusive language, however, demands attention, places responsibility and consequently provokes action (United Nations, 2020).

## 5.2 Gender treatment and its implication on theory – (Re)production of gender binaries

Policymaking informs the production of knowledge and vice versa (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). And academia has importance in the production of knowledge and the power to influence and inform gender treatment. The way the UNSC, judiciary and governments talk about sexual violence informs the way researches approach the issue. Not only because the discursive limitations found at a political level, but also because, agents like governments, NGO's and IO's are driving forces for the research that is being conducted, by requesting research on specific subject matters and by portraying certain issues as more important than others. The way we talk about sexual violence informs the way we understand sexual violence and vice versa. And it has become increasingly apparent amongst many scholars and activists that male victims and female perpetrators of this form of violence have been rendered invisible both in research and in politics (e.g., Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018; Sjoberg, 2016). The assumption is rather that men are perpetrators of sexual violence against women.

Most of the literature referenced in this dissertation points to the pervasive lack of research into sexual violence from a non-gender normative/non-conventional approach. They also advocate for research on sexual violence against men, same-sex violence and women's violence. The lack of research also informs this dissertation, as the knowledge is limited, and assumptions are many. For example, Connell argues that most of his findings and arguments are based on research with other primary concerns (Connell, 2005). Chynoweth states that her findings from the Syrian Crisis are only a starting point "for unpacking and addressing a complex, under-investigated issue (Chynoweth, 2017, p. 6). Sjoberg states that "discussions of wartime sexual violence that do mention women perpetrators are few and far between, and many of them sensationalize those women (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 2). Zalewski et. al. argue that "the exponential globalised attention appears to have accomplished little in regard to the recognition of the different kinds of victims" (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018, p. 1).

Investigation into CRSV beyond a gender normative understanding of the issue is lacking, and there are several potential reasons for this, each with a set of potential consequences. This chapter will investigate potential implications of a gender treatment in the production of knowledge. However, bearing in mind the limited research into the subject matter, this section is explorative in its approach and builds mainly on theories on the discursive denial of women's violence as put forward by several prominent feminist scholars (e.g., (Pearson, 1997; Sjoberg, 2016; Carrington, 2013) as explanatory for the lack of interest and knowledge on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach. The following sections will also question what might explain the current gender treatment of the CRSV. More specifically question whether the prevailing gender norms of society, hegemonic masculinities or academic negligence might be the causes of the current gender treatment of CRSV.

### 5.2.1 The persistence of gender myths

Feminist theorists uphold that gender and gender binaries as socially constructed. They are however not easily deconstructed (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). The gendered victim/perpetrator dichotomy is almost as old as the notion of women's femininity and men's masculinity, and that these conceptualisations are valid and meaningful to society (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). This suggest that to deconstruct such gender norms is not a quick fix and an easy task. Research beyond a gender normative approach and understanding of society is still in its early days and while such research is increasing, research beyond a gender normative approach of CRSV is still very limited (e.g., Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). Women's violence is still sensationalised and considered as anomalies of individual cases where the violent women are

behaving anti-socially and contrary to their gender (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). Male victims are rarely recognised and the limited existing health care services existing for men is commonly based on experiences and the needs of female victims (Dolan, 2014b; Chynoweth, 2017).

Most of what we know about victims and perpetrators of sexual violence is based on traditional assumptions of gender hierarchy, gender roles and heteronormativity (Dolan, 2014b; Sjoberg, 2016). Moreover, most theories on sexual violence are based on a conventional and gendered victim/perpetrator binary (Turchik, Hebenstreit & Judson, 2016). Most theories are also formed by male-dominant research, which in turn informs the current assumptions about society, and how it works (Sjoberg, 2016). In such assumptions lies gender norms – assumptions and conventions of what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman and that these are binary opposites. While it is socially acceptable that men behave aggressively the same is not acceptable amongst women.

White and Kowalski (1994) argue that denying female aggression, including within the context of domestic violence and intimate relationship, sustain male power, as well as the idea of women as inherently peaceful. This also undermines gender as a social construct while reproducing male-dominant theories on sexual violence. While one can argue that CRSV is not different based on whether the perpetrator is male or female, the theories on the matter are likely to be very different if women are included. Theories of conflict-related sexual violence are often constructed in a way that assume that men are the perpetrators. And further with assumed essential masculinity linked to the male perpetrator (Sjoberg, 2016). Likewise, the same theories are often constructed assuming that women are the victims, with an assumed femininity linked to the female victims. This combination of assumed essentials linked to victims and perpetrators are problematic, not only because they leave out female perpetrators and male victims, but also the characteristics associated with victims and perpetrators that are not found in the assumed gender roles. In other words, these assumptions leave out characteristics associated with femininity which might go into motivating the crime of sexual violence or characteristics associated with masculinity that might be present in the victims. Theories constructed based on the dichotomy of men as perpetrators and women as victims, are partial because they in large leave out woman as actors and considerations of femininity.

On a theoretical level this gender normative understanding of sexual violence condemns CRSV committed contrary to expected gender norms as unimportant and as something that does not warrant our attention, which also limits the scope of understanding of the issue of CRSV and how it is being tackled (Turchik, Hebenstreit & Judson, 2016). This does not only

reinforce the narrative of women as the weaker gender and disregard men exposed to such crimes, but also limits research to be based on familiar gendered assumptions of violence (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). This limits the scope of understanding the issue of sexual violence and how it is being tackled.

According to Laura Sjoberg, there are several prevailing myths of female perpetrators of sexual violence. First, women are more peaceful than men and do not commit sexual violence. This is a common misconception suggesting that there is something inherently peaceful in people categorised as women that is not found in people categorised as men. It builds on the idea that women are *naturally* peaceful contrary to men as naturally aggressive (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). According to Sjoberg this is “one of the most abiding myths of our time” (Sjoberg, 2016, p. 187). This is, according to Gentry & Sjoberg (2015) further substantiated by portraying violent women as unwomanly. This will be elaborated on in the following section.

#### 5.2.1.1 The portrayal of violent women

Gentry and Sjoberg argues that “Because women who commit... violences have acted outside of a prescribed gender role, they have to be separated from the main/malestream discourse of their particular behaviour” (2015, p. 8). Gentry and Sjoberg show how violent women are portrayed quite differently for that of their male counterparts. They argue, in fact, that violent women are seen as not only behaving contrary to the expectations of their gender but understood as behaving violently *because* there is something wrong with their femininity or in fact, their womanhood (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). They further argue that violent women do not fit into the idea of peace-loving, inactive and innocent women, therefore they must be understood as something else – they are not only bad women, they are portrayed as bad at being women (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015, p. 3).

Laura Sjoberg argues that women prone to violence, or women who have behaved in a violent matter have been characterised in the media in a very particular manner, or rather in *three* distinct manners. Sjoberg states that the media often portray violent women as unwomanly, and when prone to violence it is something wrong in their constitutions as women, thus implying that women inhabits traits of non-violence.

Gentry and Sjoberg have found three main narratives that explain violent women, narratives they call mother, monster and whore (2015). Each of these narratives explain which element of womanhood have gone wrong which in turn is used to explain violent behaviour

among women. The mother narrative pertains to women behaving violently because they are unable to give the care they are supposed to as mothers, neither to their men nor their children. This can be exemplified by media portrayal of Samantha Lewthwaite, a British woman called the “White widow” suspected of planning a terrorist attack in Kenya (Williams, 2014). Gentry and Sjoberg (2015) argue that the media emphasised the loss of Lewthwaite’s husband, who was one of the London 7/7 suicide bombers, as elementary to her violence (pp. 72-73). In this case Lewthwaite’s role as a wife was used explanatory for her violence, rather than considering her as an independent agent with her own political or ideological reasons as motivation for joining a terrorist organisation (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015).

The monster narrative refers to women being crazy or insane making them unreliable. This also makes them more dangerous than men committing similar crimes as they are completely unpredictable (ref. definition of gender expectation in chapter 1.2.4). This narrative is used to dehumanise violent women, like the case of Lynndie England who was called the leash girl for her acts of violence as a prison guard at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq (for more on Lynndie England see chapter 2.5.1). The whore narrative refers to violence being caused by female sexuality. Essentially this is according to Gentry and Sjoberg based on women’s incapability of satisfying men, making their sexuality extreme and brutal. The notion of femme fatal is all too familiar, the notion of women seducing and luring in men, exploiting their sexuality for violent actions. These narratives serve to distinguish “real women” from that of “broken women” (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015, p. 11). By doing such a distinction it is possible to sustain gender normative ideas of women as naturally peaceful, where violent women, on the contrary are behaving unnatural for their gender.

The use of such narratives has several implications of the understanding and knowledge of violence in global politics. Firstly, they build up under the gendered victim/perpetrator binary by making a clear distinction between “bad women” and “real women” thus also sustaining current general gender assumptions (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015, p. 11). These assumptions are also sustained by considering the violent action of women to be caused by femininity – or rather something in their femininity that has gone awry. Thirdly, the violence is also clearly distinguished from that of men, suggesting that women’s violence actions have different motivations than men (Gentry & Sjoberg, 2015). The commonality of such portrayal of women’s violence is that they all divert the focus of the act of violence itself to the specific gender category of a woman. Instead of focusing on the violence - which can be motivated by several reasons, including ideological, political or strategic reasons – the violence is prescribed

to the specific gender, quite contrary to violent action by men. This reinforces the pre-existing gender binaries found in the discourse of violence and limits the understanding of it.

### 5.2.2 Hegemonic masculinity?

Theorisation of masculinity plays an important role in framing and analysing sexual violence against men (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). Theorisation of masculinity relates to how gender is constituted and understood on all levels of society as well as how gender may be intentionally and unintentionally used to sustain gender hierarchies (Connell, 1995). Masculine traits are commonly preferred by both people understood as men and people understood as women and the states they live in, also known as “hegemonic masculinity (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). The concept of hegemonic masculinity was early on conceptualised by Connell (1995) and has been influential of gender studies as well as sexual violence against men (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity is often used to explain the long-lasting subordination of women, as masculine traits are the preferred traits, which are supposedly only found in men, thus giving men direct access to power and privilege (Leatherman, 2011, p. 17).

According to Dr. Kimmel (1993) the invisibility of masculinity is a key reason for men’s power and privilege over other and argues that invisibility of privilege to the privilege ones, is in fact casual for the privilege itself. He further argues that “men have come to think of themselves as genderless, in part because they can afford the luxury of ignoring the centrality of gender” (Kimmel, 1993, p. 30). Hegemonic masculinity may be used to explain the lack of attention given to men and women exposed to or behaving contrary to gender-normative expectations as it is not in line with heteronormative and gendered expectations and therefore contrary to the gendered understanding of reality. According to Kimmel, the main explanation lies in the centrality of gender, as the category is socially understood by men not to include men. This also create a structure of men as the protector and women as the protected (For more on the definitions of gender and gender binaries see chapter 1.2.4). According to Nagel this can also be seen through:

Patriotic manhood and exalted motherhood as icons of nationalist ideology – in which the nation is a family of men as its defenders and women as the defended embodiment of home and heart; through the designation of gendered places for men and women in the nation and national politics (Nagel, 2005, p. 397).

If the roles of protector and protected becomes unclear, Leatherman argues that uncertainty is created. Hegemonic masculinity also causes a hierarchy of masculinities according to



Leatherman where men behaving according to strict masculine expectations are empowered, while others are subordinate and marginalised and may even be exploited alongside other marginalised group, such as women (Leatherman, 2011, p. 18). According to Leatherman the notion of masculine hierarchies within hegemonic masculinity explains why members of the LGBTIQI+-community are particularly targeted and at risk of being exposed to SV – as they behave contrary to gender expectations of manhood (Leatherman, 2011, p. 18).

The idea of hegemonic masculinity does not however explain why male victims of SV have received increasing attention internationally, while female perpetrators remains in the shadow. Useful theories of sexual violence, also those pertaining CRSV, should include theories on male-directed sexual violence, as well as theories of female perpetrators. Useful theories of sexual violence should not only be reflective of majority cases of SV it should also explain same-sex violence (including male-on-male violence and women-on-women violence). Turchik et. al. also argues that in the few cases theorists have investigated sexual violence in a non-conventional approach it has largely been studied on a theoretical level (2016) This will be further discussed in the following chapter .

### 5.2.3 Academic negligence?

Scholars have significant importance in the production of knowledge processes, as they may inform, influence and challenge assumptions of international politics, including that of gender norms and binaries. The question becomes to what degree gender normativity will be revisited in policymaking and in the production of knowledge and challenge the existing gendered, outdated and narrow minded. A study done by Dr. Sarah Greathouse et. al. from 2015 found that most existing research on female perpetrators are exploratory and are often based on very small sample sizes (Greathouse, et. al., 2015). Greathouse, et. al, also state that the sample sizes are often limited to already incarcerated populations, where the perpetrators committed sexual violence against children and juveniles, making the sample less representative of society as a whole, but also to represent only a limited and very specific subset of perpetrators. In addition, as with any research on sexual violence, the definitions of the crime differ substantially (as previously stated in chapter 12.1. Greathouse et.al. also found that because of the deficiency of studies and limited methodological approaches there are no consensus on characteristics of female perpetrators (Greathouse, Saunders, Matthews, Keller & Miller, 2015, p. 37). Whether there are indeed certain characteristics common among female perpetrators are not known, but several scholars argue that there is no reason to believe that there are differences amongst

female and male perpetrators, but rather individual differences across genders (e.g., Sjoberg, 2016; Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018).

Lack of academic coverage may also be caused by the sensitivity of CRSV. Victims of SV may not come forth in fear of stigmatisation and exclusion from their community (Chynoweth, 2017). Moreover, gender myths are persistent, also with regards to SV leading victims to believe that male victims of SV are homosexual because of the violation against them (see discussion in the previous chapter). In turn this causes legal and health care issues, as homosexuality is in several countries considered a crime and may cause retributions for the victims making it common that men report crimes of SV less, which in turn gives a poor evidence base (Chris Dolan, 2014b).

Feminist scholars, and activists have been important in raising a global interest in women's issues and experiences in times of peace and in times of war. Feminism entered the stage of IR as a theoretical branch that emphasise gender, women's issues and marginalised groups and issues of society (Tickner & Sjoberg, 2016). The feminist movement have also been important in the development of UNSC resolutions on the topic of CRSV. While women and girls as victims have been recognised and their needs and rights emphasised with regards to SV men have been left in the shadow.

As discussed in chapter 2.7, several scholars point to the feminist movement as responsible for the persisting disinterest in male victimisation (e.g., Abrams, 2016; Connell, 2005). It is argued that there is fear amongst feminist scholars that more focus on men, as victims on sexual violence necessarily will take away focus from women and divert recognition as well as political will and funding, for female victims to their male counterparts (Sivakumaran 2013, p 82). Judith Butler, a prominent feminist scholar argues that feminist scholars' risk to further substantiate hegemonic gender norms rather than challenge them by operating with women, and their differences from that of men. According to Butler this has two main consequences, first it allows for no recognition of differences amongst women, amongst men, or the existence for other genders or sexualities (Jegerstedt, 2011). Second, by operating with women and the gender category of women, both in theory and practices, feminism have not only sustained, but reproduced dominant ideas of gender – in a heteronormative matter.

Abrams (2016) suggests that some feminist scholars insist that to include men in both the discourse and understanding of sexual violence equal to that of women ignore the reality of women's subordination and pervasive gender hierarchies. Zalewski et. al. further argue that

such classic gendered framings have potentially contributed to further complicate the understanding of male victimisation and the will to investigate it (Zalewski, Drumond, Prügl & Stern, 2018). They further argue the existing analysis on sexual violence against men is largely built on knowledge from the same gendered framings. Jill Steans argues that the growing need to nuance, complicate and question notions of “women and men, masculinities and femininities, sexual violence and torture, humiliation and shame and justice cannot be denied” (Steans, 2018, p. 251). The inclusion of men and boys as subjected to sexual violence in conflict may in fact attribute and give an invaluable input to the fight against sexual violence against women in conflict (Sivakumaran, 2007, p. 8).

We know very little about potential implications of a gendered treatment of CRSV. First and foremost because the research onto the topic is extremely limited. However, bearing in mind the previous chapters, a few potential implications come to mind. First, the victims of SV and their needs. The lack of recognition, existing legal aid and health care systems to treat male victims of sexual violence is extremely limited. As Chynoweth found in her research, male victims of sexual violence do not feel comfortable seeking help at women’s shelters and healthcare centres for women. Which is also a direct consequence of exclusively consider women as the sole group of people in need of such help. A second potential implications is a further subordination of women, as women agency is completely lacking with regards to the notion of perpetrators of sexual violence (Sjoberg, 2016). As there is extremely limited research on the specific topic of implications of gender treatment of CRSV the following chapters will discuss potential explanations for the existing gender treatment and link them to the implications for victims and the implications of women’s agency.

## 6. Conclusion

Sexual violence has existed throughout the history of humankind, across time and geographical borders, and particularly evident in times of war. Up until recently sexual violence has been considered an unfortunate consequence of war, something of which does not warrant particular interest. As stated in the introduction, sexual violence in war is commonly understood as an act of aggression perpetrated by men against women.

Bearing in mind the findings in the previous chapters there is a clear discrepancy between the way we work, the way we talk, and people's lives lived. We know both women and men can be both perpetrators and victims of CRSV. Yet, based on discourse found at different levels of society, including international legal frameworks, academic discourse as well as in UNSC reports and resolutions we sustain the notion that CRSV is an international security issue where men are the "natural" perpetrators and women are the natural victims. This creates a ripple effect that does not only sustain CRSV as a security issue but may help sustaining the system that creates it. We should rather consider CRSV a symptom of power, that for a long time have been held by men in a heteronormative world. This power is not absolute nor everlasting.

The immediate and simplest answer to my research questions is that there is a gendered treatment of CRSV in UNSC resolutions of reports, manifested through the almost exclusive consideration of women and girls as victims of SV. The academic articles are, while mostly focusing on female victims, more gender inclusive and nuanced. There is however, a very limited number of articles that investigate the topic of SV, suggesting a limited coverage in the subject matter in IR journals included in this study. Several scholars state that there is limited research into CRSV beyond a gender normative approach, which suggests that the findings of things research might represent assumptions and attitudes beyond the limited scope in this dissertation.

The gendered treatment found in policymaking and in the production of knowledge have several potential implications; The victims who are not recognised and thereby risk lack of access to health care services as well as legal aid. In addition victims of sexual violence often experience increased stigmatisation and exclusion from their community which is also pertinent for male victims. Another implication of the gendered treatment is reproduction and reinforcement of gender norms and treatment found at a discursive level held at the UNSC, and in national legal frameworks. The gender treatment might be explained by prevailing

hegemonic masculinities found at an international level, and in the relationship between the sensitivity of the issue causing many victims to remain silent and the academic interest in researching the topic.

Gender dichotomies are entrenched in our social, political and everyday lives, including weak- strong, protected – protector, femininity and masculinity. These dichotomies build on gender norms and assumptions of what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman – assumptions which inform our understanding of our social reality in a gendered way. However, these gender norms are only simplistic categories that do not represent every woman and every man. Yet, the assumptions are prevailing, often sustained through gender myths. For instance, the myth that all men are strong and capable of defending them, or that all men subjected to sexual violence are homosexual; for instance, that all women are naturally peaceful or that when women are prone to violence there is something wrong in their constitution as women. Sexually violent women exist, as the cases from Iraq and DRC exhibited and men are subjected to sexual violence as displayed in the cases from DRC, Liberia and Syria.

There is a clear gendered treatment of CRSV found in the UNSC, represented by UNSC resolutions and reports. Most resolutions, with a few exceptions, exclusively consider women and girls to be the sole gender subjected to SV. The exceptions being UNSCR 2106 (2013) that consider male victims secondary to that of females and UNSCR 2331 (2016) – as the most recent resolution to explicitly include men and boys– emphasise the victim's needs to access help through relief programs, legal aid and health care. When looking at the frequency of gender specific language of victims of CRSV held in UNSC reports, women and girls are mentioned 260 out of 274 times – representing almost 95 per cent of the cases.

This suggests a clear interpretation of women as victims of sexual violence. Only a few reports include the notion of perpetrators, in these few cases they are describes as male, but whether the overall perception of perpetrators of SV is gender specific or not is, difficult to determine because of the limited references to perpetrators. Some later trends might suggest a broadening of the notion of victims of sexual violence as the UN handbook on CRSV specifically calls for gender-sensitive language, however, with the motivation not to erase the experience of women – and women alone. The UNSC resolutions or reports that fail to acknowledge men as potential victims or women as potential perpetrators give the impression that any other truth is of no importance – a non-problem. This may also have legal implications as male victims in particular are rendered invisible through the discourse held at higher political levels and further substantiate lack of access to legal aid as well as criminalisation of same sex

acts. This legitimises the disregard for men as potential victims or women as potential perpetrators which in turn limits our understanding and knowledge of the issue. Therefore, language can be viewed as important in development of practices in global politics, it is thus a tool of power.

Findings from the academic articles in major journals are more dubious than the findings from the UNSC. While most academic articles explicitly mention women as victims, several articles also include male victims, as well as women as perpetrators. This might suggest a somewhat more gender inclusive approach to CRSV than held at the UNSC, however, these findings are not generalisable beyond this sample size, making it difficult to conclude the extent of gender treatment held in academic articles as representatives for the production of knowledge.

The gender treatment of CRSV found at the UNSC are suggestive of a broader gender treatment of CRSV as supported by several scholars cited in this dissertation. Gender treatment at an international level may have several implications. As mentioned above, the lack of health care services and legal aid accessible to male victims of SV as well as the potential aggravating their situation by increased stigmatisation; exclusion from their society and in many cases: fear of legal consequences of same-sex violations as 67 countries criminalise same-sex acts, making it problematic to report same-sex abuse as they may risk prosecution themselves. Another implication is that by only looking at women as potential victims, particularly feminist scholars risk to further substantiate hegemonic gender norms rather than challenge them. These implications affect both policymaking processes and the production of knowledge. Firstly, because it allows for no internal differences in one gender category, e.g., differences amongst women, and secondly by operating with the gender category of women and their differences to men both in theory and practices, reproduce dominant heteronormative ideas of gender.

The current gender treatment as presented in this dissertation may be caused by the persistence of gender myths, sustained by portraying violent women as unwomanly and disregarding male victims. This might also be further substantiated through feminist scholars' strategy of containment. It may also be explained by hegemonic masculinity whereas masculine traits are preferred to that of feminine traits by most genders. Hegemonic masculinity may sustain and reproduce a structure of men as the protector and women as the protected where this notion is sustained to avoid uncertainty. However, this does not explain the increased, while limited, research of male victims of SV or female perpetrators. Another potential explanation for the gender treatment of CRSV is the relationship between the sensitivity of the

issue causing many victims to remain silent and the academic interest in researching the topic. The fact that there is little to no data on differentiated needs across genders and other categories also suggests this is an issue which is not addressed on a higher political level such as UNSC

The way we talk about violence affects the way we act on violence. The assumed dichotomy that women are the sole gender exposed to sexual violence and men as the sole gender that perpetrate acts of sexual violence reproduces the (mis)understanding of sexual violence and reinforce false assumptions of gender roles. It also reinforces the narrative of women as a weaker gender and disregard men's experiences of such crimes. On a theoretical level this gender normative understanding of sexual violence condemns CRSV committed contrary to expected gender norms as unimportant and something of which does not warrant our attention, which also limits the scope of understanding of the issue of CRSV and how it is being tackled.

The issue of sexual violence, conflict-related or not, is still considered to be a women's issue, warranting attention, yet, with no great results in combatting the issue. In international politics and in the discipline of IR the gender expectations are often based on assumed group characteristics rather than on individual ones. This is also evident in the victim/perpetrator dichotomy. The binary gender categories are also heavily entangled in our everyday life. There is still very little research into the issue from a broader perspective that investigates the driving forces of sexual violence where both men and women are considered victims and perpetrators of sexual violence. Our knowledge of female perpetrators is very limited, largely built on assumed gender roles where violent women are considered an anomaly, not worthy of further investigation and understanding, and where men and boys are excluded from the discourse onto how to protect people from sexual violence. In a world where sexual violence is committed by all sexes, and where all sexes are subjected to sexual violence, there should also be research, policies and theories that reflects that fact.

### 6.1. Future research

Perceiving victims and perpetrators beyond gender norms is important to studying the topic from different angles as well as give equal emphasis to victims as well as recognize the challenges norms-based perceptions present in formal and informal settings. As mentioned in my limitations chapter, the experiences and social aspects of victims could be interesting to study as an extension to the topic that I have chosen. Social insight and description of experiences can enrich the quantitative data and help reasoning the importance of the topic.

Other topics that could be explored is the recognition of certain groups within a society and how it affects their position internationally in terms of CRSV. For instance, violence against or by members of the LGBTQI+ community; or for instance the lack of recognition of this group in many nations or generally the controversies of same sex account limits formal discussions on national and international political level, as well as the voices of victims and perpetrators. Another research area could also focus persecutions of sexual violence in both national and international context and analyse the language used during the persecutions as well as the length of the judicial and legal processes – for instance to investigate length of sentences for different crimes and if men and women face different sentences for similar crimes and see if there is any causality or not considering their genders.

A broader research field on CRSV beyond a gender normative approach is imperative, not only in the field of MDSV and female perpetrators, both of which are which is exceedingly inadequate, but its prevalence in times of war as such. Indeed, also into elements of CRSV such as motivations, differences in violences across time and place, strategies to combat it and the different needs of a variety of victims.



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## 8.1 Appendix

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI	AJ	AK	AL	AM	AN	AO	AP	
1	Article number	2	5	6	7	9	13	28	30	35	36	38	42	43	44	49	51	53	55	65	66	68	76	80	84	88	89	98	101	102	105	106	107	108	113	114	118	120	122	125	126	Total:	
2	Women & v. of SV	5	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	3	18	2	2	1	1	1	5	3	1	6	1	4	6	1	1	8	12	3	4	1	3	5	9	128			
3	Women & P of. SV																1					19																			25		
4	Men & v. Sv	2	1													1	1				4	7					2	2	4		1	1								44			
5	Men & p. SV						2			1					2			1				6					2	2	2	5	2			1						25			
6	girl & v. SV	1	3	1						1	2	1				2										4	1	1	6	5											46		
7	boy & v. SV					3																					1	3	3		6									13			
8	boy perp.												1																											1			
9	child & v.sv						1																		1				1												4		
10	GBV w	1																																							2		
11	GBV M	1																														2								4			
12	LGBTQI																												1												1		
13	*						1		2				2	2	2																											11	
14	*Int. personnel/government/security forces/UN peacekeepers/rebel groups p.																																										
15																																											

## 8.2 Appendix

	Mention of "..." in direct relation to SV	Reports on sexual violence											SV			
		Women & SV	Women (not WP&S/title, total)	Girls & SV	Girls (total)	Men & SV	Men total	Boys & SV	Boys total	Children & SV	Children	Individuals & SV		Individuals		
5																
6																
7		CRSV: VTC Open Debate Apr 21	2	8												13
8		CRSV: Open Debate July 21														8
9		Hindsight:Negotiations on Res 2467 on SV i Conflict May 19	2	12	1	3				1	1	1	1			43
10		SV in Conflict: High-level Ope Debate April 19	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				35
11		Arria-formula M.: Accountability for CRSV Feb 19		4												17
12		Arria-formula M.: Children born of SV in conflict Oct 18	1	10		1		1			29					21
13		WPS: Arria-formula Meeting on CRSV Oct 18	1	1								1				23
14		WPS Open Debate on SV Apr 18	3	12	2	3										21
15																
16		Syria Apr 18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1						4
17		*Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security Dec 17	1	2	1	1										2
18		Status update - January Monthly Forecast January 18	1													2
19		Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security Aug 17								1						1
20		Children and Armed Conflict Aug 17														4
21		*Lake Chad Basin (Africa) Aug 17	3	17	1	4										5
22		*Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security May 17	2	6	1	2										20
23		*Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security Oct 16	3	3												7
24		South Sudan Oct 16	3	3	3	3				2	4					11
25		*Thematic issue: Human trafficking Oct 16	1	1	1											3
26		South Sudan (UNMISS) Oct 16	1	8		1										1
27		Israel/Palestine Oct 16	1	6		1										4
28		*Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security	2	2	2	2										3
29		South Sudan 2016	1	1	1			1	1							1
30		Afghanistan * see Word doc.	3	11	2	6				1						31
31		Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security June 16	1	1						1	4					7
32		Central African Republic 2015	2	2						1	4					7
33		Central African Republic 2015	2	11	1	5										7
34		*Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security October 15	1	1	1	1		1	2		4					2
35		South Sudan 2015	1	1												1
36		Protection of civilians *female journalists	1	8	1	3										18
37		Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security April 15								1	21					2
38		Children and Armed Conflict March								1	3					1
39		South Sudan (UNMISS)	1	1	1	1										1
40		Côte d'Ivoire	2	7	2	4					1					4
41		Protection of civilians 2014	1	4	1	2					1					1
42		Afghanistan	1	1						1	2					2
43		Iraq	5	17	2	3										11
44		Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security October 14	2	3	1	1										2
45		Syria	1	1		1			1	5	7					9
46		DRC* Grey zone	1	3												1
47		Visiting Mission to Europe and Africa	1	12												18
48		Research report: WPS April 14	1	4		1	1	1	1							20
49		Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security April 14	1	1												1
50		Iraq								2	2					2
51		Children and Armed Conflict February 14									2					1
52		Central African Republic 2014								1	1					1
53		Visiting mission to Mali	3	13	1	1										6
54		Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security October 13								1	1					4
55		Somalia	1	1												3
56		Protection of Civilians	1	1							1					2

57	Status update July 13									2
58	DRC (concrete reported cases of SV)	1	4							24
59	Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security June 13							2	2	2
60	Children and Armed Conflict June 13						1	3		4
61	Status update May 13		5						1	18
62	W, P & S: Sexual Violence in Conflict and Sanctions April 13		2			1	1	1	1	16
63	Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security April 13	1	1					1	1	1
64	UNOCA/LRA December 2012	1	19		1					5
65	Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security October 12							1	1	1
66	Children and Armed Conflict September 12	1	1			1	1		1	2
67	UNSMIS (Syria) Aug 12	1	1			1	1		1	3
68	UNSMIS (Syria) July 12	1	7		1					11
69	Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security February 12	1	1							1
70	Libya January 12/written in December 2011		13	1	1	1	1			5
71	Thematic issue: Women, Peace and Security October 11	2	8						4	14
72	Cross-Cutting Report No. 2: Protection of Civilians July 11	15	34	10	15			4	40	325
73	Cross-Cutting Rep. No. 1: Children & Armed Conflict Jul 11	1	1	1	1					1
74	Status Update July 11	1	1							1
75	UNRCCA (Central Asia)	1						1	4	1
76	Central African Republic									7
77	Update Report No. 1: Protection of Civilians Unsure									5
78	DRC Unsure		1					1	3	1
79	Chad	1	1							5
80	DRC January 2011	1	1	1	1			1	1	1
81	Somalia Dec 2010	2	4	1	1	1	2		3	5
82	Women, Peace and Security: Sexual Violence in Conflict	4	15	1	2				5	23
83	C-C Report No. 3: Protection of Civilians in A. Conflict	23	253	10	32				6	26
84	Cross-Cutting Report No. 2: Women, Peace and Security	1	1						1	3
85	Aide Memoire	1	1							20 (inkl. rape)
86	Update Report No. 1: Democratic Republic of the Congo							2	9	2
87	Somalia	1	1					2	5	3
88	Status Update July 2010	3	12	3	3				9	144
										24
89	Cross-Cutting Report No. 1: Children and Armed Conflict							3	16	3
90	children in armed conflict	1	1							1
91	Central African Republic	3	12	1	2			3	51	32
92	Spe. Research Rep. No. 2: Res. 1906 & the Future of MONUC	1	1					1	1	2
93	Status Update Feb 2010	1	1							1
94	Update Rep No. 3: Peace Consolidation in West Africa: Guinea	5	11		2			4	6	17
95	Women, Peace and Security Jan 10 (posted Dec. 09)	1	1					1	1	1
96	Overview Jan 10			1	1					1
97	Sudan/Darfur Dec 09	2	2							3
98	DRC		4	2				1	4	5
99	Protection of Civilians Nov 09	1	3					1	1	
100	Status update Nov 09	1						1		1
101	Sudan	1	10	2	2				34	1
102	C-C Rep. No. 3: The SC' Role in Disarmament & Arms Control	1							2	17
103	Women, Peace and Security Sep 2009							2	8	2
104	Status Update Sep 09							2	13	7
105	Children and Armed Conflict July 09	3	14	1	1					48
106	Women, Peace and Security July 09	1	1						2	3
107	DRC	2	7					1	9	2
108	DRC May 09							5	228	14
109	C-C Report No. 1: Children and Armed Conflict April 09							1	25	4
110	Children and Armed Conflict April 09							1	2	2
111	Sudan	1	1						3	1
112	DRC May/April 09	1	1	1	1			1	1	2
113	Haiti	1	1	1	1				2	1
114	High Commissioner for Refugees Briefing	1	1					1	2	
115	DRC nov 08	1	1	1						1
116	Status update Nov 08	3	40					2	3	25
117	Update Report No. 2: Women, Peace, and Security	1	1	1	1				4	
118	DRC August 08	1	1	1	1			1	29	4
119	Update Report No. 2: Children and Armed Conflict July 08	12	38	7	9			4	14	76
120	Update Report No.3: Women, Peace and Security June 08	1	7	4	6			1	6	209
120	Update Report No.3: Women, Peace and Security June 08	1	7	4	6			1	6	209
121	Update Report No.3: Women, Peace and Security June 08	1	7	4	6			1	6	209
121	C-C Report No. 1: Children and Armed Conflict Feb 08	1	11	1	1				1	9
122	Women, Peace and Security Oct 07	1	1							2
123	Update rep. No. 2 Briefing by the HCHR to the SC... May 07	1	1	1	1					3
124	Côte d'Ivoire Apr 07	2	2					2	2	4
125	Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict 05	2	9	1	1					5
126	Women, Peace and Security Nov 05	3	9	1	1					6
127										
128	Total number of time mentioned 2018	170	78	7	5	143				403
129	Total number of time mentioned 2021	180	80	8	6	145				
130										
131	Number of reports on each gender 2018	77	40	7	5	50				179
132	Number of reports on each gender 2021	86	42	8	6	52				
133										
134										
135	Frequency of genderspecific language in total (not children)	274								



**Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet**  
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