The Democratic Republic of Congo Conceptualized as "The Rape Capital of the World": A Discourse Analysis

Cathrine Kleppe Bolseth

NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF LIFE SCIENCES
MDCCCLIX

The Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB). UMB consists of eight departments, associated research institutions and the Norwegian College of Veterinary Medicine in Oslo. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programmes) and assignments.

The Noragric Master theses is the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfill the requirements under the Noragric Master programme "International Environmental Studies", "Development Studies" and "International Relations"; a partnership programme with the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI).

Master in International Relations, March 2013
In partnership with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
cathrine.k.bolseth@gmail.com

Noragric Department of International Environment and Development Studies
P.O. Box 5003 N-1432 Ås
Norway
Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00
Fax: +47 64 96 52 01
Internet: http://www.umb.no/noragric

DECLARATION

I, Cathrine Kleppe Bolseth, 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... Date...

ABSTRACT

With its Women, Peace, and Security resolutions, and the establishment of the position of a Special Representative on Sexual Violence, the United Nations (UN) has positioned conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) on the international agenda as a central international peace and security issue. In recent years, there has been a proliferation of agencies and high profile initiatives that try to understand and address this complex issue, and consequently it has been publicly contemplated by an even larger group of academics, policy advisors and policy makers.

This thesis argues that central statements from UN officials, relevant resolutions and policy documents can be seen as discursive practices. How policies are formulated and statements are given can therefore be argued to have implications on the development of the international community's response to the widespread CRSV found in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). This thesis offers the argument that it is necessary to problematise the assumptions and beliefs that underpin the approach to CRSV, as these form the basis for UN policies and official positioning. Furthermore such assumption and beliefs typically have broad, but often hidden, impact on the discourse of CRSV, which is reflected in international policies and efforts on this area. This thesis highlights the fundamental conceptualizations that underpin the UN's approach to CRSV in the DRC. Moreover, it asks if the UN's narrative is cementing the structure of international discourse about this topic, and if it disregards fundamental elements of the picture. These issues are explored by applying the method of discourse analysis to the UN's first Special Representative on Sexual Violence statements that strengthen the current discourse, but also through mapping the main points of criticism against the established approach to this dehumanizing and destabilizing aspect of the DRC's on-going conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Inger Skjelsbæk for all her help in getting me on the right track. Thanks for believing in me and for introducing me to new perspectives. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Stig Jarle Hansen for support and constructive feedback throughout the process of writing this thesis.

Thanks to Iver B. Neumann, I am truly grateful for your insights and good advice. I also want to thank my former Bachelor supervisor Randi Solhjell for your help with putting me in contact with the relevant people. To all of you who took the time to talk to me and share your insights about your work and the topic for my thesis, I remain grateful to your assistance, and I could not have written this without your help and participation.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family: My mother, Christopher, Monica, Leo and Aaron for your appreciation and support. Furthermore I want to thank all of my good friends for believing in me, especially Linn for your academic thoughts and insights. I also want to thank my boyfriend and living partner Thomas, for your unconditional support and for putting up with me all these months. I could not have done this without you.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CRSV   Conflict-Related Sexual Violence
DRC   The Democratic Republic of Congo
FARDC   The Congolese National Army
HSR   Human Security Report
IO   International Organizations
IR   International Relations (discipline)
JAMA   The Journal of the American Medical Association
MONUSCO   The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC
R2P   Responsibility to Protect
S/RES/   United Nations Security Council resolution
SRSV   Special Representative on Sexual Violence
UN   United Nations
UNWOMEN   The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment
              of Women

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedicated to Jan Fredrik Bolseth
31.10.1956 - 21.02.1998

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which has been described as *the rape capital of the world*[1], the widespread use of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) over the last decade has threatened some of the most fundamental human rights. Indeed, in the DRC sexual violence occurs so often, and has become so common that some have even called it an epidemic[2]. A massive dedication of peace promotion efforts has been established to pacify this area of longstanding conflict: The United Nations (UN) has committed its largest standing peacekeeping force to the DRC, as well as considerable resources, policies and resolutions to combat the problem. The UN has placed CRSV high on its agenda, as signalled by the Secretary General's creation of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence (SRSV) in 2010. Underscoring the importance of this issue to the UN, this position reports directly to Secretary General and the Security Council. However, progress has been slow and the situation in the DRC today is still very much one of insecurity, human rights violations and conflict. Especially impacted are the eastern areas of the country, where the DRC possesses the abundant natural resources that are argued to be fuelling and prolonging the conflict (Baaz and Stern 2008: 58-64, Auteserre 2010: 62).

Today, twelve years after the first UN resolution on Women Peace and Security (S/RES1325), the engagement is still strong. The commitment has also become more institutionalized and a number of UN staff today work almost exclusively with CRSV. This thesis' focus is the UN's discourse on the issue of CRSV in the DRC, a discourse that has been manifested particularly through the UN's "Women, Peace, and Security resolutions"

---

[1] Wallström statement April 2010: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8650112.stm
[2] See Gettleman 2007.

(WPS) resolutions and the official statements to the Security Council given by the first ever appointed Special Representative to Sexual Violence (SRSV), the Swedish politician Margot Wallström, during her period in office[3].

DRC is currently seen by the international society as the "rape capital of the world", and therefore it is central to understand the UN discursive power over DRC, in relation to policy formation, direction of cash flows, and the nature of the country's international attention. Hence, how the problem is addressed in the DRC is important for how CRSV is understood and addressed. This thesis highlights the fundamental assumptions and conceptualization that underpin the UN's approach to CRSV in the DRC. An extensive analysis of the former SRSV statements that strengthen the current discourse will be carried out including thematic descriptions of the WPS resolutions. To further understand the impact of the UN's public discourse on this issue, this thesis will then map and analyse the structure of the critical response that it has generated in the international community.

1.2. Why study the UN's discourse on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence

With the "Women, Peace, and Security (WPS)" UN resolutions, the formation of UNWomen[4] and the establishment of the position of a SRSV, CRSV is now, more than ever before, viewed by the international community as a peace and security issue. There is a proliferation of agencies and high profile initiatives addressing the problem of CRSV, and consequently there has been more analysis of this issue than ever before. However, analysis of the UN's discourse on CRSV is scarce, and on CRSV and DRC apparently nonexistent. This despite the fact that many of the SRSV statements specifically mention DRC, and that the DRC has been identified as one the countries most impacted by sexual violence in our time[5]. This is potentially due to the fact that the UN's prioritization of this issue is relatively recent in comparison with its other human rights programs, and interest thus far has been focused on end-results rather then *how* the problem is being discussed. This thesis will link to previous

---

[3] From February 2010 until May 30th 2012 Swedish Margot Wallström has been UN's SRSV (UN News Centre 16. April 2012).
[4] The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, see URL: http://www.unwomen.org/about-us/about-un-women/
[5] The American Journal of Public Health study found that 1,152 women were raped every day – a rate equal to 48 per hour. That rate is 26 times more than the previous estimate of 16,000 rapes reported in one year by the UN (Peterman et al. 2011: 1060-1067).

research on the field of CRSV by addressing WPS in relation to International Relations (IR) and policymaking. However, instead of exploring the rhetoric and practice of the UN system, and the perceived lack of consistency between them, this thesis aims at critically examining the narrative provided by the UN and how it influences the general discourse on CRSV in the DRC. The primary means for doing so shall be a study of the WPS resolutions that have been adopted by the Security Council from 2000 and up until today, and of how the former SRSV, Margot Wallström, has spoken about CRSV in the DRC throughout her period. These particular statements have been selected because they establish some of the most central official articulation of the UN's approach to CRSV in the DRC, and hence have a large impact on forming UN policies and the general understanding of CRSV. By analyzing the most relevant SRSV statements on CRSV and the DRC, this thesis examines how the leading discourse on CRSV is manifested into an accepted description of reality, and on this basis the thesis will reflect on what implications the discourse has for the international policies and efforts on CRSV in the DRC.

This thesis is contextualized relative to and based on previous knowledge on CRSV in the DRC. The theories and findings I have built my studies on, especially some of the authors I have used for my Bachelor thesis[6] will be reflected in this thesis, as I bring with me some general "cultural capital" in the form of a solid ground of understanding, and it could be argued that this knowledge-base have made this research more feasible. However, from a discursive perspective it could also be argued that this experience and previous knowledge will (unintentionally) influence my perspectives, as they must be seen in conjunction to my previous knowledge as I already had a view and understanding of the situation in the DRC from the onset. When that said it is important to remember that the analyst is always to be found in an ideological relationship with the discourse attempted to analyze. Hence there is no objective or neutral perspective, and therefore each analysis and narrative presented could be viewed as an ideological act. The analyst does not only uncover reality, but with the influence of his or her perception is part in *creating* reality (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 31-33).

---

[6] Baaz&Stern (2010, 2008), Bøås (2008) Bøås & Dunn (2007), Cohen (2008), Dunn (2003), Pankhurst (2004), Prunier (2009), Skjelsbæk (2001), Solhjell (2009a), Solhjell (2009b), Watts &Zimmerman (2002), Wood (2008).

1.3. Research Question and Analytic Approach

The efforts from the international community have been substantial, however, sexual violence still happens in a large scale in the DRC. There already exists a considerable body of scholarly literature that explores this from various perspectives. Yet, the literature mainly focuses on the motivations behind the atrocities or tries to give an evaluation of the efforts done in order to combat CRSV[7]. Rather than looking at the intentions behind, or evaluating the outcome of policies, this thesis aims at complementing the insights found in existing literature by highlighting and problematizing the origins of the current paradigm for international discourse as manifested through UN resolutions and the former SRSV statements. How is the predominant formation of meaning and the horizon of understanding of sexual violence structured? What falls within and outside the prevailing conception? And, how has it been constructed as a natural and important part the international community's policy? These concerns lead to the following research questions:

1) How is the international discourse on conflict-related sexual violence manifested through the official statements done by the former UN special representative on sexual violence, Margot Wallström?

2) Can the narrative presented lead to unintended conceptualizations of conflict-related sexual violence, and what implications might this have for policymaking?

To be able to give a tentative answer, I adopt an approach based on discourse analysis. The aim of this thesis is to uncover the shared understandings that appear in the empirical material and the structures of meaning that are established, and because of this I have chosen to employ discourse analysis as the theoretical and methodological foundation for doing so. However, it is important to note that the thesis does not view the CRSV discourse as one-sided, as there exist different positions or ways of viewing CRSV, or its *representations* within the discourse. A representation can be explained as a perception of or a claim about reality, and with each representation there follows a package of concepts, understandings, meanings, and structures that is often manifested in texts (Neumann 2001: 33, 51, 60, 94,

---

[7] See for example Baaz & Stern (2010, 2008), Bøås (2008) Bøås & Dunn (2007), Cohen (2008), Dunn (2003), Pankhurst (2004), Prunier (2009), Skjelsbæk (2001), Solhjell (2009a), Solhjell (2009b), Watts & Zimmerman (2002), Wood (2008).

177). This discussion of representations will be addressed in further depth in chapter 2.2. *Discourse Analysis as Theory*. Identifying and presenting the different representations of CRSV is a significant part of the analysis as these representations form the discourse and establish important preconditions for the formulation of CRSV policy. I am particularly interested in how the discourse has been naturalized, defended, and perpetuated particular CRSV concepts and language, and how the discourse has contributed to the establishment the fight against CRSV as an important part of the international community agenda. An analysis like this may yield insights about the productive aspect of the discourse, how it works and what it does to reinforce itself. This kind of narrow, empirical investigation of the contemporary CRSV discourse in the DRC has, as far as is known, not been conducted before. There exist some analyses of CRSV, however they have other theoretical and methodological starting points[8]. Nevertheless the insights and empirical findings of these studies will complement the analysis contained in this thesis. In this thesis the focus will be on how the CRSV has been spoken and written about from the early 2000s until today in the WPS resolutions. Additionally, particular focus will be given to Margot Wallström's statements on CRSV in the DRC during her term as a SRSV. The underlying argument here, which will be elaborated in the analysis, is that in this period, a CRSV discourse as a strategic weapon of war, centering on gender/women and performed by men/soldiers, can be identified. The basic approach to this assumption is that these understandings and meanings about CRSV in the DRC are socially constructed in discourse, and have a fundamental influence on the international community's perceptions and frames of understanding. The discursively constructed meanings and understandings are therefore seen as preconditions for the adoption of policies, including the UN policies on CRSV in the DRC.

1.4. Thesis Outline

The thesis is divided into two parts; Part 1 is the theoretical part, with the first chapter encompassing its introduction, research question, analytical approach and what potential biases that could be criticized. Then chapter 2 addresses the theoretical aspects of this analysis and key theoretical assumptions and concepts are furthermore elaborated on. I also present

---

[8] Auteseere (2010), Baaz & Stern (2008), Bøås (2008) Bøås & Dunn (2007), Cohen (2008), Dunn (2003), Prunier (2009), Skjelsbæk (2001), Solhjell (2009a), Solhjell (2009b), Tryggestad (2009), Watts & Zimmerman (2002), Wood (2008).

discourse analysis as the methodological basis of this thesis in chapter 3, and provide greater detail concerning how the analysis will be conducted.

Part 2 contains the analytical and empirical analysis resulting from the scope defined in Part 1. It starts off by providing a historical overview and a short background report on the situation in the DRC. The thesis then looks at how the emergence and establishment of a distinct CRSV engagement discourse have been possible, and furthermore how a dominant representation has been formed since year 2000. An overview of the role of the SRSV and the "Women, Peace and Security resolutions" will form the basis for the later. Following is a detailed analysis of the UN's representation on CRSV in the DRC through the former SRSV Wallström's statements to the Security Council between 2010 and 2012. Chapter 6 discusses criticism of the UN's representation, and the rise of alternative representations. The conclusion draws together the findings of the analysis and discusses them in the context of the research questions, providing reflections and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This thesis is theoretically and methodologically based on a discursive analytical approach. The discursive method has been chosen because it is well suited to give new insights into how the UN's language on CRSV in the DRC has been manifested. This type of analysis focuses on detecting the discursive *preconditions* for the implementation of policies. Said in another way, discourse analysis makes it possible to study how discursively constructed opinions and knowledge influence decisions and practice, as these can have the consequence of making some policies possible and at the same time excluding others (Doty 1993: 298, Milliken 1999: 236; Neumann 2001: 83). Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that discourse analysis is a very diverse scholarly area, and therefore there exist several different and partly discordant theories on how it should be perceived, read and used (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 12, 16).

2.2. Discourse Analysis as Theory

In the following subchapters I intend to show how discourse analysis may function as a tool for textual analysis. Discourse analysis is a critical approach to "obvious" knowledge that implies that our knowledge of the world could not immediately be taken as objective truth. Reality is only available to us through the categories we make, and consequently our understanding of the world is a product of this categorization (Jørgensen &Philips 1999: 13). The intent by using discourse analysis in this thesis is to uncover the role discourse has in the production and reproduction of meanings and knowledge about CRSV in the DRC. To do so, it is important to first outline the theoretical basis for the thesis.

2.2.1. The scientific starting point of the thesis

Because a constructivist approach assumes that institutions can be a place of discursive

power, both as a product of, and as an agent of meaning-production it will also be the theoretical starting point for this thesis. Shepherd explains how leading discourses are made viable with arguing that dominant structures are formed through a temporary "fix" of meaning through discursive practices that forms a leading narrative, or a representation (Shepherd 2008a: 385-386, Neumann 2001: 33, 51, 60, 94, 177). It is these discursive practices and this leading narrative that will be analysed and criticized in the second part of this thesis. The basic perception of discourse theory underpinning this thesis is that it is a form of meta-theory as discourse analysis both draws on and is compatible with the view of social constructivism (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 13). Social constructivists see the social world as defined by, and dependent on context and therefore the world is open to change (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 13 and Guzzini 2000: 154). Guzzini (2000) explains it like this: *"(...) social constructivism is epistemologically about the social construction of meaning and knowledge and ontologically about the construction of social reality"* (Guzzini 2000: 147). Moreover, social constructivism is about questioning the natural and obvious, with the aim of showing how the social reality is just socially constructed (Esmark et al. 2005a: 24). With this starting point begin to understand that everything could have been different, if seen from another perspective or through other "glasses".

Social constructivists do not believe it is possible to make an objective and unchanging description of reality on the outside or free of the social context. This is because social structures and processes are perceived as vital in forming the definitions and understanding about the world and reality (Esmark et al. 2005: 15-17). In a social constructivist view, texts have no inherent or natural meaning, they are *given* meaning and made comprehensible and rational through an interpretation, which varies and are based on the social context in which the subject is read. Furthermore, shared structures of understandings and knowledge play a huge role in interpretation of the world. The world is defined and shaped through processes of social interaction and practice where shared truths are established (Adler 2002: 100; Guzzini 2000: 159). Stated differently, we create the social world though the "glasses" we put on, and our understandings and knowledge are based on how we interpret the world. Hence interpretation *constitutes* reality. The world is not objective, but subjective, socially constructed and specified through history and culture. However, these "truths" are not cemented, they are instable and constantly in change and being contested (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 13, Adler 2002: 95, 100, Guzzini 2000: 164). In order to reproduce structures,

practice through action is continuously repeated; therefore one way to change structures is to change practice (Adler 2002: 100, Checkel 1998: 326, 340).

The social constructivist approach is applicable to this thesis as it aims at identifying the underlying discursive narratives given on CRSV in DRC by the UN in order to see if alternative understandings and perspectives to the mainstream account exist. However, social constructivism today can be perceived as mainstream and not very controversial. As Andersen argues, it is almost difficult *not* to be a constructivist as the world is changing more and more rapidly and old categories are no longer adequate (Andresen 1999: 9). Besides, politics, policies and science are closely interlinked, and therefore it is important to take a step back and ask how this general notion about the field has been created. Instead of being action and output fixed, questions on how the field communicates, categorizes, problematizes, and argues is key to the social constructivist approach (Ibid. 12). The latter point is seen as particularly imperative and central to this thesis, and will therefore be explored further in the analysis.

2.2.2. *Reality*, a sociolinguistic construct embedded in discourse

There are many approaches to discourse analyses, and there does not exist one ruling definition of what discourse is. But a common feature for many definitions is that they all emphasize that the way people talk about the world is not a neutral, passive reflection of the world. Rather, language actively constitutes, reproduces and transforms the world (Bryman 2012: 528-529; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 1). Moreover, there is not one true understanding of reality but many, and a discourse refers to one of these (Bryman 2012: 529). Consider the synonyms of 'discourse': *dialogue, conversation, discussion, conversation, speech* and *talk*[9] All of them have a connection to *language*. It is difficult to find a clear and all-encompassing word or definition that describe what discourse is, and discourse analysis goes further than pure linguistic analyses that focus only on language and language structure (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 19). For the purposes of this thesis, discourse is not only language but also (institutional) practices and patterns of action. Because of this, the relationship between language and social practice, and how these influence and constitute each other should be explored (Neumann 2001: 18, 38, 80-81). Iver B. Neumann defines discourse in this way:

---

[9] Synonyms in Microsoft Word 2004.

A discourse is a system for the production of a set of statements and practices which, through inscribing themselves in institutions and appearing as more or less normal, constitute reality for its bearers and has a certain degree of regularity in a set of social relations. (Neumann 2001: 41)

Neumann explains how discourses produce practices, and concludes that they therefore constitute reality for their followers. Because of this, discourses have a great social importance as they often appear as natural and generally accepted beliefs of reality. Furthermore discourses can be perceived as structures that construct reality, as they produce knowledge, meaning, and narratives of the world. It is this knowledge and these narratives about the world that are the basis for decision making by individuals. However, there can be several competing discourses that to a certain extent cover the same social domain, and as a consequence inscribing the same concepts with different meanings (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 69, 83, 146). Neumann calls these competing discourses or "realities" *representations.* A representation can be seen as a set of binoculars through which we view the world. When holding a representation (carrying a specific set of binoculars), a structure of understandings, meanings, and concepts that define reality automatically tag along *(*Neumann 2001: 33, 51, 60, 94, 177).

Similar to their view on social reality, social constructivists consequently do not believe that language solely reflects an objective and material reality. Social constructivists rather see the construction and organization of language as fundamental and of great importance, as language is perceived to shape our thoughts and consequently set limitations for what we can and cannot do and think (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 18). The same applies for discourse theory, as it calls attention to the social nature of language. Similarly to the social constructivist thought, language is viewed as an important structure where meaning and understanding is created and formed (Hansen 2006: 17). *Reality* is shaped socially, and constructed through an ongoing collective process. Humans interpret the world differently and communicate with each other about their interpretations. The communicative processes occur most often through the medium of language, *reality* can therefore be described as a *sociolinguistic construct* (Mattern 2005: 583-5). Hence, official statements are the main subjects for this thesis' analysis. Andersen (1999) calls statements the "discourse's buildings stones" and explains that how statements are delimited and defined have an essential significance for how the discourse analysis will develop (Andersen 1999: 41).

2.2.3. Discourse productivity, and the potential for discursive change

Social constructivist theory perceives representations to shape and construct structures of knowledge and worldviews. Hence, discourses and representations have implications and relevance for human understanding of social reality, and can therefore be argued to be productive. Representations are the binoculars through which we give the world meaning, and they therefore produce the basis for our decisions and actions (Hansen 2006: 17, Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 17, 79, Neumann 2001: 23, 33, 38, 51, 60-63, 94, 177). It is argued that humans are not able to understand the physical and social world without the help of language. Based on this argument we gain an understanding that humans do not have direct access to the world as it really is, only a reflection of it as it appears for us. This reflection is an end result of interpretations, categorization, filtering, and inscription of meaning through frames that are discursively constituted (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 17, Neumann 2001: 23, 30-36). Because we cannot understand the world directly, the reality is always discursively mediated. As meaning is always constructed though discourses and representations, it could be claimed that discourses and representations are ontologically productive (Hansen 2006: 17, Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 17, Neumann 2001: 23, 38, 63).

To explain this further, discourses and representations can be seen to have the power to define what should be in the narrative and what falls outside the picture. As a result, they shape to a great extent what is considered truth and knowledge, and consequently influence social relations (Neumann 2001: 38, 133). Hence, language has an important role in the social construction of the world as we create representations of reality through language. The discourse theoretician, Norman Fairclough (2001), agrees on the latter point and he puts forward the argument that discourse is always a social object, produced by ideological agents who in turn operate under institutional and political constraints. Fairclough's goal is to reveal how language contributes to domination. He argues that in view of the fact that language fixes common-sense assumptions it can be ideologically shaped by those in domination (Fairclough 2001: 3). Two other discourse theorists are Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. While Fairclough focuses on change and language, Laclau and Mouffe have placed more focus on the discursive battle, based on the belief that discourse transformation happens in combat with other discourses. Central in Laclau & Mouffe texts is that "reality" is politically constructed, and that political actions, processes and articulations reflect social reality (Laclau 1990: 33, 60, 113, and Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 15). It is also why their approach is chosen for this

thesis as it is assumed that the conceptualization of CRSV in the DRC constitutes a discursive battle. According to Laclau and Mouffe, there are always ongoing struggle in relation to social phenomena, and therefore discourses never quite close completely because the meaning can never be locked, there are always alternative possibilities for meaning. The attempt to identify discourse in social processes is the discourse theory's task (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999: 34-36). Since they do not believe in pre-given characteristics of the world, Laclau and Mouffe can be called anti-essentialist and post-structuralist[10] (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 5, 33-34). Post-structuralism can be understood as a part of social constructivism (also called social constructionism). Post-structuralism recognizes that a given text can be understood in different ways, and it stands thus in contrast to structuralism attempts to be objectively scientific (Andersen & Kaspersen 2007: 322). Stated differently, post structuralists suppose that all social events and things can only make sense through discourse. In their view, discourse changes and reproduces the social world, therefore "changes in discourse are a means by which the social world is changed" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 9). Hence the social world is "constructed socially and discursively" and thus something unstable (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 5). Our understanding is therefore not objective (as we might like to think), but formed as our understanding of the world is shaped through discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 18).

2.2.4. Hegemonic discourses

If one representation dominates our understanding of reality, we can call it *hegemonic*. Hegemonies usually develop in order to sort out a struggled terrain, with the aim to organize discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 56). In other words, hegemonic discourse can be explained as a form of mainstream narrative, which means the manner in which people perceive, explain and frame the social world (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 135, 144). Laclau and Mouffe can be argued to position the hegemony term central in the discourse theory, and by doing this they re-establish discourse theory as political theory (Andersen 1999: 87). However these sorts of hegemonies are never consistent and closed, but always open, temporary and in flux as structures of knowledge are established and discussed through disputes and negotiations in the social community (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 34 and Laclau 1990: 17). In

---

[10] This orientation and distinct type of discourse analysis that draws on post-structuralist theory is also known as *the Essex School* (See: Townshend 2003: 129–142).

Laclau and Mouffe's view, any discourse is therefore always "an attempt to dominate the field of discursively, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre" (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 112). Nevertheless, hegemonic discourse might be constructed to a certain degree with a regular dispersal of meaning, as repetition of knowledge to some extent "locks" meaning (Ibid. 136-137). A discursive hegemony can be detected when the meaning and knowledge seem unchallenged, unproblematic and conventional. Hegemonic representations can on the basis of the latter be argued to be limitations for people's freedom and ability to be innovative, as they are the very foundation and starting point of human's realities, social positions and actions (Hansen 2006: 17; Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 17, 79, Neumann 2001: 23, 38, 63). Neumann however argues that humans have the possibility to object to the dominant reality signified in discourse as some degree of freedom of action based on intentions always exists (Neumann 2001: 87, 94, 103, 110, 150). The reasons for the persistence of discourse lies first and foremost in regularities in discursive practices, social practice becomes routine and therefore they are partly self-sustaining as they reproduce the discourse and exclude alternative practices. Therefore, there is always a potential for discourses to change, but it is often gradual and it usually involves conflict and struggle (Neumann 2001: 133, Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 14, 22, 67-71). Other more marginalized representations may be present when a discourse seems dominant, the job is to detect them and include them in the analysis in order to denaturalize the hegemonic representation. What is excluded from the dominant narrative can therefore be seen as key for a good discourse analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 39, 147, Neumann 2001: 52, 60).

2.3. International Organizations and Discourse

As contemplated in the previous chapter, a discourse can be understood as a structured, meaningful whole that has produced meaning and which can be established as a result of language. A discourse can therefore be seen as an unstable fixation of social meaning. It is never consistent, not a closed unit, it is constantly discussed and formalized in touch with other discourses. In this chapter this theory will be further elaborated through focus on the policy formation of international organisations and international relations

2.3.1. Institutions' role in shaping and reproducing discourse

Through the UN, the international community plays an active role both in the ongoing articulation and shaping of discourses. Laura J. Shepherd (2008a) argues that institutions are manifestations of discourses. However, she state that this also could be perceived the other way around, as discourses can be seen as (unintentional) "products" of institutions' social or political reality (Shepherd 2008a: 400-401). The link between institutions discursive terrain and their policy-formation is underestimated in Shepherd's view, especially since a discursive analysis of this terrain offers potential alternative narratives that might challenge and change policy-language (Ibid. 384). This is because the discourse analysis insists on analysing discourses as social practice as it considers texts (among other things) as a part of the social practice. Discourse, as all other social practice, plays a part in creating social relations, rules, identities, and hence the social reality is therefore not a direct reflection of how things are, but a part of social practice. Therefore, similarly to Laclau and Mouffe, Shepherd believes that discourse should be understood as politics (Ibid.). Because practice is seen as a manifestation of discourse, a problematic discourse can lead to inaccurate and unsuccessful practice (and politics) (Ibid.). This understanding of discourse applies directly to this thesis, as this thesis puts an emphasis on how the discourse on CRSV in DRC is manifested, and at the same time examines if the discourse can lead to an understanding that cements other rooms of interpretation. This leads us to take a closer look at international organizations' role by examining the way that they *define* problems and form policies in this area.

2.3.2. International organizations and the manifestation of discourse

International organizations (IO's) are commonly viewed, from a realist perspective, as ineffectual tools of states and a reflection of power distribution among states. Alternatively, from a liberalist perspective, IO's are often viewed as apparatus that aims for a global common good (Keohane & Martin 1995: 45 and Mearsheimer 1994: 7). As authors on international organizations, Barnett and Finnesmore see IO's from a social constructivist perspective: IO's are independent and influential players in their own right, players that are influenced by the social world around them. They are bureaucracies with their own interests, rules, culture, and logics of action, which can shape the world by creating new norms, social tasks, and interest (Barnett & Finnermore 2004: 6-10, 17). Hence the impact of IO's lies in

the way they *define* problems and form policies (Ibid. 4-6). Conceptualizing (sometimes in the form of heavy rhetoric and catchphrases) can reinforce and further distribute the mainstream narrative. Shepherd (2010) sees politics of IO's not as means to truth but rather as the activity of contesting truths. In her analysis of gender, violence and discourse, Shepherd states that "The International Relations discipline has a very clear idea of what constitutes an 'effective or active' intervention, and writing about language is usually not it" (Shepherd 2010: 134-145). She shows how researchers, through discourse analysis, question the taken-for-granted narratives, representations that are produced through production and reproduction of meaning that maintain, construct, and legitimize truths (Shepherd 2010: 134-145). Shepherd argues that even the simple formulation of a title is a discursive practice. For example there is a difference between calling a United Nations organ UNWomen[11], or calling it UNGender. Even if the words are used with the same purpose, they will have very different implications and meanings attached to them. The process of writing value into policy documents is therefore inescapable, thus, when we choose to speak about *women*, we are doing it with the consequence of excluding others (Shepherd 2010: 134-145). The example above illustrate how policies governing women and war can produce and reproduce gendered logics of equality and inequality, and classify and arrange social life through the policies governing women and war (Shepherd 2010: 134-145). These boundaries made of inclusion and exclusion is made by our assumptions, which often are shaped by the dominant or hegemonic discourse. But because the sense we make of policy documents is shaped by the reader's discursive context and the productive context of the document, its meaning is never fixed (Ibid. 147-148).

2.3.3. International policies as discursive practices

When one dominant discourse appears and manifests, it often makes people lose sight of other understandings and explanations for social phenomena, which has potential implications for policy making and the developments made in the field. As Carrol states, these "truths" should be contested: "The advantage of discourse analysis is that it reframes the object and allows us to treat it not as truth, but as one 'truth' held in place by language and power" (Carrol 2004: 261). International Relations (IR) scholars try to make sense of the world through exploring

---

[11] UNWOMEN among other things deals with CRSV.

how states interact in different settings. There is an intricate connection between the academic discipline of IR and the formulation of international policy, however "The conventional wisdom, within IR literature at least, tends to be that policy relevant work should be 'theory-lite'" Shepherd argues (Shepherd 2011: 513). Walt (2005) agrees with this view and argues that policy makers pay relatively little attention to the vast theoretical literature in IR discipline, and on the other side many IR scholars additionally seem uninterested in doing policy-relevant work. Many policy makers and IR scholars are not sure what the academic discipline has to contribute to the practical construction of international policy. There is neither much indication that policy makers pay great attention to academic writings on international relations. These trends are unfortunate, as "theory is an essential tool of statecraft" Walt argues (Walt 2005: 23-24). Walt explains this logic by stating that good theories can lead to good policies, and vice versa. To explain it more directly: when policy makers want to deal with a problem, they have to first go further into what kind of phenomenon they are facing. What IR theories can offer in this regard, is a picture of the world, a part of a bigger context in which the international community is operating. When policy makers accept, as a matter of principle, that their own knowledge and beliefs should be subject to continual revision, they can be better prepared for choosing beneficial courses of action and for effectuating change in widespread beliefs and understanding (Walt 2005: 30-42).

Shepherd (2008) argues that employing a discourse-theoretical analysis of international institutions and their actions for policy construction has positive consequences for IR as an academic discipline, but also for policy practice (Shepherd 2008a: 385). Shepherd (2010) shares Walt's opinion, and critiques the notion that theoretically driven work is of little use to policy makers and stakeholders. She thinks that language matters as words are constitutive of reality, therefore the formulation of a politics of language is one of the most directly practical efforts we have. She states: "In order to understand how best to implement policy we first need to understand 'how' a policy means, not just what it means" (Shepherd 2010: 143). A critical look on how understanding is expressed on the basis of our ideas about the world we live in is crucial when having this post-structuralist outlook of the world. Shepherd argues that a policy must be understood if it should be put into practice, and therefore discursive analyses can change contexts (Shepherd 2010: 143-145). Shepherd understands women, peace and security policies through the binoculars of post-structural theory, a theory which usually

does not establish causal connections in a positivistic manner, such as logical, empirical, and explaining causal mechanisms. The post-structural perspective argues that polices are constructing power at the same time as polices are a product of practices of power. All policies are manifested in a particular discursive context, and therefore post-structural theory encourages the investigation of the discursive practices that make up the reality most people take for granted. The purpose of an investigation would be to highlight the uncertainties and tensions within the discourse in order to question its content, and ultimately its effect (Shepherd 2011: 513).

From a poststructuralist perspective discourse analysis can be seen as a form of resistance against what is accepted as reality, with the aim of change. The way in which policies are formulated and statements are given is therefore important, as they have the ability to affect the production of meaning, and ultimately leading to the transformation of reality. "It is the partial and limited nature of fixity that allows critical space for engagement," Shepherd argues (Shepherd 2010: 156). However the 'discursive terrain' of the UN is as of today under-theorized. This thesis argues that UN statements and resolutions can be viewed as a sort of regular distribution of meaning, which forms a representation or a mainstream narrative. This narrative can be said to be dominant and therefore it influences the discourse to a large degree. Hence it also influences policymaking on CRSV in the DRC. This will be further elaborated on in the second part of the thesis.

2.4. Summary

The first subchapter has provided an overview of the thesis' theoretical starting point, the International Relations theory of social constructivism. This theory could be explained as a way to see the world, and in this thesis it is used to observe how the UN forms the understanding of sexual violence in DRC and what consequences it has for the overall debate within the field. Representations are not simply reflections of an already existing reality; they are a part in creating it. Hence language is not just a "channel" where information is communicated, language is rather an "instrument" which constitutes the social world, social identities and social relations (Hansen 2006: 1, 5, 10, 21, 28, 37). Therefore a change of

representation can imply social change. Representations only exist as long as they are made relevant in discursive and social practice, therefore practice, such as text consumption, interpretation, and discursive representations are two sides of the same coin (Ibid.). Consequently, changes in practice can lead to discursive changes.

Several leading theorists that are linking discourse to international politics and policymaking have now been presented. As the theoretical framework is now described, it is beneficial to look into the methodological premises of the discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 3: A DISCOURSE ANALYTIC METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will outline the philosophical foundations for knowledge creation and research design. Research methodology can be explained as the path towards the objective (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 125). It is important to document and explain the path in order illustrate how the results of this analysis have emerged. In a discourse analysis, theory and method are linked together therefore, the basic philosophical premise of using discourse analysis as a method in empirical studies has to be accepted (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 12). Similarly Jørgensen and Phillips describe discourse analysis as a "theoretical and methodological whole" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 4), and when applying discourse analysis it requires an interwoven relationship between theory and method. In the following I will try to explain how this interconnection has taken form in this thesis.

3.2. Empirical Material

This study will mainly focus on textual analysis, as the goal is to identify representations and their distinctive characteristics in order to demonstrate how the discourse and representations work, as well as to explain what they do. Delimitation is crucial in discourse analysis and the criteria used in the identification and delimitation process must therefore be clearly laid out (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 148). This is also the intention of this chapter. It is argued that identification and delimitation of discourses should be done based on reasoning, after taking the textual material as its starting point. It should therefore not be done a priori, based on previous experience and knowledge, but rather on the contrary, it should be done after a systematic reading (a posteriori) (Hansen 2006: 51, Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 148). The number of relevant texts and the extent of the UN material on CRSV is enormous, however it is less so when dealing specifically with CRSV in the DRC. Nonetheless, the analysis of the full quantity of material is still beyond the scope of a Master thesis. To carry out a proper discourse analysis it is required to conduct a relatively detailed and in-depth reading of the texts used, and therefore it is not possible to read and analyze everything on the field. The

material chosen for focused analysis are a set of selected statements made by former SRSV Margot Wallström during her period as a special representative to the UN, a language that is repeated, reused and therefore reinforced by the international community and transmitted into policymaking. This language is also reflected in the WPS resolutions initiated by the Security Council in advance of, and during Wallström's period, and for that reason the core of these resolutions will also be thematically laid out in the analysis. Ultimately, the resolutions are important and historic cases that could be argued to have significantly changed the international peace and security agenda, as they have opened up and broadened the category.

As laid out in the introduction chapter, this study is built around a broad analysis of the UN's CRSV language. In order to make viable analysis, I have decided to focus on the first SRSV statements during her term, from February 2010 to May 2012. My empirical material is therefore primarily from 2010 and up to 2012. The empirical material will also go outside this scope, as I include an in dept reading of all the WPS resolutions that have been made from 2000-2010. A scope like this prevents me from analyzing other UN official statements, other resolutions or the prehistory of UN's CRSV engagement. This is however done with intent as the thesis aspires to understand how the current ruling international representation is manifested through the former SRSV statements, in addition to seeing what falls outside the narrative she presents. However, we cannot be certain that all material of significance will be addressed for the analysis as the texts that are not included in the material can uncover unidentified representations or other discursive points that could have an impact on the end result (Hansen 2006: 85, Neumann 2001: 53).

Almost all the statements have been found in public articles and official statements to the Security Council using the web site portal of the UN, *Stop Rape Now*, where most of the SRSV statements are collected in a *Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict* page[12] where they are available through links to the origin webpage. I have focused on statements made on CRSV in general, and the statements that are especially concerned about the DRC. I have also verified the accuracy of the web site by locating and comparing as many alternate versions of the same material as are available via independent providers, but I have not found any statements from the SRSV that are not listed on the *Stop Rape Now* web page. While the risk of omissions remains, it does provide a level of security that I have a full

---

[12] see: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict

selection of all relevant statements made on CRSV in the DRC given by the SRSV. Because the phenomenon of CRSV has until recently gone unexplored as a peace and security issue, policy papers and publications from UN and NGOs addressing CRSV contain most of the information in this field. Moreover, as the majority of CRSV research, reports, statements and resolutions are available online, conducting Internet research has proven the most effective way to obtain current data and reports. Additional information accessed for this thesis has been found in books, journals and published reports.

3.3. Analytical Framework and Approach

On the basis of the theoretical and methodological considerations above, an analytical framework that will explain the use of empirical analysis will now be outlined. With such an extensive amount of empirical material, it has not been possible to include all articles and statements in detail for analysis. Therefore, the 64 statements have been read, summarized and broken into bullet points. After this, the information could be systematized into categories, which appeared apparent and natural through the first process of summarization. I decided to draw a selection based on the knowledge I had obtained which proved that all articles could be traced back to, or had the same message as the six official statements to the Security Council. This classification of the textual material allowed me to assess what concepts and links appear as central in the representation, concepts evolving around framing CRSV as a weapon of war (and thus a peace and security issue), in relation to gender, accountability, and main solutions proposed. After this I did the same systematizing and categorizing of the WPS resolutions, based on the categories I had made for the SRSV statements, and then I put them together as the resolutions gave the same main message and notions as the statements of the SRSV. After this analysis I was left with the impression that I had detected the UN's main representation of CRSV in DRC. This main representation consisted of elements: CRSV in relation to women, gender mainstreaming, combating impunity, CRSV as an international concern and a weapon of war, the Congolese state as the primary responsible party, and the slow progress in combating CRSV in the DRC. All these elements will be discussed later.

As said before, delimitation in discourse analysis is crucial, however, the methodological

literature does not present many methodological guidelines for how exactly to do this. Neumann underlines that identification and delimitation must be defended as reasonable in each case, and that connection with the actual discursive terrain is important (Neumann 2001: 55). The reason for picking the six statements by the SRSV to the Security Council for a detailed analysis is first and foremost because they appear as central, as they are frequently referred to by other public texts, and after a thorough reading it became apparent that they can be said to represent the main message and key terms used by Wallström when she addressed CRSV in the DRC in other forums outside the Security Council. This insight was made after discovering that she, for the most part, repeats herself in most statements made outside the Security Council, as what she is saying is material repeated from these six official statements. I therefore concluded that they appear as representative for the UN's representation, as they clearly articulate the central concepts and discursive constructions also found in the WPS resolutions[13] .

Discourses and representations automatically leave an imprint in the texts they are detected in, and therefore identifying these particularly prominent discursive constructions, and the meanings they create in the textual material, is key. The analysis elaborates the key conceptions, terms and notions laid out in Wallström's statements, but also goes further, as it analyses certain words and phrases used in the statements in order to detect and identify some of the discursive constructions. When carrying out the analysis, I have focused on discursive characteristics such the written representations, the discursive constructions constituting the representations, and the identification of key terms. By identifying the discursive structures and patterns in language, the constructions that are reproduced can be identified (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 35-40). Because texts articulating the same representation often draw on the same key terms, and bestow them with similar meaning, an identification of some of these key terms will also be useful (Jørgensen & Phillips: 1999, 39 and 154). However, mapping all key terms is not possible within the confines of this thesis, nevertheless I highlight them[14] when they seem to capture important aspects of the discursive construction. On the basis of these analytical tools, the analysis demonstrates what concepts the UN's representations on CRSV in the DRC have been organized in the SRSV statements, and how the representation has been established and reproduced in statements and resolutions.

---

[13] I have here followed the discourse analysis guidelines presented by Lene Hansen (2006: 82, 85, 90) and Iver B. Neumann (2001: 80-85).

[14] Key concepts will be outlined in bold text in the analysis.

After the analysis I identified some of the distinct and opposing representations on CRSV in the DRC in order to capture the main positions within the debate. Hansen (2006: 52) argues that the representations identified should be clearly distinguished from the representation already detected, and therefore I strive to recognize other positions that give different knowledge and construct different identities. The implications of the representation will also be assessed: how it has naturalized and legitimized the UN's narrative of CRSV, how it has defined certain actions as appropriate and excluded others, and how it has contributed to placing CRSV on the international peace and security agenda. I will also touch upon the issue of identities, suggesting what identities and self-images the discourse and its representations have inscribed DRC with. To sum up, this thesis will present a closed reading and give an in-depth, micro level analysis of the most central texts within the UN on CRSV in the DRC.

With the theoretical and methodological framework presented, the next part of this thesis will outline the ways in which the international community recognizes the realities of CRSV. This is important as these realities have direct and material implications for how they are acted upon.

CHAPTER 4: FRAMING THE DISCOURSE ON CONFLICT-RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE

4.1. Introduction

Conflict-related sexual violence is not a new phenomenon, it has appeared in most wars, but contrary to its historical context, when it was seen as a part of the "spoils of war", it is today lifted to an important position on the Security Council's agenda as a peace and security threat (Skjelsbæk 2009: 73). As Ayiera (2010) describes it, it went "from footnote to first page" (Ayiera 2010: 9). This was especially seen after the armed conflict in Bosnia in 1992, where rape was used extensively within the overall atrocity of ethnic cleansing, and the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, which both caused a global outrage and brought sexual violence into international discussions (Ibid. 9-10).

The DRC has received attention over the last decade for its exceptionally high prevalence of CRSV[15], and in this part of the thesis I will argue that a steady formation of a new international discourse has appeared on CRSV through policies, documents, guidelines, treaties, declarations, resolutions, rapports and mandates[16]. Due to the brutal war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the genocide in Rwanda, both of which were characterized by very high levels of CRSV, in the mid 90s there was a rise in the commitment to change the mainstream thinking of sexual violence as something unfortunate, inevitable and a side effect of war and conflict (Skjelsbæk 2009: 72). However it could be argued that the discursive shift UN was undergoing first happened after the WPS resolutions, as the approach to protect civilians and the conceptualization of sexual violence changed from being something internal to become an

---

[15] Two in five women and one in four men in eastern region of the DRC report that they have been victims of sexual violence, according to a cross-sectional, population-based study. 74% of women and 65% of men said that their assault was related to the conflict (Johnson K et al. 2010: 553–562).

[16] The *R2P* (Responsibility to Protect) mandate was formed in 2005, as a direct consequense of UNs "failure" to protect civilians in the genocides and ethnic cleaning in Bosnia and Rwanda (See UN web-page: http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml).

international peace and security threat. This change became embedded in the resolutions. The Security Council Resolution 1820 (S/RES/1820) and the Security Council Resolution 1888 (S/RES/1888) especially led to more progressive measures, but also represented a commitment by the UN to address this issue, as UN departments and specialized agencies of the UN system began to work specifically with CRSV. Furthermore S/RES/1820 called for reports from the Secretary-General that would outline a plan of action to address sexual violence in an incorporated and methodical manner throughout the UN system. Both the S/RES/1820 and 1888 request the Secretary-General to include this issue in his dialogues with parties to armed conflict, and both resolutions require that CRSV should be addressed in peace negotiations.

In the next chapters, the dominant representations of this discourse will be presented. It is first and foremost the narrative given through the former SRSV, Margot Wallström that will be investigated, but also the main message of the WPS resolutions will be laid out, and then the oppositional representations and their criticism. This will be done with the aim of giving an overview of the debate and language used in relation to this issue. But first I will both try to shortly to explain why the DRC has in 2012 been rated the second least happy and prosperous place to be a human in the world[17], and offer an understanding for why I have chosen this country to be the focus for this thesis.

4.2. Democratic Republic of Congo, "The Rape Capital of the World"

The DRC has been in a conflict situation for more than a decade and has been classified frequently as one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world. CRSV is one of the main characteristics of this crisis (Johnson et al. 2010: 553, 585). The enormous country is today recovering from a conflict that has been called the deadliest war since World War Two[18], and even if the conflict can by some be said to be formally over, the DRC is still in a conflict-state (and has been so since the war ended), especially in the eastern parts of the country (Prunier 2009, Auteserre 2010: 2). The (post) conflict situation in the DRC is perceived by many

---

[17] *Legatum Institute's Prosperity Index* has ranked 142 countries (96% of global population) on 89 indicators in 8 categories such as education, government and economics. Data from 2012 was released 13. Of January 2013 (see: http://www.prosperity.com/KeyFindings-1.aspx).

[18] The country have expereienced two large scale wars, one in 1996 and the second in 1998 (Auteserre 2010: 1).

scholars as one of the most complex conflicts of our time, with an estimated one thousand civilians dying every day, mostly due to malnutrition and deceases that could be prevented with stronger economic and social structures (Auteserre 2010: 2).

After "Africa's first world war" formally ended, a new government was reinstated in 2003, and in 2006 DRC had its first democratic election in over forty years. The election was held without much violence, but there was no peace process after the election, and in the eastern parts of the country the violence is still very much present, insecurity has grown and many people are living in refugee camps. The underpaid (or not paid at all) national army and various rebel groups are living off the people and the enormous natural recourses that the DRC posseses, natural resources like the mineral Coltan[19], used in electronic devices and most cell-phones and computers. Mass rape is being used deliberately as a tactic to secure control of mines, material supply and trading routes in strategic areas in the prosperous eastern part of the country (Baaz and Stern 2008: 58-64).

The DRC was considered an economic and cultural wasteland under Leopold II (1908-1960) who described the Congolese people as "savages in a backward country". Dunn argues that the discursive landscape from early notions of the DRC like the "Heart of Darkness[20]," and new notions the last decade like "New Barbarism," have created a discursive framework for the international community and potential political decisions and policies to work within (Dunn 2003: 16). Dunn furthermore claims that these narratives of the DRC have allowed the negative development there to grow. His argument is that history and the current situation is influenced by what he perceives as the hegemonic discourse, which describes a chronically crisis-prone and inherently unstable country. Dunn perceives these narratives of the DRC as a cancer destroying the entire region (Dunn 2003: 141). In western media the Congolese people have often been described as anarchic, prehistoric and barbaric, and the soldiers in the DRC have similarly been portrayed as cannibals and merciless murders. Dunn points out that while most people in the western world know very little about the DRC, many people still think they know the country because of the distribution of powerful (negative) images (Dunn 2003: 4). The narrative given is also very much gendered: men are described as ruthless perpetrators that *have* to rape because it is in their *nature*, and women are commonly described as passive

---

[19] The DRC hold 80 per cent of the worlds coltan, in addition to gold, diamonds and oil (Baaz & Stern 2008).
[20] "Heart of Darkness" (1889) is a story written by Joseph Conrad of a journalist who becomes manager of an ivory transportation station in the DRC and makes himself being worshipped by a tribe of savages.

and helpless victims (Ibid.) This representation has resulted an international focus that looks in the wrong direction; the political and economic context of the conflict is often forgotten Dunn argues. Baaz and Stern (2008) agree with this viewpoint, and state that the conflict in DRC has many underlying causes, like the right to land and the huge competition internally and externally for the country's enormous natural resources, leading to everyday violence happening in a large scale for the local population in the strategic important eastern areas of the country (Baaz & Stern 2008: 62).

Sexual violence is so prevalent in the DRC that it has ignoble distinction of having on record some of the worst cases CRSV known in modern history (HSR 2012: 31). A recent report from Heal Africa identified 2517 survivors of CRSV in North Kivu, the eastern parts of the DRC, in the first half of 2012 alone (Heal Africa 2012: 4), it could therefore be argued that the DRC is a natural focal point of this thesis. The violent attacks often take place in remote villages, and are difficult to combat because of poor infrastructure. Violence towards the local population is widespread and many of the perpetrators are from the Congolese National Army (FARDC), an army that is based on previous combatants from several other armed militias (Baaz & Stern 2008: 57-58). The sexual violence perpetrated is often incredibly brutal and often takes place in public, and gang rapes by multiple perpetrators are not uncommon (Ibid.). Furthermore the social stigma and exclusion that survivors of sexual violence experience are said to often be worse than the actual attack itself: sexual violence breaks marriages, families and kinship ties, and it destroys local communities that are too weak to provide leadership or support to victims. DRC has no legal abortion, and consequently rape produce children born of rape. These children are often rejected and abandoned by their families and communities and are easy pickings for recruitment by militias (Kelly et al. 2012: 585).

When applying the term CRSV it is important to notice that this term does not only include rape, but also forced prostitution, sexual slavery, forced impregnation, forced maternity, forced termination of pregnancy, enforced sterilization, and trafficking (Cohen 2009: 3). However the most commonly studied form of CRSV is rape. The reason for using the term *conflict-related* and not sexual violence in armed conflicts/war is that DRC is in a post-conflict situation, where some parts of the country experience violence in a large scale, but it cannot be classified as war. In the following chapter the emergence and establishment of a distinct discourse on CRSV in the DRC will be laid out and explained.

4.3. Putting Conflict-Related Sexual Violence on the International Agenda

The Human Security Report (2012) states: "stopping sexual violence in today's civil wars is perhaps the greatest challenge confronting the UN's protection of civilians agenda" (HSR 2012). Sexual violence that occurs in conflict can be viewed as a crime against humanity, a war crime and as an element of genocide[21]. Furthermore sexual violence is a public health problem in terms of physical, psychological and social well-being, both immediately and many years after the assault (Watts and Zimmerman 2002: 1232-1237). The first documents that acknowledged mass rapes as a crime against humanity were *The Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal in Yugoslavia* (ICTY) in 1993, and *The Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal in Rwanda* (ICTR) in 1994[22]. Then, rape was acknowledged as a war crime in 1998 (Ayiera 2010: 9-10). The UN was strongly criticized to have failed to protect the civilians in the genocides in both Rwanda and Bosnia, and in October 2000 the first WPS resolution was formed, Security Council Resolution 1325 (S/RES/1325). This resolution broke new ground in establishing the needs and rights of women as a part of the UN peace and security agenda. The five WPS resolutions by the Security Council have all been major achievements in recognizing and bringing attention to CRSV and they provide the central tools in the efforts to fight these crimes (Solhjell 2010: 5).

The CRSV discourse that then emerged after the first WPS resolution did not spontaneously appear. The UN acknowledged the link between war and sexual violence before 2000, however with the WPS resolutions it was the first time that these issues were discussed in the Security Council. Therefore it is argued in this thesis that the establishment of a distinct WPS discourse and a dominant representation can first and foremost be detected in the decade following the WPS resolutions. In line with the above, the rape epidemic in the DRC slowly attracted international attention over the past decade and international measures were then institutionalized through policies and resolutions. S/RES/1325 recognized that conflict has a disproportionate impact on women; women should be more represented in all organs and in peace processes the resolution state (S/RES/1325). This resolution has to a great extent been the "benchmark resolution", providing a foundation for the WPS resolutions that came later. In June 2008, the S/RES/1820 was adopted. It confirmed the Council's readiness to

---

[21] See article 7 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court:
http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/romefra.htm
[22] These commitments were backed by the first conviction ever of a war crime suspect, Jean-Paul Akayesu, in 1998, for rape as a crime against humanity and an act of genocide (Ayiera 2010: 9-10).

address more systematically on its agenda the use of sexual violence in conflicts. This resolution acknowledged sexual violence as a potential weapon in war and also stated that actions like this can constitute crimes against humanity (S/RES/1820). Through Resolution 1820, sexual violence became a part of the international peace and security discourse. The phenomenon was no longer a private matter for the victim, but a threat that affects us all (Skjelsbæk 2009: 73). Even though this had been acknowledged before by the ICTY and the ICTR, it was with this resolution that CRSV was lifted into the UN's Security Council agenda. Two resolutions came the year after, in 2009, first of which was the Security Council Resolution 1888 (S/RES/1888) in September, which established mechanisms for the UN to address sexual violence in conflict (S/RES/1888). Then in October the Security Council Resolution 1889 (S/RES/1889) resolution was formed, which stated that women's protection and empowerment should be taken into account in post-conflict needs assessments and planning (S/RES/1889). Perhaps influencing the adoption of these resolutions, 2009 was a year of especially widespread use of CRSV in the DRC, with the eastern areas of the country experiencing several mass rapes. Security Council Resolution 1960 (S/RES/ 1960) is the most recent of the WPS resolutions. It was adopted in December 2010 and specifically deals with CRSV. This resolution requires the Council and member states to honour commitments to combat sexual violence in conflict, investigate abuses, and hold perpetrators to account (S/RES/1960). An overview of the WPS resolutions is as follows:

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Resolutions:

2000	S/RES/1325	The "mother-resolution"
2008	S/RES/1820	First resolution to address CRSV
2009	S/RES/1988	Re-emphasize S/RES/1820 and Member States responsibility
2009	S/RES/1989	Women's participation in peacebulding and peacekeeping
2010	S/RES/1960	Steps for prevention of- and protection from, CRSV

Shepherd argues that the S/RES/1325 was an unconscious product of particular conceptualizations of gender and security (Shepherd 2008a: 385). Shepherd furthermore contests what she sees as the discursive construction of gender in the WPS resolutions, and she argues that the S/RES/1325 assumes that gender is synonymous with women, and that gender in this context entails a *need* or *lack* (Shepherd 2008b: 171–2). She argues that this is done without interrogating the discursive terrain of the institutions in question (Shepherd

2008a: 385). However, Shepherd identifies a break and a shift in the organizational logic of the discourse after S/RES/1820 and up until today, suggesting that the international community is beginning to recognize women more as *real* actors (Shepherd 2011: 515). It could be interesting to ask *why* the Council writes about women in the ways that it does. This discussion is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis, as this study seeks to find the dominant representation on CRSV in the DRC provided by the UN former SRSV Margot Wallström.

4.4. Establishment of a Visible Representation through the Appointment of a Special Representative on Sexual Violence

On 2 of February 2010, Margot Wallström became the first-ever Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSV)[23]. Before this position, she had been appointed to ministerial positions in Sweden following senior positions in the non-governmental sector and within the European Commission. She was chosen among other things for her long, outspoken and consistent advocacy for the rights of women[24]. It was in the S/RES/1888 (2009) that the Security Council asked UN Secretary-General to appoint a SRSV. In the same resolution they announced the SRSV's responsibility and tasks, which included providing a coherent and strategic leadership while working to strengthen existing UN coordination mechanisms. Furthermore, the SRSV was tasked with engaging in advocacy efforts (i.e. with governments, parties to armed conflict, civil society) in order to address CRSV. Moreover the SRSV was mandated to promote cooperation and coordination of efforts among all relevant stakeholders, and primarily through the inter-agency initiative *United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict* in order to reinforce coordination and avoid overlap at the headquarters and country levels (S/RES/1888). Wallström herself later said that she has seen her role as helping to build the capacity of governments to meet their obligations, and to uphold international law "so that women – even in the war-torn corners of our world – can sleep under the cover of justice" (Wallström 27.04.2010). Wallström said in her last official statement to the Security Council that she has striven to remain relevant to the Council during her two years as a SRSV and that she has wanted to "give rape a history, in

---

[23] In June 2012, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Zainab Hawa Bangura as Wallströms successor. Banguro is former Minister of Health and Sanitation in Sierra Leone (UN News Centre 2013).
[24] Personal information from UN News Centre`s Interview with Margot Wallström, November 2010 (see: http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=26).

order to deny it a future" (Walström 23.02.2012). She has also continuously pointed to the importance and relevance of the SRSV position during her term by arguing that CRSV was not appropriately captured under existing categories before the SRSV position came into place in 2010 (Wallström 16.12.2010).

During Wallström's two-year term as SRSV she has given a total of 64 written statements, six of which have been to the Security Council. The remaining 58 have been given in or to other forums such as op-eds and interviews in newspapers, or regional and national conferences and seminars cited in media. She gave 20 statements (four of them to the Security Council) in 2010, in 2011 she gave 34 statements (one of them to the Security Council), and in 2012, in which she held her position until the end of May, she gave ten written statements (one of them to the Security Council). All 64 of these statements have been carefully studied for this thesis. This has been done by breaking them down into summaries of bullet points that later were categorized. These categories illuminated the main topics that were considered important in these texts, and what language, key words and notions have been used to express them. The following table provides an overview of the analytical process employed:

Wallström's statements during her two year term as a SRSV (2010-2012):

2010:   20 written statements (4 of them to the Security Council)
2011:   34 written statements (1 of them to the Security Council)
2012:   10 written statements (1 of them to the Security Council)

Total of written 64 statements:

6 to the Security Council
58 given in or to other forums

All 64 statements have in the analysis been carefully studied and broken into summaries of bullet points that has been systematized and categorized (the same breakdown of text into summary of bullet points, followed by a systematization into categories was made with the WPS resolutions).

The main themes identified evolved around how CRSV should be perceived (as a weapon of war and a national and international peace and security question), placing of blame for continued occurrence of CRSV despite the UN's efforts, and the perceived solutions to CRSV in the DRC. Some core words and notions detected within these themes were: *gender mainstreaming, empowerment, gender-responsive, gender balance*, *the rape capital of the*

world, a weapon of war, and *war on women's bodies.* As we have seen in Part 1 of this thesis, the construction of a (hegemonic) discourse is manifested through how things are expressed. If we put this theory into practice and study the international discourse on CRSV we see a discursive shift happening before and after the year 2000 when the first WPS resolution was made (that can be argued to have been reaffirmed by the UN when they appointed a SRSV in 2010). Before this shift, sexual violence was not given priority on the Security Council's agenda. After the WPS resolutions were adopted, CRSV quickly became an international peace and security issue, high on the agenda and generating greater international concern.

4.5. Summary

The UN resolutions and the new position of SRSV laid the basis for what one might call a new discourse on CRSV in the UN after year 2000, a discourse hat has framed our understanding of the situation in the DRC. The main argument of this distinct discourse centers on CRSV as a weapon of war, which creates new attention and produce foundation for new understandings and associations in relation to security. In the following chapter I will show how dominant representations have been repeated and reproduced in the SRSV official statements to the Security Council. I will complete that examination by outlining the concepts and meanings these representations center on. These representations and their inscription in official discourse will be subject for analysis in order to find out how the predominant formation of meaning and the horizon of understanding of sexual violence are put together. Additionally, we shall see what falls within and outside the prevailing conception that is manifested through Wallström statements and the WPS resolutions.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF UN'S REPRESENTATIONS ON CONFLICT RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE DRC

In this chapter I will present the main lines of how the former SRSV and the Security Council WPS resolutions speak about CRSV in the DRC. Margot Wallström's official statements to the Security Council during her term have been deconstructed, systematized and categorised. The same has been performed on the WPS resolutions in order to get a picture of UN's take on the phenomenon, to see *what* they emphasise, but also *who* they are addressing. The argument is that a distinct discourse can be identified through the UN representations that evolves around CRSV as a weapon in war and a peace and security threat and which is cemented by the SRSV and the WPS resolutions[25]. We will take a closer look at the UN's interpretation of CRSV and how this understanding has been constructed as a natural and important part the international community's policy.

I have analysed 64 written statements given by Wallström on CRSV and the DRC in the period she was SRSV to the UN[26]. Through this initial overview process I came to realize that most of the texts cited back to the six statements given to the Security Council, and that she for the most part was only restating what she had said in those statements in other forums. These six official statements to the Security Council can consequently be said to be the *core-texts* in the period Wallström was SRSV, as the other 58 statements lead back to and/or have the same contents of these official texts. Based on these findings, and the need respect the scope of this document, the analysis material was narrowed down to these six texts[27]:

---

[25] The two representations (provided by the SRSV and the WPS resolutions) to a great extent present the same narrative and main lines, focus areas, and takes use of the same key words and notions.

[26] Margot Wallström was UNs SRSV from February 2010 until end of May 2012 (See: http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=41788&Cr=sexual+violence&Cr1=#.UIgSKc2nduE).

[27] See Wallströms statements 23rd of February 2012, 23rd of June 2011, 16th of December 2010, 14th of October 2010, 7th of September 2010, and 27th of April, 2010.

The number of statements to the Security Council each year declined since Wallström started her position in 2010. In that first year, she made 4 statements to the Council. The following two years, in 2011 and 2012 she only made two, one each year. After Wallström was appointed SRSV and the last WPS resolution in late 2010 there have not been any more resolutions made concerning the WPS field. However, I will include an overview of all the WPS resolutions made, even though they were made before the establishment of the SRSV position. I include this material to provide a fuller picture of how the UN speaks about this issue. In the next subchapters, the main categories of my finding will be presented. These categories are found to demonstrate the main lines of the dominant representation of the UN on CRSV in the DRC. The SRSV key terms, notions, and concepts will be discussed within each theme.

5.1. Discourses of Behaviour

Sexual violence was first acknowledged by the Security Council as a deliberated tactic of war in S/RES/1820. Wallström has said that this acknowledgement has been particularly critical because it then calls for consideration by the Security Council, in line with the UN Charter (Walström 23.02.2012). Before sexual violence was internationally acknowledged as a weapon of war, it was often characterized as something cultural or traditional. But "harmful traditional practices" or "gender-based violence" does not reflect sexual violence as a method of ethnic cleansing, or a tactic of war and terror, Wallström argues. It is far from being a "niche" issue she says, it is part of a larger pattern used by political and military leaders to achieve political, military and economic ends (Wallström 27.04.2010). Furthermore she states that crimes of the calibre found in the DRC are no accident – they occur out of command in order to gain control (Wallström 23.06.2011). It is an issue that warrants specific

consideration, and therefore it should also be appropriately acknowledged (Wallström 16.12.2010). "Rape is not a "fact of human history", it is often **planned** and therefore **predictable**" (Walström 23.02.2012).

In the statement above, Wallström stresses that CRSV is not comprised of random acts, but are on the contrary systematic and is used deliberately to achieve a goal or set of goals. It could therefore also be prevented Wallström argues. Until the last decade sexual violence was perceived as either opportunistic or inevitable, and this myth was reinforced and reproduced by traditional perceptions. These are dangerous notions Wallström points out. She argues that the fact that the UN has traditionally analysed sexual violence from a gender, reproductive health and development perspective, has made international society overlook important security factors and dangerous actors (Wallström 27.04.2010).

> *There is a sense that rape leaves the perpetrator without blood on their hands – that it can be put down to "biological need" or the "fog of war". So we must be clear: mass rape is no more **natural, inevitable** or **acceptable** than mass murder.* (Wallström 27.12.2010)

By stating that rape is not natural, not inevitable and not acceptable, Wallström take a strong, almost authoritarian stance against common perceptions and attitudes. She furthermore puts this issue in the spotlight by linking it to mass murder. By using these particular words, she emphasizes that these acts should not go unnoticed. However, even after the adoption of resolutions that acknowledged rape as a tactic of war, rape victims experience judgment and shame (Wallström 16.12.2010). "Rape victims are the only casualties of war a nation <u>dishonours</u>, rather than honours. By attacking shared values, sexual violence destroys not only people, but their <u>sense of being a people</u>" she states (Wallström 16.12.2010). She further talks about the mass rapes in Walikale, a rape of 387 women, men, and children, committed by a coalition of armed groups in Walikale territory, North Kivu, in July and August 2010 (Human Right Watch 2012). She says that the Walikale incident demonstrates a correlation between the illegal exploitation of natural resources by armed groups, and the use of prevalent use sexual violence. It evident that communities in lucrative mining areas are at particularly high risk she says. Furthermore, she links sexual violence to corporate responsibility, and urges responsible consumers to make choices that make a difference[28] (Wallström 14.10.2010). She points to our collective responsibility as world citizens for our inability to prevent such mass

---

[28] I.e. Asking their mobile supplier where the phones mineral is from (DRC has huge coltan reserves, a mineral that is used in cell phones and laptops etc. See: Autessere 2010: 62-65).

rapes. The levels of violence against civilians in general, and women in particular, are particularly high and prevalent in lucrative and strategic areas she says, and adds that this nexus must be more closely examined as one of the root causes for sexual violence happening in such a huge scale in the DRC (Wallström 07.10.2010).

Furthermore she states that it is evident that rape is increasingly selected as the "weapon of choice" in eastern DRC, with numbers reaching endemic proportions and incidents of rape becoming so commonplace that they do not trigger our most urgent interventions (Wallström 07.09.2010). She states: "Wartime sexual violence is a crime that can be **commanded, condoned** or **condemned**. Once we better understand these dynamics: prevention is within our power" (Wallström 27.04.2010). The words in bold text have been central in the construction of the new discursive understanding of CRSV in the DRC as a weapon of war. It insinuates that if we can stop the commandment of sexual violence, stop the toleration, and start express disapproval of these acts, the international community has the possibility to stop it. These notions and expectations can be argued to be problematic, as CRSV in the DRC is claimed to be much more complex, and therefore there are no simple solutions to this problem. This will be further elaborated in the discussion chapter.

5.2. Discourses of Gender

The Security Council emphasises in S/RES/1325 that civilians especially, and in particular women and children, are the most impacted by armed conflict, in contrast to previous interstate wars, where most casualties were found amongst soldiers (S/RES 1325). Margot Wallström also affirms this point when discussing the local population in the DRC and linking together sexual violence and the country's economic growth. About the latter she says that it is often a precursor to conflict, as well as the last weapon to be relinquished. She stresses that it is a form of collective violence that continues after the guns fall silent (Walström 23.02.2012). While she last mentioned this in 2012, she also talked about this collective form of violence in 2010 when she stated that resolution 1820 was historic in terms of a response to a shocking reality: "understanding that it is collective violence – aimed to destroy not only people, but their sense of being a people" (Wallström 27.04.2010). Human rights violations against women are still the lowest on a false hierarchy of wartime horrors, Wallström argues, and further she explain the economic implications that follow sexual

violence, as it is shattering traditions that hold community values together, but also disrupting these traditions transmission to future generations. The women of eastern DRC deserve better because they are the backbone of the country, and the core of the country's largely agricultural economy Wallström argues (Wallström 14.10.2010). Protection mechanisms have been established, and there has been a ceasefire. However, "Modern history attests that "post-war" rarely means "post-rape""(Walström 23.02.2012) and a ceasefire does not always mean peace for **women**.

> *The sad reality for many **women** in eastern DRC is that they are tired. They are tired of wondering when their time will come to be robbed, tortured and raped. For them, there is no safe place. Rape does not end when the violence is over. Many survivors are permanently traumatised, unable to return to the fields to earn an income, resulting in increased poverty, isolation and despair. **Women live in fear of men carrying guns, often clad in uniform. They cannot distinguish protector from tormentor.** (Wallström 07.09.2010)*

As outlined above, the emphasis from Wallström is almost exclusively on women. It could be argued that she is reinforcing gender structures with her statements. However her intent by addressing this issue in the way she does is to send a message to the international community that woman's lives, votes and voices count. This is especially important as rape has an inhibitory effect on women's political participation, and the aim is therefore not only to protect women *from* violence; it is to protect them *to* participate in public and economic life Wallström stresses (Walström 23.02.2012).

> *For the women of Walikale, peace is not a treaty, a resolution, or a conference but simply the peace of mind to live and work without fear. For these women **justice delayed is more than justice denied** – it is terror continued. (Wallström 14 October 2010)*

In the statement above, she underpins the significance of striving for less impunity for acts of sexual violence. She explains the magnitude of importance this point has on the lives of women affected of CRSV. In the beginning of her term, Wallström seems to be more affected by what she has seen and heard in the DRC, and she turns to the listener's emotions when she speaks about the Congolese women she has met during her field trips[29]. Several times she points to the normalization of rape in the DRC, and in one statement she says that "there are Congolese women whose tragic experiences have led them to conclude that "**being gang-**

---

[29] Wallström made two fieldtrips to the DRC (out of a total of four) during her two-year term as a SRSV to the UN (Stop Rape Now web-page).

raped by many men, is normal for a woman"*(*Wallström 07.09.2010). She also says that in terms of their *intent*, *extent* and *impact*, the crimes are unique and that DRC therefore remains the "**rape capital of the world**". She also points to how the latter have massive negative implications for the international reputation of the DRC as well as the country's potential for economic growth (Wallström 27.04.2010). In the latter point she agrees with Dunn's arguments, however it could be argued that by stating that the DRC is the rape capital of the world, she is reinforcing the country's poor image and bad reputation. On the other hand, this is done to alarm and focus attention on the cause and might be claimed to have been necessary in order to awaken the world and challenge the international community to not turn a blind eye.

A key and especially visible approach proposed to ending CRSV has been use of the term "gender mainstreaming" in SRSV statements[30]. Equal participation and gender mainstreaming in peacekeeping, peace agreements and the empowerment of women have also been emphasised in both S/RES/1325 and S/RES/1889. Wallström states that women cannot be portrayed as passive victims, women must shape their own political and personal destiny (Walström 23.02.2012). Wallström emphasised this in one of her earliest statements as a SRSV: "We are not just protecting women from violence, but **empowering** them to become **agents of change**" (Wallström 27.04.2010). However, she does not mention exactly how this empowerment shall occur, except from stressing that monitoring teams "must be **gender balanced**, not gender blind" (Walström 23.02.2012). The few times she mentions men and boys in her statements she state that interventions should be gender-responsive and community-based. However she is critical of the fact that CRSV has become a rubric that only seems to include violence against women, even though men and boys are direct and indirect victims of sexual violence (Wallström 16.12.2010 and Walström 23.02.2012).

In spite of what she says above, there is not much talk about the men and boys as victims of sexual violence in either her statements or in the WPS resolutions. CRSV still seems to be mostly a "woman's issue" in the UN system today, one example of this is one of the UN organ that deals with CRSV is called UNWOMEN (the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, former UNIFEM).[31]

---

[30] Gender mainstreaming has become a mantra for the UN. It is used to describe that gender, and inequalities between women and men must be taken seriously, and not just be a footnote (see: Charlesworth 2005: 1).
[31] See: http://www.unwomen.org/about-us/about-un-women/

5.3. Discourses of Security

The UN has acknowledged that sexual violence is an international peace and security issue in three out of the five WPS resolutions (S/RES/1820, S/RES/1888, and S/RES/1960). One of the biggest discursive challenges has been that CRSV has never before been adequately dealt with, and in the beginning of her term Wallström made a significant effort to create understanding in international society that international peace and security cannot be separated from women's peace and security (Wallström 16.12.2010). During her term, one may say that how this issue is addressed has changed dramatically as CRSV now has a considerably higher priority on the UN's agenda today, contrary to before when it was rarely mentioned in the Security Council.

Walström (23.02.2012) states: "There cannot be security without women's security" and the peace and security threat has been a recurring point in her statements. The argument is that sexual violence is destroying lives and livelihoods and therefore impeding the restoration of peace and security (Wallström 23.06.2011). Another frequent point in Wallström's statements is that sexual violence is not a specific feature to one country or continent, but a global threat and a tactic of war (Walström 23.02.2012). Sexual violence is not just a "woman's issue" Wallström says, it has consequences way beyond. It is a security question because CRSV increases the general spiral of violence; it prolongs conflict and worsens civilian impact. Conflict lives on in the children born of and orphaned by sexual violence, and this could be seen as many line the roads in gangs, begging for money and food, aspiring to be soldiers. Moreover children accustomed to rape and violence can grow into adults who accept such behaviour as the norm (Wallström 14.11.2010, Wallström 27.04.2010, and Wallström 16.12.2010).

Wallström argues that a ceasefire is therefore not synonymous with peace for women, if the shooting ceases but rapes continue unchecked (Wallström 27.04.2010). "Sexual violence has been called a "war within a war", but often it continues as a "war within the peace"" (Wallström 16.12.2010). Women, who are the foundation of local economies, cannot access markets, and families are dispersed because armed groups claim control and dominance over the area where they are doing their everyday activities that are crucial for life and survival. Furthermore sexual violence also destroys the shared heritage that holds people together (Wallström 14.10.2010). As a biological weapon, it increases the disease burden on a

community, including the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. It uproots and breaks families, and disperses community bonds by turning victims into outsiders. Rape also leads to unwanted pregnancies, and results in children of shame, that are often neglected or abandoned. "The psychological scars remain beneath the surface of a society and – like any explosive remnant of war – make peace less possible" (Wallström 27.04.2010). "This is **not cultural**, **not even sexual - but criminal**, a crime of international concern and an impediment to peace, stability and security" (Wallström 07.09.2010). By stating that CRSV is criminal and not cultural, innate or inherent, Wallström tries to destroy past conventional beliefs and attitudes. Wallström points out that it is especially important to include sexual violence in peace agreements because the consequences of rape often continue long after the guns fall silent. However, sexual violence has rarely been included in ceasefire agreements, even where it follows wars where CRSV was a major feature of the fighting (Wallström 16.12.2010).

When Wallström ended her term in May 2012, she said in her summary statement that the debate has shifted "from **reacting** to sexual violence like any other tragedy, to **preventing** it like any other threat" (Walström 23.02.2012) which reaffirms the claim of a discursive shift in how CRSV is talked about, reacted to and dealt with. However, it seems like the UN's response-pattern from the UN is more reactive than the proactive and preventing side after doing this analysis.

5.4. Discourses of Accountability

Finding people to hold responsible for these atrocities has been a large part of Wallströms mandate as SRSV. It is obvious that the perpetrators are responsible, but if CRSV is systematic, do not the state also have a responsibility? What about the international community? In order to form a strategy to combat this problem there is a need to hold relevant people and institutions accountable. This view is based on the extent this point is being discussed both in Wallströms statements to the Security Council, but also in the WPS resolutions.

5.4.1. Responsibility of the armed groups

In resolution 1325, the Security Council assigned responsibility to armed groups to take special measures to protect women and girls from sexual violence (S/RES/1325). In S/RES/1820, the Council states that armed groups bear the primary responsibility to end sexual violence where they operate, something that is also emphasised in S/RES/1888 and S/RES/1960, where they additionally declare that the Council has a zero tolerance of sexual violence in UN missions[32]. Wallström too uses a great deal of time to speak about the continuing pattern of ill discipline on the part of those who bear arms. What is mainly fuelling this pattern she says, is the continuous integration of former rebel fighters into the DRC national armed forces without screening or systematic training (Wallström 23.06.2011). She also points to the fact that there has been a lot of focus on command responsibility. This is warranted she says, but she also points out that we should not ignore the importance of *peer liability*. Her opinion is that peer pressure is a powerful influence in armed groups. Furthermore she clearly warns that those who employ sexual violence in armed conflict to punish, humiliate, terrorize or displace, are committing *crimes against humanity*. She also warns governments that if they tolerate sexual terror they should also be on notice that they do so in disobedience to the Security Council, and that response measures therefore can be expected (Wallström 27.04.2010). War does not mean license to rape, the world <u>is</u> watching, and any member of the military who preys upon, rather than protects the population will likewise face serious consequences she warns (Wallström 23.06.2011 and Walström 23.02.2012).

> *The Congolese people deserve a credible army that can protect them. The uniform should symbolize a service women can <u>run to, not run from</u>. It should not represent a patchwork of militias, stitched together without a screening process.* (Wallström 27.04.2010)

The Congolese government is furthermore criticized for not ensuring a credible army. In order to get discipline, some concrete measures must be in place Wallström states: barracks where the soldiers can live, real uniforms, and a reliable payment chain. As long as the soldiers lack the above, the government is implicitly giving the army a license to live off of rural populations Wallström argues (Wallström 27.04. 2010). *Ending impunity* has almost become

---

[32] UN peacekeeping force in DRC, MONUSCO (then with the name MONUC) has been alleged of sexual violence several times (Gilliard 2011: 28).

a "catchphrase" and it sometimes seems that this element alone is perceived as a magic bullet for the overall problem. It is the most critical element Wallström argues in her statements from September 2010, June 2011 and in December 2010. However, her statement from October 2010 addresses the impunity issue to the greatest degree.

Ending impunity has been a central theme in the WPS resolutions that address this problem. Responsibility for ending impunity lies first and foremost with the Congolese government the resolutions state (S/RES/1325, S/RES/1820 and S/RES/1888). The goal of Wallström has been, since the start of her term as a SRSV, "combating impunity and raising the "cost" of rape" (Wallström 14.10.2010). This is based on the argument that impunity normalizes sexual violence (Walström 23.02.2012). Rape persists because, without threat of consequences, there is no deterrent Wallström argues (Wallström 16.12.2010). Furthermore she states that both commanders, as well as individual perpetrators, must be held accountable (Wallström 23.06.2011). The goal is that sexual violence will be a liability for armed groups, instead of serving as a cheap and silent tactic of war. If this happens, she points out, it will expose commanders of armed groups to increased international scrutiny and pressure, and the line between commander and criminal will be reinforced. The primary aim with ending impunity is, in Wallström's view, to point out that "no military or political leader is above the law, and no **woman** is below it" (Wallström 16.12.2010). CRSV will continue as long as consequences are insignificant. Therefore future options and avenues of advancement must be closed for perpetrators, and they should be excluded from any amnesty provisions, avenues for future political roles, and governance (Wallström 14.10.2010).

"**Prosecution is prevention**" Wallström states (Wallström 16.12. 2010). Bringing the perpetrators to justice also brings justice to the victims Walström argues. The message she wants to send to both perpetrators and states that are ignoring sexual violence is that impunity for crimes of sexual violence will not be tolerated (Wallström 14.10.2010). "**Women** walk in shame, their rapists' walk free. Victims doubly **victimized** by this injustice. **Women** have no rights, if those who violate their rights go unpunished" she argues (Wallström 27.04.2010). Wallström furthermore states that if we can improve our information about armed groups, and engage with them more systematically, we can "penetrate their chains of command and **disrupt them from within**" (Wallström 14.10.2010). She argues that if we end impunity and perpetrators are held accountable for their actions, especially commanders and high-ranking officers, it will work to as a general deterrent. She points out that the perpetrators already

arrested for CRSV act as a warning to other perpetrators of sexual violence everywhere, and that at the same time it can represent a glimmer of hope for the victims, and "a sign to them that the world is not blind to their troubles" (Wallström 14.10.2010).

5.4.2. Responsibility of the state

State responsibility for dealing with this issue is emphasised in four out of the five WPS resolutions. Regarding UN's peacekeeping force, resolution S/RES/1820 stresses that the state has a responsibility to UN missions, and in S/RES/1325 and S/RES/1888 it is specified that states should ensure increased representation of women in all processes of peace and security, deploy more females into UN missions, as well as give a more proper and mainstreamed training. In S/RES/1888 and S/RES/1960, the Council states the importance of good leadership nationally, locally, religiously and traditionally, as prominent people have a particular responsibility to show zero tolerance, to send a message, and help end impunity for sexual violence. Wallström sends the same message when she declares that she is just a helper and facilitator, and that the UN mission in the DRC is there mainly to support national authorities, not to replace them. In this, she demonstrates that the real and primary responsibility lies with the Congolese authorities for investigating, pursuing the perpetrators and bringing them to justice. Furthermore she states that the Congolese government should reinforce its efforts to address impunity and strengthen the rule of law, particularly in the context of sexual violence. As she expresses in several statements, this should be their utmost priority (Wallström 23.06.2011, Wallström 14.10.2010 and Wallström 07.09.2010). "Resolutions are not ends in themselves, but tools in the hands of political leaders who should own this agenda and feel accountable for its success" she argues (Wallström 27 April 2010).

Recurrently she has expressed that there is a need for security sector reform and oversight in the DRC. The DRC has a robust legal framework and a "zero tolerance" declaration. The Congolese government has also, together with the UN, made a *Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence[33]*. However the laws must be implemented, and the strategy operationalized Wallström argues (Wallström 27.04.2010 and Wallström 23.06.2011). Nevertheless, she commends the government of the DRC for some of the policies adopted to

---

[33] See Executive Summary on Stop Rape Now's webpage:
http://stoprapenow.org/uploads/features/ComprehensiveStrategyExecSumm.pdf

combat sexual violence. On the other hand, she says that the hard reality is that "zero tolerance" has often been underpinned by zero consequences in the DRC, and that this represents a fundamental issue of credibility of the Congolese government. She therefore urges the Congolese government to give more even voice and action to this issue (Wallström 14.10. 2010). "Governments and armed groups that tolerate sexual terror make a mockery of the UN Charter, and this Council's action to enforce it" she argues (Wallström 27.04.2010). Wallström also calls out to other UN Member States to ratify legislation that would have the effect of requiring companies to disclose whether their products contain minerals sourced from the DRC (Wallström 14.10.2010), and by that she is implying that the international community has a part of the blame for the ongoing conflict, and hence a responsibility to help ending it.

Another problem is that humanitarian actors have problems with providing essential health services to survivors because many of the rape victims do not come forward to receive urgent medical treatment due to fear of what will happen if the truth is out. A fear that stems from a perception that it is unsafe to come forward, and the risk of being treated like outcast of their communities and families is very much present. Wallström says that she strives to give victims justice-reparations and that the state is the major provider and organizer when it comes to this being dealt with. Furthermore the police force in the DRC, *Police Nationale Congolaise,* has to be strengthened if they should be able to prevent and respond to the sexual violence Wallström argues (Wallström 07.09.2010 and Wallström 27.04.2010).

5.4.3. Responsibility of the UN

The WPS resolutions describe some of the responsibilities and mandates of the UN forces and the SRSV. In S/RES/1888 it is stressed that the SRSV should cooperate with other UN organs in reporting trends, patterns and early warning indicators to the Security Council. In S/RES/1325 it is stated that the Secretary General should provide member states like the DRC with training guidelines, and in S/RES/1820 it is stated that the UN should develop training programs for peacekeeping personnel to prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence.

In 2010 Wallström made a guideline document called *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual*

Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice witch contains a range of practices employed by peacekeepers to protect women and girls from CRSV. She also pointed out to the Security Council that they had unique means at their disposal like "black- listing", sanctions, and other targeted measures (Wallström 07.09.2010). Expansion of the "list of shame" from groups that recruit child soldiers to include groups credibly suspected of patterns of sexual violence should also be a means for the UN to improve their overview and work as a deterrent (Wallström 27.04.2010). Wallström also points to the causal link between MONUSCO`s (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo) work and economic development in DRC; for example, MONUSCO`S market-route escorts lead to an improved sense of safety that again can led to improved trade, which has contributed to economic development, Wallström argues (Wallström 27.04.2010). Wallström recognizes that MONUSCO has experienced significant challenges in terms of ensuring timely access to victims and vulnerable communities in the DRC (Wallström 23.06.2011). However she supports them by explaining why the force cannot fulfil its task to the extent that they should, namely that the force is over-stretched and under-resourced. She explains that the sheer scale of the problems faced by MONUSCO is a demoralizing factor, reinforced by the constant stream of criticism from all quarters. "Their tremendous sacrifices to serve deserve our empathy and support" she says (Wallström 14.10.2010). Much of the problem lies in the fact that there is a widening gap between the expectations placed on MONUSCO and the means with which the mission executes its mandate she argues. What is vital in her view is that the members of the Security Council and other influential Member States shows political backing for the peacekeeping efforts in the DRC (Wallström 14.10.2010). The problem is that MONUSCO, with their approx 20 000 men, is grossly inadequate as DRC is lacking basic infrastructure like roads, especially in the eastern parts where the violence is most prevalent. The country is also the size of Western Europe, and many places it is unsafe for the UN soldiers to intervene.

Wallström states: "**As the spotlight falls on the UN and what we could have done differently, the perpetrators seem to have escaped from the scene of the crime and slipped into the shadows**" (Wallström 07.09.2010). In the statement above, the SRSV implies that the debate has been too much on the faults and responsibilities of the UN, and this is an important discursive point as the SRSV tries to move the attention from the UN to the perpetrators and the Congolese government. She criticizes the CRSV debate by stressing

the point that while the world discusses if UN has done a sufficient effort, the perpetrators are getting away with the crimes they have committed. Our attention is in the wrong place and this is hurting the efforts to resolve this issue: "This **challenges our collective credibility** and **undermines efforts to deter such atrocities in future**" she argues (Wallström 07.09.2010).

The UN has repeatedly said that it has focused on improving the flow of information and data. Wallström agrees that the data on CRSV prevalence should be much better, and that what is known is probably just the tip off the iceberg (Wallström 27.04.2010). "We should examine the UN's response" she said in 2010 (Wallström 07.09.2010). Wallström also admits that the UN has been too slow to respond to information that already exists. The key to making peacekeepers perform more effectively is to ensure that they receive the training, knowledge and tools to do so, Wallström argues (Wallström 07.09.2010). Implementation lags because UN agencies are still largely working in silos, without acting as a whole she explains. UN entities must show more commitment to delivering as one. She has stated that "sexual violence is not just a tragedy we must **redress** – but a threat we must **prevent**". Therefore she would develop an early-warning matrix of risk factors to draw attention to the "red flags" (Wallström 16.12.2010). The early warning signal matrix has been developed[34] by her office in cooperation with other UN organs and it has been key to the preventative efforts to date Wallström has argued (Wallström 27.04.2010).

There has been much talk of prevention, but when we take a closer look at Wallström's statements and the WPS resolutions, most of the effort is in fact on redressing rather than preventing. In her last statement as SRSV, Wallström acknowledged that the UN is still working to become better attuned to early-warning signs (Walström 23.02.2012). This is despite the fact that she had already in 2010 expressed that the UN should shed light not only on the profile of the perpetrators, but the factors that facilitate or contain perpetration, the root causes. At that time, she said "it is impossible to prevent what we do not fully understand" (Wallström 16.12.2010). It could be argued that the two year period between these two statements indicates that there has been modest achievement in understanding the problem of CRSV in the DRC.

---

[34] See Castillo & Caminha et al. *Gender-Responsive Early Warning: Overview and How-to Guide* at: http://www.unwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/04E-Gender-Responsive-Early-Warning.pdf

This is also signalled in the WPS resolutions. In two of the last three resolutions the slow progress, or the lack of progress, on the issue of armed conflict sexual violence is repeatedly recognized (S/RES/1888 and S/RES/1960). Wallström also acknowledges this in her last statement before the end of her term in May 2012, although a little reluctantly. She is more positive in her statements to the Security Council then the WPS resolutions are, and says that the Council has a great deal of importance as is has ushered in an ideological shift in the way we think about rape. "The Council has helped **redefine the relationship between rape and war – and, more broadly, between women, peace and security**" Walström stated in 2010 (Wallström 27.04.2010). Furthermore, she argues that the resolutions have had a real-world impact in relation to negotiating peace deals, signing a ceasefires, training troops and sending peacekeepers on patrol (Walström 23.02.2012).

"The innovative and comprehensive approach, which is being implemented in the DRC, becomes our flagship in preventing and addressing conflict related sexual violence" (Wallström 14.10.2010) Wallström said early in her period. Wallström have later stated that the ultimate goal is not just to "build back" the DRC, but to "build back better" by addressing pre-existing injustice and inequality (Walström 23.02.2012). Responding to the criticism of slow progress, she says that a large part of the problem is that actors are waiting for "hard data" to come to surface before they respond. "The relationship between incidents and reports of wartime rape is like the relationship between the tip and the mass of an iceberg" she says in this regard (Walström 23.02.2012). She also points out that bold language in these resolutions must not be lost in translation when applied into action on local level (Wallström 27.04.2010). Furthermore, she says that the primary focus must be on needs, rather than numbers. Data is not an end in itself, but an evidence-base for action. Improved data-collection is therefore linked with improved assistance. She explains that most survivors still have more to lose than to gain from reporting rape (Walström 23.02.2012). "We continue to monitor and stand in solidarity with the survivors" she said in 2011 (Wallström 23.06.2011). But the fundamental question still remains, which Wallström repeated before stepping down as SRSV: if "the gap between what is said in this Chamber, and what happens in the world beyond, has narrowed?" (Walström 23.02.2012). As it is Wallström herself who is asking this question after ending her period as a SRSV it is natural to make the conclusion that she does not have the answer.

5.5. Summary

I have throughout this analysis presented the SRSV statements and the WPS resolutions in order to see what narrative the UN presents on CRSV in the DRC. The analysis started out with 64 statements made by the Margot Wallström in her period as the UN's first SRSV. Six key statements were subsequently selected for further analysis. After analysing the SRSV statements a clear, coherent and unilateral narrative can be identified, as the representation that is described both in the statements and in the WPS resolutions shares the same language. Examples include a description of the situation in the DRC as truly unique in relation to intent and the extent and impact of CRSV relative to other countries. Thus, the UN justifies the large amount of international attention to the DRC, contrary to other countries where CRSV is also prevalent. Furthermore it is insinuated that the reported incidences of CRSV in the DRC represent a small percentage of the actual problem. The representation presents a normalization of sexual violence that has developed into something many Congolese women expect. However, the representation firmly states that CRSV is <u>not</u> natural, inevitable or acceptable, and that it is in fact something that has been commanded and condoned in the DRC, and therefore can be prevented. It is not cultural or sexual; it is criminal and described as a national, regional, and international problem that threatens peace and security. Furthermore, the representation presents a need for international assistance, as ceasefires and the DRC's current status as a "post war situation" are not adequate to protect <u>women</u> from CRSV. The civilian impact is described, but it is a narrative that presents sexual violence as something that mostly happens to females. Even if males are not excluded completely from the picture, their situation as victims of CRSV is not elaborated on, neither are the unique challenges facing the children conceived of rape. Prosecution is talked about as the main deterrent and the best prevention for CRSV. It is stated repeatedly that impunity normalizes sexual violence and that CRSV persists because there are no real consequences. For that reason the "cost" of rape should be raised, so that CRSV becomes a liability for commanders and individual perpetrators. The idea is to disrupt from within, in order create a "deterrent mechanism". Hence, combating impunity is presented as key to combating CRSV in the DRC.

Nevertheless, the narrative strives to find a culpable party for the continuation of CRSV at such a large scale despite major international efforts. The armed groups in the DRC and the Congolese government are pointed out to be the main responsible parties, and it is repeated

continuously that the responsibility for preventing and responding to CRSV primarily lies with the Congolese state. By turning a blind eye to these incidents, they are accountable for its continuance. The Congolese government is criticized for both its lack of credibility and modest efforts to deal with the problem, but at the same time praised for the measures that they have accomplished. The narrative presented goes far in justifying and excusing the UN's inability to reduce the prevalence of these incidences despite the major focus this issue has gained in recent years. It underlines that the UN mission is just as a helper, facilitator and supporter for the Congolese government. Additionally it is argued that the WPS resolutions should be seen as tools for use by the Congolese government. The narrative presented is that the UN is doing what they can with the means they have at their disposal, and that the immense criticism of the UN is challenging its collective credibility, undermining the efforts done and future interventions on the issue.

Some central language and key expressions are detected and repeated in the SRSV statements presented. Much of the same language can be detected in the WPS resolutions; a clear representation on CRSV in the DRC by the UN can therefore be detected. Concepts and constructions like *"the rape capital of the world", "a weapon of war", "war on women's bodies"* and *"gender mainstreaming"* are found to be central in the UN representation. Other words or expressions used in relation to women, peace and security include *"empowerment", "gender-responsive", "agents of change",* and *"gender balance".* Many of the expressions in this representation have become the last decade's most apparent core terms when discussing women, peace and security and CRSV. This language can thus be seen as central in the construction of the new discursive understanding of CRSV in the DRC. The UN has an influential and powerful voice as it is the only truly global forum where agendas are set and policy-language is constructed. This indicates that a dominant representation of CRSV in the DRC has been established and that that this representation is constructing meaning production through language. Moreover, how CRSV in the DRC is spoken about in the UN has implications for how it is reacted to and dealt with. An example on this is the notion of "the rape capital of the world". This conception has some distinct effects: it places rape as a pivotal part of the Congolese identity (which they earlier have said is an incorrect assumption), and makes combating CRSV on an international level a necessary and identity-bearing practice. Together with the other discursive constructions making up the dominant representation, it contributes towards naturalizing and prolonging the international CRSV effort. The subsequent treatment of CRSV in official UN texts by the former SRSV

reproduces concepts and constructions, and the resulting representation from the UN during Wallström's term can thus be seen as structured and stable. In this respect, it should also be noted that *CRSV*, which previously had been a subordinate category, has been discursively juxtaposed to *peace and security* as a top priority for the Security Council. An ideological shift in how CRSV is talked about has thus been described, and the UN has moved from talking about CRSV in the DRC as a tragedy to treating it as an international peace and security threat. This can be argued to represent a discursive shift in how CRSV is addressed by the Security Council in particular, and generally within the international community.

CHAPTER 6: CRITICISM OF UN'S DISCOURSE, AN EMERGING ALTERNATIVE REPRESENTATION

The previous chapter argues that a distinct UN representation of CRSV in the DRC has emerged in the last decade. It is asserted that systematic CRSV should be treated as a weapon of war and a peace and security threat that can be combated by addressing impunity. This dominant representation does several things. Firstly, it establishes the view that the efforts dedicated to combating CRSV are worthwhile. Secondly, it puts considerable responsibility on the Congolese state for fighting CRSV. Finally, it firmly establishes that CRSV in the DRC is a peace and security question that requires international attention and response. In doing so, it naturalizes the extensive attention of the international community and the corresponding efforts in the DRC. However, and despite this representation's dominance and its powerful effect on the CRSV discourse, there exist alternative representations that disagree and critique the narrative the UN presents, and they therefore also influence the discourse. These alternative representations will be presented in the next chapter.

One of the main critics of the UN's understanding of CRSV can be found in 2012 Human Security Report (HSR) *Sexual violence, education and war: behind the mainstream narrative.* The rhetoric of the report attacks the common conceptualization, what is called "myths" about CRSV. The myths attacked in this repertoire that *extreme sexual violence is the norm in conflict* and *that sexual violence in conflict is increasing, that strategic rape is the most common and growing form of sexual violence in conflict,* and that *only males perpetrate rape and only females are victims*. The report has faced a lot of criticism after it was launched in October 2012. Most criticism of the report claims that sexual violence is on the decline, but also challenged the validity of the report by arguing that it is based on fallacious assumptions from limited or flawed data or data-interpretations[35]. However, it is also argued that the report holds some valid points on conceptualization of CRSV, and therefore it has been included as a source of information. All of the "myths" the report attacks cannot be debated within the scope of this thesis however, but some of the report's arguments will be elaborated on in next chapter. After examining the academic field it is found that some of HSR arguments are in

---

[35] A a tumblr webpage have been constructed in order to follow the debate on the HSR 2012, see:
http://hsr2012.tumblr.com/

line with views of other recognized CRSV scholars. Together these understandings form an alternative representation, which is expressed as a feminist critique and as a critique of the dominant discourse on CRSV in the DRC.

6.1. Feminist Critique

Shepherd (2010) explains how certain constructions of gender and sex are the basis for the understanding upon which the international discourse on CRSV is built and how they are problematic. The current discursively accepted social roles and features that define men and women are totally opposed she argues. She exemplifies this by pointing to masculinity as something expressed in aggression, militarization, heterosexuality, dominance and power wielding. Femininity on the contrary, is expressed in weakness, passivity and the accommodation of power. With an essentialist categorization like this, UN strengthens and normalizes the notion that women lack agency and that they are in need of protection from an extreme male power. Shepherd describes the gender relations portrayed in a narrative like this as a "zero-sum game" where only one can win at the expense of the other (Shepherd 2010: 143-145). Skjelsbæk (2010) similarly suggests in her report that CRSV is a continuation of already existing gender relations, and not a new phenomenon that arises only with hostilities (2010: 45). There is an assumption that sexual violence in conflict is anomalous to an otherwise functional system Ayiera state (Ayiera 2010: 17-18). She disagree in this view and argues that the root causes need to be addressed, and that the political, social, cultural, legal, economic fabric of the issue must be critically examined, as these structures uphold the current narrative where sexual violence is feminized (Ibid.). CRSV reflects a widespread acceptance of patriarchal norms and myths that justify and normalize rape, the everyday subordination of women, and men's sense of entitlement to women's bodies (Ibid.).

Ayiera (2010) argues that a big part of the problem with the CRSV discourse is that the discourse talks about sexual violence as a female problem that just occasionally happens to unfortunate men (Ayiera 2010: 17-18). The Human Security Report (HSR) agrees in this and states that men are kept almost totally out of the picture that is presented, and if they are mentioned it is often just in a single sentence in the reports and/or resolutions. The majority of perpetrators of CRSV are males, and women and girls are the majority of its victims. However, there are also many men and boys that are also *victims* of CRSV and *women that*

are perpetrators, however this is an angle that is for the most part ignored in the international discourse it is argued (HSR 2012: 4-5 and 31-32). In fact, a JAMA study[36] (JAMA 2010) of the most war-affected regions in the DRC shows that situations of male victims and female perpetrators may be much more frequent than commonly believed. In the study, 24 percent of males reported that they had experienced sexual violence (compared with 40 percent of females). The research also stated that 41 percent of the perpetrators of the female victims were female and the male victims reported that 10 percent of their perpetrators were female; quite the opposite of the conventional story that by and large embraces the female/passive/victim-men/active/perpetrator narrative. In both former cases, it was reported that a great proportion of the female perpetrators were combatants. A newer study by Heal Africa presents a different picture: During the first half of 2012, 2517 victims of sexual violence in North Kivu were recorded. Among them, 2339 women and 178 were men (Heal Africa 2012). However these numbers might be lower than the underlying reality, as many sexual violence offences are never reported.

While sexual violence against males has been mentioned in international discourse, the fact that women may be perpetrators of sexual violence is to a great extent disregarded. The reason we know so little about female perpetrators is that the conventional view of CRSV has ignored its very possibility. Because of this, questions about the gender of the perpetrator are almost never asked in surveys HSR argues (HSR 2012: 32). A possible consequence of this is that the role of female perpetrators remains unexamined and unaddressed. There are currently little cross-national data on this aspect of the issue, and part of the problem is that even when CRSV is recorded, it may not be described as such, but may be labelled as "torture". Yet, these cases are often as strategic as when sexual violence is used against women, and unfortunately male victims are often more reluctant than women in admitting in surveys violations against them HSR argues (Ibid. 31-32).

When leaving out male victims from the mainstream narrative on CRSV in the DRC it can lead to unbalanced policy implications, and the worst consequence of this is that the needs of male victims of sexual violence are ignored and neglected. The HSR of 2012 illustrates the latter point by referring to the S/RES 1820. This resolution deals specifically with preventing CRSV, but does not explicitly mention males at all. The argument that there is an assumption

---

[36] JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association.

that sexual violence is a "woman's issue" further enforced in 2009 when the UN established an organization that has CRSV as one of its main focal areas[37] which they named *UNWOMEN*. Furthermore many policy documents and institutions explicitly treat gender as "loosely synonymous with *sex* and lazily synonymous with *women*" (Carver 1996: 18) and from this perspective the *actual* difference between the word "gender" and "women" may not be so visible. However, the choice of wording has a symbolic effect, as calling an organization that deals with CRSV UNWomen implies that this problem is a women's issue and not something relevant to both sexes, as if the organ had for example been called "UNGender". Most victims of sexual violence are women and girls, but of course it is right to recognize that many are not. It could be argued that male rape has been ignored because we are looking at all rapes from a patriarchal, heterosexual, essentialist framework which ignores gender and misses the truth of rape as a violent act demonstrating power. Furthermore, power relations can be seen as gendered, and therefore it is the male who is normally the perpetrator. Men are targeted too and women are sometimes perpetrators, and yet men are rarely mentioned. In spite of this, the unfortunate reality is that the world needs to know about the majority of victims and focusing too much on men may skew understanding of the underlying problem.

6.2. Is the International Discourse Misleading?

Beyond the international discourse on CRSV lies a less emphasised field, the violence which Kleinman refers to as "the violence's of everyday life", *domestic violence* (Kleinman 2000: 226–241). It could be argued that the international discourse gives prominence to sexual violence, when isolating it from other violence in conflict situations. The Heal Africa study from the first half of 2012 showed that as much as 52% of the perpetrators of sexual violence in North Kivu were civilian, not soldiers. The high number of civilian rapists can be explained to some extent by a failure to socially reintegrate ex-combatants and/or by lack of supervision, but also by customs, beliefs, and other social structures (Heal Africa 2012: 4-5). This is also one of the main critical points in HRS concerning international discourse as it is

---

[37] The focus areas of UNWOMEN are *Violence against Women, the Millennium Development Goals, Economic Empowerment, Peace & Security, Leadership & Participating,* and *National Planning & Budgeting.* See more on UNWOMEN's web-pages: http://www.unwomen.org/focus-areas/

argued that it focuses solely on sexual violence perpetrated by rebels, militias, and government forces and ignores almost completely domestic sexual violence, which they claim make up far more victims than the structural violence of armed soldiers and groups. Conflict-related domestic sexual violence is more or less completely absent from the Security Council's high-profile wartime sexual violence agenda, and non-combatant sexual violence is not very much discussed (HSR 2012: 4-7 and 17-18). The HSR claims that this is problematic as brutal rapes, often perpetrated in public by rebel, militia, and government forces, are being portrayed as the most common form of sexual violence in the DRC (Ibid. 33). However this exclusion can be argued from a logical point of view. CRSV has been put on the agenda as an international peace and security issue; it has been described as a deliberate weapon in war and an international threat to peace and security. Even if domestic non-combatant violence is an important issue to attack, it could be difficult to argue that domestic violence is a threat to international peace and security. Getting CRSV recognized as an international security issue has helped raise its political visibility on the Council's agenda and mobilize resources to combat it. The UN addresses domestic sexual violence in its development programming, but it is not on the agenda of the international community.

On the other hand it could be argued that there is little value in separating domestic husband-wife rape from (systematic) soldier-citizen rape. Both indicate an oppressive, unsafe environment and both deserve attention. One motivation behind the use of sexual violence is the assailant's attempt to gain power over the victim. This is regardless of whether it is directly related to armed conflict and insisting that they are separate issues indicates a systemic lack of understanding that has very damaging implications the HSR argues (HSR 2012: 40-43). It could be argued that we should rather make a connection between domestic violence and systematic militarized sexual violence instead of emphasizing a distinction and treating them as two separate problems.

There has been discussion about the scope and intensity of sexual violence in war-affected countries. HRS argues that there is no evidence that can support the statements that sexual violence has increased, and strategic rape is also less common than claimed (HSR 2012: 24). However, there is no evidence to indicate that sexual violence is declining, nor that it is

increasing. The fact is that we do not have accurate numbers or statistics on the prevalence of CRSV is due to insufficient data on the area (Nordås 2012: 1-2). Focusing on global patterns aggregated from conflict-level data is not particularly useful, either for academic analysis or for evidence-based policy-making. The focus should rather be on variation between armed groups. What we need to know is why some armed groups engage in high levels of CRSV and why others do not. Furthermore statements about global trends can obscure the need for better local, regional and national data, and cloud the understandings of CRSV (Nordås 2012: 1-3). On the other hand, the intensity or prevalence of CRSV should not have anything to do with the efforts done in the field. As long as it happens, it should be addressed.

In a research done by Sweden's Nordic Africa Institute in 2010 comprised of interviews with government forces, they noted that both soldiers and their officers had made it clear that sexual violence had not been used as part of any explicit military strategy (HSR 2012: 29-30). Baaz and Stern show the same perception that CRSV are not necessarily a part of a top-down strategy after interviewing soldiers in the DRC: "Soldiers were always asked whether they had ever received orders to rape. Their answer was always no..."[38] But how can we be sure of their statements? Few perpetrators would admit they have been ordered to rape, and even if the order was not explicit it could be implicit, without the soldiers realizing that they have been part of structural violence. In the DRC, troops are often both undisciplined and unpaid, and the military is so dysfunctional, disorganized, fragmented, and corrupt that they are unable to prevent CRSV regardless if it is opportunistic or ordered. Pankhurst also shares this view; she argues that there is not much debate in UN policies or resolutions about the impact specific social relations has on sexual violence (Pankhurst 2004: 10). Kurtz and Turpin agree:

> *The tendency to see violence as the consequence of aberrant behaviour committed by deviant individuals at the margins of society obscures the central roles violence plays at the very foundations of the social order.* (McIlwaine 1999: 460)

Several studies have been done in this area[39], and they mostly suggest a mix of the two. There

---

[38] Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, "The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)", Uppsala: Nordika Afrikainstitutet, 2010: 15–16. See also Maria E. Baaz and Maria Stern, "Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC),"International Studies Quarterly 53, no. 2 (2009)
[39] See Solhjell, and Baaz and Stern

is no simple explanation to this problem, therefore the solution needs to accommodate several angles in this complex picture. It has been argued that catchphrases like *"DRC, the rape capital of the world"* and *"a war fought on women's bodies"*[40], phrases that are adopted, created and reinforced again and again, are distorting the international discourse. Furthermore these phrases reflect how persistent images of the DRC as a "chaotic" country with a barbaric, uncivilized population is shaping how the international community perceives the region and the issue of CRSV. Approaches like this are incapable of adequately reflecting or analysing the region's complexities Dunn argues (Dunn 2003: 19-20). Policy makers should rethink the way they study, talk about, and respond to CRSV in the DRC. There must be a move past representations of the inherent nature of (Congolese) men and women, victim/perpetrator dichotomies, and simplistic, neo-colonial depictions of CRSV Dunn argues (Ibid.).

6.3. Combating Sexual Violence: Are Juridical Implications a Deterrent?

The international legal developments of recent years have been important, especially since as they signal the importance of combating this issue in the long term. CRSV has been recognized both as a war crime and as a crime against humanity under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and a number of high-level officials have been charged for crimes involving CRSV (HSR 2012: 49) As seen in the analysis, Wallström argues that bringing perpetrators to trial and punishing them would serve the cause of justice, but also act as a deterrent to future violations. The HSR (2012) argues that there is currently little evidence that either deterrence or physical protection measures are having an impact on the incidence of CRSV (Ibid.). Ayiera agrees with this point: most rebel leaders are aware that they are unlikely to end up in The Hague facing war crimes charges. Even if the ICC's criminal prosecutions have some deterrent effect, it is not enough to create a fear of engaging in widespread sexual violence in conflict situations. There is little evidence that the legal implications have had a major impact in terms of deterring sexual violence. Perpetrators of sexual violence are unlikely to be frightened from perpetrating again by seeing high level officers being sanctioned or charged as long as there is not a real possibility that they may be arrested themselves (Ayiera 2010: 15). In the long term, ending the culture of impunity that

---

[40] See Wallströms statements to the Security Council and Ayiera 2010: 11.

protects combatants who perpetrate sexual violence might make a difference. But at present, the number of perpetrators brought to justice remains in reality very small compared with the number of CRSV crimes committed.

The HSR report (2012) also states that the governments of countries in conflict have an important protection role to play, but by the same token they argue that government forces and militias are often the major perpetrators of the very sexual violence they are supposed to prevent. Therefore the solution often does not lie within governments, as they are a part of the problem (Ayiera 2019: 58). Human Rights Watch also shares this perspective in their latest World report (2012). They argue that, except for a few cases, Congolese authorities have largely failed to investigate and prosecute those responsible for CRSV. An example of this is the Walikale attacks in North Kivu, where 387 women, men and children were raped in July and August 2010. No progress has yet been made in arresting the perpetrators of these mass rapes (Human Rights Watch 2012: 4-5). The HSR report argues that the most efficient strategy for actually reducing the worldwide prevalence of CRSV is international action to end the conflicts in question, and to prevent conflicts that have ended from starting again (HSR 2012: 50).

Another problem is that responses are heavily nuanced with a continuing intention to "create awareness", to "disclose" to "break the silence" on CRSV. However, even if the intention is good, creating awareness about CRSV situations has not helped combating the problem Ayiera argues (Ayiera 2010: 11).

> *There is no shortage of a demonstrable international will to tackle sexual violence in conflict.*
> *However, the theorizing on sexual violence seems to have become stuck on breaking the silence,*
> Ayiera (2010: 11)

By treating CRSV as an independent phenomenon in conflict situations, the international discourse deals with the problem as if it could be fixed by solely applying proper legal and policy measures to the perpetrators. Ayiera argues that it is therefore considered necessary to problematize the conceptions that underpin the approach to CRSV, and not simplify a complex problem by proposing simple solutions (Ayiera 2010: 11-12). Furthermore, CRSV is often perceived as a standalone social problem that arises wholly because of the conflict situation and that will naturally die down when peace is restored. It is proven that sexual

violence increases in conflict situations, but it should not be separated from the social fabric where a culture of violence breeds, hardens and becomes an complex part of everyday life. The international community is treating sexual violence in "peacetime" and sexual violence in conflict situations as two separate intervention issues, and today's leading discourse is characterized by what Ayiera calls "a silo approach" (Ayiera 2010: 15).

6.4. Summary

The last chapter demonstrates how an element of discursive struggle that has made its entry by an alternative representation, and therefore one may say that the discourse is today open to different inscriptions of meaning. Viewed in its totality, the UN's discourse on CRSV in the DRC during the former SRSV's term (2010-2012), as analyzed from Wallström's statements during this period, can be seen as stable. However, discourse is confirmed by reproduction and with the number of texts articulating alternative representations and criticism growing it could suggest that the criticism is a threat to the dominant representations position. The discourse on CRSV in the DRC is therefore still not fully accepted as it stands today but open to debate. Furthermore, the increasing criticism directed against UN's representation might be perceived as if the dominant representation is loosing ground. However, discursive change usually takes time as discourses have strong resilience, especially as is to a great extent institutionalized (Neumann 2001: 133).

UN's representation that to a large extent influences the discourse on CRSV has now been contested, and the very existence of an alternative representation shows that the dominant discourse is not totally hegemonic (as discourses never are). However, the UN can be viewed as an established exporter of values within the international community and consequently UN's representations contribute to and affect the dominant discourse on CRSV to a great extent. UN's representation can be argued to have implications for the practices we see on CRSV in the DRC today, and policies and initiatives that emerge from this overall discourse on CRSV are often centering on femininity, conflict and impunity[41].

---

[41] Examples of such initiatives are the Women, Peace and Security resolutions (S/RES/1325, S/RES/1820, S/RES/1888, S/RES/1889, S/RES/1960).

Many have been critical of how the UN addresses CRSV in the DRC because of the implications it has to the debate and the international community's response thereto. However, there is simply no other global body that is doing anything remotely as comprehensive as what is being done by the UN. Nevertheless, if the hegemonic discourse oversimplifies CRSV in the DRC, it will impoverish and distort our understanding of the complexities of a serious issue. CRSV in the DRC deserves a well-informed, evidence based international response and in worst case this could present significant practical obstacles to the foundation of effective policies.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1. Main Findings

The situation in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo is devastating in terms of the widespread incidents of sexual violence in this conflict situation. In this thesis it is argued that a critical evaluation of the dominant discourse and the representations therein may reveal potential grounds for change in how Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) is conceptualized by the United Nations (UN). On the other hand, it is important to say that this thesis does not desire to disparage the current important work done by the international community within the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) field, or more specifically on the CRSV issue. Nor does it desire to dismiss developments made with the same value-laden notions criticized later in this document.

By using discourse theory and the writings of prominent International Relations (IR) and feminist scholars, it has been recognized that representations and meanings is manifested in language, and that discourse has important consequences for the International Relations field and policymaking. This thesis presents a qualitative analysis of the UN's CRSV conceptualization on the case of the DRC during Margot Wallström's period as a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSV) between 2010 and 2012. The first analysis chapter concerns the historical WPS tradition, and briefly analyses the emergence of a CRSV category. The main finding here is that CRSV is a concept that has gone from being a footnote to a Security Council priority. Moreover, based on the changed framing and conceptualization of CRSV in the DRC during the last decade, it is argued that a discursive shift on CRSV can be identified. The second analysis chapter details and analyzes the profound discursive conceptualizations, meanings and changes on CRSV in the DRC during the former SRSV term and in the WPS resolutions. The thesis main argument here is that the discursive construction assembles a distinct CRSV representation that influences the dominant discourse to a great extent. After the textual analysis of the former SRSV meaning production during her period, the alternative representations of CRSV in the DRC are laid out in the final chapter of this thesis. These alternative representations are organized around

feminist critique, but also a critique of a simplified picture of CRSV.

By applying discourse analytic methodology, an established dominant representation has been identified and described, and structures of specific, discursively constructed understandings and meanings have been explained. It is also argued that these constructions have been reproduced, and thus been invested with increased legitimacy. Furthermore, it is argued that the dominant representation of the UN can be seen as the main provider of the lens through which the international community views CRSV in the DRC and therefore influence the discourse to a large extent. A reproduction of the dominant representation provided by the UN is identified, but this thesis also identifies a growing oppositional representation that critiques the UN's conceptualization and narratives. After a decade of relative discursive stability, where the dominant CRSV representation arguably maintained a strong position, there are new voices emerging. The emerging alternative representations may be interpreted as signs of discursive struggle, that the discourse is open to different inscriptions of meaning, and that the dominant representation organization of reality is contested. Notions like *DRC as the rape capital of the world* has attracted academic attention that deconstructs and questions the mainstream narrative, reflecting in the growing group of notable scholars addressing the conceptualization of CRSV.

7.2. Directions for Further Research

This thesis has taken discourse analytic theories as its starting point and employed these to analyze and understand a specific case: the UN's understanding of CRSV in the DRC, and how this understanding contributes to meaning-production. Nevertheless, this thesis has implications beyond this case. It has shown that a discourse analytic framework may be fruitfully employed in the study of International Relations and policymaking. This is exemplified in this thesis where discourse theory and methodology have been used with the intention of adding and developing understandings of CRSV. This thesis has conducted what may be termed a micro-level analysis, drawing on a small number of texts. This leaves a host of issues unexplored, and our understanding of the CRSV engagement discourse may thus be profoundly improved by further studies. On the basis of this thesis' findings, it could be argued that there is a need for further systematic research on when the danger of sexual

violence is most acute, in which situations it happens, which groups are most vulnerable at any given time, who the perpetrators are, and what types of sexual violence they perpetrate. With better insight into these variations, we have a better chance of finding solutions for preventing CRSV in the DRC and in other areas where it may occur in the future.

7.3. Reflections

CRSV carries with it immense physical and psychological suffering. It not only affects those directly attacked and their families, but society as a whole. For a long time CRSV was an overlooked problem. However, over the past decade, we have observed an increased attention to the serious consequences of CRSV. A full understanding of the problem is unfortunately still lacking. The former SRSV, Margot Wallström, has certainly brought more attention to the issue, but it could be debated if her conceptualisation and framing have contributed to a skewed picture of CRSV in the DRC. If CRSV is to be tackled successfully, key assumptions should be unravelled and attention focused on what is currently kept out of the narrative in order to develop forward policymaking. This thesis has contributed to some of this understanding while at the same time acknowledging that the work done in this field is neither useless nor invalid. However it is essential that future international involvement against CRSV in the DRC becomes more nuanced and context sensitive.

REFERENCES:

Adler, Emanuel (2002), "Constructivism and International Relations." in Carlsnaes, Walter; Risse, Thomas; Simmons, Beth A. (red.) 2002: *Handbook of International Relations.* London: Sage.

Andersen, Heine & Lars Bo Kaspersen (2007), *Klassisk og moderne samfundsteori*, Hans Reitzels Forlag, København, 2007.

Andersen, Niels Åkerstrøm (1999), *Diskurtive analysestrategier*, Nytt fra samfunnsvitenskaperne: København.

Auteserre, Sèverine (2010), *The trouble with the Congo, Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Ayiera, E. (2010), "Sexual violence in conflict: A problematic international discourse", in *Feminist Africa: Rethinking Gender and Violence,* Issue 14: December 2010, African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town, South Africa, Available at: http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/issue_14/3.%20FA%2014%20-%20Feature%20Article%20Eva%20Ayiera.pdf (Last accessed 10.09.2012).

Baaz, Maria E, and Maria Stern (2010), *The Complexity of Violence:*
A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Available at:http://sidapublications.citat.se/interface/stream/mabstream.asp?filetype=1&orderlistmainid=2912&printfileid=2912&filex=3963491141792 (Last accessed 20.10.2012).

Baaz, Maria Eriksson and Stern, Maria (2008), "Making sense of violence: voices of soldiers in the Congo (DRC)", in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnermore (2004), *Rules for the World. International Organizations in Global Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

BBC News (2010), *UN official calls DR Congo 'rape capital of the world',* 28th of April 2010, Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8650112.stm (Last accessed: 04.02.2013).

Bryman, Alan (2012), *Social research methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bøås, Morten (2008), "Just another day – the North Kivu security predicament after the 2006 Congolese elections", in *African Security*, vol. 1, no. 1.

Bøås, Morten & Kevin C. Dunn (2007), *African guerrillas: Rage against the machine*, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Carver, Terrell (1996), *Gender is not a Synonym for Women*, Lynne Rienner: London, Boulder CO.

Carrol, William K. (2004), *Critical Strategies for Social Research*, Canadian Scholars press Inc: Toronto, Canada.

Castillo, Pablo Díaz and Sunita Caminha et al. (2012), *Gender-Responsive Early Warning: Overview and How-to Guide*, UNWOMEN, Available at: http://www.unwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/04E-Gender-Responsive-Early-Warning.pdf, (Last accessed: 21.01.2013).

Charlesworth, Hilary (2005), "Not Waving but Drowning: Gender Mainstreaming and Human Rights in the United Nations", in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, no 18.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. (1998), "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory", in *World Politics,* 50(2).

Cohen, Dara Kay (2008), *The Causes of Sexual Violence by Insurgents During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-1999)*, Stanford University Department of Political Science: Standford.

Conrad, Joseph (1889), *Hearth of Darkness*, Dover Publications: Dover.

Dolan, Chris (2010), *"War is not yet over" Community Perceptions of sexual violence and its Underpinnings in eastern DRC*, International Alert, Available at: http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/1011WarIsNotYetOverEng.pdf , (Last accessed: 01.02.2012).

Doty, Roxanne Lynn (1993), "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines" in *International Studies Quarterly. The Journal of the International Studies Association,* 37 (3).

Dunn, Kevin (2003), *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*, Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

Esmark, Anders et al. (2005), *Socialkonstruktivistiske analysestrategier*, Roskilde Universitetsforlag: Roskilde.

Fairclough, Norman (2001), *Language and Power*, 2nd Ed. Pearson Education Limited.

Gettleman, Jeffrey (2007), "Rape Epidemic Raises Trauma of Congo War", in *The New York Times*, Available at: at http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/aVEMKI/Rape%20Epidemic%20Raises%20Trauma%2 of%20Congo%20War%20New%20York%20Times.pdf (Last accessed: 04.02.2013).

Gilliard, Natalie (2011), "Peacekeepers or Perpetrators? An analysis of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) by UN personnel in the Democratic Republic of Congo", in *Mapping Politics*, Volume 3, Available at: http://journals.library.mun.ca/ojs/index.php/MP/article/view/228/179, (Last accessed: 21.01.2013).

Guzzini, Stefano (2000), "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations" in *European Journal of International Relations*, no 6.

Johnson, Kirsten et al. (2010), *Association of Sexual Violence and Human Rights Violations With Physical and Mental Health in Territories of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo*, Available at: http://www.uni-muenster.de/Soziologie/personen/bindata/20101012_Merten_JAMA-DRC-Sexual-Violence-2010.pdf (Last accessed 10.11.2012).

Jørgensen, Marianne Winter & Phillips, Louise (1999), *Diskursanalyse som teori og Metode,* Frederiksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag

Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa Martin (1995), "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory", in *International Security*, Volume 20, No. 1.

Kelly, Jocelyn, Justin Kabanga , Will Cragin , Lys Alcayna-Stevens , Sadia Haider & Michael J. Vanrooyen (2012), "'If your husband doesn't humiliate you, other people won't': Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo", in *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice*, 7:3.

Kleinman, Arthur (2000), "The violences of everyday life: The multiple forms and dynamics of social violence", in Veena Das et al. (eds), *Violence and Subjectivity*, University of California Press: London and Berkeley, CA.

Kvale, Steinar., & Brinkmann, Svend. (2009), *InterView - Introduktion til et håndværk,* København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Hansen, Lene (2006), *Security as Practice. Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War,* Routledge: London and New York.

Heal Africa (2012), "North Kivu, sexual violence targets children", in *Heal Africa Press Dossier First Half 2012*, Available at: http://www.healafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/sexual-violence-targets-children-2012.pdf (Last accessed 26.01.2013).

Human rights Watch Country Summary, *World Report 2012*, Available at: http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/drc_2012.pdf (Last accessed 22.12.2012).

Human Security Report (2012)*, Sexual Violence, Education, and War: Beyond the Mainstream Narrative*, Human Security Report Project, Vancouver: Human Security Press, Available at: http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/2012/text.aspx (Last accessed 01.02.2013).

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe (1985), *Hegemony & Socialist Strategy*, London: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto (1990), *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, London: Verso.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe (2001), *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, 2nd edn. London: Verso.

Legatum Institute's Prosperity Index (2013), *A Unique Global Inquiry Into Wealth and Wellbeing*, The Legatun Institute, Available at: http://www.prosperity.com/KeyFindings-1.aspx, (Last accessed: 15.01.2013).

Neumann, Iver B. (2001), *Mening, materialitet, makt: En innføring i diskursanalyse,* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Nordås, Ragnhild (2012), "Claims About Global Decline in Sexual Violence Spark Debate", in *PRIO Gender Peace and Security Update*, Issue 4, Available at: http://file.prio.no/publication_files/PRIO/PRIO%20GPS%20Update%202012%2004.pdf (Last accessed 26.01.2013).

Nynke Douma and Dorothea Hilhorst (2012), "Fond de commerce? Sexual violence assistance in the Democratic Republic of Congo", in *Disaster Studies Occasional Paper,* no 02, Wageningen University, Available at: http://www.wmm.com/filmcatalog/study/justice_report.pdf (Last accessed: 01.01.2012).

Mattern, Janice B. (2005), "Why `Soft Power' Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics", in *Millennium - Journal of International Studies,* vol. 33, Available at: http://mil.sagepub.com/content/33/3/583 (Last accessed: 01.02.2013).

Mearsheimer, John (1994), "The False Premise of International Institutions", in *International Security*, Volume 19, No 3.

McIlwaine, Cathy (1999), "Geography and violent crime as development issues", in *Progress in Human Geography,* Available at: http://phg.sagepub.com/content/23/3/453 (Last accessed: 24.11.2012).

Milliken, Jennifer (1999), "The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods", in *European Journal of International Relations* 5 (2).

Pankhurst, Donna (2004), "The "sex war" and other wars: Towards a feminist approach to peace building", in Haleh Afshar and Deborah Eade (eds), *Development, Women and War: Feminist Perspectives*, Oxfam GB: Oxford.

Peterman, Amber, Tia Palermo, and Caryn Bredenkamp (2011), "Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence Against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo"*, in American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 101, No. 6, Available at: http://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/abs/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300070 (Last accessed 15.01.2012).

Prunier, Gèrard (2009), *Africa's World War: Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of Continental Catastrophe*, UK: Oxford University Press.

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, *article 7*, Available at: http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/romefra.htm (Last accessed: 21.11.2012).

S/RES/1325, *Security Council resolution 1325*, adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000, accessed 10. September 2012 from United Nations web-pages: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325(2000)

S/RES/1820, *Security Council resolution 1820*, adopted by the Security Council at its 5916th meeting, on 19 June 2008, accessed 10. September 2012 from United Nations web-pages: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1820(2008)

S/RES/1888, *Security Council resolution 1888*, adopted by the Security Council at its 6195th meeting, on 30 September 2009, accessed 10. September 2012 from United Nations web-pages: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1888(2009)

S/RES/1889, *Security Council resolution 1889*, adopted by the Security Council at its 6196th meeting, on 5 October 2009, accessed 10. September 2012 from United Nations web-pages: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1889(2009)

S/RES/1960, *Security Council resolution 1960*, adopted by the Security Council at its 6453rd meeting, on 16 December 2010, accessed 10. September 2012 from United Nations webpages: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1960(2010)

Skjelsbæk, Inger (2009), "Kjønnsbasert vold i krig: Hvordan få god kunnskap og på hvilken måte?", in *Sosiologi i dag*, 2/2009, Available at: http://ojs.novus.no/index.php/SID/article/view/310/296 (Last accessed 06.02.2013).

Skjelsbæk, Inger (2001), "Sexual Violence and War: mapping Out a Complex Relationship", in *European Journal of International Relations,* Sage publications.

Solhjell, Randi (2010), *Sexualized violence in war and conflict: a qualitative mapping study of Norwegian capacities, potential and challenges*, Noref Rapport, Norwegian Peace Building Centre, Available at: http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/d71fc12bb15723010beb1ebb307bb9d1.pdf (Last accessed 01.02.2013).

Solhjell, Randi (2009a), *Combating Sexual Violence in the DRC, towards a comprehensive approach?*, NUPI report. Available at: http://www.google.com/search?client=safari&rls=en&q=uns+discourse+on+sexual+violence+in+DRC&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8 (Last accessed: 14.11.2012).

Solhjell, Randi (2009b),"Sexual Violence in War- Civilians as Battleground", in *Development Dialogue: Responses to mass violence-mediation, protection, and prosecution*, no.53.

Shepherd, Laura J. (2011), "Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond", in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13:4.

Shepherd, Laura J. (2010), "Women, armed conflict and language – Gender, violence and discourse", in *International Review of the Red Cross*, no 92.

Shepherd, Laura J. (2008a), "Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325", in *International Studies Quarterly,* no 52 (2).

Shepherd, Laura. J. (2008b), *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice,* London: Zed Books.

Stop Rape Now, *Comprehensive strategy on combating sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo*, Executive Summary, Available at: http://stoprapenow.org/uploads/features/ComprehensiveStrategyExecSumm.pdf (Last accessed: 04.02.2013).

Stop Rape Now: UN action against sexual violence in conflict, *Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict*, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict (Last accessed 04.02.2013).

Townshend, Jules (2003), "Discourse theory and political analysis: a new paradigm from the Essex School?", in *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 1.

Tryggestad, Torunn. L. (2009) "Trick or Treat? The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security", in Tom Farer and Timothy D. Sisk, eds*, Global Governance: a Review of Multilaterism and International Organizations,* no. 15, Available at: https://www.rienner. com/title/Global_Governance_A_Review_of_Mul-tilateralism_and_International_Organizations (Last accessed 31.10.2012).

UN News Centre (2012), *UN envoy for sexual violence in conflict to step down next month*, Available at: http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=41788&Cr=sexual+violence&Cr1=#.ULTA JM0zFuE (Last Accessed 27.11.2012).

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2010), *The real wealth of nations: pathways to human development*, New York: United Nations Development Programme.

United Nation web-page on Responsibility to Protect (R2P), Available at: http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml (Last accessed 21.11.2012).

UN News Centre (2013), *Interview with Zainab Hawa Bangura, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict*, 1st of February 2013, Available at: https://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=80 (Last accessed 10.03.2013).

UN News Centre (2010), *Interview with Margot Wallström, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict*, 11th of November 2010, Available at: http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=26 (Last accessed 16.11.2012).

UNWOMEN, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, Available at: http://www.unwomen.org/about-us/about-un-women/ (Last accessed: 30.10.12).

Wallström, Margot (2012), Security Council Open Meeting on "Women, Peace and Security: Conflict-Related Sexual Violence", Statement 23 February 2012, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict/ (Last accessed: 15.09.2012).

Wallström, Margot (2011), *Congolese women again bear the brunt of undisciplined security forces*, statement 23rd of June 2011, New York, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict/ (Last accessed: 15.09.2012).

Wallström, Margot (2010), Security Council Open Meeting on "Women, Peace and Security: Sexual Violence in Situations of Armed Conflict", Statement 16th of December 2010, New York, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict/ (Last accessed: 15.09.2012).

Wallström, Margot (2010), Wallström statement on DRC/Walikale incidents, 14th of October 2010, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict/ (Last accessed: 15.09.2012).

Wallström, Margot (2010), Security Council Meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, statement on the mass rapes in Kibua, 7th of September 2010, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict/ (Last accessed: 15.09.2012).
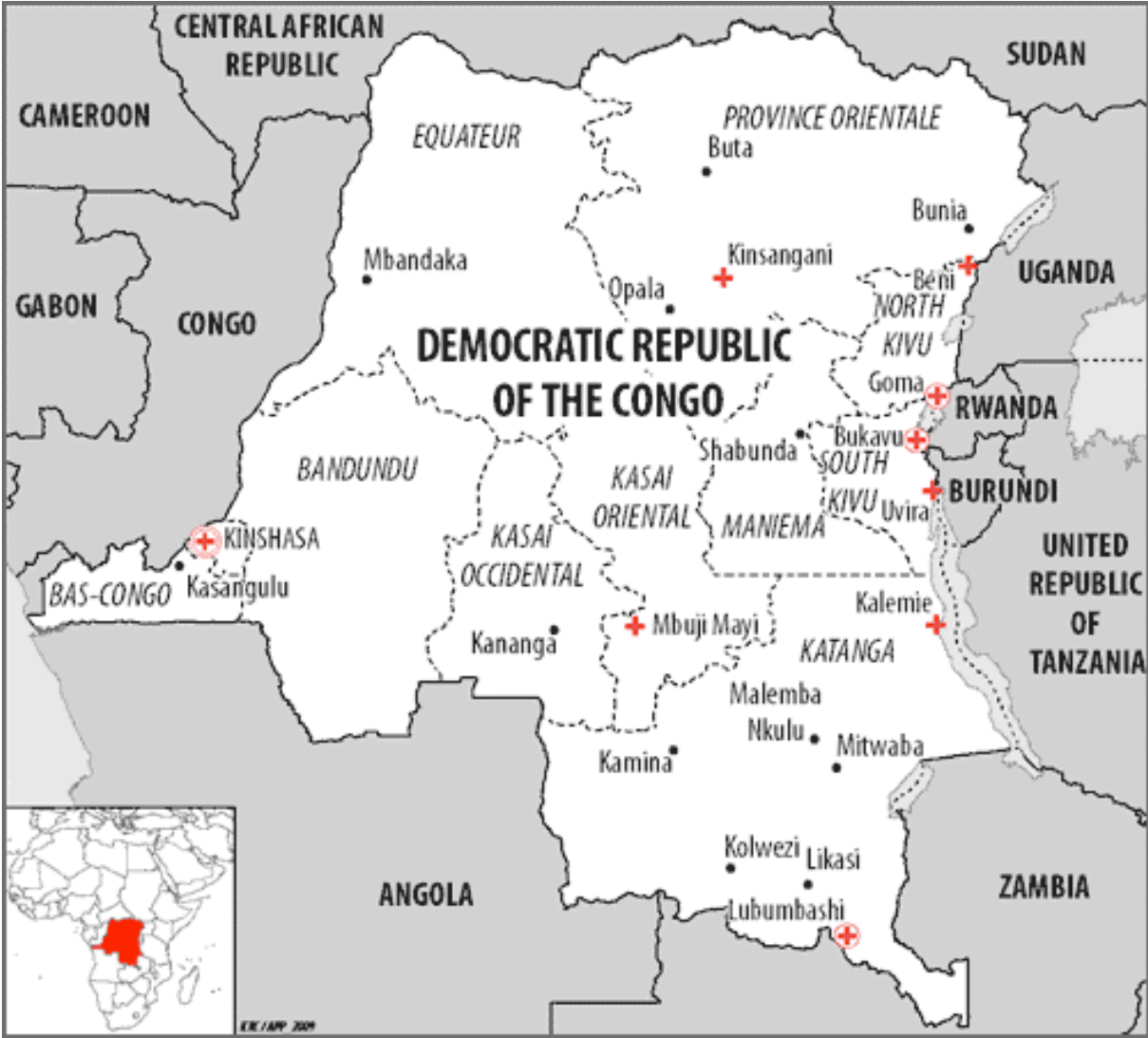
Wallström, Margot (2010), Security Council, "Women, Peace and Security: Sexual Violence in Situations of Armed Conflict", statement 27th of April, 2010, Available at: http://www.stoprapenow.org/page/specialrepresentativeonsexualviolenceinconflict/ (Last accessed: 15.09.2012).

Walt, Stephen (2005), "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations", in *Annual Review of Political Science,* no 8, Available at: http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/Pol272/Walt.theory.pdf (Last accessed 21.11.2012).

Watts, Charlotte and Cathy Zimmerman (2002), "Violence against women: global scope and magnitude", in *The Lancet*, Volume 359, Issue 9313.

Wood, Elisabeth J. (2008), "Sexual violence during war: toward an understanding of variation", in *Order, Conflict and Violence*, London: Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX 1: Map over the Democratic Republic of Congo

Source: ICRC