I’ll make a man out of you
- A critical discourse analysis of the portrayal of gender roles in the women, peace and security agenda

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Master’s thesis
Semester: Fall 2017 Extent of words: 13 001
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Abstract

This thesis examines the portrayal of men and boys within the women, peace and security agenda, and in particular the United Nations Security Council’s (UNSC) security discourse on this theme. The relationship between the portrayal of victims and perpetrators, and the portrayal of men and boys are analysed and discussed based on the three-dimensional framework for Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough. Through the theoretical framework of Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink on norm theory, this thesis furthers the understanding of the evolution of how men and boys are portrayed within the women, peace and security agenda. The results of this thesis are that the portrayal of victims often does not correspond with the portrayal of men and boys, while the portrayal of perpetrators often does correspond to the portrayal of men and boys. The study also shows that the portrayal of men and boys as the perpetrators as well as leaders in society has reached the third stage of the norm cycle by Finnemore and Sikkink; internalisation, and that the portrayal of men and boys as victims as partners to the female leaders in society has reached only reached the first stage of the norm cycle: norm emergence.

Keywords: United Nations Security Council; Norm theory; victim; men; boy; feminist war studies; perpetrator; war studies; women, peace and security
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1. Introduction

The study of war is as old as war itself, and there have been countless attempts to understand why war occurs, and how to win them. In 1832 the military treatise On War by Carl von Clausewitz was published. Since then the theories presented in the six volumes have dominated the study of war, also known as polemology, and few authors have been discussed, analysed and debated as much as Clausewitz. In his analysis of war, Clausewitz argues that war is between two antagonistic forces and he considered it as a duel with reciprocal actions. The aim was to force the opponent to subdue to one's will, but not to alienate the enemy. Clausewitz writes: "War is thus an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will." More recent research have studied the role gender structures have in this process, and especially the connection between masculinity and war. These studies illustrate the importance of studying gendered roles in war, as it is connected to who takes the role of the antagonist to force the opponent to subdue to one will, and what it means to be the subdued.

The year 2015 marked the 15th anniversary of the creation of the United Nation Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325. A resolution that has been hailed to be both ground-breaking and revolutionising. It was the result of decades of long work done by women’s organisations and lobbyists, and for the first time it put women and gender on the security agenda. This means that gender inequality, and gender-based violence can now be considered a threat to international peace and security. This recognition from the Security Council gives weight to the need to study the role gender plays in armed conflict.

Much has happened since the resolution was established; there have been several

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1 Clausewitz, Carl von (1976) On War, Princeton University Press

2 Wilcox, Lauren (2009) Gendering the Cult of the Offensive, Security Studies, 18:214–240,
Pin-Fat, Veronique and Maria Stern (2005), The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch: Biopolitics, Gender, and the "Feminization" of the US Military, Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 25-53,
Ahäll, Linda & Shepherd, Laura J. (2012) Gender, agency and political violence, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke,


following resolutions on the same theme “women, peace and security”; the field has gained international recognition and 64 countries have adopted national action plans.\(^5\) The aim of these is to identify the country's gender-related problems, provide ways to battle these and create a "road-map" to how the end game should be.\(^6\)

Since the UNSCR 1325 was adopted in 2000 another seven resolutions have been adopted by the UN Security Council related to the topic of women, peace and security. The most prominent of these, UNSCR 1820, was adopted in 2008 and was the first time the UN explicitly linked sexual violence as a tactic of war with women, peace building, and security issues. The resolution frames the use of sexual violence as "a tactic of war to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian population".\(^7\)

The resolutions regarding the women, peace and security agenda has been under thorough scrutiny, analysed and critiqued for being too radical, for not being radical enough,\(^8\) for not recognising the “vulnerable groups”, for only recognising the “vulnerable groups” \(^9\), for paying too much attention too victims and forgetting the perpetrators, as well as for paying too much attention to perpetrators and forgetting the victims\(^10\). One discussion that remains relevant within this field is how the resolution portrays people of different genders, and how the framing differs. One of the main critiques directed towards the resolutions is how it reinforces gender-stereotypes. In her article “Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond”, Laura Shepherd present an analysis of how women are portrayed “as victims; women as super-heroines; women as representative of (some/most/all) other women. Of course, all of these – and none of them – are ‘true.’ \(^11\) This article is used to help in the research as a backdrop and guide to how gender-stereotypes, regarding women, are reinforced in the resolutions. This thesis has a different focus, and will instead focus on how men and boys are portrayed in the resolutions. Shepherds


\(^6\) Muriaas et al, 2013, p. 90


\(^8\) Muriaas et al, 2013, p. 90


\(^10\) Skjelsbæk, Inger Responsibility to Protect or Prevent? Victims and Perpetrators of Sexual Violence Crimes in Armed Conflicts, Global responsibility to protect 4, 2012

\(^11\) The author recognises that gender is not a dichotomy of men and women, but exist on a spectrum. The author also wish to that there are more gender identities than men and women. However, for this thesis the genders will be categorised as men and women, due to the way the resolutions are formulated.

\(^12\) Shepherd, 2011, p. 516
critique of how women and girls are portrayed is used to compare with the analysis of how men and boys are portrayed.

1.1 Research problem

The purpose of this study is to further the understanding of how men and women are portrayed by the UNSC in the resolutions on the women, peace and security agenda, and how it has changed over time. Through an analysis of the portrayal of men and women within the discourse of the women, peace and security agenda it is possible to see the normative structure concerning gender that lies at the heart of the Security Council security discourse, and it is possible to see the evolution of the norms related to how men and women are portrayed.

Through the women, peace and security agenda both gender inequality and sexual violence in armed conflict is defined as a threat to international peace and security. This means that the UNSC has recognised that the gender and sexual violence could be a direct cause of conflict. The evolution of how different genders are portrayed by the UNSC regarding the women, peace and security agenda has not been studied from the time that UNSCR 1325 was adopted to when UNSCR 2331 was adopted, and it has never been studied from a norm theory perspective. This work will therefore help to fill the gap in the field of research of war studies, and this is important as it sheds a light on the different roles people of all genders may have during an armed conflict and war. The human experiences of war have traditionally been excluded from the general discourse within the field of war studies, and it is primarily in modern time that the experiences of war have been studied. The experience a person has from a war is currently affected by their gender. Depending on their gender, they are assigned different roles, and if their experience does not fall under their role, they may have a problem to gain recognition for their experiences. War studies, has much to gain from taking personal experiences into account. It may provide a deeper understanding of how military units are affected by the experience of war, it may help explain why some military forces go against the rules of war and commits war crimes, and it may provide understanding of the relation between military and the civilians. The different roles the genders are assigned affect how they experience war, and if the UNSC security discourse does not take that into account the discourse can represent the reality. By studying the UNSC it is possible to illuminate how the discourse on the victims and perpetrators of sexual violence has changed to become more nuanced and less excluding. This research is important as it highlights the shortcomings within the

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13 Sylvester, Christine (2013) War as experience: contributions from international relations and feminist analysis, Routledge, London
Security Council security discourse, as well as the successes.

The focus lies on how victims and perpetrators are portrayed, perceived and constructed. Previous research has focused on either men, or women, and on a limited number of resolutions. This study uses all of the resolutions on the Women, peace and security agenda, and is therefore able to provide an analysis of the development of the resolutions.

This study has a descriptive aim, which means that the aim is to describe the discourse in order to understand current form of the discourse. This study has two research questions to further the understanding of the research problem, and to achieve the purpose of the study. The questions are used in the analysis and answered in the conclusion. The research questions are:

*How does the portrayal of victims and perpetrators correspond with the portrayal of men and boys in the women, peace, and security agenda?*

*How can the evolution of the portrayal of men and boys in the women, peace, and security agenda be understood from a norm theory perspective?*

These questions have been chosen due to several reasons. The UNSC plays an important role in the international community, and dictates policy to its member states. How the UNSC portrays victims, perpetrators, as well as men and boy, sets an example for the rest of the world. As a result of UNSCR 1325, 64 nations have adopted national action plans, and the way men and boys are portrayed in the resolutions have an effect on these national action plans. This in turn has an effect on all aspects of the society that works with the women, peace and security agenda. Two of the most important is the armed forces, and the civil society. The portrayal of men and boys in the resolutions may therefore impact how both the civil society and the armed forces views men and boys in relation to sexual violence in armed conflict. This does not only has an effect on the work the civil society and armed forces do to prevent sexual violence in armed, but also how to deal with the aftermath, as well as how to deal with it when it occurs. The resolutions also set a standard on non-acceptance of the use of sexual violence in armed conflict by the armed forces. The portrayal of perpetrators has therefore a concrete consequence for the armed forces, and their work regarding sexual violence. This increases the importance of studying and analysing these questions within the research field of war studies.

The norm theory may help us understand if there is one single portrayal of men and boys, or several different ways they are being portrayed. It may further the
understanding of how the international community views men and boys, and if it may be considered as a norm to portray men and boys in a certain way.

Furthermore, the answers to these questions may have an impact on the individuals who are affected by how victims and perpetrators are portrayed in the resolutions.

To understand the evolution the portrayal of men and boys in the resolution may also help us understand how the resolutions of the future will look. By understanding and shedding a light on the problematic aspects of the resolutions, it is possible to avoid these in the future. Therefore it is highly important that these questions are analysed and answered.

1.4 Limitations

In any work of this scope there has to be limitations. The primary focus in this thesis is therefore to only study UNSC resolutions on the theme women, peace and security. It could easily be argued that in order to be able to understand the how genders are portrayed within the Security Council, more resolutions have to be studied. Even though this is a valid critique of the chosen material, the decision is based on the time limit, as well as the limit of scope of the thesis. It would not have been possible to do the material justice in a thesis of this scope. The author of this thesis recognise this, and recommend future research to continue the analysis and broaden it to other UNSC resolutions.
2. Theoretical framework

Within the research field of war studies, there are numerous different orientations, and this thesis specifically builds upon the previous work of the feminist war studies. Although not used as theories, this thesis is highly influenced by the work of feminist scholars such as Judith Butler\textsuperscript{14}, Cynthia Enloe\textsuperscript{15}, Laura Sjoberg\textsuperscript{16} and Christine Sylvester.\textsuperscript{17} This thesis will further the feminist understanding of war studies, and will therefore contribute to the research field of war studies in general, and feminist war studies in particular.

This will cover chapter the most important theories concerning sexual violence in armed conflict, the women, peace and security agenda, as well as how different genders are portrayed in relation to these. These theories provide the theoretical insight, and the different ontological standpoints present in the current research debate on these themes. Together with the Norm Theory by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, these theories create the theoretical framework used to analyse the material in order to provide an answer to the research questions.

The chapter on Previous research contains two sub chapters. The first sub chapter explains the Women, Peace and Security agenda through different analytical perspectives. The most relevant resolutions to the agenda are presented, as well as the critique and comments of different important scholarly work. In the second sub chapter, the historical perspective of sexual violence is described, and different perspectives on how to understand and analyse sexual violence in armed conflict are presented and compared.

2.1 Previous research

2.1.1 Women, peace and security

The women, peace and security agenda has been studied, critiqued and built upon since before UNSCR 1325 was adopted. On October 31\textsuperscript{st} 2000 the United Nations Security Council adopted the resolution 1325, and this resolution lays the foundation


\textsuperscript{16} Sjoberg, Laura with Caron Gentry, (2007) Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women’s Violence in Global Politics, Zed Books

\textsuperscript{17} Sylvester, 2013
for the following resolution on the same theme of Women, Peace and Security. Since then there have been a total of nine resolutions on the same theme 1327(2000), 1820 (2008), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2272 (2016), and 2331 (2016). The two most predominant of these resolutions are 1325 and 1820.

With UNSCR 1325 became known a new form of rhetoric with female voices setting the agenda. The resolution framed war experiences traditionally assigned to women as threat to international peace and security. It stressed the importance of female participation in peace building, as well as the responsibility the international community have towards the women in conflict zones. However, the resolution has been criticised for being too broad and vague, which has created difficulties in its implementation.

One author who has written extensively on UNSCR 1325 is Laura Shepherd. In her article "Women, armed conflict and language – Gender, violence and discourse", (2010) she seeks to further the understanding of the resolution, and its implementations. Shepherd discusses how the language a resolution is written in may affect the implementation of the resolution. She argues that the meaning of a concept is never “fixed”, but that it can vary depending on the context, and that this makes the words chosen and their context highly important. Shepherd uses post-structural theory to explain how the challenges of the resolution are a function of language itself as different actors may interpret different words differently depending on the context. Words such as “women”, “gender” and “men” may be interpreted different depending on the context, and this is something that needs to be taken into account. Shepherd argues that because of this the main challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325 will vary from place to place, and over time.

Shepherd notes that in UNSCR 1325, and the following resolution a pattern emerges.

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19 Skjelsbæk, 2012, p. 159-162

20 Skjelsbæk, 2012, p. 159

21 Shepherd, 2010, p. 149-150

22 Shepherd, 2010, p. 148

23 Shepherd, 2010, p. 149-150

24 Shepherd, 2010, p. 151

25 Shepherd, 2010, p. 149-150
Women are often given more responsibility to address sexual violence in armed conflict, as do the questions of whether the international community really should expect more from women than men when combatting sexual violence in armed conflict. Shepherd argues that connected to this is how the concept of sexual violence is constructed in the resolution. She argues that men are portrayed as the sole perpetrators, and women as the only victims of sexual violence in an armed conflict. This perpetrates a notion that sexual violence is something that happens to women and done by men. Shepherd argues that this notion relegates women to a position of constant victimhood, and the acts of sexual violence towards men are forgotten, ignored and stigmatised. Shepard makes many good points, and presents a good argument. Even though the women, peace and security agenda in itself is a recognition of the importance of these issues, it is vital to remain critical against the texts. Without academic critique of the resolution there may never be a change in the discourse. However, from one point of view the focus on women is explainable. This group has historically been ignored and overlooked. It could be argued that in the women, peace and security agenda it should be acceptable that it is women who are in focus, and not men. The problem with this is that sexual violence has been included in the women, peace and security agenda, and could therefore be considered gendered from start. The critique Shepherd makes is therefore valid, and one solution could be to create a new agenda only regarding sexual violence, or to make sure that this perspective is included in other important agendas that are not gendered.

The next big leap for the Women, Peace and Security agenda came in 2008 when the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1820. The resolution has been considered to represent a paradigm shift where the states and their military forces were given an increased responsibility for the prevention of sexual violence in armed conflict. Before the resolution, their responsibility had only included to abstain from allowing sexual violence in armed conflict. With the new resolution, their responsibility included taking an active part in protecting “vulnerable groups” from sexual violence, and to also include sexual violence in the state’s security agenda.

Even though many praised the Security Council for the resolution, many have offered critique on the semantics in the resolution, and the narrative it represents. Author Pamela Scully argues that UNSCR 1820 perpetrated the notion of the “vulnerable
woman in need of protection.” She argues that the resolution portrays women as the sole victims of sexual violence, failing to mention the fact that men can also be the victims. She continues her article with the argument that the resolution constructs men as soldiers, and women as wives and mothers. Scully argues that this gendered framing makes it hard for men to have a role as a civilian during a conflict, as they are only ever portrayed as soldiers and perpetrators.

In “Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond” from 2011 author Laura Shepherd studies the roles women and men are portrayed to have in an armed conflict, and as such, what roles they are allowed to have. She argues that there is a flaw in studies regarding the portrayal of foremost women by feminist scholars within the field of security and post-conflict studies. Shepherd argues that women are portrayed as either victims, or as “super-heroines, agents of their own salvation, capable of representing the needs and priorities of others and with the capacity to effect positive transformation in their given environments.” Her critique lies in the limitation of not seeing the different identities a person may have, and how a victim can also be an agent of change and a strong actor in a post-conflict society.

In “Vulnerable women: A critical reflection on human rights discourse and sexual violence” (2009), author Pamela Scully has analysed the UNSCR 1820(2008). Scully argues that the resolution has a predominant focus on women and girls as the sole victims. This creates problems in understanding the core components behind the reason to use sexual violence in armed conflict, and how to prevent it, as it only present half of the picture. Scully argues that this makes it harder to create a sustainable future for both men and women.

Scully continues the analysis on other important documents such as the Beijing Declaration and UNSCR 1325 in her article “Expanding the concept of gender-based violence in peace building and development” (2010). In this article, Scully argues that the focus on women and girls as the victims of sexual violence prevent the peace building efforts to be sustainable and long lasting. As they do not include the experiences of men and boys any effort is limited and the potential effect of

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30 Scully, 2009, p. 118

31 Scully, 2009, p. 120

32 Shepherd. 2011, p. 510

33 Shepherd. 2011, p. 510-510

34 Scully, 2009
intervention and prevention of sexual violence is restricted.\textsuperscript{35}

Another notable author regarding sexual violence in armed conflict is Inger Skjelsbæk. In her article “\textit{Responsibility to Protect or Prevent? Victims and Perpetrators of Sexual Violence Crimes in Armed Conflicts}” (2012) Skjelsbæk studies the UNSC resolutions on the Women, Peace and Security agenda from UNSCR 1325 to UNSCR 1960. Skjelsbæk connects her analysis of the resolutions to the Responsibility to protect doctrine from 2001. Skjelsbæk argues that sexual violence in armed conflict is based on a hierarchy of violence between masculinity and femininity where victims are feminized and perpetrators are masculinised. Skjelsbæk points out how the research field is focused on the experiences of the victims, and Skjelsbæk argues that there is a dire need to also study the perpetrators. She urges future research to further the understanding of man, women, masculinity, femininity, victim and perpetrator, as she considers this to be vital to understand the cause of sexual violence in armed conflict.\textsuperscript{36}

\subsection*{2.1.2 Sexual violence in armed conflict}

Sexual violence in armed conflict has throughout history been considered something inevitable and the two have been invariably connected.\textsuperscript{37} Despite being such an important part of the history of war, there is much left to the imagination regarding the extent of, the response to, as well as the practice of sexual violence in armed conflict throughout history.\textsuperscript{38} This part of history has for most part been ignored, overlooked and not given the proper attention.\textsuperscript{39} As such there are many gaps within the research and there are many aspects of the phenomenon that needs to be examined.\textsuperscript{40} Without thorough examination it is impossible to truly understand why sexual violence in armed conflict occurs, how to prevent it from happening, and who the victims and perpetrators are. Furthermore, as there are so many reports of sexual


\textsuperscript{36}Skjelsbæk, 2012, p. 4


\textsuperscript{38}Heineman, 2011, p. 1


\textsuperscript{40}Heineman, Elizabeth D, Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones- From the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2011, p. 11
violence in armed conflict, and the fact that military forces are at times indicated to be
the perpetrators of sexual violence it falls under the research field of war studies.

Many authors such as Sara Sharatt, Pamela Scully and Elisabeth Jean Wood, to
mention a few, agrees with the Rome statute and considers the practice of sexual
violence in armed conflict to be used as a method of genocide or ethnic cleansing.
Wood argues that in these circumstances the sexual violence is tolerated by the
leaders within the military and that if there is any kind of repercussions for the
perpetrators, it is merely symbolic. Scully argues that there has been a change in
how sexual violence in armed conflict is perceived. It has gone from being considered
an “uncontrollable act” to an act of reason to use “rape as a weapon of war”.

Within the academic discussion on sexual violence in armed conflict, one major
question that still is cause for much debate is regarding the cause of sexual violence in
armed conflict. In the book “Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones- From the Ancient
World to the Era of Human Rights”, (2011) Elisabeth Heineman argues that sexual
violence is used to fulfil one, or many of these functions:

“Communication between male combatants, an opportunity for the military to
confirm its ability to enhance its soldiers masculinity, a tool to destroy an opponents
culture, an effort to deracinate the enemy.”

Furthermore, Heineman agrees with the notion that sexual violence is used as a
weapon of war, and that it is primarily used by military forces. Heineman also
argues that sexual violence in armed conflict is too often studied as a consequence of
war, when it actually may help in the escalation of a conflict.

41 The Rome Statute states in article seven: For the purpose of this Statute, “crime against humanity” means any of
the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian
population, with knowledge of the attack: g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy,
enforced sterilisation, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity. Furthermore, in article eight,
sexual violence is stated to be a war crime, and the Geneva convention is referenced.

42 Wood, Elisabeth Jean, Sexual Violence during War: Toward an Understanding of Variation in Sjoberg, Laura and
Sandra Via, editors, Gender, war, and militarism: feminist perspectives, ABC-CLIO, LLC, Santa Barbra, 2010, s.
133, Sharratt, Sara, Gender, shame and sexual violence : the voices of witnesses and court members at war crimes
tribunals, Ashgate publishing, Farnham, 2011, s. 9, Scully, 2009, p. 114

43 Wood in Sjogren, 2010, p. 133

44 Scully, 2009, p. 114

45 Heineman, 2011, p. 7

46 Heineman, 2011, p. 7

47 Heineman, 2011, p. 10
Sara Sharatt argues in her book “Gender, shame and sexual violence: the voices of witnesses and court members at war crimes tribunals” (2011) that sexual violence, and rape in particular has from an historical perspective been seen as a crime against the honour of the family of the victim. Wood agrees with this and adds that it continues on the notion that a woman’s sexuality is matter of honour concerning her family.

Janie L. Leatherman has in her book “Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict” from 2012 examined sexual violence during armed conflict. She describes a silence surrounding the violence as the subject has been considered too taboo to study. Leatherman considers the patriarchy and ignorance as two causes for this silence. The patriarchy due to the silence build on pre-existing structures on gender, and ignorance due to the historical unwillingness to study sexual violence, and as a result there is not a widespread knowledge regarding sexual violence in armed conflict.

Leatherman argues that sexual violence does not occur from nothing, and that it is not an isolated incident. Leatherman argues instead that it is a continuation of pre-existing gender roles and gender-based violence that occur during peacetime. In societies where gender-based violence is prevailing during peacetime there is a higher risk for sexual violence during an armed conflict.

Heineman has also studied the connection of sexual violence during peacetime versus conflict. She lists several reports from the civil society and non-governmental organisations that support Leatherman’s argument. Heineman also discusses the other side of the argument, which states the opposite. She cites the researcher Richard C. Trexler:

"The traditional habit of describing outside conflict as produced by inside civility is problematic. Military formations inspire domestic arrangements rather than vice versa"

However, Heineman argues that both sides agree that it is impossible to truly

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48 Sharatt, 2011, p. 16
49 Wood in Sjogren, 2010, p. 133
51 Leatherman, 2012, p. 3
52 Leatherman, 2012, p. 4
53 Heineman, 2011, p. 8
54 Heineman, 2011, p. 8
understand sexual violence in armed conflict if it is studied in isolation from the sexual violence in peacetime.\textsuperscript{55}

According to Wood, it is impossible to study sexual violence as something static, and without its context.\textsuperscript{56} She argues that sexual violence in armed conflict varies from different cases,\textsuperscript{57} and may change during the course of the conflict.\textsuperscript{58}

2.2 Theoretical framework

This study uses the chosen empirical to illustrate the theoretical statement of norm theory formulated in Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink’s article “International norm dynamics and political change” from 1998. The theory has been widely recognised within the constructivist field of international relations studies and the theory has been adopted and developed by the academic field. However, there is a lack of applying this theory in the field of gendered international studies, and war studies in particular. It is therefore relevant to apply the theory, and by doing so, see if is viable within the field of war studies.

The article by Finnemore and Sikkink provides an explanation of origin of the norms in the international community, as well as ways of understanding the norms. Norms are often defined as a standard of “correct” behaviours for certain actors with a given identity. In the study of political norms, along with normative issues are central concepts, and the students of politics have faced questions such as the influence of human behaviour in regard to justice and the good society.\textsuperscript{59} Early scholars in the field of international relations acknowledged that a great amount of UN activity involved establishment of norms, and human rights, decolonisation and education are put forward as examples of these norms. However, these scholars often failed to theorise the processes within the UN with regards to these norms.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{55} Heineman, 2011, p. 8

\textsuperscript{56} Wood in Sjogren, 2010, p. 135

\textsuperscript{57} Wood in Sjogren, 2010, p. 125

\textsuperscript{58} Wood in Sjogren, 2010, p. 135

\textsuperscript{59} Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.891

\textsuperscript{60} Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.889
The Life Cycle of an International Norm:

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Figure 1.  
Within a community, norms are considered as "continuous, rather than dichotomous, entities and come in various types of strengths," where different norms command different levels of agreement. Finnemore and Sikkink argue that, one way of understanding the special dynamics of this union is through the lens of what they call the "life cycle" of norms. This model, shows how when one norm gains recognition and understanding among a certain amount of actors, a tipping point is reached. After this, it is easier to reach understanding or an agreement. The norm cycle is divided into three different stages: norm emergence, norm cascade, and internalisation. Finnemore and Sikkink have found this particular pattern independently on social norms in US legal theory, world policy theorists and international relations. The three stages show the different logics and social

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63 Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.892
64 Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.893
65 Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p.893-894
processes of action that may be a part of the stages in a norm’s “life cycle”. Finnemore and Sikkink argue that different actors, motives and/or mechanism of influence can characterise change at any of these stages. The first stage, norm emergence, is characterised by the persuasiveness from norm entrepreneurs, whose pursuit is to convince state, i.e. norm leaders, to embrace the new norms. The second stage, norm cascade, is defined by a dynamic imitation as the norm leaders strive to engage other states into becoming norm followers. Between the first and the second stage the “tipping point” occurs. This is when the norm has reached some degree of acceptance and recognition from some actors. After the “tipping point” the norm “cascades” through the remaining populations. Finnemore and Sikkink argues that the promotion of the norm cascade is done through a combination of pressure and conformity, a desire for enhancing international approval, as well as the desire of state leaders to prove their self-esteem. The third and final stage is when the norms require a “taken for granted” quality in the process of having become internalised, and are no longer a broadly debatable matter. As examples of internalised norms, Finnemore and Sikkink used the western norms of women’s rights to vote and the injustice of slavery.\footnote{Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 895}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Figure 2\footnote{Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998, p. 896}}
\end{figure}
3. Research design

In research, it is important to settle on a design well suited for the research problem. However, before that can be done the ontological standpoint and epistemological framework need to be explained. This study is based within the post-positivistic approach, which argues that all social realities are constructed. As they are constructed, it is possible to reconstruct them when, and if, they are not deemed rightful or just. In this study, the ontological standpoint is that the primary sources for said study exist and has no objective meaning without interpretation. There is no way of reading these sources without using the knowledge and perspectives the reader carries with them, and it is therefore impossible to read without interpretation. Close connected to the ontological standpoint is the epistemological framework. This study acknowledge(s) and uses the epistemological framework that knowledge is political and that this indicated that all discourse is political.68

The research design for this study is a single case study on the discourse within the UNSC between the adoption of UNSCR 1325, and the adoption of UNSCR 2272, using the resolutions of the agenda of Women, peace and security. Historically there has been a discussion regarding the benefits of case studies in comparison to statistical studies. The latter was given the characteristics of being larger, and in a “the bigger the better” culture, it was easy to consider the statistical one the only right one. George and Bennett, argue quite conversely that this would be a mistake, as the case study design entails much more than is visible at a first glance.69 They define a case as instances of class of events. These classes of events refer to phenomena of scientific interest, with examples such as revolutions, types of governmental regimes and kinds of economic systems. They write: ”A case study is thus a well-defined aspect of a historical episode that the investigator selects for analysis, rather than a historical event itself.”70 However, George and Bennett argues that to use a single case study as the chosen research design does not indicate a lack of other cases, but the opposite. It indicates that it is a part of a broader population of cases, which this single case may be representative for. A case study may be of an isolated event, but based on George and Bennett the isolated event should actually be considered as part of more events, even though they may not be clearly linked. Regarding the case analysis there are


69 George & Bennett, 2004, p. 77

70 George & Bennett, 2004, p. 78
pattern to be seen, and therefore it part of a broader population of cases. George and Bennett writes that "Case selection should be an integral part of a good research strategy to achieve well defined objectives of the study". It may indeed be beneficial for future research to extend the research to include all resolutions on the women, peace and security agenda, or to go even further and study the entire discourse of the UNSCR. The choice to use a single case study in this study was made due to limitation in time, and scope, not based on a lack of material to study. However, it is not necessarily better to study more cases. The purpose of this study is to analyse the discourse within the UNSC to explain how sexual violence in armed conflict is viewed by the UNSC, and by using a single case study it is possible to go deeper into the text. A broad sample of cases might provide a more general analysis, and there are definitely several benefits to that type of study as well. It is broader, and it can give a descriptive account of the situation. However, to find a more thorough explanation, a single case study is the perfect place to start. Future research may use this as a stepping-stone in a study on larger scale than this study. In any study, it is important to know the limits, and to adapt the research method to these limitations. Therefore, a single case study is the most suitable for this thesis.

3.1 Methodological framework

The methodology used in this study is the framework of critical discourse analysis created by Norman Fairclough, where he stresses “the centrality of human meaning and understanding in explaining the social world”. Fairclough was the first to create a theoretical framework for Critical discourse analysis and this provided guidelines for future research. The main part of Fairclough’s framework is the belief that the language is a complex part of social life. Through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures, it is possible to understand and analyse the dialectic relation between language and social reality. In his method of analysis, Fairclough attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts, and he provides the three-dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourse.

Fairclough’s three dimensions of analysis are a progression starting from (i) the analysis of discourse practices on a "macro" level where the focus is on intertextuality and interdiscursivity of discourse samples; to (ii) analysis of text, including "micro"
aspects of discourse practice; to finally (iii) analysis of the social practices of which the discourse is a part. Fairclough argues that these will inevitably overlap in practice and that they do not have to be in that order. The order Faircloughs presents involves a progression from interpretation to description and back to interpretation. However, Fairclough states that there may be many occasions where it is beneficial to change the order, and that it all depends on the purpose of the study.  

“Bear in mind that during analysis there is a constant alternation of focus from the particularity of the discourse sample, to the type(s) of discourse which it draws the upon, and the configuration of discourse types to which it is oriented. Analysis should be directed at both: it should show features, patterns and structures which are typical of certain types of discourse, restructuring tendencies in orders of discourse, and ways of using these conventional resources which are specific to this sample.”  

For this study, the order remains the same as outlined above, and the different levels of dimensions are explained in more detail below:

3.1.1 The first dimension
The first dimension is the linguistic description of the formal properties of the text focusing on interdiscursivity and intertextuality. The objective of interdiscursivity is “to specify what discourse types are drawn upon in the discourse sample under the analysis, and how.” The objective with intertextuality is “to specify the distribution of a type of discourse sample by describing the intertextual chains it enters into, that is, the series of text types it is transformed into or out of.”

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77 Fairclough, 1992, p. 231
78 Fairclough, 1992, 232
79 Fairclough, 1992, p.233
Fairclough lists these four questions as a guide to understanding the interdiscursivity of a text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Is there an obvious way of characterizing the sample overall (in terms of genre)? (If so, what does it imply in terms of how the sample is procured, distributed, and consumed?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Does the sample draw upon more than one genre?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>What activity type(s), style(s), discourse(s) are drawn upon? (Can you specify styles according to tenor, mode and rhetorical mode?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Is the discourse sample relatively conventional in its interdiscursive properties, or relatively innovative?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.\(^{80}\)

Fairclough also list three questions as a guide in understanding the intertextual chains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>What sort of transformation does this (type of) discourse sample undergo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Are the intertextual chains and transformations relatively stable, or are they shifting, or contested?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Are there signs that the text producer anticipated more than one sort of audience?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.\(^{81}\)

Other parts of this dimension are to analyse the coherence where the aim is “to look into the interpretative implications of the intertextual and interdiscursive properties of the discourse sample”\(^{82}\).

3.1.2 The second dimension
The second dimension is the interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes/interactions and the text. To help with this interpretation Fairclough has a long list of tools to use in analysis of the text. These tools help identify different patterns and interactions within the text, and these are: interactional control, cohesion,

\(^{80}\) Fairclough, 1992, p.233

\(^{81}\) Fairclough, 1992, p.233

\(^{82}\) Fairclough, 1992, p.233
politeness, ethos, grammar, transitivity, theme, modality, word meaning, wording, and metaphor. The ones primarily used in this thesis are cohesion, theme, word meaning, and wording. The words the concepts of men and boys, victim and perpetrator has been chosen as base for the analysis, and even though the entire resolutions are used in the analysis, the focus is these concepts and the context they are in.

3.1.3 The third dimension
The third, and final dimension is the explanation of the relationship between the discourse and social, and cultural reality. Fairclough explains that the general objective with this dimension is to specify: “the nature of the social practice of which the discourse practice is a part, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is; and the effects of the discourse practice upon the social practice.”

In order to do this specification one goes through the social matrix of discourse, the orders of discourse and the ideological and political effects of discourse.

The aim with the Social matrix of discourse is to specify “the social and hegemonic relations and structures which constitutes the matrix of this particular instance of social and discursive practice”, and “how this instance stand in relation to these structures and relations”. Fairclough gives these as guiding examples: “is it conventional and normative, creative and innovative, oriented to restructuring them, oppositional, etc.?” The final part is to analyse “what effects it contributes to, in terms of reproducing or transforming them.”

The objective of the Orders of discourse “is to specify the relationship of the instance of social and discursive practice to the order of discourse it draws upon, and the effects of reproducing or transforming orders of discourse to which it contributes.”

The focus of the Ideological and political effects of discourse is on the following particular ideological effects: Systems of knowledge and belief; social relations; social identities (selves).

Fairclough’s framework addresses a complex view of how power in relation function

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83 Fairclough, 1992, p.234-237
84 Fairclough, 1992, p.237
85 Fairclough, 1992, p.237-238
86 Fairclough, 1992, p.237
87 Fairclough, 1992, p.237-238
88 Fairclough, 1992, p.238
in society. Discourse analysis is per se constructed based on interpretation, which means that the analysis constitutes a lack of objectivity. However, it does create a more extensive space for subjective interpretations. This allows the study to be more creative, but it as it reduced the transparency and credibility of the study; it cannot be a deductive study. In order to minimise the author’s own subjectivity, and to make the study as transparent and reliable as possible, each subchapter in the analysis is introduced with meta-communication. Throughout the thesis the author explains each part, and provides reasoning for the choices and analysis. Critical discourse analysis is the most suitable method for this study as it aims to discover the discourses that are not part of an “objective reality”, and instead find the discourses that gains meaning only through interpretation.89

3.2 Case selection

For this thesis the women, peace and security agenda of the UNSC has been chosen as the case to study. It was the resolution that first classified sexual violence in armed conflict as systematic and a tactic of war. As such it can be argued to have created a frame for sexual violence, and the result of this framing is not conclusively studied. UNSCR 1325 has been studied extensively from many different perspectives, but it could be argued that UNSCR 1820, and the following resolutions have been somewhat forgotten. Many questions remain regarding how men and boys are portrayed within the resolution, and the implications it may have.

It could well be argued that it is somewhat pointless to study the discourse within the UNSC as the member states rotate, with the exception of the permanent five. However, even though the member states rotate, the UNSC is still considered one body within the UN system. The member states are important individually, but as a whole they become vital for the international community as the UNSC dictates policy via the resolutions. It is therefore interesting to study the discourse of the UNSC during any given time, and especially when the result is a resolution that echoes all over the world. However, it is equally important to keep in mind that the UNSC that adopted one resolution almost ten years ago is not same as the UNSC we have today, just as the world we see today is not the same as it was 2008. The permanent five remains the same, and they continue to be the dominant members of the Security Council, but the internal situation of the permanent five is different. The USA of 2016 is not the same as 2008. The same goes for all of the permanent five, as they have to respond to internal changes and external developments.

89 Howarth, 2000, p. 10-12.
It could also be argued to be more beneficial to study the permanent five members over time in order to gain an understanding of the dynamic between these. This critique is valid, and would be a very interesting study. However, it is not the focus of this study, and such a study would differ greatly from this thesis. For example: it would need another research purpose as well as research design.

### 3.3 Material

As previously stated, there is an extensive field of research regarding gender and UNSCR 1325. Furthermore, there is plenty of written work regarding sexual violence in armed conflict and the women, peace and security agenda. The pre-existing materials regarding these two fields are therefore vast, but the work combining these two have not been exhausted yet. There are still many questions to be asked, and especially considering the normative aspects of the UNSC.

When collecting data for this thesis, a strategy had to be constructed. This strategy of data collection is divided into different parts. The first step of the strategy of data collection is inductively based on pre-existing materials. This study relies on many secondary sources regarding the general discourse on sexual violence in armed conflict, and within the women, peace and security agenda.

The resolutions have been chosen as they are what the Security Council presents to world. They are scripted statements that the member states of the Security Council have agreed upon after countless hours when a myriad of people have worked to make it the best text to represent what their government wishes to express. This combination of being written with a clear political purpose from the individual governments with being the ultimate compromise in the UN system makes them the perfect metaphor, or reference point of the discourse in the Security Council.

As for all the research there is other material that could have been used. Protocols, reports to the UNSC and statements by the secretary general are all material that would be interesting to study. However, in this thesis it is the discourse the UNSC presents that is the focal point, and the examples of other possible material are either a document directed towards the UNSC (the reports), an example of the internal discourse of the UNSC (protocols) or statements made by an actor outside of UNSC and in fact working for the UNSC (statements by the secretary general or the deputy).

The resolutions are interesting as they present the collected views of the security council, and as such sets the line after the rest of the UN system have to fall behind. These resolutions the standards that have to become mainstream within all of the UN system.

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system, as well as the member states.

3.4 Operationalisation

This thesis uses Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework for the analysis of the material combined the norm theory by Finnemore and Sikkink. The first part of the analysis focuses on the text and the use of language. It is a descriptive part and explains the context of the discourse. The second part of the analysis interprets the relationship between the discursive processes/interactions and the text. In this dimension examples from the material are used to analyse and find the answer to the research question. In the third part the theoretical framework is used to explain the relationship between the discourse, and the social- and cultural reality. Through the lens of the norm theory, and by using the framework by Fairclough it is possible understand the material in a new way. A thorough analysis of the discourse can reveal the normative structures behind the written statements, and provide insights in how men and boys are portrayed in the security council. Depending on the words used to describe women, girls, men and boys, and the way these words corresponds to different roles in armed conflict, it is possible to see how men and boys are portrayed. When certain roles are connected only to men it may be concluded that the language in the resolution portray men in that role, and the same logic can applied when men are not connected to another role. The material can therefore tell us how the security council choose describe different groups in connection to sexual violence in armed conflict, and this provides us with the necessary information to draw conclusions regarding the portrayals within the discourse of the security council.
4. Analysis

4.1 First dimension

In the first dimension of Fairclough’s framework the formal properties of the text focusing on interdiscursivity and intertextuality are examined. In this section the questions listed in the methodological framework answered.

4.1.1 Interdiscursivity

The discourse sample in this study is the material, i.e. the UNSC resolutions. The resolutions on the Women, peace and security agenda are all written as formal documents by the UN Security Council. As such they are part of a rather particular genre resembling political statements, as well as direct instructions. The aim with the resolutions is to instruct the member states of the UN system of how they should act in certain regards. Some obvious ways of characterising the samples overall is how the resolutions convey the agenda from the UNSC through words and phrasing such as how the council notes, expresses their concern, stresses, and urges the member states to follow the resolution. The resolutions are a one-way conversation from the Security Council to the member states of the UN.

4.1.2 Intertextuality, and intertextual chains

The discourse samples chosen in this thesis are all resolutions from the UNSC. They are part of a long intertextual chain, and it would be impossible to present it in its entirety here. Therefore a compromised intertextual chain is presented with the reservation for it not being complete. The discourse the resolutions are part of expands from the news articles that report or reference the resolution, to the national action plans 64 member states have adopted, to the examinations of these national action plans by the local civil society. The chain starts long before the resolutions with the reports from the Women’s conference, and in particular the Beijing Platform. In addition to this, the protocols from the meeting are also part of this chain. This type of sample undergoes an abstract transformation, as the theoretical framework and the ideological ideas presented in the resolutions are reproduced in the parts of the intertextual chain that comes after the resolution. Therefore, these resolutions are extremely important to the discourse, as they set the standards and create the foundation for the rest of the chain.

The intertextual chains and transformations are currently relatively stable. When it first came it was far more contested, but today it has reached a more general
acceptance. However, certain elements remain contested, and as result they are shifting

The text producer, i.e. the UNSC anticipated more than one sort of audience. This can be seen as the texts address the member states, bodies and specific posts within the UN. The UNSC is also aware that they are under scrutiny from the civil society, academics, from news outlets and for the general public.

4.2 Second dimension

This subsection explores the second dimension of Fairclough’s framework. In this subsection the relationship between the discursive processes/interactions and the text are interpreted and analysed. The subsection is divided into three different parts; men and boys, victim and perpetrator. Under these overarching concepts the samples from the discourse is presented in chronological order, and the focus is on these concepts and the context they are in. The tools used in this subsection to analyse and interpret are cohesion, theme, word meaning, and wording.

4.2.1 Men and boys

Men or boys are not mentioned in any of the resolutions on the women, peace and security agenda before UNSC 2106, and therefore, the first discourse sample to be analysed regarding men and boys is from UNSCR 2106.

UNSCR 2106 (2013)

When men are first mentioned it is in two roles: as a group that needs to be enlisted in the effort to combat all forms of violence against women, and a group that may be the victim of sexual violence in armed conflict.

When men are described as a group to be enlisted, it is based on the statement that their enlistment is central to long-term effort to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict resolutions.91

Men and boys are portrayed as victims on two accounts; as victims of sexual violence, or as ”forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members”.92 When men and boys are describes as possible victims of sexual violence it is almost done as a secondary issue and more as note that was forced in, rather than strategically placed.

91 UNSCR 2106 (2013) p. 1
This is problematic, as it seems that the two categories are exclusives: you are either a victim of sexual violence, or an actor of change. According to Shepherd similar rhetoric are used regarding women, when she states the women are portrayed “as victims; women as super-heroes; women as representative of (some/most/all) other women. Of course, all of these – and none of them – are ‘true.’”

**UNSCR 2241 (2015)**

In UNSCR 2241 men are included as a group that needs to be engaged as partners in the promotion women's participation in peace-building, post-conflict situation, and the prevention and resolution of armed conflict.

**UNSCR 2331 (2016)**

UNSCR 2331 is a rather differ from the other resolutions, as the main focus of this resolution is not conflict, but trafficking. It does however still fall under the women, peace and security agenda, and as such it is a relevant sample from the discourse. In 2016, when UNSCR 2331 was adopted there was a shift in how men and boys are portrayed as women and girls where put alongside men and boys.

When the UNSC emphasise the importance of paying particular attention to amplifying the voices of women and girls alongside men and boys, it gives credence to a more equal way of portraying men, women, boys, and girls. It portrays them as actors who have a right to have their voices heard, regardless of their gender.

However, in paragraph eight, men are excluded as being the possible victims of trade and trafficking, as the groups presented as victims are women, girls and boys. This is problematic as it ignores those men who are the victim of trafficking, which in turn may lead to an increase of stigmatisation for those victims. Furthermore, it raises the issues of when it is that a boy becomes a man, and therefore not a victim.

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93 Shepherd, 2011, p. 516
94 UNSCR 2242 (2015) p. 2
95 UNSCR 2331 (2016) p. 2
96 UNSCR 2331 (2016) p. 5
97 This is a discussion that could benefit of further research, and the author encourages further studies on this matter.
A step in the right direction towards a gender equal way of portraying men and women can be found in paragraph ten, when men and boy explicitly are said to be possible victims of sexual violence in conflict.\textsuperscript{98}

\subsection*{4.2.2 Victims}

At a first glance, it would be easy to assume that the portrayal of victims is gender neutral. However, when examining the context of how victims are portrayed a pattern emerges. The resolutions never state that only women and girls that are the victims of sexual violence in armed conflict, but it could be argued that it is implied throughout the resolutions.

\textit{UNSCR 1888 (2009)}

UNSCR 1820 paragraph four states that all member states should comply with their obligation for prosecuting the persons responsible for sexual violence, and call upon member states the ensure that all victims have equal protection under the law. However, women and girls are singled out and it is stated that the member states should take particularly consideration women and girls.\textsuperscript{99}

By emphasising the member states’ obligation to ensure that women and girls have a particular need of equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, the text implies that men and boys are not in a particular need for this protection. The text states that all victims of sexual violence, but by putting the emphasis on women and girls the text manages to do two things: it portrays women and girls as especially vulnerable for sexual violence, and it portrays men and boys as not vulnerable for sexual violence. The problem this brings is how it implies that women and girls are the primary victims, whereas men and boys are forgotten. However, in paragraph 13, victims are referenced without singling out women and girls, as only the word victims is used.\textsuperscript{100}

Even though this could be considered gender neutral the previous extract makes this hard to do. As the resolution previously have pointed out the vulnerability of women and girls it is hard for the reader to overlook that, and to view this paragraph as gender neutral.

\textsuperscript{98} UNSCR 2331 (2016) p. 5
\textsuperscript{99} UNSCR 1820 (2008) p. 3
\textsuperscript{100} UNSCR 1820 (2008) p. 4
**UNSCR 1888 (2009)**

In UNSCR 1888, victims are mentioned several times, and above all else the “victimhood” of women and girls predominant in the resolution. In the preamble the UNSC writes about the rights of the victims, and it is written as something gender neutral.\(^{101}\) However, there are many samples from the text when women are portrayed as the victims with no less than four occasions where the need to protect women is stressed.\(^{102}\) Article eight is fairly standard and discusses the responsibilities of the Secretary General, and what the UN system can, and should do to prevent sexual violence and be responsive to the victims. It does so without specifying the gender of the victims,\(^{103}\) and the same can be said about article 13.\(^{104}\)

When the UNSC writes about victims of sexual violence in this resolution it comes with the pretext that sexual violence is something that happens to women. Therefore this article, which seems gender neutral on its own, is in its context a contributor to a gendered discourse where victims are female.

The final article in UNSC 1888 to mention victims is article 15 where the focus is on the leaders in society to work to avoid marginalisation and stigmatisation of the victims.\(^{105}\) The resolution also stresses the need to include and promote more inclusion of women as leaders of society. Therefore it could be interpreted to be directed towards the men in the society, although the UNSC wants there to be a change.

**UNSCR 1889 (2009)**

In UNSCR 1889 the Security Council gives a rare form of criticism that could be considered as somewhat self-aware. In the preamble it states that ”women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors (…)”.\(^{106}\) Even though it is not specified who is continuing to consider women as victims and not as actors it could be understood as critique towards the entire international community, the Security Council included. The problem with this quote is that it enforces a dichotomy of victim or actor, and it

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\(^{102}\) UNSCR 1888 (2009) p. 1, 3-4, 7  
\(^{103}\) UNSCR 1888 (2009) p. 4  
\(^{104}\) UNSCR 1888 (2009) p. 5  
\(^{105}\) UNSCR 1888 (2009) p. 5  
implies that never shall the two met.

**UNSCR 1960 (2010)**

In the UNSCR 1960, victims are mentioned two times, and are discussed in two quite different ways. The first time, it is in regard to ending impunity of abused committed against civilians during war. The rights of the victims are mentioned as a benefit of implementing justice and reconciliation mechanisms.\(^{107}\)

The second time victims are mentioned, it is as the victims of sexual violence, but the focus is not on the victims; it is instead on the states and their responsibility to increase the access to different services the victims may need.\(^{108}\)

**UNSCR 2106 (2013)**

Similar to UNSCR 1960, the time victims are mentioned in UNSCR 2106 it is in relation to the responsibilities the states have for their well being, and in particular the responsibility to assist the victims of sexual violence.\(^{109}\)

**UNSCR 2122 (2013)**

In article two of UNSCR 2122 the UNSC emphasise the need to find more information and analysis of the challenges linked to linked to “the lack and quality of information and analysis on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution.“ It continues in the first sub article a to state that the UNSC welcomes more regular briefings by the Under-Secretary-General/Executive Director of UN-Women and the Under-Secretary-General/Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict on issues of relevance to women, peace and security.\(^{110}\) Furthermore, in the attached sub article e to article 2 it invites United Nations-established Commissions of Inquiry to include in their briefings information on "the differentiated impacts of armed conflict on women and girls, especially emphasising recommendations to advance accountability, justice and protection for victims, during armed conflict and in post-conflict and transitional contexts;"\(^{111}\)


\(^{108}\) UNSCR 1960 (2010) p. 2


\(^{111}\) UNSCR 2122 (2013) p. 3
The problematic aspects of this article is the fact that the intension is to find more information regarding violence women and girls during armed conflict, and as a result completely shutting out a group that there already are little information of this. Men and boys are excluded from being portrayed as victims in this resolution, and as a result the UNSC does not promote the investigation of how the civilian population as a whole is affected by armed conflict.

**UNSCR 2241 (2015)**

Two years after the previous resolution, UNSCR 2241 was adopted. In article 14, victims are mentioned, and above all there is evidence that the “victimhood” of women is enforced. It urges member states to strengthen women’s access to justice in conflict and post-conflict situations. As it starts by stating the need to strengthen the access to justice for women in conflict and post-conflict situations, the following sentences become gendered and creates the dichotomy of women/victim vs men/perpetrators. It is easy to interpret perpetrators as men, and victims as women, due to the clear statement in the start of the article.

**UNSCR 2272 (2016)**

In UNSCR 2272, the focus is on the United Nations peace operations. In article four the UNSC request “the Secretary-General to gather and preserve evidence ahead of investigations of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peace operations with due consideration for the safety, security and confidentiality of victims (…) coordination and independence of processes for complaint receipt and management and to assist victims (…)”.

In article 12 the focus is to underscore the importance that “civilians, in particular women and children, in internally-displaced persons and refugee sites are protected from any form of abuse or exploitation”, and the Secretary General is encouraged to ensure that United Nations peace operations facilitate the identification of possible abuses and mitigate against the stigmatisation of victims. (Bold marking added)

**UNSCR 2331 (2016)**

As previously mentioned, the focus of UNSCR 2331 is trafficking. The term victim is

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114 UNSCR 2272 (2016) p. 3-4
therefore used frequently. The resolution expresses solidarity with victims of trafficking in persons, recognizes the extreme trauma experienced by the victims of trafficking in persons in the context of armed conflict and sexual violence in conflict; calls upon member states to implement victim, and possible victim, identification mechanism, to provide access to protection and assistance for identified victims; urges all refugee-receiving countries information on the services available to victims of trafficking and sexual violence survivors; as well as recognised the need to protect the confidentiality of personal data of the victims. In all of these cases victims are written in a gender-neutral manor, and it does not portray any specific gender to be the primary victim. Furthermore, as mentioned under sub chapter 4.2.1, article ten in this resolution portrays men and boys as victims on equal footing as women and girls.

**4.2.3 Perpetrators**

**UNSCR 1888 (2009)**

In UNSCR 1888 the perpetrators are discussed only regarding one issue: being brought to justice. It is noted that only limited numbers of perpetrators have been brought to justice, it urges states to undertake legal and judicial reforms to ensure that perpetrators can be brought to justice and that all reports of sexual violence committed by civilians or by military personnel are thoroughly investigated.

**UNSCR 1960 (2010)**

Similar to UNSCR 1888, the perpetrators are discussed with regard to them being brought to justice in UNSCR 1960. Once agains it is noted that only limited numbers of perpetrators have been brought to justice, and it calls upon parties to armed

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116 UNSCR 2331 (2016) article 2, sub article d, p. 3-4
117 UNSCR 2331 (2016) article 3, sub article b, p. 4
118 UNSCR 2331 (2016) p. 4-5
119 UNSCR 2331 (2016) p. 5
120 UNSCR 1888 (2009) p.1
121 UNSCR 1888 (2009) p.4
122 UNSCR 1888 (2009) p.4
conflict to "make and implement specific commitments on timely investigation of alleged abuses in order to hold perpetrators accountable." 124

**UNSCR 2122 (2013)**

UNSCR 2122 falls in line with UNSCR 1888 and UNSCR 1960, as perpetrators are only discussed in regards to them being brought to justice.125 However, the resolution stresses the use of targeted sanctions against the perpetrators,126 and makes special reference to Security sector reforms, with the encouragement of the exclusion of those who have perpetrated or are responsible for acts of sexual violence.127

**UNSCR 2106 (2013)**

In UNSCR 2106 the word perpetrator is not used, but the preamble states that the council is looking forward to "the important contribution that implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty can make to reducing violence perpetrated against women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict situations."128

This wording implies that violence in armed conflict and post-conflict societies are primarily perpetrated against women and girls. It supports the notion that the perpetrators are portrayed as “non-women”, and if one subscribes to the two-gender binary129 it only leaves men to be the perpetrators.

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125 UNCR 2122 (2013) p. 3
126 UNCR 2122 (2013) p. 4
127 UNCR 2122 (2013) p. 4-5
128 UNCR 2106 (2013) p. 2
129 Note that this author does not subscribe to this notion of the two-gender binary. However, as there have been no statements to contradict the belief that the UNSC subscribe to this notion, it could be assumed that the UNSC believe in the two-gender binary, and as a result the “non-women” would be considered to be men.
**UNSCR 2242 (2015)**

UNSCR 2242 has an interesting article where the UNSC urges the member states to strengthen the access to justice for women in conflict and post conflict-situations through the "prompt investigation, prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence (...)"\(^{130}\) This article is interesting as it clearly states what the UNSC urges the member states to do in regards to women who are the victims of sexual and gender-based violence, but it fails to mention the same for men. Based on the same notion of the two-gender binary as presented regarding the analysis of UNSCR 2106, it could be argued that the chosen wording indicated that the UNSC considers women to be the sole victim of sexual and gender-based violence, and men to be the perpetrators.

**4.2.5 Emerging patterns**

In this subchapter certain patterns have emerged from the discourse samples. The portrayal of men and boys have seen a notable change, primarily due to the fact that they were not mentioned in the first resolutions. Since the resolutions started to include men and boys, they have been portrayed in four different roles: perpetrators, actors of change, victims, and as partners to female actors of change.

Regarding the portrayal of victims, the discourse sample’s reaffirms previous research that the discourse reinforces women and girls as the victims of sexual violence. It becomes obvious that it is the victims that play the lead role in these resolutions, and even though men and boys are mentioned as victims of sexual violence, the overwhelming majority of discourse samples give examples of how it is women and girls who are the most likely victims of sexual violence. The problem with this portrayal is that ignoring and overlooking the men and boys who are victims of sexual violence erase their experiences erased from the discourse. This in turn may increase the taboo and stigmatisation for these victims to come forward and report the crimes. The notion that women and girls are the most likely group to be the victims of sexual violence gains support as the empirical evidence reflect this, due to the stigmatisation for men and boys to report. If this portrayal of women and girls as the victims of sexual violence in armed conflict, the notion may actually turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

This is in contrast to how the perpetrators are portrayed, who is barely mentioned. For a group that plays such an important role in this discourse, it noteworthy how little attention is given to explain and understand the perpetrators. The idea is not to make

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excuses on their behalf, but as they are only ever mentioned in regard to being held accountable to their actions, and never in regard to who they may be or how the UN system and its member states may work prevent the perpetrators for committing the crimes, it is hard to say that they actually are portrayed. The same way that you cannot understand a good villain without the motivation behind their drive, it is hard understand the issues if the antagonists of the story are not portrayed.

4.3 Third dimension

In this subchapter, the third dimension of Fairclough’s is used to explain the relationship between the discourse and social, and cultural reality. This subchapter is divided into three sections: the social matrix of discourse, the orders of discourse, and the ideological and political effects of discourse. In this dimension the theoretical framework is used to help explain and understand the social and cultural reality.

4.3.1 The social matrix of discourse

The discourse of the Women, Peace and Security agenda within the UNSC security discourse belong first and foremost to the extended network of UNSC security discourse, i.e. all the different discourses within the UNSC.

In addition to belonging to the UNSC security discourse, this discourse belongs to two other important discourses: the discourse on sexual violence in armed conflict, and the discourse on how different genders are portrayed during armed conflict. Both of these extend from the academic sphere to social and cultural relations and structures for several reason. The discourse on sexual violence in armed conflict include first hand testimonies from victims, perpetrators and witnesses of sexual violence, reports on sexual violence, and political manifestos and statements on how to combat sexual violence. It could also be argued that it has a part in the general discourse on sexual violence, and that it therefore include “peace-time sexual violence”. The discourse on how different genders are portrayed during a conflict is a widespread discourse from military doctrine to Hollywood movies.

4.3.2 The orders of discourse

The discursive practice has in some ways changed over time. In the beginning it was considered quite revolutionising and as such it transformed the order of discourse and contributed to social change. It would have been considered in the norm cascade stage of the norm life cycle by Finnemore and Sikkink, as the actors were States,
international organisations, networks, and driven by Legitimacy, reputation, esteem motives, using Socialisation, institutionalisation, demonstration as the dominant mechanism.

However, after scratching the surface it has become clear that even though it is revolutionising within one discourse, i.e. the UNSC security discourse, it is unimpressive in regard to the order of discourse regarding sexual violence in armed conflict and regarding the portrayal of different genders in armed conflict. Within the first discourse it has gone through the tipping point and the second stage of the norm life cycle, the norm cascade, and would be under the process of the third stage: internalisation.

Nevertheless, in regard to the two other discourses the story is quite different. These two discourses are not new, and come with a long history. This would mean that the norms from the other discourses are transferred into the “new”, and this is crucial in order to understand the evolution of the portrayal of men and boys in the women, peace and security agenda. Both discourses had the norm of men as the perpetrators and as leaders in society already on the third stage, and what the discourse currently doing is to try and transform to be more inclusive, and more nuanced. This would mean to introduce new norms, and in extension to transform the discourse. The actors introducing the new norms are primarily academics and activist, and according to the theory, they would be considered as Norm entrepreneurs with organisational platforms. Their dominant mechanism to promote the norm is through persuasion, and is driven by commitment, altruism and empathy. The portrayal of men as the perpetrators and as leaders in society is slowly becoming more nuanced to include them as victims of sexual violence, as well as partners to female leaders and women’s organisations. The old norms are still prevailing, on stage three i.e. internalised, but is must give room for the other norms, which are on the first stage of norm emergence. Therefore the discourse both reinforces the status quo in the social practice, and contributing to social change.

4.3.3 The ideological and political effects of discourse

There are many different ideological, political and social consequences of the discursive practice. The transformation of the discourse challenge and develops the ideology. The political consequence is regarding how the resolutions are received, and then in turn how the readers continue the discourse, but also how the political actors around the world form their policies. The primary social consequence is how men and boys who in any way are affected by sexual violence received in the world.
Depending on which portrayal than remains in the publics eye their social reality may differ widely.

The discursive practices both challenge power position and relations in society, as well as conceal and strengthen them. The most relevant power structure to mention is gender inequality, and especially the patriarchy. The discourse manages to transform and introduce new norms in the discourse, and as a result the power structure that lies underneath is challenged. However, as certain norms remain prevailing, these norms help to conceal the same power structure. The discourse is in many way a contradiction, and this supports the need to study and analyse it from these perspectives.
5. Results

This study had shown that men and boys are portrayed as one or more of four things: victims of sexual violence, perpetrators of sexual violence, leaders in society, or as partners to the women who are entrusted to change the situation. Compared to Shepherd’s analysis of how women are portrayed “as victims; women as superheroes; women as representative of (some/most/all) other women”\(^{131}\), the following can be said:

- Men and boys are too little, or no extent portrayed as victims, but through evolution of the discourse there has been improvement and victimhood of men and boys have gained some recognition.

- The UNSC does not explicitly gender the perpetrators, but it is implied that the women and girls are the primary victims of sexual violence; the wording implies that the perpetrators are men.

- When the UNSC emphasises the need to increase female leadership in conflict and post-conflict society it implies that the people who currently are the leaders are men.

- Men are portrayed as actors to work in partnership with women to combat sexual violence in armed conflict.

Men and boys are therefore portrayed in more roles in the women, peace and security agenda than women. This does not necessarily mean that men have it easier than women during war. It merely states that men are portrayed as more, and that this could mean that they have a wider space to act on. However, as men and boys are portrayed in the discourse as both “passive” actors: victims and perpetrators (as the responsibility is placed on the states), as well as “active” actors: leaders and partners to female leaders, it is difficult to give conclusive result on to which extent men and boys are given agency. This was not the focus of this thesis, but there are research into this subject.\(^{132}\) Future research would possible benefits from combining the two.

This study has shown that there is evidence in the discourse sample to support a connection between the portrayal of men and boys, and the portrayal of perpetrators. This study has also shown that the representation of men and boys as victims has in

\(^{131}\) Shepherd, 2011, p. 516

some sense increased, but that they are primarily portrayed as perpetrators. This is problematic for several reasons, primarily due how it reinforces the stereotype of men as soldiers and those who commit sexual violence. This could increase the marginalisation and stigmatisation for the men and boys who are victims of sexual violence. The second problem with these portrayals is the lack of agency of the perpetrators. They remain a rather anonymous group, and the discourse does not give a clear motive for the sexual violence. The resolutions do stress the need to end impunity, but all the responsibility is placed on the states. As perpetrators men and boys are not granted agency, but they are granted agency as leaders. This is generally a good thing, and the discourse have much to gain in trying to understand the logic behind sexual violence.

Based on the norm theory of Finnemore and Sikkink the evolution of the portrayal of men and boys in the discourse can be understood as follows:

- The portrayal of men and boys as the perpetrators is to be considered as a norm in stage three: internalisation
- The same goes for men and boys as leaders in society.
- The portrayal of men and boys as victims is to be considered as a norm on the first stage of the norm cycle: norm emergence.
- The same goes for men and boys as partners to the female leaders in society.

The norm cycle is beneficial to use as a tool for analysis in this case, as it help to explain how accepted something is, and if it can be understood as a norm. The consequences of these finding is deeper understanding of the discourse. This in turn, has an impact on how different actors can approach the discourse: either to change it, or to learn from if. It is also a suitable tool for future research to use to use if a broader discourse is analysed.
6. Discussion

This study has shown that the theory is viable in war studies, and that it actually is beneficial for war studies to take this into account. The use of norm theory in war studies may help to map out the complex structures of society, and further the understanding of how the portrayals of different groups become norm. With the norm perspective, it is possible to challenge the views, perspectives, and portrayals of gender roles during war and conflict, as the norms become visible. Through this, norm theory can contribute to new information and ways of analysis for war studies. However, this study could have benefited from a wider discourse sample. The material chosen was suitable for a study of this size and scope, but for future researcher it would be favourable to use a more extensive material.

Even though this study has shown that norm theory is viable in war studies, would do well to expand the research do other discourses. It could also be beneficial for future research to dig deeper into masculinities, and femininities in this discourse. Certain research has already been done, but there could be more, and this study could be a starting point for future research based on norm theory.

This study shows, that by studying how one particular group is portrayed during a conflict, and by problematising the impact of this portrayal, it is possible to provide some preliminary analysis of the different roles in armed conflict, and especially in war. A clear understanding of the roles genders are assigned in wars contributes to a wider understanding of the relations between actors in war. This in turn, contributes to a deeper understanding of the antagonist in war, as it explains who takes the role of the antagonist to force the opponent to subdue to one will, and what it means to be the subdued.
7. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to further the understanding of how men and women are portrayed by the UNSC in the resolutions on the women, peace and security agenda, and how it has changed over time. To guide the study these research questions was created:

*How does the portrayal of victims and perpetrators correspond with the portrayal of men and boys in the women, peace, and security agenda?*

*How can the evolution of the portrayal of men and boys in the Women, Peace, and Security agenda be understood from a norm theory perspective?*

This study has shown that the portrayal of victims often does not correlate with the portrayal of men and boys, while the portrayal of perpetrators often do correlates with the portrayal of men and boys. The study has also shown that the portrayal of men and boys as the perpetrators as well as leaders in society is to be considered as a norm in stage three: internalisation, and that the portrayal of men and boys as victims as partners to the female leaders in society is to be considered as a norm on the first stage of the norm cycle: norm emergence. By understanding how different genders are portrayed in the women, peace and security agenda it is possible find new ways to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict. The discourse of the women, peace and security agenda is one part of a wider social practice, and these result may be replicated on other discourses. The structural roles a gender is portrayed to have in one discourse is likely be similar or the same in a connected discourse. Therefore, this study helps to understand how men and boys are portrayed in other discourses as well. This study has managed to fill the gap in field of research of war studies regarding the portrayal of men and boys and how it correlates in the portrayal of victim and perpetrator.
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