Lund University Master of Science in

International Development and Management

May 2021

Where is Gender in Conflict-Related Gender-Based Violence?
An analysis of gendered governance and resistance through problematisations of conflict-related gender-based violence in German development policy

Author: Britta Wasserloos

Supervisor: Catia Gregoratti

Abstract

Both development practice and research have paid attention to the issue of sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflict in recent years. However, feminist scholars criticise policies on the issue for reproducing the gendered power relations which are at the root of violence. Research focuses on the policies of a few prominent donors, while policies of lesser-known actors have hardly been examined. Therefore, this study investigates how conflict-related gender-based violence is problematised in German policies, and how gender experts contest prevalent problematisations. Germany provides an interesting case because conflict-related gender-based violence is a declared focus area of German development cooperation. Poststructural analysis of discourse is used to analyse policy papers and semi-structured interviews with gender experts. Based on poststructural feminist understandings of how gendered power is reproduced in discourse, combined with feminist international relations scholarship, the study finds that German policies mirror dominant tropes from international gender, violence and security policy discourses which reproduce gendered and colonial power relations. Gender experts contest power relations through reproblematisation, highlighting unequal gender relations as root causes of gender-based violence and armed conflict.

Key words: conflict-related gender-based violence, development policy, continuum of violence, governance, resistance, analysis of discourse.

Word count: 14.994

Acknowledgements

Content

Figures

Acronyms

AA	Auswärtiges Amt (German Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
AoD	Analysis of Discourse
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GIZ	Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Society for International Cooperation)
ImA	Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen (Inter-ministerial working group for the implementation of resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council)
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IR	International Relations
NAP	National Action Plan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
VAW	Violence against Women
WPR	What's the Problem Represented to Be
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

Abbreviations

e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for example)
et al.	*et alii* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera* (and other similar things)
f	*folio* (and the following page)
ff	*folio* (and the following pages)
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
i.e.	*id est* (that is/means)

1. Introduction

Gender equality and peace are recognised as crucial to development, both within development studies (Coles et al., 2015; Collier, 2009), and in development practice, as their inclusion in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as Goal 5 on Gender Equality and Goal 16 on Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions demonstrates. At the intersection of these two areas, conflict-related gender-based violence (GBV) emerges as an issue of concern. Combatting conflict-related GBV is crucial both for achieving sustainable peace and for fostering gender equality.

GBV against women is widespread globally and has considerable negative effects for the women affected and their societies (Heise et al., 2002). The incidence of GBV is increased in (post)-conflict settings (Stark and Ager, 2011), and the issue of conflict-related GBV has received special attention in international development cooperation and donor policies (Davies and True, 2017; Gray, 2018; Kirby and Shepherd, 2016; Tryggestad, 2009; Veit, 2019). Since the 1990s, international development and humanitarian organisations turned their attention to GBV, while academia problematised GBV in armed conflict (Veit, 2019). With the passing of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) in 2000, and subsequent resolutions, the issue of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in conflict has become well established on the international development and peace and security agendas (Dersnah, 2019; Kirby and Shepherd, 2016; Tryggestad, 2009; Veit, 2019).

While some celebrate UNSCR1325 for including women in a hitherto genderblind peace and security agenda (Kirby and Shepherd, 2016; Tryggestad, 2009), feminist scholars criticise policies on conflict-related GBV for representing the issue in a way which sustains violence by reproducing the gendered power relations that are at its root (Gray, 2018; Pain and Staeheli, 2014; Puechguirbal, 2010; Shepherd, 2010; 2017), including through a narrow focus on 'rape-as-a-weapon-of-war' (Davies and True, 2017; Gray, 2018; Veit, 2019). Where policies aim to combat conflict-related GBV, it is problematic if they reproduce gendered violence. Therefore, if development policies address conflict-related GBV, it is important to investigate how they represent that issue.

Donor development policy is a relevant area for development research (Unwin, 2006:105ff). However, where donor policies on conflict-related GBV have been investigated, such research has focused on a few prominent actors such as the UK Department for International

Development (DFID), the United States or Australian Agencies for International Development, or the Nordic countries (Gray, 2018; Hamilton and Shepherd, 2015; Skjelsbæk and Tryggestad, 2019). What little has been researched about development policies on conflict-related GBV suggests that while donors are doing something about conflict-related GBV, that something needs to be better understood. For example, Gray (2018) has interrogated the conceptualisation of conflict-related SGBV within DFID policies, and has concluded that only some forms of GBV, notably rape-as-a-weapon-of-war, are considered conflict-related. There is a gap in the literature regarding the objectives, strategies, and effects of less prominent actors' policies more generally; and regarding donors' understandings of conflict-related GBV, specifically. The German government considers combatting conflict-related GBV a central issue of development cooperation (BMZ, 2016a; 2017a; n.d.-a), and calls the WPS agenda a political priority (ImA, 2021:5), yet its policies on conflict-related GBV have not been systematically analysed in development studies.

Moreover, to ensure that policies effectively tackle conflict-related GBV, it is not enough to analyse if they reproduce violence; instead, alternative ways of representing the problem without reproducing violence must be found. Gender experts on the ground have been found to provide such alternatives (Altan-Olcay, 2020; Dersnah, 2019; Elmhirst and Resurrección, 2020; Olivius and Rönnblom, 2019).

1.1 Aim

This study aims to contribute to development research by addressing a gap in the literature on donor policies about conflict-related GBV. It does so by examining how conflict-related GBV is problematised in German development policy, and how gender experts negotiate existing problematisations in attempts to alter dominant and simplistic representations of the problem. Investigations of these problematisations are relevant for policy-making because they reveal what power configurations policies produce, and what alternative power relations would be possible based on gender experts' problematisations (Bacchi, 2009:37ff). By investigating problematisations of conflict-related GBV in German development policy, and gender experts' engagement with these, I hope to inform effective policy-making on conflict-related GBV.

The following research questions are to be answered:

1. How is conflict-related GBV problematised in German development and foreign policy?

2. How do gender experts negotiate the problematisation of conflict-related GBV within German policies?

Problematisation refers to "how something is put forward (represented) as a 'problem'" (Bacchi, 2009:xii). The implied problems, i.e. "what is seen as in need of fixing" (Bacchi, 2009:xi) in problematisations are called problem representations. Problematising is thus the activity of thinking about an issue as a 'problem', providing "the terms of reference within which the issue is cast" (Bacchi, 2012b:5), and problem representation is the particular kind of problem as which the issue is cast[1].

An investigation of conflict-related GBV requires an understanding of what conflict and GBV are. GBV is understood as any form of violence that a person (of any gender identity) experiences through other people and structures due to their position within gender relations (see Cockburn, 2004:44; Confortini, 2006). It is thus broader than violence against women (VAW), which is GBV directed against women[2]. I employ the term VAW only where it is important to highlight that I speak of GBV against women, e.g., to not distort statements from interview transcripts. While GBV encompasses sexual violence, policies often speak of SGBV rather than GBV to elevate sexual violence as particularly disruptive and criminal (UNHCR, 2011:6). Such an emphasis on one form of GBV in policies is criticised (see chapter 2). I therefore only use the term SGBV when referencing policy documents which explicitly speak of SGBV, or when referring specifically to sexualised[3] forms of GBV.

'Conflict' in policies on conflict-related GBV refers to armed conflict. No universally agreed definition of armed conflict exists within the social sciences (Melander, 2016). I define armed conflict as characterised by "the presence of organized groups that are engaged in intense armed fighting" (O'Connell, 2008:393), and use the term 'war' synonymously. Acknowledging that intra-state wars often do not have a clear-cut ending to fighting, Brown et al. (2011) affirm that the binary war-peace distinction does not make sense in many conflict settings. Instead, they suggest speaking of "post-conflict", which they define as a process of achieving "peace milestones" (Brown et al., 2011:4), ranging from the cessation of hostilities to societal

---

[1] See chapter 3.1.2 for a discussion of these concepts.
[2] See chapters 3.1.3 and 3.3 for theoretical discussions of gender and violence.
[3] In German, it is common to speak of sexualised ("sexualisierte") rather than sexual violence in order to highlight the fact that forms of violence which target a person's sexuality or which are perpetrated through sexual means are acts of violence rather than acts of sexuality. While the BMZ literally speaks of both sexual and sexualised GBV in its German publications, it uses the term 'sexual and gender-based violence' in English. I therefore use the term SGBV when referencing BMZ documents.

integration and economic recovery (Brown et al., 2011)[4]. This thesis speaks of (post-)conflict to capture both armed conflict and post-conflict. Conflict-related violence is any violence that contributes to, or is caused by, (post-)conflict contexts. From a feminist perspective, those forms of violence include those not traditionally seen to be connected to war, as explained in chapters 2 and 3.

For this study, relevant actors within German development cooperation include the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AA), the Society for International Cooperation (GIZ), as well as civil society organisations (CSOs) which receive BMZ and AA funding to implement projects related to GBV in (post-)conflict settings[5].

To answer the research questions, policy documents and transcripts of interviews with gender experts will be analysed using poststructural analysis of discourse (AoD)[6]. In combination with theoretical understandings of how gendered power is (re)produced and resisted in discourse, the method serves to reveal how policies produce gendered power relations through problematisations of conflict-related GBV, and how the issue can be problematised differently to transform relations of power which sustain violence.

The thesis does not analyse how German policy discourse on conflict-related GBV has changed over time, or how it was produced and disseminated (see Bacchi, 2009:10f,19). Nor does it look at the material effects of this discourse (ibid.:15).

1.2 Outline

The study is first situated in the literature on policies on conflict-related GBV. Then, a theoretical framework to analyse governance and resistance in policy and gender experts' discourse on conflict-related GBV is introduced. Chapter 4 outlines how the study was conducted through poststructural AoD inspired by Bacchi's (2009) "What's the problem

---

[4] Unlike Brown et al., I do not see this process as a return to normalcy. As my theory chapter will show, based on the theory I use, 'normal' must itself be seen as a kind of gendered crisis. I do not see that normalcy as the desired end-point of post-conflict transformation and wish to keep a more open-ended outcome, in line with feminist ideas of just societies.

[5] Within German development cooperation, the AA is responsible for humanitarian aid, including rehabilitation and early recovery, while the BMZ is responsible for transitional development assistance after crises and conflicts, as well as for long-term development cooperation (AA and BMZ, n.d.). Both are notably responsible for measures undertaken in the context of UNSCR 1325. GIZ is a state-owned company tasked by the BMZ with implementing development programmes (BMZ, n.d.-b).

[6] Bacchi (2005) distinguishes between critical discourse analysis and analysis of discourse. Unlike critical discourse analysis, AoD defines discourse as knowledge. Where critical discourse analysis is concerned with the deliberate use of language or forms of argumentation, AoD sees subjects not as agents using discourse, but as constituted in discourse, and focuses on the social production of meaning.

represented to be" (WPR) policy analysis approach. Finally, chapter 5 answers the research questions based on a discussion of the findings. Chapter 6 concludes the study and makes suggestions for further research.

2. Literature Review

This chapter reviews research on the connection between armed conflict and GBV, based on which it presents academic criticism of conceptualisations of conflict-related GBV in policy discourse. Finally, it presents results from feminist International Relations (IR) scholarship on how those policy discourses are gendered.

2.1 GBV and its Relation to War

Policies that seek to prevent conflict-related GBV must address its causes. The literature on the causal explanations of GBV in armed conflict has three main strands (Davies and True, 2015): Literature on SGBV as a deliberate strategy highlights that rape is not merely a by-product of war, but an instrumental strategy (Buss, 2009), used to destroy communities, spread fear, and reinforce troop loyalty and militarised masculinities (Boesten, 2014:19). Recent findings, however, complicate accounts of 'rape-as-a-weapon-of-war', as scholars have shown that intimate partner violence (IPV), rather than strategic rape, is likely the most common form of GBV in war zones (Peterman et al., 2011; Stark and Ager, 2011; Swaine, 2015; Tanner and O'Connor, 2017:vii), that victim/perpetrator dichotomies do not always hold, that not all rape is strategic, and that existing gender ideologies underpin rape in war (Boesten, 2014:19).

The second strand states that war creates opportunities to perpetrate GBV, acknowledging that forms of GBV other than rape, such as IPV, are linked to war (Albanese, 2001; Annan and Brier, 2010; Ćopić, 2004; Gray, 2018; Horn et al., 2014; Korac, 1998; OECD, 2019; Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002; von Braunmühl, 2008). Armed conflict is found to increase the opportunity for violence (Swaine, 2015), by causing a breakdown of norms, structures and institutions which prevent GBV during peacetime. As a result, different forms of GBV increase, including both violence perpetrated by armed actors and IPV (Ćopić, 2004; Gray, 2018; Horn et al., 2014; Korac, 1998; Okello and Hovil, 2007; Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002:10f; Swaine, 2015). This literature thus points out that a wide variety of forms of GBV are conflict-related, including those often considered 'private', and occurring *within* a community.

Finally, conflict-related GBV is seen to be rooted in unequal gender relations (Davies and True, 2015; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 2005; Higate and Hopton, 2005; Horn et al., 2014; OECD, 2019:9ff; Okello and Hovil, 2007; von Braunmühl, 2008). Conflict thus leads to *gendered* violence due to pre-war gendered power imbalances. Men's inability to comply with male-breadwinner norms is thought to be particularly important in this view, leading men to feel that

the gender order is disturbed and to reassert control by resorting to violence against their female partners (Ćopić, 2004; DeKeseredy and Schwartz, 2005; Horn et al., 2014; Kabachnik et al., 2013; Okello and Hovil, 2007). Armed conflict further tends to reward and foster violent, patriarchal forms of masculinity, which can translate into the exercise of violence within the public *and* private spheres (Albanese, 2001; Duncanson, 2015; Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2009; Friðriksdóttir, 2018; Higate and Hopton, 2005; Korac, 1998; Parpart, 2015). Davies and True (2015) argue that the gender roles and gender inequalities that shape behaviour and positions within groups explain why SGBV rather than other forms of violence is used. They assert that "all acts of violence exist on a continuum of violence facilitated by a (further) breakdown in law and order, which is intimately related to society's hierarchy of gender, ethnicity, political and civil rights" (Davies and True, 2015:501). This view is widely shared in the literature (Cockburn, 2004; Davies and True, 2015; Gray, 2018; Kostovicova et al., 2020; Pain, 2015; Pain and Staeheli, 2014; Swaine, 2015; True, 2020; True and Hozić, 2020; Veit, 2019; Veit and Tschörner, 2019), and will be further examined in chapter 3.

2.2 Conceptualisations of GBV in Policies

Recent findings on the relationship between war and GBV have implications for policies on conflict-related GBV. Academic debates criticise WPS policies for failing to recognise continuities of violence across space and time, prioritising 'rape-as-a-weapon-of-war' over other forms of gendered violence (Davies and True, 2015; Veit and Tschörner, 2019). Specifically, the conflation of conflict-related GBV with strategic rape is criticised for masking how wartime GBV is connected to wider structures of inequality and violence (Buss, 2009; Engle, 2005; Kirby, 2012; Veit, 2019), and for disconnecting endemic forms of GBV from strategic rape and conflict (Buss, 2009; Gray, 2018; Swaine, 2015; Veit, 2019).

Some forms of GBV are thereby invisibilised, and the gendered power relations at the root of conflict-related GBV are not acknowledged. In this view, Buss (2009) criticises the Rwandan Tribunal's conception of rape as genocide for silencing all accounts of GBV which do not fit the dominant narrative of Hutu men raping Tutsi women with the aim of destroying the Tutsi community. This scripting presupposes rigid identities of men, women, Hutu, and Tutsi. As a result, "the subject of violence is constructed as naturally gendered, and the sociological problem to be explained becomes women's experiences of violence, rather than violence and its links to gender and power" (Ross in Buss, 2009:156). Thus, a focus on rape as genocide renders invisible not only other forms of violence, but also the gendered structures which fuel GBV in conflict (Buss, 2009). Likewise, Engle (2005) and Kirby (2012) argue, in the context

of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, that accounts of rape as genocide or as an ethnically-motivated group action mask how rape is a *gendered* action, and obscure its roots in broader patterns of gender inequality and oppression.

Feminist scholars further criticise WPS and donor policies for delinking some forms of GBV from war through a focus on strategic rape (Gray, 2018; Swaine, 2015). This distinction between war and not-war forms of GBV presents violence as temporally limited in a way it is not (Dam, 2013; Shepherd, 2010). It is based on gendered ideas of the public/private divide, which prioritise the public over the private sphere (Dam, 2013), understand war as enacted only in public spaces, and define some forms of GBV as private (Gray, 2018). For example, IPV is often not recognised as conflict-related, despite its pervasiveness in (post-)conflict (Dam, 2013; Gray, 2018). Feminist scholars contradict that idea and argue that VAW should generally be considered part of war, stating that 'private' violence by individual men is often enabled by perpetrators' membership in armed groups and is therefore conflict-related (Swaine, 2015); that women can be considered to constitute a collective, and so violence enacted against them can be seen as violence against a group rather than individuals (Gray, 2018); and that GBV against women is organised violence, since it "reflects a predictable and explicable pattern of violence by a group of perpetrators, and which has a basis in social structures (of gender inequality)" (True, 2020:86). Delinking some forms of GBV from war has several effects: "those individuals and groups who disproportionately experience such violence off the battlefield" (True, 2020:87) are deemed outside policy makers' concern (Dam, 2013) and a "vacuum of accountability" (Swaine, 2015:761) emerges, allowing such violence defined as 'ordinary' to occur (ibid.). Existing inequalities are thus reproduced. Moreover, war is legitimated and reproduced, as the stories used to justify war, i.e. "war as a (masculinised) struggle between coherent collectives each seeking to protect their 'womenandchildren'" (Enloe in Gray, 2018:202), only make sense if IPV is disconnected from war. This story hides "the violence, subordination, and control which are endemic in the provision of masculinist protection itself" (Gray, 2018:202). The rape-as-a-weapon-of-war discourse also reproduces colonial tropes of the barbaric Global South 'Other' by suggesting that the 'important' forms of GBV occur only in some places, masking the pervasiveness and centrality of GBV in societies in the Global North (Gray, 2018).

2.3 Gendered Policy Discourses

Policies are not only criticised for a narrow understanding of conflict-related GBV. Feminist IR scholars have identified several gendered tropes within policies on WPS and argue that those reproduce gendered power structures.

First, gender is often understood as a male/female binary in WPS policies (Shepherd, 2017:39ff). Gender is thereby conflated with women, which circumscribes an understanding of gender as power relation and shifts the focus away from women and their disprivilege (gender relation) towards women and men (as categories), or just men, thereby preventing radical political change (ibid.). Moreover, this binary representation of gender excludes a variety of other gendered subject-positions. This reproduces power relations which recognise only female and male gendered subject-positions, and reward those who perform gender according to that binary (ibid.).

Second, there is a general assumption that violence is perpetrated by men against women (Shepherd, 2010). As a result, "masculinity is also represented … as pathological" (ibid.:153). Violence is thus seen as the result of deviant individual behaviour, which masks its centrality in upholding the social order (Shepherd, 2010). Moreover, men and women are essentialised and thought about in binary terms (Shepherd, 2010). As a result, the power dynamics which produce gendered violence and which are based on intersections of gender, race, and class are not acknowledged (Dam, 2013).

Third, women are essentialised in ways that circumscribe their agency and reproduce gendered power hierarchies (Dam, 2013; Puechguirbal, 2010; Shepherd, 2010:110ff; 2017). Women are often represented as vulnerable victims in need of protection or as peacebuilding agents whose inclusion in decision-making is assumed to foster stability and promote social transformation in post-conflict settings (Shepherd, 2010). Women are thereby represented as *inherently* vulnerable or peaceful based on their female subjectivity (Shepherd, 2017:111), which masks the structural inequalities that make women more vulnerable than men (Puechguirbal, 2010), and assumes that "biological sex determines political interests" (Shepherd, 2010:152). Such essentialism naturalises women's and men's positions in society and thereby sustains power relations (Puechguirbal, 2010; Shepherd, 2017:39ff). Where women are represented as passive victims, they are not seen as political agents (Puechguirbal, 2010). The "male monopoly of power" (ibid.:172) is left intact. Where policies recognise women's agency, it is conceptualised as economic agency (Shepherd, 2017:120ff). Empowerment is thereby limited to women's

economic empowerment rather than their political participation, which depoliticises calls for empowerment and reproduces ideas of neoliberal economic development (ibid.). In this view, feminist IR scholars assert that attempts to increase the number of women within existing structures, while leaving existing policy paradigms in place, fail to truly engage with gendered power in a way that could change gendered inequalities in society (ibid.:74). WPS, by focusing on women, might add women to existing structures of power, while not problematising the overrepresentation of men and not changing power structures (Cohn et al., 2004).

Finally, policies on WPS are state-centred. They conceptualise peace as security, and security as state security, while social concerns, including gender, are marginalised (Shepherd, 2017:46). That is problematic, because state security is generally configured as a masculinised realm (Cohn, 1987; Shepherd, 2017:49,90f). Moreover, the sovereign state is itself bound up with gendered (and other) inequalities and gendered "configurations of power" (Shepherd, 2017:66) which have excluded women from formal politics[7]. States are thus inherently gendered and reproduce gendered inequalities (ibid.:62ff). Legitimising the state reinforces the gendered power hierarchies and inequalities it is based on (ibid.). Furthermore, through an equation of peace with state security and stability, peacebuilding is securitised, maybe even militarised (ibid.:49).

---

[7] Feminists argue that state formation relied on the delineation between 'inside' and 'outside', whereby the public or political sphere falls inside the domain of the state and the domestic or household sphere does not. A separation of the spheres contributed to the centralisation of power at household level within the hands of the (male) public actor, while the private domain was feminised. This, in turn, enabled "the consolidation of state-level units of action" (Shepherd:62). The state relies on the household for the performance of sovereign authority over a given territory, because property, citizenship, and political rights were based on households in processes of state formation (ibid.).

3. Theoretical Framework

As theoretical background for this thesis, this chapter first introduces poststructuralism and its understanding of how discourses are imbricated with power. It then situates poststructuralism within development studies by explaining how development programming and policies have been theorised as a form of governance. Follows a theorisation of gendered governance in policy discourse, and of gender experts' resistance to such governance. Finally, the concept of the continuum of violence, which provides a discursive repertoire for gender experts to challenge dominant problematisations, is explained and disaggregated across areas of life, scales, and time.

3.1 Gendered Power: A Poststructuralist View

This thesis is informed by poststructural feminism, which provides an understanding of gender as power relations, of power as productive of and reproduced through discourse, and of meaning as constructed, all of which make it well suited to investigate how policies – as discourses – create meaning in a way which (re)produces gendered power relations.

3.1.1 Knowledge, Discourse, Power

Poststructuralism postulates that knowledge is central to power (Leavy, 2007:89). **Knowledges**, understood as "what is accepted as true" (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:31), are socially produced in a way that limits how we can think, speak, and act about things (ibid.:35). Those "*socially produced forms of knowledge*" (ibid.:35; emphasis in original) are called **discourses**. It is through this process of production that **power** works: it *produces* truth, constructs subjects and objects, shapes people's ideas of themselves and the world, and thereby guides people's actions (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:29). Hierarchies and rule are thereby produced through discourse (ibid.:4). Power is thus seen as systemic rather than agent-specific, performed rather than possessed, and relational; it operates through people's positionings in relation to each other and to institutions within society (ibid.:28). In this view, power is both at the source of and reproduced in discourse: knowledge-power shapes what it is possible to think and do; but discourses also produce power relations.

3.1.2 Governing, Problematising, 'Rendering Technical'

Through their imbrication with power, discourses govern people. **Governance** is understood as "any form of activity that aims to shape, guide, or affect the conduct of people" (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:5). Governing does not work through discipline but through productive power, shaping people's beliefs and desires (Li, 2014:5). In the context of development programming,

Li defines governing as "an attempt to intervene in social, economic, ecological and other processes to adjust or redirect them in an 'improving' direction" (Li, 2014:227). Governance relies on **trustees'** – i.e. those who govern – assumed expertise as to how others should live, and thus relies on knowledge-power (Li, 2014:5).

Li identifies two practices of governing in development programming: **problematisation** and **'rendering technical'** (Li, 2014:7). As explained in chapter 1.1, problematisation, i.e. the activity of representing something as a problem, works through putting forth problem representations. The concept of problem representation is based on the understanding that problems are not fixed but constructed (Bacchi, 2012a). What is thought about as a problem is not an externally existing condition; rather, certain issues are constructed in policy discourse as problems of a certain kind (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:39f). In this view, problematisation is the activity of defining an issue as a problem by "identifying deficiencies that need to be rectified" (Li, 2007:7), and problem representations are the implied problems in problematisations. Problematisations simplify factors in order to represent an issue as a particular kind of problem (Bacchi, 2009:xii). They thus govern people by shaping what is (not) talked about, how people are viewed, and how they are treated (Bacchi, 2010; 2012a; Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:39f).

Development policies and programmes are problematising activities that contain problem representations through which people are governed (Bacchi, 2009:xi; Li, 2007:2). They require representing "problems in terms amenable to technical solutions" (Li, 2007:2). 'Rendering technical' is thus closely linked to problematisation. Li defines 'rendering technical' as "representing 'the domain to be governed as an intelligible field with specifiable limits and particular characteristics …'" (Rose in Li, 2007:7), i.e. problems are represented as problems of management, while power relations, structures of inequality, and processes of accumulation and dispossession of resources are neglected. 'Rendering technical' has two effects: First, it is through 'rendering technical' that some position themselves as trustees and demarcate themselves from those who are governed. This establishes a hierarchy between knowing experts and 'deficient' populations. Second, 'rendering technical' depoliticises the issues in question and thereby limits what can be done about them (Li, 2007:7ff). Depoliticisation serves to "contain a challenge to the status quo" (Li, 2007:8), thereby stabilising existing power relations. By establishing hierarchies and stabilising power relations, 'rendering technical' reproduces structures of inequality.

3.1.3 Governing through Gendered Discourses

Poststructural feminism, combined with feminist IR scholarship, provides an understanding of how gendered power relations are constructed and reproduced in policy discourse on WPS. Building on poststructuralism's understanding of the link between knowledge and power, poststructural feminism is concerned with how subjects, objects, and things are produced in patriarchal and male-centred ways in discourse (Leavy, 2007:91), and how those constructions serve some but not others (Leavy and Harris, 2019:65,78; Leavy, 2007:87f)[8]. To explain this, scholars foreground the concept of gender.

Poststructural feminists see gender as a system of power that categorises people, traits, activities, and institutions along a hierarchised male/female binary, and then accords higher value and access to resources, authority, and rights to that which is considered most masculine[9] (Cohn, 2013:4ff; Confortini, 2006; Leavy, 2007:93). The concept gender points to the fact that male/female differences are not natural but socially constructed and ascribed to people and things (Cohn, 2013:7); subjects are thus constituted in discourse (Leavy, 2007:95). It is thereby important to understand gender as relational, for women's[10] inferior position can only be understood in the context of power relations within and between the masculine and feminine (Cohn, 2013:4; Connell, 2014).

Reality is thus discursively constructed in gendered ways, based on gender hierarchies which value the masculine over the feminine and produce gendered power relations. As outlined in section 2.3, it is through such gendered discourses that gendered power works in policies on WPS. Gendered **binaries** (e.g. perpetrator/victim, war/peace, public/private), gendered **configurations of subjects** (e.g. women as peacebuilding or economic agents), and gendered **state-centred conceptions** (e.g. of security and violence) constitute WPS discourses (Puechguirbal, 2010; Shepherd, 2010; 2017; Tickner, 1993:4ff). Configurations of subjects in gendered hierarchised binaries essentialise women and men and fix them in hierarchical positions to each other, thereby reproducing relations of domination (Puechguirbal, 2010).

---

[8] When writing about postmodern feminism, Leavy (2007:87) understands poststructural feminism to be included in postmodern feminism. Her statements therefore apply to both forms of feminism.

[9] I say most masculine because gender intersects with other systems of power such as class and race to produce multiple masculinities and femininities, leading to hierarchies not only between but also within the categories of men and women (Cohn, 2013:5).

[10] It may seem counter-intuitive to speak of men and women while viewing both as constructed categories. However, the constructed nature of femininities and masculinities does not change the fact that many people identify and are identified as women or men, and that is what I refer to when speaking of women and men.

State-centred conceptualisations of violence invisibilise gendered power and sustain binary colonial tropes of a peaceful Global North and a violent Global South (Gray, 2018). Through these gendered constructions, policies govern people, making them accept unequal power relations. Gendered and colonial power relations are thus reproduced (Puechguirbal, 2010; Shepherd, 2008:51ff; 2010; 2017; Tickner, 1993:4ff).

3.2 Resistance: Making the Invisible Visible

Attempts to govern people provoke resistance (Li, 2007:11). Gender experts are theorised to resist governance by disrupting dominant discourses.

Meaning and discourses are never stable and fixed but always contested (Li, 2007:11f). Internal contradictions provide entry-points for contestation (Bacchi, 2009:37). Those who govern use 'closure' to hide the inconsistencies within their discourses, i.e. they do not speak of that which they cannot address or which may call into question their proposed solutions, including notably questions about structures of inequality (Li, 2007:11f). Those inconsistencies imply that discourses make different positions available, which can be used to problematise issues differently, disrupting prevalent problem representations. Discourses thus constitute "resources for re-problematisation" (Bacchi, 2009:45). Critical voices manage to challenge dominant problematisations, creating 'openings' to view issues in political rather than technical terms (Li, 2007:11f). In this view, reproblematising, i.e. problematising an issue differently, is a means to challenge dominant problem representations and resist the processes of governance they support.

Gender experts, here defined as people whose "jobs involve a type of performance of expertise on gender" (Holvikivi, 2019), have been found to engage in such re-problematisation. While the literature on gender experts' engagement with structures of governance focuses on how experts are constrained by prevalent forms of governance, and how feminist objectives are co-opted in gendered institutions (Altan-Olcay, 2020; Chant, 2012; de Jong and Kimm, 2017; Dersnah, 2019; Fraser, 2009; Holvikivi, 2019; Kunz and Prugl, 2019), some scholars move beyond the idea of co-optation to study what strategies gender experts employ in pursuit of their goals (Altan-Olcay, 2020; Elmhirst and Resurrección, 2020). In this view, studies point to how gender experts manage to create different knowledge about gender equality, thereby contributing to social change (Altan-Olcay, 2020; Dersnah, 2019; Elmhirst and Resurrección, 2020; Olivius and Rönnblom, 2019).

Feminist elements within dominant discourses may provide 'openings' for transformative reproblematisation (Prügl, 2017). Gender experts have also been found to reproblematise issues in transformative ways by drawing on discourses that do not per se contain feminist ideas. For example, gender experts at the UN have reproblematised gender equality as a social sustainability issue, based on the SDGs, moving beyond limited views of gender equality as smart economics to work towards transformation (Elmhirst and Resurrección, 2020:71ff). Similarly, Dersnah (2019) shows how, when the UN system did not act on the WPS agenda after UNSCR1325 was passed, gender experts within the UN system managed to mobilise political will and financial support through what I refer to as reproblematisation. They focused on sexual violence in conflict and represented it as a security and political problem rather than a human rights issue, suggesting that it required a security and political response, and thereby managed to prompt action (ibid.). Retrospectively, some gender experts and scholars are critical of this reproblematisation, for it had the unintended consequence of directing attention away from the WPS agenda more broadly, leading the Security Council to address women's rights only where conflict-related sexual violence has occurred (ibid.). Dersnah's research thus points to "the challenges and opportunities apparent when feminist discourses, policies and practices intersect with and enter into gendered institutional spaces" (ibid.:54).

Holvikivi (2019) sees the research process itself as a means through which gender experts' reproblematisations inform feminist politics. She highlights experts' contributions to knowledge production and stresses that, when research criticises dominant institutions, gender experts can offer important contextualisations and nuances to the knowledge produced by researchers.

3.3 The Continuum of Violence

Gender experts draw on the concept of a continuum of violence to resist governance and reproblematise conflict-related GBV. This poststructuralist feminist concept understands identities (e.g. masculinities, femininities) and things (e.g. violence, war) as constructed in gendered ways, and as constitutive of gendered power relations. The concept points to the fact that GBV and war have their roots in gender relations. In doing so, it provides a discursive repertoire to reproblematise conflict-related GBV.

Feminist research on violence and war has often argued that all forms of violence exist along a continuum, connected through their roots in (unequal) gender relations (Cockburn, 2004; Davies and True, 2015; Gray, 2018; Kostovicova et al., 2020; McLeod, 2011; Pain, 2015; Pain

and Staeheli, 2014; Sjoberg, 2013; Swaine, 2015; True, 2020; True and Hozić, 2020; Veit, 2019). Scholars argue that gendered hierarchies and power relations both constitute and cause violence, whereby violence includes direct or personal violence enacted by a subject, structural violence, i.e. the "unequal life chances" (Galtung in Confortini, 2006:336) caused by structures of power inequality through unequal access to material and non-material resources, and cultural violence, i.e. the construction of meaning in a way which legitimises personal and structural violence (Cockburn, 2004:43; Confortini, 2006). Violence and gender constitute each other, such that violence would not be possible without gendered hierarchies because those hierarchies both legitimate violence by coding it as masculine (and thereby superior) and constitute violence by limiting feminised peoples' access to resources (Confortini, 2006). War is one such form of gendered violence (Pain, 2015; Sjoberg, 2013; True, 2020). Its justification and performance are based on traditional ideas of masculinities and femininities (Cohn, 2013:1; Sjoberg, 2013:285), and it relies on disempowering the enemy through "the *masculinization* of self and the *feminization* of the enemy" (Sjoberg, 2013:274, emphasis in original). At the same time, war reinforces gender hierarchies by idealising hierarchised militarised gender identities (ibid.:285). Thus, gender and war are co-constitutive (Cohn, 2013:1; Sjoberg, 2013:285). I will now explain how the concept of a continuum of violence understands GBV to be linked to war across scales, areas of life, and time.

3.3.1 Continuum across Scales

The continuum of violence spans scales, from the global to the local, from the intimate to the geopolitical, with gender being the connecting factor (Cockburn, 2004:43; Pain, 2015; Sjoberg, 2013). Pervasive gendered conceptualisations of violence underpin both GBV and war (Pain, 2015; Pain and Staeheli, 2014). War can only occur because the patterns of gendered violence on which it relies are constantly enacted in the everyday (Pain, 2015). Noting that IPV and war display similar patterns of emotional, psychological and physical violence, Pain (2015:71) concludes that "[m]ilitary tactics are not only military, but arise from more widespread cultures of masculinist aggression, protection and control". Thus, "[t]he diffusion of 'geopolitical' violences is achieved through their presence in the everyday, and 'intimate' violences persist precisely because they are rooted at other scales" (ibid.:66). This implies a continuum of violence across scales, from geopolitics to the bedroom. War and 'private' GBV are thus connected.

3.3.2 Continuum across Areas of Life

The continuum further plays out across areas of life, from social to political to economic. Gendered hierarchies are legitimised in all areas of life, thereby making violence and war possible (Cohn, 2013:12ff). War, in turn, leads to structural, institutional, and physical violences in many areas of life, thereby reinforcing gendered hierarchies (Sjoberg, 2013:273ff).

The beliefs about masculinities, femininities, and how these hierarchically relate to each other which make violence possible are reproduced in all areas of life. Social, economic, and political institutions mobilise and produce ideas about gender, rely on gendered individuals for the exercise of their functions, and symbolically associate their missions with gender (Cohn, 2013:3f). The thus produced and sustained gendered identities and symbolisms not only reinscribe gendered hierarchies but also legitimise violence by associating it with the higher-valued masculine (Cohn, 2013:12; Sjoberg, 2013:276). Violence is also reproduced in social, political, and economic spheres (Sjoberg, 2013:276), as the (gendered) "structural political, economic and social inequalities" (Dam, 2013:12) at the root of GBV are sustained in all these areas. It is only through these gendered and violent everyday practices that GBV and war become possible. War, in turn, reproduces gendered inequalities across areas of life by causing structural and physical violence (Sjoberg, 2013:273ff). Many of these processes tend to affect women more than men and thereby reinforce the gender relations which underpin war (Cockburn, 2004:30; Sjoberg, 2013:286; True and Hozić, 2020).

3.3.3 Continuum across Time

Some feminist scholars adopt a time-based view of the continuum of violence. To them, because all violence is rooted in the same gender relations, regardless of whether it occurs in events traditionally defined as war or as peace, violence is not limited to one moment, but continues, both in occurrence and impact, and achieves particular visibility in post-conflict contexts (Cockburn, 2004:43; Kostovicova et al., 2020). Seen this way, war is itself continuous (Sjoberg, 2013:285). While some authors take this to mean that a distinction between war and peace does not make sense (Cockburn, 2004), and that all gendered violence constitutes war (Pain, 2015), others simply state that we must broaden our ideas of when, where, and how war occurs (Sjoberg, 2013:286). They argue that understanding war as a continuum reveals how "domestic violence, structural violence, economic instability, unemployment, poverty" (ibid.:272) and many other conditions become important to the theorising of war, even though they are not traditionally defined as pertaining to war. Such an understanding allows us to see

how gendered violence occurring in times and places traditionally defined as peaceful is connected to war.

3.4 Assembling the Analytical Framework

Poststructural feminism states that discourses construct subjects, objects, and problems in specific ways, thereby constraining what we can think and how we can act. Governing occurs through such discursive constructions, specifically through how certain issues are represented as problems and rendered technical. According to feminist IR scholars, this governance is gendered, as discourses often construct subjects and objects in gendered ways and thereby (re)produce gendered power relations which underpin violence. Gender experts engage in re-problematisation to resist governance, by revealing some of the silences within dominant problematisations. Such silences notably include understandings of how different forms of violence are rooted in gendered power structures, as the concept of a continuum of violence reveals (see Figure 1).

Gender experts:
make visible

Problematisation

Binaries
Male/female
Perpetrator/victim
Conflict/post-conflict
Global North/Global South

Subjects
Women as victims
Women as peacebuilding agents
Women as economic agents
Men as perpetrators

Concepts
Security (of states)
Violence (as armed conflict)

Silences

Continuum of violence across scales

Continuum of violence across areas of life
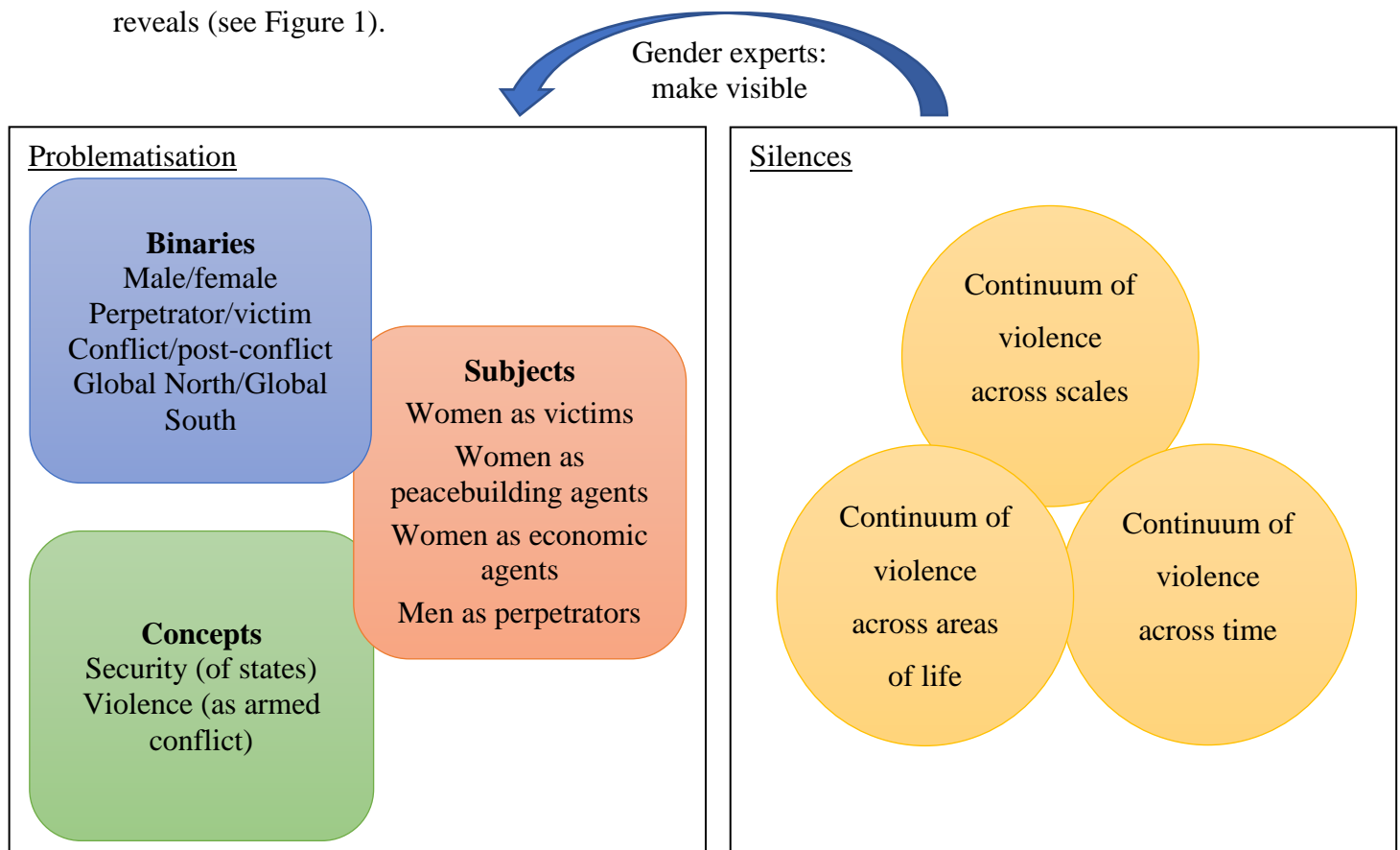
Continuum of violence across time

Figure 1: Analysis framework of problematisations of conflict-related GBV. Source: author.

4. Methods

This chapter outlines the study's research design and its ontological and epistemological bases. It describes the chosen research method, problematisation analysis, and the selected sampling, data collection and data analysis tools. Ethical considerations and limitations are discussed.

4.1 Research Design

The research design of this work is qualitative. The study is based on interpretivist epistemology, viewing knowledge as deriving not from independently existing and observable facts but from interpretation, and on constructionist ontology, viewing social reality as produced (Bacchi, 2009; Silverman, 2013:105ff; Walliman, 2006:15). Since this qualitative paradigm is concerned with the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to phenomena (Creswell and Poth, 2017:7), and with issues of "power and representation" (O'Shaughnessy and Krogman, 2012:493), it suits the chosen poststructural-feminist theory and the research question. An AoD approach, relying on textual data, was chosen. Sources of data include policy documents, politician's statements, and expert interviews.

4.2 Analysing Problematisations: Assembling an Approach

Poststructural AoD is used to investigate how conflict-related GBV is problematised in German development policy and by gender experts. Problem representations identified in dominant discourse and those proposed by gender experts are brought into conversation, revealing the silences within policy discourse.

Feminist poststructuralist analysis of policy documents asks: "how is it that the reality we take for granted, which includes disparities of power and multiple forms of (sometimes violent) oppression, comes to be accepted as such?" (Shepherd, 2010:145). The method used in this thesis is inspired by Bacchi's (2012a) WPR approach, a poststructural AoD approach which investigates how policies problematise issues by focusing on problem representations. WPR analysis seeks to unravel the implicit problem representations, assumptions, and presuppositions within policies (2009:xi; 2012a; Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:38). It aims to analyse how governing takes place through problem representations, and the effects for those governed (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:39f). Inspired by the WPR approach, I have applied four

operational questions to my data to analyse how conflict-related GBV is problematised (see Figure 2)[11], based on problem representations.

Q1. What's the 'problem' of conflict-related gender-based violence represented to be in German development policy and in interview transcripts?

Q2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the 'problem'?

Q3. What silences do gender experts identify in the policy's problem representation? How do they think about the 'problem' differently?

Q4. What effects are produced by either representation of the 'problem'?

Figure 2: Operational questions for this study, inspired by the WPR approach. Source: Bacchi (2012a:21; modified by author)

Bacchi does not clarify *who* should identify the silences. This gap is often filled by the researcher identifying silences from their subjective position (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016). However, interviews conducted for this study revealed that gender experts already uncover the silences within dominant policy discourse. I have therefore modified Bacchi's approach so that gender experts supersede the researcher as agents. The silences within policy discourse are thus identified by gender experts rather than by myself, in line with Holvikivi's (2019:140) call to "[open] up the space for gender experts to talk back to research".

Thus, I identify problem representations and underlying assumptions within both policy documents and transcripts of expert interviews, based on Q1 and Q2 in Figure 2. I then move beyond Bacchi's framework by answering questions Q3 and Q4 not from my own subject position, but by discussing how gender experts' problematisations contest dominant problem representations found in policies.

4.3 Data Collection

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews and discursive analysis of policy documents between January and February 2021, except for one interview conducted in April.

---

[11] The original questions 3 and 6 are left out as they do not match the focus of the thesis and research question. They are concerned with the processes and power relations through which problem representations are produced and disseminated (Bacchi, 2009), whereas I am interested in identifying the prevailing problem representations and the constraints they impose on our understanding of conflict-related GBV.

4.3.1 Policy Documents

12 documents from 2013 to 2019 were collected. This timeframe followed from my interest in how *currently applicable* policies problematise conflict-related GBV. Documents were chosen for analysis based on both content and authorship. Since there is not one coherent policy on conflict-related GBV in German development cooperation, the policy papers I draw on stem from different but overlapping policy areas, notably gender, WPS, and German engagement in conflict-affected states. The types of documents selected for analysis are policy documents, including strategy papers and action plans, as well as speeches. The latter were included following Bacchi's (2009:55) assertion that politicians' statements should be analysed together with the policy in question. All documents selected for this study fall into the area of responsibility of the BMZ and AA, as those are responsible for international cooperation within the German federal government. Among the documents published by these institutions, those which talk about peace and conflict, gender, GBV against women and girls, and women in conflict settings were identified as relevant to this study (see Appendix1 for a list of all included documents). As the working language of the institutions in question is German, all documents included in this study were German[12]. All quotes from policy documents throughout this thesis were translated by me.

4.3.2 Interviews

To investigate how gender experts negotiate prevailing problematisations in German policy discourse on conflict-related GBV, interviews with gender experts from implementing institutions of German development cooperation were conducted. Those institutions include CSOs working on GBV in (post-)conflict settings and GIZ.

Purposeful sampling was used to ensure that selected respondents could provide relevant information in response to the research question (Creswell and Poth, 2017:148). Participants were identified based on their present or past engagement with conflict-related GBV within the German development cooperation sector. Professional contacts from internships I had previously conducted constituted the first participants. They then pointed me to further potential respondents through snowball sampling (ibid.:158f).

A semi-structured interview guide approach was chosen, whereby semi-structured questions served as the basis for interviews but were adapted to participants' responses[13]. By combining

---

[12] Even where English translations were available, I have relied on the German version to avoid problems of meaning being lost in translation (Esposito, 2001; Temple, 2002; Temple and Young, 2004).

[13] The interview guide can be found in Appendix 4

structure and flexibility, this approach allows the researcher to probe and adapt to participants' responses while ensuring that data is consistent enough to be codified (Turner, 2010). Therefore, it is suitable for a study which requires the codification of data based on analytical questions, while also being open-ended enough to allow for different views to emerge.

Nine interviews with a duration of approximately 35-80 minutes were conducted with representatives from three institutions. Interviews were carried out synchronously online (see Cachia and Millward, 2011) or via telephone, using a tool of the respondent's choice. Online and telephone interviews are suitable for semi-structured interviewing and provide rich data to analyse reproblematisations (ibid.). Staff within German CSOs and state agencies routinely work with online communication tools, so relying on such tools did not pose access problems. Interviews were conducted in German, which is the respondents' working language, and for most respondents also their native language. Since German is also my native language, the interview context was not cross-cultural, which facilitates the understanding and presentation of data (Lee, 2017). Quotes from interviews throughout this thesis are my translations.

4.4. Data Analysis

The policy documents and interview transcripts were coded in NVivo. The untranslated German transcripts were used as a basis for coding. This facilitated comparison between the interviews and the German policy papers.

Coding followed a deductive approach guided by Q1 and Q2 in Figure 2. In a first step, themes were coded in the data in response to those questions. For example, I applied Q1 to the data, asking which problem representations are present, and found several problem representations, which were coded into a theme each. As section 2.3 shows, the underlying assumptions (Q2) which feminist IR scholars identify in policies mainly refer to binaries and categorisations. Bacchi (2009:7) also suggests paying attention to binaries, key concepts and categories, and to who is displayed as responsible for the problem, in order to identify underlying assumptions. Therefore, I used those as pre-defined themes and found several sub-themes emerging from the data for each of them[14]. I also included codes on assumptions about when and where conflict-related GBV takes place, and about the forms it takes, as the continuum of violence points to the importance of such assumptions.

---

[14] See Appendix 5 for an overview of identified themes which were coded into NVivo nodes.

Through the above process, gender experts' problematisations emerged as contestations of policy discourses. Therefore, questions Q3 and Q4 were not answered through further coding but by bringing the different problematisations in conversation with each other. I thereby drew on the continuum of violence and feminist IR scholars' theorisations of gendered governance within WPS policies, to make sense of the differences between - and the effects of - both problematisations.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

4.5.1 Consent and Anonymity

All documents analysed in this thesis were public. All respondents gave their prior and informed consent to participating in the study, and were informed about their right to withdraw, in line with standard ethical guidelines for qualitative research (Creswell and Poth, 2017:53ff; Silverman, 2013:161f). Number-coding respondents' names ensured confidentiality. No potential risks to participants were identified.

4.5.2 Reflexivity and Positionality

From a poststructural perspective, knowledge is always imbricated with power. While it is impossible to escape these power relations, feminist researchers aim to make them explicit by reflecting on the researcher's positionality (Rose, 1997). As a Northern researcher engaging with gender experts to study my own country's policies, my positioning vis-à-vis my respondents does not mirror classical configurations of power in development research. Typically, concerns with power relations are most pronounced where the researcher has greater access to resources and audiences than the researched, as is the case when knowledge is extracted from marginalised people in the Global South by a Northern researcher (Rose, 1997; Sultana, 2007). Therefore, both conducting development research 'at home' and 'studying up'[15] are proposed as means to avoid power differentials between researcher and researched (O'Shaughnessy and Krogman, 2012; Unwin, 2006:105). However, as the one who decides what questions to ask and how to interpret answers, the researcher is situated in a place of power within knowledge production (Rose, 1997). In this view, policy analysis is itself considered a political practice which requires that the researcher engage in self-reflection (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:34). The concern here is not so much with how the researcher's position affects their interpretations but with how the knowledge they produce governs people. By letting both policies and gender experts speak in this thesis, I hope to contest attempts to

---

[15] i.e. when the respondents hold senior positions compared to the researcher

govern, rather than reproduce them. I also aim to be accountable to my participants by producing knowledge that is useful to them (Holvikivi, 2019)[16].

However, my position may still affect the knowledge produced through this research project. I am currently working at a German women's rights CSO within the development sector. My respondents are aware of my connections to the gender-and-development apparatus, and some are (former) colleagues. Even though I engaged with respondents as a researcher, they may sometimes have viewed me as a colleague or practitioner, which affected how they related to me (Holvikivi, 2019; O'Shaughnessy and Krogman, 2012). "Positional slippages" (Holvikivi, 2019:134) had effects for my access to respondents, which was mediated through professional connections, and for my access to information: when interviewing my colleagues, we were able to refer to and draw on information from everyday work, and such (often implicit) mobilisation of knowledge enabled me to ask more targeted follow-up questions than I did in other contexts. In addition, the relationship of trust between us likely encouraged my colleagues to acknowledge contradictions or doubts, which they probably would not have done had the interviewer been a stranger. While some caution that studying one's own institution and colleagues bears the danger of conflicts of interest and bias (Creswell and Poth, 2017:153), from a feminist perspective, "relations of proximity" (Holvikivi, 2019:132) are not per se problematic as long as they are acknowledged, because all knowledge is shaped by the circumstances in which it is produced (Holvikivi, 2019; Rose, 1997).

4.6 Limitations

Poststructural feminism is criticised within feminist research for focusing on discursive constructions of subjectivities and realities, at the expense of the material oppressions women experience, including VAW (Leavy and Harris, 2019:88; O'Shaughnessy and Krogman, 2012). While my research is informed by poststructural feminism, I do not question the empirical reality of conflict-related GBV. Instead, I argue that conflict-related GBV takes on a greater variety of forms than is often acknowledged in policy discourses. A poststructural feminist lens allows us to see how mainstream gendered constructions of war invisibilise these forms of violence and disconnect them from war. Thus, poststructural feminism does not neglect material oppressions but can help bring them into sight.

---

[16] I have already made agreements with several respondents to share my findings with them, as they have expressed that they expect those to be useful for their work.

Language is central to AoD. Therefore, translations from one language to another in the research process affect the quality of research. In this study, researcher and researched spoke the same language, and that shared language was used for data collection and analysis. This procedure ensured that no information was lost through translation during these two phases (Esposito, 2001; Temple, 2002; Temple and Young, 2004). However, since findings were translated into English for presentation, some information may still be lost (Goitom, 2020), as "not everything is translatable" (Esposito, 2001:572). For example, the German language makes a difference between "Geschlechtergerechtigkeit" (gender justice), "Geschlechtergleichheit" (gender equality), and "Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter" (equal rights of the genders), all of which translate to "gender equality" in English. The different German words, however, have slightly different meanings, with one reducing gender equality to equal rights, one seeing it as an issue of equal outcomes, and one implying that it is a matter of justice.

As data collection took place between January-February 2021, some relevant documents published after that period could not be included in this study. Those notably include the implementation report on the guidelines "Preventing crises, settling conflicts, promoting peace", and the third National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR1325. Thus, the study's findings do not include the latest developments in the policy discourse on conflict-related GBV.

Only two CSOs have been interviewed. To my knowledge, those two are the only CSOs specialising in conflict-related GBV in Germany. Other CSOs did not feel confident to comment on the topic because they thought that they did not work on it, even where their work includes measures for women's empowerment in (post-)conflict settings. This suggests that they do not understand gendered power relations to be inherently linked to conflict-related GBV. This perspective differs from that of my respondents, suggesting that my findings on gender experts' problematisations might have been different if those other organisations had been interviewed.

5. Findings

Several (partly overlapping) problem representations coexist within the fragmented German policy discourse on conflict-related GBV. In what follows, the most prominent problem representations are presented and their underlying assumptions and effects on power relations discussed. I then outline how gender experts problematise conflict-related GBV differently, presenting opportunities for transformation.

5.1 Problematisation of Conflict-Related GBV in German Policy Discourse

5.1.1 A Problem of VAW

Conflict-related GBV is represented as a problem of male VAW, through binary gendered constructions of subjects. Perpetrators are represented as male, while victims are represented as female. Throughout policy papers, where reference is made to "victims of violence" or "survivors of violence", those are said to be "women and girls" (BMZ, 2014:10; 2016a:29; 2016b:12; 2017b:19). This is in line with a focus on VAW rather than GBV especially in older policy papers (BMZ, 2014:10; 2016a:12). Even where policies state that a view of women as victims of violence is too simplistic, they simultaneously reproduce women as victims, through statements such as this: "women and girls in crisis and conflict areas are especially marginalised groups and frequently become victims of widespread and systematic sexual violence" (ImA, 2017:3). While policies sometimes acknowledge that men can also be victims of violence (BMZ, 2019:28; ImA, 2017:6; Müller, 2017), measures for survivors focus on women, and men continue to be seen as the only perpetrators. This representation is based on a male/female binary which denies the existence of other gendered subjectivities and reproduces the essentialising male perpetrator, female victim tropes identified by IR scholars (Shepherd, 2010). As a result, masculinity is rendered pathological. Indeed, proposed measures focus on promoting "alternative gender roles which do not foster violence" (ImA, 2017:9). The specific sub-goals reveal that the gender roles considered to be violence-enhancing are masculinities (ibid.:25). Women are also represented as inherently vulnerable and deprived of their agency. Through a focus on specific gender norms, the structures of domination that produce gendered violence, both by making women vulnerable and by fostering male violence, are invisibilised, and violent masculinity emerges as the problem. Gendered hierarchies are reproduced, as men and women are represented in essentialised hierarchical terms, whereby men are actors and violent, whereas women are vulnerable and devoid of agency (Puechguirbal, 2010; Shepherd, 2017:103).

Overall, by equating GBV with VAW, gender is reduced to a male-female binary. Such a conceptualisation of gender invisibilises how GBV is gendered, i.e. imbued with gendered power relations. Gendered power relations are reproduced as men and women are represented in hierarchical essentialised terms.

5.1.2 A Problem of Armed Conflict

Another problem representation which further insivibilises gender is that of conflict-related GBV as a problem of armed conflict and security. The characteristics of (post-)conflict contexts are hereby assumed to cause SGBV, in two ways: first, in wars actors emerge for whom the tactic use of SGBV may be rewarding, and second, wars provide opportunities to perpetrate SGBV. In the first view, the problem is mainly represented as the systematic use of sexual violence against women as a weapon (BMZ, 2014:10; 2017a; 2019:28; ImA, 2017:3,21). In the second view, the conditions created by armed conflict, such as widespread impunity (BMZ, 2016a:28) or the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (ImA, 2017:24), are thought to enhance the opportunity to perpetrate SGBV.

Assertions that conflict-related GBV is caused by armed conflict disconnect some forms of GBV from war, based on constructions of subjects which represent combatants as the perpetrators of GBV, and on specific ideas of what constitutes violence. War and peace are constructed as a binary, implying that violence is temporally limited and representing those forms of GBV which also occur in 'peacetime' as not conflict-related (Dam, 2013; Shepherd, 2010). This is done by proposing solutions which target police and military personnel (ImA, 2017:6), displaying armed forces as responsible for the problem. Combatants thus emerge as the perpetrators of SGBV, and civilians as the victims. The state, armed groups, militias, and criminal organisations are represented as actors of violence, revealing that violence is understood to be limited to organised violence, perpetrated by clearly defined organised groups (AA, 2017:77; BMZ, 2013:8). It is seen as a way of engaging in conflict, revealed in the fact that policy papers define peaceful conflict resolution as a goal (AA, 2017:2; BMZ, 2013:3). In this view, violence only occurs in situations of conflict and does not exist where there is no (armed) conflict between organised groups. This view of violence neglects both structural violences, and violences enacted between people who are not considered to be parties to a conflict, as is the case with IPV. Indeed, there is a focus on (strategic and opportunistic) sexual violence perpetrated by armed groups against women; domestic violence is only mentioned once in the second NAP, and is presented as a result of SGBV in conflict, not as a form of conflict-related GBV as such (ImA, 2017:30). The separation of some forms of GBV from war

is rhetorically supported in policy documents: policy papers speak of SGBV rather than GBV, thereby elevating sexual violence over other forms of GBV. A document about GBV further mentions sexual violence as the only form of GBV explicitly linked to conflict (BMZ, 2017a:1). This mirrors gendered tropes identified by IR scholars (Gray, 2018; True, 2020): some forms of GBV are separated from war, which reproduces inequalities and invisibilises the violence inherent in masculinist protection. By defining *armed* groups as the perpetrators of GBV, wider patterns of violence enacted by *men as a group* against *women as a group* are masked, which ultimately makes it possible for war to be justified as men protecting 'their' women and children (Gray, 2018). War is thus legitimised and reproduced.

This effect is further reinforced by an equation of victims with ethnic or other minorities (BMZ, 2017a). A victim-minority/perpetrator-majority binary not only underscores representations of GBV as a strategic weapon (of genocide), but also categorises people along ethnic rather than gender lines. Group membership is defined by ethnicity rather than gender, and women, while constantly evoked as a category, are not seen to constitute a community against which violence is perpetrated. This idea is particularly evident in the fact that 'victims' of GBV are often called 'survivors', suggesting that their experience of violence is over. However, GBV does not just end at some point, people do not survive it. For example, survivors of inter-group sexual violence may experience IPV when they return to their communities (Boesten, 2014:1). If people are nevertheless categorised as survivors, inter-community sexual violence becomes the defining form of violence. A hierarchy of harms is thereby created in which other forms of GBV are not considered to be equally important and the continuity of violence is masked.

Such representations further reproduce colonial tropes of "the Global South as a space of senseless war and the Global North as a space of rational peace" (Gray, 2018:202). German policy papers state that insecurity and conflict hinder development and occur where states are not oriented towards development; and it is stressed that many of the countries which receive development assistance from Germany are fragile or in conflict (BMZ, 2013:3). Thus, war, and with it conflict-related GBV, is presented as a characteristic of 'undeveloped' countries. As a result, a hierarchy between Germany and the Global South is reproduced in discourse.

Representing conflict-related GBV as caused by the conflict context further implies that creating security and stability are appropriate solutions. Policy papers on German engagement in fragile and conflict contexts reveal that security is thereby understood as the security and stability of states, particularly of Germany and its citizens, including Germany's territorial

integrity (AA, 2017:44,48). Policy papers on WPS focus on rule of law to enhance security, and policy papers on German engagement in fragile states and armed conflict stress the importance of supporting and training security forces so that they protect civilians and human rights (ibid.:88). This reveals an incoherence: while documents on SGBV in conflict present armed groups as responsible for the problem of SGBV, documents on armed conflict present security forces as the solution to the problem of insecurity. To do so, a new binary is introduced: state security forces are constructed as legitimate armed groups which serve to uphold the state's "legitimate monopoly on the use of force" (ibid.:84) to protect the population of a state, while non-state armed groups must be integrated or contained (ibid.:3,84). A distinction is thus made between legitimate and illegitimate use of violence, with legitimacy deriving from the sovereign state. The distinction serves to legitimise the strengthening of security forces and the use of military violence to achieve security and peace (ibid.:3,84). As IR scholars have found, peacebuilding is thus militarised and combatting conflict-related GBV is located within the masculinised domain of state power (Shepherd, 2017:49). Since militarisation is imbricated with the reproduction and normalisation of gendered hierarchies and violence (Albanese, 2001; Duncanson, 2015; Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2009; Higate and Hopton, 2005; Korac, 1998; Sjoberg, 2013:285), the militarisation of peacebuilding can be seen as a reproduction of both gendered power relations and GBV. Moreover, since the state relies on and reproduces unequal gender relations, discourses which legitimise the state reinforce gendered power structures (Shepherd, 2017:62ff). Representations of conflict-related GBV as a problem of war and security thus uphold violence which subordinates feminised subjects.

Overall, policies represent armed conflict as a root cause of conflict-related GBV. Through specific conceptualisations of subjects (e.g. perpetrators as combatants, victims as ethnic minorities) and things (e.g. violence as organised violence, security as state security), the gendered nature of conflict-related GBV is masked. Some forms of GBV are thereby disconnected from war and gendered and colonial hierarchies are reproduced.

5.1.3 A Problem of Rule of Law

Conflict-related GBV is further represented as a problem of rule of law and good governance. Insufficient legislation on and prosecution of SGBV is seen as a major cause of conflict-related GBV. National and international law must be changed to enhance women's protection from SGBV (ImA, 2017:9,13). This includes advocating for the recognition of "rape and other forms of GBV" (ibid.:21) as criminal offenses. A general distinction is thereby made between prosecution of sexual violence as a war crime or crime against humanity, which is to be done

before international tribunals (BMZ, 2019:28; ImA, 2017:6; Müller, 2017), and prosecution of forms of GBV that are not recognised under these categories, which are prosecuted before national tribunals. This distinction places certain forms of sexual violence in armed conflict at the geopolitical scale, whereas other forms of GBV are placed at the national scale. It thereby reproduces the 'hierarchy of harms' criticised by scholars for separating some forms of GBV from war, and for reproducing GBV by defining some forms of violence as ordinary (Swaine, 2015). It also reinstates a binary of safe and unsafe places, whereby only certain kinds of GBV make a country fall onto the unsafe side of the binary. Assertions that rule of law, and with-it prosecution, are generally low in fragile and conflict-affected states equally rest on that binary (AA, 2017:75; BMZ, 2013:6; ImA, 2017:9). The binary mirrors colonial tropes of the Global South as inherently violent and undeveloped (Gray, 2018), which reproduce North-South hierarchies.

Moreover, representing conflict-related GBV as a problem of rule of law renders the problem technical, since the underlying power relations which cause both armed conflict and GBV are not acknowledged. By presenting prosecution as the solution, the focus is put on perpetrators of GBV. This individualises acts of conflict-related GBV and masks the wider structural causes of violence. Perceiving of violence as structural rather than personal would shift the focus from individual evil actors to the need for transformation (Confortini, 2006), but such transformation is foreclosed by a focus on perpetrators. 'Rendering technical' is also reflected in the proposed solutions for legislation and prosecution at the national level, which focus on capacity-building for police and personnel in the justice sector (BMZ, 2017a; ImA, 2017:31f). A lack of knowledge or skills is thus assumed to be the problem, and the people who work in respective sectors in conflict-affected countries are constructed as 'deficient', while structural causes are invisibilised. This allows Germany to position itself as a trustee in development cooperation (Li, 2007), particularly evident in the proposed "deployment of German personnel in international peacekeeping missions to … guide compliance with rule of law" (ImA, 2017:30). Through 'rendering technical', conflict-related GBV is depoliticised and a North-South hierarchy is reproduced.

A focus on legal rights can itself be problematic, where it is based on a narrow understanding of gender equality as equal rights for men and women. In German policy discourses on conflict-related GBV, gender equality is indeed often conceptualised as equality before the law, and as absence of discrimination against women and girls (BMZ, 2015:3; ImA, 2017:7,15). This conceptualisation rests on the assumption that once women have equal rights, the problem of

gender inequality is solved, which has several shortcomings. First, minority gender identities are here excluded from definitions of gender and a male/female binary is reproduced. Second, informal institutions and norms beyond legal mechanisms play an important role in upholding unequal resource distribution but are not considered here. Giving women equal rights within a structure that is not gender-neutral will not change gendered power relations (Shepherd, 2017:74). Presenting equal rights as the solution to the problem of gender inequality thus simplifies that problem and renders it technical.

Overall, representations of conflict-related GBV as a problem of rule of law reproduce gendered violence by establishing a hierarchy of harms and reproduce North-South hierarchies by rendering the problem technical. The representation further underpins a reductionist conceptualisation of gender equality as equal rights for men and women, which fails to acknowledge wider gendered power relations.

5.1.4 A Problem of Women's Participation

Women's exclusion from political processes and especially peace processes is represented as a problem. Policy documents thereby represent a lack of participation as a problem that occurs in the same conflict contexts as conflict-related SGBV but is not causally connected to GBV. This is also reflected in the Gender Road Maps, which sub-divide measures on gender and armed conflict into conflict-related GBV, on the one hand, and strengthening women's participation in peace processes, on the other (BMZ, 2016b; 2017b; 2018; 2019).

There are some instrumentalist arguments for women's inclusion in peace processes, mirroring gendered tropes of women as peacebuilding agents. Women's participation is seen as a means to enhance the probability of success in peace talks, to create more stable and peaceful societies, and to prevent armed conflict (ImA, 2017:17). "[Women] play an important role in creating peace, reconstruction, and transformation of societies after a conflict. --- The [federal government's] main objective … is to prevent crises and armed conflicts … by strengthening women's participation" (ImA, 2017:3). Such essentialising representations reinscribe dichotomies which devalue both women and peace (Puechguirbal, 2010), and invisibilise the gendered constructions and power relations at the root of GBV and war.

However, such tropes are also disrupted at some points within the policy papers. Where women's participation is called for, it is often their *equal*[17] participation which is said to be

---

[17] In the sense of equal rights ("gleichberechtigt")

important. Sometimes such calls are also combined with demands for gender equality, suggesting that it is not women's inherently peaceful nature but the creation of equality which fosters sustainable peace: "Sustainable crisis prevention, conflict resolution, stabilisation, peacebuilding and peace consolidation also require women's equal participation and the realisation of gender equality[18]" (ImA, 2017:4). At one point, a policy paper also avoids rendering women's participation technical by acknowledging that patriarchal gender relations must be changed to enable participation (BMZ, 2019:27). Here, wider structures of inequality are recognised as obstacles to women's political participation.

German policies further deviate from common tropes identified by IR scholars insofar as they partly construct women as political agents. Increasing women's societal and political participation is cited as an objective (ImA, 2017:17). However, specific measures taken in this regard focus on women's economic empowerment (BMZ, 2016b:15; 2019:26; ImA, 2017:30f) and on their early inclusion on all levels (ImA, 2017:17). Political empowerment is thereby conflated with economic empowerment, which depoliticises empowerment. Economic agency is itself depoliticised as women are to be integrated into existing unequal economic structures: proposed measures aim to bring women into gainful employment (BMZ, 2017b:22; 2018:25; ImA, 2017:30f). Calls for women to engage in more paid employment aim to integrate women "as economic actors [into] a system that remains largely unchallenged" (Shepherd, 2017:122). This depoliticises issues of unequal resource distribution and reproduces ideas of neoliberal economic development (ibid.:120ff). Attempts to increase the number of women within existing structures, while leaving existing policy paradigms in place, fail to truly engage with gendered power in a way that could change structures of inequality (Cohn et al., 2004; Shepherd, 2017:74). Thus, while women are represented as political agents, the issue of their political participation is 'rendered technical' and thereby depoliticised, mirroring common tropes in international WPS policies.

5.2 Gender Experts' Reproblematisation

The conflict context, rule of law, women's rights, and women's participation are all issues which gender experts address when speaking about conflict-related GBV. However, gender experts problematise conflict-related GBV differently compared to policy papers. They highlight the connection between the above factors and gender relations; and point to the role of patriarchal power structures in causing conflict-related GBV (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6, R7,

---

[18] In the sense of gender justice ("Geschlechtergerechtigkeit")

R9). Gender experts thus represent conflict-related GBV as a problem of gender relations. They thereby connect conflict-related GBV with peacetime structures. War is seen not simply as a cause of theretofore inexistent forms of GBV, but as magnifier of other forms of violence (R3, R4, R7, R9). Gender experts thus identify the continuum of violence, mirroring feminist IR knowledge, and draw on it to reveal the silences in prevalent problem representations. By doing so, gender experts repoliticise the issue and emphasise women's political agency, construct subjects in less binary and gendered terms, challenge state-centrism, and counter colonial tropes. As a result, the status quo of gendered and colonial power relations is challenged. Gender experts thereby open up space for epistemic transformation which the dominant policy discourse forecloses.

5.2.1 Foregrounding Gendered Power Structures

Where policy papers treat gender as marginal, gender experts stress its centrality. While acknowledging that war fuels violence, they highlight a continuum of GBV across time and space, pointing to how conflict-related GBV is rooted in pre-war gender relations.

> We always stress the connection with patriarchal structures, so the fact that the violence we see is gender-based violence has to do with the fact that patriarchal ways of thinking and acting existed before the conflict, and those are being drawn on. (R5)

Based on this understanding, R7 argues that preventing GBV and armed conflict require a political engagement with gendered power structures. She thereby points to the need for a different policy approach: "If peace contracts ... and constitutional processes etc. are concluded ... without discussing gender justice or inequality then it's no use, then gender inequality is once again anchored in the system, and a spiral of violence ensues" (R7).

Gender experts' problematisation of conflict-related GBV further makes the structures at the root of GBV visible by including forms of violence which policy papers exclude. For example, R1 mirrors the continuum across scales by criticising the invisibilisation of GBV occurring *within* ethnic communities, thereby troubling categorisations of women along ethnic rather than gender lines.

[F]or example in the context of the Yezidis, they have experienced severe violence in the conflict with the IS[19] … and now they return but then they experience further forms of gender-based violence, partly at the hands of their own communities or families, which already existed before. (R1)

Several respondents stress the importance of forms of GBV which are not acknowledged in policies, such as economic violence and IPV (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R7, R8).

I would say that it is also a form of violence if women cannot move freely, either because their family, husband, brother prohibits it, or because insecurity outside the house makes it simply too dangerous for a woman to move. It [conflict-related GBV] is domestic violence, it can be economic violence, i.e. that a woman does not dispose of her own income or of money, up to very severe abuse or rape, torture. (R2)

Gender experts thereby also question the idea that combatants are the perpetrators. One stresses that perpetrators can also be civilians, and sometimes are both within the same person: "Sometimes both occurs, because there are men who are soldiers and simultaneously they are the husbands and fathers at home. So there is domestic violence perpetrated by soldiers" (R4). By defining many forms of GBV perpetrated by different actors as conflict-related, experts counter the 'hierarchy of harms'. Based on the continuum of violence, some gender experts even question the distinction between conflict-related and non-conflict-related forms of GBV:

Conflict-related sexual violence is part of a continuum. Women do not suddenly begin to experience violence in a conflict and then the conflict ends and the violence ends. Instead, most women experience gender-based violence before the conflicts, the conflict reinforces this, conflicts also produce new forms, and after the conflicts it continues for women. --- And therefore we look at violence against women in general in our project, in the domestic sphere, through the family, domestic violence, IPV, because we consider this conflict prevention. (R1)

For the practical work [making the distinction between conflict-related and not-conflict-related GBV] doesn't make much sense because we would be focusing on one form of

---

[19] Islamic State

violence which is connected to so many other things, and that would be too simplistic. (R3)

Based on the continuum of violence, gender experts thus represent conflict-related GBV not primarily as a problem of armed conflict, but of gender relations. By redefining conflict-related GBV to include IPV, economic violence, and other forms of GBV not considered in policies, gender experts reveal the violence inherent in social and economic structures. As the structures which cause violence become visible, transformation emerges as the solution to the problem of conflict-related GBV. Gender experts' reproblematisation thus opens up spaces for the redefinition of an entire policy approach.

Gender experts' reproblematisation also contradicts colonial tropes which present the Global South as inherently violent and the Global North as inherently peaceful. Through the continuum across time and scales, experts highlight that the inequalities at the root of conflict-related GBV exist everywhere. R1 draws on the dominant policy discourse to do so, connecting VAW in countries not affected by armed conflict to conflict through the concepts of prevention and fragility. She frames VAW as an indicator of fragility and potentially ensuing (armed) conflict, and states that acting against VAW in these contexts can serve to prevent conflict-related GBV. R3 connects prevention to gender relations, stating that fostering women's empowerment, participation, and gender equality in peaceful contexts is a means to prevent conflict-related GBV. She asserts that all development projects, no matter where or on what, can contribute to combatting conflict-related GBV because gender relations play a role everywhere (R3). Other experts stress that gendered power relations are equally a problem 'at home' as they are in the Global South (R5), that a lack of prosecution is not just a problem of (post-)conflict contexts (R4, R7, R8), and that similarities exist in legislation on rape in Germany and insufficient legal provisions in other contexts (R2). Through the continuum of violence, GBV is represented as an issue which is not limited to countries engaged in armed conflict, and colonial tropes are undermined.

5.2.2 Repoliticising
By revealing how GBV is bound up with gendered power structures in the problem representations put forth in policies, gender experts repoliticise the issue and counter attempts of 'rendering technical'. For example, by stating that conflict contexts, with all their challenges, lead to GBV only because of patriarchal structures, and that structural inequalities are the

reason why conflict-related GBV is most often directed at women, gender experts emphasise the need to change power relations.

Gender experts further highlight how insufficient prosecution of and legislation on conflict-related GBV are imbricated with power structures. For example, some state that prosecution of GBV domestically is often limited not because security forces lack capacities, but because they do not take GBV seriously (R4, R7, R8). Likewise, interviewees draw on the continuum across areas of life to represent insufficient legislation as an issue of gender (in)equality, by pointing to the fact that gender equal legislation in different areas, rather than just prosecution and criminalisation of GBV, is required to combat conflict-related GBV. Based on an understanding that "all forms of violence require some degree of dependence" (R3), laws on inheritance, land rights, women's employment, marriage and divorce, and child custody are all thought to contribute to GBV as they affect women's degree of dependence on men (R3, R7). Such legislation is thus seen in a larger context of gender relations, including economic inequality based on a gendered division of labour which causes women's dependence on men (R3, R4, R5), and the exclusion of women from decision-making based on gender identities or stereotypical gender roles which restrict women to the private sphere and deny their ability to participate in public life (R5). The proposed solution is to address power relations (R1) and change women's position in society to prevent GBV (R3). So, while policy documents present rule of law and legislation as a means to prevent GBV in and of themselves, interviewees see them as a tool to achieve gender equality across different areas, which in turn reduces GBV. By foregrounding power relations, interviewees represent the problem as political rather than technical. Since depoliticising serves to preserve the status quo (Li, 2007:8), repoliticising is a means to enable transformation.

Gender experts repoliticise women's participation, by connecting participation to GBV, thereby highlighting how both are bound up with power structures. They state that women's *exclusion* from certain domains such as the security sector, and from decision-making more broadly, is part of the structures of inequality at the root of GBV (R1, R5). Casting the issue in terms of exclusion rather than (lack of) participation reveals that women's limited political empowerment is not caused by women's failure to participate, but that the structures into which women are to be integrated do not enable their equal participation. Gender experts further do not represent participation in instrumentalist terms, but as a means to change power relations. In this view, women's inclusion in peace talks is not justified with women's supposed inherent peacefulness but as a means to achieve gender equality and prevent violence through women's

political agency (R1, R5, R6, R7). R3 and R5 make clear that women's political participation requires – and aims to produce – a change in gendered power structures. Women's participation is thus viewed in political rather than technical terms. In this view, lobbying (rather than capacity development) is proposed as a means to achieve desired change (R2, R5, R9). The idea is not to include women into existing structures, but to change those structures. In line with this view, gender experts do not focus on participation in peace processes, but on political participation more broadly.

> We have a project about political participation of women, taking on more of an empowerment perspective, where it's about changing women's position in society where possible, working against patriarchal structures, in the hope – which doesn't always come true – that violence is reduced through that. (R3)

Political empowerment thus emerges as a solution to the problem of GBV.

5.2.3 Reconstructing Subjects

By repoliticising conflict-related GBV, gender experts construct subjects in less binary terms and reveal women's agency. Gender experts complicate accounts of who perpetrates GBV against whom, thereby undermining essentialising views of men as perpetrators and women as victims. They do so by troubling binary accounts of victims and perpetrators, and by de-centring perpetrators through a focus on the structures which cause violence. Gender experts do not question the idea that GBV is primarily perpetrated by men against women. While some respondents mention that women can be perpetrators of violence, they focus on violence perpetrated by women against children (R2, R4). One respondent states that "there are surely a few cases where women perpetrate violence against men" (R2), but that those constitute a small and therefore neglectable proportion of GBV cases. Yet, their statements nevertheless undermine essentialising ideas of male perpetrators and female victims, as they stress that women can simultaneously be victims and perpetrators. Likewise, they highlight that men who experience sexual violence often perpetrate IPV against women (R1). In gender experts' accounts, victims and perpetrators thus do not exist as a binary and are not naturally gendered. Moreover, experts undermine essentialising gendered binary ideas of victims and perpetrators by foregrounding the structures which make women vulnerable and men violent:

It is acknowledged that men are for example often affected by conflict-related sexual violence, which had been ignored in the past because it was assumed that there is this binary that women are the victims and men are the perpetrators --- But I also think … that societal conditions of gender inequality, power, unequal power relations between the genders, no equal access etc. …, that all this contributes to the fact that in conflict, issues such as sexual violence are so prevalent. (R1)

In this statement, R1 not only contradicts essentialising views of men as perpetrators, but also shifts the focus from individual perpetrators to wider structures at the root of violence. R5 also states that structures are responsible for the problem: "… patriarchal structures … cause an exclusively male allocation of power and resources, and … women experience violence through these male structures" (R5). Where essentialism naturalises power relations, troubling binaries and emphasising structures reveals them:

So if we have these binary ideas that women are always the victims and men always the perpetrators then we cement a picture which always pushes women exclusively into the victim role and that is also very problematic. Instead, the point must be to break these binary structures. And nevertheless, it is our job as a civil society women's rights organisation to point out that the majority of those affected are women and that that is due to patriarchal structures. (R5)

Experts thereby render visible the power relations which dominant discourses invisibilise and present them as the problem. Transformation of those power structures thus emerges as a solution to the problem of conflict-related GBV.

As a result, gender relations, rather than 'pathological' masculinities, are portrayed as the problem in need of fixing, as violence is seen to emerge in response to socially constructed norms and power relations. While experts share the view that some masculinities can be violent and should be changed, they view such changes in the context of changing gender relations rather than merely changing 'pathological' men. For example, R3 argues that alternative, non-violent and non-dominant masculinities should be supported and thus sees violent masculinities as part of the problem. However, she acknowledges that men's changing position in society due to conflict leads to GBV (R3), thereby framing GBV as a problem of gender relations. Likewise, R1 states that where men feel 'emasculated' when they have become victims of

sexual violence, they often perpetrate VAW to regain a sense of power and self-determination. Similarly, others point to how men's failure to live up to male breadwinner norms can cause violence where men are unable to deal with the ensuing "power shifts" (R1, R4, R7) and seek to reestablish power relations through violence. One respondent stresses that the roles and identities women are socialised into are also part of the problem, for example where women are taught that they must serve their husbands (R7). Finally, R5 concludes that the problem lies not so much in specific gender roles but in gender relations, and that to end GBV, it is necessary to overcome binary ideas of masculinity and femininity.

Essentialising views of women as victims are also contradicted and instead women's agency is stressed. Experts highlight that women are political agents and must be recognised as such in order to change the gendered power relations at the root of conflict-related GBV. For example, R1 criticises a dominant perception of conflict-related GBV which represents women as passive victims whom 'we' help, for objectifying women and denying their agency. Instead, she highlights women's agency, thereby providing arguments for their participation in decision-making:

> We supported a project … on female ex-combatants … because often when peace processes came about [female combatants] disappeared again and then it was only men at the table negotiating with each other … And this image that there are women who are combatants and part of warfare, and fight by conviction because they might also be political agents, is often ignored and I think that's a shame. (R1)

Thus, gender experts not only repoliticise participation by representing it as a means to transform gender relations (see section 5.2.2), but also foreground women's political agency in these processes. Women are said to engage in political activism to ensure that their interests are represented (R5), whereas policy papers do not outline *through whose agency* women come to be included in decision-making.

Gender experts also stress the importance of economic empowerment (R1, R4, R8), but unlike policy papers, they contextualise this as a means to counter economic violence and structures of inequality. In this view, economic inequality based on a gendered division of labour which causes women's dependence on men is seen as part of structures of gender inequality (R3, R4, R5). Women's economic agency is constructed as a means to end dependence and achieve a more equal distribution of resources, which politicises economic empowerment. Gender

experts also see economic agency as only one form of agency exercised by women. Thus, they do not assume that women's economic participation will lead to greater gender equality in and of itself; rather, they conceptualise economic empowerment as one of many contributing factors.

Thus, gender experts avoid reproducing gendered power relations in discourse, by countering essentialising views of male perpetrators and female victims, and by foregrounding women's agency.

Overall, through a focus on gendered power structures, gender experts problematise conflict-related GBV in a way which repoliticises the issue, counters constructions of subjects in binary hierarchies, and counters colonial tropes.

5.3 Complicating the Governance/Resistance Binary

Despite the general trends outlined above, it is important to acknowledge that policy papers do not uniformly reproduce power relations, and that gender experts' problematisation does not uniformly avoid doing so.

Some of the criticism by feminist IR scholars seems to have been taken up in policy documents. For example, many mention that gender equality is important, and the second NAP on UNSCR1325 even speaks of a continuum of violence. However, where such terminology is used, it does not reflect an understanding of power structures, and proposed measures do not address gender relations. The continuum is considered to be a continuum of VAW, not a continuum of GBV (ImA, 2017:3,21):

> The continuum of violence against women and girls is an expression of discriminatory gender relations. The disregard of the right to self-determination over one's own body is a reality for women and girls worldwide. The use of systematic rape as a weapon of war is a consequence of this inequality (ImA, 2017:21).

Moreover, the continuum is said to be an *expression* of discriminatory gender relations, whereas scholarship on the continuum of violence stresses the *causal* links between violence and gendered power relations. Thus, the continuum of violence is conceptualised in a way which does not use its transformative potential.

While gender experts overall problematise conflict-related GBV differently than policy documents, they also reproduce prevalent problematisations in some instances. For example,

the measures they propose for women's economic empowerment and political participation are often limited to capacity development and training, suggesting that the reason why women do not have equal access to decision-making and economic resources is their lack of capacity (R1, R7). The disabling structures are disregarded. Women are sometimes integrated into existing power structures:

> Unfortunately what we still see quite often … that where training is offered women continue to be trained in traditional jobs because it is socially more acceptable that women work in certain jobs rather than others and that provides easier access, which is understandable, but especially in post-conflict contexts it is very important to check which jobs and activities are needed and where do women have real possibilities to participate actively and to earn money and exert influence. (R1)

This proposal assumes that some jobs naturally confer economic and decision-making power, and that women should access those 'right' kinds of jobs. Alternatively, one could question why all the work women are already doing does not lead to greater power for women. The quote points to the tension inherent in seeking to change power relations by engaging with existing structures while also altering them (Dersnah, 2019). In the view of R1, training women in atypical jobs is a way to change power structures by providing economic resources to women, and she stresses that this must be accompanied by social change regarding acceptable jobs for women. At the same time, through the conflation of economic empowerment and decision-making power, calls for empowerment are depoliticised and ideas of neoliberal development are reproduced (Shepherd, 2017:120ff).

Many gender experts also reproduce state-centrism by locating responsibility for tackling conflict-related GBV partly or exclusively at state level (R3, R4, R6, R7, R8). They thereby legitimate structures which are bound up with gendered hierarchies (Shepherd, 2017:62ff). This indicates that gender experts sometimes 'get stuck' in dominant problematisations, suggesting that they are not unaffected by attempts to govern, even as they resist governance.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This study aimed to analyse how conflict-related gender-based violence is problematised in German development and foreign policy, and how gender experts negotiate the problematisation of conflict-related GBV within German policies to achieve transformation. Drawing on an analytical framework that combines understandings of how governing takes place through gendered discourses and how it is resisted through re-problematisation; and on poststructural AoD as the methodology, the findings suggest that German policies discursively reproduce gendered power relations and colonial tropes and fail to transform the gender relations which underpin conflict-related GBV.

More specifically, German policies discursively construct conflict-related GBV as a problem of male VAW, peace and security, rule of law and women's rights, and women's participation. These problem representations all depoliticise the issue by masking the gendered power relations which underpin conflict-related GBV. They construct women and men in essentialised terms which reproduce gendered hierarchies, thereby foreclosing the opportunity for policies to transform gender relations, and thus fail to address the root cause of conflict-related GBV. They also reproduce colonial North-South hierarchies. Gender experts, on the other hand, see a continuum of GBV, based on which they foreground the gendered power structures at the root of GBV and thereby highlight the need for transformation. This problematisation further points to the pervasiveness of GBV, contradicting colonial tropes of the Global South as inherently more violent than the Global North. Gender experts thus challenge dominant discourses.

This study reveals that German policies problematise conflict-related GBV in a way which not only makes it impossible for the root causes of GBV to be tackled, but also reproduces those root causes. That is problematic, because conflict-related GBV can only be prevented if its root causes are addressed. By invisibilising and reproducing gendered power structures, German policies thus fail to achieve their own stated objectives. They also undermine SDG5 on Gender Equality, and SDG 16 on Peace. By bringing German policy discourse into conversation with gender experts' reproblematisations, this study presents alternative discursive constructions which could inform more transformative policies.

6.2 Further Research

The study provides fruitful ground for further research. I suggest studying how the discursive practices examined affect material practices. Interviews with CSO representatives reveal that IPV is part of projects which are implemented on the ground with regards to conflict-related GBV. This is striking, given that conceptualisations of conflict-related GBV within German policies focus on sexual violence. Further research is needed to investigate how gender experts are nevertheless able to carve out space to implement projects on IPV, changing not only policy discourse but also policy implementation. The cited research on how gender experts negotiate policy discourses may serve as a starting point. It would also be useful to conduct a longitudinal study of changes in policy discourse over time to reveal whether or to what extent policies incorporate gender experts' reproblematisation. A comparison between the findings of this study and a similar analysis of the third NAP on UNSCR1325 comes to mind. An analysis of the processes and power relations through which existing problem representations are produced, disseminated, and come to be accepted as true (see Bacchi, 2012a:21) would be helpful in this regard.

References

AA, 2017. *Leitlinien der Bundesregierung: Krisen verhindern, Konflikte bewältigen, Frieden fördern*. [pdf] Berlin: Auswärtiges Amt. Available at: https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/1213498/d98437ca3ba49c0ec6a461570f56211f/krisen-verhindern-data.pdf. [Accessed 08.01.2021].

AA and BMZ, 2013. *Leitfaden zur Erläuterung der Aufgaben des Auswärtigen Amts (AA) und des Bundesministeriums für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ) in den Bereichen der Humanitären Hilfe und der Entwicklungsfördernden und strukturbildenden Übergangshilfe*. [pdf] Berlin:Auswärtiges Amt. Available at: https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/205126/c49a80349fffb45b5e5ec5cf9dd80a03/130110-leitfaden-aa-bmz-data.pdf. [Accessed 22.03.2021].

ALBANESE, P., 2001. Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender Relations in the Balkans. *Violence Against Women,* [e-journal] 7(9)**,** pp.999-1023. Available at: DOI 10.1177/10778010122182875. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

ALTAN-OLCAY, Ö., 2020. Politics of Engagement: Gender Expertise and International Governance. *Development and Change,* [e-journal] 51(5)**,** pp.1271-1295. Available at: DOI 10.1111/dech.12609. [Accessed 25.03.2021].

ANNAN, J. & BRIER, M., 2010. The Risk of Return: Intimate Partner Violence in Northern Uganda's Armed Conflict. *Soc Sci Med,* [e-journal] 70(1)**,** pp.152-159. Available at: DOI 10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.09.027. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

BACCHI, C., 2005. Discourse, Discourse Everywhere: Subject "Agency" in Feminist Discourse Methodology. *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies,* [e-journal] 13(3)**,** pp.198-209. Available at: DOI 10.1080/08038740600600407. [Accessed 04.05.2021].

BACCHI, C. L., 2009. *Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented to Be?* Frenchs Forest: Pearson.

BACCHI, C. L., 2010. Foucault, Policy and Rule: Challenging the Problem-Solving Paradigm. *Institut for Historie, Internationale Studier og Samfundsforhold, Aalborg Universitet. FREIA's tekstserie,* [online] 74, pp.1-15. Available at: DOI 10.5278/freia.33190049. [Accessed 23.01.2021].

BACCHI, C. L., 2012a. Introducing the 'What's the Problem Represented to Be?' Approach. [e-book] *In:* BLETSAS, A. & BEASLEY, C. (eds.) *Engaging with Carol Bacchi.* Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.20851/j.ctt1sq5x83.7. [Accessed 26.11.2020].

BACCHI, C. L., 2012b. Why Study Problematizations? Making Politics Visible. *Open Journal of Political Science,* [e-journal] 2(1), pp.1-8. Available at: DOI 10.4236/ojps.2012.21001. [Accessed 18.04.2021].

BACCHI, C. L. & GOODWIN, S., 2016. *Poststructural Policy Analysis: A Guide to Practice.* [e-book] New York: Palgrave Pivot. Available at: DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-52546-8. [Accessed 14.01.2021].

BMZ, 2013. *Entwicklung für Frieden und Sicherheit: Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement im Kontext von Konflikt, Fragilität und Gewalt*. [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. (BMZ-Strategiepapier 4/2013).

Available at:
http://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/themen/frieden/Strategiepapier328_0
4_2013.pdf. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

BMZ, 2014. *Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter in der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik:
Übersektorales Konzept.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesminsiterium für wirtschaftliche
Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. (BMZ-Strategiepapier 2/2014). Available at:
http://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/strategiepapiere/Strategiepapie
r341_02_2014.pdf. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

BMZ, 2015. *Gleichberechtigung geht alle an: Was tut die deutsche Entwicklungspolitik.* [pdf]
Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung,.
Available at:
https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/infobroschueren_flyer/flyer/F
lyer_Gleichberechtigung.pdf. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

BMZ, 2016a. *Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter
2016-2020.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und
Entwicklung. (BMZ Papier 03/2018 Aktionsplan). Available at:
https://www.genderingermandevelopment.net/custom/images/contentBilderGalerie/bil
derGalerie1000566/BMZ-Entwicklungspolitischer-aktionsplan-zur-
gleichberechtigung-der-geschlechter-2016-2020-DE.pdf. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

BMZ, 2016b. *Road Map 2016: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung
der Geschlechter 2016 – 2020.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche
Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at:
https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/themen/menschenrechte/Strategiepa
pier365_2016.pdf. [Accessed 20.02.2021].

BMZ, 2017a. *5-Punkte-Plan Keine Gewalt gegen Frauen.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium
für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at:
https://www.bmz.de/de/zentrales_downloadarchiv/menschenrechte/Keine_Gewalt_ge
gen_Frauen_Fuenf-Punkte-Plan_des_BMZ.pdf. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

BMZ, 2017b. *Road Map 2017: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung
der Geschlechter 2016-2020.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche
Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at:
https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/themen/menschenrechte/Strategiepa
pier380_03_2017.pdf. [Accessed 24.02.2021].

BMZ, 2018. *Road Map 2018: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung
der Geschlechter 2016-2020.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche
Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at:
https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/themen/menschenrechte/Strategiepa
pier445_04_2018.pdf. [Accessed 20.02.2021].

BMZ, 2019. *Road Map 2019: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung
der Geschlechter 2016-2020.* [pdf] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche
Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at:
https://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/strategiepapiere/sMaterialie3
30_gender_roadmap_2019.pdf. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

BMZ, n.d.-a. *Bekämpfung von Gewalt gegen Frauen und Mädchen* [Online]. Bonn:
Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available
at:

https://www.bmz.de/de/themen/frauenrechte/arbeitsfelder_und_instrumente/gewalt_g egen_frauen/index.html. [Accessed 28.01.2021].

BMZ, n.d.-b. *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ).* [Online] Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at: https://www.bmz.de/de/ministerium/wege/bilaterale_ez/akteure_ez/einzelakteure/giz/i ndex.html. [Accessed 17.01.2021].

BOESTEN, J., 2014. *Sexual Violence during War and Peace: Gender, Power, and Post-Conflict Justice in Peru,* [e-book]. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: DOI 10.1057/9781137383457. [Accessed 15.04.2021].

BROWN, G., LANGER, A. & STEWART, F., 2011. *A Typology of Post-Conflict Environments*. CRPD Working Paper No. 1. Leuven: Centre for Research on Peace and Development. Available at: https://soc.kuleuven.be/crpd/files/working-papers/wp01.pdf. [Accessed 20.11.2020].

BUSS, D. E., 2009. Rethinking 'Rape as a Weapon of War'. *Feminist Legal Studies,* [e-journal] 17(2)**,** pp.145-163. Available at: DOI 10.1007/s10691-009-9118-5. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

CACHIA, M. & MILLWARD, L., 2011. The Telephone Medium and Semi-Structured Interviews: A Complementary Fit. *Qualitative Research in Organizations & Management,* [e-journal] 6(3)**,** pp.265-277. Available at: DOI 10.1108/17465641111188420. [Accessed 23.01.2021].

CHANT, S., 2012. The Disappearing of 'Smart Economics'? The World Development Report 2012 on Gender Equality: Some Concerns about the Preparatory Process and the Prospects for Paradigm Change. *Global Social Policy,* [e-journal] 12(2)**,** pp.198-218. Available at: DOI 10.1177/1468018112443674. [Accessed 27.03.2021].

COCKBURN, C., 2004. The Continuum of Violence: A Gender Perspective on War and Peace [e-book]. *In:* GILES, W. (ed.) *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones.* Oakland: University of California Press. Available at: DOI 10.1525/california/9780520230729.003.0002. [Accessed 01.02.2021].

COHN, C., 1987. Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals. *Signs,* [e-journal] 12(4)**,** pp.687-718. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174209. [Accessed 20.03.2021].

COHN, C., 2013. Women and Wars: Toward a Conceptual Framework. [e-book] *In:* COHN, C. (ed.) *Women and Wars*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Available at: https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat07147a&AN=lub.669082 4&site=eds-live&scope=site. [Accessed 01.02.2021].

COHN, C., KINSELLA, H. & GIBBINGS, S., 2004. Women, Peace and Security. *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* [e-journal] 6(1)**,** pp.130-140. Available at: DOI 10.1080/1461674032000165969. [Accessed 19.03.2021].

COLES, A., MOMSEN, J. & GRAY, L., 2015. *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Development,* [e-book]. London: Routledge. Available at: DOI 10.4324/9780203383117. [Accessed 01.04.2021].

COLLIER, P., 2009. *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places.* New York: Harper Collins.

CONFORTINI, C. C., 2006. Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance. *Peace & Change,* [e-journal] 31(3)**,** pp.333-367. Available at: DOI 10.1111/j.1468-0130.2006.00378.x. [Accessed 28.03.2021].

CONNELL, R., 2014. The Study of Masculinities. *Qualitative Research Journal,* [e-journal] 14(1)**,** pp.5-15. Available at: DOI 10.1108/QRJ-03-2014-0006. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

ĆOPIĆ, S., 2004. Wife Abuse in the Countries of the Former Yugoslavia. *Feminist Review,* [e-journal] 76(1)**,** pp.46-64. Available at: DOI 10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400137. [Accessed 28.11.2020].

CRESWELL, J. W. & POTH, C. N., 2017. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches.* 4th edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

DAM, M., 2013. Women, Peace and Security: A Feminist Critique of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. *Human Rights Defender,* [e-journal] 22(2)**,** pp.11-13. Available at: DOI 10.1080/1461674032000165969. [Accessed 03.12.2020].

DAVIES, S. E. & TRUE, J., 2015. Reframing Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Gender Analysis Back in. *Security Dialogue,* [e-journal] 46(6)**,** pp.495-512. Available at: DOI 10.1177/0967010615601389. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

DAVIES, S. E. & TRUE, J., 2017. Norm Entrepreneurship in Foreign Policy: William Hague and the Prevention of Sexual Violence in Conflict. *Foreign Policy Analysis,* [e-journal] 13(3)**,** pp.701-721. Available at: DOI 10.1093/fpa/orw065. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

DE JONG, S. & KIMM, S., 2017. The Co-optation of Feminisms: A Research Agenda. *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* [e-journal] 19(2)**,** pp.185-200. Available at: DOI 10.1080/14616742.2017.1299582. [Accessed 27.03.2021].

DEKESEREDY, W. S. & SCHWARTZ, M. D., 2005. Masculinities and Interpersonal Violence. [e-book] *In:* KIMMEL, M. S., HEARN, J. & CONNELL, R. W. (eds.) *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Available at: DOI 10.4135/9781452233833.n20. [Accessed 16.08.2020].

DERSNAH, M. A., 2019. United Nations Gender Experts and the Push to Focus on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence. *European Journal of Politics and Gender,* [e-journal] 2(1)**,** pp.41-56. Available at: DOI 10.1332/251510819X15471289106031. [Accessed 27.03.2021].

DUNCANSON, C., 2015. Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations. *Men and Masculinities,* [e-journal] 18(2)**,** pp.231-248. Available at: DOI 10.1177/1097184x15584912. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

ELMHIRST, R. & RESURRECCIÓN, B. P., 2020. Beyond the Business Case for Gender: A Feminist Political Ecologist in the FAO [e-book]. *In:* RESURRECCIÓN, B. P. & ELMHIRST, R. (eds.) *Negotiating Gender Expertise in Environment and Development.* New York: Taylor & Francis. Available at: DOI 10.4324/9781351175180. [Accessed 23.03.2021].

ENGLE, K., 2005. Feminism and Its (Dis)contents: Criminalizing Wartime Rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *The American Journal of International Law,* [e-journal] 99(4)**,** pp.778-816. Available at: DOI 10.2307/3396669. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

ERIKSSON BAAZ, M. & STERN, M., 2009. Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC). *International Studies Quarterly,* [e-journal] 53(2)**,** pp.495-518. Available at: DOI 10.1111/j.1468-2478.2009.00543.x. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

ESPOSITO, N., 2001. From Meaning to Meaning: The Influence of Translation Techniques on Non-English Focus Group Research. *Qualitative health research,* [e-journal] 11(4)**,** pp.568-579. Available at: DOI 10.1177/104973201129119217. [Accessed 24.01.2021].

FRASER, N., 2009. Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History. *New Left Review,* [e-journal] 56(1)**,** pp.97-117. Available at: https://newleftreview-org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/issues/ii56/articles/nancy-fraser-feminism-capitalism-and-the-cunning-of-history.pdf. [Accessed 27.03.2021].

FRIÐRIKSDÓTTIR, G. S., 2018. Soldiering as an Obstacle to Manhood? Masculinities and Ex-Combatants in Burundi. *Critical Military Studies,* [e-journal] 7(1)**,** pp.1-18. Available at: DOI 10.1080/23337486.2018.1494884. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

GOITOM, M., 2020. Multilingual Research: Reflections on Translating Qualitative Data. *The British Journal of Social Work,* [e-journal] 50(2)**,** pp.548-564. Available at: DOI 10.1093/bjsw/bcz162. [Accessed 24.01.2021].

GRAY, H., 2018. The 'War'/'Not-War' Divide: Domestic Violence in the Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* [e-journal] 21(1)**,** pp.189-206. Available at: DOI 10.1177/1369148118802470. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

HAMILTON, C. & SHEPHERD, L. J., 2015. The Construction of Gender-Sensitive Peacebuilding in Australia: 'Advance Australia Fair'. *Australian Journal of International Affairs,* [e-journal] 69(4)**,** pp.373-393. Available at: DOI 10.1080/10357718.2015.1025694. [Accessed 28.11.2020].

HEISE, L., ELLSBERG, M. & GOTTMOELLER, M., 2002. A Global Overview of Gender-Based Violence. *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics,* [e-journal] 78(1)**,** pp.5-14. Available at: DOI 10.1016/S0020-7292(02)00038-3. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

HIGATE, P. & HOPTON, J., 2005. War, Militarism, and Masculinities. [e-book] *In:* KIMMEL, M. S., HEARN, J. & CONNELL, R. W. (eds.) *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Available at: DOI 10.4135/9781452233833.n25. [Accessed 16.08.2020].

HOLVIKIVI, A., 2019. Gender Experts and Critical Friends: Research in Relations of Proximity. *European Journal of Politics and Gender,* [e-journal] 2(1)**,** pp.131-147. Available at: DOI 10.1332/251510819X15471289106068. [Accessed 11.12.2020].

HORN, R., PUFFER, E. S., ROESCH, E. & LEHMANN, H., 2014. Women's Perceptions of Effects of War on Intimate Partner Violence and Gender Roles in Two Post-Conflict West African Countries: Consequences and Unexpected Opportunities. *Conflict and Health,* [e-journal] 8(1)**,** pp.1-13. Available at: DOI 10.1186/1752-1505-8-12. [Accessed 28.11.2020].

IMA, 2017. *Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 zu Frauen, Frieden, Sicherheit des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen für den Zeitraum 2017 bis 2020.* [pdf] Berlin: Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe zur Umsetzung

von Resolution 1325 des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen. (Bundestagsdrucksache 18/10853). Available at: https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/216940/dce24ab4dfc29f70fa088ed5363fc479/aktionsplan1325-2017-2020-data.pdf. [Accessed 27.02.2021].

IMA, 2021. *Dritter Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Umsetzung der Agenda Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen.* [pdf] Berlin: Interministerielle Arbeitsgruppe zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen. Available at: https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2443848/3596859eebe39f90fa327e81ede416a3/aktionsplan-zu-wps-iii-data.pdf. [Accessed 04.03.2021].

KABACHNIK, P., GRABOWSKA, M., REGULSKA, J., MITCHNECK, B. & MAYOROVA, O. V., 2013. Traumatic Masculinities: The Gendered Geographies of Georgian IDPs from Abkhazia. *Gender, Place & Culture,* [e-journal] 20(6)**,** pp.773-793. Available at: DOI 10.1080/0966369x.2012.716402. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

KIRBY, P., 2012. How is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence. *European Journal of International Relations,* [e-journal] 19(4)**,** pp.797-821. Available at: DOI 10.1177/1354066111427614. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

KIRBY, P. & SHEPHERD, L. J., 2016. Reintroducing Women, Peace and Security. *International Affairs,* [e-journal] 92(2)**,** pp.249-254. Available at: DOI 10.1111/1468-2346.12550. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

KORAC, M., 1998. Ethnic-Nationalism, Wars and the Patterns of Social, Political and Sexual Violence against Women: The Case of Post-Yugoslav Countries. *Identities,* [e-journal] 5(2)**,** pp.153-181. Available at: DOI 10.1080/1070289x.1998.9962614. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

KOSTOVICOVA, D., BOJICIC-DZELILOVIC, V. & HENRY, M., 2020. Drawing on the Continuum: A War and Post-War Political Economy of Gender-Based Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* [e-journal] 22(2)**,** pp.250-272. Available at: DOI 10.1080/14616742.2019.1692686. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

KUNZ, R. & PRUGL, E., 2019. Introduction: Gender Experts and Gender Expertise. *European Journal of Politics and Gender,* [e-journal] 2(1)**,** pp. Available at: DOI 10.1332/251510819X15471289106077. [Accessed 25.03.2021].

LEAVY, P. & HARRIS, A., 2019. *Contemporary Feminist Research From Theory to Practice.* New York: The Guilford Press.

LEAVY, P. L., 2007. Feminist Postmodernism and Poststructuralism [e-book]. *In:* HESSE-BIBER, S. N. & LEAVY, P. L. (eds.) *Feminist Research Practice.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications. Available at: DOI 10.4135/9781412984270. [Accessed 30.01.2021].

LEE, S., 2017. The Bilingual Researcher's Dilemmas: Reflective Approaches to Translation Issues. *Waikato Journal of Education,* [e-journal] 22(2)**,** pp.53-62. Available at: DOI 10.15663/wje.v22i2.568. [Accessed 24.01.2021].

LI, T. M., 2007. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics,* [e-book]. Durham: Duke University Press. Available at: DOI 10.1215/9780822389781. [Accessed 26.03.2021].

LI, T. M., 2014. Anthropological Engagements with Development. *Anthropologie & développement,* [e-journal] 37-38-39(1)**,** pp.227-240. Available at: DOI 10.4000/anthropodev.495. [Accessed 26.03.2021].

MCLEOD, L., 2011. Configurations of Post-Conflict: Impacts of Representations of Conflict and Post-Conflict upon the (Political) Translations of Gender Security within UNSCR 1325. *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* [e-journal] 13(4)**,** pp.594-611. Available at: DOI 10.1080/14616742.2011.611664. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

MELANDER, E., 2016. The UCDP Armed Conflict Definition. *UNDP Expert Meeting on Measuring SDG 16 Targets on Peace, Inclusion and Freedom*, Oslo, Norway, 28-29 January 2016. Available at: https://www.undp.org/content/dam/norway/img/sdg-16-oslo-2016/Erik%20Melander.pdf. [Accessed 21.11.2020].

MÜLLER, G., 2017. *Stärkere Frauen, weniger Gewalt, bessere Welt – Gewalt gegen Frauen und Mädchen erfolgreich verhindern.* [online]. Bonn: Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. Available at: https://www.bmz.de/de/presse/reden/minister_mueller/2017/november/171123_rede_Gewalt_gegen_Frauen_und_Maedchen_erfolgreich_verhindern.html. [Accessed 10.10.2020].

O'CONNELL, M. E., 2008. Defining Armed Conflict. *Journal of Conflict & Security Law,* [e-journal] 13(3)**,** pp.393-400. Available at: DOI 10.1093/jcsl/krp007. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

O'SHAUGHNESSY, S. & KROGMAN, N. T., 2012. A Revolution Reconsidered? Examining the Practice of Qualitative Research in Feminist Scholarship. *Signs,* [e-journal] 37(2)**,** pp.493-520. Available at: DOI 10.1086/661726. [Accessed 17.01.2021].

OECD, 2019. *Engaging with Men and Masculinities in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Settings*. [pdf] OECD Development Policy Papers. Paris: OECD PUBLISHING. Available at: 10.1787/36e1bb11-en. [Accessed 10.09.2020].

OKELLO, M. C. & HOVIL, L., 2007. Confronting the Reality of Gender-based Violence in Northern Uganda. *International Journal of Transitional Justice,* [e-journal] 1(3)**,** pp.433-443. Available at: DOI 10.1093/ijtj/ijm036. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

OLIVIUS, E. & RÖNNBLOM, M., 2019. In the Business of Feminism: Consultants as Sweden's New Gender-Equality Workers. *European Journal of Politics and Gender,* [e-journal] 2(1)**,** pp.75-92. Available at: DOI 10.1332/251510819X15471289106103. [Accessed 25.03.2021].

PAIN, R., 2015. Intimate War. *Political Geography,* [e-journal] 44(1), pp.64-73. Available at: DOI 10.1016/j.polgeo.2014.09.011. [Accessed 03.12.2020].

PAIN, R. & STAEHELI, L., 2014. Introduction: Intimacy-Geopolitics and Violence. *Area,* [e-journal] 46(4)**,** pp.344-360. Available at: DOI 10.1111/area.12138. [Accessed 03.12.2020].

PARPART, J. L., 2015. Militarized Masculinities, Heroes and Gender Inequality during and after the Nationalist Struggle in Zimbabwe. *Norma,* [e-journal] 10(3-4)**,** pp.312-325. Available at: DOI 10.1080/18902138.2015.1110434. [Accessed 23.11.2020].

PETERMAN, A., PALERMO, T. & BREDENKAMP, C., 2011. Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence Against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *American*

Journal of Public Health, [e-journal] 101(6)**,** pp.1060-1067. Available at: DOI 10.2105/AJPH.2010.300070. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

PRÜGL, E., 2017. Neoliberalism with a Feminist Face: Crafting a new Hegemony at the World Bank. *Feminist Economics,* [e-journal] 23(1)**,** pp.30-53. Available at: DOI 10.1080/13545701.2016.1198043. [Accessed 25.03.2021].

PUECHGUIRBAL, N., 2010. Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents. *International Peacekeeping,* [e-journal] 17(1)**,** pp.172-187. Available at: DOI 10.1080/13533311003625068. [Accessed 20.03.2021].

REHN, E. & JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, E., 2002. *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building.* [online] Progress of the World's Women. New York: UN WOMEN. Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2002/1/women-war-peace-the-independent-experts-assessment-on-the-impact-of-armed-conflict-on-women-and-women-s-role-in-peace-building-progress-of-the-world-s-women-2002-vol-1. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

ROSE, G., 1997. Situating Knowledges: Positionality, Reflexivities and Other Tactics. *Progress in Human Geography,* [e-journal] 21(3)**,** pp.305-320. Available at: DOI 10.1191/030913297673302122. [Accessed 11.12.2020].

SHEPHERD, L.J., 2008. *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice.* [e-book] London: Zed Books. Available at: https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lund/detail.action?docID=368675. [Accessed 20.03.2021].

SHEPHERD, L. J., 2010. Women, Armed Conflict and Language – Gender, Violence and Discourse. *International Review of the Red Cross,* [e-journal] 92(877)**,** pp.143-159. Available at: DOI 10.1017/S1816383110000093. [Accessed 19.03.2021].

SHEPHERD, L. J., 2017. *Gender, UN Peacebuilding, and the Politics of Space: Locating Legitimacy,* [e-book]. New York: Oxford University Press. Available at: DOI 10.1093/oso/9780199982721.001.0001. [Accessed 30.04.2021].

SILVERMAN, D., 2013. *Doing Qualitative Research.* 4th edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

SJOBERG, L., 2013. *Gendering Global Conflict: Toward a Feminist Theory of War.* [e-book] New York: Columbia University Press. Available at: https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lund/detail.action?docID=1103410. [Accessed 16.01.2021].

SKJELSBÆK, I. & TRYGGESTAD, T. L., 2019. Donor States Delivering on WPS: The Case of Norway. [e-book] *In:* DAVIES, S. E. & TRUE, J. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security.* New York: Oxford University Press. Available at: DOI 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190638276.001.0001. [Accessed 28.11.2020].

STARK, L. & AGER, A., 2011. A Systematic Review of Prevalence Studies of Gender-Based Violence in Complex Emergencies. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse,* [e-journal] 12(3)**,** pp.127-134. Available at: DOI 10.1177/1524838011404252. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

SULTANA, F., 2007. Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research. *ACME: An International E-Journal*

for Critical Geographies, [e-journal] 6(3)**,** pp.374-385. Available at: https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/786. [Accessed 12.12.2020].

SWAINE, A., 2015. Beyond Strategic Rape and between the Public and Private: Violence against Women in Armed Conflict. *Human Rights Quarterly,* [e-journal] 37(3)**,** pp.755-786. Available at: DOI 10.1353/hrq.2015.0043. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

TANNER, S. & O'CONNOR, M., 2017. *A Safe Place to Shine: Creating Opportunities and Raising Voices of Adolescent Girls in Humanitarian Settings*. [pdf] New York: International Rescue Committee. Available at: https://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/document/2248/irccompassglobalreport.pdf. [Accessed 25.10.2020].

TEMPLE, B., 2002. Crossed Wires: Interpreters, Translators, and Bilingual Workers in Cross-Language Research. *Qualitative health research,* [e-journal] 12(1)**,** pp.844-854. Available at: DOI 10.1177/104973230201200610. [Accessed 24.01.2021].

TEMPLE, B. & YOUNG, A., 2004. Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas. *Qualitative Research,* [e-journal] 4(2)**,** pp.161-178. Available at: DOI 10.1177/1468794104044430. [Accessed 24.01.2021].

TICKNER, J., 1993. *Gender in International Relations : Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security.* New York: Columbia University Press.

TRUE, J., 2020. Continuums of Violence and Peace: A Feminist Perspective. *Ethics & International Affairs,* [e-journal] 34(1)**,** pp.85-95. Available at: DOI 10.1017/S0892679420000064. [Accessed 05.02.2021].

TRUE, J. & HOZIĆ, A. A., 2020. Don't Mention the War! International Financial Institutions and the Gendered Circuits of Violence in Post-Conflict. *Review of International Political Economy,* [e-journal] 27(6)**,** pp.1193-1213. Available at: DOI 10.1080/09692290.2020.1732443. [Accessed 11.02.2021].

TRYGGESTAD, T. L., 2009. Trick or Treat - The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. *Global Governance,* [e-journal] 15(4)**,** pp.539-558. Available at: DOI 10.1163/19426720-01504011. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

TURNER, D. W., 2010. Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators. *Qualitative Report,* [e-journal] 15(3)**,** pp.754-760. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265989424_Qualitative_Interview_Design_A_Practical_Guide_for_Novice_Investigators. [Accessed 11.01.2021].

UNHCR, 2011. *Action against Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: An Updated Strategy*. [pdf] Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Available at: https://cms.emergency.unhcr.org/documents/11982/51689/UNHCR%2C+Action+Against+Sexual+and+Gender-based+Violence.+An+Updated+Strategy%2C+2011/4f9d2a1c-280e-4ac8-a832-1a789de63d46. [Accessed 18.04.2021].

UNWIN, T., 2006. Doing Development Research 'at Home'. [e-book] *In:* DESAI, V. & POTTER, R. B. (eds.) *Doing Development Research*. London: SAGE Publications. Available at: DOI 10.4135/9781849208925. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

VEIT, A., 2019. Feminism in the Humanitarian Machine. Introduction to the Special Section on 'The Politics of Intervention Against (Conflict-Related) Sexual and Gender-based

Violence'. *Journal of Intervention & Statebuilding,* [e-journal] 13(4)**,** pp.401-417. Available at: DOI 10.1080/17502977.2019.1649009. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

VEIT, A. & TSCHÖRNER, L., 2019. Creative Appropriation: Academic Knowledge and Interventions against Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of Intervention & Statebuilding,* [e-journal] 13(4)**,** pp.459-479. Available at: DOI 10.1080/17502977.2019.1627041. [Accessed 29.11.2020].

VON BRAUNMÜHL, C., 2008. *Geschlechterdimensionen gewalttätig ausgetragener Konflikte in der Internationalen Politik.* [pdf] Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, Gender Politik Online. Available at: https://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/gpo/int_bez/frauenmenschenrechte/geschlechterdimensioneninter/claudia_braunmuehl.pdf. [Accessed 18.08.2020].

WALLIMAN, N., 2006. *Social Research Methods,* [e-book]. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd. Available at: DOI 10.4135/9781849209939. [Accessed 17.01.2021].

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Selected Empirical Material

Publisher	Year	Original Title	English Title (Translated by Author)	Description
Auswärtiges Amt	2017	Krisen verhindern, Konflikte bewältigen, Frieden fördern: Leitlinien der Bundesregierung	Preventing Crises, Dealing with Conflicts, Fostering Peace: Guidelines of the Federal Government	Guidelines on preventing crises, dealing with conflicts, and fostering peace
BMZ	2013	Entwicklung für Frieden und Sicherheit: Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement im Kontext von Konflikt, Fragilität und Gewalt	Development for Peace and Security: Development Policy Activities in the Context of Conflict, Fragility and Violence	Strategy paper on development cooperation in contexts of conflict, fragility and violence
BMZ	2014	Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter in der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik	Gender Equality[20] in German Development Policy	Strategy paper on gender equality in German development policy
BMZ	2015	Gleichberechtigung geht alle an: Was tut die deutsche Entwicklungspolitik?	Gender Equality[10] Concerns All: What Does German Development Cooperation Do?	Brochure on gender equality in German development cooperation
BMZ	2016	Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter 2016-2020	Development Policy Action Plan for Gender Equality[10] 2016-2020	Gender Action Plan (GAP), operationalises the strategy paper on gender equality in German development policy

---

[20] Literally: Equal rights of the genders

BMZ	2016	Road Map 2016: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter 2016 – 2020	Road Map 2016: Development Policy Action Plan for Gender Equality[10] 2016-2020	Strategy paper detailing planned activities to implement the GAP for the year 2016
BMZ	2017	Road Map 2017: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter 2016-2020	Road Map 2017: Development Policy Action Plan for Gender Equality[10] 2016-2020	Strategy paper detailing planned activities to implement the GAP for the year 2017
BMZ	2017	Keine Gewalt gegen Frauen	No Violence Against Women	Five-point plan detailing five broad measures taken against VAW in German development policy
BMZ	2017	Stärkere Frauen, weniger Gewalt, bessere Welt – Gewalt gegen Frauen und Mädchen erfolgreich verhindern	Stronger Women, Less Violence, Better World – Successfully Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls	Speech by Federal Minister for Development, Dr. Gerd Müller, held at a conference on the topic "Successfully preventing violence against women and girls: prevention in the international context."
BMZ	2018	Road Map 2018: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter 2016 – 2020	Road Map 2018: Development Policy Action Plan for Gender Equality[10] 2016-2020	Strategy paper detailing planned activities to implement the GAP for the year 2018
BMZ	2019	Road Map 2019: Entwicklungspolitischer Aktionsplan zur Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter 2016-2020	Road Map 2019: Development Policy Action Plan for Gender Equality[10] 2016-2020	Strategy paper detailing planned activities to implement the GAP for the year 2019

ImA 1325	2017	Aktionsplan der Bundesregierung zur Umsetzung von Resolution 1325 zu Frauen, Frieden, Sicherheit des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen für den Zeitraum 2017 bis 2020	Action Plan of the Federal Government for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, Security of the United Nations Security Council for the Period 2017 to 2020	National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 for the period 2017-2020

Appendix 2 – Overview of Interview Participants

ID	Background of Participant	Date and Medium of Interview	Duration of Interview
R1	Advisor	06.01.2020 - phone	00:58:22
R2	Project officer	14.01.2021 - online	01:06:06
R3	Advisor	20.01.2021 - online	00:35:58
R4	Project officer	19.01.2021 - online	00:52:52
R5	Public relations officer	22.01.2021 - phone	01:00:53
R6	Advisor	25.02.2021 - online	00:57:19
R7	Project officer	08.02.2021 - online	00:58:22
R8	Project officer	24.02.2021 - online	01:17:29
R9	Evaluation and quality officer	23.04.2021 - online	00:51:58

TITLE OF STUDY

Acting on Conflict-Related Gender-Based Violence - German Development Policy

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Britta Wasserloos

Lund University, Department of Human Geography, Master in International Development and Management

+49 1575 9667017

br4385wa-s@student.lu.se

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The following information is provided for you to decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You should be aware that you are free to decide not to participate or to withdraw at any time without affecting your relationship with the researcher or with Lund University.

The purpose of this study is to examine how conflict-related gender-based violence is conceptualised in German development policy. To this end, a discourse-analytical approach is chosen.

Data will be collected in the form of policy papers and interviews with gender experts at relevant state and civil society organisations. Your participation would involve a one-time interview of an approximate duration of one hour. Interviews will be audiotaped if you agree to that; if not, notes will be taken manually by the researcher during the interview.

Do not hesitate to ask any questions about the study before or during your participation. I would be happy to share my findings with you after the research is completed. However, your name will not be associated with the research findings in any way, and only the researcher will know your identity as a participant.

You may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time if you choose.

RISKS

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this study.

BENEFITS

Expected benefits of this study include a better understanding of how German development policies conceptualise conflict-related gender-based violence against women. Such an understanding has important implications for development policy: if existing conceptions do not cover all forms of conflict-related gender-based violence, then policy responses are likely to be incomplete and the problem is not addressed as effectively as it could be.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the following:

- Assigning code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all research notes and documents

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. After you sign the consent form, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Withdrawing from this study will not affect the relationship you have, if any, with the researcher. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed.

CONSENT

I have read and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____

1) What is your role/job at this organisation?

2) How strongly/to what extent do you engage with conflict-related gender-based violence in your work?

3) What does your organisation wish to achieve with regards to conflict-related gender-based violence?

4) What measures do you take to address conflict-related GBV?

   a. Prevention or rehabilitation?
   b. Gender relations or women?
   c. Working with survivors or with perpetrators?
   d. What kinds of violence do you address?
   e. In what contexts? Conflict? Post-conflict? At what point do you consider conflict-related gender-based violence to be over?

5) How does your organsiation define conflict-related GBV?

   a. How does it manifest?
   b. What forms of violence would you consider conflict-related GBV?
   c. Who perpetrates conflict-related GBV? Against whom?
   d. Where does it occur?
   e. When does it occur?

6) What forms of violence are women subjected to in conflict settings?

   a. If domestic violence/IPV is mentioned: how are these forms of violence connected to armed conflict?
   b. If it is not mentioned: why not?

7) What are the causes of conflict-related gender-based violence?

8) Who should be responsible for addressing conflict-related gender-based violence?

9) How does gender-based violence in conflict differ from gender-based violence in non-conflict settings?

10) Since when does your organisation receive state funding (from BMZ or AA) to implement projects addressing conflict-related GBV?

11) Have you noticed a change in those institutions' willingness to fund such projects over time?

   a. Increased interest since UNSCR 1325?

12) What conditions must a project proposal on conflict-related GBV fulfill in order to receive BMZ or AA funding?

   a. Do you have to talk about conflict-related GBV in a specific way? If so, how?

Appendix 5 – NVivo Nodes

- Q1-What's the problem of conflict-related GBV represented to be
  - Armed conflict as a cause
    - Economic situation
    - Opportunity
    - VAW as a strategic weapon
  - Gender inequality
    - (Violent) gender norms
    - Power relations and structures
  - Lack of awareness
    - Awareness of legal rights
    - Awareness of VAW
    - Awareness of women's rights
  - Protection and support for survivors
  - Rule of law
  - Women's participation
  - Women's rights
- Q2-What presuppositions and assumptions underpin the problem representation
  - Binaries
    - Civilian-Combattant
    - Developed-Undeveloped or Safe-Unsafe
    - Insider-Outsider
    - Male-Female
    - Minority-Majority
    - Peace-Armed Conflict
    - Victim-Perpetrator
  - Categories
    - Armed groups
    - Civilians
    - Ethnic groups
    - Men and boys
    - Perpetrators of violence
    - Refugees and IDPs
    - Victims or survivors of violence
    - Women and girls
  - Forms of conflict-related GBV
    - Other forms of violence
    - Sexual Violence
  - Key Concepts
    - Conflict
    - Crises
    - Development
    - Fragility
    - Gender

- Participation
- Peace
- Protection
- Security
- Violence
- Vulnerability

When & where does conflict-related GBV take place

- Armed conflict and post-conflict
- Displacement
- Fragile states
- Humanitarian Emergencies

Who is responsible for the problem