UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS

European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation
A.Y. 2020/2021

Conflict-related Sexual Violence: social norms as a prevention mechanism

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Acknowledgements

To the past, present and future victims/survivors…

… of gender-based violence around the world.

… that suffer from constant stigma by their love's ones.

… of misogynist and patriarchal societies that live with fear, restricting their lives.

Abstract

Sexual violence in wartime is a barbaric behaviour that affects everyone around the world. Despite sexual violence in wartime has gained more international attention over the last years, there is still a need to learn about this topic. Most interventions that aim to mitigate sexual violence tend to focus on external factors causing this behaviour, however this is not enough to stop it. The true nature of sexual violence needs to be understood.

With this in mind, this thesis aims to understand how sexual violent acts are maintained, how and why people choose to comply with these harmful behaviours, why women and girls are the most affected and how human rights interventionists can implement effective interventions to end sexual violence. For this purpose, a multidisciplinary analysis of several theories and empirical works was made. Concluding that sexual violence results from collective expectations and beliefs within a group maintained by social sanctions (social norms). As for women and girls, it relates to gender norms that function similarly to social norms. In this way, interventionists should design a more dynamic and inclusive interventions considering social (gender) norms as the primary focus together with non-social factors (external and individual factors).

Abbreviations and acronyms

CEDAW Committee - Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations Against Women

CRSV - Conflict-related sexual violence

DRC - Democratic Republic of the Congo

GBSV - Gender-based sexual violence

GBV - Gender-based violence

ICC - International Criminal Court

ICTR - International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ICTY - International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

TNS - Theory of Social Norms

TNSB – Theory of Normative Social Behaviour

TPB – Theory of Planned Behaviour

UN - United Nations

WHO - World Health Organization

WPS - Women, Peace and Security

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Introduction

Do you know anyone that suffered any kind of form of GBV? For example, sexual harassment, threats? What about a survivor of sexual violence? You see, this is not that atypical. Currently, one in three women worldwide had suffered physical and sexual violence in their lifetime (WHO, 2021). In Europe, one in 20 women has been raped, and one in two women has experienced sexual harassment (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2021). As for men/boys and LGBT+ people, the scenario is not as bad as for women, but it exists, especially in armed conflict regions.

GBV is observed in every country, and its prevalence is absurd. As for the consequences, they are severe that affect society as a whole. This, needs be tackled down with emergency. However, all the efforts applied until now do not seem to be that effective. It happens to have many laws to prevent GBV and several mechanisms to support the survivors of sexual violence, yet effective prevention mechanisms and studies that analyse and attack the root cause of sexual violence in armed conflict are in need.

In this context, the present thesis goals to understand some unanswered questions: What is the true nature of GBSV, especially in wartime? Why are women and girls disproportionately affected by this phenomenon? How social norms are interconnected with CRSV? And can they be use to tackle this issue? CRSV is a very contemporary and studied field that reveals the high dynamic of armed conflicts and the divergency between them and sometimes within them, even if they have similar external and internal factors. If these factors cannot elude why sexual violence exists between different and similar conflicts, what can be the reason? From the analyses done, social norms are the answer.

Social norms can be a very simplistic answer, nevertheless, they are incredibly complex. They include many variables that consciously and unconsciously affect people. Take the example of gender norms, they result from the social dynamics of social norms generating gender ideologies such as femininity and masculinity. These two concepts dictate and explain why sexual violence affects more women and the different dynamics in armed conflicts. The understanding of social norms, more specifically what they are and how they can change behaviours, can be used as an effective and efficient prevention mechanism for CRSV. Several empirical studies have fomented their efficacy, and many other scholars in various fields defended that social norms are indeed a powerful tool to change harmful behaviours, since violent acts, such as CRSV, are just a type of a

behaviour. By changing the expectations and beliefs that rule a social constructed behaviour is ending this harmful practice.

This thesis aims and is motivated to think of a more permanent and practical solution to help laws work, support programs that help survivors thrive, and ask the international and national community to consider this relevant and current issue. This would help endless future victims and survivors of sexual violence worldwide to live their lives fear-free. To this end, this thesis is divided into three chapters. In the first one, concerning notions of GBSV and CRSV are discussed. The characteristics and definitions of CRSV are also analysed, and the theoretical framework related to the motives of CRSV and their consequences are enumerated. The second chapter shows what social norms are, how are they developed and how they can change it and change people's behaviours. The third chapter illustrates how social norms can effectively prevent CRSV by changing people behaviours.

A vast literature was reviewed for this to be possible, considering a multidisciplinary analysis of several subjects such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, public health, and political science. Several theories, reports, articles, and books from the UN, NGOs and well-known journals and publishers were considered to develop a theoretical hypothesis about using social norms as a prevention mechanism to mitigate CRSV.

Considering the theoretical framework, this thesis adopts a theoretical approach. As there is a plethora of theories related to sexual violence and social norms, the most relevant theories were chosen for this thesis. For sexual violence theories, this thesis follows the Gottschall (2004) organization of theories that analyse sexual violence due to biological desire, cultural and social factors and explain the feminist approach. As for social norms, their theories were chosen regarding their precision and relevance in empirical work and academia. As a result, the TNSB, the TPB (Ajzen 1991) and Bicchieri's TSN (2012a; 2016) are discussed and analysed. In the end, in chapter three, an integrated theoretical approach is implemented to explain the true nature of sexual violence and its frequency. Considering feminists values, gender analysis of society, and social theories as one.

As for the scope, the complexity of this thesis obliges to narrow its focus. As so, gender-based CRSV is the main relevant concept that is going to be used and analysed.

Even consciously knowing that focusing on one part of GBV automatically discards other forms of violence and assumes sexual violence more seriously, this thesis acknowledges that all forms of violence are equally relevant to the fight against GBV. In addition, all people are being considered as victims/survivors and perpetrators of sexual violence in wartime, contrary to many types of research that consider only women and girls. This is crucial since a change in behaviours must come from all participants that directly and indirectly involve in the conflict.

Concerning discourses, they have a considerable impact on how the reader interprets the concepts. For this reason, it is vital to explain why certain concepts are being used and others not. Firstly, the survivors' concept is related to a person who is currently a survivor of threats, attempts, or acts of sexual violence. Victims are the ones that do not survive after an act of GBV. Secondly, CRSV and wartime are considered the same concept. This reveals that sexual violence in armed conflicts is directly or indirectly related to the conflict. It was not considered the concept of weapon of war because it can be quite limited on methods that it can subject. Thirdly, the term tactic refers to a short-term policy and strategy to a more sustained form of fighting towards a more significant aim (Kirby, 2012).

CHAPTER 1 | Conflict-related sexual violence

The concept and analysis of the theoretical framework already done are essential to understand CRSV fully. If the understanding is done correctly, prevention mechanisms can be efficient and effective in saving future victims and survivors of sexual violence in all stages of conflict worldwide.

In this subchapter, the definition of GBV is developed to situate sexual violence in this broad concept. Furthermore, the concept of CRSV is explored together with its characteristics. Lastly, the causes and reasons why sexual violence is used as a war strategy and other situations are also explained. It is essential to consider the gender concept for this analysis since it is relevant to understand how social norms affect the gender roles of a man, woman and LGBT+ people in armed conflicts. For this aim, several theories and field studies were scrutinised using a multidisciplinary analysis.

1.1. Gender-based violence and sexual violence

GBV is considered by many as a synonym for violence against women. However, this affects women, men, children, and transgender people. Nevertheless, it should not be disregarded that women are the most affected worldwide. According to World Health Organization (2021), one out of three women is subject to any kind of GBV, being sexual and physical the most common.

GBV definitions of the academic world exist in a plethora, and several institutions have their own concepts. Yet, their bases are similar. For the European Institute for Gender Equality (2021), GBV is considered a violent act towards a person just because of their gender. Others have gone beyond saying that GBV is an 'umbrella term' (Tol et al., 2013, p. 1) of a violent act based on 'socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females against their will' (Inter-Agency Standing Committee [IASC] 2005, p. 7).

Regarding the concepts developed by the UN, the CEDAW Committee only defined GBV in 1992, in its General Recommendation No. 19 (1992, p. 1), as a 'violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately'. Also, it added that GBV transcends as a form of discrimination and inequality that inhibits women's ability to enjoy their freedoms and rights compared to men. Later, in 2017, the CEDAW Committee adopted General Recommendation No. 35

on GBV replacing the previous on this issue. It furthered its definition, referring to GBV as a 'social rather than an individual problem, requiring comprehensive responses, beyond those to specific events, individual perpetrators and victims/survivors' (CEDAW Committee, 2017, p. 14). It can be concluded that UN definitions of GBV are narrowly related to their victims/survivors. To the UN, women and girls seem to be the only ones suffering from this kind of violence.

Men in the UN discourses are not seen as potential victims. They do not have a specific document that protects them from GBV, specifically. This could be explained because women and girls are most affected by GBV worldwide, which led feminist movements to push the UN to reconsider GBV as a problem for women and girls (which they did). Additionally, the dichotomy between the women's and men's roles in society puts men to be seen as masculine and into the dominant male culture, with power and dominance (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013). As a result, this prevents many men from reporting abuses because of the shame related to their perception of unfulfilled gender roles. Consequently, abuses against men have been and still are not recognised by the UN, not only by the low numbers but also by the false lack of need of protection, as society considers men as masculine, capable of protecting himself and others.

When analysing all these concepts, it can be denoted that there is a lack of a clear definition of what GBV means. For some, GBV only comprises women and children. For others, it considers all people as victims/survivors. It should be noted that gender and woman are different concepts, which many times are confused. Gender is a social construct view of what society expects. As for 'woman', it is only one part of the composition of this idea expected (Carpenter, 2002). It is what differentiates man, woman and LGBT+ people related to attitudes, attributes, discourses and behaviours. Thus, GBV impacts disproportionately more the gender that is perceived as weak since they perceived to have less power and their limitations are different (Spinelli, 2014).

In relation to what GBV compose, there is a clear description. GBV involves any type of physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence. Such as vaginal, anal or oral rape or attempt, sexual abuse, genital mutilation, (sexual) exploitation, sexual harassment, abuse and humiliation, torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, forced impregnation (sometimes forced abortion), forced early marriage, domestic violence, trafficking, sterilisation, denial and discrimination of opportunities and services,

and ultimate murder, are some examples (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; CEDAW Committee, 1992; 2017; Integrated Regional Information Networks [IRIN], 2004; UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], no date; 2010).

Sexual violence, on the other hand, is a component/part of GBV. Here, all people suffer from this type of violence, as well. It is usually associated with conflict, nonetheless, it can also happen during peacetime. Being one of the most common types of violence, it also affects disproportionally women around the globe. On the contrary, to GBV, there is no single international clear conceptual definition for what involves this problem. WHO (2021) defines sexual violence as an act, attempt, or threat of sexual violence against a person will using coercion, the threat of harm or physical force by any person 'regardless of their relationship to the victim' (Spinelli, 2014, p. 4). It includes 'rape, defined as the physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration of the vulva or anus with a penis, other body part or object, attempted rape, unwanted sexual touching and other non-contact forms' (WHO, 2021, para. 3). Moreover, it embraces sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, sexual slavery and/or trafficking, sexual harassment, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, forced marriage, sterilisation or denial of contraception (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; IASC, 2005).

In comparison to law cases, the definition of sexual violence is similar to the previous ones, but the discourses are quite different. The recognition and condemnation by the courts began in the 1990s after the atrocities lived in Yugoslavia and Rwanda. At the time, it was massively publicised by the international media and human rights groups, seeing that between 50 to 64 thousand women and girls were raped in Bosnia and an estimate of 250-500 thousand in Rwanda (Crawford, 2013).

To begin with, the ICC recognises sexual violence, on the Rome Statute, as a crime against humanity and as a war crime. The first is defined in Article 7 (1) (g) as 'rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilisation, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity' (Rome Statute, 1998, p. 3) if these acts are committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against any civilian population. War crime is considered in Article 8 (2) (b) (xxii) with the same acts and threats that 'constitute a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions' (Rome Statute, 1998, p. 6), meaning that it can only be applicable in international armed conflict. As for the

ICTR and ICTY, both recognise sexual violence, as well as a war crime and crime against humanity, but the ICTR goes further recognising as an act of genocide (Alison, 2007).

In all the definitions above, it can be noticed that the ICC recognition has a limited list of what can be considered sexual violence. Adding to the fact that violations have to be considered quite serious to be persecuted, there is a vast limitation and discrimination to other types of sexual violence and their degree. Still, this does not mean that sexual violence acts that did not reach this gravity cannot be considered a crime under other treaties and national legislation (Gaggioli, 2014). As for ICTR, their definition is broad, consider physical acts and non-physical, such as WHO definition. In all international cases, such unclear definitions of sexual violence and its specificities can limit survivors' justice.

In conclusion, GBV is more than sexual violence. GBV includes not only sexual violent acts but also other acts of non-sexual nature. It is gender-specific, meaning that the violent act is committed based on social gender constructions (Gaggioli, 2014). As so, it does not only affect women and children but all persons worldwide. This should not be forgotten to understand the CRSV dynamics and to further develop prevention mechanisms.

1.2. Conflict-related sexual violence: definition and characteristics

Sexual violence can occur, as mentioned above, in peacetime, during periods of political transition and civil unrest, in conflict and post-conflict situations (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Human Rights Council, 2013). The differences between these situations base on the circumstances and on social norms that diverge between them. If we compare sexual violence in armed conflict and sexual violence in peacetime, we can see that the first is just a result of the conditions existing on the second. As such sexual violence in armed conflict is not something new, it is just an extension of the existing factors that exist in peacetime. Yet, many authors argue that sexual violence in conflict zones have a higher number than in non-conflict zones, which could be explained by the fact that social perceptions and the visibility of some acts that in peacetime would be seen as criminal are weakened in armed conflict situations (Médecins Sans Frontières [MSF], 2007). For example, sexual violence would be condemned as a severe crime in peacetime. In wartime, these acts are not alleged to be that important and are considered, by many,

an inevitable consequence of war (Nahoum-Grappe, 2011). Like Koos (2015) agrees, situations seen in peacetime are aggravated by ethnic, religious or ideological ideas that increase hatred and brutality. Finally, sexual violence in armed conflict can be influence by many other factors that are intrinsic to conflict.

Another important distinction is that sexual violence in armed conflict could or not be related to conflict - not every act of sexual violence is related to the war. As mentioned previously, some sexual violence acts are just a continuation of acts that occur in peacetime. The difference is that they are being done in an unstable and dangerous situation between two or more parties, suggesting that sexual violence does not end when the conflict does (Tol et al., 2013). Nonetheless, sexual violence in armed conflict is more commonly recognised as conflict-related. Thus, the UN (2019, p.3) recognises CRSV as an international issue and define it as 'rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilisation, forced marriage, trafficking in persons when committed in situations of conflict for the purpose of sexual violence/exploitation and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict.'.

Besides this definition, there is no international consensus about CRSV since this concept is very dynamic that varies from conflict to conflict. In some conflicts, women and children are the only ones that suffer, in others, men and LGBT+ people are also the victims/survivors. In some cases, CRSV only targets a specific ethnicity or religious group, while in others, the target is broader. Moreover, it can be committed by groups or individuals in a private setting or in public. Finally, in some CRSV, the pattern of sexual violence is symmetric, while others are very asymmetric (Wood, 2006; 2014). There is a variable of location, time and perpetration since not in every conflict occurs CRSV or at the same extent or form (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013). As such, all these variables should be considered when analysing CRSV.

CRSV can occur anytime and at any place. It is not specific to types of conflict, geographic regions or ethnic and non-ethnic wars (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013). It can occur in homes, schools, hospitals, fields, places of detention, military sites, or camps for refugees (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007). As for the primary victims or survivors of CRSV, such as GBV, it affects all persons of all ages. There are numerous examples in conflict zones where men suffer from CRSV, such as in Liberia, where a third of male

ex-combatants had experienced sexual violence. In the DRC, a quarter of men had experienced sexual violence in conflict zones. Even in the Bosnian war, almost five thousand men held in detention camps were raped (Goodley, 2019). As for LGBT+ people, data is not available (Kiss et al., 2020).

Concerning the perpetrators, in the same way, that women are not exclusively the victims/survivors of CRSV, perpetrators are not exclusively men. Several studies found that women can be active in many different sexual violence conflicts. Take, for example, the DRC armed conflict, where 41 per cent of female survivors suffered in the ends of female perpetrators. As for men survivors, it counted ten per cent. In Rwanda, several women were responsible for killing and for sexual violence acts, such as rape. And in Abu Ghraib prison, women sexually abused men during conflict times (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013). Women, just like men, are exposed to pressure to perpetrate sexual violence by their peers. Besides, perpetrators are not limited to one specific group. They can include official armed and security forces, paramilitary groups, non-state armed groups (rebels), humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel, civilians and other unarmed authorities (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Koos, 2015).

According to UNHCR (2010), GBV is often done by persons who hold power or control over the victim/survivor. Therefore, state forces, prison officials, and sometimes humanitarian workers and peacekeepers are the perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict zones since they take advantage and use this subordination from the victim/survivor. Several studies have inclusively shown that states forces are more reported as perpetrators of sexual violence than rebels. It often depends on the context and environment of war but typically (non)armed group relies on civilians for economic support, as such (sexual) violence against them are not used because they depend on these same civilians to reach their goals. State forces, on the contrary, usually are better equipped, and they do not need civilians to survive (Meger, 2016). As a result, in many conflicts, the state uses their power to subordinate their civilians by using sexual violence, especially in prisons. Once again, this is only an example of a possible situation. CRSV is dynamic and is dependable on many factors. Even if the state relies on civilians, the state could target them, but in other conflicts the state may choose not to do so (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013).

Sexual violence, especially in armed conflicts, are dependably and triggered by specific factors. According to UNHCR (2010), these factors can be grouped into five

categories, physical factors, social, cultural and political factors, judicial factors, individual barriers, and humanitarian factors. The physical factor is characterised by the lack of laws, law enforcement and order, presence of armed groups, poverty, lack of education, and livelihood opportunities. This lack of physical security can expose men, women and LGBT+ people to dangerous situations. An example would be a woman and/or girl that is forced into prostitution or to have survival sex in exchange for food, shelter or other resources since she does not have it (Spinelli, 2014). Social, cultural and political factors contribute as well to the increase of sexual violence in conflict zones. For example, laws, norms, and practices that are social, cultural, and religious discriminatory marginalise specific groups. Also, if there is some kind of change in the roles within a family, this can expose women, girls, LGBT+ people and sometimes men to risks. Finally, if people do not trust state institutions, this discourages survivors from seeking justice (Qureshi, 2013).

As for judicial factors, the lack of affordable legal advice, representation, and adequate victim/survivor witness protection mechanism limits survivors to report to the courts. There are many examples of girls in the DRC, where it cost 200 dollars to present their case to court. Since they do not have this money or other choices, they choose not to go (Irwin, 2013). In addition, if the courts are not represented by both genders being only male-dominant and if there are not suitable justice mechanisms and institutions, this could lead to bias decisions towards masculinity attitudes leading survivors of sexual violence to suffer, even more, contributing to the culture of impunity.

Individual barriers are another factor that increases the probability of people to suffer from CRSV. This can be seen as the lack of information about their rights and how to seek remedies. The suffering from threats, stigma, fear and isolation are also variables that prevent survivors from coming forward and talk about it (IRIN, 2004; Human Rights Council, 2013). Lastly, humanitarian factors include the failure to implement gender-sensitive programmes, facilities or services, sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeeping workers since they have the advantage over their victims/survivors. And lack of planning, reporting, and weak monitoring mechanisms (UNHCR, 2010).

Despite these aspects, it is relevant to consider that these variables alone cannot explain why some countries with the same circumstances have different degrees of severity of CRSV. Other factors must be considered when analysing CRSV, such as

gender roles expected and social norms, including family history, individual-level characteristics, attitudes/cognitions, gender inequalities, and environmental factors (Clifford, 2008; Greathouse et al., 2015). The absence of the rule of law, the social and political disorder, the level of corruption are also essential to be part of the CRSV analyses (Clifford, 2008; IRIN, 2004; UNHCR, 2010). In short, the understanding of CRSV must not take into account one factor alone but a combination of these factors and how they interact in different conflicts (Greathouse et al., 2015).

Lastly, sexual violence in conflict has been used for several functions[1]. Wood (2006; 2014) divide CRSV into three categories, opportunistic, as a strategy (instrument), and as a practice (incentive). CRSV as opportunistic is seen when individuals have their reasons and preferences to commit such violent acts instead of following organisations objectives. Objectives that not tolerate and accept violent sexual acts by the command. Since in wartime, social norms could be weakened, regulations could be less restricted, and there could be a lack of resources for the perpetrators, this could increase the opportunity of sexual violence, not only by armed forces but also by civilians. Once again, it is important to refer that not in all armed conflicts exist sexual violence and not all men commit sexual acts when they have the opportunity (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013). It depends on many other factors.

As for practice is considered when CRSV is 'not ordered (even implicitly) but is tolerated by commanders' (Wood, 2014, p. 471). It is a product of social interactions, for example, when peer pressure led to acts of sexual violence within or without their organisation to bond among members. Finally, it is considered as a strategy if it is adopted with a goal or several goals. It can be used as a form of terror or punishment, as a reward for participation, or as ethnic cleansing or genocidal (Boesten, 2017; Wood, 2006).

Kirby (2012) also divides wartime sexual violence into three categories, instrumentality, unreason and mythology. In instrumentality, sexual violence is used to achieve a self-interest goal, similar to Wood's (2006; 2014) strategy described above. It is interconnected to economic materialism, recourses. For example, the use of sexual violence to force displacement of persons from a specific land to the party to use the resources of this land to flourish. Here the perpetrators are self-conscious of their actions

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[1] The explanations why CRSV exists is done in this chapter only in a superficial way. A more analytical work has been done in subchapter 1.3. and chapter 3.

being motivated only by material power (Kirby, 2012). Unreason is ruled by desire, bonding and sexuality. The perpetrators are aware of the goal-driven but they struggle between their desires, traumas, fears, and their role.

Last of all, mythology relates to symbols, imaginaries and collective identities and ideologies. An obvious example happens in the DRC, where armed groups choose to practice sexual violence since they believe that raping a virgin would give them magical power and invincibility (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007). Another example is how sexual violence is viewed as a 'symbolic reflection of masculinist mythology' where 'women are treated as signs exchanged among men' (Kirby, 2012, p. 811). When this happens, it is easier for the perpetrator to humiliate men and destroy and punish their community since they fail to protect their women (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Bourke, 2014).

In conclusion, sexual violence in wartime can be related or not to conflict. Just like GBSV is affects all persons and all persons can be perpetrators. Each conflict is composed by a unique set of factors and it is ruled by a plethora of factors and aims. Commonly, CRSV is used to instil terror and fear[2], displaced persons by dominating territories, destroy, dehumanise and humiliate women, men, LGBT+ people, families, specific community or ethnic groups[3]. CRSV also, aims to conquer, to send a message, to gain control and ensuring compliance. (Askin, 2013; Boesten, 2017; Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; Human Rights Council, 2013; Nahoum-Grappe, 2011; Stark and Wessells, 2012; UNHCR, 2010).

1.3. Causes and consequences

The study of the effectiveness of sexual violence in armed conflict is egregious in the academic world. Several are the theories and studies developed to foment this unknown world. To understand why CRSV is being used, some theories were chosen to demonstrate to the reader. The consequences are too relevant to recognise our societies' weakness to developed preventive mechanisms.

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[2] Like in South Sudan, where raped women and girls were used as campaigns to drive opponents out of the southern state by installing fear and terror to all people targeted (UN, 2019, p.3).

[3] The DRC, warring between Twa and Luba militias violated women, girls, and boys from each other's ethnic communities (UN, 2019, p. 3).

1.3.1. Theoretical framework

The effectiveness of CRSV depends on several factors at different levels. Not only individual but also at the society or community level, it is essential to recognise their dynamics and not accept it as a rigid issue. In some conflicts, the factors that make CRSV effective cannot be applied in other conflicts, as discussed earlier. It depends on many variables.

The literature revision gives an idea of why conflict-sexual violence happens. Many where the theories developed aimed to go underneath the tip of the iceberg to fully understand CRSV. To understand the plethora of theories developed over the years, this thesis follows the organisation by Gottschall (2004) without disregarding other authors.

a) Biological theory

Biological theories are a result of psychologists attempt to explain the origins of sex differences. These theorists found their answer in the biology of the human being. They analysed the tangible differences they could find, such as hormones, the neurochemical and brain structure and functions. They found that these tangible differences of the sexes explained the differences in behaviours (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012).

The biological theorists explain that sexual violence in armed conflict results from the heterosexual desire of men, their biological design. In general, these theories argue that it is all about sex, man's libido, sexual satisfaction (Baaz and Stern, 2013), indicating that social, cultural variables have no value whatsoever to explain why men perpetrators chose to use sexual violence in armed conflicts. It was affirmed that sexual violence in armed conflict is 'an inevitable, genetically determined reflex' (Gottschall, 2004, p. 133) where women are victims/survivors of the men's biology. This is what theorists call the 'pressure cooker theory' or 'sexual urge' (Baaz and Stern, 2013, p. 17; Gottschall, 2004, p. 130).

The pressure cooker theory or sexual urge explains that wartime triggers man sexual aggression and desire. It argues that man has instincts for sexual aggression that are constrained in normal circumstances, meaning in peacetime. However, in wartime, these social or civilising constraints that avoid a man being sexual animals are suspended. This leads that every man can be a potential perpetrator in armed conflict because men

are unleashed from their natural state - sexual beasts (Baaz and Stern, 2013; Gottschall, 2004).

Baaz and Stern (2013) go further explaining the sexual urge or substitution theory related to the biological genetic of men. This theory shows how men argue why sexual violent acts are acceptable and necessary. Men in wartime cannot fulfil the natural sexual desires as they wanted to. They usually live with other heterosexual men without access to women that easily. As such, men argue that they need to resort to sex by force to satisfy their sexual needs. In these cases, the perpetrators think that this act is morally acceptable (Koos, 2015).

Despite these concepts and descriptions, this theory is not well accepted by the current academic bubble and to this thesis. The reality is that this theory goes around sexual desire determining that men would be more attracted to young women (Gottschall, 2004). However, the survivors and victims of sexual violence in armed conflict worldwide are very distinct. As such, this theory fails to explain why older women and even children are victims/survivors of sexual violence in some conflicts. Moreover, it cannot explain why heterosexual men and LGBT+ people are victims/survivors of perpetrators who are also heterosexual men and why some men do not engage in sexually violent acts in many conflicts. Also, excessive violent acts like genitalia mutilation or fistula or other non-sexual acts, like sexual harassment, cannot be argue with this theory. Also, sexual violence acts in peacetimes and in post-conflict times cannot be fomented.

The explanation of behaviours by using biological traits cannot be acceptable because behaviours are a composition of many other psychological variables such as social norms. It is hard to recognise the 'reduce psychology to biology' (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012, p. 31) since GBV, especially CRSV, comprises a web of internal and external factors that influence perpetrators to act.

b) Sociobiological theory

In the modernisation of biological theories, sociobiological theories started to appear. Many of the incognitos that the biological theories had, have been in some way answered by contemporary theorists. They try to develop a theory that explains the variations among conflicts related to men's choices to act related to their victims and survivors. They refute the idea that biological drives cannot be that binary. They must

have other factors to take into account. Likewise, since other theories (feminist) believe that sexual violence was an act of power, it boosted many socio-biologists and evolutionary psychologists to developed other theories to refute these two concepts mentioned above. The result was the sociobiological theories that lays together sociocultural factors and biological drivers that explain why sexual violence is used in armed conflict (Alexandra, 2010; Gottschall, 2004; Spivak, 2011).

Sociocultural factors and biological drivers are interconnected. In the view of this theory, they cannot be analysed separately. It is intrinsic to this theory that perpetrators always have a sexual desire that is influenced by sociocultural factors (Gottschall, 2004). It cannot be said that perpetrators are influenced only by sociocultural variables and vice-versa. These factors affect the sexual desire of perpetrators and all behaviours that consequently influence the 'incidence, prevalence, and savagery of wartime rape from conflict to conflict and from man to man' (Gottschall, 2004, p. 135). As so, sexual violence in an armed conflict occurs depending on how environmental factors influence individuals and groups on their tactics to fulfil their desire of sexual urge (Spivak, 2011). For example, if sociocultural factors favour the culture of impunity, especially in wartime, it is more probable the sexual violence acts in armed conflicts occurs.

In the academic study, it is agreed that to comprehend some specific cases like mass wartime rape, it is necessary to rely on theories that go beyond the approach of the non-sex theories (Gottschall, 2004). Nevertheless, taking aside that the sociobiological theory, in comparison to the biological theory, can explain why there are some differences occurrences across conflicts. It cannot explain why sexual violence acts occur to the elderly, gay people, children, other heterosexual men, post-menopausal women and other forms of sexual violence, or even murder since these acts do not fulfil the desires of the perpetrator (Spivak, 2011).

This theory explains why sexual violence occurs but cannot describe the root causes of sexual violence in armed conflict. For them, the root causes are sexual desire, but this thesis recognizes that CRSV is more than this. Still, sociocultural factors must be considered for this thesis since these factors result from a social construct phenomenon that varies from conflict to conflict and can influence perpetrators differently.

c) Cultural pathology theory

Cultural pathology theory, such as the biological theory, is an outdated but exciting perspective on how academics understand sexual violence in armed conflict. This theory relies on historical and cultural factors that influence societies and individuals and make them what they are today. These factors then influence sexual violence in armed conflict, consequently influencing the likelihood of individuals choosing sexual violence acts (Gottschall, 2004). Sexual desire is not what rules in this situation. The idea of this theory shows how it is transcendent. It culminates that some societies are most developed than others, which explains why there are more cases of sexual violence than others.

In conflict situations, it can help understand why some societies think they are entitled to commit violent sexual acts. For example, the military culture that is often claimed to be responsible for fostering hostiles attitudes and beliefs towards women (Gottschall, 2004) and men that are considered feminine, gives perpetrators an accepted solid reason to engage in sexually violent acts since some people are women and LGBT+. Other specific example is the lust rape or conventional rape in Congo, where men feel entitled to rape women because they are in need and are fighting for their country (Koos, 2015).

Like previously theories, cultural pathology theory cannot fully explain why sexual violence is used in armed conflicts. In this case, such as Gottschall (2004) argues, it is difficult to agree with the theory since the collected data does not effectively predicts if some historical factors are correlated to sexual violence acts. It is true that this theory can help to understand specific cases where these correlations are more visible, nevertheless to explain as a whole is not reliable. Besides, it cannot explain why several diverse backgrounds across different eras end with the same result: sexual violent acts in armed conflicts. Can it be a utopic coincidence?

d) Strategic theory

At the beginning of this chapter, strategy theory uses sexual violence to reach a specific military, economic or political aim. In other words, wartime sexual violence is described as a conscious and logical tactic/strategy (Baaz and Stern, 2013) which, to reach its goal, is necessary to use sexual violence to humiliate, demoralise, and emasculating

its targets. To destroy communities and families' relationships and spread terror (Baaz and Stern, 2013; Gottschall, 2004).

Sexual violence in wartime has devasting consequences but using sexual violence as a strategy has a darker side. In almost every conflict, sexual violence as a strategy results in unexpected outcomes that are not relevant for the mission and consequently do not have the proper attention to taking care of these unnecessary and unintended repercussions (Boesten, 2017; Gottschall, 2004). So, imagining that the mission using sexual violence is successful and the goals are met without consequences is utopic. Since sexual violence as a strategy or tactic is considered logical, coordinated, and conscious, it can be claimed that these unwanted consequences are well known by the perpetrators and by the ones responsible to developed and approved these acts. The irony of this statement is that sexual violence as a strategy/tactic continues to be used in many conflicts as solid and effective method (Baaz and Stern, 2013). As expected, sexual violence as a strategy/tactic has more downsides than upsides and contributes to worsening the war situation for the victims and survivors (Boesten, 2017).

The problem with the definition of sexual violence as a strategy/tactic is that it is not always easy to understand if the sexual violence acts happening in armed conflicts are considered a strategy or tactic. High and systematic sexual violence cases in an armed conflict do not always correspond to being used as a strategy/tactic and the other way round (Crawford, 2013; Koos, 2015). As so, strategic theory cannot explain all cases of sexual violence in armed conflict as a whole.

Finally, despite being a theory that explains some cases of why CRSV is being used, it still misses the understanding of the core of this theme: why sexual violence and no other method is being used? Why sexual violence is the preferred method?

e) Feminist theory

Feminist theories are considered the non-sex theories. They argue that sexual violence in armed conflict is related to the subordination of women by the enforcement of men's power. It relies on misogynist and patriarchal norms where women are considered inferior, weak, incapable, and in need of protection and support. It is not an act driven by sexual desire and satisfaction but a man's craving for dominance, humiliation, and intimidation of woman (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013; Gottschall,

2004; Spivak, 2011). In the end, the goal is the degradation of women and the restriction of their roles by the dominance of men (Baaz and Stern, 2018).

The dominance of man towards woman results from gender roles characterised by 'a historically located hierarchical system of differentiation which privileges those defined as masculine at the expense of those defined as feminine' (Kirby, 2012, p. 799). This means that what is defined as masculine historically had domination and power roles that were considered to belong to the masculine, such as politics, economic activities and families' leaders (Spivak, 2011). This social construction of gender is why men are perceived and expected to behave as dominant and women as subordinates. It is all about gender inequalities.

Women are just a tool for men to exercise their power and gain more power, and sexual violence is just a way to reinforce this masculine power over women. As one feminist said, the soon as man discovered that his genitalia 'could serve as a weapon to generate fear must rank as one of the most important discoveries' (Brownmiller 1975, p. 14, cited in Buss, 2009, p. 148). This shows that sexual violence is a form of power defined by the dynamics of the gender of masculinity and femininity (Kirby, 2012).

Accordingly, with feminist theories, sexual violence can occur both in peacetime and wartime. But the circumstances and environmental facts, shape these concepts to behave differently. As Gottschall (2004) mentions in this work, feminist theories can also be compared to the pressure cooker as biological theories, yet the motives behind what trigger sexual violence in armed conflict are different. For biological theories, it is the libido. For feminist theories are the misogynists' norms. As such, wartime sexual violence is just a continuation of inequalities and discriminatory attitudes of a society in peacetime (Koos, 2015; Mackenzie, 2010). For feminists, besides being a continuum of violence is also about a political form of aggression. It is not an effect but an instrument (Kirby, 2012). These theories do not believe in opportunist, lust or conventional sexual violence acts. For them, every act of sexual violence in wartime was a point, is functional. That aims social control and degradation of women, independent on the side of the war (Baaz and Stern, 2018; Buss, 2009; Gottschall, 2004).

The concepts of femininity and masculinity are fundamental to understand the feminist theory, especially in armed conflict. Sexual violence is the form of violence that most shows the dynamics of femininity and masculinity (Alison, 2007). Men want to

show and prove their masculinity in armed conflicts, not only to them but also to women, enemies, colleagues, or society. For this, the use of sexual violence towards women is a way to achieve this goal. In the case of women, men show them masculinity when they practice sexual acts on them. Their suffering and fear are the power of the male perpetrator. In the case of the enemies, perpetrators use women as a symbol, as a message and as an expression of power to affect their target enemies and to show their masculinity (Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; Greathouse et al., 2015). When the male perpetrators attack women by sexual violent acts, this is like a direct attack on the target enemy. The enemy gelt feminised (Baaz and Stern, 2013; Buss, 2009; Mackenzie, 2010; Meger, 2016). Their masculine side is hurt since they could not practice their perceived role as they supposed to.

Feminist theories can explain in more depth, compared to the previous theories, why sexual violence is used in armed conflicts. However, there are quite some questions unanswered. Firstly, all the traditional feminist theories only contemplate the dynamic of women-victim and male-perpetrator (Alison, 2007). It is known that there are more dynamics than this. Secondly, the role of gender inequalities and patriarchy norms that feminist theories use to explain why sexual violence is being used can be a little reductant and 'cannot explain the variation in rape by armed groups in settings where those groups share the same or similar patriarchal culture.' (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013, p. 5). Moreover, the idea that sexual violence in conflict is based on gender inequalities and misogynist norms assumes that sexual violence only occurs in certain societies, such as patriarchal. It is vital to notice that gender inequalities and patriarchy norms are essential in analysing sexual violence in armed conflict, yet there should not be isolated from other factors and variables. Since sexual violence happens anywhere independent of these norms and inequalities, it seems that these theories fall short (Gottschall, 2004). To end, feminist theories look at the factors that influence sexual violence but do not analyse the nature and origins of these factors that influence CRSV.

Sexual violence in armed conflict happens because it is a conjugation of several factors. As such, it is essential to mix a gender analysis approach with feminist theories. Only this way it is possible to fully understand the motives and factors involved in the use of sexual violence in armed conflicts as a whole (Boesten, 2017; Carpenter, 2002).

f) Gender analysis

The historical process to understand the causes of sexual violence gave life to some of the most exciting and relevant theories in the field. Theories, just as the one's, discussed previously gave a more exhaustive and open understanding to this thesis of the possible hypothesis that explain the causes of CRSV. Yet, there are several questions and propositions that were not answered. Therefore, this thesis considers the relevant factors of all theories to explain CRSV. Thus, socio, cultural factors and power dynamics (feminist theory) are some of the features that must be studied. Nevertheless, as explained previously, this is not enough since the theories analysed cannot explain the different forms of CRSV, the dynamics within and between conflicts considering hypothetical that similar factors rule them, the nature of the factors that affect CRSV and their focus only considered the unequal power of men over women (women-victims and men-perpetrators). As so, it should also be considered a gender analysis that is subsequently related to institutions and external factors that characterized a society and its influence on CRSV. Gender analysis is one of the most relevant to the study of sexual violence, and yet it is most marginalised in the academic world. Nowadays, thankfully, more and more theoretics are shifting their minds to the study of gender, but there is a lack of studies on this area.

Gender can be an easy concept to describe, but there are many confusions about what gender is. Gender is not about the differentiation of females and males based on biological traits. Gender is characterised by the dynamics between two social constructed concepts, femininity and masculinity[4]. They are composed of attitudes, identities, discourses, beliefs, and cognitive schemas that influence social norms, resources, power and expectations, according to a person or practise (Carpenter, 2002; Cislaghi and Heise, 2020).

In this sense, femininity and masculinity are perceived differently and are expected to behave according to their constructive social role in society – 'doing gender' (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012, p.34). In doing gender, people show their femininity/masculinity to themselves and others. They are accepting the meaning of these concepts (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012). Nevertheless, femininity and masculinity are

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[4] To understand how these concepts are social construct please go to chapter 2 on the 'Gender norms' subchapter.

not fixed. They vary within and between cultures, over time, and by social differentiations such as social class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, age or mental disabilities (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2003).

Gender analysis studies demonstrate how socially constructed concepts of femininity and masculinity influence men, LGBT+ people, and women's experiences differently in our society. Women, LGBT+ people, and men, even if they experience the same problem or situation, the consequences are felt differently because of socially constructed gender. Moreover, if a woman, LGBT+ person, and a man are in the same social position or perform the same acts, they perceive the situation differently as the outsiders (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012). Language (discourses) and cultural meaning also influence a person role in society. For example, language teaches and transmits what is expected and culturally acceptable through families, the media or institutions. As for culture, it also has the same role and, together with language, is vital to transmitting the categories of femininity and masculinity (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012). All these factors influence people's behaviour to act what they think they are supposed to and what society expects them to do.

The development of gender can be seen as a cycle. It operated through individuals' performances, cultural expectations and institutionalisation of gender difference, contributing to the 'distribution of material goods and resources coinciding with gender identity.' (Meger, 2015, p. 418). In other words, the social institutionalisation of gender that, in turn, constrains people behaviours, influences their attitudes and beliefs according to what is expected.

Sexual violence in armed conflict, at this point, is noticeable that it is considered gendered, meaning that that affects women, LGBT+ people, and men differently (Baaz and Stern, 2013; Kiss et al., 2020). As such, the gender analysis is fundamental to understand its use, to tackle this issue and view the social and political natures of sexual violence in wartime. The gender analysis can explain the dynamics between conflicts related to who are their perpetrators and victims/survivors, the frequency of sexual violence, and their methods. This is because the conflict depends on all the actors involved that in turn depend on their perceptions and understanding of their roles and socially constructed structures related to the same roles (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013). In other words, sexual violence in wartime is all about

the distribution of power and dominance that depends on a 'complex web of cultural preconceptions, in particular as regards gender roles' (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007, p. 15). In this way, the effectiveness of wartime sexual violence is going to rest on these perceptions. Thus, it is important to analyse, also the perceptions of gender roles in peacetime, since, as the feminist theories argue, sexual violence in armed conflict is a continuum of the violence experienced (Boesten, 2017).

Concerning the perpetrators and victims/survivors of sexual violence in wartime, the violence and the frequency of sexual violent acts are also dependable on the gender social constructed roles. In some cases, perpetrators are a result of gendered militarisation (Baaz and Stern, 2013). Gendered militarisation depends on the ideal types of masculinity and femininity. Typically, femininity is associated with feminine attributes such as vulnerability, the need for protection, and masculinity to stereotypical masculine features such as manly, that need to protect others and strong. In wartime, specifically in militarisation environments, what is expected is a particular type of masculinity characterised as violent and in the maximum opposition of feminine. Leading the militarized perpetrators to engage in violent acts that generally are not acceptable. In this situation, if these perpetrators do not participate or show support in these violent acts, their masculinity is questioned, especially within armed groups and prisons (Alison, 2007; Baaz and Stern, 2013; Mackenzie, 2010).

Similar happens in armed groups where people are expected heterosexual masculinities or hypermasculinity. To do so, men, LGBT+ people, and women are encouraged to engage in sexually violent acts such as sexual harassment of a prisoner or individual/gang rapes. In this kind of activity, they can display their masculinity, have the opportunity to bond with their peers, and establishes their place in the armed group – militarised masculinity (Stark and Wessells, 2012). Additionally, masculine identity can be used to recruit members to armed groups by changing their perception of the meaning masculine. In this example, Congo recruits members to their armed groups by saying that men have the role of protecting their honour, families and communities and that state military or non-armed groups are the answer (Meger, 2015).

Different experiences are observed for men, LGBT+ people, and women related to sexual violence. For men/boys, their masculinity is affected since the perpetrators try to feminise them through direct sexual acts or indirectly sexual acts using their fear,

family, or their women. As for women/girls, their feminine role in society is affected by directly sexual violent acts (Baaz and Stern, 2013). LGBT+ people suffer from homophobic and transphobic behaviours (Kiss et al., 2020)

The forms and ways that sexual violence is committed also are perceived differently by the gender. Women and girls are usually the targets for rape, forced impregnation, genital mutilation, sexual exploitation, sexual slavery, sexual trafficking, forced marriage and other forms of sexual violence. Men and boys have higher chances to be forcibly recruited into armed forces/groups, to rape other male combatants, to civilian men and boys be forced to have sexual intercourse with kin, to suffer from sexual torture or sexual humiliation (Baaz and Stern, 2013; Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013; UNHCR, 2010). The consequences that each gender suffer are also diverging. Women are more affected by economic and social sanctions, and men consequences are more focused on the psychological side. As for LGBT+ people, is a mix (Kiss et al., 2020).

Gender analysis is the best option, together with other theories, to better understand and explain the variation within and between conflicts and how gender social constructed roles affect sexual violence in wartime (Davies and True, 2015). To do so is necessary to separate gender and sex and considered social and gender constructivism (Carpenter, 2002).

1.3.2. Consequences

CRSV has devasting consequences, not only in the short term but also consequences for life (long term). It affects survivors, families, communities, societies, future generations and even perpetrators (Boesten, 2017). The repercussions vary from physical (medical), psychological (emotional), social and economical, and in many cases, death. Moreover, these consequences are often interconnected, which puts CRSV in one of the nastiest actions.

Related to physical, this could be medical and even reproductive. Sexually transmitted infections (HIV, AIDS) are very common especial in gang rape, anal rape or child rape (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Clifford, 2008; Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; MSF, 2007; Stark and Wessells, 2012; Tol et al., 2013). Unwanted pregnancies are one of the consequences of CRSV, especially in ethnic cleansing tactics, that could lead to abortions and maternal mortality (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Clifford, 2008;

Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; Stark and Wessells, 2012; Tol et al., 2013). The fact that many survivors do not have access to adequate medical care, they are even more exposed to medical dangers and consequences (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Clifford, 2008; Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019). Since several acts are very violent, many survivors have severe physical repercussions in their body like disabilities, broken bones, amputation, infection in the throat due to forced oral sex, malnutrition (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; IRIN, 2004; Stark and Wessells, 2012). And in their genitalia, such as fistula, sexual dysfunction, reduction of biological reproduction capacity, chronic infections (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Clifford, 2008; Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; IRIN, 2004; Koos, 2015; Stark and Wessells, 2012; Wieringen, 2020).

As referenced, consequences are interrelated, infertility and some genital injuries can have psychological and socioeconomic effects on the victims/survivors and community. In the case of infertility, if a woman is valued in a society/community by their reproductive capabilities, infertility led women to lose their value in the community. Potential husbands are pushed back because they want a woman with value. Since marriage can secure some economic and security stability for a woman, women become more vulnerable in these cases. As for genitalia injuries, such as fistulas, it can result in the rejection of husbands and communities. In addition, women suffer from shame and isolate themselves from the community (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007).

Psychological consequences have a more long term effect, impacting survivors' socioeconomic life. Mental disorders and psychological distress such as depression, anxiety, suicidal thoughts are some of the consequences of CRSV (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Clifford, 2008; Koos, 2015; Macfarlane, 2020; Stark and Wessells, 2012; Tol et al., 2013; Wessells, 2012). Not only for survivors but also for perpetrators, given that many are forced to rape family members, civilians and children. Also, sexual violence survivors are sometimes forced to see family members or others being raped, contributing to some impacts mentioned above (Clifford, 2008; Koos, 2015; Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; IRIN, 2004). When these acts are committed between families in a community, these acts constantly remind the survivors of their collective defeat and guilt with causes collective trauma (Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019).

In relation to socioeconomic consequences, since CRSV typically wants to pass a message to a group of people and not to a specific individual, it has a broad impact on survivors, communities, and societies as a whole. If a community or family has a survivor of CRSV in their circle, this affects and destroys their relations (IRIN,2004). The survivors suffer from social stigma, the families and communities reject them because they are considered a disgrace and unclean to them (Clifford, 2008; Koos, 2015). As such, the survivors suffer twice the degree since it affects them, and they are affected by the ones surrounding them.

In general, survivors can be discriminated from schools and jobs and suffer from further violence, assault and isolation (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007; Clifford, 2008; MSF, 2007; Stark and Wessells, 2012; Tol et al., 2013). In some cases, women and girls are the ones that suffer the most from these acts. After these traumas, many are exposed to domestic violence from their spouses or families (Clifford, 2008; Macfarlane, 2020), and in some situations, families and communities order their death - 'honour killings' (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, 2007, p. 15). In the case of children born as a result of CRSV, these children are often rejected by families and communities (Tol et al., 2013). These children to the community are a constant remembrance of pain (Koos, 2015). Many of women are left to take care of the children alone, making them even more susceptible to vulnerable situations.

Forced displacement of people also has socio consequences when sexual conflict is used as a tactic and when survivors feel the obligation to leave their communities because they do not want to live in the same place that triggers their trauma or with their perpetrators (Danjibo and Akinkuotu, 2019; Koos, 2015). This also affects sociocultural bonds because communities are destroyed since they are forced to leave behind their past relationships and identities. And in other cases, it tears apart family relationships. The consequences mentioned above affects community relations deeply. It weakens the cultural and social bonds, it can destroy an ethnicity (Wieringen, 2020), especially when families are forced to rape each other or be forced to see it. In terms of economics, since survivors tend to isolate themselves because of the fear of stigma and reprisals from the community, many do not leave home for work, affecting not only societies economy but also the internal family roles (Clifford, 2008).

All these consequences leave a historical trace that affects the future and present victims/survivors. The repercussions are so severe, in some circumstances, that communities and many survivors choose not to talk or report it (Aroussi, 2011). In some situations, the survivors'/victims' silence is the only way for them to survive and live their lives as nothing has happened, escaping from stigma, isolation, rejection by their husbands, families and communities, and death in extreme situations (Koos, 2015). The silence of survivors of sexual violence decreases the chances for the perpetrator to be persecuted and punished. Consequently, CRSV is normalised by survivors against their will, and perpetrators win by impunity since many survivors chose not to talk because of the hideous consequences, increasing the effectiveness of CRSV (Baaz and Stern, 2009; Clifford, 2008; Gaggioli, 2014; Macfarlane, 2020). Additionally, immunity by state institutions or even by communities that are reflective in some conflicts boosts the confidence of the perpetrators.

This culture of impunity has devasting consequences. If perpetrators are not being held responsible for their acts and not persecuted by the court, this shows and changes the perception of perpetrators that these crimes are acceptable, even if there are laws, cultural norms and political structures (IRIN, 2004). Leaving future victims and current survivors to live their lives in constant fear, isolating themselves and affecting their community life and economy. The normalisation of something that is not considered acceptable and has several consequences to the victim and their surrounding relationships is something that should be considered atypical. The victims and survivors of sexual violence, if it is normalised, would not be able to live their lives freely.

1.4. Wartime sexual violence: prevention mechanisms

In the early times, armed conflict always had codes and laws that regulate the methods and means of warfare to maintain dignity, peace, and illegal conduct in the field. Unfortunately, sexual violence at the time was not included on these laws and conducts. Not for men because of their masculinity. Neither for women, because in many cultures, they were still considered the property of their husbands, as such if a woman was a victim/survivor of sexual violence in armed conflict, it was not considered as crime against her but against her husband (proprietors) (Schwartz, 2017; UN Commission on Human Rights, 1998).

Later on, with the Geneva and Hague Conventions, sexual violence in armed conflict became more notorious. Still, in their discourses, sexual violence in wartime was only considered a women's issue and not a gender-based problem. It was clear that the texts of the conventions represented a male assumption of sexual violence directed to the woman (Alison, 2007). It considered, at the time, the traditionally socially constructed gender assumption of women's role in society – feminine stereotypes (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1998). As so, sexual violence in wartime was not considered a priority of crime or as a crime of violence but an unavoidable issue and a consequence of armed conflict.

Women's honour and dignity were the most important fact that needed to be protected, forgotten their rights (Alison, 2007; Crawford, 2013; Inder, 2013; Schwartz, 2017). As UN Commission on Human Rights (1998, p. 5) argues, when sexual violent acts are considered as a violation of someone's honour and dignity, these crimes are negatively seen by the society that 'consequently, many women will neither report nor discuss the violence that has been perpetrated against them'. The reality is that men developed these conventions without considering any of the women's issues they experience at the time. This was something that should be imperative since they were developing protection against a women's problem (at the time). In a way, it seems that these conventions, lead to more downsides than upsides for sexual violence acts.

To summarize, sexual violence in wartime, for the Geneva and Hague convention at the time, was not considered a serious issue that needed to be addressed in human rights law or international humanitarian law. However, with feminist movements, this issue gained international attention shifting from a women's issue to a security issue, yet men and LGBT+ people, were not to be included in this movement. At the time, men and LGBT+ people being victims/survivors of sexual violence was not a very known and publicised issue (Crawford, 2013; UN Commission on Human Rights, 1998). Still, these movements lead to several conventions be established by the UN and other institutions to protect women, but many of them did not cover sexual violence, especially in wartime. Currently, there are a few, such as the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, the 1995 Beijing Declaration, and the Maputo Protocol. Once again, these conventions and declarations are all based on women being

the only victims/survivors of sexual violence. Although some of these conventions have the term GBV written, the discourse shows us that their interpretation of this concept includes only women/girls and not all people.

The 1990s were characterised by the evolution time for GBSV, but it was with the Rwanda and Yugoslavia events, that sexual violence in armed conflicts gained international attention. As a result, the ICTY and ICTR were established. The concepts of wartime sexual violence were developed and wanted to be tackle down (Alison, 2007; Crawford, 2013). Sexual violence was considered a crime against humanity and a war crime, and, as mentioned previously, a gender-based crime. Nevertheless, it seems that all the courts do not agree on a single definition, and sometimes it is difficult to prove sexual violence in court and their perpetrators. Also, since often the international courts and tribunals prosecute high-ranking perpetrators, it is harder to persecute them.

Another result of the movements is the UN Security Council Resolution on WPS. This was also a landmark of sexual violence in wartime, considering women as a victim/survivor. A group of ten resolutions were established.[5] Resolution 1325 was the first resolution to be established. It concerns the disproportional impact of armed conflict on women. Resolution 1820 recognises for the first time sexual violence as a weapon of war that influenced UN work henceforth. Resolution 2122 is the most interesting since it recognises the need to address the root causes of armed conflict face by women. It not only recognises that a problem exists but also recognises that it is imperative to go further to try to understand why sexual violence is a problem that affects more women. Resolution 2106 was outbreaking by recognising that men and transgender people can be targets and victims'/survivors' of sexual violence. Finally, Resolution 2467 addresses sexual violence in armed conflict as a continuum of violence against women and girls, acknowledging the feminist theories about gender inequalities as the root cause (Macfarlane, 2020; Peace and Women, no date). The downside of these resolutions is that they are dependable on the Security Council if they want to pass another resolution, which 'causes a backsliding of women's rights' (Macfarlane, 2020, p. 446). Also, since Security Council only allows the Council to create a resolution with a goal to protect international

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[5] Security Council resolution 1325 (2000); 1820 (2008); 1888 (2009); 1889 (2009); Security Council resolution 1960 (2010); Security Council resolution 2106 (2013); Security Council resolution 2122 (2013); Security Council resolution 2242 (2015); Security Council resolution 2467 (2019); and 2493 (2019)

peace and security, women's rights are seen as secondary instead of being a priority (Macfarlane, 2020) as well as for men and LGBT+ people.

Analysing all the international mechanisms that protect and prevent sexual violence in wartime, it can be concluded that GBV is often neglected. Women are considered the principal victims/survivor, and men and LGBT+ people are often discriminated from these international mechanisms. Also, most declarations and conventions assume people as unique human beings, disregarding all dynamic factors that influence them and society (Alison, 2007). Regarding international humanitarian law and international human rights law, despite there are direct mechanisms that prohibit sexual violence in wartime, it seems that there are no effects in the long run (Gaggioli, 2014). As for international courts, there is a need for them to be more effective. Moreover, the majority of people especially in wartime, do not know and are aware of the existing laws and rights, making these policies and conventions a bit redundant. Lastly, the complication of gathering data and information about sexual violence in wartime makes it more challenging to bring to justice and to have an accurate perception of the data.

People continue to suffer from sexual violence in peacetime and wartime despite all international mechanisms, awareness campaigns, and political efforts (Koos, 2015). There is no need for more laws or conventions or declarations. There is a big gap between what is reinforced and what is declared. What is necessary are effective prevention mechanisms to tackle this contemporary and urgent issue that affects all human beings in wartime and peacetime—this paper views social norms as a solution.

CHAPTER 2 | Social norms

In this chapter, social norms are revealed. As already described, this concept is the key to understand why people conform to a norm and why a specific behaviour is being observed, such as CRSV or sexual violence in general.

A social norm is considered, by the majority of theoretics, a very complex concept. Its understanding can be very abstract, but several academics try to transcript the nature of social norms using several theories. As such, in this chapter, the features and characteristics of social norms are described and their development over time. Gender norms are also included in this explanation to complement the gender analysis subchapter. Additionally, it is explained how social norms can influence an individual or a community, how can they be measure and, consequently, change them in case of harmful norms.

2.1. What are social norms?

A norm can be defined as an accepted, normal or typical way of behaving within a particular group or society. In other words, a norm is considered a usual and expected behaviour (Cambridge university press, 2008; Hornby, Ashby and Wehmeier, 2001). A social norm is precisely that, an expected behaviour that society or a specific group expects to happen as normality. As for the single person executing the behaviour, it also expects to behave in a standard way by itself and others. This definition, despite realistic, is basic and simplistic. Social norms are more multifaceted and have more possible hypotheses than this binary explanation that was just referenced.

Over the last years, social norms gain a multidisciplinary relevance nevertheless it is still underdeveloped, there is a lack of consensus about their definition, and there is no standard methodology to quantifying their presence and strength in the field (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Cialdini, Kallgren and Reno, 1991; Heise and Manji, 2016; Morris et al., 2015; Steinhaus et al., 2019). Areas such as sociology, social and moral psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, organizational behaviour, marketing, information technology, health sciences, law and gender, environment and communications studies are just a few examples that reveal its interest in social norms (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; Manning, 2009; Morris et al., 2015; Opp, 2001). It can be analysed that each of these breaches of studies has its own explanations on what are social

norms, on how social norms affects behaviours and how a person interacts with each other and within a community and society. This diversity of results ends in several contradictory theories, but sometimes they complement each other. In addition, some of these fields are interested in the empirical study of norms, others in their normative reasoning. However, many of these studies do not tend to have a multidisciplinary approach. They only focus on their specific field of interest (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020; Morris et al., 2015; Opp, 2001). A multidisciplinary approach could contribute to a richer viewpoint of this critical and relevant study that are social norms.

Despite the contradictories, it is agreed that social norms are a social phenomenon defined as unwritten and informal rules that affects our behaviours, our actions in a specific group or society. These rules clarify what is an acceptable and not acceptable behaviour (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; 2020; Manning, 2009). As such social norms influence our basic movements and actions in society, like the way we dress, how we vote, what we buy, the way we greet people, our manners when someone invites us to their home or our manners at the table, how we drive, how we speak, how we tip in a restaurant and how we litter, are just a few instances (Binmore, 2010; Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Eriksson, 2019; Manning, 2009).

Social norms are social construct patterns that govern/constrain behaviours. They are the characteristics that identify a group, community, or society. As so, social norms are related to social beliefs, perceptions and expectations about others within a group maintained by social approval and disapproval of a particular behaviour or action (Bohner, Siebler and Schmelcher, 2006; Heise and Manji, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015; Marcus and Harper, 2014; Morris et al., 2015; Opp, 2020). Also, according, to the review made by Legros and Cislaghi (2020) of the existing literature on what social norms are and their theories, there is also a consensus that social norms affect people's health and well-being (this is discussed in the next chapter). Furthermore, social norms can be 'beneficial to cooperation and to social order' (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020, p. 66). Following the same review by Legros and Cislaghi (2020), there is an agreement of the literature on what social norms are not. As so, social norms are not reactive, biological or instinctual behaviours. They are a result of complex interconnections between beliefs. Also, social norms are different from personal tastes, and they are not personal habits or behavioural regularities in a group in the case of nonnormative factors. Finally, there is a

disagreement in the literature regarding the meaning of the social part of a norm. For some theorists, norms are social because they are a result of human interactions. Others agree that norms are social because they are an outcome of other's expectations about their beliefs and behaviours. Nevertheless, there is a consensus that social norms are a result of social interaction, the disagreement comes from the origin of this interaction, leading to another divergency, if social norms are an individual or collective construct or both.

Some theories considered that social norms are individual constructs since it comes from an individual belief that holds the information about others and what others should do in a reference group. Others dispute the social norms are individual constructs because of feelings and emotions that conduct the reaction to ideas and action. And some have a discourse that social norms are a construct of individual interpretation of collective rules (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020). The last case talks about the work of Morris et al. (2015) that considers this individual interpretation as a perceived descriptive norm. Individuals looks at a collective rule that dictates society and have different perceptions of their society's rules, of their cultural codes since not all individuals can see the whole public as so there is an assumption and interpretation of the collective codes that rule their society.

Collective constructs on the other hand are considered the external factors that affect individuals' behaviours and actions. They can be behavioural regularities resulting from observed collective behaviour, as driving on the left in Cyprus. Alternatively, they can be related to sanctions that are defined as a result of social interaction or collective interaction (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020). Rules, standards and collective beliefs are also considered a collective construct of social norms.

Fewer academic works consider both individual and collective constructs of social norms. The relevance to include both perceptions on the empirical and normative studies of social norms has advantages. They complement each other. The mixed approach can help understand how individual normative beliefs influence institutions, institutionalized rules, and behavioural regularities (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020). Since sexual violence in conflict zones is related to institutionalized rules, power dynamics between institutions, and individual beliefs, a mixed method to change social norms and tackle this issue is necessary.

In order to examine these disagreements and agreements, it is necessary first to explain what consists of a social norm by revealing its constitution and its theories. Following the academic work of the most relevant theorists related to social norms is possible to summarize that a social norm is composed of three components. The reference group, the social influence and the shared/social expectations about others (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015; The Equality Institute, 2017).

Firstly, the reference group, also known as the reference network, is vital to the social norm study. In a simplistic definition, a reference group comprises people whose opinions and actions are relevant to individuals when they have to decide a particular situation. They guide the individual's behaviour and identify a social norm (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Bicchieri, 2012a; Mackie et al., 2015; Marcus and Harper, 2014; Steinhaus et al., 2019; The Equality Institute, 2017). Reference groups are vast. There is not a single example of what is a reference group. It could be family members, a group of close friends, neighbourhoods, colleges at work, local leaders of a community, religious authorities, a whole community or people of the same ethnicity and religion. Therefore, a reference group can be considered a tiny group or a giant and more prominent group (Bicchieri, 2012a; Marcus and Harper, 2014; The Equality Institute, 2017).

Furthermore, a reference group does not need to be physical and geographically close to individuals to influence their decisions. This could explain why honour killings and genital mutilation still happen in local communities, for example, in Europe, where these events are not part of their social norms but are part of other far communities, such as Africa and Asia. For the people committing these events, their reference group is their relatives and families in the outlying communities and not their local communities. This example shows that not every reference group has equal relevance (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Bicchieri, 2012a).

In the reference group, social norms exist, apply and are maintained since the expectation of a specific behaviour is shared between the individuals of these groups, as so these behaviours are interdependent. Hence, each reference group is composed of a specific set of social norms that individuals choose to adapt depending on the situation they encounter. Thus, individuals are ruled by several different reference groups (Bicchieri, 2012a; Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Legros and Cislaghi, 2020; Mackie et al., 2015; Morrow, 2014; The Equality Institute, 2017). For example, making noise while

eating is considered a social norm in Japan and not in North America, as so, the individuals would look at their reference group to adapt their behaviours to the existent social norm. Lastly, according to Legros and Cislaghi (2020), within a reference group is possible to classify three categories of people that helps understand how social norms are sustained. Despite their distinction, they can exist at the same time. These are the norm targets, the norm drivers and the norm beneficiaries and victims. The norm targets are the people to whom the norm applies that consequently follows the norm. For example, in child marriage, the children are the norm targets. The norm drives are that people who contribute to maintaining a specific norm. These could be the militaries in conflict zones that force peers to comply with a raping norm. These can also be defined by three categories, the enforcers who encourage conformity to the existing norms to maintain a social norm. The leaders that set a norm change since they could be influential or they are willing to bear the cost of violating a norm. And the followers that change their actions to comply with an emerging norm (after the norm leaders). They are the ones that contributes to others follow the new norm. The norm beneficiaries and victims are the people affected by a social norm. The beneficiaries are the ones that gain with the existing norm, and the victims are the individuals that lose with the same norm. An example would be the norm that exists around child marriage. The beneficiaries are their husband and families, and the victims are the children that suffer from this kind of abuse and violence.

The second element of social norms is the social influence related to social positive or negative sanctions or 'by one's beliefs in the legitimacy of other's expectations; among enough members of the reference group' (Mackie et al., 2015, p. 10). Sanctions, either positive or negative, are everyday events. People sanction other people because they intrinsically have an expectation about a behaviour or action, and believe a person should comply with a specific norm, a social norm. Simple acts like facial and body expressions, verbal approval or disapproval, prize or fine, compliment or insult, physical rewards or threats of violence, gossip, social ostracism, rejection or exclusion from the group, denial of status in a community, denial of services, or to be considered impure or untouchable are examples of actions and expressions of social approval or disapproval. In sum, it could be either economic, reputational, and emotional. These events are what regulate the maintenance of a social norm in a reference group. They make a social norm strong, with high compliance (Alexander-Scott, Bell and

Holden, 2016; Eriksson, 2019; Legros and Cislaghi, 2020; Mackie et al., 2015; Steinhaus et al., 2019; The Equality Institute, 2017).

To summarize, social sanctions are invisible and an informal legal system that motivates individuals to comply with a certain social norm expected and accepted in a reference group (The Equality Institute, 2017). Typically, these social sanctions can be more persuasive and influential than others, such as the formal legal system. An example is sexual violence, this practice is prohibited by international and national laws, but violence still happens worldwide despite all laws. This could be explained by the fact that there are social norms that considered this act acceptable and social sanctions are strong (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; The Equality Institute, 2017).

The third element of social norms is the shared/social expectations about others. Conforming Mackie et al. (2015, p. 10), a social norm 'is constructed by one's beliefs about what others do and by one's beliefs about what others think one should do' among enough members in a reference group. Some theorists agree that there is also a third belief, the one's beliefs about oneself and others (Bicchieri, 2012a; Mackie et al., 2015). All of these believes shape the social expectations within a reference group. Beliefs can influence the prevalence of a practice and the perception of what is expected. Thus, they are interconnected (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Bicchieri, 2012a; Heise and Manji, 2016).

Beliefs exist, but it is essential to separate between non-social beliefs and social beliefs. Non-social beliefs are independent of a reference group. They are the property of an individual. As such, the behaviour is independent. On the other hand, social beliefs are interconnected. They are interdependent within a group, as mentioned above (Heise and Manji, 2016).

Considering the non-social beliefs, as shown in figure one, there are composed of attitudes, factual beliefs and moral beliefs. Many theories in the social norm study interpret that these three beliefs should be considered different from social norms (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; 2020; Mackie et al., 2015; The Equality Institute, 2017).
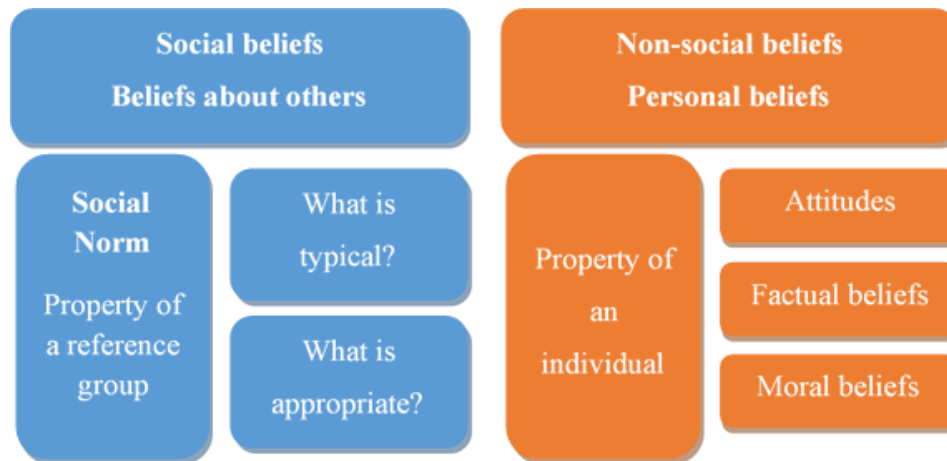
Figure 1 - Social and non-social beliefs (Heise and Manji, 2016, p. 2)

Attitudes refer to beliefs and emotions towards a particular action, behaviour, person, object, or symbol. This response could either be positive or negative, favourable or unfavourable to an action and behaviour. They are formed through experience, observation, social factors and learning. As such, they are dynamic. Attitudes can change depending on external and internal factors that the person is subjected to (Ajzen, 1991; Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Cherry, 2021; Heise and Manji, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015; Marcus and Harper, 2014).

Attitude is an individual construct. For example, I do not like to drink. On the other hand, social norms are social beliefs of others do and approve (either from social or individual construct). For example, my friend expected me to drink. Even so, they are different concepts, in the social norm field, they are commonly discussed together because attitude and social norms can influence each other (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a).

Social norms can influence an attitude in the case that an attitude of an individual can be totally opposite from the social norm, nonetheless individuals choose to conform with the norm. Here, the attitude alone cannot motivate an individual to direct a behaviour, but the expectations of others are (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; 2020; The Equality Institute, 2017). However, for some behaviours, attitudes are more substantial than social norms. This could be observed when an individual chooses to go against a social norm, knowing that there will be social repercussions (norm leader) or the behaviour is a result of an independent act towards the others in the reference group (non-social behaviour).

Factual beliefs are also different from social norms. They are intrinsically to the individual. These beliefs are based on the individual beliefs of what is true or false and what they believe the world is (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Ramiro et al., 2019). In some instances, factual beliefs can affect the individual perception of the prevalence and the expectations of a social norm. As for moral beliefs, also known as moral norms, they are considered to an individual what is morally wrong or right. They are motivated by individual conscience. Moral norms can have more decisive judgments than attitudes. Contrary to social norms that are conditional on the beliefs and actions of others, moral norms are less conditional. In some events, moral norms can be completely independent of what others may think (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Heise and Manji, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015, Ramiro et al., 2019).

Apart from beliefs, legal norms are relevant to refer to since they are also different from social norms. Legal norms are formal rules that constraint and suppose to control harmful and unmoral behaviours. They are coerced by the state using force or penalties. They are not socially negotiated. On the other hand, social norms are informal rules that maintain a behaviour accepted within a reference group that is enforced by the approval or disapproval and is negotiated through social interactions (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden 2016; Mackie et al., 2015; Rimal and Lapinski, 2015). As discussed previously, despite having a formal legal system for a specific issue, people can disobey laws if a country has solid social norms against these laws (Rimal and Lapinski, 2015). As so, to have an equilibrium, legal norms should reflect moral norms that consequently should conform with social norms.

To summarized, social norms are rules of behaviour that are shared within a reference group and are maintained by social expectations and sanctions, either positive or negative. Furthermore, personal beliefs and external factors, such as laws and policies can influence the degree of influence of a social norm in an individual.

2.1.1. Theories

Theories relative to the nature and function of social norms are vast. Since a plethora of theories exists, the most relevant in the field are discussed[6]for a better and clear understanding of the concept. Despite their different terminology, the base between

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[6] More information about the existing social norms theories please see Mackie et al. (2015), appendix II.

concepts is similar (Mackie et al., 2015). These theories complement each order which improves the understanding of social norms in the empirical field. Still, the 'measurement of social impacts is not as straightforward as it seems' (Vesely and Klöckner, 2018, p. 248).

The following table summarizes the theories chosen for this analyse. First, Cialdini, related to the TNSB, was chosen for its innovative distinguishment between descriptive and injunctive norms as share beliefs of one's behaviour in certain situations. Next, Ajzen and Fishbein contributed to the TPB, demonstrating that normative influences are in the form of personal norms and social norms.

Finally, Bicchieri, who developed their opinion about the TSN, concludes by demonstrating the effect of social influence on behaviours (Vesely and Klöckner, 2018). These theories, like many others, have their limitations, as such, this present thesis considers the relevant elements of each theory to its conclusion, but was given more relevance to Bicchieri's TSN (2012a; 2016).

Theorist	Beliefs what others do	Beliefs of what others think one should do	Reference group	Maintained social norms by social influence
Cialdini (1998)	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm	Understood by members of a group	Evidence of effective action; Desire to maintain social relationships
Ajzen (1991)	Subjective norm		Referents: people who are important to one (individuals or society)	Sanctions; Identifications; Expertise
	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm		
Bicchieri (2006)	Social expectations		Social expectations about enough others in a population	One considers others' normative expectations to be legitimate; or anticipates sanctions by some others
	Empirical expectations	Normative expectations		

Table 1 - Comparison of relevant theories (inspire by Mackie et al., 2015)

a) Theory of Normative Social Behaviour

The TNSB distinguished the informational from the normative influence, called the descriptive norm and the injunctive norm (Mackie et al., 2015). As shown in figure two, the TNSB discusses that descriptive norms affect behaviours, considering the dynamics between the possible normative influences (Rimal and Lapinski, 2015). As so, the normative mechanisms influence directly not only behaviours but also moderate the influence of descriptive norms on behaviours (Rimal and Real, 2005).
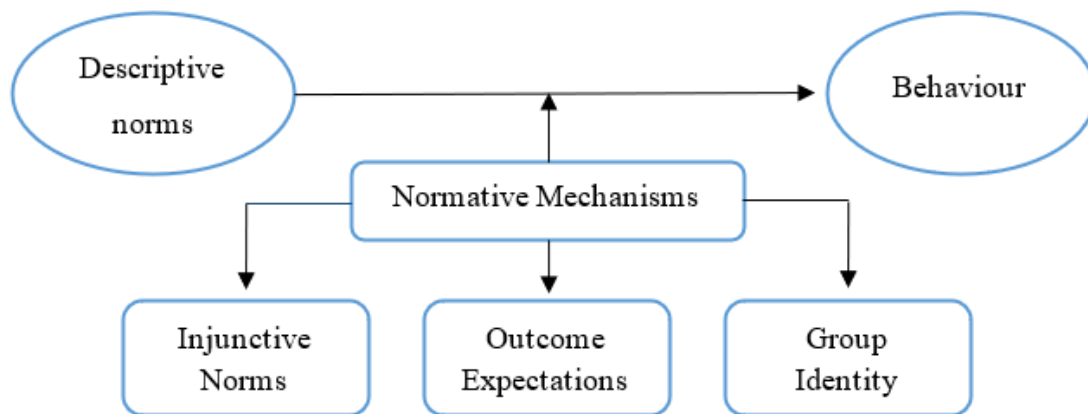

Figure 2 - TNSB (Rimal and Real, 2005, p. 892)

Descriptive norms are one's beliefs related to the prevalence of a behaviour and of what is a typical behaviour (Cislaghi et al., 2019; Cialdini, Kallgren and Reno, 1991; Eyssel, Bohner and Siebler, 2006; Glass et al., 2019; Paluck and Ball, 2010; Rimal and Real, 2005; The Equality Institute, 2017). They influence a behaviour because of people's intentions and motivations to act and do what they perceived as the correct thing, considering the normative influence that is composed by beliefs (Rimal and Lapinski, 2015).

In the normative influence, the injunctive norms are considered one's perception and beliefs of what others expect one to behave. They are considered the guide to a behaviour through social sanctions of (non)-compliance with a behaviour (Cislaghi et al., 2019; Cialdini, Kallgren and Reno, 1991; Eyssel, Bohner and Siebler, 2006; Glass et al., 2019; Mackie et al., 2015; Mulla et al., 2020; Paluck and Ball, 2010; Rimal and Real, 2005; The Equality Institute, 2017). It is important to notice that injunctive norms affect behaviours and moderate the influence of descriptive norms on actions by the nature of their relationship. As such, if injunctive norms are strong, the impact of descriptive norms

on behaviours are stronger (Chung and Rimal, 2016; Rimal and Lapinski, 2015). In a more practical explanation, imagine that the sanction system within a reference group is perceived as severe, and people have high expectations of their legitimacy. This influences an individual to a behaviour if they also perceive that this behaviour has a high prevalence within the reference group (Chung and Rimal, 2016).

The outcome expectations are defined as one's beliefs of the possible outcomes and costs related to executing a behaviour/action. These can also influence the impact of descriptive norms on behaviours. Considering that there is a high prevalence of a behaviour observed (descriptive norms). If an individual sees a positive benefit and a lower cost on executing this behaviour, it increases the probability for the individual execute this particular action (Chung and Rimal, 2016). The outcome expectations are divided into three categories. Firstly, the individual outcome expectations, also called benefit to oneself, consist of the individual perception of the benefits when engaging in a behaviour. If individuals perceive that they have a positive outcome, they are influenced towards the behaviour/action. Benefits to others are the second possible outcome expectation. It consists of the individual perception of the benefits or losses related to their collective group. The third element, called anticipatory socialisation, refers to the benefits in engaging or not in a behaviour to an individual social life. For example, if a person does not drink in a group where drinking is something valuable, the individual perceives the possible negative social outcome associated, as so the individual prefers to drink (Rimal and Real, 2005).

In last, the effects of the descriptive norm on behaviours are influenced by the group identity. The group identity is defined by their similarity between individuals and their aspiration based on the desire to belong and be aspire by others in a reference group. As a result, if one has the perception that the others are similar to each other, forming a group identity, the highest conformity and interconnection, that leads to positive actions or lead an individual to an action (Rimal and Real, 2005).

In sum, descriptive norms affect behaviour when associated with strong positive injunctive norms, perception of high beneficial outcomes and group conformity. More specifically, if there is a typical and observable behaviour that individuals choose to conform to, it is explained by their fear of sanctions and their want for beneficial

outcomes within a preferable, desire, similar and united reference group (Rimal and Lapinski, 2015).

Despite the TNSB incorporating several normative moderators, not only individual but also as social, it becomes short in explaining with conditions a norm expects to influence behaviour and which norm would be considered a behavioural drive (Chung and Rimal, 2016). Nevertheless, the normative aspects such as the analysis of outcome and group identity by an individual, is relevant to this thesis.

b) Theory of Planned Behaviour

The TPB has its origins in the theory of reasoned action from 1980 that try to predict a person motivation to engage in a specific behaviour. This theory bases on intentions towards a behaviour, as such the stronger and favourable are the intentions to a behaviour, the higher the probability of performing that behaviour (Ajzen, 1991; 2019b). These intentions are influenced and motivated by attitudes towards a behaviour, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control (Ajzen, 1991; Mackie et al., 2015; Manning, 2009). However, each of these concepts alone cannot explain behaviours in a determinant situation. They must be aggregated in order to have a function. Also, they do not influence behaviours directly, only indirectly by influencing some factors (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980, cited in Ajzen 1991).

As figure three demonstrates, the behaviour comes from the individual intentions and the actual behavioural control. The non-motivational factor, defined as actual behavioural control, is characterized by the resources and opportunities available to an individual perform an action. If a person has actual behavioural control and the motivation to perform a behaviour, this results in the behaviour/action (Ajzen 1991; 2019b)

The intentions are influenced by three elements, attitudes as the individual construct, the subjective norms and the perceived behavioural control. Attitudes, as previously defined, are evaluations of a behaviour and its outcome (Ajzen, 2019b). Concerning subjective norms, this can be divided into two categories has it shows in table one. Descriptive norms are social pressures based on the perception of what others do, and injunctive norms are also social pressures based on perceptions of what others think one should do (Ajzen, 1991; Mackie et al., 2015; Manning, 2009). Here, the stronger the

social approval of a behaviour by the relevant persons or society, the bigger the relationship between subjective norms and intentions.

The perceived behavioural control is characterized by the perception of individuals about their ability to perform. In order words, how hard or easy it is to perform a certain motivated behaviour (Ajzen, 1991; 2019b). If an individual has a high perception of behavioural control, the individual is more likely perform the behaviour/action. Also, when the individual cannot perceive the behavioural control, the actual behavioural control takes the form (Ajzen, 1991).
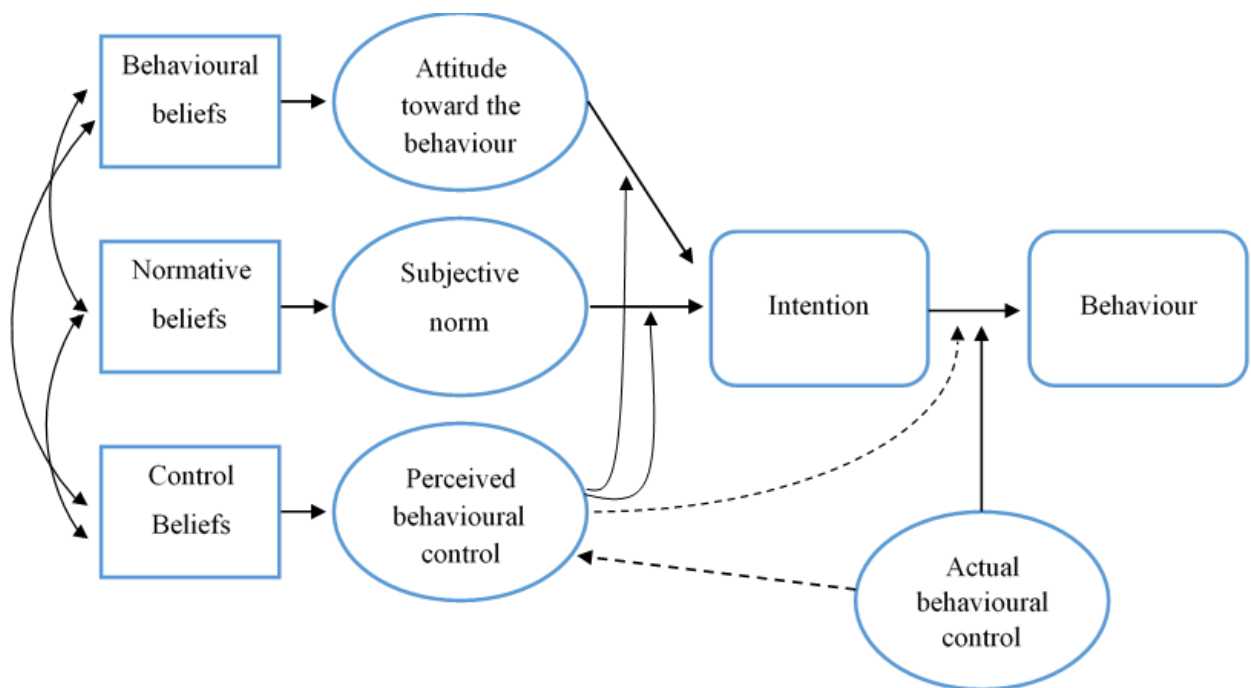

Figure 3 – TPB (Ajzen, 2019a)

Beliefs, as shown in figure three, are equally relevant to the elements that influence intentions. These beliefs can be divided into three categories, behavioural beliefs, which are personal beliefs of the outcome of a behaviour. The normative beliefs that are considered beliefs of relevant people for an individual about disapproval or approval of a specific behaviour. And the control beliefs which controls the perceived behavioural control (Ajzen, 1991; Manning, 2009).

The theory argues that the stronger the favourable attitudes towards a behaviour, favourable subjected norms, and good individual (perceived) control of a behaviour, leads to positive intention to engage in a behaviour/action (Ajzen, 1991; Manning, 2009). The

impact of what elements are more relevant to a behaviour depends on the behaviour, situations and the individual.

The TPB, such as the TNSB, has limitations. Firstly, it only considers the individual and social beliefs of an individual to have an intention to perform. The innovative addition of the actual behavioural control had increased the value of this theory, however, there is a need for more information related to their nature. Lastly, this theory does not consider that intention can have an influence to adopt a behaviour if there is a lack of resources that an individual need to execute a behaviour (Ajzen, 2019b).

c) Bicchieri's Theory of Social Norms

The TSN that Bicchieri developed is slightly different from the two theories discussed previously, but there are some elements from others theories, that Bicchieri used to try to disagree or complement. As shown in figure four, Bicchieri (2012a; 2016) argues that behaviours are caused by independent and interdependent behaviours, factual beliefs and personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations and normative expectations, conditional and unconditional preferences and reference networks (group reference) (Bicchieri, 2012a; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017).
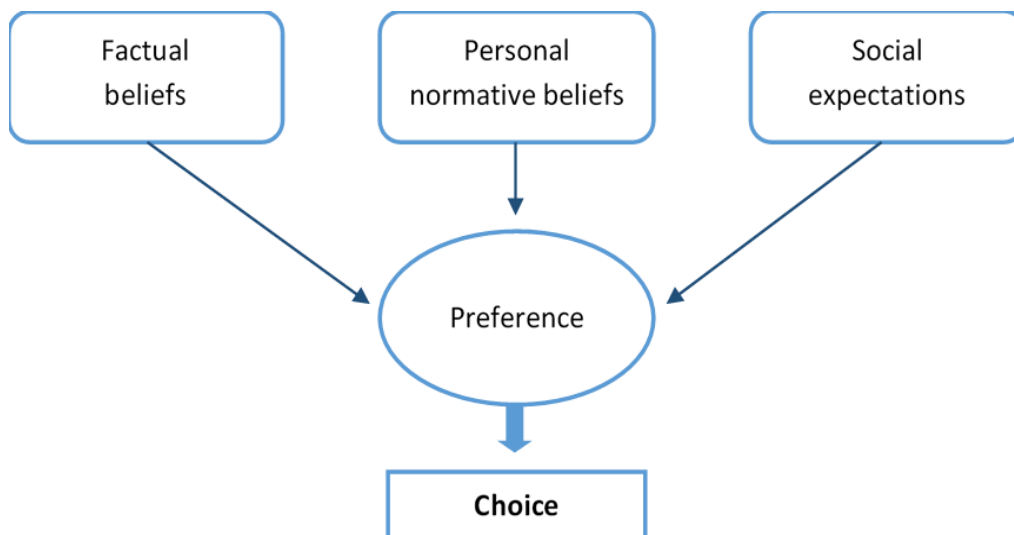

Figure 4 - TNS (Bicchieri, 2012a)

Bicchieri (2010; 2012a; 2016), in order to explain TSN, claims that human behaviour is characterised by its dependency on others. Therefore, human behaviours can

be independent or interdependent. Independent behaviour is a result of a choice that does not depend on others' opinions or actions. Regarding the TSN, independent behaviour is defined as an individual choice regardless of whether others behave or think an individual should behave, as such is not social motivated. Good examples are the moral and religious rules and customs, where individuals behave in a certain way because of necessity and personal reasons. Not because of what others think (Bicchieri, 2012a). Interdependent behaviour is an individual choice that can be intensely dependent on what others (reference group) think and choose towards a specific behaviour. Interdependent behaviours are socially motivated since the individuals in their reference group are motivated to act dependently on the expectations of others (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017; d'Adda et al., 2020; Ramiro et al., 2019). Given the nature of interdependent actions/behaviours, the TSN focus on these events since social norms are a social phenomenon.

Social expectations are an example of a social motivated action. According to Bicchieri (2010; 2012a; 2016) exists two social expectations within a reference group, the normative expectation and the empirical expectation, similar but not the same and the injunctive and empirical norms (Mackie et al., 2015). Regarding empirical expectations, they consist of beliefs of what an individual expects others to do or what they are doing. For example, if individuals have empirical expectations, they believe that most people conform to a specific behaviour in the future. These expectations are formed by observation, speculation and by what is told to an individual, which can sometimes influence one's decisions (Bicchieri, 2010; 2012a; 2016; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017; Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009; Ramiro et al., 2019).

Empirical expectations could be compared to the descriptive norm. Nonetheless, to this theory, descriptive norms are considered a pattern of behaviour that individuals prefer to engage on the condition of their empirical expectations - that enough people in the reference group will conform to the specific behaviour (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016). The difference between this definition and the previous ones is related to the nature of behaviours regarding their dependency on others within the reference group. The previous definitions considered descriptive norms as a pattern of behaviour or what individuals expect others to do, but there is no reference to whether these behaviours are independent or interdependent. In the case of the definition of Bicchieri (2012a), a descriptive norm is

only considered when a pattern of behaviour is an interdependent behaviour (Bicchieri, 2012a). This distinction must be made by social norm measurements in order to develop and adopt an effective mechanism for the change of a behaviour (Bicchieri, Lindemans and Jiang, 2014) since their change would require different techniques.

Empirical expectations alone cannot motivate an individual to conform with a social norm since self-motives can enter into the picture. As so, with the normative expectations, this could lead an individual to follow a social norm (Bicchieri, 2010; Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009). Normative expectations are the beliefs that others in the reference groups expect one ought to behave, that come with expected sanctions (Bicchieri, 2010; 2012a; 2016; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017; Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009). These expectations are what ruled the compliance to a behaviour (Bicchieri, 2012a). Of course, this would be dependent on its legitimacy and nature.

Personal normative beliefs are different from normative expectations. Personal normative beliefs are personal beliefs about what I should do, what others should do, and what everyone should do. Personal normative beliefs and normative expectations often value the same, but there are cases where they do not coincide. Sometimes in cases of independent behaviours, personal normative expectations are sufficient to influence behaviours. For example, when it exists a strong moral or religious belief in an individual. But in cases of interdependency between social expectations, usually, normative expectations carry more weight (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017; Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009) since social pressure is sufficient to influence an individual more than the personal beliefs.

Table number two shows the difference between all of the expectations and beliefs that Bicchieri (2012a) refers to in her theory.

	Self	Others	Others 2nd others
Empirical	What I am going to do	What others are going to do **(empirical expectations)**	What others believe I and others are going to do
Normative	What I should do **(personal normative beliefs)**	What others should do **(personal normative beliefs)**	What others believe I and others should do **(normative expectations)**

Table 2 - Beliefs and Expectations (Bicchieri, 2012a)

The fourth element that plays an essential role in the TSN is preference. Preference is 'a disposition to act in a certain way in a certain situation' (Bicchieri and Noah, 2017, p. 8). Preference is connected with behaviours and actions, but it should not be confused with liking. Preferences can be categorized into conditional (connected to others) or unconditional (others do not influence the preference). To this study, preferences that are conditional are the most relevant. The conditional preference follows the social expectations on what others do or what others think one should do. However, having only social expectations is not enough, individuals must prefer to act on the condition of social expectations (empirical and normative) (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017).

Considering these drives of behaviours, Bicchieri's (2012a; 2016) TSN identifies four types of collective behaviours. Custom, moral norms, descriptive norms and social norms. Analysing figure five is possible to conclude that each of these collective behaviours have a different drive and reason to act. Differentiating each of these norms, in case the goal is changing behaviour, is fundamental to developing and implementing effective and efficient mechanisms.
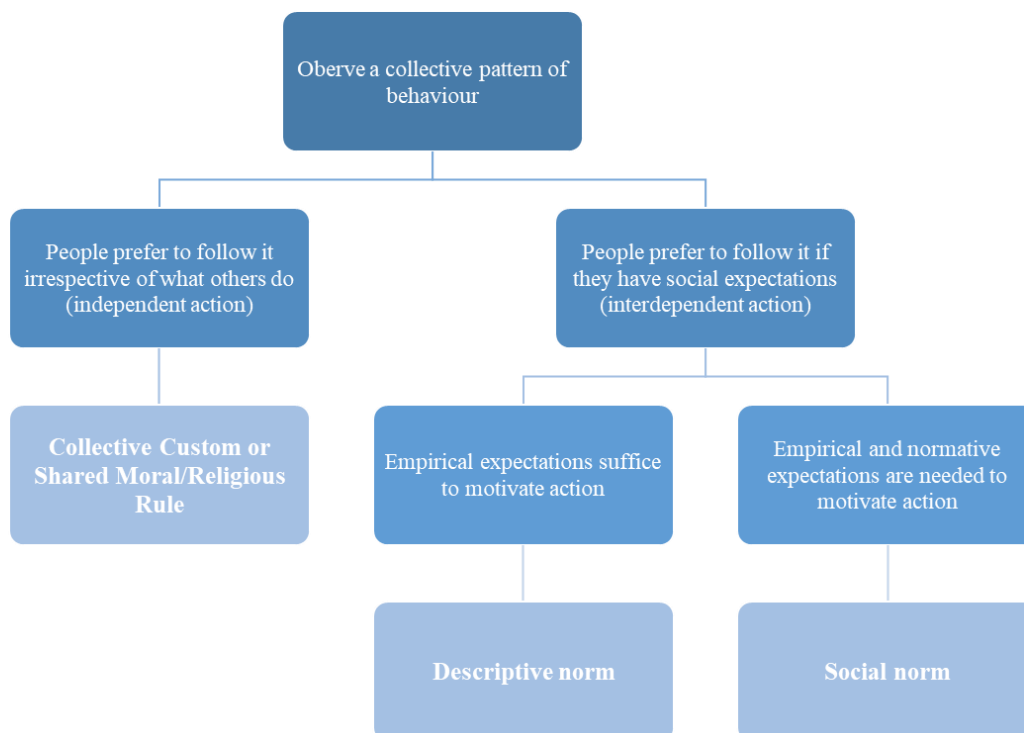

Figure 5 - Bicchieri's TNS (Bicchieri, 2012a)

In sum, social norms are based on the interdependent conditional preferences that result from expectations (normative and empirical) within a reference group (Bicchieri, 2010; 2012a; 2016; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017; d'Adda et al., 2020; Mackie et al., 2015; Paternotte and Grose, 2013). To be more specific, a social norm is a rule of behaviour where individuals prefer to conform to it on conditions that they believe that most people in their reference group conform to it and most people in their reference group believe they ought to conform to it (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016).

2.1.2. Gender norms

Social norms, as mentioned previously, are composed of beliefs and expectations of what others do and what others think one should do in a reference group, considering sanctions. Thence gender norms are a type of social norm. As discussed in chapter one, gender norms are a social construct. They are also a result of beliefs and expectations related to gender in a reference group considering the sanctions of non-compliance or compliance. To be more specific, gender norms are beliefs about what is expected others to do, related to their sex (empirical expectations) and what others think are the rules of behaviour depending on the biological genes (normative expectations).

Adapting this concept, the empirical expectations can be considered gender roles since they result from what others are doing and what others expect to do, consider the gender. The normative expectations correspond to gender ideologies, what others think a gender should do. It consists of the ideals of masculinity and femininity (Bicchieri, 2012a; Marcus and Harper, 2014). As such, gender norms are rules that defined what is acceptable and unacceptable for a people to behave. They keep the gender system intact, causing stereotypes that, unfortunately, are the cause of many gender inequalities (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Save the Children, no date).

Referring to the work of Cislaghi and Heise (2020), gender norms have four characteristics. Firstly, gender is learned by socialisation and then reinforced in small and big social contexts. They are learned and observed in socially constructed societies that tell them to engage in these gender behaviours. For example, a boy in school thinks that women should be nurses because he learned from his parents and was reinforced through school or mass media. Secondly, as discussed previously, gender norms reflect and reinforce unequal gender power dynamics that generally women are victims. Thirdly,

gender norms are reproduced and are rooted through institutions. One good example is the lack of equal representation in parliaments, where laws are developed without considering all the points of view, as it exists bias through the functions of political institutions. This feature tells that gender norms are not a result of only individual beliefs but also from social dynamics. Lastly, as mentioned in chapter one, gender norms reproduced through daily social interactions.

Cislaghi and Heise (2020) also reviewed several papers related to social norms and gender norms and concluded five main differences between these two concepts. Their nature, how they reproduce over time, the relations between norm and personal attitudes, the limits within the norm applies, and the process that requires changing them. Related to the nature or type of construct, the social norm, comes from people's minds. It comes from beliefs and expectations. Gender norms are a mix. They came from beliefs and expectations and from the dynamics that exist in the world.

In the case of their reproduction, social norms reproduced because they want to achieve a social equilibrium where everyone has a positive outcome. It is not related to the role of power relations. Gender norms are the contrary. They reproduce concerning power, maintaining the *status quo* of power in a society. As for the comparison of norms and personal attitudes, in the case of gender studies, the majority of the empirical works are related to changing people's attitudes, while in the social norm studies, they focus their attention on the divergency of norms with people's attitudes, a concept called pluralistic ignorance[7] (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Hackman, Witte and Greenband, 2017). The boundaries that these norms apply are also divergent. Social norms apply within their reference group. As for gender norms, the limit is usually blurry.

To finish, the process that requires changing a social norm and gender norms is also interesting to discuss. Changing a social norm requires changing people's beliefs and expectations, their misperceptions of what others do, and what others expect one to do in their reference group. As for gender norms, it requires more than changing people's minds. It also requires, changing institutions and power dynamics and media discourses. Thus, changing gender norms requires a change in the gender system, composed of gender norms, roles, ideologies, institutions, and power dynamics (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020).

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[7] See cconcepts developed in chapter 2.2. and chapter 3.

2.2. Why and how social norms influence behaviours?

Discussed the features of a social norm, the understanding of how social norms influence behaviours is necessary, not only by the existing theories but also through its life cycle and in cases of misperceptions of expectations and beliefs. However, firstly, lets summarize. The degree that social norms influence behaviours are dependable on the level of interdependency, their detectability, their sanction system and their nature of influence a behaviour (proximal/distal or directly/indirectly) (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018b).

Cislaghi and Heise (2018b) conclude that social norms strongly influence behaviour when interdependent actions exist, as present in Bicchieri's TSN (2012a; 2016). Interdependent means to a reference group that there must be a collective cooperation and coordination between individuals. Also, social norms must be highly detectable, meaning that the normative and empirical expectations are highly perceived and observed. In addition, a strong sanction system influences the compliance of a norm in a stronger way, leading individuals to comply with a norm as an obligation. Furthermore, to have strong social norms, they must have a proximal influence, meaning that the norm must directly influence the behaviour. Considering these four factors, social norms influence behaviours when people are motivated to avoid sanctions or feared for sanctions (Paternotte and Grose, 2013).

Also, the legitimacy of normative expectations motivates compliance (Bicchieri, 2012a). Therefore, even if there are not physical demonstrations of sanctions in the reference group and if peoples' beliefs are strong enough related to the consequences, they comply with the social norm in the reference group even if their beliefs are not compatible (Bicchieri, 2012a; Mackie et al., 2015; The Equality Institute, 2017). This last affirmation is true in the majority of the times, nonetheless, these events depend on other factors.

In addition, social norms influence behaviours because individuals only desire to comply and cooperate with a behaviour and to be rewarded for it. Alternatively, others have the urge to internalise the values embodied in specific norms to avoid sanctions (Paternotte and Grose, 2013). Consequently, many others comply with the norm since the individual desires to belong to a group and have an identity group. Often social norms influence individuals' behaviour for the reason that they want to have a social equilibrium. they are in favour of coordination (as the theories of the economic game

explain). Furthermore, social norms influence behaviour because people embodied the values of beliefs to express their values or if there exists a positive outcome and low cost to comply with a social norm (Blay et al., 2018; Eriksson, 2019; Legros and Cislaghi, 2020; Marcus and Harper, 2014; Morris et al., 2015).

2.2.1. Pluralistic ignorance

Pluralistic ignorance, in a widespread, unfortunate issue, especially in harmful behaviours across the world. Pluralistic ignorance is a 'belief trap' (Bicchieri, 2016, p. 42). It is defined as a situation where people, or most people in a reference group, seem to conform with a norm (behaviour) that they do not agree or dislike because they have false beliefs and expectations that others in their reference group agree on that norm. In short, this is a situation that everyone believes that everyone believes, based on a false assumption. Here, the personal normative expectations do not go along with the normative expectations, being that the normative expectation is the wrong belief (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016). Hence people privately reject the norm, but in public, they favour it.

This act explains why some harmful social norms are maintained because there is a lack of knowledge and information about others' beliefs (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016; Mackie et al., 2015; Marcus and Harper, 2014). Pluralistic ignorance is a common problem in settings of rapid social change and mobility, where there is no transparent communication, assuming others' beliefs and conforming to them. Moreover, pluralistic ignorance is observable in situations where there is a high prevalence of an observable behaviour and lack of consequences, in case of harmful norms (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016; Mackie et al., 2015).

Another standard and relevant concept is misperception. In this case, there is a wrong expectation of the empirical expectation and not on the normative expectation. For example, an individual may think that rape a girl is acceptable since many people in her/his village are doing it, but the reality could be that most people of the village do not believe that rapping girls is acceptable. To end the false perception is essential to release the actual prevalence of the norm since, in this case, communication is not the issue (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016).

2.2.2. Social norms cycle

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, p. 893) describe that a social norm cycle is divided into norm emergence, norm acceptance or also known as 'norm cascade', and the internalization of a norm. According to each stage that the norm is placed, it influences behaviour distinctly depending on the people in the reference group.

In stage one, the norm emergence is composed of norm entrepreneurs, which create new ways of reinterpretation or renaming new perceptions and interests or by activating a new norm that was rejected previously (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Legros and Cislaghi, 2020). This phase is difficult to achieve, and the norm entrepreneurs could face negative sanctions and adverse outcomes on trying to call attention to the new norm. Therefore, they need to be persuasive to convince people to adopt the new norm. One way to facilitate this job is to influence key individuals in the reference group, such as the norm leaders. After a new norm is adapted to the core of the reference group, it will later be adopted by the rest of the group, beginning the second state of the norm cycle. Here, the norm cascade through the reference group (individual, community, state and international networks) happens by socialisation, institutionalization and demonstration of the new norm (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Finally, the last stage designated as internalization is characterized by the acceptance of the new norm, making it stable.

This description of the social norm cycle is suitable for creating a new social norm resulting from the abandonment of a social norm. Concerning the norm abandoned, this becomes formal after norm leaders rejected it, leading to the rest of the reference group to abandoned, occurring the process of cascade of the norm in the oppositive direction of the norm creation (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020).

2.3. Measuring norms

It is imperative to understand how a behaviour is moved to developed and design a custom mechanism that could change behaviours to tackle and mitigate harmful practices (Bicchieri, 2012b). Behaviours are dynamic as such, these mechanisms should be unique depending on the type of collective behaviour, as Bicchieri (2012a; 2016) distinguishes. To know what type of collective behaviour that norm changers are dealing with, they need to measure these behaviours because observation alone is not enough to understand if a behaviour is a product of a social norm or a collective custom, for example

(Bicchieri, 2012b; Mackie et al., 2015). As so, when measuring a norm, the purpose is to understand if the beliefs and social expectations matter to a behaviour and if there is a preference for these social expectations (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016).

Considering the nature of social norms, the best method to identify and understand them is through the use of qualitative research by using vignettes, hypothetical scenarios, interviews, and many others (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Opp, 2020). Vignettes are usually the most common and the most recommended to measure social norms. Since they effectively get truthful information in circumstances where the observer has some knowledge about the norms that motivate behaviours. If there is no knowledge whatsoever, open-ended techniques such as interviews are the best option (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a).

Following Bicchieri (2012b) work, three stages exist to measure a norm. Firstly, the measure of consensus is made by understanding the empirical (firstly) and normative (secondly) expectations. Secondly, it is necessary to understand if conformity exists related to the two categories of social expectations. Thirdly, conditional preferences are measure, because as already mentioned, social expectations alone are not a sign of a social norm. Therefore, the individual must have a conditional preference for these social expectations. If after the measurement, the norm changers see that the reference group approves a behaviour and if they see that individuals have beliefs that their actions are approved and done by enough members of the reference group and choose to comply with that behaviour, the individual is ruled by a social norm (Bicchieri and Noah, 2017; Mackie et al., 2015). Nevertheless, it is firstly relevant to understand the reference group that needs to be addressed.

As mentioned earlier, a reference group is defined by a group of people that are relevant to an individual choice and where a social norm is maintained. It is possible to identify a reference group by qualitative and quantitative methods by simply asking individuals who are the person that most matter to them or a group of people related to their actions and opinions (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). Then, by analysing the results, it is possible to understand the most influential, their relations, and the group strength (Mackie et al., 2015).

Related to social expectations, empirical expectations should be measure first. Bicchieri (2012b) recommends doing this in two steps. First, related to the measurement

of a behaviour and its prevalence in a reference group and secondly by measuring one's belief about the behaviour that was measured before. Measuring behaviours is a challenging step. Behaviour is a very abstract concept that is inside the mind of a person. The interviewees can easily manipulate their measurement if they do not feel secure enough to share with the interviewer their thoughts and because of their 'social desirability bias (Bicchieri and Noah, 2017, p. 16). As so, many analysts prefer to monitor behaviours, nevertheless, this solution could lead to the wrong interpretation of results. Fortunately, there are solutions to bypass these issues, such as eliminating the social stigma associated with the behaviours that are being analysed or using anonymous surveys (Bicchieri and Noah, 2017).

For the second step of measuring the empirical expectations, interviewers use the information from the first step to have peoples' opinions related to the expectations of others in their reference group in the possibility of their engagement in the behaviour, its frequency and its importance. In order words, the goal is to try to understand if the behaviour is perceived as typical in the reference group (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015). Measuring one's beliefs about the prevalence of a behaviour in the reference group is also a victim of response bias. Although the use of self-report questionaries can be a solution to measure them since it is necessary peoples' opinions, which is hard to obtain through observation, as already mentioned.

Normative expectations measurement aims to understand if the specific behaviour is approved or disapproved by the reference group. To more specific, it refers to the interdependency relevance to one's acts and the strength to others' expectations of an individual sanction (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015). This measurement is also done in two steps. First the measurement of personal normative beliefs, and second the measurement of peoples' beliefs about what was measured in the previous step. Note that the measurement of these expectations can only be done by self-reports such as the empirical expectations (Bicchieri, 2012b). Related to the personal normative beliefs, it is necessary to isolate the prudential beliefs, that could be moral or religious, from the non-prudential (Steinhaus et al., 2019). The non-prudential beliefs depend on social expectations, which are relevant to this analysis and should not be confused by attitudes. Thus, measuring normative expectations (step two) is measuring what others think about one's personal normative beliefs or beliefs on the strength of the

sanction system. The goal here is to find if pluralistic ignorance exists (false normative expectations by wrong personal normative beliefs), this dependency affects the design of social norm interventions (Bicchieri, 2102b; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017).

Conformity is also a step that should be considered. Normally, when a social norm exists, the empirical and normative expectations are consistent with each other. Higher the consistency between the two, more sustainable is the conformity to the social norm. The behaviour that is consistent with empirical expectations, and personal normative beliefs is consistent with normative expectations. Yet, social expectations do not influence at the same degree people in a reference group. Some people are more sensitive to the social norm and others less. This explains why conformity exists in situations where sanctions are not visible and vice-versa (Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009). In cases where there is no conformity, a norm violation can occur (Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009). Typically, in circumstances where there is a social conflict between expectations, empirical expectations overpower the normative expectations (Bicchieri, 2012b). This leads people to engage in a behaviour that is not acceptable nevertheless, there are no sanctions related to a prevalence of a harmful behaviour.

The last step, accordingly to Bicchieri (2012b), is the measurement of conditional preferences. To conclude that a social norm exists, there must be a conditional preference on conforming with the social expectations. To measure if there are conditional preferences, manipulating the interviewee's empirical and normative expectations is a solution. This technique allows observing if there are changes in their preferences. If a change occurs, then there is a conditional preference. This measurement could be done by establishing hypothetical scenarios in interviews/surveys or vignettes (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2012b; Bicchieri and Noah, 2017).

To summarise, the measurement of social norms or collective behaviours must follow fours steps, the measurement of the target behaviour, the social expectations within a reference group, their conformity and individuals' preference to the targeted behaviour. Considering that behaviours are in peoples' mind and it is abstract methods as qualitative must be used instead of only observation.

2.4. How can a social norm change?

This chapter discusses how a social norm can change and how it could be done in a generalized way. A specific strategy is not developed since every scenario is different. For now, it is relevant to recognize that social norm change is necessary when a harmful practice exists or when exists pluralistic ignorance, that affects people's lives within a referent group, either a community or a society. As so, manipulating a social norm can prevent and tackle human rights violations that are harmful to several persons (Hackman, Witte and Greenband, 2017). As Morrow (2014) refers in his paper, social norms can prevent mass atrocities.

To change a social norm is to change an individual's beliefs and expectations (The Equality Institute, 2017). Nevertheless, this could not be enough, especially in a harmful practice. It is necessary to change structural forces as laws, ideologies, material realities such as access to resources and existing infrastructure (actual behaviour control) and individual factors like attitudes and factual beliefs (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). Depending on the behaviour targeted and the external factors to an individual, the change of a social norm can be done by two practices, the creation of a new norm or by the abandonment of an existing norm.

A change in a social norm, either the creation or abandonment, should follow four stages to become more effective in the long run. According to Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden (2016), Cislaghi and Heise (2018a) and The Equality Institute (2017), the first step is characterized by the recognition of the harmful social norm. This could be done by using the methods that were previously referred on the measurement of norm chapter. As the recognition is done, it is followed by the change in social expectations. Changing individuals' personal norms and their expectations related to their reference group. Events as the promotion of these changes and public discussions and engagement can be a solution. Public discussions and deliberations allow individuals to hear from others their thinking related to the changing norm. It can be done by community encounters and workshops or by the effective use of mass media and social media (Paluck and Ball, 2010).

The third step bases on the publicise of a new norm or their change. It is done by using role models, also characterized by the norm leaders. These individuals have the role to influence and persuade persons to conform with the changed norm condemning the

norm initially targeted to change (Prentice and Paluck, 2020). Also, public services and institutions could publicise the new changed behaviour, especially the prevalence, to reach a larger group (Bicchieri and Xiao, 2009). Lastly, the reinforcement of the new norm is done by creating new opportunities to engage in a norm without consequences since behaviours need to be practised to become an acceptable norm. And also, by reinforcing the new norm in the political and legal system, signalling to the reference group what should be the accepted behaviour. However, laws alone cannot necessarily change behaviours, especially in the short run. This should be complemented by changing the social sanction system.

All the possible solutions that were enumerated has their specific percentage of effectiveness. Still, the literature agrees that group discussions, personalised normative feedback and social norms marketing are the most relevant to change a social norm. Starting with the group discussion, since social norms result from social construction phenomenon, this strategy allows people to understand others' personal beliefs and expectations. This would allow to effectively change one's social expectations related to the new norm together with the reference group (Bicchieri, 2012a; Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a). Personalized normative feedback permits individuals to receive information about their performance related to others in their reference group (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; 2020). Social marketing can be effective but not alone (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; 2020). It is important to refer that social marketing campaigns should be aware of the harmful correlation problem in showing the prevalence and consequences of a specific behaviour in a campaign. Many social marketing campaigns use shock, fear and show the prevalence of a harmful norm to provoke a change still, this would only show that a harmful action is a standard, leading to the false assumption that it is more common than it actually is. Additionally, it does not show the acceptable behaviour that the individual should follow (The Equality Institute, 2017). Consequently, few people consider this harmful action unacceptable since many people are engaging in that behaviour without perceived consequences (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Paluck and Ball, 2010).

Related to the features that make a change of a norm more challenging or complex, could be exemplified by the dimension, heterogeneity and variation of beliefs of the reference group. The larger, the less homogenous reference group is related to their

beliefs, the harder it is to change a norm since conformity, a strong cooperation, coordination and communication within a reference group is needed to collectively accept the change norm (Paluck and Ball, 2010).

Last of all, individuals adhered to and accepted a changed behaviour when there is a belief that enough people would follow the changed behaviour (empirical expectations) (Bicchieri, 2012a; Mackie et al., 2015). But is necessary coordination and trust by the reference group to allow this event to happen and, together with communication and a new sanction system, to change the normative social expectation of sufficient people in the reference group (Mackie et al., 2015).

2.4.1. Norm creation

Accordingly to Bicchieri (2012a), it exists four reasons for a norm to emerge (be activated or created). Firstly, it could emerge from the coordinated action, where social norms are developed from convention or descriptive norms in situations where individuals and their group agree to coordinate on that behaviour requiring to chance their social expectations collectively. A norm can emerge when an existing norm loses its meaning in a reference group. A third reason comes from the collective reason to change the current norm since it creates adverse external effects. As such, a new norm emerges to solve this problem. To finalize, it also emerges when there is a collective action problem, it could be from social dilemma (best interest for all to act as a collective) or tragedies of the commons (when individuals acting independently goes against the social interest). If these situations are a possibility, a new norm is created to solve the issues or as a natural process.

In the case of a norm creation, the normative expectations must be created first in order for the empirical expectations to follow (Bicchieri, 2012a). Some studies agree that it is more favourable to focus the change on the normative expectations in the case of norm change since it changes beliefs and has a more prolonged effect on individuals (Paluck and Ball, 2010; The Equality Institute, 2017). As such, the process begins with the emergence of a new norm by changing the factual beliefs, and their personal normative beliefs since individuals must have a personal reason to change their behaviours. Consequently, it must have a collective decision of the reference group to change in order to have a social (not individual) change of behaviours.

For a social norm to successfully emerge, it is necessary to enact sanctions to prevent non-compliance with the new behaviour and ensure that all persons in the reference group are protected and have the confidence to accept the new norm. Agreed on this process, normative expectations are formed with subsequent observation and engagement of the new norm, forming the empirical expectations (Bicchieri, 2012a).

2.4.2. Norm abandonment

Norm abandonment is more common in the literature. Equally to norm creation, a norm would be abandonment if there is a shared reason to abandon a norm. Consequently, there is a need for a collective change of expectations (empirical and normative), and thirdly, a social coordination action will be required because of the externalities associated with the norm abandonment (Bicchieri, 2012a).

Considering the similarities between the two categories of norm change, the process to change a behaviour is diverse. Contrary to the norm creation, the first step to be considered is the change of the empirical expectations to correlate with the possible changes in factual and personal normative beliefs, but the last is not necessary to abandon a social norm. These will lead to a collective decision to abandon a norm, such as in the creation of a norm. Yet the next step has a different nature, since that the abandonment of a norm could be accompanied by negative sanctions as a result, there must exist trust and a common belief that enough people in the reference group will abandon the previous normative expectation leading to the creation of a new norm that is more sustainable and adequate to the reference group (Bicchieri, 2012a).

In consequence of the abandonment of the old norm, the creation of a new norm should be strong enough to refrain the reappearance of the old once abandoned norm since the creation of the new is not enough to ensure behaviour changes. Alternatives should be presented to motivate individuals to adopt the new norm, like demonstrating in public the benefits of adopting the new norm or its prevalence (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Paluck and Ball, 2010).

CHAPTER 3 | Social norms as a preventive mechanism against conflict-related sexual violence

The relevance of this chapter aims to help the reader to fully comprehend how CRSV and social norms related and interconnect in order to end this harmful violent act since it is a preventable issue. To this end, the present thesis focus on a sociological and psychological approach (Marcus and Harper, 2014), considering non-social factors.

Firstly, it is explained the dynamics between social norms and their influence on sexual violence with cares both in peacetime and wartime, taking into account the revised theories and concepts of previous chapters. Then it illustrates how the influence of behaviours can mitigate CRSV by using a multidisciplinary and dynamics approach. Lastly, an analysis of the relevant empirical studies is shown to the reader examples of successful norm changes to mitigate GBV.

3.1. How social norms influence sexual violence

Social norms have a significant impact and influence an individual's behaviours on a daily basis (Hagman, Clifford and Noel, 2007). It can influence a person to comply with a good behaviour or motivate to a bad practice. Unfortunately, many of the bad practices seem to be related to bad (perceived) social norms. Sexual violence is one of these cases. Either in peacetime or wartime, sexual violence can be explained, and it is somehow connected with social norms. Hence, considering the literature revision, sexual violence can result from a multitude of factors such as social norms and their dynamics, which consequently brings gender norms to the picture. Gender norms, in turn, entails gender inequalities, gender ideologies, gender roles and institutionalisation of gender norms. Together with external features and intrinsic individual factors, these two important norms explain why sexual violence is a worldwide observed phenomenon (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). As such sexual violence, either the environment of stability is explained by the analysis of social and gender norms that confirms the gender analysis and some aspects of the feminist theories and the social norm theories, together with non-social factors.

Non-social factors (external features and intrinsic individual factors) give the impression to have a significant impact on the existence of CRSV, and the reality is that many of the mechanisms that aimed to mitigate this problem focused on them (Alexander-

Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015). They indeed have their relevance, but they alone cannot explain fully the existence and extent of CRSV. They are just a mean to an end. They cannot explain why sexual violence is being used in wartime in negative or positive external factors. And cannot explain the nature of the existence of sexual violence worldwide. There must be a dynamic between them and social norms. People act the way they act because of the influence that the others in their reference group have on them, that together with these external and intrinsic features can facilitate, or make it more challenging to comply with a behaviour (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016).

As discussed in chapter one, non-social factors or their perceptions are characterized as physical factors, social, cultural and political factors, judicial factors, individual barriers and humanitarian factors (UNHCR, 2010). They can trigger and increase the cases of sexual violence in wartime and peacetime, according to the feminist approach related to the concept of the continuum of violence (Kirby, 2012; Boesten, 2017). Also, religious norms, moral norms, cultural and ethnic identities, and individual factors such as attitudes, factual beliefs, individual characteristics contribute to an individual to comply with a behaviour, as mentioned in chapter two. However, then again, all of these features must go hand to hand with social norms in order for a behaviour to go further (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). For the reason that, if a reference group does not accept sexual violence in their community, even if all of the non-social factors facilitate this violent act, an individual would firstly unconsciously or consciously measure the height of her/his beliefs and expectations of others in her/his behaviour. Since this behaviour is not an independent act, it depends on others in the reference group and their beliefs and expectations.

To sum, non-social factors can influence an individual to comply with a behaviour related to sexual violence but not in isolation. Other factors must be present. In addition, they cannot explain the different dynamics of occurrences in the multitude of conflicts worldwide. They also cannot explain why sexual violence is being used to instil fear, terror and domination. And cannot explain why women and girls are the most affected. Nevertheless, they should not be discarded. Non-social factors are essential features to fully understand sexual violence together with social factors. As such non-social factors, especially external factors, as discussed in the TPB, will influence the intentions of an

individual to comply with a behaviour (actual behaviour control) together with the influence of beliefs and expectations of themselves and others (Ajzen 1991; 2019b).

Individual factors are also not sufficient alone to motivate an individual to comply with a behaviour (in rare cases they are), but they can influence the degree and the process in the decision making to act, but once again, not alone. They are a component and also a result of the social norm mechanism, dominated as personal beliefs that, together with the empirical (descriptive) and normative expectations, will influence an individual in the decision making to act, accordingly to Bicchieri's TSN (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016) and the TPB (Ajzen 1991; 2019b).

On the other hand, social factors can explain sexual violence across different conflicts, but there are only maintained by the existence of external and individual factors (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a). The same way that external and internal factors cannot alone influence behaviour or explain fully their nature. Social factors are sustained by non-social dynamics that allow collective practices, social norms (norms of behaviour) and gender norms (values) to endure (Marcus et al., 2015). Nevertheless, in rare cases, social norms are sufficient to motivate individuals to comply with a behaviour (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a). Since social factors are, without a doubt, a potent instrument in influencing behaviours, especially sexual violence.

Starting with social norms, as mentioned previously, social norms are rules of behaviour. They tell an individual what is an acceptable and expected behaviour. In CRSV, social norms are related when there is a belief and expectation that sexual violence in wartime is acceptable or an obligation expected by individuals within the reference group. Expressing local beliefs or cultural and religious values (Marcus et al., 2015) conferring some aspects of the sociocultural and cultural pathology theories and social norms theories.

Social norms can influence an individual to comply with sexual violence, but as mentioned in chapter two, they are dependable on four factors, interdependency, detectability, sanction system and the proximal/discal dynamic between the norm and the action (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018b). The dynamics between all variables will characterise the level of a social norm's influence on a behaviour. The stronger norms will make a practice obligatory, leaving individuals without options for noncompliance. Strong norms will make an action appropriate, where a deviation of the norm will exist but would not

be recommended from the reference group. Weak norms will define an action as acceptable, where no strong sanctions exist, and deviations will occur more frequently without the fear of solid consequences. Lastly, the weakest norms will make an action possible (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018b; Cislaghi et al., 2019). Relating to CRSV can be defined, according to the model of social norms influence of Cislaghi and Heise (2018b), as the strongest norms in the case of militarization environments, hypermasculine societies and pluralistic ignorance. Strong norms exist if gender norms are a determinant. And weak norms in circumstances where there is normalisation and impunity of CRSV.

Considering this definition, social norms influence an individual to comply with sexual violence if the reference group and the individual agrees that an act is acceptable and has a direct link between the norm and the practice. Efforts to cooperation and coordination are made, according to a (perceived) strong sanction system and high descriptive norms to confirm it (Hagman, Clifford and Noel, 2007). For example, ethnic cleansing in wartime is explained by the fact that the perpetrators agree that using sexual violence is acceptable and expected by their reference group. People have beliefs that this is the correct behaviour to follow. In this situation, sexual violence is viewed as instrumentality (strategic tactic) or as a practice.

In other situations, social norms influence sexual violence when the personal beliefs and attitudes diverge from the social norm perceived in the reference group. Nonetheless, the individual prefers to conform with the perceived social norm since normative expectations are strong (Paluck and Ball, 2010) as well as the empirical expectation. The individual would prefer to lose in the short term to be rewarded in the future (Anderson, 2000). This would be characterized by Cislaghi and Heise (2018b) as the stronger social norms in the spectrum. For example, an individual does not agree on child marriage. Still, she/he prefers to marry her/his child regardless of the personal beliefs since sanctions are too harsh.

Thirdly, a concept already mentioned in the social norm glossary that influences sexual violence is pluralistic ignorance. According to Mulla et al. (2020) and Dardis et al. (2016), several studies often observe this phenomenon in health-risk behaviours, such as GBV, sexual violence, drinking, drug abuse, and many others. Similar to the previous reason, it can be denoted how social norms influence sexual violence, but the difference relies on the perception of the social norm within the reference group. In pluralistic

ignorance, the social beliefs and expectations that an individual perceives of their reference group are false or exaggerated. They do not portrait the truth. They understand that their reference group agrees with a specific social norm when no one agrees with (Dardis et al., 2016; Hackman, Witte and Greenband, 2017; Paluck and Ball, 2010; Rogers, Rumley and Lovatt, 2019; United Nations Population Fund [UNPFA], 2020; WHO, 2009a).

Pluralistic ignorance results in violent, dysfunctional practices sustained in an environment of false perceptions (Paluck and Ball, 2010; Rogers, Rumley and Lovatt, 2019; UNPFA, 2020). As mentioned in chapter two, pluralistic ignorance is commonly observed in wartime situations, where a clime of uncertainty rules, there is a lack of good communications within a reference group, and the sanctions system is weakened. Inaction becomes the norm. An example related to CRSV can be observed in the militarized environments, where the perception of sexual violence in wartime and the military campus are wrongly perceived. The perpetrators falsely assumed and overestimated the extent to which, others agree on this behaviour or expected the individual to behave in this way. Influencing the descriptive norms and empirical expectations (Berry-Cabán et al., 2020; Dardis et al., 2016; Dickie et al., 2018; Hagman, Clifford and Noel, 2007).

Relatively to social sanctions, as discussed in chapter one, the culture of impunity and the normalization of sexual violence in wartime results from weakened social sanctions in the case that sexual violence is considered non-acceptable. Alternatively, it can be a consequence of a robust sanctions system related to gender ideologies and gender roles (Miranda and Lange, 2020). In this situation, an individual may comply with a behaviour in anticipation of negative or positive sanctions, to be accepted in a group, having a sense of belonging and identity (Paluck and Ball, 2010). Potential sanctions can be described as stigma, shaming, exclusion from public services, groups or communities, towards survivors. As a result of non-compliance with traditional gender roles or due to hegemonic masculinity.

Gender norms allow understanding the 'beliefs nested in people's minds and embedded in institutions that profoundly affect health-related behaviours' (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020, p. 7), power dynamics and subsequently, the inequalities between sexes. As chapter two refers, gender norms are a part of social norms (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). People engage in sexual violence because of social expectations, and these

expectations are interconnected with gender norms. They explain the true nature of CRSV. Compared with social norms, gender norms have a denser core. Gender norms are composed of beliefs and expectations rooted in individuals since childhood, and they manifest through many levels, such as households, families, education system, religious institutions, communities, and even through society and media (Marcus and Harper, 2014). They are seen as normal rules unconsciously followed by individuals and institutions (Marcus and Harper, 2014; UNFPA, 2020; UNFPA and United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2020). Thus, they maintain the social order that is expected related to gender by the result of informal sanctions (gender norms) or through laws and codes of conduct (institutions) (Marcus and Harper, 2014).

In chapter one, it was discussed through the feminist approach and gender analysis how gender norms affect women, LGBT+ people and men differently. Related to social norms theories, this can be explained by the circumstances that they live in, and by the social expectations and social rewards and penalties that are different consonant to gender norms. In the case of traditional gender roles[8], it facilitates social inequalities and discriminatory attitudes that facilitates gender violence.

In the circumstance of women as a victim/survivor, men perpetrators in this environment are expected to dominate, control and discipline women through violence, protect women's values, i.e., purity, or the family honour, by protecting the women in their families (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Clark et al., 2018; Perrin et al., 2019; The Equality Institute, 2017; WHO, 2009a). As for women perpetrators, they have beliefs and expectations of hypermasculine behaviours in the context of militarized environments. These beliefs and expectations are even stronger if the most relevant people of reference group have discourses and show behaviours that comply with these gender norms, i.e., religious or community leaders, role models within the household or commander and leaders of a (non) armed group (Perrin et al., 2019).

This explains the phenomenon observed when a perpetrator uses a woman to signal a message to her/his enemy in wartime. It also explains why women suffer the most disadvantaged in their economic, judicial and social life (The Equality Institute, 2017) and the sexual violence that women suffer daily in peacetime and wartime. As a strategy,

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[8] Traditional gender roles are characterized by the traditional ideologies of femininity and masculinity, as described in chapter one of this present thesis.

as an opportunity (men's dominance over women) or as an incentive in situations of militarized environments (masculine behaviours) that lack hierarchical structure (mentioned in chapter one) (Berry-Cabán et al., 2020; Davies and True, 2015; Koos, 2015; Morrow, 2014; The Equality Institute, 2017).

In the situation of men as victims/survivors, traditional gender norms also affect them. Hypermasculine behaviours will lead to CRSV towards other men (The Equality Institute, 2017). And in militarized contexts, men feel the social obligations to comply with sexual violence even if they disagree because they fear social consequences that people in their reference group would apply. Although they are considered perpetrators, they are victims/survivors of social pressure and social sanctions. As for LGBT+ people, the train of thought is the same. They are victims/survivors because of hypermasculine attitudes that are around them and because they are challenging traditional social (gender) norms that others in their reference group do not agree on.

Perpetrators comply with the expected traditional gender norm, and the victims/survivors conform with them, even if they disagree because social consequences have a higher weight if they do not conform (Read-Hamilton and Marsh, 2016; Stark and Seff, 2021). In addition, victims/survivors comply with harmful practices in some cases because there are no alternatives. They prefer to comply rather than suffer from more violence and have the feeling of non-belonging related to their reference group (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Marcus and Harper, 2014; Read-Hamilton and Marsh, 2016). Additionally, institutions would not take a victim/survivor seriously because sexual violence towards them is considered part of their culture since gender norms (traditional gender roles) are expected to be followed.

All of the circumstances above are connected with gender norms (roles and ideologies) that individuals believe and have expectations that others in the reference group do and ought one to follow. Additionally, it is connected with political decisions, institutions, and discourses that follow gender norms (Baaz and Stern, 2009), resulting from empirical and normative expectations. The descriptive norms (hypermasculine behaviours) and empirical expectations would be stronger observed and believed, that together with misogynist attitudes, led to the growth of normative expectations within a reference group.

To conclude, sexual violence is perpetrated as a result of social and gender norms, expectations and beliefs that subsequently develops, discriminatory norms, the normalization of harmful behaviours (CRSV), institutionalized bias (Davies and True, 2015) that is maintained by beliefs and social sanctions, or the lack of them, within a household, community and society that are maintained by non-social elements.

3.2. Social norms and prevention mechanisms

Sexual violence, especially CRSV, can be understood as a socially constructed phenomenon that does not seem to decrease over time. Nowadays, with COVID-19 disease and the increase of armed conflicts, the number of sexual violence cases are spiking (WHO, 2021). Today more than ever, there is a need for effective mechanisms to tackle this well present issue. Until now, what has been done to prevent CRSV and support their survivors should be considered a lesson to be learned by both failures and successes. As so, CRSV cannot be tackled by only laws, policies or field missions that focus on non-social factors that drive CRSV.

Traditional prevention mechanisms focus on economic empowerment, improvement of legal protection and advocacy for more equal national legislations (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Perrin et al., 2019). The present thesis does not want to disregard all the efforts made until now by numerous NGOs, UN affiliates, and domestic states. These efforts called for more international actors and gave the relevance needed to push for more academic significance and the implement of several mechanisms to support victims/survivors of sexual violence, especially in wartime. And for the implementation of more regional and international treaties and laws. Nonetheless, these strategies are not enough.

The literature revision and the previous subchapter concludes that CRSV is defined as a result of several non-social and social factors. Mechanism to prevent this issue should include all of them in their developments and implementations (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; Heise and Manji, 2016) since social (gender) norms are usually more potent than laws and attitudes (non-social factors) and non-social factors are the elements that maintain and influence the trajectory of a social norm (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020). Hence, there is a need to design prevention programmes that join social norms, laws, institutions, and external and individual factors, if the goal is to accurately mitigate CRSV in the long

run (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Greathouse et al., 2015). In addition, as mentioned, when considering social factors, an analysis should be done considering them as an individual and social construction. Where psychology affects and interacts with sociology (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020).

The extent and relevance of each non and social factors on prevention mechanism will depend on their influence on the behaviours. Therefore, the measurement of nature and interconnections of collective behaviours/practices are essential to reveal if we deal with a custom, moral or religious norm, descriptive norm or a social norm, as described in Bicchieri's TSN (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016). And if there are non-social factors that play a role in these behaviours (UNFPA, 2020). Given the accurate understanding and information of these dynamics, that will influence and improve the design of such prevention mechanisms (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2012b; Dardis et al., 2016; Heise and Manji, 2016). For example, in the circumstance that a custom, religious or moral norms are measured, changing people's beliefs and expectations will not be effective since these practices are independent of others in their reference group. The focus should be on external and/or individual features to see changes in behaviours by changing personal norms or the environment. If it is only a social norm affecting a behaviour, prevention mechanisms should focus on changing social expectations (empirical and normative) in the reference group studied (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). Targeting only individual perception, as seen on the TPB (Ajzen, 1991) and Bicchieri's TSN (2012a; 2016), is not sufficient to create a new desirable norm (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). There must be a change in the social expectations and in the social sanction within a reference group (Ajzen 1991; Bicchieri 2012a; 2016).

The measurement of a behaviour not only eludes the type of collective behaviour that the interventionist will deal with but also gives information about the several characteristics of the components that take a role and influence the process that leads a behaviour. One of these components is the reference group that the target behaviour is maintained. Its analysis informs about their features like the main leaders, the norm entrepreneurs, the followers, the size, similarity, and the structure of the reference group (Bicchieri, 2012b). All of this information cues the interventionist the best elements to be used in an intervention (UNFPA, 2020). For example, the main individuals who should help intervene to change behaviours or the individuals that the intervention must first

target. In addition, it indicates the extent that this prevention mechanism must act. It could ask to target only at a village level or a more extensive geography.

The structure, the identity homogeneity and the communication between them also require a customization of the intervention. As shown in figure six, a decentralised structure requires a different approach from a centralised since there are more sub reference groups influencing each other. As so, in the circumstance of decentralised structure focusing only on one individual would not be effective and efficient. The identity homogeneity or the similarity of individuals in a reference group also affects intervention. As mentioned previously, the more similarity, bigger the cooperation and communication between the individuals within the reference group. In case of a change in norms, these could facilitate (if they agree that must be a change) or make it more challenging (if the individuals sustain the old norm).

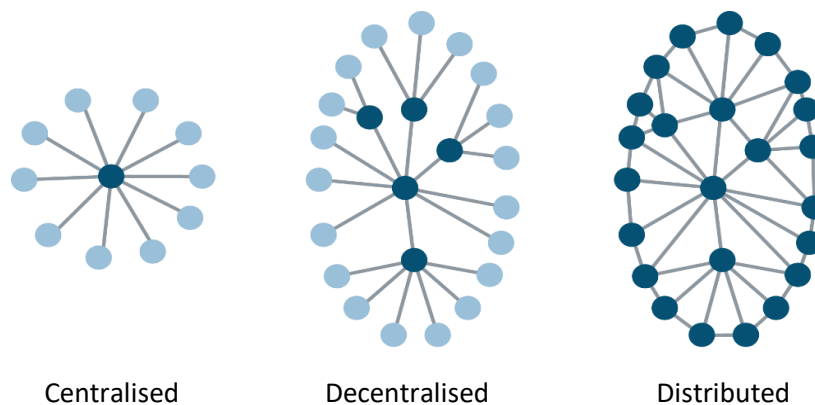| Centralised | Decentralised | Distributed |

Figure 6 - Structures of a reference group (Milligan Partners, 2016)

The second component that must be measured, considering what was discussed in chapter two, are the social expectations. Followed by the analysis of the conformity and finished with the measurement of the conditional preferences (Bicchieri, 2012b). These steps inform why and how the behaviour is being practised within the reference group (UNFPA, 2020). The dynamics between the empirical and the normative expectations are revealed. As well as personal beliefs and social sanctions. Indicating if there is a direct or indirect influence on the behaviour and the norm strength (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018b). All of the characteristics, such as in the case of the reference group, will ask for a customized design and strategies relative to the dynamics of the social expectations, social sanctions and the referent group. Only after this knowledge is it possible to start the

intervention to change behaviours to the desirable ones by norm abandonment with the creation of a more sustainable norm. Contributing to tackle inhuman, violent, and harmful practices.

The social norm, as described above, can have a direct and indirect influence on behaviours. If a specific norm has a direct influence, there must be a change in the beliefs and expectations related to the specific norm, making it unacceptable by introducing a new desirable norm. If a specific norm has an indirect influence, the flow to change a behaviour is more complex. All the norms associated with a behaviour must be targeted because if the specific norm is the only one that is the focus, a change in a behaviour would not be observed, since other norms would foment the continuation of the behaviour (Heise and Manji, 2016).

In situations where social norms and attitudes do not coincide, as describe in the previous subchapter, interventions should act differently. If pluralistic ignorance is the case, misperceptions must be correct. Having open communication is the key to correct pluralistic ignorance by exposing an individual to the truthful information related to the prevalence and to the truthful normative expectations of the others within the reference group, correcting the individual's normative expectations (Bicchieri, 2012a; 2016; Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; 2020; Dardis et al., 2016; Hackman, Witte and Greenband, 2017; Hagman, Clifford and Noel, 2007; Legros and Cislaghi, 2020; Rogers, Rumley and Lovatt, 2019).

In opposition, when attitudes and social norms related to CRSV coincide. meaning when gender norms and attitudes are on the same page. In this case, the interventionist must follow the process of the norm cycle, discussed in chapter two. According to Cislaghi and Heise (2018), norm leaders would be the first targets of the intervention. Change in attitudes would be the first step in the process by providing information on the consequences of the harmful behaviour. If successful, these leaders would be encouraged to reach out to more people and become advocates for the new norm. Norm leaders will aim to persuade that the old norm is unacceptable by giving the example through the following of the new norm, changing the empirical and normative expectations of the norm targets.

Gender norms, as described, requires more effort to change since they are rooted in the structure and institutions of a society. People by following gender norms influence

these power inequalities that exist in a society that consequently affects the daily life of the same person unequally. As Gedeon (2015, p. 3) refers 'social world is the result of human action but not that of human design.'. It is an endless cycle that needs to be brake by gender interventions. These interventions change social norms and aim to tackle gender inequalities, power relations and challenge the gender roles and ideologies that are the leading cause of CRSV (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016).

Gender interventions need to change beliefs and attitudes related to gender roles and gender ideologies. By changing gender roles, that typically are easier since they are visible to others in the reference group, gender ideologies should follow. Nonetheless, there are several cases that this does not happen since changing gender ideologies means changing the concept of femininity and masculinity. To many people, institutions and politics, this is considered as a threat to their status and power, especially when traditional gender norms rule a society (Heise and Manji, 2016; Marcus and Harper, 2014). Affecting not only individuals that benefit from this change (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020) but also the structure of society since it flourished, reflecting these discriminatory gender norms. Nevertheless, this is not an impossible task. Over the decades, the world has seen a positive change in gender roles and ideologies.

A gender norm transformation must require a change in behaviours related to gender by showing individuals the unequal and discriminatory functions of the society influencing their attitudes that sustained this *status quo* (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020). If enough people follow these new behaviours, according to Bicchieri's TSN (2012a; 2016), there would be a change in ideologies and subsequently normative expectations (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Marcus and Harper, 2014).

Non-social factors, if they influence social norms, should be considered in the change of these norms, as already mentioned. To change expectations related to these non-social factors, there must be a change in the perception of self-efficacy (autonomy to change), either individual or collective (Heise and Manji, 2016; Mackie et al., 2015).

To summarize, the social norm approach aims to correct misperceptions of harmful norms by changing people's minds (WHO, 2009a). Gender interventions, despite having the same goal, they go further by changing gender-based behaviours and ideologies that affect society as a whole. After understanding the possible changes that need to be made, the interventionist will choose the best strategy for this aim. However,

as mentioned in chapter two, for an intervention to be effective, there must exist a publicization of the new norm and its reinforcement (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a; The Equality Institute, 2017).

The publicise of the new behaviour is essential to facilitate discussions between individuals of the reference group to tackle possible harmful and wrongful misperceptions related to a norm (UNFPA, 2020). In the case of gender norms, this step is essential. Public debate allows individuals of the same reference group to change together without fearing the possible consequences associated with the new norm (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016). Here, personal normative beliefs and factual beliefs would be the target for a change. Also, supporting harmonization of moral, legal and social norms and values is relevant (UNFPA, 2020) since these can have a very strong determination related to change, especially if they are strongly rooted in the reference group as their identity (personal beliefs). Moreover, collective actions and public commitments to new norms and practices, allow the reference group to change together (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; UNFPA, 2020).

Lastly, as shown in figure seven, institutions should support the beneficiaries of this change to protect them socially, judicially and economically (Rimal and Lapinski, 2015; UNFPA, 2020), increasing their trust and self-efficacy in complying with the new norm.
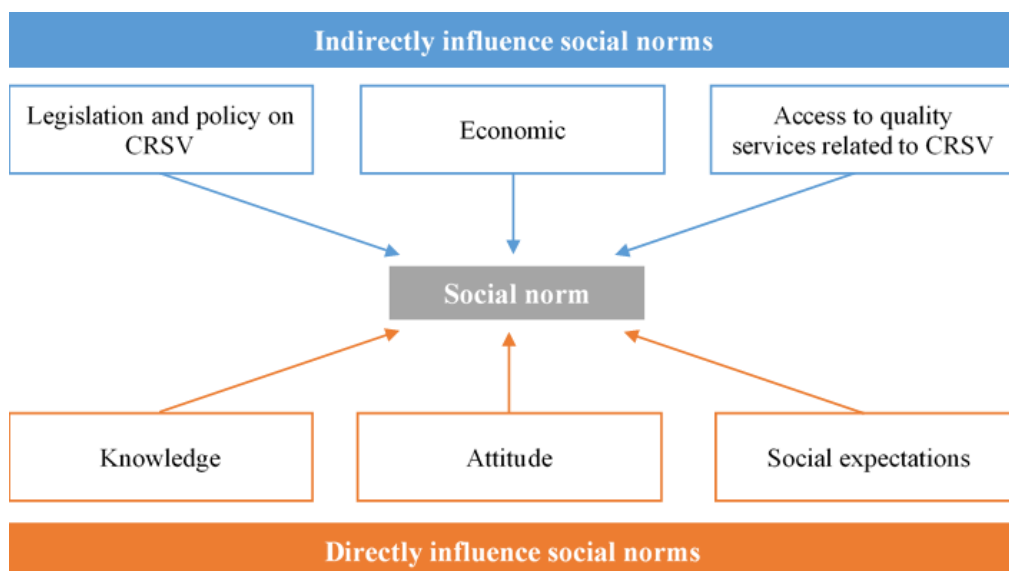

Figure 7 - Factors that influence a norm change (inspired by UNFPA, 2020)

All these steps in the process of changing a social norm must take into consideration that people, in order to comply with a behaviour, their want and awareness are not sufficient. The norm must be stable to endure in a noncertain environments. The stability is crucial to its survival because many individuals could not choose the new norm in cases of uncertainty, sabotaging the introduction of a new norm (Engert, 2006).

According to Engert (2006), two mechanisms ensure the stability of a new norm, the absolute sufficient number of new adopters by norm abandonment and communication cost. As so, there must exist a collective decision to change, individuals must agree on cooperation and coordination. If there is a trust that their reference group would adopt a new norm, the old norm would be abandoned (Bicchieri, 2012b) as such communication between individuals within the reference group is critical for them to formed and understand the new expectations and beliefs considering the acceptable social sanctions (Rimal and Lapinski, 2015). Also, understanding the risk that an individual would face in adopting a new norm is relevant in the design of the intervention (Stark and Seff, 2021). Here the individuals must be reinsured that there would not be negative consequences if they abandoned the old behaviour in case of solid norms. If everything follows this process, enough people will realise the positive outcomes, as states in TNSB, initiating the norm cascade (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998) where most people would abandon the old now (Bicchieri, 2012b). The equilibrium is reached, and the diffusion to other networks happens naturally.

The process of changing behaviours related to CRSV does not end here. It is imperative that during and after interventions, measurements should be practised. During the interventions, the measurement allows determining the degree of effectiveness and efficiency that the program is at, given the opportunity to adjust goals and avoid failures. After the intervention, the measurement states if the goals were met (Bicchieri, 2012a).

To end, a change occurs when role models and leaders promote the norm change when there is a clear norm change communications and opportunity to comply with them. When religious or cultural norms do not undermine normative expectations or if exists a negative perception related to behavioural outcomes and cost associated with the compliance with the new norm. However, the contrary will increase the intentions of the individual to comply with the new behaviour/practice (Marcus and Harper, 2014).

3.2.1. Possible strategies to change social norms

An intervention to change behaviour that aims to mitigate CRSV, as stated before, depends on the environment that the norm is maintained and by the nature of the reference groups. As such, it is complex to give only one solution to tackle this harmful behaviour. Nevertheless, many factors, dynamics, and hypotheses that influence CRSV were present and theoretical processes were discussed. As Marcus and Harper (2014, p. 1) argues, 'no one theoretical perspective of norm maintenance and change is likely to fully capture the range of factors that hold gender norms in place or underpin change in particular situations; an eclectic approach is likely to be needed'. Multidisciplinary interventions are, as such, needed, including all the observable and unobservable variables that influence CRSV.

Interventions to change behaviours, besides having a multidisciplinary approach, they must use all the possible resources to implement an effective intervention. The most critical resources in a prevention mechanism that aim to change behaviours are persons. The persons that design the interventions are relevant, but the persons that lead, know and experience CRSV in the target reference group are the relevant ones. It is essential for an intervention to succeed in having the trust of the reference group and being compatible with the local culture and religious contexts (Cislaghi and Heise, 2018a). The interventionist must ask local people and survivors to help design strategies and lead the movement for change when they feel safe and necessary to intervene. Examples such as religious leaders in case of strong cultural and religious beliefs. Influencers are ideal if strong social beliefs exist. Community leaders, survivors of CRSV or command leaders of (non) armed groups are also essential in the circumstances of strong individual beliefs or cultural values. In addition, prevention mechanisms to tackle CRSV must work both with women and men, girls and boys and LGBT+ people. This issue does not affect only one gender. It affects as persons and the victims/survivors of conflict worldwide confirms it. There must be a collective change in behaviours by all persons independent of their sex, gender identity or sexual orientation (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016).

There is a plethora of possible elements to use in the strategy to mitigate CRSV. However, theoretical and empirical works conclude that some strategies are more successful in changing behaviour related to sexual violence and gender-based behaviours, including education, media campaigns and communications interventions. Related to

external factors, political and judicial changes and economic and social empowerment are also mechanisms that help change a behaviour (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016; Bicchieri, 2012b; Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013; Haylock et al., 2016; WHO, 2009a; 2009b; The Equality Institute, 2017).

Education interventions are vast. They can target in schools, in public services like the police enforcement or hospital employees and communities. This type of mechanism aimed to change personal beliefs around a social norm and gender norms related to CRSV. And by changing social institutions through the ending of discriminatory behaviours and discriminatory access by public services. Beginning with school base interventions, they are crucial since the targets could be the future norm leaders. However, these interventions in wartime are complex to implement since instability is a reality. Many children stop going to school to give more support to their families, but community mobilisation, parenting programs, peer education, and training (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden, 2016) can solve these circumstances. However, when school interventions are possible, it should be noticed that they are crucial to change and challenge social and gender norms. Children debate with themselves and others about the new knowledge, taking it to their households, challenging private attitudes, and empowering others by knowledge, ending possible pluralist ignorance situations. Teachers of the community, in these interventions, are vital. They are considered the education providers of the new change. Their relevance to the reference group must be perceived high and as well as their legitimacy (related to sanctions).

Non-school education interventions and training have a role in changing gender-based behaviours (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013; Haylock et al., 2016). Police, military leaders or even guerrilla leaders are encouraged to comply with the norm against CRSV, challenging the gender ideology of femininity and masculinity, especially the hypermasculine ideology that is the cause of many CRSV cases. These leaders, as authority figures, if considered a legitimacy of power, will influence the personal beliefs of their subordinates, that by given structure, discipline and by establishing strong social and non-social sanctions, they have a significant role in ending CRSV (Glass et al., 2019; Greathouse et al., 2015; Wood, 2006). Another impactful strategy relies on the training of people who work in the health system in order to help the survivors and impact them through knowledge (Miranda and Lange, 2020).

Media and communication interventions can be efficient. Their means includes television, radio, movies, theatre, internet campaigns, newspapers, public service announcements, public events, music and even soap operas and video games (Banyard, Rizzo and Edwards, 2020; Bicchieri, 2012b; Haylock et al., 2016; Paluck and Ball, 2010; UNFPA and UNICEF, 2020; WHO, 2009b). The goal is to change, once again, people's personal beliefs and expectations of a particular reference group in accordance with a social norm by raising awareness of the acceptance of the new norms or possible solutions to mitigate CRSV. And by challenging gender stereotypes to achieve an egalitarian society (Paluck and Ball, 2010). In times of war, media campaigns are convenient since they facilitate the spread of the new norm to more people in a short of time with the least costs, compared with face-to-face interventions (Paluck and Ball, 2010). It also turns the exposure of role models and hypothetical situations, such as in soap operas, easier (Marcus and Harper, 2014; Paluck and Ball, 2010; WHO, 2009b), facilitating the communication between individuals of the reference group.

Both media and communication interventions could benefit if their discourses are positive and gender-sensitive. According to Banyard et al. (2020), positive discourses are related to more frequent positive actions, attitudes and motivations to the desired behaviour. Also, gender-sensitive discourses are important since discourses are fundamental to maintain social identities and unequal institutions (Magnusson and Marecek, 2012) as such, controlling discourses is controlling gender bias attitudes.

Political and judicial changes are fundamental to sustain a new norm. All the interventions to change a social norm must be supported by policies, laws and the judicial system aiming at the same goal. If this support is not observable, all the interventions efforts could be undermined (Cohen, Green and Wood, 2013; Haylock et al., 2016; Marcus and Harper, 2014). There must be an analysis to identify the potential issues that need to be tackled in political and judicial institutions to social norms interventions becom effective. Law and policies that favour non-traditional gender norms and equality are examples that help reinforce compliance with the new norms that favour equalitarian gender norms and unacceptable behaviours towards CRSV (Marcus and Harper, 2014; UNFPA and UNICEF, 2020).

Lastly, economic and social interventions by community interventions, skills-building programs or organisational development (Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden,

2016; Haylock et al., 2016; WHO 2009b) are relevant to increase an individual's self-efficacy. In wartimes, it is very common that the economic and social factors are influenced. This consequently influences and could even change gender roles facilitating changes in social norms since instability allows it. Descriptive norms are challenged, influencing normative expectations in the long run (Marcus and Harper, 2014). This is why these factors in social interventions can have an impactful role in contributing to the empowerment of current survivors and potential victims/survivors for new harmful norms not to surface and to not be maintained. For example, strategies to improve access to public services, just like hospital or mental health facilities (Miranda and Lange, 2020), or microfinancing communities (Paluck and Ball, 2010; WHO, 2009b).

3.3. What has been done so far?

The use of social norms in the prevention mechanisms to tackle worldwide health problems has become a trend solution. At the beginning of this solution, efforts to mitigate health problems had an undistributed distribution. Social norms interventions mainly focused on mitigating alcohol consumption, recreational drugs use, smoking, or recycling, mainly in high-income countries (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020).

Over the last decade, since the feminist movements, these efforts shifted to health issues concerning women and girls, such as child marriage, domestic violence towards women, female genital mutilation (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020; Heise and Manji, 2016; Marcus and Harper, 2014). However, in recent years social norms as a prevention mechanism moved towards gender norms, especially regarding violence and gender discrimination problems as HIV/AIDS. Also, the activity of social norms theories on GBV spiked (Marcus and Harper, 2014). Nevertheless, all of these efforts regarding GBV are only related to women and girls. Few are the ones that considered men, boys and LGBT+ people as victims (Kiss et al., 2020). Additionally, there is a scarcity of studies and programs that regards CRSV. They usually only consider GBV in peacetime, which is not wrong since GBV is a continuum of violence, but the factors that interconnect with wartime interventions are different. As such, these interventions that apply in peacetime cannot be used in wartime. Moreover, often the intervention comes as a response to an issue rather than as prevention (Haylock et al., 2016).

Currently, to the author acknowledgement, there is not an intervention that incorporates all the factors mentioned. Yet, the closest intervention is the 'United Nations Children's Fund Communities Care: Transforming Lives and Preventing Violence programme' (Glass et al., 2019; Read-Hamilton and Marsh, 2016; UNICEF, 2014; 2018). Despite only considering women and girls as victims, the process and strategies chosen are similar to those discussed in this thesis. This programme merges the prevention interventions with response interventions working together with local partners in a conflict affect environment. They have mainly two goals. The first to increase the quality of services to support victims/survivors of GBV by increasing community response services. And second, to change harmful social norms that maintain GBV by using community-led prevention actions (UNICEF, 2014; 2018). The choice to apply this program to conflict-affected countries relies on the opportunity of unstable social norms. Social norms in these contexts are challenged, given the opportunity to start engaging with the primary role models and leaders related to the desirable social norm (Glass et al., 2019; Read-Hamilton and Marsh, 2016; UNICEF, 2014; 2018).

In this intervention, everyone in the community has a role that increases the effectiveness of the programme, considering that these people are the ones that suffer and have to deal with harmful social norms. These intervention starts with building knowledge and awareness, followed by the programme planning and monitoring. Then all the efforts go for the strengthening community-based case, finalising with the catalysing change (UNICEF, 2014; 2018). A similar process, as discussed in chapter two and chapter three of this thesis.

The community-based strengthening uses collective dialogues to engage and challenge community members to reflect upon the old behaviours and their consequences in order to collectively reach positive common beliefs related to new desire norms and actions. As discussed, this bases on the change of social expectations by group discussions and personalised normative feedback by public debate. After, community members are then encouraged to publicly commit to comply with new desirable actions and share their beliefs with others in the reference group (Glass et al., 2019; Read-Hamilton and Marsh, 2016). This would correspond to the publicising of the new norm.

The following step would be characterized as the reinforcement of the norm made by the communication of this new behavioural by the community members, using media

and communication strategies. Finally, since social norms need reinforcement of external factors to behaviours, this programme finds it crucial to build an environment that supports changes. Laws and policies are stated as their solution that must be hand in hand with the new norm that improves women and girls' daily lives by diminishing gender inequalities and GBV acts.

The results suggest that this intervention has improved the environmental conditions and change behaviours related to GBV, diminishing practices related to traditional gender norms and social norms that comply with GBV (Read-Hamilton and Marsh, 2016; UNICEF, 2018). These results only foment this thesis statement that social norms are fundamental to interventions programmes aiming to tackle CRSV. This, together with the vast successful similar interventions related to female genital mutilation or child marriage, increased the veracity of this thesis: social norms theories in changing behaviour are a must and crucial to tackle CRSV.

Conclusion

Social norms as a prevention mechanism are imperative in the fight to end CRSV. The relevance of these norms to tackle harmful behaviours maintained in societies is massively relevant for human rights advocates to have a long run solution to prevent CRSV instead of reacting to its consequences. Consequences that have massive impacts on victims/survivors, where women and girls are the most affected. The question is again raised, why one gender is more affected in conflict environments? What explains the existence of sexual violence and how social norms can end with sexual violence in wartime?

Sexual violence, especially CRSV, is explained as a result from a multitude interconnection of several factors. The most straightforward explanation comes from the lack of resources that a society may experience, but this is partly true. After analysing several psychological, sociological, feminists, cultural and even economic theories, it is confirmed that the nature of sexual violence is more complex. Sexual violence is a behaviour perpetrated by an individual following her/his expectations and beliefs concerning specific social (gender) norms. These norms are formed following the true nature of the human being, to be sociable. To have the feeling of belonging to a group and be accepted by others. For this purpose, individuals collectively formed expectations and beliefs of a normal and acceptable behaviour within a group. It can be through a small group or as big as an entire society. Their influence depends on the relevance she/he gives to others related to their judgment (social sanctions), to their observable actions and hers/his perceptions of what is an acceptable behaviour related to what others think. In each case, social (gender) norms have a unique combination of these perceptions and elements that explain the divergence of behaviours related to CRSV across conflicts.

Social norms constantly rule our behaviours either consciously or unconsciously. They are powerful, they maintain social order, and they maintain harmful behaviours, as sexual violence. In wartime, sexual violence norms are weakened by volatility and unstable environments. In addition, in wartime, sexual violence is used as a strategy or justified as an incentive or opportunity. The reason why this thesis focuses on these environments since people are more vulnerable. In these cases, people believe that sexual violence is acceptable that would not affect their social life. Alternatively, it can be justified by gender norms, where gender roles and ideologies sustain specific conflict-

related cases of sexual violence. Gender norms are so stupidly rooted in society that institutions, media, public services follow these unequal gender expectations and beliefs, that unfortunately, are the reason for gender inequalities, discriminatory behaviours and hypermasculine behaviours. Explaining why women are girls are the most affected by sexual violence in wartime. The disproportionate numbers come from the expected and perceived ideologies of femininity and masculinity that wrongfully signals women as weak, sensible, and pure.

Understanding these powerful norms and their dynamics is equivalent to understanding the nature of sexual violence, its frequency and its perpetrators and victims. If there is a necessity to mitigate CRSV, the interventions must attack their source: harmful social (gender) norms. Only this way can it be possible to mitigate sexual violence in wartime entirely and not in a superficial way by changing the non-social environment factors that most interventions choose to go further. Interventions that include a social (gender) norm perspective will get more results since changing these norms consequently changes harmful behaviours. Lowering the margin of acceptance of such behaviour within a community or society that lowers the numbers of CRSV. Reaching for a sustainable social, behavioural change.

Social (gender) norms are not an easy concept to be defined and are highly abstract, which implies that interventionists must understand their dynamics perfectly and how they interact with non-social factors such as institutions, material factors, and individual beliefs to understand their role in the influence on behaviours. This measurement is necessary to design and implement effective and efficient interventions. If not done correctly, adverse outcomes could emerge. What results from this measurement clues the conditions and strategies that must be applied to change wrongful and harmful behaviours by creating new desirable norms.

Despite the relevance and all the advantages of using social norms to tackle CRSV, these interventions are still new in the field. More implementations of this kind of interventions and subsequently more reliable evaluations are in need to fully secure the affirmation that social norms interventions are the only solution to tackle harmful behaviours. In addition, typically, measurements of the outcomes of these interventions are challenged. Behaviours are hard to isolate and to fully understand what truly influences it. As a future recommendation, social norm interventions must design a more

effective mechanism to have a more consistent evaluation of these interventions. And more social institutions, NGOs and even the UN should design and implement more interventions of this kind because all of their non-social interventions and laws do not attack the root cause of CRSV.

This thesis wants to make their relevance by emphasising the lack of relevant studies and empirical works related to social norms interventions. Moreover, the is a lack of empirical and theoretical social norms interventions that considering all persons as victims/survivors of CRSV. Usually, women are the only victims considered. Sexual violence does not choose a gender. It affects all people as such intervention should consider all persons as victims, just like stated in this thesis. In addition, remembering the devast negative effects that CRSV violence has on victims/survivors and societies is a wake-up call for a more effective long-term solution, such as social norm interventions that considers a more dynamic approach to the prevention of CRSV.

People around the world are suffering daily from CRSV or its possibility. This fear and pain should not be ignored. It is society' responsibility to give the people in need effective solutions to tackle their problems. And social norms interventions are a reliable solution that must be spread and supported.

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