

My Body, Your Weapon

The role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing in the case study of Bosnia

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Abstract

The war in Bosnia broke out shortly after the independence declaration from former Yugoslavia. Bosnia is a multi-ethnic country mainly inhabited by Muslim Bosnians, Orthodox Serbs, and Catholic Croats. In the war of Bosnia between 1992 and 1995, the Ram plan was created by Serbs to cleanse Bosnia of Bosniaks ethnically. Rape was used as strategic weapon to serve three purposes (1) to create fear, (2) stigmatisation of survivors and (3) impregnation. This thesis will dive deeper into the role of the rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing. Rape camps were quickly facilitated as a spatial technology to gain territorial control and to demonstrate symbolic and physical power differences in order to gain ethno-national security faster. The thesis will focus on the role of ethnonationalism, media coverage and military culture to provide a deeper understanding on how rape camps worked as a spatial technology. It will use qualitative data gathered by a data collection method of secondary data, with one additional expert interview to answer the research questions.

Keywords: sexual violence, ethnic cleansing, rape, ethnonationalism, media, military culture

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Chapter 1. Introduction	5
1.1 Introduction	5
1.2 Societal relevance	7
1.3 Scientific relevance	8
1.4 Research Objective and Questions	10
1.5 Brief historical overview	11
Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework	14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Rape camps as spatial technology	16
2.3 Ethnonationalism	18
2.4 Media	20
2.5 Military Culture	22
2.6 Existing perceptions	24
2.7 Operationalisation	26
Chapter 3. Methodology	27
3.1 Qualitative Research	27
3.2 Data collection	28
3.3 Data analysis	31
3.4 Research process	31
3.5 Ethics	33
Chapter 4. Results and Discussion	35
4.1 Life in the (rape) camps	36
4.2 The ethnic cleansing and rape policy	37
4.3 Ethnic belonging	41
4.4 Media	44
4.5 Military power	48
4.6 Challenging perceptions	50
4.7 The role of rape camps	52
4.8 Strengths, limitations and suggestions for future research	54
Chapter 5. Conclusion	57
References	59

List of figures	59
References	59
Appendix	71
Appendix A: Topic List	71
Appendix B: Interview Transcript.....	73
Appendix C: List of Secondary Data.....	82
Appendix D: Final Codebook.....	85
Appendix E: Information Letter and Consent Form.....	88

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The term 'ethnic cleansing' became well known through the conflicts related to the Breakup of former Yugoslavia (Andreopoulos, 2004). During the war in Bosnia, an estimated 20,000 women became survivors of sexual violence (Salzman, 1998). Clifford (2008) argues that rape is one of the most humiliating and violent weapon to use as it scars the individual and the community. Rape camps, as part of ethnic cleansing strategy, are a cheap and effective tool to achieve ethnic cleansing which makes it dangerous and more appealing as an option during war to use as a strategy (Clifford, 2008). Rape camps were used in different war like Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 (Begum, 2023) and in Zimbabwe (Clifford, 2008). Nevertheless, the most well-known example is in Bosnia during the Bosnian War.

The international courts have officially classified the war in Bosnia as a genocide against Bosniaks (United Nations, 2007). It included systematic ethnic cleansing, forced displacement and other war crimes (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 1994). It is essential to explain the differences between genocide and ethnic cleansing as these two concepts are often used in the same context. Ethnic cleansing entails displacing ethnic groups from a specific territory, while genocide also includes large-scale murders of groups of people (Quran, 2017). Genocide can be a part of the definition of ethnic cleansing. This thesis will focus on ethnic cleansing instead of genocide, as this was the main goal for Serbs to gain more territorial control, claiming it was to 'free' fellow Serbians living in Bosnia (Holocaust Museum Houston, n.d.) along with Bosnian Serb forces, who also used the term ethnic cleansing to justify their actions against Bosnian Muslims (Brashear, 2017).

The Bosnian War was the first time that mass rape was recognised and prosecuted by The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 1993-2017a). This thesis will focus on rape camps as a spatial technology for the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon. Bosnia had many rape camps as part of destroying or forcefully removing the Bosniak population (Brashear, 2017). It was used as a pre-planned military strategy as part of the campaigns against Bosniaks created by Serb politics (Calvin, 2024). Rape camps can be defined as places where rape and forced incarceration occurred (Boose, 2002). Part of the rape camps in Bosnia did not look like concentration camps or working camps that were also present in Bosnia, like the Omarska camp. Although these camps could also be considered part of the rape camps facilities as rape also occurred in these camps. Rape camps were often inside regular buildings like an

old school, barns, auditoriums, restaurants or hotels (Salzman, 1998). One of the most well-known town with rape camps was Višegrad, where rape camps were inside hotels, the police station, the local sports centre and even the Institute for the Protection of Children (Memišević, 2020). Not all rape camps were designed for ethnic cleansing purposes. Some were ‘bordellos’, designed to provide sex for returning soldiers (Salzman, 1998) as a reward for their performance on the battlefield (Malerk, 2024). Other purposes of the rape camps was to hold women as leverage or simply to kill the women (Salzman, 1998). In this thesis, the places where these rapes occurred will be referred to as rape camps as a collective term because other researchers (Salzman, 1998; Son, 2023) and articles (Clifford, 2008; Lippman, 2012) refer to these places of rape often as rape camps, even though these rapes often happened in private homes, schools and hotels and detention camps.

The focus of the case study will be on the conflict between Serbs and Bosniaks in Bosnia during the war. However, other parties, like Croatia, were also involved in this conflict. The decision to focus on Bosniaks and Serbs was made to focus on only one state as the perpetrator to understand their use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon. The Croat-Bosniak War is often seen as part of the Bosnian War. The relationship between Croats and Bosniaks is more complicated, as in some regions they remained allies while in other regions they did not (Lampe, 2009). With the bringing an end to the Bosnian War, Croatian forces joined operations against Serb forces (Lampe, 2009). Therefore, it was chosen to focus only on Serbs and Bosniaks as their standpoints were more clear during all times of the war.

Moreover, this thesis will focus on the state as a perpetrator. Literature has focused on who uses sexual violence as a weapon: peacekeepers, rebels or the (state) military. In the case of the rape camps, military and police officers under state authority are the perpetrators. It is generally expected that the state is supposed to protect citizens. The state uses sexual violence more often as a weapon than peacekeepers, rebels or other military, or so it is reported (Nordås & Cohen, 2021). Current literature does not provide a clear understanding of why state actors are more likely to use sexual violence as a weapon. Strategic and opportunistic explanations are debated depending on the context of the conflict. In the case of Bosnia, strategic explanations are leading as the Operation Ram was created, which will be explained later in this chapter (section 2.2). It is important to acknowledge that multiple state actors are involved in the use of sexual violence as a weapon during the conflict in former Yugoslavia and Bosnia specifically. In Bosnia, the Yugoslav People’s Army was controlled by Serbia, which is the military of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Army of Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb forces) were active as a state army (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,

n.d.-a). Both state armies will be considered as perpetrators in this thesis. This does not mean that other militaries that used sexual violence as a weapon during the conflict in former Yugoslavia and Bosnia specifically are not acknowledged as perpetrators. However, for this thesis, the case of the Serbian armies trying to cleanse Bosnia of non-Serbs ethnically is considered the case study.

Throughout this thesis, the term ‘survivor’ will refer to rape victims. This choice was made because the term survivor is a more empowering term. Throughout the thesis you learn about the stigmatisation survivors experience by their family and community because they were raped. This thesis examines existing narratives about the rape survivors and perpetrators and will hopefully contribute to overcoming stigmatisation by their community by using the term survivor.

1.2 Societal relevance

Ethnic cleansing practices are occurring worldwide nowadays, and spatial technologies are being used to execute these practices on a larger scale. Different types of spatial technologies are used in these wars, but it is important to understand how spatial technologies work and what aspects can influence the use of these strategies. The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia was praised for its prosecution of rape as an instrument for genocide and ethnic cleansing. This thesis can contribute to providing insights in the use of rape camps and help to bring recognition to spatial technologies as strategies in other conflicts as well.

Additionally, the silence that results from humiliation, stigmatisation and shame means that the topic of wartime sexual violence is not talked about enough. International laws provide protection against sexual violence since it is recognised as a war crime and a crime against humanity (Kapp, 2022). The United Nations (UN) calls wartime sexual violence one of history’s greatest silences (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2008). It is a strategic weapon to displace, dehumanise and destroy not only individuals but also families and communities.

Not only are women survivors of sexual violence, but men and children are survivors as well (Clark, 2017). Survivors are stigmatised, hidden and forgotten (Atuhaire et al., 2018). Moreover, perpetrators are more likely to be rewarded as part of peacebuilding agreements than survivors who receive justice or care (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2008). The topic needs more attention as survivors deal with physical, emotional and psychological trauma (Anderson, 2013). The conflict weakens or destroys social networks and

social support systems (Atuhaire et al., 2018) as rape survivors are rejected by their own communities (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2008).

Lastly, social displacement, social re-integration and memory are important in post-conflict recovery. Ethnic cleansing influences someone's identity and ethnic-national identity (Doja, 2024). Communities play an important role in trauma healing (Almoshmosh, 2016). Gaining an understanding of the events of the rape camps might allow communities to support each other because cohesion comes from a place of understanding and trust (Clark, 2008). Giving attention and recognition to the matter is important. Prosecution of war crimes is difficult, so acknowledgement and understanding play an important role in getting justice.

This thesis will provide part of the understanding of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. Todorova (2011) wrote a paper with the title: 'Giving Memory a Future': Confronting the Legacy of mass rape in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina. The title alone demonstrates the importance of remembering. There is sometimes a desire to forget certain parts of war. Survivors often feel neglected, and children who were born as a result of these rapes carry the weight of shame and struggle with the feelings of not belonging to a community (Todorova, 2011). The relevance of this thesis thus lies in providing insights to understand the role of rape camps as a spatial technology and in relation to the legacy of ethnic cleansing, understanding ethnonationalism and security seeking through the use of sexual violence.

1.3 Scientific relevance

There is little research on rape camps as a spatial technology to gain geographical and political control. The research of Minca (2015) studies modern camps as a political technology to build new political structures. He argues that camps are 'part of a set of broader political technologies, aimed at controlling mobility and 'governing life' through coercion and direct or indirect violent means' (p.76). Besides, he argues that camps aim to produce and selectively cut into the population to cleanse and protect (Minca, 2015). Nevertheless, his research does not cover camps as an instrument of war.

The focus of this thesis is on the use of rape camps as a spatial technology. What spatial technology means is that it is a geographical tool to gain territorial control. Rape has been studied as an instrument for terror before by various scholars like Benard (1994). However, the use of rape camps as a geographical tool are understudied in this particular research area. Rape happened in many conflicts but in the case of Bosnia rape camps were used to use sexual violence as a strategic weapon to achieve territorial control. Therefore, this thesis will contribute to this gap in the literature.

In the past twenty years, there has been an increase in interest in studying Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) (Nordäs & Cohen, 2021). The focus has shifted from gender studies to political science. The first exponential growth in literature happened after the war in Yugoslavia, and the second period of growth was after the genocide in Rwanda. Both wars were characterised by genocide, and the focus was on taking sexual violence seriously (Nordäs & Cohen, 2021). Genocide led to growing attention to the gendered dimension in ethnic conflicts and the effects of identity, culture and nationalism (Doja, 2024).

The existing literature focuses on various levels and stages of the conflict. The literature focuses on both the individualism level, like Clark (2017), and the structuralism ontology level, like Jaleel (2012). Thomas (2007) focuses on the psychological effects of sexual violence on an individual level, while many articles combine the individual and structuralist ontologies to explain sexual violence in Bosnia (Nordäs & Cohen, 2021; Snyder, 2006; Todorova, 2011). This thesis will take a more interpretative approach to a structuralist ontology by looking at social structures and their norms and expectations in their communities. The role of rape camps is understudied in this epistemology. Looking at the concepts of ethnonationalism, media coverage and military culture provides missing explanations for the role of rape camps in Bosnia.

Nordäs and Cohen (2021) suggest that future research should focus on the state military. States are more likely to be reported as perpetrators than rebels since they need the support of civilians less than rebel groups, for instance. Strategic repression and coordination by leaders are given as one of the reasons for the state's use of sexual violence (Nordäs & Cohen, 2021). Serbian military targeted Bosnian women, putting women in an extra vulnerable position in ethnic-nationalist conflict (Doja, 2024). Because the state military is the perpetrator, the use of sexual violence is not completely random or opportunistic but part of a deliberate policy which changes motivations. It becomes a political event with a nationalist agenda to destroy a community (Doja, 2024). There is not much attention in the literature to the case of state military using sexual violence as a weapon.

Furthermore, this thesis touches on the topic of ethnic belonging as part of ethnonationalism of both people during the conflict and the children born out of rape. The people during the conflict and children born out of rape experience ethnic identity problems based on confusion to which community they belong now (Hamel, 2016). Re-identification and the growing importance of ethnicity at the beginning of the conflict contributed to this. Existing literature discusses the concept of othering. However, the examination of ethnic belonging and

re-identification as part of ethnonationalism is mainly done in post-war situations and not during the conflict.

This thesis will contribute to the growth of the field of rape camps as a spatial technology. Using a specific case study of rape camps in Bosnia will allow us to give an in-depth analysis, providing a new perspective in understanding and narrating the topic of sexual violence used by state forces with the purpose of ethnic cleansing, relating it to the concepts of ethnonationalism, media and military culture.

1.4 Research Objective and Questions

The main research objective is to understand the role of rape camps as a spatial technology in the use of sexual violence to achieve ethnic cleansing in the case study of Bosnia. Rape camps are an instrument to spatially organise a war crime. Ordinary places like schools and hotels were transformed into spaces of crime, and the collective memory of these places is still present (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2023). Spatial technologies are more often used as a strategy for ethnic cleansing and rape camps as a spatial technology is under-researched while it is an easy and cheap weapon to use. This spatial technology is interesting to research as it forms a place of pain and silence, and the Bosnian post-war landscape is full of these places (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2023). With qualitative data the role of rape camps will be studied to understand how and what makes rape camps effective and allows it to operate the way it did to change the Bosnian geopolitical and ethnic landscapes during the war. Taken this together, this leads to the main research question: *What was the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing used by the state military in Bosnia during the war between 1992-1995?*

There is an ongoing debate in the literature about why sexual violence is used as a strategic weapon by the state and what influenced the use of this strategy. The answers differ per case study depending on the characteristics of the conflict. Therefore, sub-research questions are introduced to help answer the main research question. The following sub-questions with their goal are:

1. *How did sexual violence in the form of rape camps become a strategy of ethnic cleansing during the conflict in Bosnia?*

The aim of this question is to understand why sexual violence in the form of rape became a strategy in the first place. By understanding this, it will help understand why rape camps as a network were setup to serve as a spatial technology.

2. *What was the role of ethnonationalism in the rise of the rape camps?*

This question builds upon the first sub-question since the war in former Yugoslavia was an ethnic identity-based war, the role of ethnonationalism will be researched as part of the strategy of rape camps was to get women pregnant and their babies taking the nationality of the perpetrator (Stojsavljevic, 1995). By answering this question, it will help to understand why rape camps were used as a spatial technology to achieve ethnic cleansing.

3. *What was the role of the media relating to the use of sexual violence in the rape camps?*

The role of media will be studied to understand its influences in framing and the justification of the use of sexual violence and rape camps among the population and worldwide. This question will help to understand how rape camps were able to operate for several year during the conflict while there was media attention on the rapes and the camps.

4. *What was the role of military culture in the use of sexual violence in the rape camps?*

The role of military culture will also be studied to highlight the narratives of the perpetrators to understand their circumstances in the rape camps and understand why they would (un)willingly engage in sexual violence in the rape camps. By understanding this, it will provide insights in how rape camps were able to stay in operation and work the way it did as this takes many soldiers to engage in the crime.

While the first two sub-question will help to understand why rape camps were set up as a spatial technology, the last two sub-questions will help to understand why rape camps as a spatial technology were able to operate during the years in the conflict. These questions will help to answer the main research question on how rape camps were used as a spatial technology in the use of sexual violence for ethnic cleansing purposes in Bosnia.

1.5 Brief historical overview

The war in Bosnia was part of the Breakup of former Yugoslavia. Bosnia is a multi-ethnic, diverse country, mainly inhabited by Muslim Bosnians (44%), Orthodox Serbs (32.5%), and Catholic Croats (17%) (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.-b). Bosnian Muslims will be referred to in this thesis as Bosniaks, as Bosniaks are seen as their own ethnicity (Minority Rights Group, 2015).

In former Yugoslavia, different ethnic and religious groups lived together. This began to shift during the Breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991 (Holocaust Museum Houston, n.d.). Some background context is essential to know to understand where the ethnic division and insecurity came from and why it had a big influence on the way this war was fought and why rape camps were used as a weapon. Ethnic tensions began rising, and neighbours turned into enemies

(Holocaust Museum Houston, n.d.). The shift from peaceful co-existence to a high level of violence emerged from an ethnic security dilemma (Abushov, 2022; Oberschall, 2000). Abushov (2022) states that the collapse of a central state creates a situation of fear and uncertainty among ethnic groups. The death of Tito in 1980 is considered one of the crucial events leading up to the Breakup of Yugoslavia (Sitkin et al., 2019). Tito controlled ethnic tensions by promoting brotherhood and suppressing nationalism (Office of the Historian, n.d.). However, this promotion became absent after Tito's death. Ethnic groups wanted to prioritise their own security in this new situation (Abushov, 2022).

However, many scholars agree that it is rare for the security dilemma to cause ethnic conflict. The commitment problem is another structural explanation given in the literature for the outbreak of ethnic conflict. This problem entails that the majority group cannot guarantee security to the minority group, even if they do so, they cannot guarantee that security will change in the future. If the relative position of the majority population strengthens in the future, this will be adverse for the minority group. The minority group is at risk of being oppressed; therefore, they tend to choose to rise above it rather than wait and see whether the majority group can commit to their promises. In both the ethnic security dilemma and the commitment problem, the minority group faces the dilemma of fighting a war or facing an uncertain position (Abushov, 2022).

This was also the case for Bosnia. The Serb minority felt threatened by Bosnian independence. On February 29, 1992, a referendum was held for the independence declaration in Bosnia (Lampe, 2009). Bosnian Serbs' political representatives boycotted the referendum, and they mobilised forces soon after, under the leadership of Radovan Karadžić, to secure their ethnic Serb territory in Bosnia, by, amongst others, the strategy of using sexual violence. This led to the ethnic-identity-based war in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995 (Lampe, 2009). How sexual violence became the strategy will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the strategy of rape camps comes from a place of ethnic insecurity.

Additionally, the next chapter will elaborate on existing literature related to the use of sexual violence for ethnic cleansing purposes, focusing on the main concepts of ethnonationalism, media, and military culture to create a theoretical framework. Chapter 3 explains the research design that will be used to research the role of the rape camps. It will discuss data collection methods, data analysis, and the research process. Chapter 4 will show the results from the data collection. Chapter 5 will answer the research question(s) in the

conclusion, and Chapter 6 will present a discussion of the findings and the thesis in general and will finish with recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will discuss current research about sexual violence used as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing. The points made in this chapter are not necessarily general theories but more current debates and explanations given to help understand the use of the weapon and what various aspects can have an influence on the use of sexual violence by the state. This chapter will start by defining sexual violence. Then, it will discuss how ethnic cleansing became a strategy and how sexual violence is used as a weapon for this. It will further discuss rape camps as a spatial technology. Finally, it will discuss the influence of ethnonationalism, media and military culture on the use of sexual violence as a weapon. All these topics are related to the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence. These topics will provide concepts that will serve as a basis for the analysis.

2.1 Introduction

In existing literature, there is no consensus on the definition of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence (CRSV) (Nordås & Cohen, 2021). It is important to define CRSV to get a clear understanding. The definition given in the Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict dataset from Cohen & Nordås (2014) will be used for this paper to define CRSV. This definition covers seven forms of violence, namely: (a) rape, (b) sexual slavery, (c) forced prostitution, (d) forced pregnancy, (e) forced sterilisation/abortion, (f) sexual mutilation and lastly (g) sexual torture (Cohen & Nordås, 2014). Sexual violence is conflict-related when these actions happen during the period of conflict or post-conflict (Nordås & Cohen, 2021). It can be challenging to determine whether sexual violence is conflict-related, especially in post-conflict times. The dataset used by Nordås and Cohen (2021) described conflict-related issues as:

Violations perpetrated by armed actors (specifically, state militaries, rebel groups, and pro-government militias) during periods of conflict or immediately post-conflict. It excludes violations by civilian actors, such as intimate partner sexual violence or sexual crimes. Further, it does not exclude sexual violence against combatants by definition ... (p.195).

So why is sexual violence used as a weapon by the state? Sexual violence is often used for pursuing other (military, political or ideological) goals in wartime, and therefore, a variation in

CRSV is used (Wood, 2014). Multiple scholars and organisations like Amnesty International state that sexual violence is no longer a by-product of war but a strategic, systematic and pre-planned weapon for war (Peltola, 2018). Strategic reasons for the use of this weapon can be dehumanisation, depopulation, feminisation, stigmatisation, social ostracism and ethnic cleansing (Doja, 2024; Stark & Wessells, 2012). For instance, rape survivors are dehumanised as human boundaries are crossed and survivors being objectified (Moor et al., 2013) Moreover, during the conflict in former Yugoslavia, gang rape was used by Serbian paramilitaries in Kosovo to terrorise people and to flee their homes and country. Another example is forms of sexual violence can be used to ‘feminise’ the enemy for dehumanisation and destruction of dignity (Stark & Wessells, 2012). As a further matter, survivors of sexual violence are often seen as shameful by their Bosnian Muslim communities (Sitkin et al., 2019), and survivors are rejected by their spouses and families as they are seen as unsuitable for a traditional marriage (Sackellares, 2005). The stigmatisation by the communities of survivors of wartime sexual violence can lead to social ostracism (Rose, 2023). Latest illustration, in the case of Bosnia rape was used as part of the ethnic cleansing campaign. These examples demonstrate that rape can serve as different strategies with different outcomes.

Stark and Wessells (2012) argue that sexual violence is not only used to protect one's own ethnic identity, but is also used as an attack on the ethnic identity of the other ethnic group and their history. CRSV will weaken relationships between families and communities. The authors argue that CRSV will be used in future conflicts as long as it accomplishes “ethnic cleansing and cultural degradation, dominating territory, dehumanising and humiliating the enemy, and fulfilling hyper-masculinised identities and roles in a militarised context” (Stark & Wessells, 2012, p.678).

In the case of Bosnia, sexual violence was used as a strategy to accomplish ethnic cleansing (Wood, 2014). As explained in the introduction, ethnic cleansing entails displacing ethnic groups from a specific territory (Quran, 2017). Strategy of mass rape was used to displace Bosniaks in Bosnia in order to cause terror so people would not return to their home towns (Brashear, 2017). Nevertheless, sexual violence was also partly used to impregnate women, with the baby taking the nationality of the biological father (Stojsavljevic, 1995), which will be further explained later in this chapter (section 2.3).

2.2 Rape camps as spatial technology

The Bosnian War was an identity-based conflict, and therefore, the primary military tactic was population displacement in order to secure territory and resources for their ethnic identity group (Dahlman & Tuathail, 2005a). Figure 1 illustrates the ethnic composition of the regions. It is visible that in the northern, western, and eastern regions, the ethnic majority was Serb.

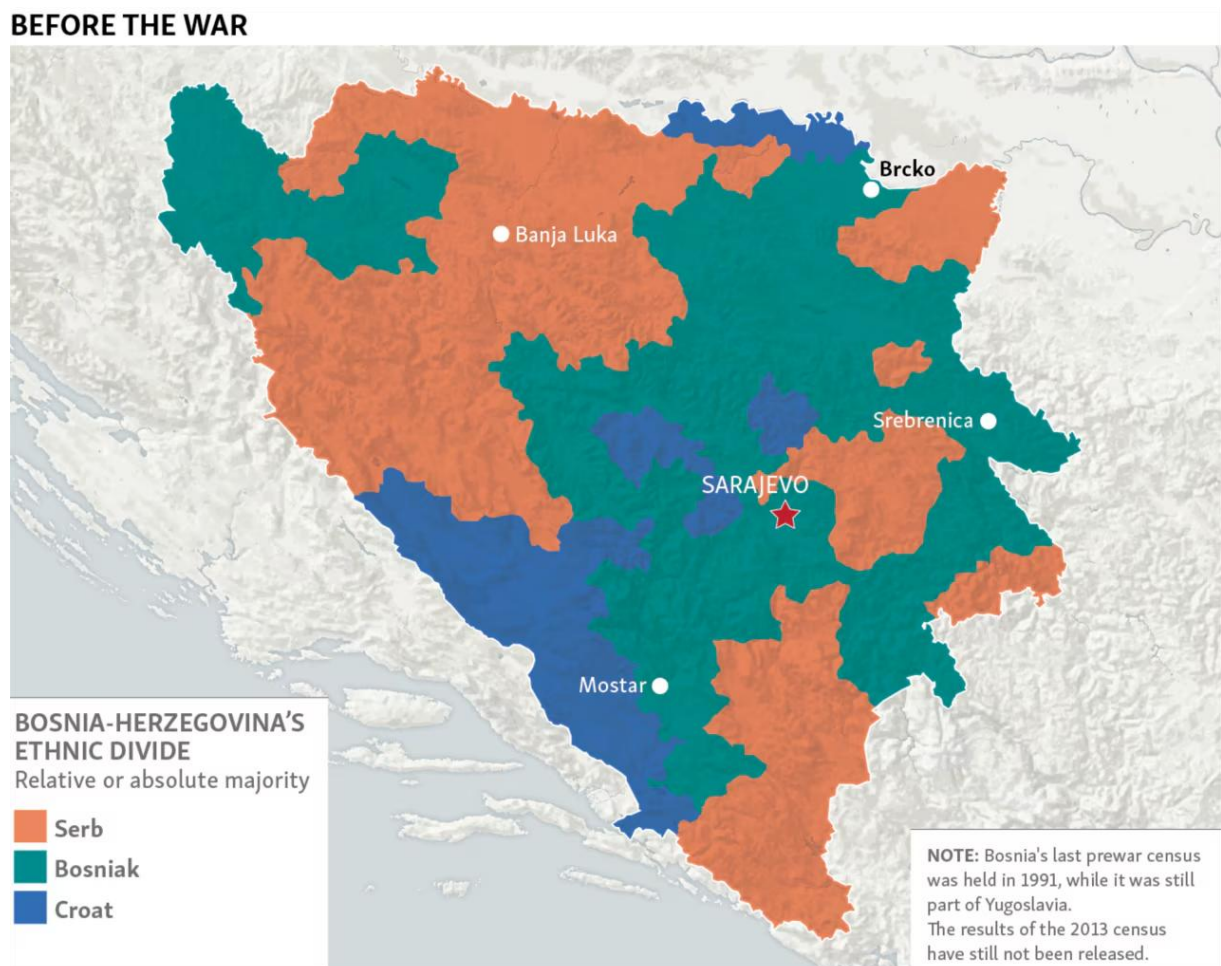


Figure 1. Bosnia-Herzegovina's Ethnic Divide before Dayton (RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, 2015)

The Ram plan, a plan to organise Serbs outside Serbia also known as Operation RAM, Brana Plan, or Rampart-91, written by Serb army officers, was created to target women in order to cause fear, panic and retreat from territories (Salzman, 1998). An informal group of generals suggested that by raping women and children, Bosniaks desire for a battle would be defeated. Multiple perpetrator rape or gang rape occurred as part of Serbia's ethnic cleansing campaign (Wood, 2014). Reports from the United Nations and Human Rights Watch indicated that the

rape camps were policies from the Serbian government with the goal of creating an ‘ethnically pure state’ (Salzman, 1998).

The ethnic cleansing policy was not carried out in every region of Bosnia (Remembering Srebrenica, 2021). It was strategically carried out in northern, western, and eastern regions, areas that are linked to Serbia proper and Serb-inhabited areas in Bosnia (Remembering Srebrenica, 2021). It is a spatially organised way to commit ethnic cleansing and create spatial segregation (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2023). Ethnic cleansing is establishing new ideological geopolitical landscapes by using violence, through the process of projecting an aspiring power structure that maps an idealised and exclusive political identity onto a specific territory (Dahlman & Tuathail, 2005b). Figure 2 will demonstrate where the Serb armies were geographically present in Bosnia. These places also indicate the areas where sexual violence, specifically the rape camps mainly were present.



Figure 2. Map of territory division by the Bosnian forces, Bosnian-Croat forces and Bosnian-Serb forces (1992) (Karčić, 2022, p. xv).

Rape camps can enhance achieving these new geopolitical landscapes. The rape camps and detention camps had identical layouts (Son, 2023) indicating all camps were part of a larger network. The rape camp network required logistical coordination, and nobody was exempt from the punishment (Salzman, 1998). The rape camps in Bosnia had the support of

commanders and local authorities (Amnesty International, 2022). It was a way to provide ethno-national security as a form of state security (Hansen, 2000). The idea was that cleansing these non-Serb areas would expand the Serb territory and increase their territorial control and authority by reclaiming these territories for their state (Berry, 2018).

There is little research on the topic of rape camps used as a spatially organised way of crime. The United Nations reported five patterns of rape found in the Serbian policy systematically (Salzman, 1998). Firstly, local government encouraged people to engage in the policy of terrorising Bosniaks, including stimulating engaging in sexual assault in front of their communities. Secondly, patterns of sexual violence during fighting. Women were raped and as a result in fear and intimidation people would likely not return to their home towns. The third pattern is the use of sexual violence in concentration camps where women were raped either alone in separate locations or in front of other detainees. The fourth pattern, is rape happening in rape camps. Moreover, the last pattern to be documented by the United Nations was sexual violence happening in ‘Bordello’ camps (Salzman, 1998).

The UN commission also found an overall number of similar characteristics indicating an overall Serbian policy one being correspondence in rape and sexual assault practices in non-contiguous areas (Salzman, 1998). Other similarities are simultaneous military activity and activity of population displacement. Besides the timing of the rapes (majority between April and November 1992) and similar characteristics in rape with the purpose of humiliation of the survivor and community are also indicated an overall policy. Most of the reported rapes occurred in detention camps under authority of commanders or local authorities (Salzman, 1998). These found patterns and similar characteristics are indications of the use of rape camps as a spatial technology as these similarities are found in different geographic areas.

2.3 Ethnonationalism

Ethnonationalism plays a crucial motive in the rise and the use of rape camps for ethnic cleansing. Serbs wanted to expand their territories as they believed that the land belonged to them, the Serb identity, to create a greater Serbia (Berry, 2018). During the conflict, people started re-identifying themselves. Whereas before the conflict, people identified themselves as Yugoslav (Crawford, 1998), as some people did not know or care about their ethnicity, but after Tito’s death, people started re-identifying themselves with their ethnicity instead (Crawford, 1998). This demonstrates the growing importance of ethnonationalism.

The growing importance of ethnonationalism was also demonstrated in the role of women during the war. Fincham (2024) discusses the specific role for women that is

constructed out of nationalist ideology, which makes women more vulnerable to CRSV. Women are seen as biological reproducers of the nation. Hamel (2016) argues that women are national symbols. Women are seen as mothers of the nation who reproduce the values and culture of a national or ethnic group. Women carry the responsibility of group reproduction to ensure their children are biological and symbolic members of the nation. Ethnic nationalism in Serbia, which had its roots in an idealised past, portrayed women as protectors of national values and as symbolic markers that marked group identity (Fincham, 2024). When an ethnic group feels threatened, this reproduction of group identity becomes more important (Hamel, 2016).

The reproductive rights of women in former Yugoslavia were restricted and subordinated to the nation's needs. Women who committed abortions were seen as enemies of the nation (Fincham, 2024). Because maintaining the ethnic majority means territorial dominance, it is argued that rape's function is the expanding of the population of an ethnic group (Fincham, 2024). When a conflict occurs, women are more vulnerable to sexual violence by the enemy group as a response to ethno-nationalist reproduction (Hamel, 2016). Sexual violence against women is not only an attack on women, but also an attack on the nation (Fincham, 2024). Thus, rape camps provide the environment to attack the ethno-nationalistic reproduction of the enemy group and was also a way to increase the reproduction of one's own group.

Ethnic cleansing is putting 'othering' into practice. Othering is when a particular group is excluded based on specific characteristics (Wilmot et al., 2024). While othering is not inherently bad, it becomes dangerous when a sense of inferiority is felt in the 'us vs. them' dichotomy (Wilmot et al., 2024). As Mahadevan (2017, p. 29) notes, "othering is a process of making others more alien than they actually are, mainly in order to affirm people's own identity and power positions." In the article by Van Houtum and Van Naerssen (2002), they argue that refugee camps create a spatial distinction between 'ours and their zone' and are symbolised by putting people in uninhabited buildings. The same could be true for rape camps in Bosnia, where Bosniaks were put in rape camps which physically and symbolically demonstrates othering and bordering of the geopolitical landscape.

The main goal of the ethnic cleansing policy was to extinguish the Bosnian Muslim ethnicity from the area. Part of the Serb strategy was to impregnate women so that their children would get the nationality of the father (Salzman, 1998; Stojsavljevic, 1995). The goal was also that these children would later kill the other Bosnian Muslims (Fincham, 2024). The slogan of the mass rape was: "You will give birth to a Chetnik soldier" (Hamel, 2016, p.295). Women

were kept in the camps until it was too late for abortion and were taken to Serbia (Salzman, 1998).

Nevertheless, why would they want a child who is still half-Bosnian? It would mean that the child is not 'ethnically pure'. Allen (1996) argues that the idea that Serb soldiers impregnate women to create 'little Chetniks' is incorrect. Children's identity is based on their socialisation, and their mothers often raise them with a Bosniak identity (Allen, 1996). However, it is often the raped mothers who only ascribe the father's ethnicity to their children (Hamel, 2016). This means that it is more often the mother who is projecting othering on their children rather than their biological father, who indeed wants to ascribe their ethnic-national identity.

There is not much research on the ethnic belonging of children born out of rape. A study by Hamel (2016) explains the debate on the ethnic belonging of children born out of rape. Children born out of rape in Bosnia were likely to be orphans or adoptees, meaning those children were unaware of their mother's or father's ethnic identity (Hamel, 2016). Bosniak women often did not accept the child as their own, and it was rare for women who were raped to keep their child. Women often lied to their husbands about who the biological father was in fear of possible consequences (Hamel, 2016). Possible consequences for women were considered to be unsuitable for marriage or considered damaged, besides experiencing shame (TRIAL International, 2020). For male rape survivors, this meant experiencing shame and stigma, as stigma is considered degrading for survivors (TRIAL International, 2020).

This means that by mass raping women in rape camps, the reproduction of the enemy's group is prevented as mothers ascribe the father's ethnicity to the baby (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2016) and therefore not want the baby in fear of the social consequences.

2.4 Media

There is not much research on the role of the media in the coverage of the rape camps and influencing ethnonationalism and the support or opposition for the use of sexual violence for ethnic cleansing. According to Salzman (1998), the media played a huge role in the existence of rape camps, for instance, enriching Serbian nationalism through propaganda campaigns. For example, Serb women were called in media campaigns and newspapers to give (multiple) births for their own ethnic reproduction (Fincham, 2024). In Bosnia as well, a Muslim leader made women feel responsible for bearing multiple children with slogans like: "Two for themselves,

three for Bosnia” (Snyder et al., 2006, p. 189). Thus, the media played a role in enriching the sense of ethnonationalism.

Additionally, the media was used to manipulate the population to support ethnic cleansing by creating fear and hatred. Milosević, former president of Serbia, took over the national press and television (Salzman, 1998). According to Weerdesteijn and Smeulers (2011), old narratives were told about how Serbs were survivors and had to fight to survive. The media was used to justify the violence used against Bosniaks (Weerdesteijn & Smeulers, 2011) as the media spread false information (Salzman, 1998). For example, images were shown and told that it was Muslims or Croats raping Serbian women while, in reality, it was the other way around (Salzman, 1998). Thus, the media was telling a twisted reality. Extreme violence that was used ‘against’ Serbs was shown in media to not only justify the use of violence against Bosniaks but to make the extreme violence as self-defence desirable and normalised, which led to maintaining collective violence (Weerdesteijn & Smeulers, 2011), like the rape camps. In this way, sexual violence as a weapon for systematic ethnic cleansing by the state got support from Serb civilians.

During the conflict, the media coverage of the rapes increased from November 1992 to February 1993 as the number of rapes reported increased (Salzman, 1998). After February 1993, the number of reported rapes started dropping, and so was the media coverage. One of the possible reasons for the fewer reported rapes according to Salzman (1998) is that perpetrators feared prosecution as news of the establishment of the ICTY spread in early 1993, and rape survivors were silenced. Women and their families were threatened with murder if they told anyone about the events of the rape camps. So, the number of rapes did not decline necessarily, only the number of reported rapes declined and therefore media coverage dropped and a loss in media attention can be a reason for less reported rapes (Salzman, 1998). Media coverage was thus limited by the limited rape camps stories coming forward and by misinformation provided by the state.

Due to limited rape camps stories, framing of the conflict becomes more important and influential. Houge (2008) discusses how the media coverage of sexual violence is almost exclusively concerned with women. One reason might be that male survivors experience more stigma as a survivor of rape and therefore do not come forward (Houge, 2008). Although there were no single male rape camps in Bosnia (as far known), sexual violence as a weapon still was used against men. The role of the media in covering these reports was small. One could argue this was to emphasise women as survivors to grow men's masculinity and sense of ethno-nationalism to protect their territory (Houge, 2008).

Cornelissen (2006) argues that international media used simple framing as viewers got confused by watching reports that were told incorrectly. This was partly because of the different configurations of alliances across the conflict timeline and geographic areas. Simple framing of the conflict was seen as the solution to make the news understandable, which resulted in less objectivity by the parties (Cornelissen, 2006). It could be true that the framing of the conflict allowed a situation wherein rape camps were able to keep operating as false information was spread and the media was used to justify the violence.

2.5 Military Culture

Rape camps can only work as spatial technology if the perpetrators are willing to use sexual violence as a weapon. Therefore, the role of military culture will be studied.

In section 2.3, the role of women was discussed. Nevertheless, during the conflict, the process of ethnicising society is often related to its masculinisation (Fincham, 2024). Fincham (2024) explains how nationalistic languages were used to rationalise sexual repression while also encouraging and exercising masculine capability. During these times, militarisation celebrated hyper-masculinity. Nationalism and militarism were combined to reinforce the idea that the Motherland, women, and her body should be defended. An attack on women's bodies becomes an attack on the country since they are seen as the 'purity' of the country and are thus fiercely protected by men. The obligation to safeguard the country quickly evolved into the obligation to protect 'our' women in the context of ethnic warfare. An example of military rhetoric that is selected for public consumption to convince that the violence used was necessary was with slogans like: "Let those who are man enough, come with us" (Fincham, 2024, p.69).

Military culture is an important factor in keeping rape camps operating. It can be defined as "a specific form of institutional culture" (Wilson, 2008, p. 11). Attitudes towards violence often lack the collective coherence that military culture's institutional nature provides (Wilson, 2008). This thesis will study two aspects of military culture.

The first aspect is hierarchy. There is a strong vertical social order and power-related classification that allows orders and authority. Hierarchy creates behavioural control, meaning lower-ranked soldiers must listen to given orders (Wilson, 2008). The military has its own rituals, sexist humour, and sexual degradation, and it has been demonstrated to contribute to sexual violence during the war (Moncrief, 2017).

Peer pressure to conform to the group norms is also an indicator of the use of sexual violence (Moncrief, 2017). Soldiers have a strong incentive to conform to the norms that might be contrary to their personal preference behaviour, which eventually will become their own preferences. Wood (2018) explains that a soldier's preferences evolve during active deployment as a result of witnessing violence; their attitudes towards violence also change. Therefore, attitudes towards engaging in rape also change for soldiers (Wood, 2018). Hierarchy is influential in the socialisation process. Units have subcultures that have a great influence through the horizontal socialisation process, such as hazing (Wood, 2018). Those with more (in)formal power form the agents of socialisation and, therefore, determine expected norms and behaviour (Arkin & Dobrofsky, 1978). In the case of Bosnia, rape was authorised, and the use of sexual violence was rhetoric promoted (Wood, 2018). Since sense of authority is so strong in the military, order will be followed meaning orders of rape as well. This could be a factor why rape camps were able to be operational on long term as it is integrated into their military culture.

A second important element of military culture is the degree of (hyper-)masculinity. Masculinity can be defined in different terms, but Zurbriggen (2010) distinguished six dimensions of masculinity that are most important when it comes to rape. The first dimension is *feminine avoidance*. Zurbriggen argues that men avoid being seen as feminine and, therefore, devalue women. He argues that devaluing women is correlated with sexual aggression perpetration. The second dimension is *Status and achievement*. Researchers have recognised that objectification and dehumanisation precede violence and even genocide (Zurbriggen, 2010). Trophy-taking is a way of proving that a soldier has seen combat, proving that he is a soldier (Salzman, 1998). Using the enemy bodies is a form of trophy-taking. Bordello camps were designed to provide sex for returning soldiers (Salzman, 1998). The third dimension is *Toughness and aggression*. Zurbriggen (2010) argues that traditionally, men are required to use violence when needed, especially when at risk of violence. According to Zurbriggen (2010), this included sexual violence against women. The next dimension is *Restricted emotionality*. Zurbriggen states that men traditionally learn to minimise their emotions and maintain dominance. The inability to cope with negative emotions like anger and depression puts men at greater risk from committing rape. *Nonrelational sexuality* is the fifth dimension which is related to status and achievement, to prove their masculinity, having impersonal sexual relationships with many different women is a factor for rape. The last dimension Zurbriggen discusses is *Dominance/Power/Control*. For rape, a risk factor is the need to control others, power, distrust and the ability to manipulate (Zurbriggen, 2010).

Zurbriggen (2010) argues that masculinity becomes important during basic military training. This might be related to why the state military is more likely to use sexual violence as a weapon compared to armed groups due to a greater focus on masculinity during the socialisation process during military training.

Normalisation of sexual violence in military culture contributes to the use of sexual violence. Not only will soldiers follow orders to engage in the rapes, but soldiers are also more likely to voluntarily engage in it without orders as it is more integrated into their culture and is tolerated by their higher leaders. As Mühlhäuser (2017) argues, sexual violence feeds into the masculinity of the soldier, making it a vicious circle. This can contribute to the effectiveness of the rape camps as a spatial technology.

2.6 Existing perceptions

More recent research has focused on sexual violence against men in Bosnia. Not only women were raped, but men as well. Sexual violence against men is more underreported than against women. There are likely fewer cases of rape against men as there were no all-male rape camps as there were for women (Houge, 2008). However, according to Houge (2008) these rapes were not less planned. In concentration camps like Omarsaka that were mainly populated by men, men experienced rape or were forced to rape (wo)men, murder (United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, 1995), experience genital beatings, murder and forced castration (Houge, 2008). Forced castration is another strategic way to pursue ethnic cleansing, according to Houge (2008). Forced castration is a way to feminise the enemy and take away a man's power. It is a way to demonstrate that he is not only a lesser man, but that his ethnicity is also lesser than the enemy's ethnicity (Houge, 2008).

This thesis does not specifically focus on one specific gender, as the documents do not always clearly state which gender the case is about. Sexual violence was used against women and men, and therefore, males and females are included in the research, as the strategy of sexual violence for ethnic cleansing purposes affects everyone. However, most of the reported cases are about women, as there were more rape camps designed for women. Especially the strategy of impregnating women to provide babies with a Serbian nationality is targeted explicitly at biological women.

It is often thought of when thinking about perpetrators of sexual violence that these are all males. The assumption is that in war, survivors are women, perpetrators are men and women are the ones experiencing sexual violence (Ferizović, 2020). However, females can be perpetrators of violence as well (Weber, 2021). Ferizović (2020) wrote an article on female

perpetrators of international crimes and stated that women commit international crimes less frequently than men. Women have engaged in conflict-related violence in many wars, but it gets less attention from the media and scholars. In Bosnia, only women in leadership positions were prosecuted in the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia. This means that only one woman was prosecuted and found guilty for crimes against humanity. Other charges were genocide, complicity in genocide and violations of laws. For the domestic court of Bosnia, only ten women were brought to court, and two in Serbia (Ferizović, 2020).

There is little known about women participating in the use of sexual violence in Bosnia. Ferizović (2020) state that women are reported to have engaged in sexual violence in Bosnia. Indictments against some women in Bosnia include participation in rape and forcing male prisoners to rape female prisoners or forcing to surrender to soldiers to let them rape them, genital beatings/cutting, forcing prisoners (male and female) to touch each other and forcing nudity (Ferizović, 2020).

The conflict in former Yugoslavia was complex because multiple ethnic groups were involved, declaring their territories by forming their own state. The binary lines of who are survivors and who are perpetrators are not so binary. Weber (2021) explains the 'grey zone' of the victim-perpetrator binary:

In reality, there tends to be a 'grey zone' of people who became perpetrators after suffering crimes, who experienced harms after joining armed groups and became traumatised by violence or who were forced to commit crimes as part of self-defence groups or as child soldiers. (p.266).

Weber (2021) introduces the concept of the 'complex political victim and perpetrator'. This concept avoids binary views of seeing victims and perpetrators as good and bad, which is a way to justify mass political violence. The concepts provide a nuanced understanding of the relationships between political and structural violence, acknowledging many levels of accountability and victimisation in the experiences of offenders. Female perpetrators are often seen as survivors of forced recruitment or victims of (sexual) violence. This is partly true, as many female perpetrators were at the same time victims of violence. Because of this, a woman's conscious decision to become involved in violence and be a perpetrator (Weber, 2021) is overlooked.

It is important to bring light to the existing conceptions, as both males and females are victims and perpetrators, sometimes simultaneously. Acknowledging these matters is important to give a nuanced perspective.

2.7 Operationalisation

Based on the literature, there are a few main concepts central to this thesis. The two main concepts for this thesis are sexual violence and ethnic cleansing. Sexual violence is measured based on the definition given earlier in this chapter, namely: (a) rape, (b) sexual slavery, (c) forced prostitution, (d) forced pregnancy, (e) forced sterilisation/abortion, (f) sexual mutilation and lastly (g) sexual torture (Cohen & Nordås, 2014). In this thesis, the focus is mostly on rape as a form of sexual violence as this form is mostly reported in documents and the role of rape camps is to be studied. However, various form of sexual violence happened in the rape camps are considered in this thesis. Ethnic cleansing will be defined as having non-Serbs retreat from specific territories in Bosnia with a focus on the strategies of the creation of fear of rape, creating stigma, and impregnating women.

The concepts of ethnonationalism, media and military culture will be studied as well. Ethnonationalism will be researched in terms of the (re)identification and ethnic belonging. The role of media will be analysed by examining media coverage of the rape camps, media framing and (ethno-nationalistic) media campaigns. Military culture will be operationalised into the degree of hierarchy and the degree of masculinity based on the literature. These operationalisations will help answer the research questions and help analyse the role of rape camps as a strategic spatial technology.

The concepts of ethno-nationalism, media coverage and military culture are all intertwined with each other relating to sexual violence and rape camps. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the media was used to influence senses of ethno-nationalism, and awaken masculinity amongst men to protect their nation and women. Misinformation about the rape camps was spread to emphasise ethno-nationalism. The use of CRSV was justified by growing ethnonationalism, media coverage, and the existing military culture. It is important to understand these intertwined relations to understand the rape camps as a strategic weapon.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter will explain the research design chosen for this thesis. First, it will discuss the choice made for qualitative research and the case study method. Next, it will outline the data collection method and explain the data analysis method. Further, this chapter will describe the research process and its effect on the data, and lastly, it will discuss the ethics of this thesis.

3.1 Qualitative Research

This thesis uses qualitative research to gather data on the main concepts. The goal of this thesis is to understand the role of rape camps when it comes to the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing. Qualitative research is, therefore, more suitable than quantitative research. This thesis combines multiple methods to gather data for the analysis to answer the research question, as will be explained in the data collection section below.

Della Porta and Keating (2008) define four types of case studies: descriptive, interpretative, hypothesis-generating, and theory-evaluating. Each type of case study serves a different purpose. This thesis will use the interpretative type of case study. The interpretative case study uses the theoretical framework to explain a case study, and this can contribute to the refinement of theories (Della Porta & Keating, 2008). The data gathered in this thesis is used to evaluate the insights provided in the theoretical framework. There are no hypotheses tested in this research, and theories are not tested for the selected case of Bosnia.

The focus will be on the role of rape camps in general and not the role of one specific rape camp. In that way, this allows to analyse the general function of rape camps as a spatially strategic mechanism of the use of sexual violence for ethnic cleansing purposes in specific territories of Bosnia. These insights are not meant for generalisation purposes to other cases like Rwanda, but more for transferability purposes, meaning insights gained in this thesis may help recognise similarities and understand other similar cases.

The advantage of doing qualitative research is that it will provide a more in-depth understanding of the role of the rape camps in Bosnia as qualitative research allows to gain deeper insights social contexts without quantifying data (Oranga & Matere, 2023). Since the phenomenon of sexual violence is case-specific, general theories may not be entirely applicable, and generalisation to other CRSV cases is not possible, or which is not the goal of this thesis. Therefore, the theoretical framework written in Chapter 2 is not meant as a hard and set theory but rather as a framework to view Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Bosnia based on certain topics. Qualitative research provides flexibility in finding new data during the

analysis if new questions arise (Oranga & Matere, 2023). Doing qualitative research also allows for multiple data collection tools, like the use of interviews and secondary data (Mwita, 2022). One advantage of case study research mentioned by Starman (2013) is that case studies are helpful in examining the hypothesised role of causal mechanisms in a specific case and the capabilities for addressing causal complexity. Case studies are used to understand complex social issues (Oranga & Matere, 2023). Case study are therefore a helpful method to understand rape camps as a spatial technology.

The disadvantage of qualitative research is that data are generally seen as more subjective (Mwita, 2022). This is because the researcher analyses and interprets the data, making it difficult to replicate the research. One researcher can interpret the data differently from another researcher. This makes the data less reliable because replicating this research might bring different insights. However, since working with experts on gathering data, the interpretation of data will be less subjective. Another disadvantage is that the data is not generalisable due to a small sample, however this is not the goal of this thesis. Further, data may be influenced by the researcher's data because direct contact with subjects might affect data, as stated by Mwita (2022). Nevertheless, as will be explained in the data collection method below, the data will not be collected with directly involved survivors.

3.2 Data collection

Two types of data collection will be used for this research: expert interviews and additional secondary data.

Expert Interviews

This method's objective is to obtain information from knowledgeable experts about the topic to gain more in-depth insight into the matter and a more outsider's perspective on ethnic cleansing in Bosnia than would be obtained from data provided in testimonies (Bogner et al., 2009). Conducting expert interviews allows for the gathering of information that cannot be directly collected (Cresswell, 2008), as doing interviews with people directly involved is against the ethics of this thesis, as will be explained in section 3.5. Expert interviews save time and resources, allowing for targeted information (Bogner et al., 2009) as it allows the researcher to be in control of the line of questions (Cresswell, 2008).

There are some research limitations to doing expert interviews. The disadvantage of interviews is that they provide indirect filtered information from the interviewees (Cresswell,

2008). Besides, although expert interviews allow for credible, in-depth information, experts might have knowledge on a niche topic, and accessibility can be an issue as experts have busy schedules (Bogner et al., 2009). The expertise will help create an accurate picture of those times. Still, since the events happened 30 years ago, certain information is not always as reliable or noted about the events (Bogner et al., 2009).

Participants will be mainly conflict experts, researchers, journalists, and NGO representatives.

Conflict experts: The objective is to understand military strategies regarding ethnic cleansing, sexual violence as a weapon and spatial technologies. Questions will mainly be asked about the military culture, military strategies and other important aspects during the conflict.

Researchers: The objective is to gain an understanding of the existing mechanisms between ethnonationalism as a societal context relating to ethnic cleansing and the mechanisms behind it. Since researchers have conducted grounded research, this information will provide an in-depth understanding of the correlations between the concepts and mechanisms that will help this thesis comprehend the relationships.

Journalists: The objective is to understand media framing and the role of media in ethnic cleansing, promoting ethnonationalism and rape camps at that time from various newspapers. Journalists are able to provide more information on the impact of media framing that is related to the rise of ethnonationalism and the portrayal of rape camps in media.

NGOs: The objective is to gain knowledge about the work they do in response to the events of the rape camps. The NGOs that will be approached will have webpages on the topic and, therefore, have knowledge on the topic and can provide new insights in terms of human rights and legacy of the conflict.

For the interviews, a general topic list was created (see Appendix A) and will be adjusted for the interview based on their expertise.

Secondary Data

The aim of this collection method is to add additional data that would be impossible to collect as primary data due to time or accessibility limitations (Johnston, 2014). Besides, using secondary data will increase reliability as credible data collected by researchers and large organisations will be used (Johnston, 2014). This type of data can be more thoughtful compared to other data collection methods, as more attention is given to these documents (Cresswell, 2008), as these types of documents are often analysed. A disadvantage is that there is a lack of

control over the collected data, meaning questions can remain unanswered because the data is not specific to the needs of this thesis (Johnston, 2014).

This data collection method uses both unofficial and official documents as a source of materials (Johnston, 2014). The aim is to get a broader understanding based on how ethnic cleansing is portrayed from different levels. The sources of official documents are official reports and documents from the United Nations, the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia and witness statements. Furthermore, data gathered in published research papers will be used as well. The focus will be on gaining insight into the circumstances of the ethnic cleansing and actions taken in terms of the ethnic cleansing. These types of documents are often analysed, filtered or have high credibility. The unofficial sources are testimonies given in articles. The aim is to gather information from a more personal perspective about the ethnic cleansing and how the military and the ‘enemy’ were viewed and portrayed. These unofficial documents are often more unfiltered and less objective, and therefore provide more data on a personal level.

Four types of data will be collected: expert reports, research papers, court (sheet) information, and witness statements.

Expert reports: The objective of the expert reports to gather data about how rape camps work as spatial technology in combination with the rape camp policy.

Research papers: Research papers will be used to gather data about the mechanisms and roles of ethnonationalism, military culture, and the media.

Court (sheet) information: Court information was used as these provide insights into mainly military culture to examine hierarchy and masculinity and provide additional information about the rape strategy.

Witness statements: Witness statements will be used as they provide a good alternative to interviewing survivors or witnesses. The aim of the witness statements is to gather data about the life in the rape camps, the role of ethnicity and ethnic belonging throughout the war.

For the secondary data collection, documents are selected based on a few criteria: (1) reliability of the source, (2) accuracy of the data, (3) quality of the data and (4) relevancy of the data. These criteria are important for gathering relevant and reliable data. Secondary data is important as it will provide information about information that has already been analysed, providing valuable and well-grounded information (Taherdoost, 2021). The evaluation of these criteria will be discussed in the research process section.

3.3 Data analysis

Data will be analysed using thematic analysis in the MAXQDA 2024 programme (VERBI Software, 2021). Thematic analysis entails that the researcher identifies a set of common themes in the data (Terry et al., 2017). Thematic analysis allows for focusing on the meaning of the data compared to content analysis, for instance, and how this data relates to the research question (Terry et al., 2017). It is also an effective way to organise data (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Other analyses will not be performed as these will not help answer the research question.

The data will be coded first based on codes created based on the topic list used in the interviews (top-down coding) (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Afterwards, a bottom-up analysis will be used, where new codes will be created if necessary (open coding) (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Open coding is expected to be used as new insights emerge during expert interviews or while reading various data (Alhassan et al., 2023). For instance, the code *power of the military* was initially not created. However, during coding, pieces of data needed to be coded but did not fit the description of the other codes, and these could be added to the code military. Despite that, it was decided to be coded separately as it was too specific. Axial coding is used afterwards to combine similar under a couple of umbrella codes. Lastly, selective coding will be used to identify overarching themes based on the codes to help answer the research question(s) (Alhassan et al., 2023).

3.4 Research process

Both interview data and secondary data were collected. For the expert interviews, the experts were selected based on their knowledge about the conflict and one of the topics discussed in the theoretical framework. In total, seventeen experts were approached; however, only one expert wanted to participate in the research. Other experts either did not respond, did not want to participate or would break contact after a few emails. Due to the low response, secondary data became the main data collection method, and interview data became an additional data method. This has consequences for the results and the conclusion of the thesis, as not all questions can be answered by secondary data. This means that specific questions could not be asked, and results were more dependent on the existing data rather than on new collected data. The one expert interview was conducted online with A. Gospill. A. Gospill is currently busy with her PhD at the University of London School of Advanced Studies on wartime sexual violence against men in Bosnia (1992-1995) and Rwanda (1994) (Personal communication,

April 3, 2025). This data is valuable since there is less data available about male survivors. The interview lasted about 30 minutes, and the transcript can be found in Appendix B.

Secondary data was collected in two phases. First, data was selected based on the criteria discussed earlier in this chapter. A background check was done to ensure the *reliability* of the sources. The writers or organisations of the documents were to see if they had expertise in the field. Organisations like the United Nations and the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia are credible sources, since they are internationally recognised and their writers are experts in the field. Researchers were examined based on their work's H-index. Writers of articles that collected witness statements were examined based on their journalistic background. Of all authors, it was checked if their previous work related to the topic of the data. The *quality* of the data also relates to the reliability of the sources. It was examined how much recognition the writers got for their work and how often it was referenced or used in other work, as good quality work will likely be more often used or referenced. The *accuracy* of the data was examined by checking whether historical facts were true. Also, it was compared whether witness statements were similar to other witness statements and not too far out of line. The *relevancy* of the data was examined by how the data would add value to the thesis and answer the research questions.

After the first round of secondary data collection, the data was examined based on the codes used and a list of missing information was made. Based on the missing data, new secondary data was collected to gain more data. For secondary data, the full list of secondary data is presented in Appendix C.

In total, five witness statements were used and one book bundle with multiple witness statements, one expert report, five research papers and seven court (sheet) information. The document of the Case information sheet (*Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milošević*, n.d.) was initially included in the first data phase. However, after the first coding round, no codes were used, and therefore, this document was excluded as it seemed not to add extra valuable information to the data collection. Case information sheets were chosen, including a summary of the trial process, including pleas and judgments, instead of the separate documents also available. This choice was made because it included all the important information in one document, rather than long, separate documents with a lot of irrelevant information for this thesis.

During the data analysis, after coding the data, the codes were inspected and revealed that some codes were less frequently used than others. For instance, *media* was quoted less frequently, and new secondary data were added and coded to get the missing information. After that, a few codes (motivation, regret, public opinion, peer pressure) were recoded under

different codes, because they were either better suited or too infrequently coded to be a code on their own. The code's strategy and campaign were merged as the code's definitions were too similar, and separate codes would not add value to the final interpretation of the results. The final code book is available in Appendix D.

3.5 Ethics

Sexual violence is a sensitive topic with a great emotional dimension attached to it. Therefore, interviews with people who were directly involved will not be conducted because this will do more harm than good, since it might trigger trauma and psychological distress, as I am not trained to conduct these types of interviews. Interviewing these people might bring up old memories they are trying to overcome and let go of. These people have experienced trauma from the war itself and everything related to the thesis topic. Therefore, it is not justifiable to interview these people ethically since there is not enough time to gain their trust and establish strong connections with them. Handling these conversations without proper care would be unethical.

Therefore, expert interviews are a better alternative to get the information. These experts have valuable knowledge about the history of the camps, ethnonationalism, ethnic cleansing, military culture and sexual violence as a weapon. There are little to no risks attached to participating in the research compared to interviewing people who were involved in the conflict. This makes the risk-benefit ratio more favourable and makes conforming to the no-harm principle possible.

Anonymity and confidentiality are two important ethical considerations. The approached interviewees received an information letter and consent form (attached in Appendix E) beforehand about the purpose of this thesis and how their data will be handled in terms of confidentiality, anonymity and storage. Since expert interviews are conducted for this research, the names and some information about their work that makes them an expert are made public for credibility reasons. The interviewee was given the opportunity to stay anonymous if they wanted and written and verbal consent were obtained. The interviewee participated voluntarily and had knowledge about the opportunity to stop at any given moment during the interview or request to delete information afterwards. It is known that data (recordings and transcripts) will be stored for seven years in the university's RISS system. The data, both expert interviews and secondary data, are stored in a key file. The participants were also asked if they

were interested in receiving the final thesis. This research will prioritise the no-harm principle due to the sensitivity of the topic. Participants will not be placed in a way that will harm them.

Another point I want to touch on in terms of portraying is that the goal of this thesis is not to portray survivors and perpetrators in a certain light. The goal as a researcher is to stay as nuanced as possible in the narrative of the events and try to highlight both sides of the event by understanding the circumstances at that time. In complex wars like the war in former Yugoslavia, it is not as binary as who is a survivor and who is a perpetrator. I try to stay true to the case study of events. A quote from Staub (2006) demonstrates a key insight in the portrayal of survivors. 'In many instances of mass killing, there is some harm done by both sides, if not at the time of the mass killing or genocide, then over a longer historical period' (Staub, 2006, p. 881). This highlights that it is not a story about who is good and who is bad. Both sides are involved in the occurrence of ethnic cleansing.

A final ethical consideration is that the Dutch military has a history in Bosnia and is even present nowadays. Its role was criticised during the massacre of Srebrenica. I acknowledge that my Dutch identity might impact the research. However, since I will conduct expert interviews, it might have less impact on the research than when I speak with non-experts. My social position in this research is an outsider position. I have no connections or experience with the topics in the thesis, like the military, sexual violence or Bosnia.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

This chapter will present the findings based on the data, discuss the results by theme that emerged from the analysis and answer the sub-research questions in the discussion paragraphs. The themes are life in the (rape) camps, ethnic cleansing and rape policy, ethnic belonging, media, military power, and challenging existing perceptions.

Table 1 shows the frequency of the codes used in the analysis. In total, twenty codes were created and 410 pieces of data were coded. Some pieces of data are double-coded as multiple codes were fitting. The code *strategy* was most frequently used, and the code *victim-perpetrator circle* was the least used code. The code *quote* was also used in the analysis and was used eleven times. This code was created with the intention of using quotes for the result section.

Table 1. Frequency of codes

	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic belonging	21	5,12
Ethnic cleansing	32	7,80
Ethnonationalism	21	5,12
Forced or Voluntary	15	3,66
Gender (differences)	11	2,68
Geographically	10	2,44
Hierarchy	19	4,63
Life in the camps	42	10,24
Masculinity	23	5,61
Media	32	7,80
Media > International Media related	31	7,56
Military	20	4,88
Politics and Policy	20	4,88
Power of the Military	9	2,20
Rape camps role	22	5,37
Shame -> ethnic belonging	9	2,20
Shame rape	7	1,71
Strategy	50	12,20
Victim-perpetrator circle	5	1,22
Quote	11	2,68
TOTAL	410	100,00

4.1 Life in the (rape) camps

4.1.1 Analysis

People in the (rape) camps experienced mental and physical abuse in all different forms. It is important to understand life in the rape camps in order to understand rape camps as an effective weapon. The report of the UN Security Council stated that the living conditions were inhumane as food was scarce, medical attention was non-existent, toilet facilities were not present, and people were being buried alive next to mass graves (1994). These poor living conditions alone make ethnic cleansing possible, as Bosniaks who are imprisoned are exposed to life-threatening conditions, which can contribute to genocide.

Besides these living conditions, people feared the physical abuse. Physical abuse is part of the ethnic cleansing strategy. The camps alone allowed Bosniaks to be kept in central places and under authority. People were subjected to random beatings, which can increase the level of fear as it keeps people on edge. Rape was used as a tool for terror and Bosnian Serb armed forces were allowed to use rape whenever they wanted against whoever they wanted according to information given in a court sheet (*Prosecutor v. Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic*, n.d.). Beatings were done by either the camp's guards or by fellow prisoners, sometimes for pleasure or sometimes for interrogation purposes to gain information (UN Security Council, 1994).

The camps allowed to gain information through interrogations, and the physical abuse contributed to the likelihood of providing it. The interrogations were likely done to gain information about Bosnian Serb forces, political beliefs or family matters in order for Serbs to gain control. The torture and killings became worse if there were more Serb casualties during the war or the Bosnian Serb military had a setback (UN Security Council, 1994). Meaning Serbs would use torture and rape to gain any possible information that could help them in this war.

Especially women experienced rape as a form of abuse. These rapes did not always happen in the detention camps. Women were often taken to private households, separate camps or other places also known as rape camps (Iverson, 2014). In the report of the UN Security Council (1994) and the court sheet of *the Prosecutor v. Dragan Nikolić (n.d.)*, it was made clear that this often happened at night on a daily basis. Women from all ages were raped multiple times a day, sometimes in front of their children. The data showed that girls were aware of the rape and could see it in someone's eye when someone was raped, but they never really talked about it because they felt shame or did not want to share the burden.

Women did try to attack their rapist or escape the rape camps and brothels in various ways while other women intentionally asked to sleep in their rapist room in order to prevent being gang-raped. This demonstrated the willingness of survivors to overcome rapes. Some women tried to attack their rapist as self-defence or tried to escape the rape camps and brothels (Iverson, 2014). Some tried to hide themselves or smear dirt to hide their femininity. This demonstrates that women did try to escape the horrors of the rape camps but also had to engage in the rapes in order to prevent even more being subjected to rape.

Inside the rape camps, women were treated as property. Women were often obliged by their captors to do household chores in their private homes (United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, n.d.). Alternatively, women were sold to other men as well. For instance, in the Witness statement, witness 87 wrote that she and another woman were sold for 500 German marks. Judges of the International Criminal Court stated that the enslavement was sexual in nature (*Prosecutor v. Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovač and Zoran Vuković*, 2000). This shows that life in the rape camps were not only inhumane but the people inside of it were also seen as property or as slaves rather than as real people.

4.1.2 Discussion

The data indicates that rape camps were part of a larger network and policy. Survivors were part of this network and were treated as slaves. The survivors were easily taken and brought back from camp to camp, which indicates it was logistically well coordinated. The exchanges of women for money and resources throughout Bosnia could only be possible with an extensive and well-organised network. The next paragraph will go deeper into the data about the ethnic cleansing and rape policy. However, data revealed that life in the rape camps were inhumane and the people were well aware that they were part of this larger network of terror. This also made them aware that it was hard to escape this network.

4.2 The ethnic cleansing and rape policy

4.2.1 Analysis

The ethnic cleansing policy in Bosnia was a policy designed to purposefully remove other ethnic populations from certain territories in the forms of murder, torture, arbitrary arrest, rape, forcible removal and many other forms like attacks on hospitals and medical personnel. The policy was carried out by Serbs and supporters in Bosnia and Croatia to create the 'Greater Serbia' under the motivation of historic grievances, revenge and misguided nationalism, based

on the findings from the UN Security Council report (1994). The ethnic cleansing policy was executed under the name of the Ram plan. The plan was a strategic plan to maximise the effects of violence and terror against Bosniaks, and sexual violence became a strategy for ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, as it was an ethnonational conflict. Sexual violence was chosen as a strategy as it would bring terror to the population in order for them to leave the territories and never return. This process was set in motion as displaced Bosniaks started sharing stories of ethnic cleansing practices in parts of Bosnia, and the fleeing of civilians in nearby villages led to further panic amongst Bosniaks (*Prosecutor v. Zdravko Mucić, Hazim Delić, Esad Landžo & Zejnil Delalić*, n.d.).

Rape camps were created as a spatial technology to execute the ethnic cleansing policy on a larger scale. It was confirmed by the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia that rape served as an instrument of genocide (n.d.). The camps created by Bosnian Serbs were used for territorial and political control over the regions to remove other ethnic populations from that area to achieve ethnic cleansing. Bosnian Serb leadership carried out ethnic cleansing purposefully, systematically and required planning and coordination and people from all segments were involved, like the army, the police and civilians. For example, authorities who serve the function of protecting civilians, like local police forces, were taken over by Serbs and turned a blind eye to the sufferings of Bosniaks (*Prosecutor V. Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic*, n.d.). However, not every Serb supported the policy according to the UN Security Council (1994).

A systematic rape policy existed in certain areas, however it is unclear if it existed as an overall policy in all territories. The policy of ethnic cleansing was consistently carried out in the geographic area from northern Bosnia and areas in western and eastern Bosnia adjoining the Serb Krajina area in Croatia (UN Security Council, 1994). The detention camps were used to facilitate territorial and political control over a geographic region. It was a way to displace other ethnic groups from that area. The UN states that camps were part of a larger network, and prisoners were often moved from one camp to another (1994).

Using pre-existing facilities allowed Serbs quick control and allowed for quick displacement and taking over geographic regions. By creating a larger network of rape camps allowed ethnic cleansing practices to happen on a larger scale. Moreover, it provided the opportunity to keep the stories about the camps under control. For example, sometimes prisoners were moved to another camp when the media, the International Committee of the Red Cross or an inspection paid a visit (UN Security Council, 1994). This network allowed the opportunity to keep false images and stories about the rape camps going. They basically

controlled the narratives. This was also true by threatening women with murder if they would tell anyone about the rapes (*Prosecutor v. Dragan Zelenović*, n.d.).

In villages, rape camps were hastily formed to create control. The rape camps were places of torture, interrogation, mass killings, exchanges and holding prisoners. Humiliation and degradation of the detainees were purposefully used in almost all camps to exercise power. In the rape camps specifically, the aim was to harm women both physically and mentally so that they would not carry children anymore, or impregnate them with ‘Serb’ babies, or so they would be seen as unmarriageable (Iverson, 2014). Women who were raped were purposefully told that they will bear children with the perpetrator’s ethnicity (United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, 1993-2017b). Therefore, women were the main target.

Mostly young and virgin women were target for rape, together with educated women and prominent member of the community. Elderly women were also target for rape, showing that it was not only based on sexual desire but the rapes were rather tactical. Attacking this demographic was intended to spread confusion and cause fear and panic, resulting in fleeing. It was also seen as an attack on male Bosniaks because they failed to protect their women, bloodlines and territories.

To recap, rapes were part of the ethnic cleansing policy to achieve a ‘Greater Serbia’. By setting up a network of rape camps by using existing facilities like schools and hotels, it allowed to gain territorial control quick. In the rape camps specifically, the aim was to harm women from all ages both physically and mentally to achieve ethnic cleansing.

4.2.2 Discussion

So, to answer the first sub-question *how did sexual violence in the form of rape become a strategy of ethnic cleansing during the conflict in Bosnia?* One of the causes of the conflict is ethnic (in)security. As ethnic tensions started rising after the death of Tito, ethnic dominance started to mean ethnic security, and so feelings of ethnonationalism started rising. Serbia wanted to ethnically cleanse certain Bosnian territories to provide security for the Serbs living there and to create a ‘Greater’ Serbia.

Sexual violence can be used in wartime for ethnic cleansing purposes. A lot, if not all, of the different forms of sexual violence mentioned by Cohen & Nordås (2014) were used in the Bosnian War. Rape, however was the primary type of sexual violence that was used. Both men and women from all ages were raped during the war. As Stark and Wessells (2012) argued, sexual violence not only is used to protect someone’s own ethnic identity, but is also used to

attack other ethnic identities and their histories as well. CRSV not only accomplishes ethnic cleansing and cultural degradation, but it also accomplishes dominating territories, one of the main goals during the conflict. This is why rape camps were used as a spatial technology. In section 4.7 the role of rape camps specifically will be discussed in more details.

There are several intentions behind the rape. First one being that the rapes cause a lot of fear. People feared being raped, so when villagers heard stories from other Bosniaks about the rapes and the ethnic cleansing practices people started fleeing.

Another intention was that rape survivors were stigmatised and often excluded from their communities because of the rapes. Stigmatisation for men and women looks different. Raped men are seen as weaker as it questions their masculinity. Husbands or boyfriends from rape survivors were also seen as weaker as they failed to protect their women. For women, stigmatisation is looked at by communities and families as it is degrading for the survivor. Women are seen as being unsuitable for marriage, virility is undermined, and women experience much shame. The stigmatisation meant social exclusion and can contribute to ethnic cleansing.

The last intention was to get women pregnant with a Serb baby. The baby automatically takes on the father's nationality. There are stories that these children would later serve as Chetnik soldiers. However, this is incorrect. Mothers often put their babies up for adoption because they did not want a child born out of rape. Mothers felt too much shame. Not only was this a way to prevent ethnic reproduction as the child had not the Bosniak identity, the rapes also resulted in women later on would not have a child because of the physical and emotional trauma.

To summarise the discussion, sexual violence, specifically rape, became a strategy of ethnic cleansing as the consequences attached to being rape, so fear, social exclusion from communities and the consequences of the child being born out of rape were effective methods to not only dispopulate Bosniaks but also to prevent future reproduction of the ethnic group. Using sexual violence as a weapon for ethnic cleansing will not only be an attack on the people but also an attack on their ethnicity and culture as well. This strategy is more effective than other weapons to achieve ethnic cleansing.

4.3 Ethnic belonging

4.3.1 Analysis

Ethnic belonging became more important as the conflict started to develop. Bosnia was a multi-ethnic country where people from all different ethnicities used to live together in harmony but with the rape camps and the consequences of the rapes it was symbolically and physically demonstrated the (power) differences between the ethnic groups as part of the ethnic cleansing strategy. These consequences of the rapes led to shame experienced by survivors as they face exclusion from their community.

Before the conflict, people used to live together, and their daily lives were intertwined with all ethnicities. Relationships between neighbours and friends were ethnic and religious transcending, as one perpetrator admitted in his trial (*Prosecutor v. Duško Sikirica, Damir Došen, and Dragan, n.d.*). Power differences were not noticeable in daily lives, but this changed during the conflict. Symbolic buildings like mosques and catholic churches were destroyed. This can be viewed as a way of symbolically demonstrating power. This fed the increasing tensions between the ethnic groups, which increased feelings of ethnonationalism.

Ethnic differences became more and more important during the conflict. People began to re-identify themselves in various visible ways. Non-Serbs were instructed to identify themselves by wearing white bands around their arms (UN Security Council, 1994). In the camps, people were forced to sing Serb songs (*Prosecutor v. Miroslav Kvočka, Dragoljub Prcać, Milojica Kos, Mlado Radić & Zoran Žigić, n.d.*). Serbian songs were also sung by soldiers to intimidate Bosniak women with the purpose of declaring superiority (Leaf, 2011).

With the start of the conflict, people started not only to re-identify themselves but also to re-identify others. By using terms like ‘Chetniks’, perpetrators were re-identified based on how the community was treated (Leaf, 2011). The results of the conflict left many people wondering and struggling with their ethnic identity. People from different ethnicities used to live in harmony, but no longer. Ethnic differences became dividing lines between ethnic communities.

But also, rape was used as a tool to physically illustrate that one group had more power over the other group. A. Gospill (personal communication, April 3, 2025) explains that rapes created a power differences over ethnic groups. Bosnian Serbs were ordered to rape their former friends and neighbours which were part of the other ethnic group. The ultranationalist Serb troops attempted to seize and control Bosniak women's and girls' reproductive capacities by using forced pregnancy (Leaf, 2011). Women were held inside the rape camps until it was

too late for abortion. Rape was seen as an occupation of the womb. This is a way of destroying multi-ethnic communities in Bosnia due to power differences. Rape camps allowed to demonstrate these physical power differences and therefore destroy communities on a larger scale.

The destruction of the communities was visible in different ways. For instance, mothers often experienced a lot of shame. Women were often held inside the camps until it was too late for abortion. They felt shame to tell their partner and families about the rapes, afraid of their reactions and they felt ashamed that they could not love the child (Carpenter, 2009). Women were often happy if they were able to get an abortion (Berman, 2012). So, they would not have to deal with social exclusion. There is a lot of stigmatisation around being a rape survivor leaving survivors wondering where they belonged when they are expelled from their own ethnic community.

The new generation born out of rape was also affected by consequences of rape. The children born out of rapes experienced ethnic belonging as they could not find a community they would fit in. Some were made fun of because they did not have a father (Koster, 2019). Some children feel hate towards their fathers as they think of them as monsters. Children felt shame as well because they believed that they reminded their mothers of the perpetrators. Some children only find out later that they were born out of rape. Some mothers were afraid that their children would leave them if they found out the truth. There is financial aid for women available who are survivors of the rapes, however some women feel too ashamed to apply for the aid. A lot of the children who were born out of rape were put for adoption. These babies experienced identity issues as they did not speak their native language, did not know anything about their culture or struggled with the fact that their mother was raped. Some fathers would not acknowledge that they are the father (Koster, 2019).

To sum up, questions about people's ethnic belonging during and after the conflict became prominent. Ethnic differences became clear during the war, and these differences were highlighted and demonstrated both physically and symbolically. Shame was experienced by both mothers and children born out of rape. Struggling with consequences of rape question of ethnic belonging within the communities became notable. Ethnonationalism and ethnic belonging became more and more important during war, but the main struggles of ethnic belonging became clear after someone was raped and had to deal with the social consequences of being excluded.

4.3.2 Discussion

To provide an answer with the previous data analysis to the second sub-question which was: *What was the role of ethnonationalism in the rise of the rape camps?*

Ethnonationalism played a big role in the rise of the rape camps, since it is one of the main characteristics of the conflict. As mentioned earlier rapes served mainly three purposes to achieve ethnic cleansing, (1) fear, (2) stigmatisation of survivors and (3) impregnation. With the process of re-identification before and during the war, the concept of othering, which was discussed in chapter 2.3, became more distinct. These new ways of identification confused a lot of people and caused them to struggle with their identity and their ethnic belonging. Othering was expressed physically and symbolically. Rape camps was the most prominent way to express othering and physically creating a border between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

The ethnic cleansing policy was made to express great power differences between the ethnic identities. Rapes physically demonstrated who had power over someone else’s body. Ethnonationalism played a big factor in the rise of rape camps as it was a way to express these differences on a large scale. As rape camps were largely located in the northern, western and eastern regions of Bosnia. The goal of the ethnic cleansing policy was to secure territories for Serbs and thus provide ethno-national security. Rape camps were an instrument to achieve this ethno-national security.

As a sense of ethnonationalism began to rise, the need for reproduction also became a national issue. Women were called out to make more babies with quotes like “Two for themselves, three for Bosnia” (Snyder et al., 2006, p. 189). Reproduction of the other ethnicity was unwanted, so impregnating women with babies of your own ethnicity offered an opportunity to stop this reproduction. As discussed in the theoretical framework, mothers are the ones projecting the identity on the children. However, the data revealed that mothers who were raped often did not want the child as mothers ascribed the other ethnicity towards the children. This contributes to the rise of the rape camps as the stop of the reproduction of the other group could be achieved as well as keeping reproduction of their own group going. Thus, achieving ethnic cleansing.

In conclusion, the growing importance of expressing ethno-nationalistic differences (othering) played a role in the rise of the rape camps. Rapes are a way to physically express power differences. The rape camps offered to demonstrate and achieve these power differences on a large scale. Besides, the rape camps offered to stop the reproduction of the other group. Rape camps thus served as a spatial technology to achieve ethnic cleansing and ethnonationalism played a big role in the rise of the rape camps as the rape camps would offer

the ability to demonstrate othering, bordering and achieve ethnic cleansing throughout larger parts of Bosnia causing great wanted impact for the Serb ethnicity.

4.4 Media

4.4.1 Analysis

The media covered the rape camps and the framing of it becomes important as it is deciding the messages that are spread about the rapes towards to civilians and the rest of the world. This is influential for keeping the rape camps operational.

The media coverages about the rapes in Bosnia were very present Media outlets frequently reported on Bosniak rape survivors and the consequences they faced from family abandonment, spousal abuse, and social exclusion (Carpenter, 2009). Giving birth to a rape baby with Serb nationality would prove a woman was raped (Leaf, 2011). Media attention towards these topics would increase the likelihood of social exclusion by the community as the larger audience saw the survivor as an outsider of the ethnic community and increase stigmatisation. In contrast, the Bosniak media could use the survivors' testimonies as propaganda to justify the violence used by the government against Serbs and to enrich senses of ethnonationalism or masculinity. However, these stories could not compete with the rape babies stories.

The media mainly wanted stories about rape babies. Articles about the strategy of pregnancies and rapes already started in August 1992. The ethnicity of the baby became very important in media framing, and writers were often insensitive towards the survivors Articles often included passages like: “systematic rape by the Serbs with the deliberate intention of impregnating Muslim women with unwanted Christian babies” (Carpenter, 2009, p.40). Or another example, a reporter would walk into a hospital or collective centre and would ask for rape survivors who also preferable had a baby born out of rape (Carpenter, 2009). They were looking for the ideal survivor. These news stories would sell better than other rape stories as ethnicity was a selling factor as ethnic belonging became more and more important during the war.

It could be argued that the media glorified the survivors of the rape camps because these stories would sell better than selling reality. Western media was accused of extremely sexualising survivors. (Carpenter, 2009). Descriptions of survivors included physical description and sexualised elements. For example: “The 15-year-old pulled her thin blouse over her full breasts and said, 'The Chetnik penetrated me many times’” (Carpenter, 2009, p. 34).

When there are no more pictures of photogenic crying women, then the media attention on the nation becomes less worth because other stories do not sell as well as Carpenter (2009) also states in her research

News stories about the refugees were hard to sell to editors as the refugee situation did not look like refugees with empty stares from countries like Rwanda or Somalia. The stereotype of refugees did not match with refugees from Yugoslavia. There were a few news stories about the reality of the situation. A photo director for USA Today noted that it was very difficult to capture the depth of the suffering of the refugees (Ricchiardi, 1996). Photos taken in camps looked like normal life situations, for example, children chasing kittens and playing at the playground. Journalists saw survivors planting flowers and holding Saturday dances. While these everyday routines became important for stability and strength for the survivors, it made it harder to convince people that action was needed (Ricchiardi, 1996). This made that the media contributed to allowing rape camps to operate. The media would benefit from the stories of survivors, and even if the media tried to sell the real stories, it would be too difficult to convince people of the inhumane lives the people were living inside the camps.

The media also contributed by justifying the rapes in their narratives and language choices. A dataset used by Carpenter (2009) on the reportings of rape and forced pregnancies followed the binary narrative where Serbs are most frequently named as perpetrators and Muslims labelled as survivors of rape. Only a few reports mention Muslims as perpetrators and Serbs or Croats as survivors. In all the cases, survivors and perpetrators were from different ethnicities. Rapes within their own ethnic groups were hardly reported in the media (Carpenter, 2009). By only mentioning the other ethnicity as the perpetrators, the violence used in the rape camps becomes justified by the public as it is only known to them that the other groups are mentioned as perpetrators while their own group is only mentioned as survivors.

The policy of ethnic cleansing and mass rapes of Bosniaks were repeatedly used in press and television (Von Ragenfeld-Feldman, 1997). The media decided which stories they want to cover and publish to the public. By the selection of programmes and propaganda used, the violence against Bosniaks became justified by Serb civilians. Carpenter (2009) states in her research that the media can serve as propaganda channels. Television transmitters were taken over, resulting in some networks no longer being available, and only programmes insinuating that non-Serbs wanted to start a war and were forming a threat were televised (UN Security Council, 1994). Anti-non-Serb propaganda was joined by the media. Non-Serbian leaders were criticised by the media and claimed Bosniaks were preparing for genocide against the Serbs (UN Security Council, 1994). The radios broadcasted anti-Muslim and anti-Croat

propaganda (*Prosecutor v. Miroslav Kvočka, Dragoljub Prcać, Milojica Kos, Mlađo Radić & Zoran Žigić*, n.d.). Another illustration of this is that in an interview, an eastern European bureau chief for The Los Angeles Times stated that Serbs were willing to tell lies about the well-planned campaigns (Ricchiardi, 1996). This could also mean that the well-planned strategy of the use of rape camps were not fairly discussed in the media. This could influence the public opinion about the rape camps as the ethnic groups have the ability to decide which messages they want to spread.

To summarise, the media glorified the rape camps stories as they would benefit from the selling's as specific stories would sell better than other news stories which would highlight the real situation inside the camps. Besides, the media was used to propagandise as television and radio programs were taken over. Stories about the rapes and the camps were covered while ethnic framing became more prominent in media framing. The media and propaganda could be used to justify the violence used against the other ethnic group. This combined made media having a role in allowing rape camps to be operational.

4.4.2 Discussion

With these finding the third sub-question can be answered which was: *What was the role of the media relating to the use of sexual violence in the rape camps?* The media is a powerful tool to promote ethnonationalism and frame the narrative. The media was a tool used to justify violence against other ethnic groups, as it was framed as 'self-defence'. Local media, like television and radio broadcasts, were taken over to propagandise civilians. Certain media channels or programmes were blocked because they belonged to the other ethnicity, and misinformation was broadcast. This contributed to enriching feelings of ethnonationalism and justifying the events in the rape camps.

Secondly, the media preferred to publish glorified or blossomed stories about the rape camps than selling real stories. Houge (2008) argued that the focus on women in media was partly to increase the sense of masculinity and the sense of ethnonationalism. These stories would sell better, but is can also been seen as a way of approving rape camps. News reports wanted stories about babies born out of rape. They addressed the possible consequences survivors experience, like family abandonment, spousal abuse and social exclusion. In the framing of these stories, the baby's ethnicity became very important. Articles explicitly mention the ethnicity of the perpetrators, the survivor, and call the babies 'unwanted Christian babies'. Media were looking for the ideal survivors of female survivors who were raped and had a baby born out of it. These news stories would sell better as the other news stories were

more difficult to sell, as refugees did not look like stereotypical refugees from countries like Rwanda. Photos made in detention camps looked like ordinary life pictures and were therefore hard to sell with the written stories about them, because it made it harder to convince people about the events happening. Because of this, the media extremely sexualised survivors with graphic descriptions included about the survivors and the events to increase media attention.

As discussed in the theoretical framework, Cornelissen (2006) explained the role of international media, and the findings confirmed this. International media's narratives about the conflict were rather simplistic. Rumours, myths, and inaccuracies were not rectified, and reporters were too quick with their reporting. Across the war timeline and geographical regions, international media frequently convey messages that reinforce the government's current stance in favour of alliances. This contributed to rape camps being able to operate as a spatial technology as false information was spread with a simplistic narrative about the war and possibly also about the rape camps.

To conclude, the media were a powerful instrument during the conflict and had its indirect influence in rape camps being able to operate as a spatial technology. The media was used to propagandise and to justify the violence used against other ethnic groups as 'self-defence'. The rapes and rape camps were frequently reported in the news with clear messages attached to it. Media framing was prominent as the ethnicity of the perpetrators and survivors was explicitly mentioned. This obviously happened in propaganda, but also in the news stories for international media. False information was not corrected and therefore spread more. This all fuelled ethnic tensions and hate against each other. Rape stories increased from November 1992 till February 1993, but dropped afterwards as a result as survivors and their families were silenced and threatened with murder (Salzman, 1998), because of these media inaccuracies and media framing likely allowed the rapes to continue and ethnic cleansing policies as international media framed the conflict as a civil war between ethnic groups and did not try to rectify inaccuracies. Coverages about the (rape) camps shows daily images that were difficult to convince people that intervention was needed as the people in the camps did not look like the stereotypical refugees. In addition, with sexualising of females and wanting more rape baby stories as these would sell better, it can be perceived as media also approved indirectly the events as it would benefit them. This allowed for rape camps to keep operating in the beginning of the war and keep expanding its network to serve as a spatial technology.

4.5 Military power

4.5.1 Analysis

The military culture contributed to keeping rape camps running and made sure every soldier would participate in the rapes. Two important dimensions of the culture are hierarchy and masculinity. The hierarchy created a system where lower-ranked soldiers had to follow the orders of higher-ranked soldiers. As a commander, you have the duty to prevent law violations and carry a lot of responsibility. This meant that the commander has the duty to punish those who committed a violation of the rape policy. In cases where commanders did not order the rapes, the commanders still silently approved of the rapes. The military in Bosnia was given free rein over anyone whenever they. This kept the rapes going. Therefore, the United Nations Security Council sees commanders who give orders to commit a crime as equally responsible as the person committing it (1994). If superiors had information about the crime and did not take measures to prevent the crime or repress it, they could be held accountable because it kept the rape system going. This confirms the existing hierarchy in the military culture and how influential this was.

The other contributing dimension of the military culture is masculinity. Soldiers had to prove their masculinity. One way of proving that was by participating in the rapes. Soldiers who refused to rape women were considered to lack masculinity. One incident was from a Serb Soldier who was given the opportunity to reclaim his manhood by proving his worth by raping Bosniak women or otherwise he was not seen as a real Chetnik (Leaf, 2011). Raping women became a way of proving someone's masculinity. It is a symbolic act of conquering ethnic groups and proving their own ethnic identity. When they failed to show their manhood, the soldiers were not seen as real Serbs. This also demonstrates the importance of ethnic belonging during those times, wanting to fit in with your own ethnic group.

This sense of masculinity was already learned during training. Rape was also used to initiate Serb soldiers into the Serb Army community as it bonded new recruits. One soldier also state that the rape was also used to strengthen the bond between soldiers besides to function to perform ethnic cleansing (Leaf, 2011).

Masculinity was also exercised by indicating ownership over the women. Women who were raped were sometimes expected to serve to soldiers and women were treated as property. Examples are women who were sold for money, were ordered to dance naked while being watched and were constantly humiliated (*Prosecutor v. Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic*, n.d.). Soldiers controlled the lives of these women.

So, hierarchy and masculinity created a system and environment for rapes to happen and were expected to happen. Because Serbs forces had the power to set up and maintain detention camp women were taken from detention camps to be raped in other rape camp locations. The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia concluded that the forces were completely aware of system in the rape camps they participated in (*Prosecutor V. Kunarac, Kovac & Vukovic*, n.d.).

4.5.2 Discussion

These findings will help answer the last sub-question which was: *What was the role of military culture in the use of sexual violence in the rape camps?* The military culture is characterised by hierarchy and masculinity. In the early stages of the conflict, the data revealed that there was some confusion about the military structures, partly because some soldiers did not wear their uniform or ranking emblems. Because of this stage of confusion, the military had free play in what they wanted to do to whomever. Confusion meant that rape camps could be set up anywhere and people could not hold other people accountable. This created the opportunity to let rapes happen. As rapes were being reported by town residents, the local police often did not intervene and even participated in the rape. This shows that all levels of state authority were involved in the rapes.

The military culture created circumstances to let rape continue to happen in the rape camps. Commanders in charge were often aware of rape happening and silently approved it or some commanders gave orders to rape people. This maintained rapes in the rape camps and also contributed to it becoming part of the military culture at the time.

Soldiers experienced pressure to conform to the military culture. There are incidents found in the data of soldiers who initially did not wanted to rape someone, but did it because they did not want to be preserved as feminine or not as a real Serb. The rapes were sometimes part of the initiation process to become a soldier by proving their masculinity. Different dimensions of masculinities were introduced in the theoretical framework by Zubriggen (2010). One was based on status and achievement. Trophy-taking is a way to prove one's masculinity. This was precisely what was expected from new soldiers to become part of their new community. By initiating new soldiers rape became part of the military culture and contributed to maintaining rape as part of the strategy and allowing rapes to happen in the rape camps.

Some soldiers saw it as their duty to participate in the rapes, likely because of the rape policy and the existing rape culture as part of the military culture. It is a way to also

symbolically feminise the enemy, because it demonstrates that the enemy failed to protect their women, as women are seen as reproducers of the country and their culture, and therefore failed to protect their ethnicity.

Thus, the military has a culture that is characterised by hierarchy and masculinity which created a system where rapes were expected to happen. The military culture encouraged soldiers to participate in the rapes either by orders for commanders or because of their sense of masculinity. From the beginning, new recruits had to rape someone to prove their masculinity. Masculinity has different dimensions defined by Zurbriggen (2010) and most, if not all, can be related back to the rapes in Bosnia. Status and achievement, Feminine Avoidance, and Dominance are most prominent as soldiers were scared to be seen as feminine if they did not participate and rape was used to exercise power over someone physically and symbolically. The military culture thus provided a situation in where sexual violence was normalised and this gave rape camps the opportunity to keep operating but more importantly this existing military culture made it possible for rape camps to serve as a spatial technology and be effective from the beginning.

4.6 Challenging perceptions

4.6.1 Analysis

Female and male survivors had different experiences in rape camps as sexual violence used against men looked different from that used against women. Men often experienced performing forced rape, genital beatings, genital mutilation and castration. Moreover, men more often died as a result of their injuries compared to women. It is debated if rape against men is less planned compared to rape against women according to A. Gospill (Personal communication, April 3, 2025). The types and methods used against men happened in places and structures where rapes against women were more strategically planned. But rape against men was often overlooked in most cases. Women were the primary targets for ethnic cleansing because of the ethno-nationalist motive of reproduction. However, the findings do not say anything whether the rapes against men were as strategically planned compared to the rapes against women.

This does not mean that ethnic cleansing could not be achieved by targeting men. The societal impact of the rapes on men and women were differently. In patriarchal societies men are more stigmatised as they are seen as weaker when they are raped and it questions their masculinity. There is also less support available for men after a conflict than for women. There has been pressure on survivors living in Republika Srpska in Bosnia not to speak out, according

to A. Gospill (Personal communication, April 3, 2025). Thereupon, ethnic cleansing can be achieved by targeting men as well as their communities, stigmatising them with feelings of femininity and weakness. So, rape camps will help in the process of targeting both men and women with the consequences of stigmatisation.

The findings also revealed insights into the role of women as perpetrators. Women also served their roles in the military on all levels of the conflict. Women were snipers, and some participated in the horrific events in detention centres in many regions of Bosnia (Carpenter, 2009). Data revealed that two females killed a man in a wheelchair and even wanted to kill a baby because he was crying (Remembering Srebrenica, 2017). Women were also active in organisations, either in support of the nationalist agenda, while others were active in cross ethnic organisations against the war (Carpenter, 2009). This shows that women were involved in the rape practices and were part of the network of rape camps as perpetrators on all levels.

4.6.2 Discussion

The existing perceptions about the conflict in Bosnia are not completely correct. Serbs are often perceived as the perpetrators and the Bosniaks as the survivors. However, unloyal Serbs were also survivors of the practices by their own government. Bosnia also performed similar practices, not on the same scale, but that does not take away the fact that they were innocent. Media coverage was often one-sided as reporters were too quickly in their coverages and did not try to rectify their mistakes and myths about the rapes. This contributed to existing perceptions and narratives that are still present to this day.

The existing perceptions discussed in chapter 2.6 were nuanced by the data, revealing insights about the role of women as perpetrators, male survivors of sexual violence and intra group rape and motivations. All these nuanced finding does not necessarily contribute knowledge about how rape camps work as a spatial technology or has an influence on the use of sexual violence as a weapon. But it does reveal that perpetrators are often victims as well of injustice or violence.

The theoretical framework introduced the concept of the complex victim-perpetrator circle. Becoming a perpetrator can result from being a victim. Data revealed that one man confessed he rape a Bosniak, since he thought Muslims were raping Serb women (Berman, 2012). He joined for revenge (Berman, 2012). One story is about a man saying that he was under orders, and Serbs would kill his family if he did not participate (Remembering Srebrenica, 2017). Another story is about a policeman guarding prisoners, who did his job because he was unable to handle the chaos of war and the death of his son (*Prosecutor v.*

Dragan Nikolić, n.d.). These testimonies highlight that personal motivations to engage in the rapes differ and show that the perpetrators are also victims of the rape policy.

The gendered perceptions about males as perpetrators and females as survivors are also not accurate. Females were also involved in various levels of the war as soldiers, in leadership positions or in NGOs. Males are often not recognised as survivors of sexual violence. Because male survivors experience more stigmatisation, they come forward less frequently as survivors. Even current research pays little attention to these facts.

It is important to put more attention towards these existing narratives, as it might help overcome the stigma that both survivors and perpetrators deal with. The rape camps have an effect on survivors on the long term and it is visible in the stigma that is still present thirty years later. This shows that rape camps were effective as a spatial technology to achieve ethnic cleansing.

4.7 The role of rape camps

Now that all the sub-questions have been discussed, the main research question can be answered. The main research question was: *What was the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing used by the state military in Bosnia during the war between 1992-1995?* The rape camps served a significant role in achieve ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. As discussed in one of the sub-questions, sexual violence became part of the strategy to achieve ethnic cleansing. The Ram plan, a plan that was not proven to exist but has a strong lead to it, was made by Serb officers of the Yugoslav National Army to displace non-Serbs from certain territories. Based on the minutes about the Ram plan, specifically women and children were targeted for rape as it would crush Bosniaks' desire for battle and their morale. Rape camps were set up as part of policies made by Serbian governments to create an 'ethnically pure' state. Rape camps required coordination and everyone could be target for it.

The rape camps established new geopolitical landscapes. Mostly the northern, western and eastern regions were targets of the ethnic cleansing policy as these areas are linked to Serbia proper and Serb-inhabited areas in Bosnia (Remembering Srebrenica, 2021). Setting up rape camps is a spatially organised way to create spatial segregation between ethnic groups. Ethnic cleansing is the process of imposing a desired power structure that uses violence to realise the new ideological geopolitical landscapes and maps an idealised and exclusive political identity onto a specific territory.

Rape camps are logistically a powerful tool to execute ethnic cleansing practices through rape more effectively. This way, ethno-national security can be more quickly achieved. By using existing facilities like school, hotels and private homes, rape camps were quickly established. However, setting up concentration camps seemed to be important as both men and women were gathered in one central place which made it logistically easier to take someone to the rape camp and bring them back as it is often mentioned women were taken at night and brought back the next morning.

Because rape camps were part of a larger network, it created to opportunities to keep rape camps in operation as people could be moved more quickly to other camps. When inspections of the Red Cross or media visits happened, the camps were perceived to be more sanitised or less crowded than they actually were. This false image allowed the camps to keep operating.

The data give not much insights on what would ethnic cleansing would be like if rape camps were not set up. Nevertheless, based on the concepts studied it can be hypothesised that if rape camps were not that quickly set up or not set up at all, the ethnic cleansing practices through rape or sexual violence was probably less used as a strategic weapon and the other strategies, like murder or starvation, to achieve ethnic cleansing would probably be more used strategically by the state. It could be argued that other ethnic cleansing strategies, like starvation, might work as a spatial technology to achieve it quickly, as it is seen in other wars. However, the long-term effect might be less as there will be less cultural and social destruction.

The strategy of rape is used as a strategy that allows perpetrators to use the weapon with more long-term effects of ethnic cleansing as more it might create more generational trauma. Survivors of rape are sometimes too traumatised to carry a child which stops the reproduction or children born out of rape do not know much about their ethnicity and struggle with their ethnic belonging which result in a stop of cultural reproduction. Besides, because of stigma attached to being a rape survivor, survivors were excluded from their ethnic communities. Rape camps are effective in destroying social structures. This all would likely be less the case with the other ways of performing ethnic cleansing like starvation, destruction of property and murder, were only used as a weapon during the conflict and might leave less of a long-term trauma compared to the trauma of being raped. This all makes rape camps being effective as a spatial technology to achieve ethnic cleansing.

4.8 Strengths, limitations and suggestions for future research

The aim of this thesis was to understand the role of rape camps as a spatial technology in the use of sexual violence to achieve ethnic cleansing in the case study of Bosnia. It examined rape camps as a spatial technology and examined the role of ethnonationalism, media and military culture in the use of rape as a weapon.

The findings of this thesis do align with the information provided in the theoretical framework. The data gathered was built on the information discussed in the theoretical framework and together provided the answers to the research questions. This thesis contributes to our understanding of the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing in the case study of Bosnia. Although the conclusions are not generalisable to other cases, the concepts that are central in this thesis are important to consider in similar studies of sexual violence and ethnic cleansing.

The research process did not go as planned. Initially, this thesis would be based on more expert interviews. However, only one interview was conducted due to a low response rate. This made secondary data the main method of data collection. For this thesis, there was an expectation for low responsibility because of the topic of this thesis, so beforehand, it was taken into account that the research might have to change. This meant that different questions should be asked, and as a researcher, you have less control over the data, and the data did not always align with the specific needs of the thesis. However, the secondary data offered reliable and valuable information as well, and therefore, the conclusions given in this thesis are valuable.

For instance, with finding data about the media coverage about the rape camps. Bosnian newspapers were approached for interviews without any success to learn about rape camps in the media. However, secondary data offered broader data about binary languages used and framing. Interviews might not collect this data as Bosnian journalists might be biased about their role and framing.

A limitation of this thesis is that it is challenging to draw a conclusion about what the conflict would look like if rape camps had not been used as a spatial technology. There is little existing research on rape camps as a spatial technology, so there is little research to base upon. Because conflicts are so context-specific, it can be difficult to provide an answer to that. Therefore, the suggestions made in the conclusion are hypothetical and not to be proven by data.

A strength of this thesis is that it contributes to the gap in the literature since there is little research on rape camps as a spatial technology. This thesis found out how

ethnonationalism contributed to the rise of the rape camps and how media and military culture created circumstances that would allow rape camps to keep operating. More in-depth research on these separate topics is suggested to gain more insights. These concepts are also suggestions for future research that could serve as a basis for research on other spatial technologies in ethnic cleansing conflicts.

The complex victim-perpetrator explanation can contribute to our understanding of the motivations of perpetrators to engage in violent behaviour. Future research on concepts like the *double victim syndrome* by Oberschall (2007), which is the denial of violence used by one's own group and the victimhood of the enemy group, and *multiple victimhood* by Brewer (2010) which argues that groups often can be labelled as victims and perpetrators in circumstance of violence, would add insights into the complexity of the victim-perpetrator narratives. Although this would not necessarily add insights to rape camps as a spatial technology, it can contribute to the understanding of intra-group cohesion and therefore have an effect on the sense of ethnonationalism. As it was found in this thesis that media is influential in framing, it could be expected that media could use these narratives to enhance feelings of ethnonationalism.

A further study with more focus on gender is suggested. There is a growing field on research on female perpetrators and male survivors of rape. However, hardly any research has been done on this topic in Bosnia. More insights on this topic would likely help overcome the stigmatisation these people experience, as it is not always recognised nowadays. According to the United Nations (2022), Conflict-Related Sexual Violence is a type of gender-based violence which is motivated by power disparities and gender inequality in a society. For instance, the UN Women's RESPECT Framework for Preventing Violence Against Women (2019) identifies factors ranging from individual to societal levels, such as early exposure to domestic violence, extreme power imbalances in partnerships, discriminatory laws regarding marriage, divorce, and child custody, and institutional gender discrimination. Patriarchy and other types of systemic gender inequality are major contributors to the commission of sexual violence associated with conflicts. Around the world, troops, traffickers, terrorists, and family members sexually abuse women and girls during conflicts. Recently, it has come to light that the use of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence to punish or emasculate men, boys, and people with different sexual orientations, gender identities, gender expressions, and sex features is often motivated by gender norms (UN Women's RESPECT Framework for Preventing Violence Against Women, 2019). More research on gender inequality and gender norms as a basis for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence is necessary to gain more understanding.

By understanding how spatial technologies work in ethnic cleansing conflicts, practical implications could be drawn from the research to recognise these strategies or influential concepts in earlier stages of the conflict. This could be crucial in interventions, durable settlements or peace-building practices. Although it is too early to give concrete practical implications, the concepts studied in this thesis are concepts to consider in these practices. More research on spatial technologies is needed to give more well-grounded practical implications.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

The conflict in Bosnia is characterised by ethnonationalism. As part of the breakup of former Yugoslavia, multiple countries, including Bosnia, declared independence. The Serb minority in Bosnia felt threatened as their ethnic security might be affected by this. Because of this, the Serbia and Serb forces started the war in Bosnia to create a 'Greater Serbia' with ethnic cleansing practices. This is when sexual violence was used as a strategic weapon, as a way to prevent the reproduction of the enemy's group. Rape camps allowed to demonstrate power differences both physically as symbolically and this was effective for ethnic cleansing practices.

Rape camps were part of this strategy and serves as a spatial technology. The rape camps were part of a larger network and required a logistic organisation but offered a way to organise the rapes throughout the target regions in Bosnia spatially. Rape camps could be established quickly as they used pre-existing building like schools, hotels and private homes as locations to rape survivors. This made the policy quick and effective from the beginning.

In this thesis the role of ethnonationalism, media and military culture were studied to help understand rape camps as a spatial technology. The ultimate goal of the ethnic cleansing policy was to achieve ethno-nationalist security. The growing importance of ethnonationalism before and during the war led to the rise of the rape camps in order to express othering. Additionally, the growing ethnonationalism was used to justify the violence against the other ethnicity.

Media indirectly justified the rape camps. Media served as propaganda channels and preferred to publish stories of rape survivors and rape babies over stories that would tell the reality as it was too difficult to convince people that action was needed. This allowed the rape camps to keep operating. Lastly, the military culture kept the practices of the rape camps going. Because of hierarchy and pressure to conform to the culture or to prove your masculinity, rapes were integrated into the military culture.

This all allowed for the use of rape camps as a spatial technology and provided the circumstance for rape camps to work quickly and have long term effects. Without the role of ethnonationalism, media or military culture played in the rape camps, rapes would likely be less used as it was likely less justified under different circumstances of these concepts. Rape camps would likely serve a more minor role as a spatial technology to achieve ethnic cleansing and other strategies would take preferences.

As spatial technologies offer the ability to execute ethnic cleansing practices quickly on a large scale, it can be a dangerous strategy in modern wars and therefore should continue to be studied. Even nowadays survivors of the rape camps and the children born out of rape experience the consequences of stigmatisation showing that rape camps were effective on long term as a spatial technology.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Topic List

Sexual Violence

- What types were used during the Bosnian War
 - o Rape main form?
- How did this become a strategy for ethnic cleansing?
- How did they get civilian approval?

Ethnic cleansing

- Why ethnic cleansing? How did it get to this point?
- How to go from Brotherhood and Unity (Tito) to this point?
- Reconciliation
- Public opinions
- Politics

Ethno-nationalism

- Degree of ethnonationalism
 - o Before the war and after
- Ethnic belonging
- Othering
- Role for the rape camps
- Politics
- Narratives in daily lives (school, work, etc)

Media

- Influence campaigns
 - o How did these look like?
- how got support from civilians for the rape camps

Military Culture

- Hierarchy
 - o Who was in charge?
- Masculinity
 - o Feminine avoidance
 - o Status and achievement
 - o Toughness and aggression
 - o Restricted emotionality
 - o Nonrelational sexuality
 - o Dominance / power / control
- Socialisation
 - o Horizontal/vertical?
 - o Agents
 - o Peer pressure
- Influence on sexual violence/rape
- How was the military culture in the camps

- Role (higher) leaders

Rape Camps

What was the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a weapon for ethnic cleansing in the rape camps in Bosnia used by the state military during the war in former Yugoslavia?

- Enforcement?
- Rise of rape camps?
- Memory of rape camps

Appendix B: Interview Transcript

Interviewer (00:00)

Okay, so maybe you can tell, yeah, tell me a little bit about your research and about like men specifically.

Expert Anna Gospill (00:08)

Yeah, so um, as you may know, I'm in the final stages of my PhD research and I'm looking at primarily male victims of sexual violence during conflict in both Bosnia and in Rwanda and my research centres on how the international criminal reports after conflict, so the international criminal for Yugoslavia and at the international criminal tribunal for Rwanda, like how they conceptualised victimhood and what their processes were, inset of giving male victim, specifically a voice through which to talk about what happened to them. And so this brings in questions of how sexual violence is defined broadly and how it was used in both contexts. Um, but my mainof sources are based on the criminal transcripts from the criminal tribunals

Interviewer (01:07)

And do you know any reasons why men are under-researched?

Expert Anna Gospill (01:11)

Yeah, there's quite a few. I think one key one is related to stigma. So a man coming forward as the victim of sexual violence is not necessarily like they could be stigmatised by the community by the society, you've seen this a lot in patriarchal societies and also in international conflict, it's something that if you come forward as a victim be seen, sort of the weaker that makes sense. There's a few different schools of research, so I was actually read about this the other day. There's some people say that institute deserve, so take to be homosexualized as a result of what's happened to you and that cities were spearheaded by a researcher called Sandesh Simaacamaro. Who wrote in Amid 2000s I think, and that's an interesting thought where, but then other people are saying, well, that's actually not really, you can't be homosexualized by what's happened to you. So maybe it's kind of you sort of perceive your gender differently. You perceive yours sexual activity differently in these sorts of things, so that's the relates to stigma, and to the lack of willingness of individual men to come forward. And then, secondly, there's also a question of how data is being reported. Um, so in my research, I find that in Bosnia, they were asking questions earlier related to male victims of sexual violence, whereas, in Rwanda, it wasn't really addressed, and this relates to how the courts the forms of themselves and conceptualise sexual violence more broadly if that makes sense.

Interviewer (03:06)

Yeah

Expert Anna Gospill (03:07)

So I don't know you've probably come across the [inaudible] report to the final reports of the UN commission of experts.

Interviewer (03:14)

Yeah, yeah, I was looking at it earlier today

Expert Anna Gospill (03:17)

Yeah, I don't think you're like anyone, yeah, even the front of lengthy beginning to understand sexual violence against men as a particular phenomenon, so asking questions to men related to the violence that they suffered. Um, however, you often find with a lot of NGOs and other people who are so is the front line humanitarian organisations for sometimes helping victims after conflict or during conflict that they're not fully equipped to deal with both men and women. So sometimes it's a funding issue where they get funding, and it's designed only to support women, sometimes it's a knowledge issue where they just don't have the resources available to deal with male victims because they have a specific type that need different slightly different needs to women sometimes and yeah, I get a stigma thing comes in because if someone isn't presenting themselves as the victim of sexual violence and you still have to know the right questions to ask To find out what they've actually suffered, and then, if you don't go beyond that initial question, then don't realise what that they suffer from sexual violence. So this kind of multilayer to this.

Interviewer (04:38)

And do you know if the stigmatisation looks different for men than for women?

Expert Anna Gospill (04:46)

Yeah, so um again, looking to the cases that I've so far have researched, there is often more support available for women after conflict. So if a woman comes forward and says I've been raped like obviously there isn't enough support available in any cases and often women are left without the correct support and without correct treatments. But there's often a little bit more support available for women in these cases. So you find sometimes that men are just not recognised that it's convicted as things are changing and there are more recent conflicts, you see a slightly more recognition, um, that male are victims of sexual vioence, and if you look at [inaudible] Tracking UN policy, you can see a slight inclusion of man as it goes, but they're still a reluctance to put it men firmly on that agenda and gives them like the first oh, see it supports women yeah.

Interviewer (05:52)

Okay, and what type of sexual violence is mostly used against men?

Expert Anna Gospill (05:56)

It also think that positivists, oh sorry.

Interviewer (06:00)

Oh, you can continue

Expert Anna Gospill (06:02)

Okay, that is a good question, okay, and also a very broad question. So I think what I tried to do with my work is to kind of um, uncover, the different forms of violence used, but I think broadly, we define sexual violence as anything that attacks what I used anything that attacks genitalia or sexual organs so often with men it presents differently to women, right. So with women it is often rape for some kind of bodily humiliation these kinds of a more obvious forms of sexual violence. In a way with men, it might become manifest, quite differently. So, um, you have incidences, this happens a lot in Bosnia, I'm sure you hear read about it as well, but of um, the testicles being hit and genital people beating genitals. Um, so castrated and genital mutilation is very common, you also has incidents, it's obviously of anal rape, which does happen as well. And then, I think with both men and women, something that is often less talked about is sort of psychological sexual trauma, so threat to sexual violence, forcing someone to watch. There in Bosnia, this happened by lot, forcing someone to watch that mother or their sister or their wife being raped and they couldn't intervene to help and these sorts of like it's not maybe not the direct victim a lot of the time, but you are you're experiencing this sort of psychological at a trip over as well. And for both men in these cases, yeah.

Interviewer (08:05)

And do you know did this only happen in like the concentration camps or also in private homes or schools or any places?

Expert Anna Gospill (08:18)

Yeah, so I actually wrote my master thesis on detention centres and concentration camps in Bosnia. I think from... So i know about this a little bit as well. So from what I understand, it happens in, at least in the Bosnian context, which is obviously what we both have in common right, it happens primarily in detention camps, and therefore it was so easy to hide in some ways, because it's happening away from the public eye, it's happening in sort of a part of the regime of torture, it's not necessary happening as a stand alone act um and then obviously you have the rape camps for women as well, however, that's not to say the last thing, a weekly [inaudible due to bad connection] So it happened right?

Expert Anna Gospill (09:12)

So I think the psychological trauma, it's mentioning where it probably happened [[inaudible due to bad connection] in public. A north has [inaudible] part of this whole regime of violence, right? So it's not just happening in one place it iss happening across the whole society, but it's more concentrated, perhaps in the detention camps etcetera.

Interviewer (09:45)

And how do you think um conflict related sexual violence....

Expert Anna Gospill (09:49)

Sorry, is my internet cutting out slightly?

Interviewer (09:50)

Yeah, I don't know if it's my internet or yours. Let me look.

Expert Anna Gospill (09:56)

I'm going to try to just move downstairs if that's alright?

Interviewer (10:00)

Okay, yeah

Expert Anna Gospill (10:02)

My husband's also on a workcall. Sometimes our internet goes a bit glitchy. So i'm going downstairs. It will be a second.

Interviewer (10:08)

No, it's okay, that's fine.

Expert Anna Gospill (10:48)

I'm sorry about that.

Interviewer (10:49)

No, no, it's fine. Hopefully this works better um, so yeah, why did you think conflicts related sexual violence became a strategy for ethnic cleansing in the case of Bosnia?

Expert Anna Gospill (11:08)

Ooh, um, I think, so it's a good question and it's a difficult question to answer. I think, um, I think partly because it was an ethnonational conflict, so, in some ways they were trying to dismantle the whole, so that's an actual group, so in case the genocide often I often see cases of mass rape as well. I think what was maybe unusual in the Bosnia case or was less common. That it was so strategic and well-thought-out, especially against women. I also think that because part of the purpose of the rape camps was to impregnate women, right? To continue to keep them there until they had to give birth so that is another reason why it became so prevalent, I think. Because you've had this idea that in order for more for women... so the ethnonational identities to be diluted, you had to then impregnate women with the baby from the other fruit breaks and that was kind of one of the things. I do also think that there was quite some attention on Bosnia. So we know a lot more about the

Bosnia conflict than we do of some others. So I think it has been used in other conflicts as well. It's just not maybe as well-researched and also, um, the Bosnian conflict was happening in Europe, so it was very well publicised, so we know a lot about what was going on at the time.

Interviewer (12:52)

Yeah.

Expert Anna Gospill (12:54)

Yes, I don't really know if that answered your question, but I think the maybe one of the key things is that it wasn't a to the genocidal conflict is like eradication, it was more by trying to eradicate but also also impregnate, so the two kind side by side if.... That yeah.

Interviewer (13:13)

And do you think like men or like sexual violence against men was as strategically planned as for women or...?

Expert Anna Gospill (13:22)

Um, I think... I don't know if it was as strategically planned, but it was certainly condoned and allowed to happen on multiple scales. I think what was like what was planned, was the incarceration of them. And the torture of man and whether that torture was sexual violence or not, it's... Yes, I think what you do see across multiple camps however, is a common strategies of sexual violence against men. So, for example, castration, partial castration was very common, beating on the genitals was very common and also forcing men, think people who were both in prison together to commit sexual acts on each other was very common and again forcing men to watch their wives be raped for this it's very common so I think while it maybe wasn't strategic plan to see this commonality of like the types of methods used and also the structures were obviously a place, so, yes, I feel like assessing these kinds of questions is it was very tricky, because no one really writes it, very rarely to find a document that sort of outlines it.

Interviewer (14:53)

Yeah, and do you know how it affects, the sexual violence, the men's masculinity? We talked about stigmazation a little bit, but maybe you can elaborate on that?

Expert Anna Gospill (15:05)

Yeah, um, so I think it's like a whole body of research talking about masculinities and sexual violence. One person that I would recommend you read is someone called Philip Schultz, and he wrote a really good article. He wrote about Uganda but his first theories are relevant. And he writes about something called displacement of gender personhood, so it's not necessarily that someone is losing their masculinity, it's just reforming and they have a different idea of what their gender, their sexuality in all that means to them. I think in a

context like Bosnia, where you'd have quite a patriarchal hierarchical society. Um, I think then it can sort of, create this... Well, I mean, I'm not sure that challenges masculinity, but it probably reframes masculinity. And it's kind of creates a, this is yeah, it's a challenge for men to kind of understand who they are now if that makes sense. So, it's very like a lot very elite here, it's complicated. I think in contexts like Rwanda, where it was also very patriarchal society, I think that part of the problem was that men just did not come forward, so they didn't want to talk about it. And just such a denied that it happened ever and part of that related to the sense of masculinity that a man can never be raped, a man shouldn't be raped. A man should protect. Look after their family and if a man is raped, he's not doing that. So I think it causes this like... So questioning sense of like what masculine identity is. There's another paper, actually, that I.. You have probably read it, but I can't remember who it's by, but I've got it upstairs, it was particularly about Bosnia, actually, um, and about saying different interpretation of the masculinity after conflict, so I'll forward that to you as well.

Interviewer (17:34)

Oh yeah, thank you that would be nice. And do you think sexual violence also influence a men's sense of nationalism that maybe with putting othering into practice, more or...?

Expert Anna Gospill (17:49)+

Yeah, I think that especially in cases of war you have this like combination of like power, masculinity, that the militarised masculinity, the sense of like I could do this, and I think maybe, I'm not sure. How it would affect the victims of such, but I think, um, for the perpetrators, it probably gave the more sense of power over their victims and the aim of it was often to create more sense of vulnerability for the victims. So it's it's hard to so know exactly how it affected the victims. But for the perpetrators, I think you gave sense of like I, we could do this to and we want to do it too. And therefore we are more powerful which I creates a ... It keeps going right if you're feeling like that. For the victims themselves I imagine I mean, there's very few interviews have been done directly with victims in this particular case, um, and I think it probably created like a sort of feelings of where do I belong. Kind of tying with the whole sense of masculinity agenda, right? You...The whole sense of what is happening, what's going on is fundamentally shifted.

Interviewer (19:18)

And I was reading earlier this week about kind of the victim-perpetrators circle, I think it was one of the witness statements or something like that. Where a man, I think it was a man, said he also committed sexual violence as an act of revenge, do you know anything about it?

Expert Anna Gospill (19:40)

I don't know much. I know it happens and I know that so people when some violence has been perpetrated against them, I go and perpetrate the violence but I don't know specifically what you're referring to but think it's actually a very interesting tweet to kind of to consider as well. Yeah, this cycle of violence does continue.

Interviewer (20:02)

Yeah, yeah, okay. I will also look deeper into that. I was reading it earlier this week and I was like, it's also interesting to know more about that. Yeah, um, maybe let's talk a little bit about media coverage, I don't know how much you know about it.

Expert Anna Gospill (20:19)

I know a little, not very much, yeah, but I maybe yeah, see if I can.

Interviewer (20:24)

So um, maybe I don't know for specifically for men, how many victims stories were known at the times while what's happening?

Expert Anna Gospill (20:34)

I think very few honestly, um, I think. Also, with women more and more has come out and you kind of look at the big anniversaries of the end of the war in Bosnia and the massacres. So you see more media coverage or discussion so while there was discussion at the time. Lots of discussion at the time, but these anniversaries are keeping it in the news. So to speak, I think there was very little specifically about sexual violence against men, there was one article written about concentration camps by Ed Fullingmen, I think, and he was one of the first reporters were the first reporters to go over to Bosnia and see the concentration camps there um, but of course, what the regime was showing him was very like, the sanitised camp straight. So this is the cleaner camp, it was a camp that was... I mean, the photos are horrific, but they were, yeah, so it was kind of we have to question a little bit like what kind of news was able to come out at the time and after and I know that women started to be reported on um during the conflict and then afterwards, as well, both and with men I think it was much later that things happened.

I know that this an article came out in The Guardian in 2011. That wasn't about Bosnia, but it was about Uganda and that kind of seeing this like 'wow this actually happens to men as well', and I remember reading it when it came out being like 'Oh I never thought about this' and then of course, so I think a lot of people probably had the same experience that I did where I like..

It wasn't not much discussed and then, yeah, it still isn't to me if you look at media reports of conflict. I mean, there's still some things in the media and he still speak just a little bit, but it's really compared to sexual violence against women. It's very much lower

Interviewer (22:46)

Yeah, and I think during, like those times there was a lot of misinformation about like the camps in general.

Expert Anna Gospill (22:54)

For sure.

Interviewer (22:55)

Yeah i saw, I think one of the articles said that there were also showing misinformation about who was raping who.

Expert Anna Gospill (23:03)

Yeah.

Interviewer (23:05)

Yeah, it's so interesting like that. People believe that and because I understand if you don't know, then you believe anything the media will say but yeah, it is so interesting.

Expert Anna Gospill (23:16)

Yeah, I think it's interesting to look back at some of it. I did a little bit of that for my master's. And I guess some of this is really bad reporting.

Interviewer (23:24)

Yeah, yeah, but also yeah, it's difficult at those times. There's so little media coverage only and then it's twisted so yeah.

Expert Anna Gospill (23:35)

Yeah.

Interviewer (23:37)

Yeah, it's crazy to think about it now.

Expert Anna Gospill (23:43)

And also interesting to think about it in terms of like what is in the media now so you you can read stuff about what's going on in, you know, speak about Sudan yesterday and I was like, okay, but what are we actually like what's actually going on compared to what's in the newspaper. So you're going to kind of reflect on these things as well, I think

Interviewer (24:02)

Yeah, yeah, and I also saw in an article that later numbers were dropping because victims were also silenced. Do you know anything about that ?

Expert Anna Gospill (24:14)

Not so much, I think that um... One key issues I haven't mentioned yet with sexual violence against men. If the men often died as the results of their injuries, so a lot of men were

silenced, but not necessarily deliberately if that makes sense. So it was more like they died as a result of torture or during the torture, and that was being perpetrated.

So, um, yeah, and I know that there's been pressure on victims not to speak out, especially victims living in Republika Srpska within Bosnia, so I know a lot of genocide denial, I think is probably the key problem in victim speaking out now and also during the time, but I don't know so much about like victim speaking out over time, yeah.

Interviewer (25:06)

Okay. Um I think this all cover my questions. I don't know if you have anything to elaborate more on it on the topic

Expert Anna Gospill (25:16)

Now, I mean, um, I'm really happy to hear... Happy is probably the wrong word. I am really pleased somebody is working on this because i think it is super important obviously, and yeah, I think that I was able to answer some of your questions.

Interviewer (25:30)

Yeah, sure, yeah.

Expert Anna Gospill (25:31)

But I was looking, how did you find out? How did you find me?

Interviewer (25:37)

I don't know exactly, I think I just because I think you also worked for it in Amsterdam in the genocides institute, I think I found you, and maybe LinkedIn or something like that.

Expert Anna Gospill (25:52)

Like obviously, they don't know how much like it online, like I to have some and I'm quite happy that you found me, but I wasn't sure yeah, I was in Amsterdam I did my master, the university of Amsterdam and then I was back at the NIOD, the genocide studies for um, a month, a couple of years ago and fellowship.

Interviewer (26:12)

Yeah, I think that's how I found you. Yeah.

Expert Anna Gospill (26:19)

Oh yeah, I would be interested to stay in touch if you have any further questions, so do let me know I'm happy to save the answer. And I hope that it was somewhat useful. I realising bubble a bit so that oh yeah.

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Appendix D: Final Codebook

Code overview

1 Quote
2 Gender (differences)
3 Victim-perpetrator circle
4 Rape camps role
5 Geographically
6 Strategy
7 Politics and Policy
8 Ethnonationalism
9 Ethnic belonging
10 Shame -> ethnic belonging
11 Media
12 International Media related
13 Military
14 Power of the Military
15 Forced or Voluntary
16 Masculinity
17 Hierarchy
18 Ethnic cleansing
19 Life in the camps

1 Quote

This code was created to gather quotes that could be used in the result section.

2 Gender (differences)

This code includes data related to gender differences experienced during the conflict.

3 Victim-perpetrator circle

This code includes data related to the possible victim-perpetrator circle.

4 Rape camps role

This code includes data that reveals the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence for ethnic cleansing.

5 Geographically

This code includes geographical data related to ethnic cleansing strategies.

6 Strategy

This code includes data showing whether sexual violence was used strategically and how.

7 Politics and Policy

This code includes data about the politics and policies related to the use of sexual violence and ethnic cleansing.

8 Ethnonationalism

This code includes data about ethnonationalism-related motivation, given reasons or explanations.

9 Ethnic belonging

This code includes data about the ethnic belonging of victims and perpetrators and how this was influenced.

10 Shame -> ethnic belonging

This code includes data about the possible shame experienced related to ethnic belonging of children born out of rape.

11 Media

This code includes data about media coverage of the conflict, specifically sexual violence and ethnic cleansing.

12 International Media related

This code includes data related to international media coverage.

13 Military

This code includes general data related to the military

14 Power of the Military

This code includes data showing the power the military had over civilians.

15 Forced or Voluntary

This code includes data about engaging in CRSV that was forced by a higher authority or was done voluntarily.

15 Masculinity

This code includes data about masculinity.

16 Hierarchy

This code includes data about the hierarchy structures present in the military.

18 Ethnic cleansing

This code includes data related to ethnic cleansing in general.

19 Life in the camps

This code includes data about the life in the rape camps.

Appendix E: Information Letter and Consent Form

Information Letter for participation in the master thesis about the role of rape camps in Bosnia

Dear participant,

I am Marcella Holmer, a master's student in Human Geography specialisation Conflict, Territories and Identities. Currently, I am busy conducting research for my master's thesis. The thesis is about the role of rape camps in the use of sexual violence as a strategic weapon for ethnic cleansing. The case study of Bosnia will be used to gain insights. The aim of the study is to gain insights into the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. The insights will contribute to current research on the topic and will provide insights to understand the role of rape camps as an organised way of committing ethnic cleansing, with a focus on the aspects of ethnonationalism, media coverage and military culture to understand this way of security seeking through the use of sexual violence. You are asked to participate in an expert interview, which will last approximately 30-60 minutes, to help you gain these needed insights.

Privacy

In this research, your name and signature will be collected to record your consent to participate in this study. For the current research, it is also necessary to make audio recordings, which will be converted to text. Parts of this text can be used in the thesis.

The information you provide for the current research purposes is treated with the utmost care and is accessible to the student (Marcella) and the supervisor (Francesco Cologna) only. Because this is an expert interview, with an agreement, your name will be used in the research for citation purposes. A short introduction about you will be written to explain why you are an expert on the topic. This means that the data can be traced back to you. If you do not want, your name can be anonymised by calling you expert (number).

Data will be stored in a key file; This key file is password-protected. Only the student (Marcella) has access to this information. Data will be stored and deleted after 7 years of completion of the thesis (standard procedure). This is only for archival purposes.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to participate, there will be no consequences. If, during the course of the research, you wish to withdraw your consent and terminate your participation, you have every right to do so any all times. Again, there will be no adverse consequences for you.

Compensation or remuneration

There is no compensation or remuneration for the participant.

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about this study, please contact the researcher responsible Marcella Holmer.

With kind regards,
Marcella Holmer
marcella.holmer@ru.nl

+31636489906

Radboud University

Consent Form for participating in the master thesis about the role of rape camps in Bosnia

I herewith confirm that:

- I have been satisfactorily informed of the study both orally and in writing;
- I have read the written information
- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study;
- My questions have been answered satisfactorily;
- I have been given ample opportunity to think carefully about participating in the study;
- I participate in the study entirely on a voluntary basis.

I understand that:

- I have the right to withdraw my consent at any time without having to state reasons and without fear of adverse consequences by contacting marcella.holmer@ru.nl;
- I have the right to withdraw my consent for the (further) processing of my data; my personal data are processed in accordance with the applicable European privacy regulations;
- My personal data are processed in accordance with the privacy statement of Radboud University (<https://www.ru.nl/english/vaste-onderdelen/privacy-statement-radboud-university/>);

I agree that:

- The signed consent form is kept till 7 years after completion of the thesis;
- My name will be used in the thesis;
- The research data will be kept for a maximum of 7 years after completion of the research.

In addition, I also give / do not give explicit permission (circle your answer):

- For processing the following data about me: YES/NO
- To make audio recordings: YES/NO

I understand that in order to participate in the study, I must answer ‘YES’ to all of the above points.

I agree to participate in the study.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

To be completed by the researcher:

I, the undersigned, herewith declare that the above-mentioned person has been informed both in writing and orally about the above-mentioned research.

Name: Marcella Holmer

Position/research institute: Radboud University, Faculty of Management, Master's Human Geography specialisation Conflict, Territories and Identities

Signature:

Date: