

Bachelor's thesis in Peace and Conflict Studies

Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community?

A comparative study of Moldova and Ukraine



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

Author: Jim Jormanainen

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Bachelor's thesis, 15 credits

Fall semester 2018

Supervisor: Chiara Ruffa

Word count: 15998

Table of Content

- 1. Introduction 2**
 - 1.1 Previous research, gaps and findings 4
- 2. Theory 6**
 - 2.1 Proposed theory 6
 - 2.2 Arrow diagram 8
- 3. Research design 9**
 - 3.1 Independent Variable 9
 - 3.2 Dependent Variables 10
 - 3.3 Mediating Variables 13
 - 3.4 Comparative Design and Method of Analysis 15
 - 3.5 Cases and Case Selection Strategy 16
 - 3.6 Empirical Data and Source Criticism 17
- 4. Results and Interpretation 18**
 - 4.1 Independent Variable 18
 - 4.2 Mediating Variables 19
 - 4.3 Dependent Variable 24
 - 4.4 Discussion 28
 - 4.5 Alternative Explanations 31
 - 4.6 Limitations of the Research Design 33
- 5. Summary and Conclusion 35**
- 6. Bibliography 37**

List of tables, figures and maps

- Figure 1. Arrow Diagram 8
- Table 1. Data 26
- Table 2. Control variables 33

1. Introduction

A person who is “different” is often judged for how the person looks, talks, dresses or behaves. However, being “different” in these ways are rarely illegal or punishable by death. Though, being “different” due to having a different sexual orientation or gender identity often is, even in countries at peace. In 2017 it was still illegal to be homosexual in 73 countries and punishable by death in eight, and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT), issues continued to be one of the most overlooked subjects in most fields (ILGA 2017). One area that especially lacks the focus on LGBT issues, and what effects armed conflict has on these, is the field of peace and conflict research.

There have been progressive developments in recent years, both academically and in practice. Early contributions focused on women in conflict which was then generalised upon the LGBT community (Moore & Barner 2017; 35ff). This developed to a focus on wartime rape and atrocities committed against LGBT by armed forces, such as displacement, human rights violations, war crimes and social cleansing (ibid, Wilkinson & Langlois 2014; 249ff) However, the previous research have mainly been normative and focusing on aid and intervention. More recent empirical studies focus on the warring parties, structural violence and the use of rape as a weapon, however, not the individual level and the question of why a civilian chooses to target violence against LGBT in times of conflict (Moore & Barner 2017, Haley-Nelson 2005, Wilkinson & Langlois 2014). This is a subject that has yet to be explored and there are previous theories on other issues that may help explain the reasons. Structural change due to the war might cause an individual to feel the need to exert power over another to address their own grievances (Roberts et al. 2013; 31) or changes in the opportunity cost encourages homophobia to be acted upon (HDT 2015; 3, Ratsimbaharison 2011; 271f). To explore this and contribute to the existing literature the following research question must be asked “*How does armed conflict affect violence committed by civilians against the LGBT community?*”.

The argument made in this paper is that when armed conflict occurs a war economy is created to generate a system that focus all its resources and effectiveness on defeating its enemy. Since resources are drawn from areas of less importance to the war, such as education, employment and healthcare which affects an individual directly, a need to protect oneself and one's livelihood arise. This decreases the threshold for committing hate crimes against weaker groups competing for the same resources. Furthermore, the LGBT community becomes a

target because pre-existing hostilities amplifies and violence against them comes with less consequences.

The contribution made in this thesis is both empirical and theoretical. Many organisations and scholars claim that the LGBT community is particularly vulnerable to catastrophe and conflict. This is a logical assumption because LGBT experience violence even in peaceful societies. Few empirical studies have been conducted on what kinds of violence against LGBT increases and a mechanism is needed for why they are targeted by civilians, which this thesis hope contribute with. Many organisations and scholars also request more research on what the effects of armed conflict are (Moore & Barner 2017; 35f, HDT 2015). This thesis distinguishes between physical and psychological violence and if only certain types of violence increases, these problems can be addressed in peace agreements and post-conflict processes. If it can be pinpointed what causes what, there is a greater chance of breaking the sequence of events and ensure human rights, both during and after conflict. Hence, the contribution is theoretical since it builds on previous theories to explain why the LGBT community is targeted, which could then be generalised upon other vulnerable communities and secure human rights, not only for LGBT but for others as well. The case studies presented further below sheds light on how the process worked in those cases, which contributes to the empirics. Furthermore, violence committed by civilians against LGBT specifically, has been overlooked and to the author's knowledge no other study has been done with the focus on how structural changes due to armed conflict creates circumstances for civilian individuals to commit violence against the LGBT with impunity. This study is by no means a cure for these issues, however if a causal mechanism can be somewhat established it could be a starting point for future research and policymaking.

This chapter continues with a more in-depth discussion on what research has been conducted as well as the findings and gaps in the existing literature. The research gap will also be argued for and presented in this section. Subsequently, the theoretical framework will be presented and discussed in greater detail, explaining how armed conflict results in targeted violence against the LGBT community. The research design opted for in this paper will be presented and motivated for in chapter 3, as well as operationalisations, case selection, and sources for the empirical material. The following chapter presents the analysis, results and a discussion about the comparison between Moldova and Ukraine as well as alternative explanations. The findings suggest that armed conflict increases violence against the LGBT community due to

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018.
Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

the structural changes and decrease in opportunity cost, especially violent attacks seem to increase while psychological violence decrease. The final chapter concludes with a short summary and suggestions for future research.

1.1 Previous Research, Gaps and Findings

There is an emerging body of literature on this specific topic, however it is still very scarce, and few empirical studies have been conducted. The body of literature on violence against the LGBT community mostly focus on aid interventions in disaster situations, not conflict. There is also a data scarcity partly because organisations and institutions rarely bother to register sexual orientation when conducting their work (Moore & Barner 2017; 33). Nevertheless, most studies conducted are normative, argues for LGBT inclusiveness and focus on sexual minorities and international humanitarian law.

The previous focus has mostly been on heterosexual men and women, which have then been generalised onto the LGBT community. This probably has to do with the data scarcity and the enormous amount of hidden numbers, due to the LGBT community being vastly hidden in many countries (ibid; 35). This is probably because of generally hostile attitudes and mistrust in the police which keeps LGBT closeted and afraid of reporting violations (Devine et al. 2018).

According to claims from international organisations it appears that LGBT individuals are more common victims of human rights violations, war crimes, displacement, migration and social cleansing when observing international human rights violations on a national level. These claims have also gained support by empirical studies, however there is still a lack of research on what kind of violence increases due to conflict, differences between perpetrators and motivations (Wilkinson & Langlois 2014; 249ff, Moore & Barner, 2017; 35). Haley-Nelson (2005) found that sexual violence against lesbians do increase during armed conflict because women's bodies are often used as weapons of war and they needed to be cleansed from homosexuality. The study did not specify if psychological or physical increased and the gays, bisexuals and transgender are not accounted for.

The previous research on violence against sexual minorities in times of armed conflict have a primarily focused on women and sexual violence, which have then been generalised upon the LGBT community (Moore & Barner, 2017; 33f). Men was later added as victims of sexual

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

violence however, this is often described as torture, not rape. These developments have created the man-woman dichotomy that the mainstream gender literature has focused on and it is during the last ten years or so there has developed a more substantial interest in expanding the research towards sexual and gender minorities (ibid). Unfortunately, not many human rights laws adopt a "sex-neutral" measurement, these can however be found more frequently in humanitarian and international criminal laws. However, this development has concerned the inclusion of men as victims, not specifically LGBT (ibid).

Apart from different international laws focusing mainly on women as victims and men as perpetrators there is another debate on definition and inclusiveness. What does the term sexual minority mean? Sexual minority can be called an umbrella concept which is then split into gender identity and sexual identity (Rodrigues et al. 2017). Gender identity aims at "A person's self-defined gender" (RFSL 2018), while sexual identity refers to sexual orientation which is "A term that describes a person's identity regarding the focus of their romantic and/or sexual attraction" (ibid). These terms are often used interchangeably in the academic literature which Gaillard et al (2016; 429ff) argue is problematic since it creates confusion around the concept and exclusion of gender identities that are not part of the Western vocabulary.

The state of the of the field can be summed up in three points. (1) The majority of the literature suggests that armed conflict causes violence against different groups in society in some way or another and international organisations claim the LGBT community is especially targeted. This is supported by previous research, however there is a great need to specify why, the mechanism, kind of violence and what effect conflict has. (2) What is LGBT? There is a new ongoing debate on whom to include and exclude, the difference between gender and sexual minorities, as well as the failure to include non-Western gender minorities. (3) The already mentioned lack of data due to the man-woman dichotomy thinking in almost all work conducted on the ground as well as the stigma of reporting violence because of one's sexuality. This restricts the researchable cases and increases the need for estimations based on the existing data. The main previous research has now been presented and it shows there is a great need for more empirical studies on violence against sexual minorities. Especially on the effect of armed conflict and civilians as perpetrators of violence targeted against the LGBT community.

2. Theory

2.1 Proposed Theory

The proposed theory is built upon previous research and focus on, as well as develop the claims by the Human Dignity Trust (HDT) mentioned earlier. The HDT believe that when crisis occurs there will be an increase in crimes and competition over scarce resources. When this occurs, homophobia can be acted upon with impunity resulting in violence against LGBT (HDT 2015; 4). This is a reasonable starting point, however, a theory is needed to explain the chain of events.

The first step in the mechanism, armed conflict, is argued to be the trigger of what will eventually lead to violence against the LGBT. When armed conflict begins, a structural change occurs because security is not guaranteed, and people need to adapt to the new situation. Also, due to the threat of violence new norms start to form (Schulzke 2016). Other consequences of armed conflict that scholars agree upon is increased damage on infrastructure which limits the individuals' ability of movement and increased economic costs for rebuilding and providing aid. There is also an increase of dead and wounded in need of treatment, hence more resources are needed to meet these new demands. Armed conflicts can also rip apart communities and families due to the demand of soldiers or displacement which further stagnates the social and economic development, creating a harsher environment than before. Apart from these, war-torn countries often experience malnutrition, poverty, psychological illness and disability (Murthy & Lakshminarayana 2006). All these consequences of war lead to the second step of the causal mechanism, namely the creation of a "*War economy*".

A war economy is established when demands to defend a society arise due to the occurrence of armed conflict. It differs from other types of economies since all state resources are focused towards the war effort. This means that additional resources are directed to the military, protection of territory, morale of the people and solidarity (Galbraith 2001; 5). The simple logic behind this step is that an actor, in this case a state, is in possession of a limited amount of resources. These resources are distributed among the receivers (state institutions) depending on demand and what the state wants to invest in during peacetime. However, when conflict occurs the main priority becomes military efforts and territorial protection. To allocate more resources to the military effort the resources are redistributed from other areas (Gates et al. 2012; 1715f, Kaldor 2007; 95).

This redistribution of resources creates a real or perceived situation of competition over scarce resources not only on government level, but on individual level as well because less resources for e.g. healthcare will affect the individual and result in the third step of the causal mechanism, changes in the opportunity structure. This thesis has no greater interest for the government level, since it is interested in why civilians commit violence against LGBT.

The opportunity structure explains at what cost an individual can expect a certain benefit which can be attained by doing certain actions in certain situations or circumstances (Hoeffler 2011; 275f, Ratsimbaharison 2011; 271f). The opportunity structure can be thought of as a cost-benefit analysis. What are the consequences and benefits of, in this case, committing a hate crime? Social conditions could be a rise in self-confidence, a feeling of being in power or secure and acceptance towards violence. Structural conditions are for example the level of punishment, institutional discrimination and high impunity towards crime (Roberts et al. 2013, 32ff, Hannon 2001; 365ff).

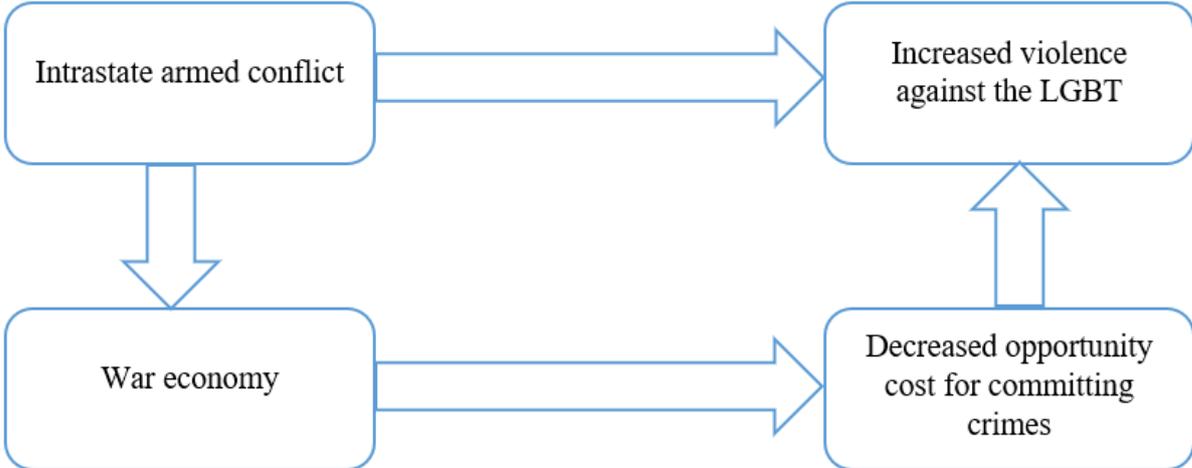
Concerning social conditions this would mean that the opportunity cost for committing crimes decreases due to a perceived need to secure oneself and ones' livelihood because of the redistribution of resources. Structurally there might be a belief or reality that the chances of being prosecuted and sentenced is lower due to the social conditions and the redistribution of resources. This increases the benefits of committing crimes such as burglary and robberies and would explain an increase of crimes in general (ibid), but why would hate crimes increase?

The first question is, when do hate crimes occur? According to Roberts et al. (2013; 30f) hate crimes increase if community tensions are present, which they usually are in times of conflict. McDevitt et al. (2002; 305f) found that hate crimes occur when people are seeking excitement or are bored, which could be caused by displacement or loss of livelihood due to conflict. It has also been noted that if authorities tend not to treat hate crimes individually, they are seen as part of a multiple victimisation process. This results in that if an offender commits a hate crime and there is no consequence it is likely they will repeat the crime and possibly encourage others (Roberts et al. 2013; 30f). These are the reason for when hate crimes, or in other words, violence based on sexuality, religion or ethnicity occurs. However why are they committed especially towards LGBT?

There are multiple explanations for this and many could be at play simultaneously, therefore only the most relevant ones will be presented. Psychological explanations focus on pre-existing hostility towards groups. It is common knowledge that no society is completely tolerant towards LGBT even though it might be progressive in some sense. This pre-existing hostility amplifies due to the opportunity structure and perceived deprivation, resulting in that perpetrators then identify their victims as weak and feel a need to display their superiority (ibid; 32). The economic perspective argues that hate crimes occurs because of anxiety over scarce resources and displaced frustration (ibid; 37f). Since both of these theories most likely are at play at the same time it is argued that the changed opportunity structure allows crimes in general to go unpunished. Hate crimes can then occur easier due to high impunity, anxiety over scarce resources and displaced frustration, which is targeted towards a group that is unaccepted and a perceived threat to the majority's privileges before the changes due to the armed conflict. Therefore, the LGBT community is an easy and justified target for perpetrators of hate crimes.

Based upon the reasons presented it is likely to expect an increase of violence against LGBT and therefore, the hypothesis which will be tested is *“Armed conflict increases the violence against the LGBT community committed by civilians”*.

2.2 Arrow Diagram



3 Research Design

3.1 Independent Variable

The main categories of armed conflicts are conflict between states or within states. According to Buhaug et al. (2007; 3) the global trend is that interstate armed conflicts, wars between states, are declining and none were registered in 2006. This still applies today and therefore, the most common type of armed conflict is intrastate conflict or civil wars, and these have been on the rise since World War II. These findings tell us to focus on intrastate armed conflict if the study is to be relevant for the current research field.

Armed conflict is a concept that has been defined many times, however the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), definition is the most widely used definition today. The definition of armed conflict used by the UCDP is “*A state-based armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year*” (Department of Peace and Conflict Research 2018).

The interest lies in intrastate conflicts, so the actors will be changed according to the definition of intrastate conflict “*A conflict between a government and a non-governmental party, with no interference from other countries*” (ibid). The part “*... with no interference from other countries*” will be rejected because one side in a conflict might be supported or denounced by other countries. Wallensteen (2014; 1413ff) argues that during the Cold War there was an increase in conflict interventions due to the polarisation between the superpowers U.S and Soviet Union. This resulted in a culture of intervening that still can be observed today in several armed conflicts. This support can be overt or covert which sometimes make it hard to establish if an actor is supported by other countries or not, hence the removal of the last part in the definition. Influence from internationally powerful actors near the units on analysis will however be an alternative explanation.

Since there now is an established definition of intrastate armed conflict and the concepts have been clarified, it is time to assign operational indicators to the definition to make it measurable. The variable is a dichotomous variable with a “*Yes*” or “*No*” answer. This is because the thesis is not interested in how conflict severity affects the dependent variable, only if the independent and dependent variables are related and if so why. To establish if there

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

is armed intrastate conflict or not this thesis will use data from the UCDP. This is a trusted data program created by the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University that compile data on armed conflict around the world. There one can observe the number and types of actors involved, the amount of battle-related deaths and type of incompatibility. All components necessary to establish if there is an intrastate armed conflict or not.

3.2 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable “*Violence against the LGBT community*” has three concepts that must be discussed and clarified before a definition can be assigned to the variable. The concepts are “*violence*”, “*LGBT*” and “*community*”. These concepts have been defined multiple times before and will also be defined in this thesis.

The first concept, “*violence*” is a broad concept and one of the earlier definitions, and perhaps one of the most accepted ones, might be Galtung's definition, “*Violence is here defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual*” (Galtung 1969; 168). To elaborate on this Galtung continues “*Violence is that which increase the distance between the potential and actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance*” (ibid). In short, this imply that if something can be avoided, however it is not, then it is violence. As an example, one might have the potential to commit wartime rape and if one chooses not to it is not violence, however if one chooses to use that potential it is.

Violence is also split into two main categories, *personal* and *structural*, each of these categories can be split into further subcategories, *physical with objects*, *physical without object*, *psychological with objects* and *physical without object*. The main concept “*violence*” can also be *intended*, *unintended*, *manifest* or *latent* (ibid; 169ff).

All these categories are not of interest to the purpose of this thesis. There will not be any focus on *structural* violence, only *personal*. This is because the thesis is interested in why individuals decide to act more violently towards the LGBT community during armed conflict. Not why anti-LGBT policies are implemented on a national level. *Latent* and *unintended* violence will also be excluded because the concepts are more connected to structural violence. Latent violence concerns what is not actual but can come about due to structural changes in pre-existing settings. Unintended violence stems from e.g. laws that are implemented with the

best in mind, however it arises unforeseen consequences that could lead to violence (ibid; 171f). The categories are also excluded because of their vagueness and the difficulty to establish the cause and consequence.

The last category to be excluded is *without objects*. The exclusion of this category is because *without objects* concern the ability to display the means of violence against a non-physical or non-biological object (ibid; 170). Since this thesis is interested in violence against the LGBT community which consists of physical and biological objects, human beings, there is no need to include this category.

The categories of interest are *personal*, *manifest*, *intended*, *physical*, *psychological*, and *with objects*. *Personal* violence has a clearly visible subject, an actor who acts towards an object (ibid; 170). A subject or actor in this study is considered an individual or group who commits a violent act directed towards the LGBT community. If the violence is *manifest* it can be observed, for example when someone punches another or through statistics on murders, assaults and hate crimes (ibid; 172). As *manifest* violence is the opposite of *latent* violence, *intended* violence is the opposite of *not intended* violence. *Intended* violence is an active action and not a consequence of something else (ibid; 171). *With objects* means that the objects targeted and harmed are either physical or biological, with emphasis on the biological in this thesis.

Since this thesis is interested in why civilians commit violence against other civilians', violence is measured as crimes. More specifically hate crimes since the focus is on targeted violence towards a group because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Therefore, "*Violence against LGBT*" will be operationalised as "*Number of reported hate crimes by police and other sources motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity*". Furthermore, violence itself can take two forms according to this thesis and by support from Galtung, it can either be *physical* or *psychological*. This thesis is also interested in what kind of violence increases or decreases, therefore *physical* and *psychological violence* will also be measured separately. *Physical violence* is when human beings are being physically hurt or even killed (ibid; 169) therefore, it is operationalised as a decrease or increase in "*Number of violent attacks against people motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity*" and data on all indicators will be gathered from Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018.
Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Psychological violence is the exposure to threats, verbal aggression, control, humiliation, intimidation, non-physical harassment and defamation (ibid, European Institute for Gender Equality 2018). Therefore, it is operationalised as a decrease or increase in “*Number of threats motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity*” and this data will also be gathered from the OSCE. It is hereby noted that *psychological violence* could also be measured as “*Attitudes towards LGBT*”, consisting of aggressive statements from for example state officials and social attitudes. This measurement will however not be used for the dependent variable since it is perceived as a better measurement of the “*Opportunity cost*” for committing violence against LGBT. The current operationalisation is also more concrete, and a real difference can be observed in statistics.

The second concept “*LGBT*” will be kept as parsimonious as possible in this thesis. The definition used is the definition of LGBT by the United Nations. Their definition is “*lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender*” (UN 2018). These are all sexual identities except for transgender which is an umbrella term for gender identities (RFSL 2018). However, all are considered to be sexual minorities.

The last concept, *community* is also a concept that has been defined and debated many times however, this thesis will use the definition MacQueen et al. (2001) found when conducting a survey to establish what a community is perceived to be by its members. Their definition is “... *a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings.*” (MacQueen et al. 2001). According to the reasoning above the full definition of the dependent variable “*violence against the LGBT community*” is “*Violence that is manifest, intended, with objects and physical or psychological is that which increase the distance between the potential and actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance for a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings due to their shared characteristic of being part of a sexual minority*”.

It is important to note that this thesis do not argue that “*armed conflict*” and “*violence against the LGBT community*” are similar. This could be believed since “*Armed conflict*” includes violence because battle-related deaths are a criterion. However, battle-related deaths concern the violence between a government and a non-governmental group, which is committed by soldiers. In this thesis the interest lies in violence committed by civilians against LGBT, not

violence committed by soldiers, hence the perpetrators are different which distinguishes the variables. Violence against LGBT also lacks funding, tactics and military command centers which organises the violence, which further differentiates the variables. It is also not argued that violence leads to violence, however, the structural changes in a society due to armed conflict creates accessible circumstances for civilians to commit violence against LGBT, which is measured as hate crimes.

3.3 Mediating Variables

Since the previous research lack a causal mechanism and a proper theory for why violence against the LGBT community would increase in times of civil war there is a need to find support for a causal process. Therefore, this thesis will also look empirically on the two mediating variables to further strengthen the causal process. The mediating variables are “*War economy*” and “*Opportunity cost*”.

A war economy, according to Galbraith (2001; 5), is defined as “*the public obligation is to do what is necessary: to support the military effort, to protect and defend the home territory, and especially to maintain the physical well-being, solidarity, and morale of the people*”. Kaldor (2007; 95) states that in a war economy “*As many people as possible are mobilized to participate in the war effort either as soldiers or in the production of arms and necessities*”. These changes are made to engage with and defeat the enemy (ibid). The definition by Galbraith will be used since the attributes presented by Kaldor can be included in supporting the military effort. According to the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) there are four ways of financing a war effort, one of which is by “*Reducing non-military spending to pay for military outlays*” (IEP 2015). This should be show as an increase in military expenditure and armed forces personnel. Also, Kaldor (2007) and Galbraith (2001) argues that the goal is to maximise the chances of defeating the enemy by force.

Therefore, “*Changes in military expenditure % (% of central government expenditure)*” and “*Changes in armed forces personnel, % of total labour force*” are the assigned indicators to this variable. The first indicator measures how much the government is spending on the military and this indicator is expected to increase if a war economy is established. The second indicator measures how much the military personnel has increased or decreased. This can also indicate where the military resources have been allocated, which will be searched for in news

coverage. This indicator is also expected to increase in a war economy since there is a need for soldiers on the ground. An increased military expenditure combined with a decrease in military personnel could probably indicate a renewal of materiel which even countries at peace do periodically, instead of an established war economy. Therefore, both indicators must increase for a war economy to be considered to exist.

As previously mentioned, armed conflict results in a variety of consequences; resources become insufficient on several areas such as education, health care, and infrastructure (Schulzke 2016, Swee 2016, Murthy & Lakshminarayana 2006). These will not be measured in this thesis since it is likely that areas are affected differently depending on the country and its priorities, war intensity, and the overall economic situation.

The second mediating variable, "*Opportunity cost*" can be defined as "*economic, structural and social conditions increasing or decreasing an individual's cost for committing crimes*" based upon the discussion earlier. This variable is a ratio variable indicating a decrease or increase in the possibility of an individual committing a crime and it will have several indicators. All indicators are considered to be equally important and if three out of five indicators behave as predicted below it is interpreted as a decrease in the opportunity cost.

The first indicator "*Crime rates total amount*" is counted as the average number of crimes the years the conflict has been ongoing and the average number of crimes the same amount of years before the armed conflict. This is because crimes can differ highly from year to year, so an average number could more clearly indicate trends in crime rates. The expectation is an increase in conflict affected countries which would be interpreted as lowered opportunity cost.

The second indicator, "*Impunity towards crimes*" measures the average percentage of convicted crimes during the timespan of the previous indicator. This indicates what attitudes and resources the law enforcement had towards committing crimes. A decrease in convicted crimes indicates an increase in impunity which indicates a lower opportunity cost. The data for both the first and second indicator will be collected from national statistical bureaus.

The third indicator, "*Impunity towards hate crimes % (recorded by police)*" consists of all hate crimes reported to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE ODHIR) as well as if they have been prosecuted and sentenced. The percentage of how many that have been prosecuted and sentenced the year before the conflict and a few years into the conflict is then calculated to make the indicator comparable across cases. This

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

indicator shows the attitudes and resources the law enforcement has towards hate crimes. A decrease in both prosecuted and sentenced hate crimes are expected in conflict affected countries and indicates a lowered opportunity cost.

The fourth indicator "*Unemployment, total (% of total labour force)*" show how the economic situation has developed, indicates the perceived deprivation and competition over scarce resources, as well as the economic opportunities in the country (Hoeffler 2011, Humphrey & Weinstein 2008). This indicator also shows the likelihood of a person being bored since employment and work often gives an individual a sense of purpose. This is significant since boredom is one of the reasons for why hate crimes occur (Roberts et al. 2013; 30).

Unemployment is expected to increase due to the war economy and if so the opportunity cost has been lowered.

The last indicator for changes in the opportunity cost is "*Attitudes towards LGBT*" and it will be measured by going through reports from international organisations and news agencies on how the situation for LGBT have developed. The indicator will be coded as hostile, negative, neutral, positive or considered equals. A change towards more hostile attitudes indicates a decrease in the opportunity cost.

3.4 Comparative Design and Method of Analysis

This thesis is a comparative case study with a cross-case comparison design including elements of process tracing, and with two units of analysis. The countries, or units of analysis, that are ought to be compared are independent states and therefore independent of each other. The logic behind the comparative research design is that variation can explain variation, however a constant cannot explain variation. When and if a researcher can show that the independent and dependent variables covary, it is likely that the independent variable is the explanatory force behind the changes in the dependent variable. One method when doing case comparisons is Mill's method of difference which will be used here. When using Mill's method of difference, the cases are chosen based upon different variation on the independent variable and searches for variation on the dependent variable. The control variables, or alternative explanations, ought to be as similar as possible or constant across the cases. By doing this the researcher can reject the control variables as alternative explanations for the variation on the dependent variable. The problem with the design is that one cannot control

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

for all alternative explanations, however Mill's method of difference is widely used and considered to provide strong results in qualitative studies due to having as similar cases as possible (Esaiasson et al 2017; 58ff). The elements of process tracing concern the causal mechanism and the assigning of indicators to the mediating variables. Process tracing investigates the causal mechanism on an in-depth level to test or develop theories (Beach & Pedersen 2013; 1ff). This will partly be done in this thesis since the mechanism is tested with assigned indicators and discussion about the mediating variables however, it is not a comprehensive process tracing, hence the wording elements of process tracing.

The method of analysis used in this thesis is a qualitative case comparison using Mill's method of difference (Esaiasson et al 2017; 104ff). By using this method, the control variables will be held constant or as similar as possible and the units of analysis are chosen based upon the variation on the independent variable. Since the interest lies in how violence against LGBT decreases or increases in relation to if there is an armed conflict or not, the design will also compare the cases over time, one year before the armed conflict begun and three years after the first year of armed conflict. By doing this can the independent, dependent, mediating and control variables be compared over time and the causal mechanism can be further strengthened or weakened. This choice of design and method are reasonable since this thesis is interested in the causal mechanism as well as the covariation between X and Y. However, qualitative methods can be case specific which lower the generalisability to other cases (ibid). Only two cases at two predetermined points in time, or as close as possible to the set points of time, will be compared even though many more cases could be compared. However, due to the time limit and the restrictions set for this thesis it is not optimal to compare more cases. All gathered data on the variables will be displayed in Table 1.

3.5 Cases and Case Selection Strategy

According to the method of choice the selected units of analysis need to have as similar values as possible on the control variables. This is to be able to reject them as alternative causes for the variation in the dependent variable. Control variables in this study are characteristics that could explain violence against LGBT instead of armed conflict. Such characteristics are regime type, foreign influence and religion (Reese et al. 2013; 340, Collier & Hoeffler 2004; 588, Fox & Sandler 2003; 485f). These alternative explanations are by no means the only ones, however they are the ones tested in this thesis. To further limit the range

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

of alternative explanation the cases should be located close to each other geographically and have the same external actors influencing them. Furthermore, there should also be different values on the independent variable, "*armed conflict*", to evaluate the effect the independent variable has on the dependent.

The cases found that satisfy these requirements as close as possible are the Republic of Moldova (Moldova), and Ukraine. Both states gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, are neighbouring countries, are part of the poorer nations in Europe and the development of the countries has in many ways stagnated (Prohniksky 2002; 38f). Furthermore, Ukraine is currently experiencing intrastate armed conflict while Moldova is not. There has been some development since 2002, however the countries are still at the bottom of European economic progress rankings with other former Soviet states (World Economic Forum 2018). Also, Moldova had an intrastate armed conflict over the Transnistria region in the northeast however, it has not been active since 1992 (UCDP 2018a, UCDP 2018b). There are several different non-governmental organisations active in both countries and Genderdoc-M, Nash Mir and OSCE ODHIR are of particular interests since they monitor the LGBT situation and its development. Since there is a general lack of data on this subject it is necessary to choose cases based upon data availability as well.

It is nearly impossible to find the perfect cases and it is noted that there might be other cases out there that has not been considered. The countries do of course have differences and Moldova being the poorest country in Europe has a slightly worse situation than Ukraine. This is recognised and taken into consideration when doing the analysis. Even though there are small differences between the cases they are considered to be the best cases available for this comparison.

3.6 Empirical Data and Source Criticism

The empirical data used for comparison is gathered from various sources, however, mostly from primary and secondary sources. The World Bank, UN, Article 19, Genderdoc-M, Nash Mir Center, Ukrstat, Statistica Moldovei, OSCE ODHIR and different indexes, will be the main sources for data on the variables. These institutions and organisations are well-recognised, acknowledged and regularly used in academic literature. Their surveys and research are also of how high quality and their databases are extensive. News articles, government reports, and scholarly literature will also be used in combination with the sources

above to increase the substance of the indicators. Underreporting is a noted problem as previously mentioned and it is recognised that there probably is a large amount of hidden numbers which could change the results. However, the conclusions must be drawn upon the available data.

4. Results and Interpretation

4.1 Independent Variable

Moldova experienced an intrastate armed conflict over territory between the government and a non-governmental actor that resulted in more than 25 battle-related deaths in 1992. The conflict is considered inactive even though the incompatibility has not been resolved, including during the time period of 2013-2017 which is of interest to this study (UCDP 2018a). Hence are the UCDP criteria not fulfilled for an intrastate armed conflict and therefore, the independent variable "*Armed conflict*" is "*No*" both in 2013 and 2017.

The Crimean crisis started in November 2013 in the capital city of Kiev with protests against the Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. Ukraine had in the previous years opted to strengthen their cooperation with the EU and when President Yanukovich decided to reject the proposed deal with the EU to further integrate Ukraine economically into the union, the streets filled with protesters (Council on Foreign Relations 2018). The protesters were met with violence which resulted in that more protesters assembled on the streets. President Yanukovich had to flee the country in February 2014 and Russia claimed that there was a need to protect the Russian speakers and the Russian citizens on the Crimean Peninsula and southeast Ukraine. This caused the Donetsk and Luhansk regions to organise a referendum and declare independence from Ukraine in May 2014 and the intrastate armed conflict was unavoidable (ibid). Luhansk and Donetsk joined forces in September 2014 and formed the United Armed Forces of Novorossiya (UAFN), which is still fighting for independence (UCDP 2018b). The violence increased until 2015 and the conflict has since entered a deadlock with decreased violence, however the amount of battle-related deaths still exceeds 25 and the conflict is considered active. The incompatibility is over territory and the issue has not been resolved yet (ibid). Therefore, the criteria set by the UCDP is not fulfilled in 2013 and will therefore be coded as "*No*", however, the criteria are fulfilled from 2014 onwards resulting in that "*Armed conflict*" for 2017 will be coded as "*Yes*". Hence it can be established that there has been a change in the independent variable over time when looking at the data on

Ukraine.

4.2 Mediating Variables

The first indicator “*Changes in military expenditure % (% of central government expenditure)*” was 0.867% in Moldova 2013 (World Bank 2018a). This is far below the world average which was at 6.223% and suggests that Moldova is a state that do not invest much in its military. In 2017 had the military expenditure increased to 0.975%. A small increase had occurred and there are other plausible explanations for the slight rise in military expenditure. Due to the Crimean crisis, fear of foreign intervention, and the that eastern European countries have security vulnerabilities, it was decided to negotiate a new NATO assistance package in 2015 with two phases (Chyzhova 2017). The first phase includes updating of strategies and key documents. To initiate the second phase, which includes training of armed forces, the government must show political commitment to improve its defence. This is most easily done by increasing the military budget (Popșoi 2018).

The development in Ukraine can already be stated to be different. In 2013, was the central government expenditure on military 4.974% (World bank 2018a). This is significantly higher than Moldova, however one must remember that Ukraine is a larger country and has a larger population. Also, this percentage is still well below the world average. The military expenditure increased significantly up until 2015 when it peaked at 9.231%, which was when the conflict was most intense. Because the conflict has been in deadlock since 2015 and no significant territorial gains has been achieved by either party (UCDP 2018b), this is a likely explanation for the decrease in expenditure to 7.835% in 2017. However, that is still higher than in 2013. The Kyiv Post also reported that the new defence and security budget would increase significantly from 2017 to 2018. They report that the spending on police, military and special services would increase by 28% compared to 2017 according to forecasts from the National Bank of Ukraine. This is a new record-high amount of military spending for Ukraine (Ponomarenko 2017). This is supported by coverage from The National Interest and Reuters as well. They reported that the military expenditure has increased several times and significant improvements have been made since 2013, especially in terms of recruitment and military exercises. (Bielieskov 2018, Williams & Polityuk 2018). The indicator has increased in Ukraine which suggests a war economy, hence it is coded as “*Yes*” in 2017, however the

war economy was not present in 2013. This development is also supported by national and international news coverage.

The Moldovan armed forces personnel consisted of 0,624% of the total labour force in 2013, while the world average was 0,824%. Yet again is Moldova below the world average and the percentage declined to 0,589% in 2016. Unfortunately, no later data has been registered by the World Bank (World Bank 2018b). This indicates that the physical personnel have decreased and since both indicators have not increased it is established that no war economy exists in Moldova. Instead of the creation of a war economy, the increase in military expenditure is more likely due to modernisation and renewal of equipment because of the NATO agreement as suggested by media.

The Ukrainian armed forces personnel consisted of 0,563% of the total labour force in 2013. This rapidly changed when the Crimean crisis occurred, and the armed forces personnel increased to 1,406% in 2016 (ibid). This is a significant increase and according to the data from the World Bank the percentage has not been this high since 2003. This increase in combination with the news coverage presented above shows that this indicator also supports the creation of a war economy.

Concerning "*Opportunity cost*", the first two indicators measures the likelihood of committing crimes in general, the third measures impunity towards hate crimes, the fourth and fifth measures causes of committing hate crimes.

The first indicator, "*Crime rates total amount*" is an average number of committed crimes in general. Due to the operationalisation above, the timespans of interest are 2010-2013 and 2014-2017. The average number is calculated by adding the total amount of committed crimes for each year, and then divide the sum by the number of years.

The average number for committed crimes between 2010-2013 in Moldova is hence 35 824,5 crimes on average per year (Statistica Moldovei 2018a). The average number of committed crimes per year 2014-2017 is 39 896,75. Hence there is an increase of crimes in Moldova.

Ukraine has experienced a similar development. The average amount of committed crimes 2010-2013 was 509 074, and the average amount of committed crimes in 2014-2017 was 552 709 (Ukrstat 2018). This also shows an increase from before the conflict. Especially crimes involving illegal arms from the war has increased as well as the severity of the crimes committed such as armed robberies, violent assaults and public assassinations (Interfax-

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Ukraine 2018, OSAC 2018). Since the indicator has increased in both countries, it does not explain much on its own, however crimes seem to have risen in Ukraine due to the intrastate war whereas this information could not be found on Moldova.

To establish the level of "*Impunity towards crimes*" we look at the number of convictions. The average number is calculated the same way as above and a percentage of convicted crimes are calculated from the total amount of crimes. These percentages are then compared to establish an increase or decrease of impunity.

The average number of convictions per year in Moldova during 2010-2013 was 8623,25. After calculating the percentage it results in that of the average amount of crimes committed, only 24,1% had severe consequences on average each year. For 2014-2017 the average amount of convictions increased to 10 518,5 which is 26,4% of 39 896 (Statistica Moldovei 2018b). Hence, there is a slight decrease in impunity, which suggests that the opportunity cost has increased even though more crimes are committed as shown by the first indicator.

When doing the same calculations for Ukraine the result is that 29,9% of the on average committed crimes per year during 2010-2013 had severe consequences and this percentage decreased to 15,8% in 2014-2017 (Ukrstat 2018). This is a significant drop in convictions and show that the opportunity cost for committing crimes have decreased.

Concerning the third indicator, the amount of recorded hate crimes in general by the police in Moldova 2013 was four. Furthermore, there is no data on how many was prosecuted, however zero of them was sentenced (OSCE ODHIR 2018a). Therefore, the indicator is coded as "*No data % prosecuted, 0,0% sentenced*". This indicates high impunity towards hate crimes in 2013 which is supported by European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ibid). There were 17 cases of hate crimes reported in 2017, where five were prosecuted and 10 were sentenced (ibid). The indicator is therefore coded as "*29,4% prosecuted, 58,8% sentenced*" and show a significant decrease in impunity towards hate crimes in Moldova from 2013 to 2017 and hence an increased opportunity cost.

The first year with recorded data from the police in Ukraine is 2014 and that data will be used here. According to the Ukrainian police there was 33 committed hate crimes in 2014, all 33 of them was prosecuted, however only two were sentenced. The indicator is therefore coded as "*100% prosecuted, 6,06% sentenced*" (OSCE ODHIR 2018b). Recorded hate crimes in 2017 was 163 cases, 93 was prosecuted and three were sentenced (ibid). The data shows an increase

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

in hate crimes which is also supported by reports from the Human Rights Watch (HRW 2018). When converting the numbers to percentages the indicator is coded as “57,7% prosecuted, 1,84% sentenced”. It can therefore be concluded that the impunity towards hate crimes has increased from 2013 to 2017 and the opportunity cost decreased.

Unemployment has been a problem in both countries over a long period of time according to the World Bank. Moldova experienced a 5.1% “*Unemployment, total (% of total labour force)*” in 2013 which decreased to 4.458% in 2017 (World Bank 2018c). This suggests a decrease in boredom and hence an increase in opportunity cost.

The unemployment rate in Ukraine was 7.17% in 2013 and increased to 9.455% in 2017 (ibid). The unemployment rates correlate with the start of the conflict and The Kyiv Post also reported that Ukraine's economic development has stagnated due to poverty, unemployment and a trade blockade caused by the conflict as well as corruption that keeps the foreign investors away (Petrov & Ponomarenko 2017, Goncharova 2018). Corruption is also likely to increase with higher military spending, which further links unemployment to the development of a war economy (Gupta et al. 2001; 771).

The last indicator, “*Attitudes towards LGBT*” was “*Hostile*” in Moldova 2013. The LGBT community suffered bans on “*aggressive propaganda of nontraditional sexual orientations*” and “*homosexual demonstrations*” in 2012 (US BDHRL 2013; 40), encouraged homophobia by the Moldovan Orthodox Church and LGBT persons was harassed by police, border patrol and state authorities. Also, HIV infected were denied healthcare, a law was amended making it harder for LGBT to appear in public, however it was later repealed due to pressure from human rights organisations (ibid; 2013). Genderdoc-M reported that 83% of Moldovans did not accept LGBT individuals, reluctance to investigate hate crimes against LGBT and a violent gang was formed to hunt down and beat gay men (Frolov 2014). On the bright side, since 2012 the law forbids discrimination against LGBT individuals in employment and the first parliamentarian to openly support LGBT was elected (ibid, US BDHRL 2013; 40ff). Due to the reasons presented, the attitudes towards LGBT are “*Hostile*” in 2013.

There has been little development between 2013 and 2017, however the LGBT community believe attitudes will change, and acceptance will come (OHCHR Moldova 2016; 22f, Article 19 2018; 51). This is because the Moldovan government received 14 recommendations from nine countries concerning discrimination, bias-motivated violence and LGBT rights. All

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

recommendations were accepted, however there has been a lack of action from the government (ibid). The media coverage on LGBT issues has increased, this is both positive and negative because it has also increased the number of hate speeches from parliamentarians and religious leaders (ibid; 52). All Moldovan citizens are protected against discrimination according to the constitution, and discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation has been explicitly mentioned in other laws. The Council for the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Ensuring Equality was also established in 2013. Even though the council have effectiveness issues, it is a huge step towards battling discrimination in the Moldovan society (ibid 63f). In conclusion, Moldova have made some progress towards challenging the root causes for homophobia and even though it is fragile and marginal, it exists (ibid; 67f). The indicator will therefore be coded as “*Negative*” in 2017.

According to Kuyper et al. (2013; 33f) was the attitudes towards LGBT quite similar in Ukraine 2013. However, they were slightly more acceptive in Moldova. The NASH MIR Center (NMC) reported similar situations in Ukraine as in Moldova during 2013. They report an increase in homophobic discrimination and aggression, widespread HIV, discrimination from state authorities and police as well as ordinary people. The state has not done anything to increase tolerance towards LGBT and according to a national poll is the polarisation and negative attitudes towards LGBT increasing (NMC 2013). Members of parliament are openly expressing anti-LGBT views and gangs have formed in Ukraine as well. However, the media is showing increasing tolerance towards the LGBT community and the NASH MIR hopes for change. Despite these hopes, the reality is that LGBT persons experienced harsh conditions in all sectors of life and hence is the attitudes considered to be “*Hostile*”.

The situation in Ukraine did not change much from 2013-2017, the situation might even be worse than before. Hate speeches have decreased somewhat, however politicians and religious leaders still frequently use it towards LGBT (Article 19 2018; 90, Home Office 2017; 15ff). There has also been no change in how the police treats LGBT, homophobia is institutionalised, and no major changes have been done to the legal or policy framework since 2013 concerning battling discrimination. (ibid; 7ff, Article 19 2018; 90ff). The government have tried to push for initiatives addressing the issue of discrimination, however, gender identity and sexual orientation are usually not mentioned in the initiatives. However, the Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights have been praised by the LGBT community for gathering data on LGBT issues (ibid; 99). No visible changes have occurred to

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

strengthen the LGBT community's situation and LGBT persons still suffers discrimination and violence in everyday life. Trans-sexuality is considered a psychiatric disorder and discrimination is common in areas such as accommodation, healthcare, education and employment in addition to the areas mentioned above (Home Office 2017; 7ff). The attitudes are hence still considered to be "*Hostile*". This is mostly due to the reason that Moldova has implemented and followed through some measures to improve the situation for LGBT whereas the situation in Ukraine has stagnated.

4.3 Dependent Variable

The dependent variable "*Violence against LGBT community*" is measured by hate crimes recorded to the OSCE ODHIR both by police and other organisations. The data fulfils the criteria previously set criteria. It is manifest, it is visible in statistics or action, it is intended since it is an active action and not by accident, the objects are human beings and it is targeted against LGBT due to the hate crimes being motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity. To further strengthen the relationship between the dependent and independent variable as well as the mechanism, news sources will be consulted to establish if the structural changes have increased the amount of hate crimes.

The first indicator "*Number of reported hate crimes by police and other sources motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity*" has not changed substantially in Moldova between 2013 and 2017. Both years the police reported zero cases, however, Genderdoc-M reported 11 cases in 2013 and 13 in 2017. All hate crimes reported by the police was motivated by "*extremist crimes motivated by bias, related to participation in armed conflict, recruitment of others to participate in an armed conflict and/or undermining the constitutional system*" in 2017, and racism, xenophobia or anti-Semitism in 2013 (OSCE ODHIR 2018a, OSCE ODHIR 2018c). The reasons for zero reports from the police is probably due to the legislation because it does not recognise sexuality as a bias for hate crimes, the fear of reporting and the reluctance of investigating these crimes. Therefore, the total amount of reported cases was 11 in 2013 and 13 in 2017. The amount reported by Genderdoc-M is probably way too low, however it shows that more cases occur than the police reports. Either way, the indicator shows that there has been no significant increase in the number of hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity in Moldova between 2013 and 2017.

There is no available data from the police for 2013 on Ukraine and to compensate for this data from 2014 will be used for the police. The police reported zero hate crimes motivated sexual orientation and gender identity in 2014 and recorded 17 cases in 2017. Data reported by other sources exists in 2013 and Nash Mir reported a total of 21 cases of hate crimes with this motivation in 2013 which increased to 109 in 2017. The numbers are unrealistic, as in Moldova, however they hint towards an increase (OSCE ODHIR 2018b, OSCE ODHIR 2018d). The reasons for zero recorded hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity in 2014 to the police and the low amount in 2017 are most likely the same as in Moldova because of the attitude the police have. Either way, the total amount of hate crimes of this kind was 21 in 2013 and 126 in 2017. This suggests a significant increase in hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity whereas there was no change in Moldova.

In Moldova 2013 were eight cases (72,73%), of the 11 reported, considered violent attacks and the remaining three cases (27,27%), were threats (OSCE ODHIR 2018a). In 2017 were six cases (46,15%), considered violent attacks while seven (53,85%), were threats (OSCE ODHIR 2018c). According to this there is no significant change in the number of violent attacks motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity from 2013 to 2017 in Moldova, however it has dropped with 26,58%. Therefore, the indicator "*Number of violent attacks against people motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity*" is coded as eight in 2013 and six in 2017. The "*Number of threats motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity*" is 3 in 2013 and 7 in 2017 which suggests an increase in psychological violence.

Out of the 21 hate crimes reported in 2013 were 17 (80,95%), considered violent attacks. 13 assaults were carried out by groups whereas three physical assaults and one rape was carried out by individuals. The four remaining cases are threats of different kinds and accounts for 19,05% of the reported cases (OSCE ODHIR 2018b). Out of the 126 crimes with this motivation recorded in Ukraine in 2017, 113 cases (89,68%), are violent attacks against people and 13 (10,32%) are threats (OSCE ODHIR 2018d). Both the number of reported attacks and the percentage of violent attacks against LGBT has increased from 2013 to 2017 and "*Number of violent attacks against people motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity*" is coded as 17 in 2013 and 113 in 2017. The indicator "*Number of threats motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity*" was four cases in 2013 and 13 cases in 2017.

Hence, the number of threats has increased, however the proportion of threats has decreased overall.

Are these developments caused by armed conflict? According to news agencies and the UN the answer is yes. Foreign Policy reported in 2015 that LGBT refugees was arriving in Kiev from eastern Ukraine and Crimea, fleeing from increasing levels of homophobia, the war and Russian influenced anti-homosexuality policies (Kenarov 2015). The Kyiv Post reported a similar story in 2017 about two gay men who took shelter in the capital because of intolerance towards gays in the east. The Kyiv Post, Reuters and Munich Kyiv Queer also write that many people from east Ukraine flee because “*they feared persecutions and wanted to escape*” because of the war (Goncharova 2017, Bacchi 2018, Munich Kyiv Queer 2018). Another source reported that the revolution failed in 2014 and that homophobia has increased even though Pride is arranged each year on several locations. However, Pride is “*not really about LGBT rights, it’s about showing a picture of this for Western partners*” according to the interviewed (Miller 2018). Dazed and the UNHCR interviewed LGBT refugees and activists arriving at the same conclusion. LGBT are fleeing the eastern parts because of the developments there due to the war. Visits from the police, harassments, discrimination, beatings and rape, is common for an LGBT person in these areas due to the same reasons mentioned above (Roache 2018, Bond & Vlasova 2017). Amnesty International (2018) also reported increased violence against LGBT since 2014 across the country as well as increasing violations in Crimea and Novorossiya.

Countries	Republic of Moldova 2013	Republic of Moldova 2017	Ukraine 2013	Ukraine 2017
Independent variable: Armed conflict	No	No	No	Yes
At intrastate war according to the UCDP	No	No	No	Yes
Dependent variable: Violence against the LGBT	No increase or decrease		Increase	
Number of reported hate	11	13	21	126

crimes by police and other sources motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity				
Number of violent attacks against people motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity	8	6	17	113
Number of threats motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity	3	7	4	13
Mediating variable: War Economy	No	No	No	Yes
Changes in military expenditure % (% of central government expenditure)	0.867%	0.975%	4.974%	7.835%
Changes in armed forces personnel % of total labour force	0.624%	0.589% (2016)	0.563%	1.405% (2016)
Mediating variable: Opportunity cost for committing crimes	Increase		Decrease	
Crime rates total amount	35 824,5 (average number 2010-2013)	39 896,75 (average number 2014-2017)	509 074 (average number 2010-2013)	552 709 (average number 2014-2017)
Impunity towards crimes	24,1% convicted	26,4% convicted	29,9% convicted	15,8% convicted

	(average 2010-2013)	(average 2014-2017)	(average 2010-2013)	(average 2014-2017)
Impunity towards hate crimes % (recorded by police)	No data % prosecuted 0,0% sentenced	29,4% prosecuted 58,8% sentenced	100% prosecuted 6,06% sentenced (2014)	57,7% prosecuted 1,84% sentenced
Unemployment, total (% of total labour force)	5.1%	4.458%	7.17%	9.455%
Attitudes towards LGBT	Hostile	Negative	Hostile	Hostile

4.4 Discussion

According to the gathered data and the criteria set in the operationalisation section it is concluded that there has been a change in the independent variable concerning Ukraine, whereas it has not in the case of Moldova. The criteria for intrastate armed conflict exists in Ukraine 2017, whereas Moldova has had peace during the time of interest. Because the variable is very straightforward there is not much to discuss further.

Concerning the first mediating variable, Moldova has not experienced the changes necessary for the creation of a war economy. Only military expenditure increased while military personnel decreased. Media suggests that the incentives for investing in the military was due to an agreement with NATO. Therefore, no substantial evidence was found in Moldova for the creation of a war economy. Ukraine on the other hand invested massively in their military and the military expenditure has not been this high since 2001. The incentives according to media are clearly because of the intrastate armed conflict in eastern Ukraine and the perceived Russian threat. Therefore, both values on the indicators as well as the incentives presented by media differs in the compared cases, and support for a war economy is only found in Ukraine.

Regarding the second mediating variable, support for a decrease in the opportunity cost was only found in the case of Ukraine. The first indicator showed that crimes has increased in both countries which suggests that the opportunity cost increased in both cases as well. The second indicator shows that the impunity towards crimes has decreased in Moldova, however increased in Ukraine. This suggests other reasons for the increase of reported crimes in

Moldova, because it would be irrational to commit crimes if the chance of being convicted is greater. For example, an increase in reporting because of more trust in the police could cause more reporting. The third indicator clearly suggests that impunity towards hate crimes has increased in Ukraine, while it decreased in Moldova, indicating a higher opportunity cost in the latter. It should be noted that the reported cases considered most likely are incorrect, however they do show in what direction the society is going. It is unreasonable to believe that only 17 hate crimes occurred in Moldova 2017 whereas 4862 were reported in Sweden 2016 (OSCE ODHIR 2018e), when Sweden is one of the safest and most developed countries in the world. This lack of reporting involves several factors such as lack of tangible evidence, fear of consequences, minorities' distrust in the police and how crimes are recorded (OSCE ODHIR 2018b, Devine et al 2018).

Unemployment has slightly decreased in Moldova indicating more economic opportunities and hence an increase in opportunity cost. The unemployment rate in Ukraine however, increased between 2013 and 2014 and has not been this high since 2002. This indicates less economic development and deprivation which is supported by news coverage from the conflict affected area. Therefore, the opportunity cost has decreased in Ukraine due to the conflict and the war economy, while it has increased in Moldova.

The last indicator did not change in Ukraine where attitudes continued to be hostile and the government did next to nothing to increase tolerance towards LGBT. Therefore, the opportunity cost is not affected, however hostile attitudes indicates the lowest possible opportunity cost for that indicator. The attitudes in Moldova on the other hand, showed more tolerance since the government tried to decrease discrimination. The development is not mind-blowing however, the establishment of the council to battle discrimination clearly shows a will to increase tolerance.

According to the data on these indicators four out of five indicators showed an increased opportunity cost in Moldova while four indicators suggested a decrease in opportunity cost in Ukraine. According to interviews with Ukrainian LGBT has the situation worsened however, since there is no level worse than hostile, the indicator is unchanged. Therefore, most indicators behaved as expected, except "*Crime rates, total amount*" which increased in both countries. The second indicator lacked data on prosecuted cases in Moldova and could be considered inconclusive. However, if one chooses to ignore the prosecuted cases it still shows that the sentenced cases has increased. Furthermore, the indicators are considered to be equal

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

and because a majority of them is needed to behave in the predicted way to establish a decrease or increase in the opportunity cost, it is concluded that the opportunity cost has decreased in Ukraine while it increased in Moldova even if the second indicator were to be rejected.

According to the data on the dependent variable did violence increase in Ukraine and not in Moldova. The first two indicators suggest no change in the occurrence of hate crimes in general motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity in Moldova. However, the third and fourth indicators suggest an increase of threats and a decrease in violent attacks. In combination with the increased opportunity cost it could suggest that psychological violence increase while physical violence decrease when attitudes become more tolerant, however, future research should investigate why and when both forms of violence start to decrease. The amount of reported cases is low in Moldova, which entails that even small changes in number of threats or attacks will provide large differences in percentages. However, the numbers do provide an understanding of the developments. The situation in Ukraine during the same period suggests that hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity has increased. It also suggests that violent attacks have increased while threats have decreased, the opposite of the development in Moldova. This suggests that the lower the opportunity cost, the more violent the hate crimes, however why hate crimes become more physical is a subject for future research.

In conclusion, the thesis argues that armed conflict creates accessible circumstances for civilians to perpetrate violence against the LGBT community. These circumstances development through structural changes creating a war economy because of the need to redistribute resources to make the war effort as effective as possible. The redistribution of resources affects the individual's sense of security as well as access to said resources, resulting in targeting of vulnerable groups, such as the LGBT community due to pre-existing stigma or boredom. This mechanism is supported by the gathered data from international and national governmental organisations, non-governmental organisations and the UN as well as national and international news coverage.

4.5 Alternative Explanations

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Control variables are alternative explanations for the outcome, what are other possible explanations for violence against the LGBT community. The control variables are based on academic literature and plausible explanations for an increase in violence against LGBT. The control variables should also be as similar as possible or held constant over time to be rejected as alternative explanations. Three alternative explanations will be examined in this thesis, "*Russian influence on LGBT issues*", "*Regime type*" and "*Level of religiosity*". According to existing academic literature on threats against the LGBT community these are the most prominent ones and should therefore be controlled for, to strengthen or weaken the relationship between armed conflict and violence against the LGBT.

"*Russian influence on LGBT issues*" is a likely explanation for violence against LGBT because Russia has implemented anti-LGBT policies which have then spread within their sphere of influence (Cooley 2017, Lough et al. 2014). Both countries are former Soviet states which locates them within the Russian sphere of interest and they have been influenced by Russian policy implications, legislation and actions. This influence has been exercised through nearby military actions and Russian links to political parties, religious groups and news agencies in both countries to increase their influence over national policies (ibid, Cooley 2017, Kenarov 2015, Chyzhova 2017, Freedom House 2018a). Because "*Russian influence on LGBT issues*" exists in both countries, and is exercised in the same way, is the variable discarded as an alternative explanation.

The second control variable is "*Regime type*". Fox & Sandler (2003) did a study on discrimination against ethnoreligious minorities and regime types. It is noted that the LGBT community is not an ethnoreligious minority, however, the authors writes that different regime types tend to discriminate against groups differently overall. In general, it is the autocratic regimes that discriminates the most, followed by the democratic regime type and the least discriminatory regime type is semi-autocracy (ibid; 485f). Therefore, it is a need to control for regime type because it is a plausible alternative explanation for violence against minorities. Freedom House is widely used as a measurement of freedoms, which is equivalent to democracy according to the organisation. Freedoms are often associated with democracy and hence it can be used as a measurement of democracy (Sen 2001; 146ff). Freedom House is not flawless due to several reasons, however it is considered a good measurement (Giannone 2010).

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Both Moldova and Ukraine were considered partly free in 2013 according to Freedom House. Moldova scored 3.0 on political rights, civil liberties and the freedom rating (Freedom House 2018b) while Ukraine scored 3.0 on civil liberties, 4.0 on political rights and 3.5 on the freedom rating (Freedom House 2018c). Hence, there is a slight difference between the countries, however both were classified as partly free, which would correspond to be somewhere between semi-autocracy and democracy. The scores had not changed on any of these indicators in Moldova according to the report from 2017 (Freedom House 2018d), however all indicators were coded as 3.0 in Ukraine 2017 (Freedom House 2018e). Therefore, both countries are considered partly free, and have a regime type between democracy and semi-autocracy. Therefore, no change has occurred and “*Regime type*” can be discarded as an alternative explanation.

The third alternative explanation for increased violence against LGBT is “*Level of religiosity*”. Reese et al. (2013; 340f) states that previous research suggests that people from religious backgrounds are more prone to have negative attitudes towards homosexual men. This suggests that the level of religiosity could be an independent variable while armed conflict could be a mediating variable. Therefore, “*Level of religiosity*” must be controlled for. Data on religiosity could not be found for each year specifically, however it is expected that religious values and religiosity changes very slowly, hence would a large difference between 2013 and 2017 not be expected (Inglehart & Foa 2010). Therefore, data on this will be gathered from Pew Research Center (PRC).

According to their surveys and research from 2015 and 2016 is the trend in eastern Europe an increase in religiosity overall, and the majority is Orthodox Christians. This is the trend for Moldova and Ukraine, where the majority in both countries identify as Orthodox and more than 80% of the adult population say they believe in God. Also, in relation to LGBT it is important to note that more than 80% also see homosexuality as morally wrong in both countries. Both countries are considered highly religious with similar values, however Moldova is slightly more religious and homophobic according to PRC (PRC 2017). This is interesting since higher level of religiosity is supposed to cause more violence and hatred against LGBT according to previous research. However, this is not the case here and therefore, this alternative explanation can also be discarded.

Control variables	Republic of Moldova 2013	Republic of Moldova 2017	Ukraine 2013	Ukraine 2017
Russian influence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regime type	Partly free	Partly free	Partly free	Partly free
Level of religiosity	High	High	High	High

4.6 Limitations of the Research Design

The chosen research design used in this thesis unavoidably suffers from several limitations. This section addresses these limitations and it starts with the issue of underreporting and data scarcity, which have influenced the decisions to a large extent. After that the limitations of the method, design, case selection and alternative explanations are discussed.

The most influential issue that has guided the decisions made in structuring this thesis is data scarcity and underreporting. The reasons for data scarcity and underreporting has already been mentioned, however it concerns organisations lack of recognising and including LGBT persons in their work, mistrust and fear of reporting violations to the police and governments not recognising LGBT issues. Resulting in that there is not enough existing data for using a quantitative method and design considering the limitations of this assignment. The data would have to be created before it could be gathered and analysed. Therefore, a qualitative method and design was chosen.

The advantages of a comparative case study with elements from process tracing was discussed in section 3.5, however this choice also include limitations. The most essential limitation concerns generalisability of the findings. The qualitative method permits in-depth understanding of the mechanism and the phenomenon of interest through thick concepts. However, this is partly accomplished through the sacrifice of generalisability (Vromen 2010; 249). This can also be understood as a trade-off between external and internal validity.

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Internal validity concerns the mechanism and the cases under study and is higher in small-N studies, while external validity refers to large-N studies investigating the unstudied, larger population (Gerring 2006; 43). The method of selecting cases in qualitative methods is strategic, hence is representativeness of the population not ensured. The method of case selection in large-N studies on the other hand is random or the entire population, therefore, representativeness is ensured to a greater extent (ibid). The cases in this study is also chosen strategically because of the method and the data scarcity. Consequently, making generalisations based upon the findings in this thesis should be done cautiously until other studies have found evidence supporting them.

The design used offers some insight on the mechanism since the mediating variables are discussed and measured however, it is not as thorough as a genuine process tracing. Furthermore, this thesis suggests that armed conflict and violence against LGBT correlates nevertheless, quantitative methods could be used constructively to complement these findings. Also, the proposed mechanism and its indicators are understandably not the only possible way to reach the conclusion. First, other and more indicators could surely have been assigned to the mediating variables to investigate the causal process more thoroughly. Secondly, it is possible this chain of events could be explained solely on psychological processes or the individual perspective instead of starting out with the structural level explaining the choices taken by individuals. This however is a question for future research. Lastly, more alternative explanations could have been considered and evaluated to further strengthen or weaken the explanatory power of armed conflict. The choice of only focusing on the selected control variables is due to them being the most prominent in the literature, the geographical location and the time restrictions. Because international influence can encourage certain developments and the cases geographical location, EU influence was considered. However, this could not explain violence according to existing literature because the EU promotes tolerance and democracy. Potential backlashes of forced promotion of tolerance towards LGBT by the EU is nevertheless an interesting subject for future research. Secondary school enrolment for males was also considered an alternative explanation (Collier & Hoeffler 2004; 588, Østby & Urdal 2010; 4ff) however, data was incomplete and could not be found after 2014. Therefore, it was considered unfruitful to include at this point and passed on to future research as well.

The study could potentially be critiqued on these grounds, however one more thing must be addressed. The study has chosen to focus specifically on the LGBT community and not

vulnerable communities in general, which is due to several reasons. First, the LGBT community exists in all countries around the world and is similar in its composition everywhere. Second, no society is completely tolerant towards sexual minorities, not even in countries considered open and tolerant like the Nordic countries. Even there, political parties still discuss same-sex marriage, adoption rights and other LGBT issues. This is not discussed in general regarding ethnic minorities, disabled persons or religious minorities which also are vulnerable communities in some circumstances, however the situation varies greatly depending on country. Lastly, by focusing on this worldwide vulnerable community can generalisations be made to a greater extent. If there are no other vulnerable communities in a country, it is likely that the treatment of LGBT hints towards how communities that might become vulnerable would be treated.

5. Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, it was mentioned early in the thesis that several organisations claimed that when conflict or crisis occur, violence towards the LGBT community seems to increase, however no systematic comparative research on the issue could be found. Henceforth, the purpose of this thesis has been to examine if armed conflict increases targeted violence by civilians against the LGBT community, as it was claimed. It turns out that these claims are not without substance, at least according to the results and analysis in this paper. The findings support the proposed theory of armed conflict bringing about the structural changes that leads to the creation of a war economy. This development involves redistribution of resources which leads to decreased opportunity cost for committing crimes and a perceived or real deprivation. The individual cope with the new circumstances by committing violence against vulnerable groups in society motivated by economic or psychological reasons. For example, a perceived need to secure one's own resources and decrease the competition or by acting on displaced frustration. The findings also carry important policy implications, most notably that there is a need to include and focus on the rights and needs of LGBT persons during conflict. This can be done by giving aid specifically to the LGBT community, contacting the LGBT community to assess their needs, build shelters and increase pressure on national governments to uphold human rights.

This thesis has attempted to provide a theory as well as test the proposed causal mechanism, and because this issue has been largely overlooked there are several opportunities for future research. Some of these has already been mentioned throughout the thesis, however they will be summarised here as well. Several avenues for future research concerns violence. First, what could explain the decline in psychological violence and increase of physical violence committed by civilians in times of conflict. Second, what conditions are necessary for both forms of violence to decrease and third, there is a notion that societies at peace are more prone to committing psychological violence such as threats, however this needs to be explored further. These paths for future research is especially important for organisations and governments because it would give them a starting point when addressing these problems. Another avenue concerns the existing theories and in-depth studies evaluating the mechanism presented in this paper. The theories and body of literature on this topic is scarce however, theories from other field of research could possibly be applied and tested. The thesis chose the perspective of structural changes affecting individuals' decisions, this perspective could maybe be reversed or solely explained on the individual level by for example psychological processes. To strengthen the proposed mechanism, it would be beneficial to investigate which areas affected by resource redistribution affects the opportunity cost for committing crimes as well as quantitative studies to increase the generalisability and complement the findings. Lastly, the potential of backlashes and negative consequences of tolerance promotions from other influential actors such as the EU or UN is largely unexplored. The importance here resides in that actors might intend to do good, however if the citizens perceive the external actors' legitimacy low, the promotions might be viewed with resentment.

In conclusion, much work is still to be done on this topic however, the thesis contributes to the existing literature and addresses a much-overlooked issue, the relationship of armed conflict and violence committed by civilians against LGBT. The thesis is by no means a cure for any of these issues, however it suggests the relationship exists and that armed conflict brings about a rise in targeted hate crimes. Therefore, being "different" is rarely easy, especially not in times of crisis and conflict.

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

6. Bibliography

- Amnesty International, 2018. *Amnesty International Report 2017/18 – Ukraine*. [online] Amnesty International. Available at: <<https://www.refworld.org/country,,,UKR,,5a993840a,0.html>> [Accessed 6 January 2019]
- Article 19, 2018. *Challenging hate: Monitoring anti-LGBT “hate speech” and responses to it in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine*. [online PDF] United Kingdom: Article 19. Available at: <https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/LGBT-Hate-Speech-Report-Central-Asia_March2018.pdf> [Accessed 6 December 2018]
- Bacchi, U., 2018. Shunned and homeless LGBT Ukrainians find shelter in Kiev. Reuters, [online] 2 January 2018. Available at: <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-lgbt-shelter/shunned-and-homeless-lgbt-ukrainians-find-shelter-in-kiev-idUSKBN1ER0GC>> [Accessed 20 December 2018]
- Beach, D., and Pedersen, R. B., 2013. *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. Available from: ProQuest Ebook Central. [Accessed 10 January 2019]
- Bielieskov, M., 2018. Ukraine's Military is Back. The National Interest, [online] 27 February 2018. Available at: <<https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/ukraines-military-back-24674>> [Accessed 12 December 2018]
- Bond, K., and Vlasova, A., 2017. Gay and displaced on the frontlines of Ukraine's conflict. UNHCR, [online] 15 September 2017. Available at: <<https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2017/9/597ef1fc4/gay-displaced-frontlines-ukraines-conflict.html>> [Accessed 20 December 2018]
- Buhaug, H., Gates, S., Hegre, H., and Strand, H., 2007. GLOBAL TRENDS IN ARMED CONFLICT, *Centre for the Study of Civil War, PRIO*. [PDF] Available at: <https://www.hbuhaug.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Global-Trends_final.pdf> [Accessed 7 December 2018].

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Chyzhova, O., 2017. Evolution in Moldova security sector. Prospects for the future. Ukrainian Prism Foreign Policy Council [online] 23 November 2017. Available at: <<http://prismua.org/en/evolution-moldova-security-sector-prospects-future/>> [Accessed 14 December 2018]

Collier, P., and Hoeffler, A., 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers* [e-journal] 56(4), pp. 563-595. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.uu.se/>> [Accessed 12 December 2018]

Cooley, A., 2017. *WHOSE RULES, WHOSE SPHERE? RUSSIAN GOVERNANCE AND INFLUENCE IN POST-SOVIET STATES*. [online PDF] Carnegie: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Available at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/6302017_AlexanderCooley_WhoseRules.pdf> [Accessed 06 January 2019]

Council on Foreign Relations., 2018. *Conflict in Ukraine*. Council on Foreign Relations [online] 27 December 2018. Available at: <<https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-conflict-tracker?marker=7#!/conflict/conflict-in-ukraine>> [Accessed 06 January 2019]

Department of Peace and Conflict, 2018. *Definitions*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/>> [Accessed 06 November 2018]

Devine, C., Byington, L. and News21 Staff., 2018. *MILLIONS ARE VICTIMS OF HATE CRIMES, THOUGH MANY NEVER REPORT THEM*. The Center for Public Integrity [online] 16 August 2018. Available at: <<https://publicintegrity.org/federal-politics/millions-are-victims-of-hate-crimes-though-many-never-report-them/>> [Accessed 06 December 2018]

Esaiasson, P., Gilljam, M., Oscarsson, H., Towns, A., and Wängnerud, L., 2017. *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad*. 5th ed. Visby: Norstedts Juridik

European Institute for Gender Equality., 2018. *Psychological violence*. European Institute for Gender Equality [online] Available at:

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

<<https://eige.europa.eu/rdc/thesaurus/terms/1334>> [Accessed 28 November 2018]

Fox, J., and Sandler, S., 2003. Regime Types and Discrimination against Ethnoreligious Minorities: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Autocracy-Democracy Continuum. *Political Studies*, [e-journal] 51(3), 469-489. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 28 December 2018]

Freedom House, 2018a. *Transnistria Profile*. [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/transnistria>> Accessed: [Accessed 06 December 2018]

Freedom House, 2018b. *Moldova 2013*. [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/moldova>> Accessed: [Accessed 06 December 2018]

Freedom House, 2018c. *Ukraine 2013*. [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/ukraine>> Accessed: [Accessed 06 December 2018]

Freedom House, 2018d. *Moldova Profile* [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/moldova>> Accessed: [Accessed 06 December 2018]

Freedom House, 2018e. *Ukraine Profile* [online] Available at: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/ukraine>> Accessed: [Accessed 06 December 2018]

Frolov, A., 2014. *REPORT ON THE SITUATION WITH OBSERVANCE OF RIGHTS OF LGBT PEOPLE IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN 2014*. [pdf] Moldova: Genderdoc-M. Available at: <https://gdm.md/files/untitled%20folder/raport-GENDERDOC-M-2014_english.pdf> [Accessed 06 November 2018]

Gaillard, J, C., Sanz, K., Balgos, B, C., Dalisay, S., Gorman-Murray, A., Smith, F., and Toelupe, V., 2016. Beyond men and women: a critical perspective on gender

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

and disaster. *Disasters*, [e-journal] 41(3), 429-447. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 28 September 2018]

Galbraith, J., 2001. The meaning of a war economy. *Challenge*, [e-journal] 44(6), 5-12. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 28 November 2018]

Galtung, J., 1969. Violence, Peace and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, [e-journal] 6(3), 167-191. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 28 September 2018]

Gates, S., Hegre, H., Nygård, H, M., Strand, H., 2012. Development Consequences of Armed Conflict. *World Development*, [e-journal] 40(9), 1713-1722. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 26 November 2018]

Gerring, J., 2006. *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. [online] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available at: <<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uu/detail.action?docID=288451>> [Accessed 10 Jan. 2019]

Giannone, D., 2010. Political and ideological aspects in the measurements of democracy: the Freedom House case. *Democratization*, [e-journal] 17(1), 68-97. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 03 January 2018]

Goncharova, O., 2017. Kyiv shelter helps LGBT war refugees start new life. Kyiv Post, [online] 3 August 2017. Available at: <<https://www.kyivpost.com/lifestyle/people/journalism-of-tolerance/kyiv-shelter-helps-lgbt-war-refugees-start-new-life.html>> [Accessed 03 January 2019]

Goncharova, O., 2018. Ukraine ranks among world's most miserable economies. Kyiv Post, [online] 15 February 2018. Available at: <<https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/ukraine-ranks-among-worlds-miserable-economies.html>> [Accessed 03 January 2019]

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Gupta, S., de Mello, L., and Sharan, R., 2001. Corruption and military spending. *European Journal of Political Economy*, [e-journal]17(4), 749-777. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 15 December 2018]

Haley-Nelson, C., 2005. Sexualized Violence Against Lesbians. *A Journal of Social Justice*, [e-journal] 17(2-3), 163-180. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 12 November 2018]

Hannon, L., 2001. CRIMINAL OPPORUNITY THEORY AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND PROPERTY CRIME. *Sociological Spectrum*, [PDF] 22(3), 363-381. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 11 November 2018]

Human Dignity Trust, 2015. Criminalising Homosexuality and LGBT Rights in Times of Conflict, Violence and Natural Disasters. [PDF] Human Dignity Trust. Available at: <http://www.humandignitytrust.org/uploaded/Library/Other_Material/Criminalising_Homosexuality_and_LGBT_rights_in_times_conflict.pdf> [Accessed 9 September 2018]

Human Rights Watch, 2018. *Ukraine: Investigate, Punish Hate Crimes*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/06/14/ukraine-investigate-punish-hate-crimes>> [Accessed 6 November 2018]

Hoeffler, A., 2011. 'Greed' versus 'Grievance': A Useful Conceptual Distinction in the Study of Civil War?, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* [e-journal] 11(2), pp. 274-284. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 6 November 2018]

Home Office, 2017. *Country Policy and Information Note Ukraine: Sexual orientation and gender identity*. [PDF] London: Home Office. Available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/626236/Ukraine_-_SOGI_-_CPIN_-_v2_0_July_2017_.pdf> [Accessed 14 December 2018]

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Humphrey, M., and Weinstein, J. M., 2008. Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War, *American Journal of Political Science*. [e-journal] 52(2), pp. 436-455. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.uu.se/>> [Accessed 18 November 2018]

Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015. *Economic consequences of war on the U.S. economy*. [PDF] Sydney, New York, Washington D.C.: Institute for Economics & Peace. Available at: <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/The-Economic-Consequences-of-War-on-US-Economy_0.pdf> [Accessed 08 January 2019]

ILGA, 2017. *Sexual orientation laws in the world – overview*. [PDF] ILGA. Available at: <https://ilga.org/downloads/2017/ILGA_WorldMap_ENGLISH_Overview_2017.pdf> [Accessed 18 November 2018]

Inglehart, R., and Foa, R., 2010. Religion and Values in a Globalized Era. [online] Available at: <<https://www.bbvaopenmind.com/en/articles/religion-and-values-in-a-globalized-era/>> [Accessed 05 January 2019]

Interfax-Ukraine, 2018. Crimes with weapons from war zone remain a problem – Avakov. *Interfax-Ukraine*, [online] 29 December 2018. Available at: <<https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/556370.html>> [Accessed 03 January 2019]

Kaldor, M., 2007. *New & Old Wars*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kenarov, D., 2015. Dashed Hopes in Gay Ukraine. *Foreign Policy*, [online] 19 January 2015. Available at: <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/01/19/dashed-hopes-in-gay-ukraine-maidan-russia/>> [Accessed 05 December 2018]

Kuyper, L., Iedema, J., and Keuzenkamp, S., 2013. *Towards Tolerance*. [PDF] The Hague: SCP. Available at: <<http://dare.uvu.vu.nl/bitstream/handle/1871/49778/Towards%20tolerance.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>> [Accessed 17 December 2018]

Lough, J., Lutsevych, O., Pomerantsev, P., Secieru, S., and Shekhovtsov, A., 2014. *Russian Influence Abroad: Non-state Actors and Propaganda*. [PDF] London: Chatham House. Available at:

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/field/field_document/20141024RussianInfluenceAbroad.pdf> [Accessed 13 December 2018]

MacQueen, K. M., McLellan, E., Metzger, D. S., Kegeles, S., Strauss, R. P., Scotti, R., Blanchard, L., and Trotter, R. T., 2001. What is community? An evidence based definition for participatory public health. *American journal of public health*, [e-journal] 91(12), 1929-1938. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 18 November 2018]

McDevitt, J., Levin, J. and Bennett, S., 2002. Hate crime offenders: an expanded typology. *Journal of Social Issues* 58(2), 303-17.

Miller, C., 2018. It's Even Worse Than Before': How The 'Revolution Of Dignity' Failed LGBT Ukrainians. RadioFreeEuropeRadioLiberty [online] 21 November 2018. Available at: <<https://www.rferl.org/a/it-s-even-worse-than-before-how-the-revolution-of-dignity-failed-lgbt-ukrainians/29613348.html>> [Accessed 29 December 2018]

Moore, M, W., Barner, J, R., 2017. Sexual minorities in conflict zones: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour* [e-journal] 35, 33-37. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 08 November 2018]

Munich Kyiv Queer, 2018. Situation in Ukraine. Munich Kyiv Queer [online]. Available at: <<https://munichkyivqueer.org/situation-in-ukraine/>> [Accessed 29 December 2018]

Murthy, S., and Lakshminarayana, R., 2006. Mental health consequences of war: a brief review of research findings. *World Psychiatry* [e-journal] 5(1), 25-30. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 30 November 2018]

Nash Mir Center, 2013. Situation of LGBT People in Ukraine. [PDF] Kyiv: LGB Human Rights NASH MIR Center. Available at: <https://gay.org.ua/publications/lgbt_ukraine_overview-eng.pdf> [Accessed 07 November 2018]

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018.
Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

OHCHR Moldova, 2016. PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA. [PDF] Chisinau: OHCHR Moldova. Available at: <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CRC/Shared%20Documents/MDA/INT_CRC_IFS_MDA_26438_E.pdf> [Accessed 07 November 2018]

OSAC, 2018. *Ukraine 2018 Crime & Safety Report*. [PDF] United States: OSAC. Available at: <<https://www.osac.gov/Pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=24286>> [Accessed 20 November 2018]

OSCE ODHIR, 2018a. *Moldova 2017*. [online] 2018. Available at: <<http://hatecrime.osce.org/moldova?year=2017>> [Accessed 13 November 2018]

OSCE ODHIR, 2018b. *Ukraine 2017*. [online] 2018. Available at: <<http://hatecrime.osce.org/ukraine?year=2017>> [Accessed 13 November 2018]

OSCE ODHIR, 2018c. *Moldova 2013*. [online] 2018. Available at: <<http://hatecrime.osce.org/moldova?year=2013>> [Accessed 13 November 2018]

OSCE ODHIR, 2018d. *Ukraine 2013*. [online] 2018. Available at: <<http://hatecrime.osce.org/ukraine?year=2013>> [Accessed 13 November 2018]

OSCE ODHIR, 2018e. *Sweden 2017*. [online] 2018. Available at: <<http://hatecrime.osce.org/sweden>> [Accessed 13 November 2018]

Petrov, V., and Ponomarenko, I., 2017. Krasnohorivka farmers receive Red Cross humanitarian aid. Kyiv Post [online] 11 October 2017. Available at: <<https://www.kyivpost.com/multimedia/photo/krasnohorivka-farmers-receive-red-cross-humanitarian-aid>> [Accessed 05 December 2018]

Ponomarenko, I., 2017. Ukraine's defense budget up by 28 percent in 2018. Kyiv Post [online] 10 December 2017. Available at: <<https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/ukraines-defense-budget-28-percent-2018.html?cn-reloaded=1>> [Accessed 05 December 2018]

Popșoi, M., 2018. Moldova's Cooperation With NATO-Strategic Choice or Political Tactic. *Eurasia Daily Monitor* [e-journal] 15(19). Available at: <<https://jamestown.org/program/moldovas-cooperation-nato-strategic-choice-political-tactic/>> [Accessed 09 December 2018]

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Pew Research Center, 2017. Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe. Pew Research Center [online] 10 May 2017. Available at: <<http://www.pewforum.org/2017/05/10/religious-belief-and-national-belonging-in-central-and-eastern-europe/>> [Accessed 09 January 2019]

Prohniksky, V., 2002. Moldova-Ukraine-Romania: a regional portrayal of economy and trade. *Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe*, [e-journal] 5(2), 35-47. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 30 November 2018]

Ratsimbaharison, A, M., 2011. Greed and Civil War in Post-Cold War Africa: Revisiting the Greed Theory of Civil War, *African Security*. [e-journal] 4(4), pp. 269-282. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 12 November 2018]

Reese, G., Steffens, M., and Jonas, K., 2014. Religious Affiliation and Attitudes Towards Gay Men: On the Mediating Role of Masculinity Threat. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* [e-journal] 24(4), 340-355. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 7 January 2019]

RFSL, 2018. Glossary. [online] Available at: <<https://www.rfsl.se/en/lgbtq-facts/lgbtq/glossary/>> [Accessed 9 November 2018]

Roache, M., 2018. The conflict in eastern Ukraine has taken the lives and rights of some of the most marginalised. Dazed [online] 26 June 2018. Available at: <<http://www.dazeddigital.com/politics/article/40496/1/what-life-is-really-like-for-lgbt-refugees-in-ukraine>> [Accessed 3 December 2019]

Roberts, C., Innes, M., Williams, M., Tregidga, J., and Gadd, D., 2013. Understanding who commits hate crime and why they do it. *Welsh Government Social research* [PDF] 38, 2-71. Available at: <<https://orca.cf.ac.uk/58880/1/understanding-who-commits-hate-crime-and-why-they-do-it-en.pdf>> [Accessed 9 November 2018]

Rodrigues, C, C., Leite, F., and Queiros, M., 2017. Sexual minorities: The terminology. *European Psychiatry* [e-journal] 41(4), 848. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.ub.uu.se/>> [Accessed 7 January 2019]

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Schulzke, M., 2016. The Unintended Consequences of War: Self-Defense and Violence against Civilians in Ground Combat Operations. *International Studies Perspective* [e-journal] 1884), 391-408. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.uu.se/>> [Accessed 7 December 2018]

Sen, A., 2001, *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press.

Statistica Moldovei, 2018a. *Recorded crimes by Indicator, type of crimes and Years*. [online] Available at: <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/pxweb/en/30%20Statistica%20sociala/30%20Statistica%20sociala_12%20JUS_JUS010/JUS010100.px/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=5360837a-13b5-4912-a2e0-12892e96d2ab> [Accessed 5 December 2018]

Statistica Moldovei, 2018b. *Convicted persons by Indicators, Types of punishment, Sex and Years*. [online] Available at: <http://statbank.statistica.md/pxweb/pxweb/en/30%20Statistica%20sociala/30%20Statistica%20sociala_12%20JUS_JUS030/JUS030100.px/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=5360837a-13b5-4912-a2e0-12892e96d2ab> [Accessed 5 December 2018]

Swee, L. E., 2016. Economics of Civil War. *The Australian Economic review* [e-journal] 49(1), 105-111. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.uu.se/>> [Accessed 7 December 2018]

UCDP, 2018a. *Government of Moldova-PMR*. [online] Available at: <<http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/841>> [Accessed 5 November 2018]

UCDP, 2018b. *Government of Ukraine-United Armed Forces of Novorossiya*. [online] Available at: <<http://ucdp.uu.se/#/statebased/14210>> [Accessed 5 November 2018]

Ukrstat, 2018. *Offences*. [online] Available at: <https://ukrstat.org/en/operativ/operativ2005/pp_rik/pp_e/2002_e.html> [Accessed 10 November 2018]

UN, 2018. *Definitions*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.unfe.org/definitions/>> [Accessed 10 November 2018]

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018. Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

US BDHRL, 2013. *MOLDOVA 2013 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT*. [PDF] U.S.: US BDHRL. Available at: <<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/220520.pdf>> [Accessed 12 November 2018]

Vromen, A., 2010. Debating Methods: Rediscovering Qualitative Approaches. In D. Marsh, & G. Stoker, *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wallensten, P., 2014. Global patterns of conflict and the role of third parties. *The Notre Dame Law Review* [e-journal] 67(5), 1409-1423. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.uu.se/>> [Accessed 7 December 2018]

Wilkinson, C., and Langlois, A., 2014. Special Issue: Not Such an International Human Rights Norm? Local Resistance to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights Norm Preliminary Comments. *Journal of Human Rights* [e-journal] 13(3), 249-255. Available through: Uppsala University Library website <<https://www.uu.se/>> [Accessed 7 December 2018]

Williams, M., and Polityuk, P., 2018. Russian threat highest since 2014: Ukraine military chief. Reuters, [online] 4 December 2018. Available at: <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ukraine-crisis-russia-military/russian-threat-highest-since-2014-ukraine-military-chief-idUSKBN1O32IV>> [Accessed 7 December 2018]

World Bank, 2018a. *Military expenditure (% of central government expenditure)*. [online] Available at: <<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.ZS?locations=MD-UA-1W>> [Accessed 4 December 2018]

World Bank, 2018b. *Armed forces personnel (% of total labor force)*. [online] Available at: <<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.TOTL.TF.ZS?locations=UA-MD-1W>> [Accessed 4 December 2018]

World Bank, 2018c. *Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modelled ILO estimate)*. [online] Available at:

Jim Jormanainen, Does Armed Conflict Affect Violence Against the LGBT Community? A Comparison of Moldova and Ukraine, Bachelor's thesis, Fall 2018.
Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

<<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=MD-UA-1W>> [Accessed 4 December 2018]

World Economic Forum, 2018. *Global Competitiveness Report 2015*. [online] Available at:
<<http://reports.weforum.org/global-competitiveness-report-2015-2016/competitiveness-rankings/>> [Accessed 18 December 2018]

Østby, G., and Urdal, H., 2010. Education and Civil Conflict: A Review of the Quantitative, Empirical Literature, *Centre for the Study of Civil War, International Peace Research Institute, Department of Political Science University of Oslo* [PDF]. Available at:
<<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190777e.pdf>> [Accessed 12 December 2018].