Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict
Annotated Bibliography
2012

The Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights created this Annotated Bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of academic research in sexual violence and armed conflict. Our goal is to provide the policy, activist and scholarly communities with access to the findings of academic research; therefore, the extensive and valuable resources produced by policy agencies, NGOs, and international organizations are generally not included here. Of course, we assume that readers will use this Annotated Bibliography only as a guide to help find useful readings, and that anyone wishing to cite these sources in their own work will go back to the original sources.
The Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights created this Annotated Bibliography to provide a guide to the landscape of academic research on sexual violence and armed conflicts.

This bibliography is by no means an exhaustive listing. We have focused on the academic literature, so most of the numerous publications originating from within the policy and NGO communities have not been included here. This bibliography is also limited to articles published in English.

Insofar as possible, entries include citations, published abstracts, quotations of key sentences (indicated in quotation marks, and followed by page number) and additional annotations by the interns who worked on this bibliography, and URLs for articles that are available online. Books usually are only briefly summarized, often with the table of contents included.

This annotated bibliography is meant to introduce readers to the landscape of academic research and debate in this field, and to help support the reader in her or his own research. Despite the inclusion of quotations and page numbers in the annotations, we strongly advise the reader not to quote directly from this document, but rather to use it to direct you to the literature that will be of use to you.

If you are familiar with resources that you think should be included in this annotated bibliography, please send the citation, or, better yet, an annotation, and we will add it to the bibliography, with your name as reviewer. Resources can be submitted through our website at: genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/annotated-bibliographies.

Abstract:
Sexual violence has been practiced against women during armed conflicts since the beginning of warfare, but until recently the international community perceived and accepted such gender-based abuse as an inevitable byproduct of war. Rape and other forms of sexual abuse have been explicitly or implicitly prohibited by most international and regional human rights and humanitarian laws for decades. Almost every country in the world has ratified and signed one or more of these instruments and, therefore, has obligations under multiple treaties to protect women against sexual violence during armed conflict. Yet rape remains the least condemned war crime. (*Abstract from Amazon*)


Abstract:
Not much is known about the repressive use of sexuality against political prisoners. It is important to gain a better understanding of the trauma involved in sexual torture for treatment purposes. On the basis of clinical experience with refugees from the Middle East, North Africa, and Latin America, and the collection of mainly unpublished material on the subject, a theory of the psychodynamics of sexual torture is proposed. It is claimed that this method of torture is especially traumatic, as it is characterized by a confusing and complex ambiguity containing both libidinal and aggressive components, against which the victim has difficulty maintaining a psychological defense. Hence, his or her core identity processes are threatened. Aspects of transcultural treatment are discussed, and it is stressed that there must be a reframing of the trauma story so as not to repeat the psychological pain of the torture and aggravate symptoms. The Testimony-Method is introduced as an important tool for reframing. If the refugee presents sexual symptoms, sexological treatment interventions are recommended. (*Abstract from Wiley Online Library*)


Abstract:
This article examines wartime sexual violence, one of the most recurring wartime human rights abuses. It asserts that our theorizations need further development, particularly in regard to the way that masculinities and the intersections with constructions of ethnicity feature in wartime sexual violence. The article also argues that although women and girls are the predominant victims of sexual violence and men and boys the predominant agents, we must also be able to account for the presence of male victims and female agents. This, however, engenders a problem; much of the women’s human rights
discourse and existing international mechanisms for addressing wartime sexual violence tend to reify the male-perpetrator/female-victim paradigm. This is a problem which feminist human rights theorists and activists need to address. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Lynne Segal stresses, however, that we could reverse the assumed causal link between masculinity and violence: ‘[t]he idea that what is at stake here is state violence in the hands of men (rather than, as many feminists believe, male violence in the hands of the state) is supported by reports of women’s use of force and violence when they are placed in jobs [or other positions of power] analogous to men’s.” (Alison,76)

“The homosocial nature of militaries may be necessary for cohesion but its attendant danger of homosexual behaviour does not sit well with the hetero-normativity of hegemonic masculinity. Rape (even, as discussed later, rape of men) serves to reassert heteromasculinity.” (77)

“Finally, it has been noted that gang-rape performs a bonding function for groups of men and that it accounts for a high proportion of wartime sexual violence. Gang-rape cements a sense of loyalty between men and those who might not rape individually do rape collectively in a group assertion of masculinity. Goldstein suggests that raping as part of a group ‘may serve to relieve individual men of responsibility’. I suggest, however, that part of the reason gang-rape promotes group cohesion may be that it bonds men together in a complicity (in fact a shared awareness of responsibility) that makes loyalty to the group vital.” (77)

“‘[I]n wars men only continue to do what they did before but in a more mindless and indiscriminate way’, and that ‘[r]ape . . . happens during war for the same reasons it happens during peace. It is a phenomenon rooted in inequality, discrimination, male domination and aggression, misogyny and the entrenched socialisation of sexual myths.’” (78)

“In contemporary armed conflicts, particularly though not exclusively ethnonational, rape is intentionally committed by specific men against specific women (and men) – namely ‘enemy’ women (and men) – and therefore it cannot be regarded as indiscriminate.” (79)

“During times of conflict multiple binary constructions are formed; not only is ‘masculine’ contrasted to ‘feminine’ within a group and ‘us’ contrasted to ‘them’ between groups, but ‘our women’ are contrasted to ‘their women’ and ‘our men’ to ‘their men’. ‘Our women’ are chaste, honourable, and to be protected by ‘our men’; ‘their women’ are unchaste and depraved. Wartime propaganda presents the (male) enemy as those who would rape and murder ‘our’ women and the war effort is directed at saving ‘our’ women.” (80)

“In wartime, then, male to male rape (as male to female rape) humiliates and feminises the victim whilst asserting the perpetrator’s dominant (heterosexual, ethno-national)
masculinity. The ethnonational element means that symbolically the victim’s national identity is also feminised and humiliated. Sexual violence is ‘preferred’, Inger Skjelsbæk suggests, because ‘this is the form of violence which most clearly communicates masculinisation and feminisation’.” (81)

“Women are not only victims of war, they are also agents of violence; men are also victims of sexual violence; the idea of male protection is inherently problematic and can lead in itself to abuses of women; women are not all located the same and one’s positioning impacts on one’s experiences of war. This leads us to a further overriding problem: how to both acknowledge and respond to the reality of male victims and female agents of sexual violence whilst still recognising and acting with the simultaneous reality that women and girls remain the majority of victims and men and boys the majority perpetrators – but, further, that both women’s and men’s ethnic and social positioning contributes enormously to differential experiences.” (84)

“I have argued that a more complex analysis of empirical cases of wartime sexual violence that examines the interplay between masculinity, femininity, ethnicity and sexuality, is required and serves to bring into relief the problems with accepting this binary at face value and wholeheartedly. The example of wartime sexual violence as a problem for women’s human rights, then, illuminates a broader conundrum feminists face: how to ‘do’ women’s human rights if in so ‘doing’ we actually reify certain (unhelpful, incomplete, potentially essentialist) constructs that we also wish to – or need to – annihilate.” (89)


**Abstract:**
A study examines the military policy of rape for the purpose of genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in the 1990s. Data were obtained from first-hand written accounts of genocidal rape as well as extensive discussions with survivors. The Serbs adopted an official policy that not only permits but recommends that genocidal rape be used to further their military and political goal. The Serbs have used a policy of enforced pregnancy to erase victims' Muslim cultural identities. The leaders of Serbia have devised a strategy of systematic terror based on raping and murdering women as well as impregnating them to provide a new source of Serbian citizens. Such a policy was designed even before the fighting began. The authors and perpetrators of this policy, which constituted a type of genetic warfare, should be prosecuted in an international tribunal. *(Abstract from Criminal Justice Abstracts)*.

**Summary:**
The systematic rape of Muslim and Croat women as part of the “ethnic cleansing” campaign in the former Yugoslavia is by now common knowledge. Less well known is the military policy of rape for the purpose of genocide currently practiced in Bosnia-Herzegovina by members of the Yugoslav Army and the Bosnian Serb military. The
author of this outraged protest asserts that rape is being used increasingly as a weapon of war in the Balkans, combining murderous misogyny with rabid nationalism. Allen explains the twisted logic by which perpetrators consider the act as canceling the victim's cultural identity. If the victim is impregnated, so the theory goes, the offspring is nothing less than “a little Serb soldier”. Allen urgently argues that the U.N.’s International Criminal Tribunal must prosecute the perpetrators of pregnancy-aimed rape as a crime of biological warfare. Her self-consciously feminist book, documenting the mass scale of rapes at some 30 concentration camps, is shockingly effective.


Abstract:
Discusses a study which concluded that sexual violence against women, committed by combatants in Sierra Leone, was widespread and was perpetrated in the context of a high level of human rights abuses against the civilian population. Sierra Leone's decade-long conflict in which all parties to the conflict committed abuses; Human rights abuses reported among household members; Demographic characteristics and health perceptions among study respondents; Attitudes towards women's human rights and roles in society. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)


Abstract:
In certain circumstances, rape, like war itself, may be politics by other means. After the adoption of UN Security Council resolution 1820, the question is no longer whether sexual violence is a threat to international peace and security, but when. To move from normative recognition to real-world impact, better understanding is needed of when sexual violence should trigger action by the Security Council in relation to situations on its agenda, or be taken into account as a factor that prompts Security Council engagement. A six-pillar test is proposed to guide such determinations, namely: when it constitutes a crime of international concern; when it attracts command responsibility; when civilians are targeted; when it proliferates owing to a climate of impunity; when there are cross-border implications; and/or when it is a ceasefire violation. Sexual violence that falls into any one or any combination of these categories concerns the Security Council, peacemakers and peacekeepers. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Background:
Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is severely affected by HIV/AIDS and conflict. Sexual violence as a weapon of war has been associated with concerns about heightened HIV incidence among women. Widespread rape by combatants has been documented in Burundi, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sudan and Uganda. To examine the assertion that widespread rape may not directly increase HIV prevalence at the population level, we built a model to determine the potential impact of varying scenarios of widespread rape on HIV prevalence in the above seven African countries.

Discussion: Our findings show that even in the most extreme situations, where 15% of the female population was raped, where HIV prevalence among assailants was 8 times the country population prevalence, and where the HIV transmission rate was highest at 4 times the average high rate, widespread rape increased the absolute HIV prevalence of these countries by only 0.023%. These projections support the finding that widespread rape in conflict-affected countries in SSA has not incurred a major direct population-level change in HIV prevalence. However, this must not be interpreted to say that widespread rape does not pose serious problems to women's acquisition of HIV on an individual basis or in specific settings. Furthermore, direct and indirect consequences of sexual violence, such as physical and psychosocial trauma, unwanted pregnancies, and stigma and discrimination cannot be understated.

Summary: The conclusions of this article do not significantly change current practices in the field from an operational perspective. Proper care and treatment must be provided to every survivor of rape regardless of the epidemiological effects of HIV transmission at the population level. Sexual violence must be treated as a protection issue and not solely a reproductive health and psychosocial issue. It is worth publishing data and conclusions that could be misconstrued and may not make much of a programmatic difference in the field. Data, if collected, analysed and interpreted carefully, help to improve our understanding of complicated and nuanced situations. Ultimately, our understanding of what the outcomes of such interventions can achieve will be more realistic. It also helps decision-makers prioritise their funding and interventions. (Ibid, 1)

Abstract:
The physical and psychological consequences of armed conflict and intimate partner violence are well documented. Less research focuses on their intersection and the linkages between domestic violence, gender-based discrimination, and the structural violence of poverty in armed conflict. This paper describes emerging themes from qualitative interviews with young women who have returned from abduction into the Lord’s Resistance Army in northern Uganda, many of whom were forcibly given as ‘‘wives’’ to commanders. Their interviews reveal multiple levels of violence that some women experience in war, including physical and sexual violence in an armed group, verbal and physical abuse from extended family members, and intimate partner violence. Striking is the violence they describe after escaping from the rebels, when they are back with their families. The interviews point to how abduction into the armed group may exacerbate problems but highlight the structural factors that permit and sustain intimate partner violence, including gender inequalities, corruption in the police system, and devastating poverty. Findings suggest that decreasing household violence will depend on the strength of interventions to address all levels, including increasing educational and economic opportunities, increasing accountability of the criminal justice system, minimizing substance abuse, and improving the coping mechanisms of families and individuals exposed to extreme violence. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)


Abstract:
Examines the changes in international law regarding sexual violence against women. Overview of the relevant customary and treaty law norms particularly within humanitarian law; Ways in which war increasingly is waged against the civilian population; Treatment of gender-related crimes in the post-World War II trials held in Nuremberg, Germany and Tokyo, Japan. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)


Abstract:
There is a growing sense of urgency within international humanitarian aid agencies to intervene quickly when face with organized violence stemming from war or armed conflict. From this perspective, the rape of refugees calls for prompt psychological intervention. Beyond this sense of urgency, the premises underlying the different models of humanitarian intervention being utilized require further documentation. What concepts and practices characterize the mental health interventions for refugee women who have suffered sexual violence? How is transcultural psychiatry conceived and practiced in refugee camps? How is 'refugee culture' defined? What do these definitions imply when
translated into therapeutic care to rape victims? This article discusses these issues, and raises some concerns about the appropriateness and the scope of UN and non-governmental approaches. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)


**Abstract:**
During the last years the DRC has made itself known in the world for terrible acts of violence committed by armed men militia and the regular army against the civilian population. The voices of the soldiers and combatants have so far been absent in the accounts of this violence. This silence is problematic, both because it makes it harder to understand such violence, but also because it reinforces stereotypes of African warriors as primitive and anarchic, driven by innate violence and tribal hatred. Enquiry into the particular discursive as well as material circumstances of the armed conflict in the DRC, which might better redress the complex and interrelated context in which “people in uniforms” commit violence, is consequently impeded. The story we recount here emerges from soldiers within the main perpetrator of violence in the DRC today: the Integrated Armed Forces. The soldiers' interview texts challenge the dominant representation of soldiers and combatants in the DRC. The soldiers made sense of the prevalence of violence (in which they too had participated) in several interrelated ways, none of which reflected any expression of “natural” (if dormant) violent tendencies, hatred or vengefulness for the enemy. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

**Summary:**
The DRC has seen “almost unthinkable violence,” stemming from a conflict that started in 1998 but also previous violence by armed groups against civilians, and “much of this violence is today committed by the regular army, the FARDC, which at the beginning of 2007 was still being formed from former militia groups and previous government forces (inter alia the FAC, MLC, RCD-N, RCD-ML and the Mai-Mai)” (Baaz, 58). Baaz and Stern write, “Currently, the DRC is slowly emerging from one of the deadliest conflicts since World War II, involving seven foreign armies and several militia groups, and killing an estimated 4 million people” (58). Western media coverage of conflicts in Africa, with its “familiar colonial and postcolonial imagery,” (58) has resulted in an “Othering” of Africans and widespread perceptions of African wars as “primitive, anarchic and barbaric” (58). The accounts have also been “highly gendered,”(59) in that “men appear as beast-like perpetrators, while women appear as passive and helpless victims,” and have not presented “the global political economic landscape in which acts of violence are specifically situated” (59). The authors utilize the narratives of the soldiers to better explain the violence in the DRC and “to enquire how the soldiers themselves make sense of the violence they commit, with a particular focus on better understanding the connections that they make between violence and masculinity” (59). The authors base their article on interviews in the period October 2005 to November 2006 “with the main ‘perpetrator’ today in the DRC: the Integrated Armed Forces (FARDC), which since 2003 are being formed from surrendering militia groups and the
former government armed forces” (60) and are “still responsible for the largest share of human rights violations”; both soldiers and officers were interviewed, in groups of three or four, in the local language, Lingala, and male and female soldiers were interviewed separately (60). The authors write, “[t]he soldiers interviewed were selected to include a variety of experiences; the main focus has, however, been on ‘ordinary soldiers’” (61), but do not provide a definition of what they mean by “ordinary soldiers.” The interviews were conducted as part of a research project funded by Sida-Sarec and with permission from the Ministry of Defence in the DRC, who ordered various military sectors/commanders to set up the interview sessions; Baaz and Stern state that despite organization by the state, “[e]xcept for a very few cases, the soldiers did not exhibit any inhibition or fear during the interviews…they reflected critically, not only in relation to themselves and their own behaviour, but also and especially to their military superiors/commanders” (61-62). Moreover, “Most soldiers interviewed urged Maria to re-tell their stories and difficulties to a wider audience” (62).

In a short overview of the DRC conflict, Baaz and Stern relate some of the contributing factors as “external and internal competition for Congo’s vast natural resources, the gradual collapse of state functions and the formal economy over the last 40 years, as well as rampant poverty” (62). The Global and All-inclusive Agreement signed in December 2002 stipulated a DDR/SSR process and integration of all the signatories (including the FAC, MLC, RCD-N, RCD-ML, and the Mai-Mai) into a new, state Congolese Army; this process is still ongoing and has been fraught with challenges (63). The different groups do not trust each other and military commanders want to retain their power; CONADER, charged with carrying out the DDR program, “has continuously failed to discharge its responsibilities, particularly in paying demobilisation allowances to ex-combatants” and in carrying out community reintegration projects; FARDC lacks unity, an effective “integrated command,” training, especially of officers, an accountability mechanism for human rights violations, adequate funding, and soldier morale (63-64). There is also a great disparity between the welfare of the officers, especially the senior officers, and that of the soldiers (65). There exists also a long-standing antagonism between the civilian population and those in the security sector, as the military and police have long extorted their means of survival from the public and abused their power; the authors add, “Policemen and soldiers are often referred to simply as miyibi (‘thieves’)” (65).

Military institutions have tended to link masculinity with fighting, protecting, violence, and killing and femininity with “a need for protection, peacefulness, and life-giving acts”; that rape would be used as a tactic “to humiliate (feminise) enemy men by sullying their women/nation/homeland, and proving them to be inadequate protectors” follows from those links (66-67). Baaz and Stern question the veracity of these connections and “this generalized story of gendered warring” (67).

The authors did hear from some of the FARDC soldiers interviewed that the military was a place for masculine, tough, strong men, as opposed to other, feminine people, such as civilians, women, and the weak, or traits like compassion; however it was female soldiers who most emphasized “the stereotypically ‘masculine’ values (physical strength, defenders, cold-blooded),” because they had to or wanted to prove that they had the
masculinity to be in the army or they admired the strong ideal the military represented (67-68). The women soldiers tended to express beliefs of gender equality in the “public” sphere, including the military, but of difference in the private sphere, where “[t]heir ideal notion of femininity was...represented through the image of the ‘submissive wife’, who should obey and please her husband” and “[t]he husband was written as the unquestionable decision-maker in the family, regardless of his work or rank within the military” (69). But overall, the authors state, values such as strength and courage “did not figure centrally in the definitions of what makes a ‘good’ or ‘successful’ soldier” and such notions came up more within the issue of women in the military (70). Moreover the women soldiers cited Western films “as points of reference,” raising questions of whether the gender discourse of masculine soldiers is more global than local (70).

The soldiers conveyed that the most desirable position in the armed forces would be an administrative, judicial, or governmental one, behind a desk and requiring an education, and most of those who voluntarily (not forced or abducted) joined the military did so as a last resort for gaining career opportunity and education (70-71). Baaz and Stern write, “Relatedly, the soldiers’ texts tell us that ‘manhood’ was closely linked to money and material wealth, rather than to an idealised celebration of the ‘man-fighter’. Indeed, the successful, aspired to, masculinity, as reiterated in the soldiers’ narratives, was symbolised by the very wealthy, urban man who works in an office...not the Rambo violent type in the wild. This masculine ideal belongs very firmly in ‘modernity’, and is produced through the discourses of the global liberal capitalist economy, but firmly rooted and produced locally in Congolese popular culture. The male soldiers expressed disappointment at their inability to realize these goals and frustration at what they perceive to be gender inequality in the number of women being granted and occupying the administrative jobs they desire.” (71-72)

As far as the ideal soldier, the soldiers “emphasised order, discipline, dignity, respect and humility,” traits which run contrary to the stereotypical “beef and brawn” conception, and set these attributes of order, respect for rules, and discipline against the “disorder, disrespect, cowardice and lack of discipline” they associate with civilians (72-73). But the military as it was, in the soldiers’ accounts, did not actually conform to these ideal characteristics and “the soldiers’ texts tell us that the military rules have been desecrated by the ‘superiors’” (74). The soldiers describe a tense antipathy between the civilian population and the military, proceeding from this lapse of compliance with the RM (military code – Reglement Militaire), poor leadership, and crimes by uniformed men against civilians, when the military’s purpose, as the soldiers conceived it, was to honorably protect the public (74-75). In fact, the soldiers seemed to view rape or robbery as “wrong” and proscribed by the RM and something “they were not supposed to do” (75). So why do they commit these violent acts?

Baaz and Stern write, “Different themes emerged as central to the soldiers’ accounts: most notably, poverty and suffering as impetus for enactments of violence. They explained violence as a result either of a more explicit livelihood strategy or, more directly, as an expression of suffering and frustration related to poverty and neglect. The general ‘craziness of war’ was also a theme that emerged in the interviews. Additionally,
as we saw above, a generally dysfunctional security sector riddled with poor leadership created circumstances in which order and discipline were undermined” (75-76).

Explaining further the link between poverty and violence, the authors state, “Hunger and the suffering of the children and the family played a central role in explaining the lack of discipline and in particular ‘illegal taxation’, theft, fraud, selling of weapons and uniforms etc…These accounts often featured a deep-seated feeling of neglect, as well as frustration and dissatisfaction with superiors. It is the neglect of the superiors, they explained, their greed, which destroys the army/discipline and which forces them to act in ways that are ultimately foreign to both the Army and to their own sense of self” (76-77).

The soldiers also linked sexual violence to poverty and accompanying feelings of neglect, anger, suffering, and frustration; they also often mentioned fears of unfaithfulness by or unrequited love from their wives, stemming from their failure to properly provide for and protect their family (77-78). Soldiers also named “the spirit and craziness of war” (quote from interview) and drugs as a cause of the violence against civilians, a narrative which, Baaz and Stern explain, fits more with “more generalised notions of warfare and the psychological trauma that afflict many soldiers in diverse situations” (78). According to the authors, “Widespread impunity provides a third explanation for violent acts in the soldiers’ texts. The respondents underscored that ending the violence which they and their colleagues commit could only be achieved through adequate ‘punishment’ for crimes committed. They linked the need for punishment to the overarching need for order, training and improved conditions described above. Indeed, they recurrently recommended introducing severe punishments, preferably involving public humiliation” (79).

Baaz and Stern aver in their conclusion, “In contrast to what is often assumed, they [the soldiers] make sense of such unfortunate and undesirable violence as the ‘result’ of suffering and poor leadership, and not as the accepted natural state. In this sense, the soldiers neither celebrate violence nor do they represent it as central in their constructions of an idealised notion of soldiering” (80-81).


Abstract:
This article explores the ways soldiers in the Congo speak about the massive amount of rape committed by the armed forces in the recent war in the DRC. It focuses on the reasons that the soldiers give to why rape occurs. It discusses how the soldiers distinguish between “lust rapes” and “evil rapes” and argues that their explanations of rape must be understood in relation to notions of different (impossible) masculinities. Ultimately, through reading the soldiers' words, we can glimpse the logics—arguably informed by the increasingly globalized context of soldiering—through which rape becomes possible, and even “normalized” in particular warscapes. (Ibid, 495)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
Baaz and Stern quote Cynthia Enloe (1990), who outlines three main forms of militarised rape in her work:

- **Recreational rape**: a belief in men’s (heterosexual) biological need for sexual release underlies the rationale for this form of rape.
- **National security rape**: used to punish, humiliate, torture, seemingly ‘subversive’ women for threatening national security (and identity) through their perceived challenges to the strictly defined notions of femininity and masculinity.
- **Systematic mass rape**: an instrument of ethnically specific oppression and generalized terror which can be seen as a particularly effective means to humiliate (feminize) enemy men by sullying ‘his’ women/nation/homeland, and proving him to be an inadequate protector.

However, the authors do not find that the testimonies of the soldier fit into these categories. Within the two categories of rape the soldiers themselves define, they explain the rationale:

- For lust rape as: the ‘inevitable’ consequence of what happens when a real man is deprived of the possibilities to have sex (no money and no leave): he must use force to embody that masculinity – even though partial and failed.
- For ‘evil rape’ as: not a reflection of sexual needs, but of frustrations arising from hunger, poverty, neglect and the craziness of warring, and connected to abnormal and deviant masculinity of “a man totally emasculated by his sufferings and no longer using ‘his organ’.”


**Abstract:**
*No Abstract Available.*

**Objective:**
To examine the associations between age and genital injuries in adolescent and young adult women examined following rape.

**Design & Setting:**
A retrospective review of 234 medical records from an emergency department sexual assault program.

**Sample:**
Women aged 14 to 29 years. Fifty percent of the sample was African American, 48% was White, and 2% was either Asian or an "other" race.

**Main Outcome Measures:**
Genital injury was described by injury prevalence, frequency, and anatomical locations of injuries.

**Results:**
Overall genital injury prevalence was 62.8%. Younger age was not significantly associated with the presence or absence of genital injury. However, younger age was significantly associated with an increased number of genital injuries overall and to the thighs, labia minora, periurethral area, fossa navicularis, and vagina.

**Conclusion:**
These findings support the need for further research to determine if the current care provided to rape survivors is age appropriate. (Ibid, 282)

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**Abstract:**
In the literature on conflict and HIV/AIDS, African men are often presented in simplistic and explicitly negative terms. It is generally taken for granted that those who use weapons are men whilst those who suffer the consequences of conflict are women, and that men always hold power in sexual relationships whilst women are always powerless. Certainly, African women and girls have been made vulnerable by the behaviour of men and boys in conflict settings and in sexual relationships. Yet the fact that gender hierarchies also oppress some men is seldom discussed. What of the men who are survivors and victims of violence, or who are displaced or orphaned due to conflict? What of the men who are brothers or husbands of women who have been sexually abused during conflict? This paper argues that applying a more sophisticated gender analysis as it relates to conflict and HIV/AIDS is essential in order to understand how both women and men are made vulnerable by rigid ideas of masculinity and by gender hierarchies. References are made to alternative, non-violent forms of masculinity in Africa and to elements of traditional gender socialisation (the process by which individuals learn and teach others about the roles and behaviours that are expected of a women or man in a given society) which promote more gender-equitable attitudes on the part of young men. Included are examples of young men whose stories reveal ways in which men can question and counter prevailing norms of masculinity. A summary is also provided of promising programmes for including men in the promotion of gender-equity. (Ibid, n. pag.)

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**Abstract:**
Since 1996 a deadly conflict has been ongoing in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Within this conflict, sexual violence has been inflicted upon women as a strategic weapon of war. Given the challenges of working in this setting, this sexual violence epidemic has not been well studied. The current work is a retrospective chart review of women presenting to Panzi Hospital in 2006 requesting post-sexual violence care. The goals were to describe the demographics of sexual violence survivors and to define the physical and psychosocial consequences of sexual violence in Eastern DRC. A total of 1021 patient medical records were reviewed. The mean age was 36 years with an age range of 3.5 years to 80 years. Approximately 90% of sexual violence survivors were either illiterate or had attended only primary school. There were significant delays between the incidents of sexual violence and presentation to Panzi hospital (mean = 16 months, median = 11 months). Physical consequences reported following sexual violence included pelvic pain (22% of women), lumbar pain (11%), abdominal pain (7%) and pregnancy (6%). Thirty six percent of women reported being concerned about their health and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) plus HIV/AIDS were the most commonly singled out health concerns. Six percent of women reported that their husbands had abandoned them after the rape and abandonment was more common after gang rape or if the sexual violence resulted in pregnancy. Treatment programs for survivors of sexual violence must specifically address the economic hardships faced by victims must meet their time-sensitive medical needs and must provide them with psychological care. (Ibid, 37)


Abstract:
Established to prosecute crimes committed in Sierra Leone since November 30, 1996, the Special Court of Sierra Leone could use the language of sexual autonomy in defining sexual violence crimes by relying on existing international criminal law. Nonetheless, the Special Court's recognition of women's right to sexual autonomy, a central concept to an examination of customary norms aimed at a redefinition of the status of women in patriarchal societies, could have a transformative effect not just on Sierra Leone's laws, by creating a domestic precedent for the recognition of such a right, but also on human rights discourse internationally, by serving as the basis for a consensus on the concept of sexual autonomy for the international community. (Ibid, 551)


Abstract:
Part II outlines the current measures utilized to protect victims and witnesses of gender violence by the International Criminal Court and the ad hoc International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. ... Two subsequent protocols reiterated the Geneva Convention's prohibition against rape, stating, “women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution and other forms of indecent assault” including “outrages upon personal dignity ... degrading treatment and rape”. ... Human Rights Watch and the Federation Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme (FIDH), two independent non-governmental organizations (NGOs), uncovered evidence of widespread rape where women were “individually raped, gang-raped, raped with objects such as sharpened sticks or gun barrels, held in sexual slavery or sexually mutilated,” and often after watching the torture and murder of family members. ... There are some limited protections for victims and witnesses provided for in the ICTR, ICTY and ICC Tribunals' Statutes and Rule of Procedure and Evidence. ... Rape victims testifying before the tribunal have sought anonymity as a means of shielding themselves from disgrace within their communities as well as protecting themselves from the retribution of their rapists and their cohorts. ... This view on a near-absolute right of confrontation is inapplicable to rape prosecutions in war crimes tribunals for a myriad of reasons. ... The ICC will soon confront these issues in pending prosecutions and it is incumbent upon the international community, NGOs, and human rights workers and advocates to continue to press for special procedural safeguards for victims of rape and sexual violence who chose to testify before the ICC and other war crimes tribunals. (Ibid, 169-170)


Abstract:
Examines rape as an instrument of terror during the civil conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Historical background of the atrocities committed by soldiers against women during the two World Wars; Political aspect of rape in wars; Different configurations of rape in war; Tactical purposes served by rape in war; Consequences of rape on women. (Abstract from Criminal Justice Abstracts)

Summary:
Using Bosnia since 1992 as a case study, this article examines the significance of rape as a deliberate instrument of terror in the context of war. Political science has generally neglected to analyze this phenomenon, but has instead generally adhered to the popular view that rape is simply an inevitable by-product of war. The article therefore seeks first to differentiate contexts and functions of rape on the basis of socio-military ideology, intent and consequences. Four distinct configurations of wartime rape are identified: rape as bounty; rape as a formally forbidden but de facto tolerated outlet for the soldiers; rape as a breakdown of the command structure and the morale of the troops; and rape as part of the deliberate
assault strategy. The Bosnian case is found to represent a combination of the first and fourth configurations. Based on data from 250 interviews with Bosnian refugees in Croatia and Austria, the tactical functions of rape as a part of ‘ethnic cleansing’ are described, and parallels are determined between rape and the terrorizing of other vulnerable civilians such as children. The interviews also yielded incidental reports of the efforts of individual dissenting soldiers to prevent rape. In conclusion it is noted that while a tactical interpretation of rape is illuminating, it leaves many questions concerning the willingness of large numbers of men to employ sexual violence.


**Abstract:**
In war zones, militarism intensifies women’s subordination and violence against females escalates. It is often assumed that once women have fled the conflict zones of their homelands to “safe havens” in a neighboring country, security will prevail. Insecurity and violence, however, often intensify. In foreign refugee camps changes take place in the core relationships between women and men, and the legal and societal rules and laws that prevail in the home country break down. Thus, refugee women are often further victimized once they flee into foreign lands. Women’s voices concerning the violent episodes in refugee camps are often muted and left unheard. Aid personnel and camp authorities are often overwhelmed with merely providing the basic necessities of life; they have little time to listen. Further, male refugees are often the representatives and go-betweens for their own communities to the official authorities and United Nations personnel. Thus, many of the women in refugee camps in recent times have come to live in fear and isolation. This paper presents the voices of women from three conflict zones—Ethiopia, Somalia, and South Sudan—living in Kenyan refugee camps. (*Ibid, 69*)


**Abstract:**
Sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict societies is a security, public health, human rights issue, and “an act of aggression against a nation or community”. The prevalence and severity of sexual violence as well as its subsequent health and socio-economic consequences fundamentally change societies. Legal and social dimensions, such as women’s second-class status in the Congo and Liberia, actually support the use of rape and perpetuate its ruthless effects. While rape has
been recognized as a war crime and a crime against humanity, very little is known about the protection strategies adopted by victims and their communities’ and how these strategies impact society. The context in which the violence occurs and the protection strategies employed by different communities must be better understood in order to develop holistic and effective solutions for bringing justice to the perpetrators of sexual violence and the care of victims. (Ibid, 47)


Abstract:
This article discusses the impact on international criminal law of the International Criminal Court Statute's provisions on rape and forced pregnancy. The author notes that prior to the Statute, rape and forced pregnancy were considered crimes that violated honour; post-Statute, these crimes are framed in light of the harm done to the victim's bodily integrity and infringement of their agency. The author argues that "this structure signals a new paradigm for the international criminalization of sexual crimes - one based on broader principles of human dignity, autonomy, and consent". The author analyzes the Statute provisions and examines the debates surrounding the inclusion and definitions of rape and forced pregnancy. She ends with a discussion on the new legal framework for sexual crimes. (Abstract from Women's Human Rights Resource Programme)

Summary:
Reports from witnesses, victims, and human rights groups demonstrate that the mass rape and forcible impregnation of women were based on deliberate strategies by armed forces and militias. ... In addition, Human Rights Watch reported that most attacks of sexual violence in Kosovo took place in detention camps, during flight from hostilities, and in the homes of the victims. ... The very inclusion of forced pregnancy, stemming from the controversial recognition of reproductive rights, was contested by countries that prohibit abortion or restrict women's control over reproductive choices. Furthermore, fear that a forced pregnancy provision would undermine or change national laws relating to contraception, abortion, and women's rights led to the inclusion of a sentence in the definition itself, which shields inconsistent national laws from the effect of the provision. ... The legal harm in forced pregnancy is that women are kept pregnant by means of confinement, violating their rights to bodily integrity and privacy. ... The basic underpinning of both human rights law and international humanitarian law is the respect for human dignity and bodily integrity. ...The definitions of rape and forced pregnancy highlight the gender component of sexual violence, they underscore that violence against women is not a necessary aspect of war, and they mark how women's rights are human rights.

**Abstract:**
That war is profoundly gendered has long been recognized by feminist international relations scholars. What is less recognized is that the postwar period is equally gendered. Currently undertheorized is how truth-seeking exercises in the aftermath of conflict should respond to this fact. What happens to women victims of war violence? The difficulties of foregrounding gendered wartime violence in truth telling are illustrated by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The article explores some consequences of the failure to uncover gendered truth, including its impact on the government's reparations policy, and continued "peacetime" violence perpetrated against women in South Africa. (*Ibid, 1169*)


**Abstract:**
Accusations of Albanian rape of Serbs in Kosovo became a highly charged political factor in the development of Serbian nationalism in the 1980s. Discussions of rape were used to link perceptions of national victimization and a crisis of masculinity and to legitimate a militant Serbian nationalism, ultimately contributing to the violent break-up of Yugoslavia. The article argues for attention to the ways in which nationalist projects have been structured with reference to ideals of masculinity, the specific political and cultural contexts that have influenced these processes, and the consequent implications for gender relations as well as for nationalist politics. Such an approach helps explain the appeal of S. Milošević's nationalism; at the same time it highlights the divisions and conflict that lie behind hegemonic gender and national identities constructed around difference. (*Ibid, 563*)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**
“Rape was only one of an arsenal of tactics Albanians were accused of using against Serbs in Kosovo, but it was one that aroused intense reactions. Defenders of the Kosovo Serbs interpreted sexual violence in Kosovo as part of a deliberately orchestrated Albanian campaign to terrorise and humiliate the Kosovo Serbs, encourage them to sell their lands and emigrate. The depiction of rape in Kosovo implied that sexual violence in Kosovo had a radically different character from that elsewhere in the country: that rape was an age-old weapon of Albanian nationalism; that it was an everyday occurrence; that no Serb, regardless of age, sex or status, was safe from sexual assault; that the Albanian judiciary protected rapists, a policy that was either ignored or condoned by the republican and federal authorities; and that all Albanian men were potential or actual rapists. The presumption was that rape in Kosovo was committed primarily from nationalist motives. In an unconscious echo of the feminist approach to rape,
nationalists described it not as a sexual crime, but as an act of violence. Women, however, were not the main victims in their analysis. Rape in Kosovo was ‘an act of genocide’ and ‘an attack on the Serbian nation.” (Bracewell, 565).

“Sexual violence became a focus of public discourse in the 1980s because of the way the subject linked assumptions and anxieties to do with gender (and especially masculinity) to a vision of Serbian nationhood under threat and to an aggressive nationalist programme.” (565)

“But the persistent emphasis on woman as the defining ‘other’ against which national identities and boundaries can be consolidated (either within or beyond the national community) implies a central, dominant role for men and masculinity in the discursive construction of nations.” (566)

“Much nationalist discourse appeals to this same essentialism, celebrating the familiar figure of the soldier-hero, whose duty is that of taking up arms to defend the mothers of the nation. Such dichotomies make the connections between nationalism, masculinity and militarism seem natural and straightforward. But they obscure important complexities (why some men are pacifists; why some women are militant nationalists; why some nationalisms are not militaristic). They also obscure the specific processes which make men willing to fight and die for the nation (and women willing to send them off to battle). These reactions are created and fought over; they are not natural or inevitable. In Serbia in the 1980s, a narrative of threatened masculinity, developed as a part of the nationalist treatment of Kosovo and reinforced by a more general narrative of gender crisis, offered militarism as a way of winning back both individual manliness and national dignity. Not everyone accepted this reasoning, but it was a potent factor in making war thinkable - even attractive.” (567)

“Events in Kosovo certainly reinforced the idea that sexual violence could be an effective Instrument of politics; and rape an activity in which men might demonstrate their nation’s power and masculinity. When in 1986 Serbs from Kosovo had threatened: ‘Let them rape; we can rape too’, they had been quoted in the Serbian press with no hint of condemnation for proposing to retaliate in kind, since such a provocation demanded equal or greater retaliation from the victims. ‘If they keep on raping, there’s no alternative but for us to respond with the same measure’.” (582)

“Attention to the interaction of gender and nation in this particular case suggests the advantages and possibilities of looking at nationalism and war in a framework that goes beyond traditional political analysis of nation and state-building on the one hand, and essentialist gender categories on the other - that instead takes as its starting point the assumptions of the Serb in the Kosovo cafe, that political conflicts and understandings of gender are part of the same whole.” (586)

Abstract:
A proposition of the theory of reintegrative shaming is that a reason some societies have lower rates of rape is that rape is unthinkable to most men in those societies. This presentation shows how war interrupts the unthinkableness of rape. Bougainville society seems to have had a low level of rape until its war of the 1980s and 1990s. A single rape was one of the important sparks that lit its civil war. It caused perhaps over 5% of the population to lose their lives and perhaps over a third to be displaced from their homes. As in most wars, rape became common in Bougainville. A theory of why war causes epidemics of rape helps criminologists understand rape better. It can also help international relations scholars to see that the bigger problem caused by armed conflict today may be crime rather than battle deaths. Rape in peace and in war is interpreted according to Eliza Ahmed's theory of shame management and pride management. Ahmed's work is seen as an important advance in evidence-based criminological theory. A deficiency of reintegrative shaming theory is that it neglects pride as the flip side of shame as an emotion. Shame displacement may be important to the explanation of rape; yet narcissistic pride may be more important. In war we see more vividly the social dynamics of how shame displacement and narcissistic pride allow both rape and the onset of war itself. Bougainville helps us to ponder how historically sustained, deep and broad restorative justice processes may be part of what is needed to return a society to peace and to low levels of rape. (Ibid, 2)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“My hypothesis is that the greater part of the problem of contemporary warfare is actually a crime problem (and rape is the most devastating part of this). The ANU Centre for International Justice and Governance (under the leadership of Hilary Charlesworth and the author) has begun to research this systematically in a study of 60 wars that have occurred since 1985.” (Braithwaite, 4)

“A proposition of the theory of reintegrative shaming is that the reason some societies have low rates of rape is not that rapists are more often locked up in those societies. It is that rape is unthinkable to most men in those societies. And that it is reintegrative shaming that constitutes the unthinkableness of abuse of women.” (4)

“The author interviewed a hundred Bougainvilleans; About half of them discussed the question of sexual assault and domestic violence. Without exception it was their view that the war was associated with large increases in rape and/or domestic violence.” (5)

“Bougainville was a low-rape society before the war because the authority of chiefs as regulators of deviance was very high, respect of men for women was
high and mothers had distinctive forms of power As Mothers of the Land (Sirivi and Havini 2004) in a mostly matrilineal society.” (6)

“The Bougainville experience suggests that part of what may be required to return a society to peace and low levels of rape may be restorative justice processes that are historically sustained, deep and broad.” (8)

“Young men do not want the experience of their mothers and other relatives hearing about their rape of neighbouring women and girls. The pain for the relatives of meeting survivors and paying them compensation is designed to be painful for perpetrators.” (8)

“Effectiveness depends on shaming the act while reintegrating the person as redeemable – a good person who has done a bad thing.” (9)

“Throughout Melanesia we can see the problems of rape and violence that arise when unemployed young men are not reintegrated into their villages and continue to seek money and excitement illegitimately in towns.” (12)

“The contribution of this paper has been to argue that the same shame and pride dynamics that are exploited to motivate the onset of war also motivate rape in war.” (13)


Abstract:
In this article, the authors argue that an increased percentage of female military personnel on UN peacekeeping operations is beneficial to operational effectiveness. They establish a case for a greater proportion of female service personnel that is based on three main premises: (1) a force adequately representative of female service personnel in peacekeeping operations will combat sexual misconduct perpetrated by some male soldiers, (2) peacekeeping is a task of great consequence and is best served by a force representative of both genders, (3) a greater proportion of female military personnel engenders trust and improves the reputation of peacekeepers among local populations. Literature reviews, including media reviews, research, and policy reports compiled by the Australian Defence Force (ADF), other Western militaries, and the United Nations, inform the above assertions and are augmented by research data from interviews with female personnel from the ADF. (Abstract from Military and Government Collection)

Abstract:
Because membership in an ethnic or racial group is determined by bloodlines, control of ethnicity requires control of women's sexual activities and childbearing. Thus, in cases of ethnic conflict, enemies use rape as a tactical weapon. Modern developments in the areas of birth control and reproductive technologies have the potential to change this scenario in times of war and even to relax ethnic barriers in times of peace. When women can control their reproduction during wartime, the impact of rape and the resulting pregnancies on ethnic conflicts will be lessened, and women will be in a more protected position. Birth control technologies can also be used as a weapon, as when sterilizations were forced upon women during eugenics movements. New reproductive technologies, such as donor insemination, surrogacy, and in vitro fertilization, have the potential to affect ethnicity and race by separating the act of motherhood from the traditional family and by creating children who are not genetically related to their parents. With the potential of weakening assumptions about genetic purity, these technologies can weaken ethnic conflict. However, control of these technologies may be put in the hands of men who will apply them only in ways that uphold traditional family forms and ensure ethnic continuity. Thus, the possibility of peace is enhanced if ethnic purity is not a condition of citizenship, and attempts to remove ethnicity from state control should be supported. Those who engage in the fight against racism should realize that they are also fighting sexism and vice versa. (Abstract from Knowledge for Health)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Women are raped in war by ordinary youths as casually, or as frenetically, as a village is looted or gratuitously destroyed. Sexual trespass on the enemy's women is one of the satisfactions of conquest, like a boot in the face, for once he is handed a rifle and told to kill, the soldier becomes an adrenaline-rushed young man with permission to kick in the door, to grab, to steal, to give vent to his submerged rage against all women who belong to other men.” (Brownmiller, n. pag.)

“Sexual sadism arises with astonishing rapidity in ground warfare, when the penis becomes justified as a weapon in a logistical reality of unarmed noncombatants, encircled and trapped. Rape of a doubly dehumanized object-as woman, as enemy-carries its own terrible logic. In one act of aggression, the collective spirit
of women and of the nation is broken, leaving a reminder long after the troops depart.” (n. pag.)


Abstract:
One of the most significant shifts in current thinking on war and gender is the recognition that rape in wartime is not a simple by-product of war, but often a planned and targeted policy. For many feminists ‘rape as a weapon of war’ provides a way to articulate the systematic, pervasive, and orchestrated nature of wartime sexual violence that marks it as integral rather than incidental to war. This recognition of rape as a weapon of war has taken on legal significance at the Rwandan and Yugoslav Tribunals where rape has been prosecuted as a crime against humanity and genocide. In this paper, I examine how the Rwanda Tribunal’s record of judgments conceives of rape enacted as an instrument of the genocide. I consider in particular how the Tribunal’s conception of ‘rape as a weapon of war’ shapes what can be known about sexual violence and gender in the Rwandan genocide and what cannot, the categories of victims legally recognised and those that are not, and the questions pursued, and those foreclosed, about the patterns of violence before and during the genocide. (Ibid, 145)


Abstract:
Wartime sexual violence against women has become a clearly visible and established issue of concern in the emerging international criminal apparatus. But what is it that we see when we make violence against women visible as an international criminal law issue? Are there limits to the strategy of seeing women, and the human rights abuses they suffer, within the work of war crimes tribunals? In this paper, I focus on the Yugoslav and Rwandan Tribunals as venues at which violence against women has been remarkably visible. I consider two decisions, Gacumbitsi and Krstic, one from each of the Tribunals, that reveal the ways in which sexual violence and inequality are both seen and unseen in the Tribunals' analyses. I focus, in particular, on the intersection of gender and ethnicity in the work of the Tribunals, and question if ethnicity may be emerging as a meta-narrative within which sexual violence against women materializes in constrained and limited ways. (Ibid, 3)

Questions addressed:
What are the ramifications of the criminalization and prosecution of rape by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)?
How does the ICTR “conceive[s] of rape enacted as an instrument of the genocide” (Buss, 145)?

How does the ICTR affect approaches to sexual violence in the Rwandan genocide, victim categories, and studies of the genocide?

Unanswered questions:

What are the contrasts, if any, of the way the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the ICTR approach rape as a crime of genocide and as a violation to be prosecuted? How does the ICC conceptualize rape as a ‘weapon of war’?


Abstract:
This article investigates sexual violence committed by government security forces. It focuses on the issue of delegation. It uses principal–agent logic to understand sexual violence committed by these forces and to set up a cross-national empirical analysis. The article provides an approach to measuring the amount of agent discretion in a political system and an analysis of new cross-national data on the incidence of rape and sexual violence committed by police and security forces. It is argued that sexual violence is a category of human rights violation that is more likely to be attributable to the selfish motivations of agents, and it is an act that is likely to be hidden. This article identifies the conditions under which these acts are most likely to occur as conditions of conflict, system-wide slack bureaucratic control, and where there are constraints on information and organization. The theoretical argument makes sense of earlier findings in the human rights literature, such as the importance of democracy and conflict, while directing attention to motivations, accountability, and, for the first time in systematic analyses of human rights, to the particular issue of sexual violence. The use of cross-national data on the incidence of sexual violence for the year 2003 provides preliminary support for the theoretical argument. After controlling for factors likely to increase the incidence of sexual violence, such as military size and ethnic fractionalization, it is found that, where agents are more accountable and subject to tighter control, sexual violence is less likely. Finally, the article points to the importance of additional data collection over time, consistent with other human rights and conflict datasets, and draws out some policy implications following from the theoretical argument and analysis. (Ibid, 669)


Abstract:
Beyond Retribution and Impunity: Responding to War Crimes of Sexual Violence articulates principles for an approach to gender-based violence during conflict and post-conflict that operates within three different meanings of justice: criminal/civil justice, restorative justice, and what I define as social services justice. The article argues that responses to sexual violence must integrate legal and nonlegal, national, international, and local approaches, and must respond to both short and longer-term needs. It focuses on victims of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo during what has been called the First World War in Africa, which occurred from 1996-2003.

Joseph Conrad famously wrote about *The Heart of Darkness* more than a century ago. Today, the Congo is emerging from a devastating war which involved neighboring countries, including Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and Angola. As the Congo undergoes a transition to a democracy, it must grapple with its response to the hundreds of thousands of victims of sexual violence who are still wounded - in so many ways - as a result of the conflict.

By focusing on the actual victims of violence, this article articulates a new vision of social services justice. Social services justice adds another dimension to the criminal/civil justice system and to restorative justice (remedies such as reparations and mediation) by focusing on the social, economical, medical, and psychological components of providing justice to victims and moving beyond the two-dimension focus on perpetrator/victim. This new vision of justice is applicable to countries beyond the Congo and to victims of any type of conflict-based violence.

This article discusses the contemporary Congolese conflict, providing the context for the sexual violence that has occurred during the war. Next, the article provides a fuller development of the principles that should guide any response to the sexual violence, surveying the possible approaches. Finally, the article provides specific recommendations for a victim-centered approach that reflects and respects community concerns and interests and that also ensures responsibility for perpetrators. *(Abstract from Social Science Research Network)*


**Abstract:**
Argues that gender based war crimes throughout the latter half of the twentieth century should be prosecuted because of the resulting victimization and injury to women. Examination of the war crimes tribunals of World War II (WWII); Discussion on the international agreements developed to provide prosecutions of war criminals that committed sexual assaults; Updates on the International
Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in recognition of gender-based crimes. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Summary:
The article examines the legal treatment, or lack thereof, of gender-based war crimes throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. In Part I, the article examines the war crimes tribunals of World War II and their ineffectiveness in recognizing and prosecuting the rampant sexual violations that occurred during the war. Part II addresses the development of international agreements after World War II and the foundation that these compacts provided for future prosecutions of war criminals for their actions of sexual assault. Part III examines the recent developments of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). These tribunals have established much needed precedent through successful prosecution and proper statutory application, both of which are integral to the development and recognition of gender-based war crimes. Finally, Part IV addresses the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and assesses its progress, limitations, and implications for creating greater recognition of gender-based crimes and the increased possibilities for future prosecutions of sexual violence.


Abstract:
Recent efforts to develop and implement progressive models of transitional justice have been significantly influenced by major developments in the law concerning sexual violence in armed conflict. In particular, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has pioneered accountability for sexual violence against women in armed conflict. This article takes the ICTY as a case study of how gender can structure the accountability mechanisms of transitional justice. The article analyses how legal norms and practices instantiate and reiterate, rather than transform, existing hierarchical gender relations. It considers the existing models of sexual violence as a criminal harm under international law, and then examines gendered patterns of legal practice in ICTY prosecutions. To address this engendering of transitional justice, the article produces a new model of the harm of sexual violence in conflict, suggests the development of a new international offence of sexual violence and generates different strategies for international prosecutions of sexual violence. (Ibid, 411)

Abstract:
This article explores the relationship between the concepts of trauma and justice in the jurisprudence of crimes against humanity of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, focusing upon cases of sexual violence. It argues that the Tribunal’s jurisprudence conceives this crime as a traumatic violation of both the subject of rights and of universal humanity. The Tribunal’s models of international justice as procedure, punishment, recognition and therapy understand justice as the legal suturing of this trauma. In these models, the notion of ‘justice’ functions as fantasy in the psychoanalytic sense of an imaginary scene that veils its impossibility. However, figuring international justice as the resolution of the trauma of crimes against humanity reiterates the traumatic wrong in humanitarian law. Humanitarian law therefore requires a new model of international justice – a model that does not reiterate the past but which can institute the future. (Abstract from Sage Journals)


Abstract:
Focuses on martial sex crimes against men, and the impact which it has had on the author's perspective on rape as a weapon of war. Definition of the term martial rape; Comments from Journalist, Beverly Allen, on this topic; Indepth look at the racism associated with martial sex crimes against men. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Journalist Beverly Allen quotes a United Nations report (Bassiouni, 1994) as documenting that the rape and death camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina have also been sites of forced castrations, 'through crude means such as forcing other internees to bite off a prisoner's testicles' (Allen 1996, 78).”(Card, 216)

“Asked whether they were victims of sex crimes, Arcel said, the men answered negatively. She noted that they attached a great stigma to the idea of being the victim of a sex crime. Asked whether they had been tortured by instruments applied to their genitalia, however, the same men answered affirmatively.” (216)

“These reports are evidence, I conclude, that sex crimes in war can be racist as well as misogynist, insofar as they have or are meant to have the consequence of hindering the reproductive continuation of a people.” (217)

“Some sex crimes against men, such as rape, may also carry misogynistic symbolism. But castration, like rape, appears to have its own history of symbolizing domination.” (217)
“Reports of forced castration also raise questions about the idea that integrating women into the military might effectively eliminate, or substantially reduce, rape as a weapon of war.” (217)

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“Some sex crimes against men, such as rape, may also carry misogynistic symbolism. But castration, like rape, appears to have its own history of symbolizing domination.” (217)

“Reports of forced castration also raise questions about the idea that integrating women into the military might effectively eliminate, or substantially reduce, rape as a weapon of war.” (217)

“Yet it is worth pointing out in a treatment of the general topic of martial rape that martial sex crimes, including rape, can be racist as well as sexist, and that the rape of women and girls can be the intersection of martial racism and sexism.” (218)


**Abstract:**
This essay examines how rape of women and girls by male soldiers works as a martial weapon. Continuities with other torture and terrorism and with civilian rape are suggested. The inadequacy of past philosophical treatments of the enslavement of war captives is briefly discussed. Social strategies are suggested for responding and a concluding fantasy offered, not entirely social, of a strategy to change the meanings of rape to undermine its use as a martial weapon. *(Ibid, 5)*

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**
Card notes that “although [her] focus here is on martial rape as a weapon wielded by male soldiers of one country (or national, political, or cultural group) against typically unarmed female civilians of another, much of what (she says) can be applied also with certain modifications in (so-called) civilian contexts.” (Card, 6)

“If there is one set of fundamental functions of rape, civilian or martial, it is to display, communicate, and produce or maintain dominance, which is both enjoyed for its own sake and used for such ulterior ends as exploitation, expulsion, dispersion, murder.” (7)

“There is more than one way to commit genocide. One way is mass murder, killing individual members of national, political, or cultural group. Another is to destroy a group’s identity by decimating cultural and social bonds. Martial rape does both. Many women and girls are killed when the rapists are finished with
them. If survivors become pregnant or are known to be rape survivors, cultural, political, and national unity may be thrown into chaos.” (8)

“A major long-range aim of resistance to martial rape would be to eliminate patriarchal and protectionist values.” (12) The author suggests increasing women’s access to self-defense (both through martial arts and weapons) and incorporating women into military structures as ways to accomplish this goal.

The author suggests male to female transsexual surgery as a response to rape as a ‘fantasy’ solution for martial rape. She also emphasizes that “the general idea that the symbolic significance of rape needs to be changed from domination to something else, to undermine men’s spontaneous inclinations to use it as a weapon.” Here concluding remarks invite readers who disagree with her ‘fantasy’ to “propose better ones toward that end.” (17)


Abstract:
The article examines cases of rape and sexual violence during the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The author attempts to comprehend why women are indiscriminately raped in the eastern DRC through the theoretical frameworks of opportunistic sexual violence, strategic violence, and patriarchal militarism. The issue is also discussed in the context of the debate that has emerged in feminist and political thought over the traditional point of view that rape and pillage usually occur during war. The author also discusses the role of superstitious beliefs in sexual violence against women in the DRC conflict. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Summary:
Carlsen begins by quoting Carolyn Nordstrom, writing that “studies done on ra/pe can constitute a form of violence in themselves if they are not done with care…we must take care not to reproduce systems of violence in speaking about them” (Nordstrom as cited by Carlsen 474). Then she presents her “reconstruction” of the word rape into “ra” and “pe” with a “slash,” the division signifying “the way this horror operates upon unequal distributions of power and agency, and how it forcibly separates a woman from her sense of self, security, and community” (Carlsen, 474-475). She cites the 2008 Tosh and Chazan report on sexual violence in the DRC, which analyzes sexual violence dating back to the “First Congo War” in 1996-1997 and “Africa’s First World War” in 1998-2003 and which has been especially prevalent in eastern Congo. Carlsen states, “Perpetrators of sexual violence are members of all of the armed forces and armed groups that operate in eastern Congo, including the Rwandan-supported Congolese Rally for Democracy-GOMA ((RCD-GOMA); the pro-government Mai-Mai militia, Burundian, and Rwandan Hutu armed groups; the Congolese Rally for
Democracy-Kisangani-Liberation Movement (RCD-ML), the movement for the liberation of Congo (MLC), the Union of Congolese Peoples (UPC), and the Front for National Integration (FNI), all in the northeast part; and the government forces, Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC).” (475)

Carlsen refers to reports by NGOs: “In its 2002 report, Human Rights Watch recorded that women and girls have been subjected to brutal and relentless gang ra/pes, by as many as 15 to 20 armed men. Following ra/pe, many women and girls require medical attention for prolapsed uteruses, severe vaginal tears, and obstetric fistulas. Many women and girls suffering from obstetric fistulas are socially stigmatized due to incontinence and infertility…Human Rights Watch observers and Doctors Without Borders have documented that women and girls are tortured before, during, and after the ra/pes take place, with estimates that as many as 30 percent of women are sexually mutilated. Women’s vaginas are tortured and mutilated with spears, machetes, sticks, broken bottles, and gun barrels. There are increasing occurrences of women being shot in the vagina following ra/pe” (475-476).

As for why sexual violence persists and on such a vast scale, according to Carlsen, “Tosh and Chazan attribute the continuation of massive sexual violence to impunity and a collapsed and ineffective judicial system. Although laws with lengthy sentences were passed in 2006 to punish sex crimes, women and girls continue to be ra/ped while their perpetrators elude justice. Perpetrators go unpunished due to an underfunded judicial system where a victim must pay for court proceedings to bring the perpetrator to trial…In addition to the costs of prosecution, many women and girls fear reprisal rapes or violence, which prevent them from speaking out against their rapists…When victims are able to bring their ra/pists to court, harsh sentences are rarely imposed. Judges tend to display a discriminatory attitude toward victims, often finding the woman at fault for the ra/pe” (476).

Carlsen discusses various theories that try to explain sexual violence in the DRC. First, there is an economic dimension in that poverty and lack of economic opportunities lead the military and police to extort resources from local populations to survive (477-478). Carlsen writes that “ra/pists steal women’s goods, livestock, food, rations, and savings, following or in the course of sexual violence. Combatants target women and girls in their homes or those who are going about their daily business, such as walking to the market, school, home, or tending to their fields” (478). Further, militias and military groups utilize, forcibly, “the productive and reproductive labors” (Ibid, 478) of women for the maintenance and preservation of their forces. Of this Carlsen writes, “This theft and extreme violation of women’s productive and reproductive labor is profoundly gendered. Opportunistic sexual violence in the DRC is gendered because women perform the majority of the work, both inside and outside of the home…Women are responsible for all of the reproductive labor within the home
and for a great majority of the productive labor, which takes place in fields and villages. These responsibilities make women a prime target for attack by the economically impoverished militiamen and FARDC. In conflict-rife eastern DRC, women are targeted in massively greater numbers than men due to their access to resources in the formal and informal economy; men’s major income comes from military or militia involvement” (478-479).

Second, sexual violence may be strategic, that is, aimed at particular objectives. Carlsten explains, “These objectives may include but are not limited to: genocide, inciting terror, and retribution for perceived past wrongs,” and in this theory sexual violence in conflict is “a weapon of war,” (479) such as in the civil war in Sierra Leone and in the DRC. Armed groups rape women and girls to terrorize the population and cause it to flee and to destroy “the security of the community because women’s bodies physically and symbolically provide the backbone of their communities”; the groups can then take over the area and its resources (479). Soldiers may also seek to carry out genocide through rape and there has been inter-ethnic conflict in the DRC (479-480).

Third, Carlsten states, “the patriarchal militarism theory proposes that sexual violence during wartime is motivated by the desire to exert control and power over women and men who are perceived as feminine…Rape is then an extension of everyday misogyny, a violent enforcement of the patriarchal hierarchy between men and women…in its enforcement of state and non-state hierarchies, the military legitimates violence as an accepted conflict-solving method. This legitimization allows for misogyny and violence against women during peacetime and wartime” (480). Soldiers believe it is acceptable and expected to rape women, because women are “inferior” (480-481).

Lastly, Carlsten considers “superstitious beliefs” as a factor and gives examples: “Some combatants believe that sex with prepubescent or post-menopausal women can give them strength or protect them from injury or death…Additionally, there is a commonly held superstition that sex with a young girl can prevent combatants from contracting HIV or even cure them of the infectious virus” (481).

Unanswered Question:
Do these theories hold equal weight in explaining sexual violence in the DRC and in particular regions of the DRC or do some better explain rape as it is perpetrated and perceived in the DRC?


Abstract:
Considers how male sexual assault during war has received little media coverage and remains a little-understood and underinvestigated offense. Laws in several
nations and states in which it is a legal impossibility for a man to be raped; The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the leading model for the investigation of male sexual assault; Approach taken the organization's Agnes Inderhaug. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“There has been minimal work done around male sexual assault during wars, there is a bit of information about this in the context of El Salvador, Croatia and Greece.” (Carlsen, 129)

“A leading model for the investigation of male sexual assault has been the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.” (129)

“Many are unaware that there are forms of sexual assault [committed against men] other than anal rape.” (129)


Abstract:
The article presents the author's observation on the prevalence of male sexual assault during war. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia investigated sexual assault in the mid-1990s. The male prisoners were sexually assaulted by forced fellatio, masturbation, mutilation of the genitals and insertion of objects into the anus. Sexual torture is widely used to break down the identity of political prisoners. In most cases of sexual assault, the victim is reluctant to admit that he or she was abused. Therefore, it is important to understand the psychodynamics of this trauma. (Abstract from Criminal Justice Abstracts)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“BTMG is often not seen as sexual violence, it is grouped under torture.” (Carlson, 20)

“We should not rely on looking for physical marks to determine if sexual assault has occurred.” (21)

“BTMG is more prevalent than previously expected and can be found in wartime investigations, if only we begin to look.” (24)

Summary:
The author, who has worked for the ICTY’ Sexual Assault Investigation Team and analyzed hundreds of cases of sexual assault that were committed in the former Yugoslavia, looks at the widespread nature of Blunt Trauma to Male
Genitals (BTMG) Investigators of war crimes need to overcome prejudices related to sexual violence.

Blunt trauma of the genitals is a particular form of sexual assault which investigators are likely to dismiss. Male sexual assault is still not being treated with the seriousness it deserves, and the specific case of BTMG is a largely invisible offence. Investigators tend to believe that the only form of male sexual assault is anal rape. However, BTMG is present in many armed conflicts around the world and warring factions use BTMG to systematically attack the victims, sexually, emotionally, and politically. Investigators tend to minimize the sexual nature of the abuse and understand the victims own prejudices. Biased investigations can feed the perpetrators’ beliefs that if they commit these crimes they will not be pursued.


**Abstract:**
While gender-based violence has recently emerged as a salient topic in the human security community, it has been framed principally with respect to violence against women and girls, particularly sexual violence. In this article, I argue that gender-based violence against men (including sexual violence, forced conscription, and sex-selective massacre) must be recognized as such, condemned, and addressed by civilian protection agencies and proponents of a 'human security' agenda in international relations. Men deserve protection against these abuses in their own right; moreover, addressing gender-based violence against women and girls in conflict situations is inseparable from addressing the forms of violence to which civilian men are specifically vulnerable. (*Ibid, 83*)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**

The author of this article highlights three forms of gender-based violence which men may experience:

- **Sexual violence**
  - Rape and Sexual Mutilation in order to ‘feminize’ and humiliate the conquered men
  - Secondary Victimization: rape of women as psychological torture of men.
- **Forced conscription**
- **Sex-selective massacre.**

TM Psycho-social services for male survivors of sexual violence are nearly non-existent and that there is a remarkable lack of gender-specific data on atrocities in complex emergencies.

TM The author refers to the ‘human security’ discourse in international institutions which, according to her, is based upon a highly gendered understanding of who is
to be secured, characterized by the exclusion of civilian males as subjects of ‘protection’, or as victims of ‘gender-based violence.’ In presenting evidence, Carpenter aims to make the case that the three forms of abuse against men are endemic, and that they must be recognized as gender-based violence, condemned, and addressed by civilian protection agencies and proponents of a ‘human security’ agenda in international relations. The author concludes by stressing the fact that men deserve protection against these abuses in their own right; moreover, addressing gender-based violence against women and girls in conflict situations is inseparable from addressing the forms of violence to which civilian men are specifically vulnerable.


**Abstract:**
The article focuses on the failure of genocidal rape discourse to address forced impregnation and the legal status of rape victims and their children in Yugoslavia. The ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia put war crimes against women on the international human rights agenda for the first time in history. In response to reports of tens of thousands of women being raped, mutilated, and executed in concentration camps as part of a systematic policy of ethnic cleansing, the international community took action against genocide for the first time since Nuremberg. The degree to which the notion of genocide becomes a reality further depends on the institutional fate of orphans and their subsequent identity formation after they have been claimed by the state. Perhaps no category exists to capture the plight of war-rape orphans, and thus children's rights theorists will have to produce an alternative framework of rights capable of doing so. Prevailing international law was not constructed to deal with the rights or needs of children. Nor was it constructed to grapple with the intricate political struggles through which group identity is forged and contested using manipulation of reproductive politics—a term that has also been used only in regards to women and gender, but under which, by definition, the birth and care of children into and by communities is also involved. (*Abstract from Academic Search Premier*)


**Abstract:**
Traditionally women have been constructed in very limited terms under international law. They have been defined through their relationships with either men or with children. Moreover, the types of crimes experienced by women in times of armed conflict, including rape and other forms of sexual violence, have been categorised as less egregious than those experienced by men. In recent years
feminists have sought to challenge the existing definition of women, drawing attention to the serious nature of gender-based crimes. They have done this through their engagement with new international institutions including the UN ad hoc tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the development of the statute for the International Criminal Court (ICC). Through their efforts they have made some significant advances in bringing to light the complex, diverse and unique aspects of women's lives previously ignored in international criminal and humanitarian law. Although there is still much to be done, feminist activists have demonstrated that the law and its influence are not fixed but dynamic and open to change. (Abstract from Mendeley)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

- Opportunism resulting from the deterioration of protective police and legal systems.
- Women suffer sexual violence “(…) due to their symbolic status and bearers of honour within the community.”
- To assert dominance over the enemy: “(…) as women’s sexuality is perceived as being under the protection of the men of the community, its defilement is an act of domination in asserting power over the males of other communities or groups under attack”.
- A means of torture: “(…) with the intent to degrade, intimidate and punish for actual or alleged actions.”
- As a tool for ethnic cleansing: for example, forced impregnations aimed at destroying ethnic identities.
- As a result of patriarchal and militaristic cultures which become exaggerated in situations of armed conflict. “The already present patriarchal hierarchies and values, intersect with those of militarisation which promotes the construction of gender relations that underlie war rape. Hence, women are viewed as the property of men which needs to be defended, whereby the chastity of women and paternity of children become the main driving points for the protection of women.”


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Abstract:
In one report of a particular moment in the Vietnam war, men were standing in line for their turn to rape a young Vietnamese woman. One of the men later reported that she spoke to him, in English, and asked him “Why are you doing this to me?”. In thousands of similar instances reported in studies of rape in war, the woman has no recognizable character, she is voiceless. But here she takes the foreground, and she startles me, as she no doubt startled the men standing around her, by manifesting a sense of who she is, who her rapists are and whom they may see her as being. “Why are you doing this to me? Hey…why are you doing this to me?” Much since then has been written about sexual violence in war, yet I feel we still owe this woman an answer. And in “identifying” him/you, the violator, and herself/me, the violated, she seems to offer a clue as to some questions that might yet be asked. In this paper I try to bring to the issue of sexual violence in war a language and set of concepts that are very current in contemporary sociology, and that I have found useful in other contexts. That is to say: identity and othering; power and positionality; and intersectionality. These are essentially sociological concepts. They must surely be relevant to sexual violence in war, because war rape is characteristically collective, and being a soldier very much involves identification and “belonging”. Rape in war, like war itself, is nothing if not social. (Ibid, n. pag.)


Abstract:
Rape reportedly occurred on a mass scale during the Sierra Leone civil war. Yet existing theories of rape during conflict—including ethnic war and state breakdown—cannot account for the incidence and patterns of rape in Sierra Leone. In this paper, I develop a theory of rape as a socialization tool. I argue that rape during the Sierra Leone conflict served an essential intragroup function for members in some types of combatant groups—those with low levels of internal cohesion. Drawing on almost 200 original interviews of both non-combatants and ex-combatants collected during five months of fieldwork in Sierra Leone, as well as a newly available household survey of wartime human rights violations, I find that rape was an especially successful tool used by rank-and-file combatants to facilitate bonding within fighting units. I examine evidence for the theory using microlevel data in Sierra Leone and also explore the support for alternative explanations. (Ibid, n. pag.)

**Abstract:**
Sexual and gender-based violence in armed conflicts lacks visibility and is not fully understood as it is often labeled as a woman's-only issue. Its gendered nature extends beyond the actual period of conflict, into the period of rehabilitation and reconstruction, carrying with it many physical and psychological problems. The suffering endured by women both during and following the conflict is strictly related to the rooted structural gender inequalities within societies in general. In situations of conflict women's oppression and abuse further increase their usual subordination. For example, traditional barriers to health care, including the lack of diagnostic equipment and adequate treatment; the insufficiency of premises for the treatment of survivors; the lack of dedicated venues to seek assistance; poor supplies of essential and specific drugs, together with an inadequacy of health personnel, become even more problematic, and all contribute to poor primary health care.

Therefore, understanding the roots of unequal gender treatment, and thus the cultural setting of a community; becomes essential when dealing with the phenomenon of sexual violence. In particular, multidimensional and gender-sensitive health responses to sexual violence should be designed, and services taking into account its multifaceted nature should be provided. *(Abstract from Sage Journals)*

**Summary:**
This paper examines the causes and health consequences of sexual violence during armed conflict, and proposes policy and programmatic approaches to address these. The first section of the paper discusses the extent of sexual violence within armed conflicts, and explores the linkages between gender-based inequalities in society and sexual violence. The second section presents a review of the existing literature on health consequences of sexual violence. The third and last section outlines policy and programmatic interventions that could help address this problem. The challenge lies in combining different existing conceptual frameworks (that is, reproductive health framework or human rights framework) in such a way that the provision of services takes into account the multifaceted nature of gender-based and sexual violence.


**Abstract:**
Gender based violence, particularly sexual violence is arguably one of the most challenging human rights violations for the humanitarian community to address.
There is no vaccine to prevent it; there is no ‘cure’ for its effects. And yet, despite these challenges, there is much that can be done to prevent and mitigate the impact of this massive violence on women and children. With its long term emotional, psychological, and physical effects, girls and women are literally dying from the violence. This article explores ways in which the humanitarian community responds to this grave assault on the human rights of children and women and suggests ways in which this response could be augmented.

This article aims to define the issue, then moves on to provide an analysis of the international human rights framework and examines what the humanitarian community can do to address this problem, in terms of prevention and response. Examples are drawn from UNICEF field experiences, in particular from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The range of responses suggested encompass practical and programmatic, as well as at advocacy and policy levels. A brief discussion attempts to address issues of impunity and accountability in regard to sexual violence. The argument presented is broadly that a more collaborative and focused effort is required by humanitarian agencies with protection mandates, as well as by donors (“the humanitarian community”). The problem needs to be tackled at different levels simultaneously. Clear unambiguous advocacy messages are essential, as is a concerted effort to engage with the international criminal justice and transitional justice mechanisms, as are community based approaches, relying on the expertise of women’s rights organizations and survivors of violence, to address support and care for survivors of sexual violence. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
In early 1992, one of us (DelZotto) was watching footage of women and children Bosnian refugees being moved into trucks by members of the U.N. High Commission on Refugees. A male UNHCR official gave a distraught-looking boy, aged about fourteen or fifteen, a tray of food and a warm pat on the back. The boy's face became desperate and full of rage. His body trembled. He pulled the man's arm away from him, began to cry, and ran away from the camera. This was the face of an abused child. Ten years later, the image still has the power to haunt. The boy's reaction, his body language, his disgust over a well-meaning male presence, were all behaviors that DelZotto had witnessed too often in her years as a social worker: the defensive, painful reactions of sexually abused males.
While many inroads have been made in the recognition of female sexual abuse in warfare, male experiences of sexual assault have, for the most part, been silenced (King, 1995). The cultural and institutional barriers to recognizing male on male sexual abuse run deep. In this article, we explore the complex cultural and institutional factors that have contributed to the silencing of men's and boy's experiences of sexual assault in warfare. We examine in turn the agendas and discourse of policymakers, non-governmental organizations, and feminist scholarship. In the second part of the paper, we evaluate the impact this neglect has had on our understanding of the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.

In one way, the recognition of “ethnic cleansing” in the Bosnian war crimes tribunals from 1992 onwards have made important inroads in the field of human rights. For the first time in history, the international human rights community developed a language and a set of concepts that defined sexual abuse as an instrument of warfare, ethnic cleansing, and even genocide (Allen, 1996). However, the current recognition and construction of sexual war crimes in humanitarian, legal, and scholarly circles is quintessentially gendered. With rare and usually fragmentary exceptions, it fails to recognize that males, as well as females, are frequently targeted for sexual assault in wartime. The feminized construction of such assaults has a negative impact on male survivors at both legal and institutional levels, denying them representation and protection by both governmental and non-governmental actors.

We identify the lack of widespread institutional recognition of male-on-male (and occasionally female-on-male) sexual violence in wartime as stemming from three overlapping conditions. The first is the historical silencing of men's experiences of intragender abuse and cruelty. The second is the far-reaching dissemination and institutionalization of narrow feminist constructions of masculinity and sexual violence, reflected in the academic and activist literature as well as the actions of international organizations and the coverage offered by mass media. (The various discourse strategies that serve to “efface” male victimization and even render it “unthinkable” will be explored at length below.) The third and final factor is the appropriation of this narrow construction of masculinity by political elites as a way of upholding regional security interests. Indeed, we will demonstrate that gendered constructions of sexual violence in warfare ultimately play an important role in the prevailing international-security regime.

To summarize, the near-total inattention to the male victim of sexual violence needs to be explained with reference to a broad panoply of actors, with distinct but converging interests. We need to understand why the subject has been designated as a “taboo” by political elites, international organizations (notably the United Nations and its offshoot, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia) and non-governmental organizations as well. Lastly, we need to account for the general failure of feminist scholarship and activism to incorporate the issue in its analysis. Only then can some sense of the specific institutional challenges be gleaned - that is, the key actors and discourses that
buttress the wall of silence, and possible strategies for breaking down that wall and transforming policies in the field

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Elite political actors, non-governmental organizations, and feminist scholars and activists must all be pressed to incorporate the male victim into their analysis of wartime sexual violence, and to work to provide the necessary resources to meet that victim's needs. Until they do so, the prevailing framing of sexual violence in war will continue to be one-dimensional and woefully inadequate, and the survivors will continue to suffer in silence imposed from both within and without.” (Del Zotto, n. pag.)

“Between 1998 and 2000, over a half-million women applied for asylum or refugee status in the U.S. based on gendered persecution, including war-related persecution. Meanwhile, approximately 70,000 men apply for U.S. asylum each year (over the past 10 years), representing 15% more applications than women. How many applications cited sexual violence? None.” (n. pag.)

“An examination of 36 asylum cases involving women and 44 involving men found that all but two women were questioned by INS officials as to whether they faced sexual danger in their homeland; none of the males was asked a similar question (U.S. Justice Department Immigration Briefs, 1997-2001).” (n. pag.)

“A hermeneutic reading of 360 transcripts from the U.S. Congress and State Department as well as British, German, and Canadian parliaments between 1977 and 1989 indicates that rape and sexual assault in wartime have been defined as exclusively heterosexual (more specifically, male-on-female) acts. The framework throughout was informed by a narrow definition of sexual assault stemming from a monolithic view of masculine power and a one-dimensional interpretation of female victimization.” (n. pag.)

“To our knowledge, no international organization or NGO has established a research program or policy initiative specifically focused on male victims of sexual violence in wartime; and not a single international NGO mentions wartime sexual violence against males in its annual report. These are oversights that in our view urgently need to be addressed and rectified.” (n. pag.)

“There are currently 4,076 non-governmental groups that address war rape and other forms of political sexual violence (Del Zotto, 2001). Out of this number, only 3% mention the experiences of males at all in their programs and informational literature. About one quarter of the groups explicitly deny that male-on-male violence is a serious problem.” (n. pag.)

Summary:
Del Zotto and Jones explore the complex cultural and institutional factors that have contributed to the silencing of men's and boy's experiences of sexual assault
in warfare. They state that the lack of widespread institutional recognition of male-on-

male sexual violence in wartime stems from three conditions:

1. The historical silencing of men's experiences of intra-gender abuse and cruelty.

2. The far-reaching dissemination and institutionalization of narrow feminist constructions of masculinity and sexual violence, reflected in the academic and activist literature as well as the actions of international organizations and the coverage offered by mass media.

3. The appropriation of this narrow construction of masculinity by political elites as a way of upholding regional security interests.

The authors examine in turn the agendas and discourse of policymakers, non-
governmental organizations, and feminist scholarship. They argue that, because institutionalized recognition of war sex crimes performs a strategic function, the construction of this human rights problem calls attention to certain types of victims, while ignoring others. Human rights policies and activism are determined by narrow constructions of masculinity and femininity. Some indication of the power of the dominant framework can be found in a random sample of 60 NGO reports that address the issue of sexual assault in wartime. The authors find that 58 NGO reports framed victims of sexual assaults solely as “women or girls.” An analysis of 4,076 NGOs conducting work on sexual violence and assault during wartime shows that only 3% of the organizations specifically mention the experience of male victims in their programming or literature, while roughly 25% of the groups deny male on male sexual violence as a problem. Del Zotto and Jones argue that one key reason for this neglect is that NGOs rely on both government and private funding to operate their services. Another influential element is the framing of sexual violence by feminist scholars and activists.

In the second part of the paper, the authors look at feminism and sexual victimization in the Balkan’s War, arguing that there has not been a serious attempt to explore the subject of male sexual victimization in the feminist study of the Balkans wars. The authors also argue that the ICTY’s mandate focused on the protection of women, argue that male victims were omitted, conceptually and de facto, from the trial process.

19 of the reports actually used the phrase ‘war against women’ as a central one in their literature. 58 framed victims of sexual assaults solely as ‘women’ and/or ‘girls.’ The remaining two used the generic phrase ‘person.’ 13 referred to sexual torture as deriving from male heterosexual desire (all were agencies based in the Third World). 24 evinced a preoccupation with female ‘honor’ (sexual assault reduces or eliminates the female's chances of marriage, etc.). This construction pervaded both western and non-western sources, including reports by the respected organization Human Rights Watch. 7, including OXFAM, did mention the sexual exploitation of male children, though.

Abstract:
There is a growing awareness among scholars and policymakers that violence is a gendered phenomenon during both war and peacetime. Despite the recognition of the importance of gender-based violence, policymakers have not yet paid sufficient attention to the significance of gender in their construction of mechanisms intended to promote transitional justice. Similarly, scholars have neglected gender as an explanatory concept in their analyses of transitional justice. In an effort to address this void in the literature, this paper will examine the ways in which gender shapes the needs of victims of gender-based violence, including men, women and children. It also will consider how transitional justice mechanisms might be most appropriately constructed in an effort to bring justice to all victims of gender-based violence. This paper will focus on sexual violence as a case study intended to illustrate the need for transitional justice mechanisms constructed with an awareness of the ways in which gender shapes the needs of victims of gender-based violence in war torn societies. (Ibid, n. pag.)


Abstract:
Wartime sexual violence continues to be widespread and systematic in contemporary conflicts. Although the problem is gaining increasing international attention, it has remained, for the most part, peripheral within the domain of security studies. However, the human security agenda may have the capacity to raise the profile of wartime sexual violence and offer a useful framework from which to understand and respond to the unique needs of war-affected girls and women. This article explores the capacity of the human security agenda, both conceptually and practically, to address the plight of girl victims of sexual violence in the aftermath of Sierra Leone’s conflict. Drawing upon the perspectives and experiences of three girls formerly associated with Sierra Leone’s Revolutionary United Front, the article traces the extreme forms of sexual violence and insecurity girls were forced to endure, both during and following the conflict. It also examines a number of human security efforts implemented in the conflict’s aftermath and their impact on the level of empowerment, protection and security of girls. The broader implications of these human security efforts are explored in light of the girls’ lived realities in post-conflict Sierra Leone. (Ibid, n. pag.)

**Abstract:**
Organized rape has been an integral aspect of warfare for a long time even though classics on warfare have predominantly focused on theorizing ‘regular’ warfare, that is, the situations in which one army encounters another in a battle to conquer or defend a territory. Recently, however, much attention has been paid to asymmetric warfare and, accordingly, to phenomena such as guerrilla tactics, terrorism, hostage taking and a range of identity-related aspects of war such as religious fundamentalism, holy war, ethnic cleansing and war rape. In fact, war rape can be taken as a perfect example of an asymmetric strategy. In war rape the soldier attacks a civilian (not a fellow combatant) and a woman (not another male soldier), and does this only indirectly with the aim of holding or taking a territory. The primary target here is to inflict trauma and through this to destroy family ties and group solidarity within the enemy camp. This article understands war rape as a fundamental way of abandoning subjects: rape is the mark of sovereignty stamped directly on the body, that is, it is essentially a bio-political strategy using (or better, abusing) the distinction between the self and the body. Through an analysis of the way rape was carried out by the predominantly paramilitary Serbian forces on Bosnian soil, this article theorizes a two-fold practice of abjection: through war rape an abject is introduced within the woman’s body (sperm or forced pregnancy), transforming her into an abject-self rejected by the family, excluded by the community and quite often also the object of a self-hate, sometimes to the point of suicide. This understanding of war rape is developed in the article through a synthesis of the literature on abandonment (Agamben, Schmitt) and abjection (Bataille, Douglas, Kristeva) and concomitantly it is argued that the penetration of the woman’s body works as a metaphor for the penetration of enemy lines. In addition it is argued that this bio-political strategy, like other forms of sovereignty, operates through the creation of an ‘inclusive exclusion’. The woman and the community in question are inscribed within the enemy realm of power as those excluded. *(Abstract from Sage Journals)*


**Abstract:**
*No Abstract Available.*

**Background:**
The war in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo has been the subject of numerous studies related to the problem of sexual violence. Historically, such violence is known to be part of strategic war plans to conquer and destroy communities, but it is now unfortunately prevalent in times of relative calm.
Methods:
We describe the characteristics and consequences of sexual violence in Ituri province of Democratic Republic of Congo through the retrospective analysis of 2,565 patients who received medical care in the Médecins Sans Frontières sexual violence clinic in the capital of Ituri province, Bunia, between September 2005 and December 2006. Using a standardized questionnaire, we report patients’ demographics, number and status of aggressor(s), forced detention and violent threats among other variables for all patients presenting for medical consultation after a sexually violent event during this period.

Results:
Ninety-six percent of our cohort were female and 29.3% minors, 18-29 years was the most represented age group. Acts of sexual violence (n = 2,565) were reported to be mainly perpetrated by men with military affiliations (73%), although civilians were implicated in 21% of crimes. The attack was perpetrated by two or more persons in over 74% of cases and most commonly perpetrators were unknown armed males, (87.2%). Male victims accounted for 4% (n = 103) of our cohort. Forty-eight percent of our patients reported being attacked whilst performing daily domestic duties outside the home and 18% of victims being detained by their perpetrators, the majority of whom were held for less than 2 weeks (61.6%).

Conclusions:
The characteristics of sexually violent acts in Ituri province during this period cannot be simply explained as a ‘weapon of war’ as described in the literature, meaning the use of sexual violence within a military strategy where it is employed under the orders of a commander to harm a particular community. Whilst the majority of aggressions were by armed men there was an important proportion in which civilian perpetrators were implicated. This type of violence has become part of the general characteristics of violence in this war-torn population. Sometimes, as a means for some military factions to acquire remuneration with impunity and for some civilians, a means to counteract confronting, changing social norms occurring during chronic conflict.\textit{(Ibid,1)}


Abstract:
With her paper “Rape as a War Crime” (Politikon 6/2003, p. 55-69), Andrea Theocharis has put an issue on the agenda, which has long been missing in Politikon’s discussions. I am grateful to Andrea for starting an important debate, which I would like to continue by giving some remarks to her contribution focusing on the gender constructionist dimension of rape in violent conflicts. Agreeing with Andrea, I will argue that rape and sexual violence are not only
systematic and strategic weapons in violent conflicts but gendered crimes which cannot be analyzed appropriately without theorizing social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity. I will outline how gender-blind approaches fail to meet the issue of rape in violent conflicts. By mentioning some exemplary empirical figures, I will show that rape in violent conflicts is neither a new phenomena nor can it be considered a by-product of war. It must be emphasized that rape is not an act of sexuality but a crime against human physical and psychical integrity. I will discuss gender-sensitive approaches, which analyze rape in violent conflicts. Special attention will be paid to the view of rape as an act of male violence against women, which has also been outlined by Andrea. I will then focus on the construction of hegemonic masculinity and the widely ignored fact that also men are victims of rape and sexual torture in violent conflicts. I will conclude with emphasizing that constructions of femininity and masculinity are integral to violent conflicts in general and to rape and sexual violence in particular. If mainstream conflict analysis continues to ignore the dimensions of gender constructions, it will fail to meet its subject appropriately. (Ibid, 56)


Abstract:
This article critically examines early feminist debates over the treatment of rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and traces their resonances in the structure and jurisprudence of the ICTY. Observing that problematic assumptions about ethnic identity and women's sexual and political agency emerged in the debates and ultimately wove their way into the ICTY's legal treatment of rape, the article argues that the international criminalization of rape might be neither as pathbreaking nor as progressive as the doctrinal recognition might suggest. (Ibid, 778)


Abstract:
This research examined militarized sexual violence and the commercial trade in women and children in twenty three countries with ongoing or recently-ended civil wars. Findings indicate a progressive connection between assaultive violence against women during armed conflict and the commercial trade in women and children for sexual and other labour. Today’s armed conflicts target civilian in their homes and towns, in flight from violence, and in refugee and IDP settlements which are largely populated by women and children. In these wars, women suffer severe declines in their economic and security positions, and are at severely increased risk of sexual assaults by military combatants and numerous other war-related groups. Rebel and militia groups’ demands for sexual and other
labour lead to both sexual enslavement and the trade of enslaved women and children. War-traumatized women and girls fall prey to traffickers, and trafficking across borders is carried out with relative impunity. With the expansion of supply and demand, sex industries gain a foothold in developing and transitioning civil-war-torn countries, and retain their prominence in traditional trafficking destination countries in the economic North, the Gulf states, and parts of South and Southeast Asia. (Ibid, 1)


Abstract:
This article presents new conceptualizations of war rape in international law and defines rape as a weapon and strategy of war. It also outlines the intersections of gender, patriarchy, militarism, and ethnic, religious, and political identities that fuel war rape as part of a continuum of violence against women. Local and transnational examples of women’s responses to war rape demonstrate their
importance to survivors, practitioners, and policy makers who seek to address its causes and effects. Finally, the article challenges feminist social workers to address the dynamics of war rape within the complex nexus of policies that fuel conflict. (Ibid, 389)


**Abstract:**
This article addresses the allegations of widespread forced impregnation in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Part I asserts that forced impregnation is a crime that falls under international humanitarian law as a war crime and a crime against humanity, discussing how war crimes and crimes against humanity differ from the crime of genocide. Part II addresses the evidence of widespread rape in the former Yugoslavia and how the nature of those acts indicates a policy of forced impregnation. Part III places this evidence of a forced impregnation policy within the ethnic context of the former Yugoslavia. Finally, Part IV argues that the Serb policy of forced impregnation - if it is found to have existed - was genocide, and that the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) should prosecute such a policy as a crime of genocide. (*Abstract from RefWorks*)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**
“[F]orced impregnation – interference with autonomous reproduction – can destroy a group…First, women may be psychologically traumatized by the pregnancy and unable to have normal sexual or childbearing experiences with members of their own group. Second, women who are raped and bear the children of the aggressors may no longer be marriageable in their society. Third, the women, simply because they are pregnant with the children of their aggressors, cannot bear their own children during this time-their wombs are ‘occupied’…nothing is more vital to the continued existence of a group of people than its ability to reproduce” (Fisher, 93). This potentially destroys a group and therefore “when forced impregnation is part of a policy to destroy a group, it should be prosecuted under the Genocide Convention.” (94)

TM Part I explores how forced impregnation can be defined as a crime against humanity or a war crime yet this does not “specifically address crimes intended to destroy a group” (105).

TM In Part II the author focuses on the nature of the regulated rape and forced impregnation of women in the former Yugoslavia.

“Women appear to have been raped by the thousands and rapes were undeniably committed by all sides against all sides. Serbs, however, appear to have committed the overwhelming majority of rapes in Bosnia, and only Serbs appear to have used rape as a weapon or war to achieve military objectives” (109-110)
“A research scholar at the University of Michigan and chronicler of sexual atrocities committed by Serbs also reported hearing women who had been raped ‘at least 10 times a day for 21 days or until impregnated and then being held too long for a safe abortion’” (112)

In Part III Fisher explores the religious and ethnic context which allows a better understanding of rape as a weapon of war.

“The South Slav lands of the Balkan peninsula are one of the most ethnically, linguistically and religiously complex areas of the world.” (114)

In Part IV (A) Fisher demonstrates how regulated rape and thus forced impregnation in the former Yugoslavia can be defined as a tool for genocide under the Genocide Convention. However, she reveals that “there does not as yet appear to be any direct evidence of a governmental policy of forced impregnation in the case of the former Yugoslavia. Thus, it is necessary to examine circumstantial evidence to determine what was the intent behind the pattern of forced impregnation.” (124-5)

“Although circumstantial in nature, the evidence that women were raped over and over until they became pregnant, and that they were detained for that purpose, indicates that commanders must have known that their soldiers were raping women until they are pregnant. That they did nothing to stop this further supports the inference that this was a part of a policy to rape women until they became pregnant” (125), thus categorizing as a tool to destroy a group, and therefore, as genocide.

In Part IV (B), the author reveals the problematic nature of defining forced impregnation as a tool of genocide in the International Tribunal. “The most intractable problem in prosecuting forced impregnation as a crime of genocide appears to be determining the level of proof necessary to satisfy the requisite intent.” (132)


Abstract:
On 16 April 1999, the UNFPA office in Geneva contacted Mrs. Dominique Serrano Fitamant, a Psychology consultant specialized in sexual violence and trauma counseling, to undertake an assessment of sexual violence in Albania and Macedonia. She departed for Albania, via Rome, on 26 April 1999. The Terms of Reference for the mission included the following: -assess the reality of sexual violence among the refugees from Kosovo -delineate the target population, and assess, if possible, the number of victims -review the response provided by the national and international community -propose an appropriate plan of action to
care for victims in the immediate and long term, including the identification of local and international agencies to train and provide services to the victims. The mission was to be completed in Albania and Macedonia. The working methodology included visiting camps and families and interviewing women refugees and health providers. (Ibid, n. pag.)


Abstract:
Despite the recognition of rape as a war crime by international policy-making organisations and international criminal tribunals, it is still difficult for the victims of rape during wars to access national and international protection or reparation. (Ibid, n. pag.)


Abstract:
Argues that women and girls, who compose over 50% of the world's 18 million refugees, have been given little attention or resources to meet their needs. In addition to health and protection problems, women and girls are susceptible to sexual violence from opponents and domestic violence from male family members who experience heightened male vulnerability as a reaction to witnessing the torture, violence, and rape of the women in their families. Since refugee women are pillars of their families, domestic violence and rape trauma threaten the self-sufficiency of refugee families. The author argues that it is the responsibility of health care providers in the international community and in countries of resettlement to address sexual violence and its repercussions on the successful resettlement of refugees. (Abstract from PsycINFO)


Abstract:
The role that gender plays in determining the experience of those caught up in armed conflict has long been overlooked. Moreover, the extent to which gender influences the international legal regime designed to address the humanitarian problems arising from armed conflict has similarly been ignored. In the early 1990s, prompted by extensive media coverage of the rape of women during the conflict in Bosnia Herzegovina, the international community was forced to
critically examine the capacity of international law to respond to such crimes. The prevalence of sexual violence, is, however, merely one aspect of the distinctive impact of conflict on women. Although a range of factors influence the way individual women experience armed conflict, the endemic gender discrimination that exists in all societies is a common theme: from Cambodia, where women land-mine victims are less likely to receive treatment for their injuries than are men; to South Africa, where women widowed during the Apartheid years have become outcasts in their own society. To date, the extent to which international law addresses the myriad of ways in which women are affected by armed conflict has received little attention. This work takes the experience of women of armed conflict, matches it with existing provisions of international law, and investigates reasons for the silence of the latter in relation to these events for women. It is the first broad-based critique of international humanitarian law from a gender perspective. The contribution of the United Nations, through its focus on human rights, to improving the protection of women in armed conflict is also considered. The authors underscore the need for new approaches to the issue of women and armed conflict, and canvass a range of options for moving forward. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
Peacekeepers can play an important role in protecting civilians from sexual violence during armed conflict. Since the early 1990s, mandates for UN peacekeeping missions explicitly include provisions for the protection of civilians. The challenge of effectively preventing and responding to conflict-related sexual violence is, however, one that peacekeepers have rarely met. Indeed, peacekeepers have themselves committed acts of sexual violence (as noted in the profiles of sexual violence during the conflicts in, for example, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, East Timor, Eritrea, Haiti and Liberia). “Peacekeepers” include a wide variety of actors: soldiers and military officers, police, development specialists, humanitarian workers and other civilians. This section will largely focus on armed and security forces. It will examine some of the strategies that have been initiated in UN and other multilateral peacekeeping missions, and by countries contributing troops and police to them, to better address sexual violence in peacekeeping. These include both initiatives to strengthen the capacity of peacekeepers to prevent and respond to sexual violence in the contexts in which they are deployed, and measures introduced to prevent and sanction sexual violence committed by peacekeepers. (Ibid, 169)

Abstract:
Theories of sexual violence are often derived from single case studies and their applicability to other conflicts rarely tested. Applying these theories comparatively has the potential to reveal gaps, overlaps and silences within them. In this vein, this study tests four theories of sexual violence across three well-documented cases - those of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone. The theories addressed here focus on (1) male desire, opportunity and social breakdown, (2) gender inequality and identities, (3) gender and ethnicity, and (4) military organization and structure. This study casts doubt on gender inequalities' previously undisputed centrality, as well as revealing important unexplained similarities in the patterns and forms of sexual violence. While the exceptional elements of ethnic sexual violence are explained efficiently by the traditional theory of gender and ethnicity, the similarities noted between ethnic and non-ethnic sexual violence suggest that more attention to military organization and structure is needed. Indeed, as is shown, faulty selection and inadequate unit-level group cohesion may have had an important role in facilitating sexual violence in these, and possibly other, cases. (Ibid, I)


Abstract:
On June 19, 2008, the United Nations Security Council took an important step to further the protection of women during war by unanimously passing Security Council Resolution 1820 ("Resolution 1820" or "the Resolution") which calls for "immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians," including children, and states that "rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide." ... This Note argues that despite the overwhelming importance of Resolution 1820 in protecting women raped during wartime conflict, the Resolution is ineffective and potentially detrimental to women's rights because it suffers from inconsistencies and incompleteness. ... The IMTFE went further than the Nuremberg war tribunals by prosecuting rape during the war while the Nuremberg war tribunals neglected to recognize the occurrence of rape. ... However, the lack of significance or importance attached to the rape charges in the IMTFE reinforces the historical view that gender-based crimes, such as rape, are perceived as lesser crimes and should be viewed within the framework of other, more important crimes. ... Using the standard for rape set forth in the Torture Convention, the ICTY convicted Delic of violations of articles two and three on the basis that the rapes by Delic, a public official, amounted to torture. ... The field offices have been tremendously successful in certain areas, such as in the distribution and collection of victims' participation forms and in

Abstract:
In the years since the first reports of mass rapes in the Yugoslavian wars of secession and the genocidal massacres in Rwanda, feminist activists and scholars, human rights organizations, journalists, and social scientists have dedicated unprecedented efforts to document, explain, and seek solutions for the phenomenon of wartime rape. While contributors to this literature agree on much, there is no consensus on causal factors. This paper provides a brief overview of the literature on wartime rape in historical and ethnographical societies and a critical analysis of the four leading explanations for its root causes: the feminist theory, the cultural pathology theory, the strategic rape theory, and the biosocial theory. The paper concludes that the biosocial theory is the only one capable of bringing all the phenomena associated with wartime rape into a single explanatory context. (Ibid, 129)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
Finding that there is consensus among scholars studying sexual violence in warfare that “the only way to attack the problem of wartime rape is to identify and understand the factors and conditions that promote it,” (129) Gottschall identifies four main theories for wartime rape:

- The feminist theory. States that misogyny in patriarchal societies is exacerbated by the promotion of aggression and violence during war.
- The cultural pathological theory. A nation’s or armed group’s history and culture is examined to find triggers for sexual violence.
- The strategic rape theory. Currently the most influential of the four, claiming that sexual violence is used to achieve strategic aims.
- The biosocial theory. Holds that sexual desire is the main motivation for rape, but is regulated by sociocultural factors.

Gottschall evaluates each of these theories according to the following criteria: first, descriptive power (is there good "theory/data fit?") and second, parsimony (does the theory account for information with the fewest numbers of assumptions and posits?). He concludes that while the first three theories all represent valuable contributions to understanding the issue, the biosocial theory is the one best fitted to explain the widespread perpetration of sexual violence in war, across time, culture and types of conflict, and the one with the highest likelihood of producing effective prevention strategies.

“While the first three theories emphasize different causal factors for wartime rape, they are firmly unified in their ability to decisively rule out sexual desire as a major causal factor. Moreover, proponents of the first three theories generally
contend that rape in war is the result of social and cultural influences particular to
given types of societies, and argue against explanations based upon "human
nature." These theories differ only in the identification of which sociocultural
factors are most responsible. On the other hand, the biosocial theory suggests that
researchers must consider not only sociocultural factors but also the evolved
sexual psychology of human males, and it emphasizes that sexual desire is likely
to be a primary influence on a soldier's decision to rape.” (Gottschall, 129)

*Graham, Ruth. “Male Rape And The Careful Construction Of The Male Victim.” Social

Abstract:
This article looks at social research on sexual assault in non-conflict se generates
much attention in social research, but male victims are largely neglected by a
predominantly feminist perspective that seeks to highlight the gendered nature of
sexual assault as a social phenomenon. As a result there is a relative lack of
empirical information on male rape. According to the author, it is important to
look at the development of male rape as it emerges in the social research
discourse. It is important to examine this development because the current
direction of the research on male rape has worrying consequences for how we
theorize sexual assault in general. Graham examines how male rape is understood
in academic discourse, and focuses specifically on how a credible male victim is
constructed with reference to sexual difference, sexuality, and hierarchies of
sexual harm. The analysis demonstrates the problems around the concept of ‘male
rape’, and the need for all those researching sexual assault to account adequately
for both male and female victims alike. (Ibid, 187)

Green, Llezlie. “Gender Hate Propaganda and Sexual Violence in the Rwanda Genocide:
Argument for Intersectionality in International Law.” Columbia Human Rights Law

Abstract:
Using the Media Trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
as an example, the author argues that to effectively address the violence
committed against Tutsi women during the Rwandan Genocide, the ICTR must
recognize the violence was both sexist and racist. The author presents a general
background on the Rwandan genocide, the propaganda campaign and its effect on
Tutsi women. The author concludes that there is a lack of an intersectional
analysis in the ICTR's statute and other international treaties to address the
violence and presents an alternative framework for prosecuting the gendered
racist propaganda. (Abstract from Women's Human Rights Resources
Programme)

Abstract:
This report, “Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector”, demonstrates the horrifying scope and magnitude of sexual violence in armed conflict. The first part of the report, the Global Overview, profiles documented conflict-related sexual violence in 51 countries – in Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and the Middle East - that have experienced armed conflict over the past twenty years. The second part of the report, entitled Implications for the Security Sector, explores strategies for security and justice actors to prevent and respond to sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. (Abstract from IANSA Women's Network)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
This report demonstrates the horrifying scope and magnitude of sexual violence in armed conflict.

The first part of the report, the Global Overview, profiles documented conflict-related sexual violence in 50 countries - in Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and the Middle East - that have experienced armed conflict over the past twenty years. Each profile contains a short summary of the conflict, a description of forms of sexual violence that occurred and, where available, quantitative data on sexual violence.

The second part of the report, entitled Implications for the Security Sector, explores strategies for security and justice actors to prevent and respond to sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. It focuses in particular on peacekeepers; police; the justice sector, including transitional justice; civil society initiatives; and how DDR programmes can address sexual violence.

Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector is an important resource for security sector and development institutions, advocates, humanitarian actors, and policy makers seeking to address sexual violence during and after armed conflict.


Abstract:
No Abstract Available..

Objectives:
We used the Atrocities Documentation Survey to determine whether Sudanese government forces were involved in racially targeting sexual victimization toward ethnically African women in the Darfur region of western Sudan.
Methods:
The US State Department conducted the survey by interviewing a randomized multistage probability sample of 1136 Darfur refugees at 20 sites in Chad in 2004. For a subset of 932 respondents who had fled from village clusters that accounted for 15 or more respondents per cluster, we used hierarchical linear models to analyze village-level patterns of reported sexual violence. We statistically controlled for individual sexual victimization to remove bias.

Results:
Respondents reported being subjected to racial epithets associated with sexual victimization significantly more often during combined attacks by Sudanese government forces and Janjaweed militia forces than during separate attacks by either force. Conclusions. Combined attacks by Sudanese government forces and Janjaweed militia forces led to racial epithets being used more often during sexual victimization in Darfur. Our results suggest that the Sudanese government is participating in the use of sexual assault as a racially targeted weapon against ethnically African civilians. (Ibid, 1386)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available..


Abstract:
The specific criminalisation of sexual violence in war has made immense strides in recent years, as feminists engaged with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the Rome Statute processes have proposed--and often won--a wide range of new legal rules and prosecutorial practices. This essay briefly describes some of these feminist achievements, in particular the reframing of rape and other sexual violations as a freestanding basis for charging serious humanitarian crimes and as the sole predicate act in particular prosecutions; and the demotion of a consent-based defense to charges of rape. The essay then turns to an anonymously published account of one woman experiences during the fall of Berlin to the Soviet Army in 1945, published in English as A Woman in Berlin: A Diary. By analysing the Diary's ideologically saturated reception in Germany and by analysing the text itself the essay proposes that rape in war is not merely either ignored and condoned or prosecuted and punished, but intrinsically problematically related to our evaluations of the badness of rape and the badness
of war. The essay derives from its reading of A Woman in Berlin a war-rape antinomy: the literary, achievement of the Diary, the author argues, is that it keeps the badness of war and the badness of rape in mutual suspension; and the pathos of its typical reception is that this antinomy collapses in ways that ratify some of the most problematic ideological investments linking rape to war. The essay concludes by deriving from this literary-critical excursion some hard policy questions for law-makers deciding how to criminalise rape and other sexual violence in International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal Law: what are the costs of ignoring the ideological discourses that surround rape? What are the downsides of ratifying the idea that rape in war is a fate worse than death? Could the special condemnation of rape weaponise it? How should criminal law handle the problematic of consent under coercive circumstances when those circumstances are armed conflict? And how might the new feminist-inspired rules entrench nationalist differentiation and antagonism? It concludes that the intrinsic dilemma-like structure of our answers to these questions cannot be transcended, and that international policy-makers should temper triumphalist excitement about the new feminist-inspired rules in order to take these problematics on board. (Ibid, 78)


Abstract:
As violent conflict ravages the Democratic Republic of Congo, thousands of women and girls are victims of sexual violence. Unfortunately, there are few services available to this population. While the exact number of victims is uncertain, the available data indicate the large scale of women and girls affected by sexual violence, and the urgent need for aid, services, and better policies to improve care. This humanitarian crisis is slowly gaining Western attention, but the current demand for humanitarian action and improved policies is greatest in the following three categories which will be addressed in the body of the work below: (1) an increase in humanitarian aid, (2) medical assistance, and (3) social support. (Ibid, 64)


Abstract:
The mass rapes in Bosnia brought gendered security problems onto the international agenda to an unprecedented extent. This article examines the debate surrounding whether these rapes should be characterized as a security problem which warranted international attention and possibly intervention. This debate evolved around the question whether wartime rape should be understood as an
individual risk or a collective security problem; and whether it should be defined in national or in gendered terms. The empirical part of the article analyzes the three dominant representations of the Bosnian mass rapes: 'rape as normal/Balkan warfare'; 'rape as exceptional/Serbian warfare'; 'Balkan patriarchy'. The political impact of each of the representations is difficult to assess, but that the willingness of the International Crime Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to pursue rape-related indictments constitutes an important step towards the recognition of wartime rape as a collective security problem. (Ibid, 55)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

“‘Rape as normal/Balkan warfare’ – is a classical realist one. In this perspective, wartime rape does not by itself constitute a security problem: rape is an individual, not a collective problem, and is understood to be a ‘natural’ component of warfare. In the Bosnian context, this classic discourse had a ‘Balkan variant’ which held that violent behaviour is common in the Balkans.” (Hansen, 57)

“‘Rape as exceptional/Serbian warfare’ – was also located within the conventional conceptualization of security inasmuch as it held national security as its conceptual focus. Within the framework of this discourse, rapes did constitute a security problem: the Serbian rape campaign was aimed at eradicating the Bosnian nation. Moreover, since the rapes were a threat to national security, this perspective’s policy implication was that the West should intervene in defense of Bosnia.” (57)

“‘Balkan patriarchy’ – the rapes were understood in gendered, not national, terms, and rape was defined as a threat to women on all sides of the war, not only on the Bosnian (Muslim) one. The policy implications of this representation were more ambiguous shifting between calls for military intervention and a more undecided position.” (57)

Questions unanswered:

“Should one interpret the intervention in 1995 in support of the Bosnian government as a vindication of the ‘Rape as exceptional/Serbian warfare’, or, should one, on the contrary, see the failure to intervene militarily from 1992 to 1995 as a confirmation of the ‘Rape as normal/Balkan warfare’ representation? The answer depends to some extent on the time perspective involved when evaluating policy responses. As Stanley notes, the reports of mass rape in 1992–3 had little immediate impact. Yet although not the main impetus behind the intervention, one might argue that the attention to those rapes nevertheless helped galvanize political support among western governments in favour of intervention (Stanley 1999: 87).” (68)

“When are there enough rapes for a situation to qualify as mass rape? Does this justify intervention?” (69)

Abstract:
Headlines recently sound a new theme: Women are targets. Women are targets of armed conflict, political violence and terrorism. The stories come from different cultures and continents. In Rwanda, Algeria, Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan the stories of systematic attacks on women (and children, too) have alerted international authorities to a seeming new element of modern conflict.

This paper will show that gender-based terrorism is not a new weapon at all. There are aspects of terrorism motivated by gender which are new, however. Primarily, there is an evolving awareness by the public that gender plays a role in acts of violence in general, including war, ethnic conflict, and even domestic disputes. This awareness is bolstered, then later reinforced, by the increasing attention paid to gender-based acts of violence by the media. Resultantly, what makes sexual violence within conflict appear new is the attention paid by the media and international community.

Despite being covered in the media as a facet of war and ethnic conflict, sexual violence has not yet been recognized as a form of terrorism. Rather, gender-based terrorism is still being viewed through the lens of either conventional conflict, where it remains a regrettable example of the horrors of war, or, when perpetrated by a state, sexual violence is categorized as a human rights violation.

These categories neglect the deliberate political nature of such attacks. The cases cited in this paper demonstrate that sexual violence is indeed a tool in the terrorism toolbox, aimed at bolstering political objectives by striking at the heart of traditional culture, at the honor and virtue of women. Each of the cases possess a common, underlying thread that demonstrates how vulnerable women can be, when cultures are in conflict, or even at peacetime. For example, in the case of the American Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, the embassy was specifically targeted by Usama bin Laden because the Ambassador at that post was female. Bin Laden's men operated under the assumption that the target would be more effective because of the emotional impact of a female casualty to the American people. (Ibid, 3)

Harris Rimmer, Susan. After the Guns Fall Silent: Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in Timor-Leste. Timor-Leste: Timor-Leste Armed Violence Assessment, November 2009

Abstract:  
No Abstract Available.

Haskell, John D. “The Complicity and Limits of International Law in Armed Conflict

Abstract:
The inauguration of the International Criminal Court and the proliferation of criminal tribunals over the twenty years are often presented as historic and progressive moments in the trajectory of international law’s response to victims of
rape in armed conflicts. However, these moments may signal not only inclusion, but also repression. They signal not just progress, but also a renewed rhetorical and institutional legitimation of colonialism. Historicizing the advent of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and the International Criminal Court, the article examines some ways that international law obfuscates its complicity in armed conflict rape, looking particularly at calls within the profession for greater efficiency, nation-state security, and reparations for victims. In doing so, this article grapples with questions concerning the limits and alternatives to our current legal imagination towards rape in armed conflict. (Ibid, 35)


Abstract:
Mass rape is a common but not universal occurrence in ethnic or nationalist conflicts. Using South Asian and Bosnian data, in this article I argue that mass rape is likely when such conflicts take place during the partition of a territory and its population, when the state itself is liminal, both its territory and control over it uncertain. In conflicts in which the state is not itself threatened, and thus groups feel that they will continue to coexist, there is some evidence that rape is avoided, even when murder is accepted. However, such instances of rape avoidance are largely unstudied, in large part because of the focus on the violence of mass rape. Further, this focus on violence tends toward classifying all sexual relations between groups whose members have participated in mass rape as improper, thus depriving women who may not wish to rejoin their natal groups of agency. (Ibid, 27)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“What I am interested in pursuing here is those circumstances in which large numbers of individuals commit rape, or intentionally avoid committed rape, because both they and their victims see themselves as components of larger social entities, and rape would have a serious impact on the relations of those entities (and thus of their members) to each other.” (Hayden, 28)

“For what Bosnia in 1992 and Punjab in 1947 share is partition, not only of territory but of population. The whole point of the violence is to ensure that there will be no continuation of coexistence, and rape seems a powerful weapon, even more powerful than murder, to bring about that end.” (31)

“Rape is unacceptable when the lesson is only to display dominance over people with whom the group asserting dominance expects to keep on living.” (32)

“If rape and rape avoidance are both purposeful, the message conveyed seem themselves inverted: no further common life/dominance but continued
coexistence. Yet these inverted messages are only possible if there is a message common to both, which is that the honor of the group (in which males are the normative actors) is determined by the honor of its women and by the masculinity of its men. It is only in this context that rape/non-rape can be expressive acts in the context of ethno-national or communal violence.” (32)

“Partition, then, is not only a liminal state but a time when the state itself is liminal, and the questions of whose state it is, and how the population will be defined, are open. Here we have the circumstances in which the messages of subordinated coexistence or expulsion will be sent. After these issues are settled, mass rape is no longer likely, because either coexistence will have been reconstituted or the newly consolidated groups will have separated.” (33)

“The difference in political stability is important: the statuses of Delhi as capital of India, or of Sandzak as part of Serbia, was not in question, and neither was control over either territory. Thus is each case the state was not liminal, and sexual violence was not pronounced. Similarly, once territories in Bosnia had been successfully ‘ethnically cleansed’ to consolidate control, sexual violence was no longer practiced against the minorities who remained.” (34)

“On the one hand, the view of rape as a communicative act reinforced the appropriateness of treating mass rape as a war crime rather than as a pattern of supposedly random acts of individual soldiers. At the same time, prosecuting rape as a war crime might be interpreted as reinforcing the very message of separation that mass rape send in the first place. It is into precisely this trap that otherwise feminist writers such as a Catherine MacKinnon have fallen: by viewing rape as ‘genocidal’ they have in fact accepted the message of coexistence is not possible, for how could anyone expect victims of genocide to live communally once again with perpetrators of that act? Thus labeling rape as ‘genocidal’ would seem to acknowledge its effectiveness as a tool for partitioning populations.” (34)

“Sexual assault is violent, and mass rape is group violence, but classifying it as ‘genocidal’ accepts the premises of the rapists themselves and thus turns consensual sex, even marriage, into rape. There may well be theoretical justifications for doing so, but they lead to the determination that women themselves lack the capacity to make crucial decisions, because they remain the real property (territory) of the group to which they have been classified.” (35)

“The implications of these findings are disturbing. First, it is unlikely that prosecuting rapists after the fact will prevent future occurrences of mass rape during partition. Further, the post-Bosnia linkage of mass rape with genocide seems to accept the very premises of the rapists and thus to render future cohabitation of the peoples in question less likely. Finally, the understandable humanistic concern with the violence of rape leads investigators not only to ignore circumstances of rape avoidance, but even to be very skeptical of consensual sexual relationships and even of marriage between members of the
groups in question. In this way, a focus on rape, violence, and putative justice may frequently deny agency to women victims themselves, thus denying to many women, and to many men, the chance to reconstruct their lives after their countries and communities have been sundered by ethno-national violence.” (36)


Abstract:
The 20-year war in northern Uganda has resulted in up to 1.7 million people being internally displaced, and impoverishment and vulnerability to violence amongst the civilian population. This qualitative study examined the status of health services available for the survivors of gender-based violence in the Gulu district, northern Uganda. Semi-structured interviews were carried out in 2006 with 26 experts on gender-based violence and general health providers, and availability of medical supplies was reviewed. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) guidelines on gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian settings were used to prepare the interview guides and analyse the findings. Some legislation and programmes do exist on gender-based violence. However, health facilities lacked sufficiently qualified staff and medical supplies to adequately detect and manage survivors, and confidential treatment and counselling could not be ensured. There was inter-sectoral collaboration, but greater resources are required to increase coverage and effectiveness of services. Intimate partner violence, sexual abuse of girls aged under 18, sexual harassment and early and forced marriage may be more common than rape by strangers. As the IASC guidelines focus on sexual violence by strangers and do not address other forms of gender-based violence, we suggest the need to explore this issue further to determine whether a broader concept of gender-based violence should be incorporated into the guidelines. (Ibid, 122)


Abstract:
How does the international community respond to conflicts and crises? Responses are mainly directed to emergency relief and survival needs through the Combined Appeals Processes (CAPS) in which agencies collect baskets of proposals and submit them collectively, and through the Multi-donor Trust Funds. In practice this means that the bulk of the funds go to larger agencies, which do not prioritise protection or treatment of women subject to sexual violence. A new initiative by
UN agencies and NGOs, the 'Joint Partnership Against Sexual Violence in Conflict and Crisis Settings', aims to strengthen prevention of sexual violence, expand services for survivors, strengthen global commitment and cooperation to tackle the issue, and provide a comprehensive evidence base for action. There is great need to ensure that the new aid effectiveness agenda addresses women's needs, including around sexual and gender violence. A related issue is the need to obtain more relevant data and indicators on violence against women. One of the most critical periods for action is that of early recovery after conflict, where there is risk of slipping back into violence, but also opportunities to build the foundations of a society where violence is no longer regarded as normal.

(Abstract from Siyanda)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Imperial Japan was not the first nation to procure women to provide sexual services for its soldiers. As George Hicks notes, “More or less institutionalized means have always been found for catering to this primitive sexual need.” Hicks, however, convincingly argues that the Japanese case represents a most ghastly instance of abuse, involving “the legalized military rape of subject women on a scale ... previously unknown in history”.

Hicks notes several reasons why this long-dormant issue surfaced only recently. In Asian societies, wherein chastity is esteemed, the comfort women “had everything to gain by keeping silent and everything to lose by making accusations.” With prospects for marriage ruined by speaking out, most preferred to keep their ordeal secret rather than push for compensation and justice.

Furthermore, “[t]he task of uncovering the history of the comfort women has thus far been delayed by such factors as the destruction of evidence by the Japanese Armed Forces, the Japanese government's insincere attitude toward war responsibility and social prejudice against comfort women”. The Japanese were all too happy to avoid the issue. Government officials have attempted to deny or shift responsibility in a number of ways--for example, by claiming that the comfort women were volunteers, working for private operators, over whom the military maintained only limited supervision.

Hicks also notes that, with one exception, the victorious Allies did not press the issue. While other atrocities such as the abuse of prisoners of war and the massacre of civilians were dealt with by the Tokyo war crimes trials, all such trials ceased with the outbreak of the Cold War. Only the Dutch took action, on behalf of Dutch women. This lone exception, oddly and improperly conducted in the midst of Indonesia's war for independence, was routinely dismissed by the Japanese as an anomaly, if not an injustice.
Perhaps most important, South Korea, whose women were the primary victims, was both distracted by war and threats thereof and ruled by men who did not countenance demonstrations or protests. In addition Korea's leaders remained unwilling to challenge Tokyo, at least in part owing to economic dependence.

Comfort women thus began demanding redress in earnest only in the late 1980s and 1990s. By this time, some individuals no longer had any family upon whom they might “cast shame.” Furthermore, by then, Asian attitudes toward women's rights had begun to change. Groups and individuals began to link the issue with the problem of sexual oppression of women as a whole. “Simultaneously shocking from the standpoints of morality, feminism and patriotism,” the issue could be used to arouse feelings against current practices, including the ongoing sex trade in Asia.

Beginning in the late 1980s, advocates for South Korean comfort women have demanded:

- That the Japanese government admit the forced draft of Korean women as comfort women.
- That a public apology be made for this.
- That all barbarities be fully disclosed.
- That a memorial be raised for the victims.
- That the survivors or their bereaved families be compensated.
- That these facts be continuously related in historical education so that such misdeeds are not repeated.

The Japanese government initially replied by claiming that there was no evidence of a forced draft, and hence no need for apologies, memorials, disclosures or compensation. Anger at that response prompted many women to come forward and, in some cases, to file suit. Comfort women from other nations joined the South Koreans in protest. All the while, scholars gradually uncovered irrefutable evidence that the Japanese military was behind the running of the comfort stations.

Following more Japanese stalling, the South Korean government added its weight to the struggle in 1992. Several other nations followed suit. In August 1993, the Japanese finally admitted to the use of deception, coercion and official involvement in the recruitment of comfort women. The apology they gave “was along the lines that the government ... offer[s] its deepest apology and sense of self-reproach to all the women for their irreparable mental and physical suffering and injuries, promising that means of compensation would be studied, and the lessons of history squarely faced.”

The most powerful sections of the book are the personal accounts of the comfort women. Intermittently throughout the work, women tell of being violently “deflowered” and then forced to service dozens of men per day in a melange of dehumanizing ways.

One is left aghast at the physical pain the women endured. “I was continuously raw,” writes one woman. “Sex was excruciating.” Many emerged from their service with physical scars, nearly all of which were inflicted by Japanese officers. While a few managed to injure their tormentors in kind, "one forms the
impression that many clients may have preferred this kind of sado-masochistic drama to tame submission."

Sadism is a recurring theme of the women's stories, along with the blatant abuse of force, as in the following example: “As I lay there naked on the bed ... he slowly ran the sword over my body ... He played with me like a cat plays with a helpless mouse ... He threw himself on top of me ... he was too strong.... To me, this brutal and inhuman rape was worse than dying.... The night was not over yet, there were more Japanese waiting ... this was only the beginning.”

Beyond the damaged hips, the crippled legs, abdominal scars, broken bones, ruptured eardrums and missing teeth, came even more devastating psychological trauma. One woman speaks of her inability to “relinquish her fear of sex and hatred of men, which extends even to ... her grandson.” “I just hate all men and I hate sex.” Others have a different focus for their rage: “I was to be stripped of every shred of pride and dignity ... how I hate the Japanese!” “Cannot hate them enough” says another comfort woman, who was seized from her family on the very eve of her wedding.

The anguish they have endured has been worsened by the fact that the victims could not find release in an open acknowledgement of the wrong done to them. A former Filipina comfort woman, now a grandmother of twelve, stressed the need for justice: “Our lives were wasted by the Japanese. We were treated like animals. Japan should at least say that it is sorry”.

Curiously, many Japanese right-wing organizations have responded to even vague apologies with intense venom. They claim that Japan was not responsible for the war, that their actions were not lawless by the standards of the day, and that human rights were denied to all under wartime conditions. The present stir, many have claimed, is economically motivated to put pressure on Japan.

Such responses alert one to another reason why this issue must be pursued, beyond the fact that this is a war crime gone unpunished. Japan has too often attempted to cover up, or has failed to inform and educate young Japanese, on the less heroic aspects of the war. Overall there is a pervasive taboo on discussion of the war, giving one an appearance of “national amnesia”. The comfort woman issue “raises afresh the question of Japanese reluctance to acknowledge wartime atrocities.” What is needed is “not only apology and compensation, but proper understanding of history by all Japanese”.

In one paragraph that may best sum up the reasons to pursue this issue, the Comfort Women Problem Resolution Council of South Korea concluded: “Even among the war crimes committed by Japan, the comfort women issue involved the most inhuman, atrocious national crimes, unparalleled in the world. We have consistently demanded that the concealed truth of the matter be brought to light and that apology and compensation be made to the victims. This is a move designed to restore the human rights denied the comfort women. It also aims to correct the distortions in the history of Korean and Japanese relations and to sound an alarm bell to the world so that such war crimes are not repeated”.

Hicks offers overwhelming evidence to support his criticisms of Japanese policies. He is more ambiguous, however, in discerning this example from other historical cases of military prostitution. Hicks is certainly correct to note that after
the war, American soldiers claimed from some comfort women “the same sort of service their Japanese counterparts had”. He also justifiably notes a “link between the sexual activities of the Japanese Armed Forces and that of the American Occupation Force as two sides of the same coin--the exploitation of women”.

Hicks might do well, at times, clearly to note the differences as well. Consider the following: Scholars of the Holocaust, by way of comparison, distinguish that event from many other examples of genocide by noting the scope and scale of the deprivations, and the extent of involvement of modern bureaucracies in the business of torture and murder. It would seem that the Japanese case similarly extends well beyond other historical examples of military prostitution, and implicates both the Home Government and the Imperial Armed Forces in a variety of ways. Not only was the scale of deprivations extraordinary, but so too was the suffering.

The Imperial Japanese approached military prostitution with some unusual attitudes. Some felt that sexual deprivation made one accident prone, and that sex before battle provided charms against injury. Some even wore “lucky” amulets made with the pubic hair of comfort women.

The system was worsened far less by superstitions, however, than by an intensely hierarchal military that strayed considerably “beyond the rational requirements of discipline”. Within the armed forces recruits endured daily abuse in a dehumanizing process designed to secure complete obedience. The comfort women, supposedly supplied to “relieve tension,” endured excessive mistreatment, especially from the officers. They who treated their own men as an inferior species showed even greater contempt for women whom they often regarded as not only sexually but racially inferior. As one officer put it, “They're less than cattle”.

There is also no doubt of extensive bureaucratic involvement. Women were procured in one of three ways. Initially recruiters searched for volunteers, finding some among professional prostitutes. More commonly, they deceived young women with promises of cooking, laundry, nursing or waitressing jobs. Finally, women were seized in virtual slave raids.

While some (not all) of the “recruiting” was handled by private operators, the Japanese Armed Forces “controlled the comfort stations in such respects as laying down regulations for them and conducting examinations of venereal disease”. There were no uniform standards, but posted regulations covered the hours of opening, the length of each visit, bathing procedures, the required use of condoms (which were washed for re-use in shortage-stricken areas), and the fee scale. The military bureaucracy treated the women as they would handle standard supplies. With the exception of a recurrent concern for decorum (amidst the satisfaction of rather brute “male needs”), they ran the comfort stations in a disturbingly banal, indifferent fashion.

There are minor problems with the work. Given that even educated readers often struggle with Pacific geography, the book could use at least one map. While a bit overgeneral on the background of the war, the last half of the work conversely drags in detail, as Hicks chronicles the increasing attacks of advocates and Japan's gradual admittance of guilt. Finally, on an admittedly trivial note, as a scholar of
Afghanistan, I simply must dispute his claim that the Russo-Japanese war was “the first war in which an Asian power successfully took on a Western one.”

I also question his rather virulent denunciation of the Allies for their failure to prosecute these war crimes earlier. Not only did the Allies have limited evidence, but, given prevailing attitudes, one must assume that they likely viewed the comfort women as not altogether unusual for a society known for its bathhouses, geishas, and the like. While the emergence of feminism has made these issues explicit today, one must at least wonder how clearly the Allies of the late 1940s could have seen the dividing line between prevailing cultural patterns and atrocity.

While the ongoing recovery of relevant information precludes anyone from calling Hicks' work definitive, he has provided much of value. He has also done well (the book's title aside) to supply a limited degree of balance amidst a subject that begs perjoratives and sensationalism. Hicks notes cases of Japanese soldiers who empathized with the comfort women, including one who objected to the whole process as “no different from relieving oneself in the lavatory”. A 73 year-old veteran states: “I think it is appropriate that some kind of compensation should be made to the comfort women.” One suspects that upon concluding this work, Hicks' readers will readily agree. (Review from Jeff Roberts, Tennessee Technological University)


Abstract:
My aim in this article is to analyze a set of gendered power relations played out in two postconflict settings. Based on interviews with peacekeepers and others, I argue that sexual exploitation of local women by male peacekeepers continues to be documented. I then turn to scholarly considerations of peacekeeper sexual exploitation, some of which accord excessive explanatory power to a crude form of military masculinity. This is underlined by similarly exploitative activities perpetrated by humanitarian workers and so-called “sex tourists.” In conclusion, I argue that a form of exploitative social masculinities shaped by socioeconomic structure, impunity, and privilege offers a more appropriate way to capture the activities of some male peacekeepers during peacekeeping missions. Finally, in underlining the conflation of military masculinities with exploitation, I pose the question of how to explain those military men who do not exploit local women while deployed on missions. (*Ibid*, 99)


Abstract:
Reports that men and teenage boys are being raped at youth training centres across Zimbabwe in a concerted effort by Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe to stop political dissent. Details of these accusations, including that the police, army and intelligence agencies are complicit; Description of a rape by intelligence agents; Psychological effects of male rape. (Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Summary:
Hill’s article highlights the practice of male rape and sexual violence against men as a tool of Robert Mugabe’s government in conflict torn Zimbabwe. Mugabe uses male rape as a means of suppressing opposition movements. Leaders of the opposition movement the Movement for Democratic Change are often taken into custody and subjected to anal rape and other forms of sexual violence. This act carries several layers of meaning in the context of Zimbabwe. It is an attack on masculinity as it is in almost every case but gay sex itself is an illegal act in Zimbabwe and Mugabe, a notorious homophobe, has said that homosexuals are the lowest form of life. Youths and any groups of men not found to have identification cards of Mugabe’s ruling party are forced into custody and either raped or forced to perform sex acts with each other or on soldiers. As refugees to the number of over two million flee Zimbabwe to South Africa medical staff there is treating these victims of sexual violence. A doctor in Johannesburg who has treated these men relates the following: ‘‘In their culture, rape is worse than death, and all my patients are being treated for depression and mental trauma,’ he said”.

Hill’s central message is that sexual violence against men has become a prominent tool of repression in Zimbabwe.


Abstract:
Military-on-military sexual violence—the type of sexual violence that most directly disrupts operations, harms personnel, and undermines recruiting—occurs with astonishing frequency. The U.S. military has responded with a campaign to prevent and punish military-on-military sex crimes. This campaign, however, has made little progress, partly because of U.S. military law, a special realm of criminal justice dominated by legal precedents involving sexual violence and racialized images. By promulgating images and narratives of sexual exploitation, violent sexuality, and female subordination, the military justice system has helped to sustain a legal culture that reifies the connection between sexual violence and authentic soldiering. (Ibid, 101)

Summary:
Looking at efforts to address military-on-military sexual violence within the US armed forces, Hillman finds that: “Sexual violence is a fundamental problem in warfare and in military culture, both historically and in contemporary military
operations. It is a problem, however, to which the U.S. armed forces have responded: with good-faith efforts to measure the damage, adapt law and policy, educate service members and commanders, and prosecute criminals. But those responses have largely failed, in part because of resistance within military institutions to cultural change, but also because the very structure of law in which those reforms operated was built on cases that see women as vulnerable yet dangerous, soldiers as male and overpowering, and accountability as a slippery slope rather than a clear-cut principle. More aggressive criminal prosecution of military sexual violence through current models, which dramatically under-prosecute male-on-male assault, threatens to exacerbate this problem by portraying yet more women as victims and yet more soldiers as rapists”.
(Hillman, 118-119)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Summary:
Horwood examines several academic articles as well as reports from human rights organisations to provide an overview of the different attempts at understanding motivations for sexual violence in conflict. On the one hand, the author claims that “rape in war routinely serves a strategic function … for achieving particular military objectives”, and is implemented with tacit or explicit approval of political and military leaders, to:
1. Punish (the individual or social group)
2. Intimidate (the individual or social group)
3. Destabilise and/or demoralise communities
4. Drive people from their land (such as in Rwanda where rape was used as a means of genocide)

In Rwanda the consequences of rape were exacerbated by a high HIV infection rate in the rape survivors, as was the case for Acholi women raped by LRA soldiers in Northern Uganda. The women complained that spread of HIV was an intentional strategy, and therefore one of the motivations behind the rapes. However, Horwood does not find any evidence that this was actually the case. Horwood refers to Allen (Rape Warfare, 1996) who cites a Serbian military strategy document according to which the decisive targeting of women and children was considered to be key in forcing Bosnian to leave their areas of residence. Horwood argues that orders to target women and children as a means of instilling flight increased the soldiers’ brutality as they knew that news of their actions would travel to the surrounding villages. He also holds that is important to look at rape as one of many expressions of violence against civilians; one that is
often carried out in a context of violence and human rights violations directed towards whole families or villages.

On the other hand, Horwood also maintains that opportunity, rising from a destruction of norms and accountability, combined with male libido and a culture of machismo, also helps to explain sexual violence in conflict. The use of “bush wives” is a clear example of sexual abuse that is prevalent in conflicts but not motivated by military strategy. Horwood claims that: “in the absence of a particular military strategy, rape tends to be more common amongst armies/armed groups that lack discipline or operate in small groups with more independence and lower accountability to command structures”. Horwood cites how Groth and Birnbaum (Men Who Rape, 1980) identify 3 groups of (peacetime) rapists, with separate primary motivations, namely those who use rape to:

1. Exert power, and express mastery, strength, control and authority.
2. Express and discharge anger and rage: to defile, degrade and humiliate the victim. Often more brutal than “power rape”.
3. Punish and destroy the victim for sadistic reasons, a combination of the previous two.

Horwood raises the question of whether these categories apply to soldiers, with the high levels of power and impunity that they enjoy in a conflict situation. They suggest that in a combat situation these three categories merge as soldiers are “encouraged to indulge in emotions of anger, power, sadism and sexual opportunism.” He also cites Camille Paglia (Sexual Personae (1992)) who argues that it is a mistake to look at society as creating rapists through a patriarchal culture. She argues that the primary driving force for rape is sexual, and that society provides norms and rules to protect women from men’s desire to rape.


**Abstract:**

*Shattered Lives* presents the massive scale of rape and sexual violence against women in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide. The perpetrators of these crimes were members of the infamous Hutu militia groups known as the Interhamwe, other civilians, and soldiers of the Rwandan Armed Forces. Most of these violations were permitted and directed by administrative, military, and political leaders to further their political goals, who therefore bear responsibility for these abuses. This report documents the widespread rape of women, and confirms that women were individually raped, gang-raped, raped with objects such as sharpened sticks or gun barrels, held in sexual slavery, or sexually mutilated. These abuses were considered part of a pattern in which women were raped after witnessing tortures and killings of relatives and destruction of homes. Shattered Lives also
details the recovery of these abused women after experiencing the profound trauma and grief of rape. (Abstract from Criminal Justice Abstracts.)


Abstract:
The Reproductive Health Response in Conflict (RHRC) Consortium designed a standardised questionnaire to measure gender-based violence (GBV) prevalence in conflict-affected settings. A preliminary field test was undertaken July–August 2002 in one urban and one rural district in East Timor to assess the prevalence of GBV among women 18–49 years of age during and after conflict. The field test used a cross-sectional survey design with a two-stage random selection process. During the year preceding East Timor’s 1999 crisis, 23.8 per cent of respondents reported physical assault by an intimate partner; this rate was not significantly different in the year preceding the survey (24.8 per cent). Assault by perpetrators outside the family declined significantly from 24.2 per cent during the crisis to 5.8 per cent post-crisis for physical assault (p<.001) and 22.7 per cent during the crisis to 9.7 per cent post-crisis for sexual assault (p=0.046). The field test stimulated and informed additional research in East Timor, and the complementary findings of these research initiatives continue to be used to develop local policies and programming to prevent and address GBV. (Ibid, 294)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.


Abstract:
Gender inequality is magnified in situations of war, and women are disproportionately disadvantaged in terms of personal safety, access to resources, and human rights. This article summarizes the effects of armed conflict on women and women's greater vulnerability to health and mental health concerns because in war, women's bodies become a battlefield. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is introduced as an international framework to address women's participation in solutions to war, reconstruction, and nation building. The article also indicates ways in which social workers can be part of implementing this resolution to defend the human rights of women. (Abstract from CINAHL)

Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Summary:
This report describes the current situations of sexual violence as a method of warfare, how women are affected, and how societies allow them. Jefferson details the newer crises related to sexual violence (such as the spread of HIV/AIDS and the increased risk for trafficking due to economic breakdown.) She also notes what has stayed the same: its use as a large-scale attack mostly against women, and the near complete “impunity” of its perpetrators. But the report asks and answers the questions “Why are women so consistently targeted for this specific type of assault? Ultimately, can wartime sexual violence be prevented?”

Jefferson notes three main reasons for the persistence of sexual violence. First, “women’s subordinate and unequal status in peacetime,” which “renders them predictably at risk for sexual violence in times of war.”(Jefferson, 1) In many countries, governments do not enforce laws against common crimes against women: sexual and domestic violence. Cultural norms can also permit violence. These peacetime behaviors are often exacerbated in times of conflict, as has been the case in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone. But through education and accountability, the report suggests that progress against sexual violence can be made. Outside monitors in the form of NGOs and humanitarian groups can serve as witnesses to these crimes.

Second, the “increasing international exposure and public outrage about rape in conflict” (2-3) do not result in “vigorous investigation and prosecution” (3). Important courts and tribunals (such as the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia, ICTY, and for Rwanda, ICTR) have been warmly welcomed by the international community, only to fall short of high expectations. But their ultimate significance is yet to be discovered.

Third, “inadequate services for survivors of wartime sexual assault” (3) reveal “official disregard for the harm women and girls suffer in the course of conflict and suggests a lack of commitment to facilitating rape survivors’ reintegration into society” (3). The lack of “justice” and “accountability” for survivors is exacerbated by ostracism, psychological problems, health issues and economic crisis commonly experienced by survivors of rape. Despite these significant obstacles, Jefferson expresses hope for the end of sexual violence, especially during armed conflict. If a country can collectively address the aspects of its society that make it vulnerable to sexual violence, it can ameliorate some of its most horrific problems.

**Abstract:**
This article argues that women in the military are in double jeopardy. They face the danger of rape from their male colleagues as well as the ordinary dangers of being killed or wounded by the enemy. They are used to send messages from one masculine military to another in their very bodies. This is particularly clear in the case of Lynndie England and the Abu Ghraib tortures where her womanhood, and sexual use of her by her comrades, were used as weapons to humiliate Iraqi prisoners. This sexual violence from their own side is the result of the fact that militaries are founded upon an aggressive masculinity that is vital to enable warfare to continue. For this reason the argument that it is important from the point of view of equal opportunities for women to be in all areas of the military, including the frontline, falls down. If aggressive masculinity is the necessary foundation of the military rather than being an unfortunate hangover of patriarchy, then women cannot be equal in this institution. Women's organizations should not be using the language of women's rights in calling for the subjection of women to these forms of violence. (*Abstract from SciVerse*)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**
“The women are used as pawns in a game between men. In the Abu Ghraib prison torture scenario the women soldiers involved were used specifically to cause maximum shame to men who, the torturers were taught, would be particularly susceptible to sexual humiliation by women. Racism is clear in the way that this supposed cultural difference was manipulated, but there was an underlying misogyny and sexual violence, too, which created a quite different and unequal role for women soldiers. They were employed to send a message from a conquering group of men to those they had conquered. The fact that the face and name of Lynndie England have come to symbolize the Abu Ghraib affair is an indication of the unequal way in which women soldiers are treated by the media. The male ringleader, Graner, is not so well known. England was demonized even though she was specifically employed by her military superior to send messages to the prisoners through sexual shaming (Morrison, 2005). If women's role in the military was equal then the males who ordered the tortures and were responsible for the worst abuses would be most well known. This discrepancy suggests that the scapegoating of women may be being used to divert attention from male violence and responsibility. The prison was run by a woman and three women were directly implicated in the torture. The involvement of women in the torture could be seen as an example of equality in the military i.e. both men and women are capable of torturing prisoners. But in the case of England in particular the manifest inequality of women in the military seems to be in evidence rather than their equality.” (Jeffreys, 21)
“England's inequality is clear on several fronts. Gender is itself a hierarchy (MacKinnon, 1989) but her inequality as a woman was exacerbated in Abu Ghraib by several other factors. She was a clerk and junior in rank to the man with whom she became involved. She was considerably younger, being 21 whilst Graner was 35.” (22)

“Most importantly the way in which the sexual use of England was employed by male soldiers as one form of torture of the prisoners and captured on film, suggests severe difficulties with the equal opportunities approach to getting women into the military. Women soldiers were used in the torture of prisoners because this was expected to undermine them through severe humiliation. Thus England says that ‘One of the things that they wanted was females to be there. So they knew they were being humiliated by having females see them naked’ (Morrison, 2005). The sexual use of England was to send a message to the captives who were expected to react negatively to such a practice because of different cultural values. The media reported that ‘According to several accounts...England...was shown having apparently consensual sex with several partners and ...in the presence of Iraqi detainees’ (Cornwell, 2004). Though there is no evidence that force was used on Lynndie to encourage her to agree to this multiple partner sexual use, it does seem likely that forms of powerful influence were exerted upon her. The extraction of sexual access to women through superior power, higher status, means which do not involve direct physical force or its threat, should be understood as ‘sexual exploitation’. Interestingly, one significant form of torture at Abu Ghraib was turning the Iraqi male prisoners into women.” (22)

“Similar torture techniques, of humiliating Muslim prisoners with the uncleanliness of women, were employed at the Guantanamo Bay prison in Cuba in the same time period. An Australian prisoner, Mamdouh Habib reported that a prostitute was told to stand over him and menstruate on him (Habib, 2005).” (22)

“There are several lessons to be learned from the creation of pornography out of the Abu Ghraib tortures. One of these is yet another way in which Lynndie England's experience has been unequal to and different from that of the male soldiers who used her. She is likely to have been harmed in a way that is quite different from that of her male colleagues who are photographed with her.” (22)

“England is represented in the media as consenting and voluntarily taking part in this behaviour. There is no evidence that England was physically forced but the extreme power difference between her and the orchestrators of her degradation in military pornography should be seen to mitigate any easy argument as to choice and voluntariness.” (23)

“Like Katharine Viner, [Hughes] argues that the soldiers may have learned from pornography to treat the prisoners in sexually brutal ways. This generation of male soldiers, she suggests, has ‘grown up with’ pornography that is very cruel to
women on the Internet and ‘learned to call (it) adult entertainment’ (Hughes, 2004).” (23)

“The fact that there are so many women and that a woman was in charge of the military prison at Abu Ghraib, has been used as evidence for the idea that women harm morale and order (Marquez, 2004). One newspaper article suggested that in the case of Abu Ghraib it was the presence of women in the military police that encouraged the ‘obscene misbehaviour that the photos reveal’ (Leonard, 2004).” (24)

“A military without masculinity may be unrecognizable and may not be capable of aggressive warfare where there is no reasonable cause. Equal opportunities for women right now, however, in militaries that are founded in the degradation of women, does not look like an achievable goal. If aggressive masculinity is the necessary foundation of the military rather than being an unfortunate hangover of patriarchy, then women cannot be equal in this institution.” (24)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Context:
Liberia's wars since 1989 have cost tens of thousands of lives and left many people mentally and physically traumatized.

Objectives:
To assess the prevalence and impact of war-related psychosocial trauma, including information on participation in the Liberian civil wars, exposure to sexual violence, social functioning, and mental health.

Design, Setting, and Participants:
A cross-sectional, population-based, multistage random cluster survey of 1666 adults aged 18 years or older using structured interviews and questionnaires, conducted during a 3-week period in May 2008 in Liberia.

Main Outcome Measures:
Symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), social functioning, exposure to sexual violence, and health and mental health needs among Liberian adults who witnessed or participated in the conflicts during the last 2 decades.
Results:
In the Liberian adult household-based population, 40% (95% confidence interval [CI], 36%-45%; n = 672/1659) met symptom criteria for MDD, 44% (95% CI, 38%-49%; n = 718/1661) met symptom criteria for PTSD, and 8% (95% CI, 5%-10%; n = 133/1666) met criteria for social dysfunction. Thirty-three percent of respondents (549/1666) reported having served time with fighting forces, and 33.2% of former combatant respondents (182/549) were female. Former combatants experienced higher rates of exposure to sexual violence than noncombatants: among females, 42.3% (95% CI, 35.4%-49.1%) vs 9.2% (95% CI, 6.7%-11.7%), respectively; among males, 32.6% (95% CI, 27.6%-37.6%) vs 7.4% (95% CI, 4.5%-10.4%). The rates of symptoms of PTSD, MDD, and suicidal ideation were higher among former combatants than noncombatants and among those who experienced sexual violence vs those who did not. The prevalence of PTSD symptoms among female former combatants who experienced sexual violence (74%; 95% CI, 63%-84%) was higher than among those who did not experience sexual violence (44%; 95% CI, 33%-53%). The prevalence of PTSD symptoms among male former combatants who experienced sexual violence was higher (81%; 95% CI, 74%-87%) than among male former combatants who did not experience sexual violence (46%; 95% CI, 39%-52%). Male former combatants who experienced sexual violence also reported higher rates of symptoms of depression and suicidal ideation. Both former combatants and noncombatants experienced inadequate access to health care (33.0% [95% CI, 22.6%-43.4%] and 30.1% [95% CI, 18.7%-41.6%], respectively).

Conclusions:
Former combatants in Liberia were not exclusively male. Both female and male former combatants who experienced sexual violence had worse mental health outcomes than noncombatants and other former combatants who did not experience exposure to sexual violence. (Ibid, 676)


Abstract:
The aim of this briefing is to provide recommendations that contribute to implementing a gender-sensitive approach to multidimensional peace support operations (PSOs) within the context of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). The briefing is intended as a resource for policy makers and implementing agents, both military and civilian, involved in PSOs at all levels.

Much progress has been made in terms of the debate as to ‘Why?’ integrating gender perspectives into PSOs is important. International humanitarian and human rights law provide both the rationale and the international standards for incorporating gender perspectives and human rights into PSOs. It has been
illustrated in countries such as South Africa and East Timor that fully integrating
gender perspectives can improve the effectiveness of peace support operations. A
gender sensitive approach provides a better interface with affected populations,
enhancing the protection and capacities of local women, and promoting and
upholding international standards, including those regarding equality and non-
discrimination.

With the passing of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), the Security
Council and all members of the General Assembly agreed that gender
perspectives must be mainstreamed throughout PSOs and peace accords. Thus,
the legal instruments are in place, but the mechanisms for implementing these still
need to be developed. This briefing takes its starting point in the important debate
of ‘How?’ gender mainstreaming should now be entrenched in practice.

For this briefing, PSOs are taken to include all dimensions of peacekeeping
operations by the international community from the complex multi-dimensional
operation to more directly visible observer operations. Their mandated purpose is
to protect lives, safeguard human rights, re-establish conditions for peace, human
security, and stability, and increase people’s capacity to deal with crisis and the
reconstruction of their societies (DFID/DFAIT). (Ibid, 1)

Jones, Adam. “Straight as a Rule: Heteronormativity, Gendercide, and the Noncombatant

Abstract:
This article is an extension of the author's research into the vulnerability of
noncombatant "battle-age" males in situations of war and genocide. It explores the
role of heteronormativity--defined as culturally hegemonic heterosexuality--in
shaping the victimization experiences of male noncombatants. An introductory
section addresses definitional issues and frames the discussion in terms of the
study of gendercide, or gender-selective mass killing. The link among
noncombatant status, imputed violations of heteronormativity, and gendercide is
then explored. A separate section considers the phenomenon of sexual violence
against males in wartime and asks whether feminist theories of "genocidal rape"
can usefully be deployed to assist understanding of this little studied phenomenon.
The conclusion cites some remaining conceptual and conventional obstacles to
research on male noncombatants, and suggests avenues for further investigation.
(Abstract from Sage Journals)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“One of the most intriguing elements of male-on-male rape and sexual violence is
the gendered positioning of rapist and victim: the way in which victims are
feminized while rapists are confirmed in their heterosexual, hegemonic
masculinity.”(Jones, 459)
“The question is, Can sexual violence against noncombatant men also serve a genocidal purpose? I think it can. First, it must be noted that the rape of males in the context of war and genocide far less frequently involves actual intercourse between assailant and assailed. More common is one of two patterns: (1) forced rape of one subordinate male (especially an imprisoned one) by another; or (2) severe sexual torture, up to and including castration (some- times also committed by one ‘subordinate’ male against another on the command of a prison guard; reports of both variants surfaced in the Bosnian war-crimes trials).” (461)

“First, the coercion of one’s fellows to inflict the violence is a special feature of sexual violence against males and can be predicted to erode group cohesion in something of the same way that rapes and impregnations of subordinate-group women are expected to do. The ‘feminization’ of male victims certainly threatens the masculine group cohesion that is essential for military action. And, finally, the element of sexual torture and genital damage that figures so strongly in accounts of male rape and sexual violence in conflict situations can be seen as a counterpart to the forced impregnation and cultural humiliation of female victims.” (461)

“We need to understand better the fluid, shifting, and contingent character of hegemonic masculinity through history.” (462)

“The subject of the deployment of gendered language and propaganda before and during outbreaks of war and genocide deserves close attention for what it might teach us about how the masculine identities of perpetrators are shored up and how the Other is feminized as a prelude to victimization or extermination.” (462)

“A significant difficulty is that we still lack a clear empirical picture of the character and scale of victimization inflicted on ‘outgroup’ males, including bearers of subordinate masculinities, throughout history and around the contemporary world.” (463)

“One question that preoccupies me is the extent to which male victimization, including the abuse and atrocity meted out to noncombatant males, merits analysis within a human-rights’ framework. We have grown accustomed to the (once-radical) statement that ‘women’s rights are human rights’: that is, gender-specific rights issues are an integral part of broader human-rights framings. Do ‘men’s rights’ deserve similar consideration?” (463)


Abstract:
The article examines the gender-related provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The word “gender,” accordingly, has been
included in the Statute only after a number of women's rights activists requested its inclusion. Duly drafted by 160 states, non-government organizations (NGOs) and special interest groups, the Statute provides that victims and witnesses are authorized to participate in the ICC's proceedings at important stages of the process. (*Abstract from Academic Search Premier*)

**Summary:**
This article identifies and examines the gender-related provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which grants the ICC broad jurisdiction over gender-related crimes. The article begins by exploring the manner in which the term “gender” became incorporated into the Statute. The bulk of the article, however, is devoted to an examination of the individual crimes enumerated in the Statute. The elements of crime, negotiations history, and relevant jurisprudence from other international tribunals are analyzed for each crime in order to provide a comprehensive reference guide for the prosecution of sexual violence within the ICC. The final section of the article looks at the gender-specific structural mechanisms unique to the ICC.


**Abstract:**
This note explores the current controversy over the proper international standard for punishing commanders whose subordinates have committed rape, and examines the interplay between the nature of rape, the underlying theories of command responsibility, and an international legal system that has failed to produce fruitful results. The note contends that the continued occurrence of rape in times of war results in large part from the international community’s reluctance to punish high-level military officials who neither physically perpetrated the crime, were not present at the crime scene, and did not necessarily order rape.

The note proposes a slight expansion of the “knowledge presumption” standard used by early courts, whereby general, historical knowledge of rape would satisfy the *mens rea* requirement of command responsibility. Such a standard would make it easier to prosecute wartime military leaders. In addition, the note will propose a series of measures that military officials can use to both deter the commission of rape by subordinates and rebut the knowledge presumption. Finally, the note examines how the International Criminal Court could use such a standard to punish commanders for the atrocities currently under investigation in Darfur.

The note is particularly relevant and timely because widespread mass rape has been reported in the region of Darfur and is currently under investigation by ICC prosecutors. It is likely that the ICC will hear many of the cases involved in this
dispute in the near future. Many of these cases will force the Court to examine its standard for punishing commanders whose subordinates have engaged in rape crimes. (*Abstract from bePres*)


**Abstract:**
Sexual violence has serious and multiple consequences for the mental health of women. At the psychological level, it leads to radical changes in the image that the victim has of herself, in her relations with her immediate social circle and beyond, in the community as a whole, and in the way in which the victim sees the past, present, and future. It thus has a lasting negative impact on the victim's perception of herself, of events, and of others. At the community level, it stigmatizes the victim, depriving her of any social status or intrinsic value as a person (she is seen as unfaithful or promiscuous), and thereby modifies relationships within the community with an overall deleterious effect. This article discusses these consequences of sexual violence for the mental health of women, especially those who are its victims during armed conflicts. (*Ibid, 177*)


**Abstract:**
Explores the history of rape in war. Discussion on the lessons of the Balkan conflicts in the 1990s; Issue of rape during the Tokyo war crimes trial following World War II; Rape in war after 1945; Importance of proving and punishing rape in war. (*Abstract from Academic Search Premier*)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**
“In Bosnia-Herzegovina it has been estimated by the European Union that in total some 20,000 women were subjected to sexual violence…The Bosnian Ministry of the Interior…claimed the figure of those raped was 50,000.” (73)

“These differing patterns of rape appear to suggest different types of sexual assault, with varying motivations.” (74)

“Rape is therefore an area of contested data and propaganda…There is also a problem when attempting to generalise about rape as an experience in war, of making sweeping claims about the cultural impact of rape or of trying to homogenise the motives of those involved.” (75)
“[N]ot all rapes were indictable and the issue of what might constitute proof of a political or racist motive in rape is a complex one. Under this rubric some rapes, however savage, will never be prosecuted by international law.” (76-77)

“The issue of how women should be treated by the international legal system and what degree of evidence they should be expected to provide to prove rape was and remains a controversial one.” (77)

“The Balkan wars confirm the old lesson that discussion of rape is liable to distortion and that reliable evidence is hard to come by.” (81)

“[R]ape has multiple causes. The temptation is to treat all women as victims of a similar political crime – individual stories of abuse can in this context be marginalised or even silenced.” (81)

“The development of international law in the treatment of rape does not in any way rectify the wrongs perpetrated against women in the past nor does it, as we have demonstrated, guarantee the future of women.” (81)

“[T]hose actors which might in the short term enforce international law are predominantly states or collections of states which place interests before the enforcement of human rights.” (81)

**Summary:**
The Balkan wars of the 1990s were critical in bringing the issue of rape & more particularly the phenomenon of mass rape onto the political agenda in the West. For the first time, mass rape in war is now an indictable crime, giving the impression that the human rights of women are now taken seriously. Yet, as the article argues, although the crime of mass rape has been recognized by audiences in the West, there are grave weaknesses in the processes of how we deal with rape as a crime of war. Evidence of mass rape is liable to distortion & reliable evidence is hard to come by, at least for the standards required by proper judicial process. The attempts by the Hague tribunal to indict & try perpetrators of rape have not helped our understanding of why men rape, & indeed have tended to homogenize all rape in war as politically motivated. The Balkan Wars reveal that rape in war has multiple causes, as well as a variety of consequences.

The authors introduce the five rape patterns as determined by the Commission of Experts in Bosnia (73):

1. Before the fighting took place
2. In conjunction with invasion
3. During detention
4. ‘Rape camps’
5. ‘Brothels’
The Hague Tribunal that had been set up regarding the Bosnian conflict “showed the historic problem of providing accurate data on rape, revealed tales of rape for propaganda, and demonstrated repeatedly the difficulties of finding appropriate legal and political mechanisms for dealing with the abuse of women.” (Kennedy-Pipe, 73)


Abstract:
Despite promulgating a comprehensive set of guidelines to deter UN personnel from committing acts of sexual misconduct, allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse have become widespread within United Nations peacekeeping missions. The policy of zero-tolerance for peacekeeper misconduct has not been matched by strong disciplinary measures, and crimes are often ignored and rarely punished: absentee fathers, rapists and murderers simply disappear back in their home countries. In countries where women and children rarely have the same economic resources, political rights and authority or control over their environment – or their bodies – they easily become prey for those in perceived positions of power and authority. By failing to hold those responsible to account, the UN may in fact be fuelling even greater discrimination and violence against women and children. In order to ensure those who are mandated to protect to do not become perpetrators of abuse, the UN must take a stronger stand against those who commit acts of sexual misconduct, and must ensure that victims see that their abuser is brought to justice and that reparation is offered. A recent report submitted by the Secretary-General’s Special Envoy on Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse makes a comprehensive set of recommendations to prevent, detect, and respond to these allegations. The aim of this essay is to highlight some of the main points of the Special Envoy’s report, and to examine the practical challenges the UN and troop/police contributing countries will face when attempting to implement these recommendations. (Ibid, 85)


Abstract:
The article focuses on incidents of forced sexual intercourse and other forms of gender-based violence reported by refugee or internally-displaced women in Azerbaijan, Iran. Reports have revealed that over 60% of these women have reported sexual violence, which can cause them to flee their homelands, relocating within their country of citizenship and possibly coming into greater
harm. The author of this study emphasized that in order to develop effective treatment and prevention strategies for these refugee and internally-displaced women, the incidence and prevalence of sexual violence must be investigated. 

(Abstract from Academic Search Premier)

Summary:
Studies the high prevalence of self-reported sexual violence in internally displaced women in Azerbaijan. Forced sexual intercourse and other forms of gender based violence are a persistent public health problem for refugee women. The article investigates sexual violence affecting these women, its incidence, prevalence, and correlates. The investigation was conducted in nongovernmental organization-operated reproductive health clinics in the Barda, Yevlack, and Terter districts in Azerbaijan. The study was conducted on nonpregnant, 18 to 48-year-old, sexually active volunteers. Approximately 30% of the 457 women reported being forced to have sexual intercourse at least once in their life. The prevalence of forced sexual intercourse in this study group is similar to that cited in reports from other refugee settings. Women who have experienced forced sexual intercourse are at increased risk for sexually transmitted diseases, genital irritation, pelvic pain, urinary tract infections, physical abuse, mistimed/unwanted pregnancies and abortions. This calls for vigilance among providers to ensure appropriate treatment and referral of victims of sexual violence. Further study of sexual violence toward women is needed to elucidate the problem and to lay the foundation for eliminating it. 120 women (26% of those in the study) reported “that they had been forced to have sexual intercourse in the last 6 years. Twenty-one percent of the women reported that they had been forced to have sexual intercourse in the past year.” (Kerimova, 1068)


Abstract:  
No Abstract Available.

Objectives: 
In response to growing concerns about sexual violence as an underrecognized traumatic consequence of military service, Veterans Health Administration policy requires universal screening for sexual trauma sustained during military service. This prospective study, the first to evaluate national efforts to screen for military sexual trauma, investigated whether sexual trauma screening is associated with increased utilization of mental health services.

Methods: 
This study examined data for all male (N=540,381) and female (N=33,259) veterans who had valid responses to screens for military sexual trauma in 2005.
The use of mental health services during the three months after screening was examined for persons who screened positive for military sexual trauma and for those who screened negative. Findings were stratified by use of mental health services in the six months before the screening.

**Results:**
Compared with negative screens, positive screens were associated with significantly increased rates of post-screen mental health treatment. A more than twofold increase was observed for patients without previous use of mental health treatment (women: relative risk [RR]=2.52, 95% confidence interval [CI]= 2.38-2.66; men: RR=2.47, 95% CI=2.34-2.61). In this group, the number of positive screens needed for one additional patient to access treatment was 5.5 for women and 7.2 for men.

**Conclusions:**
Our findings suggest that detection via screening is associated with increased rates of mental health treatment. An effective screening program that promotes detection of sexual trauma and access to mental health care can help to reduce the burden of psychiatric illness for those who have experienced military sexual trauma. (*Ibid, 635*)


**Abstract:**
*No Abstract Available.*

**Background:**
Despite the recent adoption of the UN resolution 1820 (2008) which calls for the cessation of war related sexual violence against civilians in conflict zones, Africa continues to see some of the worst cases of war related sexual violence including the mass sexual abuse of entire rural communities particularly in the Great Lakes region. In addition to calling for a complete halt to this abuse, there is a need for the systematic study of the reproductive, surgical and psychological effects of war related sexual violence in the African socio-cultural setting. This paper examines the specific long term health consequences of war related sexual violence among rural women living in two internally displaced person's camps in Kitgum district in war affected Northern Uganda who accessed the services of an Isis-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE) medical intervention.

**Methods:**
The study employed a purposive cross-sectional study design where 813 respondents were subjected to a structured interview as part of a screening procedure for an emergency medical intervention to identify respondents who required psychological, gynaecological and surgical treatment.

Results:
Over a quarter (28.6%) of the women (n = 573) reported having suffered at least one form of war related sexual violence. About three quarters of the respondents had 'at least one gynaecological complaint' (72.4%) and 'at least one surgical complaint' (75.6%), while 69.4% had significant psychological distress scores (scores greater than or equal to 6 on the WHO SRQ-20). The factors that were significantly associated with war related sexual violence were the age group of less than or equal to 44 years, being Catholic, having suffered other war related physical trauma, and having 'at least one gynaecological complaint'. The specific gynaecological complaints significantly associated with war related sexual violence were infertility, chronic lower abdominal pain, abnormal vaginal bleeding, and sexual dysfunction. In a multivariable analysis the age group of less than or equal to 44 years, being Catholic and having 'at least one gynaecological complaint' remained significantly associated with war related sexual violence.

Conclusion:
The results from this study demonstrate that war related sexual violence is independently associated with the later development of specific gynaecological complaints. (Ibid, 635)


Abstract:
During five years of armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, tens of thousands of women and girls in the eastern part of the country have suffered crimes of sexual violence. The signing of a peace agreement in 2002 and the installation of a transitional government in 2003 raised hopes that both the military conflict and related abuses would end. But in eastern Congo women and girls – as young as three years old – continue to be targeted for crimes of sexual violence. Some have been gang-raped or abducted by combatants for long periods of sexual slavery. Some have been mutilated or gravely injured by having objects inserted into their vaginas. Some who fought back when attacked have been killed. In a number of cases men and boys have also become victims of crimes of sexual violence. (Abstract from RefWorks)

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installation of a transitional government in 2003 raised hopes that both the military conflict and related abuses would end. But in eastern Congo women and girls – as young as three years old – continue to be targeted for crimes of sexual violence. Some have been gang-raped or abducted by combatants for long periods of sexual slavery. Some have been mutilated or gravely injured by having objects inserted into their vaginas. Some who fought back when attacked have been killed. In a number of cases men and boys have also become victims of crimes of sexual violence.

As detailed in this report, perpetrators of sexual violence are members of virtually all the armed forces and armed groups that operate in eastern Congo. Such crimes were committed by the former Congolese Rally for Democracy-Goma (RCD-Goma), a Rwandan-supported armed group that controlled large parts of eastern Congo during the war. The RCD-Goma and its Rwandan allies had a number of adversaries – Mai Mai rebels, and Burundian and Rwandan Hutu armed groups – who also committed widespread acts of sexual violence. Further to the northeast, other armed groups fought for control over territory, and also carried out frequent acts of sexual violence. Among those were the Congolese Rally for Democracy – Kisangani – Liberation Movement (RCD-ML), the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC), and the Union of Congolese Peoples (UPC) and the Front for National Integration (FNI) in the Ituri region. Members of the former government army, the Congolese Armed Forces (FAC), and of the new national army known as the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC) are also guilty of sexual abuses.

Victims of crimes of sexual violence have enormous needs for medical, psychological and social support; unless such needs are met, they have difficulty beginning and persevering in efforts to bring the perpetrators of the crimes to justice. Congolese nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) were the first to assist the victims but growing support now comes from various international agencies and international NGOs. Among the services now offered in a few communities is assistance in initiating legal action against those suspected of responsibility for the sexual violence.

In the past, women and girls who had been raped generally kept silent, fearing stigmatization by those who blame the victim. Many feared reprisals from perpetrators if they reported the crimes. But in the last two years, a small number of victims of sexual violence have sought justice from the Congolese judicial system. This report documents such efforts and the reasons why they often failed, including deficiencies in the law, the unwillingness of military and other officials to treat sexual violence as a serious offense, lack of protection for the victims, and various logistical and financial impediments linked to the dilapidated state of the judicial system.

The report also examines the handful of prosecutions that ended in the conviction of persons accused of crimes of sexual violence and describes deficiencies that
resulted in violations of the rights of the accused to a fair trial. In addition, there was insufficient attention to the needs of the victim, and no protection for victims and witnesses. The report also addresses the failure of military prosecutors to examine the culpability and command responsibility of superior officers when sexual violence was part of ongoing crimes under their command.

The Congolese government, faced with the overwhelming task of delivering justice for the many crimes committed during the war, has started to rebuild its fractured judicial system. Its most notable success thus far was the restoration of a functioning court in Bunia, in Ituri district of Orientale province. The report discusses prosecutions that resulted in ten convictions on rape charges by this court. It examines reforms needed in laws and in the operation of the judicial system, including providing adequate protection to victims and witnesses.

As a party to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), Congo has referred crimes under the Court’s jurisdiction to the ICC prosecutor who has begun an investigation. This development constitutes a real hope for justice for the Congolese people. The huge scale of serious crimes involving sexual violence should be a priority concern of that investigation. However, the ICC will be able to investigate only a very small number of people bearing the greatest responsibility for serious crimes in Congo and the national courts will have to deal with the majority of the crimes committed during the war.

International donors and the United Nations (U.N.) have provided assistance to victims, although not sufficient to meet the overwhelming needs of the crisis. The European Union (E.U.) has supported reforms in the judicial system, particularly the effort to re-open the court in Ituri.

A U.N. peacekeeping operation known as the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) has been sent to monitor the peace process and protect civilians. In recent months MONUC human rights staff have documented and made public grave cases of human rights violations and have in some instances assisted victims of crimes of sexual violence to institute judicial proceedings. However MONUC has often failed to protect civilians, including those targeted for sexual violence. Worse, some MONUC peacekeepers and civilian staff have discredited the operation and the U.N. more generally by committing crimes of sexual violence and by sexually exploiting women and girls.

This report is based on research carried out in North Kivu, South Kivu, and Ituri during 2003 and 2004, including interviews with victims of sexual violence, relatives of victims, judicial authorities, political authorities, and lawyers. The report draws also on extensive consultations with the staff of local and international nongovernmental organizations and of various U.N. agencies. The names of all victims and their families are pseudonyms, to protect their security. (Ibid, n. pag.)

Abstract:
This 56-page report documents persistent sexual violence by the army, and the limited impact of government and donor efforts to address the problem. The report looks closely at the conduct of the army's 14th brigade as an example of the wider problem of sexual violence by soldiers. The brigade has been implicated in many acts of sexual violence in North and South Kivu provinces, often in the context of massive looting and other attacks on civilians. Despite ample information about the situation, military, political, and judicial authorities have failed to take decisive action to prevent rape. (Abstract from Refworks)

Summary:
In the Democratic Republic of Congo, tens of thousands of women and girls have suffered horrific acts of sexual violence. The government army, the Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC), is one of the main perpetrators, contributing to the current climate of insecurity and impunity in eastern Congo. FARDC soldiers have committed gang rapes, rapes leading to injury and death, and abductions of girls and women. Their crimes are serious violations of international humanitarian law. Commanders have frequently failed to stop sexual violence and may themselves be guilty of war crimes or crimes against humanity as a consequence. Although other armed groups also commit brutal acts of sexual violence against women and girls, the sheer size of the Congolese army and its deployment throughout the country make it the single largest group of perpetrators.

The destructive long-term physical, psychological, and social effects of sexual violence on the victims cannot be underestimated. The situation is particularly bad for girls, who are at risk of serious injuries after rape, and whose health is at risk if they get pregnant. Their future is often compromised as they have difficulty finding a partner, drop out of school, are rejected by their own family, or have to raise a child born from rape while still being a child themselves.

This report looks at abuses of sexual violence committed by the FARDC, efforts to stop it, and why such efforts have failed so far. More specifically, the report looks at the 14th brigade as an example of the wider problem of impunity. Since its creation in 2006, this brigade has committed many crimes of sexual violence in different areas of North and South Kivu in eastern Congo. It has also been responsible for abductions, killings, torture, looting and extortion. Without sufficient food or pay, soldiers have attacked the civilian population to loot and extort goods.

Abstract:
There are other limitations and gaps in efforts, but one to highlight particularly is the limited attention to the differentiated effects of armed conflict on women and on girls of different ages and stages of development. There is a noticeable tendency—in policy documents especially—to talk about women and girls as if there was no differentiation in experience, perspectives, vulnerabilities and protection needs. This is particularly noticeable within the text of UNSCR 1325 which in no way fully reflects the complexities and differences in gender identities that are critical in conflict and post-conflict situations, for example, age, ethnicity and class. These differences relate to experiences, coping strategies and needs, all of which are crucial to developing appropriate programming responses in conflict and post-conflict contexts. Recent studies and reports help to articulate some of the specific issues relating to the vulnerabilities of adolescent girls, and the gender-age dimensions of power imbalances in conflict contexts. Girls may be particularly targeted for sexual abuse by fighting forces, and at the same time, in refugee camps and other such settings may be subject to sexual exploitation by the very people there to care for them, including peace-keepers, humanitarian workers and even teachers (UNHCR/Save the Children). There is also increased awareness of the particular experiences of girls and young women in fighting forces and their multiple roles within such groups. Recommendations for protecting girls and young women from sexual violence include ensuring appropriate and empowering educational opportunities, as well as increasing opportunities for girls' participation in decision-making regarding their own safety as well as their own priorities for peace (GPWG/WCRWC).

There are clearly some very positive initiatives to recognize from Canadian government and civil society with regard to ending violence against women in conflict contexts, but there is still a lot to be done. Rape and other forms of sexual violence continue unimpeded on a daily basis. Policy makers, practitioners, and researchers need to pay more attention to the root causes of these types of violence and their connection to wider structures of violence, conflict and power relations. Although women and girls are victims of sexual violence there is a risk that programs exclusively addressing this type of violence will be developed but not linked to larger policy prescriptions for conflict prevention, conflict resolution and reconstruction. Sexual abuse and gender-based violence should be included in broader analysis of peace, conflict, security and development. It is an egregious violation of the rights of women and girls, and is also a major barrier to their effective participation in development within their families, communities and societies. It can prevent participation in education, in economic activities as well as in peace-building activities and processes. Some of the strategies now being adopted by civil society to move beyond policy statements on the protection of
women and girls include advocacy to mainstream action against violence against women, and linking violence against women domestically to the international contexts in which violence against women is endemic. Amnesty International, for example, has taken up this approach in its recent campaign. Other strategies include focusing on specific geographical areas to assess the specific women peace and security issues and the extent to which measures outlined in UNSCR 1325 are being implemented. For example, in 2004 the McGill Centre for Research and Teaching on Women held a workshop specifically on women's experiences of the conflict between India and Pakistan and their role in peacebuilding. The Gender and Peace-building Working Group undertook a study in the Great Lakes region with the aim of making targeted, regionally specific recommendations. Canadian civil society cannot work alone, and linkages are need to international activities, strategies and approaches. The GPWG, for example, has recently collaborated with the New York-based Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children to prepare a fact sheet on a topic of shared concern—adolescent girls affected by violent conflict. (Ibid, 139)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

The article states that the Canadian government and civil society are active in addressing violence against women and girls in conflict zones and that “on an international level, Canada is seen as a leader in the field” (Kirk, 139). The authors also identify where the gaps lie and how they might be addressed.

Despite growing recognition of the problems of “the use of rape as a weapon of war, the sexual exploitation of girls and young women by peacekeeping forces and humanitarian aid workers, and the inability of the international community to prevent this abuse and to protect women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post conflict settings” (139) and UN efforts to incorporate UNSCR 1325 broadly, issues of gender-based violence “remain peripheral to human security and peacebuilding policy and programming efforts” (139). Kirk and Taylor include female genital mutilation, forced early marriage, honor killings, and domestic violence under “gender-based violence” (140). They give the following statistics:

“Between 50,000 and 64,000 internally displaced women in Sierra Leone reported experiencing sexual violence at the hands of armed combatants. Half of internally displaced women who had face-to-face contact with combatants reported experiencing sexual violence.” (140)

“It is estimated that between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 1990s. (IASC)” (140)

“Sexual violence has been used as a weapon of war by most of the forces involved in the conflict in eastern Congo. Some rapists aggravated their crimes by other acts of extraordinary brutality, shooting victims in the vagina or mutilating them with knives or razor blades. Some killed their victims outright while others
left them to die of their injuries. Girls as young as five years of age or elderly women as old as eighty were attacked. (Human Rights Watch 2002)” (140).

Kirk and Taylor view 1325, “the first UN Security Council resolution to specifically acknowledge the impacts of conflict – particularly sexual violence – for women and girl,” as a component of a larger structure of international documents and plans to achieve gender equality and protect women and girls, including the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW (Ibid, 140). UNSCR 1325 stipulates action by the UN, the Security Council, the Secretary General, member states, and all parties to armed conflict in four areas: “(1) participation of women at all decision making levels and in peace processes; (2) the inclusion of gender training in peacekeeping operations; (3) protection of the rights of girls and women; and, (4) gender mainstreaming in the reporting and implementation systems of the United Nations” (140). Further, “a gender perspective is demanded on a range of activities including peace negotiations, peace operations training, design of internally displaced persons’ (IDP) camps, and reconstruction programming” (140).

Canada initiated and chairs the New York-based *Friends of Women, Peace and Security* group, of representatives from states, UN agencies, and NGOs, and “supports international justice mechanisms,” such as the International Criminal Court, to which Canada “provided some funding…to ensure that there was a gender component to the training of their judges” (141). Canada has also worked with the UK to develop gender-training materials for use by military personnel and civilian police on peace operation missions; established the Interdepartmental Working Group on Gender and Peacebuilding; and made steps, like Norway and Denmark, to develop a National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (141). On the civil society side, the Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group (GPWG) of the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee (CPCC) facilitates collaboration among Canadian NGOs, activists, academics, and government (141). A GPWG workshop in March 2005 resulted in the following recommendations: “Canada must fully operationalize its international and region-specific commitments regarding the elimination of violence against women and gender-based violence in conflict-affected zones,” “All Canadian organizations receiving emergency assistance should be required to have codes of conduct (for employees and partners) consistent with the UN Secretary General’s Special Measures for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse,” “Gender training for members of the Canadian Armed Forces and civilian police deployed to conflict situations should include substantive information on gender-based violence, sexual abuse and exploitation,” and “Canadian foreign policy promotion of the Responsibility to Protect framework should have a stronger gender focus especially relating to sexual abuse and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings” (141-142).

Challenges and gaps include the difficulty of measuring the actual effects of different initiatives and policies, the need for monitoring and reporting mechanisms, the lack of a clear, uniform code of conduct for all Canadian
contractors and implementing agencies working in conflict zones, and lack of
differentiation of the effects of armed conflict on women and girls based on age,
stage of development, location (within an armed group, at a refugee camp), and
phase of conflict (142). Policymakers should also consider the broader picture,
that is, issues of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and reconstruction, as
well as “structures of violence, conflict and power relations” (143).

Kirkegaard, Ane M. Ørbø. “Theoretical Intersections: Implications Of Postcolonial and
Feminist Theory to Our Understanding of and Teaching on Sexualised Violence in
Contemporary Post-Colonial Conflicts.” International Studies Association's 48th
Annual Convention “Politics, Policy and Responsible Scholarship”. Hilton Chicago,

Abstract:
During the post-colonial India-Pakistan war of partition somewhere between
80.1 and 100.000 women were abducted and raped. That women were abducted
and raped was not particular to the conflict. What was particular was the large
number of victimised women and the subsequent official acknowledgement of the
violence. Half a century later the world faced the consequences of two other post-
colonial conflicts during which women were specifically targeted through
organised abductions and rape on a mass scale. This time, however the world
reacted by defining rape as a weapon of war and as a war crime for which
organisers and executors of rape during war and conflict could be accused and
sentenced at international courts of justice. Also, research on sexualised violence
during war increased, in particular studies mapping sexualised violence against
women during war and conflict. However, theoretical explanations are lacking in
precision and clarity with the result that we are still badly equipped to understand
the complexities of organised sexualised violence, as explanations for such
violence are often grounded in outdated andro- and/or ethnocentric theories about
male and female roles and behaviour. In this paper I will argue that we need to
bring peace and conflict theory up to date through the introduction of
contemporary postcolonial and feminist theory. Applied to the examples above
the theoretical explanations for the massive abductions and rapes, in particular in
the case of India/Pakistan in the late 1940s and Rwanda in 1994, must include an
analysis of the colonial and post-colonial context and the sexualisation of the
Other as part of colonial and post-colonial identity formation and the consequent
image of the Others? Selves. Reading contemporary post-colonial conflicts at the
intersection of peace, conflict, feminist and postcolonial theory has academic
implications both in terms of research and teaching within the field of peace and
conflict studies. (Ibid, 1)

Large, Judith. “Disintegration Conflicts and the Restructuring of Masculinity.” Gender and

Abstract:
This paper argues that as relief and development agencies attempt to address the
dynamics of organised violence and protracted conflicts which increasingly
hamper or distort their work, gender analysis and policy is in need of re-examination, and should be widened to take on the issue of male gender identity. *(Ibid, 23)*

**Summary:**
Large is setting out to argue that relief and development agencies need to re-address their methods of gender analysis to take on issues of masculinity in conflict areas and in organized violence. According to Large much of the dialogue on gender in armed conflict depict the fighting as the realm of men with women being the victims and keys to survival in the post-conflict situation. The lumping together of men’s business and women’s business is haphazard and dangerous as it ignores the role of women in arms manufacture or even actively participating in paramilitary groups. Development practice has also interpreted the positions and choices of women through the lens of gender while ignoring the fact that men operate from similar gender-based influences. She argues that the concept of masculinity contained within respective societies often forces men into active roles in armed conflict. Poverty may also motivate men as they see themselves as those responsible for providing for their families and for boys it may provide a means of filling empty father figure roles. She then argues that masculinity has become redefined as a more violent force due to the removal of actual feats of strength from the daily lives of men. The masculine soldier has been elevated to be a sort of global cultural icon and in doing so has led many men to strive for that ideal. She argues that in development it is possible to reclaim this masculine desire for strength and to transform it into something with positive results. Large addresses the violence often committed against young boys who are forced to take drugs or even to kill members of their own community or family in order to join a military organization. It is essential to address this violence against men that
transforms conceptions of masculinity when attempting to develop an area that has experienced conflict. She concludes by saying that gender analysis must be restructured to include masculinity and that not doing so could be lethal. Beyond this she asserts that the socialization of young men through development projects is integral to understanding conflict and preventing it in resource poor areas.


Abstract:  
No Abstract Available.

Summary:  
Last focuses on the use of sexual violence as both a weapon of warfare, i.e. in order to actively achieve a specific political or military objective, and as a form of heinous repression by which the civilian population is dominated, though in practice the distinction between the two concepts may be somewhat fine. Last argues that it is of the utmost importance to recognise that sexual violence may happen systematically; that is to say that it is deliberately planned or officially sanctioned by senior military or government figures for the achievement of a specific objective.


Abstract:  
No Abstract Available.

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:  
Leaning and Gingerich argue that sexual violence is much more likely to be applied as a strategy in “highly communalized wars, where the division between civilian and combatant has collapsed and widespread hatred of an ethnic group has been allowed to prevail” (Leaning, n. pag.). They argue that in conflicts between formal forces or where there is a perceived need to “win hearts and minds”, rape is not perceived as a useful military strategy: “In these settings, in fact, the use of rape is balanced against the likelihood that widespread rape will render troops unruly. Furthermore, widespread rape by one side in a conflict can galvanize the other side’s resistance.”

The authors primarily examine the strategic use of rape in war, and list the following reasons for why it may be seen as an effective tool to achieve military objectives:
It creates a sense of fear in the civilian population and restricts freedom of movement and economic activity.

- It can instill flight which facilitates the capture of land and killing of male civilians.
- It demoralizes the population and reduces their will to resist and prolongs their forced exit from the land.
- It tears communities apart by breaking family and community bonds (thus diminishing the reproductive capacity of the community) and by “pollution” of the blood line.

- It is a strategy to encourage aggression: commanders can utilise tolerance of rape to “accelerate brutality in attacks of their troops against the enemy.”

In addition to these strategic reasons, the authors also refer to other explanations for the use of rape in conflict:

- Rape as a reward or spoil of war.
- Rape as a boost to morale: providing troops with access to sexual relations in order to improve troop morale.
- Rape as punishment. Isolated instances of military atrocities committed against civilians, involving civilian massacres or rapes or both, have been reported throughout the history of war. Explanations vary with circumstances but key themes appear to be the underlying brutality of the battle, chronic dehumanization of the enemy, and failures of command to contain feelings of acute rage and hatred.

- Rape reports to incite revenge. Reports of rape and abuse inflicted by enemy soldiers upon one’s countrywomen can be used to encourage aggression as revenge.

Leaning and Gingerich also looks at the circumstances under which rape has been perpetrated by armed groups in Darfur:

- In the days leading up to an attack: Surrounding the village, Janjaweed soldiers attack girls and women collecting water or firewood.

- During an attack on a village: Going from house to house, or rounding up everyone, killing the men and boys and raping the women and girls. Most rapes are committed in front of other members of the family and community. Many women and girls have also been abducted during an attack on their village, to be held captive and gang-raped for days.

- In pursuit of women and girls fleeing the scene of attack. Fleeing women and children have often been left behind by the men in their village, as the latter are likely to be killed if caught whereas the women are more likely to be raped. There are, however, reports of sexual violence being directed towards men and boys as well, and the authors suggest that these cases are likely to be underreported.

- In and around IDP camps. Both the Janjaweed and Sudanese forces, as well as those responsible for the protection of camps, have raped women and girls who left camps to collect water and firewood.

**Abstract:**
Every year, hundreds of thousands of women become victims of sexual violence in conflict zones around the world; in the Democratic Republic of Congo alone, approximately 1,100 rapes are reported each month.

This book offers a comprehensive analysis of the causes, consequences and responses to sexual violence in contemporary armed conflict. It explores the function and effect of wartime sexual violence and examines the conditions that make women and girls most vulnerable to these acts both before, during and after conflict. To understand the motivations of the men (and occasionally women) who perpetrate this violence, the book analyzes the role played by systemic and situational factors such as patriarchy and militarized masculinity. Difficult questions of accountability are tackled; in particular, the case of child soldiers, who often suffer a double victimization when forced to commit sexual atrocities. The book concludes by looking at strategies of prevention and protection as well as new programs being set up on the ground to support the rehabilitation of survivors and their communities. Sexual violence in war has long been a taboo subject but, as this book shows, new and courageous steps are at last being taken at both local and international level - to end what has been called the “greatest silence in history”. *(Abstract from Amazon.com)*


**Abstract:**
This article first examines two types of causes of sexual violence in armed conflict: systemic, or more distant causes, and more proximate, or situational causes, including the role of "runaway norms." In the second part, the article draws from a phase model of conflict to understand the new wars and the types of sexual violence that they entail in different stages of conflict. One of the important contributions of this model is to highlight the multiple situations and ways women and the girl child especially (and sometimes others in society, including men and boys, though this is typically underreported) are at risk of sexual violence. It also shows how that risk leads to re-victimization throughout the cycle of conflict for many sexual assault survivors. In addition, it helps elucidate the complexity of "victimhood," as many victims are also forced to commit atrocities. The conclusions draw the relevance of these insights for thinking about policymaking to prevent sexual violence in armed conflicts, to identity perpetrators versus victims, and assist the survivors during and in the aftermath of conflict. *(Ibid, 53)*
Abstract:
Much of the debate surrounding the inclusion of women in the study of international politics, particularly in reflections of war, promotes passive representation. State-sanctioned images of non-combatant women in supportive wartime roles reflect, rather than confront, traditional conceptualisations of “legitimate knowledge” and ways of knowing. Therefore, estimates that 30,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia shocked the international community. Yet it shouldn't. War rape is as old as war itself. This article looks at why, and how, traditional forms of theorising about international politics fails to identify or vocalise the violent insecurities of women in domestic and international space, thus ensuring women's silence. It also draws on alternative ways of knowing to confront the tradition and to un/recover the experiences of women. (Ibid, 525)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“[R]ealism is problematic for women as it traps them in traditionally defined and carefully constructed gendered and subordinated roles upon which the smooth functioning of realist international relations, as a discipline, depends. Effectively, women are deliberately made invisible in international space.” (Koo, 526)

“Despite the well-recited and centuries-old adage of ‘rape, pillage and plunder’, the actual rape and sexualised violence perpetrated against women during war has been silenced and hidden within mainstream international politics.” (527)

“War is loud and dangerous, but for women trapped within a war defined and conducted under traditional concepts of international politics, it can be deadly silent. Choosing to be silent can sometimes be a choice—a form of resistance and a conscious decision not to engage with a particular narrative or discourse. Yet there is a distinction between choosing to be silent in a discourse and being silenced by a discourse. For instance, in many cases, women as civilians are silenced by a discourse—in this case, the realist discourse—primarily because their experiences exist outside the theory’s sanctioned norms and traditions.” (530-531)

“[T]he dominance of realist discourses again posits the state as primary actor, agent and recipient in what could be broadly described as post-war recovery processes. The state and the international community become gathered up in the momentum of moving forward. This is dominated by questions of redefining identity, re-establishing ‘national security’ and rearranging state dynamics (in light of victories and losses) in international space. The language of peace settlements is very much one of state security and the future. Historically, ‘truth and reconciliation’ for individual human experiences and reminders of the ugly and personal side of war have no place within grand narratives, particularly when focused on the future.” (531)
“[T]he dominance of the realist discourses is specifically identifiable by the preponderance of the scientific objectivist approach. ‘Knowledge’ in international politics, according to this discourse, is that which is ‘provable’ and scientifically observable (there is little doubt that a soldier is dead; there can, however, be doubt over a woman’s claim that she was raped) and also that which can be readily quantified, hence the preoccupation with statistical analysis”. (532)

“The key, therefore, is to reconstruct the interconnected conceptualisations of both ‘international politics’ and ‘security’. Only then can gendered insecurities, like war rape, be successfully confronted within a re-imagined international politics of security.” (535)


Abstract:
In recent years, there has been a growing awareness and concern over the occurrence of sexual violence in conflict situations. That said, however, this phenomenon is far from well understood. Few studies have pushed beyond the examination of single cases, to systematically analyze and explain the dramatic variation, both in kind and in prevalence of these human rights abuses. This study proposes to fill this gap, providing a comparative analysis of the use of gender-based violence during the Salvadoran, Guatemalan and Peruvian civil wars. (Ibid, 1)


Abstract:
This article is a comparative analysis of sexual violence perpetrated by state armed forces during the Guatemalan and Peruvian civil wars. Focusing on the type of violation and the context in which it occurs provides new insights into the motives behind its use in war. It introduces a new data set on sexual violence compiled from truth commission documents and nongovernmental human rights organizations' reports. The data reveal that members of the state armed forces perpetrated the majority of sexual violations, that rape and gang rape are the most frequent but not the only abuses committed, and that women are the overwhelming majority of victims of sexual violence. Aggregate patterns suggest that state authorities must have known of mass sexual abuse and failed to act in accordance with international law. Moreover, some evidence suggests sexual violence is used as a weapon of war. However, mono-causal models cannot sufficiently account for the variation and complexity in its use. Even within the same conflict, sexual violence can serve multiple functions in different contexts and at different points in time. (Ibid, 445)

Abstract:
In this article I will firstly argue that genocide and wars are gendered but also often feminised via the positioning of women not only as sexual trophies exchangeable between male enemies, not only as markers of collective boundaries, but also as the symbolic representations of national and ethnic collectivities. I will then interrogate the centrality of rape as a component of ethno-sexual identities and an instrument of war, focusing on the difficulties we have as women but also as social scientists, to theorise wartime rape. Finally I
will propose that creating a forum for women war victims to narrativise their traumatic experiences is a vital feminist strategy of beginning to close the gap between genocide and gender and between trauma and the discourses available to narrate it. *(Ibid, n. pag.)*


**Abstract:**
Under progressive interpretation and procedure, rape constitutes a war crime, an act of genocide, and a human rights violation. ... Segments of the international community have urged international organs, most notably the United Nations, to classify rape as a war crime, and thus as a crime against humanity. ... Several legal texts do, however, provide a potential legal basis, apart from customary law, for the prosecution of rape as a war crime. ... These sources create a positive law foundation for prosecuting rape as a war crime. ... Because what constitutes “man's heritage” is ambiguous, scholars have again found it to denote those values espoused under customary international law -- those that do not recognize rape as a war crime. ... Frits Kalshoven, the current chairperson of the United Nations Commission on War Crimes and a noted scholar on war crimes, was recently quoted as saying that “without any doubt rape is a war crime under existing international law.” ... Under this proposed interpretation of Geneva Convention IV and Protocol I, rape is clearly a war crime. ... In this way, it is a more “personal” war crime. ... Several novel features offer a model for international prosecution of rape as a war crime. ... Rape is not defined as a war crime, and does not fall squarely into the definitions of genocide or torture. *(Ibid, 1)*


**Abstract:**
No Abstract Available.

**Summary:**
This article casts light on the international law aspects of a largely unrecognized occurrence in armed conflict: sexual violence against men. The article discusses causes and consequences of such violence, and assesses pertinent aspects of international law. The article argues that, to reduce and prevent sexual violence against men in conflict settings, international law should be interpreted, applied, and enforced in ways that delegitimize the prejudicial and discriminatory conceptions of gender, sex, and (homo)sexuality that often fuel such violence in the first place. Toward this aim, the article highlights why it is necessary to use a
definition of sexual violence that encompasses, among other things, violence targeting an individual's imputed, perceived, or actual sexuality. In addition, the article provides a prosecution roadmap, sketching the conventional and jurisprudential standards for sexual violence to be prosecuted as a constituent element of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The article concludes by suggesting two additional ways to enhance protection: treaty drafters should explicitly recognize men as a class of victims, and a postulated jus cogens norm should be expanded to include all forms of sexual violence against men, women, and children.


Abstract:
Gender-based violence during conflict and post-conflict situations has received increased attention in research and in the work of development agencies. Viewed primarily as a form of violence against women, this commentary questions whether male civilians have also been victims of gender-based violence during conflict, invisible due to stereotypes surrounding masculinity and a culturally permissive approach towards violence perpetrated against men, especially at times of war. The experience of civilian males of violence, including sexual violence, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other contemporary wars, suggests that the discourse on gender-based violence and public health research should begin exploring the specific needs of men. Drawing on Nancy Krieger's (Krieger, N. (2003). Genders, sexes, and health: what are the connections—and why does it matter? International Journal of Epidemiology, 32, 652–657) analysis on the differential role of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ on a given exposure-outcome association, this commentary suggests that the impact of gender-based violence on health during conflict may be different for men and women and may require distinct therapeutic approaches. Given that perpetrators are often male, an extra level of stigma is added when heterosexual men are sexually violated, which may lead to underreporting and reduced health-service seeking behavior. Further public health research is needed to guide the work of humanitarian agencies working with survivors of gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings to ensure equal access to appropriate health services for men and women. (Ibid, 1548)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
Linos opens the article by addressing the vast progress that has been made, through humanitarian initiatives and even UN resolutions, in issues of sexual violence and rape against women in conflict areas. Linos is seeking to explore the issue of sexual violence against men in conflict areas an issue she believes to be under explored due to cultural expectations and stereotypes around masculinity. The author’s concern is that the current framework used to explore gender-based violence ignores the acts with men as victims and fails to provide them with the help that they need. In the discourse of international aid organizations the terms gender-based violence has become interchangeable with
violence against women. This interchange is problematic as it makes sexual violence appear to be an act where only women are the victims and men as victims are ignored. She argues that in the same way that cultural norms and traditions place women in the position of victim in sexual violence they also prevent men who are victims from reporting the crimes committed against them. The most important point is that sexual violence is committed against men and ignoring it affects the reporting of the crimes themselves and prevents men from receiving proper help and support from humanitarian organizations. Linos highlights the case study of Bosnia which brought sexual violence against women to the international spotlight with mass rapes throughout the conflict. She argues that sexual violence against men including rape and genital mutilation was also prevalent during the conflict but was largely ignored in efforts to work with gender-based violence. Linos summarizes the three reasons why violence against men must also be included in the discourse on gender-based violence: “The rationale and symbolic meaning behind gender-based violence during war, especially during ethno-sectarian conflict, is often the same: ethnic cleansing, whether the victims are men or women.

The impact of violence, including sexual violence, on health may be different for men and women and may require distinct therapeutic approaches.

Because perpetrators are often men, an extra level of stigma is added when heterosexual men are sexually abused by men that may lead to underreporting and shame in accessing services if they are at all available.”

The importance of distinguishing between sex and gender is also included within her argument. Linos concludes by restating the fact that study of gender-based violence must include violence against men and include new data that separates it from violence against women in order to better address the needs of men in reconstruction and development efforts.


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
Discusses the problems of sexuality of war or military rape. Recall of sexual violence committed against women in various armed conflicts; Sexual violence committed against men in Serb; Making and remaking boundaries on women's bodies; how the soldiers may view sexual relations; General interpretation to those of militarism and lack of restraint.

“Given its particular associations with standardized and collective violence, can sexual aggression by men in situations of social conflict tell us any more about physical violence? Or men? Or sexuality?”

“As conventional representation, sexual violence in war is normally depicted as directed by men on to, or rather in to, women...But, as it is practiced, rape in war moves beyond the male co-option or fertilization of alien women into insult and genital mutilation, whose consequences cannot easily be seen as the pragmatic assimilation or impregnation
of women; but rather as destructive male violence aimed at the body or society in its sexual aspect: directed against the sexual organs or in ways that have evident sexual connotations to victims, the men involved and others.”

“In treason, civil war, ‘pacification,’ low intensity conflicts and counter-insurgency - that sexual violence seems particularly common: decentralized conflicts where a distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between professional soldier and armed civilian, between civilian on the one side and on the other is less evident...And it is these situations, Goya's Peninsular War for instance, that women more commonly became combatants and may themselves carry out sexual killing and mutilation: such as, in the Peninsular War, castration or cutting off the penis to be stuffed in the live or dead body's mouth (a pattern which has recurred in Bosnia and Rwanda where women have again been combatants). And with women recognized as fighters, or at least as supporters of an armed or rebellious male population whom they shelter and supply, they became the accepted victims of sexual violence (the Mexican and Spanish Civil Wars, the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, Turkish Armenia in 1919). I am not proposing that women bearing arms is the explanation of sexual violence directed against them, but it is commonly cited by men as a provocation. As if their rape returned armed women to a female and hence noncombatant status; and male on male sexual violence is perhaps similar in its feminization - castration, sodomy and so on (Scarry 1985).”

Arguments that have been proposed to explain sexual violence during war:

“The militarism (or reciprocal violation) argument. Collective sexual violence by men simply mirrors and exemplifies an ethic of male exceptionalism, violence as masculinity, requiring the simultaneous elevation of ‘our’ women in opposition to the degradation of theirs to dehumanized sexual objects, carried out and made real to men and women alike through charged national emblems of violation, rapine, arousal, assault, surrender, protection, penetration and the like. When a society incorporates images of women as valued or devalued ideals, sexual violence in war is a practicable enactment by men of this everyday set of understandings. Their personal performance of what at other times would be recognized as atrocity is ‘symbolic’ in that its primary motivations are political; yet the close association of exceptional public concerns with men's everyday interests makes the exercise of this power congenial for men, and facilitates its adoption as a collective enterprise (Campbell and Gibbs 1986). The militarism argument does not however easily deal with the increase in sexual violence at times of ambiguity and intra-state conflict, its association with ‘other ranks’ rather than officers, nor readily with male on male sexual violence nor the occasional participation of women in sexual violence. If, however, ‘militarism’ is simply local male interest consolidated at the level of the state, then the devaluing of enemy women and men as sexual objects may be enhanced in civil conflicts when in-group gender relations are perceived as threatened.”

“What we can call the transgressive (or lack of restraint) argument: the unchaining of a generally disallowed biological imperative of absolute desire and destruction following an increase in individual power over others; male propensities and their realization usually being checked by social sanctions but now unleashed through the opportunities of
war, initially by those who might otherwise be regarded as psychopathic (and who merely represent men in a strong form), but which are then enacted by others through suggestion, solidarity and imitation, sexual caprice and opportunity. As one code (‘do not kill’), is officially transgressed against a dehumanized enemy, other less formal transgressions may follow more easily; the sanctioned killing of armed civilians in civil war is already a greater transgression than the uniformed war game, for which, after all, every European male is prepared through childhood toys and organized sport. Like the militarism argument, lack of restraint proposes all men as inherent rapists, but here social values initially limit rather than encourage sexual violence. Once it occurs, rape becomes conventionalized as a local practice with its own rules as to appropriate practice (African Rights 1995) sometimes approaching local institutions of actual bride capture (Chagnon 1990). Despite its origins in government calls to physically eliminate a minority group, rape of the Rwanda Tutsi became locally regularized in various ways: captured girls as young as five were mutilated, then ‘liberated’ (the local term for rape) and killed; older ones could be rescued by other men who then proposed protection and sexual relations under the threat of abandonment in a hierarchy of emergent local power through which abused girls were handed down or sold for rape to less powerful men and allies (cf. the perks for Indian and Nepali police protection of child prostitution (Human Rights Watch 1995)); rape as public humiliation in front of crowds at cross-roads or road blocks yet accompanied by a secret promise of later marriage; rape as interrogation and the rape of corpses; ownership of women determined by conflicts over which military sector they were ‘captured’ in, military tribunals allocating the ‘second wives’ as booty to men who were then sometimes accused by rivals of consorting with the enemy and were killed in their turn together with the women (African Rights 1995, Human Rights Watch 1996).”

“Sexuality and violence are inherently (that is biosocially) associated, or, if you prefer, aspects of the same male group interests. (Hutu rapists of Tutsi women persistently demonstrated a murderous curiosity about Tutsi sexuality and reproductive capacity (Human Rights Watch 1996).) Each may lead to the other, for men's sexual relations are already in a sense aggressive, whilst violence may approach or facilitate sexual ecstasy. Prevention is thus an issue of restraints on war in general. We might term this the psychoanalytical or perhaps the Stalinist argument, Stalin having replied to muted Anglo-American protests as to the mass rape of German women in 1945 by arguing that sexual violence was inevitable in any war (October 1995). Indeed, the Soviet poet and novelist Ilya Ehrenburg urged his victorious compatriots to ‘Kill. There is nothing that is innocent in the German... Break by force the racial haughtiness of German women! Take them as your lawful prey!’ (Holmes 1984: 390).”

“Both violence and sexuality are contingent and incremental, possibly in reaction to each other or related through psychophysiological (limbic) mechanisms of ‘arousal’. War is an unusual biosocial situation which increases the possibility of sexual violence against women, perhaps because sexual activity reduces anxiety and confers a sense of necessary autonomy in conflictual and overwhelming situations. Like the restraint transgression argument, this might account for escalation to total terrorization, as sexual penetration by itself proves increasingly inadequate in a situation of escalating indiscriminate violence
for its own sake.”

“The Zagreb Medical Centre For Human Rights estimates that 4,000 Croatian male prisoners were sexually tortured in Serb detention camps: 70 per cent of them remain with physical injuries, 11% were castrated or partially castrated (sometimes by women), 20% were forced to fellate their fellow prisoners (Independent 1996).”


Abstract:
This article considers the way in which women are confined in their roles in social and cultural reproduction through violent acts of discipline. Through an examination of the case of Algeria, a society torn by civil violence in recent years, I argue that in order to understand the root causes of violence against women, we need a fuller understanding of the broader historical and social context. In the case of Algeria key factors are gendered discourses about power and domination, social space and the formation of national identity. In recent years they have been contested through collective acts of resistance, with transnational dimensions. (Ibid, 453)


Abstract:
The Eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is currently undergoing a brutal war. Armed groups from the DRC and neighbouring countries are committing atrocities and systematically using sexual violence as a weapon of war to humiliate, intimidate and dominate women, girls, their men and communities. Armed combatants take advantage with impunity, knowing they will not be held to account or pursued by police or judicial authorities. A particularly inhumane public health problem has emerged: traumatic gynaecological fistula and genital injury from brutal sexual violence and gang-rape, along with enormous psychosocial and emotional burdens. Many of the women who survive find themselves pregnant or infected with STIs/HIV with no access to treatment. This report was compiled at the Doctors on Call for Service/Heal Africa Hospital in Goma, Eastern Congo, from the cases of 4,715 women and girls who suffered sexual violence between April 2003 and June 2006, of whom 702 had genital fistula. It presents the personal experiences of seven survivors whose injuries were severe and long-term, with life-changing effects. The paper recommends a coordinated effort amongst key stakeholders to secure peace and stability, an increase in humanitarian assistance and the rebuilding of the infrastructure, human and physical resources, and medical, educational and judicial systems. (Ibid, 132)

Abstract:
The cornerstone of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) fistula program is to support and strengthen local capacity for fistula repair. The USAID program includes support to upgrade facilities, enhance local surgical repair capability, allocate equipment and supplies to operating rooms, implement quality improvement systems, and cover the women's transportation costs to and from the treatment facilities. The program also offers training in clinical and counseling skills; transferring skills South-to-South; and monitoring and evaluating the program's effectiveness. As new fistula cases continually increase the backlog of untreated cases, its efforts are also directed toward the prevention of fistula and the reintegration of treated women into their communities. Furthermore, the program challenges the culture of sexual violence against women that leads to traumatic gynecologic fistulas. (Ibid, 112)


Abstract:
Visions of the post-conflict reintegration process in Sierra Leone as a moment of healing, reconstruction, opportunity and rehabilitation do not take into account the experience of women and girls who were raped during the conflict. For them, the post-conflict period is often characterized by trauma, silence and stigmatization. This article examines wartime rape in relation to the liberal family model and the perception of sex as a “private” social concern rather than a public security issue. (Ibid, 202)


Abstract:
Sexual violence against women is an expression of gender-based violence that affects thousands of women around the world during times of armed conflict, as well as in times of peace. Impunity and silence typically surround these cases. Many times, victims do not discuss what happened to them because of feelings of shame and guilt. In most cases, government authorities and some sectors of civil society do not consider sexual violence to be a human rights violation. Fortunately, international human rights instruments and judicial decisions have
begun to define sexual violence as a violation of human rights and, in some contexts, as a crime against humanity or a war crime. The work of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (PTRC) made important inroads in identifying sexual violence as a human rights violation. In its Final Report, the PTRC analyzed the situation of Peruvian women subjected to sexual violence during the armed conflict and countered the idea that it was simply a collateral damage of war. Asserting that sexual violence is a human rights violation, the PTRC established a record of the sexual violence that occurred during Peru’s 20 year armed conflict and recommended that the State institute a system of reparations for the victims. The Final Report of the PTRC, released on August 28, 2003, includes a chapter on sexual violence against women. This article presents its main findings. (Ibid, 1)


Abstract:
Sexual violence is a by-product of conflict commonly seen, but poorly addressed, in humanitarian emergencies. Reports reveal that extraordinary numbers of women and girls suffer physical, psychological, and social consequences of sexual violence during conflict, when fleeing conflict, and during displacement. All sectors of the humanitarian community have a role to play in the prevention of and response to sexual violence. Improvements are needed: in the short-term to meet the needs of survivors of sexual violence; in collecting data related to sexual violence in humanitarian emergencies; and, perhaps most importantly, to address the widespread tolerance for high rates of sexual violence in humanitarian settings. (Ibid, 133)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Ample evidence exists to demonstrate that sexual violence increases in conflict situations. The reported incidence of sexual violence has been shown to be universally higher among populations affected by armed conflict than in stable non-displaced settings.” (135)

“Sexual violence in conflict holds political significance and can bring global reproach; this risk of approbation promulgates efforts on the part of governments or other political entities to obscure and deny events of sexual violence. Research ethics preclude asking an individual if she has experienced sexual violence when appropriate services are not available, which is the norm in emergency situations. Asking such questions can put researchers at risk of physical harm, arrest, or expulsion; and answering such questions can put respondents at risk of physical harm, arrest, or social sanctions.” (135)

“The nature of sexual violence perpetrated in conflicts can be categorized into two major groupings. First is sexual violence perpetrated as a method of warfare. Investigations of sexual violence during the wars in the former Yugoslavia describe rape as a weapon of war to terrorize and humiliate communities as well as a tool of genocide.” (135)

“Second is the evidence of opportunistic sexual violence perpetrated within the climate of impunity present in war zones where there is a breakdown of both social and legal systems for sanctioning aberrant behaviour. These are the acts of sexual violence experienced by women and girls collecting firewood or exchanging sex for extra food. Even though not an explicit war strategy, such acts may be both systematic and on a large scale”. (135)

“In the locations where they seek asylum, women and girls displaced by conflict are at risk of sexual extortion by persons in authority; sexual abuse of fostered girls, sexual attack when collecting firewood or water, and transactional sex to meet survival needs.” (137)

“Displacement related to armed conflict leads to the breakdown of social networks and other forms of personal support. Dependable safeguards that are normally in place within communities to prevent sexual violence collapse. Social services, including law enforcement and legal justice, health, and education systems, weaken or fall to pieces entirely as infrastructure is destroyed and essential staff flees. Families and communities are splintered and behavioural norms can deteriorate as people focus on their own survival. The result is weakened social support structures and protection mechanisms and increased rates of sexual violence.” (138)

“Men’s inability to resume normal cultural, social, and economic roles, or their psychological strain from the experience of a disaster, may weaken their ability to fulfill the protection responsibilities they often hold in families and communities.” (139)

“[W]e must acknowledge the ever-growing body of evidence demonstrating that women and girls, by virtue of their femaleness, are subject to exceptional forms of violence requiring a unique emergency response.” (143)

Abstract:
Though the occurrence of rape in the conduct of war is by no means historically new, research into its causes and functions has only really begun in the past couple of decades. War rape is a difficult phenomenon about which to generalise, considering the variances in context and actors involved. This article, however, attempts to synthesise existing literature through the analysis of a case study that can enhance our understanding of rape as a weapon of war and the contextual conditions that facilitate its use. Applying this theoretical framework to the extreme war rape occurring in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), this article offers insight into understanding the function of sexual violence in the ongoing conflict in the DRC. In particular, this article argues that the use of rape as a weapon in the Congo's bloody war must be understood in relation to both social constructs of masculinity and the politics of exploitation that have shaped much of the country's history. (*Ibid, 119*)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

As Meger writes, “Human rights non government organisations (NGOs) estimate that hundreds of thousands of women and girls in the DRC have been raped in the conflict since 1998, with a large proportion of state and non-state group offences structured around rape, sexual slavery, and forced marriage aimed at ‘the complete physical and psychological destruction of women with implications for the entire society’ (Erturk 2008 as quoted by Meger).” Meger seeks in the article “to explain the function of sexual violence in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo,” using theory and data gathered by NGOs and the UN. She states, “In particular, this article argues that the use of rape as a weapon in the Congo’s bloody war must be understood in relation to both social constructs of masculinity and the politics of exploitation that have shaped much of the country’s history…The article finds that individual motivation [of combatants] is largely informed by social constructions of masculinity, which construct sexual violence as an effective weapon of conflict. What exacerbates its use, however, is the political economy of the conflict, in which the chaos of the conflict enables the illegal exploitation of mineral riches found in the region.”

First, Meger criticizes as inadequate traditional “myths” about sexual violence in conflict, that male soldiers rape because of a strong sex drive and need for gratification and that war throws the society into chaos and rape is among the disorders and breakdowns that occur, because men rape women in war with specific reason (because the women are “foreigners,” to make women of a different ethnicity flee, to humiliate the other side, for morale after battle) and rape in a systematic manner, as a war strategy, and even when conflict is not ongoing. Thus, Meger argues, sexual violence in wartime and in times of peace must be looked at together and are linked to “the social attitudes toward women even in peacetime.” She writes, “This argument is furthered by Olujic (1998), who argues that the use of sexual violence in conflict is an effective war strategy because [emphasis
in text] of pre-existing sociocultural dynamics that attach concepts of honour, shame and sexuality to women’s bodies....What distinguishes wartime sexual violence is that, in addition to exploiting the social and interpersonal dimensions of violence as found in peacetime rape, sexual violence in warfare assumes a political and/or economic dimension, in which the systematic abuse of women in conflict is a strategy by which to terrorise a population, communicate a political message between men, or to strip women of their economic and political assets.”

The military, as “a patriarchal institution based on violence and hyper-masculine ideology,” promotes, focuses on, and encourages masculine behavior, which is aggressive, violent, and the opposite of feminine, as well as “anti-women” and “oppressive,” so that sexual violence in conflict “can be understood as a product of the hyper-masculine climate of abuse and antipathy towards women.” Meger cites O’Toole and O’Sullivan, “She [O’Toole] concludes that male rape subcultures, such as the ‘fraternity subculture’ and the ‘sport subculture’ (which encourage strong boundary maintenance, secret rituals, and hypermasculinity) encourage the perpetration of sexual violence against women. This is due to two key factors in masculine subculture dynamics: firstly, that strong identification with a group leads to a replacement of individual ethics; and, secondly, that socialisation within such subcultures contributes to group sexual aggression (O’Sullivan 1993),” and suggests that the armed forces “can constitute a similar rape subculture.” According to Meger, Brownmiller goes so far as to argue that men rape women in war “not because she is a representation of the enemy, but precisely because she is a woman, and therefore an enemy.” As for why not every male soldier or armed group rapes, Meger refers to Wood’s analysis that “it is not the nature of the conflict itself that determines use of sexual violence, but rather the nature of the groups involved. ..What she [Wood] finds is that the absence of sexual violence in a group’s ‘repertoire of violence’ relates to the degree of internal hierarchy and discipline within the group, and also how strong of an ideological basis the group has. She finds the two indicators related in that the ability to maintain strict internal discipline by armed groups is largely dependent on a strong ideological basis for that group, the latter of which should be understood as groups fighting on behalf of a particular social group in defence of those perceived injustices committed against that group.”

Meger finds Butler’s conclusions, based on statistical analysis of 163 countries for 2003, that sexual violence in conflict by state security forces is more likely to occur with less control over public officials and less financial oversight, with ethnic conflict “not an explanatory factor,” problematic (1) because Butler’s analysis would require that “commanding officers do not want the sexual violence to occur, nor are they aware of its occurrence, nor do they have the ability to enforce discipline over their troops” and (2) there should be a pattern, which there is not, of “the absence of sexual violence in the presence of commanding officers” and the most sexual violence “amongst troops ‘out in the field.’” Meger asserts, “What this means is that sexual violence is implicitly sanctioned or at very least tacitly allowed through the highest levels of the military structure amongst the forces for which sexual violence does exist in their repertoire of violence (Leiby 2006, 8).”

Another question Meger identifies and cites Higate and Henry with regard to is whether different degrees or kinds of masculinity exist and how they might interact with or even be superseded by other identities, such as religion, class, or other background. At the end
of her literature review Meger recognizes the individual agency of the soldiers but also concludes, “However, there is a structural element that varies the degree to which an armed group engages in sexual violence. What apparently differentiates armed groups that use sexual violence from those that do not is the degree to which that group can impose discipline hierarchically to prevent soldiers in the group from engaging in sexual violence – whatever the rationale for this restraint may be from the position of the commanders.”

The conflict in the DRC that started in 1998 certainly has a regional character, with proximity to the Rwandan genocide and the Sudanese, Ugandan, and Angolan civil wars, alliances forming between the state forces and militia groups of these countries, and coups perpetrated against the leadership of other African countries, and further complications stemming from the mineral resources of the DRC’s eastern provinces. Meger provides a quite comprehensive review of the different militia groups active in the DRC or involved with the conflict. She writes, “The constant shift in alliances and confusing array of rebel groups involved in the fighting has meant that at various times, all groups have been either allies or enemies of the Congolese government, largely depending on its relationship with Rwanda at any given time.”

Meger describes the scale of sexual violence in the DRC and who might be responsible for the crimes: “In the last 10 years, hundreds of thousands of women and girls in the DRC have been raped (Jackson 2007; Kimani 2007). Between 2005 and October 2007, more than 32,000 cases of rape and sexual violence were registered in South Kivu alone, a number suspected to be less than half of all incidents (Holmes 2007). Although many Congolese attribute the majority of sexual violence to the Interahamwe (Christine Schuyler Deschryver in Jackson 2007), all armed groups in the DRC are implicated in the sexual violence, including the national armed forces of the DRC (FARDC) and the national police force (Pacr 2007). Even Mission de l’Organisation des Nations Unies en Republique democratique du Congo [United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo] (UN MONUC) peacekeepers have been found to be buying sexual slaves from villagers in exchange for milk and bread (Jackson 2007). One woman, Androsi, a 27-year-old widow from the town of Bukiringi, was raped in the morning by DRC soldiers and again by militia soldiers the same afternoon (Briggs 2007, 168).” Sexual violence in the DRC has also been characterized by mutilation, often resulting in fistula.

Meger continues later, “Understanding the violence against women in the DRC requires an understanding of the social context in which these acts are taking place. Women in the DRC are disproportionately disadvantaged socially and economically. The war exacerbated these disadvantages and many women and girls have been forced by the war and poverty into prostitution as a means of survival, making them even more vulnerable to sexual violence (Ohambe et al. 2004, 26). In addition to the social and economic consequences of the sexual violence in the DRC, 91% of women are reportedly suffering from behavioural problems, most commonly self-loathing, excessive sweating, insomnia, nightmares, memory loss, aggression, anxiety, a sense of dread, and withdrawal into themselves (Ibid, 42). Many rape victims are ostracised from their communities, abandoned by their husbands and families, who hold the victims responsible for the sexual violence they endured. All this adds up to a grim picture for the women who are single and has a profound effect on their mental equilibrium - especially in a country like
the DRC where encouraging a high birth rate remains deeply entrenched in its culture. Women who have suffered sexual violence and who as a result will not be able to fulfil the reproductive role that society assigns to them often find themselves judged for it (Ohambe et al. 2004, 42). The extent of the sexual violence and community response has, Ohambe et al. (2004, 43) argued, created dysfunction in the family unit, ‘which in some cases is no longer in a position to play the role of guardian of moral and ethical values’, leaving many children who witness the violence deeply traumatised, with serious social consequences.” Meger states later that in fact in Congolese family law “a man is bestowed with the duty to protect his wife” (and rape is a criminal act but “considered as a crime against the honour of the husband”).

To explain the use and level of sexual violence in the conflict in the DRC, Meger identifies “three converging factors”: “economic ambition, hegemonic social constructions of masculinity, and the general inability to enforce discipline among armed groups in the war.” The construction of masculinity within the militarized groups of the DRC, Meger submits, with references to Baaz and Stern 2008 and 2009, is a masculinity based on violence and not being like women, but also on providing for their families and fulfilling their responsibilities as men. Meger also cites Patricia Rozee’s typology of rape, “punitive rape, status rape (which occurs as a result of differences in rank and hierarchy), ceremonial rape, exchange rape, theft rape, and survival rape,” and states, “All of these types of rape are currently being witnessed in the eastern DRC (in Penn and Nardos 2003, 54-5).” Meger argues that this typology reflects that “[t]he use of sexual violence is something being encouraged and exploited by groups in the conflict, and there is necessarily a collective responsibility to the crime,” in the larger context of the society in the DRC, where women hold low social status traditionally and legally (for example a woman must obtain her husband’s permission “to open a bank account, accept a job, or buy or sell property”). Meger writes, “Social norms in much of the DRC emphasise masculinity, and expectations are placed on men to have a high sex drive, to obtain multiple partners, to bestow gifts in exchange for sex, to be financial [sic] capable of purchasing one or multiple lives, and having the physical, economic, and social power to protect their wives from other men (Mechanic 2004, 15). It is precisely these social ideas about masculinity and the appropriate roles of men and women in Congolese society that have been exacerbated by war…In Congolese culture, women are generally perceived as the core of the community, as they are the caregivers, child-bearers, nurturers, and workers for their community. Their social role has ‘been constructed as the locus or carriers of culture’ (Kelly 2000, 50), and as such an attack on a woman in a given community is an attack on that community.”

The complaints that are made do not usually lead to prosecution and “the Human Rights Watch (2005, 42) finds that of the cases that reach trial phase, few end in conviction, ‘in part because those prosecuting are from the same institution as the accused.’”

Meger links the sexual violence and conflict to the mineral resources of the DRC: “With global demand for Congolese resources continually rising, there is an economic incentive for local groups and their international supporters to maintain the destabilisation in order that they may access and mine these resources. Global Witness found in field research in 2008 and 2009 that all of the main warring parties are heavily involved in the mineral trade in the provinces most affected. The two groups accused of causing the most harm are also those most involved in the illegal exportation of minerals: FARDC and the
FDLR.’’ Moreover, Meger posits, there is foreign involvement: “A UN Panel of Experts reported in 2002 119 different companies involved in the mining and transportation of Congolese minerals, including a large number of British, American, Belgian and South African firms. The report also found that of the 29 companies found in violation of the law, many of them, though registered in Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, or Zimbabwe, were actually front operations for Western firms. The same Experts Report found that many of the companies involved in the illegal exportation of DRC minerals contribute to the continuation of the conflict ‘directly or indirectly, deliberately or through negligence’ (UN Panel of Experts Report 2002, 32).”

Meger concludes by stating that “individual motivation” and “structural influences” are “inextricably linked” in the DRC conflict, as the soldiers know they are committing rape but are impelled by social expectations and norms of masculinity and femininity and the armed groups have financial aims in perpetuating the conflict and impunity due to “the social attitudes toward the issue [sexual violence] that discourage the enforcement of laws relating to rape.” Finally she makes two policy prescriptions, “the restriction of the illegal exportation of Congolese gold, tin, coltan and other minerals; and, ending impunity for crimes of sexual violence perpetrated in this conflict,” the latter mandating “more than just greater resources for the judicial system, but also addressing the status of women generally in the country and social values placed on concepts of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity.’”


Abstract:
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has completed its task of holding human rights violation hearings. Thousands of people have faced the Commission and the nation to tell their stories and air their pain. Many, who have listened to this testimony for the past two years, will understandably believe that the story of our past has now been completely told. It has not - violence against women is one of the hidden sides to the story of our past. While certain women bravely recorded their experiences, many others have not been able to come before the TRC. This has implications not only for our understanding of our history but also for current attempts to heal our society. In this article we suggest that past and present violence against women is located on a continuum. The process of rebuilding our society involves helping women survivors to deal with their trauma. The process of creating a new society based on human rights and justice demands serious efforts to create a society where women are free from fear and able to participate fully as citizens of the society. This article first examines the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in dealing with the issue of sexual violence against women and the evidence that did and did not emerge. The article then tries to explore the relationship between political and other sexual violence and the relationship between public and private violence. This leads us towards a preliminary understanding of the gendered nature of South African society both during and in the aftermath of apartheid. Finally, the article proposes certain reparation measures as the
means to ensure positive social reconstruction. These must go hand-in-hand with state action to protect women's safety in terms of rights in the Bill of Rights, such as the right to bodily integrity and the right to citizenship. Such rights must however, be asserted and given content by women's organizations and others committed to gender equality. (Ibid, 7)


Abstract: This article critically examines the presumption that international adjudication of wartime rape cases advances the interests of survivors. It argues that just as national women's rights advocates recognize the futility of relying on court testimony alone for the production of a narrative that reflects women's experiences, promotes their agency and addresses their need for closure and healing, international women's rights advocates should explore the limitations of international tribunals and examine complementary and alternative mechanisms. Using the landmark 'Foca case' as an illustration, the author explains that although women may still exercise agency in the context of the adversarial process, their ability to do so is stunted. Moreover, I argue that, although witnesses may actively resist the legal meta-narrative of Woman Victim, adversarial processes serve to reinforce gender essentialism and cultural essentialism. This analysis has important implications for women human rights advocates seeking to bring cases before all international courts, including the permanent International Criminal Court. (Ibid, 110)


Abstract: The paper examines two cases of rape as politics where violence, gender, ethnicity intersected with tragic consequences. First, the Serbian media campaign against the Albanians as rapists in Kosovo in 1990 is examined; secondly, the rape as politics of ethnic cleansing in the Serbian aggression in Bosnia in 1992-1993 is analyzed. It has been shown that Serbian media's rape campaign against Kosovo Albanians as perpetrators has been a prelude to the actual rapes by Serbian soldiers in Bosnia. In both cases, rape served as the special mean for defining the boundary of the Serbian ethnic niche in the Balkans. (Ibid, 119)


Abstract:
South Africa has the worst known figures for gender-based violence for a country not at war. At least one in three South African women will be raped in her lifetime. The rates of sexual violence against women and children, as well as the signal failure of the criminal justice and health systems to curtail the crisis, suggest an unacknowledged gender civil war. Yet narratives about rape continue to be rewritten as stories about race, rather than gender. This stifles debate, demonises black men, hardens racial barriers, and greatly hampers both disclosure and educational efforts. As an alternative to racially-inflected explanations, I argue that contemporary sexual violence in South Africa is fuelled by justificatory narratives that are rooted in apartheid practices that legitimated violence by the dominant group against the disempowered, not only in overtly political arenas, but in social, informal and domestic spaces. In South Africa, gender rankings are maintained and women regulated through rape, the most intimate form of violence. Thus, in post-apartheid, democratic South Africa, sexual violence has become a socially endorsed punitive project for maintaining patriarchal order. Men use rape to inscribe subordinate status on to an intimately known 'Other' - women. This is generally and globally true of rape, but in the case of South Africa, such activities draw on apartheid practices of control that have permeated all sectors of society. (Ibid, 129)


**Abstract:**

A simple perusal of the hundreds of online resources on “child soldiers” will reveal that in the first decade of the twenty-first century, some of the worst abuse and exploitation is under way.1 Mankind has made extraordinary progress over the last 300 years in sensitivity and awareness as well as policy making and legislation against many of the most egregious violations of human rights, ranging from battery and torture to outright slavery. Both international humanitarian and international human-rights law have formally and explicitly recognized children’s rights and extended special protections.2 Recently, more governments have acceded to the United Nations’ Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict. 3 Nevertheless, at this very moment, according to recent appeals by nongovernmental organizations (NGO) such World Vision, the International Rescue Commission, and the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, and major intergovernmental organizations (IGO), including the United Nations and specialized agencies such as United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), millions of children around the world not only are the victims of violent conflict and war but also have been forced to become child soldiers. The International Rescue Committee has described the systematic atrocities committed against the world’s children as no less than a slow ‘genocide’ or ‘holocaust’ that has yet to grab the world’s full attention and organized response. (Ibid, 62)

Abstract:
Women’s engagement in peace-building processes is recognized by many international security and governance institutions as a crucial element of long-term recovery and conflict prevention – a fact reflected in Security Council resolution 1325, passed in October 2000, which commits the United Nations (UN) and its member states to engaging women in conflict prevention and peace-building. The serious threat of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) during and after armed conflict is also recognized by the UN – for example through the Stop Rape Now campaign – as well as at the national level through national plans of action on SGBV. However, despite the widespread recognition of their contributions, women around the world face enormous challenges to their participation in peace-building processes, whether at the local, national, or international levels. One of the most important challenges is the social resistance women face when attempting to take on new public roles. Furthermore, their ability effectively to influence peace-building processes can be compromised by the threat or the actual experience of SGBV, which commonly escalates during and after armed conflicts. *(Ibid, 4)*

Mullins, Christopher W. “‘We Are Going to Rape You and Taste Tutsi Women.’” *British Journal of Criminology* 49.6 (Nov. 2009): 719-735.

Abstract:
Over the past decades, scholars have paid greater attention to sexual violence, in both theorization and empirical analysis. One area that has been largely ignored, however, is sexual violence during times of armed conflict. This paper examines the nature and dynamics of sexual violence as it occurred during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Drawing upon testimonies given to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), descriptions of rapes – both singular and mass – were qualitatively analysed. In general, three broad types of assaults were identified: opportunistic assaults, which seemed to be a product of the disorder inherent within the conflict; episodes of sexual enslavement; and genocidal rapes, which were framed by the broader genocidal endeavours occurring at the time. *(Ibid, 719)*


Abstract:
The article addresses the link between manhood and nationhood in postconflict Kosovo. Albanian Kosovars, like many "traditionally" patriarchal societies, have constructed identities of the patriotic man and the exalted childbearing woman as icons of national survival. These designated identities often negate the realities of war-affected
communities. The gendered places of man and woman in political reality are marred by the traumatic events of conflict and postconflict life. By thinking about the masculine microcultures of nation building (daily life), especially the construction of over-sexed and under-sexed individuals (i.e., the soldier) and the promiscuous enemies within (i.e., the female rape victim), there develops a connection between monoracial and heterosexual preserves and the need for this society to hold onto the traditional vision of man, at least until there is the political union of nation and state. (Ibid, 440)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Kosovars, like many ‘traditionally’ patriarchal societies, have constructed identities of the patriotic man and the exalted childbearing woman as icons of national survival.” (440)

“I will argue that a thoroughly masculinized understanding of nationalism centered on the ideal of the hegemonic male soldier or nationalist fighter is manifested in complex sets of gender relations and identities in the Kosovan case study.” (442)

“In the case of Kosovo (as has also been documented in Bosnia), Serbian forces targeted women for sexual abuse as the property of the enemy and as women.” (449)

“These extreme levels of violence against women were not only evidenced during the conflict in Kosovo, once it had ended, men were back in the homes and there was a widespread perception of increased domestic violence. This seemed particularly a problem for women (wives and daughters) who were sexually abused during the war. Perhaps one reason for this is that a sense of ‘emasculature’ among men often leads to domestic violence in post-conflict societies.” (449)

“The ideal of the hegemonic male soldier/independence fighter is forged in relation to ideas of both male and female sexuality and ‘appropriate’/acceptable sexual roles.” (449)

“One thing that remains clear is that such sexualized military discourse is very much from the heterosexual standpoint, as is clear when considering the ‘rape of the Serbian Monasteries’; attacks that needed defense are seen as heterosexual rapes on women and attacks that are offensive, such as against the enemy, are phrased as homosexual rapes of men.” (451)


Abstract:
The object of The Roots of Behavior in War study was to identify the factors which are crucial in conditioning the behavior of combatants in armed conflicts, with a view to determining whether the policies developed by the ICRC to prevent violations of
international humanitarian law (IHL) take sufficient account of the characteristics of the bearers of weapons. This report describes the main findings and conclusions of the Roots of Behavior in War study. It includes three main parts: an overview of the study, the main findings, and the main lessons.

Through empirical research and a review of the literature, the Roots of Behavior in War study enunciated and confirmed three hypotheses concerning the behavior of combatants at war: (1) the universal character of adherence to humanitarian principles, (2) the importance for combatants of authority, group affiliation and the spiral of violence they often find themselves locked into, and (3) the existence of mechanisms of moral disengagements when violations of IHL are committed. In addition, the study provided information on the impact of ICRC activities on combatants’ behavior.

The study’s main lessons may be summarized by the following three points: (1) efforts to disseminate IHL must be made a legal and political matter rather than a moral one and focus more on norms than on their underlying values, because the idea that the combatants is morally autonomous is mistaken. (2) Greater respect for IHL is possible only if bearers of weapons are properly trained, if they are under strict orders as to the conduct to adopt and if effective sanctions are applied in the event they fail to obey such order. (3) It is crucial that the ICR be perfectly clear about its aims when it seeks to promote IHL and prevent violations: does it want to impart knowledge, modify attitudes or influence behaviour? The ICRC must develop strategies genuinely aimed at preventing violations of IHL. (Ibid, 206)


Abstract:
In dealing with the sexual exploitation of women and girls by UN and other personnel operating in post-conflict situations there is a limited amount the UN can do without the cooperation of troop contributing states. Anyone employed by, or affiliated with the UN must be held accountable and, when the circumstances so warrant, prosecuted. This article is a legal analysis and discussion of these problems against the background of the report by the Secretary-General's adviser on sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers (the Zeid Report), and the UN investigation into allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by MONUC personnel in the Congo. (Ibid, 531)


Abstract:
The article addresses important questions about sexuality and war bearing on the revelations of sexual humiliation at Abu Ghraib prison and Iraq. It argues that sexual
humiliation and sexual violence are not an aberration in war in as much as rape of girls and women is commonplace. It presents a discursive study of sexual humiliation as manifested in the images from Abu Ghraib prison. It also discusses the concept of sexual humiliation. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
The article discusses the sexual exploitation and abuse of women and girls by peacekeepers during their missions and the measures taken by the United Nations (UN) to tackle such problem. The UN Security Councils adopted the Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000 which dealt with rape and other forms of sexual abuse and violence in armed conflict situations. It attributes the prevalence of sexual abuse and exploitation to vulnerability of local populations to such attacks. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
This article examines how far international law has moved in its treatment of gendered violence as a result of the creation of the War Crimes Tribunal. Part I of this Article examines the Statute itself, outlining the basis for prosecuting sexual offenses. Part II looks to the general rules of evidence and procedure which directly concern the protection and treatment of witnesses and victims. Part III reviews the specific rules concerning sexual offenses contained in the Statute of the Tribunal. Initially, Part III analyzes whether sophisticated and ‘victim sensitive’ procedural mechanisms will reshape general understandings of the nature of gendered violence during armed conflict. This section further assesses whether rejection of traditional rules associated with the proof of sexual offenses such as the corroboration requirement, cautionary instructions and the dismissal of evidentiary rules related to prior sexual conduct by the victim—which placed the violated woman as much on trial as the defendant--have assisted in re-evaluating the status of violence directed at women under international criminal law. The conclusion posits the view that these procedural innovations may have the potential for reshaping cultural and legal attitudes towards the occurrence of sexual violence during armed conflict. (Ibid, 883)

Abstract:
The International Tribunal established in 1993 to prosecute those responsible for atrocities committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991 has jurisdiction over acts of violence against women, including rape, forced prostitution, and forced impregnation. An estimated 20,000-50,000 women were raped in acts which were not random but, in fact, appear to be part of a deliberate policy. Rape has always played a significant role in war. Historically, it has not been regarded as a serious crime; at most, it has been considered a crime against honor. In order for the Tribunal to successfully address rape in the former Yugoslavia, it must overcome the double legacy of the historic use of rape as a weapon of war and the tendency of international humanitarian law's to overlook and dismiss the experience of women. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
Women and girls do not have an option about fighting in the wars of the twentieth and twenty-first century. The vast majority of war casualties today are average citizens and the preponderance of these are women and children. Political violence has moved over the last century from trench warfare to assaults on the very domestic stability that gives a society shape and meaning. But these are invisible tactics: they are at one and the same time thought by military leaders to be effective, and as well to be heinous. Today's warfare globally is entrenched in a double set of betrayals: placing women at the epicenters of war and simultaneously denying this. What, then, does it mean to be a female combatant? (Ibid, 399)


Abstract:
The peacekeeper abuse scandal could not come at a worse time for the United Nations. In the past year it suffered blows such as the Oil-for-Food debacle, allegations of sexual harassment against the head of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and calls from conservative senators in the United States Congress for United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan to resign. This Article describes both the recent report and corresponding U.N. efforts to examine abuses within peacekeeping ranks in the DRC and also suggests measures of accountability to halt future abuse. (Ibid, 411)


Abstract:
When the civil war in Sierra Leone came to an end in 2002, the international community created two transitional justice mechanisms to address past atrocities: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (“TRC”) and the Special Court for Sierra Leone. Little attention has been paid in the international community or in the scholarly literature to the efforts made by these institutions to address and redress the wartime sexual violence routinely directed at women and girls. The two institutions in Sierra Leone are noteworthy for seriously undertaking to fulfill their mandate to address crimes against women and for using gender-sensitive strategies to ensure the comfort, safety, and dignity of the rape victims coming forward to testify. While this should be standard operating practice for international institutions, the practices of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals and other transitional justice mechanisms illustrate the unfortunate fact that gender justice often remains the exception rather than the rule in post-conflict societies. Additionally, Sierra Leone represents one of the only places in which the international community has set up both a truth commission and a court in a post-conflict setting; utilizing both institutions concurrently has already produced both positive and negative effects for Sierra Leone, raising crucial questions and setting important precedents for future conflict resolution scenarios.

Although the ultimate success of these two international justice mechanisms in the particular arena of gender justice in Sierra Leone remains to be seen, the steps taken so far are encouraging. Together, they can provide a “best practices” model for other international justice mechanisms, including the International Criminal Court. Sexual violence has been an invisible war crime in a wide variety of contemporary conflicts and mass atrocities; inclusion of gender violence in the post-conflict world of international justice can help to condemn these horrors and to make the perpetrators accountable for the particularly brutal violence perpetrated against women in wartime. (Ibid, 85)


Abstract:
This paper examines the gendered, racialized and sexualized torture at Abu-Ghraib within the larger context of the 2003 U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq, and torture and mistreatment of detainees in other parts of Iraq; Guantanamo Bay, Cuba; and Afghanistan. I argue that what took place at Abu-Ghraib is not an ‘exceptional and isolated case perpetrated by few bad apples’ but part of an Orientalist representation that aims to shame and sexually humiliate detainees and reinforce their difference as racially inferior Others. Within this phallocentric binary logic of opposition where the ‘East’ is represented as ‘backward and barbarian’ and the ‘West’ as ‘civilizing and modernizing’ the naturalness and for-granted authority to dominate the Other is established. It is within this framework that I analyze the connection between militarist hyper-sexuality, feminization, and racialization at Abu-Ghraib. In addition, I analyze the silence around the rape of women at Abu-Ghraib, and the ‘unveiling’ and stripping naked of detainees as they relate to the larger system of domination currently at play in Iraq. I conclude by
analyzing current modes of feminist resistance in Iraq and the strategies used by activists to shape their lives within this highly masculinized and militarized system of control. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
This paper analyses civil wars as the greatest threat to peace in Africa. It specifically looks at these wars/conflicts from a gender perspective so as to examine its impact on women in relation to experiences such as sexual assaults (rape), plight as displaced/refugees, feminization of poverty etc. Finally, the paper recommends that women and girls must become central to national security policies or deliberations to ensure an end to impunity for crimes committed against them in these civil wars and as a key to lasting peace. (Ibid, 251)


Abstract:
Gender-based violence (GBV) in refugee camps is analysed by using mainstream theories of risk and safety management derived from studies of accidents in technological production systems. We use theory of organisational accidents and man-made disasters to explain the mutual linkages between latent conditions for GBV embedded in the structures of humanitarian organisations, and assaults occurring in the camps. Furthermore, safety management theory is applied to explain how organisational preconditions for GBV may develop unnoticed in humanitarian organisations and ultimately contribute to the perpetuated vulnerability of refugee women. The analysis is based on a study undertaken in Sierra Leone. (Ibid, 377)


Abstract:
Gendered violence is not a special type of torture used only in war. Its roots are well established in peacetime. This article discusses parallels between the patterns of everyday domination and aggression during times of peace and war. Further, it discusses how metaphors and acts of rape in peacetime are transformed into symbols and acts of rape for wartime purposes. During peacetime the individual body, especially its essences—sexuality and reproduction—becomes the symbol of everyday domination and aggression. Wartime transforms individual bodies into social bodies as seen, for example, in
genocidal rapes or ethnic cleansing, which are thought to purify the bloodlines. Then, institutions--that is, medical, religious, and government establishments--further reinforce the wartime process by manipulating the individual/social body into the body politic by controlling and defining "human life" and using political rapes to entice military action by the West. The final transformation (at the war's conclusion) is the reformation of the social body back into the individual body, making the individual body once again the focus of dominance and aggression as the acceptable social ‘order.’ (Ibid, 31)


Abstract:
Olujic notes that rape has been used as a tactic of terror in many wars. Rape was a weapon of terror as the German Hun marched through Belgium in World War I; gang rape was part of the orchestrated riots of Kristallnacht which marked the beginning of Nazi campaigns against the Jews. It was a weapon of revenge as the Russian Army marched to Berlin in World War II, it was used when the Japanese raped Chinese women in the city of Nanking, when the Pakistani Army battled Bangladesh, and when the American G. I.'s made rape in Vietnam a standard operating procedure aimed at terrorizing the population into submission.

The author notes that in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, acts of rape were not only attacks against women but also humiliated the husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons of the victims because they demonstrated the men's inability to protect their women. This humiliation was especially intense in the Balkans where the honour/shame complex is so strong and female chastity is central to family and community honour.

(Abstract from Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Rape has been used as a tactic of terror in many wars (Brownmiller 1975, Bergman 1974). Rape was a weapon of terror as the German Hun marched through Belgium in World War I; gang rape was part of the orchestrated riots of Kristallnacht which marked the beginning of Nazi campaigns against the Jews. It was a weapon of revenge as the Russian Army marched to Berlin in World War II, it was used when the Japanese raped Chinese women in the city of Nanking, when the Pakistani Army battled Bangladesh, and when the American G. I.'s made rape in Vietnam a "standard operating procedure aimed at terrorizing the population into submission" (Bergman 1974: 69). But in these wars, rape did not receive the widespread publicity it has in the on-going war in former Yugoslavia.”

“The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia provides a broader socio-cultural context of conflict between different groups of men. Acts of rape in this context not only attack women, they also humiliate the husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons of the victims because they demonstrate the men's inability to protect their women. This humiliation is
especially intense in the Balkans where the honor/shame complex is so strong and female chastity is central to family and community honor (Schneider 1971, Davis 1977)."

“The war in former Yugoslavia has produced over three million refugees and displaced persons, the majority of whom are women. How many are victims of rape? Documentation in the war-torn region and in the on-going conflict is difficult to obtain. However, a report compiled by a fact-finding mission of the European Community a year ago (December 1992) stated that 20,000 women have been raped by Bosnian Serb soldiers as "part of a deliberate pattern of abuse" where "rapes cannot be seen as incidental to the main purposes of the aggression but as serving a strategic purpose in itself"--war rapes are termed as a form of ethnic cleansing or genocide (European Community Report 1992).”


Abstract: Gender-based violence, especially sexual violence, has become a weapon of warfare and one of the defining characteristics of contemporary armed conflict. This paper focuses on women's protection in armed conflict and their centrality to conflict resolution and peace building. The experiences of women and girls in war and conflict situations are described. Constraints women face in participating in post-conflict peace building are also analysed. The role of the United Nations in engendering peace through Security Council Resolution 1325 is analyzed as well. (*Ibid, 277*)


Abstract: Sexual torture constitutes any act of sexual violence which qualifies as torture. Public awareness of the widespread use of sexual torture as a weapon of war greatly increased after the war in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Sexual torture has serious mental, physical and sexual health consequences. Attention to date has focused more on the sexual torture of women than of men, partly due to gender stereotypes. This paper describes the circumstances in which sexual torture occurs, its causes and consequences, and the development of international law addressing it. It presents data from a study in 2000 in Croatia, where the number of men who were sexually tortured appears to have been substantial. Based on in-depth interviews with 16 health professionals and data from the medical records of three centres providing care to refugees and victims of torture, the study found evidence of rape and other forced sexual acts, full or partial castration, genital beatings and electroshock. Few men admit being sexually tortured or seek help, and professionals may fail to recognise cases. Few perpetrators have been prosecuted, mainly due to lack of political will. The silence that envelopes sexual torture of men in
the aftermath of the war in Croatia stands in strange contrast to the public nature of the crimes themselves. (Ibid, 68)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**

This paper summarizes contemporary understandings of sexual torture of men, the circumstances in which it occurs, its causes and consequences, national and international laws on sexual torture and how perpetrators are being dealt with. Sexual torture consists of any act of sexual violence, from forced nakedness to rape, which qualifies as torture. Legal recognition that sexual violence could constitute torture came as a result of the war in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. While there are certain specific differences in the sexual torture of men and women and its effects, the psychological symptoms experienced by male and female survivors seem to be substantially similar.

This paper describes the circumstances in which sexual torture occurs, its causes and consequences, and the development of international law addressing it. It presents data from a study in 2000 in Croatia, where the number of men who were sexually tortured appears to have been substantial. Based on in-depth interviews with 16 health professionals and data from the medical records of three centres providing care to refugees and victims of torture, the study found evidence of rape and other forced sexual acts, full or partial castration, genital beatings and electroshock. The author looks at therapists and argues that professionals who are unaware of or uncomfortable with the possibility of sexual torture of men may fail to discover (many) cases and inadvertently deter survivors from seeking medical or legal remedies.

One of the striking points to emerge from the study is how silent male survivors of sexual torture have remained about their experiences. Few men admit being sexually tortured or seek help. Few perpetrators have been prosecuted, mainly due to lack of political will. The silence that envelopes sexual torture of men in the aftermath of the war in Croatia stands in strange contrast to the public nature of the crimes themselves.

Among the 22 male torture survivors in the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture (ICRT) Victims Programme, 14 reported having suffered some type of sexual torture, ten suffered genital beatings or electroshock, and four had been raped.

Of the 1,648 testimonies screened by Medical Centre for Human Rights (MCHR) staff, 78 self-reported sexual torture. Among the 55 survivors of sexual torture who sought help from MCHR, 24 were subjected to genital beatings or electroshock, 11 were raped, seven were forced to engage in sexual acts and 13 were fully or partially castrated. In addition, MCHR staff had found six post-mortem cases of total castration.

Comparatively few self-reported cases of sexual torture were found by the Centre for Psychotrauma.

Of the 5,751 Croatian war veteran patients, nine reported having suffered genital beatings and/or electroshock, and five reported rape. Among the unknown number of male civilians, one reported having been raped and three reported genital beatings.

The data from the ICRT and the MCHR support the conclusion that sexual torture of men was a regular, unexceptional component of violence in wartime Croatia, not a rare occurrence.

Abstract:
This study seeks to examine the influence of patriarchal forces, at both the local and global level, that have historically resulted in the lack of recognition of gender-specific crimes committed during and after armed conflict. By incorporating the testimonies of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian women, this study attempts to understand sexual violence from the standpoint of women who experienced these crimes during the War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (1991--1995). Theories of Third World feminisms, in addition to feminist critiques concerning rape and international law, will inform this analysis of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). I intend to show that despite greater recognition of sexual violence during armed conflict in IHL, patriarchal forces continue to obfuscate the gender-specificity of these crimes. (Ibid, iv)


Abstract:
Sexual violence as a weapon of war targets individuals not only on the basis of group membership, but also uniquely on the basis of gender. Despite substantial increases in occurrence during warfare, international and national mechanisms have largely neglected the impact of sexual violence in hindering peace and obscuring perceptions of security among population groups. The failure to clearly recognise sexual violence as a weapon of war has resulted in impunity, in turn affecting the likelihood of future outbreaks of conflict. To prevent further negligence, the establishments of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) have made notable progress toward reconceptualising sexual violence as a weapon of war. This paper highlights and evaluates the innovations made by the ICTY and the ICTR towards recognising the issue of sexual violence as a threat to international peace and security in international law. (Ibid, 13)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
Ô The author argues that “the use of sexual and gender-based violence as a means of ethnic cleansing and genocide presents a compelling case for rethinking measures of administering peace and security in high-risk areas (…)” because it “targets individuals not only on the basis of group membership (i.e. ethnicity, tribe, race, etc.), but also uniquely on the basis of gender.”
Ô She notes the progress made by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) toward reconceptualising sexual violence as a weapon of war. Looking at the cases processed by the two courts she finds that “(t)he ethnic cleansing practices in the former Yugoslavia
and the genocide in Rwanda clearly demonstrate the use of sexual violence beyond traditional notions of rape and as part of wider political agendas (…).

She specifically cites the ICTR case of the Prosecutor v. Akmkayesu [sic], which ended in the first conviction of an individual for the charges of genocide and international crimes that included sexual violence as an integral part of the genocide agenda.

The article does not explore in any detail the motivations for sexual violence in conflict but argues that it can be perceived as an effective means of warfare, especially for ethnic cleansing in societies where ethnicity is inherited through the male line.

Looking at the transition from conflict to a peaceful society, the author also reminds us that because of the long-term consequences of sexual violence (psychological, “rape babies”, HIV), it is crucial to address these issues in peace building initiatives.


**Abstract:**
International politics always operates and is imagined in a gendered manner, especially in matters related to symbolic gestures and spectacles such as the declaration of war, the ritual of surrender, the signing of treaties, or the offer and acceptance of apologies. Therefore, our reading of these events has to be performed with a sustained and rigorous interest in gender: we need to ask how a masculine national image is constructed and guarded in these rituals; how the conflicts among various forms of masculinity are negotiated; how the ‘common sense’ derived from these gendered rituals affects the real lives of real people on a daily basis. In this essay, I examine the issues of masculine national identity and gendered violence in the context of the controversy around the apologies offered (or not offered) to former ‘comfort women,’ women who were forced to serve as sex slaves for the Japanese Imperial Army during the Pacific War. By investigating the ‘common sense’ and underlying assumptions that shape the language around the issues of apologies and compensation for former comfort women, I explore how ‘male sexual needs’ are imagined; who is rendered deserving of the state protection and who is not; who is dispensable and who is not. I argue that, unless we rigorously examine the language representing and interpreting this particular part of history, we end up re-inscribing violent patriarchal assumptions, which made possible the practice of comfort women in the first place. In those instances, the apology can be the biggest insult to those women who silently bore the burden of their sexuality and their female bodies, which are by definition guilty according to Confucian thoughts, for half a century. *(Ibid, 199)*


**Abstract:**
*No Abstract Available.*
Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Study of men referred to the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture between 1 January 1997 and 30 June 1998. Looks at patterns of sexual assault, physical and psychological evidence, and the problem of underreporting:

Finds that over 25% had been sexually assaulted in detention, of whom more than 5% admitted to having been raped.

However, it is likely that the true number would have been significantly higher. Cultural taboos also influence reporting.

Over 20% of men from Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo reported having been raped, whereas there were no reports of rape from countries such as Iran and Iraq, although other forms of male sexual assault were as common as in other countries. Three patterns of sexual assault and rape were identified in the Medical Foundation study.

In one pattern, seen for example in Nigeria, the rape and sexual assault were part of the brutality of the detention and interrogation processes.

In Algeria at the time of the study there was a policy of intimidation and humiliation, of which sexual assault was an integral part.

The third pattern, for example in Sri Lanka, was where drunken soldiers entered cells at night and raped some of the men.

The author stresses the fact that men who were sexually abused suffer from post-traumatic stress. The psychological scars are often more obvious than the physical damage inflicted upon victims.

“No society wants to admit to being party to male rape, but this quiescence leaves victims isolated and rape seen as a sexual act rather than one of the exercise of power and the infliction of humiliation.” (61)

“Female soldiers or police officers are very occasionally described as having been present when male detainees were being sexually assaulted, although the extent to which the women were victims or perpetrators is debatable.” (61)

“Sociological studies demonstrate an increase in the incidence of rape in societies where there is social disorganisation, urbanisation, economic inequality, and a sizeable number of men without a regular sexual relationship.” (62)

“Whereas for many women rape is the principal form of torture, for men the rape is generally part of a series of assaults that can leave significant physical signs, so that they might not need to disclose the rape when being interviewed by a doctor in order for a medical report to be produced that will confirm other significant signs of torture.” (65)

“Often the [male] victim appears to be concerned about the gender of the interpreter, but not that of the clinician or therapist, perhaps because their conversation is more directly with the interpreter.”(65)
“Anal penetration by a penis rarely leaves any identifiable physical signs after only a few days. In the Medical Foundation study, only one of the 32 men who had been raped had any specific physical signs, and he had been raped many times over several years. When objects are pushed through the anus there is much more likelihood of damage and therefore scarring (although such acts are not, strictly, rape). Of the 25 men who had suffered objects being pushed through their anus, 5 (20%) had significant physical signs.” (66)

“A study done by the Medical Foundation, found that over 70% of men who had been sexually assaulted experienced PTSD symptoms.” (66)


Abstract:
The authors find that sexual abuse of Tamil men in detention is common in Sri Lanka. They highlight the fact that, although in this sample the proportion of men who reported being sexually abused was 20%, the true number is probably higher as some will not have reported it. Most of these men were telling of the experience for the first time in their interview at the Medical Foundation. The authors stress the fact that the men had not told the authorities, particularly because they were too ashamed, and that shame is a real deterrent to seeking all forms of help for both male and female victims of rape. (Abstract from the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

TM A study done by the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture of 184 men revealed that (38) 21% of the men has been sexually abused while in detention.

TM Of those who reported being sexually abused, 11 reported having been raped.

TM Of those who reported being sexually abused, only 10% showed physical signs of abuse. The physical injuries included, scars, thickening of the urethra and torn foreskin.

TM Of those who reported being sexually abused, 24% reported having psychological injuries.


Abstract:
It is sometimes contended that, in contrast to domestic law, international law does not count non-consent of the victim as an element of crimes of sexual violence; rather, consent should merely be considered as an affirmative defense. This is also the opinion of the Office of the Prosecutor at the ICTR and the ICTY.' As regards rape, the prosecution maintains that this crime comes within the jurisdiction of the ad hoc Tribunals only when
it occurs in the context of genocide, armed conflict, or a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population.

According to the prosecution, in these circumstances genuine consent is impossible. Furthermore, rape should be viewed in the same way as other violations of international criminal law, such as torture and enslavement, as to which the prosecution is not required to prove non-consent. Finally, the prosecution has maintained that Rule 96(ii) of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence of the ICTR and the ICTY presumes that consent is an affirmative defense. For their part, the ad hoc Tribunals apparently have come to endorse a refined definition of rape that includes non-consent as an element of the crime.

This discussion will focus on these two approaches to the definition of sexual violence in the context of international criminal law. One difference between them concerns the burden of proof: if non-consent is considered to be an element of the crime, the prosecution must prove beyond reasonable doubt that the victim did not consent to the conduct in question. If consent is an affirmative defense, it is for the accused to establish on a balance of probabilities that the victim did consent. As the essential question is when sexual contact amounts to sexual violence, international criminal law cannot completely disregard the question of consent. However, the aim of this essay is to show that sexual violence that qualifies as genocide, a crime against humanity, or a war crime occurs under circumstances that are inherently coercive and negate any possibility of genuine consent. An emphasis on consent does not fit such situations and would lead to a definition that would ultimately contradict itself. Although no rule may yet altogether exclude consent for crimes of sexual violence under international law, strong arguments can be made for treating it at the most as an affirmative defense to be raised only in exceptional cases. (Ibid, 121)


Abstract:
The last decade has witnessed a profound transformation in the treatment of sexual violence in international law. The overwhelming evidence of the widespread use of rape as a policy tool in the former Yugoslavia, combined with the tragedy of the genocide in Rwanda, in which rape was also widely prevalent, has led to a legal reconceptualization of sexual violence in internal and international conflicts. The ad hoc tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, have genuinely broken new ground as they have confronted cases dealing with the complexities of rape, torture, and genocide. They have struggled with determining the legal definition of rape and finding a balance between the rights of witnesses and defendants. The revolutionary changes that have taken place in this area of the law in large part reflect the growing mobilization and influence of non-governmental organizations articulating the importance of the rights of women, and the increasing importance of the presence of women advocates, prosecutors, and judges. In this chapter, some of the most important changes in the legal interpretation of sexual
violence will be addressed. The importance of new actors in the international arena will also be examined. Finally, the proposed tribunal to deal with violations of international humanitarian and human rights law in Sierra Leone will be examined in light of the [rest of sentence missing from RefWorks]. *(Abstract from RefWorks)*


**Abstract:**
This paper traces the genealogy of sexual violence as a public and political issue in South Africa, from its initial marginalization and minimization during the apartheid era, through to the explosion of anguish and anger which marked the post-apartheid moment, and most dramatically the years 2001 and 2002. Of particular interest is the question of how and why the problem of sexual violence came to be seen as a scandal of manhood, putting male sexuality under critical public scrutiny. The paper argues that the sudden, intense eruption of public anxiety and argument about sexual violence which marked the post-apartheid period had relatively little to do with feminist analysis and politics (influential though this has been in some other respects). Rather, the key to understanding this politicization of sexual violence lies with its resonances with wider political and ideological anxieties about the manner of the national subject and the moral community of the country’s fledgling democracy. *(Ibid, 239)*


**Abstract:**
Based on a three-week assessment, this report addresses rape and associated violence against civilians in the multiple regional and civil wars that have plagued the eastern provinces of the DRC. Perceived as a particularly effective weapon of war and used to subdue, punish, or take revenge upon entire communities, acts of sexual and gender-based violence have increased over time. They have comprised individual rapes, sexual abuse, gang rapes, genital mutilation, and rape-shooting or rape-stabbing combinations, at times undertaken after family members have been tied up and forced to watch. The perpetrators have come from among virtually all of the armies, militias and gangs implicated in the conflicts, including local bands and police forces that attacked their own communities *(Abstract from RefWorks)*

Abstract:
Drawing on research into war rape in the former Yugoslavia, this article considers a means of comprehending the motives of perpetrators. It argues that they are neither mad nor bad but ordinary men acting out of comprehensible motives. It further argues that to the extent that perpetrators act out of choice, they can and should be held accountable for their acts of sexual violence. (Ibid, 4)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Actions are ‘rational’ from the actor's perspective. The interpreter's task is to understand the action by comprehending the actor's subjectively intended meaning even—perhaps especially—when such action appears to diverge from logical or ethical rationality.”

“One of the functions of violence, especially when applied unidirectionally, is that it exaggerates difference, creating psychic and ontological distance between the violator and the victim.”

“In the world view of militarized state nationalism, as in the masculinist world view, loyal (male) citizenship is defined as the will and capacity to commit (‘to do’) violence upon the enemy.”

“As in peacetime, rape in war is a gender-specific act, an expression of hatred of women qua women.”

“It can be argued that such eroticization derives from two reciprocal ideations relating to male sexuality: first, that sex requires dominance; second, that dominance is experienced as sexual. Furthermore, the axes of oppression may be racial, ethnic, class as well as gender and each of these may be sexualized. Accordingly, we may consider whether the perpetrator experiences his national dominance as sexual and performs that national dominance by forcing K.S. into a position of sexual submission.”

“A high proportion of sexual violence in war is gang rape. In these instances war rape appears to be a performance for fellow soldiers.”

“Through rape they demonstrate to each other that they are ‘real men’ and ‘real Serbs,’ worthy of inclusion in the brotherhood. This, in turn, suggests that for all the talk of biological determinism—of blood—ethnicized masculinity is not experienced as a genetic inevitability but rather as an accomplishment, constantly measured and negotiated through processes of performance.”

“Why does a deeply cowardly act make you feel more like a soldier? Why does hurting and humiliating another human being raise your spirits and your stature? For all that we may analyse hatred of the Other—woman, non-Serb—as a motive force, what underlies that hatred may be hatred (and fear) of oneself.”
“A number of survivors relate that perpetrators described their acts of sexual violence as romance, and professed a desire to marry their victims.”

“The notion that an act of rape, especially when it results in pregnancy, will serve to transform the victim ethnically (hence, biologically) and culturally (hence, religiously) is evidenced in the words of one perpetrator: ‘Now you will have Serbian babies for the rest of your life’ (Commission of Experts Annex IX, 1994, para. 223).”

“In review, it appears that perpetrators maintain three distinct conceptualizations of their victims: as foreign therefore enemy; as tabula rasa, lacking any ethnic identity; and as subject to transformation/conversion, and therefore, potentially members of the perpetrators’ group.”

“Masculinity under militarized state nationalism is violent, heterosexist, and misogynist. These characteristics, of course, are present wherever male supremacy holds sway, but under militarized state nationalism they acquire the additional strength (and burden) of male civic duty.”

“Militarized state nationalism does not simply allow men to be violent, but compels them so to be. In militarized societies generally—the former Yugoslavia no less than apartheid South Africa—men who resist violence are suspect. Not only is their loyalty to the state questioned, but also their loyalty to (heterosexual) masculinity. They are not just ‘cowards and traitors,’ but also ‘sissies and queers.’”

“Some acts of sexual violence in the war grew out of a synergism of ethnic hatred and gender hatred. Some were sourced in a desire for revenge and retribution. In some cases rape was used as a tactic of ethnic cleansing, a means of terrorizing not only the victims but also their families into leaving their homes. Some were expressions of triumphant nationalism. Some were performative acts with audiences of victims, captive male onlookers, and other soldiers. In some cases sexual violence was used as a means of asserting the perpetrator's national and gender identities. In particular, national dominance and masculine dominance were simultaneously confirmed through an act of sexual submission. In other cases the victim was used as a scapegoat for the perpetrator's own sense of powerlessness. Some assaults appear to have been acts of territorial conquest. Finally, related to conquest, the ritualistic masculinity commonly present under conditions of militarized state nationalism can lead men to believe that sexual violence is simply an extension of their duty as soldiers.”

“Two arguments can be put forward in favor of the proposition that individual men rightly should be held accountable. The first argument involves access to alternative conceptualizations of women, men, sexuality, and sexual violence. The second argument in favor of choice, hence accountability, attends to evidence of similarly-located men—that is, subject to the same ideological forces, intragroup pressures, etc., as perpetrators—who did not sexually abuse women.”

“It is important not to dismiss the very real, immediate physical threat under which some
perpetrators felt themselves to be. Surrounded by armed men drunk on alcohol, testosterone, and triumphant nationalism, men who knew that their worst excesses would be ignored (if not condoned) by their political and military masters, it is perhaps understandable that some men raped out of fear for their lives.”

“To suggest, as I have done, that the construction of masculinity under militarized state nationalism predisposes men to be sexually violent does not negate the agency of the individual soldier-rapist. And where there is agency there must be responsibility.”


Abstract:
Ending the tradition of impunity for perpetrators of gender-based violence in conflict is a pressing concern. In principle, the international community's commitment to address mass atrocity crimes has evolved to reflect this, both through international law and UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, including 1325, 1820, 1888, and 1889 in particular. These resolutions represent a growing and ongoing political acknowledgement of the need to address the climate of impunity that currently exists for mass violence against women. However, reports examining the situation on the ground in several conflict areas suggest that in the years following the adoption of these resolutions, little progress was made; several impediments remain, posing obstacles to effectively addressing impunity for gender-based mass atrocity crimes. Recently some of the key recommendations proposed in the literature have suggested that this renewed commitment to addressing impunity must be matched by a commitment to provide sufficient resources, a more gender-sensitive framework for security, justice mechanisms, and other related personnel dealing with victims, and provisions for adequate monitoring and evaluation. The Security Council directly endorsed all these recommendations in the language included in Resolutions 1888 and 1889, which were adopted in September and October 2009. While this renewed political attention and commitment to addressing conflict-related sexual violence is valuable, it must be followed by concrete action in order to avoid a failure on the part of the international community to value the lives and experiences of women and girls who have survived gender-based violence in conflict. The key areas needing attention here generally fall into three categories: addressing resource deficits, ensuring gender-sensitive frameworks and training, and maintaining effective monitoring and evaluation. In light of this, I make the preliminary proposal that the UN ought to develop a UN-sponsored and run program for recruiting, training, and deploying an international women's force for policing in peacekeeping missions. This paper reviews the literature to provide an initial analysis of obstacles remaining to addressing impunity for widespread attacks on women in conflict situations. First, I provide a broad overview of trends of gender-based and sexual violence in conflict. Next, I look at why addressing impunity is important for building peace and ending conflict-related gender-based and sexual violence. Then, I
offer an overview of developments and mechanisms adopted by the international community in an attempt at addressing impunity. Following that, I identify several remaining gaps and shortfalls in this area. Finally, in the last section I outline the essential actions needed for addressing these shortfalls and conclude by outlining my proposal for reforming police recruitment to offer practical strategies for increasing the women of women in peace operations. (Ibid, 1)


Abstract:
Discusses the torture of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghrayb prison in Baghdad, Iraq. Reaction of U.S. President George W. Bush to the abuse of Iraqi prisoners; Statement issued by Metropolitan Community Churches on sexual violence. Views of Al-Fatiha, an international Muslim lesbian, GLBT intersex questioning organization, on sexual humiliation for any Muslims; Summary of interpretations on homosexuality and violence at the Abu Ghrayb prison. (Ibid, 522)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“This violence is neither an exception to nor a simple extension of the violence of an imperialist occupation. Rather, the focus on purported homosexual acts obscures other forms of gendered violence and serves a broader racist and sexist, as well as homophobic, agenda.” (523)

“This cultural difference line has been used by both conservatives and progressives to comment upon the particularly intense shame with which homosexual and feminizing acts are experienced by Muslims (and for this, there is vast sympathy for the prisoners from the general public). The taboo of homosexuality (as feminized masculinity?) within Islamic cultures figures heavily in the explanations as to why the torture has been so devastating to its victims.” (524)

“The government consultant said that there may have been a serious goal, in the beginning, behind the sexual humiliation and the posed photographs. It was thought that some prisoners would do anything—including spying on their associates—to avoid dissemination of the shameful photos to family and friends.” (525)

“This Orientalist discourse has resurfaced in relation to the violence at Abu Ghrayb, as both conservatives and progressives claim that the illegal status of homosexual acts in Islamic law demarcates sexual torture as especially humiliating and therefore very effective from a military security perspective.” (526)

“Bush's administration claims that these forms of torture were particularly necessary and efficacious for interrogation because of the ban on homosexuality in Islam.” (526)

“The picture of Lynndie England leading a naked Iraqi on a leash has now become a
surface upon which fundamentalism and modernization, apparently dialectically opposed, can wage war. The image is both about the victories of liberal feminists, who argue that women should have equal opportunities within the military, and also about liberal feminism's failures adequately to theorize power and gender beyond female-male dichotomies that situate women as less prone toward violence than men and morally superior to them.” (528)

“The comparisons now being proffered between the depraved England and the heroic Jessica Lynch, informed by their class background similarities but little else, speak also of the need to explain away the solid presence of female Abu Ghraib torturers as an aberration.” (528)

“[T]hese photos are not merely representative of the homophobia of the military; they are also racist, misogynist, and imperialist.” (529)

“Although the presence of women torturers should at least initially give us pause, the simulated sex acts must be thought of in terms of gendered roles rather than through a notion of sexual orientation.” (530)

“Reports of sodomizing with chemical light sticks and broomsticks and of Americans inserting fingers into prisoners' anuses also fully implicate the U.S. guards and raise the specters of interracial and intercultural sex.” (531)

“Indeed one could argue what is exceptional here is not the actual violence itself, but rather the capture of these acts on film, the photographic qualities of which are reminiscent of vacation snapshots, mementos of a good time, victory at last, or even the trophy won at summer camp. Unlike images of the "collateral," purportedly unavoidable deaths of war, these photos divulge an irrefutable intentionality.” (531)

“To summarize, what emerges from these interpretations in terms of narratives regarding homosexuality and its intersections with the violence at Abu Ghraib is the following: (1) the sexual acts simulated are all specifically and only gay sex acts. (2) Homosexuality is taboo in Islamic cultures; therefore these are the worst forms of humiliation for Muslims to endure, insinuating that these forms of torture would be easier for other, less homophobic populations to tolerate. The reference to "taboo" also works to discount the presence of gay-identified Muslims in Arab societies, what Joseph Massad terms the gay Arab international. (3) American tolerance for homosexuality is elevated in relation to Islamic societies, as symptomatized by the unspecific, ahistorical, and generalized commentary on the taboo of homosexuality for Muslims. (4) The enactment of "gay sex" constitutes the worst form of torture, sexual or otherwise. (5) Therefore the Iraqi prisoners, having endured the humiliation of gay sex, are subjects worthy of sympathy—an emotive response more readily available than a sustained political critique of the U.S. occupation in Afghanistan and Iraq. (6) The question of race and how it plays out in these scenarios is effaced via the fixation on sexuality; gender is also effaced when the acts are said to originate from a homophobic military culture instead of a misogynist one. (7) Sexuality is isolated within the individual as opposed to situated as an integrated
vector of power. (8) The language favoring gay sex acts over torture once again casts the shadows of perversity outside, onto sexual and racial others, rather than contextualizing the processes of normativizing bodily torture. (9) Technologies of representation work to occlude the lines of connectivity (sexual, bodily, proximity, positionality) between captors and prisoners.” (532-533)


Abstract:
The Rand article reviews the problem of sexual violence in the DRC. It extensively looks at the problem of data collection on the magnitude of the problem and provides a good critique of what is needed to strengthen data collection. On the issue of categories of rape, the article distinguishes three: “criminal rape”, “conflict-associated rape” and “rape with intent to inflict physical damage”. The Rand article argues the need to know the various motivations as each requires a different policy response and different support services for survivors. The Rand article also discusses six motives:

1. A conscious desire to devastate the social fabric of the enemy
2. Feelings of extreme ethnic or political animosity
3. An expression of perpetrators’ own dysfunctional, psychological disturbed and socially dislocated situation and their incomplete socialisation to the basic ethical standards
4. Lack of regard for the human status of women
5. Hostility and hatred towards women
6. A general sexual impulse encouraged by a situation of impunity.

Rand notes that the motives occur in combination. Beyond rape perpetrated by militias and other armed forces, criminals and opportunists also engage in rape. (Abstract from the AIDS, Security & Conflict Research Hub)


Abstract:
The violence inflicted on Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib, by both male and female American and British soldiers, was very clearly sexualized. A pyramid of naked male prisoners forced to simulate sodomy conveyed graphically that the project of empire, the West's domination of the non-West, requires strong infusions of a violent heterosexuality and patriarchy. This article explores what we can learn from Abu Ghraib about how empire is embodied and how it comes into existence through multiple systems of domination. In the first part, I discuss the role of visual practices and the making of racial hierarchies, a consideration made necessary by the 1,800 photos of torture. In the second part, I consider the violence as a ritual that enables white men to achieve a sense of mastery over the racial other, at the same time that it provides a sexualized intimacy
forbidden in white supremacy and patriarchy. In the third part of this article, I consider the role of white women at Abu Ghraib, arguing that it is as members of their race that we can best grasp white women's participation in the violence--a participation that facilitates the same mastery and gendered intimacy afforded to white men who engage in racial violence. In the conclusion, I consider the regime of racial terror in evidence at Abu Ghraib and other places, focusing on terror as a "trade in mythologies" that organizes the way that bodies come to express the racial arrangements of empire. (Ibid, 341)


Abstract:
Addresses the difficult, tangled relationship of ethnicity & gender to systematic extralegal violence, using as the primary example the rape of Bosnian women. After outlining assumptions about ethnic identity that undergird popular accounts of violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this ultimately unrealistic view of ethnic identity is contrasted with a more compelling version drawn from the work of Mikhail Bakhtin. The model casts new light on the relationship between identity & violence. In this context, the debate about Bosnian sexual violence in the work of US feminist thinker Catherine Mackinnon is explained, & its assumptions are contrasted with a very different account that can be constructed from the work of Cynthia Enloe. It is argued that these competing research agendas are driven by two radically different methodological commitments. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
This Article will focus on the different tactics available to curb, and ultimately eliminate, the use of rape and sexual slavery during periods of armed conflict. It may seem pointless to discuss tactics available to curb sexual violence against women during armed conflict when such violence frequently occurs during times of peace. This Article tackles sexual violence in war and through military units for two reasons. First, only a strong and clear denunciation of sexual violence at all times will further the eradication of rape and sexual slavery. In peacetime, sexual violence is generally seen as preventable, while in war it is viewed as inevitable with sexual access to the bodies of women regarded as part of the conqueror's prize. In reality, both conceptions may be true. Rape and sexual slavery are preventable if local, national and international governments and organizations commit time, resources and funding to their eradication. Conversely, rape and sexual slavery are inevitable if nothing is done to educate the public about and express intolerance for sexual violence against women. Viewing sexual violence in war as an extension of its incidence in peacetime will create a parallel struggle to advance its eradication during
both times. Identifying why sexual violence remains a too frequent occurrence in war builds a nexus with peacetime sexual violence; this would increase awareness of how to confront the attitudes and images that perpetuate violence against women. (Ibid, 601)


Abstract:
This article addresses one major issue of which global media remains silent: the rape of Muslim women by U.S. soldiers & mercenaries in Iraq. Contemporary mediascape is prolific, but silence remains on issues such as this & other cases of rape during war. With an anthropological approach to the meaning of war & through the analysis of images, the article focuses on the role of women in the “male” space of war. (Ibid, 131)


Abstract:
The article analyses the “ordinary” violence of revolutionary politics, particularly acts of gendered and sexual violence that tend to be neglected in the face of the “extraordinariness” of political terror. Focusing on the extreme left Naxalbari movement of West Bengal, it points to those morally ambiguous 'grey zones' that confound the rigid distinctions between victim and victimizer in insurrectionary politics. Public and private recollections of sexual and gender-based injuries by women activists point to the complex intermeshing of different forms of violence (everyday, political, structural, symbolic) across “safe” and “unsafe” spaces, 'public' and 'private' worlds, and communities of trust and those of betrayal. In making sense of these memories and their largely secret or “untellable” nature, the article places sexual violence on a continuum of multiple and interrelated forces that are both overt and symbolic, and include a society's ways of mourning some forms of violence and silencing others. The idea of a continuum explores the 'greyness' of violence as the very object of anthropological inquiry. (Ibid, 314)

*Russell, Wynne. “A Silence Deep as Death: Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in Armed Conflicts.” OCHA experts’ meeting “Use of Sexual Violence in Conflict:

Summary:
Russell examines the consequences of sexual violence against men and boys, ranging from social ostracization to depression, anxiety disorders, learning disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder and feelings of guilt and shame. The author makes a case for conducting in-depth research on male-directed sexual violence, arguing that we still do not understand the role that such violence plays in conflict perpetuation or the choice of particular forms of retaliatory violence; its impact on post-conflict reintegration of adult or child combatants, or of men and boys forced to rape family or community members; its effect on sexual and other violence against women and children; or the relationship between such conflict-related violence and sexual violence within institutions such as militaries, police forces and penal systems.

Beyond these practical issues, an examination of male-directed sexual violence also can contribute at the conceptual level to better understanding of the construction of models of masculinity, both at the global and local levels. In particular, we need to understand the way in which particular models of masculinity reinforce, and are reinforced by, sexualized violence against men, and also the ways in which men and boys, as well as women and girls, are made vulnerable by rigid social norms of masculinity.

Finally, the author stresses that an incorporation of men and boys into analyses of conflict-related sexual violence is important to the wider cause of combating sexual violence against all persons. In particular, it helps to reveal the broader phenomenon of conflict-related sexual violence, including against the women and girls against who suffer the bulk of such violence, for what it is: not “boys being boys,” as is still argued by some, but an exercise of power and humiliation. (Abstract from the AIDS, Security & Conflict Research Hub)


Abstract:
War is a highly gendered experience which is both informed by and informs constructions of masculinity and femininity. The dominant depiction of masculine heroes and feminine victims simplifies the complex intersections of militarism, nationalism and gendered roles and identities. Focusing on a case study of the Anglo-Irish War or War of Independence (1919-1921), this paper examines how violence against women, especially sexual violence, was written about and reported in ways which framed representations of Irish and British masculinity and Irish femininity.

In addition, by analysing a range of varied sources including newspapers, autobiographical accounts and recorded testimonies, this paper attempts to assess the extent to which violence against women formed a key aspect of military practice in the war. In conclusion,
I engage with some of the difficulties faced by researchers today in exploring evidence of gendered violence in specific historical, cultural and militarized contexts. *(Ibid, 73)*


**Abstract:**
This article deals with the prosecution of rape under international law. The author begins by offering an overview of motivations for the rape of women in armed conflict and then goes on to trace the treatment of mass rape as genocide in treaties and conventions such as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, highlighting the use of this treatment in case law at international tribunals and the International Criminal Court (ICC). Finally, the author points to sexual violence against women in the Sudan and sets out a path to prosecute such crimes under international law through enforcing the existing provisions. *(Abstract from Women’s Human Rights Resource Database)*


**Abstract:**
This article focuses on two interrelated issues: first, it explores whether the policies of the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) and the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Court (ICC) adequately permit cases of sexual violence and gender-based crimes to be brought before the Court, particularly with regard to how national proceedings are evaluated for purposes of assessing admissibility; second, it examines ongoing challenges in the successful prosecution of sexual violence and gender-based crimes in the context of other international criminal bodies, stressing that, in light of such challenges, the need for thorough and effective investigative strategies is critical from the outset—not just to meet the complementarity test, but also to adequately prosecute these cases. *(Abstract from Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights)*


**Abstract:**
Rape and forced impregnation have become military objectives, rather than byproducts, of war. The Bosnia-Herzegovina rape camps provide an example. Although Croats, Muslims and Serbs were all involved in committing rapes, documentation shows that Serbian nationalists imprisoned women for the purpose of forcibly bearing Serbian-fathered infants, as a component of ethnic cleansing. *(Ibid, 348)*
Salzmann lists the factors that lead to the use of rape in the former Yugoslavia:

- Serbian perception towards women emphasizes “the necessity of reproduction [which] guarantees Serbian perseverance against her aggressors and establishes a greater Serbia”. There was a fear of the “imbalance in terms of growth and renewal of various ethnic groups” (350) since Albanians, Romans and Muslims had the highest birth rates.

- Milosovic’s “blatant use of propaganda to incite the Serbian people” eg. by making claims that “Muslims and Croats were committing genocide against the Serbian people” (353), including rape of Serbian women.

- The RAM Plan – “Serbian military policy to ethnically cleanse Bosnia-Herzegovina, and designating rape as a specific means of attaining this goal.” (356)

- Official tolerance of rape, evident from the fact that “camp commanders had direct control over those who committed rapes within these camps, indicating that the commanders could have halted the practice and punished the perpetrators if they chose.” (357)

- “The idea that the male determines a child’s ethnic identity is crosscultural and common.” (364)

He discusses the primary and secondary consequences of rape in conflict:

- **Primary consequences:**
  “From the victim’s perspective, because of the humiliation and terror experienced, and the fact that the perpetrators were often neighbors or people from their community, they do not wish to return to their homeland. Also, many women sustained physical injuries to such an extent through the process of sexual assault, torture, and rape that they are now unable to conceive. This fulfills one of the UN criteria that defines an act of genocide.” (365)

- **Secondary consequences:**
  “[M]any women refuse to discuss the rape because of the shame and humiliation associated with it, as well as the stigmatization from family, friends and the community. These attitudes do not facilitate an openness to sharing experiences and often hamper the ability to heal emotionally, physically and psychologically.” (370)

  “[W]hen a ‘man’s woman’ is violated through rape, it is often very difficult for him to accept the humiliation of such an event. He has failed to live up to his masculine duty and the obligation to defend ‘his woman’ Frequently, though illogically, this belief translates into alienation or violence directed toward the only one whom he can punish, the woman.” (371)

  “[T]he phenomena of secondary victimization caused by this occurrence merely prolongs the recuperation process of victims and implicitly supports the very goal of rape and forced impregnation for the sake of genocide.” (371)

- **Recommendations from the author:**

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**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**

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    “[T]he phenomena of secondary victimization caused by this occurrence merely prolongs the recuperation process of victims and implicitly supports the very goal of rape and forced impregnation for the sake of genocide.” (371)

    **Recommendations from the author:**
“[I]n the former Yugoslavia where the woman’s body was not only targeted through rape, but also through forced impregnation as a form of genocide, it is important to recognize this offense as a gender specific crime directed against women for at least two reasons. First, this practice demonstrates a novel and demented form of warfare directly targeting noncombatants on the basis of their gender and reproductive capabilities…Second establishing laws that will specifically punish this crime may bring a sense of justice to those who have been violated… To send a clear message that the systematic usurpation of the female body to further one’s military objective is morally reprehensible and will not be tolerated, the international community must recognize the unique nature and severity of this crime and prosecute the perpetrators accordingly.” (373-374)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.


Abstract:
The rape of women during wartime and genocide serves several functions. Beyond the purely sexual aspect, soldiers use rape not only to dominate and demoralize women, but also their male relatives, friends, and neighbors. In addition, a group power develops that has no comparison to civilian life, enlarging the power of men alone. Despite attempts to limit total war and genocide in the 20th c., until the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda were formed in the 1990s, rape did not play an overly important role in international law regarding warfare. The Hague Conventions and the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials did not even mention violence against women, until the Fourth Geneva Convention finally included rape into its regulations. (Abstract from Mendeley.com)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
TM The author offers explanations to answer the questions “why do soldiers rape in war” and puts fort “domination and demoralization” as primary reasons.
TM The article gives a thorough overview of international law in the context of rape by making references to specific articles as they relate to rape in war. The author notes, “until after the Second World War, rape was never mentioned explicitly in international criminal law regarding war. However, in the Hague Conventions one can already detect beginnings of an acknowledgment of the existence of violence against women. The Nuremberg Tribunal also ignored rape as a war crime. Allied soldiers raped women as
well, especially members of the Red Army. Therefore, rape had to stay unmentioned during this trial. The Geneva Convention in 1949 finally explicitly made rape a war crime, although up to this day it is not exactly clear if it constitutes a grave breach. The tribunal for the former Yugoslavia prosecutes rape as well, among many other crimes, but it has done everything to make clear how important an issue rape in wartime is for them by making rape cases a high priority.” (208-209)


Abstract:
While the laws of warfare have, for centuries, both implicitly and explicitly prohibited rape of combatants and noncombatants, those prohibitions were enlarged by the Rome Statute and the Tribunals to include other forms of sexual violence, including sexual slavery, forced impregnation, forced maternity, forced abortion, forced sterilization, forced marriage, forced nudity, sexual molestation, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, and sex trafficking. ... As the result of findings of widespread and systematic rape, and "ethnic cleansing," from a commission of experts established by the United Nations Security Council, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) was created with the mandate to prosecute "persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991." ... For the many gender violence victims who will never make the trip from Darfur to The Hague, and for their many perpetrators who will never be indicted there, the ICC can provide two great benefits with impact outside of, and beyond the court: (1) pressure to move Sudan toward a workable, responsible, and legitimate justice system with laws and procedures modeled on the ICC's gender violence protections; and, (2) meaningful reparations for victims. (Abstract from Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights)


Abstract:
Recent decades have witnessed rape and sexual violence used on such a massive scale and often in a widespread and systematic program that the international community has had to recognize that rape and sexual violence are not just war crimes but might be crimes against humanity or even genocide. I suggest that just war theory, while limited in its applicability to mass rape, might nevertheless offer some framework for making the determination of when sexual violence and rape constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide. In addition, just war theory can provide the normative justification individual soldiers need to resist orders and actions that demonstrate egregious moral breakdown as found in instances of mass rape and systematic use of sexual violence, and just war criteria demonstrate that the use of rape and sexual violence in war time can never be legitimated, especially in the case of prisoner interrogation. (Ibid, 143)

**Abstract:**
This comment recognizes the mass sexual atrocities committed against women during and after armed conflict and examines the deficient response by the U.N. to reconcile this prevalent issue. After introducing "one of history's great silences" in Part I, this comment continues in Part II by explaining how rape and sexual violence have a long history of being used as acceptable war tactics. Further, Part II describes the numerous physical and psychological impacts that rape has on victims. Part III discusses the minimal use of international courts and tribunals to prosecute major offenders of rape and sexual violence crimes. International courts have found accepted definitions of rape and sexual violence and include them among those acts that are war crimes. Rape is also included under the purview of an act of torture and an act of genocide. Part IV of this comment examines the recent U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820 and compares it with its predecessor, U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325. The comparison of the two U.N. Security Council Resolutions reveals that U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820 fills in the gaps and weaknesses of the former resolution. The passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820 increases international human rights organizations' hope that the U.N. will finally be able to implement both resolutions. Part V recognizes that further action by the international community is necessary if U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820 is going to be successfully implemented. Part V identifies five fundamental recommendations from international human rights organizations on how to combat sexual violence against women before, during, and after armed conflict. Part VI continues with a discussion on the importance of further action necessary to accomplish the "aspirations" of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820. Although the Secretary-General recently submitted a report to the United Nations Security Council ("Security Council") on how to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 1820, the report contained much of the same unproductive language as the U.N. Resolutions. This comment concludes by recognizing that the international community is armed with the necessary tools to successfully implement Security Council Resolution 1820. The success of implementation, however, ultimately depends on whether there will be a collective effort of the U.N. devoted to combating the challenge of eliminating rape and sexual violence during armed conflict. (*Abstract from RefWorks*)


**Abstract:**
What are the causes of rape? Is it an act of social supremacy, an instrument of war or an uncontrollable sexual “need”? The author of this article examines the subject from a typically scientific standpoint and offers a range of theories that try to explain this
phenomenon. The scientific community agrees upon the fact that it is an act of violence that gains cultural and national functions. The body of a woman is the symbol of a nation at war that is violated by enemy soldiers. The article concentrates its attention mainly on war and mass rapes, when military action determines the atrocity of physical violence. Cultural factors, in this context, identify victims and persecutors as the prototypes of nations in conflict; physical and psychological mutilations (as rape can be defined) are the evident act of annihilation of the other, a convincing demonstration of the power of violence. Rape, similarly to torture, erases the language and the culture of the victim at a symbolic level. (Abstract from the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights)


Abstract:
Mass rapes have occurred in all modern wars, but not until the gender-specific atrocities committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina have they attracted worldwide attention. The household explanations given for rapes in the context of war are that they are a natural occurrence to be attributed to a male anthropology or acts of hordes run wild. This has prevented a deeper probing into the meanings and functions of collective sexual violence against women. The objective of this paper is to identify patterns of war crimes against women and to show that they have cultural functions. They destroy the physical and psychological existence of the women concerned and, moreover, inflict harm on the culture and collective identity of the whole group, ethnicity, or nation under attack. War crimes against women have a symbolic meaning and must be analyzed within the symbolic contexts of the nation and the gender system. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
With the establishment of camps in the middle of Europe, for the single purpose of committing rape and sexual torture, violence against women has reached a new stage. In the following I shall attempt to open up an analytical perspective on these events. First, the question of the purpose of rape in general will be posed. Second, five explanations of the function of rape in war will be developed. Finally, some light will be thrown on the logic of silence that is characteristic of war crimes against women to this day. (Abstract from Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
TM Seifert argues that sexual violence is not sexually driven, but rather a sexual expression of aggression, aimed at humiliating and degrading the victim: “When trying to find out the reasons for rape, one comes upon a host of myths and ideologies. The most popular and probably most effective myth is that rape has something to do with an irrepressible male sexual drive which, if not restrained, will regrettably but inevitably have its way. In
actual fact there are good reasons to assume that rape neither has very much to do with nature nor with sexuality. Rather, it is an extreme act of violence perpetrated by sexual means.”

Taking as a point of departure “the establishment of camps in the middle of Europe, for the single purpose of committing rape and sexual torture” the author outlines five explanations of the function of rape in war:

- War is presented as a ritualised, finely regulated game. Violence against women in the conquered territory is conceded to the victor in the immediate post-war period as one of the ‘rules’ of this game.
- Abuse of women is perceived as an element of male communication. “Rape can be considered the final symbolic expression of the humiliation of the male opponent…it communicates from man to man…that the men around the women in question are not able to protect “their women”.
- Rapes result from the masculinity associated with armed forces, which is exaggerated in times of conflict. Constructions of masculinity in armies become equated with power, and within this culture, the result is an inclination to perpetrate rape.
- Rapes aim at destroying the opponent’s culture. According to this theory, women have special significance in the existence of a community due to their central role as the mainstay of the family, through which continuity in the culture and the society is ensured. By striking at the heart of the community structure, the attacking side destroys its opposition.
- Rape is culturally-rooted contempt of women that is acted out in times of crisis and thus rape results from a pre-existing animosity, which can be responded to with a high likelihood of impunity in times of war.

Sellers, Patricia V. “Sexual Violence and Peremptory Norms: The Legal Value of Rape.”

Abstract:
This lecture was delivered by the Legal Adviser for Gender Related Crimes and Trial Attorney, Office of the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and Rwanda (ICTR) at the Case Western Reserve University School of Law on March 2, 2002. The lecture addresses whether sexual violence is a peremptory norm under international law. It inquires just how high up the legal hierarchy rape has traveled, and more specifically, what the legal value that international law attaches to the act of rape is now considered to be. *(Abstract from Gender, Security and Human Rights)*


Abstract:
Women and children are vulnerable to sexual violence in times of conflict, and the risk persists even after they have escaped the conflict area. The impact of rape goes far
beyond the immediate effects of the physical attack and has long-lasting consequences. We describe the humanitarian community's response to sexual violence and rape in times of war and civil unrest by drawing on the experiences of Medecins Sans Frontieres/Doctors Without Borders and other humanitarian agencies. Health care workers must have a keen awareness of the problem and be prepared to respond appropriately. This requires a comprehensive intervention protocol, including antibiotic prophylaxis, emergency contraception, referral for psychological support, and proper documentation and reporting procedures. Preventing widespread sexual violence requires increasing the security in refugee camps. It also requires speaking out and holding states accountable when violations of international law occur. The challenge is to remain alert to these often hidden, but extremely destructive, crimes in the midst of a chaotic emergency relief setting. (Ibid, 1152)


Abstract:
According to the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of an ethnic, national, or religious group and/or 'deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part' constitute genocide. Rape certainly may cause serious physical and/or mental injury to the survivor, and also may destroy the morale of her family and ethnic community. However, this Convention does not explicitly state that sexual violence is a crime of genocide. The Convention should be expanded to include mass rape, regardless of whether the victims are raped on the basis of racial/ethnic, national, or religious identity. (Ibid, 89)


Abstract:
Rape is among the most traumatic and most prevalent of human rights abuses, and it has accompanied warfare since prehistory. Nevertheless, scholars of political violence, if they address rape at all, tend to present it as a consequence of war rather than as a component of it. Examination of the civil wars in Pakistan, the former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda suggests, however, that states may use rape as a policy to maintain social and political inequality. A state dominated by one sex and one ethnic group (or ethnic coalition) may encourage men of the dominant ethnic group to rape women of another ethnic group to keep the subordinate group subordinated. In the worst-case scenarios, the dominant group, frightened by what its members perceive as an onslaught of international and internal movements for democracy and socioeconomic change, harnesses the state apparatus to destroy the subordinated group altogether. This is genocide, and overtly or
covertly state-sanctioned use of sexual violence as a tactic of genocide is the focus of this chapter. (Ibid, 89)


Abstract:
Tina Sideris argues that for those wishing to challenge the values and practices which sanction violence against women, a crucial task is to carefully examine the social context in which sexual violence is perpetrated. (Ibid, 41)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Nordstrom (1991:1) uses the term ‘dirty war’ to describe warfare in which civilian populations and their social and cultural foundations are the strategic targets. She argues in the context of the ‘dirty war’ sexual attacks are tactics of intimidation and instruments of social destruction.” (41)

“In the context of war the facts that large numbers of women are violated, and that their violation is in public, combine to undermine social stability. When it is perpetrated on a mass-scale sexual violence threatens the continuity of family and community.” (42)

“The ways in which women are raped perverts social norms and in this way also threatens social and cultural integrity. Women are raped by the children of their communities. Men are forced to participate in the raping of their wives.” (42)

“Countless Mozambican women were abducted by rebel soldiers and held in captivity for long periods. They spoke of being made the ‘wives’ of the rebels for whom they had to provide sex and perform domestic tasks.” (42)

“For men on the other hand, paradoxically, the male-dominated arena of war presents serious threats to masculinity. Acts of sexual violence strike at traditional notions of male protection of their wives, daughters and mothers. The overall social destruction inherent to ‘dirty wars’ leaves men with few opportunities to implement traditional roles as providers for their families. Thus, war leaves men with either an eroded sense of manhood or the option of a militarised masculine identity with the attendant legitimisation of violence and killing as a way of maintaining a sense of power and control.” (43)

“Questions of how to provide men with alternative notions of masculinity and a positive role in reconstruction are crucial in transition periods if we are to effectively address discourses which legitimate violence against women [including] how to create forums which provide men with opportunities to explore notions of dignified manhood that is free of the need for violence and control; and crucially how to provide the victims of war, ordinary men and women, with access to productive resources.” (44)

**Abstract:**
Women are being encouraged to join peacekeeping operations as sexual violence problem-solving forces while simultaneously undertaking a complex role as ‘protectors’ of local women from local men and male peacekeepers. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 in 2000, the UN has urged states to deploy more women. Among the implicit assumptions underlying these calls are that an increase in the representation of women in peacekeeping operations (PKOs) will lead to a decrease in the cases of HIV/AIDS, a decline in the number of brothels around peacekeeping bases, and a reduction in the number of babies fathered and abandoned by peacekeepers after their mission comes to an end. Evidence suggests that the presence of women peacekeepers can and does foster a change in male behaviour when women are deployed in PKOs. This article argues, however, that countering abuse should not be a substitute for the more encompassing goal of improving gender balance and equality in PKOs. While there is a need to combat sexual violence in PKOs, the responsibility for prevention should be on troop-contributing countries, which need to exercise accountability and prosecute sexual violence committed by their peacekeepers. Diverting responsibility to women does not address the problem of sexual violence in PKOs, or help eradicate its causes. *(Ibid, 188)*


**Abstract:**
This article considers the problem of male/male rape. It explores reasons for the silence of the international community on the issue, principal among which is that it involves sexual activity between two men. Society considers any such contact to be indicative of homosexuality, regardless of any element of coercion. Given the prevalence of homophobia in society, this amounts to a ‘taint’ on the part of the victim of the rape. This article explores the notion and extent of such a ‘taint’ by analyzing the role of language and the stigma as felt by survivors, as intended by perpetrators, and as perpetuated by the state. One reason why male/male rape has not attracted any significant attention, especially at the international level, is that there are very few organizations that advocate or lobby on the issue at that level. *(Ibid, 1274)*


**Abstract:**
Reports of sexual violence by men against men emerge from numerous conflicts, ranging in time from Ancient Persia and the Crusades to the conflicts in Iraq and the Democratic
Republic of the Congo. Despite these accounts, relatively little material exists on the subject and the issue tends to be relegated to a footnote. This article ascertains the extent to which male sexual violence is committed in armed conflict. It considers factors that explain under-reporting by victims and lack of detection on the part of others. The particular forms of male sexual violence are also examined: namely rape, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence, including enforced nudity, enforced masturbation and genital violence. The dynamics present in these offences can be explained by the desire to ‘emasculate’ the enemy. Emasculation can take place through feminization, homosexualization and the prevention of procreation. The author argues that male sexual violence cannot be neglected as it forms part of the gender dimension of conflict. (Ibid, 253)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Underreporting: According to the author, under-reporting of rape and sexual violence is due to a combination of shame, confusion, guilt, fear and stigma:
- Men are loath to talk about being victimized, considering this incompatible with their masculinity.
- Men victims of sexual violence do not have the right words to express themselves. As a result, sexual violence is often buried under the rubric of “abuse” or “torture.”
- Men trying to report may face the danger of consent being assumed if they are unable to prove sexual violence.

Lack of detection
- Analysis of the documentary sources of these abuses reveals that they consist, almost in their entirety, of studies published in medical literature or reports of non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations with a presence in the field.
- Cases have rarely worked their way through the system to reach the stage at which lawyers traditionally become involved.

The particular forms of male sexual violence are also examined: namely rape, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence, including enforced nudity, enforced masturbation and genital violence. The author examines the dynamics of sexual violence. He finds that:
- Sexual violence against male members of the household and community suggest not only empowerment and masculinity of the offender, but disempowerment of the individual victim.
- The desire to ‘emasculate’ the enemy is another important factor. Emasculation can take place through feminization, homosexualization and the prevention of procreation.

The author argues that male sexual violence cannot be neglected as it forms part of the gender dimension of conflict and attention to the issue may lead to a more nuanced consideration of the roles of men and women in armed conflict.

“It is likely that male sexual abuse in armed conflict is more prevalent than we currently think, for the lack of hard numbers is due to the under-reporting of the practice and the fact that it is not picked up by others rather than because the practice itself does not
exist.” (2)

“Yet forms of male sexual violence other than rape are also frequent in armed conflicts. All this is compounded by the fact that sexual violence against men may not leave any visible scars, whereas the resulting effects of other forms of abuse may jump out at medical workers diverting their attention away from the sexual violence.”(3)

“Often times, castration is seen as ‘mutilation’ and rape as ‘torture,’ a view that becomes apparent when reading reports of non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations.” (3)

“The most thorough investigation of sexual violence in armed conflict is that of the atrocities committed in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. During and after that conflict, examples of male sexual violence were found at all stages of the investigative process, from reports of non-governmental organizations, individual states, and United Nations experts, through to pleadings in cases, and indictments and convictions of individual offenders.” (4)

“Looking into the issue of male sexual violence will not take away from female sexual violence for ultimately it forms part of the same issue, namely the gender dimension of conflict.” (4)

“A number of different forms of male rape take place in armed conflict. Victims may be forced to perform fellatio on their perpetrators or on one another; perpetrators may anally rape victims themselves, using objects, or force victims to rape fellow victims.” (6)

“Enforced sterilization largely comprises castration and other forms of sexual mutilation.” (7)

“Forms of sexual violence include rape (anally and forced penetrative), genital violence, forced nudity, castration, enforced masturbation.” (8)

“Male sexual violence is, then, all about notions of power and dominance. Power and dominance are linked with masculinity and in the context of male sexual violence in armed conflict, power and dominance manifest themselves in the form of emasculation.” (9)

“The intention of the rape may be to ‘lower’ the social status of the male survivor by ‘reducing; him to a ‘feminized male.”’ (10)

“Constructing the male victim of sexual assault as homosexual is thus a means by which to emasculate him, thereby reducing his social status. It is also a means by which to ‘taint’ him with homosexuality. This implies not only severe consequences on the part of society, but is a means by which the international community can ignore the situation.”(11)
“The castration of a man may also represent the symbolic emasculation of the entire community. This is particularly pronounced in an ethnic conflict, where “the castration of a single man of the ethnically defined enemy is symbolic appropriation of the masculinity of the whole group. Sexual humiliation of a man from another ethnicity is, thus, a proof not only that he is a lesser man, but also that his ethnicity is a lesser ethnicity.” (12)

“In the longer term, things will only improve if definitions of rape that are currently limited to male/female rape are changed and all forms of sexual assault are more fully prosecuted. Pending these changes, a number of definite and concrete ideas could usefully be implemented.” (12)

“Gender stereotyping should be altered and made more nuanced. Men are sexually assaulted by female combatants in armed conflict.” (13)

“If commissions are engaged to investigate the issue of sexual abuse in armed conflict, consideration should be given to the question of whether male sexual violence has taken place. Given the hidden nature of the offence, when medical workers are treating male survivors, they should be on the look out for signs of sexual abuse and encourage reporting of such. When documenting abuse, medical workers should consider how they categorize it, whether for example as torture or sexual abuse or both. Fieldworkers, when interviewing victims of sexual assault, should also interview men. Any notions of stigma should be dispelled if at all possible and certainly not used as a reason not to look into the issue. There also needs to be awareness of cultural attitudes and sensitivities.” (13)


Abstract:
Does the female sex criminal turn feminism upside down? Or just balance it? Or were we there all along? My paper studies the three women who were implicated in the Abu Ghraib prison scandal in 2004 with the aim of figuring out what their actions mean both for global political perceptions of women's characteristics and for feminist theories of women's roles in international relations. Feminists who study war (myself included) often talk about how “masculine violence” in international politics devastates women's lives. Political dialogue often talks about protecting “women and children” from wartime violence and women from wartime rape. Certainly one can say accurately that these concerns cover many women's experience in international relations - from Africa to Alabama. Still, women all over the world are engaging in political violence; some argue, in increasing numbers. What does it mean for the “peaceful woman” that a woman was on the front page of the New York Times sexually molesting an (apparently dead) Iraqi prisoner? What does it mean for a “feminist human security” approach that women
pretend to be pregnant to hide bombs under their shirts to suicide-bomb buses? Certainly, a female war criminal is incompatible with traditional explanations of all women as the “peaceful people” that “war protects” and who “should be protected from war” - still, many women are oppressed by war-making and war-fighting. Certainly, a female war criminal is not a “woman whose common experience gives concern for human security” - but many women use their common experiences to begin human security dialogues. I contend that the study of the female sex/war criminals at Abu Ghraib inspire three insights about women in international politics: first, it points out a problem with our theoretical articulations of women's agency to date; second, it complicates our ideas about the sexualization of warfare; third, it dispels the “inhumanity” myth about [foreign, Other] violent women [terrorists] by showing that violent women are in America's own “back yard” - forcing our revision of our understandings of what gender means and how it relates to violence. (Abstract from the AIDS, Security & Conflict Research Hub)


Abstract:
Feminists have long discussed the sexual politics of war -- conversations that talk about but are not limited to phallic missiles, masculine violence, wartime rape, and the marginalization of women's lives. Cynthia Enloe pioneered the study of the militarization of women's lives -- from the USO to the bomb shelter. Gendered lenses looking at sexual politics and war, however, are given new material to analyze on a constant basis. The physical and sexual abuse of prisoners by the United States military at Abu Ghraib brings up a number of gendered issues -- that it happened under the command of a female five-star general; that a women soldier was a participant in the sexual abuse; the publicized victims of sexual abuse are men; that gendering and sexualization in military encounters with Iraqi prisoners can be shown to be _raced_; and that the international and intergovernmental discourse on the prisoner abuse neglects issues of gender. My project researches the hybridized ways in which the “war after the war” in Iraq is sexualized. It focuses on gendered narratives of prisoner treatment -- forming the argument that there is not a single story of “gendering” of military conduct, but multiple (often conflicting and contradictory) genderings that infiltrate interaction. I use the empirical situation in Iraq between the summer of 2003 and the summer of 2004 to assert a new thesis for feminist IR: genderings can be captured comprehensively if not coherently in a way that helps us to understand personal politics, international politics, and their intersections. (Ibid, 82)


Abstract:
In the 1990s there was more focus on war-time sexual violence than ever before. Within academia, among policy-makers and in the media emerged a consensus that sexual violence can be used as a weapon of war. This article attempts to understand the complex
relationship between sexual violence and war by presenting three different conceptualizations based on a literature study of 140 scholarly texts published mainly during the 1990s. The crux of this article is the argument that the relationship between sexual violence and war is best conceptualized within a social constructionist paradigm. My analysis shows that it is the social constructionist conceptualization which is best equipped to explain the complex empirical reality at hand. (Ibid, 55)


Abstract:
In the 1990s there was more focus on war-time sexual violence than ever before. Within academia, among policy-makers and in the media emerged a consensus that sexual violence can be used as a weapon of war. This article attempts to understand the complex relationship between sexual violence and war by presenting three different conceptualizations based on a literature study of 140 scholarly texts published mainly during the 1990s. The crux of this article is the argument that the relationship between sexual violence and war is best conceptualized within a social constructionist paradigm. My analysis shows that it is the social constructionist conceptualization which is best equipped to explain the complex empirical reality at hand. (Ibid, 211)


Abstract:
These acts of violence like rapes are not new in the history of warfare, they appeared to play a new strategic role in the wars of the 1990s, a role the international community was not able to identify nor had adequate response to. The term "sexual violence" is most often associated with rape, but the scholarly literature asserts that sexual violence, both in times of war and during peace, is a multifaceted phenomenon, as some examples of sexual violence in wartime may help illustrate. The term also includes forced prostitution, sexual slavery and genital mutilation. Wars are characterized by the use of various forms and instruments of violence, applied to achieve certain strategic and political goals. Throughout history, sexual violence in times of war has not been perceived as violence on the same level as for instance torture or killings. This perception has excluded the possibility that sexual violence can have a strategic purpose in a conflict situation. Sexual violence has certain characteristics which distinguish it from other kinds of violence. Sexual violence is always a question of involuntary sexual contact. Rape has been defined as physically forceful attempts at sexual intimacy when one of the individuals involved chooses not to become sexually intimate. This definition captures only the physical aspects of rape: it fails to include the symbolic power aspects embedded in the act. (Ibid, 69)

**Abstract:**
This article presents a discourse analysis of 23 interviews with local Bosnian health workers at 2 different psychosocial centers. The main premise for the study is based on the acknowledgment that many victims of war rape will choose to remain silent about their ordeals, and studies of this particular war phenomenon must therefore be based, in part, on other local voices in the field. The main focus is on the ways in which the health workers describe their work with victims of sexual violence in the Bosnian war and postwar settings. Through their descriptions we gain unique insight into how the issue of war rape was addressed and dealt with at a local level. Further, on a general level, the study shows that the impact of sexual violence in war varies according to context, an insight that has implications not only for our general understanding of the phenomenon, but also in the use of particular therapy methods. These therapy methods must balance between the assumptions that there are universal effects of sexual violence that cut across various contexts and cultural relativism that assumes the opposite. (*Ibid, 93*)


**Abstract:**
This article critically reviews the literature pertaining to mass rape during times of war to identify and understand the unique factors that promote it. A greater understanding of these factors is considered a productive initial step toward proffering effective solutions to address this significant problem. The former Yugoslavia, particularly Bosnia-Herzegovina, serves as a case study against which this literature is reviewed. The authors conclude that women’s experience of rape in war, like the abuse of women’s human rights, is often determined by the intersection of a variety of factors, such as age, race, class, religion, ethnicity, and nationality. Future studies should further explore how these complex variables relate to each other in an attempt to understand the horrific crimes that are often perpetrated against women during wartime. (*Ibid, 184*)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**

- The author begins by exploring two theories of wartime rape:
  - **Biology-Based Theories:** “Biology based theories of wartime rape portray men as possessing genetically wired instincts for sexual aggression that spew forth in the chaotic environment of combat. Long viewed as an uncontrollable part of the male sexual drive, rape was perceived as a biological impulse that, during war, simply had to run its course.” (185)
  - **Response:** “[T]he theory does not account for the fact that many men do not rape during war. It has been ascertained through ethnological research that there are ‘rape-free’ as well as ‘rape-prone’ societies.” (186)
Feminist Theories: The Gender Connection: “Under a feminist theoretical lens, men in patriarchal cultures are socialized to despise women, often on an unconscious level, and rape in times of war offers them an opportunity to ‘vent their contempt for women.’” (186)

Then the author gives details of the nature and symbolism behind mass rape:

“The Serbs possessed a greater military force, and it was they who initiated rape as a strategy of war within the broader context of ethnic cleansing or the forceful removal of civilian Muslims from conquered territory to establish a Greater Serbia. In addition to the sheer number of rapes that occurred, what set the Bosnian conflict apart from other wars was the systematic and organized use of war rape as a strategy to achieve ethnic cleansing.” (189-190)

“[W]ithin the pastoral cultures of the Balkans, the only enduring social atoms are those that are generated through the male descent lineage; women’s position within the family unit is to serve as an incubator of future generations of men. In this old patriarchal tradition, it is the father’s nationality that is critical because it defines the nationality of the child. From an ethnic-cleansing perspective, the child assumes the nationality of the rapist.” (190)

“The overall tactic of war rape was to humiliate, stigmatize, and terrorize women so completely that all Muslims would leave the territory and never return.” (190)

“[T]he mass war rapes can be understood as an element of communication—the symbolic humiliation of the male opponent. By dishonoring a woman’s body, which symbolizes her lineage, a man can symbolically dishonor the whole lineage. On a larger scale within the context of war, the concept of lineage extends to the entire ethnic group or culture. Thus, sexual violence against women became a tool of genocide for destroying the enemy’s honor, lineage, and nation.” (190)

**Conclusion:**

“As feminists who embrace a global perspective, we need to interrogate traditional views that allow men to rape women with impunity during times of war by reconceptualizing war rape as both a crime and an abuse of human rights. Another issue of global concern involves escalating war crises that have produced an increased number of civilian refugee victims, the majority of whom are women and children.” (192)

“[W]omen’s experience of rape in war, like that of the abuse of women’s human rights more generally, is always determined by the intersection of a variety of factors, such as age, race, class, religion, ethnicity, and nationality. Hence, there is no univocal or unitary position of women in relation to war. Efforts to focus on one identity, such as gender or ethnicity, oversimplify the ways in which different women experience the abuse of human rights within complex social contexts where multiple variables intersect. This oversimplification not only obscures the diversity of women’s experience but also may hide the need to craft multifaceted policies that are responsive to gender and the many
other multiple identities that intersect with it within the scope of complex cultural contexts.” (193)


Abstract:
This article constitutes an attempt to put forward some suggestions towards constructing a framework of understanding the processes of social construction of sexuality and gender identity within the context of the ethnic conflict, and of nationalist/populist politics in former Yugoslavia. In particular, it focuses on the ways in which masculinist discourse is articulated to the politics of ethnicity in former Yugoslavia, by examining the definition and treatment of women as 'biological reproducers of the nation' through the discourses and policy proposals of 'moral majority' nationalist and pro-life movements in Croatia and Slovenia, and of the nationalist movement and regime in Serbia, and the use of rape and sexual assault against women as 'weapons' in the ethnic conflict in Bosnia and other republics of former Yugoslavia. (Ibid, 73)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“[T]he gendering of nationalist and populist discourses is instantiated through the imagination of the ‘nation’ as a primarily or exclusively male community, in which women are represented as symbols, boundaries or reproducers of the nation and the nation’s ‘Other.’ In the first case (that of women ‘belonging’ to the national community), women are subordinated through their inclusion within a structured male-dominated social order whereby femininity assumes mainly the form of motherhood. In the second case, (that of women ‘belonging’ to the others’ national community) they are subordinated through, 1) their symbolic exclusion in their being represented as symbolic enemies of the ‘popular/national’ community, and, 2) their physical violation, or annihilation.” (75)


Abstract:
The goal of this policy briefing is to provide a focused look at the challenges and obstacles to ensuring gender justice and accountability in the context of international peace support operations (PSOs) and to provide recommendations for UN and regional peacekeeping bodies (AU, ECOWAS, EU, NATO, OSCE) officials, responsible for peacekeeping in terms of setting policy standards and practice guidelines, as well as those directly involved as military or civilian peacekeepers. It approaches the issue of gender justice (see definition in section (iv)) in PSOs from three angles:
1. The manner in which PSOs can foster a culture of gender justice and accountability
2. Strengthening the capacity and mandates for PSOs to respect, protect and promote the human rights of civilians, especially women

3. How to better address violations committed by UN civilian or military peacekeepers and the lack of accountability that has surrounded such incidents to date.

Gender justice is fundamental to fostering gender equality and gender mainstreaming. It incorporates the gender equitable promotion and protection of civil, political, economic and social rights. This necessitates gender-awareness and gender analysis of the rights themselves as well as the obstacles to the enjoyment of these rights. The perspectives and recommendations contained in this briefing paper are based on consultations with international legal experts and gender justice advocates, interviews with peace support personnel, and members of ‘beneficiary’ communities where PSOs have operated, as well as other primary and secondary sources of information. The briefing builds on previous documents relating to broader aspects of gender mainstreaming in PSOs and was undertaken as part of IA’s ongoing work to support the implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 and related instruments. Many aspects of gender mainstreaming and gender justice overlap and interlink, this briefing focuses on rule of law mechanisms (see definition in section (iv)) and practical accountability mechanisms linked to these. (Ibid, 5)


Abstract:
The reporting of incidents of mass rape from the Bosnian conflict, particularly during the period 1992-1994 evoked an upsurge of interest in the subject of rape during war. The broadsheet press was used as a medium through which significant voices aired their views and provoked debate over ‘rape in war’. This article examines the reactions of the British and American broadsheet newspapers to rape in Bosnia and looks at the ways in which rape was represented in the press. It poses the question of why, given the experience of mass rape in Bosnia, have we witnessed similar sexual violence in Kosovo? (Ibid, 74)


Abstract:
Background: Gender-based violence is viewed as a significant problem in conflict-affected regions throughout the world. However, humanitarian organizations typically have been unable to reliably estimate the incidence of rape, intimate partner violence and other forms of sexual abuse in such settings. Such estimates are required to inform programming in contexts such as Northern Uganda.
Methods: We sought to establish incidence rates for gender-based violence in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps in Northern Uganda. The assessments involved a ‘neighborhood methodology’, in which adult female heads of household reported about their own experience, their sisters’ experiences, and their neighbors’ experiences. 299 households were selected for interview across four camps using systematic random sampling.

Findings: Interviews were completed by 204 respondents (5 women having declined interview and 90 not having been successfully contacted). These respondents reported on themselves, a total of 268 sisters and 1206 neighbors. Reports with respect to these alternative populations produced estimates of overall incidence of intimate partner violence in the past year of 51.7% (95% CI 44.8-58.7; respondents), 44.0% (41.2-46.9; respondents’ sisters) and 36.5% (30.7-42.3; respondents’ neighbors) respectively. In the same period estimates of incidence of forced sex by husbands were 41.0% (95% CI 34.2-47.8), 22.1% (17.0-27.2) and 25.1% (22.5-27.6) respectively, with incidence of rape by a perpetrator other than an intimate partner estimated at 5.0% (95% CI 2.0-8.0), 4.2% (1.8-6.6) and 4.3% (3.1-5.5) respectively.

Interpretation: Gender-based violence – particularly intimate partner violence – is commonplace in post-conflict Uganda. The ‘neighborhood method’ provides a promising approach to estimating human right violations in humanitarian settings. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
Background: Despite international acknowledgement of the linkages between sexual violence and conflict, reliable data on its prevalence, the circumstances, characteristics of perpetrators, and physical or mental health impacts is rare. Among the conflicts that have been associated with widespread sexual violence has been the one in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

Methods: From 2003 till to date Malteser International has run a medico-social support programme for rape survivors in South Kivu province, DRC. In the context of this programme, a host of data was collected. We present these data and discuss the findings within the frame of available literature.

Results: Malteser International registered 20,517 female rape survivors in the three year period 2005-2007. Women of all ages have been targeted by sexual violence and only few of those - and many of them only after several years - sought medical care and psychological help. Sexual violence in the DRC frequently led to social, especially
familial, exclusion. Members of military and paramilitary groups were identified as the main perpetrators of sexual violence.

Conclusion: We have documented that in the DRC conflict sexual violence has been - and continues to be - highly prevalent in a wide area in the East of the country. Humanitarian programming in this field is challenging due to the multiple needs of rape survivors. The easily accessible, integrated medical and psycho-social care that the programme offered apparently responded to the needs of many rape survivors in this area. (Ibid, 1)


Abstract:
Alexandra Stiglmayer interviewed survivors of the continuing war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to reveal, to a seemingly deaf world, the horrors of the ongoing war in the former Yugoslavia. The women—primarily of Muslim but also of Croatian and Serbian origin—have endured the atrocities of rape and the loss of loved ones. Their testimony, published in the 1993 German edition, is bare, direct, and its cumulative effect overwhelming. The first English edition contains Stiglmayer's updates to her own two essays, one detailing the historical context of the current conflict and the other presenting the core of the book, interviews with some twenty victims of rape as well as interviews with three Serbian perpetrators. Essays investigating mass rape and war from ethnopsychological, sociological, cultural, and medical perspectives are included. New essays by Catharine A. MacKinnon, Rhonda Copelon, and Susan Brownmiller address the crucial issues of recognizing the human rights of women and children. A foreword by Roy Gutman describes war crimes within the context of the UN Tribunal, and an afterword by Cynthia Enloe relates the mass rapes of this war to developments and reactions in the international women's movement. Accounts of torture, murder, mutilation, abduction, sexual enslavement, and systematic attempts to impregnate—all in the name of "ethnic cleansing"—make for the grimmest of reading. However brutal and appalling the information conveyed here, this book cannot and should not be ignored. (Abstract from Google Books)


Abstract:
The discourse of human rights in armed conflict situations is well adapted to respond to violence and violation invoking internationally agreed principles of civilian political rights. However, in areas where the subject or domain of rights discourse is contested or controversial, human rights advocates appear less prepared to promote and defend such rights. Sexuality is one such domain. This paper explores the complex sexual choices women in Sri Lanka have had to negotiate, particularly widows and sex workers, within a
context of ethnic conflict, militarization, and war. It argues that sexuality cannot be defined exclusively in terms of violation, even in a context dominated by violence and that the sexual ordering of society maybe be subverted in such conditions. Newly widowed women and sex workers have had to negotiate self-determination as well as take responsibility for earning income and heading households, in spite of contrary community pressures. For women, political and economic rights are closely linked with the ability to determine their sexual and reproductive health choices. The challenges to women’s and human rights advocates is how to articulate sexual autonomy as a necessary right on a par with others, and strategise to secure this right during armed conflict and post war reconstruction. (Ibid, 78)


**Abstract:**
The ongoing sexual violation of women during recent conflicts stands in sharp contrast to increasing recognition that rape, sexual slavery, and other forms of sexual violence in armed conflict violate international law. This paper argues that State-based fora cannot adequately hold individual perpetrators and State sponsors of such violence accountable. Accordingly, it posits that “unofficial” mechanisms---created by private individuals without authorization from any State---be considered as means to eliminate impunity for sexual violence committed during armed conflict. To that end, it evaluates the “people’s tribunal” format, in which proceedings similar to a judicial trial are organized and carried out by private individuals. The paper traces the historical development of people’s tribunals, focusing on their use by the international women’s movement. A close analysis of the Women’s International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan’s Military Sexual Slavery during WWII illustrates the potential effectiveness of the format for addressing sexual violence against women during armed conflict. Based on this example, the paper argues that a people’s tribunal could serve not simply as a last resort for victims denied justice in other fora, but rather as a lasting compliment to established international legal institutions. Accordingly, the paper concludes by proposing the creation of a Permanent Women’s Tribunal for Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict and describing the attributes that would best enable the Tribunal to serve as a legitimate source of justice for victims, while also having a progressive influence on State-based legal institutions and society as a whole. (Ibid, 107)


**Abstract:**
Among the issues to be resolved after an armed conflict are how to reconcile war victims to crimes committed against them, and whether sexual assaults should be incorporated formally among injuries to be redressed. The omission of rape as a war crime is attributed
to the gender-differentiated development of human rights norms in the western tradition and in international law. The patterns of redress followed after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the recent civil war in Bosnia are compared. While each incorporates significant advantages to victims of wartime rape, the more cumbersome procedure requiring that criminals be tried before an international tribunal is more likely ultimately to assuage the pain of victims individually and promote reconciliation among groups formerly at war. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
Revelations of the torture, murder, and maltreatment of prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq came with sensational photographs of U.S. military personnel torturing Iraqi prisoners and forcing them to perform sexualized acts. Evidence of gross violations of international law, the photographs have been used by U.S. elites to construct a discourse not about war crimes but "prisoner abuse," some referring to the activities recorded as analogous to fraternity hazing. In this essay, I argue that the photos reflect complex reactions to the attacks of September 11, 2001, including a need to assert U.S. global dominance by punishing those who are, in American eyes, an inferior oriental enemy. The photographs are analyzed in the context of orientalism in the U.S. chain of command, a phenomenon linked to what feminists call "the politics of the gaze"—the vulnerability of women and other subalterns to virtual as well as actual violation by those in positions of domination. They are compared to evidence of other rituals of violence, such as lynching, orchestrated by elites and imitated by popular-culture entrepreneurs. The sexual politics of Abu Ghraib includes the deployment of female figures to brand, scapegoat, and repair the damage from discovery of the photographs, thereby trivializing the policies and behaviors of U.S. officials and eliding the American public's responsibility for the continued U.S. failure to condemn, much less to halt, the torture carried out in their name. *(Ibid, 33)*


Abstract:
Despite the prevalence of rape in conflicts throughout the world, wartime rape often has been mischaracterized and dismissed by military and political leaders, with the result that this abuse goes largely unpunished. The fact that rape is committed by men against women has contributed to its being portrayed as sexual or personal in nature, a portrayal that depoliticizes sexual abuse in conflict and results in it being ignored as a human rights abuse and a war crime. Documentary efforts reveal where and how rape functions as a tool of military strategy. Soldiers rape to subjugate and punish individual women and to terrorize communities and drive them into flight. Whenever committed by a state agent or an armed insurgent, whether a matter of policy or an individual incident of torture,
wartime rape constitutes an abuse of power and a violation of international law. *(Abstract from the AIDS, Security & Conflict Research Hub)*

### Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Thomas and Regan, while emphasizing the political motivations for sexual violence in war, also mention some “opportunistic” motivations:

- **Political/strategic:**
  - To drive a population from a territory.
  - To punish a group of civilians for perceived sympathies with armed insurgents.
  - To demonstrate the soldiers’ domination over civilians, as well as men's assertion of their power over women.
  - Rape during interrogation to get information or frighten and intimidate an individual into complying with the wishes of her captors (The authors talk about female captives but evidence from the torture literature suggest that male captives/PoWs are subjected to similar treatment for similar reasons).
  - To impregnate women with children of mixed ethnicity.
  - To subjugate and inflict shame upon their victims, and, by extension, their victims' families and communities: “Soldiers can succeed in translating the attack upon an individual woman into an assault upon her community because of the emphasis placed—in every culture in the world—on women's sexual purity and the fact that societies define themselves, in overt or less clear-cut fashions, relative to their ability to protect and control that purity.”

- **Opportunistic:**
  - Sexual gratification of the attacker/spoil of war.
  - Rapists may also be motivated by the likelihood that their victims will not report the assault.

While stressing the importance of documenting and understanding where and how sexual violence is used as part of a military strategy, Thomas and Regan warn against an overly strong focus on the scale of the problem: “The attention to rape's strategic function, however, has attached much significance to ‘mass rape’ and ‘rape as genocide.’ This emphasis on rape's scale as what makes it an abuse demanding redress distorts the nature of rape in war by failing to reflect both the experience of individual women and the various functions of wartime rape.”

*- Prevention:* Looking specifically on the problem of impunity, Thomas and Regan find that “as a matter of law, rape is often perceived as harm against the community as symbolized by the woman's honor, and not as harm against the physical integrity of the victim herself. This characterization not only contributes to women being targeted for rape, but also reinforces their unwillingness to come forward and report it.”

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Abstract:
Among large groups of male refugees in Europe, sexual violence as an aspect of torture has been recognized. Definitions of sexual violence, ways in which it occurs, and the effects on the victim are discussed. The individual cultural context of the refugee is taken into account. Survey responses from 17 reception centers documents that 129 clients had experiences of sexual violence. It is suggested that fear, anger, and/or powerlessness (feelings evoked by the discussion of violent experiences) may restrain both client and care provider. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
Purpose: Child sexual abuse (CSA) is rarely addressed in the Arab world. This study examined the prevalence, risk factors and consequences associated with CSA in Lebanese children before, during and after the 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli war.

Method: A total of 1028 Lebanese children (556 boys; 472 girls) were administered an interview questionnaire that included the International Child Abuse Screening Tool, the Trauma Symptom Checklist and the Family Functioning in Adolescence Questionnaire.

Results: In total, 249 (24%) children reported at least one incident of CSA; 110 (11%) occurred before the war, 90 (8%) took place in the 1-year period after the war to the time of the data collection and 49 (5%) occurred during the 33-day war. There were no gender differences in CSA reports before or after the war, but boys reported more incidents during the war than did girls. Girls who reported CSA had higher trauma-related symptoms for sleep disturbance, somatization, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and anxiety than did boys. There were geographic differences in the reports of abuse that may be associated with poverty and living standards. Logistic regression analyses correctly classified 89.9% of the cases and indicated that children’s age, family size, fathers’ education level and family functioning significantly predicted CSA during the period following the war.

Conclusions: The prevalence of CSA in the current study is within the reported international range. Given the increase in the incidents of CSA during the war and the significant findings for family-related risk factors, there is an urgent need to provide multi-component culturally appropriate interventions that target the child and the family system in times of peace and conflict. (Ibid, 361)


Abstract:
Objectives: To investigate how Lebanese women were affected by the July 2006 conflict that erupted between the Hezbollah and the State of Israel, with a specific focus on their personal violence exposure and how they coped with these circumstances.

Methods: Participants were 310 women at Ministry of Social Affairs Centers (MOSA) located in six geographic areas with varying exposure to the conflict. A questionnaire was administered in interview format to collect information about the participants’ demographic characteristics, experiences of the conflict, perceived psychological functioning, exposure to violence associated with the conflict, exposure to domestic violence during and after the conflict, and their coping strategies.

Results: Of the women, 89% had to leave their homes during the conflict because of fear or worry about safety. Of the 310 participants, 39% reported at least one encounter with violence perpetrated by soldiers, 27% reported at least one incident of domestic abuse during the conflict, and 13% reported at least one incident after the conflict perpetrated by their husbands or other family members. Women's self-reported negative mental health scores were positively correlated with the violence associated with the conflict and with domestic violence during and after the conflict. Women who reported that they did not know how to cope or had just tried to forget about their experiences reported more frequent domestic violence exposure during the conflict and had higher negative mental health outcomes associated with the conflict than did those who reported using active strategies.

Conclusions: During armed conflict, domestic violence is also likely to increase. Therefore, when investigating the psychological impact of war on women, both forms of violence exposure should be considered. The use of active coping strategies may help in reducing psychological distress. (Ibid, 793)


Abstract: In my paper I explore the relationship between being a good soldier, military discipline and war rape. My main question is: is there something in soldierhood and discipline that allows sexual violence against women at the times of war. I focus on the incident on Hill 192' which took place in Vietnam on November 1966. A squad of five American soldiers abducted, raped and killed a young Vietnamese woman. One of the soldiers refused to participate to the rape and murder, and reported the incident to his superior officers. This led to a court-martial of the five soldiers. I analyze two narratives of the incident: Daniel Lang's essay in The New Yorker in 1969 and Brian DePalma's film, Casualties of War (1989). I argue that in-group loyalties, discipline and the chain-of-command may in some cases become a trap and allow war rape. (Ibid, 1)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“The fact that soldiers are able to rape enemy women shows that enemy soldiers are not manly enough to protect their property. The purpose of the rapes is therefore to humiliate the men on the opposite side, to question their soldierhood and manhood.” (2)

“Although there is not one single masculinity to which all men who should subscribe to there are common denominators: physical power, economic, social and political power; control of emotions and crises situations (rationality); ability to defend oneself and others; heterosexuality.” (7)

“Uncontrollable male sex-drive is nonetheless sometimes used as a justification for the tolerance of militarized prostitution for it is believed that open access to prostitutes prevents soldiers from raping.” (9)

“One often-cited mitigating factor for wartime and military rape is that ‘boys will be boys.’...There are many problems with the ‘boys will be boys’ explanation. First of all, uncontrollable male sex drive assumes essentialist gender and fixed sexuality. It also requires a belief that men by virtue of being men are inherently violent. Therefore...in the end individual men are not responsible for their violent acts, and virtually nothing can be done to stop rapes.” (10)

“A military researcher maintained that ‘rapes conducted by soldiers are a disciplinary problem,’ i.e. they result from the lack of military discipline.” (10)

“Military hierarchy was not used only to stonewall Eriksson, but it functioned also on the grassroots level between the five men, and ultimately it was the chain-of-command and in-group loyalties that made the kidnapping, rape and murder of Mao possible.” (12)

“Through gang rape men also assert their heterosexual masculinity. By raping a woman a man can demonstrate to other men in his group that he is a "real man", and not a homosexual.” (13)


Abstract:
This paper shows how considering women’s problems and reinforcing their potentialities can make difference in a war-torn society and represent a requirement for a long-lasting peace and for avoiding violence could burst again in the aftermath of a conflict. The paper points out why gender concerns are not a superfluous aspect of conflict resolution and peacebuilding: recognizing that wartime can be a source of victimization, but also of opportunities for women, the article stresses how and why gender considerations should be taken seriously in account in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Since peacebuilding activities are multifaceted, for the sake of clarity the analysis follows the comprehensive model of the peace building palette firstly elaborated in 2004 in the
Utstein Report. This palette recognizes peacebuilding as a manifold policy that encompasses four different main fields: security, socio-economic foundations, political framework and reconciliation and justice. Recognizing that the first step to end a conflict is its resolution through a peace agreement, the article firstly analyzes how in that sensitive moment gender concerns are crucial, then the analysis starts from the political aspect of the peacebuilding palette and encompasses all the four subsets of the model. (Ibid, 1)


Abstract:
Sexual violence frequently occurs in warfare. The focus here is on its perpetration throughout history, beginning with ancient Greek, Roman and Israeli societies. Many references to sexual violence in modern literature appear in studies on siege warfare. Rape has also been discussed as a main topic. The current paper explores how violence is described by ancient authors—Homer, Herodotus, Livy, Hebrew prophets and others—and in which contexts it occurs. What contemporary attitudes to these actions are conveyed by the sources? Did violations follow patterns as to how and when they were executed or did they take place at random? Was individual, physical gratification the sole motive? Ancient historiography and prose was researched and modern theories applied for the purpose of interpreting cases in greater detail. This investigation showed that ancient sources held multiple, often contradictory attitudes to sexual violence. In addition, apparent chaos in the battlefield appears more structured than expected and physical satisfaction offers only a partial explanation to the violence. In conjunction with the second part where modern evidence is discussed, the current papers provide an historical, cultural and psychological insight into the persistence of sexual violence and its influences. (Ibid, 21)


Abstract:
The authors present different forms of sexual violence in armed conflict and argue that some or all of them may be used as a method of warfare: rape, sexual assault, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy. They argue that “(t)he manner of the sexual violence is often such as to maximise the humiliation of the victim and their family and community, and to ensure a level of powerlessness and fear that will remain entrenched.” They list the following examples:

1. Gang rape: often as a spectacle, with involuntary (family, other victims, local population) and voluntary (military and militia) spectators
2. Sexual torture: including rituals, mutilation and filming for pornography
3. Psychological torture: such as being forced to sing songs or say prayers whilst being raped

The authors argue that motivations are very different when committed in “the heat of battle” compared to before or after battle, suggesting that categories of motivations for rape in peacetime cannot be directly transferred to situations of conflict. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
Sawela Suliman, a 22-year-old rape victim from West Darfur ... In North Darfur, about 3,000 Janjaweed on horseback attacked a village and took a number of women as sex slaves. ... Neither rape' nor women' is included in any heading or subheading in this index, despite the fact that crimes of sexual violence committed against women were extensively documented. ... "It should be noted, however, that rape in the context of war was prosecuted at the Tokyo Tribunal as a war crime committed by Japanese soldiers during World War II. ... In this regard, rape and sexual violence cases might be the best chance for future prosecutors to obtain genocide convictions since alternative intent explanations are rendered less plausible by the scale and scope of sexual violence in Darfur. ... "Crime against humanity" means any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack: (a) Murder; (b) Extermination; (c) Enslavement; (d) Deportation or forcible transfer of population; (e) Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law; (f) Torture; (g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity. (Ibid, 193)


Abstract:
Background and aims: Sexual violence (SV) is common during conflict. Despite reports of rape-related incidents of HIV infection, ecological analyses have found no association between SV and HIV at a population level. This has led to debate in the humanitarian, security and public health arenas about whether SV is an important HIV risk factor in conflict-affected settings. This paper uses published evidence on sexual violence in Africa and modeling to explore when SV may increase individual HIV risk and community HIV incidence.
Methods: Publications on sexual violence in conflict settings were reviewed and a mathematical model describing the probability of HIV acquisition was adapted to include the potential effect of genital injury and used to estimate the relative risk of HIV acquisition in ‘conflict’ versus ‘non-conflict’ situations. An analytical equation was developed to estimate the impact of SV on HIV incidence.

Results: A rape survivor’s individual HIV risk is determined by potentially compounding effects of genital injury, penetration by multiple perpetrators and the increased likelihood that SV perpetrators are HIV infected. Modelling analysis suggests risk ratios of between 2.4 and 27.1 for the scenarios considered. SV could increase HIV incidence by 10% if rape is widespread (>40%); genital injury increases HIV transmission (threelfold or more); at least 10% of perpetrators are HIV infected and underlying HIV incidence is low (<0.5%).

Conclusion: The analysis illustrates that SV is likely to be an important HIV risk factor in some conflict-affected settings. More generally, it indicates the limitations of using broad aggregate analysis to derive epidemiological conclusions. Conflict-related initiatives offer important opportunities to assist survivors and prevent future abuses through collaborative programming on reconstruction, HIV and sexual violence. (Ibid, 93)

Weaver, Hilary N. “Reexamining What We Think We Know: A Lesson Learned from Tamil Refugees.” Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work 20.2 (Summer 2005): 238-245.

Abstract:
This article describes a project designed to create a culturally appropriate tool to assess trauma in Tamil people who have fled civil war in Sri Lanka. In addition to being culturally appropriate, the project sought to determine if the assessment tool would adequately measure trauma experienced by women. Despite concern that Tamil women would be reluctant to discuss sexual assault, in this project women did indeed describe their traumatic experiences and often preferred to do so in the presence of multiple people. Notably, Tamil men also commonly stated that they experienced sexual assault. As social workers, we are reminded that there is a continual need to question assumptions, especially those about what we expect people from a particular culture to think, believe, and do. (Ibid, 238)


Abstract:
This article argues that particular assumptions about biology, ethnicity, genetics, and gender create a permissive environment for policies of sexual violence during war. It further asserts that the children born as a consequence of these policies become a prism for identity politics. The arguments regarding identity and war and the consequences on
policies of sexual violence during wartime are illustrated through analyses of the Serbian militia’s rape campaigns in Bosnia in the early 1990s and the mass rape and killing of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994. (Ibid, 561)

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**

“The policies of sexual violence in wartime contain crucial information regarding how identity is constructed and manipulated by governments. War is the ultimate cauldron of identity politics. The environment of heightened threat and hostility of war situations is both the consequence of identity clashes as well as fertile ground for deepened entrenchment of identities.” (2)

“The discourse that surrounds the issues of rape during wartime, for example, ‘ethnic cleansing,’ ‘racial hygiene,’ ‘genocidal babies,’ all perpetuate myths about identity—that it is genetically determined, that it derives from the father, that it derives from the mother, that some blood is purer than other blood, and so forth. These discursive practices frequently culminate in pervasive discrimination against specific social groups, outrageous acts of violence against women, and the neglect of children who are born of rape during wartime.” (3)

“Under conditions of threat, persecuted groups, or any social group, will have a heightened sense of self. These groups will draw together, and become more cohesive, and validate their identity. The source of cohesion and disintegration in any societal group derives from sentiment, and an extremely powerful way to manipulate and construct sentiment is discourse. As we construct our enemies, our ‘others,’ our ethnicities, races, citizenships, religions, all become tools of exclusion. One important way these sentiments are experienced is through children of ‘mixed heritage’ who result from rape during wartime.” (8)

“In the cases of Bosnia and Rwanda, there were similarities and differences in the way in which identity politics played out. The differences emanated from the motivations of the governments. For the Serbs, the desire to degrade, humiliate, and impregnate Bosnian Muslim women with ‘little chetniks’ was paramount. In Rwanda, the Hutus sought to degrade, humiliate, torture, and destroy the Tutsi women. The differences were predicated on different constructs of identity.” (23-24)


**Abstract:**

This article’s purpose is to initiate a gender and sexual violence discourse in the context of Gacaca, the chosen model of transitional justice in post-genocide Rwanda. Scholars have elsewhere discussed the treatment of sexual violence crimes under international humanitarian and criminal law, most notably that of the United Nations Tribunals for Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia. Recently, the efficacy of a truth and reconciliation
A model of transitional justice from the perspective of female sexual violence survivors is also receiving critical review. This article similarly engages a gender mainstreaming approach to transitional justice. However, I focus particularly on the experiences of female survivors of the Rwandan genocide and their perspectives on Gacaca’s prospects in post-conflict Rwandan society.

In order to provide a factual and legal background for the discussion, the laws and organization of the Gacaca courts are outlined first. Next, the principles underlying the gacaca model and critiques of the model are examined. Finally, the Gacaca model is evaluated from a gendered perspective, with particular attention to the perspectives of women at survived wartime sexual violence.

I argue first that a pragmatic discussion of Gacaca cannot simply dismiss the project because of its inadequate incorporation of the international human rights of the accused. Second, I propose that the Gacaca courts will impact female survivors differently than male survivors as a result of the sexual nature of the wartime harms suffered, especially because of the patriarchal norms surrounding sexual violations and the traditional role of women in Rwandan society. Third, I suggest that a meaningful conception of justice in post-conflict Rwanda must address other fundamental issues, such as health and welfare needs or female survivors. Hence, the transitional justice project must also incorporate efforts to eradicate the violence and discrimination that Rwandan women continue to suffer in peacetime. (Abstract from the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights)


Abstract:
Three out of the seven US soldiers charged in the sexualized torture case at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq were women. This has caused many to rethink Carol Gilligan’s thesis, that women are more moral and compassionate than men (Ehrenreich, 2004). This paper explains the heterosexist and misogynistic nature of torture techniques used against Iraqis, in the context of the expropriation and privatization of Iraqi nationalized resources (Linebaugh, 2004). Marx reminds us that capital comes into the world dripping from head to toe from every pore, with blood and dirt. The agents of capital can be women or men. Feminist materialist theory reminds us that the pursuit of capitalist control is the latest manifestation of patriarchy, the rule of male elites. Postcolonial feminist theory reminds us that in the Western imperial project of global capitalism, oppression is both raced and gendered. I argue that the US intended the use of torture was a method by an advanced country of the “North” in its campaign to dismantle the national sovereignty of a country from the “South”, subordinate its population, and appropriate its oil resources. (Ibid, 1)

Abstract:
This article explores a particular pattern of wartime violence, the relative absence of sexual violence on the part of many armed groups. This neglected fact has important policy implications: If some groups do not engage in sexual violence, then rape is not inevitable in war as is sometimes claimed, and there are stronger grounds for holding responsible those groups that do engage in sexual violence. After developing a theoretical framework for understanding the observed variation in wartime sexual violence, the article analyzes the puzzling absence of sexual violence on the part of the secessionist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam of Sri Lanka. (*Ibid*, 131)


Abstract:
While sexual violence occurs in all wars, it occurs to varying extent and takes distinct forms. During the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while women of all ethnicities were raped the abuse of Bosnian Muslim women by Bosnian Serb forces was so systematic as to comprise a crime against humanity under international law. In Rwanda, the widespread rape of Tutsi and moderate Hutu women (often but not always as a prelude to murder) comprised a form of genocide, according to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. In the final months of World War II as the Soviet Army advanced westward, soldiers raped women of many ethnicities but in particular German women, especially in Berlin after the city’s fall.

Sexual violence sometimes takes the form of sexual slavery, whereby women are abducted to serve as servants and sexual partners of combatants for extended periods. In some wars, women belonging to particular groups are targeted, in others targeting is much less discriminate. In El Salvador’s civil war and Argentina’s “dirty war,” sexual violence was confined to particular “corners” of the war, where supposed insurgent supporters were frequently violated in detention by state security agents as a form of torture; sexual violence occurred infrequently elsewhere. In some cases of conflict, including ethnic conflict, sexual violence is limited despite the widespread use of other forms of violence against civilians, including the forced movement of ethnic populations from certain territories, as in Israel/Palestine and Sri Lanka.

As we will see, this puzzling variation in the extent and form of sexual violence during war has not been adequately explained in the literature to date. The purpose of this paper, a first effort in a new research project, is four-fold: to establish the variation in the prevalence and form of sexual violence during war, to assess the arguments advanced in the literature to explain this variation, to analyze the methodological challenges in
advancing this field of study, and to explore whether, despite those challenges, the variation is sufficient for an adequate explanation to be feasible. *(Ibid, 2)*

**Additional Notes and/or Quotations:**

- Wood notes that while sexual violence occurs in all wars, it occurs to varying extents and takes distinct forms.
- The paper reviews the variation in the prevalence and forms of sexual violence during war, and assesses the arguments advanced in the literature to explain this variation. The author also cites six case studies, including cases where sexual violence has not been widely used (such as in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) or used asymmetrically by the different parties to a conflict (such as in Sri Lanka and El Salvador). She explores the relationship between strategic choices on the part of armed group leadership, the norms of combatants, dynamics within small units, and the effectiveness of military discipline.
- Based on the six case studies, Wood finds that variation in prevalence and forms of sexual violence between conflicts cannot be explained by the type of war (inter/intrastate, inter-ethnic or secessionist), nor the intensity of conflict or other forms of violence against civilians. She also finds that individual causes proposed in the literature (such as opportunism, revenge, masculine military cultures or break-down of patriarchal structures) do not by themselves explain this variation.
- Wood claims that the “effectiveness of an armed group’s command and control structure is particularly important for the effective prohibition of sexual violence.” She goes on to identify four units of analysis that should be examined in order to explain why (and how) a certain armed group engages in sexual violence:
  - The armed group leadership
  - The hierarchy of the armed group
  - The small unit in which combatants have face-to-face relations
  - The individual combatant
- Looking at these different units of analysis she finds that the relevant elements to examine at each level for explaining promotion or prevention of sexual violence by a given armed group are:
  - Sanctions and norms constraining or endorsing sexual violence (norms should not be assumed to be static but seen as evolving over the course of the conflict)
  - Access to civilians
- Based on this analytical framework, Wood proposes three hypotheses for further study:
  - Where armed groups depend on the provision of support (supplies, intelligence) from civilians and aspire to govern those civilians, they do not engage in sexual violence against those civilians if they have a reasonably effective command structure.
  - Where norms held by individual combatants and small units, either condemning or approving sexual violence, are the same and are also endorsed by the armed group’s leadership, sexual violence by that group will be either very low or very high, respectively.
  - If an armed group prohibits sexual violence against a particular population, the less effective the military discipline of the group, the more likely the combatants are to engage in sexual violence (unless they hold particularly strong norms against it).
To test these hypotheses she mentions training, bonding mechanisms and norms promoted in different military organisations as relevant elements to study. In addition, she points to findings that can influence how these hypotheses are approached:

- Armed groups with a high proportion of female combatants engage less in sexual violence. They are also identified as having high levels of internal discipline.
- Democracies rarely engage in widespread sexual violence.
- Men are targeted in some settings but not in others.

Wood proposes several areas that require additional research to better explain the variation in sexual violence across wars and armed groups:

- Establish the patterns for variations in sexual violence, including the relative frequency of different patterns. Groups or conflicts where sexual violence does not occur should not be neglected here.

Wood suggests some key distinctions between such “negative cases.”

Within-case contrasts, especially where one party does not “mirror” the use of sexual violence by the other (e.g., more country-specific case studies). Studies of differences between sub-units of the same armed group would be an effective way of controlling for otherwise confounding variables. She also suggests comparing the internal dynamics of armed groups to other small-group dynamics where sexual violence sometimes occurs, such as fraternities, urban gangs and sports teams.

- The study of perpetrators of wartime sexual violence.
- The phenomenon of “epidemic-like” sexual violence - what triggers the escalation of sexual violence?

Positive feedback mechanisms or escalating revenge are suggested as possible triggers. Wood also suggests looking at epidemiological models of analysis.


Abstract:

Sexual violence during war varies in extent and takes distinct forms. In some conflicts, sexual violence is widespread, yet in other conflicts—including some cases of ethnic conflict—it is quite limited. In some conflicts, sexual violence takes the form of sexual slavery; in others, torture in detention. I document this variation, particularly its absence in some conflicts and on the part of some groups. In the conclusion, I explore the relationship between strategic choices on the part of armed group leadership, the norms of combatants, dynamics within small units, and the effectiveness of military discipline. *(Ibid, 307)*

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:

Wood examines why sexual violence takes place or to a greater extent in some conflicts and not others and moreover takes different forms in different conflicts (e.g. sexual slavery, torture in detention, indiscriminate versus targeted, public versus private, symmetric or asymmetric); she also recognizes the challenges to and continuing need for better understanding these variations (307-308). She states, “…I focus on the relationship
between strategic choices on the part of armed group leadership, the norms of combatants, dynamics within small units, and the effectiveness of military discipline…” (308). As a definition, she writes, “Sexual violence is a broader category that includes rape, coerced undressing, and non-penetrating sexual assault such as sexual mutilation” (308).

Wood reviews sexual violence in numerous contexts, including World War II (by Soviet forces, by German troops, by Japanese soldiers); Bosnia-Herzegovina (mostly by Bosnian Serbs but also by Muslims and Croats), where, according to a UN investigatory commissions, “sexual violence was often simultaneous with military action or activity to displace certain civilian populations”; Sri Lanka (usually by government police, military, or security forces), where sexual violence “does not appear to be either widespread or systematic”; Israel/Palestine, where “sexual violence appears to be extremely limited,” though both sides have carried out violence against civilians; Sierra Leone, where “sexual violence during the war…did not involve explicit ethnic targeting” but was more indiscriminate, as well as “extremely brutal,” and appears to have been perpetrated by the Revolutionary United Front, Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, and other armed groups; in Vietnam (by U.S. troops), with most of the literature on the My Lai massacre identifying “poor leadership and morale” as behind the violence, though these factors are hard to prove as causes; in El Salvador during the civil war, where sexual violence was “one-sided, and very low in comparison to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sierra Leone,” carried out infrequently (varying in level across time) and reportedly only by government forces or agents; in the conflict in Peru (by insurgent and state forces), where sexual violence was also not common and fluctuated in level across time and location but “[a]s with other forms of violence…was concentrated in the indigenous highlands of Peru” (309-317).

Wood then summarizes the observed patterns: “Sexual violence in these cases appears to vary substantially in prevalence; in form; in who is targeted (all women, girls and men as well as women, or particular persons, perhaps members of an ethnic out-group); in whether it is exercised by combatants from a single party or more generally; whether it is pursued as a strategy of war; where it occurs (in detention, at home, or in public); in duration; whether it is carried out by a single perpetrator or by a group; whether victims are killed afterward; and whether its incidence varies with other forms of violence against civilians or occurs in a distinct pattern. In some wars, armed groups “mirror” the use of sexual violence by committing their own; in other wars, such tit-for-tat retaliation does not occur. In some conflicts, sexual violence increases over time; in others, it declines. The type of war (at the broadest level) does not explain the variation even among these few cases. Sexual violence varies in prevalence and form among civil wars as well as inter-state wars, among ethnic wars as well as non-ethnic, among genocides and ethnic-cleaning cases, and among secessionist conflicts” (317-318).

Wood acknowledges possible limitations to her analysis, noting “the methodological challenges to gathering data,” stemming from variations in the legal definition of rape and underreporting of sexual violence, whether because victims do not want to report it out of shame or fear of stigmatization or being found to have unlawfully had an abortion or the lack of or breakdown of surveys, services, and social groups during war (318). In environments of high tension or conflict violations that are reported may reflect a bias, for example, because “violence and displacement may isolate some populations from
services and intensify the counting of incidents in others,” or there may be an “urban bias” or organizations may not give much priority to sexual violence injuries (318-319). But the effects could also be the opposite. Wood explains: “However, the disruption of war may also increase reporting. Sexual violence in the context of political conflict may be more likely to be reported as the stigma felt by its victims may be less, and displacement from home communities may loosen traditional norms and lessen the likelihood of reprisal. Health services may be more available, not less, to populations that fled to urban areas or in some refugee camps, compared to their place of origin” (319). Thus there are inconsistencies in the reporting and documentation of sexual violence. Another methodological challenge lies in the fluctuation of levels of sexual violence across countries in peacetime (319-320).

Wood then offers possible explanations for the variation in “frequency and form of sexual violence” across conflicts and across groups within a conflict and for why sexual violence occurs more in wartime than in peacetime (320). First, war may increase the opportunity to commit sexual violence, because the fighting takes place away from the combatant’s village and its rules and “normal social controls” and the costs accordant with breaking those rules and because armed groups often raid civilian areas for supplies and they can perpetrate sexual violence when they loot (321). Such “opportunity arguments” may impart different motives to perpetrators: “Some versions of the argument appear to assume that given the opportunity, all men will rape for sexual gratification…Other versions of the opportunity argument assume merely that with an increase in opportunity men with a propensity to rape will do so more frequently or that more men (but not necessarily all) will rape” (322). But, Wood posits, if sexual violence did vary with opportunity, then sexual violence should vary with other forms of violence, presuming “that opportunity for sexual violence against a civilian is also an opportunity to rob or kill that civilian,” and “sexual violence should not be targeted toward members of particular groups (unless opportunity varies systematically with groups)” (322-323). But in the cases she examines these two suppositions do not hold true, as “Co-variation in forms of violence sometimes occurs, but is often not the case” and opportunity also depends on “armed group strategy” and “the norms and practices of small units,” and as “in many conflicts, armed groups do not target all women with rape, but women (and sometimes men and children) of particular ethnicities or other social characteristics” (323).

A second explanation centering on “incentive” holds that war increases the incentive to commit sexual violence (323). One version is that fighting, similar to competition, increases testosterone and leads members of armed group to commit aggression and sexual violence (324). Another is that the state and other institutions, which uphold patriarchal gender relations in peacetime, break down in war, leading men to “resort more frequently to violence to enforce gender roles” (325). But this theory would predict greater sexual violence where “traditional gender norms are more disrupted,” and Wood does not find this to be true (325). Neither version explains sexual violence targeted at certain people (e.g. a particular ethnic group), though such targeting may be explained by the desire of combatants to avenge violence against themselves, their family, or members of their community (325). Wood also cites Goldstein’s argument that soldiers are trained to believe they must embody a certain “militaristic masculinity” and “One result of such practices is that soldiers then represent domination of the enemy in a gendered way,
leading to the use of specifically sexual violence against enemy women and, occasionally, against enemy men who are dominated through male rape and castration”; the military also uses this “militaristic masculinity” to foster bonding among soldiers (326). But Wood sees a gap in this argument as well, as, “if the militarized masculinity argument is to explain variation in wartime sexual violence, it would have to be the case that armies promote different notions of masculinity, with the armies that emphasize more militaristic notions of manhood responsible for higher levels of sexual violence” (326). Wood continues, “I am not aware of systematic comparisons of military training, norms, and practices across armed groups, but the variation in sexual violence among state militaries appears significantly greater than the variation in their training, which appears surprisingly similar; nor does training appear to vary much among insurgent groups” (326-327).

A third approach to explaining sexual violence looks at how sexual violence might be “promoted or tolerated (by at least local) leaders of some armed groups as an effective means toward its goals” (327). Wood states: “Such instrumental sexual violence may serve as a reward for participation. Or it may be tolerated as a form of small-unit solidarity promoting bonding of its members. Or it may be seen as a form of terror or punishment, as in Berlin and Nanjing, despite its undermining of military effectiveness…Or it may be pursued as a form of torture as in the Latin American instances discussed above and in detention sites in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo…In some cases, an armed group engages in sexual violence against civilian members of its own community, or its own combatants, as when such targets are suspected of collaborating with the enemy…The most notorious instrumental use of widespread sexual violence against civilians occurs (sometimes) as part of ‘ethnic cleansing,’ in which violence is used against entire populations to force their movement from particular regions claimed as the homeland, and as part of some genocides” (327).

Gaps in the instrumentalist approach include not explaining whether using sexual violence as a strategy was an initiative of the leadership or lower-level soldiers and whether, if the former, the leadership and group have the organization and control to make soldiers carry out the strategy of sexual violence (328).

Fourth, leaders of an armed group might interdict sexual violence “for normative, strategic, or practical considerations,” for example because the group depends on the civilian population (for “the voluntary and ongoing provision of intelligence and other services”) or intends to govern it; because the group holds and seeks to promote an ideology or depends on international sponsors that would not support sexual violence; or because the group has many female combatants (328-330). With this theory there are questions of whether a group can actually enforce a prohibition of sexual violence and whether small units within an armed group can themselves enforce a norm against sexual violence (330).

Wood concludes: “The literature on sexual violence during war has yet to provide an adequate explanation for its variation across wars and armed groups. While many authors have distinguished between opportunistic and strategic sexual violence, the empirical pattern of variation is wider, including wars where sexual violence is remarkably low on the part of one or more parties to the conflict. In the light of comparative analysis, we do not adequately understand the conditions under which armed groups provide effective sanctions against their combatants engaging in sexual violence or those under which
groups effectively promote its strategic use...I should note explicitly that I have used a rhetorical device throughout the paper: I assumed a single, deterministic, causal path to a particular level or form of sexual violence such that a single instance that contradicted that path led to its rejection. It is likely that a range of causal mechanisms interact to create the variation in sexual violence and that a probabilistic rather than deterministic approach is necessary to account for the overall pattern of variation” (330).

Questions addressed:
What are some of the variations of sexual violence (type, absence/presence) in war and why might they occur?
What are the effects of different strategic choices by leaders of armed groups?

Unanswered questions:
How can we identify and determine the specific causes/rationales behind each instance/type of sexual violence? Can we carry out accurate systematic cross-country comparison?


Abstract:
The woman scorned is Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Rwanda's Former Minister for Women's Affairs, who is currently on trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda ("ICTR") for allegedly using her official capacity to incite Hutus to rape thousands of female Tutsis during the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. She is the first woman to be charged with rape as a crime against humanity by an international tribunal. The 1994 Rwanda Genocide had devastating effects on the female population in the country due to the systematic gender-based violence endorsed and carried out by government officials. Almost one million people were killed in one hundred days and, according to some reports, nearly all female survivors—including many young girls—were raped and sexually brutalized. While these crimes are neither historically nor geographically unique to the 1994 Rwanda Genocide, the ICTR's efforts in prosecuting gender-based violence as crimes against humanity and tools of genocide have been unprecedented. Rape warfare, although common throughout history, has traditionally been the least condemned war crime.

Although not without criticism, the ICTR shattered historical ambivalence toward gender-based violence by indicting and prosecuting Rwandan officials who countenanced rape as a method of warfare during the genocide. The first step in shattering this ambivalence occurred with the prosecution of Jean Paul Akayesu, a mayor in the Taba Commune, who also sanctioned massive sexual violence against Tutsi women. With the Prosecutor v. Akayesu decision, the ICTR became the first international war crimes tribunal to convict an official for genocide and to declare that rape could constitute
Pressure from women's groups, coupled with cooperation and support coming from within the ICTR, led to the watershed decision linking sexual violence to the genocide in Rwanda. However, the ICTR's handling of the Akayesu and Nyiramasuhuko cases also reveal a failure to adequately investigate and indict the gender-based violence sanctioned by the government during the genocide before trial, deficiencies in handling witnesses during the investigation and trial stages, and delays affecting the delivery of justice to survivors. These deficiencies must be addressed and corrected in order to maintain the Tribunal's legitimacy, protect women's human rights, and build upon the jurisprudence condemning rape warfare as genocide. An assessment of the ICTR's deficiencies is especially timely given that the tenth anniversary of the genocide occurred in April 2004.

Although the Akayesu conviction and the Nyiramasuhuko prosecution have significant precedential value, the problems encountered by the ICTR in indicting and prosecuting gender-based violence should be lessons for future prosecutions in the international community. Recognition of rape as a serious war crime represents only the first step in creating the deterrent necessary to combat future impunity. Assessing the past in order to improve the effectiveness of future prosecutions for rape warfare is imperative as women of all ages, races, colors, creeds, and ethnicities continue to be raped during armed conflicts. Effective prosecutions will lead to more convictions, which will in turn translate into a legal vindication of women's human rights in the international community.

This article argues that while the ICTR has established an important precedent in prosecuting gender-based violence as crimes against humanity and tools of genocide, its deficiencies illustrate the continued struggle to enforce international norms protecting women from violence during armed conflict. Without improvements in three specific areas, the potency of the ICTR's groundbreaking decisions will become diluted and less likely to be applied by other legal bodies, to further the objective of enforcing women's human rights, and to lead to greater deterrence of gender-based violence. Part II of this article discusses the gender-based violence that occurred during the 1994 Rwanda Genocide and addresses the historic ambivalence toward prosecuting rape as a war crime or crime against humanity. This ambivalence demonstrates a lack of implementation and enforcement of the legal norms protecting women's human rights. Part III emphasizes the significance of the first international conviction of rape as a condemnable war crime, while highlighting the need for improvements in order to ensure more effective prosecution of gender-based violence. The cases of two prominent Rwandan officials--Akayesu and Nyiramasuhuko--are discussed in this regard. Part III also explains how the ICTR's progressive precedent on sexual violence is being tarnished by the Tribunal's continuing failure to adequately indict perpetrators for commission of gender-based crimes, a widening divide between the need for legal justice and survivors' interests, and excessive delays that are diluting the credibility of legal justice as a deterrent. Part IV concludes with three major recommendations to the ICTR directed at improving the Tribunal's prosecution of gender-based violence and preserving its legitimacy as a source of international condemnation and deterrence. (Ibid, 274)

Abstract:
My aim in this article is to analyze a set of gendered power relations played out in two postconflict settings. Based on interviews with peacekeepers and others, I argue that sexual exploitation of local women by male peacekeepers continues to be documented. I then turn to scholarly considerations of peacekeeper sexual exploitation, some of which accord excessive explanatory power to a crude form of military masculinity. This is underlined by similarly exploitative activities perpetrated by humanitarian workers and so-called “sex tourists.” In conclusion, I argue that a form of exploitative social masculinities shaped by socioeconomic structure, impunity, and privilege offers a more appropriate way to capture the activities of some male peacekeepers during peacekeeping missions. Finally, in underlining the conflation of military masculinities with exploitation, I pose the question of how to explain those military men who do not exploit local women while deployed on missions. (Abstract from RefWorks)


Abstract:
No Abstract Available.

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
TM The author examines male sexual victimization in the Balkans War. She argues that “perceiving men only and always as offenders and never as victims of rape and other forms of sexual violence is a very specific, gendered narrative of war.” In that narrative, dominant notions of masculinity merge with norms of heterosexuality and definitions of ethnicity and ultimately designate who can or cannot be named a victim of sexual violence in the national press.
TM Zarkov examines at how male sexual victimization was presented in Croatian and Serbian mass media, after first passing through the filter of nationalism. In the press the author examined, sexually assaulted men were all but visible.
TM An investigation of the Croatian and Serbian Press from November 1991 to December 1993 found only six articles in the Croatian press, compared to over 100 about other forms of torture experienced by Croat men and over 60 about the rape of women.
TM The Serbian press did not publish a single text about sexual torture of men.
TM In the Croatian press the only visible male victim of rape and castration was a Muslim man, while the Croatian man was never mentioned as either being raped/castrated or raping other men. Serbian men, on the other hand, were mentioned as sodomists who rape (Muslim) men.
The author argues that, the need of the newly emerging Croatian state to have its symbolic virility preserved through the preserved virility, power, and heterosexuality of Croatian men was crucial for the representation of the sexual violence against men.


Abstract:
This paper seeks to analyze the phenomenon of wartime rape and sexual torture of Croatian and Iraqi men and to explore the avenues for its prosecution under international humanitarian and human rights law. Male rape, in time of war, is predominantly an assertion of power and aggression rather than an attempt on the part of the perpetrator to satisfy sexual desire. The effect of such a horrible attack is to damage the victim’s psyche, rob him of his pride, and intimidate him. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Iraq, therefore, male rape and sexual torture has been used as a weapon of war with dire consequences for the victim’s mental, physical, and sexual health. Testimonies collected at the Medical Centre for Human Rights in Zagreb and reports received from Iraq make it clear that prisoners in these conflicts have been exposed to sexual humiliation, as well as to systematic and systemic sexual torture. This paper calls upon the international community to combat the culture of impunity in both dictator-ruled and democratic countries by bringing the crime of wartime rape into the international arena, and by removing all barriers to justice facing the victims. Moreover, it emphasizes the fact that wartime rape is the ultimate humiliation that can be inflicted on a human being, and it must be regarded as one of the most grievous crimes against humanity. The international community has to consider wartime rape a crime of war and a threat to peace and security. It is in this respect that civilian community associations can fulfill their duties by encouraging victims of male rape to break their silence and address their socio-medical needs, including reparations and rehabilitation. (Ibid, 27)

Additional Notes and/or Quotations:
“Male rape in times of war is predominantly an assertion of power and aggression rather than an expression of satisfying the perpetrator’s sexual desire.” (33)

“When war finally came to an end in the former Yugoslavia, the medical records of health care centres provided evidence of male rape and sexual torture of Croatian and Bosnian Muslim men including castration, genital beatings, and electroshock.” (34)

“This paper provides three kinds of potential remedies available for addressing the needs of Croatian and Iraqi wartime male rape victims: legal remedies, remedies within the United Nations system, and psycho-social remedies within civil community associations.” (34)

“We should combat the culture of impunity in both dictator-ruled and democratic countries by bringing the crime of wartime rape into the international arena, and by
removing all barriers to justice facing the victims. Moreover, we should emphasize the fact that wartime rape is the ultimate humiliation that can be inflicted on a human being, and it must be regarded as one of the most grievous crimes against humanity. The international community has to consider wartime rape a crime of war and a threat to peace and security. It is in this respect that civilian community associations can fulfill their duties by encouraging victims of male rape to break their silence and address their socio-medical needs, including reparations and rehabilitation.” (40)


Abstract:
This article aims to assess ways in which different justice schemes may operate together for an improved legal and political response to victims of sexual crimes in the aftermath of armed conflicts. The article will briefly present the problem of sexual violence against women in armed conflict. It will then consider the evolution of criminal justice in regard to this crime, the results of recent attempts to implement truth and reconciliation processes, as well as briefly assess reparation schemes. Finally it will suggest a series of measures for coordinating the various schemes of justice in a way that guarantees women's rights in the aftermath of a conflict. (Ibid, 137)


Abstract:
The practice of rape during warfare is as constant as war is to the history of human affairs; the absence of rape during war is far more rare than its occurrence. The practice of wartime rape has been documented in pre-Christian wars & in the major international & civil wars of the 20th century (Brownmiller, 1975). Despite this lengthy history, until 1998 no individual has been prosecuted under international law for authorizing or committing mass rape during war. This paper traces the process by which wartime rape in the Balkans came to be constructed as a problem of contemporary warfare. Drawing from Herbert Blumer's (1971) framework of social problem development, the paper analyzes the "career" of wartime rape as it emerged & developed within media, legal, & UN arenas; it identifies actors & organizations involved in efforts to codify wartime rape as a crime against humanity under the statute for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The paper contends that recognition of rape as a problem of war is due in part to the presence of a feminist discourse about the meaning & consequences of rape that entered newspaper reports & official documents, influencing UN policy formation & its implementation. (Abstract from the Gender, Peace and Security Research Hub)

Abstract:
Rape has been used in contemporary armed conflicts to inflict physical, psychological, cultural and social damage. In endeavoring to address the psychological damage of collective violence, some researchers and global health practitioners are turning toward post-conflict mental health promotion approaches that centrally feature resilience. Though previous findings from resilience and coping research are robust, few studies have actually investigated resilience among genocide-rape survivors in cultural context in non-Western settings. This paper presents ethnographic data gathered over 14 months (September 2005 to November 2006) in southern Rwanda on resilience among genocide rape survivors who were members of two women’s genocide survivor associations. Study methods included a content analysis of a stratified purposive sample of 44 semi-structured interviews, as well as participant-, and nonparticipant- observation. Resilience among genocide-rape survivors in this context was found to be shaped by the cultural-linguistic specific concepts of kwihangana (withstanding), kwongera kubaho (living again), and gukomeza ubuzima (continuing life/health), and comprised of multiple socio-cultural processes that enabled ongoing social connection with like others in order to make meaning, establish normalcy, and endure suffering in daily life. The results of this research show that the process of resilience among genocide-rape survivors was the same regardless of whether genocide survivor association membership was organized around the identity of genocide-rape survivorship or the identity of widowhood. However, the genocide-rape survivors’ association members were more involved with directing resilience specifically toward addressing problems associated with genocide-rape compared to the members of the genocide widows’ association. The findings from this research suggest that ethnographic methods can be employed to support resilience-based post-conflict mental health promotion efforts through facilitating collective sexual violence survivors to safely socially connect around their shared experiences of rape, neutralizing social threats of stigma and marginalization. (Ibid, 1656)

*Source (in part or full) from OCHA Discussion Paper 1: Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Understanding the Motivations