Women are often at the heart of war, but usually not as soldiers. More often, they are its silent victims, killed in the crossfire, raped by conquering soldiers, or made into sexual slaves. They are often driven from their homes to become refugees, suffering the loss of sons, husbands, and brothers. They may be left to fend for themselves in destroyed neighborhoods or forced to flee to flimsy and insecure shelters in refugee camps, responsible for children without the support of their male kin. For these reasons, women are often the peacemakers, those who seek to build bridges over conflict. However, sometimes women incite men to violence and war and take on critical roles in promoting militarism and violence as mothers of martyrs. Moreover, men clearly bear the brunt of the violence of war as fighters, as targets of violence, as subjects of systems of interrogation and torture.

Despite the pervasiveness of violence against women in times of war and armed conflict, only recently has women's special vulnerability in wartime received global recognition. Even though rape is one of the oldest features of war, it was not until the late 1990s that international criminal tribunals began to focus on prosecuting rape as a crime of war. The international court set up in 1993 to adjudicate the war in Yugoslavia made its first conviction for rape as torture in 1998 (www.un.org/icty/cases-e/index-e.htm). The International Criminal Court (ICC), established in 2002 by the international community to handle major human rights violations and in operation by 2006, includes rape in wartime as part of its mandate (see Clarke 2007).

Rape, assault, and the killing of women is a common feature of war and ethnic conflict, whether in the Hindu–Muslim conflict in India, the Arab–African fighting in Darfur, a region in the Sudan in Africa, or the genocide in Rwanda. Military forces use sexualized forms of violence to establish control over subordinated populations, including those who are captured. Colonialism, created through military conquest, is maintained through violence, including rape and battery of subordinate group women by dominant-group men. Men of the conquering group can typically abuse or kill subordinate women with impunity. Indigenous peoples in the USA and
Canada suffer ongoing violence of this kind, as well as more systemic forms of violence such as forced sterilizations and the dumping of environmental toxins in their communities (see Smith 2005).

On the other hand, the toxic combination of racism and colonialism led to an elevated pattern of violence against men in subordinated groups. Conquered men suspected of sex with conquering-group women are sometimes lynched. This was a widespread practice in the late nineteenth and much of the twentieth century in the USA, where lynching of African American and Hispanic men for alleged violations of white women was widespread. African men in British colonial Africa were similarly suspected and punished. This chapter provides examples of gender violence that are part of larger social processes of conquest and control. The examples make clear that gender violence is fundamental to the way hierarchies of power are formed and maintained.

**War and Armed Conflict**

Militarism is widely, if not universally, linked to men and masculinity. Soldiers are disproportionately men (Goldstein 2003), while societies that experience a high level of militarization tend to be more violent toward women in interpersonal relationships. Although some argue that males are inherently more violent than females, even labeling them “demonic” (Peterson and Wrangham 1997), Joshua Goldstein arrives at a more ambiguous conclusion. He explores a wide range of explanations for the disproportionate engagement of men with war, such as biological differences in strength, testosterone levels, endurance, and aggressiveness. He concludes that there are a few systematic gender differences, such as greater physical aggressiveness by males, but otherwise these variables overlap between men and women far more than they differ. Biologically rooted social patterns such as male bonding or greater male capacity to work in hierarchies show no clear and consistent pattern that accounts for differences in militarism. But he does find significant differences in the way societies promote images of a militarized masculinity. Militarized societies reward men who suppress their emotions and suspend social inhibitions against killing in order to excel in battle. They accord them the desirable status of manhood (Goldstein 2003: 331). Women are often willing to witness and celebrate male bravery in war. Goldstein concludes that the significant gender differences in war-making that he found lie in the prevalence of these gender ideologies and the socialization of children. In all societies, children are taught early in their lives the appropriate roles and behavior for masculine or feminine identities.

The famous study of the Yanomamo people in the Amazon, a horticultural people living deep in the forest, suggests a linkage between an environment of pervasive warfare and women’s victimization by violence. In his research in the 1960s, Chagnon (1997) found that women are frequently raped and assaulted by the military forces
opposing them. Raping women of the opponents’ community serves to assert dominance over that community and humiliate its members. He suggested that in an environment of threat and pervasive warfare, traits of violence and assertiveness become celebrated dimensions of masculinity.

Sherene Razack’s study of Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia in 1993 shows how even soldiers from a country that prides itself for its peacekeeping role in the world can slide into the same kinds of violence and abuse characteristic of this kind of militarized masculinity elsewhere. Peacekeeping soldiers from Canada entered Somalia expecting to be greeted with gratitude and warmth, but instead received suspicion and hostility. They were “surprised and outraged when they found ungrateful natives and a complicated conflict. In such an environment, violence directed at Somalis enabled some peacekeepers to manage their own fears and ignorance and to see themselves as men in control” (Razack 2004: 48). Canadian soldiers grew increasingly hostile to the Somalis as they discovered that they were not grateful for their help. Setting up a camp well stocked with water, food, and other desirable items in an area where these were all in short supply invited envy and thievery. Responding to the sense of threat, Canadian soldiers became more and more hostile and abusive, trying to “teach the Somalis a lesson.” When higher-ranking military people gave tacit approval to abusing prisoners and shooting intruders, lower-ranked soldiers complied, leading to the death of a 16-year-old in custody and the shooting of another Somali at night. At one point, Canadian troops fired into an unarmed crowd. Yet the Canadians were in a relatively stable area and faced no aggressive events beyond thievery and rock-throwing by boys. The Somali militia had long since left the area, which was populated largely by starving refugees. No Canadian personnel were killed or wounded by Somalis (Razack 2004: 73). In fact, as the threat diminished, the more extreme incidents of peacekeeper violence occurred. Why did the Canadian soldiers become so aggressive and abusive toward the Somalis?

Razack (2004: 69) argues that part of the answer lies in the “imperial fantasies” the soldiers brought with them: the idea that they were in Africa to save Somalis from themselves, and that the only way to justify their presence was the existence of black savagery. They were also acting out, or “performing” (in the terms discussed in Chapter 1), a particular vision of masculinity in which physical violence against women and racial minorities is celebrated (Razack 2004: 56). This is a cultural understanding of masculinity developed in military contexts that sees violence as heroic and as essential for the support of the nation. In the Canadian case, this understanding of military masculinity drew on implicit understandings that Canada was a white country, forged out of violence against Indians (Razack 2004: 62). Similarly, in Britain during the age of imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, manhood was defined by the violence white men had to use to protect, guard, and subdue brown subjects (Razack 2004: 63). In Somalia, enacting this racialized masculinity meant that abusing Somalis was a patriotic duty and a proof of manhood.

Two of the soldiers accused of the violence were part Aboriginal. Rather than arguing that racially subordinated males are more violent than white males to
assert that in the world, some kind of violence is received and found of the violence is directed against those who might threaten the nation, the not-white. Men of color are seduced into performing white hegemonic masculinity. Men of color are, as one journalist put it, trying to "outwhite the white guys" (Razack 2004: 103).

In Somalia, violence was also common among the peacekeepers from the USA, Italy, and Belgium. The violence, ranging from racial slurs to torture and murder, was typically enacted in front of witnesses, often documented by videotapes and trophy photos and described in diaries. Anal rape and sodomy were common. As Razack (2004: 53) points out, this makes it difficult to argue that the violence was the result of soldiers pushed to extreme reactions by an aggressive and unwelcoming local population. Instead, it partakes of widespread sexualized patterns of dominance. These patterns are chillingly similar to those revealed in the American treatment of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib in 2004. Sexualized forms of abuse and torture such as stripping prisoners, forcing them to lie in a pile, or attaching a dog's leash to a man's neck as he lies prone while an American woman soldier holds the leash were captured in trophy photos and circulated to family and friends. These sexualized acts of violence and power clearly represent gendered performances of violence and humiliation.

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Military culture, the set of norms and values found within military communities and focused on ideas of masculinity, sexuality, violence, and women, is conducive to rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence, according to some activists and researchers (see overview in Adelman 2003). Research in the USA shows that domestic violence is a particularly severe social problem for the military, while scandals at the military academies in the early 2000s revealed widespread sexual harassment. There is also concern about the relationship between US military bases both inside and outside the country and cases of sexual harassment, rape, and domestic homicide around the bases, as well as prostitution and forms of sexual abuse (Enloe 1990). However, there is still debate about the nature of the relationship between militarism and various forms of gender violence, and it is not clear that military service in itself produces higher levels of gender violence in the home.

At the societal level, militarization celebrates violence, including its gendered forms. In the USA, the military is fairly isolated from the rest of the society, but in some countries the boundary between military and civilian sectors is blurred, so that militarization and militarized ideas of masculinity creep into mainstream society. Cynthia Enloe (2000: 3) defines militarization as a gradual process by which the
individual and society come to be controlled by the military and to see militaristic ideas as fundamental to well-being. As militarization transforms individuals and societies, military needs and assumptions come to appear both valuable and normal. Some consider militarism a taken-for-granted worldview that legitimates and venerates organized violence as the way to achieve political goals (Adelman 2003: 5; see also Lutz 2002). It refers to the diffusion of military ideologies and values throughout society. “In a militarized society, one is always oriented toward war” (Adelman 2003: 6). Feminists have argued that militarism and its gender hierarchies are linked to men’s violence against women. Its culture of violence seems to reach from armed conflict to relations in the home. Militarized masculinity can produce woman battering.

Israel is an example of a militarized society in which the boundaries between the military and society are highly permeable (Adelman 2003: 3). Israel exists in a state of perpetual preparedness for war, and has still not canceled the state of emergency declared at its founding in 1948. The army is the core of Israeli collectivity, and security is everyone’s project. Men who are eligible for the military earn membership in the collectivity through their military service. Women, on the other hand, earn their membership through marriage and motherhood, by nurturing soldiers and raising soldier children, although they are also conscripted into the armed services (Adelman 2003: 9). Yet those who are Palestinian citizens of Israel or Palestinians in the occupied territories experience this militarism differently, as a form of symbolic and physical violence (Adelman 2003: 11).

In the 1990s, some Israelis began to draw links between men’s military service in the occupied territories and domestic life in Israel, arguing that this experience had normalized violence and legitimated its role in solving problems and dealing with differences. Although the extent to which the violence of soldiering is brought home is debated in Israel, the pervasive availability of weapons issued by the Israeli Defense Force was acknowledged by a special report to the minister of public security in 1998 (Adelman 2003: 18). Both Israeli and Palestinian activists in the field of domestic violence agree that militarism and the occupation increased the number of women seeking help for violence and most likely added to the incidence of violence itself. At the same time, the public celebration of victims of political violence served to privatize and diminish the importance of other victims of violence, whose suffering does not equally symbolize the threats to the nation as a whole. Police officers still view domestic violence as a “family conflict” situation that they would rather avoid. Arab women have particular difficulty getting police help since they are often viewed as complicit with terrorists or as accustomed to violent treatment (Adelman et al. 2003).

The military itself makes pervasive use of gendered metaphors to assess morality and good behavior. For example, in Carol Cohn’s study of the way defense intellectuals in the USA talk to each other, she finds that gendered images are fundamental to the way they evaluate military strategies. She uses the term “gender discourse” to describe how people in this security/defense community refer to actions as masculine or feminine in order to judge them as good or bad. For example, the approved
speaking style is dispassionate and cool, while the person who becomes emotionally intense is dismissed as a "hysterical housewife," clearly a gendered image of a person without legitimate opinions. Men who worry about death rates in war consider themselves to be acting like women (Cohn 1993: 331).

Cohn gives an example of the dominance of these gendered modes of thinking in an account of her participation in a simulated war exercise. The participants are divided into teams and cannot negotiate with each other directly but must simply use military tactics. Her team focused on protecting the civilian population and did not retaliate to an attack of tactical nuclear weapons. In the discussion after the exercise, the other team called her team "wimps," suggesting that they lacked the kind of masculinity that would have led them to attack back vigorously. The author describes how this label served to silence her group, found wanting in this crucial dimension of masculinity. Another commonly used term is "pussy," referring both to domesticated, and therefore demasculinized, pets and women's genitalia. The term is used when someone begins to worry about the loss of life on the other side, so that a defense intellectual might say, "What kind of pussy are you, anyway?" A few comments of this genre, and those who might be concerned about excessive loss of enemy life learn to remain silent (Cohn 1993: 337).

Here, gendered language serves powerfully to police behavior that does not conform to social conceptions of masculinity within the sphere of war, humiliating and silencing those who appear to act in ways interpreted as less masculine or even feminine. It can also serve to denigrate the opinions of others, as occurred when a US defense intellectual referred to German politicians concerned about the popular opposition to deploying Euromissiles by saying, "Those Krauts are a bunch of limp-dicked wimps" (Cohn 1993: 337). Some US defense intellectuals referred to NATO allies as "Euro-fags" when they disagreed with US policies such as bombing Libya. During the Gulf War of 1991, popular bumper stickers in the USA read "Saddam, Bend Over," while a widely distributed cartoon portrayed an enormous missile entering Saddam Hussein's anus while he was bent over in prayer. Clearly, the idea of anal penetration is used to feminize and weaken an enemy. Over and over, the US military was depicted as achieving a humiliating defeat of Iraq through anal penetration of Saddam Hussein's body as a result of the more powerful and manly qualities of the USA. Failure to attack is also described in gendered terms: for example, a well-known academic security affairs specialist was quoted as saying that "under Jimmy Carter, the United States is spreading its legs for the Soviet Union" (Cohn 1993: 338).

Such comments shift discussions about war and military policy from rationality to masculinity. In this context, debates are shaped by where one positions oneself, either as masculine, therefore rational and strong, or feminine and weak. Those who take the latter path find that their opinions are ignored. Simply bringing more women into national security discussions would not help, since any views interpreted as "feminine" are dismissed regardless of who asserts them. Cohn's point is that gendered labels provide interpretations of behavior that are so closely linked to valued and disvalued identities that they create spaces of silence and non-action. Individuals fear to say or act in ways that will earn them humiliation and dismissal.
for not being masculine enough. In this way, culture shapes what people can and cannot do. As societies become more militarized, such gendered cultural categories tend to spread more widely in the society.

Although women often serve as peacemakers, they also contribute to male violence. Notions that women have some essential qualities of peacemaking are overly simplistic, as are ideas that men are inherently violent and incapable of making peace. Women actively incite men to war. For example, in the conservative Hindu nationalist movement which rose to national political leadership in India in the late twentieth century, women encouraged men to act in violent ways in the service of the nation. In a famous speech, a young woman ascetic, Sadhvi Rithambhara, used sustained passion, anger, and references to masculinity to deliver a call to Hindu men to arise and kill Muslims (Sarkar 2001: 268–288). She demanded that Hindu men take vengeance against Muslims to protect a sacralized nation and evoked images of combative masculinity juxtaposed with emasculation and eunuchs. In the speech, Rithambhara insists on violence, but frames her demand within a principle of benevolence: it is the Muslims who have inflamed a fundamentally peaceful Ram and his Hindu community (Sarkar 2001: 276). Portraying the country as sacred and vulnerable, threatened by Muslim neighbors outside and treacherous Muslims within, she preserves the vision of the nation as a unified whole and obscures divisions by caste and class (Sarkar 2001: 279). Women are part of this vision also. They are to fill their hearts with anger and take a place in the struggle, but Rithambhara is clear that their role is to produce sons who will kill Muslims. She calls women mothers and finally wombs. Mothering becomes an act of anger; the woman conceives and nurtures her sons as instruments of revenge. Women are to give birth to masculine violence, but it is the men who are violent: “Make yourselves into a clenched fist, my brothers!” (Sarkar 2001: 284).

This taped speech, recorded in 1990, was widely replayed in Hindu temples and at meetings organized by the religious wing of this movement. It contributed to renewed violence by Hindu groups against Muslims. The fact that these sentiments were delivered by a woman of an apparently sacred and disinterested status greatly increased their impact. This ideology celebrating masculine violence in defense of the sacred nation, along with feminine celebration of this violence, has contributed to ongoing tensions and periodic eruptions of communal violence.

Ethnic Conflict and Sexualized Violence: The Carnage in Gujarat

In 2002 the latest in a series of violent rampages of Hindus against Muslims took place in several cities in Gujarat, a western province of India and one of its most industrialized states. This district is predominantly Hindu, although about 8 percent are Muslims. There have been episodes of religious conflict, called communal conflict
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in India, throughout the twentieth century. The 2002 attacks were set off by an alleged attack by Muslims on a train carrying Hindu pilgrims, but what actually happened was not clear. A fire in the train killed 59 men and women. The Gujarat government, under the control of the right-wing Hindu nationalist party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), quickly announced that Muslims were responsible. Some blamed local Muslim residents, others Islamic terrorists from adjacent Pakistan. The accusation unleashed a violent assault on the Muslim community across the state of Gujarat. Within 72 hours, some 2,000 people were killed according to one report, although the official figure was 762. About 113,000 were driven to relief camps. There was widespread destruction of Muslim property in terms of hotels, trucks, businesses, and mosques that were burnt or destroyed. There are indications that the attack was pre-planned: rioters carried lists of Muslim families by address or houses were pre-marked. Arms had been distributed widely to the public in advance. These points are described in an international, feminist report on the violence that offers detailed evidence of the extent of rape and assault on women as part of the violence (International Initiative for Justice in Gujarat (III) 2003). This report also notes that there was little if any effort by state institutions to contain the violence or to provide humanitarian or medical support.

The III report, describing hearings held by a panel of jurists, activists, lawyers, writers, and academics from around the world, examines the prominent role sexual violence played in this conflict (III 2003: 6). Women caught in the conflict described rapes, especially gang rapes:

We went to AA5 area. Young men came and started beating us and asked us to leave. Then we went into AA6 area. Again the people from AA6 area started beating us up. We again started running. We saw smoke, they told us tyres are burning. Lots of women, children were running. We went running there, we saw on the road between AA6 area and the State Transport depot, many girls were stripped and were being raped. Girls were shouting. I saw 4-5 girls being raped ... Hindu men from AA6 area were doing all this ... While raping the girls, the men were shouting "Har har mahadev. They were saying, "Go to Pakistan, why are you in Hindustan!?" (Woman survivor from Ahmedabad, III 2003: 33).

They cut off the breasts of her (neighbour’s) daughter, it is difficult to forget, it still swims in my vision. I have lost my mental peace. (Village survivor, IIJ 2003: 33)

My father-in-law, a retired schoolteacher, refused to leave the village with the other Muslim families who fled to PV3 on February 28th. He believed that no one would harm us. From the 28th about 13 members of my family sought refuge in various people's houses and the fields. On Sunday afternoon (March 3rd) the hut we were hiding in was attacked. We ran in different directions and hid in the field. But the mob found some of us and started attacking. I could hear various members of my family shouting for mercy as they were attacked. I recognized two people from my village - Gano Baria and Sunil - pulling away my daughter. She screamed, telling the men to get off her and leave her alone. The screams and cries of Ruqaiya, Suhana, Shabana, begging for the iizzat (honor) could clearly be heard. My mind was seething
with fear and fury. I could do nothing to help my daughter from being assaulted sexually and tortured to death. My daughter was like a flower, still to experience life. Why did they have to do this to her? What kind of men are these? The monsters tore my beloved daughter to pieces. After a while, the mob was saying, "Cut them to pieces, leave no evidence." I saw fires being lit. After some time the mob started leaving. And it became quiet. (Testimony in a report in Ahmedabad, IIJ 2003: 33–34)

The report argues that these events were pre-planned, and that the police, who witnessed the violence, did nothing. Some reported that the police themselves were violent, aiding in the attacks. The event was framed as a defense of "real Hindu men." One activist reported an incident where Hindu men exposed their penises and said, "Your men are weak, we're strong, you're not strong enough to fuck your own women" (IIJ 2003: 36). Women joined in the violence and looting as well. One woman testified: "X's daughter was pulling women by hair and throwing them in fire ... We saw women from AA6 area pouring kerosene or some chemical powder so the bodies used to burn" (IIJ 2003: 37). In addition to these acts of physical and sexual violence, Muslim women were subjected to taunts, threats, and many other forms of harassment.

These acts of violence reflected the idea of Muslim men as the enemy "other" and of the use of sexual violence to humiliate them and at the same time recoup the strength of the emasculated Hindu society. Rapes were often carried out publicly or in front of family members in order to subjugate the entire community. Rape served not only to humiliate but to impregnate Muslim women with Hindu children, a response to fears about allegedly greater rates of reproduction among Muslim families. As the report points out, one consequence of this violence targeted at young women and girls has been to increase early marriages, restrictions on girls' mobility, and their withdrawal from school and work as they confront their real lack of safety (IIJ 2003: 41). In this situation, attacking and raping women was a desirable strategy for undermining the honor of the other community and asserting dominance over them through the enactment of a violent and sexually predatory masculinity. Here, however, the state was complicit. The government of Gujarat has not yet moved to redress or punish these offenses. This inaction fuels women's fear of speaking out and reporting the abuse they have suffered. Instead, the panel found that many remain silent, reluctant to talk about their experiences of abuse even a year later (IIJ 2003: 44–45).

From the perspective of perpetrators, sexual violence in times of armed conflict can come to seem normal, even banal. A statement by a Peruvian soldier sent from the coast to control the Maoist guerrillas of the Shining Path in the Andean highlands reveals the everyday ordinariness of gender violence in war, as well as some discomfort by a perpetrator. In 1982 the Peruvian military was engaged in an effort to contain a violent peasant uprising in highland Peru. A navy veteran sent to contain it offers this story. It takes for granted attitudes of coastal Peruvians toward the Indian populations of the highlands, expressed through the term chola, Andean woman, as well as a chilling indifference to the woman's suffering:
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I'm going to tell you an anecdote. One day we had been on patrol for fifteen days. The patrol leader was a complete asshole, an imbecile, an idiot who had been a desk jockey his whole life, but they made him a leader because he had seniority. One day, they gave us a chola to waste. Great, so where can we do it? We looked for and found a deserted house. But it had all the conveniences, furniture, a television. That's because we were in a drug zone. We installed ourselves there, and one by one we gave it to the poor chola. I remember that beforehand the guys had dressed her well with her little dress, and they made everything just right. I remember too that the patrol leader didn't want us to touch her, and I told him, "You are really fucked, the order's been given, we've got to waste this chola and nothing more." I remember her saying, "I'm a virgin, I'm a virgin." Get out of here, chola. Of course she wasn't a virgin. Here one learns to be a shit. Afterwards, the boys played her like a yo-yo. Then we wasted her. ("Pancho" 2005: 361)

Genocide and Rape in Rwanda: A Case Study

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda presents another vivid illustration of the centrality of sexual violence to conflict. Over a 100-day period from April to June 1994, more than 800,000 Rwandans, mostly adult males, were massacred in violent conflicts between the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi ethnic groups. A group of Hutu political leaders eager to create a purely Hutu Rwandan nation were the masterminds behind the violence. Not only Tutsis but also Hutus who advocated power sharing and a multi-ethnic coexistence were targets. Since these acts were committed with the intent of obliterating another group, they constitute genocide, as defined in the UN Convention on Genocide.

Although significantly fewer women were killed than men, women and girls were subjected to rape and other forms of sexual abuse (see Mamdani 2002; Power 2002). Several studies have estimated the extent of rape during the genocide, with astounding results. A 1996 report by the United Nation's Special Rapporteur on Rwanda estimated that at least 250,000 women were raped during the genocide.

1 I am grateful to Nur Amali Ibrahim for research and writing for this section.

2 Genocide is defined in the United Nation's 1948 Convention for the Prevention of Genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Another study suggests that a high proportion of Rwandan women were raped during the genocide. This 1999 study, conducted by the Association of Widows of the Genocide, reported that of a sample of 1,125 women living in the prefectures of Kigali, Butare, and Kibundo, approximately 74.5 percent had suffered some form of sexual violence during the genocide (Association of Widows of the Genocide (AVEGA) 1999). These rapes were not simply random by-products of the chaotic situation in Rwanda, but were deliberately and efficiently committed as part of the extremist Hutu genocidal strategy. As a weapon of genocide, rape was no less brutal than guns or machetes: many rape victims eventually became infected by HIV or had their reproductive organs so severely damaged that they could no longer bear the next generation of Tutsis.

Why was rape so widespread during the Rwandan genocide? How does it contribute to a genocidal policy? As this chapter shows, sexual violence has long been a deliberate and carefully planned military tactic, as in the forced sexual enslavement of Korean women (also widely known as "comfort women") by Japanese soldiers during World War II, or the rapes of Bosnian women by Serbian soldiers in the Balkan wars of the early 1990s. War rapes are not simply the product of overaggressive males terrorizing victimized women, nor are they part of "ancient hatreds" or "African tribal savagery." Such explanations fail to take into account the specific factors and circumstances behind rape during times of war and conflict. As this case study shows, the particular historical context, social structure, and ideology of racial purity allowed rape to occur on a massive scale.

Rape as a form of genocide

The Rwandan genocide was essentially an ethnic conflict orchestrated by extremist Hutu political leaders who were determined to maintain a Hutu monopoly over political power in Rwanda. Most violence came from soldiers in the military and members of the militia group known as the Interahamwe. As the genocide progressed, ordinary citizens became involved as well. While Tutsi men were the primary targets of the Hutu militia in the first month of the conflict, women were systematically targeted after May 1994 (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996). Evidence presented at the International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda (ICTR), an international court established in November 1994 to address the atrocities committed in Rwanda, revealed that top Hutu political leaders gave orders to the militia to commit the rapes. In 1998 the ICTR found Jean-Paul Akayesu, a former Rwandan mayor, guilty of nine counts of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes (see International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda website at http://69.94.11.53/main.htm). This verdict was a

4 The Interahamwe consisted of mainly young Hutu men, and many of its members were even as young as pre-pubescent teens. The group was formed by Hutu members of the Rwandan government in the years leading to the genocide (International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda website, http://69.94.11.53/main.htm).
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dramatic new development in international law: it was the first time rape was defined by an international court as an act of genocide (Human Rights Watch 1998).

During the genocide, Hutu political leaders used the extremist Hutu radio station, Radio Libre des Milles Collines, to command the militia to commit violence against the Tutsis. The Radio Milles Collines also disseminated anti-Tutsi hate propaganda to rouse anger among the Hutu militia and incite them to violence (Power 2002). To encourage the militia to rape Tutsi women, journalists from the Radio Milles Collines painted an extremely pejorative and alarmist picture of Tutsi women. They accused Tutsis of using their women to infiltrate the Hutu ethnic group by making Hutu men fall in love with them. The radio broadcasts portrayed Tutsi women as beautiful but very arrogant; allegedly often rejecting Hutu men they thought were ugly (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996: 16-18). Tutsi women were therefore cast as seductress-spies who were wickedly trying to bring about the downfall of the Hutus. Moreover, the radio station broadcast the names of Tutsis to be targeted, along with their hiding places. Since many Interahamwe carried portable radios while they hunted for Tutsis, they could respond quickly to this information. The Radio Milles Collines therefore played an instrumental role in the perpetration of rapes and murders during the genocide.

The sexual violence against Rwandan women was chillingly systematic. Members of the Interahamwe set up checkpoints at roads across Rwanda to check the identity cards of all persons passing through. Those with Hutu identity cards could pass through unharmed. However, Tutsi were greeted with unimaginable terror. Tutsi men were usually immediately killed — hacked to death by machetes or shot — while Tutsi women were generally raped and/or killed. In addition to many Tutsi women being raped at checkpoints, some were raped in their villages by Hutu neighbors who were militia members. In such cases, the victims often knew their perpetrators. Most of the women raped during the genocide were Tutsi, but some Hutu women were violated if they were married to Tutsis, protected Tutsis, or were simply caught in the general chaos and mayhem (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996: 41). Towards the end of the genocide, when the Tutsi rebel group Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) began gaining control over Rwanda, some RPF soldiers committed sexual violence against Hutu women as a form of reprisal (Amnesty International 2004: 2). Thus women on both sides of the conflict suffered sexual violence.

Testimonies collected from Rwandan women give us a glimpse into some of the atrocities committed during the genocide. One victim who was raped in April 1994 gave the following testimony:

The next day, they killed all the men and boys. I was left with my baby and the three girls. At the riverside, I was raped by a group of Interahamwe one after another. I knew
all of them ... After they finished raping me, they threw me in the river to die along with my children. My children all drowned, but the river threw me back. I floated back to the riverside. (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996: 42).

In addition to being raped, some women also had their genitals mutilated, a symbolic and physical destruction of the women's capability to reproduce the next generation of Tutsis. A witness who saw rape and mutilation happen during the genocide gave the following account:

About ten of them (the Interahamwe) would gang-rape a woman, and when they had finished, they would kill her by pushing a sharpened stick the size of a broomstick into her vagina until she was bleeding and almost dead. I saw them do this to several women. (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996: 64)

Apart from mutilating women's genitals, the perpetrators sometimes severed body parts which were thought to be characteristically Tutsi, such as thin noses and long fingers.

Another form of sexual violence was collective sexual slavery. Women were held captive in a compound to sexually service their captors. Some women became individual sexual slaves, singled out to belong to a particular captor. Others were forced to marry and were called "wives" of their Hutu "husbands" even though many were coerced into such arrangements. One woman who was forced to marry an Interahamwe member said: "You know ... we call these men our husbands. But they were not a true love. I hated this man. Maybe you could even be killed by them ... This happened to a lot of young girls - even school girls around eighteen years old were kept like this" (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996: 57).

Understanding sexual violence in wartime

During the Rwandan genocide, many international journalists attributed the violence to essentialized cultural factors such as atavistic tribal savagery. Media reports frequently made references to Africa's "heart of darkness," "the Apocalypse," "the Hell," and "the Devils of Rwanda" when offering explanations for the genocide. However, such reports failed to consider that there were specific causes, circumstances, and culprits behind the genocide. A fundamental factor is the longstanding rivalry between the Hutus and the Tutsis and the way that enmity was exacerbated by German and Belgian colonial leaders. The Europeans favored different ethnic groups at different moments of colonial rule as a strategy for maintaining colonial power over Rwanda. After Rwanda's independence from colonial rule in 1962, Hutu and Tutsi political leaders continued to jostle for control over the country, often with bloody consequences. Therefore, the genocidal killings and rapes in 1994 had a specific genealogy in terms of the struggle for political power (see Mamdani 2002).
In addition, evidence presented at the ICTR showed that the extremist Hutu government had taken various calculated steps, such as forming the Interahamwe and setting up the Radio Milles Collines a few years before 1994 in order to prepare for the genocide. The killings and rapes that took place in Rwanda in 1994 were not quintessentially “African,” but were historically conditioned, politically motivated, state generated, and carefully planned.

While vast numbers of Rwandan women were subjected to terrible atrocities during the genocide, it is important that we do not cast Rwandan women in the singular role of victim. Rwandan women are not an undifferentiated group, nor did they experience the genocide the same way. Wealthy women were able to leave the country when their safety was threatened, but most Rwandan women were too poor to escape. One person who managed to escape from Rwanda while the genocide was taking place was Monique Mujawamariya, the president of the Rwandan Association for the Defence of Human Rights and Public Liberties. To leave the country, she bribed some Hutu soldiers with large sums of money. She eventually made her way to Canada, where she lobbied the United Nations and the international community to intervene in the crisis in Rwanda.

Some women aligned with the extremist Hutu faction were aggressors during the genocide. For example, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, the Minister for Women and the Family in the Rwandan government, visited locations where Tutsis were detained and personally supervised the selection of people to be executed. Other women assisted the militia by identifying the people that were to be targeted and cheering the militia men on while they carried out rampages of killing and raping. Some women were reported as committing murders and looting the possessions of victims who had been murdered (African Rights 1995). Their complicity in the genocidal campaign is complicated, however. Some were probably firm believers in and supporters of the Hutu nationalist project, while others may have been threatened to comply on pain of death. Rwandan women’s ethnicity, class, and other characteristics affected their position within the volatile and complex power relations of the genocide. Powerless women were more often raped and/or killed while women of higher social class or with better connections aligned themselves with people in power and escaped violence.

Like the women, Rwandan men also experienced the genocidal violence in different ways. Even though males were the primary aggressors – rapists and murderers – in the genocide, most of the people killed by the militia were also men (Lentin 1997; El-Bushra 2000). Therefore, just as there is no undifferentiated role of female victim, there is no single role for the male aggressor in the genocide. Most women in the genocide were targeted not because they were women, but because they were Tutsi women. Rape committed during the genocide was seen by the perpetrators as an assault not against the individual woman but on her ethnic group (see Kesic 2000: 31).

The sexual violence of the genocide was facilitated by the social structure in Rwanda. Traditionally, women occupied a subordinate position in Rwandan society. A study conducted by the Human Rights Watch listed some of the challenges faced
by Rwandan women in their everyday lives prior to the genocide. For instance, there were limited economic opportunities for women outside the home (women were generally thought to be child bearers and little more); women were under-represented in education and politics; and there were discriminatory policies which denied women access to credit and landowning (Human Rights Watch, Africa 1996). This overarching structure of discrimination against women, combined with a murderous nationalist crusade, might explain why gender violence was committed on such a massive scale during the genocide. The extremist Hutu nationalist project requires obliterating Tutsis, and when it connects to the patriarchal social structure that dominates and silences women, it condemns Tutsi women to the same treatment. Kesic (2000) argues that a social structure that subordinates women merges well with a nationalist project because they share many structural similarities. Both naturalize power inequalities, promote a sense of "this is how it is meant to be," and imply the domination of one social group while silencing and conquering the bodies and territories of the other (Kesic 2000: 25).

Although the genocide ended more than a decade ago, Rwandan women are still suffering its consequences. To witness the killings of one's husband, brothers, and children, to survive when one's entire family has been killed, and to be displaced from one's home are some of the tragedies that Rwandan women face. Rapes bring problems such as shame, unwanted pregnancies, and HIV infection. Great social stigma exists against rape in Rwanda, such that a woman who reveals that she has been raped faces the likelihood of being shunned by her family members and community. Many rape victims choose to suffer in silence instead. Since abortion is illegal in Rwanda, pregnant rape victims must decide between carrying the baby to full term or having an illegal abortion. Of the women who were raped during the genocide, about 70 per cent are estimated to have been infected with HIV (Amnesty International 2004: 3). It is possible that some of these women were already infected because the rate of HIV infection in Rwanda is high, yet large numbers of women were tested for HIV only after the genocide. As in many other societies worldwide, people infected with HIV face stigma and discrimination in Rwanda. Many rape victims with HIV infection have not been able to gain easy access to HIV medication, given that Rwanda's medical infrastructure has been greatly devastated by the genocide (Amnesty International 2004; Meintjes et al. 2001).

While the genocide brought much grief to many Rwandan women and its effects still persist, the genocide also provided them opportunities to work toward changes in society. Because the majority of those killed during the genocide were men, the female population in Rwanda today significantly outnumbers the male population. About 70 per cent of the population is female. Women are called on to fill traditionally male roles such as heads of families, community leaders, and political elites (see Acquaro and Sherman 2005). Thus, despite the suffering and devastation of the genocide, it has paradoxically had some benefits for women.

Rape is usually understood as an interpersonal form of violence, but the Rwandan genocide shows clearly its political uses. The violence was an attempt by a ruling
During the post-Cold War period, the number of refugees and internally displaced persons has risen dramatically as people flee ethnic warfare, genocide, political turmoil, and natural disasters. War is still the primary reason for displacement. Estimates of the world refugee population vary from 30 to 45 million people, of whom perhaps 70–75 percent are women and children (Wali 1995: 336; US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants 2004). Of these, according to the 2004 World Refugee Survey of the United States Refugee Commission report, 12 million were refugees in a foreign country and 24 million displaced within their own country. This survey found that 7.35 million had been "warehoused" in camps and settlements for over ten years. The largest numbers of displaced people are in Africa and the Middle East, with Sudan having the largest group of internally displaced people, approximately 5 million. Poor postcolonial countries with internal strife clearly have limited resources to assist refugees. Only about 17.1 million of these people fall under the umbrella of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). About half of all adult and child refugees are female, although the common practice of estimating the proportion of refugees who are women and children suggests that there are higher numbers of women. However, demographic information on refugees is very difficult to obtain and quite fragmentary. Because displacement usually begins from war, men often leave while women are left to struggle to preserve their families. After they flee, they are deprived of the support of extended family and neighbors even as they become responsible for families in camps and settlements.

Situations of violence and flight, whether across borders as refugees or internally as displaced persons, exacerbate women's vulnerability to violence. Refugee women are vulnerable because of the disruption of community and housing resources and because those who have fled within their country must depend on their own governments for support, yet these governments often ignore or even sanction violence
against them, as in Gujarat and Rwanda. Once in refugee camps in another country, women are often malnourished because male refugees receive more food and medical attention. Some international and Western relief agencies exacerbate the problem by granting food, relief, and protection to male refugees (Wali 1995: 337). This discriminatory treatment may be justified as “culturally appropriate.” Sometimes camp administrators and border guards assigned to protect refugee women fleeing across borders rape them. Reproductive health is a particularly serious concern for refugee women because they face dangers of sexual violence and the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Many refugees are women of child-bearing age yet health services are often lacking. Some face forced pregnancy as dominant military forces use them to “reproduce the nation” (Macklin 2004: 94).

In refugee camps, women are still vulnerable to sexual violence, as they were in wartime, from men in the receiving community, men in the camp, or even local police forces. A common problem is women’s need to leave the camp for distant latrines or to forage for firewood, opening them up to attack. Forms of male privilege that governed women’s lives before displacement are exacerbated in the refugee context at the same time as their vulnerability to attack is increased. There is gradual recognition of the particular difficulties faced by women refugees, but the concept of a refugee developed in the years after World War II assumed that the refugee was a heterosexual male fleeing persecution. Gender was not included as a basis for persecution in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and has not developed as a clear and unambiguous category for relief.

It is becoming increasingly clear that there are critical linkages between housing and women’s vulnerability to violence. Housing in refugee camps is typically minimal and flimsy. Refugees are easily preyed on by soldiers, local residents, or even camp police. Local law enforcement is likely to be ineffective. When refugees or internally displaced persons seek to return to their homes, they often find them occupied by others or destroyed, so that they must live in substandard conditions where the lack of privacy and limited space increases their vulnerability to violence. Recognizing the link between women’s access to housing and their vulnerability to violence in the family in situations of armed conflict, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing met with several Asia/Pacific NGOs in 2003 to discuss the linkages between violence against women and women’s right to adequate housing. They also discussed land inheritance and gender-based housing discrimination. The Special Rapporteur reported on this issue at the 2005 UN Human Rights Commission meeting (Aggarwal et al. 2004).

The crisis for refugee women is powerfully exemplified by the situation in Darfur, a region in western Sudan. Here, a conflict between Arab militias and African rebel factions which began in early 2003 has produced an enormous level of death, displacement, and violence against women. Most of the 1 million displaced Darfuri villagers are living in camps elsewhere in Darfur, but between 120,000 and 200,000 had crossed into the neighboring country of Chad by 2005, according to Amnesty International (Amnesty International 2005b). Some refugees move from camp to camp in search of safety. Among those that have found minimal safety in UNCHR
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Women and IDP camps in the past, women significantly outnumber men and are typically heads of households (Hyndman 2000: 105).

Rape has been a pervasive tool of war and means of displacement, with estimates from Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch of thousands of women raped in Darfur. Yet women rarely report rapes or seek medical, psychological, or legal assistance because of the shame and stigma of public exposure and the lack of faith in legal penalties. A New York Times news report notes that the pervasive violence women experience includes not only rape, but also verbal abuse and threats, robbery, whipping with animal whips, and gunshots to the ankles, a sign that women's attackers tried to keep them from fleeing (Sengupta 2004: A1, A9). Women are most vulnerable when they trek to gather firewood, an ongoing problem since wood has not been supplied by humanitarian assistance programs and is in scarce supply. This is defined as women's work in the family unit. One woman in a refugee camp in eastern Chad, just over the border from Sudan, said, weeping, that she had been sexually assaulted by five men, all in military clothes, during an attack on her hometown. Under her veil she had a long gash on her cheek. Amnesty International reported that some women had been raped in front of their relatives. Yet local law enforcement is unreliable, and little is done. Refugees in Chad reported in 2004 that it was common for the Sudanese military and Arab militiamen to attack villages and rape women as they tried to flee. One woman described being chased down by two men on horseback as she ran from an attack on her village and being raped by one while the other held a gun to her head. She was pregnant at the time (Sengupta 2004: A1, A9).

But even when they reach refugee camps, they are not safe. A UN refugee agency reported that 13 women had been raped over a period of ten days just beyond a displaced people's camp in Darfur. A 13-year-old girl told the African Union's ceasefire commission that three men found her as she was gathering firewood, called her a rebel, and took turns raping her. Another woman on her way to a farm on the outskirts of a town was stopped by four men on horseback and camel who accused her of looking like a member of the rebel faction and beat her with the butts of their rifles, then took turns raping her. She no longer goes outside to collect firewood, she says, and her children, aged 4 to 15, subsist on aid rations. When people go out, she says, they get beaten and raped. The head of the African Union in the area said that rape was very common, almost on a daily basis. Yet, the Sudanese government denies that its soldiers would do such a thing, and the African Union military delegation has no authority beyond monitoring the ceasefire (Sengupta 2004: A9). As is so often the case in situations of warfare, women become the pawns between rival militaries, with rape and assault a favored way for each group to attack the other. Their suffering is largely silenced and ignored, a common but unrecognized tragedy of war.

However, despite the challenges women face as refugees from war, they should not be viewed as simply helpless, victimized, and unable to better their situation given the opportunity. As Harrell-Bond and Voutira (1992: 7) note, the relationship between refugees and relief agencies is very unequal and can promote dependency, but experiments in which women are asked to locate latrines and make other
important decisions about camp life have proved successful in diminishing vulnerability. Unknown numbers of women have managed to recreate their lives after displacement, disappearing from the spectrum of refugees. However, such success stories occur despite, not because of, the conditions with which refugee women are forced to cope.

International Law and Rape as a Crime of War

Although rape has long been a dimension of war, only recently has the international community taken the offense seriously as a war crime. Even when rape has been widespread and systemic, as it was when German women were raped by the conquering Russian army in World War II or 200,000 to 400,000 Korean and other east Asian women were enslaved as “comfort women” by the Japanese army in the same war, it has not been viewed as a serious offense (Copelon 1994: 197). Estimates for rapes in Rwanda run to 50,000 and in Bosnia 20,000, although precise figures are impossible given women’s reluctance to report violations and face the inevitable censure and stigma.

In the past, rape was often considered a violation of a man’s honor and property and the victim was the humiliated and emasculated male, not the woman herself. The Geneva Conventions of 1949 move away from this position to some extent, but still define rape as a crime against the honor and dignity of women (Copelon 1994: 201). This reflects the idea that honor depends on chastity and ignores the ways in which rape is an act of violence against women. The Geneva Conventions do not include rape within the category of “grave breaches,” the only offenses that are subject to universal jurisdiction and that obligate every nation to bring the perpetrators to justice. Kelly Askin, a scholar who has worked extensively on rape as a war crime, observes that there is a tendency to ignore sex-based crimes which are inevitably personal, with less visible injuries, and victims who are often uncomfortable about revealing them (Askin 2003: 346). The feminist legal scholar Rhonda Copelon (1994: 201) argues that rape should be explicitly recognized as a form of torture, and thus a “grave breach.”

A historic decision by the ICTR tribunal investigating the Rwanda genocide recognized rape as a war crime for the first time. This 1998 decision convicted Jean-Paul Akayesu of failing to stop rape and murder by his subordinates (Cahn 2004: 27). The widespread incidence of rape in the Bosnian war in the early 1990s, in conjunction with practices of “ethnic cleansing” drew world attention to the problem of mass rape, although only in conjunction with genocidal assaults on the entire population of Bosnian Muslims. Even as “genocidal rape” gained attention, ordinary rape was viewed as less important. In 2002, however, three Bosnia Serbs were convicted by the International Tribunal for Yugoslavia of sexual assault on Muslim women at rape camps, defining rape and sexual enslavement as crimes against humanity. The head of Amnesty International USA noted that sexual enslavement in armed
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conflict is now legally acknowledged as a crime against humanity, which will make it more difficult for perpetrators to act with impunity. Although there was debate in the court about whether the prosecutor had to prove that the rapes were widespread or whether they took place in the context of a widespread and systematic attack, the judge decided that the latter standard was adequate (Hagen and Levi 2005: 1520), thus moving toward understanding individual rape, not only genocidal rape, as a serious war crime.

The Rome Statute, which created the International Criminal Court, the first permanent court to try cases of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, defined rape and other serious forms of sexual slavery as "crimes against humanity" when committed as part of a broad attack against civilians, and as "war crimes" when committed as part of a plan or when there are massive numbers of rapes (Cahn 2004: 27). Sexual and gender-based violence are included as severe human rights abuses, along with state-sanctioned beatings of women who fail to dress in a certain way, rape, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy, sexual violence, enforced prostitution, and enforced sterilization when they occur in the context of armed conflict or as crimes against humanity. Trafficking of women and gender-based persecution are also defined as crimes against humanity when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilians.

The court came into full operation in 2006 with jurisdiction over its signatory countries, which at the time did not include the USA. The court takes a case only when national judicial systems are unwilling or unable to prosecute the alleged criminals. In 2007 the ICC announced that one of its first cases would focus on rape. It plans to investigate a government crackdown in 2002 and 2003 that followed a coup attempt in the Central African Republic. There were at least 600 rapes as well as killings, beatings, and other abuses. The prosecutor believes it was a mass campaign and is seeking to indict the organizers rather than the rapists themselves. This investigation is unusual since it focuses primarily on rape rather than killing (Polgreen and Simons 2007: A6).

Thus, through changes in statutes and through the experience of trying war crimes (see Hagen and Levi 2005), international law has come to define rape in the context of armed conflict as a serious violation. This success does not mean such cases will be handled successfully in large numbers, however. International tribunals are slow and expensive and can handle only a small number of cases. Women who have been raped by enemy soldiers are usually reluctant to reveal their violation, fearing hostility and shame from relatives and neighbors. Despite the importance of these rulings within international law, women are still vulnerable to rapes, to bearing the children of rapes, and to a wide array of forms of sexual enslavement and violation during wartime. By and large, rape is defined as a war crime only when it occurs in the context of systematic and widespread sexual violence and armed conflict. However, there are clearly indications that the international community has finally recognized that sexual violence is a serious violation in the context of armed conflict and is moving toward defining the violations of even individual women as serious offenses.
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Conclusions

The case studies in this chapter demonstrate that although both men and women suffer during incidents of war, armed conflict, and ethnic and racial violence, women are particularly harmed. They are more likely to be displaced and housed in refugee camps than adult males, they are often raped, and they often suffer other forms of violence. Militarized societies celebrate a violent form of masculinity which sometimes increases the violence women experience. The examples from the Hindu-Muslim conflict in Gujarat and the genocide in Rwanda both show the importance of gendered discourses and violence in inciting conflict and the centrality of gender violence in the fighting. However, it is also clear that men suffer as well as women, and that women are not necessarily bystanders to these connections, since some women take central roles in articulating the need for men to go to war to defend women and the homeland, as the example from the Hindu right showed.

What these examples all show, in sum, is the power of gendered language to incite violence and justify rape and murder. They show the intimate relationship between religious and ethnic conflict and gendered language. Clearly, using gendered discourse and gendered forms of violence exacerbates and magnifies other kinds of hostilities. And equally clearly, these forms of structural violence have a powerful gendered dimension. As in the case of the metaphors typically employed by American defense intellectuals, the power of images of an aggressive military masculinity to define desirable behavior and condemn other behavior as "weak" and "feminine" is enormous. Gendered images reinforce militarist behavior.

However, with the emergence of an international criminal court system, the international community is beginning to focus on the gendered dimension of these conflicts and endeavoring to punish the perpetrators. Despite the example of the Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia, there are significant efforts to use UN peacekeepers to diminish some of the damage of ethnic conflict. In 2003 a coalition of NGOs persuaded the UN Security Council to pass a resolution advocating the incorporation of women in peacekeeping missions. The UN has recently established an office to promote this initiative, and there are some early indications of successful missions that include women in leadership roles.

Questions for Further Discussion

1. To what degree is power embedded in, incited, and reproduced in the way we speak? Explain why gendered metaphors are linked to and harden particular values about masculinity and femininity. What are the consequences of their use? Can you think of other examples of everyday language that normalize gender violence?

2. In Chapter 6, we learned that "traditional" gendered practices are connected to nationhood. How are armed conflict, military policy, and other acts of conquest...
also linked to gender, violence, and the nation? Consider how sexualized patterns of dominance are celebrated in society and used to humiliate others.

3 Armed conflict exacerbates women's vulnerability to violence. Explain why rape and forced relocation, like bullets and bombs, are tools of war. Why have they been long ignored, and why are women still silenced? Drawing on previous chapters, explain why you think international law may or may not make a difference in the lives of survivors.

**Video Suggestions**

*Afghanistan Unveiled*, by Brigitte Brault and Aina Women Filming Group
(Afghanistan, 2003), 52 minutes

After the fall of the Taliban, a team of young Afghani women, many in their teens, trained as photojournalists. Except for one, none were able to study or pursue a career while the Taliban was in power. Camera in hand, they travel for the first time outside the capital, Kabul, to document the experience of other women under the Taliban and during the US military campaign. In this rare footage, we meet Kuchi and Hazara women, the latter of whom because of their poverty have been reduced to live in caves, their husbands and sons exterminated by the Taliban. We also journey to Herat, Jalalabad, and Badakshan, places where it was difficult to find women who would speak and be seen on camera at all.

*Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War and Women*, by Mandy Jacobson and Karmen Jelinek (Croatia/USA, 1996), 63 minutes

Jadranka Cigelj and Nusreta Sivac, childhood friends and lawyers, led ordinary lives in Bosnia-Herzegovina until one day in 1992 when their coworkers, neighbors, and acquaintances became their tormentors. In a moving account of their first-hand experience at the Serb concentration camp of Omarska, this film documents their story of systematic torture, humiliation, and rape. Once released, they were shuttled to Croatia, where they turned their struggle for survival into a fight for justice: together, they amassed stories of brutality and successfully lobbied the UN Tribunal at the Hague to include rape as part of international humanitarian law.

*A Duty to Protect: Justice for Child Soldiers in the D.R.C.*, by WITNESS with Association des Jeunes pour le Developpement Integre-Kalundu (AJEDI-Ka) (USA, 2005), 14 minutes

Mafille and January are two girls who were recruited into the military at 13 and 10 years of age, respectively. Children in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo comprise an estimated 60 percent of combatants in a region that has experienced a brutal civil war since 1998. *A Duty to Protect* tells their story of gender violence, sexual exploitation, masculine bravado, and the complexity of conflict and
recruitment in a country where poverty and a lack of social services are endemic. Available online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=FIWIQ4Wt4o8&feature=user.

_God Sleeps in Rwanda_, by Kimberlee Acquaro and Stacy Sherman (Rwanda/USA, 2005), 30 minutes

The 1994 Rwandan genocide left in its aftermath a country that is 70 percent female. Academy Award Nominee for Best Documentary Short, _God Sleeps in Rwanda_ is a poignant story of loss and redemption told through the lens of five women who face an extraordinary burden and an unprecedented opportunity to rebuild their country. An HIV-positive policewoman; widowed mother of four; an aspiring lawyer; a teenage head of household who has on her own raised her four siblings; an orphaned woman turned top development official—these are the women who are redefining gendered power relations since the bloodshed ended.

_The Women Outside: Korean Women and the U.S. Military_, by J. T. Takagi and Hye Jung Park (USA, 1995), 52 minutes

When the US military came to the southern Korean peninsula after World War II, an industry of a gendered kind emerged. As many as 27,000 women work in the military brothels and clubs that "service" American GIs. But these women, many poor and illiterate, remain "outside," subordinated to the whims of US military personnel and stigmatized in their home country. This film documents their lives, from the outskirts of Seoul to cities in America, and questions US military policy, South Korea's economic dependence on these zones of sexualized labor, and, more generally, the role of women in global geopolitics.