War Rape: The Aftermath for Women

By

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We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project is to conduct research which analyzes specific issues of post-war rape recovery and community/societal participation from a perspective of whether there are interventions and/or assistance and/or tools which can be developed with and provided for women who have been raped during war which address personal, sexual, physical, and emotional trauma. The research examines the specific characteristics of war rape and its impacts on affected women with a focus on what happens when the formal war/conflict ends to women who have been raped. What types of services/interventions/assistance do women require in order to participate and recover within their post-conflict societies?

Using a case study of the recent wars in the Balkans, research was completed by conducting a comprehensive literature review and interviewing participants who have worked with women raped during the wars, those who lived through the wars, and those working in post-war reconstructive efforts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In thinking about the people I want to acknowledge for their contributions to this project, I acknowledge first and foremost the women and girls affected by war rape. In making this acknowledgement, I am not attempting, in any way to trivialize their experiences as this acknowledgement invariably does. While this project is an academic endeavor and does not lend itself, even within the context of the action research completed for this project, to the personalization of my reactions, this has been a personal journey of solidarity, for whatever it is worth, with women and girls who have endured the experience(s) of rape.

I am also very grateful for and respectful of the work which has been done by Lepa Mladjenovic, Beverly Allen, Anne Anderson, Annette Lyth, Jennifer Erickson, and Miranda Alison which has been so generously shared with me. There are many other people who shared their experiences and writings with me for this project. Their courage and their work in this field are gratefully acknowledged for this project.

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The task of completing a major research project requires a sponsor who is committed to the research being conducted and who can also provide practical guidance with accomplishing the research. Anne Anderson is the sponsor for this project. Her experience with the research subject matter as well as the research contacts she provided have been invaluable. I thank her heartily for her support and input. She was also a very welcome editor on this project.

I would also like to acknowledge Mary Lee and Marina Reid for their assistance with editing this project.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this to my mother, Hennie Kerstiens, whose own mother, Ana Kamps, was taken away from her, her sister and her brothers in an act of violence. She gave me my identity, my strength, and myself as a woman. I also dedicate this to my young niece, Holly Ann Kerstiens in the hope that she benefits from the gains made by my mother, my aunt, and my grandmother as well as the women of their generations. My wish for her is that she lives her life with optimism and courage as she grows into and thrives throughout her life as a woman.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The mass rape of women during war is not a new phenomenon and has been extensively documented as having occurred in wars throughout history and into modern times. It has affected millions of women and girls of all ages. (Amnesty International, 2004; Brownmiller, 1975; Bop, 2001; Hansen, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2000; Koo, 2002). Historically, the rape of women and girls during war was not generally recognized in international legal and political circles; however, this changed during recent wars, particularly in the Balkans, when the mass rape of women was brought to the attention of the world.

Since the 1990's there has been increasing legal, media, and political attention paid to the rape of women and girls in Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo, to name but a few (Amnesty International, 2004; Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2004). Given the significant number of rapes during war and the resultant emotional, physical, psychological, social, and economic consequences for victims, it is important to examine issues of recovery and resilience.

The primary objective of this study is to focus on what women and girls who have been raped during war need, once war has ended, in order to recover and participate in post-war societies. For the purpose of this project, the term war is used to denote inter and/or intra-state conflict that has an agreed-upon ending through agreement by all parties to the conflict.

There is a growing body of literature that documents the occurrence, characteristics, and impact of war rape. This literature will be examined during the course of this study. There is, at the same time, a paucity of research focusing on what women who have been raped during war require in order to recover and participate in post-war societies. Given the numbers of

women raped during war and the consequences of rape, this question is an important one for research, as the findings can offer a basis for the provision of post-war services for these women.

This paper is divided into nine primary areas of analysis. This introductory chapter is followed by a second chapter that will examine the scope of war rape from both a historical and international perspective. The third chapter outlines the specific research questions examined for the research. It also provides a working hypothesis that has been tested by the research. The fourth chapter outlines the characteristics, frequency, and severity of war rape and provides a theoretical framework for analyzing these elements. This framework incorporates theories of gender, ethnic, and national identity integrated with theories of power. The fifth chapter examines the impact of war rape on the women who are raped. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the needs of women who are raped once formal conflict has ceased.

The sixth chapter outlines the significance of and need for research such as that conducted for this project. The seventh chapter provides an overview of the project methodology. The eighth chapter focuses on the research conducted and research results. The research is comprised of a review of the relevant literature and interviews with those who have worked with women who were raped and others who were impacted by war. The final chapter consists of a synopsis of research findings, conclusions and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO –SCOPE OF THE CONFLICT

In an early and comprehensive study, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (1975), Brownmiller documents the history and common occurrence of rape during war from the time of the First Crusade to the date of her writing. She provides evidence that rape has accompanied all wars and has been used as an instrument of terror. Among the cases examined by Brownmiller are the First Crusade, the Wars of Religion in France during the 16th century, the Hundred Years' War, and the attempt on the part of the British to quell an insurrection in the Scottish Highlands in 1746.

Brownmiller also provides extensive documentation of the rapes of French and Belgian women and girls during World War I by German soldiers as well the mass rape of Jewish women and girls by Germans during World War II and the mass rape of German women committed by Allied troops. She further documents the mass rapes of Chinese women and girls that occurred during the 1937 Japanese occupation of Nanking and those perpetrated by Pakistani soldiers against Bangladeshi women and girls during Bangladesh's 1971 fight for independence. Brownmiller's work on the subject of rape is groundbreaking because it provided the first comprehensive documentation and explanation of war rape with well-researched supporting evidence.

Since Brownmiller published her work, rape has been further documented as having occurred in most inter and intra-state conflicts (Allen, 1996; Amnesty International, 2004; Bop, 2002; Chang, 1997; Corrin, 2001; Hansen, 2001; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Human Rights Watch, 2000; Medecins Sans Frantieres (MSF), 2004; Koo, 2002; Physicians for Human Rights, 2002; Sideris, 2002; Thomas & Ralph, 1994; van Boeschoten, 2003). War rape has been documented as pervasive

during the civil conflict in the former Yugoslavia (Hansen, 2001; Siefert, 1994; Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2000; MacKinnon, 1994) and as having occurred during the recent civil conflicts in Sierra Leone, Eastern Congo, and Rwanda (Human Rights Watch 2003, 2002, & 1996). Human Rights Watch (2004) has further documented the preponderance of war rape in Angola, Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, East Timor, Liberia, Algeria, Chechnya, northern Uganda, and Sudan. The United Nations is also involved in documenting the occurrence of mass rape during war. Other non-governmental organizations (NGO'S), such as MSF (2004) and Physicians for Human Rights (2002) have documented the scope of mass rape during wars in the Sudan and Sierra Leone.

There is an increasing body of evidence confirming the common occurrence of rape during inter and intra-state conflicts, documented especially by the NGO community, who work with those affected while these conflicts are ongoing. With the real time dissemination of information made available as a result of modern technology, evidence of war rape is available and publicized as it occurs and is no longer documented only in hindsight. It is important, given the evidence of the preponderance of war rape, to examine how women and girls impacted by this can recover and participate in their post-war societies.

CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the scope of war rape and its impact on hundreds of thousands of women, it is an important topic for research. The occurrence of war rape has been well documented. What has not been as widely documented is what happens to women who have been raped in post-war society. In light of this, this project will address following specific questions for the research conducted:

1. When the formal war/conflict ends, what happens to women who have been raped and what types of services/interventions/assistance do they require in order to recover, participate, and reintegrate into their post-war communities and societies?
2. If there are such services/interventions/assistance/tools/treatments, what are they and how can they be provided?
3. If there are services/interventions/assistance/tools/treatment, are they effective in helping women to rebuild their personal, economic, social, and familial lives when war ends and if so, how so?

In most societies, there is criminal and domestic violence perpetrated against women. This is due to structural conditions which confer on women an inferior economic, social, legal, physical, and political status to that of men (Cockburn, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 2003, 2002, 1996; Physicians for Human Rights, 2002; Meintjes, Pillay & Turshen, 2001). As such, while wars and their resultant political violence usually end, domestic and criminal violence against women continues in post-war society. Given this fact, research that focuses on the post-war needs of women raped during war must include investigation of other

structures/elements in society that affect women's participation. Therefore, there is a fourth research question posed for this project:

4. At what levels of society do services/interventions/assistance/tools/treatments need to be available for women: personal, medical, political, legal, and/or economic?

Underlying the questions posed for this project is the perspective that rape during war is an extension and grotesque exaggeration of pre-war power imbalances between women and men. It would be impossible to argue that rape is not an exercise of power by one person over another. However, power imbalance between women and men pertains to every realm of interaction between them: the social, interpersonal, physical, familial, economic, political, sexual, and legal. Cockburn (1999) writes that

> ...the differentiation and relative positioning of women and men is seen as an important ordering principle that pervades the system of power and is sometimes its very embodiment. Gender does not necessarily have primacy in this respect. Economic class and ethnic differentiation can also be important relational hierarchies, structuring a regime and shaping its mode of ruling. But these other differentiations are always also gendered and in turn they help construct what is a man and a woman in any given circumstance....gender power is seen to shape the dynamics of every site of human interaction, from the household to the international arena. (p.3)

Rape during war is only one of a number of negative consequences of war and conflict for women. These include loss of family, self-esteem, source of income, home, security, children, and community.

Post-war assistance for women who have been raped must focus not only on the act(s) of rape and its consequences specifically; it must be provided and available to women within an integrated context that recognizes and actively promotes the political, legal, economic, and social inclusion of women into post-war society. As war rape is an extension of power imbalance between women and men and as rape and other forms of violence do not end when war ends, interventions/assistance designed to promote and support women's recovery and participation in post-war society must identify and recognize pre-war power imbalances between men and women. This is in order to redress these imbalances and prevent the conditions that could result in a future recurrence of war rape and the perpetuation of violence against women.

In *There is No Aftermath for Women*, Meintjes, Pillay, & Turshen (2001) focus on the results of three conferences held in Africa between 1998 and 1999 on the subject of women in the aftermath of war. The participants were women who had survived war. The conference found that the gender violence women experience during war increases after the fighting stops. They argue that post-war assistance provided by international agencies, while well intentioned, tends to "...mask the reconstruction of patriarchal power despite recent emphasis on women's human rights" (p.4). They argue further that although both rights and needs are important aspects of creating an environment for post-war reconstruction, neither is adequate either alone or in combination for the task of enabling women to realize substantive advancement. Neither approach recognizes the real need women feel for social transformation rather than the reconstruction of the past. They define social transformation as occurring when there is a

> ...political economy open to women in ways that recognize their social and productive roles and contributions as well as their desires as sexual beings. Equity and social justice are two aspects of this transformation, but it would be incomplete without recognizing the particularity of women's sexuality and the way society has, in the past, shaped sexual mores to determine women's secondary status in civil society. Substantive equality means a fundamental shift towards the provision of specific rights related to women's gender roles, for example reproductive health rights, rights to further education and affirmative action. (p.5)

While a therapeutic or clinical model of intervention or assistance for women who have been raped during war is of benefit, it is insufficient to rely only on such a model. In order to deal effectively with the trauma of war rape, the multi-level structural issues, which not only create the stage for war rape but also prohibit women's full participation in post-war society, must be addressed. The absence of such a multi-level strategy of assistance will not only fail to adequately aid women in their recovery and participation, it will also promote conditions which initially lead to war rape as well as its repeated future occurrence.

CHAPTER FOUR –WAR RAPE

4.1 What is War Rape?

What is war rape and do its characteristics render it a different phenomenon from that of peacetime rape? If so, what are the differences and are they important with regard to research pertaining to post-war recovery and participation for women who have been raped during war? How, if at all, do these differences manifest themselves in the needs of women post-war?

4.2 Context of War Rape

The first and most obvious attribute of war rape is that it occurs during inter or intra-state conflict. The term "mass rape" is often used interchangeably with war rape; however, this research project uses the term war rape because the term "mass" is not statistically defined.

For example, according to a National Crime Victimization Survey completed by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice (1996), 354,670 women were raped in the United States in 1995. According to a National Violence Against Women study published by the US Department of Justice, 17.6% of women surveyed reported that they had been the target of a completed or attempted rape (2000). This equates to a very substantial number of rapes that would likely statistically qualify as mass rape in the United States. However, these did not occur during war.

During war, women, in general, suffer the loss of bodily integrity associated with gang rape, a variety of sexual abuses, mutilation of the limbs and genitals, forced marriages, forced sexual relations and pregnancy, forced labor and execution (Bop, 2001).

Women who are raped during war also suffer the multiple traumas associated with the loss of family, home, and jobs that result from war. War destroys the societal, economic, and

political structures of a society. Women who are raped during war, therefore, suffer not only the effects of being raped; but do so within a context of living in societies with disrupted or non-existent infrastructures and/or support systems.

While wars do eventually end, evidence shows that violence, sexual and otherwise, does not end when war ends and, in fact, usually increases for a period of time post-war (Cockburn, 1999; Meintjes et al, 2001; Pillay, 2001; Nikolic-Ristanovic, 1999). This increase in violence against women post-war is attributed to the violence men have experienced as soldiers as well as to the stressors of adjusting to post-war life which presents itself with multiple challenges associated with reestablishing lives and communities.

4.3 Legal Framework and Definition of War Rape

Rape during war is expressly prohibited under international humanitarian law which provides legal protection for civilians during international and internal armed conflicts. This includes the four Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols which condemn rape and other forms of sexual violence including enforced prostitution and indecent assault as war crimes. Consistent with the times, the 1949 Geneva Conventions did not recognize crimes of sexual violence as grave breaches. Instead they were categorized as outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment, or attacks against a woman's honor. Lyth (2001) writes that even when the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions were adopted in 1977, crimes of sexual violence continued to be defined under categories dealing with honor and dignity. She argues that the effect of this is that crimes of sexual violence were dealt with as crimes against a woman's honor and dignity as opposed to other crimes of violence such as murder, mutilation, cruel treatment, and torture. The context of sexual violence as a crime against honor and dignity relegates sexual violence to a moral

crime as opposed to a violent one and implies that only pure women can be raped. This reinforces a notion "...that social view, often internalized by women, that the raped woman is dishonorable" (p.5).

Rape during war is now considered as a crime against humanity and has been included as such in the statutes of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The International Criminal Court (ICC) includes gender as one ground of persecution and identifies rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity as crimes against humanity (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Neither the ICTY nor the ICTR list sexual violence or rape as a crime against honor; but rather, define it as a crime of violence against a person or group.

As international tribunals evolve with respect to their recognition of rape as a crime, they are including rape as a prosecutable criminal offence consistent with other such criminal offences. For example, the Sierra Leone Special Court has the jurisdiction to prosecute crimes against humanity which includes rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and any other form of sexual violence with no inclusion of these offences as crimes against honor or dignity (The Sierra Leone Special Court, 2000).

There is no one international legal definition of war rape; however, its manifestations and intended results are being defined through an ongoing process within international tribunals. The ICTY, in the Foca case, issued an indictment that lists sexual slavery as a specific crime. It includes multiple rape, gang rape, forced nudity, torture and enslavement as a strategy of rape and connects it to a strategy of ethnic cleansing (Lyth, 2001).

In a landmark 1993 case, the ICTR held Jean Paul Akayesu responsible, not only for crimes against humanity, but also for genocide finding that when rape is used as a method to destroy a group by causing serious bodily or mental harm to the members of a group, it constitutes genocide and torture (Lyth, 2001). The significance of this decision is that it offers a definition of rape, in international law, as a physical invasion of a sexual nature, committed on a person under circumstances that are coercive. Sexual violence is not limited to physical invasion of the human body and may include acts that do not involve penetration or even physical contact (ICTR-96-r Prosecutor v. Akayesu). This definition includes all forms of sexual degradation and humiliation without restricting it to a description of penetration or body parts and mechanisms. This is the definition being used for this project.

4.4 Theories of War Rape

The literature does, with some exceptions, attribute specific characteristics to war rape that differentiate it from peacetime rape. However, war rape is also viewed by many as an extension of the peacetime rape and general violence against women and the argument is that it occurs for the same reasons, namely male-female power imbalance. Brownmiller (1975) argues that from the beginnings of time, women were unequal before the law and that by the "...inescapable construction of their genital organs", they might be "...subjected at will to a thoroughly detestable physical conquest from which there could be no retaliation in kind - a rape for a rape – but the consequences of such a brutal struggle might be death or injury, not to mention impregnation and the birth of a dependent child" (p.16). Brownmiller's work is primarily a study of rape that occurs during non-wartime periods with one specific chapter devoted to war rape. She posits that "...rape in war is a familiar act with a familiar excuse" (p. 32).

Darius Rejali (1996) summarizes a perspective of many American feminists that war rape cannot be fully understood by emphasizing its unique wartime character; but, rather, that "...it can only be comprehended in terms of everyday forms of violence that are considered legitimate" (p.365). Rada Boric (1997), Coordinator of the Zagreb Centre for Women War Victims writes that "...violence committed against women in wartime was a continuance of the violence committed in peacetime and that the difference was only in quantity, intensity, and visibility" (p.39). Tamara Tompkins (1995) posits further that rape happens during war for the same reasons that it happens during peace and that it is rooted in inequality, discrimination, male domination, and aggression and that war simply exaggerates the conditions which give rise to rape during peacetime. Nikolic-Ristanovic (1999) argues with respect to the rapes that occurred during the wars in the Balkans, they are a "...continuation of oppression faced by women for centuries all over the world" (p. 65). She states that in wars "...men only continue to do what they did before but in a more mindless and indiscriminate way" (1996, p. 196) and that "...war magnifies the gendered structure of violence, as it increases the power gap between men and women" (1996, p. 208).

Cockburn (1999) also agrees that there is an ongoing continuum of violence against women, sexual and otherwise, which manifests itself in what she calls times of "...relative violence and relative peace" (p.20). She argues that sexual violence against women occurs during pre-war (relative peace), wartime (relative violence), and during post-war (relative violence) periods and argues that violence is a continuum "...reaching from the home and urban backstreet to the maneuvers of the tank column and the sortie of the stealth bomber" (p.5).

If it is accepted that war rape is an extenuation, with respect to frequency and severity, of peacetime rape and other forms of violence against women, what are the attributes of war rape that characterize it from peacetime rape. Differentiating war rape from peacetime rape is not intended, in any way, to diminish the trauma or impact of peacetime rape on the women affected or to establish a hierarchy of trauma associated with rape. However, the question being asked for this project is what do women who have been raped during war need in order to recover and participate in post-war society. In answering this, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of war rape that are specific to it. As noted, the most overt characteristic of war rape is that it occurs during war the definition of which, for the purpose of this research, is an inter and/or intra-state violent conflict that has an agreed-upon ending through agreement by all parties to the conflict.

War rape also serves a specific political purpose within the overall objectives of inter or intra-state war (Hague, 1997). Arcel (2000) writes that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina led to a change in the appraisal of war rape from being understood as a sexually motivated by-product of war to a politically motivated act. It occupies a role in wartime that includes intimidation and demoralization for the actual victim; but also for her family members, neighbors, and community (Schiessl, 2002). Koo states it succinctly when she writes that:

> War rape is both a weapon and a strategy. It is a weapon which (sic) attacks women's physical and emotional sense of security while simultaneously launching an assault, through women's bodies, upon the genealogy of security as constructed by the body politic. As a strategy of war, rape is one of the means by which the sanctioned and systematic pursuit of a political objective is undertaken. The specific uses of rape in war are multifarious and involve

> combatant and non-combatant women alike. War rape, regardless of context, is both a form of torture and a tool of political terror. (p. 528)

Sideris (2001) writes that the paradox of rape is that it is a political act in which individual victims experience a political phenomenon in a deeply subjective way. She states that in the context of war, rape, both in its objectives and effects, perhaps, more than any other act of violence perpetrated by one individual against another, highlights the political intention of interpersonal violence.

Hansen (2001) defines peacetime rape as occurring within the realm of individual risk and war rape as occurring within the framework of a collective security risk. Her analysis of war rape is that it occurs within the individual/collective and national/gendered framework and that the rape of another nation's women "...is not only an act of violence against individual women; it also works to install a disempowered masculinity as constitutive of the identities of a nation's men" (p.60). Hansen supports the premise that war rape is used as a tactic of warfare with a goal of destroying a nation and occurs on massive scales.

Brownmiller (1975), consistent with Hansen (2001), argues that war rape symbolizes the "...hallmark of masculine pride, as possession of women has been a hallmark of masculine success. Rape by conquering soldiers destroys all remaining illusions of power and property for men of the defeated side. The body of a raped woman becomes a ceremonial battlefield, a parade ground for the victor's trooping of the colors....vivid proof of victory for one and loss and defeat for another" (p.38). This analysis is consistent with the research of Siefert (1994) who also argues that rape during war "...is not an aggressive manifestation of sexuality, but rather a sexual manifestation of aggression" (p. 55) which serves to wound the masculinity of the enemy. She writes that the evidence derived from research confirms that sexual attacks on

women have their origins not in sexual passions, but in hate and the desire to exercise power.

These theories of war rape offer an argument that the rape by men of an enemy's woman(en) serves to injure, destroy, humiliate, and terrorize not just the individual women raped, but the masculinity and honor of their men and community. The rape of individual women symbolizes the destruction and dishonor of the masculine pride of the collective enemy.

While it is clear that war rape is primarily a gender based crime during which men rape women, it is not exclusively so (Allen, 1996). War rape is not only committed by adult men against adult women and female children; it is also committed by men against other adult men and male children. It can also be committed or encouraged by women against other women or men. The evidence is that war rape, while primarily perpetrated by men, is not only an act committed by men against women.

How is the fact that war rape is not only committed solely by men only against women consistent with the positions espoused by those who view it primarily as a gender based act carried out by men against women on the basis of power difference? Several theorists and writers argue, given the all gender inclusive nature of war rape, that a broader theoretical approach to analyzing the causes, purposes, and characteristics of war rape must be undertaken which expands upon the male-female power imbalance leading to rape paradigm in order to understand completely the phenomenon of war rape and its impacts.

Dan Smith (2001) argues that taking an absolute or essentialist perspective on gender identity, actions, and relationships results in an incomplete discourse on the motivations and resultant behaviors of men and women. He writes essentialist theories propose "...that a given identity is clear and unchanging and its roots are primordial. Essentialism is therefore

characterized by exaggerated claims about the stability and clarity of individual and social identities and their meaning. Denying the possibility of ambiguity or change in identity, it projects supposedly timeless and unambiguous conceptions of identity" (p. 35). He writes that there are observable differences between men and women; however, these differences do not pre-determine behavior and that the behaviors of men and women differ over time as do the meanings of what it means to be male or female or masculine or feminine. He argues that the problem with essentialism is not that it identifies differences between men and women, but that it exaggerates and freezes them. Differences between men and women cannot be understood solely in terms of gender, but also on other levels of identity such as race, nationality, class, age, religion, profession, and so on. This is also, therefore, true of the similarities between men and women.

Skjelsbaek (2001) agrees with Smith's position and writes that essentialism assumes gender identities are unchangeable. She posits it is senseless to argue that the behavior, perceptions, and attitudes of all men are essentially the same as are those of all women. She writes that a different approach to understanding masculinity and femininity lies in theories of social constructionism which are based on the understanding that social worlds and identity are constantly changing and that gender differences may be conceptualized as the construction of masculinity and femininity in their distinction from one another as opposed to distinctions between women and men. Identities are not pre-determined by nature and are not rigidly static; they change.

Clearly, this thinking expands upon the idea that men absolutely and always behave in one way and women absolutely and always behave in another. Meintejes et al. (2001) write that "...no woman lives in the single dimension of her sex....Gender is a social construction

and to specify one's gender automatically entails questions about relations of race, class and political power, whilst war adds the dimensions of conquered and victor....women who live through war and conflict do not fall into a single group" (p. 5).

The premise that gender identity is fluid and that it intersects with other identities such as national, racial, age, income, and religious expands the body of thought on war rape, its causes, purposes, impact and especially on the needs of women post-war. Thinking within a paradigm of masculinity and femininity as opposed to male-specific or female-specific behavior acknowledges that there are certain traits that are attributed to masculine or feminine identities but that individuals can act in accordance with the generalized gender traits of the opposite sex. For example, physical aggression is viewed as a masculine trait; however, women are not excluded from engaging in aggressive behavior. Being raped is seen as a feminine experience of physical, emotional, and sexual powerlessness and humiliation; yet, men are also raped and likely experience the same reactions. Being a victim is primarily viewed as a feminine trait; however, as the research conducted for this project will show, many women who are raped during war refuse to take on the status of victim. The importance of expanding on traditional and sometimes narrow concepts of gender and what it means to be and act female or male is critical to the research conducted for this project because it is clear that not every woman who is raped during war reacts identically to every other woman who has been raped or has identical post-war needs to all other women who have been raped. It is also clear that not all men who rape during war rape for identical reasons.

Allen (1996) also rejects the premise that in a patriarchal society men only are aggressors and women only are passive victims. She agrees that it is not only adult men who rape adult women. Adult men as well as female and male children are also raped during war. However,

she argues that it is critical to articulate the role gender identity plays in the dynamics of power that attend the commission of atrocities. Attributes of masculinity always adhere to the perpetrator, whether that person is male or female, because of that person's dominance over another individual or group and attributes of femininity always adhere to the victim, whether female or male, because of that person's subjugation to another individual or group. Allen's analysis of the concept of feminine and masculine identity outside of the scope of the biological female and biological male accepts that the reaction to and recovery from war rape is not pre-determined or fixed in a concept of naturalizing women as victims.

Miranda Alison (2000) in her thesis entitled *Rape and Sexual Violence Against Women in Ethnic Conflict* writes that it is difficult to disagree with the argument that male-female power imbalances are largely responsible for rape or that there are similarities between wartime and peacetime rape. She argues; however, that in analyzing rape in ethnic conflict, it is incomplete to look only at gender power imbalances without considering ethnic power imbalances and vice versa.

Koo (2002) agrees arguing that it is not just gender that targets women for sexual violence. It is also the "...intersection of gender with the multiple and varied identities of religion, nationality and ethnicity that allows groups of women to be distinguished between 'ours' and 'theirs'. Thus, the subjugation, humiliation, and degradation are not just an assault upon the woman and her body, but are also an assault upon her state/culture/religion/ethnic group and the men who belong to it" (p. 528).

Mertus (1999) writes that there is no gender identity prior to the performance in which it is expressed and there is no national identity prior to the performance in which it is expressed. She agrees that performances of gender and performances of national identity intertwine and

that these processes never end because both of these identities quickly become contested terrains to be won or lost, preserved, or dissolved. She argues that in times of war, national identities supersede gender identities and that this was particularly so in the case of the wars in the Balkans. The same can also be said of the subordination of gender identities and issues in post-war society, as the research conducted for this project will show. Ramet (2002) confirms that war rape is used to act out "...in symbolic terms" (p. 262) the subjugation of one nation by another and that rape affirms the subordination of gender issues to nationalistic ones.

Albanese (2001) agrees and argues that war rape in ethnic conflict is common because ethnic nationalism has a role in not only perpetuating a conflict but also in repatriarchalizing society and gender relations in general. She writes that the rise of ethnic nationalism and militarization brings "...institutionalized attempts to revive traditional, authoritarian, and patriarchal social forms and relations" (p.1000). This results in the creation of an archaized social environment or culture that places women, especially women of a particular ethnic group, at an increased risk of violence. The rise of nationalism often involves a revival of patriarchal values and attitudes that work to legitimize male control, sexual entitlement, and power. Albanese's premise is that as "...social conditions change with nationalism and militarization, the nexus of gender and ethnicity becomes significant and potentially deadly" (p. 1000).

4.5 Characteristics, Frequency, and Severity of War Rape

4.5.1 Scale

A further characteristic of war rape is its enormous scale. For example, it is estimated that as many as 20,000 Bosnian women were raped during the war affecting the former

Yugoslavia. Others put the number of raped women in Bosnia-Herzegovina at between 20,000 – 50,000 (Siefert, 1994).

Brownmiller's (1975) research is consistent with that of Siefert (1994) with respect to the numbers of women raped during various conflicts. She cites the estimated rape of between 200,000 – 400,000 Bengali women by Pakistani soldiers during a 9-month occupation in 1971.

Chang (1997) in *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* documents a six week occupation of Nanking by the Japanese Army in 1937 which resulted in torture, genocide, and the rape of thousands of women in "...all locations and at all hours" (p.90).

Physicians for Human Rights (2002) and Human Rights Watch (2003) estimate that between 50,000 – 64,000 Sierra Leonean women were raped during its ten-year civil conflict.

The United Nations Special Rapporteur (1995) on Rwanda estimates that approximately 250,000 women were raped during the 1994 genocide. In 1999, the Association of Widows of the Genocide conducted a study on the types of violence women experienced. A sample of 1,125 women living in Kigali, Butare, and Kibunda documents that 74.5% had experienced sexual violence including rape, forced incest, genital mutilation, the insertion of cutting or piercing objects in the vagina, and rape by one or more men infected with the AIDS virus (Bop, 2001).

According to a report published in 1993 by Physicians for Human Rights, during World War II, the Japanese abducted between 100,000 and 200,000 mostly Korean women into sexual slavery. In Uganda, 70% of women in the communities within the Luwero triangle reported having been raped by soldiers in the early 1980's.

Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have also documented the rapes of thousands of women during the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, and the Sudan. These organizations have also documented the incidence of rape in the war in Iraq (Amnesty International, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2003).

4.5.2 Public Occurrence

Characteristic of war rape is its often public nature. Public rape is used to terrorize, control, and retaliate against both female and male enemies (Schiessl, 2002). Often husbands, fathers, or other family or community members are forced to watch a rape(s) because the act is as much against the father or husband as men as it is against the women. Nikolic-Ristanovic (2000) and Folnegovic-Smalc (1994) document the occurrence of rape in front of relatives, in front of other prisoners in camps, in public places, and/or by forcing family members to rape each other. Chang (1997) and Human Rights Watch (2003, 2002, 1996) also provide documentation verifying the often public occurrence of war rape.

4.5.3 Brutality

A further characteristic of war rape is its brutality. Women and girls are raped repeated and often by large groups of men. MacKinnon (1994) describes the occurrence of gang rape in villages and rape camps in the former Yugoslavia. She also documents that these rapes were sometimes filmed for pornographic purposes as war propaganda. She provides evidence that some of these videotaped gang rapes were shown during television newscasts.

Warshaw (1998) writes that gang rape is often more aggressive than individual rape because as each rapist takes his turn, the acts performed become increasingly violent and degrading. The group provides protection to the rapist; but also puts pressure on him to live up to or exceed their expectations with his actions. Folnegovic-Smalc (1994) writes that gang

or group rapes erase the personal identity of the woman being raped but also the political, national, and religious identity of the group to which she belongs.

Brutality in the form of the mutilation of women's genitals is also common. Chang (1997)describes common "...forms of Japanese entertainment" (p.94) whereby soldiers impaled vaginas with wooden rods, twigs, weeds, and other objects. It was not uncommon for women to be raped and penetrated with a variety of objects or to have their genitals mutilated while they were alive or even after they had been murdered.

Human Rights Watch (2004, 2003, 2000, 1996) and Physicians for Human Rights (2002) have gathered documentation derived from first hand interviews of women who survived war rape. This research confirms the findings of other authors and organizations cited in this project with respect to the particular brutality of war rape. Mutilation of the genitals and sexual organs of women has been found to be common, as is repeated gang rape.

4.5.4 Slavery and Forced Marriage

Forced marriage or sexual slavery is another documented characteristic of war rape as outlined by Human Rights Watch (2004, 2003), Nikolic-Ristanovic (1999), and Brownmiller (1975). Women and girls are kidnapped and forced to "marry" their kidnappers enduring rape and forced pregnancy as well as being forced into working for their "husbands" and their military comrades.

4.5.5 Ethnic Cleansing/Genocidal Rape

War rape is also used as a method of ethnic cleansing or ethnic mixing. This occurs when rape is used to murder women or is committed with the intent of forced reproduction and the children born of these rapes are viewed as having the nationality or ethnicity of their fathers. This is a genetic fallacy as all children are born with the combined genetic make-up

of both of their biological parents. However, in societies where children assume the ethnicity of their biological fathers, rape during war with the intended outcome of pregnancy serves a purpose of diluting or destroying the enemy's ethnicity, identity, nationality, and culture however divorced this may be from genetic/biological reality.

Skjelsbaek (2001) puts it well when she states "...When these women were (sic) raped, the act was intended to affect the ethnic group to which the individual belonged as much as it was intended to affect the individual woman herself." (p.55). There is also documentation of rape being used as a deliberate mechanism to spread HIV, a death sentence for women and any children they bear in countries where there is no access to drug therapies or other forms of medical treatment (Human Rights Watch, 2003, 2002,1996).

Catherine MacKinnon (1994) defines genocidal rape as follows

> This is ethnic rape as an official policy of war in a genocidal campaign for political control...not only a policy to defile, torture, humiliate, degrade and demoralize the other side, which happens all the time in war; and not only a policy of men posturing to gain advantage and ground over other men. It is specifically rape under orders. This is not rape out of control. It is rape under control. It is also rape unto death, rape as massacre, rape to kill and to make victims wish they were dead. It is rape as an instrument of forced exile, rape to make you leave your home and never want to go back. It is rape to be seen and heard and watched and told to others; rape as spectacle. It is rape to drive a wedge through a community, to shatter a society, to destroy a people. It is rape as genocide. (p.190)

Allen (1996) defines genocidal rape as the "...systematic annihilation of another people by means of rape, death, and pregnancy in a process psychiatrically designed to destroy the entire culture – the people, their places, their history, their future" (pp.90 – 91). She argues that pregnancies are a major weapon of genocide. Siefert (1994) argues that the 1971 rape of an estimated 200,000 Bangladeshi women constituted a form of genocide with the intent being to create a new race through forced pregnancy in order to extinguish Bengali national feeling. Alison (2000) documents three case studies of war rape with similar genocidal intent that include the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and East Timor.

The current situation in Darfur, Sudan as documented by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the United Nations, among others, is receiving extensive publicity with regard to the prevalence of the genocidal rape by male Arab Janjaweed militia members against the females of the African Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa ethnic groups. This is occurring today.

CHAPTER FIVE – IMPACTS OF WAR RAPE

5.1 Death

The United Nations, Human Rights Watch (2003, 2002, 1996), Amnesty International (2004), Physicians for Human Rights (2002), and MSF (2004), among others, have documented the deaths of many thousands of women who have, in effect, been raped to death. The numbers of women who die during or shortly after rape is impossible to quantify; however, given the often genocidal intent of war rape as well as its viciousness, the documentation is that many hundreds of thousands of women have died as a direct result of being raped.

5.2 Physical Injury

Given the brutal nature of war rape, there are often extensive resultant physical injuries. Allen (1996) writes that according to the director of a psychiatric department at a hospital in Zagreb, all survivors of genocidal rape suffer from multiple or polytrauma. This evidence is derived directly from women treated at the hospital who had been raped repeatedly and have, as a result, suffered severe physical and emotional trauma. They suffer from genital injuries, severe burns, amputations, and multiple and often infected incisions. Trauma to the throat is noted to be common as a result of having been forced to swallow large amounts of urine and semen. The most common injury seen was a form of amputation that involves cutting off the ring and little finger of the woman's right hand. This was intended to leave the hand in a permanent Serb salute.

In its 2004 report *I Have No Joy, No Peace of Mind: Medical, Psychological, and Socio-Economic Consequences of Sexual Violence in Eastern DR*, MSF documents the physical injuries sustained by women who had been raped. War rape commonly involves repeated

gang rape wherein men rape with their bodies, but also with weapons and other objects vaginally, orally, and anally and because women are also often severely and repeatedly beaten during rape, physical injury to all parts of the body occurs. Women often have little or no access to healthcare because of the resultant destruction of medical and societal infrastructure. This is also extensively documented also by Human Rights Watch (2003, 2002, 1996).

5.3 Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Pregnancy

Sexually transmitted diseases are commonly spread during war rape. It has been documented that HIV/AIDS was deliberately spread during rapes which occurred during the 1994 Rwandan genocide as a way to ensure the slow death of women and any children they bear (Alison, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 1996). The transmission of HIV/AIDS is particularly devastating in countries where there is no access to anti-retroviral medications or other forms of treatment.

Forced pregnancy is a consequence of war rape, whether intended or unintended. While, there are estimates of the numbers of pregnancies that have occurred as a result of war rape, the numbers are impossible to quantify for a number of reasons. The first is that it is not known how many women were already pregnant at the time they were raped. The second is that it is unknown how many forced pregnancies miscarried, were aborted or were otherwise terminated. The rates of infanticide are also not known. It is known; however, that there are significant numbers of children born of war rape to mothers who had no choice in their conception (Alison, 2000).

According to Swiss (1993), estimates established in medical studies show that a single act of unprotected intercourse will result in pregnancy between 1 – 4% of the time. A medical team sent to Yugoslavia in 1993 identified 119 pregnancies that resulted from rape from a

small sample of six hospitals in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. Assuming that 1% of acts of unprotected intercourse result in a pregnancy, the identification of 119 pregnancies could actually represent approximately 11,900 rapes. These are estimates only; however, they offer a statistical representation of the potential rates of pregnancy resulting from war rape as well as of the occurrence of rape during war. While it is not the intention of this project to address the needs of the children born of war rape, they too are impacted as a result of the circumstances of their conception and birth.

5.4 Emotional/Psychological Injury and Trauma

Survivors of sexual abuse and torture can develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which manifests itself in flashbacks, avoidance, and a heightened sense of arousal and fear. Survivors of rape commonly describe feelings of denial and severe depression, shock, a sense of profound loss and control over one's life. Long-term effects can include persistent fears, avoidance of situations which trigger memories of the rape, profound shame, memory loss, decreased ability to deal with life in general and difficulty in re-establishing intimate relationships (Physicians for Human Rights, 1996; van Boeschoten, 2003; Benard, 1994). All of these emotional impacts are compounded by the multi-level impacts of war. Sideris (2001) writes that women who are raped during war respond to the lived experience of a "...discrete incident of violence, and to the social destruction of which it is an integral part" (p.149).

The literature also documents the silence that results from stigma and shame. Koo (2002) writes that "...silence has been the international experience of many victims of war rape" (p. 532). Van Boeschoten (2003) writes that the meaning of silence cannot be generalized cross-culturally and that "...it seems important to consider the silence of war rapes in the context of local culture and existing gender relations" (p. 46).

This is because there are different culturally defined gender roles and expectations, especially as they pertain to women's sexual activity and resultant status within family, community, and society. The impact of being raped for women, dependent on their cultural background, can affect their future chances at marriage, relationships with their biological and marital families, their social status, their role within their communities, and ultimately, their own view of themselves as women. For example, Human Rights Watch (2000), in its report documenting the consequences of war rape for Kosovar Albanian women, writes that the women they interviewed expressed fear of being blamed for their rape, fear of pregnancy, fear of being shunned by family and friends, and fear of never being able to marry.

Arcel (2000) writes of a study of 55 women raped during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina completed by the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims. The women who were interviewed revealed that as a rule, they were secretive about their rapes. Even women who had been raped "together" at the same time were reluctant to speak in each other's presence about the rapes, although were able to speak about it individually to medical professionals.

It is important to state that the silence of women who have been raped does not only occur because women feel victimized, ashamed, or afraid. As van Boeschoten (2003) argues, the silence of women who have been raped is a general phenomenon but should also be understood as a survival strategy. It is also critical to recognize that as the international community increasingly acknowledges war rape as a crime against humanity, a war crime as well as genocide and accordingly establishes tribunals to deal with perpetrators, there are numbers of women willing to speak openly about their experiences. This contributes to breaking the silence and stigma associated with war rape. Also, as the research conducted for

this project will demonstrate, consistent with van Boeschoten's findings, silence can also be a coping mechanism.

A further cause of silence stems from the hierarchy of war experiences that places women's experiences in a subordinate category to those of others within their community. Koo (2002) writes that "...some women feel, or are made to feel by social, cultural or even religious constructs, that their claims to trauma, deeply embedded in the 'politics of living', can somehow be measured unfavorably to those of men (as soldiers) or, indeed, other women who experience other forms of loss and suffering" (pp. 531-532) which has the effect of placing any emphasis on gender irrelevant and silences women's voices by deference to what is considered the greater evil.

CHAPTER SIX – SIGNIFICANCE OF AND NEED FOR THE RESEARCH

As outlined thus far, an expansive body of research documents the phenomenon, characteristics, and scope of war rape, as well as its impacts on women. Research and work occurring in the field of post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation; however, has only recently recognized the issue of "...the effective integration of gender concerns into policies and programs that shape post-conflict society (International Center for Research on Women, 2003, p. 3). This recognition is important to the needs of the many hundreds of thousands of women who have been raped during war.

Two significant and recent reports highlight the importance of a gendered analysis of post-conflict reconstruction which incorporates the need to fundamentally address the issue of power relations between women and men in all aspects of post-conflict society. These include the United Nations report, *Women, Peace and Security* (2002) and the report of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (2002) entitled *Women, Peace and Security: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*).

As has been documented in this paper, the literature is beginning to address the issue of sexual violence and human rights abuses directed at women during and after war. A comprehensive literature review completed by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) confirms the need to highlight

> the structure of unequal relations at the root of conflict and suggest the need to understand peace as being connected to the broader issue of unequal relationships between women and men in all spheres of life. It is important to press beyond gender-sensitive approaches to consider ways in

> which gender roles are transformed and more gender-equitable relationships are created, not only to help resolve conflict but also to prevent conflict and violence. (2003, p.26)

This project addresses the specific issue of post-war rape recovery and transformation from the perspective as to whether there are interventions and/or assistance and/or tools which can be developed with and provided to women within the context of addressing personal, sexual, physical, and emotional trauma. It also addresses post-war rape recovery and transformation within a context of the need to address power imbalances between women and men in all areas of post-conflict society. To date, there is very little formal research that has been conducted on the post-war needs of women who have been raped during war. There is an increasing awareness and effort being placed on the need to include women and gender issues in post-war reconstructive and aid efforts. An estimated 90% of war casualties in the 1990's were women and children (Swiss, 1993). It has been well documented that thousands of women are raped during war. The need to investigate and address their needs post-war can only enhance and complete general post-war reconstructive and aid efforts.

CHAPTER SEVEN - METHODOLOGY

The literature review completed by the IRCW (2003) concludes with a set of recommendations for ten areas of further study. The IRCW concludes that gaps in knowledge with respect to gender and post-conflict reconstruction can be addressed through research that includes program evaluations, policy analyses, and site or country specific case studies.

In order to address the questions posed for this project, the research conducted is focused on a case study of war rape and post-conflict reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia. This case study was chosen for the following reasons:

First, the preponderance of war rape in the former Yugoslavia was one of the first internationally publicized occurrences of this phenomenon. There is a wide body of research and evidence documenting the acts of war rape that occurred during this civil conflict. There is also the International Crime Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) which was established in 1993 by the UN to prosecute those responsible for genocide, rape, crimes against humanity and torture and which has gathered a further body of evidence substantiating the extent and nature of Yugoslavia's war rape and which provides grounds for research on the needs of women who have been raped post-war.

Secondly, there are organizations working in the former Yugoslavia with women who were raped during its civil war. These organizations offer an opportunity to interview those who work in this field directly in order to conduct the research for this project. Preliminary research into these organizations confirms that they work with women specifically who have been raped but also within a context of trying to affect structural political, social, and economic change for the benefit of women. These organizations provide sufficient research material to test the questions posed for this project.

Third, a sufficient amount of time has passed since the wars in the Balkans have ended which provides an appropriate post-war timeframe in order to properly investigate the questions asked for this project.

Finally, given the space and time limitations of this project, it was determined that the use of a specific case study would maximize the opportunity to both conduct the proposed research as well as to test the underlying assumptions proposed at the beginning of this paper.

The methodology used in conducting the research for this project is twofold in that it first examines and analyses the available literature with respect to the scale, characteristics, and impacts of war rape within several theoretical paradigms. Secondly, the research is conducted within a qualitative and inductive approach. This approach traditionally rejects the notion of objective or absolute knowledge and instead, posits that knowledge must be accepted within a context of human perception and interpretation and is the result of such. In order to gain knowledge, a researcher must understand the perceptions within the historical, cultural, economic, and emotional context of participants. The qualitative approach does not use a theory within which to box a study. Information is gathered from participants by way of direct interviews, surveys, and observation always acknowledging the underlying perception and context. Process, as opposed to "the answer", is critical within a qualitative methodology (Palys, 1997, p. 22).

As a form of qualitative research, action research as outlined by Stringer (1996) is a fully collaborative, participatory, non-competitive, and non-exploitative process between researcher, participants, and any others involved in the process. The focus is on research as a process, not on a final document claiming to have the answer(s) and there are no imposed outcomes. This type of research emphasizes the importance of its impact on the people

involved. Information is garnered through effective, open, and honest communication. Action research rejects the notion of an outside authoritarian expert who enters a community or organization and researches with an end product in mind; but rather, an action researcher is part of the research, has an interest in it for a variety of reasons and the research, in collaboration with the participants, is a process which can facilitate change.

The intent of this project was never to conduct research with an objective of finding the answer(s) to the issue of post-war needs of women who were raped; rather, it is intended to explore their needs, based on an action research-based case study and review of the literature, with a goal of identifying the needs of women based on their experiences and those who work with them. There is no one answer to the research questions posed because the impacts of war rape are so damaging on multiple levels to those affected. The time and space limitations of this project do not permit the kind of in-depth analysis required to study a full sample of women raped and their needs. However, there is an opportunity to add to the body of knowledge attempting to identify women's needs and make recommendations for trying to address those needs.

Consistent with the principles of action research, once it was determined to use a case study of the former Yugoslavia for this project, it was decided that interviews would be conducted with those who work with women who have been raped during war and also those who have lived through the war in the former Yugoslavia. The reason for this, as outlined in the Ethical Review completed for this project, is that as the writer is not a counselor or therapist, it was not felt appropriate to interview women who had been raped as there could be further harm caused to them. Also, it was determined that the questions posed within the

context of this project could be adequately addressed by those who work with women who have been raped.

A questionnaire (appendix #1) was developed for interviewing participants. The purpose of the questionnaire was its use as a guideline with topics for discussion. As such, the interviews were conducted using an open-ended approach relying on the guidance and responses provided by the participants. The interviews were not conducted by means of a prescriptive process going through the questionnaire in detail although the topics outlined in the questionnaire were generally addressed. As Cockburn (1998) writes, "...an unstructured but thematic approach..." (p.3) was used in conducting the interviews for this project based upon the topics outlined in the questionnaire developed for this project; however, there was no limitation to the information discussed, except where requested by participants.

There were fourteen participants interviewed for this project: thirteen were interviewed by telephone and one responded to the questionnaire by email. As per the Checklist for Consent form forwarded to each participant, anonymity was guaranteed unless otherwise specified. In this regard, eleven of the participants requested anonymity and three agreed to allow their names to be used. Several of the participants, even those who chose anonymity, requested that some of their observations, experiences, and opinions remain completely off the record and that they not be recorded or used in any capacity for this project. In accordance with this request, these comments were not recorded and will not be referred to in this paper or otherwise. There were thirteen female and one male participant interviewed. All of the interviews were conducted in accordance with an Ethical Review completed for this project and approved by Royal Roads University.

CHAPTER EIGHT – FINDINGS

8.1 Sample Size and Findings

Although the number of participants interviewed was relatively small, the range of opinions received was remarkably consistent with respect to both the issues discussed as well as the literature reviewed. This chapter will provide, in detail, the results of the interviews conducted as well as outline the findings of research derived from very specific literature and website information pertaining to organizations and/or individuals dedicated to providing services to women raped during the wars in the Balkans.

8.2 Yugoslavia and the Status of Women

The selection of the former Yugoslavia as the case study for research pertaining to the post-war needs of women raped necessitates an examination of the role and position of women within the former Yugoslavia prior to its disintegration and resultant wars.

By way of a very brief history, the country known as Yugoslavia was born out of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and was so named in 1929. During World War II Yugoslavia was occupied by the Germans and Italians. Josip Tito headed the Yugoslavian Partisan movement during the war and upon victory, the constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was passed on January 30, 1946 with Tito as the head of government. The Republic was comprised of six component republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia with two autonomous provinces: Vojvodina and Kosovo (Stiglmayer, 1994). There is little research with regard to the status of women in what was known in Yugoslavia prior to 1946 when it became a non-aligned socialist state.

During Tito's years as president from 1946 to his death in 1980, Yugoslavia had a national policy of equality between men and women. Discrimination in employment was banned, women had access to one year's maternity leave with full salary and in marriage, couples were equal and could divorce by mutual consent. There was access to contraception and abortion was fully legal (Cockburn, 1998; Hughes & Mladjenovic, 1995). Women were granted these rights in keeping with the philosophy of equality between the sexes espoused by communist governments and also as a reward for their role in the antifascist movement and struggle for the liberation of Yugoslavia during World War II (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 1999).

However, regardless of the legal equality between women and men, equality in practice did not occur. According to Cockburn (1998), the numbers of women in Yugoslavia entering the paid job market was smaller than other communist countries and by 1981 two-thirds of women still remained outside of the paid economy. Women relied on relatives to provide childcare and remained charged with the responsibility for the maintenance of the home. Domestic violence was routine. Under the Titoist system of worker self-management and decentralized administration which should have given women high levels of participation in management, in 1973, only 1% of enterprise managers, 17% of workers' council members, and 6% of workers' council presiding officers were women. Yugoslavia had one of the highest rates of university-educated women but also an illiteracy rate of 17% for women, four times that of men. While there was a quota system that assured women 30% of seats in regional and federal parliaments, few women held ministerial posts in the 1970's and 1980's. Cockburn's research concludes that while there was an official government policy of equality between women and men, women were basically relegated to the domestic sphere and

> ...Clearly the men in power saw nothing to gain from questioning the 'naturalness' of male leadership and female domesticity. All else under socialism might be seen as amenable to social reconstruction – not gender....under this patriarchal socialism within, women were mostly unable to imagine themselves as autonomous political subjects let alone as political actors. (p. 159)

Lyth (2001) writing for Kvinna til Kvinna, in an analysis of the role of women in Kosovo, argues that while there are a number of traditions in Kosovar society which work against the emancipation of women, it would be incorrect to portray them as completely oppressed. During the 1970's, women began to gain access to higher education and by 1988, 29.8% of graduates were women, 60% of teaching staff were women and in 1989, 40% of upper secondary school pupils were women. Lyth (undated) also writes that women were active as professionals in traditional women's areas such as health and education and although it was difficult for women to openly work against tradition, there were several NGO's such as the Centre for the Protection of Women and Children and Motrat Qiriazi which had political agendas aimed at empowering women and improving their status in society.

Cockburn (1998), Lyth (2001), and Helms (2003) all point to the differing situations of women in urban as opposed to rural areas. Women in the cities had access to education and travel opportunities as well as ethnic intermarriage; whereas rural women lived within much more traditional societies.

A participant born and raised in Yugoslavia interviewed for this project reported that prior to the war, the situation of women in Yugoslavia was superior to that of other women in Europe. She rejects the notion that war rape is an extension of pre-conflict power imbalance between men and women and argues that rape was used as a manipulation strategy to keep the

war going, to motivate warriors, to start revenge rapes, and to justify a superior culture all with the aim of gaining power and resources. She also reports that there are statistics documenting the common occurrence of rape within ethnic communities such as Serb raping Serb or Croatian raping Croatian. She reports that this was, in fact, more common than inter-ethnic rape.

Lepa Mladjenovic, author, counselor, political, and social activist was interviewed for this project; she gave express consent for the use of her name in this paper. Ms. Mladjenovic is a feminist who lives in Belgrade and is an avowed opponent of the nationalism which gave rise to the wars in the Balkans. She is a counselor by profession and is one of the founders and current Coordinator of the Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence in Belgrade that was founded in 1993 with the primary aim to work with women raped in war, as well as to support women survivors of all kinds of male violence against women. Ms. Mladjenovic is one of the founders of the Women in Black group in Belgrade, modeled after a similar organization founded in Israel. Every week since 1991 women who define themselves as feminist, anti-nationalist, pacifist, and anti-militarist, who reject the reduction of women to the role of mother promoted by nationalist sentiment, dress in black and stand silently in the Republic Square of Belgrade (Hughes, et al, 1995). Ms. Mladjenovic is also a founder of the SOS Hotline Centers operating in Zagreb in 1987 and Belgrade in 1990. The mission of the SOS Hotline is threefold: to assist victims of violence through a hotline, to make visible to the public, the extent of male violence against women and children, and to initiate institutional change to bring about prompt, sensitive, and serious response to victims of violence (Mrsevic & Hughes, 1997).

During the interview with Ms. Mladjenovic, she confirmed that prior to Tito's death, under the communist government, the formal status of women was "not so bad" because of governmental policies which guaranteed access to abortion, maternity leaves, and the legal equality of women. In practice, equality was not achieved; however, there was a legal framework for equality. A further positive feature of the Yugoslavian government was the resources it devoted to social welfare which were of benefit to women in particular.

Ms. Mladjenovic confirmed that prior to 1992 when the war began in full, there was very little knowledge about the needs of women survivors of male violence. Other than in some of the hospitals in Zagreb, there was little history of psychotherapy as treatment for sexual or other trauma before the war.

Beverly Allen is the author of *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* and is co-author of an as of yet unpublished manuscript entitled *Daring to Trust: Life Lessons From Women in Bosnia*. Ms. Allen was interviewed as part of the research for this project on two occasions. She gave express consent for the use of her name in this paper. Ms. Allen spent considerable time in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina interviewing women who had been raped and otherwise traumatized during the war. During our interviews, she reported that according to those with whom she spoke, to her surprise, acts of rape prior to the war was rare, other than in domestic environments. This was reportedly due to entrenched patriarchal systems that are pervasive especially in Muslim village society. The very strict roles of men and women, in a sense, protected women from rape outside of the home because anyone who would rape another man's woman would be killed by the raped woman's family.

Another participant who grew up in the former Yugoslavia and who lived through the war reported that, in her opinion, during Tito's time as president, women were "extremely oppressed" and that while the communist government created a perception of equality with good intentions, there was no equality between women and men under the patriarchal structure which existed.

8.3 The Wars and Rape

Vocal critics of nationalism including Mladjenovic and Nikolic-Ristanovic conceptualize it as the antithesis of feminism because of its resultant increased militarism and the tendency to want to return women to the home. As Nikolic-Ristanovic (1999) writes, "...the politics of nationalism have used the symbol of *woman* in various ways" (p. 65) including woman as mother and keeper of the domestic front. Women become symbolic of national interests and as nationalism grows, their interests become subordinate to that of the seemingly greater good: the nation and protecting it. During the build up to the war, feminist groups including Women in Black, SOS Hotline, and a variety of other anti-war, pro-feminist groups opposed through protest, growing nationalist sentiment and militarization. However, as Albanese (2001) writes

> ...In the case of the former Yugoslavia, we saw a rising tide of ethnic nationalism....Mass calls to arms and conscription brought together groups of men who...formed ethnicized armies and paramilitary groups. In this environment, what was transmitted both on and off the battlefield were norms and values that celebrated male power and control. As a result, gendered power differentials that already existed in societies were reinforced and institutionalized, particularly through nationalist propaganda. (p. 1004)

She writes further that when nationalists came to power, women became symbols of nationalist politics and more numerous victims of war and of everyday violence. Feminist groups were still relatively strong but fractured, divided by newly established national boundaries.

The war in the former Yugoslavia started in the summer of 1991 when Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia, launched attacks opposing the separation of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first refugees fleeing to Croatia from Bosnia-Herzegovina in June 1992 reported rapes. American journalist, Roy Gutman, wrote the first account of the rapes of Muslim women by Serbian soldiers for an August, 1992 edition of Newsday. The reports of these rapes were known to the United Nations Commission on Refugees; however, there were no follow-up investigations (Stiglmayer, 1994).

As is now known, there were six rape camps identified at Brcko, Doboj, Foca, Gorazde, Kalinovik, and Visegrad. It is estimated that between 20,000-60,000 women and girls were raped during the war (Skjelsbaek, 2001) although the exact numbers can never be known (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 1999). The rapes were perpetrated primarily by Serbian soldiers against Muslim women; however, there is ample evidence of rape committed by Croats and Muslims against their own as well as Serbian women. These rapes occurred in concentration camps, in homes, in public places, and in rape camps.

There are four reasons for the large discrepancy in the estimated numbers of women raped. The first is that, as several of the participants for this project reported, numbers of women who were raped were murdered or died shortly thereafter. They are not counted in rape statistics. The second is that it is not known how many women who disappeared were also raped. It is likely that these women are dead; however one of the participants, the head

of a missing persons organization (consent given for this identification), confirmed that it is not known how many women are still missing and of those, how many were raped. The third is the silence associated with the stigma of being raped. It is simply not known how many women were raped because many do not report. The fourth reason is that there was enormous propaganda and misinformation associated with the rapes on all sides (Slapsak, 2001).

As noted in the literature as well as reported by participants interviewed for this project, once the rapes became public knowledge, all sides of the conflict used them as propaganda against the other side. For example, as one participant reported, western journalists speaking to refugees deliberately sought out women and pressured them to speak about being raped and while some women did, some later recanted or regretted having spoken out. It was also reported by a participant that the men sometimes, for propaganda reasons, encouraged women to speak to journalists about being raped. This was done to encourage hatred against the enemy; not to assist or support the women involved.

In attempting to garner interviews for this project, one of the most interesting responses was from a woman who declined to be interviewed. She works with traumatized women and was in the former Yugoslavia to coordinate programs for traumatized women; yet, in response to the request for an interview advised that, in her opinion, rape was used as propaganda in the war and as such, the numbers had been exaggerated.

Given this response from someone who had worked with traumatized women in the former Yugoslavia, participants interviewed who work with women in the Balkans were asked their opinions about the numbers of women raped. All of them reported that while the exact numbers are not known, the numbers of women raped was massive and that it is likely more accurate to accept the upper end of the estimated numbers of women raped.

One participant stated that war rape is "over-analyzed" and that the reasons for it are not as important as the fact that it is used as a weapon and is destructive. This is born out by documentation contained in minutes from a meeting of Yugoslav Army officers held in late 1991 that confirm the deliberate use of rape and other strategies designed to

> ...aim our action at the point where the religious and social structure is most fragile. We refer to the women, especially adolescents and to the children. Decisive intervention on these social figures would spread confusion among the communities, thus causing first of all fear and then panic, leading to a probable retreat from the territories involved in war activity. (Allen, 1996, p. 57)

According to this participant, what is more important than any analysis of the reasons for war rape is why society reacts the way it does to women raped during war and why it does it not pay more attention to the needs of these women. This is echoed by Nikolic-Ristanovic (1999) who writes that the argument over how many women were raped overshadows a more serious issue: what happens to women in the wake of their experience(s) of being raped?

8.4 Trauma

Dr. Derek Summerfield, senior lecturer at the Institute of Psychiatry in London argues in an article in the British Journal of Medicine that

> Notions of healing, reparation, and justice to address the sociomoral aftermath of war vary between cultures and over time...Health professionals should beware of looking at responses to war through a Western medicotherapeutic prism. The question of how people recover from the catastrophe of war is profound, but the lesson of history is straightforward. "Recovery" is not a discrete process: it happens in people's lives rather than in their psychologies. It is practical and unspectacular, and it is grounded in the

> resumption of the ordinary rhythms of everyday life—the familial, sociocultural, religious, and economic activities that make the world intelligible. (2002, pp. 1105 – 1107)

As recovery is grounded within the context of people's lives, so is their experience of trauma. There is well documented physical and psychological trauma associated with war rape; however, it does not manifest itself identically for each affected woman. Many of the participants who were interviewed for this project confirmed that being raped is one of many personal, physical, emotional, economic, familial, societal, and political traumas experienced by women during war, consistent with the literature. Women often experience other traumas in addition to being raped and may have lost members of family or their homes and means of livelihood. Many people were displaced during the wars in the Balkans and it was reported by participants that a woman's response to being raped, while dependent on a number of personal factors, is also affected by whether she lives in her home community, near the perpetrators, whether she is in a different region where there are language and cultural barriers, or whether she had emigrated to another country. One participant who has worked with women raped in the former Yugoslavia reported that suicide rates for women with children were lower than those without as women with children have a greater reason to live. Furthermore, rape trauma is impacted by whether or not women have their basic needs met such as food, housing, and clothing.

All of the participants interviewed about the current economy in the Balkans report that it is in poor shape. It was destroyed by the wars and is very slowly being rebuilt; however, the lack of jobs and government assistance places undue hardship on women, many of whom

have been left to support families by the loss of husbands or other male relatives or who have no homes to return to.

Several of the participants interviewed work for an international organization in Sarajevo. They confirm working with several women raped during the war who did not want to go back to their community because it was where they had been raped and those who had committed the rapes were likely still living there. This organization advocated for these women arguing that they should be given homes in Sarajevo in recognition of their having been raped in their hometowns and as such, were provided with housing in Sarajevo. The participants confirmed that the needs of women raped during war are individual and it is not possible to generalize. They confirm that the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has provided financial assistance to civilian victims of war, including women who were raped and that this is helpful for them. Recognition as a civilian victim of war also facilitates access to medical services and a privileged status in gaining employment. While, these participants offered criticism with respect to the benefits associated with the designation as a civilian victim of war because there is no provision of psychological treatment or services, they recognize that this designation provides financial and vocational benefits. This is a benefit to women who have been raped during war to which they would not otherwise be entitled.

Another participant, an American psychologist, worked in Montenegro with Albanian refugees, many of whom had been raped. She reported that there is a universal impact of rape and trauma; however, this does not necessarily equate to functioning in a culture. Her experience is that culture and community can mitigate the effects of trauma as well as the effects on functioning and that it is important to focus on wellness and coping as opposed to a clinical approach focusing exclusively on the experience of being raped. She gave an

example of a teenage girl living in the refugee camp who had been gang raped by Serbian militiamen. This particular refugee camp had community centers offering programs geared to adolescents in which the girl participated. She seemed to be coping well with her community's support; however, a western NGO came into the camp and provided her with therapy that focused exclusively on the rape(s). The girl had a serious emotional setback due to the traumatization associated with reliving her experience and became unable to cope. The therapy did not provide the practical skills or tools she needed to cope in the community within her particular cultural context. This participant advised that with rape, it may not be a positive thing to focus too much on the act of rape; however, she reported that fundamentally, it is not known whether those who have had therapy do better than those who do not. Further study is required on this issue as well as on the various types of therapy and their efficacy with survivors of rape. As she stated, what "we think is best practice could be the worst practice ie. therapy".

Beverly Allen also reported that in her experience, therapy is a "culturally based discourse" and it is hard to know how it can work cross-culturally. She also reported that a way for some women to cope with the trauma of being raped is to go back to normal life, as much as it is possible, and that the comfort of one's social role might work to mitigate trauma. Western therapeutic models support the notion that if one represses trauma, it will return; however, it is not known if this is a universal characteristic. The strict social roles determined for many women, especially in villages, provide them with strong structures that support their day to day existence. Ms. Allen reported that it is very important for women to decide when they want to talk of their experiences, if at all, and that because some women do not avail themselves of the resources traditionally felt important for women who have been raped, it

does not mean that they do not have other resources of solace and comfort such as spiritual beliefs or other women or family or resumption of their roles in family and society. Ms. Allen reported that restorative justice is very important to women raped during the war because of the need to rebuild the personal, physical, economic, and familial aspects of life. There are no absolutes in determining how women can best cope with the trauma of rape and it is different for each woman; however, in her experience, one of the most effective systems for dealing with trauma is one which transcends individual experience and which places it within a larger context. For example, that system may be based in one's faith or one's standing in the community or as noted by another participant, one's role as a parent or resumption of one's normal life to the extent that one can after war.

Several of the participants noted that after the war, Muslim leaders in Bosnia stated publicly that there was to be no shame attached to women who had been raped and those who became pregnant were encouraged to keep their babies and integrate them into their families.

While this did not occur in all cases, it was noted to be a positive position for religious leaders to adopt and one that attempted to mitigate the trauma and stigma associated with war rape. Traditionally, for Bosnian Muslims, adoptions are only available through maternal uncles and if there are none alive, children may be placed in orphanages, but will not adopted outside of Bosnia. International adoption is forbidden as it is viewed as a further method of ethnic cleansing.

. A significant issue impacting the experience of trauma is the reaction of family members. A perceived negative reaction often leads to silence, which may be a coping mechanism. However, in many cases, women were raped with or in front of family members. Ms. Mladjenovic reported that many women were raped in front of their husbands or other family

members so that there was no need to explain or talk about what had happened because everybody knew, as witnesses, what had occurred and they, therefore, understood. The women could not be blamed for being raped because having been witness to the rape(s), it was clear to husbands or other family members that the woman was not at fault. She also confirmed that the reaction of family members varies and reaction depends on the particular circumstances of a family. Helms confirms that according to Medica Zenica, a centre established to provide aid for women during and after the war, there were more husbands than originally thought who stayed with their wives who had been raped. This was also confirmed by one of the participants interviewed for this project.

8.5 Vulnerability

During interviews with Ms. Allen, she advised that she and Susan Schwartz Senstad have written a book, still unpublished, based on interviews with women conducted in Bosnia over a two-year period. Ms. Allen provided her manuscript and gave her authorization for its use for this project. The women interviewed in the book had survived the multiple traumas and destruction of the war in many different ways, including gang rape.

The authors interviewed a Muslim village woman who had been gang raped by her Serbian neighbors while her ten-year old son had been forced to watch. Her husband had also been tortured, but was not witness to her rape. In interviewing this woman, she expressed anger at what had happened to her as well as a desire for legal justice; however, she did not have a desire for vengeance against all Serbs and with the assistance of counselors had been able to resume her life post-war. The book documents interviews with other women who had survived the traumas associated with war but who had not been raped and who were unable to

acknowledge what had happened and who remained stuck in nationalist and intractable positions about who was or was not to blame for the war.

The authors conclude from the interviews they completed that one of the formulas for true personal and national security is to acknowledge vulnerability as a critical component to healing. Those who can acknowledge their own vulnerability seemed to be the most likely to be able to proceed in an emotionally healthy way with their lives.

What is meant by vulnerability? Schwartz Senstad, in a presentation to the Norwegian Palliative Association in August 2001, relies on two definitions: one provided by Drs. Hal and Sidra Stone (2000) in which they advise that to be vulnerable is to be without defensive armor, to be authentic and present which leads to the ability to experience the full range of reactions to the world including physical needs, craving for intimacy as well as loves, yearnings, fears, shyness, insecurities, and discomforts. The second definition is provided by K.I.S.P. (The Committee for International Questions of the Interchurch Council for the Norwegian Church, 2000) writing that

> Vulnerability is the unique capacity for receptivity and empathy which allows human beings to acknowledge and care for their ethical responsibility for each other, for the community and their environment. Against this aspect of vulnerability, we ought not protect ourselves. On the contrary, it is a necessary precondition for the kind of security that isn't only about me and mine, or us and ours, based on some implicit assumption that might makes right. (pp.8–9)

Allen and Schwartz Senstad do not support the notion of vulnerability as being in a state of weakness; but rather as an empowered state which develops the capacity for empathy and ethics. Neither do they take the position that vulnerability means being without personal and

emotional boundaries. They argue that decreased or non-existent vulnerability leads to a lack of personal or national security that makes individuals or societies subject to extremism, fundamentalism, and patriotism and leads to a very essentialist "other vs. us" position which leads to a cycle of violence as well as an inability to heal for those who have been victimized by violence. They argue that accepting one's vulnerability allows for one to control feelings; hence daring to feel them. If one can acknowledge one's pain, anger, or revulsion against others, only then can one rise above the feelings to take a constructive, cooperative path as opposed to retreating into the false security of "them against us" based in anger and vengeance. Denying one's vulnerability leads to the idea that "...a person, nation, region, or "civilization" can be secured against any and every form of vulnerability.." (Stalsett, p. 14) and this leads to violence and entrenched positions.

Allen and Schwartz Senstad's interviews with women in Bosnia have lead them to conclude that those who can acknowledge their vulnerability have the best opportunity to commence and progress through a process recovery, as opposed to remaining stuck in anger, hatred, and bitterness which prevents healing. They point to the Muslim woman gang raped in front of her son as an example of someone who is in the process of healing, partly because of the vulnerability she has developed.

8.6 Assistance/Tools/Interventions/Treatments

In attempting to begin to answer the questions posed for this project, considerable research was conducted on the specific services that were established and made available to women who had been raped in the former Yugoslavia. It is clear that there are a myriad of physical and emotional impacts on women who have been raped during war and the research conducted into the types of assistance and services women need has resulted in one clear

conclusion: women who have been raped during war need services which are provided to them at their level and only when they are ready or willing to access them and they must be holistic in nature meaning that they incorporate services which address physical, emotional, psychological, legal, sexual, economic, social, and sometimes political needs. This is clearly because of the multiple impacts on women who have been raped in the context of war with all of its resultant losses to women pertaining to all aspects of their lives.

While war rape happens during war, its consequences reach far beyond the time of formal conflict or war into "times of relative peace". Women have to cope with having been raped and rebuilding their lives and those of their families when war ends. This can involve coping with the deaths or trauma of loved ones, finding housing, especially in the former Yugoslavia where so many people were displaced, and finding a means to make a living, to name a few. It is also well documented that domestic violence against women increases when wars end as traumatized and militarized (hyper-masculinized) men return home to changed family, social, and economic structures (Hughes, 1995; Meintjes, 2001; Mladjenovic, 2001; Pillay, 2001). As Meintjes posits, there is no aftermath for women with respect to the violence that is directed against them in pre-war, war, and post-war societies.

When the rapes that occurred in the former Yugoslavia became known, there were centers and services established to work with women who had been raped.

As one of the founders of the Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence (AWCASV) in Belgrade as well as of the SOS Hotlines in Zagreb and Belgrade, Lepa Mladjenovic has vast experience working with and on behalf of women who were raped during the wars in the former Yugoslavia and spoke extensively for this project on the needs

of women and the services her organizations provide to them. She has also written extensively on this topic.

Ms. Mladjenovic is a counselor by profession and works with a feminist approach to providing services to women and lobbies on their behalf with government. She confirmed that prior to 1992 there was very little knowledge about the needs of women survivors of male violence and that during and after the war one of the resultant needs was for education for those working with women in how to deal with the trauma of rape and other forms of violence. She stated that prior to the war, there were minimal psychological/psychiatric services offered in hospitals in Zagreb; however, these were not directed at women survivors of abuse, sexual or otherwise.

Early in the war, feminist counselors from Holland and Germany came to train women in the former Yugoslavia on issues relating to trauma and treatment. Ms. Mladjenovic confirmed that a model of psychotherapy alone is not effective in working with women rape survivors and that her Centers offer a holistic approach to working with women over a long-term period of time. Consistent with the experiences of the American psychologist who worked in the refugee camp in Montenegro, Ms. Mladjenovic confirmed that therapy offered by foreign "experts" is not helpful because these "experts" come into a community and leave shortly thereafter and provide no benefits relating to a holistic, long-term, culturally contextual approach to their therapy.

As a feminist counselor, Ms. Mladjenovic and her colleagues work with several ethical principles. The first principle is that it is a woman's right to choose whether she wants help and if so, what type of help. The woman is in complete control and is never pushed to divulge anything she does not want to tell or to accept services she has not asked for. As Ms.

Mladjenovic reported during her interview, "the strength is hers" meaning that those who work with women rape survivors acknowledge that it is the women hold the power and have the strength of their own choices. Women survivors are never told what to do and are given full control over how they choose to engage in their recovery processes.

The second is that a women's experience must be accepted and acknowledged by the counselor meaning that the experience as presented is taken as truth. This is critical for creating the conditions that encourage women to share their experiences. Women who have been raped have lost their trust and trust is a primary need for women. A counselor does not judge or interpret what a woman says; but accepts the validity of what is being told to her in a non-judgmental way. This leads to a relationship of trust that facilitates a woman's ability to determine what she needs and to access it accordingly.

Feminist counselors do not support the notion of a hierarchy of pain but accept that each pain is *the* pain for the woman describing it. Feminist counselors reject the notion of a hierarchy of pain because it is a phenomenon of patriarchy which causes many women to slip into a cycle of guilt over her own circumstances or it can make other women feel guilty for being a "lesser" victim and this, consistent with patriarchy, divides women. A hierarchy of pain results in women feeling that their pain is not worth talking about or listening to and so they never ask for help. Counselors working at AWCASV and the SOS hotlines completely reject any hierarchy and use validation as a technique for supporting women and making it possible to accept their emotions, whatever they are (Mladjenovic, 2001).

Other participants interviewed for this project who have worked with or interviewed women raped during war all agree that in order to create an environment where women feel safe to relate their experiences, the environment must be open and non-judgmental and must

validate what is being said. Being heard and having experiences validated is extremely important for women as they begin their own healing processes. There was also consensus among the participants interviewed on this question: it is important to emphasize that the trauma and abuses suffered by women are abnormal but that their reactions to it, whatever they may be, are completely normal.

Ms. Mladjenovic writes, consistent with the theory of vulnerability supported by Allen and Schwartz Senstad that it is clear that until the truth of one's experiences is recognized, healing cannot begin and that truth and pain are connected, meaning that one's pain is one's truth; however, one's pain may not be another's truth. She argues that "...if my pain and my truth do not give me space for your pain and your truth, can we still create the emotional and cognitive space to hear and care about the Other during two traumatic events that take place at the same time?" (Mladjenovic, 2001, p. 177). Feminist principles promote caring for the "Other" or the enemy in the acknowledgement that all women's experiences of trauma need to be acknowledged even if they appear to be from opposing sides.

In keeping with the provision of assistance within a holistic framework, it is important to work with women to identify and then assist them with their needs. Often these are primary needs such as housing, clothing, food, and economic means of support. There is often a need for medical assistance or assistance in trying to locate families. Once the needs are determined, assistance is provided in meeting these needs.

This is consistent with another participant interviewed for this project who requested that neither her name nor the name of her organization be identified. She works for an organization which provides services for those who have survived torture and other forms of abuse during the war, including rape. She confirmed that it is important to take a holistic and

multidisciplinary approach to working with women survivors. This involves providing the services of lawyers, social workers and others who can provide assistance with primary needs: housing, food, clothing, and economic support as well as with legal issues. The psychotherapy provided is short or long-term, dependent on individual needs. She reported that many of the women raped during war experience secondary traumatization associated with lack of jobs and housing. AWCASV and the SOS Hotlines provides individual assistance as needed.

This participant confirmed that therapy techniques have been modified for survivors of rape and sexual torture in that the therapist is much more involved in assisting women with providing support for all aspects of their lives not only within a therapeutic setting. They take a much more active approach with their clients than do traditional psychotherapists, which involves assisting women with their primary needs as well as providing pre and post-ICTY therapy services. She reported that her organization treats approximately 200 women per year and that they exhibit a reduction of symptoms as a result of the services provided.

Another participant interviewed for this project, Anne Anderson, Co-Coordinator of Psychologists for Social Responsibility reported that one of the more effective forms for the use of the *War Trauma and Recovery* brochure published by Psychologists for Social Responsibility centers on a group process taking a low key approach. For example, knitting circles involve women sitting together and quietly engaged in their activity. In this setting, there is conversation during which the subject of the effects of trauma during war can be broached. When women have an opportunity to speak about their experiences in such a setting, they can normalize their post-rape trauma. By discussing their experiences, they can

accept that their reactions to the trauma they have survived are normal and this can relieve anxiety. This finding is consistent with the reports of other participants in this project.

All of the participants interviewed about the needs of women survivors of rape were consistent in their views that services must be provided on a multi-level, multidisciplinary basis which includes those which address both physical needs for housing, clothing, food, medical care, legal assistance, and jobs as well as emotional needs for safety, trust, and personal security within a context whereby it is the women survivors who control the process of disclosure and access to the specific types of assistance they require.

8.7 Medica Zenica

As news reports began to publicize the rapes of women during the war, Monika Hauser, a gynecologist living in Germany attempted to make contact with humanitarian organizations to determine what she could do to support Bosnian women. She was put in touch with a group of women in Croatia working with refugees fleeing Serbian ethnic cleansing and established a centre in Zenica in central Bosnia to work with women who had been raped (Cockburn, 1998).

The women who established Medica hold the belief that woman who have been raped and abused need treatment and care in a woman only environment and that foremost, women survivors of rape must be believed and respected. This is consistent with the information shared by all of the participants interviewed for this project. As Cockburn (1998) writes,

> ...Medical treatment should involve a recognition of the woman as an individual, a caring and not merely professional contact between doctor and client, and go hand in hand with psychotherapeutic and social care. The service must be free. The provision must be of the highest quality possible in these hard circumstances, because the women

deserved nothing less. These principles made Medica unique in the Yugoslav region. (p.175)

Medica was initially established to provide psychosocial and medical care to rape survivors. In working with women who have been raped, it evolved into an organization providing services that encompass gynaecological/medical, psycho-therapeutic as well as vocational assistance and accommodation for women in need. Services are provided on both an in and out-patient basis.

Unfortunately, despite repeated attempts, there was no opportunity to interview women who work at Medica although one of the participants has conducted research with the organization. Many of the participants interviewed for this project, including Ms. Allen and Ms. Mladjenovic, have spoken and liaised with women working at Medica and it is hailed as one of the most comprehensive and effective organizations working with women survivors of rape and sexual abuse. Medica has published extensive documentation pertaining to its programs and has a detailed website dedicated to outlining its mission and services.

Medica Zenica is reported by a number of the participants interviewed for this project as being one of the most all encompassing programs for women who have been raped or who have suffered other forms of abuse because of the holistic provision of services. Initially, it provided for the medical, psychological, housing, and vocational needs of women raped and displaced during war; it has evolved into providing services to women affected by domestic violence and incest. Medica (1995) is committed, as outlined in its publication: *Surviving the Violence: War and Violence Against Women are Inseparable*

> ...to aim to provide a protected place for women, offering them competent support and solidarity and giving them hope for the future. We will also continue to pass on the

experience and knowledge gained over almost three years to dedicated women from all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. (p. 7)

Since its inception Medica has committed to supporting traumatized women and girls in crisis zones throughout the world. In 1999 it established a centre in Kosovo to provide services to women impacted by violence and established another centre in Albania to assist women. It has also established projects in Afghanistan and Iraq. Medica provides its services within a holistic context designed to enable women to master their daily existence, to face the traumatic incident step-by-step and finally to come to terms with it in a safe and sheltered environment which includes gynaecological and medical assistance, psychological and social assistance including legal aid, vocational assistance, and living space. Medica also develops criteria for quality in providing assistance, networks among interdisciplinary organizations to ensure expert and streamlined service delivery, is involved in political advocacy to ensure that the rights of women are gained and protected, and the education and training of qualified locals to work with traumatized women and girls.

The services and resources provided by Medica are consistent with the principles and services provided by other organizations working with women raped and traumatized during war. All of the participants interviewed who are knowledgeable about its services, point to Medica as one of the most effective organizations that assist women survivors on all levels.

8.8 The Passage of Time

Another very common theme expressed by participants in this research is that as time as passed since the formal end of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, the issue of women raped during war, their experiences, and their needs has faded. The low status of women within the context of economic, political, and other social problems has relegated the needs of women

raped during the wars to a somewhat invisible issue. Medica and other organizations working with women raped during war are focused on problems associated with domestic violence, incest, and trafficking, which have become a current concern for individuals and organizations working with women.

8.9 Justice

What does justice mean to women raped during war, is it important, is it attainable and if so, how?

One of the consistent themes derived from the literature and the interviews conducted for this project is that men who return from war traumatized and overly masculinized often act out violently against their wives and children. If men who have been traumatized in violent settings become violent, in turn, against their wives and children, what types of violence do women perpetrate who have been subject to violence, sexual or otherwise? There is no evidence that women, as a rule, become violent when they have been brutalized through rape or other traumas during war. There is no evidence that they attempt to exact revenge against the men who rape them, even if they live in their communities. Why is this?

This question was posed to a number of the participants interviewed and the response is that generally violence for women, even against their perpetrators, is not a means of revenge or justice for women. Rape results in a destroyed or severely damaged identity, which results in the destruction of a woman's will. She can remain in the role of victim for long periods of time. It is not unusual for women who have been raped to develop fantasies of revenge; however, practically, they do not enact these fantasies.

Fear is also widely reported as a factor prohibiting women from confronting those that raped them. Because so many women were raped by their neighbours or others who live in

their community and who have never been arrested, there is a tremendous fear of these men because of the trauma associated with the rape(s) as well as fear of further violence or retaliation.

The ICTY has indicted and prosecuted perpetrators for rape; however, this has been an uncommon occurrence given the numbers of rapes that occurred. Ms. Mladjenovic reported that the Tribunal is generally a "good thing" because it promotes awareness and knowledge about rape as a crime and common occurrence during war. However, given its mandate, it has not prevented any of the domestic violence that is still ongoing or prosecuted any its perpetrators. She also reported that the effects on women of the Tribunal are dependent on their identity. For example, Bosnia accepts the legitimacy of the Tribunal and as such, it provides a beneficial avenue of justice for some Bosnian women. Serbs, on the other hand, do not accept the Tribunal as representing their interests and as such, there is little positive impact for Serbian women.

Beverly Allen, who acted as a consultant with victim witnesses at the Tribunal, views it positively for women, if they can be kept safe during the process, because it provides an arena for the acknowledgement of what happened to them and for some form of justice.

Another participant advised that some women who testified at the Tribunal felt empowered by having the opportunity to face their accuser and tell their story.

A critical component to the Tribunal is the ability to provide witness protection for those who require it. The provision of witness protection is rare although it was identified as key to the success of testimony at the Tribunal.

The participant interviewed who works for the organization working with survivors of torture reported that she and her colleagues work with a number of women who have testified

at the Tribunal and that generally, the Tribunal is good for women because it provides them with the opportunity to tell their story and pursue justice. The organization provides pre-testimony counseling and support to women. While some women are given protected witness status by the Tribunal, most are not. They can return home retraumatized due to having to recount their experiences in a legal setting and the organization provides specific follow-up counseling for these women.

Anne Anderson participated in a series of consultations with the ICTY that were organized by the Coordination of Women's Advocacy, a non-profit organization based in Switzerland. She worked with a group of women's rights and anti-war activists, and mental health professionals including psychologists, social workers, and counselors, to develop methods to reduce the risk of retraumatization during interview processes pertaining to women's rape experiences.

In consultation with groups working with the ICTY, Ms. Anderson reported that there is a real structural conflict between the needs of the legal process to prosecute its "best" cases and the needs of survivors and witnesses. She advised that women would come forward and present their cases to Tribunal staff only to be told that there was insufficient evidence with which to go to trial. This is potentially devastating for women who have taken the physical and emotional risk of providing disclosure with an expectation of legal justice. A process of garnering fully informed consent was established so that each potential witness is advised up front that while the information they provide may be very helpful in providing background information for the Tribunal, their particular case may never be tried by the Tribunal.

A further issue for the Tribunal was to establish a process of ensuring survivors and witnesses have the support they require. To this end, all potential witnesses can bring one person of their choice to support them through the process.

Another recommendation adopted by the Tribunal is assurance that all survivors and witnesses be interviewed in their own tongue by an interpreter of their own gender and ethnic group. Anonymous and confidential testimony is also available at the recommendation of the consultation team. Ms. Anderson also confirmed that witness protection is provided on an occasional basis only.

The Tribunal does not provide post-testimony debriefing or assistance, as legally this would be seen as a conflict of interest.

One of the issues for women is that the act of testifying draws attention to them and as Ms. Anderson reported, one of the consequences of success for the Tribunal in prosecuting rapists is that women who testify after returning home could be in danger. A further issue for women is that many of them have nowhere to go after testifying because they have been evicted from their homes. The Tribunal cannot provide assistance for this, again because of potential conflict of interest. Ms. Anderson reported that the lawyers with whom she worked at the ICTY were very interested in making a difference with respect to prosecuting those accused of rape; however, they have to do so within the legal parameters of the Tribunal.

The ICTY provides a formalized legal avenue for women who have been raped to attain retributive justice; however, given the numbers of women raped, the Tribunal prosecutes only a handful of rapists. Its benefit is in the international legal acknowledgement that rape during war is a crime and in its ability to mete out punishment however few rapists are actually prosecuted. It is important that there be an international body which deals with rape as a

crime and with rapists in a criminal context. All participants agreed that the numbers of rapists prosecuted and convicted is miniscule in comparison with the scale of the crime. The other potential issue for women who risk their emotional and physical safety by testifying is that even if convicted, perpetrators have appeal rights and sentences given may be significantly reducing thereby allowing rapists to return to the same communities as the women they have raped.

Legal justice can also be sought through local tribunals within the current successor states of the former Yugoslavia; however, there is little evidence that these bodies have had any efficacy in charging or prosecuting rapists. .

Several of the participants referred to women's needs for restorative, as opposed to retributive justice. As Ms. Anderson reported, the critical issue for many women is where they will live, how they will support themselves and their children, and how they will attempt to find missing relatives. For many women, the process of getting on with their day-to-day lives is more important than participating in an international Tribunal.

It is clear that the formal criminal justice system is ineffective with respect to the relatively small numbers of men charged and prosecuted for war rape and this is small comfort to women who have survived rape, especially for those who have to live in the same community as the man or men who raped them. From another perspective, the recognition of rape as a war crime, a crime against humanity, and in some cases, a form of genocide by international legal tribunals is a critical component of justice.

CHAPTER NINE – CONCLUSION

The use of the term "conclusion" for this chapter does not presume that there is a conclusion with regard to the research questions posed for this project. It merely signifies, within the scope of this project, that the research conducted has come to an end. As indicated at the beginning of this project, the scale, characteristics, and impacts of war rape are increasingly well documented in the popular media and within international circles. One only needs to read the stories regarding the current situation in Darfur which confirms that rape is being recognized and publicized as a fundamental and common strategy of war and conflict in the world today.

It is also clear that there are a variety of NGO's which are working with women who have been raped during war such as MSF, Physicians for Human Rights, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, to name but a few. These organizations are not only working directly with women who have been raped but are also documenting their needs. There is ample documentation on the needs of women raped during peacetime, there is little research on the specific needs of women raped during war.

This project does not purport to have the final answer(s); however, in attempting to answer the research questions posed, a number of themes have emerged with respect to the needs of women post-war as follows:

1. There is a need to provide services on a holistic or multi-level basis which incorporates meeting physical, emotional, psychological, medical, familial, legal, shelter, and therapeutic needs. It is insufficient to provide only one or two types of service and it is clear that psychotherapy on its own is insufficient to assist women who have been raped during war in their recovery processes;

2. Women must not be pushed into telling their stories or be told what types of services they require; a full range of services and assistance should be made available so that it is up to them to access what they need when they need it. The control must remain with the woman. Ms. Mladjenovic confirmed that when she initially went to psychiatric hospitals to meet with women who had been raped, she simply sat with them initially or when they were ready, took them out for a cup of coffee. If they chose to share their experiences, she provided support. She states that when they were ready and felt safe, women generally did speak about their experiences. This is consistent with all of the other participants and with the literature;
3. Women raped during war need acceptance and validation of their experiences in a non-judgmental and safe environment. The building of trust between women and anyone with whom they choose to tell of their experiences is critical;
4. Women who have been raped often lose their sense of self as well as their sense of security and trust. For many women who live in the same communities as the man or men who have raped them, fear is commonplace. These men need to be prosecuted or the women should be offered relocation opportunities if they so choose.

There are no recommendations that can be offered as a result of this research which offer absolute answers to the questions posed for this research. The intention of the following recommendations is that they reflect the findings of the interviews and research conducted for this project and they are offered within the continuum of work and research being done with and for women raped during war.

9.1 Recommendations

The first and foremost recommendation is that that any post-war or post-conflict reconstruction efforts incorporate funding for medical, psychological, emotional, legal, and economic assistance for women who have been raped. Given the numbers of women impacted by rape, it is critical that services be provided to them, consistent with the principles espoused in this project by participants who have worked with women raped during war. Medica Zenica is an excellent example of an organization that provides such services on multiple levels for women and their children and can be used as a model for the provision of similar services in other countries or societies with appropriate recognition for cultural context. Medica Zenica and AWCASV built and enhanced their capacity to work with women who had survived rape during war by training local women to work with local women. This local model seems to have worked very well and should be adopted elsewhere.

The second recommendation is that post-war reconstruction efforts fundamentally address the commonplace increase in domestic violence against women at the hands of their male relatives when war ends. As is repeatedly demonstrated throughout the research conducted for this project, when war ends, violence against women does not end; in fact, the evidence is that it often escalates. Given the destroyed economies and infrastructure of many post-war societies, there is very little, if any, funding available for women who need assistance or who need to escape male violence. International recognition and funding, as an integral part of reconstruction efforts, must be made available.

The third recommendation echoes one provided by Kvinna til Kvinna (2001) in *Getting it Right? A Gender Approach to UNMIK Administration in Kosovo*

> The concept of gender-mainstreaming should mean that a gender perspective is part of every policy consideration, be that the design of a public information campaign, the creation of an advisory body, a draft law, or devising reporting guidelines and priorities. (p.24)

Kvinna til Kvinna defines gender-mainstreaming as the opposite of gender specialization which has the effect of relegating "women's issues" as an aside to the reconstruction process. It recommends, instead, that a gender perspective should be a fundamental part of all reconstructive efforts. One of the examples given by many of the participants as it pertains to the former Yugoslavia is that women lost many of the legal rights granted by Tito's socialist government under national governments. As one result of the lobbying efforts of women's groups, domestic violence has now been made a crime. Kvinna til Kvinna's report is critical of the UNMIK because it has not incorporated gender mainstreaming into its operations.

The fourth recommendation is the women raped during war should be accorded the same status as war veterans and be entitled to financial and medical assistance accordingly. This is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Clearly, governments are often short on financial resources post-war; however, if war veterans or soldiers are awarded financial compensation, so should women who have been raped as their rapes resulted from a strategy of warfare.

The final recommendation is for further research into the needs of women who are raped during war from a cross-cultural and longitudinal perspective in order to offer the most effective services to women, while implementing the programs that have proven effective while this research continues. As one participant advised, the reason that the groups who work with women do not provide research on their work is that they are too busy doing the work.

9.2 Prevention

This purpose of this project is to research the needs of women in post-war society who were raped during war. It has not addressed how war rape can be prevented because this issue requires not only a thorough analysis of the relationships between women and men and why men rape during war, but must also incorporate an analysis of why men rape in peacetime as well. As noted earlier, rape during war and mass rape during peacetime is commonplace and preventative efforts have to address the underlying causes of this. While the causes of rape have been researched, of more difficulty is the requirement to then address these underlying causes in order to prevent it. While this is not the goal of this project, the prevention of war rape has been an overriding theme for the writer throughout the research conducted for this project especially with respect to whether there are preventative measures that can be taken for the protection of women from rape when a society descends into war.

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Appendix # 1 - Questionnaire

1. Please describe the role and work of your organization.

2. How did you get involved in the type of work you are doing?

3. Do you work with women or girls who were raped or sexually assaulted during the civil conflict?

4. Does your organization document the types of sexual and physical assault perpetuated against women? If so, what are they?

5. What, in your opinion, are the needs of these women since the civil conflict ended?

   a. Medical – physical and/or psychological
   b. Childcare/Pregnancy
   c. Economic
   d. Legal
   e. Education
   f. Vocational Training
   g. Justice
   h. Housing
   i. Social ie. familial and spousal
   j. Religious assistance/counseling/support/acceptance
   k. Women's Support Groups
   l. Anything else? Specify.

6. Based on your experience, what has helped women deal with what happened to them?

   a. Talking with other women who were raped or sexually assaulted?
   b. Talking to friends?
   c. Talking to family members?
   d. Religion?
   e. Help from your organization or others?
   f. Physical or mental health medical practitioner?
   g. Work?
   h. Trying to forget about what happened?
   i. Legal prosecution of offender(s)?
   j. Anything else? Specify.

7. Has anyone in your organization or any of the women you work with participated in the International Crime Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia?

8. If so, what is the expectation of this Tribunal and what were your experiences in participating in the Tribunal?

9. How do you feel the status of women in your society compared with that of men impacts the development, delivery, and access for women to assistance?