Does War equal Sexual Violence?

A study of the circumstances behind sexual violence against women during conflict

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Abstract
Sexual violence against women in war is an issue that is well reported and well known to the public and the international community, but still remains widespread and common in many conflicts in the world. Much research has been done on the topic, yet no substantial analytical framework for the circumstances behind its facilitation has been made, and it has been a common practice to value it as an inevitable part of war. It comes without question that to be able to do something about a problem you need to know what facilitates it. Therefore the objective of this thesis is to investigate what circumstances facilitate sexual violence against women in war. An analytical framework is created out of the existing litterature and tested on five different conflict cases with a high amount of sexual violence and thus using the method of Structured Focused Comparison. The research resulted in the findings that four out of six of the parameters in the analytical framework appeared to facilitate sexual violence, where Impunity and a Patriarchal society or Hegemonic masculinity appeared to facilitate to the highest extent. The other parameters that appeared to be facilitating to a medium extent were an ethnic conflict and military masculinity ideals. Perhaps the main finding of this study is that sexual violence against women in war is not inevitable and that there appears to be certain circumstances behind its facilitation.

Keywords
Sexual Violence, War, Women, Conflict
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List of Abbreviations

HRW: Human Rights Watch
The UN: The United Nations
DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo
HSR: Human Security Report
AMISOM: African Union Mission in Somalia
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
OCHA/IRIN: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
Integrated Regional Information Network
UCDP: Uppsala Conflict Data Program
RUF: The Revolutionary United Front
CDF: Civil Defence Force
UNAMSIL: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
FARDC: Forces Armées de la République Democratique du Congo
ICTY: International Crime Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
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1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research problem, a small summary of the current research on the topic which leads to the research objective. A short review of this study’s method along with an analytical framework will also be presented.

1.1 Research problem and relevance

Sexual violence against women during conflict is an issue that is well-known to the public and the international community and no one would disagree with that the acts are gruesome. Yet it is still an issue that has not been able to be stopped while this problem is extremely harmful for the women and has severe consequences to their physical and psychological health, their reproduction and their position in society as stated by Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2003:50-2). The women who are subjected to this type of violence are also more likely to be infected by HIV and Aids. It is a violation of human rights, of the individual’s right to be safe from violence, even under a time of war (Critelli, 2010:137). Moreover, the United Nations (UN, 2013:3) has brought up the vulnerable situation that occurs from births that are results of rape during conflicts, and the high risks of poverty and social stigmatization for the children and their mothers.

Sexual violence is referred to by the UN as “rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men or children with a direct or indirect (temporal, geographical or causal) link to a conflict” (UN, 2013:2). Sexual violence in conflict occurs as this statement says, against both men, women and children. Yet this study will be focusing on sexual violence against women solely since it is of greatest magnitude (Coulter, 2006:226).

Rape, sexual slavery and forced marriage has according to the UN (2013:3) been detected in war-torn countries such as Somalia, DRC, Yemen, Sudan, and the Côte d’ivoire as an example. Many of the women are either ashamed of the rapes or not aware of their rights, which leads to the difficulty of finding a figure of the number of sexual violence. Still the estimates are high. Even though many of these countries are developing countries it is significant to keep in mind that this issue is not solely one that arises in developing countries. An example is during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s were an estimated 20,000 rapes occurred (Kvinna till Kvinna, 2012:1-2). For
a long time this issue has been seen as “a tragic but unavoidable” (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010:1) part of war but has now officially been legalised as a war crime and a crime against humanity. Yet not much has been done by governments and the International community to actual stop this from occurring (Kvinna till Kvinna, 2012:1-2).

Much literature have been made on the subject but there seems to be no comprehensive analytical framework for the conditions for its facilitation. Chris Coulter (2009) conducted a study on women’s lives during the war in Sierra Leone, both as rape victims and female soldiers. She claims that pre-existing sociocultural dynamics such as women’s low status in society, becomes high-lightened during war which is linked to the eruption of war rape. Rape in the war in Sierra Leone was according to Coulter used strategically as a means to control the population. She further claims that sexual violence as a war strategy is a commonly used tool in wars and that it has previously been seen as a natural part of conflict (Coulter, 2009:127). And many studies that accentuates rape as a war strategy has been made. In Human Rights Watch study of Côte d’ivoire from 2007 war rape is described as a strategically acted out tool for achieving military and politically incentives. When civilians have been the target, “sexual violence has become an even more deliberate and insidious weapon of war” (HRW, 2007:122).

Yet Maria Eriksson-Baaz and Maria Stern (2010:1) are criticizing the way that sexual violence is solely being defined as a weapon of war, and argue that conflict settings differ and such a description as solely a weapon of war risks that other factors and motivations are missed. Their study on sexual violence against women during the war in DRC is unique in the way that it is based on interviews with the perpetrators as opposed to the victims. Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010:2-3) found that the acts were not strategically targeted, the dysfunction of the military institution was influencing the sexual violence, as well as the impunity which led to the normalisation of violence. Furthermore, the Human Security Report (HSR, 2012:29) claims that much literature argues for rape as a war strategy, while evidence speaks of that sexual violence that is strategically perpetrated in conflicts is more often the exception than the rule.

Elisabeth J Wood (2006) has widened the research of sexual violence during conflict by looking at variance, at conflict settings where there have been little or no rapports of
sexual violence. Armed groups that do not engage in sexual violence have according to the researcher been neglected in previous studies (Wood, 2006:330). A few countries she is mentioning with very little sexual violence is for example Sri Lanka and Israel/Palestine (Wood, 2006:307). One of her main findings was that whether the armed group have effective incentives to perpetrate rape or on the other hand, sanctions against it is decisive. The findings of Woods study would mean that sexual violence is not such an inevitable part of war that it has long-time been claimed.

Thus, much of the literature have been focusing on the strategic circumstances for sexual violence in war, and focusing on the victims instead of the perpetrators, while others are arguing for and focusing on other issues that are facilitating and examples of when the prevalence of sexual violence has been low. A comprehensive view of the facilitating conditions is thus lacking. This research problem derives from the fact that this is in many ways a serious problem that is well known to the public and the governments across the world, yet no one seems to do anything about it. Sexual violence is in many ways still seen as something that has always been part of war, that it is natural and inevitable. Therefore there is no real consensus on the facilitators and no analytical framework concerning the conditions under which this problem happens. Naturally, to be able to do something about this topic you also needs to know the circumstances that makes it happen.

1.2 Research objective

- The objective for this study is to understand the circumstances that facilitate sexual violence against women during war.

An extensive amount of literature has been read to investigate the general circumstances that have an impact on the eruption of this problem and an analytical framework has been created out of these different views. This framework that will be more thoroughly explained for in the analytical framework chapter, consists of six parameters. The aim of this study is thus to provide a new perspective of what the circumstances for sexual violence in conflict contends, by creating a framework with the circumstances that have been claimed by researches to be significant, and then apply this framework to selected conflict cases where sexual violence against women have been a great issue. My goal is then to investigate to what degree these parameters of circumstances are of importance in different cases, what other circumstances that are found to be important,
and thus be able detect a new perspective of the circumstances of sexual violence against women in war.

1.3 Method and Analytical framework
This study is performed with an inference that is a mix of both deduction and abduction. The collection of existing literature is used to create an analytical framework with parameters. Hence I am starting off deductively and then moving forward with an abductive inference. The analytical framework is applied to 5 conflict cases in order to see if the hypotheses created from the parameters can be falsified or not. A method of Structured Focused Comparison will hence be used. This will be explained more thoroughly in the methods chapter. The information on the existing literature and the selected countries is collected from academic books, journals, rapports and data from UNDP and Themnér and Wallensteen.

1.4 Structure of thesis
This thesis will depart from the creation of an analytical framework in chapter 2 that is collected from the existing literature on sexual violence in war. Chapter 3 will discuss the method chosen for this study and the choices of sources for each parameter in the analytical framework. Chapter 3 will also involve an argumentation for the decision of conflict cases. The following chapter, chapter 4 is a presentation of the research results of each of the conflicts cases. This will be followed by chapter 5 which is the analysis chapter, where an analysis and evaluation of the research results will be presented. The 6th and the last chapter of this thesis contends the conclusion part, and will sum up the thesis and the results as well as present some recommendations for future research.

1.5 Limitations
The main limitation in this study has to do with the access of information or sources. Since I am not able to collect fieldwork information on my own I need to rely on the work of others and the sources that is available. The amount of sources available for this study is somewhat limited which above all became apparent in the presentation of the research results since the conflict cases had different types and amounts of information available on different parameters. One parameter had contradictory sources which impacted on its ability to be defined as a facilitator and thus lack of significant sources is a limitation. The impact of the prevalence of Gender-Based-Violence in each of the countries in this subject has been accentuated by a number of researchers, and it is
hence a shame and a limitation that there was no data available on this issue on the countries in question. However, there were accessible data on the gender inequality in the countries that is used in the study.

A delimitation that was set for this study that without a doubt has an impact on its result is the choice of research countries. The choice of only conducting a study with five cases due to a time limitation and the choice of these countries mostly on the amount of literature available is something that has an effect on the results. A study with other countries or more cases would possibly not have brought on the same results. Further, if there would have been more time to my disposal, more literature would have been possible to be read and perhaps the parameters in the analytical framework might have looked differently and been more extensive. Thus, this delimitation that was necessary to be set for myself becomes a limitation on the results of the study.
2 Analytical framework

This second chapter contends the creation of an analytical framework that will be used for this study along with its parameters and hypotheses. This framework will be drawn from the existing literature on sexual violence against women in war.

2.1 Existing literature

The existing literature on sexual violence against women in conflict presents a number of parameters that are claimed to facilitate sexual violence. The research from 6 experts on this topic has been used to pick out six parameters that will constitute the analytical framework. The literature contends research from 4 general research studies on sexual violence in war, and 2 are from case studies on countries that will not be used in this study, Somalia and Greece. The reasons for the selection of these literature is firstly that most of the texts are recent studies from the last decade and hence brings on a greater legitimacy. Secondly, all literature except from the 2 case studies who serves as a supplement to the general research studies, consists of researchers trying to collect their knowledge on sexual violence in different cases and point out what general factors that can be drawn from them as a whole. Therefore they are great sources for someone who is going to create an analytical framework. The next section will be a presentation of the literature and the different circumstances that they are claiming facilitates sexual violence against women in war.

Janie L. Leatherman draws her understanding of what causes sexual violence in conflict primarily form theories of constructivism. According to Leatherman (2011) sexual violence is not an isolated problem that is separated from other issues in society, but is related to the society’s pre-existing socioeconomic and culturally shaped gender relationship. A precondition for sexual violence in war is that the society has a great extent of Gender-Based-Violence (GBV) which involves a number of human rights abuses such as rape, female genital mutilation, domestic violence, sexual assault honour killings, sex trafficking etc. Furthermore Leatherman claims that women and girls in countries with a high level of gender-based discrimination and inequality have a much greater risk of being victims of sexual violence during conflict. During war GBV is likely to intensify and become a war tool (Leatherman, 2011:3-4).
Patriarchal institutions is another issue that is argued to possibly lead to sexual violence in a war setting. Patriarchal institution’s makes women more vulnerable to inequalities, to domestic violence, and various types of discrimination and marginalisation in society. These forms of discrimination and ideals accentuates in conflict and is thus possible to lead to sexual violence. Examples of patriarchal institutions are male-oriented human rights protections in the public sphere, in contrast to the absence of legal protections in the private sphere which is seen as a female dominated domain (Leatherman, 2011:7,17.-20).

Globalisation and the capital workplace is also claimed to have a linkage with the eruption of sexual violence in conflict. More especially it is the corporations that cooperate with local military forces who use gruesome methods of violence such as sexual violence against women, in order to get access to areas where there are natural resources for the economic gain of the corporations. Since war strategies are political strategies about who is in control and who has what assets, sexual violence is thus one of the key tools in weaponry of global political economy (Leatherman, 2011:6-8). Another important factor brought up by Leatherman is that mass rape is more likely to erupt in conflicts that involve partition of territory and the population, when the state is fragile and has little control of the territory and the people (Leatherman, 2011:12).

Another parameter that Leatherman (2011:17) is arguing for is constructed hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity provides men as opposed to women with the primary access to power and privilege. While hegemonic masculinity is primarily defined as a successful claim to authority and not violence, when you link it with masculinist power, you create hierarchies within masculinities which are depended on complicity, control and disempowerment of the other males. The allied masculinities becomes empowered, to the expense of that subordinate and marginalised masculinities are expelled or exploited together with womanhood. Mechanisms of dominance, for example military service, sustains and strengthens hegemonic masculinity. During war both men and women lose economic, political and social institutions that are a prerequisite for their individual status and prestige in society. Hyper masculinity thus magnifies the already existing masculinities in society and deploys violence for the sake of retaking or maintaining dominance and control. Sexual violence against women during war is thus a socially constructed way for men to re-establish hegemony. This is
why the position of the women in the society before the conflict is important since they become more vulnerable the weaker position they have when the conflict begins. When war erupts, images of hyper masculinity is used to mobilize foremost marginalised men and enhance gender polarization (Leatherman, 2011:20).

Sexual violence is claimed by Leatherman to be a runaway norm by the way it exceeds multiple violations on what is acceptable conduct even for a situation of war. Runaway norms are described as “a special class of norms that produces social harms or public bads” (Leatherman, 2011:34) Runaway norms operate through different conflict dynamics such as fear and weakens the feeling of the individual or groups security. This leads to a stronger sense of group membership and solidarity at the same time as it justifies dominance over other groups. An example of a strategy that produces runaway norms is propaganda. Then these conflict processes of hatred and violence becomes seen as the “right thinking” by the member group (ibid).

Circumstances in Leatherman book
- Gender-based violence
- Access to natural resources
- Patriarchal society
- Partition of territory
- Socially constructed hegemonic masculinity
- Runaway norms, ex Propaganda

Natalja Zabeida is another researcher who claims that ethnic differences or the perception of ethnic differences play a part in the making of rape as a tool in conflict. This means that women gets raped not only because they are women, but because they are women and part of the other ethnic or national group (Zabeida, 2010:19). Political motivations legitimises rape as a tool of war. In ethnic conflicts, rape is also more likely to be an element in war since there is a view of the woman’s purity to be crucial for the insurance of the survival of the ethnic group. The purity is sustained through non-mixing of bloodlines. The raping of the enemy women becomes a way of refusing the purity of the nation/group and their claims on the right to self-determination (Zabeida, 2010:22-3). Thus rape becomes a natural tool in ethnic conflicts.
Another facilitator for war rape is a patriarchal society. Rape is used as a means to cave the social structure and cohesion of the enemy group. In the patriarchal society the woman who has been raped will be seen as dirty or have lost some of her purity in the eyes of the society which will undermine the structure and cohesion of the group. Then it is the attitudes in Muslim and other very traditional societies that consider everything related to sex as forbidden or uncomfortable that serves as a function of rape in war (Zabeida, 2010:21).

Another circumstance for when rape could be used in war is for the sake of access to land and/ or for economic gains. Zabeida (2010: 24) calls this the “Push Effect” which means raping women in their home when their family is watching or outside the house for the whole community to see, with the aim of humiliating the woman and terrorizing both her and the community. This way the home will be associated with pain and fear and it will be unbearable for her family to stay. And after being witnesses to the attack the rest of the community will be struck with fear as well and will also want to leave. This “Economical tactic”, is much less risky than to use weapons and fight against the enemy men for access to the land.

**Circumstances in Zabeida.**
- Ethnic conflicts
- Patriarchal society
- Access to land-Economic gains

In the case study made by Human Rights Watch (HRW) on sexual violence by military forces in Somalia it is possible to distinguish a number of facilitating circumstances. During the conflict in Somalia, in several cases women were brought inside the AMISOM military camps through the guarded gates of the camp. The women who were taken into the camps were sexually abused and exploited in return of humanitarian assistance like medicine, water or in exchange for money. The fact that the women were brought into the camps and through the guarded gates speaks of that the abuse was not only organised but also tolerated by other soldiers and the officials and thus speaks of a tolerating culture as a facilitating circumstance (HRW, 2014:3). Another example of the tolerating culture is that it is uncertain whether all troops and commanders underwent the pre-deployment training. This is important because all the
high ranking officials and commanders are supposed to go through specialized training, on including sexual violence, to make sure that key standards and laws are fulfilled. Key is thus the question of attitudes form the commanders of the troops. In the case of AMISOM in Somalia it is possible to have been cover ups by the commanders, and sexual violence appeared to be seen as a way of pleasure for the soldiers (HRW, 2014:24, 32, 36).

The social status of women and the weak social system for women in Somalia makes them more vulnerable in a situation of war and thus creates a circumstance for sexual violence HRW claims (2014, 13). In displaced camps disturbance of community services, patriarchal governing structures and unsafe physical surroundings increases the vulnerability of women to Gender-Based-Violence. This is also related to ethnic diversity, since women from minority groups are more vulnerable to violence due to their poor living conditions, social isolations and work opportunities. Women from minority groups are also often less educated and unaware of and isolated from the justice system (HRW, 2014: 13).

Many women were either forced into sex when trying to collect medical assistance or water at the military base, or were approached for sex in exchange for money. The vulnerable situation of women and the differential power relationship between them and the soldiers is a precondition for these acts in this situation and clearly a case of sexual exploitation (HRW, 2014:2, 21).

Many circumstances that leads to that the crimes do not get prosecuted are pointed out by a number of researchers to result into that the acts keeps occurring in war situations. The question of impunity can be also seen in different ways in the case of the conflict on Somalia. For one thing the Somalian police had no jurisdiction over the troops, the primary responsibility for the troops was by each of the troop contributing countries to hold their soldiers accountable. This means that all the members of the AMISOM were legally immune from prosecution under the Somalian local justice system. Reports are also made that claims that Somalia do not have enough local investigation capability to be able to prosecute. According to HRW (2014:35-6) the police is lacking the means to investigate and possibly the knowledge as well to be able to investigate sexual abuse.
According to HRW there was no female representation in the AMISOM troops in Somalia. This could be a facilitator since more female employees or representation in the army could be a way of preventing the occurrence of sexual violence (HRW, 2014:44).

Circumstances in HRW “The Power these men have over us”. AU forces in Somalia.
- Tolerating culture
- Status of women /Patriarchal society and ethnic minority/ discrimination
- Economic situation /vulnerability.
- Impunity
- No female representation

According to Ruth Seifert (1993:2) the abuse of women is part of the communication between males. Rape is then used as tool to symbolize humiliation of the male enemy. When executing rape the perpetrator send out a message to the male enemy of being unable to protect the women and thus of being unmanly. This type of action can only be made when there is a high degree of patriarchal society facilitating the sexual violence, in which the woman is inferior to the man. Another example of a patriarchal society as a facilitator is made by Seifert who claims that rape in war is acted out ingrained hatred against women. Women then become raped not only because they are the enemy but because this culturally ingrained hatred of women appears during times of crisis (Seifert, 1993:4). There is a varying degree of hatred against women all over the world today, and in the cases in which this degree is higher than other societies, these issues enhances during war (ibid).

Another point by Seifert is that rape is a consequence of the way masculinity is constructed by the armies of the soldiers. To varying degree depending of what nation, the military is very much associated with masculinity that is related to dominance, sexuality and power. The attractiveness of the military is according to Seifert (1993:2-5) relying on these notion of masculinity. Most often masculinity is associated with heterosexuality. There is also an important link between men’s psychology and the social construction of masculinity. The typical situation in the military in which you suppress feelings of sensitivity, anxiety and gentleness, leads to a situation where men have to prove their masculine identity. If in extreme situations this feelings do erupt,
they result in an anti-female effect. Which ultimately results in violence and specifically sexual violence against women (ibid).

In her analytical approach, Seifert (1993:3) also describes a scenario in which the women is used as a war strategy to destroy the enemy’s culture in conflicts that has to do with ethnicity. Women are the ultimate target if you would like to destroy the enemy’s culture because of their role in the family and their cultural position. In conflicts over ethnicity the advantage of using rape could be to destroy the enemy’s race and identity.

Circumstances in Seifert
- Women´s status/ Patriarchy
- Masculinity in the military
- Ethnic conflicts

Since sexual violence in war is not a new phenomenon, I will here present Katherine Stefatos (2012) essay on sexual violence during the Greek civil war in 1946-49. Stefatos starts with bringing up Greek women’s strong regulation to the private sphere in the 1930s and 1940s. Women’s position as the insurer of the family structure was much related to honour and was a mechanisms for women’s exclusion from the social and political arena and a sign of a patriarchal and unequal society (Stefatos 2012:57-58). Notions of honour, chastity and virginity related to the patriarchal community structure was used as a tool of psychological terrorisation for political gain.

Stefatos (2012:59-60) claims that instability, ethnic and nationalist differences and hate creates assaults against women’s bodies in war. In the Greek civil war the women who were victims of sexual violence were mostly belonging to the ethnic minority. Stefatos here accentuates the coexistence between the political and the ethnic and how the ethnic identity was used for political incentives. Hence, another circumstance described in Stefatos is ethnic or nationalist differences or conflict.

Circumstances in Stefatos
- Patriarchal society
- Ethnic and nationalist differences
Elisabeth J Wood (2006) has widened the research of sexual violence during conflict by looking at variance, at conflict settings where there have been little or no rapports of sexual violence. Armed groups that do not engage in sexual violence have according to the researcher been neglected in previous studies. (Wood, 2006:330). One of her main findings was that whether the armed group have effective incentives to perpetrate rape or on the other hand, sanctions against it is decisive. If there are no sanctions against it, the degree of perpetrating sexual violence depends on the access to civilians, the norms of the group either prohibiting or enhancing sexual violence, and the norms of the individual (Woods, 2006:331). If rape was used as war strategy or not, depended on if the army saw it as an effective tool for terror or punishment of the enemy group. Even though the strategic sexual violence were not ordered, it was at any rate tolerated and only limitedly punished (ibid). This view that Woods is presenting is easy to link to impunity related issues that has been described by previous researchers.

Circumstances in Wood

- Lack of sanctions from the authority against sexual violence
- The norms of the individual and the group

2.2 Analytical framework

From the theoretical framework six different types of parameters will be chosen that will result in an equal number of hypothesises. The parameters are chosen based on their prevalence in the existing literature and thus that there seems to be a certain consensus by the researchers of the importance of these facilitating circumstances. The parameter “Access to natural resources” is an exception to this and has only been brought up in one of the literature in the theoretical framework, but I chose to have it in the analytical framework since it is related to the parameter of “A conflict over land/territory” yet consists of a specific issue of its own and I am therefore curious to see if it can be found important in the cases.

Parameters

The Parameter’s that emerge from the existing literature are:

- Patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity

This parameter is argued for by many of the researchers (Seifert: 1993), (Zabeida, 2010) but perhaps mostly by Leatherman (2011:3-4, 17-20). Women and girls in countries
with a high level of gender-based discrimination and inequality have a much greater risk of being victims of sexual violence during conflicts and patriarchal institutions heightens women’s overall vulnerability. Hegemonic masculinity provides men and not women with the primary power and privilege.

- Access to natural resources.

According to Leatherman (2011:6-8) sexual violence is often used as a tool to receive access to land in conflicts with natural resources.

- Ethnic conflict.

Rape becomes a natural political tool in ethnic conflicts due to the that the ethnic identity is believed to be sustained through the woman’s purity and rape is then a way to refuse the other groups self-determination (Zabeida, 2010:22-3). Other researchers who argues for this are Seifert (1993) and Stefatos (2012).

- Ideals of masculinity in the military.

Seifert (1993:2-5) claims that the military is very much associated with masculinity that is related to dominance, sexuality and power. In a situation which is common for the military where you have to subvert your sensitivity and anxiety, these feelings are likely to in extreme situations result in an anti-female effect. Also Wood (2012: 331) who speaks of the norms of the individual or the group in the military is reasoning about this.

- A conflict over land/territory.

Both Leatherman (2011:12) and Zabeida (2010:24) argues for that sexual violence is used to receive access to the land or territory. Mass rape is claimed to be common in conflicts that involve partition of territory.

- Impunity.

The impunity issue is spoken of by many of the researchers in different ways. Both in Wood (2006:331) who speaks of the lack of sanctions form the military towards the perpetrators, and in HRW in Somalia (2014:35-6) were for example the police has a lack of means to investigate the issue which leads to that the perpetrators go free.

**Hypothesis 1:** A patriarchal society and /or hegemonic masculinity is a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

**Hypothesis 2:** Access to natural resources is a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

**Hypothesis 3:** A conflict based on ethnicity is a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against in war.
**Hypothesis 4:** A high degree of masculinity ideas in the military is a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

**Hypothesis 5:** A conflict over land/territory is facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

**Hypothesis 6:** Impunity is a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

For Parameter 1 data on gender inequality from the UNDP will be used for each of the conflict cases since it is related to the patriarchal society and equality between the genders. Data on the type of incompatibility in the conflict from Themnér and Wallensteen will also be used for Parameter 5. Besides that, only qualitative literature will be used that hopefully speaks of whether or not there have been an occurrence of each of the parameters and how they affect the eruption of sexual violence in the conflict. Since this study will be performed by reading through studies that have been made and not by making any case studies of my own it is mostly a question of searching for if these parameters have been found by the researchers to be influencing or not, and to what degree.
3 Method

This chapter deals with the method of this study, the sources that will be used for each parameter and what conflict cases that will be studied. An argumentation for the choices of these issues will also be presented.

3.1 Method

This study will be conducted as a desk study of analysis of case studies through an analytical framework that was created. This analytical framework was created by looking at the literature and studies that have been done on sexual violence against women in conflict and then picking out the circumstances that have been claimed to be significant in how this issue can erupt. Out of this framework 5 conflict cases will be studied where there have been issues of sexual violence against women and by the parameters and the hypotheses that’s been created by them, the hypotheses will be tested on each of the conflict cases. This will be done by studying an extensive amount of academic literature, rapports, journals and studies as well as data in order to test the hypotheses. This study will be done by mix of deductive and abductive inference: deductively in the way that a review of the theories that researchers have conducted on the circumstances behind sexual violence against women in war will be performed, out of which hypotheses and parameters will be made, and then be tested concerning their fit with the cases studies. This study is abductive in the way that an analytical framework is created out of these theoretical views, which then will be used to re-conceptualise the circumstances facilitating sexual violence against women during conflict.

To conduct this study the method Structured Focused Comparison will be applied. This method consists of creating general questions from the research objective and ask these questions on each case study. Bennet and George (2005:67) explains that “The method is “structured” in that the researcher writes general questions that reflects the research objective and that these questions are asked of each case under study to guide and standardize data”. This is a benefit since you then make systematic comparison and is able to accumulate findings out of the cases. This study is structured in the way that questions have been written out of the research objective and that each of these questions will be applied and reviewed in each of the conflict cases, and an evaluation will be made on to what extent the hypotheses are true. According to Bennet and George “The method is “focused” in that it deals only with certain aspects of the historical cases examined” (Bennet, George 2005:67). Out of the analytical framework
that was created from the existing literature focused information was collected by the parameters, in the way that these parameters only contend specific types of circumstances around the conflicts. The method will hence this way be both structured and focused. The reason for the choice of using Structured Focused Comparison as a method is because of the research objective, and the type of information that is aimed to be received from this study. This method enables the accumulation of concrete and focused information of what circumstances that are facilitating sexual violence in war. It is the research objective and the different theories that is found in the current research, that leads to the analytical framework, the parameters and the hypotheses (Bennet, George, 2005:67-70).

The reason behind the choice of cases studies is because it is the best way to achieve the research objective, to understand the circumstances that facilitate sexual violence against women during wartime. Cases studies will provide the necessary empirical information to be able to perform the analysis by comparing the different cases to the hypotheses. Case studies is also the most reasonable choice in a study that is formulated by deductive and abductive inference, and is the usual way of making Structured Focused Comparison studies.

3.2 Choices of sources
Many of my sources come from academic books that have been published by researchers of established universities of institutions. Rapports will also be used from research organisations such as Human Rights Watch and academic journals from various research institutions who have different focus areas. The collected material has mostly been from the student library selection and One search. The data is from the United Nations development program (UNDP) and from Lotta Themnér and Peter Wallensteen. The selection of sources has been performed by much thoroughness and I have looked up the authors and from where they originate and if they are linked to any certain university or organisation. Due to that there is a lack of research done one circumstances for sexual violence in conflict overall and especially on some of the parameters in some conflict cases, there was a need to use a lot of information from the same authors on some of the parameters in this study. For example for parameter 1 in the Sierra Leone conflict Coulter is almost solely the only source, and in the DRC case a
big part of the information was taken from Eriksson-Baaz and Stern and they are the only source of information for parameter 4.

Here follows a short presentation of some of the sources for each parameter.

Parameter 1: Patriarchal society and/ or hegemonic masculinity.
For the first parameter data on the gender inequality will be used in each of the cases. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has collected data on the gender inequality index (GII) of countries in the world in their Human Development Report for 2013. The gender inequality is based on three aspects: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market (UNDP: 2014a). I will be using both the gender inequality index value and the gender inequality ranking. The gender inequality index value measure human development costs of gender inequality, and thus the countries with the highest value are those with the most disparity between the sexes. The gender inequality country ranking is a ranking of the 150 countries in the study and the higher the number of the ranking the higher amount of gender inequality and thus places the countries from the lowest to the highest (ibid). UNDP is a well-known development organisation that has a great level of legitimacy and I presume that their data is accurate. There is also much literature to my disposal for this parameter. One example is called “Moral Injury and Relational Harm: Analysing Rape in Darfur” and is written by Sarah Clark Miller (2009). It is published by journals of social philosophy. Miller is arguing for that sexual violence creates moral injury in the society and that this is depended on assumptions of ethnicity, gender and genetics. Another researcher who brings up the socio-cultural aspects of sexual violence is Chris Coulter and her book “Bush wives and Girl soldiers-Women’s lives through war and peace in Sierra Leone” from 2009. It is a study on female ex-combatants in the war in Sierra Leone. The author is a well-established researcher at two major Swedish universities, Uppsala and Stockholm.

Parameter 2: Access to natural resources
For this parameter the sources contends if the conflict cases have a feud over natural resources and if this is brought up by the researchers as influencing the eruption of sexual violence. An example is the UNs rapport by the Security Council on sexual violence in conflicts in 2013. The report provides an overview of conflicts in which there has been a great amount of sexual violence, and the circumstances that surrounds
The reliability of this source is considerable since it is made by the UNs General Assembly of the Security Council.

Another source is the report by the World Bank and the chapter by Michel Ross (2003) who presents a table with civil wars that are linked to resource wealth between the years of 1990-2002. Ross is an assistant professor of Political science at University of California and a Visiting scholar at the World Bank. The World Bank is well-known organisation that provides much conflict data which should increase this data’s reliability.

A book that deals with the potential impact of ethnic conflicts is the book “Darfur and the crisis of governance in Sudan: A critical reader” by the editors Salah M. Hassan and Carina E Ray (2009). This book is published by Cornell university press and is written by many researchers who have written their own chapters. Information will be collected from the section that is written by researchers of issues concerning gender, women´s rights and /or anthropology called “Gender, war and violence” that is written by Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf, Karin Willemse, and Fahima A. Hashim.

Another is Human rights quarterly’s rapport called “Politics of identity and sexual violence” by Patricia Weitzman (2008). Human rights quarterly is an academic journal about human rights issues that is published by John Hopkins University press. The author, Patricia A Weitzman is a professor at Ohio University.

Parameter 4: Ideals of masculinity in the military.
A study that takes on the view of the perpetrator and takes on issues of masculinity ideals as a possible facilitator for sexual violence is a study by Eriksson-Baaz and Stern of DRC. The aim of their study war to find and analyse the factors that leads to sexual violence in DRC. The study was published by Sida in 2010 and both of the authors are professors and researchers from the university in Gothenburg.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Integrated Regional Information Networks (OCHA/IRIN) published in 2007 a comprehensive study on sexual violence during conflict. One of the issues that the study discuss is the
way masculinity ideals in the military is possible to lead to sexual violence, “Thus rape is also governed by the norms and values created by the military institution” (OCHA/IRIN, 2007:42). IRIN is the UNs news agency and should therefore be reliable in term of legitimacy. It is also a benefit that it is published by an organisation like the UN and not a journal organisation with a specific scientific field. This should enhance its reliability as well.

Parameter 5: A conflict over land/territory.
A journal that discusses the parameter A conflict over land/territory and the implications for this is the journal from the American Anthropological Association called ”Ethno-national conflicts: sexual violence in liminalized states” written by Robert M Hayden (2000). The author here take on the view that mass rape is more likely to occur in ethnic conflicts that concern partition of territory, as opposed to ethnic conflicts without any likely partition. The journal takes on this issue from an anthropological view which is a positive thing since there is a lack of other sources that are anthropological. The journal seem very reliable, it is published by an established organisation for researchers and practitioners in the field of anthropology.

There is also data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) and Lotta Themnér & Peter Wallensteen (2014) that defines the conflicts from 1946-2013 and their type of incompatibility: 1 is territory, 2 government and 3 is both territory and government. However, the UCDP do stress that the data refers to what the parties claim to be fighting over and not what the underlying incompatibility might be. This data is though a very clear tool of investigating the conflict issue and if this parameter appears to apply to the conflicts or not.

Parameter 6: Impunity
The sixth parameter will to a great extent rely on articles published by the Human Rights Watch (HRW). Human Rights Watch is an independent international research organisation that acts to defend the human rights of all people across the world. They investigate human rights abuses, collect the facts and put pressure on those who should be held accountable (HRW, 2014). All of the journals that will be used from HRW do not have a single or a couple of authors who are conducting the rapports, it is the Human Rights Watch that stands as the responsible author and publisher. This is something that is valuable for me since it should speak of its legitimacy because it is the
whole organisation that stands behind them, and thus should live up to their standards of legitimacy which is presumed that they have.

Another study that addresses impunity is Journal of women, Politics and policy: “Looking Back, Moving Forward: International Approaches to Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence”, written by Leslie Pruitt (2012). It consist information on many conflict-torn countries and will be used for many of the cases. Journal of women, politics and policy is an academic journal which contends women’s roles in politics.

**Further comments on the choice of sources**

Since I am a student making a desk study based on the work of others I am very much dependent on the supply of literature and information. I almost solely rely on if the researchers who has studied these cases has thought about the same parameters that I have, if they then have seen them as valuable or not and thus researched its significance. This is important to keep in mind when I am facilitating my study. An example is that there is much literature available on rapports form the HRW on sexual violence, and since HRW mostly deals with issues of law, there is also much information available on impunity in these cases. This goes for all the parameters in my framework except the first one A patriarchal society/ hegemonic masculinity and parameter five A conflict over land/ territory, which is accompanied by data too. These are conditions that are out of my hands yet the lack or abundance of specific literature is something that is likely to affect the result of the study and hence also its reliability. This is important for me to keep in mind when I am constructing my analysis.

The collection of sources though bring a good variety and depth on the type of literature. There are academic books on specific cases, rapports, and journals from different types of research institutions. For example there are journals who take on a gender and women’s perspective, anthropological perspectives and journals who take on a more human rights and law perspective.

Another limitation on the same subject is that my original thought was to choose countries that were in different regions of the world. However it did become clear pretty early on that this was not possible due to the lack of research that has been done on sexual violence in conflict in other countries than many African countries and Bosnian-
Herzegovina during the Yugoslavian war. I have also been forced to delimit myself to only 5 conflict cases since my time is limited to perform this study.

3.3 Choice of conflict cases

The conflict cases DRC, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Côte d’ivoire, Sierra Leone and Darfur have been chosen for this study. These are countries that have been of particular interest to researchers of this subject much to do with the particularly high level of sexual violence in these conflicts, and therefore there is a lot of studies and material made on these cases which is an advantage for me since my time is limited as well as my scientific resources. There is no point in denying that my choice of conflict cases have mostly been decided by the amount of literature available. Yet there are some differences between the cases that makes them interesting to research. Bosnia-Herzegovina was interesting to me due to that it is a European country and thus has a very different geopolitical situation than the other African countries that effects the structure and the social and cultural aspects in the society, and still is an extreme-case in terms of the number of sexual violence perpetrated during the war. The conflict in DRC is an interesting case as well because of that different researchers has focused on different issues, claimed different things, and for that reason there is a value in having it in this study and look for the circumstances that do exist. By different researchers and different focus I mainly refer to the Eriksson-Baaz and Stern study in DRC (2010) who received great attention since they decided to go against the war strategy perspective and conduct a study on the perpetrators. The religious aspect is also of significance here, since DRC is the only country of the five that is predominantly Christian. Sierra Leone, Darfur and Côte d’ivoire are countries that has not received as much public attention as Bosnia-Herzegovina and DRC which is another reason to conduct a study on them.
4 Presentation of research results

This chapter presents the research results on each conflict case and thus the results of the research questions.

4.1 Sierra Leone

In the Sierra Leone conflict there is applicable information on parameters 1, 2, 4 and 6. Parameter 3, ethnic conflict appears not to be applicable since the conflict does not have ethnic origins (Coulter, 2009: 44). Parameter 5 does also appear to not be applicable according to the Themnér, Wallensteen (2014) who defines the incompatibility to be over government and not territory.

Parameter 1: A patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity

The Gender inequality index value for Sierra Leone for 2013 is 0.643. It is also rated on 141st place out of 150 countries in the study in terms of gender inequality index rank. This is a pretty high value of gender inequality and a low country ranking which means that the disparities between men and women are high (UNDP, 2014b).

Sierra Leone is a country with a generally low status for women in the society (Coulter, 2009:127). The position between men and women in Sierra Leone is one of high polarization which is based on their position and roles in society, what they should and should not do, how they should relate to each other in marriage, their rights under the law and the sexual division of labour (Coulter, 2009: 58). According to Coulter (ibid) in her fieldwork she found that the men she interviewed has a stereotype of women as lazy, were always gossiping, they needed to be controlled and were dangerous, as well as their position was in the house. Yet this picture of women as lazy was found to be far from the truth. Further there was a view of that “a woman cannot be for herself, she is always of or for someone else” (Coulter, 2009: 58).

The women were inferior to the men under the law where they were treated as minors as well as discriminated against in areas of education, laws concerning property, inheritance and divorce. However, this situation was more prevalent in the rural areas of Sierra Leone than in the urban, where there were more women’s grassroots organisations fighting for their rights (Coulter, 2009: 59).
As previously mentioned, the educational system in Sierra Leone is much unequal, particularly for women. In northern Sierra Leone there is not many schools and the girls are the ones who are most likely to not get an education. Coulter found that 1 out of 3 girls had 4 or 5 five years of primary education (Coulter, 2009: 73).

The society is patrilineal which means that the ethnic descent is determined by the father. The ideal of a woman to be circumcised, married to a man from which her parents have chosen, stay with his family and provide him with children and reassure the survival of the family line, is a measure that the women in Sierra Leone are expected to live up too (Coulter, 2009:74-5). And bridewealth is paid to her parents for her productive and reproductive labour. According to HRW (2003:28). Sierra Leone society values girls virginity highly and if she has sex before marriage she is less marriageable. Coulter (2009, 152) also claims that there was a high amount of sexual abuse in the Sierra Leone society even before the war.

Parameter 2: Access to natural resources
Mikael Ross (2003:18) names Sierra Leone as one of the conflicts where the civil war has been linked to natural resources. The resources referred to in Sierra Leone is diamonds.

Parameter 4: Military masculinity
Coulter (2009:133) claims that not a lot of research has been done on the masculinity in the military and that this is an issue that needs to be further researched in many conflicts, but that in Sierra Leone the rapes in the war are related to the culture amongst the combatants that is linked to the Sierra Leone society as a whole. Masculinity is here to some degree defined by the number of sexual relations. She further claims that war rapes have been explained as a part of male initiation into rebel life. Coulter (2009:134) argues for that this is to some extent accurate, yet not the singular explanation to this issue. Another perhaps not so clear but possible example of military masculinity is the description in Cohen’s study (2013:475) that the perpetrators would brag about how much sex they had had and with how many women amongst themselves.

Parameter 6: Impunity
The UNAMSIL peacekeepers have been detected by Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2003:28) to have performed a number of sexual violence. Yet there seem to not have been any efforts taken towards investigation of the abuses or disciplinary measures against them. There is also situations according to HRW (2003:37) where the commanders have known about and approved the rapes, for example by the RUF. Many women in the Sierra Leone war are reported to have been captured and forced to sexual slavery, labour and marriage with the rebels (HRW, 2003:43). The commanders are also reported to have been performing sexual violence themselves, and some cases where they have ordered the acts. (HRW, 2003:45). Abductions are described to have been organized and victims are claiming to have been given to commanders or abused in front of them. Thus the acts seems to have been consented by them (ibid).

In contrast, it has been reported that Pro government Civil Defence Forces (CDF) had low levels of sexual violence. This is argued by the HRW (2003:27) to possibly be related to that the CDF had internal rules that prohibited the combatants to have sex before battle. The CDF were provided with military training, food and weapons by the Sierra Leone government (ibid). This statement that the commanders did not order the rapes but were aware of them and even performed them themselves is supported by Cohen as well (2013:475-6). She also found that the weak state and institution and thus the lack of law enforcement created opportunity for the abuses (ibid).

Other circumstances
Cohen (2013:461) argues that the high amount of war rape in Sierra Leone foremost by the RUF is due to that the fighters in RUF was forcibly recruited, and that the rapes is thus used as a socialization tool. Rape according to Cohen (ibid) and gang rape especially, gives the forces who have been forcibly recruited a way to bond and form loyalty. Both government forces and insurgent armed groups who have been recruited by force are hence more likely to perform widespread rape as opposed to forces who have been recruited voluntarily. Cohen thus argues that the reason that the CDF did not perform as much sexual violence as the RUF is because the CDF combatants had joined voluntarily and did not have the same need for social cohesion and loyalty (Cohen, 2013:474).
4.2 Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)
In the DRC conflict there is applicable information available on parameters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6. Parameter 5 appears not to be applicable since Themnér, Wallensteen (2014) define the incompatibility in the newer conflicts in DRC to be over government and not territory. Only one of the more recent conflicts, which is the focus of this study, is reported to have been over territory, yet this is such a recent conflict (2013) that it could not be part of the reports of sexual violence.

Parameter 1: A patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity
The DRC has a gender inequality value index of 0.669 which puts them into a 147th place on the gender inequality country ranking for 2013. This is very high value of gender inequality and speaks of a great disparity between the sexes (UNDP, 2014b).

Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010b:41-2) states that for rape to be powerful and effective, in part, certain gender ideologies need to be working in the society. The associations with femininity are peacefulness and need for protection whereas the association with masculinity are protecting and killing. In these situations women become more vulnerable to rape in conflict settings. Rape then feminises and by that humiliates the other man by showing him that he is unable to protect his woman. Furthermore, if the society has notions of femininity which includes chastity and virginity where rape becomes more effective as well. In the DRC the women who was raped was often rejected by their families due to the strong gender norms in the society (ibid).

Banwell (2012:52) describes a DRC where women has much less disadvantages in society both economically and socially. The education rates are even lower for women than men and women generally have a lower status than men in the society. Men are usually those in authority and even the Congolese laws shows this inequality. For example, women are not able to acquire a bank account without the consent of the man or getting an employment. And a man’s role is generally to protect his wife.

Parameter 2: Access to natural resources
According to Banwell (2012:47) there is a linkage between globalisation, hyper capitalism, and thus the access to minerals such as coltan, tin and gold and the sexual violence in DRC. There is even claimed to be an economic incentive for both the local
armed groups and the transnational companies to keep the violence ongoing to sustain the access to the minerals (Banwell, 2012:49). In this situation, rape is a tool to dominate and terrorize the community to receive access to the mines.

Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010b:20-1) are presenting the same kind of thinking, and explain that in the DRC army there is much division and dysfunction, and that these conflicts and division are “expressions of the competition for resources” (ibid). Further the armies are claimed to be much involved with the illegal trade of minerals. The soldiers also for this reason aspire to be placed at resource rich areas.

The UN general assembly security council (2013:3) place the DRC as one of the countries where sexual violence has been used as a punishment towards civilians who get in the way of the mineral trafficking. Research thus underlines the prevalence of sexual violence in environments where fighting over resources take place, yet it is difficult to state a definite connection.

Parameter 3: Ethnic conflict
Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010b: 14) are arguing that even though the conflict has an ethnic/national dimension, they find that the sexual violence described by the perpetrators in their study is random and when it was widespread it was targeted at any woman no matter her political or ethnic belonging.

Parameter 4: Military masculinity
Eriksson-Baaz, Stern (2010:2) are making the claim that there is an enhanced type of masculinity ideals in the military in DRC that is linked to notions about sexuality, “rape occurs in the context of certain militarized ideals of masculinity and sexuality common in most military institutions, including those of the DRC”. “The (male) soldier’s libido is often described as a natural, virile and potent force, which ultimately requires sexual satisfaction from women” (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010: 2). These ideals are dangerous according to the authors in the way that they come with a risk that sexual violence becomes normalised.

The ideal that a man is unable to go and not have sex with a woman for a long period, and that thus rape is a normal consequence of war is according to Eriksson-Baaz and
Stern (2010b:32) quite common in the military context. The authors thus argue that masculinity ideals are particularly great in the military. The myths about masculinity, violence, heterosexuality and soldiering are being reproduced in the military setting. Ideals of macho heterosexual masculinity was found while interviewing the perpetrators in DRC (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010b:47-9). Yet at the same time, the authors do accentuate that this military masculinity is possible to be found in many other militaries globally and should not be explained as something particular with the DRC army.

Parameter 6: Impunity

According to Banwell (2012:52) rape convictions in DRC have been non-existent. The main reason for the low conviction rates is the low amount of women who fail charges for the crimes that have been made towards them. Many feel much guilt, shame and fear of being stigmatized. But there are also other conditions between the low conviction rates. For example the high fees required by judges and prosecutors, commanding officers who protects the perpetrating combatants and arrange for them travel to another place, a widespread corrupt justice system and bribes taken by the judges (Banwell, 2012:52-3).

The weak military system is also brought up by HRW (2009:4-6) who claims that only a small number has been prosecuted for the sexual violence. The main perpetrators of the violence are the government army Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC) which is one of the reasons behind the impunity and insecurity. There also seems to be an unsufficient attitude and appreciation of the issue from the government and the HRW also questions if the military training have been enough in terms of preventing sexual abuses, since the commanders may have been neglecting the training and thus making it seem like it is not important (HRW, 2009:41). No high-ranking officer is reported to have been prosecuted for their lack of command responsibility, due to that they in many cases by Congolese law are unable to be tried by judges, since the judges cannot have a lower rank than the commanders, which is often the case. In some cases the commanders in charge have been reported to protect their soldiers against investigation (HRW, 2009:45-9).

Eriksson-Baaz and Stern argue that the military culture in DRC is “characterised by lack of discipline and mutinies” (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010b: 20). Commanders usually do
not have control of all the troops but only those who have the same military background as them. And that there have been no sufficient mechanism in the military integration process to exclude soldiers who have committed human rights abuses is argued by the authors (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010b:36) to be an affecting aspect in the climate of impunity in the military. Even the perpetrators in the Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010b:37) study claim that stopping the impunity and pursuing sufficient punishment for the crimes is crucial for the sake of stopping the sexual violence. They most of all express a need for order and discipline in the military.

Monusco, UN Human rights office (2013: 6) is also linking the great number of violence in the DRC conflict with the weak institutions in the country, which includes the army, police and the justice institutions along with the long-standing impunity. They also link the impunity with the external actors involved with the extraction of minerals.

**Other circumstances**

An issue that is possible to be influencing the use of sexual violence is the view found in Eriksson-Baaz and Sterns study (2010b:28-9) of that the soldiers do not feel respected by the civilians. This along with other issues such as the dysfunctional military hierarchy and the long on going normalisation of violence is likely to influence the violence against the civilians. Rape thus becomes a tool to re-establish authority. The soldiers in the Eriksson-Baaz and Stern study also state that they due to the low and irregular salaries and low social conditions feel that it is not possible for them to get a woman the usual way. Yet the authors do state that the low social conditions and salaries might be influencing the violence, yet only in combination with other conditions such as learned behaviour and military masculinity and the contradictory relationship with the civilians (ibid). The authors also states that the most of the combatants have not been recruited to the army voluntarily, but felt forced due to poverty, hoping to get an education, and lack of other opportunities (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010b: 26).

The low living conditions for the soldiers has also been issued by HRW (2009:43-5). The soldiers have been reported to having to live on the charity of the civilians and that improved living conditions and access to necessities could bring more security to the civilians.
4.3. Darfur
In the Darfur conflict there is information applicable on parameters 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6. However, there is no available information on parameter 4.

Parameter 1: A patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity
Sudan has a gender inequality value of 0.628 and is ranked in 140th place of the countries in the study. As the previous countries Sudan thus has quite a high value of gender inequality (UNDP, 2014b).

According to Miller (2009:514) the women have a typically important role in the culture of Darfur and it is therefore they become a vulnerable target during war. Muslims in Sudanese society see the role of a woman as a wife and as a mother as her most important role. Willemse (2009:225) argues that the women constituted “the other within” and provided men from different ethnicities in Darfur with a common agreement, of the position of the woman as mothers. Furthermore, In order to create a national identity, the women become the other, to give the control to the men. The subordination of women in Sudanese society was thus an attempt to create a national Muslim Sudanese identity, by dominant masculinity. Along with women the creation of other “lesser men” was also a tool of the creation of boundaries and building of the Sudanese nation state (ibid).

Abusharaf (2009:205) explains that rape is particularly hurtful in the Darfur society due to the very traditional and religious ideas of sex and sexuality. Sexuality is overall seen in the society as a threat to a person’s morality and purity. Therefore much regulations against sexuality are made, an example is the female circumcision.

Hashim (2009:234) argues for that violence against women in the Darfur war is nothing that is exceptional, there are a lot of reports of violence in other places in Sudan and in different forms. The violence is claimed to be perpetrated at different levels, such as cultural violence, domestic violence, sexual violence, street violence and harassment, legal violence, economic and political violence and so on. Some of the violence against women are socially accepted, such as early marriage and female genital mutilation (ibid).
Parameter 2: Access to natural resources
Ross (2003:18) States that the conflict in Sudan (Darfur) is linked to the resource wealth of oil. Yet Willemse (2009: 213) argues that even though there are conflicts over natural resources in Sudan the war in Darfur should not be defined as a war about resources, but that the origins of the war has more to do with the governments will to construct a “Sudanese” identity.

Parameter 3: Ethnic conflict
There seems to be a great consensus by researchers that the sexual violence in Darfur has ethnic origins. Miller explains that “[t]he war in Darfur is centred on identity, and rape is being used as a weapon of war in the struggle for the identity of the region” (Miller, 2009: 514). She takes an example when she is describing that a woman was targeted due to her skin-color and with extermination as an aim. Further she argues that “The widespread nature of incidents such as these provides support for accusations that rape in Darfur is genocidal rape” (Miller, 2009:506). The use of genocidal rapes are claimed to be to cause the destruction of a national, ethnic, religious or racial group (ibid).

Rape is also reported by Human Rights Watch (2005:2-3) to have been used as a political tool in the Darfur conflict where women and girls have been subjected to ethnic cleansing missions facilitated by the government and militias. The aim is reported to have been to terrorize the population and ensuring its movement and displacement.

The ethnic differences did play a part in the outset of the conflict according to Abusharaf (2009: 199), yet only together with other factors like systematic marginalisation, competition for scarce resources and that the ethnic differences became politicized under the military regime.

Parameter 5: A conflict over land/territory
Human rights watch (2005b: 5) reports that the conflicts over land in the Darfur area has been increasing during a couple of decades. The reasons for this are environmental issues, increasing population and livestock, the migrations of nomads from neighbouring Chad, limited water resources and an expanding agricultural cultivation.
Yet there are different reports, since Themnér, Wallensteen (2014) define the main incompatibility to be over government and not land.

Parameter 6: Impunity

The government in Sudan and President Omar Al-Bashir refuses to acknowledge that rapes have been made by their soldiers in the displacement camps. On the contrary, the many pregnant women in the camps are explained by calling Darfuri women particularly promiscuous (Hashim, 2009: 236-7). The victims are thus being blamed for the acts while the perpetrators go free. Furthermore, it is reported to be extremely difficult to prosecute the rape crimes due to that there is a greater demand towards the women for proof than for the men. There is a lot of prejudice from the government against the Darfur people of being less moral and not proper Muslims which hinders the prosecution of the crimes (ibid).

There are also reports that the Sudanese government has made it difficult for the civil society to collect information on sexual violence and abductions against women in Darfur in particular. The government created a law in 2006 that puts restriction on NGOs and gives the government regulatory and discretionary power over their work. This prevents the work of many civil society groups by arresting the staff of the organisations, closing them down and collecting office equipment (Hashim, 2009:240).

The UN General Assembly Security Council (2013:17) reports that the impunity is a severe issue in Darfur and that this is particularly problematic when the perpetrators belong to the Sudanese government forces. When there have been reports of rape by the government forces, no satisfactory response have been made by the authorities against them. It is also difficult for the UN to investigate the crimes since many of the women are unable to identify the perpetrators, only knowing that they were men in uniform, which could point towards many of the military actors.

Other circumstances

Willemse (2009) describes a situation before the war where the young men in Darfur had few possibilities to fend for themselves and become head of families and thus real “men” by the sociocultural definition. This was much to do with the neglect of the Darfur region by the national development plans. Lack of means for many young men
and difficulties in acquiring and keeping land, when the women mostly were the keepers of the lands in the farming communities in Darfur, created a situation of deprivation for the men. This is a reason according for Willemse (2009:219) why the men were likely to use violence and weapons, as an attempt towards control and self-identity. She takes the military group the Janjawid as an example but states that men from both sides of the conflict who were going through a “masculinity-in-crisis”\(^1\) are to a great extent responsible for why the women became raped, mutilated and abused and why the conflict took such as gender dimension.

### 4.4 Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict there is applicable information on parameters 1, 3, 5 and 6. There is however no information that makes parameters 2 and 4 applicable on this case.

**Parameter 1: A patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity**

Bosnia-Herzegovina has a gender inequality value of 0.201 for the year of 2013 and is ranked in 36\(^{th}\) place of the countries in the study. This value is a medium low value and much lower in comparison to the other countries in the study, which means that the disparity between the sexes in Bosnia-Herzegovina is medium low (UNDP, 2014b).

Jenichen (2010:141) speaks of the nationalist discourses in the country that impacted on that the war became gendered. These discourses regarded women as the caretakers of the family and the community and thus important for the cause of maintaining the cultural and the group identity. Naturally, these discourses made women vulnerable against sexual violence in the war.

The women were affected by the economic crisis that occurred before the war states Korac (2010:158), by increasing the unemployment where women were hit hardest. Only between one third and 40\% of the women are claimed to have been working which made them more vulnerable and forced into a position of being in the private sphere. This resulted into a dependency and marginalisation of many women. The women were now more than before regarded as caretakers of the family and as mothers.

\(^1\) “Masculinity-in-crisis” is referred to by Willemse in this instance in Darfur as a situation where men lack possibilities in society to provide for themselves and establish a family which goes against the socio-cultural norm of becoming “men” (Willemse, 2009: 218-9).
Hayden (2000:32) explains that rape is used in conflicts like Bosnia-Herzegovina as a form of communication with the men of the enemy group. Yet rape is only useful as a form of communication when the honour of the group depends on the honour of the women and the masculinity of the men, and where the men are the normative actors in the group. It is only in these circumstances that the rape is effective in ethnic or nationalist conflicts (ibid).

Parameter 3: Ethnic conflict
The conflict in Yugoslavia was to a great extent over ethnic and religious issues and therefore a reason for why the mass rape occurred according to OCHA/ IRIN (2007:16). The political leaders mobilized the ethnic differences for their own political incentives in the new states that had been created, by spreading fear, hatred and insecurity over the ethnic differences as a political tool. The Serb secession triggered the war in 1992, and shortly after the Croat secession followed. This resulted in two movements that aimed to create ethnically cleansed territories, by ejecting and killing the members of the other ethnic group (Jenichen, 2010:141).

According to Todorova (2011:6) the Bosnian Serb military were influenced by patriarchal traditions in their acts of rape against women as a form of forced impregnation. These acts were made by the view that ethnicity is paternal and then the rape was a way of ethnic cleansing and creating more Serbs against the Muslims. In the relationship between gender-and ethnicity women thus became extra vulnerable.

When analysing the Bosnian war Weitsman (2008:566) argues that in war questions of identity becomes highlighted, and that the construction of the others often rely on the ethnicities, religions, races and citizenships as a tool of exclusion. The identity issue in the Bosnian war became politicised based on myths about biology, ethnicity, gender and genetics which lead to a context of the facilitation of sexual violence (Weitsman, 2008:562).

Korac (1998:158) uses the term Ethnic-nationalism when she analyses the Yugoslavian war, which means that the pluralist national ideologies erupted in the state which together with other factors like underdevelopment, economic crisis and lack of civil
society, resulted in the conflict. She further argues that ethno-nationalist movements endanger and make women more vulnerable towards different forms of structural violence, like sexual violence or non-sexual violence (Korac, 1998: 154).

Parameter 5: A conflict over land/territory
Hayden (2009:29) states that the Yugoslavian conflict was over territory and that was what was problematic was when one single state was being divided into a few states. When there are groups who claim themselves to be ethnically different from each other, there is a greater risk for problems to erupt when dividing up the territory. This is when the issue of territory is more prone to result into violence, for the sake of forcing the other group of the land, which is what ultimately happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina (ibid).

Parameter 6: Impunity
What is exceptional for the war in Yugoslavia and what has received much attention is the way that mass rape was performed systematically in rape camps (Weitsman, 2008:569). These camps were organised across the country where the women and men were separated and the men were tortured and killed, while the women were systematically raped. Some camps were brought up for the sole aim of performing rape. The Serbian authorities ordered policies of mass rape, forced impregnation and forced maternity, and thus forced their soldiers to perform them (ibid). This seems to be a different type of impunity than one that is defined by lack of actions or prosecutions against the abuses, but still impunity in the way that the acts are tolerated and natural, and even ordered. However, that the rapes should have been ordered is unlikely according to Hayden (2009:29) who refers to that the International Crime Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) sentenced Radovan Karadzic for the responsibility of rapes by the Serbian forces in Bosnia. He was sentenced due to the law of responsibility to protect, hence being responsible for failing to prevent the acts or to punish them when he ought to have known of them taken place. The fact that he was not sentenced for ordering the mass rapes but only for his command responsibility over the forces who perpetrated the acts speaks of that there should be proof of that the rapes where ordered is not likely (ibid).
Todorova (2011:4) explains that it was the culture of impunity in the state due to corruption in the Bosnian society that made it possible for the abuses. She also claims that this is also shown by the low conviction rates by the ICTY after the war because of the unwillingness of the Republika Srpska to give over the indictors to the ICTY.

4.5 Côte d’ivoire
In the conflict in Côte d’ivoire there is information applicable on parameters 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. There is however no information on parameter 4.

Parameter 1: A patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity
Côte d’ivoire has a gender inequality index value of 0.645 and is ranked on 143rd place on the list. This value is one of the highest in the study and means that the disparity between the sexes in Côte d’ivoire is high (UNDP, 2014b).

The low status of women in the Ivorian law is influencing the sexual violence according to Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2007: 5). There is thus a dynamic in the society of gender and subordination against women that is embedded in societal attitudes. A study made by the World Bank in 2013 shows that women are marginalised in the Ivorian society, and that 75% of the women live below the poverty line. There are cultural factors and traditions in the society that creates discriminatory practices like female genital mutilation, lack of access to land, prohibition of education for girls, domestic violence, forced and childhood marriages for girls etc. Another issue is the lack of possibility for women to express themselves in the public sphere (World Bank, 2013:8ff).

Parameter 2: Access to natural resources
The United Nations Security Council (2005) reports that natural resources like cocoa, cotton and diamonds are found in Côte d’ivoire. The illegal trade of diamonds is particularly worrisome for the Security Council (2005:19) since it is reported to provide funding to the rebel group the FN. Yet the information does not contend if there is any linkages with the sexual violence in the conflict.

Parameter 3: Ethnic conflict
The conflict in Côte d'ivoire started in 1999 after the coup by General Robert Guer which caused ethnic tensions and unrest. When President Laurent Gagbo won elections
in year 2000 clashes erupted between the opposition and his supporters which later led to that the country was divided into two parts. The north was controlled by the insurgents and the south by the government and the ethnic and religious harmony that used to exist was no longer. The sexual violence by the both sides of the forces was to some extent targeted towards women in specific ethnic groups (Bastick et al, 2007: 39).

According to HRWs (2007:4) rapport, women has been targeted based on their ethnicity or perceived affiliation with the government. The abuses were to an extent targeted towards women who were Muslim, Dioula2 or foreign and verbal threats were made in reference to the women’s national or ethnic identity (HRW, 2007:65-6).

Parameter 5: A conflict over land/territory
Some of the sexual violence is reported to have been conducted and strategized by the pro-government military forces as a way to force the prescribed foreign group off their land. But in the southern part of the state there are reports of a lot of physical attacks in order to get access to the land and plantations, but still no reports of sexual violence (HRW, 2007: 63-4). Yet Themnér, Wallensteen (2014) provides information that is contradictory to the HRW since they define the conflict to be over government and not territory. This contradictory information thus makes this parameter non-definable on this case.

Parameter 6: Impunity
Impunity and lawlessness is a great issue in Côte d’ivoire and also an influencer for that the sexual violence can occur. Only small efforts to investigate or prosecute the abuses have been made by the rebel authorities and the government. HRW (2007: 5-6) states many reasons for this, one is the destruction of courts in the rebel held north of the state which shattered the juridical system even further than before and left rape victims with nowhere to report their crimes. Much of the personnel in the courts also lack sufficient understanding and knowledge of sexual violence and are thus unable to prosecute the perpetrators who typically go free. The women are also structurally discriminated against in the Ivorian law which means that they do not have any protection against rape (ibid). The HRW (2007:100) claims that it is not only the government and the rebel forces that has failed to take actions against the abuses, the international community has

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2 Dioula is an ethnic group that lives primarily in the north of Côte d’ivoire (HRW, 2007:58).
failed to do so as well and therefore creates an environment where more lawlessness and abuses are possible to be executed.

Human Rights Watch (2010:44) also reports that there is little trust in the police and the gendarmes at the checkpoints since they have been performing widespread extortion of villages. They also report that the failure of authorities to respond to the rape attacks motivated the perpetrators to perform even more attacks (HRW, 2010:47).

Other Circumstances
Reports have been made that the rebels in the war who committed rape were under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Drugs were thus used in order to encourage the rebels to sexually abuse the civilians (HRW, 2007:30). HRW (2007:83-4) also reports that many women and girls in Côte d'ivoire turned to survival sex and sexual exploitation in exchange for money, food, clothing or other items. The women were the most vulnerable during internal displacement were thus the poverty and mass displacement were contributing factors.

It is significant to point out that not all military forces in Côte d'ivoire performed sexual violence. There were some forces in local communities that refused to allow or perform ethnical or religious persecutions. Crucial in these situations were that the chiefs of the forces or communities refused to allow it (HRW, 2007: 64).

The UN General Assembly Security Council (2013:8) claims that the failure to pursue disarmament of the former militias and combatants in the western region of Côte d'ivoire has worsened the situation and the possibility for sexual violence in the region.
5 Analysis
The research findings that were presented in the previous chapter will in this chapter be analysed with respect to the research objective which was to found out which circumstances that facilitate sexual violence against women in conflict. An analysis of the results of each parameter in the analytical framework will here be presented.
Thereafter an evaluation and conclusion of the analysis will be conducted. Lastly an evaluation of the analytical framework will be presented.

5.1 Analysis of the parameters

- **In how far is a patriarchal society and/or hegemonic masculinity a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war?**

Four out of five of the countries had a very high value of the gender inequality index value by UNDP. The only one that did not have such a high value was Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yet all of the countries did have a high indication of patriarchal society and/or hegemonic masculinity in the society before the conflict. Traditional and cultural values, violence against women, lack of education and possibilities out of the private sphere, and discriminatory practises and marginalisation of women are examples of circumstances that were reoccurring in the cases. Since a patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity is observed in all of the cases in the literature analysis, a patriarchal society and hegemonic masculinity appears to be a significant circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

- **In how far is access to natural resources a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war?**

Access to natural resources was found in four of the conflict cases, all but Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yet in the Darfur there were contradictory information on if the resources fuels the conflict. Further, only in DRC was it possible to find information that links the competition over natural resources with the sexual violence. There is therefore a need for me to stress that the information accessible on this parameter does not make it possible to establish if access to natural resources actually fuels rape and thus if it can be claimed as a facilitator. More research on this particular issue is needed in order to define it as a facilitator.

*In how far is an ethnic conflict a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war?*
All of the conflicts except from Sierra Leone has been labelled as conflicts rooted in ethnicity. Besides from DRC, in the remaining cases ethnicity is reported to be influencing the sexual violence since in these cases the women often becomes targeted based on their ethnicity or their perceived political affiliation (HRW, 2007:4). Ethnicity in these conflicts then becomes part of a struggle for identity and confirmation. However, it still remains unclear how much significance an ethnic conflict plays by itself in terms of the conditions for sexual violence due to that even though ethnic targeting seems to be very common, there are reports of exceptions to this rule in all of the conflicts that has been over ethnicity, and in DRC who is labelled an ethnic conflict the targeting has mostly been random and not systematic at all (Eriksson-Baaz and Stern, 2010b: 14). Thus the DRC was defined as moderate on the ethnic parameter. Furthermore, in the Darfur conflict the ethnicity is reported to play a part in the sexual violence yet only together with other circumstances such as marginalisation and competition for scarce resources and the ethnicity here becomes polarized as a political tool by the regime (Abusharaf, 2009: 199). It is from this possible to say that an ethnic conflict could be a facilitator for sexual violence since it in many of these cases becomes a tool towards the perpetrators political incentives. Yet it does not have to be since the targeting sometimes has been reported to be random. Therefore it is possible to conclude that an ethnic conflict appears to be a facilitator to a medium extent.

- In how far is ideals of masculinity in the military a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war?

The military masculinity has been very much described as a facilitator for sexual violence in the DRC conflict, and to some extent in the Sierra Leone conflict but has not at all been reported in the rest of them. Myths about masculinity in the military is argued to create an environment where sexual violence becomes normalised by Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010:2), (Eriksson-Baaz and Stern, 2010b:32). Military masculinity is thus not such a strong facilitator from what has been able to be found in this study but there are examples from which it occurs and is of importance.

- In how far is a conflict over land/ territory a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war?

Both Darfur and Côte d’ivoire had sources that were contradictory on this issue, one that reported conflicts related to land or territory, and one data that defined the conflict to not be over territory. Thus this parameter were labelled as non-definable on these two cases. Therefore it makes it difficult to state in how far this parameter is a facilitator for
sexual violence, since it has only been completely defined in one case, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

- **In how far is impunity a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war?**

Impunity is apparent in all of the conflict cases where a lot of different reports of impunity related issues have been made. Commanders who either have ordered or tolerated the sexual violence, lack of prosecutions, lack of discipline in the military, lack of knowledge and understanding of sexual violence and governments who refuse to acknowledge that the acts have been made are only some of the examples of impunity issues. Since it is so prevailing in all of the cases impunity appears to a high extent to be a facilitating circumstance for sexual violence against women in war.

- **What other facilitating circumstances can be found that are significant?**

What seems to be an interesting finding is the reports of the Côte d’ivoire conflict were some forces in the conflict have no reports of sexual violence. These reports are followed by claims that the reason why there is no sexual violence perpetrated by those forces are because of that the commander or the leaders of those communities the forces belongs to prohibits it (HRW, 2007:64). Therefore the attitudes and the discipline by the military authorities is a condition that is found to be significant.

Low living conditions for the military together with a lack of respect for them by the civilians is another condition that is reported in the DRC conflict. Here the social conditions plays a part that is related to the social status of the military which caused the lack of respect for the soldiers by the civilians. The sexual violence was then perpetrated by a will to gain respect and regard for their military position. Other issues like dysfunction in the military hierarchy and the continuous normalisation of violence in the military was argued by Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010b: 28-9) to together play a part in the motivation for the acts of sexual violence. The soldiers in the DRC also claimed low living conditions to be a reason for the acts but the authors thought of this as a minor condition that was only influencing together with the other conditions. But Willemsen (2009:219) is reasoning that the soldiers in Darfur were experiencing a masculinity-in-crisis due to their lack of means to provide for themselves and lack of possibilities. Deprivation of means either before the conflict or during the conflict is thus detected as a possible sociocultural circumstance for the sexual violence.
Arguments for that the forces who were forcibly recruited performed sexual violence as opposed to the forces where the members joined more freely did not have many reports of sexual violence in Sierra Leone was made by Cohen (2013:461), who also claimed that rape in these environments were used as a socialisation tool. This was also pointed out by Eriksson-Baaz, Stern (2010b: 26) in the conflict in DRC. Since this was found in two conflicts and argued for by two different researchers this might be something of value and worth looking further into to, to what extent recruitment by force is a possible facilitator for sexual violence.

5.2 Evaluation and highlighting of the findings in the research results.

Chart 1. Contending the results of the prevalence of each parameter in the cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Patriarchal/hegemonic</th>
<th>Natural resources</th>
<th>Ethnic</th>
<th>Military Masculinity</th>
<th>Land conflict</th>
<th>Impunity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darfur</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Bosnia-
    Herzegovin
    a           | H                      | N                 | H      | N                     | H             | H        |
| Côte d’ivoire  | H                      | M                 | H      | N                     | ND            | H        |

**Abbrevations:** H: found to a High degree. N:Non-existent, low. ND: Non-definable. M:found to a Moderate degree.

This chart provides a concrete way of noticing the results of this research and to what extent the parameters were found in each of the cases. The analysis show that all of the parameters, except from “A conflict over land / territory” that was not-definable in two cases, is apparent in the research results. However, since there is not sufficient information on the linkages between sexual violence and “Access to natural resources” it is not possible to state it as a facilitator, either.

**The greatest facilitators**

The circumstances that appears to be the highest facilitators are “A patriarchal society and/ or hegemonic masculinity” which was seen in all of the cases, and “Impunity” which was seen in all of the cases as well.

**The medium facilitators**
The other circumstances that moderately appeared to be facilitators were the existence of an “Ethnic conflict”, and “Military masculinity”. Four of the conflicts appeared to be ethnic conflicts, while Sierra Leone is not found to be an ethnic conflict and the DRC is an ethnic conflict, yet only appeared as a moderate facilitator since much of the sexual violence was widespread (2010b:14). Ideals of “Military masculinity” appeared in two of the cases, but there was no information on them on the others.

Non-definable facilitators

The parameter “A conflict over land/ territory” was non-definable in two of the conflict cases, Darfur and Côte d’ivoire, since the data from Themnér, Wallensteen and HRW were contradictory towards each other, and it is thus not possible to define it as a facilitator. Since there is not sufficient information in how far “Access to natural resources” fuels sexual violence it is not possible to define it as a facilitator, either. The information available in most cases only indicated that there were natural resources in the countries and competition over them in some cases, but did not contend how it is a facilitator for sexual violence. My research objective was to investigate the circumstances that facilitate sexual violence in war, and in this case the evidence of the facilitation is not clear enough.

From this result it appears important to highlight that these parameters are interdependent of each other and that they appear to not always be facilitating on their own, yet together with other circumstances and conditions creates an environment where they are affecting. An example of this is in Côte d’ivoire who according to HRW (2007:63-4) had reported conflicts over territory in the southwest part of the country, but also had forces who performed much physical attacks, harassment, torture and the destruction of villages but no reports of sexual violence. Report have been made that a reason for that the lack of sexual violence in some villages was due to that the commanders prohibited it or that the militias refused to join in (ibid). This is thus a clear example of how the parameters covariate and that one parameter may not be sufficient in itself or an absolute facilitator for sexual violence.

In this study circumstances have been found that both speaks of many instances were sexual violence has been used as a war strategy, as well as many instances were other factors have been influencing such as societal, psychological, and even economic factors and perceptions of identity. Perhaps the question should not be if it is or not
used as a war strategy, but during which conditions is it used as a war strategy and what other circumstances can be found. This leads to another highly important thing to take out from this study which consists of that sexual violence has been proven to not be inevitable or a by-product in war as it sometimes is referred to. This is something that is important to stress, and the results to this study leads to the argumentation that if rape is not seen as inevitable outside of war, why should it be seen as inevitable in them? Circumstances from this study has shown that issues that facilitates rape outside of war such as a patriarchal society or the norms that either prohibit or accept it, are also existing in wars. Other examples that appears from this study to be facilitating in war is that the attitudes of the military authorities and culture play a part, if there is an environment where it is accepted or prohibited, or seen as normal or not. Issues of impunity has very much been detected to be of relevance in this issue, and even in the DRC conflict the perpetrators themselves spoke of that solving the impunity issues would likely decrease the sexual violence (Eriksson-Baaz and Stern (2010b:37). That a special type of masculine military environment was created in some forces for example DRC (Eriksson-Baaz and Sterns study (2010b: 28-9) and thought to lead to an increase in sexual violence in war, leads to the question of under which conditions normalisation of violence actually occur, which is something that could be valuable to look at in the future. All of these examples highlight the importance of more studies on this issue, due to that these examples demonstrate that the inevitability of war rape is untruthful and therefore more research on what circumstances that facilitate sexual violence are essential. The conclusion chapter of this study will further develop what issues found in this study to be valuable to research further.

5.3 Evaluation of analytical framework
Since my study to a great extent rely on the research of others in this issue it is not possible for me to state that the findings are absolutely true, only that this is what can be detected from this study and that these are things that should be valuable for other researchers to look into. The analytical framework that was created proved to be significant and useful since the parameters interfaced with the findings in the cases to a seemingly high degree. Four out of six (all but “A conflict over land/ territory” and “Access to natural resources”) appears from the research results to both be applicable to the cases and possible facilitators of sexual violence. By themselves, but even more so
in combination with each other. The other two parameters that were non-definable, requires more research in order to state their facilitation.

The research result also detected some other circumstances that appears to be significant and would also be useful in the analytical framework. The first one is recruitment by force to the military forces, which was found in both the Sierra Leone conflict and in the DRC conflict. Rape in these forces are claimed to be a socialization tool, and a way to bond and form loyalty (Cohen, 2013:461). In the DRC conflict the perpetrators were also reported to have been forcibly recruited, due to poverty or lack of other opportunities (Eriksson-Bazzaaz, Stern, 2010b:26).

Another finding that might be a facilitating circumstance is reports of actions of rape resulted by a lack of respect of the military from the civilians due to low social conditions and status. This together with the normalisation of violence in the military and the dysfunction of the military institution and hierarchy was argued by Eriksson-Bazzaaz and Stern (2010b: 28-9) to be possible to influence the violence against the civilians. Rape as a tool of re-establishing authority. This was also argued for by Leatherman (2011:20) already in the existing literature, that sexual violence is a way for men to re-establish hegemony over women due to the constructed hyper masculinities in society.

Lastly, a third finding that would be interesting to look further into and to have in the analytical framework is that rape and sexual violence is a tool for deprived men to gain control and identity. Willemse (2009:219) thus argues that men who are going through a masculinity-in-crisis due to poverty and lack of opportunities is the reason why the conflict in Darfur took on a gender-dimension. Therefore man deprivation could be an interesting parameter in the analytical framework.

An issue that arose during the presentation of the research results is the difficulty of differencing the information suitable for one parameter to another. An example is issues concerning a patriarchal society or military masculinity ideals, or impunity and military masculinity ideals. Different circumstances could fit into more than one category and thus it was up to me to analyse the material and define what parameter it belongs to which was sometimes a bit of a difficulty, and has an impact on the result. The same
goes for determining to what extent the parameters were found in the cases, which is ultimately a question of how you interpret the information available.
6 Conclusion

This last chapter will be a conclusion of the thesis were a reference to the research objective created in the beginning of this study will be made. A highlighting of the most important findings along with some recommendations for future research will be presented.

This study departed from the research objective of making an inquiry of what circumstances that facilitate sexual violence against women during war. The significance of this problem was rooted from that these practises are extremely hurtful against women and that not much focus has been made on the circumstances for its facilitation, even though there are facts that points towards that the inevitability of sexual violence against women in war is untruthful. What this research does find is that sexual violence against women in war is not an inevitable evil, there are circumstances that increases the risk of this occurring and therefore future research about this topic should have that perspective as a starting point. It comes without question that to be able to do something about an issue like this you need to know what facilitates it. The results of this study brought 4 parameters that appears to be significant in the conflict cases, as well as some others findings of circumstances that require further research. The parameter “Access to natural resources” were not possible to find a clear enough link in the information available and as previously mentioned my study is to limited to be able to state any real coherence or conclusions. Therefore more information and study is needed to look into the relationship between natural resources and sexual violence in war, as well as sufficient information and study on “A conflict over land / territory” as a facilitator.

The first circumstance that was unexpectedly found in the research results was the impact on forced recruitment as a facilitator for sexual violence. This issue was found and argued for in the research of two of the conflict cases, Sierra Leone and DRC (Cohen, 2013:474) (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010b:26) and hence require some additional research to state its valuableness.

Forces that lack respect by the civilians and therefore performs sexual violence are also an interesting finding in the research that requires further investigation. The lack of respect could be due to a dysfunctional military institution and low social conditions for the soldiers that leads to a low social status and respect in the society and by the
civilians. Sexual violence in this instance thus becomes a tool of re-establishing authority which was described in the DRC (Eriksson-Baaz, Stern, 2010b:28-9). The same author (ibid) also described military masculinity ideals to lead to a normalisation of violence in the military, which leads to the question of under what circumstances does normalisation of violence erupts. This is a question that could be valuable for further research.

Another recommendation of further research that is possible to take out from the results of this study is the impact of men who due to lack of opportunities in society and deprivation go through a so called masculinity-in-crisis, which manifest itself into actions of sexual violence against women as was seen in the Darfur conflict (Willemse, 2009:219).

An issue that was acknowledged out of the study of the existing literature on this topic is that not much studies have been made on the perpetrators, most are focusing on the victims. This is one of the reasons why this study was limited in terms of sources, and more studies on the perpetrators and the circumstances behind their actions would provide more information and knowledge of why and how sexual violence in war occurs.

Naturally, more research is needed on the 4 parameters that appeared from the research results to be significant as well, both individually and together with each other to further investigate the influential impact they have on each other and on this research problem. To conclude, this study contributed to the previous research of this topic by providing an analytical framework of circumstances for sexual violence against women in war, which could be helpful for future research and knowledge of this extremely harmful issue as well as possibly further developed by other researchers.
References

Data


Online


Books


**Journals**


Reports


Annex: Background on cases

Sierra Leone

The war is Sierra Leone started in 1991 between the government and the rebel movement Revolutionary United Front (RUF). There are many reasons for the origination of the conflict and much of it leads back into history. Sierra Leone had slavery in the 16th century and had many small internal wars up until the independence in 1961. The independence was followed by two coups and attempts to create a one-party state. Sierra Leone is a country with seventeen ethnic groups, yet intermarriage and migration between the groups is common. Religion in many aspects important in the society where about 60% are Muslim, about 30% are Christians and 10% have indigenous beliefs. Significant events before the conflict is the exploitation of human and natural resources by the colonial powers and miscredited development aid by the IMF and the World Bank. Sierra Leone counts as one of the poorest countries in the world (Coulter, 2009:31-33). The RUF had gained support through Liberia and the rebel leader Charles Taylor. According to Coulter (2009:44) Sierra Leone is a very hierarchal society ruled by male elders which lead to a mobilization of male students that became the RUF, and an unequal education system which is claimed to be one in many factors for the conflict. Thus it was the youth culture, unemployment and an extensive political corruption that was the main reasons for the conflict. The war in Sierra Leone has hence not been described as an ethnic or religious war. In 1999 a peace accord was established by the help of UN deployed troops and power sharing between the government and the RUF became the solution. Yet the fighting did not completely subside until 2002 when the war was officially declared to be over (Coulter, 1999:50).

In a report by HRW (2003:25) an estimate of 215.000-25.000 women claims to have been affected by sexual violence during the war.

Darfur

In 1989 the Omar al Bashir took the power in Sudan by a military coup which ignited regional tensions in the Darfur area of western Sudan and conflicts developed between African farmers and nomadic Arabian tribes. The Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) started armed fighting against the government who responded with Janjaweed, Arabian militias Janjaweed and their own
government forces. The rebels in Darfur were fighting due to the marginalisation of the area and the attacks made by nomads on the people (United human rights, 2014). The human rights abuses in Darfur has mostly been made by the government forces and the Janjaweed towards people who were affiliated with the rebel movements SLA and JEM. At least 2.5 million people were displaced by the conflict and 2 million are estimated to have either been affected through killings, sexual violence, looting, attacks on villages etc (HRW, 2005:1). The violence have been so grave that it is labelled as a genocide. The ICC (International Criminal Court) has stated to investigate the crimes but the government of Sudan refuses to cooperate. The conflict today continues to be unresolved (United human rights, 2014).

**DRC (Democratic Republic of the Congo)**
The first DRC conflict originated in 1996 in the eastern DCR due to discontentment with corrupt president Mobuto, and the wars have resulted in at least 3.9 million deaths and 2.2 million internally displaced people. The war is described as a multi-country conflict (Dossa et al, 2014: 244-5) that started in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi between the Hutus and the Tutsis and led to that many Hutu refugees fled to DRC and caused tension between Hutus and Tutsis there as well (Globalis, 2013a). Mostly hit has been the provinces in eastern DRC closest to the neighbouring countries, of north and south Kivu who have been partly under control of many rebel forces fighting against Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC). Fighters from both sides of the conflict have been responsible for many hundred thousands of acts of sexual violence during the conflict (Dossa et al, 2014:245). Among those Hutus who fled from Rwanda was the Hutu-militias Interhamwé who took over refugee camps in DRC to pursue raids in Rwanda and perform attack on Tutsis in DRC. When the Tutsi minority in DRC named the Banyamulenge was forced to move away from the country by local authorities, they responded with armed fighting against the government militia and the Interhamwé. Members of the Banyamuelge funded l’Alliance des Forces Démocratique pour la Liberation du Congo- Zaire (AFDL) with leader Laurent Kabila who overthrew president Mobuto and Kabila became President. This was the start of the second DRC war due to that Kabila was as authoritarian as his predecessor and quickly lost support from his former allies. The fighting’s thus began in 1998 where a total of eight countries where involved (globalis, 2013a)
The neighbouring countries involvement is claimed to be over the control of the extraction of natural resources, since DRC is the country in Africa with the most diamonds, as well as much gold and cobalt. Peace agreements where possible when Kabilas son Joseph Kabila took over power and the war officially ended in 2003. Yet much fighting is still ongoing in the eastern part of DRC and still related to the tension between Tutsis and Hutus and the control of natural resources (ibid).

Côte d'ivoire (Ivory coast)
The problems in Côte d'ivoire began in the beginning of the 1990s after the economy had started to decline and mass protests lead to that the government had to inform a pluralist political system. When the first president who had won the multiparty election Houphouët-Boigny died in 1993 the politicians started to enhance ethnic, religious and regional differences in order to gain power. In Côte d'ivoire there are 60 ethnicities where most of the people in the north are Muslim and in the south there are mostly Christians or animists. Policies were made that differentiated on those who had an authentic Ivorian descent and those who had a foreign or mixed descent, which led to heavy marginalisation of Muslims and the immigrant community (UCDP, 2014).

The first coup happened in 1999 by incentive of General Robert Guei, linked to the political instability and breakdown of state authority. An election was held the following year but the general lost it. In 2002 a rebellion erupted by northern rebels who formed the MPCI. Further rebel groups were created who came together with the MPCI and created FN, Forces Nouvelles (UCDP, 2014). A number of peace agreements had been signed by President Gbagbo but the conflict kept erupting over again much due to that promised political elections were being postponed. A new election was held in 2010 where Alassane Ouattara was named the winner but Gbagbo refused to resign. This lead to that fighting’s erupted once again. After tuff battles Gbagbo was arrested and charged in the International Criminal Court (ICC) for crimes against humanity while Outtara were named president. As of late 2013, tensions are still ongoing in the country (globalis, 2013b). According to HRW (2010:3) many types of abuses and violence such as banditry, assault and the rape of women, girls and babies have been acted out by the police, militia, rebel forces etc. during the conflict.

Bosnia-Herzegovina
The Bosnian civil war lasted form the years 1992-1995 were tens and thousands of women and girls were raped. The conflict started after the dissolution of the Soviet
union, when due to that the Soviet union no longer had power over Yugoslavia, the different states started to pursue independence. After the declaration of independence of Croatia and Slovenia which broke out in fighting as well, Bosnia-Herzegovina was declared independent in 1992. Affected by the war in Slovenia and Croatia, fighting’s began between Muslim Bosniaks, Serbians and Croats in Bosnia (Wietsman, 2008: 568-9).

Even though much interethnic violence occurred during the war between the three ethnic groups, the war was not ignited due to ethnic differences. According to Jenichen (2010:141) economic and power-political conflict erupted at the end of the 1980s in Yugoslavia, where the political leaders used the ethnic differences and violence to pursue their own leadership when the new states were established. In 1995 the Bosnian-Herzegovina war ended with a peace agreement. The war has received much attention due to the high amount of gender violence, with an estimated between 10.000 and 40.000 rapes of women. The rape was a tool of the defence of the ethnic collective, and camps were created either for the sake of using rapes for ethnic cleansing by the Serbs or by performing forced impregnation by the Croats and the Muslim Bosniaks (ibid).