

This paper explores four hypotheses regarding causes of sexual violence against women in conflict zones. A literature review frames the problem and a content analysis and discussion deliver the results of this study. This paper also explores several implications of the study.

Sexual Violence Against Women in Conflict Zones:

A content analysis of World War II, the Vietnam War, the Former Yugoslavian War and the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo

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Introduction

The United Nations (UN) Secretary General Ban Ki-moon stated, “In no other area is our collective failure to ensure effective protection for civilians more apparent...than in terms of the masses of women and girls, but also boys and men, whose lives are destroyed each year by sexual violence perpetrated in conflict.” Sexual violence towards women specifically has persisted for thousands of years. See Figure 1 for an adapted list of causes of sexual violence in conflict situations. Several non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, governments and intergovernmental organizations work daily to find a solution to sexual violence towards women, children and even men. Yet the problem of sexual violence, especially in conflict situations, continues to oppress more victims. This paper provides a background, a literature review, and a qualitative content analysis of the causes of sexual violence against women in conflict zones during World War II, the Vietnam War, the former Yugoslavian War, and the current conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Figure 1

Why Sexual Violence Is Frequently Practiced in a Conflict Environment: Four Hypotheses (adapted from Seifert, 1994)

1. *Sexual violence is an integral part of warfare.*
2. *Sexual violence is a weapon of terror and revenge, used to inflict humiliation upon male opponents and to reaffirm own masculinity.*
3. *Sexual violence can be understood as a way of destroying an opponent's culture.*
4. *Sexual violence can be seen as an outcome of misogyny.*

History shows that sexual violence towards women remains an accepted practice in conflict. Without intervention, sexual violence will continue to claim countless victims daily. Numerous organizations work continuously to eradicate sexual violence in conflict zones. Still today, rape is used as a weapon of war in the DRC, Sudan, and other active conflict zones. To this point, efforts to eradicate sexual violence have not been successful.

This paper is organized as follows. The next section delivers a background on sexual violence, including relevant definitions. The paper then provides a brief history of sexual violence. The following section reviews the literature to both define different types of rape and frame the causes of sexual violence. Then discussions of methods for selection of sources for the content analysis as well as limitations follow. I then give an introduction to the content analysis. Next, I discuss my hypotheses and relay my results. An analysis by conflict follows in which I attempt to draw out links between the conflicts and the causes of sexual violence in each respective conflict. A brief discussion is also provided. Finally, I provide some implications and conclusions.

Background

Before introducing my analysis of Sexual Violence Against Women (SVAW), below is a table of definitions of the key terms:

Term	Definition	Source
Sexual Violence	"Sexual violence includes completed or attempted sex acts (eg, contact between the penis and the vulva/anus involving penetration; penetration by a hand or object), abusive sexual contact (eg, intentional touching of genitalia, anus, groin, breast, inner thigh, or buttocks), and noncontact sexual abuse (eg, voyeurism, unwanted exposure to pornography, sexual harassment) without the victim's consent or involving a victim who is unable to consent or refuse."	Haegerich & Dahlberg 2011, 396.
Rape	"Nonconsensual sexual penetration of an adolescent or adult obtained by physical force, by threat of bodily harm, or when the victim is incapable of giving consent by virtue of mental illness, mental retardation, or intoxication."	Cowan 2007, 807.
Violence	WHO definition- "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation."	Haegerich & Dahlberg 2011, 396.
Predictors of Sexual Violence	"Psychological and behavioral characteristics such as antisocial beliefs and attitudes, social cognitive deficits (eg, difficulty interpreting social situations), poor emotional and behavioral control (eg, anger/hostility, impulsiveness), previous victimization, a history of engaging in aggressive behavior, and involvement with drugs and alcohol have been linked to multiple types of violence."	Haegerich & Dahlberg 2011, 396.
War Time Rape	"a deliberate and strategic decision on the part of combatants to intimidate and destroy 'the enemy' as a whole by raping and enslaving women who are identified as members of the opposition group"	Hagen & Yohani 2011, 15.

Wartime rape was used as a weapon even in early human history.” As early as the Seventh Century BCE, The Bible tells stories of wars between Jews and their enemies that

involved mass rapes. Evidence of these atrocities is found in Deuteronomy 21, Isaiah 13:16, Lamentations 5:11 and Zechariah 14:2. From ancient Rome and the conquests of Alexander the Great to Ancient Chinese chronicles and the German Rape of Belgium during World War I, mass rape claimed countless victims. While the number of victims who suffered from each of these atrocities will probably never be known, it is undoubtedly true that these mass rapes occurred as weapons of war throughout human history.

In just the Twentieth Century, militaries or paramilitary forces used mass rapes as a weapon of war in Belgium and Russia during World War I; Russia, Japan, Italy, Korea, China, the Philippines, and Germany during World War II; and since World War II, during conflicts in Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Burma, Bosnia, Cambodia, the Republic of Congo, Croatia, Cyprus, East Timor, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Kuwait, Kosovo, Liberia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Peru, Pakistan, Rwanda, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Turkey, Uganda, Vietnam, the DRC, and Zimbabwe. In the past twenty years, several conflicts encompassed sexual violence towards women as a weapon of war. Sierra Leone's conflict claimed between 50,000 and 64,000 more victims of sexual violence. In just 100 days of fighting during the Rwandan genocide, more than 500,000 women were raped.

Conflicts of Study

World War II

World War II began with the invasion of Poland by German in 1939. The war evolved into a world war, pitting the Allies (most commonly known as England, France, the United States and Russia) against the Axis Powers (most commonly known as Germany, Italy and

Japan). While many know of the tragedies of the Holocaust, those acts of genocide were not the only violations of human rights during this war. Rape was seen by many military officers from all sides as a necessary evil during World War II. In some cases, military leaders sanctioned rape and the use of comfort women or brothels. Estimates of the number of comfort women in Japanese camps during the war surpass 200,000. In Germany, an estimated 34,140 women were forced to work in brothels; there were also countless women who were raped before their executions in concentration camps. Additionally, Russian soldiers were responsible for the rapes of an estimated 2,000,000 German women and girls. American soldiers raped more than 10,000 women in Okinawa and at least another 14,000 in Western Europe.⁷ This is not an exhaustive list of sexual violence during World War II. It is simply an attempt to show that all sides violated human rights; and, all sides perpetrated sexual violence against women.

The Vietnam War

The Vietnam War was fought by American soldiers against North Vietnamese forces from 1955 to 1975. The war ended with the withdrawal of American troops from Saigon in 1975. Over the course of the twenty year conflict, 2.59 million U.S. troops fought in Vietnam. Sexual violence against women undoubtedly occurred during the Vietnam War. At the time of this paper, I could not find an accurate estimate for the number of women raped by U.S. troops during the occupation of Vietnam.

War in the Former Yugoslavia

Slovenia seceded from Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991. Fighting between Serbians and Bosnians continued off and on until 1999. Sexual violence was an integral part of this civil war.

Serbian followed patrilineal customs in which a father's ethnicity determined the ethnicity of the child. Because of this ideology, rape was used as a weapon of not just war, but ethnic cleansing, or genocide. It is estimated that soldiers raped between 20,000 and 50,000 women, many of whom were Muslim.

The Current Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Armed conflict in the DRC has claimed countless lives. Since the beginning of the conflict (1998) in the DRC, more than 200,000 women and children have fallen victim to sexual violence at least once. And today, like every day in the DRC, another 1,100 women and children will become victims of sexual violence. Sexual violence is especially problematic for women in Eastern Kivu, a province in the eastern part of the DRC.

Types of Rape

In order to better understand rape in conflict zones, one must understand the four types of rape: acquaintance, spousal, gang/group and weapon of war. While there are

overlapping areas for each of these four types of rape, for the purpose of this conversation, each type will be discussed

Acquaintance Rape

Acquaintance rape accounts for between 80% and 90% of rape incidence.

Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Numbers at a Glance

(Adapted from Harvard Humanitarian Initiative)

- ◆ Women assaulted by 2.83 attackers on average
- ◆ 83% of women reported that their attacker was wearing some kind of military uniform
- ◆ 69% reported experiencing gang rape
- ◆ 55% of survivors had to travel for over a day to access SGBV services
- ◆ 46% of women reported being abducted by their assailant
- ◆ 45% of survivors waited a year or more before seeking SGBV services
- ◆ 29% of women rejected from their families as a result of rape
- ◆ 13% of women reported having a child from rape
- ◆ 6.2% of women reported rejected from their communities as a result of rape
- ◆ 4.2% of the women reported receiving SGBV services within 72 hours of the attack

This type of rape differs from both gang rape and rape as a weapon of war in that according to Cohen, “single offender rape is more often the result of personal sexual desire than is gang rape.” Moreover, permanent offenders are more likely to perpetrate acquaintance rape. Permanent offenders are men who “initiate serious, aggressive behavior above what is normative in middle childhood (around the age of 8-11 years), commit a disproportionate number of serious violent offenses in adolescence (eg, assault, rape, robbery, homicide), and continue serious violent offending into adulthood.” While acquaintance rape remains a problem, in conflict zones it is not the most frequent type of rape. In fact, in the DRC, 87.6% of surveyed victims of sexual violence claimed they d

Spousal Rape

Still today, in many countries, spousal rape is completely legal. If legal provisions have been put in place to prevent spousal rape in a developing country, often women do not know about these provisions or do not know how to report spousal rape. As for the cause of spousal rape, Adinkrah states that many respondents believed spousal rape resulted from the patriarchal structure of societies in which male superiority is accentuated by female subordination. Spousal rape is still one of the greatest human rights issues facing our world today, however, rape is rarely committed by the spouse in conflict zones (compared to other types of rape).

Gang/Group Rape

Gang/Group rape remains a major problem in conflict zones. Hagen and Yohani claim that approximately 90% of rape in war is perpetrated through gang rape. One major difference resounds between gang/group rape and single offender rape. According to Cohen gang/group rape is most commonly used as a bonding experience. Additionally, Cohen cites another study which shows “perpetrators of group rape were far less likely to have previously committed sexual offenses than are lone perpetrators.” Gang/Group rape can overlap with rape as a weapon of war.

Rape as a Weapon of War

According to Hagen and Yohani, several characteristics distinguish war rape from other forms of sexual violence. These characteristics include: scale, public occurrence, brutality, slavery, ethnic cleansing and genocidal rape. Moreover, the same piece claims, leaders in charge of military forces use rape as an agent of mass murder and ethnic cleansing. Using rape for ethnic cleansing provides the “dominant” ethnic group a way to, “prevent births of children belonging to the enemy’s ethnicity, through death, sterilization, and psychological harm, while impregnating the enemy with children bearing the offending group’s ethnicity.” Furthermore, multiple works confirm the use of rape as a weapon of war while linking it to ethnic divisiveness.” These studies agree with the findings above: that military leaders use rape in order to dehumanize, instill fear and decimate ethnic minorities.

Causes of Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones

Many scholars propose different causes of sexual violence in conflict zones. Below is a literature review of those causes. This section focuses on four causes of sexual violence as identified in the literature: aggression, ethnicity, gender inequality and weapon of war.

Aggression

Aggression plays an important role in understanding the causes of sexual violence. Seifter comments, “Rape is not an aggressive expression of sexuality, but a sexual expression of aggression.” In conflict zones, aggression towards an individual because of ethnic divides, gender differences or simply pure anger provides a catalyst for sexually violent behavior. Moreover, both extremes of the power balance incite additional aggression in males. Males with both high and low amounts of power and control are more likely to have aggressive tendencies. This type of atmosphere prospers in the military structure. Some men, generally officers, have a monopoly on control and power in military settings which leads to aggression in both the officers and the enlisted men, who have little to no power at all. Aggression and a military structure which further breeds aggression both contribute to the sexual violence in conflict zones.

Ethnicity

Scholars widely recognize ethnic conflict as having a positive correlation with sexual violence in conflict. Rape allows for the militant group to humiliate and decimate a population and at the same time blur ethnic lines through forced pregnancy. Ethnic conflicts are much more likely to include sexual violence than non-ethnic conflicts. Examples of this claim are seen in

both the civil war in the former Yugoslavia and the Rwandan genocide. Moreover, Hagen and Yohani establish that a goal of sexual violence can be an attempt to, “annihilate a cultural group by severing a woman’s ties to her community.” Clearly, studies support the claim that ethnic conflict increases the chances of the conflict involving sexual violence.

Gender Inequality

Conflicts in patriarchal societies in which women are subordinates are much more likely to include sexual violence. Even in cases of single offender rape in non-conflict areas, men who see women as beneath them are much more likely to exhibit sexually violent behavior. One study suggests instilling a respect for women in the men of the military to help combat sexual violence against women in military settings. Additionally, Seifert defines a rape-prone society as having the following qualities: “a) male power has been destabilized, b) women have a subordinate status and are held in low esteem, and c) rigid definitions of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ prevail and determine the relative positions of power and the hierarchy of values.” As confirmed by numerous studies, gender inequality undoubtedly plays a role in promoting sexual violence.

Weapon of War

Sexual violence remains a weapon of war even today. One author states, “Realizing that rape is often more effective at achieving their aims than plain killing, aggressors have used shocking sexual violence against women as a tool of conflict. [...] The stigma of rape is used to effectuate genocide, destroy communities and demoralize opponents—decimating a woman’s will to survive is often only a secondary side effect.” Another study claims that militant forces use sexual violence as a strategic military tactic aimed at decimating the enemy and leaving

proof of their victory for generations to see. Sexual violence has the ability to wipe out an entire ethnic group. Use of sexual violence as a weapon of war is undoubtedly a cause of sexual violence in conflict zones.

Methods

I used the Texas A&M library search system to search for scholarly articles with the following search terms: “sex? Violen? AND World War I;” “sex? Violen? AND The Great War;” “sex? Violen? AND World War II;” “sex? Violen? AND Vietnam War;” “sex? Violen? AND War in the Former Yugoslavia;” “sex? Violen? AND Democratic Republic of Congo.” The articles are sorted by how well they match the search parameters. I analyzed only the top thirty results for each conflict in the study. Additional articles were eliminated that did not apply to my project. I also excluded articles which included “effect(s) of sex? Violen?,” any articles specifically about children, any book reviews, any movie reviews, any articles about violence in war that is not sexual, any articles not in English, any articles not about the specific conflict for which I was searching, any article discussing the psychological trauma of sexual violence, and any articles about sexual orientation. The databases used in my search included: Academic Search Complete (EBSCO), Business Source Complete (EBSCO), CAB Abstracts (Ovid), ERIC (EBSCO), MEDLINE (Ovid), MLA International Bibliography (EBSCO), OmniFile Full Text Mega (EBSCO), PsycINFO 1872-current (ProQuest), ScienceDirect (Elsevier), and Web of Science (ISI).¹

¹ This paper may suffer from publication bias. Though I tried to use a diverse listing of databases, the possibility exists that certain topics are published more often than others. Specifically for this project, I worry about the publication bias towards ethnic conflicts.

Content Analysis Introduction

I use content analysis to study four hypotheses drawn from the literature review on sexual violence as a weapon of war. These hypotheses identify likely causes of sexual violence against women in conflict zones. In order to expedite this research, I limited the number of conflicts considered for the paper to World War I (no results were returned for the causes of sexual violence against women in World War I), World War II, the Vietnam War, War in the Former Yugoslavia and the conflict in the DRC. Additionally, the number of articles was limited. I also limited the study to a strictly qualitative study. Numerous problems occur with quantitative data in conflict zones. Collection of data is but one. I completed this study over a two semester period and as a result, was unable to travel to these conflict zones to do data collection. For methodology, I use content analysis similar to that in “The Current State of Evidence-Based Practice in Social Work: A Review of Literature and Qualitative Analysis of Expert Interviews,” published by the United States National Institute of Health. As such, I use its definition of content analysis. I have adapted the definition to read: content analysis was conducted to classify sexual violence during specific conflicts according to their causes. Within this study, four conflicts are examined: World War II, Vietnam, the former Yugoslavian War and the ongoing conflict in the DRC.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Overly aggressive members of military and paramilitary groups are more likely to commit sexually violent acts during conflicts.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnic divisiveness in a conflict increases likelihood that sexual violence occurs in the conflict.

Hypothesis 3: Conflicts that occur in societies with unequal rights based on gender are more likely to have sexually violent incidences.

Hypothesis 4: Conflicts in which one group is trying to separate from another (i.e.: civil war), sexual violence is more likely to be used as a weapon of war.

Results

Hypothesis 1

To begin, four articles confirm the hypothesis that overly aggressive members of military and paramilitary groups are more likely to commit sexually violent acts during conflicts. None of the articles in my search directly rejected this hypothesis. These conflicts include World War II, Yugoslavia and the ongoing conflict in the DRC. Bourke claims that members of the Japanese army in World War II went beyond the accepted norm and aggressively targeted and dehumanized women during the conflict. A piece focusing on the civil war in Yugoslavia shows that military groups use rape to exert their sexual power over the enemy's women. Additionally, Patricia Albanese explains that in Yugoslavia, "there is a militarization and war, which celebrates hyper-masculinity and socially sanctions sexual violence." Moreover, Jean-Pierre Bemba, a former member of the DRC militia, claimed during his tribunal for war-crimes that he was unable to control his troops.

Hypothesis 2

By far, hypothesis 2 (Ethnic divisiveness in a conflict increases likelihood that sexual violence occurs in the conflict) received the most support through my analysis. Sixteen articles identified ethnic divisiveness as a cause of sexual violence against women and none rejected the hypothesis. The articles that confirmed the hypothesis include evidence from World War II, Vietnam, the former Yugoslavia, and DRC.

Beginning with World War II, the Japanese army regulated the rape of women. According to one source, “Most of the roughly two hundred thousand Asian women believed to have been used as military sex slaves belonged, therefore, to nations and ethnic groups that Japanese racial ideology defined as ‘lower.’” The same article shows that Japanese men felt superior to the women they were raping and used their superiority as an excuse to continue the violence. Also focusing on sexual violence perpetrated by Japanese soldiers, Vikman states that the Japanese military convinced its soldiers that Chinese civilians were subhuman and therefore subject to any acts the members of the Japanese military committed, including but not limited to sexual violence, especially during the Rape of Nanking. In Nazi Germany, even with laws banning sex between Aryans and Jews, German soldiers raped Jewish women and girls. The same author goes on to explain that the low racial status of Jewish women in Nazi-controlled lands only encouraged their sexual exploitation by German soldiers. Price takes the analysis one step further and claims that the ethnic divisiveness between Germans and Jews not only encouraged violence but actually legitimized the sexual violence as genocide.

Only, one article touched on ethnicity playing a role in the sexual violence perpetrated by American forces during the Vietnam War. Vikman highlights the fact that the military trained American troops to see Vietnamese citizens as subhuman as a way to cope with killing.

This mindset carried over to the use of sexual violence during the war. The dehumanization of Vietnamese men and women allowed soldiers to use force and sexual violence to demonstrate their superiority and hyper-masculinity.

This analysis heavily supports the hypothesis of ethnic divisiveness as a cause of sexual violence in the former Yugoslavia. The ethnic divisiveness began with deportations, but quickly after, rape and systematic sexual violence surfaced as forms of ethnic cleansing. Nikolic-Ristanovic writes on the war in the former Yugoslavia, stating that a rise in nationalism furthered the ethnic divisiveness of the state and led to the victimization of women. The author continues by claiming rape was used as a method of ethnic cleansing during the war. The ICTY has also identified ethnic divisiveness as a catalyst for sexual violence against women in former Yugoslavia. Firsthand accounts of the atrocities of sexual violence in former Yugoslavia cite ethnic divisiveness as a main cause. Yet another piece shows that because the war in the former Yugoslavia was so nationalistic in nature, it increased the number of incidents of sexual violence against women. Vikman further discusses the use of sexual violence in the former Yugoslavia by stating that military forces used it to terrorize the civilians and to ethnically cleanse the state. Furthermore, an additional piece discusses the difference, as seen in this conflict, between single acts of rape by individuals and the obviously more devastating, strategic rape of women as a form of ethnic cleansing. Another source identifies rape and sexual violence against women as a form of ethnic cleansing and genocide and highlights its use as such during this conflict.

Moreover, the systematic ethnic extermination in former Yugoslavia included both rape and forcible impregnation. One survivor mentioned that soldiers used rape to impregnate women of the other ethnicity and simultaneously destroy the woman's ethnic ties by forcing her to

raise a baby of her rapist's (rapists') ethnicity. Schott argues that "rape, forced pregnancy, and enforced maternity have transformed birth into a weapon of death" in the former Yugoslavia. Another piece claims that extensive evidence supports ethnic cleansing as a cause of sexual violence against women during this conflict. Borchlet argues due to the patrilineal lineage of the cultures in the former Yugoslavia, forcibly impregnating a woman meant that she would be forced to raise a child of the rapist's (rapists') ethnicity and forcibly destroying the victim's ethnicity. Price expands on this, stating victims of sexual violence did not receive access to contraception but medical staffs did give gynecological examinations for signs of pregnancy. Soldiers detained the impregnated women until the pregnancy was too far along to be ended, thus, forcing these victims to give birth to their rapist's child. Lastly, Albanese reports that almost all rapes (reported and alleged) which occurred during the war in the former Yugoslavia, were characterized by victims and perpetrators of different ethnicities.

Continuing the analysis to include the conflict in the DRC, a couple of studies support the hypothesis that ethnic divisiveness increases the likelihood of sexual violence in conflict zones. A report done by the U.S. Government Accountability Office states that in the DRC, members of the enemy forces use sexual violence to display their superiority over another ethnic group's civilians. Peterman, Palermo and Bredenkamp also state that in the DRC, enemy groups use sexual violence to destroy communities of other ethnicities.

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis states conflicts that occur in societies with unequal rights based on gender are more likely to have sexually violent incidences. No articles rejected this hypothesis

and nine articles supported it, drawing on the experience in World War II, Yugoslavia and the DRC. To begin, Messerschmidt identifies the increased masculinity and patriarchal society found in the Stalinist Soviet Union as a cause of mass rapes throughout World War II. Additionally, former Japanese comfort women state that the Japanese soldiers used “limitless power over women’s bodies.” Price also cites a hatred of women, misogyny, as a cause of sexual violence during World War II on both the Pacific and European fronts. Describing sexual violence against women in the former Yugoslavia, Price states that an increase in masculinity and misogynist ideals increased the number and intensity of rapes during the conflict. Albanese also claims that sexual violence as a form of ethnic cleansing was furthered by not only the increase in nationalism, but also the shift in the former Yugoslavia to more traditional gender norms, forcing women to be submissive to men. Macek states that as the conflict increased in intensity, the society shifted to a patriarchal society. Another author goes on to explain that not only were women seen as being beneath men, they were even considered property. Albanese expands on this concept by showing that the shift back to more traditional norms increased the risk of sexual violence against women. Vikman cites a male-biased understanding of biological theory as an additional cause of sexual violence against women in the former Yugoslavia. She claims that a woman’s lower status in the society justified the sexual violence in the minds of the perpetrators. Additionally, Valentich concludes that “The sexist culture which prevailed in much of the former Yugoslavia appears to have offered the conditions for the sexual subjugation of women as a means of destroying them... [and] their culture.” Lastly, with regards to the DRC, one article, identified conceptions of women being submissive to men through more “traditional” gender roles as an additional risk for sexual violence against women.

Hypothesis 4

No sources in this content analysis directly confirmed this hypothesis. However, no sources denied this hypothesis. In former Yugoslavia, an ethnic conflict, sexual violence was used as a weapon of war; however, no sources directly cite the desire to separate as an indicator of sexual violence against women. More research should be done on the topic in order to make a true conclusion of whether or not conflicts in which one group is trying to separate from another (i.e.: civil war), sexual violence is more likely to be used as a weapon of war.

Analysis

World War II

The analysis of World War II shows that gender inequality, ethnicity and aggression are indicators of sexual violence against women. My analysis shows that aggressive members of the Japanese military were more likely to commit sexually violent acts, even when Japanese commanders no longer tolerated rape. I also found that patriarchal societies, in which women are often subjugated, allow for sexual violence against women. This is seen in the misogynistic behaviors of the Japanese towards comfort women and the patriarchal norms of the Russian army which led to the rapes of 2,000,000 German women during World War II. In both Japan and Germany women of lower racial status often became victims of sexual violence. The sexual violence by soldiers focused on women to whom soldiers felt superior.

The Vietnam War

My analysis confirmed only one hypothesis, hypothesis 2, for the Vietnam War. While the Vietnam War was not an ethnic conflict, the U.S. Army deliberately taught its soldiers to see Vietnamese civilians as subhuman. As a result, American soldiers who raped innocent civilians did so because they felt superior.

The Former Yugoslavian War

The Former Yugoslavian War showed three indicators of sexual violence against women. Overly aggressive soldiers used rape to show their power over women from other cultures. Also, the shift values toward more traditional, gender normative values caused more cases of sexual violence against women. My analysis revealed that because of the Serbian patrilineal issue discussed earlier, countless women were raped. This however does lead back to an ethnic issue. The ethnic divisiveness of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia resulted in the rapes of countless women. Soldiers used rape as a tool for ethnic cleansing, for genocide.

The Current Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo

The conflict in the DRC encompasses three of the hypotheses presented. My analysis shows that military leaders in the DRC lack control over their troops and as a result they cannot keep the overly aggressive soldiers from raping women as they move through different areas of the country. The analysis also indicates that women in the DRC maintain a submissive status in society. This patriarchal mindset leads to the subjugation of women as sexual conquests as well

as misogyny. My analysis shows that ethnic divisiveness is also a cause of sexual violence in the DRC. Displaying power over their victims, perpetrators of sexual violence use rape to assert their superiority over the conquered culture and that culture's women.

Discussion

The confirmation of hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 through this content analysis shows several probable causes of sexual violence against women in conflict zones. Authors agree that overly aggressive members of military and paramilitary groups are more likely to commit sexually violent acts. Despite a lack of evidence from the Vietnam War, hypothesis 1 can be confirmed through studies on the other conflicts of interest. Evidence from World War II, the former Yugoslavia as well as the DRC supports the hypothesis. Additionally, the literature review above shows that several scholars support the idea that aggression increases the risk of sexual violence against women in conflict zones. Hypothesis 2 is also confirmed by this content analysis. Evidenced by all four conflicts in this analysis, the authors show that ethnic divisiveness increases the risk of sexual violence against women. Overwhelming evidence from the war in the former Yugoslavia suggests that in that particular conflict, ethnicity was a main factor in the victimization of women through the use of sexual violence. Moreover, the literature review supports this hypothesis. The content analysis also shows that societies in which women are considered lower than men sexual violence against women is much more likely to occur. Several authors assert concepts of misogyny and the link between misogynistic ideals and the occurrence of sexual violence in these conflicts exists, as seen in World War II, the former Yugoslavia and the DRC. Furthermore, the content analysis of hypothesis 3 is also supported by the literature review. Unfortunately, hypothesis 4 remains unconfirmed. Though the literature

review supports this concept, the content analysis did not reveal any additional sources to support it. As previously mentioned, additional work should be done to confirm or deny this hypothesis. Until then it, remains open.

Implications

This study shows several implications for addressing sexual violence against women in conflict zones in the future. Firstly, additional research and data collection should be done as to better assess the causes of sexual violence against women in conflict zones. Second, due to the fact that overly aggressive members of the military are more likely to perpetrate sexual violence against women, training should be done in ways to prevent an aggressive member of the military from committing these acts. Clearly, in conflicts in which militias and paramilitary forces have little to no training, this may not be an option. The UN should pay special attention to its forces on the ground in conflict zones to ensure that overly aggressive members of its forces do not commit sexually violent acts. Third, because the overwhelming evidence shows that conflicts involving ethnic divisiveness are much more likely to involve sexual violence against women, NGOs and non-profits should focus their attention on these conflicts in their attempts to not only treat victims of sexual violence but to also prevent sexual violence against women. Fourth, women's organizations and other organizations seeking to improve the existence of women across the globe should continue and expand their efforts. As shown, gender inequality in societies leads to a greater likelihood of sexual violence against women during conflicts. By increasing equality for women across the world, there should be an inverse effect on the likelihood of sexual violence against women. Lastly, additional research should be done in order to draw a conclusion for hypothesis 4.

Conclusion

It is evident that sexual violence against women has been used in conflicts throughout history. This literature review and content analysis provide a starting point for further work concerning sexual violence against women in conflict zones. The content analysis identifies three factors which either increase the likelihood of or directly cause sexual violence against women in conflict zones. While the implications of this research may be limited, it does provide a foundation for additional research.

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End Notes