Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

The Department of International Relations

THE USE OF SEXUAL AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE AS A WAR STRATEGY IN BOSNIAN WAR

Vesile Nur DAŞTAN

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2019

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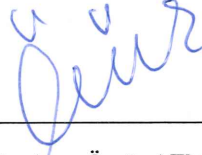
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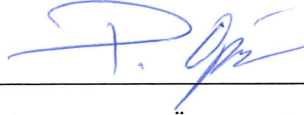
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(1) Madde 6. 1. Lisansüstü tezle ilgili patent başvurusu yapılması veya patent alma sürecinin devam etmesi durumunda, tez **danışmanının** önerisi ve **enstitü anabilim dalının** uygun görüşü üzerine **enstitü** veya **fakülte yönetim kurulu** iki yıl süre ile tezin erişime açılmasının ertelenmesine karar verebilir.

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* Tez **danışmanının** önerisi ve **enstitü anabilim dalının** uygun görüşü üzerine **enstitü** veya **fakülte yönetim kurulu** tarafından karar verilir.

ETİK BEYAN

Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, **Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Ayşe Ömür ATMACA** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.

Vesile Nur DAŞTAN

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ABSTRACT

Certain radical changes in the international system have paved the way for a transition from traditional perspectives defining the concept of security as state's security to alternative perspectives putting emphasis on human security. One of these alternative perspectives is feminist theory. Feminist theory, as a perspective that advocates equality between men and women in all aspects of life, addresses the issues of human security but specifically women's security by including the concepts of women and gender to the field of security, which is assumed as male-dominated. The discriminations and assaults that women confront with in their daily lives due to their gender become even more serious during the wartime. One of the major threats to women's security in wartime is sexual and gender based violence. Especially in civil wars erupted by ethnic, national or religious reasons, civilians and predominantly women have become the target of the enemy. In these civil wars, rape serves as a war weapon to gain superiority to the opposing group. Bosnian war is the most significant example in terms of the use of rape as a war tool and strategic tactic. This war is also a turning point for prevention of the use of rape as a strategic tool in wartime by international law bodies. For this reason, this study examines how the rape is turned into a war weapon by using female body as a battleground in the ethnic cleansing project that Serbs attempted to defeat Bosnian Muslims, send them from their lands and destroy the ethnic purity of future generations. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to show sexual and gender based violence was used as a strategic tool in Bosnian war. The continuation of sexual violence and rape in the conflicts after the Bosnian war reveals the necessity to revise this issue.

Keywords

ÖZET

DAŞTAN, Vesile Nur. *Cinsel ve Toplumsal Cinsiyete Dayalı Şiddetin Bosna Savaşında Bir Savaş Stratejisi Olarak Kullanılması,* Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2019.

Uluslararası sistemde meydana gelen birtakım radikal değişimler, güvenlik kavramını devletin güvenliği olarak tanımlayan geleneksel bakış açılarından bireylerin güvenliğini ön plana çıkaran alternatif bakış açılarına geçisin yolunu açmıştır. İnsan güvenliği anlayışına sahip bakış açılarından birisi de feminist teoridir. Hayatın her alanında kadın ve erkek eşitliğini savunan bir görüş olarak, feminist teori erkek egemen bir yapıya sahip olduğunu varsaydığı güvenlik alanına kadın ve toplumsal cinsiyet kavramlarını dahil ederek, bireylerin ve özellikle kadınların güvenliğine yönelik konuları ele almıştır. Kadınların toplumsal cinsiyetleri dolayısıyla günlük yaşamda maruz kaldıkları ayrımcılık ve saldırılar savaş zamanı daha ciddi bir hale gelmektedir. Savaş zamanı kadınların güvenliğine yönelik ortaya çıkan başlıca tehditlerden birisi cinsel ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı şiddettir. Özellikle etnik, milli ya da dini sebeplerle ortaya çıkan iç savaşlarda siviller ve çoğunlukla da kadınlar düşmanın açık hedefi haline gelmiştir. Karşı gruba üstünlük sağlamak amacıyla tecavüz bir savaş silahı olarak görev yapar. Tecavüzün açık bir savaş aleti ve stratejik bir taktik olarak kullanılması açısından en önemli örnek Bosna savaşıdır. Bu savaş ayrıca tecavüzün savaş zamanı stratejik bir araç olarak kullanılmasının uluslararası hukuk organlarınca önlenmesi için de bir dönüm noktası niteliğindedir. Bu yüzden, bu çalışmada Sırpların Bosnalı Müslümanları yenmek, onları topraklarından göndermek ve gelecek nesillerin etnik temizliğini bozmak amacıyla giriştikleri etnik temizlik projesinde, kadın bedeninin savaş alanı olarak kullanılarak tecavüzün nasıl bir savaş silahına dönüştüğü incelenmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu tezin amacı, cinsel ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı şiddetin Bosna savaşında stratejik bir araç olarak kullanıldığını göstermektir. Bosna savaşı sonrası meydana gelen çatışmalarda cinsel şiddet ve tecavüz olaylarının görülmeye devam edilmesi, bu konunun yeniden gözden geçirilmesi gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Feminist güvenlik kuramı, toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsel ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı şiddet, toplu tecavüz, Bosna savaşı

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ABBREVIATIONS

FST   Feminist Security Theory

SGBV   Sexual and Gender Based Violence

ICTY   International Criminal Tribunal fort he Former
                  Yugoslavia

ICC   International Criminal Court

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INTRODUCTION

"Bosnia and Herzegovina is being gang raped. . . . I do not lightly apply the analogy of a gang rape to the plight of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As we know, systematic rape has been one of the weapons of this aggression against the Bosnian women in particular."[1]

(Bosnian Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey, in a speech to the UN Security Council on 24 August 1993)

The drastic changes in the structures of international system and world politics have paved the way for a transition from state-centric conception of security towards a more human-centric conception by causing changes in the scope, dimension and actors of the security concept in time. One of the IR theories that advocate the importance of human security over state security is feminist theory. Feminism, which in the most basic sense advocates the equality between men and women, has brought a new dimension to the security issue by questioning who should be secured and which security threats come from whom or where.

One of the main concerns of Feminist Security Theory (FST), which uses gender as a unit of analysis, is the security problems that women experience in the wartime. The marginalization or subordination of women and gender especially in case of war and armed conflicts is criticized by feminist perspective. Because of the close association between war and masculinity, discriminations and assaults that women confront with in their daily lives become more serious and important during the wartime. The most common and problematic crime that is committed against women during conflict is sexual and gender based violence, for certain. Sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) in wartime is conducted as a way of asserting superiority and masculinity of an ethnic, religious or other identity groups over the opposite groups. Sexual violence- specifically rape- is used as a war weapon by using female bodies as a battlefield so as to both satisfy their masculinity by asserting sexual superiority over women and to also humiliate, dishonor and threat the enemy group.

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[1] Stjepan G. Mestrovic, *The Balkanization of the West: The Confluence of Postmodernism and Postcommunism*, (London: Routledge, 1994): xxi.

Rape, which deeply harms women and also the entire society through female's body, has appeared as a war strategy in almost every war throughout the history. However, in the Bosnian war, it was clearly seen that rape carried out in a strategic and systematic manner was used as a tool of ethnic cleansing. With the influence of the patriarchal structure of society, rape served as an effective means of war by Serbs to achieve their ultimate goal which is ethnic cleansing. Within the scope of ethnic cleansing project of Serbs, which was carried out with the aim of cleaning the region from Bosniaks, Muslim women were exposed to mass rapes in specially designed rape camps until they became pregnant and were forced to give birth to Serbian children in order to pollute the ethnic purity of Bosnian Muslims.

The horrible effects resulted from these mass rapes in Bosnia created a tremendous impression in the whole world. In this regard, the only positive aspect of these acts of rape, which has reached the level of genocide, is the recognition of wartime rape in international law as a crime against humanity and a war crime. Bosnian war is a turning point in terms of taking significant steps for preventing wartime rape, which has been considered as an ordinary result of war until that time. Nevertheless, the political and legal steps taken for this issue have not yet been able to ensure the fair and relieving judgment system for perpetrators, the comprehensive and successful treatment policies for victims or the prevention of future rape crimes. The continued use of rape as a war tool in the civil wars that emerged after the Bosnian war revealed the necessity of readdressing this issue. Although Bosnian case- which is notable for the brutal sexual violence, mass rape camps, forced pregnancies- has brought recognition to the concept of rape in the international legal area and aroused international attention towards the use of rape in armed conflicts, the use of sexual violence and rape as a war tool has been perpetuated by soldiers for their different aims such as terrorizing, humiliating or even committing ethnic cleansing. In this respect, sexual and gender based violence against women has been observed in recent conflicts in different regions including Rwanda, Liberia, Chechnya, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cote D'ivoire, and more recently Syria. All these cases should pave the way for examining why the sexual violence still recurs in armed conflicts in spite of the increasing worldwide attention towards this problem so the use of sexual and gender based violence in war should be

reconsidered through a comprehensive analysis by taking these recent cases into consideration.

Accordingly, the main aim of this thesis is to examine the use of rape as a war strategy in Bosnian war from a gendered perspective. While examining the effect of rape as a strategic and deliberate tool of war, the patriarchal structure of Bosnian society is argued as the most important underlying factor for this effect. In Bosnian war, mass rapes were carried out in a systematic and strategic manner with the intention of social destruction through giving physical, psychological and moral damages to the whole community over female bodies. The fact that Bosnian women were get forced pregnancy and forced to give birth to Serbian children shows that the only aim of Serbs was not to satisfy their sexual desires in wartime. As shocking the whole world, the most significant steps of an ethnic cleansing project were taken in specifically designed mass rape camps. From this point of view, this thesis aims to analyze sexual and gender based violence against women and feminist approach toward this issue. In this respect, it will be tried to find answers to the following questions from the specific to the general:

- How did rape serve as a war tool in Bosnian war?

- How was women's body used to carry out ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslims?

- What are the security threats that women are subjected to in wartime and post-wartime because of their gender?

While answering these questions, feminist perspective will be adopted in order to draw a clear theoretical and conceptual framework. In line with the arguments and criticisms of feminist security theory, sexual and gender based violence and the use of rape as a war strategy will be dealt with. The hypotheses underlying this thesis are based upon that issues regarding women and gender are disregarded or subordinated by traditional IR perspectives as feminist IR theory argues. Especially, the gendered and male-dominated structures of the fields such as war, security and military lead to exclusion of women from these fields and disregard of problems of women that they experience in wartime and post-wartime periods. In patriarchal societies where male domination and

gendered stereotypes are considerably widespread, women are more liable to experience this type of exclusion and ignoring. In this regard, this thesis will attempt to show how sexual and gender based violence takes the form of a strategic tool or deliberate tactic during an armed conflict by taking the Bosnian war as a case study.

Furthermore, primary and secondary sources will be used and literature reviews regarding feminist theory and Bosnian war will be made through a qualitative analysis method. Primary and secondary sources that can be accessed from libraries in both printed and online forms related to feminist theory, sexual and gender based violence, international humanitarian law and Bosnian war will be used. While secondary sources such as books, articles, reports prepared by international organizations, published interviews and media news will be more included in the thesis, it will also benefit from primary sources such as articles, rules and agreements about international law and women's rights.

In this thesis, the use of sexual and gender based violence as a war strategy in Bosnian war will be studied. In this respect, in the first chapter, a theoretical framework will be provided to understand feminist perspective towards war and sexual war crimes through an in-depth analysis of feminist IR theory with regard to gender and security. Therefore, it will be explained how feminist theory meets with the discipline of IR as a result of the changes in perception towards the issues of international politics. The concept of gender will be argued in terms of its use as a unit of analysis by feminist IR theory to bring a new perspective into the gender-blind approaches dominating the discipline. By giving emphasis on security concept, the arguments and criticisms of feminist IR theory regarding the discipline through gendered lenses will be provided.

In the second chapter, it will be explained the effects of the close association between masculinity and war on women's security with a comprehensive analysis on sexual and gender based violence. In this section, the change in security conception from a state-centered approach to a more human-centered approach will be analyzed. It will be given the security threats against women appeared due to the changes in the content and scope of the war. By replacing the traditional interstate war with the civil wars, how civilians- and predominantly women- became the ones who were the most adversely affected will be discussed. In this respect, the victimization of women by the sexual and gender based

violence in wartime will be emphasized. After the definition of sexual violence in wartime, it will be analyzed the concept of rape as the most important form of sexual violence in terms of its use as a war strategy.

Lastly, in the third chapter, it will be studied the use of rape as a war strategy against the enemy ethnic, national or religious groups by taking Bosnian war as a case study. Bosnian war will be addressed as a significant example of the use of women's bodies as a battlefield and the use of rape as a war tool. Due to the special role of patriarchal social structure of Bosniaks, a great opportunity was provided for Serbs to use rape as the most effective weapon against their enemy in the war. In order to understand the underlying factors of these cruelties and violence occurred in the Bosnian war, it will be given the historical background of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The role of ethnic nationalism as an incentive for the ethnic cleansing project of Serbs and the role of rape as a strategic tool for this goal will be stated. How these mass rapes affected the lives of victimized women, their families and the entire group with the influence of patriarchal social structure of Bosnian Muslim will be presented. Ultimately, the legal steps taken by international institutions to accept the rape as a war crime and crime against humanity in order to prevent its use in wartime will be assessed.

CHAPTER 1

FEMINIST PERCEPTION OF SECURITY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The discipline of International Relations (IR) has known as a field that deals with political, social and economic relations between sovereign states. The prevailing studies of IR, which have addressed the relationships among sovereign authorities of states within the scope of public sphere, consider states as the main actor and issues of power and politics as the main subject. The ultimate concern that interests the scholars of IR is the "traditional power structures and coalition composition to explain interstate behaviors and conflicts".[2] As the discipline of IR restricts its field of study with certain actors and issues, it has been subjected to criticisms for ignoring issues which are considered important by other perspectives.

Feminism, conducting one of these criticisms, seeks to reveal the gender dimensions of theories, structures and activities of IR through questioning the ontological and epistemological foundations of the discipline. Feminist IR perspective deals with the invisibility and exclusion of women in international politics as a result of the male-dominated structure of traditional approaches of the discipline. Since women are seen as an indivisible part of international area by feminist thinking, according to Atmaca and Gözen Ercan, gender cannot be left out of the most important issues of international politics.[3] In order to eliminate the gender bias of the discipline, feminism uses gender "as an appropriate category and theoretical tool for analyzing global power relations and construct alternative world orders".[4]

In this regard, the main aim of this chapter is to understand cognitive development of feminist IR theory in the historical process. It is essential to analyze events founding the

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[2] Patrick M. Regan and Aida Paskeviciute, "Women's access to politics and peaceful states", *Journal of Peace Research* 40, no.3 (2003), **quoted in** Katie Heaney, "Gender Inequalities and International Military Aggression: The Role of Feminism in Achieving Peace," *Res Publica - Journal of Undergraduate Research* 14, no. 59 (2009): 32. http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/respublica/vol14/iss1/9.

[3] Ayşe Ömür Atmaca and Pınar Gözen Ercan, "Uluslararası Güvenliği Yeniden Düşünmek: Uluslararası İlişkiler Disiplininde Feminist Eleştiriler", *Uluslararası İlişkiler* 15, no. 59 (2018): 20

[4] Gülşen Aydın, "Feminist challenge to the Mainstream IR" *European Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 1, no.5 (May-August 2016):62. https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/76314/.

entrance of feminist theory into the discipline of IR in order to comprehend the feminist perspective towards the main issues of IR. In this regard, it will be studied how domination of mainstream perspectives- especially realism- has led feminism to emphasize on issues that had been neglected with a different point of view that had not been taken into consideration until this time. Security issue in particular will be conducted on through the critiques of feminist IR theory about main concepts of realist IR with the gender-lensed perspective towards international security.

1.2.   HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FEMINIST THEORY

Feminism is an approach that desires to expand the role of women in the society by advocating that all social, economic and political rights entitled to men should be given to women as well.[5] In the most basic and general manner, the aim of feminism is to prevent discrimination against women and to promote the equality between men and women. Feminism believes that women and men are equal and accordingly argues they should have equal opportunity and should be equally free from any discrimination based upon their sexes.[6] Therefore, feminism appears as an approach dealing with oppression and exclusion that women are exposed to because of their sex and striving for advancing the status and rights of women in social, political and economic life.

It is required to consider appearance and historical development of feminist approach if not so the process of feminist IR theory cannot be understood clearly.[7] The initial attempts with regard to struggle for enhancing women's unequal positions which was termed as "first-wave" feminism- containing late 19th and early 20th centuries- focused on equal rights- especially voting right- for women.[8] While it was aimed to bring

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[5] Andree Michel, *Feminizm*, trans. Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul*: Kadın Çevresi Yayınları, 1984): 17.
[6] Heaney,op.cit: 34.
[7] Özlem Tür and Çiğdem Aydın Koyuncu, "Feminist Uluslararası İlişkiler Yaklaşımı: Temelleri, Gelişimi, Katkı ve Sorunları", *Uluslararası İlişkiler* 7, no.26 (2010):5.
[8] Jane Freedman, *Feminism*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001): 4; Robbin Hillary VanNewkirk, "Third Wave Feminist History and the Politics of Being Visible and Being Real" (Thesis, Georgia State University, 2006): 9; Charlotte Krolokke and Anne Scott Sorensen, "Three waves of feminism: From suffragettes to grrls", *Gender communication theories & analyses*: *From silence to performance* (2006):2-7.

political and legal identity to "white Western women", women in other parts of the world and their other problems were not addressed in this period. [9]

Moreover, in the "second-wave" of feminist movement prevailing in the 1960s and 1970s, feminism struggled to enhance women's rights not only in political terms- as limited to suffrage- but also in all aspects of social life. In this phase, which is identified with "women's liberation", feminist thought succeeded to become a social movement.[10] Furthermore, feminism, that performed works in scientific area in this era, started to question main assumptions of social sciences. It was argued that many assumptions on which social sciences are based are created with a male-dominated viewpoint and lead to women's inequality. In this respect, it was offered that the works of social sciences should be re-examined with a feminist point of view in order to correct this situation which is against women.[11]

"Third-wave" feminism which was shaped by changings occurring in the world system in 1980s and continued until today aimed to bring a new perspective to feminist theory.[12] In consequence of globalization, individualism and increasing in new security threat perceptions, feminism brought up issues such as human trafficking, child sexual abuse, and sexual health protection which have been disregarded or minimized until this time.[13] Therefore, third-wave feminism strived for spreading feminist ideology around every segment of social life.

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[9] Estelle B. Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*, (New York: Ballentine Books, 2002) **qutoed in** VanNewkirk, op.cit: 8-9; Muhittin Ataman, "Feminizm: Geleneksel Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorilerine Alternatif Yaklaşımlar Demeti", *Alternatif Politika* 1, no.1 (2009): 3.

[10] Fatmagül Berktay, " Kadınların İnsan Haklarının Gelişimi ve Türkiye", *İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Eğitim ve Araştırma Birimi, Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları*, no. 7 (2004):8-9. https://stk.bilgi.edu.tr/media/uploads/2015/02/01/berktay_std_7.pdf. ; Robbin Hillary VanNewkirk, op.cit: 9.

[11] Teresa Tavares, "De-Americanizing American Studies and Feminist Studies: Notes of a Portuguese Feminist Americanist", *American Studies International* 38, no.3 (2000): 104-105. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41262076. ; Sandra Harding, "Introduction: is there a feminist methodology?", *Feminism and Methodology-Social Science Issues*, ed. Sandra Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987): 3-10.

[12] VanNewkirk, op.cit: 14.

[13] Ibid, 23-24.

1.3.   FEMINIST THEORY MEETS THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In the wake of the historical development of feminist theory in itself, that feminism has started to take place in the IR discipline as a theoretical approach dates back to the 1980s. Although it did not gain an important ground in the discipline in initial years, a feminist perception towards international relations has begun to develop. Within this period, articles regarding feminism have been published in leading academic journals of IR such as Foreign Affairs, Millennium, and International Organizations[14]; gender issue has been more involved in academic studies and researches; academic meetings have been hold regarding feminist IR theory. [15]

"Third debate"[16], which occurred in the 1980s to question the traditional approaches of the discipline, has paved the way for securing the position of feminist theory in the discipline. Within the scope of third debate, empirical and positivist foundation of the discipline and the hegemony of realist/neorealist approaches in the discipline have been challenged. A pluralist era emerged in line with the rise of new critical approaches as alternative for questioning the main concepts and theories of IR. In this regard, feminism has been also incorporated into the general discourse of the discipline as an important alternative theory.[17]

Feminism, that brought criticism to androcentric and gender-blind structure of the discipline[18], has engaged in not only women's issues but also basic concepts of the IR as from 1990s. The discipline of IR whose agenda and structure changed because of the reasons such as end of the Cold War, dissolution of bipolar world system and increase in globalization tend towards more varied and extensive issues. In this new form of the discipline in which issues such as migration, minority rights, environment,

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[14] Diana Thorburn. "Feminism Meets International Relations." *SAIS Review* 20, no. 2 (2000): 1. https://muse.jhu.edu/
[15] Ataman, op.cit: 6.
[16] Third debate can be describes as a contest between positivists and post-positivists in terms of their different epistemological and ontological approaches to international relations. For more information about Third Debate see Yosef Lapid, "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era", *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1989): 235-254. Also for a brief summary of theoretical discussions in the literature from the emergence of the International Relations discipline to the present day see Dario Battissela, "Théories des Rélations Internationales", *Presses de Sciences Po*, (Paris, 2003): 73-109.
[17] Thorburn, op.cit: 2
[18] Tür and Koyuncu, op.cit: 7.

globalization, human rights, and arms smuggling are involved in the scope of analyses, feminism has become more significant and efficient theory since it focuses on these issues from feminist perspective.[19]

In view of the fact that IR is more unconcerned with gender issue in contrast with other fields of social sciences, it can be claimed that IR discipline is the last castle of social sciences to be conquered by feminism.[20] Therefore, it was an expected process that the penetration of feminist theory to the discipline took a long time.

1.4. DIFFERENT FEMINIST IR PERSPECTIVES

Feminism, which advocates that women are excluded in all areas of life and international relations, and that women should be liberated in these fields, has brought about different perspectives on the reasons for this exclusion and the ways of liberation. In spite of the diversity of feminist literature, the main ones of these different views can be represented as liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, constructivist feminism, standpoint feminism, post-structural feminism, and post-colonial feminism. However, before discussing these different approaches, it is necessary to mention some basic assumptions that apply to all of them. As Ataman summarized, the common basic principles as follows: [21]

"[1] As a result of being, women who have had fewer opportunities than men to participate in non-domestic life of their societies, since ancient times and including today, have gained less reputation, status, power, and independence from men, and this is still happening… [2] Since it is not the case that women deserve fewer opportunities than men to have such opportunities, there is no moral reason for any obstacles that are still standing in front of their attainment, and they must be lifted… [3] Historically, there is a consensus on the main way in which women are not given equal opportunities… [4] There is also a consensus on the fact that women now have the same civil and political rights as men, but still have fewer opportunities to participate in non-domestic life in their own societies… [5] When the underlying factor of women's

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[19] Tür and Koyuncu, op.cit: 8.
[20] Muhittin Ataman, "Feminizm: Geleneksel Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorilerine Alternatif Yaklaşımlar Demeti", *Alternatif Politika* 1, no.1 (2009): 8.
[21] David Conway, "Free Market Feminism", *Choice in Welfare* 43 (IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1998): 7-8.

exclusion is not exactly legitimate, the fact that women are more likely than men to be discriminated against because of their gender is still a major influence on having less opportunities than men today…"

Moreover, all perspectives gathered under the general framework of feminism accept these arguments as general rules but after these points they begin to show dissimilarities. In this regard, it is essential to focus on basic assumptions of these different feminist perspectives towards international relations.

Liberal feminism, also known as classical feminism, focuses mainly on the women's subordinated position in both social life and global politics and accordingly advocates the recognition of equality of opportunities for women and men in every field. It argues that there is no difference between men and women so women must also have all the social, political and legal rights that men already have. From the liberal feminist perspective, the best way to prevent gender discrimination is to recognize equal rights for women and men and with regard to the principal of equal opportunity, the number and participation of women in existing institutions and organizations of international relations should be increased.[22]

Marxist feminism bases discrimination between sexes and oppression of women on the capitalist system of production. According to Marxist feminists, it can be deduced how women are oppressed and subjected to discrimination in social life from analyzing equal status of women and men in work life. Marxist feminists, therefore, place the issue of social class at the center of their work rather than take gender as a unit of analysis.[23] According to this perspective, the emancipation of the oppressed class from the pressure of capitalist system will also ensure the liberation of women from discrimination and exploitation.[24]

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[22] Laura Sjoberg, *Gender and International Security:Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Laura Sjoberg (London:Routlage, 2012): 3; J.Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, "Feminism", *International Relations Theory: Discipline and Diversity* (3rd ed.), ed. Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013):208.

[23] Alison M. Jaggar*, Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, (New Jersey: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, 1988): 217-218.

[24] Zillah Eissentein, "Constructing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism", *Critical Sociology* 25 no.2/3, (1999): 197-200.

Radical feminism attributes the reason of men's domination over women to the patriarchal system, which affects all social structures[25], and seeks the solution in the revision of perceptions and mechanisms constituting the international relations with a gender-based approach. According to radical feminism, the discipline of IR in which masculine values predominate must become more susceptible to the gender issue and go through radical changes in supposed gender roles.

Constructivist feminism, on the other hand, claims that the concepts of international relations such as power, security, state, politics and sovereignty are social structures and accordingly they should be re-examined by adding social structure as a unit of analysis to the International Relations studies.[26] It criticized the realist approach that considers states as unitary actors because it believes "states as the dynamic results of the social processes that constitute their existence". Moreover, constructivist feminists emphasize that perceptions about gender shape global politics and are shaped by global politics.[27]

Standpoint feminism which initially emerged as in the context of Marxism offers an epistemological and methodological guideline for future feminist studies. In this regard, standpoint feminism makes an important contribution by claiming that feminist knowledge and cognition may only be possible through seeing the world from perspective of women –who are assumed as oppressed.[28]

Feminist post-structuralism deals with the ways of gendered linguistic constructions, which are dichotomies such as strong/weak, rational/emotional, and public/private, contribute to maintain the authority of men over women and to constitute global politics in this way. Therefore, the aim of feminist post-structuralism is to reveal and demolish these dichotomized constructions creating hierarchy between men and women in global politics.[29]

Another feminist international relations approach is post-colonial feminism that most of them are regarded as post-structuralist and that focuses on the secondary status of

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[25] Jane Freedman, *Feminism*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001): 5.
[26] Birgit Locher and Elisabeth Prügl, "Feminism and Constructivism: worlds apart or sharing the middle ground?." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no.1 (2001): 113.
[27] Tickner and Sjoberg, op.cit: 210.
[28] Sandra Harding, *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies*, ed. Sandra Harding (Psychology Press, 2004): 2-3.
[29] Tickner and Sjober, op.cit: 211.

women in colonized world under the imperialist system. This approach opposes to the universalization of women, women's problems and the way of women's emancipation by stating that the experiences of Western women and Third World women do not necessarily correspond with each other.[30]

1.5.   FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE TOWARDS IR

Feminist IR theory which brought about one of the most critical approaches to the discipline of IR asserts that the discipline is male-dominated, masculine and gender-blind in terms of its structure and functioning. The point to be achieved with this assumption is that the number of men and the impact of male mentality are more influential than the number of women and the impact of female mentality in the invention, development and process of the discipline and also that the discipline fails to recognize this problematic structure.

Feminist IR claims that the reason of this is the gendered structure of concepts, institutions and practices dominating the discipline.[31] For that reason, in order to explain the behaviors of nation-states in the international system in a comprehensive manner, gender should be added as a unit of analysis to the other units and levels of analysis that are well-accepted in the discipline.[32] In this regard, while being interested in issues of international relations, feminist theory aims to introduce how discipline would be when gender is included as a unit of analysis and when women are accepted as international actors.

Moreover, in order to better understand the underlying causes of approaches and critics of feminist theory towards IR, it is conceptually, empirically and normatively essential to study on the *gender* issue. The term of gender is used to describe socially constructed sexual differences. Gender obviously does not contain the same meaning of *sex* which is used as an interchangeable term for gender in everyday language. In the simplest term,

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[30] Ibid, 212.
[31] Jacqui True, "Feminism", *Theories of International Relations* eds. Burchill S., Devetak R., Linklater A., Matthew Peterson, Reus-Smit C. and True J. (New York: Palgrave, 1996): 247.
[32] J. Ann Tickner "Searching for the Princess? Feminist Perspectives in International Relations", *Harvard International Review* 21, no.4 (1999): 46.

sex implies to what is biological, and gender implies to what is cultural.[33] Therefore, sex means that women and men have genetic, natural and unchangeable differences due to the biological factors. On the other hand, gender is composed of features that are constituted, unnatural and changeable as a result of social and cultural factors with the aim of creating discrimination between men and women. While using this concept, "they are not generally referring to biological differences between males and females but a set of culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity".[34]

Beyond its word sense, gender represents a symbolic system in a general framework. Within this symbolic system, in addition to defining individuals as woman or man, the perspectives of people on life are determined and people are expected to obey these determined rules. The features, attitudes and behaviors that are associated with men and women through gender discourses vary from a society to another society. However the common point existing in almost all gender discourses in every society is that gender paves the way to oppression, subordination and exclusion of women by creating a hierarchy between the concepts of masculinity and femininity.[35] By the way of constituting a hierarchy between masculinity and femininity, gender reveals the existing power relations among men and women.

Through using gender as a systematic discourse, characteristics that belong to people are divided into two opposite groups by taking account of their relative value. According to this division, mind is constructed as opposed to body, opinion to emotion, reasoning to instincts, objectivity to subjectivity, aggression to passivity, public to private, political to personal and so on. Accordingly, in all of these divisions, the attributes of former groups are related to male and attributes of latter groups are related to female in a deliberative manner.[36] Moreover, while the characteristics such as physical strength, independency, rationality, courage and patriotism which are assumed more valuable by the society are associated with men, on the contrary characteristics

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[33] Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and gender: How gender shapes the war system and vice versa*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 2

[34] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992): 9.

[35] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 9.

[36] Carol Cohn, "War, Wimps and Women:Talking Gender and Thinking War", *Gendering War Talk* ed. Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott (New Jersey:Princeton University Press, 1993): 229.

such as weakness, dependency, emotionality, and timidity are equated with women. Considering the perception of societies throughout the history, the features associated with masculinity have been regarded as ideal, stereotyped or dominant so these have been valued above other features that are related with femininity.[37]

The essential point is not that gender signifies the unequal relations of power between men and women but is that gender is used to perpetuate this inequality through the meanings assigned to concepts of masculinity and femininity. Peterson explains the problematic structure of gender by defining it as "a systematically *analytical category* that refers to construction of (privileged) masculinity and (devalorized) femininity and their ideological effects."[38] As long as gender roles are embraced by people, the superiority of men becomes admitted and the maintenance of unequal power relations between men and women are ensured. In this respect, feminist theory aims to deal with gender issue through analyzing the dichotomy created between human characteristics and the hierarchy constituted between masculinity and femininity on the basis of international relations.

1.6. FEMINIST CRITIQUES TOWARDS THE MAIN CONCEPTS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE DISCIPLINE

Feminism, that adopts *gender lenses* in order to show it is possible to see, think and know the world from a different perspective by claiming theories and practices of IR are constructed through androcentric lenses, has three significant criticisms and accordingly three essential projects regarding the IR.

First of all, feminist IR theory claims that masculine values, norms and mindsets are dominant in the discipline. Since the foundation of the discipline was implemented by scholars, intellectuals and politicians whom most of them are male, the terms which are used in the field have been constructed through male perspective and have become a masculinized manner in that regard. Under the circumstances, that most of the knowledge in the discipline has been produced by men and also about men[39] has been

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[37] Laura Sjoberg, *Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Savaş ve Çatışma*, trans. Onur Aydın, (İstanbul: Altınbilek Yayınları, 2014): 24.
[38] V. Spike Peterson, "Feminist theories Within, Invisible to, and Beyond IR", *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10, no.2 (Winter/Spring 2004): 5.
[39] Tickner and Sjoberg, op.cit:207.

inevitable. As Hooper states that considering the male-dominated structure of the discipline, "IR seems a particularly appropriate site for an investigation into masculinities, and particularly into their dominant, or 'hegemonic' forms"[40].

When considering the structure of IR, it is deduced that concepts such as state, sovereignty, power, politics, war and peace, which IR is most interested in, have become masculine through being created by a male point of view. The underlying factor that men have dominance in the discipline is the features that are associated with men. Men are considered to be indispensable elements of international politics because of the characteristics they are supposed to possess, and the characteristics that women are supposed to possess are perceived as insignificant, unnecessary and even damaging for international relations.

Gender discourses create hierarchies between men and women by making binary distinctions in the political life as in every aspects of life. The roles assigned to women according to their assumed characteristics are regarded as "irrelevant" in the international area.[41] Characteristics such as power, strength, rationality, and autonomy are associated with men and considered as more important and valuable in terms of states' foreign policies. On the other hand, women's involvement into the international relations is not preferred because of the features such as weakness, sensibility, emotionality, and dependency that are believed belonging to women.[42]

Considering the theories and the practices of IR, gender is used in order to make masculinity and male-dominated mentality become dominant and legitimate in the field. Tickner asserts the androcentric structure of the discipline by stating that "Drawing attention to gender hierarchies that privilege men's knowledge and men's experiences permits us to see that it is these experiences that have formed the basis of most of our knowledge about international politics".[43] As a result of this, the most important actor is regarded as men and the most significant values are regarded as masculine values in the international affairs. Since women are unnecessary, inadequate and undesirable, the characteristics and behaviors ascribed to femininity are excluded from the discourse of

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[40] Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001): 5
[41] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 8.
[42] Ibid, 7.
[43] Ibid, 4.

the discipline. This is because "it is the only the 'feminine' emotions that are noticed and labeled as emotions, and thus in need of banning from the analytic process".[44]

In accordance with this criticism of feminist IR theory, the initial project of it is to expose the extent and effects of masculinist bias.[45] In this regard, it is aimed to reveal how constructs, practices and institutions that are associated with femininity are presented with a trivialized manner.

Second criticism of feminist IR theory as a continuation of the first one is that the discipline does not provide enough opportunity for women in order to take place in the institutions and practices of international relations. As a result of establishing a close relationship between masculinity and politics[46], the assumption that the political actor is constructed as a man underlies the Western political and philosophical tradition regarding international affairs.[47] Accordingly, the features that one has to contain in himself/herself in order to be successful in the international relations and global politics come into existence as associated with masculinity.[48] In the policies to be implemented in the international affairs, it is expected to act in accordance with male mentality and to behave proper for a *real* man.

Masculine and gender-biased structure of the discipline of IR has inevitably brought about the unequal representation of men and women in the international politics practices and international organizations. As is the case with discourses of the discipline regarding the frame of international relations, women have been exposed to discrimination in terms of the representation rate in institutions and organizations of international politics. The number of women in government staff and management unit of states is far less compared to the male population. When examined even the most significant institutions and organizations in the field of international relations, inadequacy of women representation and so female mentality is blindingly obvious. According to facts and figures announced by UN Women, since 1995 the number of women parliamentarians increased from 11.3 percent to only 24.3 percent as of

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[44] Cohn, op.cit, 242.
[45] Peterson, op.cit, 3
[46] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 8
[47] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2012): 39
[48] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Oxford: Martin Roberson Press, 1981):52.

February 2019. As of June 2019, the numbers of women who are Head of State is 11 and who are Head of Government are 12. All over the world, the number of states in which women constitute less than 10 per cent of parliamentarians is 27 as of February 2019.[49]

Moreover, the women, already existing in the important positions, abstain from giving an opinion regarding war, security and terrorism that are counted as the most delicate issues because women's opinion about these topics are considered as naïve, irrelevant and even ridiculous. In order to mainstream this argument through the discipline, it is dictated to all people and especially to women that international politics are so complicated, difficult and tough that cannot be comprehended by female perspective.[50] Because of the socially constructed female gender characteristics, women and femininity are marginalized and disregarded in the issues that matter for states' survival in international area. In a deliberative manner, "women in politics are channeled into certain arenas of public policy that are perceived as women's issues".[51]

The possibility that women become influential in positions which are assumed more important is relied upon their ability to get rid of femininity and behave like men. Considering the successful female politicians throughout the world, it is seen that all of them are described as "like a man" and their success are depended on the manly features and behaviors they have. While women politicians such as Margaret Thatcher, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Madeleine Albright and Indra Gandhi are the exceptions as influential female actors in foreign policy, it is a fact that they shined amongst others because of thinking like a man.[52] Eventually, the discipline of IR is conducted in a way so masculinized that the hierarchical gender relations become invisible and even normal. At this point, feminist IR theory deals with these hidden and rooted gender hierarchies in order to reveal how gender discourses cause to inequality in the representation of men and women in international politics as the second project to be achieved regarding the discipline.

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[49] "Facts and figures: Leadership and political participation", *UN Women*.
https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures.
[50] Cynthia Enloe, *Muzlar, Plajlar ve Askeri Üsler*, trans. Berna Kurt and Ece Aydın, (İstanbul: Çitlembik Yayınları, 2003): 253.
[51] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 6.
[52] Enloe, op.cit. (2003): 253; Atmaca and Gözen Ercan, op.cit: 22.

The third important criticism of feminist IR theory is the gender-blindness of the discipline and in this respect the third project becomes the reconstructing the discipline.[53] When considering the gendered structure of IR, it should be noted that not only women but also men are affected by this gender stereotyping. Since masculinity is constructed as "a source of authority", men as well as women must contain certain masculine qualifications.[54] When manliness becomes a measure to be a notable actor in international politics, women become unable to manifest their existence in terms of participation in international arena through both their opinions and also experiences. As long as women's opinions and experiences are disregarded, both the foreign policy administrations and academic workings in international relations will continue to be overwhelmingly male populated.[55]

However, it is almost impossible to end the discrimination of women and the marginalization of femininity in the discipline until destroying socially constructed gender stereotypes. When examined these criticisms of feminist IR theory, feminists point out the necessity of rewriting the experiences of women in the field of international relations, of re-analyzing all international economic, military, political and ideological processes on the basis of gender, and of reconstructing mainstream concepts and theories.[56] Feminist IR scholars advocate instead of taking some foundational constructs such as power, security, violence and dichotomies including public-private, international-domestic, anarchy-order for granted, these should be problematized in the discipline.[57] From feminist perspective, gender relationships have been established in every unit of global politics but "the study of international politics has traditionally been 'gender-blind'".[58] In this regard, feminist IR defends an attempt to *mainstream* gender into the construction of concepts and decision-making processes of institutions of the discipline by ensuring that, in advance of conducting any theories or practices, an

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[53] Peterson, op.cit: 5.
[54] Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex,* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953) **quoted in** Cynthia Cockburn, "Gender Relations as Casual in Militarization and War", *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no.2 (2010): 146.
[55] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 8.
[56] Özlem Tür and Çiğdem Aydın Koyuncu, op.cit: 11.
[57] Peterson, op.cit: 5.
[58] Andrew Heywood, "Gender in Global Politics", *Global Politics* (New York:Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 412.

analysis is prepared to reveal their possible effects on women and men.[59]   When the effects of the hierarchies of power based on-specifically-gender on the lives of women and also men are recognized, it paves the way for attempting to de-gender international system.

Nevertheless, from this point of view, the aim of feminism should not be only *adding women* to the already existing constructions and institutions in order to make women and femininity more visible in the international system. It is also not to change the masculine structure of the discipline with a feminized one. Rather, feminist IR theory should strive for demolishing gendered structures of international system and revaluation of the gender discourse.

To sum up, feminist IR theory serves for reconsidering the widely accepted meanings of concepts and issues of global politics and the practices and theories of IR with the aim of bringing about new perspectives and comprehensive analyses to the discipline. By embracing a *gender lens* in this respect, feminist IR theory deals with revealing gender biases that spread over the theoretical framework and key concepts of mainstream IR theories, and more particularly realism.

1.7.   FEMINIST CRITICISMS REGARDING THE REALIST PERSPECTIVE OF SECURITY ISSUE

It has been stated that the underlying factor of inequality between men and women in both discourse and practices of the discipline of IR is the masculine construct dominating the field. As for the most important ground to sustain and encourage this masculine structure is the realist assumption regarding the International Relations.

As is known, realism –and later neo-realism- declares its dominance as the most effective and accepted theory in the discipline. Realism is claimed to present positivist epistemologies[60] with using objective and scientific explanations regarding the behavior of political leaders, political communities, and the structures of the relations among political communities. In the most general sense, realism sees the world as it is rather than as it should be. Therefore, the studies of realist theory about the international

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[59] Ibid, 417.
[60] Gülşen Aydın, op.cit: 9.

matters concentrates on "'what is' in contrast to the utopian visions of 'what should be'".[61] Although realist theory, which is interested in only severe realities of the world, is criticized by other theories, there is not any serious opposition to preventing the supremacy of realism. Unless the antithesis are produced against the realist thesis on state, international relations and world politics, realism continues its existence as the mainstream theory in particular issues of the field. In this regard, feminist IR theory brings about serious criticisms towards realist IR perspective which is defined as patriarchal, state-centered and military-oriented.

However, the most important issue that feminism challenges realist perspective is the *security*. From the feminist approach, security is one of the most male-dominated and gendered field in which women and their problems are disregarded. As Blanchard states, "national security discourses are typically part of the elite world of masculine high politics".[62] So, how is the approach of realist theory towards security concept? Is realist perspective really a factor in perpetuating the masculine structure of the issues of discipline? In order to answer these questions, it is essential to analyze main principles and assumption of realist IR theory regarding security.[63]

Security is one of the most controversial and complex issues of the IR discipline. Each perspective has approached to the concept of security with its own point of view and explained it in this direction. Hence, there is no universally accepted definition of security. However, the mainstream perspective in security studies has been the realist perspective through the commonly usage of realist terminology and discourses. From the realist perspective, security is defined in terms of political and military values. In the anarchic environment of international system composing of sovereign and self-interested nation states, the concept of international security involves issues regarding mostly war and peace with a particular emphasis on military power.[64] As one of the first studies on international security, Arnold Wolfers shaped the classical security

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[61] Eric Blanchard, "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory", *Chicago Journals* 28, no.4 (The University of Chicago Press, Summer 2003): 1291. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/368328.
[62] Blanchard, op.cit: 1289
[63] In spite of the fact that realism is divided into different branches such as classical, structural, defensive or offensive realism, in this paper the term of realism is used in order to embrace all branches by covering main points.
[64] Ibid.

perception by defining security as the absence of any threat to the values gained by states.[65] Furthermore, security studies of realist IR scholars have been based on the assumption that "the protection of the boundaries and integrity of state against the dangers of a harsh international environment"[66] and in this regard feminist security studies have been developed around attempting to expand the concept of security beyond traditional realist perception. Nevertheless, in order to understand the feminist challenge of realism, it is essential to analyze main assumptions of realist security discourse and feminist criticisms of them.

Firstly, realist security perception is presented in the discipline by putting state in the center of studies. Realism characterizes the world order as a system of states contending for their own interests under anarchy.[67] Moreover, definition of the security concept considers state as the main actor and explanation of its components are regarded from the eyes of state. However, such a security approach which is customized according to state leads realism to disregard social relations, particularly gender relations, in national and international security discourses. In line with this problem, realists underrate or even ignore the role of other international actors such as local and transnational non-governmental organizations, and agency of individuals and their identities in the security concept. Since international system is defined as consisted of states in which "no children are ever born, and nobody ever dies, in this constructed world. There are states, and they are what it is"[68], realism does not deal with the association of internal structures and dynamics including individual, interpersonal or social relations within state.

By putting the state at the center of security studies, it should also be noted that states are considered as consisted of characteristics of human beings. In this regard, states are perceived as a person with his *(not her)* assumed interests, intentions, rational actions

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[65] Arnold Wolfers, "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", *Political Science Quarterly* 67 no.4 (1952): 485.

[66] J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001): 38.

[67] David A. Baldwin, "Neoliberalism, Neorealism, and World Politics", *Neorealism and Neoliberalism,* ed. David A. Baldwin, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993): 4; Barry Buzan "The timeless wisdom of realism?", *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, eds. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zaleweski, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 60.

[68] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995): 91.

and unavoidable end which is death.[69] Even if treating the state as a person is problematic on its own, the realist perception that what is human equals to what is masculine[70] makes this situation more complicated. The features regarding the state government and statesmen such as strength, power, and rationality are attributed to the masculinity so the states are expected to be governed by masculine leaders in a masculinized manner. In this respect, within realist theory, states have been framed in an attempt to bestow a privilege on men's ideas and experiences in both the discourse and practice of the discipline.

When examined the studies of founding fathers of realism such as Machiavelli's *Prince,* Hobbes's *Leviathan,* and Waltz's *Man, The State and War,* the actors who have the power in state governance and foreign policy are related to male characteristics while the issues which constitutes problems are associated with female features.[71] Furthermore, in the definition of state of nature, Hobbes directly points out the middle aged men as the referent object.[72] In the same manner, Machiavelli describes the malevolent goddess figure of Fortuna as the ultimate threat to the security of the state.[73] All these analogies consequently provide the basis for perception towards men as the only actor in international relations. Therefore, according to feminists, one of the major sources of gender bias in IR theory is perpetuated through the emphasis on males as citizens and political actors.[74]

Secondly, in Realist security studies, the source of insecurity in both national and international level are attributed to defective features of human nature and anarchic environment of international system. By putting the state in the center of analyses as the main actor, realism serves to indicate the ways that states pursue for power and secure their national interests against other states in consideration of an anarchic environment.[75] Therefore, the main aim of the states is to survive in this international system by seeking power in order to preserve national interests in the lack of any higher

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[69] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2012): 38.
[70] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 8.
[71] Tür and Koyuncu, op.cit: 4.
[72] Tickner, op.cit. (1999): 10.
[73] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Hackett Publishing, 2008).
[74] Rebecca Grant, "The sources of gender bias in international relations theory", *Gender and international relations*, (1991): 9.
[75] Tricia Ruiz, "Feminist Theory and IR: Feminist challange to realism and liberalism" (2003):3. https://www.csustan.edu/sites/default/files/honors/documents/journals/soundings/Ruiz.pdf.

authority. In this regard, realism argues the content of international relations is liable to take shape by- especially- two basic determinants which are human nature and the absence of global governance.[76] By putting emphasis on the assumption that human nature is selfish and malignant, it is asserted that anarchic structure of the international system provides a basis for individuals to burst out their state of nature. Therefore, anarchy not only enables but promotes the display of the worst aspects of human nature.[77]

However, feminists challenge this main assumption of Realism by problematizing "universal abstractions" of human nature. Rather, feminists leave the door open for "a more historical and cultural contextualization in order to understand the complexity of human agency adequately".[78] In this respect, feminist IR perspective criticizes the realist conceptualization of international system as an anarchic structure by claiming that anarchy itself is a masculine-constructed concept.[79] While realism ignores the possibility of resolving disputes and conflicts through different ways from military measures, feminism claims it is possible to build a security perception based upon on cooperation and reciprocity which would have an impact on both relations between states and also relations between people.[80]

Thirdly, realist theory leads the marginalization of women from security issue through creating a hierarchy between International Relations issues as *high politics* and *low politics*. In this manner, realists make a hierarchy among issues of IR in order to determine states' actions in accordance with the priority given to these issues in the international area. In this hierarchical categorization, "high politics" involves primary issues such as representing the state in the international level, signing international agreements, and recognizing other states. On the other hand, "low politics" composes of international activities such as supporting and organizing economic and social activities

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[76] Jack Donnely, *Realism and IR* (Cambridge University Press, 2000): 9.
[77] Ibid, 10.
[78] Gülşen Aydın, op.cit: 4.
[79] Marianne H. Marchand. "Different Communities/Different Realities/Different Encounters: A Reply To J. Ann Tickner", *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no.1, (1998): 202 **quoted in** Tür and Koyuncu, op.cit: 11.
[80] Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994):6-7

which are of secondary importance for states.[81] Moreover, there is a general view of Realist IR theory that approaching to high politics issues as masculine and to low politics issues as feminine. Therefore, realism values the fields described as masculine above other fields which are labeled as feminine. Security, in this respect, is regarded as one of uppermost issues in the field of high politics with its dominating masculine features. As things stand, high politics issue including especially security are constructed in a gendered manner under serious influence of androcentric perspective of realism.

Realism, which is a theory that preeminent, white and male dominates, does not see women as involving in high politics in the discipline so women are systematically excluded from this academic field.[82] Since the security is perceived as public and women are located in the private sphere, women, their ideas and their experiences cannot find any place in the conduct of international politics including security studies.[83]. The number of women who participate in decision-making and implementation of security issue remains very limited. Accordingly, security perceptions of states remain as reflecting masculine thinking. In her book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases,* which is a cult of feminist IR theory, Enloe stands out against the restriction of security to the high politics. According to her, women are excluded from security issue in spite of the important tasks and roles that women carry out in the background.[84] Even though women, who are charged with issues mostly regarding household, may have a chance to perform in important positions in theoretical or practical studies, they are not allowed to think as a woman.

Lastly, Realism reduces the meaning of security to pursuit of power for the sake of national interests of states. When examined the traditional realist definition of security, it is explained as protecting state borders with military and political means and ensuring state integrity against the dangers of a hostile international system in an anarchic world. In this regard, for realists, what is implied with the security is security of states and secured state is defined as the one that guards its physical and valued boundaries from

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[81] Atmaca and Gözen Ercan, op.cit. (2018): 24; Mustafa Aydın, "Uluslararası İlişkilerde Yaklaşım, Teori ve Analiz", *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 51, no.1 (1996):111.
[82] Ataman, op.cit: 23.
[83] Elshtain, op.cit. (1981):50
[84] Enloe, op.cit. (2003): 99-100

the anarchic structure of international relations.[85] In this perception, state security which is protecting its national interests to survive in international system has precedence over human security or environmental security, which is also challenged by serious threats to be considered. Therefore, from feminist perspective, realist security studies, dominating the discipline, become "dysfunctional" to deal with the issues about human and environmental security.[86]

Another important point in ascribing the provision of security to the state is that, in this perspective, states become responsible for protecting and securing their members and national values from any threat coming from dangerous realm outside state boundaries.[87] Through being in charge of ensuring the security of their nations, states remain their leading and dominating role in the international system. Since this responsibility gives states an irreplaceable and unquestionable role in security issue, states take for granted to perpetuate their masculine, state-centered and military-oriented behaviors. In this respect, states are rendered as "stable and masculine protectors" by "reifying themselves through performances of security".[88] However, this role of effective security supplier[89] given to states by realist thinking is strictly rejected by feminist IR scholars since it paves the way for states to maintain masculine meaning of providing security.

Moreover, in order to provide security of its borders and integrity from any internal or external threat, states are expected to attach great importance on the power, especially on military power according to traditional realist security perception.[90] Feminists criticize the realist focus on the *power* issue since they consider the power as a masculine concept. In this regard, feminists demand reconsideration and redefinition of power concept with a gendered perspective in order to reach an objective security perception.

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[85] Çiğdem Aydın Koyuncu, "Feminist Uluslararası İlişkiler Yaklaşımları Açısından Güvenlik Konusunun Analizi", *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 67, no. 1 (2012): 125.
[86] Atmaca and Gözen Ercan, op.cit: 26; Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 3.
[87] Blanchard, op.cit: 1289.
[88] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2012): 40.
[89] Tickner, op.cit. (2001): 62.
[90] Koyuncu, op.cit: 119.

Therefore, realist security perception can be concluded as that state, which is perceived as a male character, is put at the center of international system and provision of security is entitled as the main responsibility of the states. When state and security are conceptualized in a masculine manner from realist perspective, it becomes inevitable that a disadvantaged situation is prepared for women in the security issue. In consideration of an approach in which state security is given more importance than human security, while it is predictable all individuals suffer from this approach, it is an obvious fact that women become the ones who get the most damage.

1.8.   FEMINIST SECURITY THEORY

Feminist theory, which brings about a critical viewpoint to almost every field of the discipline of IR, aims at introducing a new dimension to the security issue by approaching from its own perspective. At the core of the analysis of feminist theory on security issue is the critiques of the assumptions of realist thinking regarding security. While severely questioning the realist perspective that shapes the classical security conception of the discipline, feminism maintains that contrary to what realists defend, there is a social dimension in addition to the military and political dimension of security, and that gender must be used as a unit of analysis in examining security.[91] In this regard, the state-centered security perception of realism is criticized by arguing that state security is crucial but it does not necessarily guarantee the safety of individuals and societies. Therefore, "no longer can state security be limited to protecting borders, institutions, values, and people from external aggressive or adversarial designs".[92]

Especially in the post-Cold War era, as a result of the change of bipolar world system and the increase in globalization, the emergence of new threats towards security of both state and individuals have revealed the limitations and deficiencies of realist security concept. In this new system which paved the way for critical approaches, it is asserted that national interest, defined as power-driven by realists, is actually multidimensional, and that military measures to achieve these national interests are not sufficient so new

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[91] Kimberly Hutchings, "1988 and 1998: Contrast and Continuity in Feminist International Relations", *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 37, no. 1 (2008): 100.
[92] Sadako Ogata and Johan Cels, "Human Security: Protecting and Empowering the People", *Global Governance* 9, no.3 (2003):275.

solutions based on cooperation and interdependence are necessary.[93] Therefore, the significant changes in both the nature of international relations and the context of security have led to the question of traditional security and the necessity of redefining the concept of security which has become one of the most debated issues of discipline.[94]

Critical approaches that base their ideas regarding security issue upon the questions including "who is secured with security policies?" and "security for whom?" focus on especially human security instead of "state's security" or "security for state" which are traditional answers of the discipline.[95] Due to these approaches that require human security for reaching international security, security studies of IR have been divided into two groups which dissent whether or not traditional context of realist security conception should be expanded.[96] Therefore, feminist approaches have taken the part of expansion side of this debate through their focuses on security threats encountered by specifically women.

According to feminist perspective, international relations have been diverging from its structure consisting of political conflicts between nation states and transformed into another system by new threat perceptions at the individual and environmental dimension. Feminists consider security as multidimensional and describe it as "a reduction in all forms of physical, structural, and ecological violence."[97] In this sense, feminists lead individual-based approach to gain legitimacy as a functional security concept in the discipline by focusing on human security rather than state security. In order to provide security in the global level, human security should be ensured in the first place. According to feminist IR theory claiming that "the personal is international and the international is personal"[98], behaviors of individuals and domestic politics of states are significant determinants of states' behaviors in the international system[99].

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[93] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 37.
[94] Koyuncu, op.cit: 120.
[95] Peter H. Liotta, "Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security", *Security Dialogue* 33, no.4 (2002): 474-475; Blanchard, op.cit: 1290.
[96] Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies? Politics and Method", *Mershon International Studies Review* 40, no.2, (1996): 229-230.
[97] Atmaca and Gözen, op.cit: 23.
[98] Enloe, op.cit. (2003): 252-53; Karen Brounéus, "Truth-Telling as Talking Cure? Insecurity and Retraumatization in the Rwandan Gacaca Courts," *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 1 (March 2008): 55–76, 60.
[99] John Hoffman, *Gender and sovereignty: feminism, the state and international relations,* (Palgrave, 2001): 102.

Therefore, the roles and experiences of individuals cannot be excluded from the international security issue.

Feminist definition of security, based on the criticism of the definitions made on the basis of traditional security concept, addresses the threats perceived by women in the individual-centered manner. Therefore, feminism looks for answers to the questions of "who is secured" and "what kind of threats"- that create controversy between traditional and critical approaches of the discipline- in terms of "women's security" and "threats perceived by women".[100] The threats toward security and dimensions of security that women confront within the family, within the state borders and within international system are different than those of men. Feminist IR theory argues that women usually constitute the most insecure, disadvantaged and marginalized unit of society in both private and public life.[101] Thus, the security requirements of women should be examined separately from men. The provision of women's security needs a multi-layered and multi-faceted analysis of feminist approach. According to feminists, there is a close association between public/private or national/international security threat perceptions. For this reason, all kinds of military, economic, and sexual violence must be terminated in all aspects of international relations for ensuring the safety of women.

Since achievement of global security depends on the relations of states with their local affairs and their citizens, women's security through absence of any threat or gender discrimination in the social level should be primarily provided. Nevertheless, the success of functioning such a security understanding which is based on women's security is rendered more complicated due to the masculine nature of the discipline. The inclusion of women's security into the security discourse of discipline is challenged by "the implicit genderization of the concept".[102] In this respect, the most fundamental theory that is criticized and one of the most basic concepts is security that is questioned in the security analyses of feminist approaches.[103]

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[100] Koyuncu, op.cit: 121-22.
[101] Elaine Boulding, *Cultures of Peace,* (New York: Syracuse University Press Boulding, 2000): 107; United Nations, *Women, Peace and Security*, (New York: United Nations, 2002): 4–5.
[102] Gunhild Hoogensen and Svein Vigeland Rottem, "Gender Identity and the Subject of Security", *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 155 (2004): 158. http://sdi.sagepub.com/content/35/2/155.
[103] Koyuncu, op.cit: 118.

Feminist perspectives are crucial in the discipline in terms of going beyond realism and its security conception shaped by patriarchal structure. In this respect, feminists seek for when gender is considered in the security studies, to what extent women's security can be ensured and to what extent it has impacts on achieving global security. As Blanchard points out, "feminist working on security issues have articulated a normative 'revision' of what security could mean if gender were to be taken seriously."[104] Therefore, it aims at investigating the philosophical, academic and political backgrounds of the security problems occurring on the basis of gender in order to establish an alternative security perspective through using gender identity. However, in order to understand security through gender identity, feminists claim that it is necessary to revise the underlying patriarchal tendency of the discipline by reconsidering every field of it, particularly security issue, from gendered perspective.[105] According to feminists, provision of national and international security can be achieved only if gendered hierarchies are demolished through a non-gender-biased manner.

The main criticism of IR feminists regarding realism is based on the assumption that "realism, dominated by elite, white, male practitioners, is a patriarchal discourse that renders women invisible from the high politics of IR…"[106] This assumption is maintained in the security issue by claiming that women are excluded and gender is disregarded from the traditional discourse. In this regard, feminist security theory takes realism to the center of its analyses with the aim of revealing the gender biased and androcentric framework of its core concepts.

FST, in this respect, shapes its studies on two important critical points which are the lack of women in the 'corridors of power' and the gendered structure within the discipline of IR itself. In the first point, FST focuses on increasing the political visibility of women who are considered as a group in the security issue. However, the aim of feminist approach is not restricted with only "strategies for getting more women access to corridors of power"[107] but also revealing gendered structure of IR. Therefore, the second point of FST is to contest with traditional security perceptions of the discipline

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[104] Blanchard, op.cit: 1305.
[105] Hoogensen and Rottem, op.cit: 166.
[106] Anne Sisson Runyan and V. Spike Peterson, "The Radical Future of Realism: Feminist Subversions of IR Theory." *Alternatives* 16, no.67 (1991): 68–69.
[107] Blanchard, op.cit: 1292

by focusing on developing a new security perception in which feminine values are also considered.[108] On the grounds of these main criticisms, as Blanchard explains "FST has subverted, expanded, and enriched notions of security…by making at least four theoretical moves." Firstly, feminists should question the lack of existence and involvement of women in conducting and decision-making processes of international security policies. Second issue to be questioned is that women are not adequately protected by the state in times of war and peace. Thirdly, it is essential to emphasize women's participation in the war and their support for war instead of necessarily association of women with peace. And the fourth is regarding questioning the recent assumption that gendered security approaches express only women's issues.[109]

To sum up, the security perception developed by feminism, which emphasizes human beings and humanistic values by criticizing realism that ignores individuals and especially women, aims not only to improve the condition of women but also to ensure the ultimate global security of the international system.

1.9.   CONCLUSION

In the first chapter, the foundation of feminist security perspective was introduced by explaining historical background and intellectual development of feminist theory, and by examining its criticisms towards realist security approach along with entrance of feminist thought into the discipline of IR. In the second chapter, the contribution of feminist IR theory regarding the position of women in the security issue through the transition from state and military based security understanding of realism into individual based security understanding will be analyzed. Especially during wartime, level of violence that women are exposed to increases and violence manifests itself particularly in the sexual way. Therefore, it should be analyzed the effects of sexual violence on whole society over woman body by means of the concept of gender. In this respect, it will be handled that using rape as a war strategy in order to destroy enemy in terms of physical, psychological and social.

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[108] Terry Terriff, et al., *Security Studies Today* (Polity Press, 2000):87; Tickner, op.cit (x)
[109] Blanchard, op.cit: 1290.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN AND CONFLICT

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this part of the thesis, firstly it will be studied how state-based classical security perspective, in which realist understanding is effective, is replaced with the new emerging human-oriented security perspectives. By examining the changes in meaning and scope of war along with the occurrence of concept of new war, it will be explained how civilians but mostly women are affected by these civil wars. The most irreparable impact of civil wars where violence is even exacerbated and manifested in many different forms on women and thereby on society appears as sexual violence. In this regard, after making definition of sexual violence, it will be dealt with the concept of rape as the severest form of sexual violence. Lastly, it will be emphasized on the use of rape as a war strategy, which has become important to be considered by especially the case of Bosnian war.

2.2. CHANGES IN SECURITY UNDERSTANDING

Security studies have an important place in the discipline of IR. The concept of security is a major topic that has to been analyzed principally in the scope of discipline. Even though security means that basic values regarding individuals, groups, or states are free from external threats, it is not reached an agreement based on choosing which unit of analysis. Therefore, how to deal with the concept of security has been controversial and problematic among different theories and perspectives in the discipline of IR.

As mentioned before, according to realist IR, which is relatively more dominant theory, the notion of security needs to be regarded as "national security", so the focus of analysis becomes the "state". While the extent of security is reduced to the security of state from the realist perspective, the contrary perspectives which use the individual level of analysis in their studies argue the importance of human security as an alternative view. For this reason, alternative perspectives use "individuals and groups" as the unit of analysis. In this regard, realist IR theory, whose main subject is the state and the object is state security, has been criticized by alternative theories in two points.

Firstly, reference point of security should be human and secondly, the main concern should be human security rather than state security.

In the discipline of IR, classical security studies dominated by realism had led the way until Cold War. After that point, alternative security studies have started to gain prominence as a result of changing international system. As a result of changes in the structure of international relations and changes in the extent and dimension of the war in the post-Cold War, concerns such as what security means, how security should be dealt with and security for what have been brought to the agenda. In conjunction with Cold War, that the concept of globalization has begun to gain a broad place in the international relations has led to way for in-depth analysis and radical changes in the security fields as such in economy and law. With the détente period of Cold War, disarmament between the US and the USSR, and the signing of agreements in this context emphasized the beginning of a new era in the security studies.[110]

The critical changes in the international system has also caused theoretical debates, which are known as third debate as it is mentioned in the previous chapter, within the scope of security issue. Third debate contributed to reconsider of security issue by encouraging diversity in perspectives which challenged the hegemony of traditional approaches in the discipline. In spite of the traditional perspective focusing only on providing security by assuming that there are security threats which cannot be eliminated from the international system; alternative perspectives aim to solve security problems completely by getting the root of the issues.

By means of alternative theories, a broader perspective and more common understanding have gained importance as moving away from the state-centered and military-oriented security concept. According to this understanding, one and only actor regarding security issue is not the state so individuals which compose the states and non-governmental and supra-state organizations which are influential in the international system should be considered. Therefore, it should come to mind that security means not only removing military and political threats that are able to destroy integrity and borders of the state but also eliminating all the threats risking human

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[110] Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies", *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no.2 (June 1991): 217.

security. While security perception of state means sovereignty and protection of territorial integrity, it is determined for individuals and groups as ensuring safety of specifically identity shaped like sexual, ethnic, religious.[111] In the 1994 UN Report, which be an indicator to show that alternative security studies started to assert dominance in the discipline, important points stand out against the traditional realist perception of security. This report focused on individuals rather than states as the reference point of security and takes non-military threats into account.[112]

Alternative approaches that have the common principles at the most basic grounds differentiate at the answers for questions such as "whose security?", "security for what?" and "security from what/whom?". Feminist security studies, as one of the alternative approaches emerging post-Cold War period, criticize taking state into consideration as the main actor of security since feminist theory believes that states represent certain gendered biases. As opposed to the classical security concept having its origins in realism, feminist theory creates a deconstruction process in which human security is the main concern.

2.3. NEW WARS: CHANGES IN THE NATURE OF CONFLICT

In spite of the fact that security has had great importance throughout the history of nation-state, one of the biggest reasons why the debate between state security and human security is so intense is the emergence of the "new war" concept. The term of war, traditionally used to explain armed conflicts among two or more states, has continued to exist in almost every period of human history. However, with the dissolution of USSR, the bipolar system, which dominated the Cold War period, ended and the new world order began to be structured under the leadership of the Western world and the USA. The elements threating the security have been brought forward as ethnic or religious conflicts, weapons of mass destruction, international organized crime, human rights violations, environmental issues and terrorism, so states have

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[111] Ole Waever, "Insecurity, Security and *Asecurity in the West European Non-War Community",* Adler, Emmanuel and Michael Barnett (eds.)*, Security* Communities, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 48, 67.
[112] Mohammed Nuruzzaman, "Paradigms In Conflict: The Contested Claims Of Human Security, Critical Theory and Feminism," *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 41, no.3 (2006): 285.

begun to fight against these new threats. Therefore, traditional front battles, which had been dominant in the discipline until that time, were replaced by a new form of war.

The concept of "new war" that emerged due to the end of the Cold War and spread of globalization was first used in 1999 by Mary Kaldor.[113] Kaldor, who defines traditional front battles as armed clashes that last in a certain time between states or military groups with the aim of conquering lands, claims new wars appear as a conflict generally in unsuccessful states by means of non-governmental actors and government networks.[114] Based on Kaldor's definition of new war, it is deduced that "There is a tendency in areas of new wars…for centralized authority to break down and be replaced by criminal networks, multiple armed authorities, corrupt practices, mindless local barbarity, population expulsions and an orchestrated politics of fear instead of civil security."[115]

The three major developments that give rise to the concept of new war are described as loss of state control, the asymmetricization of war, and the autonomy of forms of violence.[116] In this respect, the features that make new wars different from traditional wars can be listed in this way: Non-state actors are also involved in the conflicts, so it is in the form of a civil war rather than an inter-state war. The monopoly of using violence and force no longer belongs to only the states. There is an asymmetry or unequal power relations between the parties of conflicts. The finance of new wars is provided by the global economy, so that international organizations and multinational corporations, aiming to arise conflicts by taking advantage of the disorder and instability in the weak or failed states, sustain these wars financially in order to take the lead in the competition in the globalization process. These wars burst out because of cultural, ethnic or religious identity movements rather than political ideologies. One of the most significant features of new wars is that the distinction between soldiers and civilians is vague.[117] Therefore, it becomes crucial to discuss the security issue all over in the discipline as the traditional wars that are based on territorial dominance between two or more states or military forces under the control of states, and in which the distinction between processes of

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[113] Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999).
[114] Mary Kaldor, "The New War in Iraq", *Theoria*, (April 2006): 1.
[115] Christine Sylvester, "War Experiences/War Practices/War Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*
40, no.3 (2012): 488.
[116] Herfried Münkler, *The New Wars,* (Polity: 2005): 14-15.
[117] Herfried Münkler, "The Wars of the 21st Century," *IRRC* 85, no. 849, (March 2003): 7-22.

conflict and peace are obvious, and the scope of wars is limited give its way to new wars.

With the emergence of new wars, the scope, extent and consequences of the wars also changed. While interstate wars had given its place to civil wars, global conflicts had come to an end and replaced with clashes among different ethnic, religious or cultural classes within the states. Consequently, the blocs formed among states in the global scale have been relatively ended and more regional or small scale blocks have emerged. Nevertheless, as the wars coming out of states' control and the loss of the importance of traditional interstate war rules, the weapons and strategies used in the wars have also begun to change. The restrictions and limits on using violence or the actions that are regarded as war crimes have been disregarded in civil wars. In civil wars, the actors engaged in combats are not only different states but also civilians living in the borders of the same states. For this reason, the distinction between soldiers and civilians has become uncertain.[118]

As a result of destroying state authority and stability, state governors become unable to fulfill their basic responsibilities and duties in case of outbreak of civil war. The most crucial one of these responsibilities and duties is to protect civilians from the violence of war. All people from children to elderly, from woman to man living within the state become the actors and accordingly potential victims of wars as a result of the inability to control violence and to separate civilians and soldiers. In conjunction with the improvements in war technology, the destruction and destroying power of war increased considerably in comparison with the past. Therefore, it led to the conclusion that "the nature of the violence is a key indicator of the new war."[119] As the control of violence had been managed by the terrorist and guerrilla groups rather than the state itself, target part of the society for this destruction had become the civilians. Not only the soldiers fighting in the fronts but also the civilians had been involved in the war. Moreover, civilians that get involved in the midst of the ethnic, religious or class conflicts had become the ones affected most by the negative impacts of the war.

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[118] Michael Dillon, "What makes the world dangerous?", *Global Politics*. (Routledge, 2013): 547-566.
[119] Kaldor, op.cit. (1999):10 **quoted in** Sylvester, op.cit. (2012): 488.

Eventually, the victims of today's civil wars are civilians more than soldiers. Hence, the most defenseless ones among civilians are clearly children and women as UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict also points out that "the vast majority of casualties in today's wars are among civilians, mostly women and children."[120] That the use of violence is detached from the monopoly of state along with the concept of new war makes innocent civilians target of the violence as barbarity and destructiveness of wars increase because from now on, not only soldiers but civilian populations have been got armed and engaged in wars, wars are fought for the sake of ethnic, religious, cultural or national values, the period of war has been extended, the line between wartime and peacetime has been vague and war technology has improved. Even though a certain definition of civil war cannot be made or every civil war has different dynamics, the common point of civil wars is the fact that civilians are affected by cruelty, atrocity and torture more than ever before.

As an expected result of such an increase in security threats for individuals with the concept of new war, the perspectives putting human security forward have begun to gain importance in the discipline. These theoretical perspectives, in which human is the focus of analyses, differentiate at identifying the factors threating security and determining what must be done to ensure security. At the Table-1 below, extended security concepts are explained according to different perspectives which are separated in terms of their security conceptions.

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[120] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, (Department of Public Information, April 2013). www.un.org/preventgenocide/Rwanda.

Security Concepts	Indicated (Security of whom?)	Values At Risk (Security of what?)	Source/Sources of Threat (Protection from whom/what?)
National Security (political, military aspect)	State	Sovereignty, territorial integrity	Other states, terrorism (non-state actors)
Societal Security (social aspect)	Nations, Social groups	National unity, identity	(States) Nations, immigrants, foreign cultures
Human Security	Individuals, humanity	Survival, quality of life	State, globalization, global environment issues, nature, terrorism
Environmental Security	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humanity
Gender Security	Gender relations, indigenous peoples, minorities	Equality, identity, solidarity	Patriarchy, totalitarian/male-dominated institutions (governments, religions, elites, culture), intolerance

Table-1: Extended Security Concepts [121]

According to the alternative theories, that oppose classical perspectives which conduct state-level security studies by taking state as the main actor and national security as the main issue, since states act as the actual source of insecurity instead of providing security, states must not be taken part in the center of the analyses. Whereas classical theories argue individuals feel safe only if states are secured, alternative theories challenge this mentality. This is because the state itself may constitute the security threat while it is expected to provider and protector of the security of its individuals.[122] Therefore, considering the state as a threat to human security, individual-oriented studies must be conducted on in the discipline.

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[121] Hanss Günter Brauch, "Güvenliğin Yeniden Kavramsallaştırılması: Barış, Güvenlik, Kalkınma ve Çevre Kavramsal Dörtlüsü", *Uluslararası İlişkiler* 5, no.18 (Summer 2008): 11
[122] Fen Hampson, Jean Daudelin, John Hay, Todd Martin, and Holly Reid, *The Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002): 4.

2.4. THE CONTRIBUTION OF FEMINIST IR THEORY: THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER AND WAR

Feminist IR theory, as other alternative perspectives, opposes the traditional realist point of view that takes the state as the leading role in the security studies. Feminist IR theory, that had become a strong perspective by separating from other alternative approaches after 1980s, had brought a new point of view to the security studies by the gender-based analyses. Feminism, with its studies regarding security, aims to implement a deconstruction process in the discipline of IR. Feminist thinking determines the reference point of security as human and pays attention to non-military security threats. By criticizing traditional security definition based upon state and system, it advocates an individual-based description in line with security threats towards women.

The most emphasized concept in the feminist security studies is masculinity of war. From the feminist point of view, war is a social phenomenon and therefore it must include the individuals and their experiences. With the involvement of civilians in the wars, the relations of people in terms of socially, physically, psychologically, economically have also become the areas to be examined within the framework of the war. By considering the war as a social relation, it is deduced that war contains all features, which belong to the daily life, such as gender relations, economic parameters or technological developments within itself, and it has the power to influence, change or restructure these social factors.[123] On the other hand, although individuals, not only soldiers but also civilians, have become active actors of the wars, they are still not sufficiently taken into account in the security studies.

Since traditional thought within IR alleges that individuals do not play key roles and are not significant stakeholders in the crucial issues, people are condemned to be forgotten in the discipline.[124] When examined all wars that had occurred throughout the history and when considering the increase in negative effects of new wars erupting as from the early 20th century on civilians, the vast majority of civilian society damaged by the war has consisted of women. Therefore, the international security analyses in which women do not take part are doomed to be lacking. When it is aimed to create a drawing that is

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[123] Barkawi and Shane, "Powers of War" **quoted in** Slyvester, op.cit. (2012): 489.
[124] Slyvester, op.cit. (2012): 484.

lacking of women's experiences, the resulting picture come short of reflecting the facts.[125]

It is important to include the experiences of individuals in the studies of war and security, but it should not be forgotten that the war experiences of men and of women are not the same. It is a fact that war affects both men and women however women are more unprotected and vulnerable to these effects. As a result of gender inequality in the male-dominated societies, as in every social phenomenon, men are prioritized in the narratives, stories and heroic epics regarding the war. Moreover, the claim that the idea of war is mostly associated with soldiers and accordingly with men's experiences is reinforced. While women and children create the majority of civilians who become victims of war in the ratio of 90%, that women and their experiences of war are neglected in the cognitive and practical framework of the issue.[126]

Throughout the IR discipline, women, women's experiences of war and the effects of war on women are not adequately mentioned. By identifying with private sphere, women are excluded from the analyses and implementation of security issue. As a result of restricting women with private sphere and men with public sphere, all that is perceived as private, informal and hidden remain to be overlooked.[127] At this point, feminist theory concentrates on the ways of overcoming these suppositions threating the security of individuals but especially of marginalized and disempowered groups in the every field of world politics, including the war.[128] Moreover, feminism strives for the disadvantaged situation of women in order that women who are subordinated, silenced and even ignored are able to take courage to speak about their own conditions, problems and experiences.[129]

In the feminist security studies, it is examined in detail that the perceptions constructed upon the gender pave the way for that men have a voice in the field of security while

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[125] Ibid, 491.

[126] Nora Fritzsche, "The Construction of Masculinity in International Relations", *The Interdisciplinary Journal of International Studies* 7, no.1 (2011): 48.

[127] Marcia Millman and Rosabeth M. Kanter, "Introduction to Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science", *Feminism and Methodology*, ed. Sandra Harding, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1987): 32

[128] Lindsey Crider, "Rape as a War Crime and Crime against Humanity: The Effect of Rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda on International Law", *Samford University* (2012): 5.

[129] Heather Brunskell, "Feminist Methodology", *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. Clive Seale, (London:Sage Publications, 1998): 39.

women are excluded from this area by creating a hierarchy between men and women throughout the discipline. As Ann Tickner argues, war and national security are the areas in which women are not allowed to speak out.[130] The militarized definition of security, as a result of gender-biased analyses, grants privilege the masculinity and raises men to first-class citizenship as the providers of security.[131] Since the classical understanding takes the state security as the focal point and defines state security as protecting the borders, men become the supplier of security.

While women remain to be silenced, excluded and hidden in security-related matters by minimizing the roles of women in war, men become the key actors of the security owing to their politician and soldier identities during the war. Even if women are involved in war-related issues, they are not able to gain a title beyond a victim of male violence.[132] When examined the socially constructed gender concept, attributing masculine qualities such as strength, rationality and command to men render them warrior characters that are naturally prone to violence, on the other hand associating feminine features like emotionality, tenderness and motherhood, which are seen as insignificant and even dangerous for national security, with women leads women to be defined as incapable creatures that need to be protected during the war.[133]

That masculinity is extremely correlated with the violence and aggression of war is one of the main issues which have been criticized by the feminists. This is because masculinity and war continue in a cycle as two concepts that sustain each other's existence. Whereas war promotes masculinity, masculinity provides suitable bases for war. As Barbara Ehrenreich states, "men make wars…because war makes them men."[134] The point is that war serves as way of masculinity and as a proof of masculinity. In an understanding that not only perceives army and soldiers as security providers who are formed by only males, but also assumes these men have to have masculine characteristics, men need to behave as patriotic, strong and aggressive warriors.

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[130] J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Responses to International Security Studies," *Peace Review* 16, no.1 (2004): 44

[131] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 128.

[132] Fritzsche, op.cit: 49.

[133] Karyn Stapleton and John Wilson, "Gender, Nationationality and Identity", *European Journal of Women's Studies* 11, no.1 (SAGE Publications, 2004): 47.

[134] Barbara Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites*, (1997) **quoted in** Heywood, op.cit. (2011): 412.

In order to understand how masculinity is institutionalized in wars, the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is defined by R. W. Connell[135], is important in terms of representing the male dominance established over both women and also non-dominant men. The meanings that are socially ascribed to male and female individuals through the patriarchal system affect men as well as women. Since being biologically male is not enough, there exist some qualifications that need to be proved so as to be accepted as a man by the society. At this juncture, the term *hyper-masculinity* becomes significant as a quality that is highly difficult to attain. Not all biologically male persons but only a special minority of them may achieve this highest and dignified position of being a man. This position is so divine that it constitutes the most socially recognized and desired form of masculinity.[136] Thus, the concept of hegemonic masculinity presented for the sake of being "ideal man" does not actually correspond to the real personality traits of the majority of men. Still, this notion of ideal masculinity is created through various institutions and maintained through practices of these institutions.[137] In this respect, military is one of the most considerable institutions that produce masculinity and provide continuance of it.

Military service is not only limited to protecting the borders of the state in the event of war. It also serves as an institution that determines the relations of men and women with the state.[138] Militarized masculinity, as Cynthia Enloe maintains, that is generated through the norms of war demanding the actors of the combat to exhibit particular gendered behaviors and experiences[139] not only define the ideal man/soldier but also determine how women should behave during the war. Maternal and spousal duties already attributed to women in patriarchal societies turn into the responsibility of being mother and wife of the soldiers within the context of national security. Women, traditionally excluded from the war-related issues, are identified as reproductive machines whose the most important job is to give births to boys to fight as a soldier and

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[135] Robert W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept", *Gender & Society* 19, no.6 (2005): 829–859. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639.

[136] Connell and Messerschmidt, op.cit: 832.

[137] Egemen Kepekçi, "(Hegemonik) Erkeklik Eleştirisi ve Feminizm Birlikteliği Mümkün mü?", *Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 11 (2012/2): 77.

[138] Ayşe Gül Altınay, "Ordu-Millet-Kadınlar: Dünyanın İlk Kadın Savaş Pilotu Sabiha Gökçen", *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000): 270 – 271.

[139] Slyvester, op.cit. (2012): 498-499.

then raise these boys with patriotic ideologies.[140] By leaving them behind the front, women who are assumed as loyal, sacred and defenseless creatures are expected to take care of their children, family and home in the absence of their men.[141]

Feminist IR theory criticized the stereotyped masculinity and femininity which are adopted by classical security perspectives and are exploited with respect to the interests of this understanding. In this regard, feminist IR theory rejects the socially constructed gender roles that are summarized as "aggressive man" and "vulnerable woman" at the most basic level. According to this understanding that labels men as "just warrior" and women as "beautiful soul"[142], it is argued that men are inherently prone to fight and violence and in the same manner women are by nature pacifist and unable to survive in case of a war. Such a stereotype makes men brave soldiers providing security on one hand and makes women in need of protection on the other hand. Enloe, challenging this thesis imposed by traditional security approach under the influence of realist IR, explains how men and women are expected to behave in a presupposed anarchic environment in her book titled *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* as follows: A real man has to be a guardian and take responsibility of protecting weaks, women and children by suppressing his own fears. A woman, on the other hand, has to wait for her husbands, fathers or brothers with gratitude and hope while raising her children as a devoted mother.[143]

Feminist perspective challenges these notions of peaceful women and aggressive men which are products of a reductionist and essentialist approach.[144] According to feminist scholars, the distinction between biological sex and socially and culturally constructed gender is important in the war construction because the war itself maintains continuance of the difference between sex and gender. Sjoberg explains this situation as follows: If

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[140] Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Sociology* 19, (1993): 231
[141] Metin Yeğenoglu and Simten Çosar, "Savas ve Patriarka: Savas ve Barışı Yeniden Düsünmek," *Doğu Batı* 24 (2003): 211.
[142] Jean B. Elshtain, "Sovereignty, Identity, Sacrifice", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3, (1991):395–406.
[143] Enloe, op.cit. (2003): 42.
[144] Tickner, op.cit. (2004):46.

the gender hierarchy plays an inseparable role in triggering and producing conflicts, it is expected that conflicts have a crucial role in producing the hierarchy.[145]

Male dominance that is already existent in the society, and as a result of this, the oppression, subordination and subjection to violence experienced by women continue to exacerbate in the event of war. Since it is expected that women are in need of protection and men are responsible to provide security of women, the dominance of men over men and subordination of women by men become normalized. As a result of this, the violence committed against women is legitimized under the name of a war strategy or state policy. Men, who maintain masculine stance by avoiding compassionate, reconciliatory and emotional behaviors, are regarded as good warriors and take part in decision-making and implementation mechanism of war. In spite of this, even if women behave as pacifist as it is expected, they may not take enough part in peace reconciliation processes. The peace process is even gendered so is carried out by men. When women are engaged in the peace process, as Sjoberg puts it, their ideas are not taken seriously because as opposed to male soldiers women are not seen as shareholders of the war on the ground that they are idealistic or inexperienced.[146]

Thus by rejecting the gendered security concept, feminist perspective examines the gender dimension that underlies this concept. When considered from this aspect it is accepted that gender serves as a means of pressure on both women and men during the war. Men, who are reluctant to fight, are obliged to obey the behavioral patterns imposed on them by gender due to the charm of masculinity.[147] Some soldiers, who are expected to be aggressive, merciless and strong during the war, put that they had carried out violent actions in the war in order to exhibit the expected behaviors and to prove their masculinity in this way. Moreover, in order both to display the socially determined gender behaviors and also to meet the requirements of hegemonic notions of masculinity, Fatmir who committed aggressive and brutal action as a homosexual Kosovan soldier puts the followings: "Everything I did was in service to Kosovo. Sometimes that included things I am not proud of … but I had to do these things to prove I was a good Kosovar... It was harder for me maybe as a gay [man] but I had to

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[145] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2014): 163.
[146] Ibid, 74.
[147] Goldstein, op.cit. (2001): 253.

do [them] anyway … just because I am gay does not mean I [am] not a good Kosovar or a good fighter."[148]

On the other hand, women are not necessarily peaceful by nature. Although it is found reasonable that women, as the most affected by gender based violence and discrimination during the war, desire peace, there may be situations in which women take active parts in the wars and exhibit aggressive and cruel behaviors as opposed to what is expected from them. One of the best examples that women are not innately peace lover is the torture photographs which were taken by American soldiers during the invasion of Iraq. In those photographs, there were women soldiers within the US group torturing Iraqi people. Another point drawing attention in these photographs is that the Iraqi men who are tortured are forced to be look like woman. It is important in terms of showing how it is humiliating for a man to look like a woman and how it is necessary to display masculine behaviors for women to have a voice in an area dominated by men.[149]

Furthermore, as long as the masculinity is associated with being a warrior, the tendency of men to fight, violence and aggression will continue as a result of social pressure rather than nature. Likewise, as femininity is related with being pro-peace, women will remain to be excluded from the security-related issues and will continue to be seen as in need of protection of men. The reason that women are excluded from war-related issues stems not only from they are sensitive, weak and unable to fight but also from they are regarded as "national wombs" which are so valued that cannot be risked to lose.[150] Women, in almost every society of the world, are considered as beings that provide continuance of the families by giving birth and transfer the culture, traditions and customs of the family to the children. Therefore, the most important job of women in daily life is determined as providing care for their husbands and children. Moreover, within the national context, women become the actors that ensure the continuation of

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[148] Jamie Munn, "National myths and the creation of heroes" in *Rethinking the man question*, eds. Jane L. Parpart & Marysia Zalewski, (Zed Book: 2008): 154.
[149] Marysia Zalewski, "Feminist International Relations: Making Sense…", *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, ed. Laura J. Shepherd, (NewYork: Routledge, 2010): 33; J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists", *International Studies Quarterly* 41, (1997): 620 -621.
[150] Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women-A Feminen International Politics*, (New York: Routledge, 1996):145 **quoted in** Koyuncu, op.cit: 134.

not only the family but also the nation and that provide the transfer of national values and culture to future generations. Especially in patriarchal societies, since the role of women within the family is determined as home care, the status of women within the society is restricted with only domestic and private issues.

2.5. THE INSECURITY OF WOMEN IN PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM

It was already stated that the restriction of women with the private sphere during peacetime remains in the same way during wartime. The value attributed to women by the patriarchal societies, which consider women as the honor of men and as the source of future generations, is intensified when the war is arisen from ethnic, religious or national reasons. In this case, women play a divine role by being assigned to convey the ethnic, religious or national values, which are fought for, to the future generations and by undertaking the care of the home while men are waging war.[151]

Today, as a result of the transformation of war from interstate war to civil war, that the uncontrolled use of violence renders civilians main target affects women mostly. In civil wars which are fought for the sake of an ideology instead of conquering a piece of land, the symbols of protector man/in need of protection women become stronger. Just as one side sees the protection of women as the primary aim and even war motivation for securing and sustaining their own national values, the main goal and motivation for war of the opposite side would be to harm the women of the group it fight. Thus, that makes women, who are expected to be protected by men, open target of the war and the most damaged section by the violence of war.[152]

Women, who undergo various difficulties and experience different violence in every part of life, continue to be exposed to difficulties and violence in a higher level during the civil wars. When examined the effects of the brutality and cruelty of war on women, as the former UN peacekeeping commander Major General Patrick Cammaert puts that being a women is more difficult than being a soldier in the war.[153] Moreover, by taking women in its focus, feminist IR theory, which is interested in the emerging cases during

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[151] Stapleton and Wilson, op.cit: 47.
[152] Blanchard, op.cit: 1301.
[153] "Rape: Weapon of war", UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, https://www.ohchr.org/en/newsevents/pages/rapeweaponwar.aspx.

the war more than the underlying factors of war, has brought forward low-politics issues such as women's rights, migration, refugee protection, forced displacement and wartime rapes that are ignored in the classical security perspective. In this respect, feminism emphasizes on the direct and indirect violence that are experienced by the civilians- the majority of which are women.

Feminist approach questions the oppression of militarization on the identity of soldiers and accordingly on genders, and the use of violence and power by this way.[154] The gender based discrimination and violence against women in peacetime revive in a different form during wartime with the impact of militarized masculinity. As the extent and scope of war have changed, the area where the conflicts occur is no longer limited to the battlefields, but expanded to take place within communities, families and even on the human body. Nevertheless, feminist IR theory argues that even in the effects of war on women and men there is gender-based discrimination.[155]

According to feminist thinkers, acts of violence manifest itself through the ideologies grounded on power inequality and male dominance. For this reason, violence has a gendered structure. The common meaning of violence, which is dealt with in the security studies throughout discipline of IR, is not valid- or more accurately- not sufficient for women. The impossibility of ensuring a secured environment for women even in the case of disappearance of the violence, which is defined by the traditional perspectives of discipline, is a result of this reality. The security cannot be attributed to the end of conflict and violence from the point of women. In order to provide the security of women, it is needed to eliminate direct and indirect violence threating the survival of women. These direct threats are listed as the lack of safe working conditions, the danger of war, impacts of economic difficulties resulted from external debt or unemployment.[156] Galtung, on the other hand, expands the distinction between direct and indirect violence and analyzes the types of indirect violence as cultural and structural.[157] According to this distinction, direct violence is intended to do physical

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[154] Gizem Bilgin Aytaç, "Feminist Yaklaşım Çerçevesinde İnsan Güvenliği: Sivil Toplum Gözüyle Irak Örneği" *Kadın ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2, no.1 (2018): 10.
[155] Cockburn, op.cit: 145.
[156] *International Peace Conference of Women* (1985) **quoted in** Koyuncu, op.cit: 121.
[157] Johan Galtung, *Peace By Peaceful Means*, (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, London, Thousands Oaks, New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1996): 197.

harm. Through the direct violence, it is aimed to make a conscious and visible damage by a person or a group whom perpetrator is known.

Although it is relatively easy to identify and prevent the apparent reasons of violence, the more complicated part is to determine the invisible sources perpetuating the direct violence. It is not easy to observe, to analyze and to prevent the structural violence which does not have a certain perpetrator and not intend to cause physical damage. Structural violence emerges within the social structure and prepares unequal and discriminated living conditions for its victims. For this reason, structural violence has often more drastic and destructive effects than direct violence.[158] In consideration of these explanations, it is deduced that the most influenced ones by the indirect violence because of their both sex and gender are women. This is because the subordination of women settled in the male-dominated societies and in the patriarchal system leads women to be exposed to sexual and gender based violence in the wars. How women stay in the background in social, economic and political life by being subjected to the gender based discrimination in peacetime exists in the form of physical violence in wartime. Therefore, between the violence that women experience in peacetime and wartime there is a correlation, which is arisen from the gender based hierarchy.

Furthermore, the violence against women is a considerable problem emerged as a result of unequal power relations between men and women. It is a significant social issue violating the most basic human rights and freedoms of women such as living, health and nutrition, education, development and participation to social and economic life. Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women describes the gender based violence as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."[159] Thus, gender based violence acts as a type of violence that is disproportionally committed against women simply because they are female. Gender based violence, aimed at suppressing women and gaining

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[158] Ibid, 2.
[159] UN General Assembly, "Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women", (18 December 1976): 2. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf.

superiority over them, is occurred by the influence of the male-dominated social structure and is recognized by the society. The inequality in participation of women to education, workforce and decision-making mechanism also negatively affects their access to economic and social resources. Socially and culturally identifying women as weak and incapable, and identifying men as strong and brave render women unprotected against violence. Moreover, violence in the gendered order, where men are seen as superior to women by creating a hierarchy between sexes, is used to perpetuate unequal gender relations.[160]

Violence, appearing in many different forms in the society, poses a threat for everyone but impacts especially women and girls. According to the data derived from World Bank, the number of women in the 15-44 age range, who died because of violence, is generally higher than the number of women who died from cancer, malaria, traffic accidents and wars.[161] Although not sufficiently put on the records, the cases of violence against women are frequently encountered in many countries. The murder of baby girls as soon as they are born, dowry, bridewealth, domestic violence, the stigma and ostracization of widows by the society, violence against pregnant women, harassment and mobbing in the workplace, rape and penalization of adultery are the examples for violence against women that are differed and varied according to social and cultural values of communities.

2.6. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN WARTIME

Violence against women may take shape in the forms of physical, psychological, economic, sociocultural or sexual. The United Nations explains the violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."[162] Nevertheless, sexual violence, which has the capacity to create total impact and damage that are given by all other forms of violence by itself, is an issue that must be

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[160] Tickner, op.cit. (1992): 4.
[161] "World Development Report 1993 : Investing in Health", *World Bank Group*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
 https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/5976.
[162] "Violence Against Women", *World Health Organization.*
 https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women.

examined and prevented first and foremost for the safety of women. The actions taken place as sexual and gender based violence against women point to movements committed by force against one's will. Moreover, sexual violence is explained by this way: "any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work."[163] By taking these comprehensive explanations into consideration, it is also essential to note that one of three women throughout the world are subjected to sexual and gender based violence according to the statistics of Amnesty International.[164]

Gender-based sexual violence is used to suppress and control the ones considered as weak by the means of masculine and feminine identities, which are socially and culturally constructed. Sexual violence is a manifestation of the struggle for power and domination between masculine and feminine identities determined by the social and cultural perceptions. Therefore, it is essential to comprehend and accept that sexual and gender based violence is a way to reveal and maintain the subordination of women's status and especially the control of women's bodies as an inevitable consequence of gender inequality.[165] In this regard, sexual and gender based violence, in the most general sense, is the use of sexuality as a threat, intimidation and control mechanism.

Violence against women that are carried out in the dramatic extents even in peacetime reaches to more serious levels during wartime. Violence against women in wartime that are carried out in different forms may be listed as: "rape, forced sexual intercourse or other sexual acts with family members, forced impregnation, forced pregnancy, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, medical experimentation on women's sexual and reproductive organs, forced abortion, forced sterilization, forced prostitution, being

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[163] Rachel Jewkes, Purna Sen and Claudia Garcia-Moreno, "Sexual Violence" in *World Report on Violence and Health,* eds. Etienne G. Krug, Linda L. Dahlberg, James A. Mercy, Anthony B. Zwi and Rafael Lozano, (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2002): 149. https://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/full_en.pdf?ua=1.

[164] Larissa Peltola, "Rape as a Weapon of War and Genocide: An Examination of its Historical and Contemporary Tactical Uses, Effects on Victims and Societies and Psychological Explanations", CMC Senior Theses 1965, (2018): 2. http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/1965.

[165] Ursula Keller, "Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Crisis and Conflicts – The Responsibility to Speak out" (2008): 5. http://doc.rero.ch/record/232790/files/29-Sexual_and_Gender-based_Violence_in_Crisis_and_conflicts-DDC_2121.pdf.

compelled to exchange sexual favors for essential items or services, being compelled to exchange sexual favors for the return of children, being involved in trafficking in women, forced sexual slavery, being the subject of pornography, and forced cohabitation/marriages."[166] Moreover, in the report of UN prepared for the war-related sexual violence, this concept is explained as "rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilization, forced marriage, and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict."[167] Although it is deduced from this definition that men or boys may be exposed to sexual violence as like women, women are influenced by the sexual violence in a more violent and brutal way as compared to men.

Sexual violence, maybe the severest part of the war, appears mostly in the form of rape. In this respect, rape is one of the most significant matters that feminism has dealt with to make noteworthy contributions through its intellectual, social and legal aspects. Feminist IR theory asserts that rape, in the most general sense, is "a deeply entrenched social practice that both expresses and reinforces far-reaching inequality and oppression of women in our society."[168] That means rape is not only an act of violence but also a product of the patriarchal ideology, which is used by the sides of war in order to perpetuate gender inequality.

Rape in wartime is carried out differently in terms of the purpose and method from the rape in peacetime. When examining war rapes, some psychological explanations are made regarding why men commit to rape. Biosocial theory, the first one of these explanations, claims men are more inclined to rape they have more aggressive sexual urges because of the testosterone hormone than women do. According to this theory, men cannot control the impulses forcing them to rape so rape becomes inevitable.[169] This point of view that attributes the reasons of rape to the necessity of men to

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[166] Mary Deutsh Schneider, "About Women, War and Darfur: The Continuing Quest for Gender Violence Justice" *83 North Dakota Law Review* 915, (2007): 916-917.

[167] United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres, "Report of the Secretary-General on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence", (New York: UN Security Council, 15 April 2017): 3.

[168] Igor Primorac, "Radical Feminism on Rape", *Društvena istraživanja-Časopis za opća društvena pitanja* 8, no.4, (1998): 497.

[169] Jonathan Gottschall, "Explaining Wartime Rape." *The Journal of Sex Research* 41, no.2 (2004): 129-136.

reproduce and to transfer their genes claims that rape victims must therefore be in the appropriate age range for reproduction. Nevertheless, when analyzed the cases of Democratic Republic of the Congo, it was found out that the age profile of rape victims, exposed to gang rapes and serious genital harms in Democratic Republic of the Congo, is varied from 5 to 80. Moreover, the cases in Liberia show that half of the women aged between 15 and 70 were subjected to rape and other sexual violence during 1989-1997 conflicts.[170] In spite of these cases, biosocial theory argues rape is unavoidable during wars due to sexual desires of men. However, this theory, focusing on biologic and genetic reasons too much, disregards the sociocultural effects leading men to rape.

Furthermore, how social and cultural effects pave the way for rape may be explained through sociocultural context. From this standpoint, the cases of wartime rape mostly take place in developing countries in which patriarchal system prevails. This is apparently evident when examined the countries in which wartime sexual violence occur and that are listed by Mary Deutsh Schneider: "Aceh, Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Bougainville, Chad, Chechnya, Croatia, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of Congo East Timor, Georgia, Guatemala, the Gulf War, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kashmir, Kosovo, Liberia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Peru, The Philippines Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia refugees, South Africa, Sudan, Tibet, Uganda, and West Papua."[171]

Moreover, women are considered as inferior to men in those countries in which male-domination is prevalent. That men have more say than women in important areas of political, economic and social life is a form of violence in itself. Apart from this, the reality of misogyny normalizes the violence against women and paves the way for wartime rapes. Mackinnon, another feminist intellectual, asserts that wartime rapes should be attributed not to men's sexual drives but to desire for power and domination of them. In this respect, it is an unavoidable end that men, seeking for political power and hegemony, use rape as a conscious and strategic tool in wars just as in the case of Yugoslavia.[172] Therefore, it results in the strategic rape theory which is one of the most

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[170] Kylie Alexandra, "War, Society, and Sexual Violence: A Feminist Analysis of the Origin and Prevention of War Rape", *Hohonu* 8, (2010): 18-19.
[171] Schneider, op.cit. (2007): 916-917.
[172] Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Rape, Genocide and Women's Human Rights", *Harvard Women's Law Journal* 5, (1994):10.

efficient theories explaining wartime rapes. According to this theory, rape serves as a tactic by soldiers with the aim of deriving social, political and economic benefits.[173] Rape acts as a way to control, to suppress, to neutralize and even to destroy the enemy groups. Even if it seems to be an attack on individuals, it is actually an attack intended for the whole society.[174]

The most current case for the use of sexual and gender based violence is the exploitation of Syrian women by ISIS during the Syrian civil war. The threat posed by ISIS towards women was stated by UN Security Council as "in Iraq and Syria, sexual violence is being used as a deliberate tactic, saying these acts are war crimes, with claims that Daesh (Islamic State) in particular has created a 'theology of rape' including sexual slavery."[175] ISIS, which proclaims itself as the real Islam, strives for the creation of an ideal society through tyrannizer and oppressive rules but women are especially affected by the terrorism of ISIS. In the document named as Women of the Islamic State: Manifesto and Case Study, a guideline is designed for women under ISIS rule. This guideline serves as a book of rules that determines how women should dress, how women should behave in public, which punishments should be given as a result of breaking the rules.[176] Furthermore, ISIS has committed mass atrocities against women with political and ideological motives on behalf of Islam and Quran.

It not only uses women to obtain political and economic benefits but also it seeks for justification for sexual slavery and other forms of sexual violence occurred in wartime by referring to verses of the Quran. In this regard, women are exposed to rape and sexual violence in front of their families and society with the aim of dishonoring the whole society. Moreover, women are subjected to be held in detention centers as sexual slaves and to forced pregnancy with the aim of destroying social, ethnic and religious structure of the society by destroying the purity of their women. Women who are

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[173] Coleen Kivlaham and Nate Ewigman, "Rape as a weapon of war in modern conflicts: Families and communities are victims, as well as individuals." *British Medical Journal* 341, no.7771, (2010): 131.

[174] David M. Buss, *Sex, power, conflict: Evolutionary and feminist perspectives*, (UK: Oxford University Press, 1989): 150.

[175] Gill Hague, "Violence against Women in War and Conflict", *Middle East Research Institute* 3, no.1 (2016): 2. http://www.meri-k.org/publication/violence-against-women-in-war-and-conflict/.

[176] M. Ali, "ISIS and Propaganda: How ISIS Exploits Women", *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*, (2015): 10-11. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Isis%20and%20Propaganda% 20How%20Isis%20Exploits%20Women.pdf.

already confined and deprived of social life by the ISIS rules become more humiliated and stigmatized with the influence of patriarchal structure of the society when they are subjected to sexual violence and rape. Therefore, considering the actions of ISIS which are revealed in a widespread and systematic manner, these violence and brutality may be claimed to reach to the level of genocide or ethnic cleansing which constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity.[177]

According to traditional perspectives studying security issue, rapes experienced by women are natural results of the war. Classical security approaches aim to present wartime rapes as an inevitable outcome of war because of the wicked nature of men but the first cause is gendered structure of war. Militarized masculinity emerged as a result of androcentric system engrained in the military brings along the misogyny. Hatred towards women rooted in the social and cultural values of the community is one of the major factors leading men to use rape. In some cases, women may be subjected to rape simply because they are women even if they are not belonging to enemy group.[178] Rape takes its source from the desire for inflicting violence and gaining control. Therefore, rape is basically an act of humiliation than sexually having women's bodies. The relationship between the rapist and raped person is based on the fact that one of the parties establishes physical domination on the other, and the other one has to buckle under it. That men attempt to prove their power through the domination on women in such an androcentric system leads that women are oppressed, suppressed and controlled over their femininity during the wars. Therefore, wartime rape appears as the most extreme example of the gendered structure of the wars.[179]

Wartime rapes have occurred in almost every armed conflict throughout the history. Feminist thinkers have studied on the cases in order to demonstrate that rapes in war has been repeated in time. By dating back to the ancient times in which civilizations such as the Greeks, Romans and the Hebrews "tracing the capture and abuse of women", it is claimed that wartime rapes are as old as the war itself.[180] During the Crusades, the

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[177] United Nations, "Rule of Terror: Living under ISIS in Syria", *Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic,* (2014): 10.

[178] Ruth Seifert, *War and Rape: Analytical Approaches*, (Geneva: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1998): 2-5.

[179] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Cinsiyet ve Millet*, trans. Ayşin Bektaş, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010): 204.

[180] Elvan Işıközlü and Ananda S. Millard, *Towards a Typology of Wartime Rape*, (BICC, 2010): 16.

American Independence Struggle, the German invasion of Belgium in World War I, attacks of Germans, Americans, Russians and Japans in World War II, Vietnam War and Rwanda genocide, wartime rape was used as a tool and method by the parties included in these cases.[181] In all of those wars and conflicts, that millions of women from different nations were exposed to mass rape, repeated rape, gang rape, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy and other forms of sexual violence committed by soldiers and civilians proves sexual violence becomes a characteristic feature of wars.

Furthermore, sexual and gender based violence, which had continued since the ancient times, have not been adequately analyzed, and these actions, which have taken place in the form of rape and other types of sexual violence, have been normalized so this issue has not been considered as a primarily significant in the case of war. On the other hand, feminist approach handles the rape as a war strategy through analyzing its underlying reasons, aims, methods and result. From the point of this perspective, by dealing with the wartime rape in detail it is defended that acts of rape serve more than one purpose. Feminist thinking, perceiving the rape as an act intended for humiliation, subjugation and domination instead of forcing someone to sexual intercourse, emphasizes that women in this way are trivialized against men.[182] Since women are treated like a second-class citizen according to the patriarchal mentality of traditional approaches, they are not regarded as an individual and are perceived as the slaves in the service of men. Women who are expected to serve men in all respects, are also required to behave according to the sexual desires and commands of men.[183] In line with this mindset, feminist IR theory critiques the use of rape for sexual satisfaction of men during the war. Nevertheless, the use of women's femininity to appease the assumed innate sexual motive of men has become usual and common in the wars.[184]

That women's bodies are exploited to meet the sexual needs of soldiers while fighting has occurred in almost every armed conflicts. Furthermore, that rape serves for this

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[181] Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975) **quoted in** Çiğdem Aydın, op.cit: 129.

[182] Caroline No Moser, (2007): 7 **quoted in** Alexandra J. Hain, A Weapon of War: Sexual Violence against Women in the 1994 Rwanda Genocide (Thesis, Brussels School of International Studies of the Department of Politics and International Relations in the Faculty of Social Science, 2011): 4.

[183] Primorac, op.cit: 498.

[184] MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press., 1989): 135.

purpose does not result from the lack of authority in wartime but rather is conducted with the permission and control of authority. Thus, when soldiers fulfill their allegedly indispensable sexual desires by raping women, their motivation for fight are improved so their chance of winning the war is risen. Even if sexual service that is given to provide morale and support for the soldiers is distinguished from the act of rape, it also creates an example of sexual violence that forces women into prostitution. In this regard, women are asked to offer sexual service for the soldiers who are in the combat zone or waiting to be sent in the troops.[185] The fact that senior managers in the state administration and in the army are involved in actions of sexual violence because of those reasons does not succeed the avoidance of rape and penalizing the perpetrators, and further makes the conduct of rape for this purpose legitimized.

Considering women as an object for satisfying sexual needs of soldiers has led that women become subjected to the rape committed by their own army, own soldiers, own nation and even their own neighbors and friends during the war. However, women are targets not only for their own sides but also for the enemy group due to the same reason. When examined the male-dominated structure of the societies, that women are seen as the property of men allow for the inclusion of women into the spoils that winning party takes possession of all assets of defeated group or state. Soldiers view women of the enemy group as a spoil of war when they gain victory or edge over. Thus, women are exposed to rape with the aim of satisfying their sexual needs, rewarding themselves for the victory and also for demoralizing the enemy group who are already defeated. In both of two situations, women are, over their bodies, become a tool which is exploited, abused and attendantly used for the pleasure of men. That rape is thought as such a reward corroborates the argument that "women necessarily lack agency over their own bodies, because such agency is superceded by male entitlement to sexual access to those bodies."[186]

2.7. USING RAPE AS A WAR STRATEGY

Besides supplying morale for soldiers and demolishing the enemy psychologically, rape is used as a weapon of war. Although the occurrence of rape in war zones is not a new

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[185] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2014): 60.
[186] Petra D. Seawell, "Rape as a Social Construct: A Comparative Analyzes of Rape in the Bosnian and Rwandan Genocides and U.S. Domestic Law", *National Black Law Journal* 18, no. 1 (2004): 184.

issue, its use as a war strategy or a weapon of war has started to be regarded lately in the discipline. Especially mass rapes in Rwanda and Bosnia had revealed the fact that rape in wartime is used as a weapon just like tank, rifle or another military strategy. The concept of sexual intercourse without one's consent is emphasized in the stereotyped definition of rape but this explanation cannot be sufficient for the cases in which rape is used as a weapon and strategy.[187] Therefore rape does not only consist of sexually aggressive movement but it is also a kind of project, policy, strategy or agency in the military terms.[188] In the report of UN Action Against Sexual Violence, it is stated that "Rape committed during war is often intended to terrorize the population, break up families, destroy communities, and, in some instances, change the ethnic makeup of the next generation. Sometimes it is also used to deliberately infect women with HIV or render women from the targeted community incapable of bearing children."[189]

Furthermore, rape carried out during the war, which is an extension of political sphere, has political and military dimensions. Wartime rapes are applied both as a form of sexual violence and as a method of torture and murder for succeeding in political objectives.[190] Even though women are exposed to many different versions of sexual violence during the war, systematic mass rapes are no longer a part of ordinary process of war so they serve for specific military and political purposes. Thus, it is "not exclusively an attack on the body--it is an attack on the 'body-politic.'"[191] It is considered as a weapon of war because there is political and/or military aims underlying implementation of sexual violence.[192] With the intention of disrupting the structure of the community and damaging moral values of society through conducting torture and insult on women and their families, systematic and mass rapes are used as a tool of

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[187] Peltola, op.cit: 2.
[188] MacKinnon, op.cit. (1994): 8.
[189] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." *Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations,* (Department of Public Information, April 2013): 1.
[190] Inger Skjelsbaek, "Sexual Violence in Times of War: A New Challenges for Peace Operations", *International Peacekeeping* 8, no.2, (2001): 69-84.
[191] Cassandra Clifford, "Rape as a Weapon of War and its Long Effects on Victims and Society." *The Foreign Policy Association*, (New York, 2008): 3.
[192] Robert Last, *An Examination of the Usage of Systematic Sexual Violence as a Weapon of Warfare and Tool of Repression in Non-International Armed Conflicts*. (University of Nottingham, 2000).

military strategy, a weapon of war and a way of destruction.[193] Wartime rapes act as a means of war against opposing groups, nations and also ideologically women as a whole. Rape is an effective way to demoralize, dehumanize and punish all the members from every level of the society. Wartime rape, dictated to soldiers by their commanders on purpose, is a well-organized, coordinated, legitimate, and violently efficient way of carrying on warfare.[194] Therefore, the message that there is no limit to what they can do to win the war is meant to be given to the men of enemy group through raping their women in a systematic and strategic way.

Moreover, it is aimed for the enemy to be weakened, defeated and even disappear by creating a terror environment and spreading fear among people. Rape, which is appealed to in line with this purpose, may reached to the level of genocide. When examined the cases of mass rapes used as a tool for carrying out genocide throughout the history, the numbers are terrifying in the emergent picture. According to UN-sourced reports; "In Rwanda, between 100,000 and 250,000 women were raped during the three months of genocide in 1994, more than 60,000 women were raped during the civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002), more than 40,000 in Liberia (1989-2003), up to 60,000 in the former Yugoslavia (1992-1995), and at least 200,000 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since 1998."[195] By imposing torture and disgrace on enemy group or society in a systematic way through mass rapes as a military objective, rape becomes to function to exterminate all civilian community from a determined area.

The reason that women are selected as the target group for the attack against enemy is the sphere of influence of these attacks is not limited to only women but to a much more extended group including women's families, friends, neighbors and to conclude their communities. Therefore, the terror and atrocity environment based on the strategically sexual assaults on women and girls is actually designed to have influence over entire

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[193] Ursula Keller, "Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Crisis and Conflicts – The Responsibility to Speak out" (2008): 2. http://doc.rero.ch/record/232790/files/29-Sexual_and_Gender-based_Violence_in_Crisis_and_conflicts-DDC_2121.pdf.

[194] Jonathan Gottschell, "Explaining Wartime Rape", *The Journal of Sex Research* 41, no.2 (2004): 131.

[195] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, (Department of Public Information, April 2013): 1. www.un.org/preventgenocide/Rwanda.

society.[196] The goal is to hurt the society over women's bodies. Because of this reason, it is not aimed to give a physical damage to women but to cause permanent damages by going through to the level of disrupting social and cultural structure. In this way, these actions, which threaten the security of society by primarily removing individual security, are so effective in creating more terror and fear than other techniques of war such as killing and torture.

The impact of rape is more devastating and permanent in especially patriarchal societies. The preconceived opinion regarding inability of women and protectiveness of men in the patriarchal social structure leads the way for use of rape as a war weapon. Due to the traditional and conservative features of these societies, women who are conceived as "national wombs" and placed in a sacred position have a key role in transferring cultural and social values to the next generations.[197] The perception that women are socially sacred since they ensure the continuation of generations and the transfer of values and on the other hand the attribution of women with feminine features such as sensitive, weak and emotional lead to the conclusion that men should take care of women much more in the wartime. When women are in the position of actors who provide reproduction of families and raise the future generations, this position turns into the source of next generations of the nation in the national scope. Therefore, women, who are the honor of the family in peacetime, become the honor of all nation in wartime. By creating the stereotypes of "polluted women" and "emasculated men" based on this, it is intended to destroy social relations of target society.[198] Gendered perceptions as "female purity" and "masculine protection" underlying patriarchal mentality, which causes war rapes to be used as an effective psychological weapon, are revealed repeatedly.[199] While men fight for power among themselves, arguments that the protection of women should also be provided by men are supported in these cases.

Furthermore, according to this understanding, which stereotypes women as the property of men, the damage given to women by raping them actually acts as a damage to

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[196] *Voices on Genocide Prevention: Gender-based violence and genocide*, (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009) **quoted in** Alexandra Hain, "Weapon of War: Sexual Violence against Women in the 1994 Rwanda Genocide", (PhD diss., University of Kent, 2011): 7.
[197] Pettman, op.cit: 145.
[198] Brownmiller, op.cit. (1975): 31–40.
[199] Peltola, op.cit: 25-26.

manliness of men. Rape acts as a language of male domination without regarding the differences in social, cultural or national values in order to give a message for describing who should protect and who should be protected.[200] The feeling that they are condemned to lose the war is tried to be awakened by demonstrating that they are incapable of protecting even their women. The acts of rape are assigned to create fear and terror environment, to break the civil resistance among people, and to discourage, dishonor and emasculate the enemy soldiers by proving their inefficacy to fulfill the most crucial responsibility, which is to protect their women.[201] It is desired to create a psychological pressure on the soldiers by hurting them over their vulnerable points. The feeling that men are not able to protect the women makes them weaker. These systematic mass rapes become more humiliating and insulting especially when they are carried out in front of the public. Therefore, the notion of emasculated men is created by debarring them from helping and protecting the wives, lovers, mothers, daughters or sisters of soldiers. As a consequence, even if the war is won for men who cannot protect their women from this torture, their dignity is so damaged that it is hard to be repaired.

Moreover, in her book entitled as "Gender, War and Conflict, Laura Sjoberg explains the issue of masculinization and feminization in war and conflicts in this way: If it is benefited from some idealized militarized conception of masculinity to encourage men to fight, war may be accepted as a practice of masculinization… That the winner becomes masculinized brings along the feminization of the loser. What is meant with the concept of feminizing is repressing or insulting individuals, groups, nations, states or ideas by associating them with values considered as feminine. If the success in battle confirms the masculinity of winner, thereby femininity of the ones defeated by the winner is confirmed.[202] Therefore, because of the gendered structure of war, the parties try to be masculinized themselves while the opposite party is aimed to be feminized. In order to gain an advantage over the enemy, the power hierarchy between masculinity and femininity is used as a tool. The point is that it is purposed to masculinize their own group by adopting features such as strong, fighter and brave, while feminizing the

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[200] H. Münkler, op.cit. (2005): 143.
[201] Gottschell, op.cit: 131.
[202] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2014): 107-108.

enemy group. Moreover, feminizing the enemy group causes the rape to be used as a tool for vanquishing the enemy.

Especially in the civil wars, which are resulted from ethnic, national or religious reasons and are consisted of civilians mostly, rape is conducted on with a more critical goal with the increase in violence since it is a matter of point to win these wars. The underlying reason of it is that the aim of civil war is not conquering a territory as like in traditional wars but exterminating the opposing groups for the sake of preserving their own ethnic, national or religious values. It becomes so crucial to destroy social and cultural bonds of the enemy community and to pollute the ethnic purity.[203] In this way, a homogeneous atmosphere, in which the values of one group are dominant, is created. For this reason, the use of rape turns into an efficient war strategy. Since rape is the most brutal, severe and degrading assault that can be carried out towards women and community of these women, it is a demonstration of how the barbarity of war- with its irreparable damages, perpetrates into the daily life. In this respect, the dignity and honor of the society are trampled on by implementing violence towards women in the forms of sexual violence and mass rape.[204]

Furthermore, rapes, committed with the aim of dishonoring and disgracing the entire nation, deeply damage the feeling of unity and solidarity of people through causing victimized women to be shamed, ostracized and stigmatized by notably their family and the whole society, for whom sexuality is taboo and the privacy of women is sacred. That women are attacked over their gender and gendered identity of "mother of nation and producer of future generations" means not only the pollution of the honor of women but also the pollution of ethnic purity of the whole society. Consequently, rape does not only harm women physically but also causes physical, social and psychological damages on both women and the society they are belonged to.

2.8. CONCLUSION

To conclude, while wars do harm on every individual of the society in terms of the effects it creates, women are unfortunately most likely to suffer from this harm. Sexual

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[203] Claudia Card, "Rape as a weapon of war", *Hypatia* 11, no. 4, (1996): 6.
[204] Bülent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen, "Becoming Abject: Rape as a Weapon of War", *Body & Society* 11, no.1, (SAGE Publications, 2005): 111–128.

violence, which is based on obtaining hegemony and power over the women's body by benefiting from the gender concept, has not been abstained from using as a cruel weapon against enemy in wartime. The use of rape as a war strategy with the intention of hurting the whole society, destroying social ties and cultural values, and polluting the ethnic purity that is fought for is obviously seen in the Bosnian war where Serbian soldiers performed systematic rapes, mass rape camps and other forms of sexual violence against Bosnian Muslim women. The explanation of this issue through the Bosnia case will help to demonstrate how rape is crucial not to be disregarded in the discipline of IR.

CHAPTER 3

THE USE OF RAPE AS A WAR STRATEGY IN BOSNIAN WAR

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, it was mentioned that, with transition in the nature of war as a result of the changing in international system, traditional interstate wars taking place in the fronts ended and civil wars taking place among groups within the state begun. The ones who were the most adversely affected by this radical change had been civilians inarguably. By disregarding the rules of war applied in traditional wars and by participating not only soldiers but all armed civilians to the wars, bloody civil wars had occurred. Since the main aim is not conquering a territory or getting the spoils of war but protecting their values and ideas, especially in civil wars arisen from national, religious or ethnic grounds, all civilians regardless of young-elderly or male-female had been subjected to violence.

In order to understand civil wars, it is essential to understand how the ideology of nationalism had been risen. The foundation of nation-states as a historical process since the 16th century; the end of Cold War with the demolition of Berlin wall, and the disintegration of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia increased the number of nation-states and made the nationalism more significant. In this regard, underlying factors of the crisis occurred with the disintegration of Eastern Bloc may be attributed to the very advanced level of the ideology of ethnic nationalism.[205] With the death of Tito, Yugoslavia which had lost the most important unifying factor started to disintegrate and Serbians who had had the idea of 'Greater Serbia'[206] started to adopt ethnic nationalism. In this respect, ethnic nationalism, which began to gain importance in international area in 1990s, presented one of the most extreme examples in the Bosnian war.

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[205] Muhittin Tataroğlu, "Siyasi Entegrasyon ve Etnik Milliyetçilik", *Journal of Social Sciences* 1, no.8, (2004): 215.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/279746937_Siyasi_Entegrasyon_ve_Etnik_Milliyetcilik.
[206] *Greater Serbia* is a term used for radical movements in Serbian nationalism. The term refers to main goal of Serbians which is to unite all Serbs within one state or to include all territories in which Serbians constitute only the minority to this state through an expansionist approach.

Ethnic nationalism is used for continuing and popularizing the existence of ethnic identities of groups. Due to this reason, ethnic nationalism involves the notion of 'us' and 'others'. For the ideology of ethnic nationalism, erasing or disabling the existence of others who are regarded as enemy is a way of demonstrating their own nationalism. Therefore, in the Bosnian civil war, engaged in the name of ethnic nationalism, one group who is intended to defeat, to displace or to kill other groups resorts to ethnic cleansing as a way for achieving its aims. In this context, rape appears as one of the most effective weapon of ethnic cleansing.

3.2. BRIEF HISTORY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been involving distinctive historical characteristics due to its geopolitical features shaped by its natural borders and population comprising of different ethnic and religious groups. It is located in the southwest of the Europe and in the northwest of the Balkan Peninsula. It is surrounded by Croatia in the north and west, by Serbia in the east and by Montenegro in the southeast. Bosnia and Herzegovina contains a community who are from different religious such as Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim but they are mostly Slavic people. Bosnia has served as a region in which three different national groups- Bosnians, Serbs and Croatians- who are differentiated according to ethnic and religious factors have been settled throughout the history. According to population census results carried out in Bosnia in 1991 April, it was put forth that 44% of the population was comprised of Muslim, 31% of it was Serb, and 17% of it was Croat.[207]

The southerly migration of Slavs into the Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries is regarded as a turning point for the Bosnia to be shaped in the historical process. That Slavs started to settle into Balkan regions through these migration movements refers also beginning of the internal turmoil and regional disputes that would have continued for long years and reached to the higher levels in the future. In spite of the fact that all Bosnians living in Bosnia and Herzegovina have Slavic origins with regardless of other

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[207] "Bosnia-Herzegovina", *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.*
https://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/cases/bosnia-herzegovina.

titles given to them, they are subjected to a sharp division within themselves on the ground of religious reasons.[208]

Until the occupation of the Ottoman Empire which is a turning point of the history of Bosnia it was ruled by Christian Kings as a state. At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was comprised of three major communities which are Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croatians and Bogomils.[209] However, subsequent to the Ottoman control in the region, the process of Islamization started. Therefore, Balkan countries became acquainted with the Islam through the effect of Ottoman Empire. However, the process of Islamization in the Balkans has been one of the ongoing debates regarding the history of region. There are still disagreements whether Islam was enforced suddenly or it was adopted in the long term. On the one hand some historians argue that Islam was imposed by force by Ottomans in order to maintain its existence and dominance in the region.[210] On the other hand, some other historians assert that the process of Islamization among Balkan countries occurred with the consent of people. According to latter argument, even though the Ottomans did not force people to choose Islam, people converted their religion in order to have better career opportunities which were appropriate for only Muslims and to have economic and political privileges which were mostly allocated for Muslims.[211] As a result of these, with the beginning of 17th century, the majority of people living in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina became Muslim.[212] These Slavic people living in Bosnia and becoming Muslim were called as Bosniak under the Ottoman rule. In this regard, Bosniaks gained so many social, economic, political and military status and privileges over rest of the Bosnian population who were non-Muslim.[213]

Furthermore, in the early 19th century, nationalism emerged in France and Germany had started to spread rapidly throughout the Balkan Peninsula. In this respect, in the mid of

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[208] Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History,* (1994) **quoted in** Cynthia Cockburn, T*he Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflic*t, (London: Zed Books, 1998): 28   Gülen.
[209] John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 14-18.
[210] David Anderson, *The Collapse of Yugoslavia: Background and Summary*, (Department of Parliamentary Library, 1995): iiiv. https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/rp/1995-96/96rp14.pdf.
[211] Halil İnalcık, "The Meaning of Legacy: The Ottoman Case", in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle* East, ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 24.
[212] Anderson, op.cit. (1995): 2.
[213] Ibid.

19[214] century Christian identity and nationalism gained prominence again. While in the north and west Croatian identity was glorified by the Slavic population, in the south and east Slavs identified themselves as Serbs.[214] With the rise of nationalism and Christianity, Slavs who developed a strong desire to constitute their national unity started to take action against the Ottoman rule. In this context, the war launched by Serbia and Russia against the Ottoman Empire led Bosnia to be a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore, 400 years of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia ended by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austria-Hungary Empire which had been lasted until the end of the First World War.[215] In this new administration controlled by Austria-Hungarians, Bosniak population started to lose their privileges that were gained in the Ottoman era.[216] Moreover, a serious political polarization among different political parties who belonged to different ethnic, religious or national groups occurred in this era with the intention of protection of different benefits of Serbs, Muslims or Croats.

With the collapse and disintegration of Austria-Hungary Empire at the end of First World War, Yugoslavia was established as a new state with participation of Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia.[217] Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded not as a nation-state but rather as the common homeland of three groups who were Bosnian, Serb and Croatian. The census which was carried in 1921 revealed that there are 12 groups having a population of over 10,000 and speaking separate languages in this region.[218] This result was important in terms of understanding the diversity of population in Yugoslavia.

The population structure contained a mix of different ethnicities which were Jews, Germans, Hungarians and Roma. The majority of population comprised of Bosnian Orthodox and Bosnian Catholics but Bosnian Muslims, on the other hand, was the only

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[214] Cockburn, op.cit. (1998): 28.

[215] Hüseyin Bağcı, "Bosna-Hersek: Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Anlaşmazlıklara Giriş", *DTCF Journal* 16, no.27, (1994): 257.

[216] Neşe Özden, "A Few Remarks on the History of Bosnia", *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Merkezi Dergisi* no.21, (2007): 61.

[217] Karin Oellers-Frahm, "Restructuring Bosnia-Herzegovina: A Model with Pit-Falls", *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* 9 no.1, (2005): 180-181.

[218] Altay Ünaltay, *Postmodern Ortaçağ,* (İstanbul:Birleşik Yayıncılık, 1996): 37.

largest unit of the community.[219] Although there were a significant ethnic mix, it was still hard to distinguish themselves by physical features. The differences were in spoken dialect, religious and cultural values, and social classes. Moreover, the competition for predominance continued between Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs and Bosnian Muslims.

After the occupation of Hitler-led Germany in 1941, which was defined as the "the cruelest of all the internecine wars that would torment Europe during the Hitler years"[220], Yugoslavia revived as a federal republic with the notion of unity and peace instead of rivalry and dispute which dominate its political life. Therefore, the concept of national unity was abandoned but the state idea was maintained. Furthermore, at the end of the Second World War, a new state was found as Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia including Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Slovenia under a new constitution ruled by Tito.

The new state was designed as a federal state in which there were six republics and two autonomous provinces. The communist administration under the rule of Tito strived for creating a unity in the community and state by ending the division and rivalry between the ethnic groups. One of the most important policies supported by the Tito administration in order to ensure the peace and unity in the society was intermarriages which were between different ethnic groups. However, this aim that was tried to achieve in Tito's era was discarded when fundamental issues ingrained historically in this region emerged again in the wake of Tito's death in 1980.

Furthermore, with the death of Tito, the multinational federal structure of Yugoslavia has been come under the influence of nationalistic ideology.[221] The independence movements which were emerged after the dissolution of USSR in the beginning of 1990s due to the nationalistic ideology started to spread through Balkans region. Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic who was one of the most fervent proponents of ethnic nationalism claimed the supremacy of Serbs over all other ethnic groups living under the federation. According to Milosevic, the collapse of Yugoslavia was attributed

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[219] Cockburn, op.cit. (1998): 29.
[220] Anderson, op.cit. (1995): 3.
[221] Şule Kut, *Foreign Policy* 1, no.3, (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi): 26.

to ethnic issues which were based on other ethnic groups so the Serbian unity against ethnic others was advocated.[222]

During this disintegration process of Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina had struggled with some difficulties. The heterogeneous structure of Bosnia had made it even harder to overcome this process. In this context, Bosnia-Herzegovina had been expected to make a choice between declaring independency and staying dependent on Yugoslavia federation.[223] Consequently, Bosnian parliament held a referendum in 1992 which officially declared the foundation of an independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the other hand, the result of this referendum was resisted by Bosnian Serbs and another referendum was held in order to ensure dependency of Bosnia on Yugoslavia.[224] For the sake of this aim, Bosnian Serbs, which were encouraged by Milosevic, had started to attack against their arch-enemy Bosnian Muslims. These attacks that were initially started as an aggressor reaction towards the foundation of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina had been in time converted to a conflict full of cruelty and violence occurred between Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Serbs during the years between 1992 and 1995.

When it is analyzed to understand the underlying reasons of this war, several theories and arguments have been revealed. On the one hand, it is argued that the main reason was the competition among the big powers to have control and dominance over the Balkans countries under cover of nationalist ideology. On the other hand, it is argued that the main reason of this war is attributed the historical hostility rooted in ethnic differences in the region.[225] However regardless of what are the underlying factors of this war, it is an obvious fact that it resulted in highly painfully manner with regard to Bosnian Muslims.

The war had come to the end with the intervention of international community and signing the Dayton agreement in 1995. However until this agreement, hundreds of

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[222] Carol Rittner and John K. Roth, *Rape: Weapon of War and Genocide,* (Minnesota: Paragon House, 2012): 45-47 **quoted in** Peltola, op.cit: 7.
[223] Anderson, op.cit. (1995): 12.
[224] Geoffrev Nice and Nevenka Tromp, "Bosnia-Herzegovina", *The United Nations Security Council in the Age of Human Rights*, ed. Genser J. (Cambridge University Press, 2016): 293.
[225] Yasin Şafak, "Bosna Savaşı ve Yugoslavya'nın Parçalanması", (Thesis, Kadir Has University, 2010): 93-94.

thousands people had died, and the survivors and next generations had had to live with these traumatic memories and anguished history inherited by violent armed conflicts, mass rapes, concentration camps and ethnic cleansing policies. Although all the people experiencing this war had been influenced badly, women had been the ones who were affected by the negative impacts of the war mostly and burdensomely. Therefore, the fact that women had been exposed to sexual violence and mass rape in a systematic manner in guise of ethnic cleansing project is very crucial to display the women's situation in this war.

3.3. THE USE OF RAPE AS A WAR STRATEGY IN BOSNIA

Sexual violence against women has taken place in almost every armed conflict and war throughout the human history. Women, who are exposed to discrimination and direct or indirect violence because of their gender in peacetime, encounter a much more serious danger in wartime. Since women are considered as the weakest and the most vulnerable section of the society, they naturally become the victims of male-dominance, which is existent in the society, and the gendered structure of war with the effect of features that are attributed to them by the concept of gender.

Concordantly, sexual violence is the most important issue that feminists deals with in order to ensure women's security in conflicts since feminist approach criticizes the masculinity of concepts such as war, security and army. While the problem of sexual violence, which was analyzed in detailed in the previous chapters, causes women to stay behind men in social, political and economic ways by affecting women badly in terms of physical, psychological and mental even in peacetime, it results in more serious impacts in wartime. In this respect, rape, for instance, differs greatly in intention, implementation and results when it is conducted on in peacetime and wartime. In peacetime, rape is intended to provide physical superiority over a woman and to fulfill sexual needs over this woman without any special intention or aim so it has an individual impact on women. On the other hand, wartime rape is conducted by political and military purposes with the intention of leaving permanent and long-term damages on the whole society over women's bodies.[226]

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[226] Joshua Kepkay, "Gendercide and the Bosnian War", *On Politics* 5, no.1, (2011): 71.

Rape that has been used generally as a spoil of war or a reward for soldiers serves also different purposes. The acts of rape, which are conducted to gain a psychological advantage over enemy by making them incapable of protecting their women so as to harm their masculinity, to demoralize and to humiliate, may reach to the level of ethnic cleansing.[227] Rape cases emerged with the intention of ethnic cleansing, which exemplified the most extreme examples during the Bosnian war, attracted the attention of not only feminists but also academicians, intellectuals, politicians and international public for the first time and brought closer attention to the concept of sexual violence against women in wartime.

When considered the permanent damages, unforgettable miseries and countless deaths that resulted from Bosnian war, this war may be considered as one of the biggest ethnic cleansing incidents that had taken place in Europe in the recent history. Bosnian war lasted for four years between 1992 and 1995 in which terrible atrocities and countless cruelties including concentration camps, rape camps, ethnic cleansing projects, genocide and forced displacement occurred in the glare of the world.[228] The most important feature making Bosnian war a turning point in the issue of wartime rape is using rape as a systematic and strategic weapon in a widespread manner with the aim of ethnic cleaning. Wartime rapes that were used as like a gun, rifle or tank turned into psychological and strategical warfare device on soldiers.[229]

Bosnian war manifests that rape, which had been considered as an inevitable consequence of wars, is used as a war weapon. Rape, seen as a characteristic of wars and thus accepted as a normal process of armed conflicts, has taken on a different meaning with the Bosnian war. Bosnian Muslim women had been exposed to rape and other forms of sexual violence by Serbian soldiers with the aim of not only inflicting violence on women but also achieving political goals that target the whole society through the female body. The feeling of rivalry, hatred and grudge between Serbs and Bosniaks that dates back to old times became a motivation source for Serbs to defeat Bosniaks and to send them from the lands assumed as belonging to Serbs.[230] The

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[227] Ibid, 72.
[228] Rittner and Roth, op.cit: 45-47.
[229] Gottschel, op.cit: 131.
[230] Dubravka Zarkov, *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the break-up of Yugoslavia*, (Duke University Press, 2007).

severity of the situation was revealed through the investigations and reports conducted by international organizations. In this regard, UN Commission of Experts reported "that sexual assault was used by the belligerents in Bosnia as a means to 'terrorise, to displace, to demoralize and to destroy'."[231] In another report prepared for European Community's Council of Ministers, it was stated that about 20,000 Muslim Bosnian women had been raped by Serbs and also it was maintained that rape and sexual violence were clearly used as a war strategy since it was difficult and wrong to hold rape and sexual violence separate from other grave crimes in wartime.[232] Moreover, European countries and USA agreed on that the civil war occurred in Bosnia witnessed an ethnic cleansing project because rape as a war tool was used by Serbs to destroy Bosniaks.[233]

The underlying reasons for the sexual violence-especially the rape- committed by the soldiers during wartime, and the ultimate objectives intended to be achieved explained in detail in the previous chapters. Bosnian case, however, has a particular importance in terms of using rape in the war. For this reason, it is necessary to conduct on a separate examination of the reasons why the Serbs used the rape as a method in the war and what are the purposes of the rape on Bosniak people.

The main aim of the Serbs in this war is to clean the land from other ethnic groups so the Serbs implemented an ethnic cleansing project in this war.[234] Ethnic cleansing is, in this regard, was implemented with the aim of "rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area."[235] Considering the accepted meaning in the discipline of IR, it is an attempt to create an ethnically homogeneous environment by forcing other ethnic groups to migrate to other places in order to be entitled to the aforementioned region. The aim of ethnic cleansing is to expel or to murder the people belonging to unwanted ethnic, national or religious

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[231] Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Penny Stanley, "Rape in War: Lessons of the Balkan Conflicts in the 1990s," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 4.3, no.4, (2000): 73.

[232] *PBS Series on Women, War, and Peace*, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/womenwar-and-peace/features/i-came-to-testify/ **quoted in "**Gender, War & Peacebuilding", *Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding* (United States Institute of Peace): 5.

[233] Seawell, op.cit. (2004): 185.

[234] Robert M. Hayden, "Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States", American Anthropologist 102, no.1, (2000): 31.

[235] Drazen Petrovic, "Ethnic Cleansing—an attempt at Methodology", *European Journal of International Law* 5, no.342, (1994): 351.

groups in the society.[236] Therefore, the killing, displacement or other tortures that are implemented on unwanted ethnic groups of the region have a genocidal aspect.

Ethnic cleansing does not only take the form of murdering members of an ethnic group through massacre but it may also take shape as giving serious physical damages to the people of this group or depriving them of their identities by destroying cultural, national and religious values in the society. Considering many wars in the history, it has been seen that ethnic cleansing can be carried out in the form of massacres, concentration camps, torture methods, inhuman treatments, forced immigration or bereaving of all personal assets.[237] However, as in the Bosnian war, more effective and lasting impacts as compared to death or displacement can be created through sexual violence and rape. The use of rape as a weapon in Bosnia has shown that the only way to destroy a race or a group is not the mass murder, but it can be carried out through sexual assault by dispossessing the people of their ethnic values.

Since the rape has power to destroy national, religious or moral values that hold an ethnic group together, it is a potential ethnic cleansing tool. Militarized rape during the war is used both as a strategic and biological in an attempt to pollute ethnic purity of the enemy group, to change the ethnicity of future generations, to damage common values and leave permanent individual and social damages.[238] In this regard, sexual violence against women and rape is used as a tool for ethnic cleansing and war weapon during Bosnian war. Girls and women who were targeted simply because they were Bosniaks had been impregnated or harmed to prevent them from giving birth in the future. The rapes, which had been conducted on to pollute Bosnian Muslims, had taken the form of forced pregnancy and of forcing those women to give birth *Chetnic* children with Serbian origins.[239] Since the lineage of child was determined by the father in Bosnian society, women had been impregnated by Serbians in order to spoil ethnic purity of all Bosniaks. In this respect, the logic of these rapes was to impair ethnic cleanliness in an

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[236] Peltola, op.cit: 19.
[237] Cherif Bassiouni and Marca Mccormick, "Sexual Violence: An Invisible Weapon of War in the Former Yugoslavia." (1996) in Todd Salzman, "Rape Camps as a Means of Ethnic Cleansing: Religious, Cultural, and Ethical Responses to Rape Victims in the Former Yugoslavia", *Human Rights Quarterly* 20, no.2, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998): 354.
[238] Crider, op.cit: 21-22.
[239] Kennedy-Pipe and Stanley, op.cit.: 73.

irremediable way by injecting their blood to the blood of new generations of the enemy group.

While the exact number is not known, at least 20.000 women and girls in Bosnia had been systematically raped, held in concentration camps, subjected to violence and torture, and kept in rape camps designed specifically to impregnate women until they had given birth.[240] Women and young girls with the capacity of childbearing had been particularly chosen, raped until they became pregnant, and then held captive to prevent any chance of miscarriage or abortion so they had been forced to give the enemy's child.[241] Through impregnating women and forcing them to give birth to children, the Bosniak people have been polluted both biologically and culturally. Besides, Serbians achieved this goal more easily by sending these women back to their families and society after they gave birth to enemy's children because a woman who is considered as polluted by the enemy and a child who is descended from the enemy group is a very serious situation for both victimized women of rape and also their relatives and the society in which they live.

When considered the aim of ethnic cleansing was to clear of the region from Bosnian Muslims, it can be argued that rape serves for this aim by being implemented as a "terrorist social practice."[242] The reason of this argument is that rape has a power to create terror and fear in the society more than any other ethnic cleansing methods.[243] Rape, which aims to damage all society over the female body that is seen as the most vulnerable and in need of protection by the society, creates an environment of continuous panic among the people.

Both that rapes which were committed in public and also that women who were raped and impregnated were returned to their families after the birth of the children cause people to feel this horror closely and compel them to live with this burden. Moreover, in a war environment where not only soldiers but all civilians are encouraged to rape,

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[240] Carol Bellamy, *The State of the World's Children 1996*, (New York: Oxford University Press for UNICEF, 1996): 13.
https://www.unicef.org/sowc/archive/ENGLISH/The%20State%20of%20the%20World%27s%20Children%201996.pdf.
[241] Ibid, 19.
[242] Primorac, op.cit: 501.
[243] UNICEF, "Sexual violence as a weapon of war." http://www.unicef.org/sowc96pk/sexviol.htm.

women who know their rapists are from former neighbors, acquaintances or state officials do not want to live with the perpetrators not to remember the nightmare again and again. In this situation, Serbian soldiers who exploited terror and fear environment created by the rape among the people aimed to force Muslim population not to join to the war and to leave the region. Therefore, by taking advantage of the wartime environment, it was expected to deter opposite side from joining the army or helping the soldiers of army.[244]

Furthermore, the main reasons that Serbians used rape as a war weapon are to demolish soldiers psychologically and to destroy social values by polluting ethnic structure of Muslim population; to restrain Bosnian Muslims from engaging in war or providing helps for the soldiers by creating a climate of fear and terror; and to force Bosniaks to leave their lands. However, the rape, which was used by Serbs as a weapon such as cannon, rifle or bullets, also turned into a propaganda tool that served to provide military and political superiority to the enemy.[245]

Although it is accepted that the rapes committed against Muslim girls and women during Bosnian war were at the level of ethnic cleansing and were used as a war strategy, Serb soldiers tried to portrayed the perpetrators of the rape as someone else. Therefore, they attempted to show as if crimes committed by Serbs against Muslims were perpetrated by non-Serbs against Serbian population.[246] Furthermore, by wearing Croatian uniforms while raping women, Serbs aimed to hide their true identities. Going further, they forced women to confess that the ones who raped them were Croatian or Bosniak while recording the rapes.[247] The Serbs who carried out such a propaganda process assumed that they would gain military and political superiority by attempting to attribute all the atrocities and inhuman treatments to the population who were actually subjected to this persecution.

The rapes committed in Bosnia, in the most basic sense, were a part of ethnic cleansing with the aim of purge the region from Muslim population.[248] Bosniaks who had been

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[244] Peltola, op.cit: 6.
[245] Gottschell, op.cit: 131.
[246] MacKinnon, op.cit. (1994): 11-12.
[247] MacKinnon "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide", *Ms* 4, no. 1, (1993): 27.
[248] Alexandra Stiglmayer, , "The War in the Former Yugoslavia," *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina,* ed. Alexandria Stiglyamer, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994): 1-34.

living with other ethnic groups in those lands for centuries were tried to lose their existence in the region through being murdered, being forced to migrate or being biologically and culturally harmed to next generations. It may be foreseen that ethnic cleansing, which aims to create a homogeneous society by cleaning a region from undesired groups, is a more potential threat in civil wars erupted due to ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, the Bosnian war has been one of the most notable examples of ethnic cleansing project because of the historical contention and hatred among different ethnic groups for centuries.

In spite of the fact that different groups in Bosnia had lived in peace during the Tito era, the rapes occurred during the war destroyed the unity and solidarity existing in the society. That men from one of the two groups who had lived as neighbors in the pre-war period rape the women of other group prevented these groups from living together even if the war ended.[249] Moreover, in order to reach this aim, rapes were carried out as open to the public especially in a manner that victims could know who raped them.[250] As a result, these different ethnic groups, which had been sharing the same land throughout the history and even had been ensuring the golden age of unity and solidarity through mixed-marriages in Tito era, had not been able to find a common ground anymore with this war.

The purpose of the use of rape by Serbs as a war strategy and weapon in the Bosnian war was explained. Moreover, it was step-by-step determined how the Serbian soldiers would attack in a strategic manner soldiers while committing the rape. According to the studies conducted on regarding this issue, the rapes in Bosnia have been carried out in three ways. The first one of them is the brutal rape of Serbian soldiers by coming to the homes belonging to Bosniaks or Croats before the conflict has started or when it has just begun. The purpose of these attacks is to create terror environment before the conflict begins in order to ensure that people fear, flee and abstain from joining the war.[251] People who realized that they could experience the same trouble if they do not leave their land and were threatened by this had to migrate in a way not to return again.

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[249] Hayden, op.cit. (2000): 31-32.
[250] Darius Rejali, "After feminist analyses of Bosnian violence", *Peace Review* 8, no.3, (1996). http://academic.reed.edu/poli_sci/faculty/rejali/articles/bosnia96.htm.
[251] *I Came to Testify*, prod. Pamela Hogan (2011; Thirteen and FORKS Films, 2011). http://www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace/features/i-came-to-testify/. **Quoted in** Crider, op.cit: 20.

Moreover, the rapes committed in front of the family members or in the public by suddenly and unexpectedly entering the houses increase the effect of the attacks.

The second type of these attacks is to rape women randomly by holding them captive. Women who were prevented from receiving any information about their families by capturing in jails had been subjected to rape by prison officers and soldiers.[252]

The third and last way of attack is the rapes carried out with the intention of impregnation in the rape camps. In these rape camps where maybe the cruelest attacks occurred systematic and strategic rapes had been carried out. In these rape camps specially designed by Serbian soldiers, women had been constantly raped until they got pregnant and had been forced to give birth to *Chetnic* children by keeping under surveillance until they gave birth in order to prevent any abortion or miscarriage.[253] Therefore, especially the last type of attack shows that ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims was aimed with the use of rape as a war weapon in an obviously strategic and systematic manner.

3.4. THE EFFECT OF WARTIME RAPE IN PATRIARCHAL SOCIETIES

While the rape occurs in every society and hurts every society deeply, the use of rape as a war weapon in Bosnia and the influence of rape on Bosnian Muslims are partly due to the patriarchal structure of the society. Because of the domination of gendered stereotypes in the patriarchal societies, the concepts such as women's honor and male protectionism, the importance of moral values and the effectiveness of nationalistic ideologies, rape causes more devastating and permanent damages in these societies by harming the common sense of unity and solidarity.

That Serbs, who had lived together with Bosniaks for centuries, knew that Bosnian Muslims had a patriarchal social structure made Bosnian women a clear target in the war. Serbs who were aware of the weak and vulnerable points of the enemy aimed at women with the intention of more clear and easier victory by creating moral corruption and by bringing Bosniaks down psychologically. The most effective method that Serbs used to send Bosniaks away or to extinguish them was wartime rapes. The aim of the

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[252]Kennedy-Pipe and Stanley, op.cit: 73.
[253] Kelly Askin, *War Crimes Against Women: Prosecution In International War Crimes Tribunals,* (1997): 273.

use of rape as a tool in the wars is to damage all society over the women's bodies. In this regard, Serbs used rape as a war weapon in order to humiliate Bosnian Muslims and to subvert the social structure of Bosniaks.[254]

By the way of rape, according to the study conducted by United States Institute of Peace, "erodes the fabric of a community in a way that few weapons can. Rape's damage can be devastating because of the strong communal reaction to the violation and pain stamped on entire families. The harm inflicted in such cases on a woman by a rapist is an attack on her family and culture."[255] The reason that such an impact is greater in conservative societies like Bosnia stems from that concepts such as family, honor and motherhood, which are important in the patriarchal system, situate women into a delicate position in both family and society.

3.4.1. The Effects of Wartime Rape on Individuals

In a society where the honor and virginity are considered as sacred, women who are the victims of rape are accepted as defiled and ruined. Married women are divorced since their husbands think their wives are polluted and unmarried young girls are not regarded as suitable for marriage since they are contaminated. Virginity is also one of the most special things that Muslim women give an incredible importance and enshrine so the loss of it means the rejection of married women by their husbands and discarding of unmarried women as unavailable for marriage.[256] Since the protection of virginity until marriage is an obligation for Bosnian women who grew in a Muslim society with certain moral codes and values, rape creates a trauma because of the predictable consequences of rape which are rejection, ostracism and leading a life without marriage and children in a proper way.[257] This is because most of these women who were exposed to rape believe their lives have been destroyed.[258] Most particularly the women who get pregnant as a result of the rape, are forced to give birth to the enemy's child and then are sent back to their community with the child are subjected to exclusion from

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[254] Bette S. Denich, "Sex and Power in the Balkans," *Women, Culture and Society* 133, (1974): 62-63.
[255] UNICEF, "Sexual violence as a weapon of war." http://www.unicef.org/sowc96pk/sexviol.htm.
[256] Danise Aydelott, "Mass Rape during War: Prosecuting Bosnian Rapists under International Law." *Emory University School of Law Review* 7, (1993): 602.
[257] Roy Gutman, "Forward", in *Mass rape: The war against women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (U of Nebraska Press, 1994): x
[258] Roy Gutman, "Rape by Order. Bosian Women Terrotized by Serbs", *New York Newsday*, Sunday, (1992): 39.

the society. Therefore it paves the way for the perpetual destruction of the fabric of the community.[259]

The Serbs, who were aware of how important virginity and sense of honor are for Muslims, raped women in front of their families and in public in order to humiliate and to disintegrate the Bosniak society over these values. As Peltola stated, "Women are raped in front of their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers…This type of rape is employed strategically in an attempt to destroy a community's cohesion and stability."[260] Both making the whole society witness of this torture and also sending women back to their families after the rape increased the moral degradation in the community. Moreover, it increased the impact and damage of rape on women who were excluded from the family and the society. These women who were the most unfortunate victims of war were seen as guilty and were ostracized by the society in spite of that they did not commit any offense. Therefore, this situation ensured that Serbs reached their goals more easily because as the women who are victim of the rape were excluded and condemned, the social structure based on the sense of unity and solidarity among the Bosniak people collapsed.[261]

Another stereotyped idea, which is dominant in patriarchal societies, is that women are beings in need of the protection of men. According to Hain, "The construction and enforcement of patriarchy allows the ridicule and denigration of femininity, that regards women as weaker and inferior to men and regards them as 'property' in need of protection."[262] From the conservative and traditional point of view underlying the patriarchal system, women are not regarded as an independent individual controlling their own bodies and on the other hand cultural codes, which have influence over the society, gives a special importance to sexual purity of women.[263]

Women, who are seen as in need of the care of their father and of husband by leading a life under the rule of their father until they get married and then of their husband are suppressed by the patriarchal structure. For women who are raised so as not to break the

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[259] *I Came to Testify,* **quoted in** Crider, 21.
[260] Peltola, op.cit: 25.
[261] Crider, op.cit: 22.
[262] Hain, op.cit: 5.
[263] Fezile Osum, "Wartime Rapes in International Criminal Courts Case Law and Cyprus Conflicts", (Thesis, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2017): 4.

rules of men at home, the concept of honor, which is blessed by the family and society, has a particular importance over these women. Therefore, honor is important for both a woman who has to keep her virginity until marriage and has to live within the lines drew for her in order not to embarrass her husband after marriage and also for a man who is obliged to protect and look after the women under his control. The reason of it is that the honor of a woman means the honor of her husband, father and family. Any harm came to the honor of women means the harm that will come to the masculinity of men. In this context, women are considered as men's property that does not have their own identity.[264] Starting from this point of view it may be inferred that the damage on dignity of men is deemed more important rather than the physical and mental damage caused by rape on women. In this respect, providing that Bosnian case is not an exception, "the violation of women was considered less serious than the violation of honour and patriotism."[265] Therefore, rape painfully exemplifies how the patriarchal system and the inequality of men and women ingrained within this system are used as means for repression on women.[266]

In a society adopting such a patriarchal mentality, protecting their women against the enemy in the war is a way or rather a necessity to prove their masculinity and to realize the myth of heroic brave soldier. The concepts of 'beautiful souls' and 'just warrior' and the hierarchy between masculinity and femininity affect women mostly in wartime as well as in the peacetime. On the basis of this fact, women were raped in order to demoralize and feminize the Muslim men by applying psychological pressure on them in Bosnian war. Since one of the first reasons of the use of rape as a war tool is to collapse the morale of opposite side, the idea that men are not able to protect their women decreases their morale and motivation.[267] Therefore, rape serves as an indicator of power and a way to establish to control and hegemony.[268] Further, this show of force is applied not only to women but also to other men by men.[269] In this case, rape itself is

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[264] Sarah Chong, "Rape as a Weapon of War", *Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID),* (2005).
[265] Fritzsche, op.cit. (2011): 49.
[266] Primorac, op.cit: 500.
[267] Yuval- Davis, op.cit: 204.
[268] Barbara Sichtermann, "Rape and Sexuality", The Polity Reader in Gender Studies, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994): 278).
[269] Renato Rosaldo, "Notes toward a Critique of Patriarchy from a Male Position", *Anthropological Quarterly*, (1993): 81-82.

applied not only to women but also to men because the rape becomes a message between men.

Moreover, men run the risk of fighting and dying in order to protect their women from other men of the enemy groups. Therefore, rape is not just a crisis of ethnic identity but rather a crisis of masculinity occurred amongst themselves.[270] In this connection, that not to protect their women while striving for imposing their authority and hegemony over the others by entering in a competition for power through the women's bodies weakens them. Concordantly, the rape of women is believed by the men of defeated group as humiliation and demasculinization which are the severest consequences of their defeat.[271] Men who accept the protection of honor of their women as the primary job of being a man suppose that they cannot protect their land for being deprived of protecting their women. Therefore, as Kepkay pointed out "warfare becomes a contest of masculinity where the penis is weaponized and males fight to emasculate opponents by invading the bodies of their nation's women."[272]

Bosnian Muslim men had to witness while their wives, daughters or relatives were raped or had to live together with their women who were sent back to them after they were raped in order to be wrecked psychologically. This situation led to ultimate humiliation and abasement by increasing the incapability of men. The underlying reason of it is that in Balkan's patriarchal system, the inability of men to protect their women and to control sexual and reproductive abilities of women is an obvious sign of the weakness.[273] Thus, the gendered structure negatively affected on men but not as much as women.

3.4.2. The Effects of Wartime Rape on Society

One of the most significant reasons underlying that the rapes carried out against Muslim women by Serbs influenced the entire community by transcending women's bodies is the nationalistic ideology adopted by the society. Nationalism here refers to

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[270] Rejali, op.cit. (1996).
[271] Brownmiller, op.cit. (1975): 38.
[272] Kepkay, op.cit: 72.
[273] Bette Denich, "Of Arms, Men, and Ethnic War in (Former) Yugoslavia", *Feminism, Nationalism and Militarism,* ed. Constance R. Sutton, (USA: Association for Feminist Anthropology/American Anthropological Association, 1995): 68.

interconnectedness of the Bosnian Muslim community with components such as language, religion, culture, land and history. Moreover, women are seen as the ones who are the protector of all these common values and the provider of conveyance of them to the next generations. In this regard, women become the symbol of national unity, national origin, national soul and national project.[274] Thus, women's body that has a productive feature in terms of both biologically and culturally acts as the emblem of the ethnic, religious and national collectivity. While the main actors are men according to the nationalistic ideology and the functioning of the state governance, the role deemed appropriate for women who cannot go beyond being a symbol is motherhood. From this aspect, the primary job of women is to produce children for the continuation of posterity and to raise the children with this consciousness for conveying national, religious and cultural values to next generations.[275] When national identities were determined for individuals by the nationalistic ideology, the role provided for women, in line with the nationalistic discourse, was being biological producer of the new members of the ethnic groups, being social provider of ideological awareness and being cultural carrier of the common values.[276]

In a society where maternity is considered as blessed and every woman is seen as a potential mother, any violence against women –especially sexual violence and rape- affects not only women but also their family and therefore the whole society. Women, who are considered as the honor of the family in peacetime, turn into the honor of the nation in wartime by gaining a national identity.[277] Men, on the other hand, assume the responsibility of being the protector of not only their families but also the honor and other values of the whole nation. Therefore, the rape of women undermines the national identity of men, which is determined as heroic and brave soldiers defending the borders and values of the nation[278] so "raping a mass of ethnic women emasculates the men and feminizes the entire ethnicity."[279] In this case, the sexual assault committed against

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[274] Yuval Davis, op.cit. (2010): 627.
[275] Dibyesh Anand, "Nationalism", *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, ed. Laura J. Shepherd, (NewYork: Routledge, 2010): 284.
[276] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2012): 73.
[277] Riki Van Boeschoten, "The Trauma of War Rape: A Comparative View on the Bosnian Conflict and the Greek Civil War", *History and Anthropology* 14, no. 1, (2003): 47.
[278] Nicola Henry, *War and Rape; Law, memory and justice*, (Routledge, 2011): 20.
[279] Kepkay, op.cit: 72.

women's bodies which are esteemed as sacred becomes an assault committed against the whole nation.

In order to illustrate how the rape of Bosniak women created reaction on the all Bosniak society, Bosnian Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey in his speech to the UN Security Council on 24 August 1993 used the saying that "Bosnia and Herzegovina is being gang raped…As we know, systematic rape has been one of the weapons of this aggression against the Bosnian women in particular."[280] For this reason, men defined as brave soldiers have to guard women in order to ensure the maintenance of ethnic identity and the purity of future generations. Women have to be guarded because they are defined as the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation.[281]

Furthermore, women are assigned to produce new members for the continuance of the nation and to raise their sons to fight and their daughters to serve for the nation.[282] While women are expected to produce children for the future of nation and to raise these children with national consciousness, they become exposed to violence of enemy groups because of the same national motives. Through the commonly-held opinion in the patriarchal societies, ethnic purity is associated with the birth of new members and since birth is naturally associated with women[283], women's bodies become clear targets for the enemy. Therefore, that female body is considered same with the whole nation makes the use of rape as a war tool more meaningful. In this regard, Serbs who had desire to destroy the perpetuation of lineage and ethnic purity of Bosnian Muslims forced Bosniak women to give birth to Serbian babies by forced pregnancies.

The underlying reason of forced pregnancy is that both the women victimized by the rape and also the children born as a result of rape are obliged to live their lives as a symbol of defeat and humiliation of that nation.[284] Thus, the rape, which was used by Serbs as an extension and a tool of genocide policy based on ethnic and cultural

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[280] Stjepan G. Mestrovic, *The Balkanization of the West: The Confluence of Postmodernism and Postcommunism*, (London: Routledge, 1994): xxi.
[281] Sjoberg, op.cit. (2012): 73.
[282] Julie Mostov "'Our Women'/'Their Women': Symbolic Boundaries, Territorial Markers, and Violence in the Balkans", *Peace and Change* 20, no.4, (1995): 518
[283] Dubravka Zarkov, "Gender, orientalism and the history of ethnic hatred in the former Yugoslavia", *Crossfires: Nationalism, racism and gender in Europe,* eds. H. Lutz, A. Phoenix, N. Yuval-Davis, (1995): 113.
[284] Denich, op.cit. (1974): 89.

cleansing in order to get rid of 'others', turned into a biological weapon through forced pregnancy.[285] For Bosnians who believed that Serbian blood had been implicated in their veins and thus the ethnic purity of future generations has been destroyed, rape has caused much more destructive and long-term damage. Because Bosniak community assumed that child are descended from its father rather than its mother, children born after the rape are regarded as not belonging to Bosniaks but as Serb and non-Muslim.[286]

Serbs, who knew that Muslims see their women as the mother and honor of the nation, were aware of how devastating rape would be for the Muslim people. In this respect, one of the reasons that Serbs used rape as a war weapon was to pollute Bosnian Muslim identity over the women's body. At this juncture, rapes committed against Bosniak women revealed as a product of Serbian nationalism. When examined the Bosnian case from Serbs' perspective, rape served as a way to reward the victorious soldiers and to prove their nationalism.[287] The rapes committed for the purpose of defeating the enemy groups were actually for showing the devotion and love for their own nationality.

In the context of project of creating national identity, while men are gained privileges as the protector and the ruler of nation, women are included to this process with a masculine point of view.[288] Therefore, women who have a sacred role and status in the society due to their gender, are raped by the enemy because of this patriarchal conception imposed by the society and then they encounter condemning and ostracism of their own society since they are raped. They become the target and victim of both patriarchal thinking and military strategy due to an identity which they do not choose voluntarily. Accordingly, rape undertakes a much more different mission in patriarchal societies and this mission is to eradicate the social, moral, national and religious values by influencing the future generations through the women's body. Therefore, to damage women who ensure the maintenance of family constituting the foundation of the community turns into a threat directed towards the whole society.

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[285] Pettman, op.cit: 101.
[286] Askin, op.cit: 268.
[287] Stephanie N. Sackellares, " From Bosna to Sudan: Sexual Violence in Modern Armed Conflict", *Wisconsin Women's Law Journal,* (2005) :137, p. 139.
[288] Cynthia Enloe, "Feminizm, Milliyetçilik ve Militarizm", trans. Ayşe Gül Altınay and Tansel Güney, *Vatan Millet Kadın*, , (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000): 206 – 208.

Consequently, these rapes are carried out "not only as an attack against these females, but as a means to exercise power over and demoralize the men in the women's family, clan and ethnic group."[289] It was clearly observed in the Bosnian case that rape, which was used a war strategy, had a social aspect rather than being an individual attack.

3.5. THE PROBLEMS OF VICTIMIZED BOSNIAN WOMEN

It is a fact that women are affected by the negative impacts of war in different levels and different dimensions in wartime. Sexual violence and especially rape cause both permanent physical and psychological damage for women and long-lasting influences for the society. According to the report of Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations; "Even after conflict has ended, the impacts of sexual violence persist, including unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections and stigmatization. Widespread sexual violence itself may continue or even increase in the aftermath of conflict, as a consequence of insecurity and impunity. And meeting the needs of survivors – including medical care, HIV treatment, psychological support, economic assistance and legal redress – requires resources that most postconflict countries do not have."[290]

This situation was not different for the women who were exposed to sexual violence in the form of systematic rape and other ways in Bosnian war. As is the case with almost all wars in the history, the largest part of victims of sexual violence in wartime was comprised of Bosnian Muslim women. In the Bosnian war, use of sexual violence was revealed in a horrible way and it became a weapon for ethnic cleansing. These atrocities occurred during the Bosnian war attracted the attention of the international public in 1992 when Bosnian women started to talk about.[291] It was started in June 1992 with the report which came from Bosnian refugees of Croatia. These reports involved the testimonies of women who told that they were exposed to gang rapes, kept in detention centers and raped while trying to escape and after escaping. Moreover, these reports

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[289] Kofi Annan, *Women, Peace and Security*. United Nations, (2002): 16.
[290] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, (Department of Public Information, April 2013): 1.
[291] Crider 19, Kepkay 77

revealed that whereas men were sent to concentration camps, women were held in different places which were used as rape camps.[292]

Male-dominated mentality that sees women's body as the carrier of national values and future generations has used sexual violence as a weapon towards the biological sex of women, in this respect. Moreover, Bosnian women were raped until getting pregnant and forced to give birth to the enemy's children. Women were not only subjected to mass rape and forced pregnancy but also they were imprisoned until the chance of abortion or miscarriage was over.[293] In the rape camps where systematic rapes were carried out and where women, who were forcibly got pregnant, were held captive until the risk of miscarriage was disappeared, women not only were subjected to sexual violence but also were obliged to do the cleaning and to make food for the soldiers. With the intention of humiliation and disgrace, women had to act as like a slave who satisfied the rapist soldiers in terms of sexual needs, cooking, cleaning and other demands.[294]

Sexual violence committed in wartime not only becomes influential during the war but also its effects continue after the war ends. In this regard, these women in Bosnia case suffered physical harm in order to lose their feminine functions and most importantly reproduction function by being beaten, physically disabled and subjected to genital mutilation.[295] For the women who were victim of rape, one of the biggest health risks was sexually transmitted diseases -especially HIV and AIDS. Although rape created several serious effects on women's health in terms of physically, mentally and psychologically, HIV and AIDS constituted the most drastic threat for women because of the mass rape. As a consequence of mass rapes, while some women struggled with the HIV virus, many of them underwent abortion and lots of women were injured in a way to be unable to have children again.[296] The ones who received early health care chose to terminate their pregnancies through medical abortion but on the other hand, many women had to maintain their pregnancies due to the inefficiency of health

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[292] *I Came to Testify* **quoted in** Crider, op.cit: 19.
[293] Rittner and Roth, op.cit: 47.
[294] Peltola, op.cit: 8.
[295] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." The United Nations.
[296] Ibid; Leslie Shanks and Michael J. Schull, "Rape in War: The Humanitarian Response", *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 163, no. 9, (2000): 1153.

services in war conditions and most of these women left their babies just after the birth. Moreover, women who did not leave their babies were faced with the rejection by their families and exclusion by the society.[297]

Furthermore, rape causes serious psychological problems and major traumas in addition to irremediable physical damage. Women who were already in deep sorrow due to the loss of their relatives or loved ones in the war had to also struggle with psychological dimension created by the rape on them. These psychological consequences that victims experienced because of the rape can be listed as the fear of sexual intercourse, avoidance of talking about their experiences, the self-injure, sleep disorder, embarrassment, anxiety disorder, depression, suffer from flashbacks and nightmares regarding their rapes and post-traumatic stress disorders.[298]

The attempts for psychological help and treatments realized by the international organizations in order to solve these psychological problems of women could not achieve the desired results. In order that psychological treatment achieved success, the participation and willingness of women for talking about their problems is required. However, because of the women's fear of ostracization and denigration, women who were subjected to rape and traumatized by it were chose not to talk about it. Therefore, women's silence rendered the process of revealing the psychological problems and of treating them more difficult. The underlying reason of Bosnian women's silence was highly based on that talking about sexuality was a taboo in the Bosnian society and that dominant religious and ethical values of the society increased women's shame caused by the rape. Since honor, virginity and pureness are important merits for a woman in Muslim society, it was community pressure that restrained women from sharing their feelings, thoughts and problems with experts and even themselves.

When considered the effects on Bosnian women, rape dispossessed women of their status and value given by the society. In some interviews done with these women, women reported that "We all feel that we lost everything…We have been abandoned.

[297] Sanjay Kinra, Mary E. Black, Sanja Mandic and Nora Selimovic, "Impact of the Bosnian conflict on the health of women and children", *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 80, no.1 (World Health Organization, 2002).
[298] Coleen Kivlahan and Nate Ewigman, "Rape as a weapon of war in modern conflicts: Families and communities are victims, as well as individuals." *British Medical Journal* 341, no. 7771, (2010): 469.

We have been imperiled. Every woman, if she is raped, has to feel the same."[299] The studies carried out on Bosnian women revealed the traumatization of women because of the rejection and stigmatization by their families and societies and the exclusion of children born after rape by their mothers and society.[300]

Women, who are regarded as the honor of family and provider of the next generations in peacetime, are chosen as target of the enemy and become exposed to rape in wartime due to this gendered labeling. Women who are attacked by the values that are considered sacred by the society have to bear the shame and burden of this. As long as women are associated with the concepts such as honor, chastity and purity dependent on social norms and cultural codes of their communities, raped women would continue to be seen as polluted and to be excluded by their societies. In this sense, as it is mentioned in the previous chapters, young girls who are raped are considered as unsuitable for marriage and married women who are raped are left by their husbands.

Moreover, the sexual and gender based violence appeared as rape in wartime has evolved to domestic violence in post-war period.[301] During the post-war period of Bosnia, it was observed that the rate of domestic violence has increased in Bosnia compared to the pre-war period. Nevertheless, the increase in domestic violence was disregarded because this issue was seen as a normal result of the war for men experienced psychological trauma. Due to the masculine structure of war, the tendency of men to use violence has increased in post-war period after returning from the war and serious psychological issues of men have occurred. Under these conditions, violence in family has showed an increase and women have experienced physical and mental problems because of domestic violence even if they were not raped. However, it has been normalized since domestic violence has been regarded insignificant as compared to other problems appeared in post-war period.[302] Moreover, women who already suffer in many ways including rape, violence and poverty tolerated the sexual and gender

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[299] Gutman, op.cit. (1994): 37.
[300] Ursula Keller, "Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Crisis and Conflicts – The Responsibility to Speak out" (2008): 2. http://doc.rero.ch/record/232790/files/29-Sexual_and_Gender-based_Violence_in_Crisis_and_conflicts-DDC_2121.pdf. The Responsibility to Speak out, 2.
[301] "Gender, War & Peacebuilding", Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding (United States Institute of Peace): 5.
[302] Asylum Aid, "Refugee women and domestic violence. Country report on Bosnia and Herzegovina", *Refugee Women's Resource Project*, (2002):17.

based violence taking place within the family by being grateful for the healthfully return of their family members and loved ones.

On the other hand, violence in the family has reached to the level of honor killings and suicide for women by the effect of patriarchal social structure. Women who had survived but still been excluded by the society had to work to provide care for both themselves and the children which they had to give birth to. Not only the women who suffered rape but also women who lost their breadwinners in the war strived for a job. However, the discrimination against women in the work life increased so much that finding a legal job became impossible for women in the post-war period.[303] Therefore, the harsh economic conditions led women to work in informal or even worse illegal jobs with lower wages with the intention of getting rid of poverty and unemployment.[304] However, it was still hard to find a job to sustain their life for women because the already broken economy of war offered limited job opportunities which were usually separated for former soldiers and male workers. Women who had to do insignificant jobs which were left over men were obliged to work with low wages and in hard conditions. Moreover, women who could not find a legal job or maintain their lives with these jobs had to do illegal actions. Prostitution and drug traffic were the leading ones of these illegal jobs.[305] In this regard, Human Rights Watch reported that women who could not find proper jobs were compelled to prostitution so woman trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina spread out among these desperate women in the post-war era.[306]

Furthermore, economic conditions, which got worse after the war, affected negatively all the services such as health, education and accommodation in the country. In this regard, the primary issues were the lack of health conditions for the treatment of women who physically and psychologically harmed, less access of girls for the limited education opportunities and the problems of women who constituted the majority of

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[303] Jelena Jaukovic, "The Forms of Victimization in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia", European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law and Criminal Justice 10/2-3, (2002): 113.
[304] Krishna Kumar, "Civil Wars, Women and Gender Relations: An Overview", *Women and Civil War: Impact, Organization and Action*, ed. Krishna Kumar, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001): 15.
[305] Jaukovic, op.cit: 113.
[306] Human Rights Watch Report, *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitutio*n 14, no. 9, (2002): 5.

refugee camps.[307] Many women were disabled, suffered from illness and even died because women who were physically harmed as a result of the violence caused by war and sexual violence could not receive adequate medical care and treatment. Nevertheless, the health problem that should be treated was not only physical but also there were severe psychological issues of women surviving the war.

Although all people experiencing the war were negatively affected due to the big atrocities, women who were exposed to sexual violence in addition to other cruelties of war were traumatized seriously. Therefore, professional psychological assistance by specially trained personnel which was needed in order to prevent women from keeping their lives with these traumas could not be provided.[308] Education, which was another issue in post-war period, was already problematic before the war but still educational opportunity of women and girls were better in pre-war era as compared to the post-war. As a result of the destruction of schools in the country, girls begun to benefit less from the education opportunities, which remained limited.[309] Moreover, another issue was the exploitation of refugee women in different ways. Refugee women experienced the loss of their loved ones, their families, homes and jobs but most importantly their social status and dignity since being stigmatized as raped.[310] This weakness of women made them more vulnerable to sexual harassment in the refugee camps. Therefore, women who were raped and displaced faced with the same threat in the refugee camps.

Apart from these, women in Bosnia suffered from the problems occurring in operating services of the police forces and the courts. Women who were subjected to sexual violence of soldiers in wartime became exposed to sexual violence of some security stuffs in the post-war period. By exploiting the difficult situation of women and the disorder and chaos in the society, the horror of sexual violence continued to be existent for women after the war.[311] Women who wanted to tell the injustices they experienced

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[307] Annika Bjorkdahl, "A gender-just peace? Exploring the post-Dayton peace process in Bosnia", *Peace and Change* 37, no. 2, (2012): 297; "Gender, War & Peacebuilding", Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding (United States Institute of Peace): 5.

[308] Shanks and Schull, op.cit. (2000): 1154.

[309] Kivlaham and Ewigman, op.cit: 469.

[310] Hugo Slim, *Killing Civilians, Method, Madness and Morality in War*, (London: Hurst&Company, 2007): 110-111.

[311] Martina Vanderberg, "Peacekeeping, Alphabet Soup, and Violence against Women in the Balkans", Gender, Conflict and Peacekeeping, eds. Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, Jane Parpart and Sue

and the violence they were exposed to could not make a complaint because of the fear of shame and stigmatization, on the other hand those who complained were not taken into consideration by the authorities. Moreover, the cases of rape and sexual violence were disregarded since it was assumed there were more important issues of the country in the post-war process.

It was also obvious that a fair judgment process was not possible for women when considered most of the perpetrators of these crimes were from security forces and state government or were protected by these important figures.[312] In this regard, in Bosnia-Herzegovina prostitution –for example- was not allowed but also not punished.[313] Naturally, the existing lack of order and regulations in the post-war era and also the impunity of these crimes prevented women from achieving legal aid. According to report of *Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Crisis and Conflicts – The Responsibility to Speak out*, one of the six important points regarding the protection of women exposed to sexual and gender based violence is ensuring the justice for victims. This report claims that "…justice and legal systems in war-torn societies have generally many flaws. Security and protection for the victims cannot be guaranteed and prosecution procedures may expose her to further humiliation and re-victimisation. Often, the chances that perpetrators will actually be convicted and that victims receive compensation are extremely slim and such failed attempts reinforce the general climate of fear and impunity."[314] In this regard, in Bosnian case, the security officials and state officers who personally involved in committing crimes such as sexual violence, rape, women trafficking and prostitution or who overlooked the perpetrators of these crimes deterred victimized women from finding a competent authority to seek help and destroyed the faith of women for the justice.[315]

Another problem that Bosnian women experienced after the war is the inadequacy of political representation of women and the underestimation of women's problems

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Lautze Rowman, (Littlefield Publishers, 2005): 154; "Gender, War & Peacebuilding", Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding (United States Institute of Peace): 6-7.
[312] Fezile Osum, op.cit: 20.
[313] Vanderberg, op.cit: 158.
[314] Ursula Keller, "Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Crisis and Conflicts – The Responsibility to Speak out" (2008): 2. http://doc.rero.ch/record/232790/files/29-Sexual_and_Gender-based_Violence_in_Crisis_and_conflicts-DDC_2121.pdf. The Responsibility to Speak out, 11.
[315] Vandenberg, op.cit: 154-155.

occurring in the war or in the post-war period. While women's right of representation in the political sphere was required in order to address their problems and produce solutions, they completely lost their areas of dominance which were already limited in the pre-war political life after the war and they became more confined to domestic sphere as compared to pre-war period. Even if women gained even a little right to political representation, they could not succeed to represent women's problems due to the pressure of androcentric structure of post-war politics.[316] Therefore, due to the chaotic environment of post-war period, women's issues were not even taken into consideration because male-dominant policy-makers did not believe women's problems are not significant to be discussed in comparison with the assumed real issues such as economy, security and so on. However, women's issues such as domestic violence, forced prostitution, limited opportunities for education, health and work were also so significant that should be dealt with in the post-war. Thus the equality of political representation between men and women should be ensured in order that women become able to represent their problems.[317]

3.6. ESTABLISHMENT OF ICTY AND ICC

When considered the post-war situation in Bosnia, it may be claimed that the one and only positive development for women and women's rights is that rape has started to be considered as a crime against humanity. Even though rape has taken place in almost every war throughout the history, it had been seen as an ordinary and inevitable consequence of war until this war. Since rape has been counted as a natural process of war, the concept of wartime rape has not been paid enough attention in the international area. Nevertheless, the extent of violence occurred in the Bosnian war has attracted the attention of international public for the first time and has gathered reactions by international public.

The use of rape in Bosnian war constituted the first case in the history that raised the awareness for the prevention of sexual violence and rape in the war and for the necessary legal and political steps for it. The underlying reason for this dramatic change

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[316] Zorica Mrsevic "Implementing Quotas: Legal Reforms and Enforcement in Serbia and Montenegro", *The Implementation of Quotas: European 141 Experiences, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA),* (2004): 1.
[317] Ibid.

in the point of view towards the wartime rape was the use of mass rape in a systematic and strategic manner in Bosnian war. Consequently, the argument accepting the rape as a usual result of war has been replaced by the counter-argument criticizing the use of rape as a means of war.[318] This change in the thinking of wartime rape was important and necessary in order to take action to stop the use of rape as a war tool and to punish the crimes committed against women. Rape cannot be evaluated and punished as a crime in case it is considered as an inevitable and expected part of the warfare. However, with the Bosnian case, "the invisibility of women and sexual violence ended with the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina."[319] Although it is questionable how the reaction and awareness of international public towards the sexual violence and rape in Bosnian war has gained successful outcomes, it has paved the way for accepting rape as a war crime and crime against humanity from now on.

In response to the atrocities occurred in Bosnia International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) was founded under the leadership of the United Nations Security Council as the first international criminal.[320] ICTY which was established in this regard accepted the rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity. The court was authorized with prosecuting the actions which were included in the scope of war crime and crime against humanity. In this respect, ICTY became the first international court in terms of accusing a person guilty of rape as a crime against humanity.[321] Even though this tribunal was a very important step in terms of being a first in this field, there were still deficiencies and faults of ICTY in terms of research, investigation and implementation.[322] Therefore, in spite of the fact that it succeeded to raise awareness regarding the use of rape in wartime within the context of international law and international public, it was criticized about its procedural and jurisdictional perspective for the sexual and gender violence against women.

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[318] Erica Feller, "Rape is a War Crime: How to Support the Survivors? Lessons from Bosnia-Strategies for
Kosovo," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 21, no.2 (August 2002): 35-43.
[319] Ibid, 36.
[320] Ibid, 38.
[321] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, (Department of Public Information, April 2013): 2. www.un.org/preventgenocide/Rwanda.
[322] Crider, op.cit: 33.

In order not that rape is limited to the Bosnian case, the International Criminal Court (ICC) which was a more permanent court compared to ICTY was established.[323] It was acknowledged in 1998 and it became valid in 2002 with a broad juridical power under Rome Statute.[324] In ICC, the cases including the Bosnian war had been tried and some of the criminal were sentenced. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that "Although changing international and national laws are major steps towards punishing and ending sexual violence, they cannot be successful without a fundamental change in people's attitudes towards the sexual abuse of women."[325] Therefore, in order to prevent gender crimes committed against women, all forms of sexual violence, which varies from physical or verbal harassment in peacetime and to rape used as a weapon in wartime, must be esteemed as equally important in terms of the consequences they might cause.

3.7. CONCLUSION

The relationship between women and security and the sexual violence experienced by women in the event of a war, which are examined theoretically in the previous chapters, are analyzed through the Bosnian case in this chapter. Bosnian war, which has the characteristics of a civil war, is a significant example in terms of exhibiting how women's bodies are used as battlefield and how rape is used as a war tool. Sexual violence, which had attracted that much attention and gathered reaction for the first time ever in international area after Bosnian case, was examined by the Courts which were the first to investigate sexual violence crimes in the history.

Furthermore, the perspective should change primarily in a way to give more importance to women' rights and to be more interested in women's problems in order to remove the sexual violence which women experience in almost every armed conflict. Women's body should not be used with the military or political aims in either peacetime or wartime. The most important point to be remembered is that rape is not an inevitable end but is a crime to be punished.

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[323] Tina R. Karkera, "International Criminal Court's Protection of Women: The Hands of Justice at Work", *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law* 197, (2004): 202.
[324] Schneider, op.cit. (2007): 932-933.
[325] The United Nations, "Background Information on Sexual Violence used as a Tool of War." Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations, (Department of Public Information, April 2013): 2.

CONCLUSION

Security has been one of the most debated issues in the scope of IR discipline. Due to the changes in international system and world politics, the meaning of security has been also changing. The different theoretical perspectives of IR brought a new point of view towards the security issue. While the traditional perspectives adopt a more classical security perception which attaches more importance on state's security, alternative perspectives go against the domination of state as the most important actor and domination of state's security as the most important concern in the security studies. In this regard, they readdress the security concept by taking different actors and different issues at the center of their studies. From the perspective of alternative IR theories, human security should be given more importance instead of state security because states are composed of individuals and these individuals are exposed to several threats that may come from several aspects including the state itself. Therefore, as one of these alternative perspectives, feminist IR theory advocates the human security through using a gendered perspective. By wearing gendered lenses, feminist IR theory handles with the gendered structure of security concept and the security problems that individuals experience as a result of their gender.

In the first place, feminist perspective, which striving for the equality between men and women in every aspect of life without any discrimination, claims the exclusion of women from the issues related to security, war and military which are assumed so important that only men can should be taken into consideration. In such a masculine area of a masculine discipline, feminist IR attempts to make women visible by increasing their participation and effectiveness in the academic and institutional level in order to make women's security problems heard. Because of the silence of women and the invisibility of women's security problems, the discrimination, suppression and physical, psychological, economic or sexual violence that women experience in peacetime reach to more crucial levels in wartime. When the security problems that women experience in wartime continue to be neglected, the necessary steps to ensure women's security and to provide them with treatment programs become impossible to be taken in post-wartime. By adopting this perception, feminist IR theory tries to eliminate security threats towards women in wartime through coping with the close

association between masculinity and war. One of the most important security threats for women during the wars appears as sexual and gender based violence, especially in the form of rape.

Feminist IR theory deals with the sexual and gender based violence by defining the concept, analyzing its underlying factors, observing its use in wars and explaining its effects on women in both wartime and post wartime processes. By defining the war as a competition between men to prove their masculinity, sexual and gender based violence is argued to serve to assert the superiority of one side's men over the enemy side's men through using female's body. Therefore, SGBV in wartime is used not only for satisfying sexual desires of men as it is in peacetime but also for gaining political and military advantages over the enemy because not being able to protect their women from sexual assault of enemy undermines the manliness of this group's men to be able to win the war. Although SGBV may take different forms during war, the most brutal form of it is rape, for certain. Feminist perspective, which differentiates the rape in peacetime and rape in wartime, claims wartime rape has political and military impulses that intensify the impact of rape on both women and the whole society. For both meeting sexual needs of soldiers during the wars by rewarding them with women, and also gain superiority over enemy by humiliating and threating them, rape has been used as an effective tactic in almost every war throughout the history.

While according to traditional perspectives, rape has been deemed as an ordinary process and inevitable result of wars, feminist perspective sees wartime rape as the most extreme example of masculinity of war. In this regard, the use of rape as a war tool in Bosnian war revealed the severity of this issue since this case became a turning point in terms of changing point of views toward the wartime rapes. The brutal violence, mass rapes and specially designed rape camps took the attention of academicians, politicians, non-governmental organizations, media and people all over the world to take action to prevent the use of rape in wartime.

It has been accepted that rape was used as a strategic war tool in Bosnian war with the intention of ethnic cleansing. Women who were regarded as the honor of family in peacetime became the honor of nation in wartime. Since the protection of women's honor is the primary duties of men to prove their masculinity, the sexual assault of their

women led Bosnian Muslim men to question their masculinities, to demolish them psychologically and to humiliate them. In this war where women's bodies turned into a battle field and rape became a weapon women were harmed by their reproductive ability which is the most specific feature of female gender. Since the continuity of an ethnic group is only possible to give birth to new members of this ethnicity and women are the provider of future generations, they take a holy responsibility in the sight of society. When considering the historical hatred between Serbs and Bosniaks for centuries, to pollute the ethnic purity of enemy by impregnating their women appeared a reasonable way for Serbs in order to perform their ethnic cleansing project. In such a society where women are considered as the mother of nation and the honor of women means the honor of nation, rape served as a strategic tool and effective means to destroy social bonds, moral values and ethnic purity of Bosniaks. In this respect, when examined the reasons how sexual and gender based violence was used so effective that Bosnian war became a turning point to recognize wartime rape as a war crime and crime against humanity, patriarchal structure of Bosniaks can be argued as the most significant factor.

Therefore, this thesis aims to explain the use of sexual and gender based violence against women as a military strategy in wartime through the Bosnian case. For this aim, gender is used as a unit of analysis by using feminist IR theory in this study. The critical point of view of feminist perspective, which attaches importance to human security and especially to women's security, towards the male-domination that is assumed to exist in the discipline of IR in general and in the concept of security in particular has been guiding for the thesis. The main research question of this thesis is how sexual and gender based violence was used as a strategic war tool in Bosnian war. In line with the main question, it is aimed to answer for sub questions which are how female's bodies were used by Serbs to carry out ethnic cleansing against Bosniaks and what security threats that women are exposed to during the war and after the war.

In the light of the research questions guiding this study, it concludes that sexual and gender based violence was used as a war strategy in Bosnian war, as it is accepted by the discipline of IR and world public opinion. It is founded that women were turned into an object in this war where men of both sides were in a competition for asserting their masculinity and gaining superiority. In this competition, the use of gender-based sexual

violence was appeared as a reasonable way since the logic underlying SGBV is the sense of domination for perpetrator and the sense of humiliation for victim. When considered the historical dispute between two ethnic groups, which are Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, sexual violence especially in the form of mass rape had capacity both to defeat enemy by demolishing their soldiers psychologically and also to pollute the ethnic purity of enemy group by forcibly impregnating their women. That the use of rape was intended to change the ethnic makeup of future generations of Bosnian Muslims revealed the fact that rape certainly served as a war strategy of Serbs and women's body acted as a war zone with the intention of ethnic cleansing. Women who were associated with chastity, maternity and honor were exploited by gendered structure of war, which paved the way for permanent and irreparable outcomes on both women and all members of this specific ethnic group. Women faced with physical and psychological health problems, which were required professional treatment programs, as a result of rape. They experienced harsh economic conditions during the war and after the war as being responsible for the living of the family in the lack of their male family members. The inadequacy in services such as health, education and accommodation negatively affected women. The low level of women's participation and presentation in political and judicial institutions in pre-war condition diminished even more in post-war period. Moreover, the sexual violence towards women continued after the war in cities or refugee camps due to the chaotic environment in post-war period and the downfall of judicial system of the country.

It is stated that Bosnian war became a turning point in terms of recognizing the wartime rape as a war crime and crime against humanity in the scope of international law. The brutality and cruelties occurring in Bosnian war attracted attention of individuals, organizations, academicians, politicians and media throughout the all regions of the world in order to take action for prevention the use of rape in wartime. The reason that Bosnian case aroused a considerable reaction towards the issue of wartime rape although rape had been used in almost every war throughout the history is the level of impact that rape caused not only women but also the whole society. Moreover, this thesis argued that the underlying factor for this impact took its source from the patriarchal structure of Bosniaks because of the value given to women, honor, family and ethnic purity in patriarchal structure. Since women are defined as the mother of

nation and honor of women are associated with honor of nation in patriarchal ideology, rape means depriving men of fulfilling their first duty which is to protect their women and it leads the exclusion and ostracization of women who are subjected to rape which puts the ethnic purity of next generations in danger.

Therefore, it is seen that rape serves not only as an act of violence but a means of patriarchal ideology for both sides of the war so as to perpetuate gender inequality in the society. For this reason, feminist perspective is essential for a more comprehensive and accurate analysis on issues regarding war and security in a gendered discipline. It may be provided women become more visible in the field of international security and women's security issues are taken into consideration more owing to point of view and criticisms brought into the discipline of IR by feminist security theory. Unfortunately, it is a truth that Bosnian war is not the last case in which rape is used as a war tool. Although, wartime rape was recognized in the literature of international law and legal institutions were founded to prosecute war crimes in order to prevent the use of rape in future, the cases Rwanda, Liberia, Chechnya, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo, Cote D'ivoire, and Syria reveal the necessity of readdressing and revising this issue through comprehensive analyses. Therefore, necessary political, legal and academic studies should be continued to prevent the use of wartime rape to properly ensure women's security.

In this respect, for further researchs, recent cases in which rape and sexual violence are still used as a war tool should be studied by making a comparison between these cases and Bosnian case in order to understand the underlying social, cultural or ethnic factors that trigger men to use rape as a strategic tool. Such a study can contribute to get to the root of the problem to take more concrete steps to prevent the use of sexual violence and rape in wartime.

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APPENDIX 1: ORIGINALITY REPORT

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MASTER'S THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

Date: 23/09/2019

Thesis Title : The Use of Sexual and Gender Based Violence as a War Strategy in Bosnian War

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23.09.2019
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Name Surname:	Vesile Nur DAŞTAN
Student No:	N15228873
Department:	International Relations
Program:	Master of Arts in International Relations

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ömür Atmaca

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Tarih: 23/09/2019

Tez Başlığı : Cinsel ve Toplumsal Cinsiyete Dayalı Şiddetin Bosna Savaşında Bir Savaş Stratejisi Olarak Kullanılması

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 114 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 23/09/2019 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 9 'dur.

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Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Ayşe Ömür Atmaca

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1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
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Date and Signature

Name Surname:	Vesile Nur DAŞTAN
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Department:	International Relations
Program:	Master of Arts in International Relations
Status:	☒ MA ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Combined MA/ Ph.D.

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Tarih: 23/09/2019

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Statüsü:	☒ Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐ Bütünleşik Doktora

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