The Invisible Victims of Sexual Violence

A Qualitative Analysis of Male Rape in the

Congolese Conflict

Salomé Blum

Master Thesis

Master of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies

Department of Political Science

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

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Abstract

Sexual violence against men is a reality. What happens to women and children during wartime also happens to men: perhaps less often, probably more brutal, but definitely less visible than sexual violence committed against women. This thesis analyses the reasons and effects of sexual violence against men in the DRC conflict. Based on 27 interviews with both male survivors and experts conducted in Uganda, the thesis concludes that sexual violence against men is perpetrated for the same reasons as sexual violence against women, but entails different consequences for the survivors. The findings suggest that sexual violence has even stronger negative effects, where hegemonic masculinity is prevalent, gender relations are unequal, and male victims are in the aftermath socially, culturally, psychologically, and physically impaired to reach the masculine ideal.
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All mistakes and omissions in this work are mine.

Salomé Blum
Oslo, May 2012
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<tr>
<td>ABA</td>
<td>American Bar Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACORD</td>
<td>Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACTV</td>
<td>African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNDP</td>
<td>Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>FARDC</td>
<td>Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDLR</td>
<td>Forces Democratique de la Libération du Rwanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICTR</td>
<td>International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda</td>
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<td>ICTY</td>
<td>International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILPI</td>
<td>International Law and Policy Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRA</td>
<td>Lord’s Resistance Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLC</td>
<td>Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPM</td>
<td>Office of the Prime Minister (Uganda)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RLP</td>
<td>Refugee Law Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGBV</td>
<td>Sexual and Gender Based Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPC</td>
<td>Union of Congolese Patriots</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UPDF</td>
<td>Uganda People’s Defence Force</td>
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# 1 Introduction

Sexual violence is seen as a women’s issue, as a tool of warfare targeting women and girls. The group of victims that remains invisible are the men, being shunned by the society and mainly recognized as footnotes, thus not receiving enough international attention. While female victims undoubtedly constitute the majority of victims, sexual violence against men\(^1\) in conflict situations has always been and still is a reality. As long as the rough extent of male sexual violence remains under-researched, it is difficult to assess the amount of male victims in the sexual violence debate. In recent times, sexual violence against men has been reported in 29 armed conflicts.\(^2\) So far, this issue has not been researched adequately. Reasons for this are underreporting due to shame, fear, and additional stigmas in conjunction with illegality of homosexuality in many patriarchal societies, a lack of available and suiting services to the survivors on the one hand, but also disbelief amongst health workers as well as omission of the problem and lack of attention in the media and international community on the other.

Within the research on sexual violence in armed conflicts, the causes and consequences of sexual violence against men is an important element to complement the on-going research on sexual violence perpetrated against women. Sexual violence has an impact not only on the victim, but also on the community as a whole. The consequences have far reaching effects, which change and disrupt the social fabric within a society. Missing the consequences of sexual violence against men, as well as those of sexual violence against women on men thus leads to an incomplete picture of the impact of sexual violence on a macro level and how it affects society and gender relations within. In order to understand the rippling effects of sexual violence and disruption of society, the view and problems of men need to be researched and included. Furthermore, the dominant paradigm male-perpetrator and female-victim has to be challenged (Linos 2009:1549-1550).

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\(^1\) The term „sexual violence against men“ always also includes boys.

\(^2\) In recent times, male sexual violence has been reported in 29 armed conflicts: Afghanistan, Algeria, Central African Republic, Chechnya, Chile, Democratic Republic of Congo, El Salvador, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Iran, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Kenya, Liberia, Malaysia, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, United States facilities abroad, Uzbekistan, Yemen, former Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe (Sivakumaran 2010:264).
The aim of this thesis is to shed light on and generate knowledge about sexual violence against men in the eastern parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the reasons for its perpetuation and its effect within a patriarchal context. Questions that drive this thesis are the following: Why are men targeted for sexual violence, and under what circumstances and in which situations is sexual violence against men likely to happen? What are the reactions in the community and the consequences for male survivors? In order to find answers to these questions and at the same time expand the existing knowledge on sexual violence against men, I conducted semi-structured interviews with both experts in the field and male survivors of sexual violence in the DRC conflict, who had fled to Uganda. The analysis of the data material will show that sexual violence has even stronger negative effects, where hegemonic masculinity is prevalent, gender relations are unequal, and male victims are in the aftermath socially, culturally, psychologically, and physically impaired to reach the masculine ideal.

1.1 Research Question and Relevance

There are only a few studies focusing on male victims of sexual violence in conflict situations, and most of them take a theoretical approach. So far, they constitute the basis of the existent knowledge on sexual violence against men. The problem of sexual violence is especially high in the Great Lakes region, most notably in the DRC. While attention and aid are directed towards the plight of female survivors, there are many men and boys – civilians, soldiers, abductees – who have experienced sexual violence throughout the whole region. The scale seems to be particularly high in the DRC (Johnson et al. 2010). Hence, I chose to examine the eastern DRC conflict as a case study, and interviewed 22 male Congolese refugees in Uganda, who have been exposed to sexual violence within 2000 to 2010. The main research question at the core of this thesis is thus the following:

What are the reasons and effects of sexual violence against men in the DRC conflict?

Based on this research questions, the following sub-questions evolved:

a. Under what circumstances is sexual violence against men perpetrated?
b. How is sexual violence against men perceived, if at all, among the community?

c. What are the consequences for male survivors in the community?

Before I discuss the relevance of this research topic, I want to stress that the thesis’ focus on men is not intended to question or draw the attention away from female survivors, as they make up the larger group of sexual violence survivors during armed conflicts as well as in peace times. The work regarding female survivors needs to continue in order to address their needs and reduce the level of sexual violence. However, the men’s side should also be included in this work for several reasons.

First, gender programs mainly focus on women, thereby excluding men and their problems to a certain extent (Lwambo 2011:6). Male survivors have mostly remained invisible and their needs for treatment as well as their rights to reparation have therefore been neglected. Second, the lack of recognition of male sexual violence and the subsequent lack in treatment for male survivors may lead to the continuance of violence (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2010:46). Finally, the negligent situation regarding sexual violence against men also begs attention from a scholarly perspective. Failing to include the perspective of men into the approach of sexual violence in armed conflicts means to explain and understand the complex issue of sexual violence only partially. Vermeulen (2011) furthermore argues that the inclusion of male victims into the sexual violence debate will “emphasize the broader phenomenon”.

As conflicts turn more aggressive and brutal, are driven by guerrilla warfare, and civilians are the primary targets, the use of violence and rape tends to become normalised. Since civilian men present the biggest threat to armed groups, they are at the biggest risk of being violated (Carpenter 2006:88). Especially in ethnic conflicts, where armed groups aim at emasculating the enemy, the use of sexual violence against women and men can be more prevalent (Linos 2009:1550). The targeting of sexual violence is not restricted at women. The almost exclusive focus on women is understandable, yet does not solve the problem of nor help male victims. It is therefore imperative to address and understand the extent of the problem and the needs of the survivors as well as the motivation of the perpetrators in order to complete and understand the research of sexual violence in order to develop best practices.
1.2 Methodology

This master thesis is part of a pilot research project funded by Norad, the Norwegian Development Aid Agency, on the effects of work done by civil society actors on sexual and gender based violence in the Great Lakes region conducted by the International Law and Policy Institute (ILPI). Being a part of this project, I had the opportunity to do fieldwork in Uganda from January to February 2012 for the duration of six weeks. Before the beginning of my fieldwork, I had already identified and contacted several experts in this field. Additionally, I was in contact with one male survivor through a colleague at ILPI. However, most interview partners I reached through the so-called snowballing method. Especially the access to the support group of male survivors provided me with many valuable research subjects.

I conducted and analysed semi-structured interviews with 22 male survivors of sexual violence from the DRC, who had fled to Kampala. The majority of them (11) are from North Kivu (8 from Goma, 2 from Beni, 1 from Rutshuru), the remaining mainly from South Kivu (including Bukavu and Uvira), but also Ituri, Kinshasa and Rwanda. They come from various ethnic backgrounds. Most were self-employed businessmen, the rest had professions in the health, technical, security or arts sector or were students. The age range was from 14 to 67 years. All of them are civilian men and had not been involved in the conflict as combatants. The sample – even though small in size – includes male survivors from across the whole eastern region and beyond, through all age groups and from different social and ethnic backgrounds.

Additionally, I interviewed six experts, who are very outspoken and knowledgeable on this issue, most notably from the Refugee Law Project (RLP), which has produced several documentaries on sexual violence against men, representatives from the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) in Kampala, Department for Refugees, doctors and another source, who chose to remain anonymous. Together with two colleagues from ILPI, I also attended numerous meetings with organizations working with SGBV issues in Kampala, Moroto and Gulu within the framework of ILPI’s research project.

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3 For more information about sexual violence against combatants, see Johnson et al. (2008).
4 “Gender Against Men” and “They slept with me” by Refugee Law Project.
The semi-structured nature of the interviews were well suited to extract the important information while letting every survivor tell their own story and letting the experts discuss the questions according to their knowledge. The loose structure allowed to change the order of questions or to go deeper into an issue when necessary. In addition to conducting and examining interviews as a source of information, I also analysed academic literature as well as reports on sexual violence against men.

Given that this research analyses in detail the case of Congolese male survivors living as refugees in Kampala and the use and effect of sexual violence in the Eastern DRC, the research design is a case study (Bryman 2008:691). The case is small in size, yet gives examples of sexual violence in the region with the highest prevalence globally. As one of the first of its kind, it illuminates the aspect of male survivors in the theory of sexual violence in armed conflicts.

1.2.1 Challenges and Ethical Concerns

The biggest challenge I met during my fieldwork was finding the limited amount of people knowledgeable of and working with this issue. Since most male survivors face various stigmas attached to male rape, they only report to a small amount of persons or not at all. This problem is further exacerbated by numerous organizations meeting them with disbelief. The meetings with SGBV organizations showed that almost all focus solely on female survivors and dismissed the fact of male survivors as a problem too marginal to deal with.

Another challenge I was prepared to face was that male survivors might not want to talk to me about such a sensitive issue, due to my skin colour and gender in addition to being a stranger. But as it turned out, this was not a problem at all. They were very open and extremely helpful in sharing their experiences with me, because they want to draw international attention to their problems, as long as their anonymity was guaranteed. Needless to say that all their names, connections or other identifying information are fully anonymous.

During my data collection, I was sure to follow ethical principles. These are based on four aspects concerning the research subjects: 1) No harm to the participants; 2) Informed consent; 3) No invasion into the private sphere; and 4) No deception.
(Bryman 2008:118). The interviews with the survivors took place in a secure location, where they also meet weekly for their support group. The interviewees were furthermore informed about my coming and could decide themselves if they wanted to take part in the study. I interviewed them only individually in the second round, with the exception of a translator present in a few cases. As many of them fear their perpetrators also in Kampala, I was concerned not to put them into harm’s way by strictly making all data anonymous and subtracting their names from the research material. I have since kept all data confidential. The same holds true for the interviews with the experts, who I almost exclusively interviewed in their own working places.

Regarding consent, I explained the content of my research and my interest in their expertise about the subject matter. They could choose to remain anonymous or to be cited with name and position. I informed every survivor about the content of my research, my educational background and my interest in their lives. All of them agreed to share their stories with me. Also, I told all of them in the beginning that they are not obliged to talk about parts they feel uncomfortable with. I asked my questions sensitively and avoided to push them into a distressing situation. Regarding point 4, deception, I explained the reasons for my research and what the data will be used for in a true manner. The interviewees were most definitely not deceived about the content of the study and agreed to take part in it.

The possible fear that talking about their experience might open wounds and need therapeutic care was an additional ethical concern. During my many visits to the organisation being the contact point for the survivors, it became clear that my interest and research into this matter is not exceptional. The BBC and various journalists were also allowed access to the survivors to ask them about their experience. The concern could also be reduced by the fact that the survivors find help with each other in the support group as well as counselling services at the organisation.

1.3 Scope and Limitations

The research question in this thesis will not have straightforward, nor generalizable answers. It is a case study for Uganda and the Eastern DRC region and is based on the data material collected during my fieldwork. I do not aim to definitely state, on a gene-
ralizable level, the reasons and effects of sexual violence against men in the conflict, since the sample size is small and cannot be defined as representative sample of the whole Eastern DRC. However, the thesis will aspire to identify the prevalence of sexual violence and its consequences for the men interviewed and the surrounding community. It will furthermore give a first insight into the use and effect of sexual violence against men in conflicts.

The research fulfils the requirements of reliability for qualitative research, which are credibility (the findings are believable); transferability (the finding apply to other contexts); dependability (the findings apply also at other times); and confirmability (the investigator is not biased by his or her values) (Bryman 2008:34). The analysis of the data is credible, since it also mirrors the conclusions of other observers. It is transferable to a certain extent, as the findings stem from research subjects in different areas and situations. Moreover, the findings are similar to other conflicts. The data is also dependable, since the research subjects tell stories of their past and are unlikely to be dependent on the current situation. I have furthermore remained as objective as possible, therefore the findings fulfil the aspect of confirmability.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The thesis is structured into two main parts. The first part contains a chapter on key concepts and definitions of sexual violence against men and its prevalence in numerous conflicts as well as background information on the conflict in the DRC and the prevalence of sexual violence in the region. The following chapter gives an overview over the relevant theory about sexual violence used in conflict situations and the theoretical framework of masculinity, especially hegemonic masculinity. In the second part, I will analyse the interview material collected during my fieldwork in light of the theory and the research question. Finally, the conclusion will present the key findings of this research.
2 Background

Sexual and gender based violence can take on many different forms in both conflict situations and in peacetime. This thesis focuses only on sexual violence during armed conflicts. It is therefore imperative to define what is understood by the term “sexual violence” and which different forms it can take particularly against men in conflict situations.

2.1 Terminology: Sexual Violence Against Men

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) defines sexual violence as a crime against humanity (Art. 7(1)(g)), which includes rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and enforced sterilization. The complementary Elements of Crime, which elaborates on the crimes more thoroughly, defines sexual violence as

“an act of a sexual nature against one or more persons or caused such person or persons to engage in an act of a sexual nature by force, or by threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression or abuse of power, against such person or persons or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or such person’s incapacity to give genuine consent” (Elements of Crimes, Art. 7(1)(g)-6).

Sexual violence not only includes any attempts to obtain a sexual act, but also those acts directed at a person’s sexuality or at trafficking for sexual purpose using coercion (Russell et al. 2011:1). The next paragraphs will define different forms of sexual violence against men and illustrate them with examples from various conflicts.

Seifert (1996:37) claims that women constitute the largest group of victims in wartime. I challenge this view: since men are perceived as the bigger potential threat to the attacker than women, according to Carpenter (2006), Myrttinen (2003), Mechanic (2004) and Jones (2000, 2006), they are thus at the biggest risk of being killed and compile the majority of victims. While gender based violence in armed conflicts include conscription or forced recruitment into armed forces, where death is a reality, and
massacres are based on sex, sexual violence also always includes a sexual element (Carpenter 2006:88-91). Such violence containing a sexual element will be explored in this chapter.

The most common form of sexual violence against men is enforced nudity, followed by enforced masturbation. Nakedness implies vulnerability and humiliation, which can be enhanced by verbal sexual threats. The effect is stronger in specific contexts, where nudity is a taboo (Sivakumaran 2007:266-267).

2.1.1 Rape

In ancient wars, rape represented the ultimate defeat and domination of the enemy. The opinion used to be that a sexually penetrated man loses his manhood and thus his ability to be a warrior (Hardy 2002:20). Rape is defined as the invasion of

“the body of a person by conduct resulting in penetration, however slight, of any part of the body of the victim or of the perpetrator with a sexual organ, or of the anal or genital opening of the victim with any object or any other part of the body” (ICC Elements of Crime, Art. 7(1)(g)-1)

It is to note that this definition is gender neutral. While many legal definitions of rape on the national or international level often only mentioned the vagina as a genital opening that can be penetrated, thereby excluding men and boys as possible victims, these definitions have gradually been changed and have taken on gender-neutral forms (Adler 2000:125). It is furthermore noteworthy that rape can be perpetrated with any object, which also includes the possibility of female perpetrators.

While rape can happen under various circumstances, it mostly occurs in situations of detention or during (forced) recruitment, where the perpetrators are often the opposition forces and victims thus vulnerable and in a dependent position to the perpetrators (Stemple 2009:611). Rape can take on different forms, such as being forced to perform oral sex on guards or fellow prisoners/abductees, enforced masturbation,
being raped anally by the perpetrator, who may also use objects\(^5\), or having to rape other prisoners anally (Sivakumaran 2007:264). Whereas anal penetration by the penis does not leave obvious physical signs, the use of objects increases the risk of wounds and scarring (Peel 2004:66). Compared to sexual violence against women, sexual violence against men is often more brutal and sadistic and rather happen isolated (Lynn King and Greening 2007:1056; Peel 2004:61).

A study about the sexual abuse of Sri Lankan men showed that 20 per cent had been exposed to sexual violence while in detention, starting with forced nakedness, and culminating in rape, often by drunken soldiers. Even though there are no indications that rape was official policy, it was condoned by the authorities (Peel 2004:66). The men who reported having been raped were younger than those experiencing no or other forms of sexual violence (Peel et al. 2000:2069). In the Bosnian war, thousands of Bosnian women were held in so-called rape camps to impregnate them with “Serb babies”, and even though, there were no “pure all-male rape camps” and there is no estimation at all of the number of male victims, men made up the bigger part of prisoners overall and the use of sexual violence against them was common and planned (Bringedal Houge 2008b:64). According to one study of 6000 concentration camp prisoners, 80% of the men were raped during detention (Stemple 2009:614). In the detention camp at Omarska, the male inmates were exposed to sexual violence on a far greater scale than women (DelZotto & Jones 2002:10). Male rape was also reported in Zimbabwe, where the police, the army or militia raped the majority of their torture victims in order to crush the opposition. The victims are mostly raped by several perpetrators and also forced to rape other detainees (Hill 2003).

**Sexual Torture**

Often, rape takes place as part of a more extensive torture. Hardy (2002:21) postulates that torture has the purpose of controlling a person or wider community. Rape within this context may be used to achieve this goal. Another study reported that sexual torture was a reality for 76% of male prisoners in El Salvador during the 1980s (Stemple

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\(^5\) In Sri Lanka, prisoners were sodomized anally by their perpetrators using a stick with chillies rubbed on it. In Iraq, male prisoners of the 800th Military Police Brigade were sodomized with a chemical light or a broom stick. In the former Yugoslavia, a police truncheon was used in one case on a detainee (Sivakumaran 2007:264).
2009:613). Pushing objects through the anus or rape constituted a part of torture to question detainees during the Nigerian civil war (Peel 2004:65). In the Bosnian war, sexual torture was reported to be systematic and widespread – specifically beatings of the genitals (Carlson 2006:19).

Sexual Slavery

Sexual slavery is especially a reality for boys and young men, who are conscripted or abducted into armed forces. They find themselves in a vulnerable and dependent position, which – as many cases show – can be exploited (Sivakumaran 2010:270).

A study about combatants and sexual violence in Liberia concludes that not only female, but also male combatants were subject to sexual violence and sexual slavery in armed forces. Within armed forces, 32.6% of former male combatants experienced sexual violence (compared to 42.3% among former female combatants). Among non-combatants, 9.2% of women and girls said that they had experienced sexual violence, whereas among men and boys, the amount is 7.4% (Johnson et al. 2008:688). Young male slaves, including young male LRA soldiers⁶, experienced rape perpetrated by government soldiers in Southern Sudan. They were often abused several times and by several perpetrators. These victims are not protected under international law, which only focuses on civilians, but not on combatants or child soldiers (Stemple 2009:614). Also, armed groups and armed forces in Afghanistan are reported to sexually exploit and abuse especially young boys, amongst other things for “sexual social entertainment” (Sivakumaran 2010:269).

2.1.2 Enforced Sterilization and Genital Violence

Historically, sexual violence against men especially using castration by cutting off the victims’ penises has been prevalent in many conflicts. In Ancient Persia, warriors piled their enemies’ penises high on plates to signal their victory. Removing the penis or testicles symbolized the feminization, the disempowerment of the man (Bringedal Houge 2008b:65). In Mesoamerica, captured men and boys became “body servants”, meaning sex slaves, for the warriors (DelZotto & Jones 2002:2). During the atrocities in the

⁶ Interview with Justice and Reconciliation Project, Gulu, February 4, 2012.
Chinese city Nanjing in the Second World War, the so-called “Rape of Nanking”, Chinese men were castrated or sodomized by Japanese soldiers (Chang 1997:95).

Often, such acts of sexual mutilation as enforced sterilization are part of torture, including castration, circumcision, electric shocks to or beatings of the genitals. Many of these acts have been reported in the Bosnian war in the Bassiouni report, which is the most extensive source on sexual violence against men in the war. He mentions beatings of genitals, forced nakedness, rape (including use of objects), castration (in one instance with a wire tied from testicles to a motorcycle) and biting off of testicles (Bassiouni 1994). Beatings and injuries to the genitals seem to have been the most prevalent form of sexual violence (Carlson 2006:19). According to Oosterhoff et al. (2004:73), “sexual torture of men was a regular, unexceptional component of violence in wartime Croatia”, carried out in a widespread and systemic pattern with the purpose of destroying the men’s reproductive organs. The most infamous case is the war criminal Tadic, who forced one prisoner to bite off another prisoner’s testicles in order to survive (Sivakumaran 2007:265). Tadic was eventually found guilty of male sexual assault by the ICTY, thereby sending a signal of justice for male victims (Lynn King and Greening 2007:1056). Just as the sexual penetration of a man or the amputation of his sexual organ led to the loss of his manhood in ancient history, the use of torture and violence directed at the genitals is often aimed at destroying the victim’s sense of manhood (Sivakumaran 2007:270).

2.1.3 Enforced Rape of the Family

In many conflicts, the act of a man being forced to rape another person, most often a family member or another prisoner in detention, is common. Japanese soldiers forced Chinese men to carry out sexual acts or incest in Nanjing (Chang 1997:95). In recent African conflicts, such as Sierra Leone, sons were forced to rape mothers, brothers forced to rape sisters. In the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, fathers were forced to rape their sons or daughters, and more family members or the whole community were forced to watch, in order to generate a more devastating, terrorizing effect. Through such an assault, not only the “passive” partner in the rape is victimized, but also the “active” partner, e.g. the man. Using such a form of sexual violence, the victims are
not only deeply humiliated and traumatized, but also affected in their “sanctity of family relationships” in a traumatizing way (Carpenter 2006:95-96).

### 2.1.4 Secondary Victimization: The Rape of Women

The tool of sexual violence against women in a conflict can be used to signal the domination and power of the attacker towards the enemy men. Raping or assaulting their women communicates the socially connected men’s failure to protect their women (Card 1996:7). This effect is particularly enhanced in societies where the woman symbolizes honour and chastity of the family (Sivakumaran 2007:268). Carpenter (2006:97) argues that having to watch a female relative being raped can be defined as a secondary, psychological torture for the man. This kind of sexual violence was perpetrated in an extreme form in Mozambique, where the men were forced to lie down while the rebels raping women (often the men’s relatives) on top of them (Akurut 2011). Not diminishing the consequences sexual violence against women has on women themselves, the indirect effect on men has so far been under researched and likely also underestimated. Since sexual violence is a reality in many conflicts, more men than estimated are (indirect) victims.

### 2.1.5 Genocidal Rape

The case of Akayesu in the International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda (ICTR) has been crucial in connecting rape to genocide. In his judgement, sexual violence constituted an element of genocide (Askin 1999:98). Rape can be used very efficiently to bring about the effects of genocide. One single act of rape has more consequences than one act of killing on multiple levels. Instead of killing a large part of an ethnic group, rape (a) aims at disrupting the social cohesion in a community and spreading fear and terror resulting in many civilians fleeing and leaving their community and social structures behind; (b) forms a part of torture in detention, often resulting in death; and (c) aims at impregnating women in order to bear a child with the ethnicity of the rapist, thus eroding the social cohesion by transferring ethnically different children to the group (Jones 2006:460). Obviously, point (c) is limited to female victims, but rape can also take on a genocidal form against men, illustrated by Jones (2006:461). He argues
that (a) being forced to commit a sexual act against other males is likely to disrupt social cohesion. Moreover, the feminization of the victims can destroy the masculinity needed in military groups. As illustrated above, rape is (b) very common as a part of torture in detention against men, often accompanied by sexual torture to the genitals with the result of damaged reproductive organs. Thus, (c) the consequences of genital damage and psychological effect of sexual torture can lead to difficulties or even the inability for men to reproduce. While sexual violence and especially violence to the genitals can lead to the destruction of the victim’s physical reproductive capabilities, alone the psychological consequences expressed in sexual and relationship difficulties can prevent the man from reproducing, even if his physical capabilities are intact (Sivakumaran 2007:273). In the Bosnian war, such a policy of ethnic cleansing was carried out by forcefully impregnating Bosnian Muslim women and by destroying Bosnian Muslim men’s reproductive function. Another form of genocidal rape is the so called “rape plus”, where a victim is infected with HIV by using rape and thus killed slowly, which was a common method used against women in the Rwandan genocide, but also against men in Kosovo (Sivakumaran 2007:264).

2.2 The Problem of Omission

The reports of systematic and widespread sexual violence during the Bosnian war were essential in putting the issue on the international agenda. This was also underlined by the convictions of war criminals for sexual violence as war crimes and crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) (Linos 2009:1549). Moreover, the ICTY had a Sexual Assault Investigation Team inspect the rape of men. As previously mentioned, sexual violence against men such as castration, sexual mutilation, forced rape, fellatio or other sexual acts was widespread in the Bosnian war (Stemple 2009:613). However, these incidents have seldom been prosecuted as sexual violence in the ICTY, but rather as “torture”, “degrading treatment”, “serious injury to body or health” or “cruel treatment” (Carpenter 2006:94-95; Sivakumaran 2010:272; DelZotto & Jones 2002:10). The perpetrators of sexual violence against women have generally received lengthier sentences than perpetrators of male sexual violence (Lynn King and Greening 2007:1066). Also the Special Court for
Sierra Leone only tried cases of sexual violence against women and girls. Male survivors thus did not even get the right to receive justice (Sivakumaran 2010:274). Due to these frameworks, male victims remain invisible.

In the Bosnian war, there was also only little mention and debate of the problem in the national media, even though rape often occurred openly and in public, often being perpetrated by groups, which deliberately let bystanders watch (Oosterhoff et al. 2004:74). Only reports of sexual violence against women were newsworthy (Sivakumaran 2010:261). As Zarkov (2001:72) illustrates, cases of rape of men seldom found their way into the media – if they did, then only in the international press. Moreover, it was never the victims themselves, who reported the assaults, but witnesses. The non-reporting of male victims helps in keeping up traditional gender roles and an image of masculinity, where men cannot be perceived as victims of sexual violence (Bringedal Houge 2008b:73). Additionally, societal norms and masculinity-dominated cultures have turned the issue into a taboo, which leads to little understanding and knowledge of the problem. Thus, historical silence and a paternalistic state lead to a suppression of the sexual violence against men (DelZotto and Jones 2002:11).

2.3 The Armed Conflict in the DRC

Coined as “Africa’s World War”, the conflict in the DRC has involved eight African nations and led to the death of approximately five million people caused directly or indirectly by the war, such as hunger and diseases. Furthermore, hundred of thousand civilians have fallen victim to sexual violence. The main reason for the conflict perpetuation is the access to Congo’s vast mineral resources, such as gold, diamond, coltan, and timber.

The conflict is embedded into several conflicts in the neighbouring countries Rwanda, Uganda and Sudan, and came about through the spill over of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. After 800’000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus had been killed within only three months in the Rwandan genocide, the remaining génocidaires, the Interahamwe, fled to the eastern parts of the DRC, where they prepared and launched attacks against Rwanda. Additionally, Tutsis living in the DRC were attacked by Congolese armed forces. When the Congolese president Mobutu failed to stop the Interahamwe
attacks, Rwanda and Uganda began to support rebel groups in the Eastern DRC in order to overthrow Mobutu (Mollel 2009:15). In 1996, the rebel group Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre (AFDL), led by Laurent Kabila and supported by the Rwandan Patriotic Army and Uganda’s People Defence Force (UPDF), succeeded in ousting Mobutu. Kabila himself took over the presidential power and installed many Rwandese in high-ranking positions due to his alliance with Rwanda. But just as Mobutu, Kabila’s reign was characterized by corruption, lack of accountability, and a monopoly on Congo’s resources. In 1998, he expelled the Rwandese officials due to his fear of being ousted (Olsson and Fors 2004:325).

Rwanda and Uganda, now without alliance to the Congolese president, supported other rebel groups opposing Kabila, especially the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD) based in Goma and the Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo (MLC), thereby occupying the East and Northeast of the DRC through proxy and achieving de facto control in this political vacuum. Kabila’s government could only be saved by the military support from his neighbours Angola, Zimbabwe, Chad, Sudan and Namibia, who joined the conflict under the pretext of self-defence, but were more interested in accessing Congo’s vast mineral resources. After four years of fighting, the DRC was split into three parts, the government controlling the west, Rwanda the east and Uganda the northeast by supporting different militias and rebel groups. This led to a military blockade (Meger 2010:124).

Even though several peace agreements were signed between Kabila and rebel groups between 1999 and 2001, none were implemented. Only when Kabila was assassinated in 2001 and his son Joseph took over power, peace negotiations led to a peace agreement between the key players in 2002. Even though the troops of Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe had withdrawn, the conflict carried on in the Eastern DRC between the Congolese armed forces, different rebel and militia groups, the local Mai-Mai as well as the Interahamwe. All of them are reported to have committed war crimes against the civilian population, including wilful killing, torture, and sexual violence on a high scale (Meger 2010:125; Mollel 2009:16).
2.4 Sexual Violence in the Great Lakes Region

The Great Lakes region is known for its high prevalence of sexual and gender based violence. During the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, thousands of women were raped and killed; many more were raped with the purpose of infecting them with HIV.

The study of Johnson et al. (2010) analysed the prevalence of sexual violence in the Eastern DRC and is the first to show gendered empirical results of sexual violence. They conducted interviews with 998 adults in eleven different provinces in Ituri, North Kivu, and South Kivu regarding the incidence and forms of sexual violence, the perpetrators, and the consequences. 593 (59.4%) women and 405 (40.6) men participated in the survey. 39.7% of the women and 23.6% of the men reported to have experienced sexual violence, including sexual violence in intimate partner relationships. Of those, 73.3% of the women and 64.5% of the men explained the sexual violence to be conflict-related. This means that 29.5% of the women and 15.2% of the men of the whole sample size have been sexually violated related to the conflict. Rape was the most prevalent form of sexual violence for women (51.1%), while it was sexual slavery (32%) for the men. Regarding male sexual violence, 85.9% of the perpetrators were combatants, mostly the Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC) (53.4%), while the female survivors were mostly attacked by the Mai-Mai (38.5%) and the Interahamwe (21.7%). Regarding perpetrator gender, 91.4% of conflict related sexual violence against men was perpetrated by men. Other reports also conclude that most perpetrators of sexual violence against men are men themselves (roughly 90%) and mostly combatants (Prinsloo 2011). Gettleman (2009) furthermore argues that more men have been raped due to joint Congo-Rwanda military operations against rebels in the region around Goma, DRC. According to Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009:497), the integrated State Armed Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC) was responsible for 40 per cent of sexual violence committed in 2007. The American Bar Association, which offers legal services to victims of sexual violence, treated male victims, who made up more than 10 per cent of their legal cases in the summer of 2009. The explanation offered for this rise in numbers is that armed groups use sexual violence to demoralize and humiliate the Congolese communities.
In Uganda, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) was notorious for killing civilians brutally and abducting more than 25’000 children for killing and looting, but also for sexual slavery and forced marriages (Liebling-Kalifani et al. 2008:175). In order to protect the civilians, the government moved them into camps. However, they could not be protected sufficiently: women were confronted with torture, forced marriages, sexual exploitation and gang rapes, and men were raped by rebels, UPDF soldiers, or other residents\(^7\) (Liebling-Kalifani et al. 2008:179; Bastick et al. 2007:66). Both men and women were subjected to sexual violence, whereas the amount of targeted women was bigger (Liebling-Kalifani et al. 2008:179). A study conducted in Gulu showed that men suffered more than women from all forms of physical torture (Musisi and Kinyaanda 2001:127), while a study of the town Kitgum stated that 7.9% of men had been sexually assaulted (Liebling-Kalifani et al. 2008:178). However, due to the aforementioned stigmas attached to male sexual violence, the likelihood of these numbers being underreported is high. Many reports mention male sexual violence, even if only acknowledging it as a minor part of sexual and gender based violence basically against women (Henttonen et al. 2008:127).

Uganda is a host state to many refugees from the DRC, including victims of sexual violence. Similarly to the American Bar Association in Goma, the Refugee Law Project (RLP) in Kampala treats male victims of sexual violence, often refugees from the DRC or victims of the LRA (Prinsloo 2011). They estimate that the cases they treat are only a marginal part of the actual numbers. Even so, all the men coming to RLP have experienced some sort of sexual violence. Not only do they experience rape, they are forced into humiliating sexual acts such as penetrating “holes in banana trees that run with acidic sap, to sit with their genitals over a fire, to drag rocks tied to their penis, to give oral sex to queues of soldiers, to be penetrated with screwdrivers and sticks” (Storr 2009). If reporting the crime, the male victims are not only at risk of being ostracized by the community, but also of being blamed as homosexual and therefore punishable for homosexual acts under the national law (Prinsloo 2011). This adds an additional stigma to the already heavily stigmatized issue.

\(^7\) Interview with representative of Justice and Reconciliation Project, Gulu, Feb 4, 2012, Interview with an anonymous source, Kampala, Feb 1, 2012 and with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
3 Theory

Before the 1990s, which have seen an increase in the reporting of sexual violence in armed conflicts, most notably the Bosnian war, the Rwandan genocide and subsequently the conflict in the DRC, rape has been perceived as “spoils of war”, which cannot be prevented. Its systematic and widespread nature in many conflicts has led to the abandonment of the “spoils of war”-argument for lack of explaining its prevalence. More thorough and complex theories have emerged over the past two decades with the aim to explain sexual violence in wartime. These will be discussed in this chapter in light of male victims. However, before the theory of sexual violence in conflict can be explained, it is essential to analyse the notion of masculinities in conflict settings in order to fully comprehend the use and effect of sexual violence against men.

3.1 Masculinity

Masculinities cannot be generalized. It differs between societies as much as between times. There is not only one form of masculinity. Thus, plural notions of masculinity exist. How men behave, what they believe in or what they practice varies among contexts and even between men in the same culture. The type of masculinity is derived from men’s experiences of class, culture, and sexual orientation. Just as men are different, forms of masculinities are different and always relate to the context (Lorentzen 2011:112). The same way as gender perspectives socialize women, they have an impact on men’s lives. Doing gender happens culturally specific and the outcome therefore varies. In Africa, gender identities also change due to external influences such as globalization, colonization and the prevalence of armed conflict (Large 2010:5).

However, the concept of masculinity only exists when it can be contrasted to femininity (Connell 2005:68). Masculinity is therefore also always about the relationship between men and women. The essentialist definition sees masculinity as the contrast to femininity, e.g. active versus passive, whereas the semiotic approach defines it as not-femininity (Connell 2005:68-70). The concept of feminization becomes a threat especially in a context, where women are viewed as weaker and less worth than men and
treated denigratingly in society (Lorentzen 2011:115). The men are bound to differ as much as possible from what is perceived to be female in such a culture. While certain attributes like physical strength, sexual performance, protection and support of women are ascribed to most forms of masculinity, homosexuality is a threatening challenge to masculinity, because it mixes female and male attributes (Alison 2007:76-77).

The science of masculinities is vast, but since this thesis’ focus lies on the Great Lakes region, it will only focus on masculinities in patriarchal societies and in particular on hegemonic masculinities. Conflict settings diminish the possibilities of masculinities and polarize identities. Regarding gender, hegemonic masculinity prevails.

### 3.1.1 Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemony describes a hierarchical relationship, where one group claims power (Connell 2005:77). Hegemonic masculinity is understood as “norms and institutions that seek to maintain men’s authority over women and over subordinate masculinities” (Alison 2007:76). Ratele (2008:516) describes hegemonic masculinity as a “mesh of social practices productive of gender-based hierarchies”, which culminate in the “unequal relations between females and males as groups”. Furthermore, in a patriarchal context, hegemonic masculinity is not only prioritized over femininity, but also over all other forms of masculinity (Meger 2011:5). Hence, all men are superior to women and some men are superior to other men (Page 2009:2). The lowest group of men in this hierarchy are homosexuals. The dominance of hegemonic masculinity over homosexual masculinity is characterized by criminalization of homosexuality, intimidation, and violence (Connell 2005:155).

In armed conflicts, the views of gender identities and other social identities are narrowed (Myrttinen 2003:42). Dolan (2003) argues that in a conflict setting, the variety of possible alternatives of masculinity available to men is limited to only hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity evolves around the relationship of men to women. They need to be more powerful, stronger, smarter, richer and better than women. Key roles are providing material needs and physical protection for the family. In a conflict setting, these roles are at the same time taken away from the men and endangered by the state or armed groups. They therefore lose domestic and political power and feel
oppressed by the expectations they cannot fulfil. The feeling of oppression is linked to a feeling of humiliation, not being man enough, which can turn into violence directed against weaker individuals, such as women and children or other men. Only fulfilling hegemonic masculinity can make the men feel masculine again. On the other hand, soldiers or combatants are advantaged towards civilian men, who can become vulnerable to violence used by combatants (Dolan 2008). Meger (2011:6) argues that military men use violence in order to suppress other men, demonstrate their superiority and to attain masculinity. The civilian man is belittled compared to combatants, because he does not possess a weapon. A gun is a symbol of power and violence, which can exert hegemony over others (Myrttinen 2003:43-44). The armed men embody masculinity by sanctioning violence and wielding power over unarmed men and women, thereby also climbing the hierarchical ladder of hegemonic masculinity (Large 2010:6).

Even though male civilians are more likely to fall victim to violence, men tend to refuse to be labelled as “victim” or even allow the possibility of becoming a victim of sexual violence, as this is incompatible with their sense of masculinity. If it occurs, those men are not perceived as “‘real men’, for ‘real men’ would not have let this happen to them (Graham 2006:188; Sivakumaran 2007:270). Deviating from the heteronormative male ideal means to be “‘less’ masculine” (Sivakumaran 2007:270). While women are overall not in a more vulnerable position than men in wartime, they tend to be more vulnerable regarding sexual violence, since they are easier and more logical targets for a (armed) man. Women hence represent the bigger group of sexual violence victims. Yet, the reasons for sexual violence against men are mostly similar to those against women.

3.2 Sexual Violence as Satisfaction of Sexual Needs

The reasons why sexual violence in wartime happens are likely to be as manifold as the forms it can take on. Every perpetrator acts based on different motivations, which furthermore vary over culture, time, and situations. It is difficult to assess general underlying reasons for this phenomenon.

Enloe (2000) mentions three different forms of sexual violence in conflicts settings: a) recreational rape: soldiers do not have adequate access to women; b)
national security rape: used as a tool by the state; c) systematic mass rape: used as a tool of open warfare. All of these forms can happen in one conflict. The first was typical during the Second World War in China with the so-called “comfort women” system, where soldiers were awarded for their “work” with women. The two latter forms define rape as a weapon of war that is used systematically and widespread.

Hence, two strains of theory emerge. The first strain follows an opportunist argument, where sexual violence happens randomly on an individual level with uncontrollable armed forces satisfying their sexual urges. The second strain argues that sexual violence is committed with the motive of terrorizing and dominating the civilization or the enemy – condoned or even planned by the leaders – with rape as an efficient tool to achieve this goal. This will be discussed in the next section. While the latter is able and possibly aimed at destroying the culture of the opponent or the population, the first is seen as an inevitable part of warfare, and rape is used in order to reaffirm the perpetrator’s masculinity (Seifert 1994). It is difficult to understand how one can perform a sexual act in the midst of battle. Yet, this motivation for sexual violence needs to be discussed. Littlewood (1997:12) argues that a context of war might “promote such a potential”, where rape is a part of the conquest and violence and the penetration with a weapon or other object seen as a “frustrated or disgusted response to a failure to be aroused”. Moreover, social controls are weak or disrupted during wartime and a conflict generates more opportunities to commit a crime or rape without being held accountable. The crime thus does not entail any costs. Peer pressure as well as group bonding among armed forces can play an additional role in the perpetration of sexual violence (Wood 2006:322-327). Additionally, it cannot be denied that a situation of power and control over another individual also entails a sexual element. Sexuality is often linked to power and domination – the not too uncommon rape fantasy among both men and women in peacetime presents an indicator for this relationship. Domination or even violence and sexuality can therefore not be completely disentangled. Furthermore, a culture of impunity and the normality of atrocities are factors, which influence armed men to do what they can. These arguments however are only brought forward regarding sexual violence against women. The aspect of male rape for the purpose of satisfying sexual needs is so far not discussed in the literature on sexual
violence against men in conflicts. Its possibility should however not be ignored. The analysis will discuss the sexual urge argument regarding sexual violence against men.

Seifert (1996:35) on the other hand argues that rape is perpetrated regardless of whether sexual needs are and can be satisfied in a normal way. Many studies conclude that rape is “not a sexual but an aggressive act”, where the victim is dominated and violated. Sexual violence is thus argued to be about power and dominance, in wartime as well as in peacetime (Sivakumaran 2007:267). However, Brindedal Houge’s study (2008a:79) of perpetrators in the Bosnian war identified five different types, three of which perpetrate sexual violence based on motivations of incentive or sexual desire: The “competitor” rapes to demonstrate his manhood. The “opportunist” exploits the situation. The “conformist” gives in to peer pressure. Only one type rapes out of duty. The last type is forced to rape. Nevertheless, the common view of sexual violence in armed conflicts is rape as a weapon of war.

3.3 Rape as a Weapon of War

Since sexual violence often is too widespread and too frequent in armed conflicts, Skjelsbæk (2001:213) argues that it is improbable for it not to be a weapon of war. Moreover, too many actors in a conflict perpetrate sexual violence, hence it cannot only be committed by abnormal and deviant people – or in the case of men-on-men rape: homosexual men.

That rape is used as a weapon of war has been argued for many conflicts. Sexual violence becomes a weapon to terrorize a population. Alone the fear can force people to flee. Rape has a devastating physical and psychological effect not only on the victim, but also on the whole community. Especially in a patriarchal context where ideas of honour and shame are attached to women’s bodies, sexual violence is an effective war strategy. Raped women may be left by their husbands or cast out from the whole community. She is furthermore in a bad position to be remarried again (Meger 2010:123; Seifert 1994; Farwell 2004:396). Rape is extremely effective at attacking concepts of honour, shame, family and identity, thereby achieving humiliation, demoralization and eventually destroying the solidarity and social fabric of the targeted community. By forcefully impregnating women, the perpetrators realise the destruc-
tion of group cohesion as well as the community’s overall identity most effectively. Sexual violence is therefore seen as a weapon more powerful in eroding the social fabric than others, because one attack alone has far reaching consequences also for the victim’s family, the men and the bigger community. The reaction in the community is often to shun the victim and possibly the entire family. Moreover, the women’s and the men’s honour as well as the group’s identity are attacked (Farwell 2004:396). If rape is done on a mass scale, it has rippling effects through the society as well as through time, when the community cohesion is disrupted, individuals’ psyches are destroyed and children are born of war.

Skjelbsbæk (2001) has conceptualized the relationship between sexual violence and war into three different epistemologies. The first conceptualization, essentialism, explains that women are being victims due to the perpetrators’ intention to achieve militaristic masculinity. Sexual violence is thus used as a tool to reaffirm “patriarchal hierarchies between men and women” (2001:217). The limitations of essentialism, however, are its inability to explain first why some groups of women are targeted more than other in many conflicts, and second do not cover the case of sexual violence perpetrated against men. The former shortcoming is explained by the second conceptualization, which Skjelbsbæk (2001:218) calls structuralism. There, ethnicity and religion interact with gender. Women belonging to a particular ethnic or religious group are targeted because of their affiliation to that group. The use of sexual violence as men dominating over women is now extended by the notion of men belonging to the stronger group dominating the women of the weaker group. However, this still lacks the focus of male victims. This issue is addressed by Skjelbsbæk’s third conceptualization: social constructionism.

3.4 Social Constructionism: Power and Domination

The third conceptualization bases the concept of gender relations as “constructed through transactions that are understood to be appropriate to one sex“ (Skjelbsbæk 2001:224). By doing so, the perception of men-perpetrator/women-victim is changed into the possibility that both men and women can be perpetrators or victims. Thus, the third conceptualization also includes men as victims of sexual violence. Because there
have been many situations in both peace and war, where men were raped by other men, social constructionism explains sexual violence by being based on power domination. Men raping other men are seldom homosexual. The purpose of the sexual violence is to dominate the victim and force him into the female role, thus feminizing, humiliating, and controlling the victim, and masculinizing and empowering the perpetrator (Skjelsbæk 2001:225; Hardy 2002:19). When the perpetrator takes over the masculine role, the victim is feminized – regardless of gender. A sexually violated man thus loses his social status and falls within the hegemonic hierarchy to a “feminized male”, less worth than other men (Sivakumaran 2007:271). As already mentioned, sexual violence against men mostly happens in situations of detentions, where “one man is in control of another”. Thus, rape is more a “pseudo-sexual act” of dominance, aggression, and control (Peel 2004:61-62). Furthermore, just as raping women communicates to this group’s men that they are not able to protect their women, raping men sends a stark signal that the men are not able to protect themselves nor their women, thereby not fulfilling their role of protection (Sivakumaran 2007:268). Sexual violence used directly against men furthermore serves to subordinate the victims and to enforce the gender hierarchy, thereby dominating others – both men and women – along the lines of socially constructed gender ideals (Meger 2011:8).

Especially in ethnic conflicts, people belonging to a certain ethnic group are more susceptible to sexual violence. Then, the attack on a woman or man of a certain ethnic group is an attack on the whole group. According to Seifert (1996:39), the woman “embodies the nation as a whole” in many cultures and represents “the construction of the community being produced and made visible in her person, body and life”. Therefore, the rape of a woman is perceived as a rape of that community. While an attack against a female member is thus an attack on the culture and personification of the group, the attack on a male member symbolizes the group’s disempowerment (Sivakumaran 2007:274). Just as female victims lose their own and the family’s honour and chastity, when violated, male victims lose their power and manhood. The rape of women has the power to signal to the men their failure in their duty to protect them. If the sexual violence is directed at the men directly, this effect is even more enhanced. The power relationship between the perpetrator and the victim is projected
on the community level. Just as the victim loses his masculinity and is disempowered, the community loses its strength and power and feels weak and unprotected (Sivakumaran 2007:268-269). Sexual violence becomes a means to emasculate the whole group (Sivakumaran 2007:274).

3.5 Homosexualisation

The issue of men-on-men rape is often linked to discussions of homosexuality (Graham 2006:192). However, the perpetrators are mostly heterosexual (Graham 2006:198). By raping another man, the perpetrator feels heterosexual, because he takes over the active, dominating role, whereas the victim is “tainted” with the idea of homosexuality, because he is forced into the female role. Moreover, if a perpetrator forces two men to rape each other, both of them are tainted with homosexuality, regardless of which role they take over in the act (Sivakumaran 2005:1298).

One of the perpetrator’s motivations can be to attach the stigma of homosexuality to the victim, especially in a society where homosexuality is not accepted or even illegal. In such a context, rape adds an additional stigma to male victims, which female victims do not experience (Sivakumaran 2005:1293-1294). It can be common for the victim to develop an erection or have an ejaculation during the rape, as this is a physiological response not correlating to the psychological feelings. Such reactions can lead to confusions for the victims about their sexuality and might make them even less willing to report their experience (Peel 2004:67). Tainting a male victim with homosexuality is also a way to emasculate him by taking away his heterosexual status and with it his power and manhood (Sivakumaran 2007:272). Since homosexual men are lower in the hegemonic hierarchy than other men, being associated with homosexuality has drastic consequences for the victims regarding their willingness to report and subsequently questions of treatment and prevention.

3.6 Reasoning

Sexual violence against men needs to be analysed in light of masculinity. Conflict situations reduce the available alternatives for social identities. Regarding gender identi-
ties, the hegemonic masculinity ideal replaces all other forms. Only the man fulfilling the roles of providing, protecting, and being powerful can achieve the masculine ideal. At the same time, the structures and effects of conflict reduce the possibilities to fulfil these roles. Taking up arms or violence is a consequence.

Sexual violence happens for different reasons. Sexual needs are one of them. Individual combatants use the opportunity to satisfy their needs without facing punishment. A culture of impunity and a normalisation of atrocities as well as peer pressure abet and exacerbate such behaviour. However, the widespread and systematic nature of sexual violence in many conflicts is an indicator that it is another tool used in warfare. Rape is very effective to bring about the same results as killings, as people flee and social fabrics are disrupted – especially in societies where women are a symbol of chastity and rape is a taboo. Another explanation of sexual violence sees rape as an act of domination and control. By raping someone, the perpetrator is empowered and in control of his/her disempowered victim. Victimised men lose their sense of manhood and their community loses its strength and protection. Finally, male rape also entails the taint of homosexualisation. Such emasculation is especially powerful in societies that stigmatize and illegalize homosexuality.

Sexual violence in an armed conflict is connected to gender relations and gender expectations during peacetime and continues to reproduce the gender inequalities (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2010:42). According to Alison (2007:78), rape is a “phenomenon rooted in inequality, discrimination, male domination and aggression”. Within a patriarchal context dominated by hegemonic masculinity, sexual violence against both men and women reinforce the relationship between empowered and masculine perpetrators and disempowered, feminized, and victimised women and men. Raped men are, emasculated and homosexualised. At this point, it is to note that the existence of unequal gender relations, where women are degraded and seen as lesser subjects than men, enhances the consequences of sexual violence against men, because feminisation is perceived as negative. Similarly, destructive perceptions of homosexuality in a society heighten the effects of rape and amplify the disruption of social fabrics through stigmatisation and isolation of the victims.
4 Analysis

Sexual violence against men is a reality. What happens to women and children during wartime also happens to men: perhaps less often, probably more brutal, definitely less visible than sexual violence committed against women. The following analysis will explore the findings gathered during the fieldwork in light of the theory of sexual violence in armed conflicts and masculinity. It shows that sexual violence against men is a complex phenomenon, caused by a varied number of reasons and leading to numerous psychological, physical, and social consequences for the individual, and has a devastating impact on the whole community. The analysis concludes that the effects of sexual violence against men are exacerbated in an environment where women are degraded, seen as lesser subjects, as less worth than men. For a man, being put into the female role in the sexual act, being feminized by being made a victim, losing control over his life and sexuality, being unable to protect himself, amount to losing all senses that make a man a man. In a context where it is negative to appear female – and thus weak – has radical effects on the victims and their communities. These effects are further enhanced by a deprecatory public opinion of homosexuality, with which many survivors are labelled. It is therefore imperative to analyse and understand the underlying gender relations and the view of masculinity of the context to fully comprehend the effects and role of sexual violence against men within the society. After a descriptive part that will show how and what kind of sexual violence against men happens in the DRC conflict, I will explain the effects for the survivors and the consequences in the community. Finally, based on opinions from both experts and survivors, I will give explanations why sexual violence against men happens in view of the patriarchal context.

4.1 Male Survivors of Sexual Violence in the DRC

It is a challenge to assess an accurate number of male rape survivors, as many remain silent due to numerous stigmas such as shame, blame and fear or inadequate services.

According to a doctor in Uganda, 25 per cent of all sexual violence victims in his clinic are men, and of those, 90 per cent come from the DRC. Male victims of sexual violence have been presenting to his clinic since 2005, and keep coming. Before 2005,
many men ended up being killed. Now they may survive, but are tortured and raped. At African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (ACTV), 33 male victims from the DRC presented to the centre in 2011. However, women still present the majority of sexual violence victims.

Medical clinics in the DRC reported 6 per cent male victims in 2009 and legal clinics reported 10 per cent male victims in 2010 (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2010:44). The lower numbers compared to the study by Johnson et al. can be explained by the fact that even though men are the majority of torture victims, they do not take health issues seriously. It is not consistent with their perception of being a man to be someone who needs medical help – or any kind of help, for that matter.

### 4.2 Prevalent Forms of Sexual Violence Against Men in the DRC

Men experience a wide range of sexual violence in the conflict, most often it is anal rape, but also forced masturbation, forced rape of family members, forced to watch family members being raped, and insertion of objects (such as weapons, sticks, screws, or screwdrivers) into their genitals. Sometimes, heavy objects are tied to their genitals and they are forced to pull them. Often, the men have to penetrate holes in trees or in the ground. My findings correspond to the kind of sexual violence Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2010:44) identified. Besides rape, three other forms of sexual violence occur: a) men are forced to rape their family members (wives, daughters, mothers); b) men are forced to watch their family members being raped by the perpetrators; and c) men are forced to humiliating sexual acts (forced masturbation, being dragged with a cord tied to the genitals).

My own findings illustrate that rape during captivity in either the bush or in the prison are most prevalent. Anal rape is the most dominant form of sexual violence perpetrated against men, which also holds true for sexual violence in peacetime (King et al. 2000:2; Groth 1979:122). The perpetrators in the conflict ejaculate into the victims’

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8 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
9 Interview with an anonymous source, Kampala, Feb 1, 2012.
mouths, ears, and other body openings. Sexual violence is mostly directed at civilians, but also against prisoners of war.\textsuperscript{13} Often, sexual violence against men is perpetrated on a higher level of brutality than against women, including burning, cutting, and killing the men (Dolan 2010:20). The perpetrators are mainly armed people, both rebel groups and government soldiers.\textsuperscript{14} What is striking is the difference in number of perpetrators in conflicts compared to peacetime. As my own findings and further literature affirms, sexual violence against men in armed conflicts is almost in every case committed by several perpetrators. In peacetime sexual violence however, the majority of cases is committed by only one perpetrator (Walker et al. 2005:73). This is an indicator that other motivations underlie the perpetration in conflict than in peacetime.

Sexual violence against men happens mainly in four different forms:

\begin{itemize}
\item[a)] Militia groups raid villages and take civilians captive by bringing them to the bush. Men are tortured in the camps and held captive for weeks or even years, during which they can be raped several times a day by several rebels.
\item[b)] The military arrests civilians suspected of collaboration with militia groups. The men are raped in the prisons by security forces.
\item[c)] Civilians are attacked at night in their homes, mostly by government forces, and the whole family is raped; or the women are raped while the men have to watch; several (mostly male) family members are killed.
\item[d)] Men are abducted at night, held captive and raped by groups of militant civilians or tribes for a certain period of time.
\end{itemize}
Table 1: Locations, perpetrators and duration of sexual violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of survivors</th>
<th>Perpetrators</th>
<th>Time period</th>
<th>Number of perpetrators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>10 (45.5%)</td>
<td>Rebel groups</td>
<td>Between 1 week to 3 years</td>
<td>Between 2 and 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Average: 10 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison</td>
<td>5 (23%)</td>
<td>Government Forces</td>
<td>Between 2 days and 2 months</td>
<td>Between 1 and 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Average: 1 month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Home</td>
<td>3 (13.5%)</td>
<td>Government Forces</td>
<td>1 night</td>
<td>Several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the city</td>
<td>4 (18%)</td>
<td>Civilians / Tribes</td>
<td>Between 1 night to 3 days</td>
<td>Between 2 and 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When abducted by militia groups and brought to the bush, most civilians are held captive in the Virunga National Park at the eastern border close to Rwanda. They sleep in big holes together with ten other people so they are not able to flee.\(^{15}\) Both men and women are used for hard labour, they are tortured and/or raped and many are eventually killed. Some can flee, often with the help of a rebel or a third person. The rape often happens publicly in the camp with several perpetrators. Many survivors I interviewed had also seen other men and children being raped, but not women.\(^{16}\) One expert paints a cruel image of Virunga Park, where roughly 200 people were held captive in a camp, mainly men. The women had to fetch water and fire wood, cook and serve food, but were apparently not raped, whereas the men were lined up and told how many rebels they will have to serve sexually: “You have ten today, you six tomorrow and nine the other day.” The particular battalion in Virunga Park seems to specialize in raping only men. “Were they trying to find out something?” the expert asks rhetorically. She herself wonders if they were ordered by their commanders to use rape as a weapon of war or if the perpetrators all had homosexual desires. But then she dismisses the idea.

\(^{15}\) Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
\(^{16}\) Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
immediately, believing it to be unlikely that every single soldier preferred men to the young female captives.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{One survivor tells the story when he was captured by Laurent Nkunda’s rebels and brought to Virunga forest. Nine men raped him one by one on the first night. He felt like vomiting and lost consciousness after the second man. He was raped every night for the following nine days, by one man after the other, unable to remember their faces. After nine days, he could escape. “Now I do not feel like a man, I was treated like a woman.”\textsuperscript{18}}

Unlike in the bush, sexual violence in the prison mostly takes place in closed rooms with only the victim and several perpetrators, the security forces, present. Every man, who has been detained, has been raped, an expert says. “Out of 100, 100 have been raped. They were raped by the prison officers, they were raped by the inmates.”\textsuperscript{19} The interviewed survivors who had been arrested did not see other people raped in the prison.\textsuperscript{20}

\textit{An engineer in Goma was accused by Kabila’s party that he did not support them. One night at 7pm, government soldiers came to his house and tortured him. When he woke up, he found himself in the prison “Chien Méchant” [The malicious dog]. Four soldiers took him to a secluded room, where they started to torture him, pressed his testicles and called him “a pig, a dog, you’re going to die”. Then they raped him. He was bleeding from the anus while they raped him. “The pain was too much”, so he lost consciousness. The next morning, three soldiers including the leader tortured him. He had been in prison for three months when he could escape. Two weeks later, the soldiers destroyed his house, raped his wife and then him. It was the last time he saw his wife. Now he

\textsuperscript{17} Interview with Refugee Law Project, Kampala, February 2, 2012.
\textsuperscript{18} Interviews with support group ”Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13, 2012.
\textsuperscript{19} Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, February 2, 2012.
\textsuperscript{20} Interviews with support group ”Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
does not feel like the same person he was before. He cannot enjoy his sexuality, because the image comes back. “I feel like rubbish.”

Another common location of sexual violence is the victims’ homes. Most often, it is government forces coming late at night or in the early morning to find the whole family at home. They beat and rape family members, both male and female, and often kill the father or more.

A student’s father worked as a journalist and reported killings committed by the government. One day, government soldiers showed up at their door in the early morning. They tied his father and forced him to rape the daughter. He refused. Then they raped the mother so that the whole family had to watch when five soldiers one after the other raped her. They wanted to force his brother to rape the sister. He refused, so they beat him. Then they forced the student to rape his little, 9-year-old brother. He was afraid to be beaten and tried. But the soldiers accused him, “you’re not doing it very well”. They removed his clothes, pinned him down on the floor and showed him “how it is done”. They beat his penis with sticks. “My mind blacked out.” In the end, they killed the father and left. This happened seven years ago. Now the student is a refugee in Kampala and 21 years old. He feels like not a human being at all.

The survivors finding refuge in Uganda still do not feel secure, because many Congolese do business in Kampala. They stay out of sight and try to remain anonymous. For them, security is not guaranteed. It is not rare that one is kidnapped in town and raped.

A refugee is being trailed and kidnapped by a group of four perpetrators on a regular basis. They follow him and take him into captivity for about six days.

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21 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 16, 2012.
22 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
23 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 16, 2012.
24 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 16, 2012.
Male survivors flee from the war in their country and many come to Uganda, a host state to many refugees from the DRC. Yet, finding refuge in another country is far from being a rescue for these men. Besides the problems forced migrants face in another country with another language, male survivors of sexual violence struggle in their lives with physical, psychological, social, economic, and cultural problems.

The most common physical consequences of male rape survivors are rectal conditions, such as anal prolapse, fecal incontinence, and erectile dysfunctions. About 10 per cent need reconstructive surgery. As comparison, female victims suffer more from sexually transmitted diseases, such as pelvic inflammatory disease, secondary infertility, masses, cysts, or urinary infections. The survivors themselves mostly mentioned backache, bleeding from the rectum, and sickness as physical consequences they have to deal with. Other conditions are pain when sitting or standing, headaches, and erectile dysfunctions. Because their anuses have been torn, they are susceptible to infections. The doctors urge them to only eat soft food, “a diet rich in fruits, rich in vegetables, rich in proteins”, which is too expensive for refugees. All they can afford, if at all, is dried maze and dried beans. Due to their conditions, they cannot stand or sit for a long period of time, which exacerbates their struggle in finding work. The lack of money further multiplies their physical problems, because they cannot afford the necessary food to heal or the transport to reach the treatment centres.

The wounds of rape are not only physical, like a gunshot, but mostly psychological, which according to two experts are firstly harder to recover, and secondly can also be corrosive. The majority of needs the survivors have are of psychological and emotional nature. The most common psychological problems the survivors from the

26 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
27 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
29 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
30 Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012 and with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
31 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
DRC deal with are trauma, stress disorder, and depression. Additionally, the victim’s self-worth is low or even destroyed, he feels humiliated and ashamed. Some survivors I spoke with explained that they lost consciousness during the rape, one survivor said: “I lost my personality.” They felt embarrassed and ashamed and could not believe that this was happening. The pain was too much to bear. These symptoms have also been found by Hardy (2002:20) in her study on male victims of rape. She states that the feelings of men during the rape were an intense fear of losing their lives, powerlessness, feeling dishonoured and emasculated as well as strong feelings of shame and guilt. Helplessness, anger, and anxiety are other typical psychological consequences of rape (Hardy 2002:21). The male survivors feel a lot of anger, more than their female counterparts, according to the experts. Anger is more of a ‘masculine’ way to deal with trauma” (Walker et al. 2005:70). The feelings of shame and confusion about their situation, guilt and self-blame and the subsequent fear of negative reactions and the resulting isolation in the community are typical symptoms of rape victims (Russell et al. 2011:4). Peel (2004:67) explains that the feelings of self-blame and self-criticism stem from the belief that they could have prevented the rape. They are furthermore afraid that others will blame them for not having fought the attackers off. The notion that “real men” are able to defend themselves against their attackers has been affirmed by interviews with the Ugandan society and in the literature (Gear 2009:40).

As the survivors’ experience shows, the community reactions are mainly negative. Regarding male victims of sexual violence in particular, the community does not react in a sympathetic way. Many health workers at hospitals, representatives of the police or the UNHCR laughed or did not believe their stories. The men’s reluctance to report for fear of bad treatment, blame or disbelief is not only characteristic for wartime rape, but also for sexual assault in peacetime (Walker et al. 2005:69). If the health or securi-

33 Interview with an anonymous source, Kampala, Feb 1, 2012.
34 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
36 Interview with Ugandan male, Kampala, March 26, 2012 and discussions with Ugandans throughout fieldwork Jan-Feb 2012.
37 Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012.
ty workers do believe them, they often classify their experience as torture and not as rape, which angers them. “I say I was raped. But they write torture. Or nothing at all.”38 In general, all of the men keep their stories a secret from their wives, families and friends, because they have made negative experiences with people, who do not believe that a man can be raped. They call them liars or even threaten them. One survivor asks, “You want my wife to think I’m homosexual or you want my wife to think I’m weak? You want my wife to think I’ve become an animal, because it’s only animals who have sex like animals.”39 However, some survivors' wives – if told – show sympathy if they have gone through a rape experience themselves. Still, most victims experience stigmatization and are isolated and ostracized.40 Additionally, they are afraid that others might change their respectful opinions about them. Due to the stigmatisation, they have difficulties living in the society bearing their secrets, unable to talk to anyone about it. Consequently, they feel alone and isolated. Many have lost their wives and families in the war. Those survivors who were able to find refuge together with their families are estranged in their relationships because they cannot talk about their experience.41

In order to understand the effect of sexual violence on the community in general and the male survivors in particular, it is essential to analyse the issue in the context of gender relations and masculinity. Gender is socially constructed. Gender identities are forged through the interaction of its social construction in the society and subjective representations on the individual level (Moore 1994:53). In a patriarchal society, men are supposed to be stronger, in control, and active, whereas the women are subordinate and passive. Boys learn what it is to be a man by observing their fathers, uncles, or older brothers when growing up. They learn that boys are not supposed to be beaten, to cry, or to do household chores. They should own land and a house and have a family in order to become a man. Instead of being violent, they learn that they have responsibilities and should solve problems respectfully. Young girls learn that they should be submissive and help in the house, even when their brother(s) can relax or

38 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13, 2012.
40 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
41 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
have time for their schoolwork. However, gender relations are highly in favour of men; women are subjected to the subordinate role, especially in rural areas. Both men and women hold a strong belief that beating is a sign of love. “If he doesn’t beat me, he doesn’t love me.” According to Save the Children, 91 per cent of women in Uganda are subjected to domestic violence. Beating is seen as a form of disciplining and is commonly accepted. Rape of a young woman is perceived as proposal for marriage – so called “courtship rape”. The woman becomes the man’s property after the marriage, because he paid dowry for her. Male relatives have furthermore a right to the woman if they helped paying the dowry. In urban areas, the perception of gender roles has changed in the last years. Beating the wife is however still seen as normal.

According to Meger’s (2011:6) research on masculinity and sexual violence in the DRC, the roles of provider, leader, and protector of the family play crucial roles for the gender identity of the man. Yet, the ideals of hegemonic masculinity become more difficult to attain in an economically or politically strained context – let alone war. Gender roles become stronger polarized, while the possibilities to perform them diminish. The gap between expectations and real experiences widens (Dolan 2008; Lwambo 2011:14).

The communities’ perceptions have been built over a long period of time. Discussing sexuality is closed in the culture; it is seen as offensive to talk about it. Especially men having sex with other men – if forceful or not – is a big taboo, so many survivors remain quiet and in denial. The community prefers to ignore any issue that could be related to homosexuality, for fear that “you are going to encourage homosexuality”. If the survivors confide in others, they often get blamed for what has happened to them or they are labelled as homosexuals, which is very painful for them. This also complies with the findings of Prinsloo (2011): Male victims receive

42 Interview with Save the Children, Gulu, February 5, 2012.
43 Interview with Save the Children, Kampala, February 6, 2012.
44 Interview with UN Women and Save the Children, Moroto, February 3, 2012.
45 Interview with Akina Mama Wa Afrika, Kampala, January 31, 2012.
46 Interview with Ugandan male, Kampala, March 26, 2012.
48 Interview with an anonymous source, Kampala, Feb 1, 2012.
49 Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
50 Interview with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.
less sympathy than women and are often stigmatized as homosexuals. The deep-set belief is that a man cannot be raped, and if he is, then he must be homosexual.\textsuperscript{51}

Dolan argues that the reasons for communities to ostracize victims may be that they want to protect themselves from the negative taint of sexual violence. Given the approach that sexual violence humiliates not only the victim, but also the broader community and feminizes it as a whole, the community protects itself by denying the reality and stigmatizing the victim in order to preserve the overall picture of a good community with strong men and good women.\textsuperscript{52} Since sexual violence against men implies a weakness, it erodes the image of the “masculine hero”, the community refuses its reality (Mechanic 2004:21; Hardy 2002:22). Since the victim cannot be seen as a real man anymore, the only possibility is that this man is not a real man from the start, but must be a homosexual. Thus, the community cannot accept that rape of men happens against their will and is not a choice.\textsuperscript{53} In the Ugandan society, homosexuality is not accepted and even punishable by law. It is seen as a threat to the sacred institution of the family, imported from the west bordering on neo-colonialism.\textsuperscript{54} Such attitudes not only make the survivor reluctant to talk about his experience, they can even worsen his traumatisation and thus lead to a secondary victimization (Turner 2000:105).

The most pressing feeling the survivors themselves as well as the experts mentioned when talking to me, was that they did not feel like men anymore after their rape experience. This is a typical characteristic of male victims – also in peacetime (Walker et al. 2005:71). After having been sexually violated and thus forced into the passive and feminine role, they are confused if they are now man or woman. They feel weak and insecure, degraded and ashamed.\textsuperscript{55} These are all feelings not compatible with the ideal of the strong and confident masculine man. Many survivors burst out in tears when telling their stories, yet they are culturally expected to be strong, not to cry or to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[51] Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
\item[52] Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
\item[53] Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
\item[54] Discussions with Ugandans throughout field work Jan-Feb 2012.
\item[55] Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
\end{footnotes}
expose certain pains.\textsuperscript{56} Most of the survivors have lost hope in life and the future. They do not feel in control over parts of their own lives. Some struggle with sexual dysfunctions and have difficulties to relate to their wives sexually – another part in their lives where they cannot live up to the masculine ideal.\textsuperscript{57} A raped man is humiliated in his masculinity and loses his social status in the community – he is feminized by victimization and thereby degraded to a feminized male. In a context, where men and women are unequal, being forcefully put into a woman’s position amounts to an emasculation of the man.

These men I met all appeared to be subdued and withdrawn, but extremely kind. Many mentioned that they are or have been depressed, and they seemed very depressed. Only in the support group, where everybody knows that all are survivors of sexual violence, can they feel not alone and forget their problems for a little while. They can even laugh again.\textsuperscript{58} A few men had taken over a role in the support group as president, vice-president, treasury, etc. This work of responsibility seemed to give them strength and self-respect.

4.3 Why? Attempts to Explain Sexual Violence

“We want to put you in the place of women, we want to show you you’re actually rubbish. We want to show you that you’re not man enough, I am the man here, you’re the woman. When I speak you keep quiet, when I want sex, you provide it. I want to show you, you’re useless and people from your tribe. You just have to know that people from my ethnic group are superior so I just want to put you in the place where you should be.”\textsuperscript{59}

In this quote, which gives examples of threats and insults male survivors hear, it is evident that sexual violence is driven by a multitude of different reasons, such as humiliation and degradation, feminization, domination, and sexual needs. One argument

\textsuperscript{56} Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012 and with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.

\textsuperscript{57} Interviews with support group ”Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012, with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012 and with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.

\textsuperscript{58} Interview with support group ”Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13 and 16, 2012.

\textsuperscript{59} Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
alone cannot explain the whole complexity of the phenomenon. All explanations, such as sexual needs and opportunity, domination and humiliation, and rape as weapon of war need to be taken into account and placed within the context of disempowerment and hegemonic masculinity.

Dolan argues that it is difficult to explain the motives of perpetrators behind sexual violence. Firstly, such information is difficult to obtain. Research on perpetrators this far remains minimal and descriptive. Secondly, even if perpetrators were willing to share their thoughts on this taboo, “they wouldn’t necessarily be able to articulate exactly why they did it, or why they thought they did it, or what they thought they were doing when they did it”. Hence, many perpetrators’ actions may be based on different motivations and each perpetrator can be driven by a myriad of reasons to commit such a crime. While it remains a challenge to assess the reasons and motivations behind sexual violence without access to and information about the perpetrators, this thesis wants to focus on a context of disempowerment and emasculation, which may be an important reason for the perpetration of sexual violence. The findings will show that the reasons for sexual violence against men do not differ from those of sexual violence against women.

4.3.1 Rape as Punishment

Rape is often used as a tool to punish communities if they are suspected to support an enemy group, which also Mechanic (2004:17) concluded. Each group on every side rapes the civilians, who are not allowed to have their own space. “It seems you’re against us and you’re not one of us”, one expert explains as one of the perpetrators’ arguments. The survivors stated that sexual violence sometimes forms a part of torture, where the perpetrators try to extract information from the victim.

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60 Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
61 Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
4.3.2 Rape as Humiliation and Domination

According to the study Dolan (2010:49) undertook in the eastern DRC, the intentions of sexual violence are to demonstrate power and domination, to humiliate and destroy communities.

In sexual relations, the man is the active one, the “conqueror”. When looking at sexual violence against men from a masculinity standpoint, the conqueror becomes the conquered. “It is a sign of defeat and it breaks your control over your own life.” Rape is a “quick way to humiliate a person completely, physically, destroying their identity, taking away their spaces, killing their confidence”. Sexual violence is a tool being used to dehumanize you in order to show you that “you are a nobody”. It attacks your dignity and your humanity. It conveys the message that “you’re not all that they said you are, you’re not strong, you’re not good enough, you’re not bright, you’re nothing, you’re worthless, you’re actually stupid, you’re not at the same level with us”.

Taking control of another man by violence, the perpetrator subordinates the victim, controls him and puts him in a passive role, thus feminizing him. Sexual violence against men in this setting presents this relationship in an extreme form. One victim argued that rape is a condition for the perpetrators to be strong, which they achieve by subordinating other men. The survivors perceive the perpetrators’ need for power and their desire to remove their victims’ respect and turn them into “nothings” as one reason behind the sexual violence.

Dolan postulates that sexual violence against men is inextricably linked to sexual violence against women. One of the effects of sexual violence is humiliation, and “the target of that humiliation in a very patriarchal society is the men, and the women are a vehicle for that humiliation”. Dolan argues that the perpetrators’ primary target is the men whose women they rape. They use the women to attack the men. “Raping the men directly is even more of an aggression […] the rape of men is more extreme in terms of its intention and its impact.”

63 Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
64 Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
65 Interviews with support group “Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13, 2012.
66 Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
4.3.3 Rape as a Weapon of War

Every expert I interviewed without any exception stated that sexual violence against men is systematic and widespread in the DRC conflict and is used as a weapon to terrorize. Since the man presents security, and this symbol is broken by sexual violence, all other systems of security and authority in one community are destroyed. If one man is assaulted, a long line of persons in one community is also affected.67 "You destroy a lot more if you rape someone. Rape kills more than a bullet."68 A community kept in fear like this will not become a fighting enemy, but rather flee. A raped man “does not see anything left for him to live in his country”.69 One expert argued that the perpetrators understand exactly the kind of psychological implications sexual violence has on a whole community. They know what a man symbolizes and what they achieve by sexually violating a man. In societies where a man stands for strength and protection, the emasculation of one man triggers a ripple effect through the whole community. If a man is not able to protect himself, he cannot protect his community. The community is then also vulnerable and disempowered. “Why else would they force a husband watch his wife being raped?” This then is an indicator that sexual violence is a tool of systematic nature.70 As explained, rape as a weapon of war has the effect of terrorizing and dominating a population, thereby destroying the social cohesion and identity of a community or larger society. Dolan argued that sexual violence in general and against men in particular is the best weapon of war, because it destroys the social fabric and disintegrates communities and families by isolating the victims. Moreover, the people not directly violated feel threatened by its effects and by the victims in a context, where sexuality is a taboo.71

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67 Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012.
68 Interview with Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012
69 Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
70 Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012.
71 Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
4.3.4 Rape as Satisfaction

The sexual urge argument has been abandoned to a certain extent as an explanation of sexual violence in armed conflict – if it is used, then only in relation to sexual violence against women. However, my findings suggest that this argument is also a part of the explanation of sexual violence against men. Even though the sexual desire explanation is never mentioned in relation to sexual violence against men – maybe because it seems too unlikely, too unnatural, or too much of a taboo – it is one of the explanations for sexual violence against men. It is crucial to go beyond conventional reasoning regarding male rape and accept the possibility that sexual violence against men also happens out of sexual needs.

Some survivors mentioned sexual urge as one possible reason for sexual violence. In their view, the rebels rape men because they lack access to women and have a desire to release their sexual urges and satisfy themselves with men.72 Maybe several perpetrators have fantasized about having sex with men, because it is a taboo and they seize this opportunity. Another thought is that the perpetrators are in a position to do what they want: they try out taboos, explore and cross limits. As some experts argued, the perpetrators are also opportunists and want to release tension. They rape anybody they can find, women and men, completely non-discriminatory and seemingly not targeting specific ethnic groups.73 The belief that HIV cannot be transmitted through anal sex also plays a role.74

Sexual desire as one reason for rape was also identified by Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2009) in their ground-breaking research about the motivation behind sexual violence by the Congolese armed forces (FARDC). Based on 193 interviews with members of the armed forces, they found that the soldiers themselves see one form of rape as driven by sexual desire, so called “lust rapes”, which is less perceived as rape than as an act the soldiers are entitled to (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:497). However, these “lust rapes” are again only explained in relation to sexual violence against women.

72 Interviews with support group ”Men of Hope Association”, Kampala, Feb 13, 2012.
73 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012 and with an anonymous source, Kampala, Feb 1, 2012.
74 Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, February 2, 2012.
The military “celebrates certain ideals of macho heterosexual masculinity”, whereby sexual potency plays a crucial role (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2010:47). In this sense, soldiers experience socialization in the military, where they learn to be aggressive and to “devalue women and ‘feminine’ traits” (Meger 2010:122). The man has furthermore “barely controllable” natural sexual needs, which are supposed to be satisfied by women (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:505-507). Mechanic (2004:26) cites a MONUC commander who stated that rape was seen as “normal” behaviour for soldiers who had spent a long period of time in the forest without access to women.

Moreover, also the soldiers are subject to difficult economic conditions, struggling to provide for their families. When they could not fulfil their role as providers, they were not real men and lost their wives’ respect. This changed relationship between husband and wife stemming from poverty led to unfulfilled sexual obligations. In the masculine context, where the man is entitled to being satisfied by a woman, this frustration then was named as the reason for the soldiers to take a woman forcefully. However, the man who rapes is perceived as a emasculated man, who is “forced” to rape due to lack of resources (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2010:48).

4.4 Rape as a Result of Disempowerment and Emasculation

Before the war in the DRC, the level of sexual violence and rape was not particularly high. Even though only a small amount of rape cases were ever treated in court, the crime as such was defined as severe and serious, attacking not only the individual victim, but also the whole family or community. Punishment happened rather through compensation or shaming processes (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:503). With the start of the conflict, such traditional systems disappeared with people being killed, violated, displaced internally or fleeing the country leading to the disintegration of social cohesion and communities. The mid-1990s are seen as the turning point, when sexual violence increased to a very high level, and with no sign of any decrease after the war was officially over (Dolan 2010:18). Sexual violence being perpetrated with impunity enhanced the process of normalization of sexual violence even further, enabling a high level of sexual violence being committed as an outcome or by-product of war (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:503). Many reports (Dolan 2010:19; Lwambo
also indicate that the sexual violence perpetrated by armed groups and the military has led to an increase in sexual violence perpetrated by civilians (often ex-combatants). Mechanic (2004:16) even argues that rape has become a part of sexual relationships due to the mixture of sex, power and masculinity. I will illustrate the influence of disempowerment and emasculation on the perpetration of sexual violence with the example of the FARDC soldiers.

The experience of war and violence changes the minds and characters of the FARDC soldiers, which commit a brutal kind of sexual violence they would not commit under normal circumstances (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:513). The intentions are to “humiliate the dignity of people” and often involve mutilations and killing of the victims (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:510). The insertion of (weapon-like) objects, such as “sticks, bottles, knives, and gun barrels” into the victim becomes normal (Meger 2011:7). Such sexual violence is an indicator that sexual violence not only becomes normal, but also more brutal. “Evil rapes” function as an outlet from frustration, suffering and anger from the warring situation, leading to a feeling or “wish to destroy” (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:511). Due to a violence spiral, where one witnesses and thus becomes more accustomed to a higher level of violence, perpetrators can find it easier to harm others and perceive themselves as victims within the violent circumstances (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:498).

Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2010:49) argue that sexual violence, or any kind of violence, which rids the man of his masculinity, leads to more sexual violence. Perpetrators themselves often feel disempowered by different factors, for instance a strenuous economic situation. In the DRC, also the FARDC soldiers are subjected to difficult economic conditions, hunger, and neglect and struggle to make a living for themselves and their families, often failing in fulfilling their obligation as provider of the family. Moreover, equipment or support to the soldiers is not provided; the salaries are too low and often delayed. The atmosphere among the soldiers is therefore characterized by frustration and dissatisfaction. As a consequence, the soldiers prey on the civilian population (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2008:64). Additionally, they feel only a low degree of loyalty towards their superiors, because they are perceived as the cause of their frustrating situation (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2009:501). According to Butler et
al. (2007:680), sexual violence occurs on a higher level especially in situations with low control over the public officials, here soldiers. The soldiers often joined the army as their last option out of poverty and a hope to earn enough money. If the man cannot provide, he loses his manhood. As a result, the soldiers stated, they are not real men and their wives no longer respect their superior role (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2008:71). Mechanic (2004:21) argues that in order for the men to restore their lost feeling of masculinity, they turn to violence and aggression or join militia groups. A man, who feels disempowered by structures, can regain control by attaining physical and sexual control over someone else. Such motivations and feelings have been ascertained in perpetrators of sexual assault (Groth 1979:139-140). “Sexual conquest, possession, and exploitation serve to reassure the offender of his strength and authority and to compensate for feelings of inadequacy and vulnerability” (Groth 1979:127). The soldiers and other armed groups, who face disempowerment and emasculation due to economic hardship, are looking for a way to gain control and to reach the idealised and highly desirable manhood. Moreover, the DRC conflict has brought an increase in sexual violence, brutal rapes become normalised. Male rape can then be seen as another step in the level of brutality and the cycle of violence. And most importantly, what gives more control and more power than to subordinate a fellow man, the symbol of power and strength?

In this process, male rape functions as a vehicle in order to regain masculinity. In this sense, the ideals of hegemonic masculinity present the most important element and reason for sexual violence (Baaz Eriksson and Stern 2010:50). Sexual violence is used because of unfulfilled masculinity.

Gear (2009:40) argues that since violence is closely connected to masculinity, the only way to achieve manhood again when a man has been feminized is to commit violence. Many experts I interviewed also expressed their fear that the survivors might turn into perpetrators themselves in this cycle of violence, because they feel disempowered and emasculated. Especially if the survivor does not feel like a man, he looks for someone weaker to punish by beating.\textsuperscript{75} One expert mentioned alcohol abuse among the victims as a big problem, which has the capacity to increase this cycle of

\textsuperscript{75} Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012.
violence. Additionally, many survivors struggle to find work, and therefore lose self-worth, which creates tension and division in families. It is therefore normal, according to one expert, that the victims resort to domestic violence, such as beating, abusing, or sheer neglecting. Victims may, if not helped, become bitter and punish the society as a whole. Their pain can turn into anger and can be directed against other, mostly weaker individuals. Yet the men I have met were all so kind and warm and seem anything but violent.

76 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
77 Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.
5 Conclusion

Sexual violence is always about both genders. Sexual violence against both men and women has a radical impact because of inter alia notions of masculinity. In a patriarchal context, where gender relations are unequal, women are degraded and the only real man is the hegemonic male, sexual violence against men has drastic effects. In such a context, having any female traits means an emasculation for the man and being raped has disastrous consequences. As a hegemonic male, he is supposed to provide for his family. A rape survivor is isolated from the community due to cultural beliefs that a real man cannot be raped and he is stigmatised due to homophobia. He is furthermore in physical pain and has psychological conditions, which impede him from taking up work. He cannot stand or sit for a long time, is likely depressed or traumatized. Without money, he cannot follow his medical treatment, which would improve his physical condition. A man is furthermore required to protect his family and community. But he was not able to protect himself from a cruel crime. Neither the man himself nor his community trusts his protection. An important part in being a man is having a wife and children. But many survivors of sexual violence face sexual difficulties and erectile problems and thus struggle to relate to their wives sexually or to reproduce. Additionally, a man is supposed to be heterosexual and in good sexual health. In the very homophobic environment of Uganda, male victims are not perceived as such, but rather blamed of homosexuality – a class of men clearly below the hegemonic male in this society.

Sexual violence against men happens mainly in four different situations: civilian men are abducted by rebel groups and held captive in the bush, where they are raped; civilians are detained in a prison and raped by security forces; perpetrators seek families out in their homes and rape female and male family members, while the rest are forced to watch; civilians are kidnapped by other civilians and raped in captivity.

It is imperative to understand the underlying reasons of sexual violence for the purpose of prevention. The reasons behind sexual violence are manifold and cannot be completely disentangled from each other. Rape can be used to punish, to humiliate, to terrorize, or to simply satisfy one’s sexual needs. It is probable to assume that these motivations interact with each other. However, the bigger context of hegemonic
masculinity and homophobia exacerbates the effects of sexual violence extremely. Moreover, a context of disempowerment and emasculation can be seen as a reason for sexual violence – in order to attain masculinity again. In conclusion, the feeling of disempowerment and emasculation of the perpetrators themselves plays a central role in the perpetration of sexual violence.

5.1 Is Sexual Violence a Women’s Issue?

In the war, men and women are equally vulnerable. As previously mentioned, 15 per cent of men have experienced conflict-related sexual violence compared to 29 per cent of women in the Eastern DRC (Johnson et al. 2010). Male victims present half the number of female victims, which is not a few single victims that can be neglected. Consequently, the number of male victims presenting to Refugee Law Project relative to female victims is constantly rising. Even though the number of male victims is high as well, they are not covered as possible category of victims in certain legal instruments (Lewis 2009), for instance the Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children by the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region. During the process of drafting this protocol, numerous organizations, especially UNIFEM, opposed the inclusion of men as a victim category, because of the fear that this might dilute and draw away their hard earned attention – as well as resources – for the female victims. All organizations interviewed during the fieldwork agreed that violence was the result of power imbalance. However, these organizations mainly working for the rights of women and the prevention of domestic violence identified the issue of sexual violence against men as marginal. Moreover, they were – understandably – reluctant to give too much space to the issue, because it might signal that the problem of sexual violence against women is solved. However, leaving out the issue of male victims not only means missing a substantial part of the complex causes and consequences of sexual violence and thus undermines the capacity

78 Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
79 Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
80 Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
81 Interview with Raising Voices and Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention, Kampala, January 31, 2012.
to deal with its prevention, but also exposes women to a possible danger and violence of their abused male relatives.\textsuperscript{82}

\textbf{5.2 \ Why Survivors “Choose” to Remain Invisible}

Apart from the fact that organisations and the society prefer to ignore the issue, the problem of invisibility also stems from underreporting. The obstacles and costs male survivors face within their society and culture are so high that they “choose” to remain silent. Regarding justice, male survivors are confronted with the same issues as females, such as difficult access to justice, non-sensitized police force, corrupted justice systems, faceless or powerful perpetrators. Rape survivors are not a priority of the police.\textsuperscript{83} The legal process is usually the last resort. Thus, only a fraction of rape cases are prosecuted in the courts.\textsuperscript{84} Male survivors are even less likely to go to court and to speak openly about their experience in the context of masculinity.\textsuperscript{85} No single male survivor has ever taken his perpetrators to court due to the stigmatization and blame he may experience. Additionally, the legal just as the medical system is less favourable to male victims than to female victims. They choose their health, their well-being and their peace of mind over justice for their case, since a legal process will lead to more internal pain for them. As one survivor describes it:

\begin{quote}
“Madame, instead of going to court, I would rather commit suicide and end my life. First of all, going to court, I will become a laughing stock. Two, the very family of this person can retaliate and finish me, because me, I’m a refugee; the other person is a national. Suddenly he has more power and privileges than me. Three is, I hear the system in itself can be abused, what if I go to court and I find that its me who will end up in problems if they say you’ve failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt and the other person turns around and sues me for deformation, what would I do?”\textsuperscript{86}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{82} Interview with Dr. Chris Dolan, Director of Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012 and with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012.

\textsuperscript{83} Interview with American Refugee Committee and UNFPA, Kampala, January 31, 2012.

\textsuperscript{84} Interview with Uganda Human Rights Commission, Kampala, January 31, 2012.

\textsuperscript{85} Interview with a doctor, Kampala, Feb 9, 2012.

\textsuperscript{86} Interview with Representative A, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Feb 2, 2012.
Furthermore, the environment in Uganda regarding homosexuality is extremely negative and homophobic. Instead of punishing the perpetrator, the victim runs the risk to get blamed for being homosexual. Therefore, the victims opt out of any legal action, since it is associated with so many other psychological costs. Doing justice for them would not necessarily be positive.\(^8\)

### 5.3 Future Research Areas

The field of sexual violence against men in armed conflicts has up to this point been only inadequately researched. Only few studies exist addressing the issue and even less, which analyse empirical data and case studies. In order to understand the effect and the reasons behind it – also within other contexts – further research needs to be undertaken. Another big research field and gap is the indirect victimization through sexual violence against women. This should be researched more thoroughly – especially in patriarchal societies, where protecting women is a substantial role of men. Regarding such research, it is central to study the consequences of sexual violence on the community’s social cohesion and the resulting effects of a disrupted social fabric.

While the effect and consequences for women have been studied widely, the impact of such an indirect sexual assault on men has been largely neglected. It should be researched, not least to improve the understanding and social ties in a community and thus undermine the effect of sexual violence as a weapon of war to a certain extent. Research is needed in order to fully understand the effect of sexual violence on a macro level and thus to attain a complete picture of the phenomenon.

Given all these obstacles in the treatment of male survivors and the prevention of sexual violence against men, it is apparent that not only more knowledge regarding this issue is necessary, but also first steps need to be taken to this issue. It is imperative to include male survivors and the reality of male rape into prevention of sexual violence programs. Many organizations tend to ignore the issue because of cultural or financial reasons, thereby however undermining the impact of their own work with female

\(^{8}\) Interview with Representative B, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, Jan 20, 2012.
survivors and communities. Continued omission of the problem will not contribute to change disrupted social cohesions among communities – let alone solve the problem.

It is moreover necessary to raise awareness and sensitize the society, so that survivors are at least not isolated and blamed. Even if male rape is difficult to be compatible with masculinity in the communities’ beliefs, the fact that those survivors did not wish to be raped and that men can be subjected to sexual violence needs to be communicated.
References


LWAMBO, Desiree (2011). ‘Before the War, I was a Man’: Men and Masculinities in Eastern DR Congo. Goma: Heal Africa.


Videos


——— (2011). “They slept with me.” Available on www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dxaFqezrXg
## Appendix A: List of Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>7 male survivors</td>
<td>support group &quot;Men of Hope Association&quot;</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>February 13, 2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 male survivors</td>
<td>support group &quot;Men of Hope Association&quot;</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>February 16, 2012</td>
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<td>Dr. Chris Dolan</td>
<td>Refugee Law Project</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>February 2, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative A</td>
<td>Refugee Law Project</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>February 2, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative B</td>
<td>Refugee Law Project</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>January 20, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Family Doctors</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>February 9, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous source</td>
<td></td>
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<td>February 1, 2012</td>
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### Sample of interviews conducted within the research project of ILPI

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<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Kampala</td>
<td>January 31, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Refugee Committee and UNFPA</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>January 31, 2012</td>
</tr>
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<td>Akina Mama Wa Afrika</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>January 31, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Women and Save the Children</td>
<td>Moroto</td>
<td>February 3, 2012</td>
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<td>Justice and Reconciliation Project</td>
<td>Gulu</td>
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<td>Save the Children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>February 6, 2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Expert Interviews

1. How would you react to the claim that sexual violence is a women’s issue?
2. What are the major obstacles for you treating male survivors?
3. What kind of sexual violence do these men experience?
   a. Is it domestic or conflict related?
   b. Do you know who the perpetrators are?
   c. Are they rebels or government forces?
4. Under what circumstances is sexual violence against men perpetrated?
   a. Is it different from sexual violence against women?
5. What do you think is the extent to which sexual violence against men is perpetrated?
   a. Is it systematic and widespread or rather opportunistic?
6. In your opinion, why is sexual violence against men used in the conflict?
   a. How is it used?
   b. Is it committed in the same way as sexual violence against women?
7. To your knowledge, can survivors talk about their experience to a certain extent or is the taboo too big?
8. How does the community treat and behave towards male victims?
   a. How does it react to sexual violence against men?
9. What are the consequences for male victims in the community?
10. What is the perception of sexual violence against women and against men among the Ugandan population?
11. Do you know of any cases where perpetrators of sexual violence against men have been tried?
12. Do you know of any legal cases where perpetrators of sexual violence against men have been tried?
Interview Guide for Survivor Interviews

Round 1

1. Please tell me a little bit about your life. Where do you come from, what do you do?
2. Could you tell me a little bit about your story in the war? What was your position towards/in the war?
3. How do you feel treated by society?
4. How do those that know about your sexual torture react?
5. Do you feel discriminated?
6. Do you feel that you are protected by law?
7. How is your sexuality now?

Round 2

1. Who were the perpetrators?
2. Was it one perpetrator or several? In groups?
3. Were they female or male?
4. Did it happen publicly?
5. What form did the sexual violence take?
6. Over what time period were you held captive/sexually assaulted?
7. Were you forced to carry out sexual acts on other prisoners?
8. How did you feel?
9. What were the consequences for you physically and psychologically?
10. Are there any legal, psychosocial, medical mechanisms for you to take?
11. Do you have an opinion as to why the rebels/perpetrators would do this?
12. Do you think that there are many other men besides you who were assaulted?
   a. Are they civilians or combatants?
Appendix C: Consents to Participate

Consent to Participate (for Expert Interviews)

Title: Male victims of sexual violence
Investigator: Salomé Blum
Advisor: Prof. Kjetil Tronvoll

Source of support:
This research is being conducted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Oslo.

Purpose:
You are being asked to participate in a research project that analyses the role of sexual violence against men and boys with regards to conflict perpetuation.

Risks and benefits:
There are no inherent risks foreseen in this study. I will ask questions related to your experience and thoughts regarding male victims as well as your work with male victims, and your thoughts regarding the role of sexual violence in the perpetuation of conflict.

Compensation:
You will not receive any compensation for participating in this study.

Confidentiality:
You will be asked if you prefer to remain anonymous or if your name and position can be cited in the research. No personal identity will be made in analysis if you prefer. All recorded and written materials and consent forms will be stored in a password-protected file at the investigator’s office with access only for the investigator. All
personal data, with the exception of the thesis, will be anonymised when the task is completed in June 2012.

**Right to withdraw:**

You are under no obligation to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate at any time.

**Summary of results:**

A summary of the results of this research will be supplied to you, at no cost, upon request.

**Voluntary consent:**

I have read the above statements and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, for any reason, without penalty. On these terms, I certify that I am willing to participate in this research project.

I understand that should I have concerns about my participation in this research, I may email the investigator or call her (salome.blum@ilpi.org / 004798469542)

☐ I hereby give consent for my name and position to be included in the final research materials.

☐ I prefer to remain anonymous in the final research materials. My name and position will not be cited in the research.

_________________________   ____________
Participant’s signature       Date and Place

_________________________   ____________
Investigator’s signature      Date and Place
Consent to Participate (for Survivor Interviews)

Title: Male victims of sexual violence

Investigator: Salomé Blum

Advisor: Prof. Kjetil Tronvoll

Source of support:
This research is being conducted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Oslo.

Purpose:
You are being asked to participate in a research project that analyses the role of sexual violence against men and boys with regards to conflict perpetuation.

Risks and benefits:
There are no inherent risks foreseen in this study. I will ask questions related to your experience and thoughts regarding your life and the consequences and circumstances of your experience.

Compensation:
You will not receive any compensation for participating in this study.

Confidentiality:
You will be asked if you prefer to remain anonymous or if your name and identifying information can be cited in the research. No personal identity will be made in the analysis if you prefer. All recorded and written materials and consent forms will be stored in a password-protected file at the investigator’s office with access only for the investigator. All personal data, with the exception of the thesis, will be anonymised when the task is completed in June 2012.
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__________________________  ____________
Participant’s signature    Date and Place

__________________________  ____________
Investigator’s signature    Date and Place