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MALE RAPE

Where are the Male Victims of Sexual Violence in Human Rights?

An analysis of UN documents on Sexual Violence against Men

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Abstract

This paper explores the phenomenon of male rape and how the international community recognizes sexual violence against men. U.N. resolutions on sexual violence have been analysed in order to demonstrate how men are included and excluded as victims of sexual violence in conflicts. By excluding men as victims from research and policymaking on sexual violence, an important part of the understanding of sexual violence in general is missing. It is important to understand gender stereotypes and expectations of men and women in order to understand the occurrence of male rape, the under-reporting of male rape as well as the neglecting of male rape. This analysis raises important questions regarding human rights and how certain people become deprived of their rights and their legal protection. Male rape needs to be acknowledged in order to reach a full understanding of sexual violence, which in turn needs to be addressed as a crime in order for the victims to be recognized and perpetrators to be punished. This is essential in order to stop sexual violence in conflicts, regardless of the sex of the victim.

Key words: Male Rape, Sexual Violence in Conflicts, United Nations, Gender Theory, Masculinity, Political Rape, International Policy Making

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List of Abbreviations

ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal in the former Yugoslavia
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal in Rwanda
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RS	Resolution
SC	Security Council
UN	United Nations
US	United States

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1 Introduction

The phenomenon of sexual violence is not new. Sexual violence has always been present in conflicts, but it was not until the 1990s and the conflicts in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda that the systematic use of rape as a strategy of warfare was recognized by the international community and increased the political visibility (Schott 2011:48). U.N. resolutions led to the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal in the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) as well as the International Criminal Tribunal in Rwanda (ICTR), which stated that sexual violence in conflicts is a form of political violence and defined rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity (Schott 2011:48).

Attention has been drawn to sexual violence in conflicts, and to which extent this phenomenon actually exists, but it tends to focus exclusively on violence against women and fails to include the phenomenon of male rape as a part of sexual violence (Stemple 2009:605, Sivakumaran 2007:253, Davies 2002:203). Men and boys are a minor but significant proportion of the total number of victims, but are often excluded from research on sexual violence as well as in law and international policy-making (*as victims but not as perpetrators or bystanders*). In male dominated societies and cultures, men do not want to admit that they are or can be potential victims of rape, and as a result, very few male rapes are reported. It is a taboo subject and a private matter, with little general understanding of it in research and unrecognized by law (DelZotto & Jones 2002).

The International Community and the U.N. play an important part in implementing policies and put pressure on states as well as political leaders to take action against sexual violence. A study made by Elisabeth Wood at Yale University has shown that conflicts with leaders and warlords who do not accept, and who punish acts of sexual violence have a lower number of rape and sexual abuse (Wood 2009:331,152). By overlooking or ignoring an issue it sends the message that the issue is not important, and even more that the victim is not important (Boréus & Bergström 2005:77-78). As Arendt expressed; if people are not even protected by the law, they are not only oppressed by a group, it insinuates that they do not even deserve to be oppressed and faces nothing less than destruction (Schott 2011:54). This thesis will explore the phenomenon of male rape and the taboo around this issue, followed by an analysis of U.N. documents on sexual violence and how men and boys are included or excluded.

As many feminists have long argued; rape must be seen as an act of political nature and not sexual. Sexual violence has become a political weapon in conflicts, a weapon cheaper than bullets (Schott 2011:48). Margot Wallström, the U.N. Special Representative on Sexual Violence & Conflicts, express this by stating that sexual violence does not only address one country but constitutes a global risk. What was once considered a private matter and a lesser evil in war (U.N. SC/10555 2012-02-23) is now questioned. Rape should not be seen as a sexual act, but as a strategic and political tool in times of conflict. It is a terror crime that affects society as a whole, and which could jeopardize peace agreements and future reconciliation. It should therefore be regarded as a global threat that needs to be recognized (U.N. SC/10555 2012-02-23). The dynamics of sexual violence creates political death as well as cultural and social death, meaning sexual violence has devastating and long-term consequences for both male and female victims (Schott 2011:54). Enforced impregnation, castration and diseases such as HIV/AIDS follow the victims and undermine their chances of new beginnings (Schott 2011:51). The fact demands for the international community to take a stand against sexual violence against men and women, when states are no longer capable of guaranteeing the rights of their citizens.

This paper does not attempt to detract attention from sexual violence against women. I will instead try to explain why a more inclusive approach to sexual violence would lead to a better understanding of the phenomenon of sexual violence in general. Sexual violence is based on the socially constructed beliefs and expectations of women and men. By neglecting male rape, these roles are reinforced rather than dealt with. The feminist movement made progress during the 1970s, which later resulted in political attention and engagement on sexual violence against women (Abdullah-Khan 2008:4). No such movement can be found amongst men, as men have always had a strong and culturally dominant position in history. This can explain the exclusion of men in laws and policymaking on sexual violence, the unwillingness to admit the weakness, as it is often associated with the victims' inability to protect themselves. Therefore, I will make a distinction between gender theory and feministic theory. Research that focus exclusively on sexual violence against women and exclude male rape cannot reach a full understanding of the phenomenon of sexual violence nor reach full potential in combating sexual violence in conflicts.

1.1 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The main purpose of this paper is to explore the phenomenon of male rape, and how men are neglected as victims in international policymaking. Data and statistics clearly show the prevalence of male sexual abuse and there is no doubt that men and boys are exposed to sexual violence. Myths stating that: “men cannot be raped”, “men are incapable of having sex against their will”, “male rape is equivalent to homosexual rape” (Abdullah 2008:15) are consequences of the lack of attention, research and knowledge that has been given to and on this issue. No one can forget incidents like the sexual abuse of young boys in the Catholic church in the US, or the American soldiers in Iraq who sexually abused prisoners in the Abu Ghraib Prison. It is clear that rape does occur and that no human being is immune to rape. No one knows with certainty the extent of rape since the number of unreported cases is high among men as well as women. Many victims, male ones in particular, fail to report sexual abuse due to fear, stigma, confusion and blame. Can this be connected to the neglecting of male victims in research, media and international treaties? In order to understand this, I will do a content analysis of U.N. documents on sexual violence to see how men and women are included or excluded in this issue. I will then apply gender theories into my findings to explain how and why men and boys are included or excluded, and how this affects male victims, as well as for the understanding on sexual violence as a whole. The following research questions will form the basis for this paper:

- How can sexual abuse against men be understood?
- What factors influence the under-reporting of male rape?
- In what way does the United Nations include men and women as victims in documents on sexual violence?

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In the following chapter I will make an outline of the theoretical framework that permeates this paper. A feminist approach is not irrelevant for the understanding of sexual violence, but it often fails to include men as victims. Therefore, I would argue that a gender theory approach is more suitable in order to understand the

relationship between and within the sexes, as well as sexual violence within and between sexes in peacetime and during conflicts.

1.2.1 Gender and Feministic Theory

Feministic research has long argued that rape must be seen as political rather than sexual (Schott 2011:50ff.) Radical feminists have given attention to the political nature of rape, but focuses on its sexual character, while the feminist discourse has long argued that rape should be understood as political rather than sexual; as a political tool to dominate and degrade (Schott 2011:51). A female specific approach is not irrelevant as it insists that the rape of women is a way for men to maintain the patriarchal power structure, it also inflicts that rape is a sort of social order and control (Abdullah-Khan 2008:4), which can contribute to the explanation of rape of both men and women as a method to maintain power.

However, feministic research often fails to include men as victims and the power dynamics within sexes and not only between sexes. Therefore, a gender theory perspective is more suitable to reach a full understanding of sexual violence as it often rests on gender-based expectations. A gender analysis often provides an understanding of the many different forms of sexual violence, while feministic approaches to rape do not allow any room for the understanding of male rape (Stemple 2009:628). A gender analysis on the other hand, can also explain male on male violence through the gendered power structures (Stemple 2009:628). The patriarchal power structure view men as strong and dominant and women as subordinate and weak, and rape becomes a tool to control the body of a woman (Abdullah-Khan 2008:4).

Research has shown that sexual violence against men is often of humiliating, feminizing and degrading nature rather than sexual. By raping a man he becomes weak and subordinate, which questions the expectations on men and masculinities where men are expected to be strong, dominant and aggressive – expected to be the perpetrator and not the victim. Gender expectations are so strongly rooted, that there is no room for individual variation or divergence (Mosse 1998:6). Sexual violence in conflicts is not a new phenomenon but has not until late years been recognized and dealt with. Later research has acknowledged women's vulnerability in war but at the same time men as the sole perpetrator (Stemple 2007:611). There is an idea of men as protectors and women as in need of protection, especially in conflicts. This idea is not only false, but overlooks the fact that men are also victims and women also perpetrators.

The feministic researcher Eduards states that the society today is defined by power, and especially the gender power order (Eduards 2002: 84). The gender expectations

are so strongly rooted as culturally natural and obvious, that they are taken for granted (Rosenberg 2008:85). Due to the male heterosexuality's privileged position, it manages to maintain its status as something natural and obvious. The fact that it is so obvious and natural that heterosexuality is taken for granted, is the core of its cultural dominance (Rosenberg 2008:85). When the masculinity is challenged in such a way that it emasculates and feminizes the male victim, the shame of not being a man obstructs him from reporting. Images of masculinity raises boys in a manner they believe to be manhood, courage and strength (Mosse 1998:191). The feministic approach to conflicts is that the purpose of conflicts is to prove one group's superiority over another and to feminize the enemy (French 1994:183). It is a battle for men and between men.

The victimization of women and simplification of gender roles in times of conflicts leads to a misleading understanding of sexual violence in conflicts (Stemple 2009:612). By victimizing women it firstly diminish the fact that women can be and are important political decision makers, supporters of conflicts, perpetrators and combatants (Stemple 2009:612). Instead it reinforces a traditional social structure in which the woman through her femininity is not considered able to be violent (Shepard 2011:508).

Sexual violence against women by the enemy can in conflicts be seen as a political tool of humiliating the enemy and give proof of the enemies' incapacity to protect himself and his women (French 1994:183). The rape of women is performed to cause psychological torture of men and thereby emasculate (Carpenter 2006:96ff). When the man or his wife is raped the man fails not only to protect his woman, he cannot even protect himself (Carpenter 2006:96ff). The idea of women as innocent, peaceful and in need of protection gives her a high status as a victim. Stereotypes of rape and untrue generalisations keep male rape hidden. The social construction of masculinities raises men into becoming strong and sexually dominant (Abdullah-Khan 2008:15) which neglects men as potential victims and women as potential perpetrators and thereby victimizes rather than empower them. In order to change the society, Mosse argued that stereotypes of modern masculinity must be taken into consideration (Mosse 1998:194). The feministic approach suggests that to deconstruct identities does not necessarily mean that we must deconstruct politics. The political opposite is needed to be able to criticize and transcend the gender-coded standards, practises and expectations that make us men and women (Eduards 2002:141).

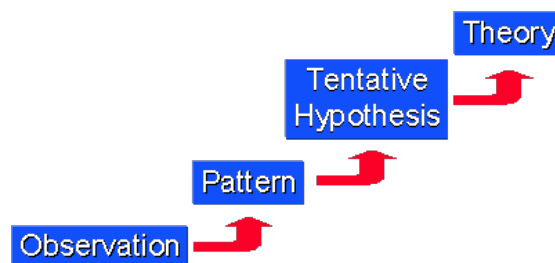
Feministic research provides theories of the old perception of women as men's property (Abdullah-Khan 2008:30) and recognizes rape as the ultimate violation of women and show how laws against rape of women aroused in order to defend men's property, as women were, and sometimes are, seen as belonging either to the husband or father (Abdullah-Khan 2008:29). Clark and Lewis argued that the legal system

confirmed, supported and perpetuated unequal relationship between men and between sexes. Women were not seen as an independent people with equal rights according to the law. They affirm the importance of being recognized by the law. Do attitudes determine who deserves protection and rights? Schott raises the question: Do all people risk losing the protection of the law depending on who dominates the political system? How do certain members become disposed of their rights?

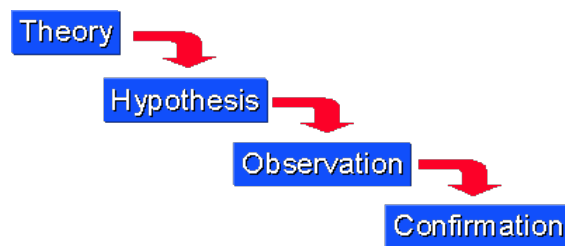
1.3 Methodology and Material

Literature and research on sexual violence is dominated by two general ideas: firstly, gender expectations and masculinities are the main cause to sexual violence in conflicts. The core of masculinity is the power, and this is demonstrated through sexual violence where the perpetrator maintains his power, and reinforces the masculinity while the victim is often feminized and emasculated and thereby disempowered. Secondly, sexual violence is used as a strategy of war and must be regarded as a political tool. After incidents with leaders ordering mass rape in order to destroy the enemy race, rape must be recognized as political rather than sexual. These two theories of gender and politics will permeate the paper and provide explanations of the occurrence of male rape but also explanations to the under-reporting and absence of male victims in general. The paper will be divided into two parts; in the first part I will use an inductive method and in the second part a deductive method.

The first part of this paper will explore the phenomenon of male rape and sexual violence against men before explaining theories of the different forms of sexual abuse and the neglecting of male rape. In the first part I will use an inductive method. An inductive reasoning is an approach that goes from the bottom up, observations will hopefully lead to a general pattern and a tentative hypothesis before making a general conclusion. I will investigate the phenomenon of male rape and analyse reports on sexual violence against men and women and discuss why and how sexual violence is committed. At the end of the chapter I hope to have enough material to come to a conclusion.



The second part of the paper consists of an analysis of U.N. RS on sexual violence. The analysis in chapter three will be based on the findings from chapter two and will test my theory on sexual violence against men to see if the absence of male victims can be explained by the same gender theories that explain sexual violence. Deductive reasoning is used to test theories and general ideas by applying them to a specific case and to see whether they can be confirmed or not. The content analysis of the U.N. documents will show how things are written, what language is used as well as what is not written. When doing a text or content analysis it can be questioned whether it is necessary or meaningful to quantify. For example it is not so important how many times something is mentioned but in what way it is mentioned (Boréus & Bergström 2005:77). The diagrams therefore have not only counted words but also divided the words in which way they are mentioned. Text or content analysis are vulnerable in the way they focus on what is written and how, but not so much on what is not written. It may be due to the fact that the unsaid is obvious and does not need to be addressed or that it is not important enough (Boréus & Bergström 2005:77-78).



1.4 Disposition

In order to get a better understanding of the purpose of this paper and how the questions will be answered, I will first go through the theoretical frameworks that will be used in explaining the occurrence of sexual violence against men. I will then provide an introduction of the phenomenon of male rape and to what extent it exists. In order to understand the analysis I will also give explanations comprising under-reporting of male rape before the analysis of U.N. documents in chapter 3. In chapter 3, I will analyse U.N. documents on sexual violence and explain my findings by applying theories of gender and feminist research, and show how neglecting male rape affects society as a whole. An inclusive feminist approach would lead to a better understanding of sexual violence and the international community needs to take a stand against sexual violence, regardless of the victim's gender.

1.5 Limitations

Men and boys are a small but significant proportion of the total number of victims, but often excluded from research on sexual violence. However, this paper is not intended to point out to what extent victims suffer and are exposed to sexual violence, nor to diminish the large number of women and girls affected by sexual violence or direct focus from female to male victims. There is a fear that the focus and valuable resources to prevent sexual violence against women will decrease if sexual violence against men is included. Some feministic responses state that including male rape victims in laws would be a backlash against feminism (Stemple 2009:629). Other feminists have argued that the complexities of sexual violence must be acknowledged, since a female specific approach cannot always explain the different components of sexual violence (Stemple 2009:629).

The aim of this paper is to show how neglecting male rape has a negative effect on the understanding of sexual violence, and that an inclusive scope will result in a better understanding of sexual violence regardless of the sex of the victim. Feminist research defines rape as a tool for men to maintain gender roles and the patriarchal power structure over women; rape is used as a method to control the body of a woman. This leads to victimization of women and neglects the fact that women can be perpetrators. In addition, it neglects the fact that men and boys can be victims and reinforces expectations of gender roles of men as strong, aggressive and sexual, women as weak, peaceful and in need of protection. The aim of this paper is to draw attention to a more inclusive scope that would benefit the understanding of sexual violence. After all, it is the act that makes the crime, not the gender of the victim.

Moreover, this paper will focus on sexual violence against men in conflicts. However, in order to understand this, sexual abuse against boys and sexual assault and torture in prisons will also be included. Young boys are often raped in conflicts, especially with child soldiers. Systematic acts of sexual violence are no longer only committed by soldiers, but have spread across society. Examples will show how male and female victims between the ages of 3-75 are being exposed to sexual violence. It was also necessary to include prisons since conflicts and detention is closely related. Many soldiers and civilians are captured, imprisoned and tortured during and after conflicts.

2 The Phenomenon of Male Rape

This chapter will provide an introduction to the phenomenon of male rape and the occurrence of it. The second part of this chapter consists of data and statistics of male rape worldwide as well as explanations for the under-reporting of male rape. It is important to understand the definition and occurrence of male rape as well as reasons for the reluctance to report male sexual abuse, in order to understand the following analysis and that a more inclusive approach is preferable.

2.1 Defining Male Rape and Sexual Violence

Sexual violence has for a long time been seen as something private and taboo and has therefore in the past not been given any recognition in international law, in the media or by the general public. Rape has earlier been considered a lesser evil in the context of war (SC/10555), always present and rarely challenged. Sexual violence has always played a part in conflicts from the 14th century until the 20th, from World War II to the genocide in Rwanda 1994 or the Balkan War in former Yugoslavia. It is more and more recognized that men and boys are exposed to sexual violence in conflicts (Sivakumaran 2010:260). Incidents have been reported in numerous conflicts in all parts of the world: Chile, El Salvador, Iran, Kuwait, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and former Yugoslavia (Stemple 2009:612 ff., Sivakumaran 2007:258). Defining sexual violence as a crime is important in order to recognize the suffering of the victims. Even though the fact that rape has occurred in most conflicts for centuries, it has never been recognized or received enough attention to justify a clear definition.

One of the difficulties with defining rape or sexual abuse is that every state has their definition of rape. It is therefore difficult to give a common definition of what is regarded as sexual abuse, sexual violence or even rape. Moreover, attitudes are continuously changing definitions, which sometimes affect data and statistics. Spousal rape is for example not considered a crime in some states, and was not made illegal in Sweden until 1965. However, what make these laws interesting is that they are sometimes gender specific. It is not the action itself but the sex of the victim that constitutes the crime. The United Kingdom did not include men as victims in the definition of rape in an amendment of the Sexual Offences Act until 1976

(Abdullah-Khan 2008:31) and in South Africa, male rape was not included in the definition of rape and men could therefore not be raped according to the law until as late as 2007, when the Sexual Offences Act was passed (Stemple 2007:610).

Even though laws define rape against men and women there are cases where the sexual abused is recognized but as assault, and not as sexual. Forced sterilization, castration or genital disfigurement is likely to be seen just as mutilation, and the rape of a man may be reported as torture (Sivakumaran 2007:256). The violence is recognized as abuse, but not as sexual abuse. The Sexual Offences Act passed in South Africa in 2007 acknowledged that men can be raped, but still rape is often reported as assault by the Department of Correctional Services in South Africa (Stemple 2007:610) and therefore do not show in the statistics of rape or sexual violence.

The international community has a responsibility to define sexual violence and rape as a crime. Male victims of sexual violence report that they have been subjected to acts of sexual nature such as forced nudity, taunting and verbal sexual threats and humiliation, genital mutilation, sterilisation and forced sexual acts such as anal or oral rape that has been forced upon the victim, the perpetrator or other victims as well as forced incest (Stemple 2007:613-614). Sexual violence can therefore take many different forms.

2.2 Data and Statistics of Male Rape

Due to fears of reporting and other reasons, it is known that male rape is widely under-reported (Abdullah-Khan 2008:26, Davies 2008:534) but this part of the essay will try to provide the prevalence of sexual violence against men. Sexual violence has been documented in South America, Chile, El Salvador, Iran, Kuwait, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda and former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union (Stemple 2009:612 ff., Sivakumaran 2007:258). An analysis of 120 prevalence studies worldwide concluded that 3% of all men have been raped, in contrast to 13% of all women (Stemple 2009:607). The latest prevalence in the US estimates that 15.2 % of all rape victims are men (Stemple 2009:606). A survey made by the International Institute of Justice in the U.S found that about 3% of all men in the US have been raped and the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that about 11% of all rape victims are male (Stemple 2009:607). In El Salvador, one survey revealed that 76% of male political prisoners has been exposed to sexual torture (Stemple 2009:613). Researchers state that the prevalence is higher, but the lack of social attention combined with under-reporting gives a misleading result (Stemple 2009:614).

Hillman states that one survey demonstrated that 12% of male victims report the sexual abuse to the police, and another survey showed that only five out of forty victims had reported the rape to the police (Abdullah-Khan 2008:28). Although few male victims report to the police, an increase in reporting has been seen over the past three years, according to one study (Abdulla-Khan 2008:27). A study made by DelZotto & Jones presented in 'Male on male rape: Human Rights Last Taboo?' presented in 2002 revealed that out of 4076 NGO's working with rape in conflicts and political sexual violence, only 3% mentioned men as victims (DelZotto & Jones 2002). The more attention an issue is given, the more willing are victims to report the crime. The sudden increase in reported rapes the past years is suggested to depend on the social recognition and decreased stigmatization associated with rape against women that leads to more victims reporting the crime.

2.2.1 The Different Forms of Sexual Violence

Sivakumaran states that the act of rape and other forms of sexual violence is a way to maintain and reproduce power balance. Power dynamics are established between sexes as well as within the sexes. These gender and power dynamics are applicable in peace as well as in conflicts (Sivakumaran 2007:267). However, they often take the form of sexual violence in times of imbalance. A comparison of low-rape and rape-prone societies has shown that rape figures are particularly high when male power is being questioned/challenged and when the situation is unstable. Sexual violence against men occurs for the same reasons as violence against women, in an attempt to suppress challenges to the social status of the dominant group (Sivakumaran 2007:267-268).

By raping a man, he becomes suppressed and weak. Sexual violence against men is often of degrading nature rather than sexual. This is also why sexual violence and rape often occur in public and not secretly (Sivakumaran 2008:268), as it is a way of demonstrating superiority and of humiliating the victims in front of other people. Sexual violence and rape against men often have a humiliating and degrading nature that feminizes the victims. Rape against men is an act that in itself emasculates the victim, something that many victims testify to. Furthermore, the perpetrator often humiliates and feminizes the victim during the sexual abuse. Male victims often testify how perpetrators call them women and dress them in women underwear in order to humiliate them (Stemple 2009:615), and to further degrade their masculinity. Carpenter states that the rape of women can also be seen as a form of violence against men, if taking the motives in consideration, since rape against women is sometimes also performed to cause psychological torture of men and

thereby emasculates them since they cannot protect their women (Carpenter 2006:96ff).

Another commonly assumed reason for rape is the presumably uncontrollable sexual urges of men (Abdullah-Khan 2008:40). Men cannot help their sexual urges and as a result they rape. This often leads to excuses, where it is declared that the victims led the perpetrator on or provoked the rape by dressing in a certain way (Abdullah-Khan 2008:44-45). The blame is thereby transferred from the perpetrator to the victim.

The Kenyan Parliament recently allowed female visitors in Kenyan prisons and encourage them to visit in order to satisfy the sexual urges amongst the men (The Star 2011-09-22, Area254 2012-03-01, Interview with senator in Zimbabwe), this was due to the high increase of diseases such as HIV/AIDS spreading in prisons. None of the articles mentioned that some of the sexual activity in prisons may be enforced rape, which is often the fact in prisons (Stemple 2009:608-609). It is rather considered that the natural sexual urge forces inmates to have sex and force sex upon newcomers. Sexual violence was historically treated as inevitable and something biologically rooted in men; that men simply cannot control their sexual urges (Abdullah-Khan 2008:40). Feminist research has identified that rape is a sort of social order and control, and a way to attain or maintain power rather than a form of sexual nature (Abdullah-Khan 2008:4). Identifying the true factors behind sexual acts of violence is important in order to combat sexual violence. Kenyan prisons have instead initiated a programme that will help new inmates read the signals of homosexuals that may want to have sex with them (The Star 2011-09-22). The programme rather insinuates that victims need to be aware of their behaviour in order to not be raped by homosexuals who cannot control their sexual urges. The blame is yet again transferred from the perpetrator to the victim.

Another form of sexual violence is when it is performed causing long-term injuries and preventing procreation (Sivakumaran 2007:273). The rape and sexual abuse conflicted upon men and women in conflicts must be seen as political. The conflict in former Yugoslavia show evidence of how genital violence became a strategic weapon in order to destroy the enemy (Sivakumaran 2007:265). Men were castrated in order to prevent them from having 'muslim babies' (Sivakumaran 2007:273), and women are being raped in order to impregnate them and yet again destroy the enemy and future generations (Schott 2011:48-49). The rapes cannot be seen as a direct harm conflicted upon people but an act intended to harm the whole society of the enemy. This form of rape undermines the chances of starting over in several ways. Women are raped, impregnated by force and rejected by husbands, while men are castrated and rejected by society (Schott 2011:56, Thuresson 2009:11). Not to forget, diseases are spreading and there is often an increase in new HIV/AIDS infections in conflicts with high rape numbers. These chronic diseases

harm the individuals as well as the community, even after the conflicts have ended (Stemple 2009:209). Rape thereby emphasizes the concept of social death, which suggests that consequences will follow the individual and obstruct him or her from starting a new life in the future, obstructing them from a new beginning (Schott 2011:56). When the children grow up, as a result of enforced impregnations, they often face rejection by society. A doctor working with women who have been raped in the Republic of Congo fear that the rejection of these children will be, as she calls it, a social bomb in the future (Thuresson 2009:133). Male rape victims suffer the same fears as female victims of being rejected by family and the community (Schott 2011:57) and that is exactly why this form of sexual violence is performed – in order to destroy the future of the enemy even after the conflict has ended.

2.2.2 The Under-Reporting of Sexual Violence

Male rape is given little social attention, and has for a long time been seen as taboo; the myth that men cannot be raped. Research has shown that male rape victims face the same situation as female victims two centuries ago (Sivakumaran 2007:253). Due to the fears of being seen as vulnerable, blamed, questioned and stigmatized, few male victims report sexual abuse or rape, unless the damage is severe (Davies 2008:534). When victims report sexual assault it is often when the injuries are so severe that the victim has to seek medical treatment. As seen in the incidents in the US and childhood sexual abuse in Catholic churches; when an issue is given little social attention and when fear of being blamed or stigmatized are high, few victims will report (Stemple 2009:617). On the other hand, if the issue receives attention and support and when effective measures and actions are taken; people are more likely to report sexual abuse.

As with female rape victims, male victims fear to be rejected by society. Male victims testify that they have lost their masculinity and that others no longer see them as real men, since a real man would not let himself be raped against his will. DelZotto & Jones explain the under-reporting of male rape in wartime by stating that in male-dominated cultures, men do not admit that they can be or are victims of rape or sexual violence. As a result, very few rapes are reported and it becomes a taboo issue to talk about. Moreover, it results in less understanding of male rape in general and little recognition by the law (DelZotto & Jones 2002).

Male victims often face the same fears as female victims about being questioned and not believed. The myth that men cannot be raped leads to questioning of the victims sexuality, if the victim in any way provoked the rape or if the victim tried to resist the rape (Abdullah-Khan 2008:44-45). Stereotypes often influence the level of victimization and compassion for the victims (Abdullah-Khan 2008:24, Davies

2002:204pp.). Women and children are usually attributed with little blame for violence inflicted upon them, while heterosexual males are attributed with more blame and more often questioned when it comes to resistance (Davies 2002:204). Men were in other words expected to do more in order to stop the rape and faced with the belief that he was not man enough to defend himself from the perpetrator (Davies 2002:534).

Homosexuals (regardless of gender) are attributed with most blame and were also expected to suffer less from rape (Abdullah-Khan 2008:23ff). As once assumed about women – gay men who have been raped must have asked for it (Stemple 2009:605). The stereotypes and gender expectations of men and women determines how victims will be treated and perceived. Men are attributed with a duality of perpetrator and victim. The perceived gender expectations of heterosexual men as strong, dominant, aggressors and protectors make them more likely to be perpetrators and less likely to be victims (Abdullah-Khan 2008:26).

Research estimates that the situation for male victims is not so different from that of female victims twenty years ago. (Abdulla-Khan 2008: 3-5, Davies 2002:204). As with female victims, stigma and fears of being blamed keep male victims from reporting sexual abuse. Although female rape victims suffer less social stigmatization today than before, many female victims still fear not being believed. Nevertheless, the number of reported incidents has increased drastically in recent years, which confirms the suspicions of a major under-reporting. Moreover, methodological differences and various capacities to collect data tend to vary over time. However, several surveys and statistics show that even though male victims usually are fewer than female victims, they represent a small but significant proportion of the total number.

Male rape is often assumed to be homosexual rape in the eyes of the public (Abdullah-Khan 2008:15), and therefore many victims fear to report male rape as they fear that their sexuality and masculinity will be questioned. Victims fear homophobic reactions from family and friends as well as from the authorities, and thus do not report the rape (Davies 2008:534). In some countries, victims also fear that they may not be believed and instead punished for homosexual activity (Davies 2008:534.) Male victims face the fear of reporting male rape, if they are questioned and cannot prove that the sexual act was forced and committed without mutual consent. They risk being accused and prosecuted for consensual homosexual activity: a serious offence according to the laws of many states. Although Uganda has one of the first clinics and rehabilitation centres to treat male victims of sexual violence, mainly refugees from Congo, Uganda have very strict laws for homosexual activity. The minimum punishment for anyone convicted of having gay sex is life imprisonment (Guardian nr 1 2009-11-29), and in 2012 the Ugandan parliament reintroduced the death penalty for homosexual acts as well as for homosexuals living with HIV and for same-sex rape (CBS 2012). The death penalty law has not yet been

passed, mainly because of international outcry, condemnation and threats to cut aid to Uganda if the bill is passed. The law was met with more protests internationally than in Uganda, where the public supported the bill (CBS 2012). Since homosexuality is so highly stigmatized in Uganda, for social and religious reasons, very few cases of rape are reported unless they are very severe.

The non- and under-reporting of male rape leads to misleading statistics. Combined with a lack of knowledge and social attention, this may be one reason as to why studies, research and analyses focus almost exclusively on sexual violence against women. The perceived gender expectations of heterosexual men as strong, dominant, aggressors and protectors make them more likely to be perpetrators and less likely to be victims in the eyes of the public (Abdullah-Khan 2008:26).

2.3 Male Rape Theories

A female specific approach has long argued that rape has a political nature rather than a sexual character. This means that rape is a form of social order and control (Abdullah-Khan 2008:4). The realization that sexual violence in conflicts may be a political strategy and a global matter is acknowledged by the U.N. (SC/10555 2012).

The two main theories in research on sexual violence are: firstly, that masculinity and gender expectations can cause sexual violence and at the same time explain the under-reporting of rape. Secondly, that sexual violence in conflicts must be recognized as a strategy of war and rape has a political nature rather than a sexual nature. Both theories apply on the phenomenon of male rape in this chapter.

The different forms of sexual violence: power and dominance, feminization and emasculation of the enemy are all connected to theories of masculinity and gender expectations and how they can cause sexual violence and explain the under-reporting of rape.

The systematic form of sexual violence, the ordering of mass rapes reflects the idea that sexual violence in conflicts must be recognized as a strategy of war and rape as a of political nature rather sexual nature. The numbers of victims that are castrated, sterilized and impregnated by force, confirm rape as a political tool and a cheap and effective weapon that can obstruct life and fertility and cause life long harm for individuals as well as the society.

3 A Content Analysis of U.N. Documents on Sexual Violence

In this chapter I will analyse U.N. documents on sexual violence to see how sexual violence against men is responded to. I will focus on following RS on sexual violence in conflicts: RS 1325 (2000), RS 1820 (2008) as well as the latest passed RS 1960 (2010). RS 1889 (2009) and 1888 (2009) are two complementary resolutions to RS 1325 and RS 1888, aiming to strengthening the implementation of the earlier resolutions. They will therefore not be included in the analysis. Over the years, the U.N. has been criticized for not holding states accountable when not respecting signed resolutions. States has no legal obligation in following signed treaties but are often pressured in order to not loose the face and appear as unaccountable. The U.N need to take a leading role in acknowledging and recognizing sexual violence against men and women and pressure states and state leaders to stop impunity against such acts.

I will return to the earlier two main theories that dominate research on sexual violence. The first theory states that gender expectations and masculinities are the cause of sexual violence, the second theory explains sexual violence as a political tool and strategy of war. Are these two theories implemented in policy-making? Is there an understanding of sexual violence as a strategic warfare in the documents or does these documents old traditional stereotypes that men cannot be raped and that rape is has a sexual nature and constitutes a lesser evil due to uncontrollable sexual urges? This comparison will show how RS 1325, 1820 and 1960 include and exclude male as victims of sexual violence and how well the phenomenon of sexual violence is understood from a gender theory approach that is inclusive and include a female as well as male perspective on femininities and masculinities.

3.1 Resolution 1325

Resolution 1325 (RE/SC/1325), was passed by the Security Council in year 2000. RE/SC/1325 was the first resolution on sexual violence and the protection of women and moreover stressing the participation of women on decision-making levels. The resolution emphasizes the importance of female participation on all levels of decision-making as well as within the military and medical personnel. The resolution several times mentions the importance of gender awareness and a gender perspective that

permeates peace processes as well as during operations. Thus, the resolution fail hence it exclusively focuses on women and girls and fail to include men and boys in any part. On the issue of rape and sexual violence in conflicts:

“Calls on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict’ (The United Nations RE/SC/1325, 2000).

Men and boys are thereby not included as victims or potential victims of sexual violence. By the time this resolution was passed, sexual violence against men and boys was widely known, especially after the systematic rapes of both men and women in former Yugoslavia, which had been thoroughly documented and analysed. Furthermore, U.N. resolution led to the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal in the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), which later stated that sexual violence in conflicts is a form of political violence and defined rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity (Schott 2011:48). RE 1325 thus recognize men and boys, in form of civilians, as victims in conflicts but not sexual violence

“Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict...” or in “Emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions”; (The United Nations RE/SC/1325, 2000).

In the 11th operative paragraph the resolution recognizes sexual violence as crimes against humanity or war crimes and emphasize the responsibility of all states to punish acts of sexual violence and stop the impunity. Still, this is directly addressed to women and girls and men and boys are absent in the documents as victims of sexual violence.

3.2 Resolution 1820

The Security Council passed RS 1820 in 2008. The previous resolutions on sexual violence, RE/SC/1325 had failed to implement it contents and involving women in all levels of decision-making and peace processes. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Darfur in Sudan raised questions regarding mass rape and international security and as a result RS 1820 acknowledge rape as a threat against international peace. The Security Council passed the RS 1820 in 2008 and thereby demanded immediate ending of all acts of sexual violence by all parties in armed conflicts (Sivakumaran 2010:260). Sexual violence was recognized as a threat against international peace and reconciliation and stresses the need of exclusion of amnesties. As Woods study show, conflicts with political leaders and warlords who have a strong command and punish acts of sexual violence have a lower number of rape and sexual

abuse (Wood 2009:331). Therefore it is important that U.N. recognizes rape as a war crime and crime against humanity and pressure states and political leaders to hold perpetrators of sexual violence accountable for such acts. This is shown in the 4th operative paragraph of the resolution:

“Notes that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes, and calls upon Member States to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, and stresses the importance of ending impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking sustainable peace, justice, truth, and national reconciliation” (United Nations RE/SC/1820, 2010)

The 4th paragraph takes a definitive stand against sexual violence by stressing the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes. The definitive stand against sexual violence reflects the development of rape as a systematic strategy and how sexual violence is now considered to be a crime against humanity that cannot be overlooked.

Moreover, the 4th paragraph remains gender neutral and clearly defines sexual violence as a war crime, a crime that affects all civilians (but in particular women and girls) The 14th operative paragraph on the other hand do only address women and girls affected by sexual violence and either insinuates that developing and implementing policies are only important to women and girls or that men and boys are not affected by sexual violence.

Several paragraphs in RE 1820 suggests that women should be involved in U.N. peacekeeping operations, peace building and full participation of women in decision-making levels. This initiative to reduce sexual violence in conflicts is supported by Woods study that high levels of female presence in military, medical staff and other personnel often reduce acts of sexual violence against civilians (Woods 2009:332). As Nordlander is stating, sexual violence is no longer only committed by the military but as spread throughout the society and become a norm in conflicts. Sexual violence committed by U.N. personnel has been reported and cause irreparable doubt on the organization working for world peace (Nordlander 2011:63). The 7th note of RE/SC/1820 requests to strengthen the efforts on zero-tolerance against sexual violence against civilians committed by U.N. soldiers and other personnel.

3.3 Resolution 1960

Resolution 1960 is the most recent resolution in sexual violence and was passed in 2010. The 8th operative paragraph stresses the importance of better monitoring and documentation of patterns and prevalence of sexual violence. Research has shown

that in order to encourage people to report the crime must be widely recognized. A difference from previous RS on sexual violence is that while RS 1325 and 1820 addressed women and girls, RS 1960 address women and children throughout the RS. Boys are thereby included in paragraphs concerning sexual violence.

“concerned over the slow progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children” (The United Nations SC/RES/1960, 2010)

RS 1960 reaffirm the need of women in peacekeeping missions. As mention earlier a higher percentage of female personnel often reduce the levels of sexual violence (Woods 2009:332). Worth mentioning but not relevant in this analysis, is the fact that Woods study has shown that female presence in general has a damping effect on sexual violence. This applies to personnel as well as female civilians that are supporters of groups in conflicts. Military groups with female influence and support, tend to engage less in sexual violence in conflicts (Farr 2009:64).

RS 1960 stresses the need the end impunity and calls upon member states to prohibit *all* forms of sexual violence and reaffirm that sexual violence is a systematic attack against civilian populations. The recognition of rape as a systematic strategy of warfare is not new, but this time addressed directly to civilians.

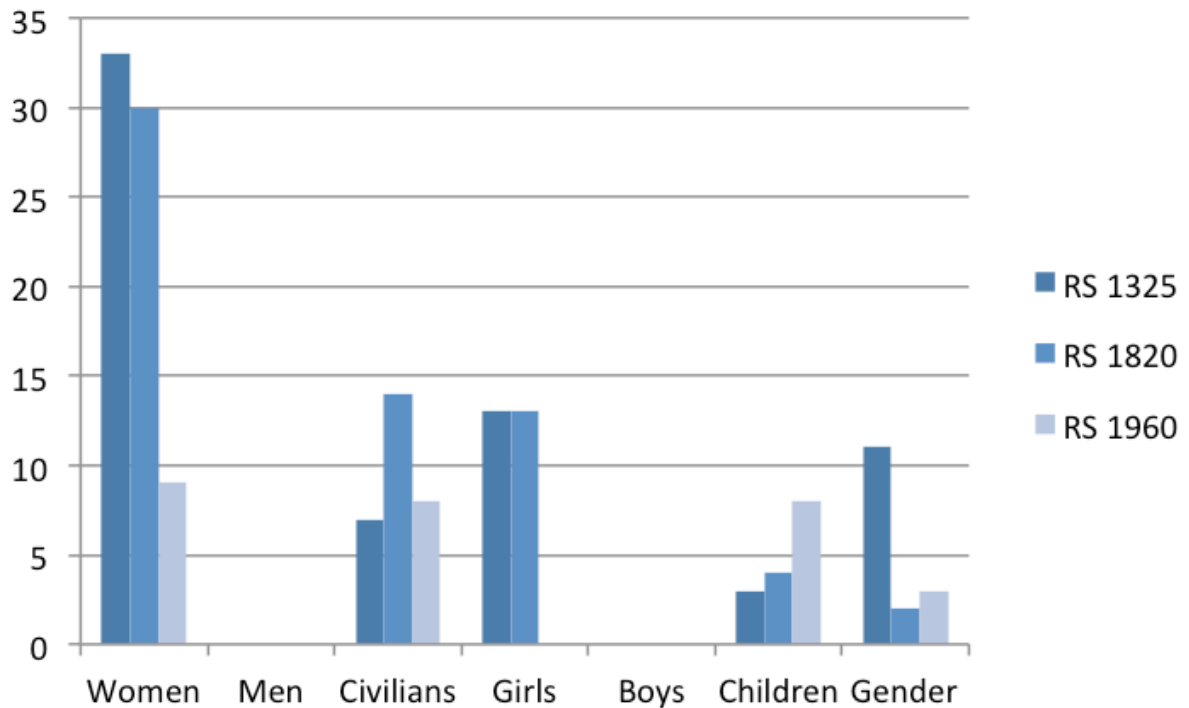
“Reaffirms that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations” or “Recalling the responsibilities of States to end impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other egregious crimes perpetrated against civilians and, in this regard, noting with concern that only limited numbers of perpetrators of sexual violence have been brought to justice, while recognizing that in conflict and in post-conflict situations national justice systems may be significantly weakened” (The United Nations SC/RES/1960, 2010).

The resolution has taken a more gender-neutral approach than previous resolutions on sexual violence. In the following chapter, a comparison between the three resolutions on sexual violence will be done to see how they include men, women and children.

3.4 Comparison

This comparison will show how RS 1325, 1820 and 1960 include and exclude male as victims of sexual violence and how well the phenomenon of sexual violence is understood from a gender theory approach that is inclusive to both sexes, masculinity and femininity. When doing a content analysis it is not so important how many times a words is mentions but rather how it is mentioned and even more important, what is not mentioned (Boréus & Bergström 2005:77-78). The diagrams therefore has not only counted words but also considered the words in what way they are mentioned. Text or content analysis are vulnerable in that way that they focus on what is written and how, but not so much what is not written. It may be due to the fact that the unsaid is obvious and not need to be addressed or that it is not

important enough. This part of the analysis will provide an understanding of how the attitudes have changes and how men, women and children are included as victims of sexual violence in conflicts.



The term women and children appeared to have been lost and replaced by the term women and girls, when talking about sexual violence. In RS 1960 the term women and children are being used, in comparison to the two previous RS 1325 and 1820, that uses women and girls. This was noticed in research and discussed how the term women and children can change into women and girls even though the number of male/boy victims is known (Stemple 2009:622). Still, none of the resolutions address men and boys as direct victims of sexual violence although RS 1960 mention civilians when addressing the issue of sexual violence. The latest resolution, RS 1960, does not mention men or boys directly but has a more even approach to the inclusion of civilians and children. All three resolutions recognize sexual violence as a crime against humanity and the need to end impunity. The resolutions also mention gender, but fail to provide an inclusive approach of gender theory, and instead focus on women and girls. The definition gender-based violence seems as a gender-neutral but is often not. The use of gender specific language and which words to use is of great importance, especially when wishing to affect views and understandings of something which will be shown and further discussed in the following chapter.

3.4.1 The Use of a Gender Specific Language in U.N. Documents

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women define gender-based abuse as:

“any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (The U.N. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, 1993).

While the understanding of sexual violence against women focus on women and exclude men and boys as victims is understandable. Gender-based violence should on the other hand take both genders into consideration. Gender refers to socially constructed ideas and masculinity and femininity (Stemple 2009:619). Yet Gender-based violence is not gender neutral in this context as it addresses women and not men. Laws and definitions should be gender-neutral since it is the act it self and not the sex/gender and age of the victim that is the illegal act. Gender-based violence is exclusively directed towards women and girls and does not contribute with a gender-neutral approach on sexual violence Sivakumaran notes the importance of being aware of how the use of language affects views and understandings (Sivakumaran 2007:256). Sexual violence against men is often called ‘assault’, ‘mutilation’, ‘torture’ or ‘humiliating acts’ instead of rape, castration etc. and are therefore not recognized in documents on sexual violence but rather in documents on war crimes and violence.

NGOs as well as international organisations often fail to recognize rape as rape and therefore reinforce the myth that men cannot be raped. Men and boys are nowhere in the U.N. resolution directly addressed as victims of sexual violence. Sivakumaran stresses the importance of the awareness of how the use of language affects, especially the use of legal language: laws and legal international documents must be well aware of gender specific language since it reinforces world views and understandings (Sivakumaran 2007:257). The U.N. fails to see through the gender expectations and rape myths by neglecting the fact that men are raped in conflicts.

3.4.2 Affects of Neglecting Male Rape

By neglecting male rape it will remain a taboo subject with few male victims reporting rape due to stigma and fear. If no treatment is given to victims of male rape, victims will suffer from psychological injuries as well as physical. Violence often reproduces and as Stemple show, both violence and sexual violence increases in post-war times and the victim often become more violent than before (Stemple

2007:616). Furthermore, sexual perpetration, mental illness, suicidality often affects the victims. Research has shown that these consequences are the same for male and female victims (Stemple 2007:616). Neglecting and denying male rape affects the society, families and victims. Men are as likely to suffer from physical injuries as women are after rape incidents. Suicide and depression are as common for men as they are for women (Stemple 2007:616). Rape cannot only be seen as a human rights issue as it constitutes a major and growing health problem (Stemple 2009:609). Rape does not only bring psychological damages and immediate physical injuries but also diseases such as HIV. In the US, surveys show that HIV is three times as common in prisons (Stemple 2007:609). Surveys from South Africa show that the rate of infection in prisons varies between 30-60% and that HIV is the most common cause of death. To neglect rape does not only have an affect on its victims, but families, children and partners. The Human Declaration of Commitment on HIV/&/AIDS also show a gender specific approach stating:

“ensure development and accelerated implementation of national strategies for women’s empowerment, the promotion and protection of women’s full enjoyment of all human rights and reduction of their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS through the elimination of all forms of discrimination, as well as all forms of violence against women and girls, including harmful traditional and customary practices, abuse, rape and other forms of sexual violence, battering and trafficking in women and girls” (The United Nations, A/RES/S-26/2).

If men are not recognized as victims they will not receive the treatment needed and this will have an affects on the individual as well as the family and society.

Not enough research has been done within the field of sexual violence against men in conflicts, but when the media and public take strong actions against perpetrators and recognize the crime, stigma will decrease whereby more victims are willing to report the crime (Stemple 2007:617). This was the case in the US and the childhood abuse in the Catholic Church, which has been worldwide spread but is mostly known and reported in the US. Stemple means that a lack of public openness, perceived need to protect the church and stigma are reasons to why childhood sex abuse in the catholic church is so under-reported in other parts of the world even though it is known to exist (Stemple 2007:617) Some researchers state that the high number of reports in the US could be a result to the medias aggressive standing against childhood sexual abuse (Stemple 2007:617).

As shown in Woods study, conflicts with political leaders and warlords who have a strong command and punish acts of sexual violence have a lower number of rape and sexual abuse (Wood 2009:331). Therefore it is important that U.N. recognizes rape as a war crime and crime against humanity and pressure states and political leaders to hold perpetrators of sexual violence accountable for such acts. If the will to abolish sexual violence is not even present on an international policy-making level or among political leaders in states how can a change on a grass-root level be expected?

4 Conclusion

The two main theories of sexual violence remains 1) masculinity and gender expectations cause sexual violence and obstruct the reporting of rape. 2) sexual violence in conflicts must be recognized as a strategy of war and rape as a of political nature rather sexual nature. These two theories explain the occurrence of male rape as well as the different forms of abuse. The theory of male sexuality as something inevitable and that men cannot control their sexual urges is also a prominent belief but often disputed by research, especially in feministic research. The theory of uncontrollable sexual urges do not fully explain why rape occurs, neither explaining the under-reporting of male rape.

By overlooking or ignoring an issue it sends the message that the issue is not important, and even more that the victim is not important. The United Nations has a responsibility to clearly define and recognize sexual violence against men and boys as a crime, not because this will stop the sexual violence immediately but because it will send the message that all people are entitled to the same rights and that all victims are equally important. To recognize sexual violence as a crime against humanity and pressure states and political leaders into prohibiting the use of sexual violence has shown to have an affect of the number of rape incidents. If the act is defined as a crime, and moreover punishable, figures drop.

Socially constructed beliefs of gender must be challenged in order to fully understand the phenomenon of sexual violence against men and women and by recognizing that men and boys are also victims and that women are sometimes also perpetrators. Research that focus exclusively on sexual violence against women and exclude male rape cannot reach a full understanding of the phenomenon of sexual violence nor reach full potential in combating sexual violence in conflicts.

Research compares the situation of male victims of sexual violence to the situation of female victims twenty years ago. Have we not developed and retrieved more knowledge about gender expectation and how they work? The theories of gender and masculinity provide a good understanding of how sexual violence against men and women can be understood in combination with the systematic use of rape as warfare.

The different forms of sexual violence: power and dominance, feminization and emasculation of the enemy are all connected to theories of masculinity and gender expectations and how they can cause sexual violence and explain the under-reporting of rape. The systematic form of sexual violence and the ordering of mass rape reflects

the idea that sexual violence in conflicts must be recognized as a strategy of war and as of political nature rather sexual nature. The numbers of victims that are castrated, sterilized and impregnated by force confirm rape as a political tool and a cheap and effective weapon that can obstruct life and fertility and cause life long harm for individuals as well as society. Masculinities, especially in male-dominant societies, obstruct men from admitting that they are or can be potential victims of rape and results in little understanding of the issue in general as well as no recognition in law. Ironically, due to men's culturally dominant and strong position in society, no movement equivalent to the feministic movement that demanded the rights of women can be found amongst men. In combination with the unwillingness to admit the weakness and that all men are potential victims of rape, the phenomenon of male rape remains in the shadow of sexual violence against women.

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