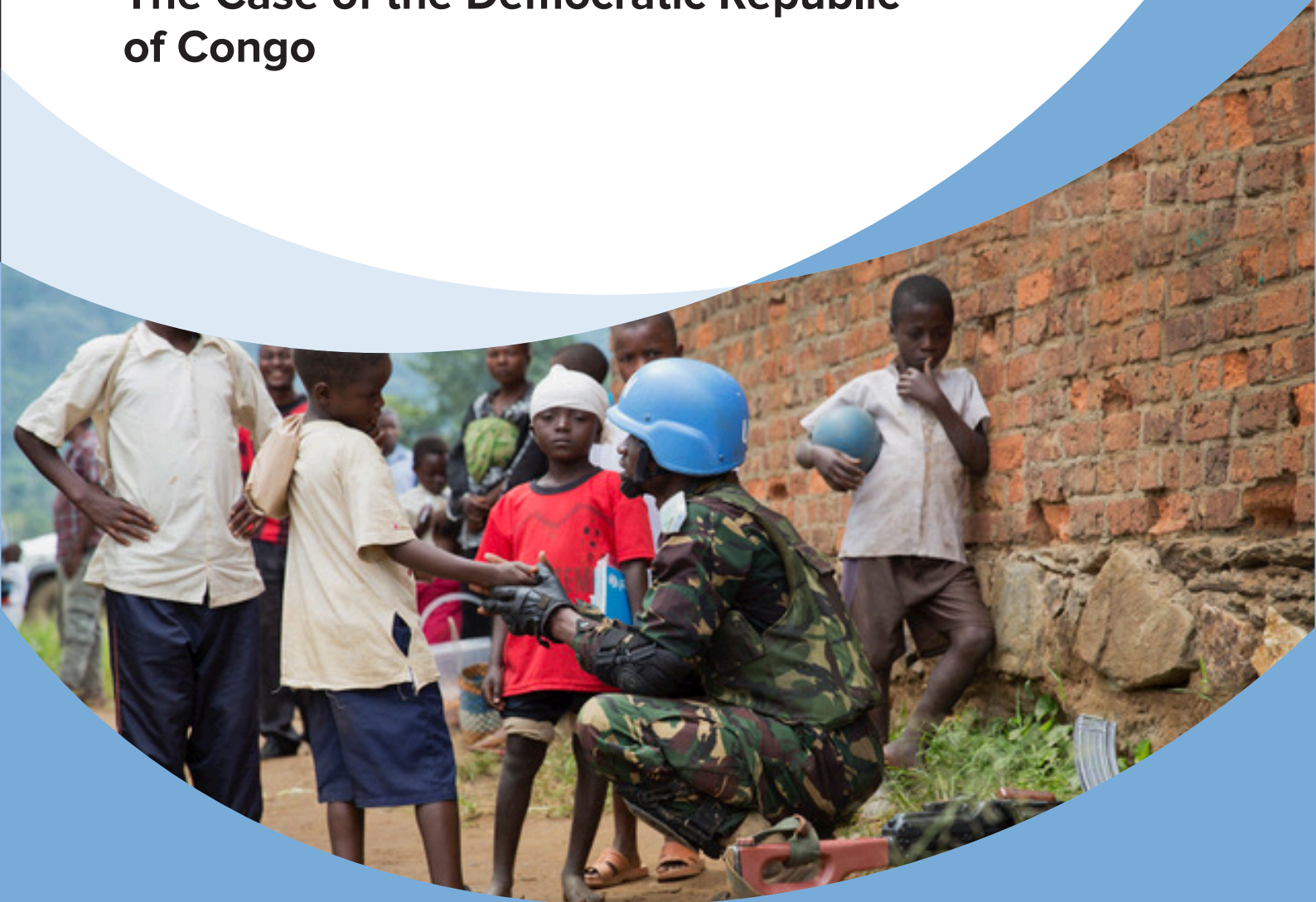




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Breaking the Silence of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence against Men and Boys: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo



EMMA BIRIKORANG & FIIFI EDU-AFFUL
KAIPTC Occasional Paper #43
November 2019

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Abstract

Sexual violence has been around for as long as humanity and the history of warfare. It has been shrouded in a cloak of denial and often treated as incidental to conflict, thereby understating its terrible impact on victims and their communities. However, it has been systematically used as a tactic of war and terrorism, as recognized by the UN Security Council in Resolution 1820 (2008) and 2242 (2015). The extent to which sexual violence is being used by parties to conflict in recent years has not only contributed to prolonged conflicts, but has undermined efforts at the national, regional and international levels to ensure peace and security. Incidents of sexual violence continued to be under-reported partly because of, stigmatization and other socio-cultural stereotypes, lack of adequate response by authorities, fear of reprisals from perpetrators and lack of confidence in the available systems of response. While the impact of underreporting cannot be over-emphasized, it is clear that it undermines a full understanding of the depth of the problem in every given situation, adversely impacts the analysis on the scope, nature and root causes of the crimes as well as measures to develop specific response measures for victims. Women and girls have become more vulnerable due to increased insecurity, displacement, marginalization and poverty but what is less widely known and documented is the degree to which this scourge affects men and boys. This is due to the fact that the predominant discourse on conflict related sexual violence focuses on women and girls as victims. However as significant effort was put into breaking the silence and reducing the stigma surrounding reporting the phenomena, more women and girls began reporting such abuses. This paper therefore makes a similar case for breaking the silence of sexual violence against men and boys. Based on field research conducted in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2017, the research studies the nature of the problem, the policy environment for sexual violence, the key stakeholders who aid victims, the social/economic costs of violence against men and boys; and proffers ways to prevent sexual violence as a weapon of war.

Key words: *Conflict-related sexual violence, stigmatization, victims, peace and security*

Introduction

Sexual violence has existed for as long as humanity and the history of warfare. It has been shrouded in a cloak of denial and often treated as incidental to conflict, thereby understating its terrible impact on victims and their communities. However, it has been systematically used as a tactic of war and terrorism as recognized by the UN Security Council in Resolution 1820 (2008) and 2242 (2015). The extent to which sexual violence is being used by parties to conflict in recent years has not only contributed to prolonged conflicts, but has undermined efforts at the national, regional and international levels to ensure peace and security. Women and girls have become more vulnerable due to increased insecurity, displacement, marginalization and poverty but what is less widely known and documented is the degree to which this scourge affects men and boys.

In recent years, the United Nations Security Council has made some remarkable steps in addressing conflict-

related sexual violence by adopting ground-breaking resolutions which have laid global legal and operational frameworks to address this scourge; Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013). Resolution 1820, created the conceptual framework that identified conflict related sexual violence as a matter of international peace and security that requires a justice, service and security response. The conceptual framework has been critical in enhancing the understanding of the various manifestations of sexual violence within a conflict situation. It has also led to improved advocacy on how sexual violence crimes affect the victims including women, girls, men and boys while at the same time, ensuring focus on the need for specific response measures tailored to the different categories of victims. As a result of the aforementioned progress, practitioners working on addressing sexual violence crimes have deepened their capacity to monitor and

report on these crimes amidst daunting challenges. Incidents of sexual violence continued to be under-reported partly because of, stigmatization and other socio-cultural stereotypes, lack of adequate response by authorities, fear of reprisals from perpetrators and lack of confidence in the available systems of response. While the impact of underreporting cannot be over-emphasized, it is clear that it undermines a full understanding of the depth of the problem in every given situation, adversely impacts the analysis on the scope, nature and root causes of the crimes as well as measures to develop specific response measures for victims. In addition, the lack of sufficient information prevents a full understanding of the impact of sexual violence on the victims.

This situation is worsened when the victims of sexual violence are men and boys. This is due to the fact that the predominant discourse on conflict related sexual violence focuses on women and girls as victims. However, as significant effort was put into breaking the silence and reducing the stigma surrounding reporting the phenomena, more women and girls began reporting such abuses. This led to an increase in the number of reported cases, leading some to contend that sexual violence is on the increase. Due to the manner in

which the campaign towards breaking the silence was run, more women and girls were targeted, social interventions were created to assist them reintegrate into society. Due also to the fact that these interventions were perceived to be targeting females, men and boys who were victims of sexual violence felt increasingly marginalized; and failed to report cases of abuse, some of which were physically extreme. The aim of this paper is to highlight conflict related sexual violence, especially as it relates to men and boys. Using primary data obtained in 2017 from the Democratic Republic of Congo, it assesses the social impact of sexual violence against men and boys. Data was obtained through interviews (including with key informants, experts, victims, non-governmental organisations, state and provincial officials, personnel of the security services, lawyers and judges, and officials of UN agencies operating in the DRC), official documents and statistics and participant observation in several provinces in the DRC. In all, more than 120 interviews were conducted. The DR Congo was selected for this study because in most of the statistics presented by the UNSC relating to sexual violence in conflict, the country presents the highest numbers of known and verified victims.

Theorizing Male Sexual Victimization

To support the theoretical and conceptual framing for the question of male sexual victimization in the Congo, we draw on hegemonic masculinity as the most appropriate and ideal theoretical lens to situate our discussion, views, and understanding of sexual violence against men and boys. The term masculinity connotes a collective gender identity often associated with males that consist of their behaviors, language and actions and are particularly influenced by some existing cultural and/or organizational setting (Connell, 1995; Bankart, 2005).¹ Masculinities also describe how men and boys should “behave, be treated, dress, appear, what they should succeed at, and what attitude and qualities they should have” (Bhasin, 2004).² Arguably, this perhaps explains why there are many variations between and among different groups and societies. Connell 1995; Morrell 1998; Adomako and Boateng 2008 conceive that these socially constructed attributes are not only fluid or plural but varied and exist in different forms across different times and context.³ These characteristics invariably are influenced by

social categories such as age, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic position, geographical location among other local factors. Masculinities, therefore, define male behavior, practices, values, and perspectives and it is not biologically fixed (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Conceptually, Connell (2005) and Messerschmidt (2005) have argued that masculinities are inherently shaped by gender and power relations as well as how men view themselves in relation with women and other men.⁴ This assumption propels Connell (2005) to develop a theory of masculinities that compartmentalizes four different types of masculinities (hegemonic, subordinated, marginalised and complicit), which are practices that men move into or are assigned by others, that work collectively to strengthen and differentiate them from each other.

Of the four, hegemonic masculinity is of most important interest to us purely on the grounds that it allows people who personify this characteristic to maintain a strategic position in many aspects of everyday life

1 Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Sydney: Polity Press; Bankart, C. P. (2005). Men and Masculinities: Theory, Research and Social Practice/Men and Gender Relations/Men and Masculinities: Key Themes and New Directions. *Men & Masculinities*, 7(4), 434–437.

2 Bhasin, K. (2004). *Exploring Masculinity*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited.

3 Ampofo, A. A., & J. Boateng (2008). Understanding masculinities, empowering women: What have boys in Ghana got to do with it? In *Global Empowerment of Women: Response to Globalization and Politicized Religion*, ed. C. M. Elliott. New York: Routledge; Connell, R.W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. Morrell R. (1998). Of boys and men: masculinity and gender in Southern African Studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 24: 605-30.

4 Connell, R.W. (2005). ‘Change among the Gatekeepers: Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Global Arena’. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30 (3): 1801-1825; Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Men, masculinities, and crime. In *Handbook of studies on men & masculinities*, edited by M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn, and R. W. Connell. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

including those that perpetrate sexual violence against both men and women. Hegemonic masculinities in gender studies represent one of Connell's multiple masculinities in his propositions on gender order. It is seen as a practice that justifies men's dominant position in society and rationalizes the subordination of women and the marginalization of 'other' men. In other words, hegemonic masculinity seeks to explain in real terms men's motivation to maintain dominance over women, and other gender identities, which are perceived as "feminine" in any given society (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).⁵ It is important to engage with this kind of masculinity because, by doing so, one can understand and appreciate how male sexual violence victims negotiate different arrangements in different locations, contexts, and situations. That said, victims of male sexual violence personify a subordinate form of masculinity mainly because their misfortune relegates them to the base of the gender hierarchy which challenges the social ideal norm of gender order. In almost all the interactions and the data that we were confronted with within the various locations we visited,

the emerging themes on people's perceptions and views on male sexual violence centered on the notions of the perceived dominance that the perpetrators of such violence have over their victims. Although the perpetrators of such male violence are not a homogenous group, meaning there does not appear to be one single profile, our field visits established that different types of perpetrators exhibited different dominance and were influenced by different motivations. The complexity of the motivations, characteristics, and behaviors of these perpetrators sum up the dominance/control that they portrayed. Apart from a few perpetrators whose sexual preference was homosexual in nature, a greater number of heterosexual perpetrators expressed their social dominance as a form of punishment, to instill fear in their victims and ultimately sexual gratification. Accordingly, this article will demonstrate the symbolic and distinctive nature of masculinities that male victims of sexual violence in the Congo embody and how that is influenced by the social structures, institutions, and the context.

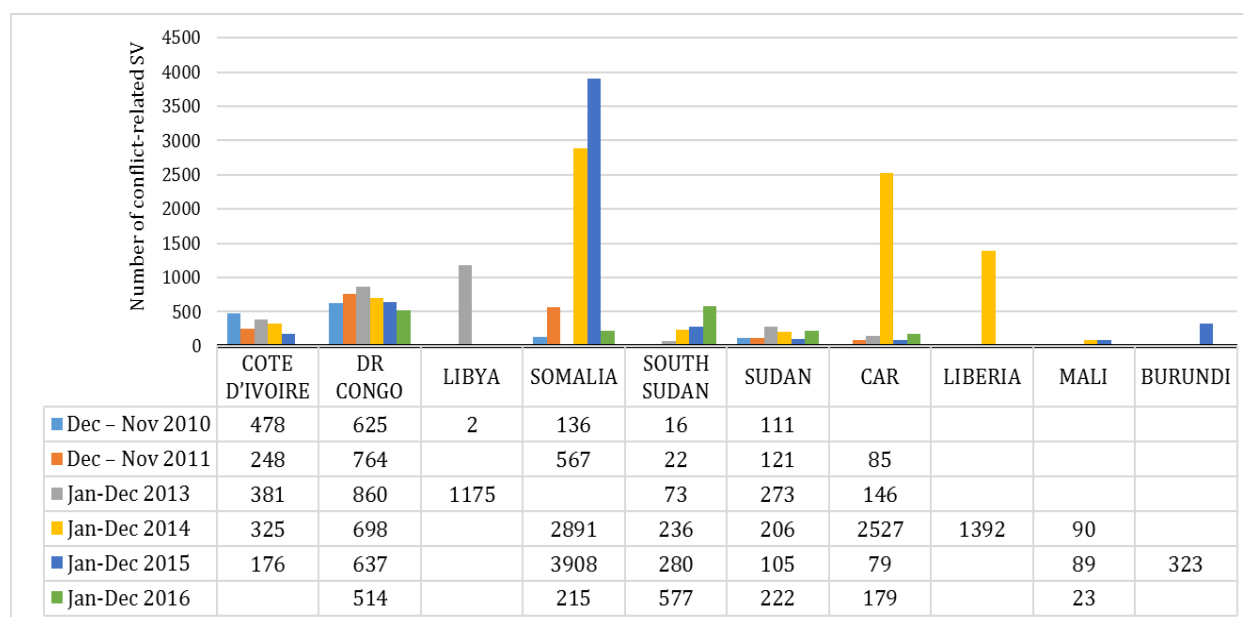
Situation Report of CRSV

According to the United Nations Security Council, the term "conflict-related sexual violence", refers to rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilization, forced marriage, and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict. This link may be evident in the profile of the perpetrator (often affiliated with a State or non-State armed group, including a terrorist entity or network), the profile of the victim (who is frequently an actual or perceived member of a persecuted political, ethnic or religious minority, or is targeted on the basis of actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity), the climate of impunity (which is generally associated with State collapse), cross-border consequences (such as displacement or trafficking in persons) and/or violations of the provisions of a ceasefire agreement. The term also encompasses trafficking in persons when committed in situations of conflict for the purpose of sexual violence/exploitation.

As can be deduced from Figure One below, as conflict worsens within states, the number of sexual violence cases increase. However, these figures are often not properly disaggregated in order to get the exact sexes of the victims. This has led to situations where women and girls are often assumed as the victims. The study advocates that significant effort should be made to encourage more men to report cases of abuse. Even though as indicated in Figure 2-6 most of the victims of CRSV are females (women and girls), evidence from the field suggests that reported figures of men and boys are significantly lower than what prevails. This is due to a number of factors such as fear of reprisal, the stigma associated with being a victim of sexual violence, and the lack of structures to offer reprieve to male sexual violence victims.

⁵ Connell, R. W., and Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005) 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. *Gender and Society*, 19(6): 829-859

Figure 1: Number of Reported and erified Sexual Violence cases since 2010.



Source: Collated from UN Reports from 2010-2016

Figures 2: Disaggregated Data of Sexual Violence Cases in Cote D'Ivoire, DR Congo

Period	COTE D'IVOIRE				DR CONGO			
	Female	Male	Children	Total	Female	Male	Children	Total
Dec 2010 – Nov 2011	467	3		478	602	23		625
Dec 2011 – Nov2012	238		10	248	482	2	280	764
Jan-Dec 2013				381				860
Jan-Dec 2014	94	1	230	325	361	5	332	698
Jan-Dec 2015	39		137	176	375		262	637
Jan-Dec 2016					340	4	170	514

Source: Collated from UN Reports from 2010-2016

Figures 3: Disaggregated Data of Sexual Violence Cases in Libya, Somalia

Period	LIBYA				SOMALIA			
	Female	Male	Children	Total	Female	Male	Children	Total
Dec 2010 – Nov 2011	2			2	136			136
Dec 2011 – Nov2012						1133		567
Jan-Dec 2013				1175				
Jan-Dec 2014								2891
Jan-Dec 2015								3908
Jan-Dec 2016					214	1		215

Source: Collated from UN Reports from 2010-2016

Figures 4: Disaggregated Data of Sexual Violence Cases in South Sudan and Sudan

	SOUTH SUDAN				SUDAN			
Period	Female	Male	Children	Total	Female	Male	Children	Total
Dec 2010 – Nov 2011	16			16	68		43	111
Dec 2011 – Nov 2012	22			22	60	9	52	121
Jan-Dec 2013	68		5	73				273
Jan-Dec 2014			116	236	204	2		206
Jan-Dec 2015				280	50	1	54	105
Jan-Dec 2016				577	102	1	119	222

Source: Collated from UN Reports from 2010-2016

Figures 5: Disaggregated Data of Sexual Violence Cases in CAR and Liberia

	CAR				LIBERIA			
Period	Female	Male	Children	Total	Female	Male	Children	Total
Dec 2010 – Nov 2011								
Dec 2011 – Nov 2012	77		8	85				
Jan-Dec 2013	146			146				
Jan-Dec 2014				2527	787		605	1392
Jan-Dec 2015	43		36	79				
Jan-Dec 2016	92	1	86	179				

Source: Collated from UN Reports from 2010-2016

Figures 6: Disaggregated Data of Sexual Violence Cases Mali and Burundi

	MALI				BURUNDI			
Period	Female	Male	Children	Total	Female	Male	Children	Total
Dec 2010 – Nov 2011								
Dec 2011 – Nov 2012								
Jan-Dec 2013								
Jan-Dec 2014	52		38	90				
Jan-Dec 2015	80	1	9	89	264		59	323
Jan-Dec 2016				23				

Source: Collated from UN Reports from 2010-2016

As can be deduced from the figures above, even when the data is somehow disaggregated, the total figure is often not the sum of the cases of male and female victims. Even when this is the case, it is still unclear if the figures for children included is inclusive of boys and girls. This presents challenges for designing appropriate tools for victim support. The DR Congo case therefore highlights some of these challenges.

Case Study: DR Congo

Sexual violence of all forms has been prevalent throughout the DRC especially in areas affected by armed conflict. Although the problem of male-directed sexual violence in many Congolese territories exist, there are disbeliefs, misconceptions, and in some cases outright dismissal of the very existence of the phenomena. Gorris (2015), Kapur and Muddler (2016) and Clark (2017), among others, argue that the general

outlook of conflict-related male victims of sexual violence globally has increased markedly over the last few years, and in certain situations surging at an astonishing rate. Anecdotal evidence available suggests that all warring factions in the DRC, incrementally, are targeting men and boys.⁶ The pursuit by armed and state security forces has created extreme anxiety for men and boys and virtually rendered them vulnerable. While some advocates and campaigners against sexual violence argue that the incidence as well as the allegations of men and boys who suffer conflict-related sexual violence are not many, others contend that there is a noticeable sign that the incidences of male driven sexual violence is growing more dangerous, even though it does not measure to sexual violence suffered by women.⁷ As Sivakumaran (2007) notes, “It is unlikely that the number of men sexually abused in

armed conflict will ever exceed or even equate to the number of women similarly abused.”⁸ Some human rights advocates working on male victimhood of sexual violence have argued that men and boys often erroneously do not attract the needed attention when discussing victims of conflict-related sexual violence either as a result of underreporting or flaws associated with national and international legal frameworks.⁹ The situation is further compounded by lack of sufficient reportage by aid workers who mostly expect only women to be victims. According to a respondent:

...even if aid workers or the United Nations mission focuses on sexual violence against men and boys, there are not enough cases to warrant the needed attention.¹⁰

The absence of verifiable data further complicates an already precarious situation making it arduous to establish the veracity of either claims. This notwithstanding, it appears there is a slight shift in the ‘strategic’ and ‘opportunistic’ dynamics of sexual violence as a weapon of war. Women are no longer the only victims battling armed groups and state security forces in remote and sparsely populated areas in the DRC; instead the battle has moved to men and boys and also into densely populated cities like Kinshasa where the city is practically not at war.

Broadly speaking, the gradual rise in the reported numbers of male victims of sexual violence shows that it is not just a routine problem; rather it is deep-rooted in the traditions and customs of the communities. Considering that men who suffer from conflict-related violence have not always dominated the discourse and attracted media prominence, such abuses have existed at higher levels prior to and during the most endemic period of the Congolese crises between 1994 and 2003.¹¹ The consciousness and the vulnerabilities about such violence and abuses is compounded by the very presence of the conflict. In provinces such as Ituri, Tanganyika, Kasai, North and South Kivu where rebel activities and conflict is most pronounced, sexual violence against men and boys has been used methodically by various armed groups and national security forces to destabilize communities.¹² The very weakness of state institutions, especially law

enforcement agencies and the justice system, has escalated the phenomenon. Besides the inability to enforce laws, there is also the seeming paucity in the capacity and professional experience to effectively investigate and prosecute male-targeted conflict-related sexual violence. The widespread impunity that has occasioned this lapse has resulted in a shift of perpetrators from armed groups to local actors within the communities. Whereas sexualized violence has long accompanied situations of armed conflict, the current state, nature and scale of the issue in the DRC is incomprehensible. The relics of the war have seen a number of reported cases of rape being committed by civilians (family members, teachers, priests, among others.)

The overall social cost of sexualised violence against men and boys are many and varied with the physical and psychological consequences being complex both in the short-term and in the long-term. A serious public health issue as it might be, violence committed against men and boys have enormous effect on the individuals, their families, community and broadly on the nation. Although some difficulty exists in quantifying such social issue, several studies suggest different ways of looking at the impact and consequences of sexual violence against men and boys. Whereas some authors assess the impact of such violence along the lines of physical, psychological, psycho-sexual, psycho-social, and political,¹³ others view the impact basically on the price

6 Interview with Coordinator Sexual Violence Program, Goma, 25 February 2017

7 Clark, J.N. (2017). The vulnerability of the penis: sexual violence against Men in conflict and security frames. *Men and Masculinities*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17724487>

8 Sivakumaran, S. (2007). Sexual Violence Against Men in Armed Conflict, *European Journal of International Law*, 18(2.); 253–276.

9 Walsh, S. (2015). Addressing sexual violence and rape culture: Issues and interventions targeting boys and men. *Agenda*, 29(3): 134-141

10 Interview with an officer, UNJHRO, Goma, 24 February 2017

11 Sarah Kenyon Lischer, S. K (2003). Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a cause of conflict. *International security*, 28(1):79-109

12 Anecdotal evidence gathered from the field suggest that in the last decade, sexualized violence against men and boys including rape, sexual torture, mutilation of the genitals, sexual humiliation and sexual enslavement has specifically been reported in communities such as Goma, Bukavu, Walikali, Kalemie, Kitona, Penekusu, Kamina and Shabunda. The main armed groups identified to be involved in male sexualized violence include FDLA (Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda), Raia Mutomboki, Union des patriotes congolais pour la paix (UPCP), Mayi-Mayi Militia (Nyatura, Simba, Kata Katanga), Forces de resistance patriotiques en Ituri (FRPI), Nduma Defence Coalition/Cheka (NDC/Cheka), Kamuina Nsapu rebels, Bana Mura militia and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

13 Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflictg York 25-26 July

of interventions, changes in the quality of life of victims, loss of income or productivity and social isolation and marginalization.¹⁴ Yet still, others focus on justice system and international legal care and policy responses.¹⁵ In our specific case of the DRC, the study, while assessing the social impact and consequence of sexual violence against men and boys, we combine the various suggestion from the literature along three dynamic

areas: 1) individual survivor/victim; 2) significant others (family, parents, friends, partners, children, spouses, and/or co-workers); and 3) national (communities and societies). The rate of impact varies and the cost of the violence permeates across all sectors of society. The following considerations describe some of those consequences identified.

(i) Impact on Individual Survivor/Victim

Male-directed sexual violence can have harmful and lasting consequences for victims, families, and communities. Individual response behavior towards an assault that is sexual in nature may be occasioned by the nature of the sexual violence, culture, tradition and societal norms. Whereas some express their emotions, experiences and suffering willingly, others prefer to conceal their pain, anguish and 'embarrassment'. In most situations, it might take months or even years for the victim to divulge information about a possible sexual attack. A demonstration of the causal disconnects between traditional views of gender, control, power,

masculinity and male sexual victims. Generally, a wide range of reactions namely physical, emotional and psychosocial can impact male victims. Contrary to what most people might expect with sexual violence, physical pointers of male sexual violence are often absent or invisible to the naked eye. Two brothers between the ages of 18 and 15 in the city of Kalemie, the capital of Tanganyika province recounted how they were raped and sexually abused by rebels fighting in the intercommunal conflict between Twa pygmies and Luba (a Bantu-speaking ethnic group). They narrated their ordeal thus:

We had gone to the farm to gather some food for household consumption and some also to be sold later to pay for our education. On our return from the farm we were accosted by members of the Mai-Mai armed group who have taken advantage of the communal conflict to perpetrate and inflict violence on the locals... I was sodomised in turns by members of the armed group to a point when I became unconscious. Whereas some forced their genitals in my mouth others also forced their genitals into my ear and eventually ejaculated into my mouth and ear [the 18-year-old] ... I was made to rub my penis on a hole dug in a tree to a point of ejaculation and also bath with urine. Our attackers kept saying they were punishing us for being Lubas. They pinned both of us to the ground and beat us mercilessly [The 12-year-old].

Victims of male-directed sexual violence experience visible physical injuries and reproductive health challenges including ear infections (redness, fluid draining from the left and the ear, pus-like fluid inside the middle ear) emanating from forced ejaculation into the ear; pressure abrasions from hanging and strangulation; contusions stemming from blunt use of force from boots, butt of the gun, fist among other implements; and defensive injuries such as bruises, lacerations, incised wounds and teeth bite marks. There were those who were visibly suffering from hernia following the tying and pulling of their genitalia with brute force using ropes or the bare hands and causing tissue damage and atrophy of the genitalia. In some cases of injuries around the genitals, many of the victims suffered from bruises, cuts, fractures and chafing which were occasioned by persistent rubbing of genitals in holes dugout on the ground, trees and

any other opening to the point of ejaculation. There are also some cases of severe pain, excessive skin loss, hemorrhage, and loss of penis resulting from male genital mutilation.

Some of the individual impact gathered could be classified under both emotional and psychosocial reaction. The survivors' experiences include nightmares, flashbacks, depression, difficulty concentrating, low self-esteem, anxiety and some phobias emanating from the brutal episodes of sexual abuse suffered from armed groups or state security actors, mainly the Congolese national armed forces (FARDC). As was evident from the fieldwork, the pre-existing emotional narrative from survivors and aid workers pointed to a feeling of guilt, shame, embarrassment and to a certain extent self-blame, fear, shock and disbelief. Closely associated to this behavioral manifestation is the reluctance of abused men and boys to report experiences of sexual

14 Freedman, J. (2012). *Engaging Men in the Fight against Gender Violence*, Case studies from Africa, Palgrave: McMillan; Russell, W. (2007). *Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys*, 27 *Forced Migration Review*, 22: 22-23 at <http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR27/12.pdf>

15 Gorris, E. A. P. (2015). 'Invisible Victims? Where Are Male Victims of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in International Law and Policy?'. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 22(4), 412-427

violence. There were instances of military and armed groups entering houses and forcing fathers to rape daughters and sons to rape mothers, yet in most of these instances only the mothers and the daughters would report. The men and boys would never come out to denounce the abuse that they had suffered.¹⁶ The vulnerability of men and boys to sexual violence, particularly rape in conflict, cannot be explained by the operational tactics or the strategic purpose but rather the gender and the cultural disparities that exist within the Great Lakes region of Africa.

At the heart of male victim inability to denounce sexual violence in most conflict-riddled communities within the DRC is the stigmatization label, the shame and the 'historical reluctance'¹⁷ to place any such premium on male victimization. The feeling of 'differentness', isolation, seclusion and pure hopelessness often characterize victims that are unable to express their

experiences to others. In a country where homosexuality is still 'censored' and there is absolutely zero societal tolerance for it, male victims suffer resentment, widespread discrimination, rejection, social exclusion, harassment, inhuman and degrading treatment and are often afraid of being judged for engaging in a taboo. The male victims lack the requisite support services for the reason that interventions that come in the form of activities and projects for victims of sexual violence focus on women more than men. Projects are designed to support women and women only because women victims outnumber the men. Besides, the very infrastructure built to deal with the conflict-related sexual violence phenomenon provide support to females and not males. Principally, societal norms prevent many male victims from speaking out about their experience and in worst case scenario fewer avenues are created for personal communication.

(ii) Impact on Significant Others

Significant others, according to Owens (2007), refers to "persons who are of sufficient importance in an individual's life to affect the individual's emotions, behavior, and sense of self".¹⁸ This concept is widely discussed to include family members (parents, partners, children and spouses), friends, co-workers and mentors of survivors of male-directed sexual violence. When the notion of significant others is raised in relation to sexual violence, it usually elevates the premium of interactions, perceptions and responses of family and closely related friends to a victim's endured agony. How families and communities react to conflict-related sexual violence against men and boys is determined by the prevailing community ideas about sexuality and the status of the men and boys involved. Male-directed sexual violence destroys normal family functioning. Rather than focus on the impact of male-directed sexual violence on survivors, which customarily is heavily under researched,¹⁹ we are concerned with exploring the complex and multiple manifestations of the impact of the abuse on non-offending family members and friends, which incidentally is under researched. In everyday life, the effects of sexual violence on non-offending family members, friends and the community (secondary victims) cannot be underestimated. They also suffer psychosocial, emotional and some spiritual reaction comparable to those feeling experienced by the survivors.

What was clear from the field visit was an already held notion that the impact of abuse on relationships is colossal immediately following the abuse and later in life. Ultimately, the exact nature of that impact differs from person to person. The feeling of guilt, anger and self-blame are but a few reactions that they often experience. While some of the male survivors highlighted the strained relationship with family, friends and close partners, others painfully recounted the very limited emotional support of any kind from family and friends. Some also spoke about how tense, brisk and calculated communication with their family, particularly their children, had become. Expectedly, others spoke about the isolation or ostracism from the family and community. A lot of the caution emanating from the total rejection of families eventually leads to a cessation in bonds between families and communities. The psyche of the community towards survivors is one of anxiety which eventually translates negatively to the developmental well-being of the victim. More elementally, family and societal response to conflict-related sexual violence against men and boys usually blames the survivors without recourse to the behavior of the assailant. In most cases the immediate reaction is to protect the family image, alleviate the 'shame' and to restore rapidly the lost family and community respectability. Invariably, such a response only goes to create an atmosphere in which rape and sexual violence of any form occur with impunity.

¹⁶ In recounting a sexual violence incident in Bukavu, a respondent stated that when it came to reporting the incidence of abuse, in the case of the boys it was the women and girls that were also raped that testified that the boys were equally raped. Otherwise on their own the boys would never have denounced.

¹⁷ Hennessey and Gerry, 2010: 13.

¹⁸ Owens, E. (2007). Significant Others. In Ritzer, George (ed). *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

¹⁹ Leatherman, J. (2011). *Sexual violence and armed conflict*. Cambridge: Polity; Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern (2013) *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?: Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. New York: Zed books; Meger, S. (2016). *Rape loot pillage: The political economy of sexual violence in armed conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

(iii) National Impact

Over the two past decades, the narratives on the impact of sexual violence on the DRC have been widely discussed in multiple and diverse contexts ranging from children; public health and sexually transmitted infections²⁰; subversion of traditional sexual hierarchies and social order ; mass population displacements²¹; human rights abuses to negative press.²² The narrative on the impact of conflict-related sexual violence on men and boys in the DRC goes beyond the emotional and the physical to include the economic and financial issues, and these make the consequence enormous on the country. Invariably, the nation overwhelmingly bears the ultimate brunt of the male driven sexual violence as it destroys the lives, dignity and hopes of millions of young productive Congolese nationals. While recognizing that women account for the vast majority of casualties in sexual violence related crimes in the DRC, there is a recognition of a unique disproportionate impact on men and boys as well as widespread impunity savored by perpetrators in this context. A culture of violence and fear seems to have gripped the nation with families, communities, schools, public and the private sector all suffering great losses occasioned by conflict-related sexual violence.

There is no doubt that the fear of male sexual violence is not only paralyzing and polarizing many Congolese communities, it is also impeding economic growth and impairing the ability of men and boys to participate in the development of their communities. Scholars contend that “sexual violence and its related trauma response can disrupt survivors’ employment in several ways, including time off, diminished performance, job loss, and inability to work”.²³ The disruption emanating from a reduced income or earning power as a result of loss of productivity has consequences for a

nation’s economic well-being. As Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller contend, the economic costs of CRSV be it direct or indirect for governments and many businesses has a direct bearing on the “costs of services, including the criminal justice system, health services, housing and shelters”.²⁴ Indeed, there is a prevailing narrative that posits that the illegal exploitation of mineral resources is the prime source of the violence in the DRC.²⁵ Many of the reported cases of male sexual violence occurs mostly in villages, mining areas and in the agricultural fields where many men and boys work. In this example, therefore, it is obvious that there is an economic dimension to the sexual violence occurring in the DRC, particularly the eastern provinces. Although there is paucity of economic data on the actual impact of male sexual violence on the economy of the DRC, similar studies conducted by OXFAM in Nigeria and South Sudan²⁶ points to a real drop in sectors such as crop production, market activity and oil exports respectively. Considering the plummeting budgetary performance of 0.1 percent of GDP surplus to a 1.5 percent of GDP deficit in 2016²⁷, one could extrapolate, a strong link between the poor economic outlook for the forestry, mining, and oil sectors and the many reported male sexual violence in mining and agricultural areas in DRC. The trickle-down effect of the revenue losses could be occasioned by the lack of taxation resulting from the chaos in the various mining and agriculture field. Collectively, state security agencies and militia groups on the ground aggressively use sexual violence to maintain the chaos generated by the various conflicts in order to loot and exploit the vast supply of minerals. Moreover, the current conflict has understandably weakened the economy and diverted government expenditures from critical sectors of the economy to military efforts which have drained other public institutions of desperately needed resources.²⁸

20 Bartels, Susan; Scott, Jennifer; Leaning, Jennifer; Mukwege, Denis; Lipton, Robert; and VanRooyen, Michael (2010). Surviving Sexual Violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 11(4): 37-49; Brett D. Nelson, Lisa Collins, Michael J. VanRooyen, Nina Joyce, Denis Mukwege & Susan Bartels (2011). Impact of sexual violence on children in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 27(4): 211-225; Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M. (2010). The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Retrieved from <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:nai:diva-1119>; Loya, R. M. (2014). Rape as an economic crime: The impact of sexual violence on survivors’ employment and economic wellbeing. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 30(16): 2793 – 2813; Crawford, K. (2017). The Legacy of the “Weapon of War” Frame: Implications for Research, Policy, and Practice. In *War-time Sexual Violence: From Silence to Condemnation of a Weapon of War*. Washington: Georgetown University Press; Boyden, J. (1994). Children’s experience of conflict related emergencies: some implications for relief policy and practice. *Disasters*, 18(3): 254-267; Heise, L.; Ellsberg, M. ; and Gottmoeller, M. (2002). A global Overview of Gender Based Violence. *Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* 78(1):5-14.

21 Steiner B, Benner MT, Sondorp E, Schmitz KP, Mesmer U, Rosenberger S. Sexual violence in the protracted conflict of DRC programming for rape survivors in South Kivu. *Conflict Health*. 2009; 3(3):1-9

22 Cohen, D. K., & Nordås, R. (2015). Do states delegate shameful violence to militias? Patterns of sexual violence in recent armed conflicts. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(5): 877-898; Wood Elisabeth (2015). “Conflict-related sexual violence and the policy implications of recent research.” The International Review of the Red Cross. <http://campuspress.yale.edu/elisabethwood/files/2011/10/wood-IRRC-2015-conflict-related-sexual-violence-1ru655w.pdf>

23 Loya, R. M. (2014). Rape as an economic crime: The impact of sexual violence on survivors’ employment and economic well- being. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1177/0886260514554291

24 Heise, L., Ellsberg, M. and Gottmoeller, M. (2002) Global Overview of Gender-Based Violence. *International Journal of Gynecology Obstetrics*, 78, S5-S14.

25 See BSR (2010). Conflict Minerals and the Democratic Republic of Congo Responsible Action in Supply Chains, Government Engagement and Capacity Building. https://www.bsr.org/reports/BSR_Conflict_Minerals_and_the_DRC.pdf

26 Oxfam (2016). Economic, Social and Political Costs of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Africa: A Research Study, Continental Report-Draft Final, 3 February 2016

27 World Bank (2017). Democratic Republic of Congo Overview. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/drc/overview>

28 Bonnie, K. (2016). Sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping missions: A case study of MONUC and MONUSCO. *The Journal of the Middle*

The most significant indicator in assessing the impact of male-directed sexual violence on the DRC has to do with the threats posed by such crimes on the general security situation. There is ample evidence that the actions of the various militias and armed groups have created a perverse incentive structure that puts entire “communities at risk, rips apart their social cohesion, and condemns them to a life of poverty”.²⁹ Some parents, and especially young boys who have not yet encountered sexual violence, are in persistent fear that they might be the next victims. This deters them from going to the mines, rearing animals in the fields, planting crops, and harvesting produce for the market. The loss of livelihoods occasioned by extreme insecurity as a result of the threat of sexual violence has made many men and boys vulnerable. Many males can no longer go about their normal duties for fear of being attacked. Abduction of young boys and some men in some very remote and sparsely populated communities has

become one of the most popular techniques of many of the armed groups and militias operating in the DRC. The boys abducted from school and the mines, as well as the men abducted from their farms, are not only tortured or abused, they are also raped repeatedly and made to perform certain dehumanizing sexual acts. Male-related sexual violence has succeeded in compounding an already precarious poverty situation in most rural parts of the Congo. As an unintended consequence to peace and security, the widespread occurrence of male-driven sexual violence weakens the prospects, if any, of reconciliation, genuine unity and the rebuilding of broken relationships after the conflict. An analysis of the documentary sources of these abuses against men and boys reveals that the culture of impunity coupled with the culture of violence and fear and the culture of acceptance and endorsement has created a fragile environment allowing such crimes to permeate communities ravaged by conflict.

Legal and State Machinery in Combating Male Sexual Violence

The assessment of the real impact of male directed sexual violence on DRC is indicated by the response of government towards addressing the environment of impunity for sexual violence crimes. Whereas some have commended government’s vigorous response to the occurrence of the violence, others have intensely

criticized government effort towards addressing the phenomenon of sexual violence of all forms. Stressing on government’s lack of bold effort in addressing the issue of male sexual violence persuasively, a respondent stated that:

I am not sure if government is fully committed and interested in the fight against male sexual violence. Government should be more involved in the field instead of just signing lofty strategic goals. Their unflagging support in the field would make the results more sustainable... the seeming lack of interest in the fight against conflict-related sexual violence could be as a result of the cost associated with it. It costs so much money to either resource or build new courts, prisons and legal clinics.³⁰

Nonetheless, there appears to be a political opportunist structure that allows and ensures complementarity between government, local and international NGOs, United Nations agencies and the security sector in the investigations, design and implementation of policies tied to sexual violence. The legal clinics, for instance, which have been established as a form of partnership between the NGOs and the UN Joint Human Rights Office (JHRO) have become an all-encompassing avenue where victims of sexual violence in the DRC receive legal care, medical attention, psychosocial

assistance and access to justice.³¹ Within the past ten years, the UNJHRO, through these legal clinics, has been able to assist over 3000 victims of sexual violence by supporting them with legal information and orientation.³² Such support has resulted in nearly 300 convictions of perpetrators. The prevalence and brutality of all forms of conflict-related sexual violence has culminated in the development of a comprehensive national strategy³³, an improvement in the legal frameworks³⁴ where appropriate and the establishment of the presidential special advisor’s office

East and Africa, 7 (2): 157–174

29 Nobel Women’s Initiative (2011). War on Women: Time for Action to End Sexual Violence in Conflict. <https://nobelwomensinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/war-on-women-web.pdf?ref=218>

30 Focus group discussion with civil society working on sexual violence in Bukavu, 2 March 2017

31 The JHRO together with its partners, NGOS and the Legal clinics have supported over a 1000 victims all over the country. As of February 2017, there were about 22 legal clinics nationally that were sponsored by the UNDP and its partners. But the figure could be more if the other legal clinics were added to those being supported by the United Nations Agencies.

32 Interview with coordinator of sexual violence program, Goma, 24 February 2017

33 The National Strategy for fighting sexual and gender-based violence adopted in 2009 requires working on fighting impunity; providing medical and psychosocial assistance for the victims and their families; ensuring the socio-economic reintegration of survivors; and managing data/mapping. This strategy does not focus on only women or men, it addresses sexual violence in its entirety.

34 Interview with an officer, UNJHRO, Goma, 24 February 2017

on sexual violence and child recruitment (headed by Jeanine Mabunda Lioko Mudiayi). Perhaps, this reflect a demonstration of government, commitment and willingness to combat conflict-related sexual violence which did not exit about two decades ago.

On the contrary, the improvement of the political will at the highest level is not adequately marched by

the realities on the ground. There are very limited functioning state institutions at all levels to respond and provide protection. A major breeding ground to the problem of sexual violence against men and boys is characterized by a breakdown in government authority, law enforcement and the lack of effective judicial systems.

Current Challenges for Addressing Male Sexual Violence

A number of issues generally contribute to the lackluster response to addressing male sexual violence in the DRC. The weakness of the state, its inability to provide the public good of protection in its entirety is a global hindrance to the fight against male sexual violence. It could be argued that any attempt to address the CRSV in the future will not be successful unless ways of dealing with male sexual violence are incorporated into the policy planning of any intervention.

There are challenges related to infrastructure, regulation, management funding and other structural issues. One of such issues is the coordination between all the different agencies (UN, civil society and government institutions) working on conflict-related sexual violence. The level of coordination between these various players is a major and progressively acknowledged problem. Strategically, the momentum to deal with conflict-related sexual violence mainly focuses on violence against women and girls as an alternative to men and boys, understandably so because women and girls are those at the greatest risk. Consistently, male victims must overcome greater barriers than females to gain recognition for their suffering. This hidden perception has excluded the experiences of male victims of sexual violence and fueled the increasing cases of under-reporting, under-recognition and under-punishment. Many of the men we interviewed complained that most humanitarian agencies non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) working in the various communities were reluctant to include male victims in their conflict-related sexual violence programing. Undeniably, the society only see sexual violence as a women phenomenon and therefore the campaigns have hardly targeted men. This only goes to further entrench the erroneous stereotyping that men cannot be victims of sexual violence but only perpetrators. These stereotypes only stigmatize male victims and make it practically impossible for victims to speak out openly and honestly about their experiences.

Another issue has to do with the structural problem of targeting of donor support to the fight against CRSV. The DRC receives a lot of funding from multilateral and bilateral arrangements including funding from MONUSCO, OHCHR, UNFPA, UN Women, Trócaire, Canada, Sweden and the United States of America, among others. Yet the support, is arguably wholly for

females and mostly concentrated in the Eastern part of the country. If the problem of CRSV is to be holistically tackled, then the project and programs earmarked to tackle the phenomenon must be extended to men as well as the entire country. A number of commentators have pointed to the sheer size and the geographical spread of the DRC as one of the contributing factors behind the inability to deal with male sexual violence. The vastness of the country and the non-existence of road networks coupled with weak governance and inadequate institutional capacity has affected data collected on male sexual violence in all the provinces. Besides, the management of data by the government in Kinshasa is also subject to many alleged cases of manipulation of figures and biased reportage to meet the specific need of changing the global label of Congo as the rape capital of the world. The situation is further worsened by the lack of field officers on the ground to respond to male sexual violence. Closely associated with the vastness of the country is security and logistical paucity in many provinces of the country which serves as bait to the fight against impunity of male-driven sexual violence. The poor security condition, inaccessibility and the remoteness of most of the communities affect the response of MONUSCO and other Aid agencies to promptly react to provide support for victims. In Kalemie for instance, MONUSCO struggles to respond to male sexual violence in certain neighboring communities because of notable security concerns, accessibility only by UN Helicopter and no residential facility to guarantee long term stay for investigations and support to victims.

At the heart of the challenges facing male sexual violence victims is the comatose judicial system and the legal framework in the DRC. Fighting impunity in male sexual violence requires access to justice for victims. It is certain that impunity originates from a lack of judicial enforcement of national law. Basically, the judicial systems in the Congo are unable to uphold the rule of law largely for the reason that the entire justice system is exceptionally weak. Decades of war, neglect, poorly paid officials, mismanagement, poor governance, limited presence throughout the country and deep-rooted corruption have all contributed to the sorry state of the judiciary and law enforcement. Commenting on the state of the judicial system and how it is impacting the fight against sexual violence, one of the respondents stated thus:

The courts are not operational...they exist but the judges are not there. The state is not providing the needed logistical support for even the few judges that are available to do their work. The whole chain of justice is broken. Some of the courts have no magistrate, no lawyers, no judges, no prisons. For those communities that have prisons, some of them do not have locks or the provincial authorities cannot pay the bills of the guards and the perpetrators in the prisons.³⁵

This impression paints a gloomy picture of the state of the Congolese judiciary and law enforcement agencies. Fighting impunity requires a strong and well-functioning law enforcement institution with the requisite resources and capacity to fight the menace. The current state of the judicial system, its lack of infrastructure and jurisdiction presents a primary obstacle to holding perpetrators accountable for their actions. The judicial system has insufficient numbers to cover the entire country. Additionally, the non-availability of legal schools to train magistrates has hampered the possibility of getting qualified magistrates to deploy to the field. Although the authorities, in trying to resolve the deficit, often rely on law students³⁶ to fill the gap, that has its own operational challenges such as high attrition and turnover, competing and shifting priorities and general lack of enthusiasm emanating from poor pay, lack of systems, processes and opportunities supportive of the interest of these law students. The ability of the magistrates to do their work effectively is heavily hampered by the financial and operational resources to accurately conduct investigations and interview of witness and victims of male sexual violence crimes. While most of the districts and provinces exist without courts or judicial authority, there are regions that do have but cannot boast of designated juvenile courts even though some perpetrators are boys who must be tried in juvenile courts. The lack of automation and modernization of the court has led to a number of case files being easily destroyed or stolen which invariably affect the speedy and expeditious adjudication of cases. There is an example of such incidence in November 2012 when M23 combatants took over Eastern Congo. They destroyed and burnt a number of case files in tribunals and courts in Goma. Closely associated with the poor justice system is the poor prison infrastructure in the DRC. There are volunteer prisons that sometimes have no locks and with poorly paid guards. The situation is further compounded by frequent mass break-outs and prison escapes. Some of the escapees in communities such as Uvira (South Kivu), Lubumbashi (Katanga), Bunia and Bukavu included individuals convicted of sexual violence offences as well as those on pre-trial detention. The scale and magnitude of these prison escapes constitute a major threat to justice and underwrite the persistent culture of impunity of sexual violence of all forms in the DRC.

Since 2006, the DRC has adopted a Constitution that sees sexual violence as a crime against humanity and imposed a penalty of not less than five to 20 years of imprisonment for rape, and not less than seven to 20 years of imprisonment for child rape.³⁷ However, the new legal and policy framework on sexual violence has not been enforced to the latter as judges often encourage out-of-court settlements.³⁸ The local people do not have confidence in the judicial system and law enforcement to provide support. Especially in matters of justice, victim's participation in the process is dependent on their safety, particularly in incidences where the perpetrators are people in authority who could threaten the victim. Again, considering that most perpetrators belong to armed rebel groups who operate in the remotest locations in a country not connected by roads, prosecution then becomes difficult, because they are outside the reach of justice. Even the presence of Community Liaison Assistants and Community Alert Networks does little to help bring justice to the victims. In circumstances where male sexual violence has been reported, the justice system repeatedly fails to accurately investigate, prosecute, and/or punish perpetrators. Then, there is also the issue of financial constraint and prohibitions for male victims trying to access justice. The legal, transportation, medical requisition and the associated cost of staying in the city alone to access and attend court hearing is a major disincentive to male victims who have to work to support their families. Moreover, most male victims just like their female counterparts, cannot afford to pay for the service of a lawyer and will only resort to the assistance offered by the legal clinics and some NGOs providing legal assistance. However, such arrangements are either not fashioned to meet the legal needs of men and boys or their location are such that victims in remote areas cannot access these services.

Beyond the compulsions of a vulnerable judicial system is the inconsistency in sentencing, cost of treatment and the lack of payment of reparations. Compensation to victims of sexual violence in the DRC are rarely enforced. In most cases, settlement is done out-of-court purely as a result of the inability of the government to resource the reparation fund in order to pay victims of crimes of sexual violence. This has proven to be

³⁵ Interview with an officer, UNJHRO, Kalemie, 28 February 2017

³⁶ Normally students from law school apply and are given nine months training before being deployed to work as magistrate in especially the eastern part of Congo where the number of magistrates are very few and they have to content to gargantuan allegations of sexual violence.

³⁷ See the Child Protection Law of 2009; Article 170 of Law No. 06/018 of 20 July 2006 amending and supplementing the Decree of 30 January 1940 on the Congolese Criminal Code; Article 170 of Act No. 001/2009 of 10 January 2009 on the protection of the child.

³⁸ Kalemie Focus Group Discussion with some UN Agencies and MONUSCO, 28 February 2017



a great disincentive to lots of men to denounce and seek support, considering that they have seen their women not benefiting in anyway all these years. In order for male victims to receive compensation, they must first denounce sexual violence; however, most male victims will only come forward to report when they need medical attention or are infected with a sexually transmitted disease (STD). Most victims of CRSV in the DRC, in spite of the magnitude of the issue, do not have quick and uninterrupted access to medical and psychosocial care. Male victims are not prepared to go through the entire cycle of support ranging from medical, psychological, judicial, reparation through to reintegration. Without medical evidence for instance, trials will often rely on testimonies of victims which over

time have been found to be problematic. The standard of proof placed on men in accessing compensation claims is to provide evidence that they truly suffered some form of sexual violence. Prosecutors often had to rely on witnesses for evidence because the burden of proof often does not lie with the victim making the claim. The success rate for male victims of sexual violence receiving compensation is very low. In most of these cases, the compensation claims are either denied for lack of evidence or the male victim refuses to follow-up as a result of the referral and counter-referral procedures between medical, psychosocial and legal services as well as the entrenched negative cultural barriers.

Sexual violence against men and boys and the role of Culture

Culture plays a critical role in how certain communities and populations view, understand, and process sexual violence against men and boys. Traditionally, sexual violence against men and boys in most Congolese communities remains a taboo issue often not spoken about. Men who suffer from such atrocities are either sidelined or ostracized and their suffering and experiences remain ancillary to the already held negative cultural stereotypes where females are seen as victims and male as perpetrators.³⁹ Male victims who

have been subjected to any form of sexual violence particularly rape are considered less manly and are seen in many of the communities as homosexuals. Homosexuality in its entirety is still censored and not accepted socially in the DRC. A male victim who reports sexual violence of any form exposes himself to considerable risk and public ridicule. The humiliation, stigma, embarrassment, the fear of detection and responses of others, are some of the reasons influencing underreporting.

Conclusion

Even though the above analysis has focused specifically on the case of the DR Congo, it is important to know that the country bears similarities with several other countries where CRSV is endemic. Since the silence relating to sexual violence against men and boy has not yet been broken, its impact on victims and the broader society remains. It is important that even though men and boys constitute fewer than ten percent of victims of sexual violence, they nonetheless are an important segment of society whose needs should be recognized and accounted for, while appropriate mechanisms for addressing their social and security needs are considered.

39 Clark, J.N. (2017). The vulnerability of the penis: sexual violence against Men in conflict and security frames. *Men and Masculinities*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17724487>

Breaking the Silence of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence against Men and Boys: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo

About the Authors

Emma Birikorang (Ph.D.) is the Deputy Director at the Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC). She is currently undertaking research on African Peace and Security Mechanisms and ECOWAS/AU regional peacekeeping frameworks. She also facilitates training modules on Security Sector Governance, Protection of Civilians in Armed conflict, Risk Assessment and Conflict Vulnerability. Emma is Head of the editorial team for the KAIPTC's Annual Review of Peace Support Operations in Africa.

Fiifi Edu-Afful (Ph.D.) is a Research Fellow at the FAAR-KAIPTC. He has published extensively on election security, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and gender. He facilitates training modules on the rule of law, the protection of civilians, and sexual and gender-based violence, and is currently undertaking research on inclusive peacebuilding and peacekeeping exit frameworks, effectiveness of peace operations, domestic security implication of UN peacekeeping, improving response capacities to terrorism in peacekeeping theatres in Africa and sexual violence against men and boys in Conflict.

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Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

PMB CT210, Cantonments - Accra, Ghana

T: 233 (0) 302 718200 F: 233 (0) 302 718201

www.kaiptc.org   @KaipctGh