INTO THE MAINSTREAM: ADDRESSING SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN AND BOYS IN CONFLICT

A briefing paper prepared for the workshop held at the Overseas Development Institute, London, 14 May 2014

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1. Overview

Between 1998 and 2008 alone, sexual violence against men was noted in reports on twenty-five conflict-affected countries. Since then, additional reports have emerged from the major conflict zones of our time, including Libya, Syria, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Central African Republic (CAR). The UN Security Council first recognised men and boys as victims of sexual violence in conflict in UNSCR 2106 of June 2013.

As evidence builds, multi-laterals, donors and NGOs involved in humanitarian response in conflict and emergency situations are beginning to raise critical questions: what are the scope, forms and impacts of such violence? Which legal frameworks are available to survivors? What specific response and prevention mechanisms are required to address this violence? Does the current discourse on conflict and sexual violence need to change? This report considers these questions and presents new evidence regarding sexual violence against men and boys in conflict.

Box 1: Historic examples of countries and regions in which conflict-related sexual violence against males has been documented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Liberia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>Libya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>N. Ireland</td>
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<td>Chechnya</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
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<td>Chile</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
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<td>Croatia</td>
<td>Former Soviet Union</td>
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<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
<td>Former Yugoslavia</td>
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<td>Iran</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
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<td>Kenya</td>
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<td>Kuwait</td>
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Source: Sivakumaran, 2007

Box 2: Present day conflict-affected countries and regions in which the law does not provide protection to male victims of sexual violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afghanistan</th>
<th>Myanmar</th>
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<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
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<td>Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
<td>South Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Somalia and Somaliland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>Syria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
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Source: Dolan C and Luedke A, forthcoming
2. Scope

As with efforts to document sexual violence against women and girls, precise evidence of prevalence against males is hard to come by in most conflict-affected countries. Internalised feelings of shame, fear of stigmatisation, and legal frameworks and social services that do not recognise men as victims prevent the majority of victims from reporting to the authorities. Gendered assumptions, which for centuries obscured the rape of women and girls, continue to operate to mask what is happening to men and boys; where rape is construed as a violation of women who are regarded as the property of men it is difficult to see men as victims. Where women remain essentialised as submissive, weak and vulnerable it is difficult to acknowledge that they can be perpetrators. When a ‘real man’ is defined as strong and in control and invulnerable, it is easy to assume that if he was engaged in a same-sex act, then surely ‘he must have wanted it’. And where understandings of sexuality and physiology are limited, it is not surprising that if a victim has a physiological response such as an erection, this is mistakenly taken to mean that he was enjoying it.

When such assumptions are suspended or interrogated, a very different picture of levels of sexual violence against men and boys emerges.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Box 3: Study of male refugees from eastern DRC</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Johns Hopkins–Refugee Law Project study screened 447 male refugees aged 18 years and older, residing in a refugee settlement in western Uganda. Participants were recruited during registration and during attendance at the settlement medical centre. 99% originated from DRC and had lived a median of less than one year in the settlement (range: 0–17yrs). 13.4% had experienced an incident of sexual violence in the preceding 12 months rising to 38.5% if looking at their whole lives. Those screened ranged from 18–78 years, with a median age of 30, and 73% were married.</td>
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Where surveys have been conducted in post-conflict settings, they similarly suggest that levels of sexualised violence against males during conflict are much higher than is generally assumed or publically admitted: a population-based survey conducted in eastern DRC in March 2010 showed rates of reported sexual violence were 39.7% among women and 23.6% among men. An earlier (2008) population-based survey in Liberia showed that former combatants – whether male or female – experienced higher rates of exposure to sexual violence than non-combatants: among females, 42.3% (vs 9.2% of civilian females) and among males, 32.6% (vs 7.4% of civilian males). The results of systematic screening and documentation of male refugee survivors from the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo conducted by the Kampala-based Refugee Law Project (RLP) in partnership with the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health suggest that in some refugee populations, more than one in three men have experienced sexual violence in their lifetime (see Box 3).^7

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Evidence for boys is needed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is important to stress that the statistics available to date have been collected from adult males; the absence of statistical evidence for sexual violence against boys in conflict is a major gap that needs to be addressed urgently.</td>
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</table>
These figures show that prevalence rates vary by context and population, and that refugees and ex-combatants, both groupings of key concern to humanitarian multi-laterals and NGOs, are likely to contain higher prevalence rates than the general population. The figures alert us to the fact that a general absence of statistics cannot be assumed to reflect an absence of incidents. They also show that when the right questions are asked, the gap between rates of assault on females and those on males is not as substantial as may commonly be believed.

New data emerging from the study of five federal surveys conducted independently in the United States from 2010 to 2012 suggests this can also be true in peacetime.10 As the authors of that study cogently argue, how questions are shaped and to whom they are posed are critical to the end data that is collected, not to mention to its interpretation (see box 4).11

Recommendations:

**Research methodologies** must be updated to ensure that they actively seek to address gender-specificities (also accounting for age) within studies of the phenomenon of sexual violence as a whole.

**Systematic screening of key populations** of concern to humanitarians (notably refugees and ex-combatants) is critical to identifying the high concentrations of survivors, whose experience is an indicator of epicentres of such violence. This is where the real change in the evidence base regarding levels of sexual violence in conflict will come from.

### 3. The forms and impacts of sexual violence against men

The findings of the RLP–Johns Hopkins research confirm that sexual violence against men can take a number of forms.12 Broad categories include anal and oral rape, genital torture, castration and forced sterilisation, gang rape, sexual slavery and being compelled or forced to rape others.13

While these categories describe the physical forms that the violence can take, and the corresponding physical harms, they do not capture the mental and emotional harms that are caused at the same time. These primarily involve psychological challenges of low self-esteem and depression, which in turn are intimately linked to sexual dysfunction and the destabilisation of gender and sexual identity. To these can be added the psychosocial impacts of **being physically unable to work**,
disrupted relationships with spouses and children, as well as stigmatization and resultant marginalisation from community and public life. The absence in most contexts of peer support groups, let alone of larger-scale organising such as that developed by women over many years to address sexual violence, reinforces the isolation of male survivors.

Box 5: Case study – survivor’s story (Burundi)

“In 2006 from people X rebel group, soldiers, told us to help them carry food to the bush where they were fighting. By then I had a wife and children. Some of us helped them carry the guns to the bush. We were many people. Women carried food items. When we reached there they said ‘let the males come here’. They told us, ‘you bend’ (we were six men). Then they said ‘you remove your clothes’. We thought they wanted to beat us. They wanted to penetrate us from behind.

“They raped all of us. For me it was even more difficult; I was raped by two men. I felt a lot of pain in the abdomen. What pained me was that they said ‘don’t think we are the only people to do that, you should also do that’. They told us to rape others among ourselves.”

Source: Author’s interview with survivor, September 2014. The name of the rebel group is withheld for security reasons.

4. Lack of support for survivors

Survivors of such violence report that they are scarcely provided for in humanitarian programming; service providers still struggling to adequately resource the work with women and girls who have suffered sexual violence, are reluctant for an already limited resource pool to be further diluted. It is also apparent that field-staff in humanitarian settings are generally not informed about or trained in how to respond to men and boy survivors.

Survivors also report that doctors, counsellors and even aid workers frequently endorse homophobic ideas that male victims of sexual violence are gay. Their reluctance to question this and other related male rape myths further reduces the kind of support they are willing to give and increases the likelihood that they contribute to the survivor’s stigmatization and isolation.

Women’s movements have campaigned over decades to break the silence about sexual violence against women, but organised efforts to draw attention to how this problem also impacts on males are largely absent. International humanitarian protection mechanisms, guidelines, and training on gender-based violence (GBV)
prevention and mitigation currently give little attention to men and boys as victims. Initial results of a review of the 2005 Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) guidelines on GBV show that little has changed. Those seeking specific guidance on how to respond to existing victims of sexual violence are directed to www.endvawnow.org. This site, dedicated specifically to ending violence against women and girls, does not as yet contemplate men and boys as potential and actual victims.

5. The effects of legal frameworks on access to justice for survivors of sexual violence

The results of a new survey of penal codes in 189 countries reveal a widespread lack of legal protection for men who experience sexual abuse. *Not only do these frameworks make justice for male victims an impossibility in many countries, they can actively deter first-instance reporting to police and service providers by male victims.*

The survey focused exclusively on rape provisions in domestic legal codes. While recognising that in some jurisdictions male victims may seek redress under sexual assault or ‘indecent assault’ provisions, these frequently fail to define rape, and generally provide lesser punishment than for perpetrators of rape of women.

In reviewing the rape provisions, the researchers considered a) whether the gender of the victim of sexual violence was specified or left neutral; b) whether the provisions on same sex behaviour distinguished between consensual and non-consensual acts (where they do not distinguish, the victim who reports may himself be criminalised for a same sex act despite it having occurred against his will); and c) whether the gender of the perpetrator of sexual violence was specified or left neutral (many penal codes specify male perpetrators, making it impossible for a male victim to lay charges against a female perpetrator).

**Box 7: Cultural assumptions underpinning gender-exclusive rape laws**

*Experts believe that rape laws in which only women are considered as victims frequently derive from the perspective that women are the property of men.*

*Rape laws in which only men are recognised as potential perpetrators rest on essentialised notions of male aggression and female submissiveness.*

*The criminalisation of same-sex acts which fails to distinguish between consensual and non-consensual acts, and which has a serious chilling effect on reporting, itself rests on outdated binary stereotypes about ‘real men’ who can withstand any attack, and who therefore, if they were involved in a same-sex act, ‘must have wanted it’.*

The relevant provisions were then coded into four distinct categories. Firstly, those countries where the law only recognised women as victims and where even the victim of a non-consensual same sex act could be criminalised. Secondly, countries where the law only recognised women but did not criminalise same-sex acts. Thirdly, countries where it is recognised that men can be victims but
same-sex acts are criminalised; and lastly, countries which are gender neutral in defining the victims, and in which same-sex acts are not criminalised (see Box 11 for South African example).

This coding was then combined with World Bank population figures, as well as the current conflict status as set out in the Armed Conflict Database\textsuperscript{22} of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, to determine on a global basis what proportion of the population lived under each of these four categories of legal regime.

When analysed in this manner, the survey found that:

- **90 per cent** of men in conflict-affected countries are in situations where the law provides no protection for them if they become victims of sexual violence;
- **62 countries**, representing almost two-thirds of the world’s population, only recognise female victims of rape;
- **67 states** criminalise men who report abuse;
- **In 28 countries** only males are recognised as perpetrators of sexual violence – not females.

**Box 8: Additional obstacles to access to justice**

It is important to recognise that this survey only considers the obstacles created by the legal frameworks themselves, not the numerous other economic, political and cultural factors that can make access to formal justice systems problematic for all survivors of sexual violence. Thus, Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, has relatively progressive laws, the possibility of the Rule of Law being adhered to in its most conflict-affected areas is either severely compromised or non-existent.

**6. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court: leading the way in establishing international response to the scourge of sexual violence**

Even in the absence of full implementation, however, laws are important. They can either reflect dominant cultural assumptions about the nature of sexual violence (as set out in Box 7 above), or they can reflect conceptual leadership to which societies will gradually adjust.\textsuperscript{23}

In this regard the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court provides leadership both at an international level and, where its provisions are domesticated, at the national level. South Africa’s criminal law amendment of 2007, for example, demonstrates how the Rome Statute has influenced domestic provisions (see Box 11 below).

The Rome Statute, which can be seen as the considered outcome of learning from decades of \textit{ad hoc} international criminal tribunals, and within that, decades of hard-won feminist battles for greater recognition of sexual violence in conflict, **advances our understanding of gender-based violence** in three major areas:
1. Its definition of ‘gender’ refers to both male and female (see Box 9).

2. Its definition of rape is gender neutral, and it shifts the emphasis away from victims having to prove an absence of consent towards instead emphasising the presence of coercion (see Box 10).

3. It recognises that sexual violence in conflict can amount to a war crime, a crime against humanity, or genocide, and thus dramatically increases the recognition of its significance and its impacts on human wellbeing, peace and security.


Definition of Gender: “For the purpose of this Statute, it is understood that the term ‘gender’ refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term ‘gender’ does not indicate any meaning different from the above.”

**Box 10: The Rome Statute definition of rape, and the shift from consent to coercion**

1) The perpetrator invaded the body of a person by conduct resulting in penetration, however slight, of any part of the body of the victim or the perpetrator with a sexual organ or of the anal or genital opening of the victim with any object or any other part of the body, and 2) The invasion was committed by force, or by the threat of force or coercion, such as that caused by fear or violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression, or abuse of power, against such person or another person, or by taking advantage of a coercive environment or the invasion was committed against a person incapable of giving genuine consent. (Elements of Crimes at art. 7(1)(g) – 1)

7. **The gender-based violence discourse: lagging behind the times?**

Contrary to the more inclusive potential of the International Criminal Court’s definition of ‘gender’, contrary to the highest level definition of rape available internationally, and contrary to the original intention behind the shift from ‘Women In Development (WID)’ to ‘Gender And Development (GAD)’, the international humanitarian and developmental discourse still tends to equate ‘gender’ with ‘women and girls’, and ‘gender-based violence’ (‘gbv’) with ‘Violence Against Women’.

A systematic search of online resources of multi-laterals, donors and international NGOs identified a multitude of resources under the rubric of ‘gbv’ ‘women’ and ‘children’, but almost nothing on the specific sexual violence harms frequently confronted by men and boy victims in conflict situations.
**Box 11: Example of a progressive, gender-neutral rape law**

South Africa Criminal Law Amendment Act 32, 2007

**Rape:** “any person (a) who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (b), without the consent of B is guilty of the offence rape”

“Sexual Penetration includes any act which causes penetration to any extent whatsoever by – a) the genital organs of one person into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth of another person; b) any other part of the body of one person or, any object including any part of the body of an animal, into or beyond the genital organs or anus of another person; c) the genital organs of an animal, into or beyond the mouth of another”

**Compelled Rape:** “any person (a) who unlawfully and intentionally compels a third person (c) without the consent of C to commit an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (b) without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence compelled rape”

**8. Working on male sexual victimization: drawing lessons from women’s activism in the face of demands for ‘evidence-based planning’**

Women’s rights activists have rightly argued that when it comes to sexual violence against women and girls we should not be concerned about absolute numbers because there are multiple factors which lead to under-reporting by victims, and that any figures that do exist almost inevitably under-reflect the reality on the ground. The slogan ‘**One is too many**’ is emblematic of this position, and an important counter-balance to technocratic demands for ‘evidence-based planning’. Given the way in which outdated gender assumptions and stereotypes make it difficult for male victims to report, the same language and reasoning needs to be adopted when advocating for men, boys and others, to avoid situations in which it is argued that ‘one is too few’.

**Box 12: Case study 2 – after a Congolese man and his younger cousin were arrested they were ordered to rape ten women captives (all of the same ethnic group as the two men). After failing to do so:**

“They [the soldiers – who were of another ethnic group] said ‘if you don’t want the last two, go to the side’.

“One took a bucket of cold water and threw it over me. He told me to stand up and said ‘now we are going to show you’. One of them gave his rifle to a colleague, took his zip down. He told me to suck his cock. I told him ’I’m sorry, I’m not used to this, let us go home and I give you money and you go’. They told me ‘we don’t want money [from your ethnic group] – what are you doing in the country anyway?’. I told him we were born here, we are Congolese, *** [name of ethnic group]’. He said, ‘who said they are Congolese?’ He told me to do it (to suck). He threatened to kill me. I had no choice; I didn’t want to die, so I started to suck. I vomited. He said ‘so, turn around and bend over’. They did very bad things to me…”
This is not to side-step the issue of evidence; as indicated in discussion of prevalence rates, refugees and ex-combatant populations are likely to contain higher than average numbers of victims, the first by virtue of the fact that experiences of sexual violence are one of the causes of flight, the latter because the militarized nature of the setting they were in can at times create particular patterns of sexual violence and assault. To these two groupings should be added prisoners; even in countries ostensibly at peace, sexual victimization of men in prison settings is so widely taken for granted that in some countries it is not even recorded in official statistics.

9. Aligning work on male sexual victimization with existing principles

Drawing attention to male sexual victimization is aligned with ‘feminist principles that emphasise equity, inclusion, and intersectional approaches’.27

Box 13: Case study 3 – the multi-dimensional complexity of sexual violence incidents. Example from International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (Bagasora)

“[Prosecution Witness] Beardsley recounted the crimes in detail: ‘Pregnant women had their stomachs slashed open, foetuses on the floor. Even a foetus was smashed. I remember – just from the time I was there, I remember looking down, a woman obviously had tried to protect her baby. Somebody had rolled her off the baby. The baby was still alive and trying to feed on her breasts. She’d been – her clothes had been ripped off.’ The killing that was done was not done, in their opinion, to kill the people immediately; it had been done to kill them slowly. ‘Women’s breasts, women’s vaginas had been cut with machetes; men’s scrotum areas [had been] cut with machetes. Men had been hamstringed behind their Achilles tendons so that they couldn’t walk, but they would have to watch what was happening to their families. There was rape that had taken place in addition to the killings, and the murder. The priests and military observers were forced to watch, and the gendarmes beat them with rifle butts if they averted their eyes from the killing.’”

Trial Judgement, 976.

To avoid a situation in which the needs of different categories of victim are framed as being in competition with one another, and thereby re-inscribing the very gender-binary which feminism sets out to challenge, it is important to understand and acknowledge the multi-dimensional nature of sexual violence and its gendered impacts: as case study 3 (see box 13) shows, sexual violence incidents can – and may frequently be intended to – create multiple victims simultaneously. It is difficult in such circumstances to rank the suffering of the victims, or to declare a cut-off point below which a person’s suffering is insufficient to merit attention.

While medical workers at times have to triage the victims of disasters, humanitarian workers working with victims and survivors are bound by humanitarian principles and the humanitarian imperative: ‘that action should be taken to prevent or alleviate human suffering arising out of disaster or conflict, and that nothing should override this principle.’28
10. Conclusions

These findings have important implications for humanitarian organisations and governments who are set to make important commitments to the prevention of sexual violence at the upcoming Global Summit in June 2014. Working with men and boys is not optional from a normative or a practical perspective, indeed it aligns firmly with existing feminist and humanitarian principles.

Screening of key populations provides an important entry point into new forms of evidence, important not just for the planning of humanitarian and developmental service provision but also for the proper investigation of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Existing services for women and girls need to be further strengthened, and complementary mechanisms need to be established for men and boys, which requires new resources rather than a redistribution of existing resources for sexual violence work. Strengthening these services requires a variety of adjustments to technical training, as well as a reframing of the humanitarian and developmental gender-based violence discourse to bring it in line with the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Key recommendations

1. More research on the range of sexual violence, its perpetrators and its victims to build the evidence base from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives.

2. New money to the field of prevention, mitigation and response to GBV as a whole, to ensure that existing efforts to address sexual violence against women and girls are not undermined, and that Violence Against Women advocates and those advocating for work to combat sexual violence against men and boys can work collaboratively to achieve their goals.

3. Revised training to all service providers, including humanitarian, peacekeeping and developmental stakeholders, in approaches to responding to and preventing sexual violence which are simultaneously gender-inclusive insofar as they extend to all victims, and gender-sensitive in that they recognise that modalities of response must at times be mediated to accommodate the gender of the beneficiaries. Such programming must also take into account additional and intersecting vulnerabilities such as age.

4. Dissemination and adoption of gender-neutral definitions of sexual violence such as those used by the International Criminal Court and South Africa to shape legal, humanitarian and developmental programming to better respond to the multiple directions of gender-based violence.
Endnotes

1 Director, Refugee Law Project, School of Law, Makerere University, Uganda


Amnesty International "NONE OF US ARE SAFE": WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, AI index: AFR 19/013/2013 19 December 2013


6 The Office of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General held an expert's workshop in June 2013, see http://www.slideshare.net/osrsngsvc/report-of-workshop-on-sexual-violence-against-men-and-boys-final


7 The RLP–Johns Hopkins study screened 447 male refugees aged 18 years and older, and residing in Rwamwanja refugee settlement. Participants were recruited during registration and during attendance at the settlement medical centre. The median age of participants was 30 years (range: 18–78 years) and 73% were married. 99% originated from DRC and had lived a median of <1yr in the settlement (range: 0–17yrs). Thirteen percent (13.4%) screened positive for SV in the last 12 months and 38.5% for lifetime experience of SV. AL Wirtz, C Dolan, OD Ongwech, A Vu, K Pham, N Glass, L Rubenstein (2014 forthcoming) 'Sexual violence, HIV risk and prevention among male refugees in Ugandan settlements'


9 Kirsten Johnson; Jana Asher; Stephanie Rosborough; et al. Association of Combatant Status and Sexual Violence With Health and Mental Health Outcomes in Post-conflict Liberia, JAMA. 2008;300(6):676-690(doi:10.1001/jama.300.6.676)
http://jama.ama-assn.org/cgi/content/full/300/6/676


11 ibid. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the FBI updated its definition of rape to a gender-neutral one in 2013. Lauren Gelfond Feldinger in The Haaretz (October 22, 2013) New Israeli Legislation Aims To Change Definition of Rape To Include Male Victims - Israel’s Laws Define Rape Narrowly, Ignoring Some Victims accessed at http://forward.com/articles/186013/new-israeli-legislation-aims-to-change-definition/?p=all
12 For a more extensive list of forms, see page 11 of UNSRSG-SVC Report of the Workshop on Sexual Violence against Men & Boys, endnote v above

13 ibid


15 Author’s personal observation during training to service providers, Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement, 5 September 2013


17 The male rape myths internalized by survivors worked with by Refugee Law Project are very similar to those discussed in the literature on male rape myths in north America. See, for example, Struckman-Johnson C, Struckman Johnson D, Acceptance of Male Rape Myths Among College Men and Women, Sex Roles, Vol. 27, nos. 3-4, 1992

18 Recent exceptions to this include UNHCR & RLP’s Need to Know Guidance Note on Working with Men and Boy Survivors of Sexual Violence in Forced Displacement (2012), and the recently published ‘Preventing and Responding to Sexual and Domestic Violence Against Men: A Guidance Note for Security Sector Institutions’, Watson C., The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed, 2014

19 See, for example, the training provided online by UNFPA through the Global Protection Cluster https://extranet.unfpa.org/Apps/GPBinEmergencies/index.html

20 The most recent draft shared with the author was dated 18 April 2014

21 This survey, relying on web-searches to locate the relevant penal codes or equivalent legislation, reviewed 189 codes. Legislation for 4 countries could not be found. Legal regimes were placed in four categories, and combined with population statistics from the World Bank. This was combined with current characterisations of countries at conflict, sourced from the International Institute of Security Studies database. (Dolan C and Luedke A, forthcoming)

22 https://acd.iiss.org

23 Even in countries where women can be recognised as perpetrators under the law, the dominant paradigm is that men are always and only the perpetrators, and women only and always the victims

24 In this it is drawing on the CEDAW General Recommendation No. 19 of 1992 which defined gender-based violence as ‘violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately’

25 A search conducted in April 2014 found that in a total of 151,000 web pages, the terms ‘children’ ‘women’, ‘conflict’ and ‘refugees’ garnered hundreds of thousands of hits each (‘Children’ 821,438; ‘Women’ 712,289; ‘Refugees’ 760174; ‘conflicts’ 239,524; ‘Gender’ 181,682), the term ‘girls’ received 83,471 hits compared to the term ‘boys’, which only reached 19,208. The general term ‘rape’ received 12,243 hits, while a number of terms or phrases closely associated with sexual violence against men received no hits at all, including ‘anal rape’, ‘oral rape’, ‘rape in detention’, ‘rape with an object’, ‘castration’, and ‘forced perpetration’ (Dolan, 30 April 2014, The Analysis of Absence’ Presentation to Research Workshop, Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia. Full report forthcoming).

26 In the US military in recent years, the majority of sexual assault reports have been made by male victims. See More Men Than Women Were Victims Of Sexual Assault In Military, Report Finds http://thinkprogress.org/world/2014/05/01/3433055/dod-men-mst/

27 Stemple L, Meyer I H (April 2014) (footnote ix above)

28 The humanitarian principles and imperative are spelled out in the Sphere Handbook, which can be found at http://www.spherethandbook.org/en/the-humanitarian-charter/
• The **Refugee Law Project** ([www.refugeelawproject.org](http://www.refugeelawproject.org)), based at Makerere University in Kampala, works to ensure that all people enjoy their human rights, irrespective of their legal status. It seeks to empower asylum seekers, refugees, deportees, IDPs and host communities in Uganda to enjoy their human rights and lead dignified lives.

• **Plan** ([www.plan-uk.org](http://www.plan-uk.org)) is a global children’s charity. We work with children in the world’s poorest countries to help them build a better future. A future you would want for all children, your family and friends. For more than 75 years we’ve been taking action and standing up for every child’s right to fulfill their potential.

• **War Child UK** ([www.warchild.org.uk](http://www.warchild.org.uk)) is a specialist child protection charity working in countries devastated by conflict. We’re providing life-changing support to the most vulnerable children whose families, communities and schools have been torn apart by war and we advocate and campaign globally to improve the lives of millions more.

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<th>Dr Chris Dolan</th>
<th>Rocco Blume</th>
<th>Kate Adams</th>
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<td>Policy and Research manager</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:dir@refugeelawproject.org">dir@refugeelawproject.org</a></td>
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