



'INVISIBLE VICTIMS?': MALE RAPE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN IN ARMED CONFLICT

FINAL THESIS

EUROPEAN MASTER'S DEGREE IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND
DEMOCRATISATION

Student

Ellen Anna Philo Gorris

Second Semester University

Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest

E.MA National Director: Dr. Orsolya Salat (ELTE)

Supervisors

Central European University (CEU)

Prof. Dr. Karoly Bard (Chair Human Rights Program, CEU)

Prof. Dr. Andrea Peto (Gender Studies Department, CEU)

Date of Submission

12 July 2013

ABSTRACT

In this thesis the author has explored relevant legal and human security frameworks specifically covering wartime sexual violence to assess the position, protection or visibility of the relatively ‘silent’ victim group of male victims. It was found that in the current instruments, the *visible* victims are ‘women and girls’. They are often *included* explicitly in legal and policy provisions, thereby seemingly *excluding* male victims. However, many reports substantiate significant male victimization of wartime sexual violence. The apparent *female-focused approach* has programmatic implications for male victims, who are under-recognized and under-protected. The instruments in place follow traditional gender roles, where men are conceptualized as aggressive perpetrators and women as non-violent victims, being traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality. The existing serious dichotomy between visible and invisible victims is prominently based on their ‘gender identity’ and leads to structural discrimination of, for instance, male victims of rape or other forms of sexual violence. To overcome this situation and develop more inclusive instruments, it is advised to reconceptualise the meaning and use of words like ‘gender’, ‘gender perspective’ and ‘gender dimension’. Additionally, a more *intersectional approach* to sexual violence should be adopted, understanding that victims have a multitude of identities such as ethnicity or religious affiliation that make them particularly vulnerable to suffering.

THESIS INFORMATION

Word Count	29,898 words
------------	--------------

Please note that the word count *excludes*: Abstract, Acknowledgments, Table of Contents and Bibliography. It only *includes* Chapters 1 – 8 and the footnotes therein.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was inspired by a short essay written in the fall semester of the *European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation* (E.Ma) at the European Inter-University Centre in Venice, Italy. The purpose of that paper was to critically assess the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), which started the discourse *Women, Peace and Security* and brought women's issues during and after war high on the international human security agenda. During my research, I came across news articles on sexual violence in conflict directed against men. To that point, I was only aware of *female* victims of wartime sexual violence, having previously written an LL.M. thesis on United Nations Peacekeepers individual criminal responsibility for sexual abuse, focussing on human trafficking. Reading Resolution 1325, I realised that male victims fell out of the scope of its protection seemed to be an invisible victim group. This is what led me to draft a research proposal on male victims of wartime sexual violence. As the E.MA program is multidisciplinary and I have an exclusively *legal* background, it seemed educational for me to compile a critical perspective on the issue of male victimization from other relevant disciplines, especially gender studies.

For the development of this thesis, I would like to thank the E.Ma team in Venice for the wonderful first semester and discussions leading up to the submitted research proposal. In particular, I am thankful to John Reynolds, for the first discussions on my topic, Monika Bartoszewicz, for her confidence in me, and Angela Melchiorre, for advising me but also for her tireless dedication to the E.Ma program, ensuring the well being of all students. I also would like to thank Dr. Orsolya Salat, our E.MA National Director, who always kept a careful eye out for the E.MA students in Budapest, and who was always up for a nice discussion on our topics, or the current democratic situation in Hungary.

Moreover, I wrote this thesis under careful supervision of two lecturers at the Central European University in Budapest, to whom I am very grateful for taking the time to meet with me, discuss my views and give me ample guidance. I want to thank Professor Karoly Bard of the Human Rights department for our fruitful discussions and his comments on especially the legal part of this thesis. My thanks are also due to Professor Andrea Peto of the Gender Studies Department for her patience with me (as a lawyer) and for introducing me to the 'gender lens' on the issue,

projected by the many different debates within feminism and sociology. This co-supervision from two disciplinary angles was a unique opportunity for me, as it provided interesting insights from both sides, making my thesis come to life through debates in their offices. From both I have learnt tremendously, like I have from researching and writing this thesis. As a lawyer, I care about categorization and systems that clarify who is to be protected or prosecuted for what. Writing this thesis has however taught me the danger of not being critical about what (system or categorization) is in place, because this may foster an attitude of complacency with what we have rather than one of continuously improvement. This is what I experienced in this thesis regarding the dichotomy between visible/invisible victims and ‘rights holders’.

Lastly, I would also like to thank my family and friends, in Venice and in Budapest, for a wonderful year, and for providing me with new perspectives, adventures and friends. In particular, I want to thank Edith, for being a wonderful roommate and friend in the first semester, Alasdair, for editing advice, Joana, for the many discussions on my topic, always providing me with new ideas, and my mother, for all the moral support. Lastly, special thanks go to my father, for always being available, no matter what time-zone he is in or how full his agenda is, and Fabien, for providing me with care, laughter, confidence, love, and the sometimes necessary distraction during the writing process.

Ellen Anna Philo Gorris

12 July 2013

ABBREVIATIONS

In this thesis some of the following abbreviations shall frequently be used.

CAT	Convention Against Torture
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
DEVAW	Declaration Against Violence Against Women
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
IAC	International Armed Conflict
IACHR	Inter-American Court of Human Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICC	International Criminal Court
NIAC	Non-International Armed Conflict
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SCSL	Special Court for Sierra Leone
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSG	United Nations Secretary-General
WPS	Women, Peace and Security (Resolution 1325 discourse)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
THESIS INFORMATION.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	3
ABBREVIATIONS	5
1. INTRODUCTION	9
2. TERMINOLOGY.....	15
2.1. INTERNATIONAL LAW AND HUMAN SECURITY DISCOURSE.....	15
2.2. SEXUAL VIOLENCE.....	15
2.3. ARMED CONFLICT	17
2.4. 'SEX' AND 'GENDER'	17
3. CONFLICT-RELATED SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN.....	19
3.1. INTRODUCTION	19
3.2. GATHERING FACTS AND DATA.....	20
3.3. REPORTING ON WARTIME SEXUAL VIOLENCE	21
3.3.1. <i>Annual Report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council</i>	21
3.3.2. <i>International Criminal Tribunals</i>	23
3.3.3. <i>Other Studies (non-UN sources)</i>	23
3.4. FORMS AND TYPES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MEN	25
3.4.1. <i>Male Rape and Forced Sexual Acts</i>	25
3.4.2. <i>Other Forms of Sexual Violence</i>	25
3.5. REPORTED CONSEQUENCES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE FOR MEN	26
3.6. THEORIES ON PREVALENCE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOLARLY LITERATURE	27
3.7. CONCLUSION.....	31
4. LEGAL INSTRUMENTS ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT	32
4.1 INTRODUCTION	32
4.2. INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW	32
4.2.1. <i>Freedom from Torture and Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment</i>	33
4.2.2. <i>Gender-Based Violence</i>	36
4.3. INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW (IHL)	39
4.3.1. <i>Laws on Sexual Violence</i>	39
4.3.2. <i>Inclusive Terminology</i>	40
4.4. INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW (ICL)	41
4.4.1. <i>Integration of Sexual Violence in International Criminal Law</i>	41
4.4.2. <i>Akayesu Case at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda</i>	42
4.4.3. <i>Furundzija Case-Law at the ICTY</i>	42
4.4.4. <i>Definition at the International Criminal Court</i>	43
4.4.5. <i>Rape as Torture under International Criminal Law</i>	44
4.4.6. <i>Other Remaining Challenges</i>	45
4.5. CONCLUSION.....	47

5. POLICY FRAMEWORK ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE: WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY	50
5.1. INTRODUCTION	50
5.2. RESOLUTION 1325 (2000).....	51
<i>5.2.1. Resolution 1325 On Sexual Violence in Conflict.....</i>	52
<i>5.2.2. Critical Evaluation of Resolution 1325.....</i>	53
<i>5.2.3. Actors of Change Explain Criticism.....</i>	55
5.3. RESOLUTION 1820 (2008).....	57
<i>5.3.1. Focus is on 'Women and Girls'</i>	57
5.4. RESOLUTIONS 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010)	59
5.5. UN ACTION AND STOP RAPE NOW!	61
5.6. REPORTING BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: EMERGING ISSUE	62
5.7. CONCLUSION.....	63
6. IMPLICATIONS OF LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE.....	64
6.1. INTRODUCTION	64
6.2. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS.....	64
<i>6.2.1. Programmatic and Reporting Consequences for Victims/Survivors.....</i>	64
<i>6.2.2. Under Human Rights Law, Men Seen As Torture Victims.....</i>	66
6.3. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS	67
<i>6.3.1. Visible and Invisible Victims.....</i>	67
<i>6.3.2. The "Marked Body".....</i>	71
<i>6.3.3. Gender Roles and Masculinities</i>	74
<i>6.3.4. Limited Understanding of Human Security Dimensions.....</i>	79
<i>6.3.5. 'Gender', 'Gender Dimension', 'Gender Perspective', and 'Gender Mainstreaming' – What does it mean?.....</i>	79
7. RECOMMENDATIONS	82
7.1. INTRODUCTION	82
7.2. LEGAL AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.....	82
<i>7.2.1. Definition Sexual Violence in Women, Peace and Security</i>	82
<i>7.2.2. Increased Awareness, Support, Training, and Research.....</i>	83
<i>7.2.3. Increased Awareness of Gender-Based Violence</i>	85
7.3. THEORETICAL RECOMMENDATION I: THEORIZING 'GENDER'	85
7.4. THEORETICAL RECOMMENDATION I: INTERSECTIONALITY THEORY	90
8. CONCLUSION	95
9. BIBLIOGRAPHY	102
9.1. LEGAL SOURCES.....	102
<i>9.1.1. International Human Rights Law</i>	102
<i>9.1.2. International Humanitarian Law</i>	102
<i>9.1.3. International Criminal Law.....</i>	103
9.2. CASE-LAW	104
<i>9.2.1. International Court of Justice</i>	104
<i>9.2.2. International Criminal Tribunals</i>	104
• <i>PROSECUTOR v TADIC, JUDGMENT, ICTY-94-1, 26 JANUARY 2000.....</i>	104
<i>9.2.3. Regional Human Rights Courts</i>	105
<i>9.2.4. International Human Rights Monitoring/Treaty Bodies</i>	105
9.3. UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS	105

9.3.1. <i>UN Security Council (UNSC)</i>	105
9.3.2. <i>UN General Assembly</i>	106
9.3.3. <i>UN Secretary-General</i>	106
9.3.4. <i>Human Rights Monitoring/Treaty Bodies</i>	107
9.3.5. <i>Miscellaneous UN Documents</i>	107
9.4. LITERATURE	108
9.6 ACADEMIC ARTICLES	109
9.7. NON-UN REPORTS.....	113
9.8. INTERNET SOURCES	113
9.1.1. <i>News Articles</i>	113
9.1.2. <i>Blogs</i>	114
9.1.3. <i>United Nations Internet Sources</i>	114