Compromised Masculinities: Issues Surrounding Rape and Sexual Torture of Men in Conflict Situations

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores media reporting on wartime sexual violence against men, set against commonly-held notions of gender and masculinity, to uncover how male sexual victimization is constructed and discussed. A discourse analysis of several daily newspapers was conducted. Findings show that there was little sustained discussion to analyse; martial sexual violence against men was referred to more often than expected, but descriptions were fleeting and limited in terms of the information provided. An examination of media reporting on female rape during conflicts emerged from this analysis, and we see a clear difference in the way the media reports about sexual victimization of male and female victims. It was concluded that the way in which male and female sexual victimization is reported is influenced and shaped by gender stereotypes, contains gendered language, and contributes to the perpetuation of both male and female rape myths.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence against men occurs more frequently than is often thought. It is perpetrated by both men and women, and it takes place in settings such as homes, communities and prisons (Sivakumaran 2007). In this thesis, I examine the sexual violence men are subject to during times of war, as well as the mental and physical consequences of these acts. In so doing, I call attention to the gendered nature of this violence to illustrate how martial sexual violence against males draws on culturally dominant notions of masculinity as a means to terrorize military and civilian populations. This examination serves as a foundation for the empirical component of the thesis, where I interrogate how these same culturally dominant notions of masculinity affect social, and, in particular, media responses to martial sexual violence against males, resulting in the trivialisation and misrecognition of these crimes. I do this through a discourse analysis of media reports. I will examine how the sexual assault of males is presented in the print media, particularly through the use of gendered language. This will include questions of *if* and *how* assaults are described, how notions of masculinity and femininity are constructed, and also, how and why these ideas and assumptions about gender influence the text. I also offer a brief examination of several excerpts of trial transcripts as a springboard for my more in-depth examination of gender constructs and media texts. The primary geographic focus of the thesis is the wars in the former Yugoslavia, although other conflict regions are touched upon.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), established in 1993, is the first war crimes tribunal where sexual violence and sexual torture are in focus (Skjelsbaek 2001), as well as the first conflict (followed by Rwanda)

where reports of sexual violence caused the international community to take notice (Sivakumaran 2005). This conflict therefore offers a unique opportunity to explore issues surrounding sexual violence against men. This thesis analyzes how the mainstream media has grappled with these crimes, and does so with a concentration on male perpetrators. I have selected this topic because I wish to examine the ways in which masculinity is involved in sexual violence, and how the perpetrator's masculinity is constructed through his emasculation or feminization[1] of his victim(s). However, the thesis cannot avoid discussion of female victims and perpetrators entirely, as sexual violence against women and girls also relies on gender stereotypes and roles that need to be examined in order to better understand male-to-male sexual violations. Adult victims were chosen because the violation of young boys often provokes strong moral outrage, whereas adult male victims of sexual violence are virtually ignored. Concern wanes as males grow older, and they face a "you're on your own" attitude from potential supporters, since it is assumed that men are (and should be) able to look after themselves. For example, suggestive comments are often made if a young man is molested by an older female; it is felt by some that he was simply initiated into manhood a little early and should enjoy it and consider himself lucky (Whiting 2002).

This topic was chosen because further work needs to be undertaken to expand knowledge and foster recognition of male sexual victimization. Perpetrators need to be held accountable, victims need physical and mental healthcare, and numbers need to be

[1] Feminization is used to depict men as women or as acting in a feminine manner, and it serves to downgrade the men's status and/or humiliate them. The use and meaning of feminization will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

made clear so service providers can improve their strategies of outreach, intake and counselling.

Brief Synopsis of the Conflict

> The conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s were extremely complex and were marked by horrific violence against military personnel and civilians which included: detainment camps, mass murders, rape, torture, and mutilation (ICTY n.d.).

A full historical overview of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a brief overview of key events is required to provide some basic context for the discussion of martial sexual violence in the conflicts.

The people of the regions of former Yugoslavian countries were related linguistically, but were also traditionally divided along historical, cultural and religious lines. This, in turn, led to the conflicts, and ultimately to Yugoslavia's demise (CBC News 2006). Formed in 1918 after World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Yugoslavia was originally known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It was renamed Yugoslavia in 1929 and eventually declared a Socialist state in 1945 after the end of World War II. It was comprised of: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia (which included two autonomous provinces: Kosovo and Vojvodina), and Slovenia. (BBC News 2006).

During World War II, Josip Broz Tito rose through the ranks of the Communist party and became Yugoslavia's leader. He maintained a balance among Yugoslavia's different ethnic groups, but a collective presidency took over after his death in 1980, and

they were unable to keep the country's tensions in check (CBC News 2006). In 1987, Serbian nationalist Slobodan Milosevic became the Serbian Communist party leader, and Milosevic and his supporters began talking about a "Greater Serbia" which would consist of Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, the Serb-populated parts of Croatia, large sections of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia (CBC News 2006). In 1989, Serbia rescinded Kosovo's autonomy, sent troops to suppress protests, and tried to impose its authority on the rest of the Yugoslavia (CBC News 2006). However, throughout the 1990s, states broke away, beginning with Slovenia's declaration of independence in 1991, followed by Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1991 and 1992, sparking regional conflicts that lasted until 1995. Fighting in Kosovo erupted later, stretching from 1998 to 1999 (ICTJ 2009). During the conflicts, ethnic cleansing (including rape, forced pregnancies, and castrations) was rampant in the newly proclaimed Serb Republic and also in Muslim and Croat-controlled areas (New York Times 1992; BBC News n.d.).

The Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in 1995, initialled by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the terms of the agreement, a sovereign state known as the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would consist of two entities: the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Federation of Bosnia; it was an agreement for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (U.S. Bureau of Public Affairs 1995). Ultimately, under the threat of NATO[2] bombing, Milosevic withdrew Yugoslavian troops from Kosovo in 1998, and NATO peacekeepers entered the region (CBC 2009). In total, the conflicts in the former

[2] The North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Yugoslavia left over 140,000 people dead and nearly 4 million others displaced (ICTJ 2009).

In the September 2000 Serbian elections, Milosevic was defeated by Vojislav Kostunica, and in 2001 Milosevic was arrested by the Serbian government and turned over to the international war crimes court in The Hague. He was put on trial for crimes against humanity and genocide. His four-year trial at the United Nations tribunal dragged on because of repeated delays, partly because of Milosevic's poor health, and only came to a close when Milosevic was found dead in his prison cell in March 2006. His supporters insist he was a victim of foul play, but the UN's chief prosecutor, Carla Del Ponte, suggests he committed suicide to avoid a guilty verdict; a Dutch investigation concluded that he had died of a heart attack. Regardless of the cause of death, a final verdict was never reached in his case (BBC News 2006; CBC 2009). Milocevic was soon replaced in the court docket by another high-profile leader when, in 2008, Radovan Karadzic, a former high-ranking Bosnian Serb politician who was wanted on war crimes charges, was arrested in Belgrade after nearly 13 years on the run (BBC News n.d.).

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia[3] (ICTY), which is a United Nations court of law created for, and dedicated to, dealing with war crimes (namely murder, torture, rape and enslavement), was established during the war in the former Yugoslavia. To date, the ICTY has charged over 160 persons, more than 60 individuals have been convicted, and there are currently 40 people in different stages of proceedings before the Tribunal. The ICTY estimates that all trials and appeals will be completed by the end of 2014 (ICTY n.d).

[3] The Tribunal was established in 1993.

Male-to-Male Martial Violence and the ICTY

To gain an initial sense of martial sexual violence against men in the context of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, I searched the ICTY trial transcripts using male-specific terms to capture documents containing testimony concerning men being raped or sexually tortured (i.e., *sodomy*, *testicles*, *penis*, *rape of men*, and *castration*). This search produced various cases and sentencing judgements. Out of these, I identified those cases where male sexual assault was discussed and more than just a passing mention was made of sexual violence towards men[4]. This resulted in five (5) case studies, which are briefly described below to illustrate the acts inflicted upon some men during the conflict. These passages demonstrate the gendered and terroristic use of male martial sexual violence, and also serve as evidence of a serious issue that is being virtually ignored by the media, academia and the greater public.

For example, from ICTY documents of the sentencing hearing and sentencing judgement of Ranko Cesic, came the following description:

> Two brothers who were detainees at Luka Camp were forced at gunpoint to first strike and beat each other, and then perform oral sodomy and fellatio upon one another in the presence of guards who watched and laughed. (ICTY 2004)

Males were forced to rape fellow detainees and, more specifically, family members. In the above passage, same-sex family members are being forced into sexual acts as a tool of humiliation. These acts would also cause the victims a great deal of shame and discomfort when they interacted subsequently.

[4] How male sexual victimization is given a "passing mention" in texts is discussed in the Discourse Analysis – Chapter 4 of the thesis.

In another case, forensic psychiatrist Dr. Norbert Nedopil testifies, reading a section of a report on his findings after observing the accused, Dusko Tadic, for three days (i.e., psychological testing, questioning, life-history). According to Dr. Nedopil, these happenings were confirmed by five former prisoners:

> After these prisoners had complied with this order, the test subject [Tadic] beat them with his rifle butt. When they were lying on the ground completely weakened he threw them one at a time into an inspection pit. Then he fetched the prisoner and ordered him to bite off the testicles of the three men. Some inmates in the detention room who observed the process heard the men screaming for two hours until they died. (ICTY 1997)

Forcing men to castrate other men, especially in such a brutal way, sends a strong message as to what could happen to them, instilling fear in, and eliciting submission from, the unwilling perpetrator and victim. Also, castration is more than torture, it also has a definite purpose and meaning attached to it – that of symbolically and physically emasculating the victim and thus denigrating his manhood. The topic of castration will be explored in the next chapter.

In a further case, during the trial of two military officials, an investigator for the Tribunal, who together with her team interviewed several hundred witnesses, was asked to describe some of the situations taken from her victim and witness statements:

> A. Yes, we have several statements taken from men who were forced to do fellatio on each other, even sons and fathers were forced to do so and men were forced to put objects in each other's anus.
>
> Q. Also, are there some statements of mutilation of the male genitals?

> A. There were; we have one statement that one had to bite off the penis of another man. He did not manage and then [a] soldier came and cut off a part of the penis and another one had to eat that part of the penis (ICTY 1996).

What is the symbolism/purpose of forcing a person to sexually violate a third party? Does it make the perpetrator feel/appear more powerful, as they have exercised power over two people at once? Also, regarding the use of an object in the rape: Is this done to create some distance between the perpetrator and the victim – a "buffer"? Boose (2002) argues that using an object to rape another male removes any notion of homosexual desire on the part of the aggressor, since they are not physically performing the role of rapist themselves. This method of violation also creates a "show" whereby the victim's degradation is enhanced by turning rape into a public performance, while building camaraderie among spectators as "collective voyeurs." Furthermore, such performances act to dissolve bonds amongst the captive men as they now are not only victims, but victims *and* violators of each other (Boose 2002: 93).

In a fourth case, a section from the sentencing judgement of Dusko Tadic describes:

> After G and Witness H had been forced to pull Jasmin Hrnic's body about the hangar floor they were ordered to jump down into the inspection pit, then Fikret Harambasic, who was naked and bloody from beating, was made to jump into the pit with them and Witness H was ordered to lick his naked bottom and G to suck his penis and then to bite his testicles. Meanwhile a group of men in uniform stood around the inspection pit watching and shouting to bite harder. All three were then made to get out of the pit onto the hangar floor and Witness H was

> threatened with a knife that both his eyes would be cut out if he did not hold Fikret Harambasic's mouth closed to prevent him from screaming; G was then made to lie between the naked Fikret Harambasic's legs and, while the latter struggled, hit and bite his genitals. G then bit off one of Fikret Harambasic's testicles and spat it out and was told he was free to leave...This was the last time that, according to the evidence, Fikret Harambasic was seen alive (ICTY 1997b)

Finally, a witness testifies as to what detainees disclosed to her when she collected statements from witnesses for the Alliance and Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina of Former Camp Inmates (she was also a detainee herself for a period of nine months). When asked to describe some of the worst things that had been reported to her, she answered:

> We have quite a number of witnesses, but I would mention the example of one witness who speaks of a serial rape of men, sexual abuse of men. He describes that it was horrific. There were about 170 detainees there. There were uniformed men who called out eight of the detainees, fathers and sons. Our witness was not with his father, so they took his uncle. And they forced them to climb onto the stage and to strip. Then they forced them to do sexual abuse of various kinds. Afterwards, the detainees were forced to bite off each other's penises, and all this was under the control of men in uniform on the stage. And when they found that three detainees did not fulfil their assignment, they were sentenced to death. (http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/documents/trial/2003-03-10.html)

In these two excerpts, we see use of public humiliation and the forcing of family members to engage in sex acts, as in the previous passages, but added here, is heightened

fear and danger, and an unmistakable message to other prisoners with the threat of mutilation and death if one does not comply with orders to engage in the acts.

From these ICTY examples we can see the sexual victimization of men is real, is used as part of a wider campaign of fear during wartime, and played a large role in tactics of intimidation and punishment used in this conflict. These tactics have been employed in other conflicts as well including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Sri Lanka and Chechnya (Sivakumaran 2007).

In the next chapter I review the literature and discuss dominant views and beliefs about men, their bodies, as well as the physical and mental effects of male sexual assault. In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the theoretical frameworks that informed and guided my subsequent discourse analysis. I explore how feminist theory provides the platform for analysing sexual violence, and how gender and masculinity shape the way we view men and their actions and how those views dictate the manner in which various men are "allowed" to function in society. As well, I offer a brief description of the methodology and data used to complete this thesis. Finally, Chapter 4 provides a discourse analysis of the representation of martial sexual violence against men in the media. I also examine media constructions of female sexual victimization, this was essential due to the amount and stylization of text about female victims which emerged while reviewing the sample of articles.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Rape and other forms of sexual torture are used as means of terrorising, controlling, and punishing targeted populations. Martial sexual torture can consist of any act of sexual violence, from forced nakedness to rape, and can be inflicted upon groups of people, or an individual (Skjelsbaek 2001; Oosterhoof, Zwanikken and Ketting 2004; Carlson 2006; Jones 2006). The systematic use of sexual violence is prevalent in conflict zones and in refugee camps and includes rape and other forced sexual acts, torture and mutilation of sex organs, forced prostitution, and sex trafficking (Skjelsbaek 2001; Amowitz et al. 2002). Many recent cases of systematic sexual violence have come to public attention, such as in Rwanda and Uganda. For example, in Sierra Leone, which was embroiled in years of political and military conflict, rebels perpetrated sexual violence against Internally Displaced Peoples (Amowitz et al. 2002). Rebels in Sierra Leone also committed widespread human rights abuses against civilians, including abductions, beatings, killings, sexual assaults of women and men, torture, forced labour, and amputations (Amowitz et al. 2002). Non-combatant, or civilian, men are vulnerable in times of ethnic strife, genocide, and military conflict. These men, when "battle age" (ages 15 – 55), are perceived as posing the greatest threat to the invading/conquering forces and are targeted for atrocities such as sexual torture; therefore, they should be considered as subjects of concern by human rights organizations, governments, and the United Nations. Of all civilians, adult men are most likely to be targeted for atrocities such as execution and torture; this vulnerability is often overlooked largely due to gender assumptions about men's roles during times of strife, which is, to bear the brunt of the harm (Jones

2000; Ward 2006). Women and children tend to be harmed because of war's side-effects, such as starvation, disease, and indiscriminate attacks on buildings, whereas men are targeted outright by enemy forces (Ward 2006).

Davies (2002) informs us that it has generally been accepted by society that the rape of males was non-existent and impossible, part of this is because the male persona (as well as the body) is often seen as impenetrable, strong, and contained. Many have difficulty accepting that men can be raped, assuming men have to "want it", which generally means attaining an erection for penile-vaginal intercourse (Chapleau, Oswald and Russell 2008). This is a narrow view of the ways in which one human can harm another. There are many acts, sexual in nature, which can be performed upon or elicited from a person against his or her will, such as forcing a victim to perform or receive oral sex, forced masturbation, or forced nakedness. As a consequence, male rape has received almost no empirical attention. Though it has been gaining some recognition in academic literature and the media, a widespread attitude of public indifference continues to surround the issue of male sexual assault.

Much of the work done on sexual assault seeks to correct female rape mythology (e.g., Gilbert, Heesacker and Gannon 1991; Rosenthal and Heesacker 1995; Kershner 1996). There is very little inquiry into sexual violence against men, and when sexual violence against males is acknowledged, it is often regarded as some oddity that prisoners partake in, or a "violent aspect of a homosexual subculture" (Pino and Meier 1999: 981). Specifically in terms of conflict situations, there is still very little information on the subject, since investigative bodies often record these instances under the category of torture rather than as sexual violence, and therefore rates of sexual violence against males

are unclear. Investigative bodies have historically turned a blind eye to the sexual assault of women in conflict situations, and the sexual assault of men has also been largely ignored. Indeed, investigators often hold prejudices and gender stereotypes that must be overcome in order to serve all victims of wartime sexual assault (Carlson 2006; Sivakumaran 2007). As well, even brutal torture of male prisoners is often framed as interrogation of hostile combatants and therefore a necessary tactic (Sjoberg 2007).

Medical and Mental Health Issues

Symptoms and outcomes in the aftermath of sexual violence include: sexual dysfunction, scars/damage to genitals, contracting sexually transmitted infections (STI), shame, guilt, depression, nightmares, suicidal thoughts, self-harm, and suicide attempts (Amowitz et al. 2002; Leskela, Dieperink and Kok 2002; Krahe, Scheinberger-Olwig and Bieneck 2003). Furthermore, receptive unprotected anal intercourse[5] is a particularly efficient route for the transmission of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention 2004). This is of great concern where rape during times of conflict happens in HIV endemic countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda (Public Health Agency of Canada 2005).

Oosterhoff, Zwanikken and Ketting (2004) address the sexual torture of men in Croatia during the war using medical records and in-depth interviewing of therapists and medical doctors from centres providing medical and psychological care to refugees and torture victims. They argue that a major factor in the failure to identify male victims is the slowness of institutions to recognise that male victims *even exist*, and this can leave men

[5] This is but one of many acts a perpetrator could inflict on a victim, and not the only mode by which males are sexually victimized, as mentioned earlier.

with unattended physical injuries and unresolved psychological trauma. Caregivers, such as healthcare workers, "have internalised stereotypical gender roles (men as aggressors, women as victims), to the extent that they are unable to recognise male victims of sexual violence who seek help and may even dismiss them" (p. 68). Medical and mental health staff members are also not trained to look for the signs of sexual abuse among men (Sivakumaran 2007). Oosterhoff, Zwanikken and Ketting offer the example of a therapist who tended to male rape victims in wartime Croatia. She never believed that men could be raped until one night a man was brought in for care, naked and bleeding from the rectum; she needed to see it before she believed it. A male may be brought to a hospital seemingly having been mugged or beaten up, and medical staff will just "patch him up" and release him, and further injuries stemming from a rape such as trauma to the rectum or genitals, are not attended to (Sivakumaran 2007; Tewksbury 2007). As the literature suggests, this is not necessarily because these are "bad" or uncaring doctors, nurses and therapists, but rather, they are blind to the possibility of male rape. As Donnelly and Kenyon (1996) assert, healthcare workers are often unable to recognise male victims and may mistakenly dismiss them. This is due to a combination of societal presuppositions about what a rape victim is (i.e., they are always women) and a gap in training to identify and deal with issues specific to male victims. This is compounded by social pressures which make it difficult for male victims to verbalise and describe what has happened, adding to the obstacles faced by care workers in attempting to properly assess the situation. Medical and mental health services are yet another example of a domain where sexual violence against men is not adequately recognized. This is of concern, for it is medical and mental health staff whom victims of sexual violence first approach for

treatment (Sivakumaran 2007) and they must be adequately prepared to provide full and effective care and outreach.

Carlson (2006) argues that when sexual violence towards males is recognized it is only in terms of anal penetration, and he utilizes the act of blunt trauma to the male genitals (BTMG) as an example to illustrate the failure to identify other harms. There are most likely many missed victims due to this misconception and investigators and medical staff may unknowingly neglect individuals who have such trauma inflicted upon them. Carlson suggests that BTMG is a frequent method of torture performed on males by perpetrators such as prison camp guards, and it occurs when testicles are struck with objects or kicked with boots in order to accomplish such goals as inhibiting a victim's reproductive capacities (e.g., not producing Muslim children) (Carlson 2006). Also, part of the reason it is over-looked is because blows to the male genitals can (and do) happen in "everyday settings" (sports, play-fighting) and men are expected to just "walk it off", or it is considered humorous. It is often parodied in movies and television, and is a favourite of "funny home videos" shows. Carlson also addresses the "absence of proof," where there are no visible scars or permanent damage to the genitals. He argues that "just" being hit in the testicles is not considered terribly distressing since there is no corporeal trauma, even though the victim may have undergone extreme pain and degradation (Carlson 2006). The message the abuse of testicles and castration sends is clear, and it is used to inflict terrible pain, but also to physically emasculate the victim and in turn symbolically emasculate him, which sends him an explicit warning of the perpetrator's absolute authority and creates fear in others (Sivakumaran 2007). Along these lines, castration is the ultimate symbolic act of emasculation since the construction

of masculinity is phallocentric (Engels 2004) and removal of any part of the phallus or testicles represents the absolute feminization of the male victim. The use of sexual violence, including castration, targets local beliefs about gender, using an assault on gender codes to scare civilians and encourage them to flee. Sexual violence also serves to destroy parent-child and spousal bonds and relationships, leaving women un-marriageable, as they are now contaminated, and men useless, as they are no longer virile (Boose 2002).

Sexual assault also occurs within soldiers' own units. Within male hierarchies, it is the ones with higher statuses who are allowed greater space and a more relaxed comportment and posture, but are also granted more ease of access to the bodies and space of subordinates (Bartky 1988). Since the military relies so heavily on hierarchy and discipline combined with almost constant close physical contact, this creates an atmosphere of internal power struggles over the establishment of authority, leaving some vulnerable to being taken advantage of and coerced, as the ability to refuse unwanted sexual advances is compromised (Leskela, Dieperink and Kok 2002). There is little research on sexual violence among men in the military, and it is difficult to gauge how prevalent sexual assault of males in the military is (Kwon et al. 2007), but Polusny and Murdoch (2005) assert that 13% of male U.S. Gulf War veterans reported in-service sexual assault, and also, a 2002 survey conducted by the South Korea's National Human Rights Commission found a 9.1% incident rate of sexual violence among men in the military (Kwon et al. 2007).

Management of survivors starts with examining our own beliefs about male rape. Many of the reported counselling strategies are based on therapists' observations, trauma

theories, and research related to child abuse or sexual assault of females which may not be transferable to men who have been raped (Ellis 2002). Leskela, Dieperink and Kok (2002) held a psychotherapy group for male veterans who were raped while serving in the military. The soldiers reported various incidents, from being psychologically coerced into sexual relations by superior personnel, being physically overpowered and violently gang-raped by men serving in their own company, to prostituting themselves (although why, or to whom, was not made clear). Most of the men disclosed that they were threatened with death if they reported the rape. Researchers and therapists do not have a comprehensive understanding of types, severity, and differences in expressions of symptoms of male victims, nor do they know which treatment methods are the most effective (Leskela, Dieperink and Kok 2002). The authors conclude that group therapy is *possibly* the best format, since male rape victims are so inadequately tended to, this helps to diffuse feelings of isolation and shame. It is imperative we learn which methods are the best, for, as Leskela, Dieperink and Kok (2002) discovered, the men held not only anger over the attacks, but also the desire to get revenge on their attackers and hurt others, and were prone to involvement in physical fights, sexual aggressiveness towards women, problems in relationships with wives and girlfriends, and anger towards women in general. It is important to examine this, because male violence generates male violence, aggression, and anger, especially if they are reluctant to ask for help or talk about the attack afterwards (Stanko and Hobdell 1993).

Even though survivors displayed hostility towards women, the authors found it was important to have both male and female co-therapists present -- males to identify

with and validate gender role pressures and females who would possibly be (or at least perceived by the men) less judgemental about the men's victimization.

Although healthcare workers' actions (or inactions) are mostly attributed to ignorance on the topic of male sexual assault, there is emerging work questioning the practices of U.S. military doctors and nurses in Afghanistan, Iraq and Cuba (Guantanamo Bay). There have been reports of staff falsifying medical records and death certificates to cover up abuses, providing interrogators with medical records in order to develop specific interrogation approaches and exploit detainee's "weak spots", failing to interrupt torture, and leaving injured victims unattended for several hours. It is unclear whether this is a case of medical staff becoming de-sensitized to atrocities, being swept up in the exercise of power, or feeling disdain for the culture or ethnicity of the detainees (Lifton 2004).

Pino and Meier (1999) argue that society discourages male rape victims from expressing emotions, or approaching doctors, therapists, or police with complaints unless it is absolutely necessary. A "real" man, it is assumed, should never have permitted the rape to happen in the first place. It is also difficult to find support (e.g., support groups or therapists with the expertise to assist them), because the reports (not necessarily the occurrence) are so rare that it is nearly impossible to identify with other men who have experienced a similar trauma. Men must suppress their feelings, worries, and symptoms to the extent that it may put them in harm's way (a disease or injury going undiagnosed or untreated). Men typically do not share, for example, feelings of depression about a rape, because "depression is frequently accompanied by feelings of powerlessness and diminished control" and men may consider depression as tantamount to failure (Courtenay 2000: 1397). Courtenay (2000) argues that health-related beliefs and

behaviours are yet another means for demonstrating masculinities and femininities. For men, this manifests as a lack of regard for self-care, a reluctance to access medical services, perceptions of invulnerability and insusceptibility to harm, and physical and emotional problems (Charles and Walters 2008; McLuskey 2008; Dworkin *et al*. 2009; Higgins *et al*. 2010). Sivakumaran (2007) asserts that these notions pertain to men during peacetime, but even more so during armed conflict where men "self-identify with masculine stereotypes more strongly" (p. 255).

Those trained to attend to, and protect people from, sexual assault trauma (e.g., physicians, therapists and investigating bodies) appear to have difficulty grappling with martial sexual violence against men. They, too, appear to be susceptible to societal mythologies and assumptions about masculinity and sexuality. We will also see how journalists are affected by the silence surrounding male sexual victimization. The ignorance, discomfort, and inaction surrounding this topic we saw reflected in the literature sets the stage for a discourse analysis on media representations of martial sexual violence against men, particularly mainly if, and more importantly how, it is portrayed.

The next chapter offers a theoretical exploration of these topics in order to set the stage for an empirical examination of the ways in which the media are affected by, and contribute to, mythologies and false assumptions about men, and therefore fails to adequately confront and communicate the serious social problem of martial sexual violence against men.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I examine martial sexual violence against men utilizing a combination of feminist theory and gender and masculinity studies in order to identify how and why sexual violence against men is represented the way it is in the media. Feminist theory is utilized because it effectively addresses the power, degradation, and intimidation involved in sexual violence, while gender and masculinity scholarship takes up the aspect of male-on-male violence. Gender and masculinity studies also address how different men hold varying levels of status, power, and resources and therefore "do" masculinity in different ways, such as through sexual violence. It is necessary to theorize masculinity to address this question because gender constructs "are integral to violent conflicts in general and to rape and sexual violence in particular." (Engels 2004: 59). Concepts of masculinity shape how men interact with, and in relation to, women and other men, but also how we think about and discuss men and their actions. These concepts will inform my critique of media discourses on the topic of martial sexual violence against men, allowing me to examine the gendered language which describes what is already gendered violence. The key question I will address is: How are the victims, perpetrators, and the actions of both portrayed within our narrow view of proper manliness?

Feminist Theory

There are many facets to feminist theory (e.g., liberal, Marxist, radical), but an overarching concept utilized in feminist theory is that of patriarchy, which is a "social and political system in which men control, and have power over, women" (Kelly 1988:

20). It is the basis for understanding gendered violence because sexual violence is rooted in patriarchy; it is cultivated and perpetuated because of, and within, this structure (Brownmiller 1976) Patriarchy is a system that privileges men over women, and male violence against women is but one demonstration of this (Comack, Chopyk and Wood 2002).

Daly and Chesney-Lind also put forth five characteristic claims that are common to feminist theories, these are: (1) that gender is not merely related to sex, but shaped by social, historical and cultural influences; (2) that gender relations are embedded in social life and social institutions, and any change in gender relations will force a change in many other aspects of life; (3) that the present organization of gender roles is asymmetrical – men's roles and men's work are more highly valued and rewarded than women's; (4) that our systems of knowledge and access to knowledge is formed by those men who traditionally held dominant positions in society; and (5) that women should not be invisible, nor on the periphery, in the development of knowledge – they should be fully engaged in intellectual inquiry (Deutschmann, 2001).

Patriarchy also privileges *certain* men over other men and women; some groups of men have and/or strive to demonstrate power and control over other males they deem inferior. In brief, they seek to demonstrate masculinity as a symbolic form of power. Masculinity is not only the characteristics many in society believe males inherently possess merely because of their sex, it is also who and what many think a man *ought* to be, which is the stereotypical strong, stoic, in-control man (Connell 2001). Men construct and "do" masculinity in relation to women and (perceived) lesser men (gender and masculinity will be discussed further below).

I also operate under the feminist assumption that sexual violence is a display of power, chiefly by males over women, children, and (perceived) lesser males; thus, rape is entirely about power, control, and domination, and is "a conscious process of intimidation" (Brownmiller 1979: 5). Rape is a form of terrorism, where a victim's compliance and a perpetrator's power is guaranteed (Price 2005). Rape is used in threat and in action to terrorize. The subordinate masculinity is feminized, and to feminize someone is to intentionally subordinate them, for things which are feminized are placed lower in the social hierarchy of gendered power (Connell 1995; Sjoberg 2007). To feminize is a strategy used to align men with, or depict men as, women and the feminine in order to downgrade their status and worth. It is also "a powerful tool in the construction and maintenance of hierarchies of masculinities." Feminization has been used to police the boundaries of masculinity and ensure conformity to gender norms. Furthermore, it is used to differentiate between "worthwhile" versus "inadequate" masculinities, therefore creating hierarchies within masculinities: "masculinism can privilege elite males at the expense of feminized Others, regardless of sex or gender." (Hooper 2001: 71)

Feminist theory of sexual violence is useful to this exploration of sexual violence, discourse, and gender as it addresses rape myths. The patriarchal system produced beliefs and expectations about men's entitlements (sexual and otherwise) which in turn, serve to encourage and justify men's sexual violence (Boakye 2009). Analogous to female rape myths about women's style of dress, flirtatious behaviour, or sexual history, male rape myths make assumptions about men's bodies, emotions, and sexual needs (e.g., men are in a constant state of sexual readiness) thereby facilitating denial of the impact and harm

on the victim. Male rape myths are discussed further in the next section (*Gender & Masculinity*).

Also, feminist theory speaks to the lingering fear, control, and intimidation that effects and shapes the victim's life after an attack. Furthermore, feminist theory addresses the message and warning sexual violence sends to a wider group; sexual violence inflicted on a single person can instil fear and ensure compliance from others (Brownmiller 1975; Clinard and Meier 2010).

Feminist analysis of sexual violence as the use and abuse of power contrasts with that of psychoanalytical theory, which pathologizes the behaviour of the perpetrator and regards rape exclusively as deviant, abnormal behaviour, where the problem is isolated within a "sick" individual (Skjelsbaek 2001). As well, this perspective stands opposite to the interactionist theory of rape, as presented by such theorists as Amir (1971), Klemmack and Klemmack (1976) and Nelson and Amir (1977), which suggests a rape results as a "misunderstanding" between a man and a woman, due to stereotypical gender roles. For example, a man takes a woman's refusal for sex as fulfilling her role to be shy, coy, and flirtatious, and this suggests to him that he should proceed even more forcefully with his conquest (Hinch 1996). Interactionist theory currently is not commonly applied to sexual assault, but it is sometimes used in a tempered form with slight variations. This is the case with King's (2003) argument that "unhappy sexual relations" would be avoided if men simply asked themselves "What makes you so sure what she wants? How do you know?" (p. 874).

These are not adequate tools of analysis for this examination of sexual violence. Theories such as these do not construct sexual violence as a systematic, pre-meditated

violation (during times of war or otherwise). Moreover, if sexual violence in a warzone was only perpetrated by abnormal people, this would mean there is an inordinate number of psychiatric disorders in military units, as sexual violence in the warzone is too common, calculated, and effective for it not to be deliberately chosen as part of a greater political ends (Skjelsbaek 2001). Also, the interactionist theory does not account for attacks where the victim is caught unawares or assaults on an unconscious victim where there is no prior verbal exchange. It is also only concerned with male-female incidents, ignoring the possibility of male victims or female offenders.

An evolutionary perspective such as the evolved reproductive strategy theory of sexual assault posits that rape can be explained/is used by perpetrators because: (1) forced intercourse by males has been observed in several species, (2) sexual assault victims are usually of child-bearing age, and (3) pregnancy is as likely to occur from a forced sexual encounter as from a consensual encounter. Perpetrators use forceful tactics with the goal of securing mating opportunities to create offspring and pass on genes. Verification of this is that many female victims continue to date, have intercourse with, or have had intercourse with the rapist at least once following the assault, and as such males have successfully secured a sexual partner beyond the first instance of intercourse (Ellis, Widmayer and Palmer 2009). This theory does suggest that female victims may continue to have intercourse with their attacker out of fear or dependency (if a child is produced), and acknowledges that sexual assaults are indeed committed by women as well as men, but does not account for same-sex sexual assaults (no offspring would be produced), rape of females who are not at all near child-bearing age (e.g., very young children, elderly women), assaults that include only acts that would not produce offspring (e.g., anal or

oral intercourse, penetration with an object), or why perpetrators continue with other forms of sexual torture even after the act of intercourse has taken place.

In contrast to such theories, a feminist perspective allows for an understanding of sexual violence as an abuse of power dynamics, the use of threats and intimidation, and deliberate, planned and organized humiliating sex acts/sexual torture, rather than simply being a blip in communication or a frantic attempt to procreate. In particular, it allows us to investigate more closely the role of masculinity in martial sexual violence for instilling fear and compliance in victims as well as other members of the targeted group.

Gender and Masculinity

Male domination and expectations of masculinity pervade all of society, but they also negatively affect men's lives and life experiences, especially for those men who do not fit the traditional and ideal vision of masculinity. Not only are men and maleness prized by wider society above females and the feminine, but straight, white, middle-class, able-bodied, young men are valued above, and hold more power than, other groups of men such as gay or bisexual men, men of colour, and men from certain religious groups (Day, Stump and Carreon 2003). Gender and masculinity scholarship, which evolved out of the work of feminists, and what Collier (1998) terms "the masculinity turn in criminology" (p. 6), understands masculinity as a social process. Connell articulates a hegemonic masculinity, which describes the mechanism of masculine domination that influences global, social, political, economic and cultural systems. Connell further differentiates between hegemonic masculinities and subordinate masculinities, where hegemonic masculinities feminize other masculinities in order to maintain power and control

(Connell 1995; Sjoberg 2007). Gender and masculinity scholars initially addressed the use of the concept of “sex roles” when examining gender(ed) issues, and argued that the concept is far too limited, because it assumes static and deterministic roles that men and women must function within and does not account for identity differences in terms of class, race, and sexual orientation. The notion of sex roles is too rudimentary, for it is as if "the scripts were just sitting there waiting to be read" (Connell 1985: 263). What we need to understand about violence, and especially sexual violence, is the concept of masculinity, and what we need to understand about masculinity is that there are varied masculini*ties* (Collier 1998). Examining masculinities is necessary, for masculinity alone is far too broad and all-encompassing a concept and does not address how different men construct different masculinities. Men construct, “do”, and accomplish masculinity in relation to women and (perceived) lesser men, and these different masculine ideals vary among social groups and situations. In other words, “all masculinities are not created equal” (Kimmel 2005: 30).

Male violence has long been accepted as a means of solving conflicts of any kind, and often takes the form of interpersonal physical violence which is used to stand up to a perceived challenge, disrespect, or threat (Kaufman 1998; Messerschmidt 2000). Males accomplish masculinity *through* and *with* their bodies and bodily practices (e.g., sports, fights, sex), as opposed to femininity, which is achieved through females acting *on* their bodies (e.g., makeup, jewellery, finger/toenail art). Sexual violence is an effective and accessible way for males, who may have no other means of achieving domination, to assert power over others, and through which they may acquire an internal sense and/or an outward display of masculinity (Messerschmidt 2000).

It perhaps seems contradictory that men would rape other men in order to demonstrate masculinity, but this is not the case. The biological sex of the victim is not important, for he or she is merely a prop, as the rape of females and (those deemed) lesser males serve the same purpose. Rapists violate a feminized body and the victim is merely the vehicle through which masculinity can be performed in front of others. For example, Franklin (2004) approaches the anti-gay group rape of men as ritualistic exhibitions of masculinity, which also serve to cement peer group bonds and penalize "wrong" behaviour. Group rape is direct and instant evidence of masculinity, power, and control exhibited for both the victim and other perpetrators. It is what Franklin terms "participatory theatre" (p. 25). The "taint" of homosexuality and feminization felt by the victim during and after the attack is an intended outcome of the perpetrator(s) (Sivakumaran 2005). But the perpetrator or accomplice(s) does not consider himself to have partaken in homosexual acts, and the aggressor retains his manliness because he has adhered to traditional aspects of masculinity by being in control, strong, forceful, and doling out a reprimand to someone who "stepped out of line" (i.e. a man demonstrating feminine qualities) (Sivakumaran 2005).

Victims represent the feminine, and therefore lesser, "other" from a group the attackers disapprove of, whether they be females, homosexuals, or a hated ethnic or religious group. Sexual violence serves to contrast the perpetrators' masculinity with the victims' assigned femininity (Franklin 2004). It is through the group rape of other males that men "enact an exaggerated version of the gender-role norms expected of men in hyper-masculine social environments" (e.g., the military, street gangs, sports teams) (p. 26). The feminine body is one "on which an inferior status has been inscribed" (Bartky

1988: 100). Bartky (1988), drawing on Foucault, describes the feminine/feminized body as one which requires monitoring, discipline, correction and punishment if it wanders outside of the circumscribed norms or invades or interferes with masculine space and freedom. This may also result in punishment for the "gender traitor" who does not take up the expected male role in a situation (i.e., non-combatant males) (Jones 2006). The humiliation of the victim is also key, as it is the "enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honour or dignity." (Lindner 2004: 40)

Criminology has been reluctant to explore men's individual experiences with violence and the effects it has on their lives. This is a result of the "invulnerable man" notion which is embedded in criminology as well as wider society. Focus is often placed on men's criminality, but rarely their victimization (Stanko and Hobdell 1993; Newburn and Stanko 1995; Graham 2006). Society trivialises the occurrence of male rape and often fails to sympathise with the victims because of stereotypical images of masculinity, such as the view that men are physically strong and should be able to fight off an attack by another man (and especially by a woman), or that the male body is "potent and impermeable" (Doherty and Anderson 2004: 95). Sexual violence against men also tends to be glossed over because of male rape myths, which are informed by these stereotypes and expectations of masculinity. For example, it may be deemed a gay problem -- just "two queens having a lover's quarrel" (Donnelly and Kenyon 1996: 446). There may be misconceptions that men physically cannot be raped, or that they enjoy the attacks, because stimulation of the prostate from anal sex or extreme fear and panic can cause an erection and/or ejaculation, sometimes even in cases when men are forced to rape other

men (Donnelly and Kenyon 1996; Krahe, Waizenhofer and Moller 2003; Peel 2004). It is also viewed as just a natural part of being in prison (the men are just sex-starved and they engage in sex with each other by choice) (Knowles 1999). As well, there is the gender stereotype that a heterosexual man would never refuse the sexual advances of a female (Courtenay 2000), or he must have some deep-rooted homosexual desires and on some level he "allowed" a rape to happen (Leskela, Dieperink and Kok 2002). Also, rape is not considered to be as traumatic for a homosexual victim as it is for a heterosexual victim. The sex act of rape (i.e., anal intercourse) deviates from the heterosexual's usual sexual practices, but not the homosexual's (Doherty and Anderson 2004). Or, it is considered just a fraternity-type prank (Carlson 2006), because "boys will be boys", and male rape is often framed as comical ("don't drop the soap in the shower!") (Sivakumaran 2005).

It has even seeped into popular culture as something to be lampooned in television and movies (Mulkey 2004). For example, on a 2008 episode of NBC's *My Name is Earl*, the title character is violated repeatedly by a woman while he is in a coma; the punch line is Earl's dim-witted ex-wife with a heavy southern twang exclaims: "Damn, that crazy bitch tried to constipate the marriage!"

Male rape is also evident, (whether by punch line or acted out in a scene) in comedic films such as *The Cable Guy* (1996), *Half-Baked* (1998), *Scary Movie 2* (2001), *40 Days and 40 Nights* (2002), *Without A Paddle* (2004), *Let's Go To Prison* (2006), *School For Scoundrels* (2006), and *The Other Guys* (2010). Lines from films such as *Office Space (1999)* [below] illustrate how male rape is constructed as comedic and used for a sure-fire laugh:

> We get caught laundering money, we're not going to white-collar resort prison. No, no, no. We're going to federal POUND-ME-IN-THE-ASS prison. (Judge 1999)

It is women and children who are, overwhelmingly, the targets of men's sexual violence (Brownmiller 1976), but any insight and advancement that we can achieve concerning acts of sexual violation towards men is beneficial to *all* victims, and it is dangerous to present sexual violation as comedy for risk of minimization, normalization, and perpetuation of rape myths. This is why I wish to conduct an analysis of media reporting on sexual violence towards men. The preceding description was an example of the media making light of the situation, but factions of the media also ignore the topic nearly outright. Feminist theory and theories of gender and masculinity inform my analysis as to why narratives surrounding sexual violence are constructed the way they are, meaning, how we view men and women, and how these views lead to men and women being spoken of in distinct manners regarding sexual violence.

Data Collection Methods

Three newspaper archival databases were used to collect articles for examination: the *New York Times* (NYT), *Canadian Newsstand* (CN), and *The Guardian* (Guardian). The *New York Times* was chosen, because it is a major, internationally distributed daily newspaper with better international coverage than most North American papers. The use of this newspaper is intended to provide insight into what a wide range of readers are learning about the subject of male sexual victimization and what reporters and editors of such a paper deem newsworthy. *Canadian Newsstand* database was chosen as it is a

collection which contains articles, columns, editorials, and features from 20 major Canadian newspapers including: the *Winnipeg Free Press*, *Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star*, *National Post*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *Calgary Herald*, *Montreal Gazette*, and *Edmonton Journal* and offered a means to search several different newspapers from across Canada at once. The *Guardian* was chosen, because it is published in the United Kingdom, and would provide representation from a perspective outside of North America.

The timeframe used for the search of the databases was: March 1st, 1992 (as international coverage and recognition of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia began in early March of 1992) to September 30, 2007. The search was up to and including this date for three reasons: (1) this is when the project began, (2) to capture coverage of other conflicts that have occurred since March 1992 (e.g., the DR Congo), and (3) war crimes trials of past conflicts are still in progress, so there may still have been news coverage on conflicts that have ceased. The NYT, CN and Guardian databases search options each functioned in different ways, and after trial and error with each, I discovered the technique and terms needed for each engine, allowing for an extensive search of the news article archives (see Appendices 1, 2 and 3 for search terms). I used several different search words because the terms used to describe sexual violence vary, and I also wanted to include the male-specific terms (e.g., castration, testicles, penis) to insure reports of torture, which may not have been reported as sexual violence, would be captured in the search. Duplicate articles produced by the search and articles which were not actually about a conflict, but were picked up in the search (e.g., movie reviews, book reviews, recipes, art exhibitions, plays) were discarded. Articles considered for analysis were those containing reporting on martial sexual violence involving adult males. A wider, general

discussion about media representations of female rape grew out of the analysis of the articles, and will be included in the next chapter.

The purpose of this analysis is not to investigate the exact ratio of reports of sexual assaults against females relative to males, nor is it an attempt to uncover which faction involved in the conflict is more responsible. The goal is to demonstrate that the dialogue surrounding sexual assault during the conflict has begun, but it is not a full or adequate representation, since it largely ignores male victims of wartime sexual violence. When conducting the discourse analysis, the goal was to seek out patterns in how male sexual victimization is presented, described and discussed, examining points such as constructions of gender, masculinity and the portrayal of victims by the print media. Examples of themes that guided my discourse analysis include: any rape myth-themed language[6] (e.g., victims are framed as gay) and dismissive language. Also, I asked whether the article gave specifics, such as "the victim was forced to perform oral sex on another male detainee...", or whether it "skimmed over" the details? Based on the literature, these are the types of items that were expected to emerge during the course of the analysis. A guide was created and used as a checklist to record themes and points of interest for each article while conducting the discourse analysis of the sample (see Appendix 4).

[6] Rape myths are commonly held notions about sexual violence. Rape myths are rooted in stereotypical beliefs about sex/sexuality, gender roles, and violence; they facilitate victim-blaming, trivialize sexual violence, and absolve or reduce the responsibility of the perpetrator (Chapleau, Oswald and Russell 2007). Rape myths about female victims include: the victim's style of dress or actions ("she was asking for it"), the victim's level of physical resistance (it's only rape if she fought back vehemently), and the victim's demeanour and emotional state (women who have *really* been raped will be hysterical). A discussion of male rape myths will follow.

Discourse Analysis

Cheek (2004) asserts that "a discourse consists of a set of common assumptions that sometimes, indeed often, may be so taken for granted as to be invisible or assumed" (p. 1142). Discourse provides representations of objects, people, and situations, and in turn shapes how we regard these things (Bryman 2004). Bucholtz (2003) asserts "gender and language mutually shape and inform each other" (p. 45); there are reasons why situations involving men and women are thought of, and spoken of, in certain ways, and furthermore, these reasons feed into each other and continually re-produce long-standing perceptions of masculinity, femininity and sexual violence.

Analysing discourse involves examining how, and why, we use language the way we do, and what are the outcomes/consequences of the way it is used. Discourse analysis is concerned with the organization and use of language and the interrelationship between language and society (Slembrouck 2006). Discourse analysis considers naturally occurring talk, but is more so concerned with contrived forms of talk and text, such as newspaper articles. When carrying out a discourse analysis, one must consider what the discourse is doing, and how the discourse is constructed to make this happen, but also, what is *not* being said; that is, what is absent from the discussion (Bryman 2004; Potter 2004; Gill 2000). The researcher must also adopt a posture of "sceptical reading", searching for the purpose behind the way in which something is said or presented (Widdicombe 1993; Bryman 2004; Gill 2000). Cheek (2004) asserts that discourse analysis is "an approach rather than a fixed method" (p. 1145) without rigid rules; data collection methods must be legitimate and the process should be informed by theoretical framework(s), but the material to be analysed can be visual images or some form of

speech or text. With discourse analysis, we are looking at the discursive frames which order our reality in certain ways. The process of what it said, but also how, when, and why it is believed as reality, needs to be assessed. Who gets to say what? How do they say it? Why do they say it in the manner they do? And why do we consume it with, for the most part, great certainty (Cheek 2004)?

Discourse analysis is utilized in order to seek out themes in how male rape is presented and discussed, to examine such points as constructions of gender, and the portrayal of victims by the print media. I wish to demonstrate the absence of dialogue and concern toward martial sexual violence against males, and examine why and how many have such ambivalence towards this topic. For, echoing and rehashing previous work is not sufficient for advancing this topic. I want to essentially "prove" male rape is disregarded, instead of simply stating that it is ignored, as has already been done by others

Next I move to the analysis of the gathered news articles. The analysis includes a discussion on unexpected patterns that emerged, and what informed and shaped these patterns in the texts. An examination of reporting on female sexual assault also emerged out of my analysis, as the distinct manner in which these cases were presented was striking and needed to be addressed against the structure of the reporting on male sexual victimization.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

> While rape of male prisoners in war is something that we can assume occurs, it is a subject cloaked in a powerful silence... Female rape, on the other hand, seems to be an issue of inexhaustible interest, especially to the military and the media. During the Gulf War, the American print media energetically engaged in salacious speculation over whether any of the American women pilots held as POWs by Iraqi troops had been raped. Yet while women POWs were decidedly fewer than their male counterparts, the possibility that any of America's fighting sons might have been similarly abused was never so much as hinted at (Boose 2002: 92).

This quote encapsulates the central argument, as well as the experience of researching and writing this thesis. That is, it demonstrates the wide disregard for male sexual victimization. Furthermore, when it is indeed acknowledged, there is a discomfort with discussing male sexual victimization at any length. Also observed during the course of analysing the newspaper articles, was the comfort with which detailed reports on female rape were delivered. These articles discussing female sexual assault were captured during the search for articles reporting on male sexual assault, these articles happened to appear in the search results even though the search was male-specific and were in-turn used for examination and comment on the style and nature of reporting on female sexual assault; there was not an additional search performed solely to gather articles on female sexual victimization, nor was there a formal discourse analysis performed on them.

Rape and sexual violence cannot be analyzed appropriately without exploring social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity (Engels 2004), for we see

the perpetuation of gender expectations within the reporting of rapes committed during wartime. Indeed, print media are but one arena in which gender ideals influence, and are influenced by, broader societal notions of what men and women should be and do.

Fifteen years of media coverage of conflicts by 22 different newspapers produced 74 articles which contain reporting on martial sexual violence against adult males, and these were gathered as a sample for analysis. The majority (70%) of the sample of articles reported on female and male sexual abuse victims together in the same article, and the remaining (30%) articles were dedicated solely to male victims. There was never any mention of sexual victimization of transgender victims; all reporting was strictly within the binary gender categories of male or female[7].

What is most notable about the sample of newspaper articles is the *lack* of dialogue surrounding sexual violence against men. There was scarcely any discussion of this issue and little material to actually analyze. When beginning this project, the expected result (judging from the literature) would be to find only a handful of articles (i.e., 10 or less), but they would be articles heavily-laden with male rape myths and much derogatory language regarding male victims. Initially, it was heartening when many more articles than this were found which were not over-flowing with rape myths and belittling language. But after examination of these articles, we see that there is very little substance and information put forth in them at all. Most articles made merely passing reference to sexual victimization of men, and when there was more than just fleeting mention, the description was still vague and minimal.

[7] The term "transgender" was not entered into any of the searches. From extensive use of the search functions, I presume that if there were stories pertaining to transgender individuals, they would have been picked up when I searched with terms such as: "male victim*"; stories about transgender male victims would have resulted from the search because the words "male" and "victim" were in the text.

The majority (64%) of the articles simply state the presence or incidence of male sexual victimization without providing any further information. For example, in an article reporting on a presentation made to the United Nations War Crimes Commission about atrocities that took place during the wars in the former Yugoslavia, the following statement was given:

> Charges include mass castrations of young men and human organ pilfering by a Serb physician, the US State Department said (The Province 1992).

Similarly, an article describing events during the second wave of conflict in Chechnya, records the following information:

> Testimony from survivors includes accounts of systematic beatings, of the rape of men, women and children, of electric shocks and of teeth filed off (Burley 2001).

These articles only state an occurrence of the sexual victimization of men, and this is all that is mentioned about such incidents for the entirety of the article. There is no further discussion, description of or elaboration on sexual violence towards men; it is merely stated before the journalist moves on to discuss other incidents (e.g., female rape, trials of war criminals). This is similar to what Sivakumaran (2005) found in an analysis of scholarly articles and reports by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) on male-male sexual violence, noting that "in the articles that do reference this important problem, all that is had is a mention, a point to be noted in passing before moving on to the next issue." (p. 1274)

In the remaining 27 (36%) articles, somewhat more information about the sexual assault was provided, such as the identification of specific sex acts (e.g. oral sex), or weapons used, for example:

> ...[they] then ordered the men to lie down again, and told one to sexually assault another with a stick. The men were also ordered to perform oral sex on each other (Wood 2001).

This is an example of how *some* elaboration of the incident is given, but this only comes in the last few closing lines of a nearly 1,000 word article about civilian casualties in Macedonia during the wars in the former Yugoslavia, with no further clarification. We do not see any further description, such as is more frequently provided when reporting on female rape, as will be discussed later in the chapter.

Only approximately one-third (36%) of the articles identified specific acts of abuse, such that I was able to discern what *actually* happened; that is, the acts perpetrated and tactics used were clearly identified and named. In the other two-thirds, nondescript language, hinting at something sexually violent having happened to men is used, but it is not made clear exactly what took place. For example, the passage:

> Mr Zigic, 41, is accused of going on torture and murder rampages, forcing male prisoners to perform *sexual acts* with each other and to lie down on broken glass [italics added] (Norton-Taylor 2000).

It is never clarified what those "sexual acts" were, and there is no accompanying information to piece together of what these acts consisted.

Another instance of the unclear reporting is seen in the following statement from an article about the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where a quotation from a civilian is used to describe the atrocities:

> Above all they are scared of the militias that come in the night to kill them. 'They cut off genitals or limbs. I've seen lots of bodies like that' (Gough 2000).

Within this article, this is the only information given concerning the sexual mutilation of males; the text identifies only "genitals" and that "the bodies" were found. Were both the testicles and the penis severed? Was it done while the person was alive, as a form of torture? Was it done after death and intended as a message to those who come across the body? What this article is trying to tell us about this type of violence is not clear. It blends together the severing of limbs with the severing of genitals, as if they had the same meaning, when, as discussed earlier, castration has a distinct message and directed intention (the "meaning" and "message" of castration is discussed earlier in Chapter 2 – Literature Review).

In the sample of articles, there were also no explanations given as to why the full details were not provided (e.g., because witnesses or law enforcement would not provide further details to the media). Incidents involving men were left ill-defined, with no justification for the lack of follow-through. None of the journalists make any apologies for not "filling in the blanks" surrounding male sexual victimization.

The articles also typically do not explicitly state that men were violated, but suggest so in an indirect manner. This is the case in an article reporting on the rape and sexual torture of women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo:

> Many of the women do not make it to hospital within the 72 hours after the rape in which anti-retroviral drugs to reduce the possibility of contracting HIV are most effective. Four percent of those who *seek treatment* are men [italics added] (McGreal 2007).

The article does not outwardly or directly state that men were raped and needed to be administered post-exposure HIV medications, just that they *sought treatment*. No further

elaboration is provided. In comparison, in the same article, when describing incidents of sexual violence against females, violent acts and details are presented with great ease, for within this same article there are candid and extensive descriptions of various sorts of sexual violence perpetrated against women such as: women being tied to trees and held as sex slaves, being gang raped, having babies cut from their belly after being raped, and having had guns, sticks and tin cans thrust into their vaginas after being raped as added humiliation.

Another example of sexual violence against men referred to in an indirect manner is:

> ....young girls and women have been raped or otherwise subjected to sexual violence during five years of conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, according to an international investigation. Some of the victims were as young as three. Men and boys were *similarly treated*, the report by Human Rights Watch says." [italics added] (Bowcott 2005)

The term "*similarly treated*" hints at sexual violence against men taking place, but exactly what happened is not stated. What was this similar treatment? Moreover, the word "similar" refers to the acts being alike, but not necessarily definitively the same type of act. I speculate that when a situation is presented in a manner such as in the passage above, a reader might interpret it as stating that females were raped during this war, and something violent happened to men too. It cannot be assumed that a reader would automatically make the mental jump to the idea that men and boys were raped as well. A reader may think this is a story is reporting that men were beaten and tortured, but not necessarily connect the "similar treatment" with the men being sexually assaulted. As

we have seen from the literature, many do not believe, or fail to realize, that men can be and *are* indeed sexually victimized.

This sort of reporting allows the reader to distance him or herself from sexual violence against men and treat it as though it were rare, non-existent, or non-traumatic, thereby facilitating denial. Men are supposed to be strong, in control, the protectors, and when that long-held image is shattered, it can be unsettling; what one thought to be truths about how the world is and operates are now in question. Avoiding details, or ignoring instances of male sexual victimization altogether, avoids this internal struggle and avoids examining men as rape victims.

There was also language found within the sample which downplayed male sexual victimization, such as:

> ...rape has been a product of many conflicts, its scale and systematic nature in eastern Congo has led some human rights groups to describe it as a 'weapon of war' used to punish communities for their political loyalties or as a form of ethnic cleansing. *On occasions* men and boys have also been raped [italics added] (McGreal 2006).

The use of the expression "on occasions" minimizes this type of violence towards males. Stating that it happens *occasionally* suggests it is an isolated occurrence, but we do not actually know how frequently, or infrequently (especially during wartime), male rape happens. We *assume* from the literature, victimization studies, and other sources that males are sexually victimized less often than females, but this dismissive language echoes and reinforces the blasé attitude society has toward male sexual victimization.

One article acknowledges an investigating team's choice *not* to make an effort to look into sexual assault of males, even though they were aware of its occurrence. The journalist does not question this, and does not attempt to conduct his own examination of the situation. When describing a team of European Community investigators examination of, and reporting on, rapes committed during the wars in the former Yugoslavia, a New York Times columnist writes:

> ...the mission said it was aware that rape and sexual abuse were not limited to Muslims or even to women. 'Muslim women undoubtedly form the vast majority of rape victims,' it said. 'However, there are also disturbing reports of Croat and Serbian women as well as sexual abuse of men in detention camps.' The team's specific mission was nonetheless to investigate treatment of Muslim women (Riding 1993).

When examining the report of this investigating team's findings (known as the Warburton Report – i.e. Warburton 1993), it acknowledges the occurrence of male sexual victimization, but as we have seen with other examples from the sample of articles, it gives no further information and no recommendations for services and aid for male survivors, despite stating that "all those who are victims of this appalling conflict" should be the concern of the international community.

Addressing male sexual assault victims is avoided, but what is more, the *reason(s)* for not addressing them, are left unaddressed. Was this because the investigating team felt the numbers of men who were sexually abused were too few to warrant further investigation? Was it because they did not have a team member who was specially trained to interview

sexually assaulted men? Was it that no male victims would actually come forward to speak with investigators? None of this is addressed in the newspaper article or in the Warburton Report.

Male rape myths and gender stereotypes also arose several times in the sample of articles. One report describes at a detention camp:

> ...prisoners lined up naked while Serb women from outside undressed in front of the male prisoners. If any prisoner had an erection, his penis was cut off (The Vancouver Sun 1994).

Here the men's erections are described as, and are attributed to, seeing naked women. Even though the men are in a stressful situation (they are in a detention camp and are being publicly humiliated) the article assumes that a man would be thinking about sex, getting "turned on" and wanting to have intercourse, although such erections may have been an involuntary physiological reaction to the extreme stress, fear and panic (http://sexualviolence.uchicago.edu/recovery-male.shtml; King and Woollett 1997; Lamba and Murphy 2000; Peel 2004; Sivakumaran 2005).

Also, the term "make love" was used in one article to describe a situation of sexual victimization at a detention camp in former Yugoslavia:

> The torturers...ordered an old man to make love to a young woman in public (O'Kane 2002).

This language implies an element of consent and pleasure involved in the act. Even though the article reports the guard "ordered" it, the phrase "make love" nullifies this, as it connotes consent and gratification, not force, nor is the woman considered to have been raped, she has been "made love to". When it comes to the sexual abuse of men, there is

still a failure to distinguish a sex act from victimization (Sivakumaran 2005: 1304). Wider society so readily and wholly believes in the constant sexual readiness of men, that he will "jump" at the chance to have sex, no matter the circumstances. Brook, Kay, Nagle and Gould (2000) put forward that we see all "ordinary guys" as having an "ever-ready dick" (xviii). They describe "a noisy silence"; noisy, frantic and celebrated are the repeated variations on the theme of men as unemotional sexual predators, jostling to engage in as much sex (with women) as possible. Silence results from this one dimensional stereotype, ignoring the wide-ranging desires and experiences of different men (survivors of abuse, homosexual men, men with a sexual dysfunction), since these men are not considered "ordinary guys" (xvi). Many hold the notion of the (ideal) male as in charge and rational. But conversely, common sayings such as "a man is only as faithful as his options," or men "think with their penises" suggest in regards to sexual desire and behaviour, we believe a man has little control over his body and actions and few morals, nor does he want any, nor should we expect him to. Boni (2002) argues that men, and society's view of men, are that they are distanced from their bodies, no emotion is attached, nor is their own person: "the body becomes a sexual machine, which has to be controlled and kept functioning, and the sexual organs are transformed into 'tools' or instruments by which the performance is accomplished" (p. 473) such a belief would affect our view of the victim: if he is not seen as being terribly emotionally effected by what happens to his body, how could we develop much empathy for the male victim?

Furthermore, this piece of text which uses a witness account of what was overheard at a detention camp in Chechnya:

> We could hear everything. Then the soldiers ordered him to undress. Then they laid him on something, maybe they tied him to something. Something was done to him, an act like paedophiles do, sodomy (Traynor 2000).

This frames the situation to suggest that the victim was molested by a perverted, "sick" individual (i.e., a paedophile). He was on the receiving end of a "dirty" act by a disturbed perpetrator, rather than a perpetrator who is intentionally and consciously abusing a position of power by using a sexual act to punish, intimidate and humiliate. This also infantilizes the victim, projecting onto him the identity of a child. But this is a way many can conceive of and contextualize non-consensual sex between males. Only to someone weaker and child-like could something like this happen. It could not happen to a "regular guy". Also, as seen in the literature, many only consider sexual violence toward male *children* as a true violation. A rapist must be operating within an adult-child interaction for it to be comprehended as legitimate sexual victimization, rather than homosexual sex.

The term "sodomy" carries a negative connotation and moral judgement as "unnatural" sexual contact and psychological abnormality (Herek 2010). This puts focus on what some may consider as the "depravity" of the act of anal sex between men, rather than the fact that it was forced. The journalist also chose to use a direct quotation from an eye/earwitness, keeping this terminology intact, rather than paraphrasing and using alternative language.

There is also the matter of missed or un-mentioned sexual torture in attacks that may have been sexual in nature, but are not portrayed this way in the articles. An example comes from an article on the war in the former Yugoslavia:

> Their crimes, as listed by the prosecutor, included beating elderly men to death with wooden planks, baseball bats and shovels. The prosecutor said the two charged with torture also used pliers, acid, electric shocks and hot pincers to torment their prisoners (Simons 1997).

As we have seen from the literature, we have learned during this (and other) conflicts, torturers have used tactics such as applying electric shocks to the testicles of detainees. Possibly the acts described above were indeed as such, but this was either not mentioned by the journalist, or when gathering their information, perhaps witnesses, victims, or other sources did not specify that there was sexual torture involved.

Several of the articles provide very detailed accounts of the horrid living conditions in detention camps, which included starvation, squalid living conditions, and beatings by guards; however, they tell very little about the sexual violation of men in this context. The newspapers were willing to report on abuse, suffering and torture of men, but stopped short at expanding the discussion of their sexual victimization. For example, articles contain vivid descriptions of torture and murder, with unflinching, frank reporting of events such as this article about the former Yugoslavia:

> He saw five men tied together around a truck tire. The tire was set aflame, and the men burned to death. Another man had nails driven through his hands, shoulders, and knees; he was later doused with gasoline and thrown on a burning truck tire and burned to death (Ray 1992).

The journalists were comfortable describing trauma, destruction and torture to the male body, but not its use and exploitation in outwardly *sexual* expressions of power and masculinity.

Not often do the sample articles delve into any actual sexual acts such as oral sex or anal penetration where the body is entered in some fashion; everything is kept very much on the outside of the body. This is consistent with the literature in that the male body is seen as very contained and we are not comfortable with it being penetrable or open to invasion. Ergo, a topic the newspapers appeared to be comfortable reporting on was torture/mutilation of the male genitals (e.g., castration, severing of the penis, torture methods applied to testicles). Unexpectedly, clearly identified and/or described torture or severing of the male genitals was counted 59[8] times among the entire sample of 74 articles. However, the recurrent mention and attention paid to trauma of the penis and testicles by the newspapers is in contrast to the literature discussed previously, where it is argued that it is not seen as a terribly traumatic thing for men to endure blows to the genitals, not often acknowledged or taken seriously by the general public, and even considered humorous in our culture as discussed in the literature review. Four articles had quite detailed accounts of prisoners being forced to castrate others with their teeth; this is an act the newspapers were prepared to undertake and address forthrightly. For example:

> ...they forced a second prisoner to bite off his testicles. They made him crawl into the pit of motor oil himself and squeal like a pig. Then they ordered him to squeeze the testicles of the prisoners, then bite them off...he was ordered to eat the testicles. He ate those of two men; his captors were satisfied. He later vomited and had diarrhea; he could not eat for three days (Ray 1992).

Perhaps the newspapers were inclined to report on these types of situations because they could be represented through the lens of torture rather than as sexual violence, even

[8] This use of language was counted multiple times within several of the articles.

though they do represent a direct assault on the perceived marker of masculine sexuality, we are accustomed to, and expect men to, be involved in violent or combative situations. Also, the scenes were so horrific that possibly the journalists felt obligated to pay consideration to such incidents.

Representations of Female Victims of Sexual Violence

Stories of female rape "may inspire extended media coverage, depending on the number of 'newsworthy' details they contain" (Anderson and Beattie 2001: 5), meaning the amount of "headline grabbing" ingredients there are to the story (e.g., level of violence, a woman assaulted in front of her child). In terms of the reporting on male sexual victimization, we do not get the "storytelling" type of approach used in the reporting on sexual victimization of women, where the intent appears to be that the reader become emotionally invested in the story. The story is often reported as a tale with a beginning, middle, and an end, and where we are taken through the stages of the attack, when the victim was approached or abducted, the rape, her condition life situation in the aftermath, and hopes and direction for the future. For instance, a lengthy 3,500 word article about women being raped during the Kosovo war focuses on one particular woman and then expands her story to represent the thousands of women sexually victimized during the war. [9] The article follows her story over a period of time, including her experiences after the sexual violence, with details provided such as: she was impregnated, gave birth to a son, and was abandoned by her husband. The article contains detailed descriptions of the rapes, recurrent mention of the "suffering" and "trauma" the women experienced, and

[9] Smith 2000

how dreadfully the women will now be treated in their culture (as “death is better than rape”). Feminine and masculine ideals are also supported by items such as a description in the article of the men in the village trying to protect “their women” from rape by invading armies, and many men were killed attempting to protect the women’s honour. The reporting has a very sentimental tone, as if the women are characters in a melodrama featuring heroes, villains, plotlines, valiant attempts at resistance, tragedy, and hope for the future. Reporting on rape of women in the articles also does not shy away from giving specific details of sexualized acts as was the case with reporting on men, for example a description of violence in The Congo:

> As she lay bleeding the attackers thrust the barrels of their guns into her vagina (McGreal 2006).

Many are much more comfortable with, and intrigued by, the use, abuse and invasion of the female body than the male body, and especially situations where women are victims and men are heroes.

Newspapers consider the rape of females as a more enticing subject to lure readers, for it is assumed that they would be more interested in the rape of females. This is a result of the proverbial “if it bleeds it leads” scenario. Often, lurid accounts of sexual violence romanticize attacks, the victim is depicted as a beautiful, helpless ingénue and the attacker as a sex-crazed man who simply “wants” her. Sexuality and fantasy are gendered. They are a product of, and shaped by, the male gaze and male desire, for the dominance of men, and the submission and degradation of women is eroticized and romanticized (MacKinnon 1983; Naffine 1997). There is an implication that the woman is being "taken" by a love-sick suitor, but also that, on *some* level, she really wanted to be

made love to, and there is a certain fascination with the rape of a woman because of this. The NYT May 1st, 1999 article "Crisis In The Balkans: An Albanian Tells How Serbs Chose Her, 'The Most Beautiful' For Rape," is an example of this assumption. It describes how six women were in danger of being raped while fleeing the conflict, and emphasizes how young and studious the women were (university students ages 18-20, implying that they were "good girls"). One woman is the heroine of the story, and the article states that five other girls were let go, but "she was chosen for her beauty" to be raped. Also, very specific and personal details are given in this piece, such as that the woman was menstruating at the time, that she told this to the soldier, and that he decided that she would have to perform oral sex instead of intercourse. He expresses disappointment at this, again lending credence to the notion that this is a sexual conquest, a pursuit in which he "wants" her, rather than a calculated, specifically directed exploitation of power and act of terror.

Women's beauty and desirability is often linked with their rapability (Naffine 1997); this was observed several times in the sample of articles. For example, a New York Times article describes women's experiences during the war in Kosovo:

> Women said they smeared mud on their faces to make themselves as unattractive as possible to discourage the Serbs from raping them (Seelye 1999).

Also, in a NYT article:

> Other refugees told of Serbian soldiers who took away the most beautiful women from the groups [to rape] (Bumiller 1999).

Finally, in a Guardian article that discusses a rape trauma centre which served sexual assault victims of the Kosovo conflict, the author points out that since its inception, 76

women who are “mostly *young and beautiful*, the daughters of eminent Kosovars and village elders (women targeted by the Serbs)” [italics added] have accessed the centre (Smith 2000). It is not clear if the reporter saw many of these women and considers them to be attractive, or if this is what was relayed to Smith by other victims/witnesses. This is more of the romanticism that surrounds female rape; stories of beautiful, engaging, exposed, and tragic female figures. She must be beautiful, so the story can be tragically beautiful (and most importantly) readable, even if it is reporting on horrific acts. Men cannot be described this way, especially in the context of sexual victimization, because we do not view them or speak of them in this manner within any medium of communication. For many, it is acceptable for a man to be hurt and when he appears to have done something heroic (e.g., protecting his family), or at an activity that “regular guys” do (e.g., sports), but not when that trauma positions him as passive victim. Most unnerving about the above passages is the perpetuation of the myth of rape as the result of a woman’s provocative appearance, as if being unattractive, dishevelled or elderly is a shield against rape; it is as though a woman in the category of unattractive/undesirable will not be raped.

Reporting on sexual violence against men was tempered through vague descriptions of situations, but female rape is put fully on display. For example, personal details are provided, such as the victim was menstruating, the victim was a virgin, or was a newlywed. There are quotations from victims and witnesses, exact ages, names (but usually only the first or last name), weapons used, what the rapist said to the woman, and so on. The articles about female rape also do not shy away from using the term “rape.” It was employed in many articles, and numerous times within articles about women,

whereas the term “rape” was only used 5 times in the entire sample of articles about male victims. The word “rape” carries a serious and unmistakeable meaning of harm and violation (McGlynn 2008). It is possible that terms such as “sexual abuse” were used rather than the word rape for situations involving men, because the incidents the journalist is referring to were actually (what may be perceived as) “lesser” sexual victimizations of men (e.g., forcing one to perform oral sex) and not penetrative rape, but we cannot be sure as there is no further clarification or discussion on what the sexual abuse involved.

Analysis of discourse can unveil ignorance or suppression of a topic. I did not find any evidence that reporters are necessarily trying to “hide” anything out of malice; rather, they are subject to the same gender prejudices as others in society and may not even consider pursuing stories of male rape. By not speaking about male sexual victimization, assumptions about masculinity are preserved, people can block out information that threatens our gender-constructed world and would force society to look at men and maleness differently. The journalists may believe it is too taboo or obscene a topic to report on in a daily paper because people may be disgusted at reading about male-on-male sex acts. As we saw evidenced in the ICTY testimony, sexual violence against men was known, and yet so many journalists chose not to write on this topic. Perhaps they did and their editors decided the general public did not want to be confronted with such news. Possibly the newspapers wanted to pay heed to the stories of female victims first and foremost. Maybe journalists were blind to the fact there was sexual abuse involved, and read situations as just yet another story of violence between men during wartime, which there would have already been much reporting on. Conceivably it was the first time they

realized/learned of the possibility of male sexual assault and did not how to proceed with reporting on it in terms of respect for the victims. Reporting on this topic may have brought about shock and fear that sexual victimization happens to men and was the first time the journalists realized it could happen to they themselves, or a man they care about; the journalists were not prepared mentally and emotionally, or prepared with the language to investigate and describe such incidents in depth.

Also, I did not find any difference between the newspapers/databases. For instance, none was more likely to report on male sexual victimization than the others, as they were all lacking in attention paid to the issue. Nor did any have a distinctive style in terms of how they framed the abuse of men, and all were relatively similar in style. Word count was also disregarded, as most of the articles contained only a single mention of male sexual victimization. Articles ranged from under 100 words to over 4,000 words, and the length of the article did not appear to have any bearing on whether more information was given about male victims. For example, many articles were very lengthy, but only had a small mention of abused men within that long passage.

One scenario reported on was of men being raped as a punishment for trying to protect women. Described here is an occurrence during the conflict in Chechnya:

> ...townspeople say they were chased on to a field and made to watch women being raped. When their men tried to defend them, 68 of them were handcuffed to an armoured truck and raped too (Kurczab-Redlich 2002).

What is interesting about this article is that the men are portrayed as both hero and victim within the same passage. Indeed, they are not portrayed as completely passive victims in this situation, since the men “put up a fight”. This presentation of the situation would

make it more comfortable for both writer and reader to delve into this story, and it had to be at least mentioned that these men showed bravery and resistance by attempting to shelter the women from harm. Thus, there is at least a shred of masculinity and heroism that would be attached to these men, which some would need in order to be comfortable with them as victims. They were brave and took a risk in intervening. Also, the men assumed some of the brunt of the attack for the women, shouldering a burden and luring harm away, and in a way, taking charge of the situation by re-directing or deflecting the danger, and many would expect men to do such things as protectors. The men in this piece of text were not entirely passive victims, at least at some point during the arc of the story.

Within the sample of articles reporting on male sexual victimization, I found that the construction of masculinity was really, a non-construction of masculinity. I really did not see certain male images built, or archetypes of manhood described, because it is difficult for many to fully construct, through language, the masculinity of a man who has been raped. Representations of masculinity are for the most part absent, as most of the articles did not contain any sort of discussion about male sexual victimization, and there were not many places where a picture of masculinity could be set up. However, the fact that this topic is absent speaks volumes, as it is not considered masculine to be subjected to sexual violence. Dominant cultural constructions of masculinity resulted in minimal, barebones descriptions of the assaults on men, continuing the false notion of the invulnerable male. We also saw some aligning of victims with the feminine when they were depicted as child-like, helpless, and passive.

Furthermore, in the media depictions of female rape, patriarchal themes emerge through the eroticized and glamorized nature of the stories. Heterosexual men are taken as the standard and are considered the norm, the "yardstick", by which everything else is measured and accounted for including constructions of sexuality and sexual fantasy (Gelsthorpe and Morris 1988; Cain 1990; Comack 2004). The language in the articles suggests that rape is about men's sexual desire, only young, vulnerable, "classically" beautiful women are desirable, and men will take what they want. Sexuality is constructed and based on men's experiences and definitions, legitimizing force and coercion (Kelly 1988). Women are seen only as men's compliment, as "the socket to his plug", and women are for the taking (Kelly 1988; Naffine 1997: 95).

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings are in contrast somewhat with the literature. The literature argues that male sexual victimization, for the most part, is not discussed or acknowledged *at all*, but it was mentioned in the sample of articles quite often, more so than expected. What is in line with the literature is that, if male sexual victimization is mentioned, it is rarely ever expanded upon or described in any detail. This echoes the issues of societal discomfort with the vulnerable male and distaste for male-male sexual contact as discussed earlier in the thesis. Also, there was minimal male rape myth-themed language, which I did in fact expect to find much of due to the arguments put forth by the literature. We also see the interplay of "varied masculinities" as suggested by the literature where men abuse men who are (perceived to be) lesser; male-on-male violence regarding male victims who are in turn subordinated by men who have the access and ability to subjugate and humiliate other men. In regards to reporting on female rape victims, findings are in line with the literature where women are perceived as passive, yet interesting victims, and rape is not as straight forward as: it is a violent act -- but is constructed as a dance between desire, opportunity, sexual attraction, and female savvy at skirting such threatening situations.

Discussion

After analyzing the articles, it seems there is an intersection of factors that lead to the sexual victimization of men being disregarded by the print media (and by the broader society). **Ignorance**, **apathy**, **discomfort** and **adherence** to gender expectations all play roles.

Ignorance – Most simply are not informed about male sexual victimization; the public, academics and researchers, care providers, and journalists are generally not informed about the topic. Moreover, if these people are informed about male sexual victimization, they are seldom prepared to address it and deal with its aftermath. This notion is supported by much of the information presented in the literature review section of the thesis, where, for example, we saw health care providers who were astonished at male rape victims presenting for treatment.

Apathy – Male rape is constructed and presented without narrative, and even seemingly without having any impact on men's health and lives. This was evident in the bland and distanced manner in which it was reported on in the sample of articles. Also, when male rape is used as an object of comedy it contributes to a lack of regard for it as a serious issue.

Discomfort – Some in society are uncomfortable with, and condemnatory towards sexual contact between men (whether the contact is consensual or not) and thus are also uncomfortable with breach of the (ideally) impervious male body and his in-control demeanor. We saw that journalists were willing to report on victimization of men as long as it was restricted to harm done to the outside of the body (biting/injuring of testicles) and did not involve "actual" sex acts such as anal penetration or oral sex.

Adherence – Wider society clings to established gender norms, and believe them to be naturally occurring, in-born traits possessed by men and women. Hence, it is difficult for many to see men portrayed as vulnerable, but it is expected, and furthermore desired, for women to be depicted as victims. We saw the adherence to gender norms

expressed more so through the dramatic newspaper accounts of female rape rather than the accounts of male victimization, which were largely indifferent in tone.

These factors are all interrelated in that they operate in combination, overlap, and to reinforce one another in the newspaper articles examined in this thesis. These interrelated responses are also characteristic of how and why society disregards the issue of male sexual victimization.

Sivakumaran (2005) argues that male rape goes unaddressed at the international human rights level because it is "a cause without a voice" (p. 1275), for there are few who are willing or even able to speak out about it, since so little is known about the subject. Furthermore, after this examination of print media, we see the greater public does not demand to know about it. Reading the reports of male sexual victimization seemingly did not prompt people to seek further information and it did not appear to raise questions or concerns. While searching the databases for the sample of articles, several letters to the editors emerged insisting that more information be given about and attention be paid to female rape victims. There were also several letters expressing great concern for, and anger over, the plight of the violated women. None were found demanding to know, or know more, about the male victims. However, there was one letter[10] to the editor in the sample that commented on a student protest in Serbia and expressed sympathy for the women who were raped and men who were castrated. This absence of inquiry and outcry by the public may also be because the newspapers decided not to print any letters to the editor which contained concern or questions about sexual violence against men; the texts may have existed, but were never presented by the newspaper. As discussed, because

[10] The New York Times on December 15th, 1996 by P. Venetis

rape of women can be made into a story more likely to interest and captivate the general public through an elaborate gendered presentation, possibly the paper did not want to "waste" the space by printing material pertaining to male sexual victimization. Due to the way the narratives have been constructed, the rape of women is considered newsworthy and intriguing. There is a "societal fascination with celebrity, crime, and the victimization of women", since the rape of women has "entertainment value" (Spitzberg and Cadiz 2002: 128). When males are suspects and women are victims, the story takes on greater newsworthiness (Pritchard and Hughes 1997; Spitzberg and Cadiz 2002). But most are not interested in, nor comfortable with, seeing adult men in the role of victim, and least of all as a sexual assault victim. The sexual victimization of men simply does not have the cachet that women's sexual trauma does.

There is discomfort with focusing on sexual victimization of men for any length of time, or in any depth. We see evidence of this in the articles, where assaults are often only mentioned in a hasty fashion before the text shifts to the next issue. It appears that the reporter felt the need to pay heed to the incident(s) because it is their job to report what happened, but then quickly move on, rarely going below the surface. Sivakumaran (2005) argues that a reason for "the neglect accorded to the issue of male/male rape is the fact that it involves sexual activity between two men. Society considers any such contact to be indicative of homosexuality, regardless of any element of coercion". Given the prevalence of homophobia in society, there is a "taint" of homosexuality accorded to the victim, regardless of his sexual orientation (p. 1275). Many find this distasteful, as one of the conditions of normative masculinity is heterosexuality; there is a relationship between

homophobia and gender expectations and the acceptance of male rape myths (Kassing, Beesley and Frey 2005).

Suggestions for Future Research

This examination of the understudied topic of male rape raises other questions concerning constructions of masculinity, such as how and why individuals go about gaining power over others. A matter for future consideration is that of *female* soldiers perpetrating sexual violence against male detainees. As Sjoberg (2007) asserts, sexual violence against males during wartime is very understudied, but *women* inflicting sexual violence upon males is even more so, and due to gender stereotypes we are "*not ready* for the reality of women sexual abusers" (p. 90). But alas, it is a reality, for in 2004, three female (and several male) members of the U.S military were implicated in abuses at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison. Their actions were captured in photographs and include leading a naked prisoner around by a leash, laughing and pointing at naked prisoner's genitals, and giving a "thumbs up" to the camera beside naked, hooded prisoners who are arranged in demeaning positions.

Are female soldiers committing such acts for the same reasons males do? Sjoberg (2007) argues that female soldiers are merely "militarized femininities", and they are very distinctly seen not only as soldiers, but as *women* soldiers. They are depicted not as gun-toting, front-line fighters as male soldiers are, but as soldiers in makeup and heels. They are "militarized", but still not quite fully as functioning, contributing, capable members of the military; there is a division between ideal femininity and female violence. Women are still characterized as being in need of protection from the military, as evidenced by the fervour over the capture of U.S. soldier Jessica Lynch during the Iraq war. She was a

white, blonde, young, “girl next door” who needed an elaborate rescue mission, even though there were two other women in Lynch’s company (an African American and a Native American woman) whose stories received virtually no media attention. Lynch needed to be saved because she could possibly be tortured, and, as a woman, she was especially vulnerable to sexual violence (as though men are not). Lynch herself does assert that she was treated well by the Iraqis, and she has no memory or evidence of rape (Kampfner 2003). This is opposed with the tough, arrogant, “bad girl” images of the female Abu Ghraib soldiers; in either situation these women are neither the truly ideal women (too masculine), nor the ideal soldier (too vulnerable).

Just (2006) argues that there are limited identity positions available to female soldiers. Perhaps women in the military are also struggling with their own identity and advancement as soldiers, and attempting to fit in and “be one of the boys” or prove how tough and capable they are (Sjoberg 2007). Are they attempting to be *as* masculine as their male counterparts? Are they trying to “top” them by being even tougher? Or are they forging a whole new brand of femininity? There are also questions about the female soldier’s agency in the abuses. For example, were the men who were at the root of it all, and these women were merely bystanders and victims? Were they coerced into it by a boyfriend (also a soldier implicated in the abuses)? Or were they “used” by the male soldiers to add extra humiliation to the torture (being “beaten by a girl” is the ultimate embarrassment)? However, Sjoberg does not remove all agency from the female soldiers and argues that “at the very least, they [the female soldiers] chose to allow their pictures to be taken, to smile for the camera and not to report the abuse” (p. 90).

Sjoberg also points out that the U.S. government dealt with the fallout by officially denouncing the abuses as "deviant acts" which were committed by "a few soldiers", thereby pathologizing such acts of sexual violence and ignoring the use and abuse of power, intimidation, and humiliation present in these cases. This topic must be studied so it is not only the few who get caught that are reprimanded, for this is merely scratching the surface, rather than examining the greater societal structures which produce and allow such sexual violence.

Another area for future consideration is that of adult women sexually victimizing adult men in situations other than wartime. We often do not have an adequate understanding, nor do we use the same reasoning we would apply to men's sexual violence against women, when we analyse women's use of sexual violence. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (2003) report that 58% of the college-age men they studied had experienced being coerced, threatened, or physically forced into having sex with a woman at least once since the age of 16. Nevertheless, since we are not prepared to truly accept women as sexual offenders, it is often referred to as "women's sexual aggression" or "sexual coercion" in the literature, rather than rape or sexual violence. Many in society hold the belief that women inherently possess "ladylike" traits that are uncommon to men, which would include a minimal or non-existent interest in sex (Chapleau, Oswald and Russell 2007). Most would likely not consider that women would need to "resort to" or want to coerce men into sex (demanding sex from men, lying to get sex, or administering drugs or alcohol to facilitate taking advantage of a male partner). To sexually violate men, female offenders most often use verbal coercion and manipulation, administer drugs or alcohol, or take advantage of a man who has had too much drugs or

alcohol, and occasionally use threats of physical violence, but most rarely use actual physical violence (Krahe, Waizenhofer and Moller 2003). Although, Zurbriggen (2000) concluded that women are more likely to "sexually coerce" a man when they are desperate for intimacy and a relationship (Krahe, Waizenhofer and Moller 2003). This is a weak argument, because by this logic every lonely or single woman is a potential rapist. Krahe, Waizenhofer and Moller (2003) do acknowledge that part of the reason women may sexually offend is out of anger and emotional damage due to childhood or adolescent abuse. But they also argue that the more likely a woman is to have used, or consider using, what they term "token resistance" (e.g., saying "no" to sex when they really meant "yes"), the more likely she is to force a man into sex, because if she has said "no" in the past just to appear respectable, then she believes the man must be doing this as well. This argument is laden with rape myth connotations.

There is research on the methods used by women to force men into sex such as, threatening to end the relationship, spreading rumours that he is gay, and even threatening suicide (Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson 2003), but not speculation on really *why* a woman would sexually assault a man. What *exactly* does a woman gain from sexually violating a man? Unlike the Abu Ghraib soldiers, they are not competing alongside male counterparts, so is it also an attempt to construct a masculine persona, or to surpass standard masculinity by means of demeaning a man?

These studies fall short of going beyond statistics and examining the deeper reasons and societal constructions which generate female rapists. Examining these issues really leads to more questions than it does answers, compelling one to recognize the vast gap in our knowledge and understanding about sexual violence in *all* its different forms.

Female-female sexual assault is also a subject for future research. I think this would help support my assertion that it is not necessarily males, but people *using* traditionally masculine ideals and tactics to subordinate others and elicit compliance. In addition, I think it would be useful to try to tease out exactly how and why women use masculinity when sexually victimizing someone to gain a better understanding of this process of victimization.

Anticipated Contribution

Davies (2002) argues that "research, help, and support for male victims [are] more than 20 years behind that for female victims" (p. 203). This is why it is important to address the issue, for a great portion of male violence and male victimization is going un-examined. I contribute to the literature by demonstrating outright that it is indeed ignored, in the form of the brief and ineffectual coverage received when male martial sexual victimization is reported. So far, there has merely been continuous conjecture that it is ignored, but with no concrete demonstration of its absence in either academic literature or media. Why does it matter whether the media is reporting on male sexual victimization? The print media certainly does not have the sole responsibility to address this issue since it is but only one possible vehicle for the exploration and dissemination of information on this topic. Harris and Clayton (2002) argue "the mass media has long been recognized for the role that it plays in shaping opinion and framing attitudes" (p. 397), and it can be considered journalist's duty is to serve the public interest by uncovering the truth (Darling 1991) and spark people's interest and concern for what is happening in the world. But, as we have seen, that information is filtered because of media and public

ignorance on the topic, discomfort with presentation of vulnerability of the male body, notions of and assumptions about manliness, and prejudices regarding men who fall outside of the traditional view of ideal masculinity. We know male sexual victimization exists, but it is nearly invisible in public debates, academia and the media (Zarkov 2001; Engels 2004), which are sadly the three areas that have the power and ability to bring the issue to the forefront and expand knowledge on it. Often in the social sciences we have a "love/hate" relationship with the media, where we "blame" it for shaping certain detrimental attitudes, but also tout it as a mouthpiece that has the opportunity to advance pressing issues; however, scholars must also be held responsible for the lack of attention given to this issue. Bucholtz (2003) asserts that the use of language "literally effects peoples' lives", especially as it appears in pervasive texts of great interest and influence (e.g., popular print media) (p. 57). Furthermore, language is the "primary force for the production and reproduction of ideology – of belief systems that come to be accepted as 'common sense'" (Bucholtz 2003: 57), such as constructions of gender and how we perceive and speak about sexual violence and its victims. Possibly if the media were to take the lead in exposing the occurrence, meaning and consequences of male sexual victimization, other institutions would follow suit. This is not to say, however, that researchers should not also be working diligently to advance knowledge about this topic.

There is also no male-specific theory of rape, nor any theory which is commonly or regularly associated with it, and my use of feminist theory and gender and masculinity scholarship provides a solid theoretical basis from which to guide further analysis of sexual violence against men. Thus, this analysis will encourage increased information and understanding of an aspect of male violence which has not been adequately studied to

date, which is male-on-male sexual violence. I assert that this is important because, as Pino and Meier (1999) argue, the neglect of the study of male rape and reporting upholds the stereotype that men cannot be rape victims, and as long as this continues, sexual victimization will not be completely understood for *either* gender. The gender and masculinity scholars assert, male violence affects women, children, *and* men. A further exploration of sexual violence is yet another step in unravelling sexual violence; we must continue to move forward, just as has been done previously in studies of the intrusion of sexual violence into women's everyday lives (Stanko 1985), date rape, rape within marriages, and the introduction of gender neutral terms into law (Hinch 1996). Also, leaving sexual violence against males unaddressed leaves tensions and abuses in institutional settings, like prisons, and enables rape as an anti-gay hate crime to continue. What is integral to the issue is overcoming assumptions about masculinity, and realising that men have varying levels of, and desire for, power, varying levels of interest in sexual contact, and varied experiences which shape how they act in relation to women and other men. This would facilitate dispelling male rape myths which are largely built on a narrow view of measures of manhood and expected male behaviour and desire. Also, recognizing and validating "Othered" masculinites is essential. There can be many different ways of being a man in this world, and there should not be only one rigid, hetero-normative option available in order to be considered a "normal guy".

Limitations

I analysed articles in newspapers from North America and the United Kingdom. These are the only examples of reporting on rape during the war I scrutinized. There may have been a different representation of the sexual violence by other newspapers from other

parts of the world. However, I think absence of reporting on male sexual victimization would have been quite similar to the results I have presented, if not an even more minimal representation, especially concerning countries actually involved in the conflict where the highlighting the stories of sexual abuse could be seen as damaging to national pride and morale.

My searches of the databases were extensive, but may not have been exhaustive; even though I worked diligently to figure out the nuances and necessary search terms for each database, and used numerous search terms and combinations, some articles still may have not been captured. Certain combinations of words, specific terminology, or articles which may never have been stored in the electronic databases all could have resulted in missing some articles.

I, alone, analysed the articles, so no one else's interpretation of the text is represented and there were also a great deal of articles to read. There may have been themes present I may have not realized while scanning the hundreds of articles for content.

The arguments I made regarding the style of reporting on female rape was based on articles that were inadvertently picked up in searches ultimately meant to gather reporting on male victims, therefore a full representation of stories about female victims during the project timeframe were not examined. The patterns of fascination with female rape and the use of language I observed are in line with the literature and feminist theory, but were not randomly sampled from a larger dataset of media reports on the sexual victimization of women during wartime.

The dataset contains articles only until the end of September, 2007, and more articles containing reporting on male sexual assault during conflict may have emerged after this point in time. However, I assume they would be similar in content to the articles examined in this thesis.

The difficulty in analysing the absence of content was definitely limiting. I struggled to comment on what was *not* there. I cannot be absolutely sure why a reporter/editor omits details or entire stories, and I can only operate on the assumptions put forth by the literature pertaining to why we speak about men and women the way we do. Interviews with media personnel could possibly have filled in the gaps pertaining to how these newsroom decisions were made, and why reporters do or do not discuss male martial sexual violence. I do suspect that if such interviews were carried out, much of the feedback would indicate the reasons for reporting in such ways on rape is due to the public desire, and/or perceived public desire, for extravagant stories describing female rape.

Personal Observation & Reflections

I have been studying this topic since my honours year of my undergraduate studies. It has been very difficult to find work/literature on this topic. There are quite a few articles, chapters in books, but they generally say the same thing over and over, that male rape is ignored. But this does not advance the discussion any further, and many works are simply quoting and citing the same references repeatedly. Indeed, work on this topic seems to be stagnant at present and needs to advance. I have found this work exhausting, frustrating and emotionally draining, but at the same time fascinating and inspiring.

When I discuss my work with friends, family members, and acquaintances, some think it is a very interesting topic and ask many questions. Most assume the project is about rape between men in prison, and are astonished to hear rape happens to men as well as women during wartime.

When people ask me what I am studying, I tell them plainly: "My thesis is on sexual assault of men, male rape." Below, organized into themes, are some common reactions I have received:

- Confusion
    - "Guys can be raped? How?"
- Speechlessness/Discomfort
    - People responding merely with "Oh...", and I can tell they are not sure what else to say or ask.
- "Light bulb" moments
    - For example, when I presented my thesis outline at a health policy workshop, a nurse approached me afterwards and commented on, if a man came into the emergency room suffering some sort of attack, they would not even consider asking or checking if he had been sexually assaulted; she exclaimed: "...because why would we? We wouldn't even think of it!" She also indicated that she would think about such incidents differently from then on.
- Assumptions:
    - Often, individuals automatically think I mean it is about prison rape or gay men.

    - Thinking only in terms of male-female sexual relations resulting in comments such as “Wow, I’d like to be a Guinea pig for that project!”
- Clarification
    - People instantly want clarification. Do I mean men assaulted by men, or women? Children or grown-ups?
- Humour
    - Outright laughter and/or jokes.
- Disgust
    - Cringing; saying “yuck!” or “eeew”.

Perhaps the most hurtful and discouraging comments and attitudes were those who questioned my morality and/or motivation for studying this topic. From numerous people I received snide, suggestive comments, that hinted I am getting some sexual gratification out of it, such as “That’s kinky” or “So, are you going to rape a guy, is that your research?” What is interesting to me is (so far) it has always been men who made comments such as this. This is baffling to me because I am trying to research a topic that (on some level) pertains to them, and hopefully helps other men. Sometimes I felt like giving up, saying to myself “just forget it, why should I try help if that’s your attitude”. But I needed to remember, and still need to remind myself, that attitudes are so profoundly shaped and restrained by gender norms, and it is difficult to shift people’s perceptions of what “proper” masculinity, femininity and sexuality are.

Conclusions

The result of the discourse analysis was: there was little reporting on male sexual victimization overall, and, when there was, there was scarcely an opportunity to analyse

constructions of masculinity within the articles because of the scant text. This result, I contend, is due to constructions of masculinity themselves – the constructions I wanted to, and expected to analyse, prevented any substantial text from being created in the first place; constructions of masculinity pre-empted discussion of male sexual victimization.

Based on my review of the accounts of male and female sexual assault, I cannot make an assumption as to what the "right", "best", or "proper" way for media to report on sexual assault is. I hope for the public to be informed on this issue, and for key issues to be addressed, while refraining from sensationalism, but I can purport that neither of the approaches we saw appears to be beneficial. The style of reporting on women eroticizes and normalizes rape and encourages consuming it as entertainment, and the style concerning males, ignores and minimizes rape, and does not serve the public, nor benefits the victims. Going forward, we need to consider: how do we make the public, academics, and those in charge of the dissemination of news care about this issue, while at the same time being sure not to dismiss, exploit, or re-traumatize victims?

Perpetrators of sexual violence may not always be male, but as we have seen, sexual violence always contains some form/use of masculinity and traditionally masculine actions; there are always aspects of (traditional) *maleness* inherent in the acts. Greater society must adjust how we think and speak about men, women and sexual violence, since our discourses are informed by deeply ingrained notions of gender and what we believe men and women to be based upon essentialized sex role assumptions. Furthermore, not speaking about male rape, or more specifically, that it iss not even on our radar, is itself a product of gender stereotypes.

Society needs to re-evaluate assumptions about masculinity and the stock put in its credibility. This will help in the realization that there are all sorts of men with different lifestyles, situations, desires, sexualities, and "different" from traditional mould, should not equal lesser, for, the Othering of varied masculinities leads to the ranking of hetero-normative masculinity as superior, and the perpetuation of traditional gender norms and practices. Furthermore, challenging the notion that achieving and demonstrating masculinity *requires* degradation of the feminine would be beneficial.

There needs to be resources available to male rape survivors, but also service providers such as mental health professionals and nurses and physicians, need to be trained to recognize this sort of trauma in men and how to proceed with treatment and aftercare. Sivakumaran (2010) points out that the sexual victimization of men and boys (during time of conflict and peacetime) is beginning to be recognized more often [11]; however, this brief amount of recognition has not translated into concrete efforts on behalf of male victims, be they mechanisms for raising awareness of the problem, focused research agendas on the issue, or strategies for prevention (p. 260). That male sexual assault happens (we assume) less often is not an excuse for ignorance, especially by those providing humanitarian aid to victims in conflict zones. This is counterintuitive and just not a good enough excuse because it fails to serve the civilian population as a whole (Carpenter, 2006: 88). Still today, rape crisis centers are geared toward the needs of women (Waliski 2002; Kassing, Beesley and Frey 2005). As well, in terms of wartime, "gender-based violence programming targeting men and boy survivors is virtually non-existent among conflict-affected populations" (Ward 2002: 4). Also, supporting men in

[11] By organizations such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the print media.

discussing “the costs of adhering to narrow definitions of masculinity” and the ways in which gender expectations impact self-care behaviour (Dworkin *et al*. 2009: 983) and furthermore, encouraging men consider their sexual and emotional health as a component of overall personal and physical health would be valuable.

To fully unlock the process of sexual violence against women, and ideally end or at least lessen it, I believe we need to make progress with sexual violence against men it will give us a deeper understanding of the different tactics perpetrators use to violate others, perpetrators we rarely considered before such as other men and women. As Chapleau, Oswald and Russell, 2008 argue, “by mapping the largely uncharted territory of male rape myths, we can refine our current understanding of sexual aggression to better serve everyone.” (p. 613)

Only women are educated to be aware of, and protect themselves against sexual assault (Sivakumaran 2005). Males should be made aware that they are indeed susceptible to sexual violence, and it is not *only* “certain groups” of people (women, prisoners, gay men) who are at risk. Possibly this could help to ease fear and shame around disclosure/reporting by male victims, by removing some of the silence and stigma surrounding male sexual victimization.

Appendix 1:

Search terms for the New York Times content and discourse analysis. *Yugoslavia*, *Yugoslav*, *Bosnia* and *Bosnian* were searched with each of the following terms:

anal
anally
castrate
castrated
castrating
castration
genital
genitals
oral sex
penis
penises
rape
raped
rapes
raping
sexual abuse
sexual abuses
sexual act
sexual acts
sexual assault
sexual assaults
sexual brutalization
sexual mutilation
sexual torture
sexual trauma
sexual victimization
sexual violation
sexual violence
sexually abuse
sexually abused
sexually abusing
sexually assault
sexually assaulted
sexually assaulting
sexually brutalize
sexually brutalized
sexually brutalizing
sexually mutilate

sexually mutilated
sexually mutilating
sexually torture
sexually tortured
sexually torturing
sexually traumatize
sexually traumatized

Appendix 2:

Search terms for the Canadian Newsstand discourse analysis. *Army, armies, conflict* (i.e. conflict, conflicts), milita* (i.e. militant, militants, military), war* (i.e. war, wars, warfare, warring, wartime)* were searched with each of the following terms:

*anal**
*castrat**
*genital**
oral sex
*penis**
*rape**
raping
sex act**
*sexual**
*sodom**
*testicle**

AND

*male detainee**
*male prisoner**
male survivor
*male victim**

Appendix 2b:

A table of the resulting combinations of the search terms identified in Appendix 2.

army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND castrat**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND penis* AND detainee* OR prisoner* OR survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND testicle* AND detainee* OR prisoner* OR survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND anal* AND detainee* OR prisoner* OR survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND genital* AND detainee* OR prisoner* OR survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND oral sex AND detainee* OR prisoner* OR survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND rape* AND male detainee* OR male prisoner* OR male survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND raping AND male detainee* OR male prisoner* OR male survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND sex* act* AND male detainee* OR male prisoner* OR male survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND sexual* AND male detainee* OR male prisoner* OR male survivor* OR male victim**
army OR armies OR conflict OR milita* OR war* AND sodom* AND detainee* OR prisoner* OR survivor* OR male victim**

Appendix 3:

Search terms for The Guardian discourse analysis. *Army (i.e. army, armies), conflict (i.e. conflict, conflicts), militant (i.e. militant, militants), military, war (i.e. war, wars), warfare, warring, wartime* were searched with each of the following terms:

anal
anally
castrate
castrated
castrating
castration
genital
male detainee
male prisoner
male survivor
male victim
oral sex
penis
rape
raped
raping
sex act
sexual
sexually
sodomy
sodomize
sodomized
sodomizing
testicle

Appendix 3b:

A table of the resulting combinations of the search terms identified in Appendix 3.

army AND anal
conflict AND anal
militant AND anal
military AND anal
war AND anal
warfare AND anal
warring AND anal
wartime AND anal
army AND anally
conflict AND anally
militant AND anally
military AND anally
war AND anally
warfare AND anally
warring AND anally
wartime AND anally
army AND castrate
conflict AND castrate
militant AND castrate
military AND castrate
war AND castrate
warfare AND castrate
warring AND castrate
wartime AND castrate
army AND castrated
conflict AND castrated
militant AND castrated
military AND castrated
war AND castrated
warfare AND castrated
warring AND castrated
wartime AND castrated
army AND castrating
conflict AND castrating
militant AND castrating
military AND castrating
war AND castrating
warfare AND castrating
warring AND castrating
wartime AND castrating
army AND castration

conflict AND castration
militant AND castration
military AND castration
war AND castration
warfare AND castration
warring AND castration
wartime AND castration
army AND genital
conflict AND genital
militant AND genital
military AND genital
war AND genital
warfare AND genital
warring AND genital
wartime AND genital
army AND male detainee
conflict AND male detainee
militant AND male detainee
military AND male detainee
war AND male detainee
warfare AND male detainee
warring AND male detainee
wartime AND male detainee
army AND male prisoner
conflict AND male prisoner
militant AND male prisoner
military AND male prisoner
war AND male prisoner
warfare AND male prisoner
warring AND male prisoner
wartime AND male prisoner
army AND male survivor
conflict AND male survivor
militant AND male survivor
military AND male survivor
war AND male survivor
warfare AND male survivor
warring AND male survivor
wartime AND male survivor
army AND male victim
conflict AND male victim
militant AND male victim
military AND male victim
war AND male victim
warfare AND male victim

warring AND male victim
wartime AND male victim
army AND oral sex
conflict AND oral sex
militant AND oral sex
military AND oral sex
war AND oral sex
warfare AND oral sex
warring AND oral sex
wartime AND oral sex
army AND penis
conflict AND penis
militant AND penis
military AND penis
war AND penis
warfare AND penis
warring AND penis
wartime AND penis
army AND penises
conflict AND penises
militant AND penises
military AND penises
war AND penises
warfare AND penises
warring AND penises
wartime AND penises
army AND rape
conflict AND rape
militant AND rape
military AND rape
war AND rape
warfare AND rape
warring AND rape
wartime AND rape
army AND raped
conflict AND raped
militant AND raped
military AND raped
war AND raped
warfare AND raped
warring AND raped
wartime AND raped
army AND raping
conflict AND raping
militant AND raping

military AND raping
war AND raping
warfare AND raping
warring AND raping
wartime AND raping
army AND sex act
conflict AND sex act
militant AND sex act
military AND sex act
war AND sex act
warfare AND sex act
warring AND sex act
wartime AND sex act
army AND sexual
conflict AND sexual
militant AND sexual
military AND sexual
war AND sexual
warfare AND sexual
warring AND sexual
wartime AND sexual
army AND sexually
conflict AND sexually
militant AND sexually
military AND sexually
war AND sexually
warfare AND sexually
warring AND sexually
wartime AND sexually
army AND sodomy
conflict AND sodomy
militant AND sodomy
military AND sodomy
war AND sodomy
warfare AND sodomy
warring AND sodomy
wartime AND sodomy
army AND sodomize
conflict AND sodomize
militant AND sodomize
military AND sodomize
war AND sodomize
warfare AND sodomize
warring AND sodomize
wartime AND sodomize

army AND sodomized
conflict AND sodomized
militant AND sodomized
military AND sodomized
war AND sodomized
warfare AND sodomized
warring AND sodomized
wartime AND sodomized
army AND sodomizing
conflict AND sodomizing
militant AND sodomizing
military AND sodomizing
war AND sodomizing
warfare AND sodomizing
warring AND sodomizing
wartime AND sodomizing
army AND testicle
conflict AND testicle
militant AND testicle
military AND testicle
war AND testicle
warfare AND testicle
warring AND testicle
wartime AND testicle

Appendix 4:

Sex of victim(s):

- male
- male *and* female

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Age of victim(s):

- adult
- adult *and* children/youth

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Sex of perpetrator(s):

- male
- male *and* female

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Term(s) used to describe the violence:

- rape
- sexual assault
- sexual abuse
- sexual violence
- sexual torture
- other: _____

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Article goes beyond a mere mention of male sexual assault (e.g. it provides more than just “X is accused of the rape of five men and women and will stand trial next month...”):

- yes
- no

notes:

_____
_____
_____

If it goes beyond, what details are provided:

- weapon(s) used
- setting/location of the attack
- injuries/condition of the victim(s)
- specific acts are identified (e.g. victim was forced to perform oral sex)
- whether or not perpetrator(s) was apprehended/charged
- other: _____

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Male rape myth themed language used:

- homosexuality
- victim(s) framed as blameworthy
- victim(s) feminized
- humour
- other: _____

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Focus on the *perpetrators* as an, or *the*, interesting subject in the story:

- o yes
- o no

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Dismissive language used (e.g. “although male rape is rare...”):

- o yes
- o no

notes:

_____
_____
_____

Other themes/additional notes:

_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix 5:

New York Times (20 articles) –

Themes –	**Frequency**
Conflict:	
• Former Yugoslavia	20[12]
Sex of victim(s):	
• Males only	3
• Males *and* females	17
Term(s) used to describe sexual violence:	
• Castrate	4
• Oral acts	1
• Oral sex	1
• Sexual abuse	2
• Sexual act(s)	3
• Sexual assault	1
• Sexual humiliation	1
Number of articles that provide any detail(s):	9
The detail(s) provided:	
• Injuries/condition of the victim(s)	5
• Specific act(s) identified	1
• Weapon(s) used	3
Male rape myth themed language used:	1
Language that dismisses/downplays:	1
Incident(s)the article is reporting on:	
• Castration and/severed penis	11
• Forced nakedness	1
• Testicles and/or penis beaten/tortured/cut	4

[12] All articles were about the wars in the former Yugoslavia, as these were the articles captured for the content analysis, and were also used for the discourse analysis.

CN articles (32 articles[13])

Themes –	**Frequency**
Conflict:	
• Chechnya	1
• Darfur	2
• Rwanda	3
• Former Yugoslavia	26
Sex of victim(s):	
• Males only	13
• Males *and* females	19
Term(s) used to describe sexual violence:	
• Anal penetration	1
• Attacked	1
• Castrate	22
• Fellatio	1
• Genital mutilation	1
• Oral sex	1
• Sexual abuse	2
• Sexual act(s)	1
• Sexual assault	1
• Sexual humiliation	1
• Sexual intercourse	1
• Sexual mutilation	1
• Sexual torture	2
• Sodomy	1
Number of articles that provide any detail(s):	9
The detail(s) provided:	
• Injuries/condition of the victim(s)	6
• Specific act(s) identified	6
• Weapon(s) used	2
Male rape myth themed language used:	1
Language that dismisses/downplays:	1
Incident(s)the article is reporting on:	
• Anally penetrated with foreign object(s)	1
• Castration and/severed penis	27
• Forced to eat testicle(s)	1
• Testicles and/or penis beaten/tortured/cut	5

[13] This number is: 32 articles gathered from a database of several newspapers published across Canada, and not a representation of what one singular newspaper reported on.

Guardian articles (22 articles) –

Themes –	**Frequency**
Conflict:	
• Chechnya	4
• Congo	8
• Somalia	1
• Former Yugoslavia	9
Sex of victim(s):	
• Males only	6
• Males *and* females	16
Term(s) used to describe sexual violence:	
• Castrate	4
• Fellatio	1
• Forced circumcision	1
• Make love	1
• Oral sex	1
• Rape	5
• Sexual act(s)	2
• Sexual violence	1
• Sodomy	1
Number of articles that provide any detail(s):	9
The detail(s) provided:	
• Injuries/condition of the victim(s)	5
• Specific act(s) identified	7
• Weapon(s) used	3
Male rape myth themed language used:	2
Language that dismisses/downplays:	1
Incident(s)the article is reporting on:	
• Anally penetrated with foreign object(s)	1
• Castration and/severed penis	9
• Men forced to rape females (e.g. family members or women who are also detained)	2
• Oral sex between male prisoners	3
• Rape	5
• Testicles and/or penis beaten/tortured/cut	3

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