

**MASCULINITY AND EXPERIENCES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE:
CASE STUDY OF MALE CONGOLESE REFUGEES
IN KAMPALA UGANDA**

BY

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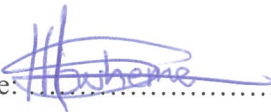
**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND
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DECLARATION

I Tushemereirwe Shallon declare the authority of this report. Corresponds to the activities I was involved in during my research about GBV I stand firmly to confirm that the work in this research has never been submitted to any institution of learning for any academic award

Signature:



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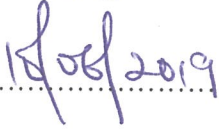
APPROVAL

I certify that Tushemereirwe Shallon prepared this dissertation under my guidance and supervision. I confirm that this is the researchers own original work.

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Date:



Name: Mr. Ibembe John

Supervisor

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the following people who have been very resourceful in combining this research report; my university supervisor Mr. Ibembe John, field supervisor Mr. Katagira Leo, my Parents, KIU bursary committee, and I also want to thank the Almighty God for his Grace and mercy upon my life during this period of the whole study. May his Name be praised forever.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACTV	African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims
CAR	Central African Republic
CARA	Control of Alien Refugees Act
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FAC	The Congolese Armed forces
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo
FDLR	Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda
HIV	Human Immune Virus
IAU	Inter Aid Uganda
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
LDC	Local Defence Forces in (North Kivu)
Mai-Mai	Rebels mixed of Burundian and Rwandan Hutu armed groups
MLC	Movement for Liberation of Congo
MSF	Medicine Sans Frontiers
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OPM	Office of the prime minister
SGBV	Sexual Gender Based Violence
STD's	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

ABSTRACT

Yearly, Uganda receives many refugees. Sexual violence remains one of the reported incidences among those who seek asylum in Uganda, especially from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Though many organizations have tried to tackle the issue of gender-based violence where sexual violence is regarded as a major form, little is known about male refugees who are victims of sexual violence. This study explores how the masculine identities of the male Congolese refugees who have experienced sexual violence have shifted and considers their struggles to overcome trauma. Using a case study of Congolese male refugees, this study will indicate the importance of recognizing sexual violence and the damage it creates to their sense of self, health and livelihood, and perhaps rethinking the problem of sexual violence from the point of view of men as victims. Through gathering the true stories from the men themselves, and from social workers (psycho-social counsellors), medical practitioners, care-takers and close relations, this study explores an area that has been under-researched in the past. This study found out that the psychological experiences sexually abused men go through are in some ways similar to those the women experiences, and even more than women sometimes, though men tend not to express themselves. The findings clearly illustrate the complex social construction of men's sense of masculinity and how the dominant notions of masculinity has prevented these men from speaking out this issue to those around or working on their behalf. Their main coping strategies so far were found to be silence, isolation and denial of their experiences of sexual violence. This silence has hampered such men as victims from receiving the support they needed to overcome deep damage that sexual violence left them with. Also, men did not have a place in some organizations' record-keeping on cases of sexual violence. Therefore the study suggests that those in charge of supporting refugee men could learn from approaches to masculinity which is seen as shaping men's behaviour as victims and agents, hence influencing their responses to trauma and care.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter entailed the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and scope of the study, the significance of the study and definition of key terms.

1.1 Background to the Study

In recent times, Uganda has received many refugees and the majority usually report sexual gender based violence incidents. However as the counsellor of Inter Aid Uganda explains in the quotation below, women, and not usually men, are viewed majorly as the victims of sexual violence. Sexual violence is ranked among the major gender based forms of violence and the major incident reported by women refugees in the urban settings in Uganda. Yet very little is known and recorded about men who may have experienced sexual violence “prior to their plight”. Yet men are the majority in urban refugee communities, including among those from the Democratic Republic of Congo, who are the focus of this study. This study will explore the problem of sexual violence among male refugees in urban Uganda from the DRC, and how it can best be responded to by agencies like Inter Aid Uganda. In the next two sections in chapter one, the problem of lack of data and inadequate policy frameworks will be presented as the basis of the research problem.

Every Monday it is a special day especially for Congolese Refugees at Inter-aid Uganda. This office deals with a large number of refugees, including Rwandese, Sudanese, Somalis, Ethiopian, Eritreans, Burundian among others but all have different days as nationalities for attendance at our offices. Among other reasons as to why Congolese are given Monday as their day is because they are the majority in the urban [that is, Kampala] so starting with them while fresh from the weekends can be a good strategy for proper attention and good serving system Inter Aid majorly provides counselling and medical support [and] it has been noted

for several years that the majority of women received have experienced sexual violence prior to their flight. (SGBV counsellor at IAU offices explains).

1.1.1 Contextual Background

Africa has long been a post-Cold War battlefield as various studies indicate. By 2010 Uppsala Conflict Data Program recorded that 42 armed conflicts had occurred in Africa between years 1989-2010 (Themnér and Wallensteen 2011). Some wars in Africa, and most especially the on-going war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) have been marked by almost unbelievable violence, with millions killed and displaced across neighbouring countries (Hovil 2007a). Most dreadfully, sexual assaults have become a major part of the violence with rape being so brutal that almost every woman in Eastern Congo has reported at least one incident of rape (Mechanic 2009). Recently sexual violence as one form of gender based violence was internationally recognized and given a platform on the human security agenda (Carpenter 2006). Since the 1990's, wartime rape of both men and women has been considered a crime against humanity after the codification of the charters of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) respectively (Zawati 2007).

Although a number of studies have shown an interest in the fact that sexual violence occurs during conflict, but much emphasis has been put on women and girls as the targets and only victims (Weiss 2010). He further states that violence against men is rarely recognized basically because sexual violence has been politicized, legalized and theoretically organized in favour of women over years now (Weiss 2010). In all these efforts, women have gained much attention and on top of the already formed conventions such as Declaration on the elimination of Violence against women, other women conferences have been conducted in different years all in line with women rights (Solangon and Patel 2012). Furthermore it has been highlighted that even with in the international media 'female rape victims are publicly visible but the male victims are invisible' (Zarkov 2006:222). It is further reported that sexual violence is recognised but much attention has been paid in respect for only women as victims and men stereotyped as perpetrators (Carpenter 2006).

The acts of sexual violence against men started long time ago and acts like castration to show conquest were recorded in Persian, Chinese, Amelikite and Egyptian armies (Graham 2006). Although the ICTY reports were the gate way to the fact that was kept historically for long, the incidences of sexual violence experiences against men especially rape during wartime could occur (Solangon and Patel 2012). Numerous reports also state that the topic of sexual violence against men has been more visible in relation to forms of violence associated with 'homosexuality', than in relation to male rape or sexual violence in wartime (Graham 2006:191). Male sexual victimization in war (and even more generally) seems not be a new phenomenon, however, and has been highly gendered to the extent that men have been regarded as 'unusual victims' (Graham 2006:192). Although adult civilian men and older boys are sometimes acknowledged as perpetrators of violence during wartime, sometimes civilian men and older boys can also be victims of sexual violence, especially during wartime (Carpenter 2006). Strangely enough war is usually taken as a male dominated arena, but armed conflicts tends to threaten traditional norms around masculinity and can emasculate some men (Linos 2009).

Different forms of sexual violence reported against men in these conflicts included: rape, genital mutilation, sexual torture, sexual humiliation, enforced nudity, enforced sterilization, enforced masturbation, forced rape and forced incest, among other kinds of sexual coercion (Solangon and Patel 2012:422). The vulnerability of men and boys to sexual violence has been especially within camps, during military operations, in detention centres, or following abduction into primary paramilitary centres and while seeking refuge (Sivakumaran 2007).

However it noted that little is known about the prevalence rate of sexual violence against men and the incidence is likely to be under-reported, for different reasons including widespread stigma. This means that accurate statistics and trends are very difficult to track or locate he adds (Sivakumaran 2007). The occurrence of male sexual violence remains secret to the public although it frequently happens in public place that is to say during war time (Oosterhoff et al. 2004). One review of 25 armed conflicts, including Uganda, Burundi and Guatemala among others, posited that sexual violence against men has been reported mainly through personal accounts and anecdotal evidence, rather than being systematically researched (Solangon and Patel 2012). Another study also confirms that whilst there may be a lot of reports on sexual violence against men by fellow men, in many different armed conflicts, little 'hard' documentation is present on the subject, since it has been kept secretly

by most of those involved. The author's point is that not much attention has been paid to reports and testimonies of male survivors of sexual violence (Sivakumaran 2007).

Additionally, the problem with lack of solid research on sexual violence against men is that it is less known publicly as a problem and does not receive the proper intervention it deserves. The incidents of sexual violence against men is thought to be low, also because it has been disguised and classified under 'torture' though the prevalence rate available, but the taboo nature it displays publicly has made it silent (Solangon and Patel 2012). Relatively little is known about the psychological consequences for the male survivors after such incidents of sexual violence (Linos 2009, Sivakumaran 2007). The authors adds on that sexual violence against men especially during war is aimed to undermine their male gender role and while reflecting on this, there a rise great psychological pain and stigma to the civilian men and hence damage to their gender identities (Linos 2009).

Gender stereotypes and concepts around masculinity need to be understood, since they can prevent many men from disclosing the sexual dimension of violence perpetrated against them in the past thus hindrance to access of the services if they were available (Linos 2009, Sivakumaran 2007).

1.1.2 The Present Context: Refugee and asylum seeking procedures in Uganda

The term refugee as recognised internationally as by '1951 Convention and 1956 protocol of the United Nations and adopted for operational purposes by the UNHCR, refer to an individual who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fears, un willing to avail himself of the protection of that country' (Gould 1974:413). Uganda as a country use Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) which sets up a system through the minister in charge and authorized officials from UNHCR in a committee which grants or refute one's asylum status (Lomo et al. 2001). Refugees Act (CARA) which was stipulated in 1964 following the ratification of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees and the OAU convention of 1969 governing specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa' together with 2003 refugee Bill set to replace CARA retained settlements as basic structures and place for all refugees in Uganda (Hovil 2007a:600, Lomo et al. 2001:7). All forced migrants seeking refugee status in Uganda

then are supposed to pass through the office of the prime minister under the Department of Disaster Preparedness (here after OPM/DDPR) for possible achievement of a refugee status in the country (Bernstein and Okello 2007). However in May 24th 2006, the President of Uganda agreed that whilst the new refugee law, the Refugee Act could allow refugees to live in Kampala and other urban areas, the limitation was that they had to forego ‘...their rights to humanitarian assistance’ among others(Krause-Vilmar 2011:4).

Urban refugees or self-settled people, according to Jacobson (Jacobsen and Landau 2003) are those living outside the camps or settlement in the case of Uganda. It is recorded that the number of refugees estimated to be living in urban areas has tripled: ‘...from 10,768 in 2007 to 35,072 in 2010’, in terms of UNHCR’s urban case load files of recognised refugees(Krause-Vilmar 2011:4). As of April 1st 2012 according to IAU records the urban refugee population could total 45,704(IAU June report 2012).

Though however, it is recorded that the number of people interested to live in urban have ‘tripled from 10,768 in 2007 to 35,072 in 2010’ according to UNHCR’s urban case load (Krause-Vilmar 2011:1). In Uganda’s case, the procedures and policies governing refugees and their protection including assistance in theory favours those mostly in settlements, to whom UNHCR and the government have obligations. Thus urban refugees in Uganda are not as well known by either the humanitarian community or the government, hence face a lot of specific challenges related to their livelihood (Krause-Vilmar 2011). Present policies have been critiqued as ‘highly restrictive, *ad hoc*, and inconsistent’ with regard to the general protection needs of refugees, since they ignore the needs of urban refugees (Bernstein and Okello 2007:46-47).

By 2009 UNHCR revised its urban policy and included some of the most vulnerable urban refugees in its ‘caseload’ protection space on a small scale (Bernstein and Okello 2007:47). In Uganda, UNHCR together with its implementing partners provide all registered urban refugees with health care support, language classes, legal aid, and psycho social counselling, as well to a small extent, with livelihood interventions (Krause-Vilmar 2011).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Uganda is and has been a major destination country for refugees throughout most of its history, especially since the present regime came to power in 1986. The country has also generated many refugees, and internally displaced persons (IDPs). In general, refugee movements are likely to continue for some time, given that neighbouring countries have been and are still experiencing wars (Hovil 2007b). It is stated that by the years 2009 most of its neighbouring countries including Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Central African Republic (CAR), as well as the Southern Sudan were all involved in wars (Harbom and Wallensteen 2010).

Of recent it recorded that around 16000 Congolese have been forced to migrate to Uganda as refugees due to war in this country (Wakabi 2008). By the years 1996 to 2003, 3.8 million lives had vanished in Congo (DRC) and SGBV had become horrific to both women and men which indicated the prevailing impunity in this area (Rodriguez 2007). These forms of violence conducted, especially rape have been used as 'a weapon of war' in multiple regions and civil wars mostly in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (Pratt et al. 2004:7, Kirby 2012).

Though many accounts in Congo (DRC) have indicated the prevalence of sexual violence, women almost in all cases have been forwarded as the sole victims (Wakabi 2008). Even though it noted that women and girls starting from the age young as three in Congo (DRC), have been gang raped and sometimes abducted for long periods into sexual slavery or killed, men and boys too have become victims of sexual violence in many circumstances (Wakabi 2008). The violence's reported in DRC have been non discriminative on civilian's lives including women, girl, men and boys in general (Kippenberg 2009). On the same note, (Baaz and Stern 2009) add on that the incidence of rape as a form of sexual violence has occurred in all parts of DRC and both women and men have been victims. Reports from the medical organisation such as Medicine Sans Frontiers that has long worked in conflicts areas of DRC have recorded the percentage to range from 6% of sexually abused men who could seek medical attention during wartimes (Solangon and Patel 2012, Sivakumaran 2007). Though there are few available reports indicating that men in DRC could be forced to either rape their relatives or watch the sexual incidents against their women, this fact is worth noting as sexual violence against men in its own right. Thus critique on the

international community for what he called its 'inconsistent, inadequate and piecemeal in fashion' on this issue (Wakabi 2008)

Sexual violence especially rape in Congo (DRC) has been expressed through extreme acts of violence such as group rapes, intentional transmission of STDs, genital mutilation among others of which many victims to date still nurse the wounds. Observers have said that many victims continue to suffer after many years with the burdens of infectious diseases some tested and others not depending on the situation (Mukwege and Nangini 2009). The effects of rape on survivors generally is said to leave both flesh and depth wounds and healing effectively may take long or sometimes fail. The abused always experience effects ranging from either pulverized or grave psychological and physical (Kippenberg 2009).

Though the effects on the victims are far reaching, the cultural norms and the stigmatization surrounding rape has left many humiliated and rejected by both their families and communities (Kippenberg 2009).

As of November 1st 2017 according to IAU records the urban refugee population could total 45,704. Out of these, Congolese alone could total 20,862 among these 3643 are male above 18 years and 2803 are female above that age. Although the majority of refugees living in urban area are Congolese whereby the number of men far way exceeds that of women little is known about their war and sexual experiences (IAU report December 2017). Thus the study aimed to find out from a gender perspective how refugee men who were sexually abused cope in the post conflict situation. Through examining how the dominant notions of masculinity, gender and sexuality influence men's responses to such traumatic experiences.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This review of the context and the background literature has shown that when sexual violence occurs during conflict, very little emphasis has been placed on male victims (Weiss 2010). The aim of this research was to explore a fact which has been both hidden and ignored, the fact that during war, men as well as women, experience sexual violence (Oosterhoff et al. 2004).

1.4 Specific Objectives

- (i) To establish and analyze whether it is evident that the dominant notions and discourses of masculinity, gender and sexuality define men's identities hence influence their revealing of the sexual violent incident experiences.
- (ii) To understand the experiences of sexual violence and the dominant notions of masculinities.
- (iii) To discuss the challenges involved in the dominant notions of masculinity and sexual violent in order to propose solutions in relations that will contribute to improve services and better policies.

1.5 Research Questions

In line with this, the major research question will be as follows:

In the context of Kampala, how do dominant notions of masculinity shape the ways in which sexually abused refugee men from DRC, perceive their gender identities, and how does this influence their responses to traumatic experiences in the post-conflict context?

- 1 Are there any existing support services in form of medical, psychological and social? If yes to what extent and if no what are the limitations?
- 2 What are the men's narratives and experiences of sexual violence and how do they cope with these experiences?
- 3 What are the dominant notions of masculinity and gender identities among the sexually abused men? And how have they contributed to the physical and psychological struggles of healing process.

1.6 Scope of the study

1.6.1 Conceptual scope

This study focussed on masculinity and experiences of sexual violence among Male Congolese Refugees in Kampala Uganda.

1.6.2 Geographical Scope

The study concentrated on urban refugees in Kampala, a group peculiar to rural refugees in settlements elsewhere.

1.6.3 Time Scope

The time scope was not limited to the time the refugee has been in the country but the data was collected over a period of two months.

1.7 Significance of the study

This study draws from the fact that men are very important in local, national and international development. Issues concerning their body, mind and environment if not tackled can hinder the development of any country. In addition Uganda, as any other countries receives refugees yearly from its neighbours. Among the issues reported occasionally are incidences related to sexual violence. These issues are generally ignored without taking into consideration the different aspects of sustainable development. Given that there is little known in relation to men as it has been the case with women and subsequently to what extent this may have related effects in the society, there is need for further research in this subject. Exploring this fact will not only bring out the hidden facts on this subject but will also keep the service providers to better informed and understand the dimension of the problem and the direction to focus mitigating solutions.

This study will therefore contribute to the scanty studies in regard to masculinity and sexual violence with focus on men. This study will also be relevant in making informed decisions by not only the organizations working with these refugees in Kampala district but also Uganda in general. The results will also have potential use in other developing countries, most especially those in Africa experiencing similar situations.

1.8 Justification of the Study

Though it has been known that sexual violence does occur in war time and men such as refugees can carry the burdens with them to the country of asylum it is hard to find these evidences. Using the case study of Congolese male refugees this study will add on the scanty

literature available on men and sexual violence. Secondly it will add to the already existing literature on the causes of male sexual violence by enlightening on its occurrence and prevalence and elaboration on why little is known.

1.9 Definition of key concepts

Gender

Gender is the means in which social practices are structured i.e. roles ,behaviours, deeds and qualities in relationship to what men and women are expected of by their societies (Connell 1999:71).According to the social constructionist approach, gender is always interpreted or achieved through ways in which different people contextualise their state, therefore gender is not what people are' but what they can do during their interfaces socially (Kahn 2009:152). In other words people usually see themselves as either women or men depending on how their societies categorise them (Scott 1986).

Masculinity

Masculinity according to Kahn is “a hypothetical construct” because ‘it cannot be directly observed or measured’ by any one and always its definitions when given by different scholars ‘are often unclear’ thus multiple definitions (Kahn 2009:3-47). However psychosocial recognition of the fact that the social and interpersonal experiences of different men play a crucial role in the development and negotiation of their worlds and their close relations also matters(Kahn 2009).The term therefore in this study will be used to refer to those values, behavioural patterns and cluster of norms which may express explicit and implicit expectations of how men should act or represent themselves to others (Lindsay and Miescher 2003). This authors point out that the ideologies in regard to masculinity as those of femininity are historically and culturally fabricated and their meaning will always be challenged and always renegotiated through the context of different existing power relations (Lindsay and Miescher 2003).

Sexuality as socially constructed

Sexuality basically to many individuals may refer to that person's place as described within the three current dimensions called 'canonical trinity of homosexuality, heterosexuality and bisexuality (Pflugfelder 2000:5) .It is emphasized that sexuality can be used in order to understand a wide range of behaviours and can be understood 'more or less interchangeably with eroticism since what is defined as sexual or erotic varies culturally or historically(Pflugfelder 2000:6). Therefore it is very crucial to consider the fact that sexuality and eroticism are relatively absorbent signifiers, describing the unstable but fixed practices and desires minus a persistent or simply an identifiable core (Pflugfelder 2000).

Sexual violence

In this study the term sexual violence will be defined and used according to the World Health Organizations definition to refer to 'any sexual act, attempt to obtain sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work (Solangon and Patel 2012:418). In this study still sexual violence will be explained in term of armed conflict situations basing on the fact that the research studies Congolese male refugees though currently living in Uganda.

Power and Dominance: related to 'Emasculation' during sexual violence

These terms are all used in this study to elaborate on the fact that the purposes for conducting sexual violence against women are not so different with those in case of civilian men during wartimes (Sivakumaran 2007). Power and dominance are expressed as the crucial dynamics among the various reasons that influence sexual violence and are linked to masculinity in regard to male sexual violence. During war or conflict situations power is manifested in form of 'emasculation'(Sivakumaran 2007:270).The author confirms that in these incidences there is lack of law and order and usually there is no balance of power thus more movements within the pre-existing hierarchies' yet rape with 'other forms of sexual violence are about

maintaining and restoring certain forms of power balances' when there is potential imbalances (Sivakumaran 2007:267).

Trauma

The term trauma in this study will be used to analysis the fact that the experiences of sexual violence, like in case of women has both physical and psychological effects to male victims and may need attention or be understood on how they can be handled. Trauma can be defined as 'the sudden, uncontrollable disruption of afflictive bonds interpreted broadly and the effects of trauma on emotional and cognitive process underlying biological changes and resulting psychopathology are reviewed' (Van der Kolk 1987: ii). It is believed that experiencing traumatic events of a certain magnitude can affect practically all those who might be exposed to it (McCann 1990). Therefore understanding well these individuals who have under gone through traumatic experiences one has to take into account 'both the individual's unique psychological development and the meaning of the traumatic experience its self in the post trauma adaptation 'although still one has to consider the characteristics of both the event and the person (McCann 1990:3).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter brings out the key concepts and theoretical perspectives that guided this research. The major concepts in this paper include: Gender, Masculinity, sexuality, sexual violence, Power and dominance and emasculation. For purposes of data analysis I also used both Trauma(constructivist self-developing theory) and social construction theory basically to understand the importance of the dominant notions of masculinities in males perceptions of their identities and revealing of sexual violence incident experiences that occurred to them in their past but viewed in their current situations as detailed in later chapter.

2.1 Social Construction Theory

The social construction theory in this study is used to understand the importance of hegemonic masculinity, gender and sexuality and how they are socially constructed. In regard to the social construction theory, individuals and their practices result in the way themselves may deduce their worlds and in this sense they shape their realities in which they may sentient in forever (Kahn 2009).According to the social constructionist approach masculinity is assumed to be 'relatively stable phenomenon that primarily occurs within persons, society, or the interaction between the two'(Kahn 2009:150). The author emphasizes that the societal expectations about ones being masculine or feminine across different cultures assumes a general set which all individuals are expected to call on while interacting with other (Kahn 2009).

Correspondingly it is said that 'gender is achieved through people and their context' so the assumed distinction between 'sex and gender disappears' there by understanding gender as not 'something we are but we do in social interactions' (Moynihan 1998:103). Franklin (1988) points out that what determines people's expectations about their feelings, thoughts and behaviours or what is known as the gender roles is basically the social and cultural beliefs (cited in Kahn 2009). He further states that there is a certain approach known as 'global' which assumes 'a set of social expectations about being masculine or feminine' of which men usually carry on during their daily interactions with each other in their setting

(Kahn 2009:54). Therefore from this approach, gender is perceived unstable, socially constructed, which is always shaped by cultural beliefs and notions of both masculinity and femininity which also influences sexuality.

2.2 Gender

Gender is the means in which 'social practices' are structured i.e. roles, behaviours, deeds and qualities in relationship to what men and women are expected of by their societies (Connell 1999:71). According to the social constructionist approach, gender is always interpreted or achieved through ways in which different people contextualise their state, therefore gender is 'not what people are' but what they can do during their interfaces socially (Kahn 2009:152). In other words people usually see themselves as either women or men depending on how their societies categorise them (Scott 1986).

Using the concept of gender as an analytical tool in this study is very important in order to understand the fact that gender is 'a social category imposed on a sexed body' in all the social relations and may have the ability on both 'structural and ideological' on men and women and how they could relate with each other, their expectations and responses and in this case we can understand sexually abused male refugees (Scott 1986:29). In this study gender will also be talked about to refer to the reproductive arena i.e. sexual arousal and intercourse, infant care, bodily sex differences or similarities, child birth, and who is supposed to do what according to the societal norms (Connell 1999:71). Connells argues that, it is the social practices that persistently refers to people's bodies and what they can do or cannot but not what reduced to them (Connell 1999).

Therefore understanding gender relations among women and men in Congo (DRC) will be repeatedly pointed out in this study since it is very important to know that gender does not imply to one category of people as Scott puts it (Scott 1986). Then understanding gender relations among men is very important in order to know that hegemonic masculinity is not immobile but rather it is the masculinity that fills the hegemonic position within particular gender relations (Connell 1999:76). Thus gender is said to be a concern of both men and women if we are understand 'the social and cultural systems through which masculinity and femininity' arises (Zarkov 1997:144).

2.3 Masculinity

Masculinity according to Kahn is “a hypothetical construct” because ‘it cannot be directly observed or measured’ by any one and always its definitions when given by different scholars ‘are often unclear’ thus multiple definitions (Kahn 2009:3-47). However psychosocial recognition of the fact that the social and interpersonal experiences of different men play a crucial role in the development and negotiation of their worlds and their close relations also matters (Kahn 2009). The term therefore in this study will be used to refer to those values, behavioural patterns and cluster of norms which may express explicit and implicit expectations of how men should act or represent themselves to others (Lindsay and Miescher 2003). This authors point out that the ideologies in regard to masculinity as those of femininity are historically and culturally fabricated and their meaning will always be challenged and always renegotiated through the context of different existing power relations (Lindsay and Miescher 2003).

Masculinity is said to be inherently relational and can’t exist except in compulsion with femininity and in the process of talking about them gender is culturally in making (Connell 1999:68). Further still all masculinity definitions are culturally guaranteed although using different meanings in describing the masculine person but the term can signify symbolically men’s authority whereas femininity is its lack in women (Connell 1999:70). Connell further emphasizes that for one to understand the term masculinity, there is a need to discuss how it relates with other available things in the society generally i.e. the assignment of gender and its invention, the reigning institutions, the presented environment and the militaries in control (Connell 1999:71). In this study masculinity is viewed as not permanent and can be contestable according to the different situations that men can go through and in this regard different masculinities will be discussed.

Masculinities are also believed to be ‘produced and reproduced’ as a result of struggles between the dominant and the subordinate groups and it can also be understood as ‘a fluid’ normally socially constructed and changes after time and space (Coles 2009:30). By this, its flexibility arises leading to its manipulability thus changes in the dominant modes of Masculinities putting sense in same but contradictory between hegemonic and counter hegemonic, higher and lower and the normal or deviant (Hutchings 2008:401). Masculinity is related to war in theories of gender and though they differ in many aspects they are said to

have things in common i.e. signifiers what is perceived to be manly such as aggression are usually identified during wartime or conflict situations (Hutchings 2008).

However still gender literature puts it clear that masculinity and its meaning can be contrasted depending on war situation thus alternative masculinities can be inverted (Hutchings 2008). Furthermore during war there is negotiation or renegotiation of particular hegemonic masculinity which helps to give meaning and understanding of the concept that masculinity is not static to any given social reality. Much emphasis therefore should be put on the work done by the ratifying of the term masculinity rather than the relationship it has with war or its characteristics in making thus a need for analysis of its primness (Hutchings 2008). Masculinity is also said to play an important role in which war gains legitimacy and influence within the social life and their relationship may be casual or constitutive sometimes (Hutchings 2008). However on the other hand it is what the society practices during war that may lead to production or reproduction of masculinities among different men.

In other words the connection between masculinity and war is underlying in the shared gender norms but surprisingly not only between men and women but still among different men (Hutchings 2008). Therefore Masculinity and war anchors each other in the sense that the former may be a platform through which the war may be reorganized, judged or understood and the later helps in shaping former's meaning to its requirements (Hutchings 2008). As Antonio Gramscis puts, it has to be noted though that cultures usually exalt one form of masculinity at a particular time and others can be subordinated others (Coles 2009). Therefore the formalizing of masculinity and femininity usually makes sexual violence a valuable device against civilian men mostly during conflicting situations (Solangon and Patel 2012).

2.4 Sexuality as socially constructed

Sexuality basically to many individuals may refer to that person's place as described within the three current dimensions called 'canonical trinity of homosexuality, heterosexuality and bisexuality' (Pflugfelder 2000:5). It is emphasized that sexuality can be used in order to understand a wide range of behaviours and can be understood 'more or less interchangeably with eroticism since what is defined as sexual or erotic varies culturally or historically' (Pflugfelder 2000:6). Therefore it is very crucial to consider the fact that

sexuality and eroticism are relatively absorbent signifiers, describing the unstable but fixed practices and desires minus a persistent or simply an identifiable core (Pflugfelder 2000).

However Dixon Mueller (1993) differs from the above statements and suggests that sexuality is much wider than only sexual behaviour as it also involves the physical ability for sexual arousal and pleasure. Sexuality may have diverse meanings for different people according to their social contexts. 'It encompasses the physical capacity for sexual arousal, sex gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticisms, intimacy and pleasure (libido) as well as the personalized and shared social meaning attached both to sexual behaviour and the formation of sex and gender identities' (Dixon-Mueller 1993:273). The author illustrates the four scopes of sexual behaviours that are usually socially organised along gender lines i.e. sexual drives, sexual acts and sexual enjoyment but this study will pick to use 'sexual meaning dimension' which is also 'the social construction of sexuality' (Dixon-Mueller 1993:273).

This 'refers to the process by which sexual thoughts, behaviours, and conditions are interpreted and ascribes cultural meanings' (Dixon-Mueller 1993:275). The theory is 'linked with cultural concepts of masculinity and femininity' implying that the notions that gives the meaning about the 'maleness and femaleness are expressed in sexual norms and ideologies' (Dixon-Mueller 1993:275). Thus the sexual behaviours which are regarded in societies to be masculine or not masculine, feminine or not feminine are culturally executed epitome to which men must imitate whether or not psychologically in position thus imagined at their own cost (Dixon-Mueller 1993).

In this study therefore sexuality is used in asocial constructionist term as local, historical which is driven by cultural and social backgrounds and beliefs of societies (Dixon-Mueller 1993). The concept of sexuality as Dixon-Mueller puts it differs in meaning according to its context among different people. Therefore, sexuality in this paper is believed to be the heterosexual beliefs though not all the respondents were involved in these relationships.

2.5 Sexual violence

In this study the term sexual violence will be defined and used according to the World Health Organizations definition to refer to ‘any sexual act, attempt to obtain sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work (Solangon and Patel 2012:418). In this study still sexual violence will be explained in term of armed conflict situations basing on the fact that the research studies Congolese male refugees though currently living in Uganda.

Therefore sexual violence against men ‘includes actions directed at the victims sexual or reproductive health or identity, for example: rape, whether oral or anal, involving objects, the perpetrator or two victims; enforced sterilization; enforced nudity; enforced masturbation and other forms of sexual humiliation; castration; genital violence(for example beating of genitals or the administration of electric shocks to the genital area); and enforced incest or enforced rape of female or male others’(Solangon and Patel 2012:418). Zawati (2007:33) further explain that sexual violence mostly in armed conflicts can usually target ones sexuality and can be expressed in physical or psychological means with the intentions of damaging the victims ‘psyche and destroy one’s body pride’. Therefore sexual violence in this study as a concept is used to bring out the fact that some refugee men from war situation of Congo (DRC) have experienced and currently in Uganda are settling with sexual violence incidents as some women are.

2.6 Power and Dominance: related to ‘Emasculation’ during sexual violence

These terms are all used in this study to elaborate on the fact that the purposes for conducting sexual violence against women are not so different with those in case of civilian men during wartimes (Sivakumaran 2007). Power and dominance are expressed as the crucial dynamics among the various reasons that influence sexual violence and are linked to masculinity in regard to male sexual violence. During war or conflict situations power is manifested in form of ‘emasculation’(Sivakumaran 2007:270).The author confirms that in these incidences there is lack of law and order and usually there is no balance of power thus more movements ‘within the pre-existing hierarchies’ yet rape with ‘other forms of sexual violence are about

maintaining and restoring certain forms of power balances' when there is potential imbalances (Sivakumaran 2007:267).

This implies that 'men are considered to represent the virility, strength and power of the family and the community, able to protect not just them but others (Sivakumaran 2007). Thus, men are considered not to think of themselves as potential victims of sexual abuse as women and those who are victimized are therefore emasculated. Zawati (2007:33) confirms this by stating that male rape in times of war is primarily an affirmation of power and aggression none than an expression of one's sexual desire.

2.7 Trauma

The term trauma in this study will be used to analysis the fact that the experiences of sexual violence, like in case of women has both physical and psychological effects to male victims and may need attention or be understood on how they can be handled. Trauma can be defined as 'the sudden, uncontrollable disruption of afflictive bonds interpreted broadly and the effects of trauma on emotional and cognitive process underlying biological changes and resulting psychopathology are reviewed' (Van der Kolk 1987: ii). It is believed that experiencing traumatic events of a certain magnitude can affect practically all those who might be exposed to it (McCann 1990). Therefore understanding well this individuals who have under gone through traumatic experiences one has to take into account 'both the individuals unique psychological development and the meaning of the traumatic experience its self in the post trauma adaptation' although still one has to consider the characteristics of both the event and the person(McCann 1990:3).

Using trauma in this study will basically apply the trauma theory known as the '*constructivist self-development theory*' which explains 'adult trauma survivors' and basically focuses 'on the interaction between the person and the situation, with a particular focus on the self

Development' (McCann 1990:3). It emphasizes that while considering adaptation after any traumatic experience one has to put into consideration the individual's personal history, the social and cultural context, specific traumatic events and the developing self of which these include (ego, resources, self-capacity, psychological needs and cognitive schemas about self

and the world(McCann 1990).All these have influence on one's coping strategies and adaptation in the post traumatic situation(Van der Kolk 1987)

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused at the conceptual and theoretical framework which has been adopted in analysis and interpretation of the data in this study mainly in chapter 4. Majorly concepts used included gender, masculinity, sexuality, power and dominance with emasculation plus sexual violence. Trauma with its constructivist developing theory related to adult individuals surviving with trauma and social construction theory were used to understand the notions of hegemonic masculinities in men's revealing of the sexual violence incident experiences in their present situations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter was to get details of all the procedures the researcher used and the tasks performed in order to confirm the expected output research questions. Its importance was to prepare the whole research process. This chapter presented the research design, study population, sample size and sampling techniques, data collection instruments, validity and reliability of research instruments, data analysis and ethical consideration.

3.1 Research design

This research was basically a qualitative research, which relied much on primary field research data as well as secondary data sources of different scholars.

3.2 Population of the study and study area

The study population included Congolese refugee men around Kampala, commonly referred to as part of the urban caseload. As at January 2, 2018, there were about 40,986 Democratic Republic of Congo Refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda (Office of the Prime Minister, 2018), both women and men all as part of the urban caseload. The study was conducted in Kampala district the major capital city of Uganda. With an approval from the office of the prime minister (OPM) then I approached the two organisations I worked with i.e. Inter-Aid Uganda (IAU) a humanitarian national NGO which implements on urban refugee program for urban refugee policy on behalf of UNHCR together with African Centre for Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture Victims (ACTV) an NGO dedicated to protection of human rights with emphasis on treatment and rehabilitation of victims of torture by security agencies and armed groups. ACTV is also accredited to International Rehabilitation Council for victims of Torture. Both organisations are situated in Kampala district.

3.3 Sample size and selection

The sample size was chosen purposively or handpicked simply because it was the possible channel to access men who experienced sexual violence. Through sourcing from organisations working with refugees sample size had specific characteristics due to the nature and the sensitivity of the research topic.

3.4 Data collections methods

I carried out in depth interviews with the sexually abused men, by asking them semi structured open ended questions. A total of 18 refugee men were interviewed, and their narrations were recorded. In addition, two doctors, four psycho social counsellors and two women (who were the wives and care takers of two male respondents) were also interviewed. Interpreters were also used (provided by organisations) almost throughout the whole exercise due to language barrier (since the Congolese mainly use Swahili and French languages) i.e. I could understand very well Kiswahili language (which is most spoken by Congolese) but could not respond fluently and some respondent could speak English. The data collection exercise took place between the April and June of 2019.

3.5 Data analysis

The field assessment only targeted Congolese men, in depth interviews were conducted on 18 Congolese male refugees regardless of the part of the country originally from or their tribes. All respondents were at least 18 years of age with a refugee status in Uganda. Using semi structured open ended questions in an interview guide; we conducted life histories interviews with our respondents. The main interviewees were only men who had experienced sexual violence in their past regardless of their length of stay in Uganda. The in depth narratives were basically structured to focus on issues related to men's passed experience as well as their current feeling and coping strategies in the current state. In order to understand the dominant notions of masculinities, I also had in-depth interviews with two women respondents (currently in a relationship with two of the respondents) upon permission from their husbands.

The information gathered was recorded on audio and also in notes or both after the individual's approval. In addition 6 key informants were interviewed; these included 2 doctors one each from the two organisations I worked with. To this study these were the primary source of my data since they could act as the both the gate keepers and determinants of possible means for credible data. Secondly some questions I had posed to the respondents could unintentionally bounce back and could only be responded by them.

I also used snowball method, after realizing that even the available reports and records within these organisations I worked with had scanty information on the specific issues which could lead to few interviews to be conducted. Sometimes I used the focal person heading the desk of SGBV to identify male peer educators of SGBV who could some time luckily know one or two victims. Other times the respondents themselves after creating rapport could voluntarily lead me to other male victims thus the network and sample size. Basing also on the fact that my face was not new to most of the respondents I interviewed, giving in the information by the respondents was much easier and interpretation of their nonverbal cues too basing on my profession. Besides prior to the study I was aware of all the possible emotional demands due to my professional experience and thus I could take steps to prevent suffering from 'vicarious trauma' or burn out myself, given that I could respond to such interviews and the feelings of respondents thanks to my training and experience.

3.6 Research procedure

Once with approval from my supervisor, I proceeded to the agencies and presented my letter of request. Once the letter was approved I sought the support of individuals to collect the data.

3.7 Ethical dimensions and study limitations

Dealing with individuals who have undergone traumatic experiences, it is not easy to avoid personal emotions most especially after listening from different people. It is very difficult to write and express to the academic world considering the psychological, verbal and nonverbal cues which were expressed by respondents during the interviews.

In other words, representing one's experience as expressed is very challenging in this matter. Additionally writing individuals' language of understanding as expressed in different voices was not easy either. It was again very difficult to interpret the concepts as used in this study within the realities of men's narratives i.e. connecting the fact that masculinity contributes to men's disclosure through receiving the facts in bits was a challenge too.

Also the fact that many respondents could break down in the middle of the interview sessions or either pardons themselves in one way or the other made the interview processes delay considering the limited time I had. Finally I also faced the issues of personal security versus the security of the respondents since these are migrants in Uganda under protection of both the government and UNHCR and most times an interview towards them demands attention by both parties.

Basing on the fact that the researcher worked all through in organisational environment (mostly while dealing with male refugees) confidentiality could totally be given to the respondents. As a researcher, I was placed under the head of SGBV (at IAU) and in this there was a provision of a private room from where the interviews could be conducted. The official introduction of the researcher to the respondents done by the desk head in every beginning of the anew interview was also very crucial in the whole process. Another crucial fact that added on trust between I and the respondents was the presence of an interpreter (specifically male) this could also assure the respondents with confidentiality as an ethic. All these paved way for the success of this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter brings out the main findings through the narratives as expressed by the male sexually abused Congolese. The finding describes their perceptions, feelings and beliefs after these experiences and explores some of their coping strategies or mechanism as they survive the experience. To enable the men's accounts to emerge more clearly, the analytical use of the concepts of masculinity, gender roles or identities, sexuality and trauma with coping strategies, will be made. The sections in this chapter have been organised basing on individual stories basically the 18 men who were sexually abused, the way they discuss their situation is presented through using direct quotations in quite extensive reporting speeches but the names indicated are not their real names for confidentiality purposes. However specific quotes especially from their care givers (in this case their wives) for those still in relationships were included for more elaboration.

4.2 Experiences and effects on their manhood

Pius 31 years old, a father of one daughter thinks that his life will never be the same again after what happened to him and generally to his whole family. He arrived in Uganda in October 2011 exactly ten months after the incident had occurred to him and his family, and again was nine more months on the time of the interview but still stresses that the memories were still fresh and painful. Though he believes that he made the best decision as a man to make his family flee this area since it was no longer safe for them, but still as a head of his family, he feels that he failed to protect his family that moment. This is what he still regrets to have not managed that time and still feels he presently cannot manage in many circumstances, though as he tries to explain:

Today I am jobless due the physical injuries I sustained and currently I depend on what my wife brings in the house yet I used to work as a lecturer in one of the prominent Universities in South Kivu and could provide for my family. My whole life changed after

one attack on my family and I believe it will never be the same again. It was on 4th/01/2011 and it was exactly two days after the villagers had killed two government soldiers in protest. We had finished having supper when we had a sharp knock on our door. Before even opening it, the gun shot did and in no time, these men began undressing my wife forcefully. As her husband I had to fight them back in defence and in the process I was bitterly beaten, tied on our bed and was sodomized too. These soldiers were dressed in FARDC uniform and had guns and pangas (machete) on them so I was totally defeated. I can't recall how many did it to me because inside me I was already dead having witnessed helplessly when my wife was being abused (Pius explains).

According to him, not having a proper job to feed his wife and child makes him become less of that capable man he was in the past while still in Congo. Although he admits that his wife Sarah sells jewellery through hawking it and the family survives on that in urban, he still feels that he can't fulfil his 'manly role' as 'a provider'. Basing on his argument, it implied that his inability to fend for his family makes him feel not 'man enough' in his home.

According to him since his childhood he grew up knowing that men are not supposed to have sexual intercourse with fellow men and stresses that these soldiers were not enjoying the act of sodomy (as all men could term it in their narratives but in actual sense it is rape) but only wanted to revenge. Pius further explains that though both he and his wife are aware of what happened to each other, he still feels ashamed and blames himself for the whole incident.

I always imagine the fact that my wife knows that I was also sexually abused. Worst still is the fact that I can't perform very well sexually as I used to do since. I have only one daughter and in my culture male children are very important, am worried.

In the context of this study being sexually abused or being a victim put these men in position of being helpless and dependent on others most especially on their wives something they don't agree with. Sebastian 40 years old a father of four children laments of how he feels because he also depends on his wife.

I was a family man working as a journalist and I could provide for my family very well but today I can't do that anymore because I sustained many body injuries which

can't allow me to move all time. I and my 3 children we depend on a small business of selling Sombe which my wife prepares from our home. It all started way back in 2008 when I was caught and taken to prison from the radio station where I was working from by the army men. It was while I was in prison that I got sodomized by four different soldiers on different occasions as a way of punishment because of my job. I used to talk openly and could condemn all the bad acts related to sexual violence which could usually be reported by people to have happened in their villages. Luckily enough I managed to escape from prison later on with the help of one prisoner officer and reached Uganda alone. After sometime I then communicated to my wife that I was here, who then informed me that she was also sexually abused two days after my disappearance from home by two soldiers. Later after six months she and the children managed to come to Uganda, but good enough my wife had not been affected by the men's actions so severely and she responded very well to the medication (Sebastian explains).

Although he admits that some men in Congo naturally are lazy than women and most times women occupies business markets than men to him failing to work now makes him lose his past credibility.

I know of many men in Congo who used to depend on their women but I used to work and my wife used to be a civil servant too but still I could encourage her to use her money on her own things and I could support my family by all means but today I depend totally on her and its painful.

Though men could express their agony in many ways one could easily note where one's pain focuses mostly through how one could start his narration. Respondents could basically phrase the conversation at the point of hurt though in the same direction. Pappy 22 years old and his sister Bobo 20 years old were abducted at the age of 11 and 9 respectively. He asserts that it all happened after the attack on their family and assassination of both his parents due to tribal conflicts.

Our father was a Lendu by tribe and a doctor by profession and our family was prosperous. However our mother was a Hema and during the conflict between the Lendu and the Hema our father could treat victims from both tribes. It was on this ground that they made arrogations on him that he was siding with the Hemas something they took as a betrayal and then they attacked our home and both our parents were killed. We were then captured by the rebels and we were taken to Ituri forests from where we stayed with them for 8 years. While in the bush, with other captives the rebels used to send me to buy fish and other food stuffs from the nearby market and they could hold back on my sister. Her and other girls in same age range used to fetch water collect fire wood and even cook for these men. However one day when I was from the market I heard my sister's voice crying loudly yet other captives were surrounding that scene. Upon reaching the scene, I saw one man on top of her and two others were holding her legs. That time I was 19 years old and my sister was 17 years, as a man I felt that it was my role to protect my only sister. I began pulling this man off her but another man cut my hand with a knife so in pain I fell down, then a number of them fell on me and began undressing me, I heard them pulling my balls while laughing. I cried in pain but one of them turned my head on the ground forcefully and I heard him pushing his fingers in my anus. Though in pain I could still hear the voices supporting the action, saying that I deserved to feel the way my sister was feeling since I wanted to help in her role. My last memory was when I heard one of them saying that he was to teach me the lesson of my life and immediately I felt a sharp pain inside my anus. The following day we just saw each other, and though my sister looked to be in much pain we didn't discuss our feelings to each other at that time. Later after a week we managed to escape when the government soldiers invaded this area (Pappy explains).

On a number occasions, respondents pointed out the fact that they were defeated, overpowered or manipulated into the sexual violence something they could relate to the betrayal of their inner feeling and could express it as shame or guilty. Another respondent Gilbert 43 year old, in a guilty manner indicated to have been defeated because it was a woman who coerced him sexually.

I used to live in Goma together with my family, but in 2006 I helped my brother in-law to escape to Uganda using my truck I used to drive because he was on wanted list for

unknown reasons by government officials. Then two years after in 2008 some of the government officials came looking for me too and took me to prison in Suki camp. Later after spending there one month, one female army officer called my name and took me out of the prison. She then asked for 1000 dollars so that she could help me escape, but I never had it, then asked her to allow me go with her to my home and collect the money, but instead she took me to her house forcefully. For five days while there, she locked me inside day and night and could force me to stay naked all that time, and then order me to have sex with her each time she wanted. During all these times she could first torture me psychologically by pointing the gun at my head and informing me how she could easily surrender me back or kill me if I couldn't do it. During all these times, she could also be naked and funny to mention is the fact that all these times I could enjoy the action despite the fact that I never had her feelings. I really hate the fact that she over powered me and manipulated me to have sex with her all those days. After five days of captivity she escorted me safely back to my village and warned I not to say anything but advised me live the country which I did after two days (Gilbert explains).

Respondents also relate the sexual violence incidents to their current sex nature or performance. However many could not bring out clearly how they could think that there was a relationship between the two. A number of men interviewed indicated their worries of either totally have failed to sustain an erection during sexual intercourse or decided to give up on it completely. Patrick 39-year old brought out one of the most painful circumstances in his life the fact that he feels that he is failing to perform sexually well in his marital relationship as he used to do in the past. When I asked him why he thought that way, in his words he replied that...

My wife changed in the way she used to behave even some times she tells me that we are two women in the house. On a number of occasion she turns away whenever I attempt to do it again mostly after the first failure. We were married back in Congo and we used to live in Bunia. Together we had five children and all was well as I used to work as a heavy truck driver though later I joined one political party called UPC and I was in charge of recruiting its members. The rape incident happened when my wife and children had gone to visit her relatives. The soldiers of FAC came to my

house at night, beaten me and later sodomized me. At first during the first months of treatment she could understand me and even sympathize with me but later on she began saying words implying that she was not happy and was no longer respecting me as before. Usually we spend many months without having sex, because most times I feel weak due to the physical pains hence fail to perform well sexually in fact for a year now I gave up on even trying sex again (Patrick explained).

None the less Peter 25 years old also expressed his pains almost in the same way. To him failure to erect on three attempts made him to totally give up on relationships thus worried of his future.

I have had three girlfriends but all of them leave me because my pennies always fail to erect after taking them to bed. It is now five years since I was forced to rape a hole after refusing to sleep on my sisters. Our father was a chief and in our land we had a lot of calton, a mineral my father used to sell. One day in 2007 the soldiers attacked our house and killed our parents in need of the money because some people had bought a piece of that land a week before. That time I and my two sisters were hidden under our beds by our parents. After the death our parents we ran for our lives, we didn't know where to go though and on our way we landed in an ambush. Then these soldiers wanted to rape my sisters and when I tried to resist their actions they ordered me to have sex with them. I had never slept on any woman before and besides it is a taboo to sleep on ones sisters in my culture so I resisted. One of them then used his stick and dug a small hole in the soil he then asked me to have sex with it while beating me heavily. Then they took my sisters with them and since that time I don't know where they are now.

Throughout his narration he could emphasize the fact that he has never had a chance to sustain an erection like other men do. He pointed out his fears of failing to father a child in future and had also noted a number of comments from her girlfriends which could confirm his fears.

One night while I was in bed with my second girlfriend after failing to erect yet she was already naked, she told me the same thing my first girlfriend had once said, that am impotent. What hurts me more is that they couldn't understand my situation and I couldn't share with them either because it is shameful to me. As of now I am in confusion of knowing really who I am, because I want women but I can't satisfy my desires.

4.3 Coping strategies:

A number of men in this study revealed the fact that they kept the incidents that happened to them secret, despite all the evidence they had available to them. When they needed help, they might share a little information, but only when there was no alternative, because the option of talking was so demanding and painful that they avoided it wherever possible.

Speaking to Sarah, 28 year old wife to Pius (one of the respondent that I had earlier discussed with) to get to know how she feels about the whole incident and how she got to know that her husband was also sexually abused (since Pius had mentioned in his narration that her wife knew about his sexual violence experience). Sarah explains:

I thank God that it happened in his presence though it was again so painful to me knowing that he was also sexually abused too. I got to know all this while we were both admitted in Panzi hospital, this is when the nurse informed me that my husband was also sodomized. When we got discharged, I feared to ask him about what exactly happened and he never also told me the whole story that time. It was when we came to Uganda after some months that he finally told me how he felt and even accepted to show me his anus since he was in pain. All this came after I had complained as woman because we had taken many months without having sexual intercourse, before this I didn't know that it was that hurting since he had never showed it to me. Ever since I have tried to show him support and love but still sometimes he complains and usually in the middle of intercourse he stops claiming that he feels he cannot satisfy me. Constantly he makes me tensed by saying that I will leave him and love other men.

In Sebastian's case he had decided to bury the incident both psychologically and physically though he still admits that it was not easy. For all the years the incident had happened he had never told his wife and still wanted to keep it secret. Upon asked for a permission to discuss his circumstance with his wife he side stepped the request and quickly replied..

she doesn't know of what happened to me during that time I was in prison only I told her that I was severely beaten during while there and that is how my anus got injured but I never told her that these men sodomized me so I can't allow you talking to her. At times I feel that she deserves to know the truth but then I think of her response and what she might think of me then I feel that silence is the best option.

Other respondents could point out issues which forced them to reveal their sexual experiences. Pappy 22years states that it was after two months after their arrival (with his sister) when they began sharing their experience and this was because they both had sustained body injuries which needed medical attention. Though he believes that her sister shared everything i.e. how it all started and how she was currently feeling, and her future worries, to him he confirms that he has never shared every bit of his feeling, fears or current experience or future to her. He further admits that in some circumstances he had shared a bit of what he call 'secret' to other parties such as the doctors and counsellors in times of need but also regrets because he feels that it has not helped at all.

Yes she is the only person whom I have ever shared with my experience because she was present that time but not extensively as I have done to you today. The fact is that I can't share with her my failure to sustain an erection for example the two times I have tried to have sex with girls because it is shameful, once I told my doctor because I was in pain.

Another male respondent, Gilbert 43 year old also admits that for years now he has kept the sexual incident as a secret from his wife though he acquired HIV and presently lives a positive life. Correspondingly he adds on that he reached Uganda in early 2009 and began living in Kampala alone, although he could communicate well to his family still kept it a secret to his wife. He further explains that, he hoped that his wife will never get to know after all he never sustained any physical injury i.e. having scars on his body because he was not physically tortured by the female perpetrator officer. However he stresses that though he is

aware of having a virus and currently lives with his wife still he is determined not to disclose his status to her.

What I did not know at first is the fact that I sustained a life injury which is damaging my body day and night, I got to know that I was infected with HIV early 2010 when I began falling sick regularly. A year after my family had joined me and immediately my wife inquired why I had lost a lot of weight. Up to today I have never told her the truth that I am positive even though my counsellor guides me to do so. We are no longer that family we used to be because we no longer have sex though sometimes she may demand. I prefer to spare her for the sake of our children though at times it is difficult. It is a painful moment to me but I prefer never to tell her the truth because I know she will never believe or forgive me (Gilbert narrates in tears).

He defends his silence on the fact no one can understand the fact that it was a woman who infected him and also the fact that it was forcefully. On the same note another respondent confessed never to have disclosed the effects of the aftermath effects for eight years now either doctors or counsellors.

This incident happened to me in 2004 Mathias 52 years old now explains. I used to work as an administrator in hostels of my brother and used to live in Goma with my family when the war broke out with Jean Mutebuzi and Kabira senior. I was taken to Mbwanabe prison with no good reasons and was tortured seriously and sodomized by the prison guards on several occasions. Though I was later released and went back to my family I could not sexually function well this is when I told my late wife the truth. She is the only person I had shared with the whole truth and after her death and my two children in 2006 I flee to Uganda in pain. Though I have been taking different medication since the sexual incident, I have never told my doctors the whole truth but always insist that I was tortured. Until today I gave up on life I don't even have feeling for any women, I don't even want someone to touch me because it reminds me of that incident (these men could pour oil on me and touch my buttocks all the times they could it). I have never said it to anybody else apart from my late wife and now you. When I had just arrived I thought that It could may be necessary to say it to police because of how I was feeling that time, but again felt that they were men who could misunderstand me so I kept it secretly and only attended Kampala city council clinic that time.

To James 42 years old he believes that it is a blessing in disguise since he no longer feel that guilt though he lost his father after that incident.

I and my father were arrested in July 2006 in Walungu by the LDF on arrogation that he was sympathizing with their enemies. They took us in Kahuzibiega forest from there they could parade us naked on several occasions. It was so shameful that I could see my father naked, at times he could not look at me at all though we could be put in the same place outside. Then one official asked me to have sex with my father since they thought he had refused to tell the truth. I couldn't do this because in our culture it is not acceptable to sleep with a man and in this case my father. Then they forcefully molested us and sodomised us while seeing each other. Later they separated us and after a week I got to know that my father had died. Luckily I escaped from them with other captives. For five years I have stayed here I have never opened up to other fellow Congolese apart from my counsellor here (he then mentioned the counsellors name), I fear to tell my friends because I think that they can misinterpret my situation. My counsellor referred me to the doctor and that time I was mentally unstable so currently I am on drugs.

On the other hand some respondents defended and supplemented the silence technique by giving in what they called the 'negative side' of opening up to others. According to John 32 years of age opening up to his wife just worsened his situation hence his regrets to date.

My darkness came when I began falling sick and having constant coughs. So during our regular visits to our counsellor she guided us to both have HIV tests basing on the fact that we were both victims of sexual violence. But unfortunately I was tested positive and she was negative and since then she left me alone and went with our only daughter. What hurts me most is the fact that I was protecting her from the Mai Mai rebels who had raided our village, when they broke into our home they wanted to rape her. In the process of protesting that was when all of them turned on me, the one who wanted my wife grabbed my trouser and cut it with the knife. I got a big cut on my buttocks and began to bleed, but while in pain I heard him slapping my buttocks and then I felt a hard thing inside me but I couldn't imagine it because my wife was also crying heavily. Two days after we both decided to flee the country and the first two years while here we could both understand each other's situation. Most times, she could comfort me and reminds

me of how she loves me, and we could both visit hospitals and present the physical effects together. I always wish I never accepted to be tested of HIV, because I would have not lost her.

Further still on the same note respondents mentioned the fact they could not get the chance to decide for themselves. On a number of occasions respondents explained that the sexual circumstances could either leave them with no choice than telling the fact or those with powers to support them could reveal their incidents without their full permission or control to resist.

After two days I found myself in the hospital and my wife had already been told by the doctors of what happened to me and indeed I opened up to her and later we decided to flee for our lives. At first during the first months of treating she could understand me and even sympathize with me but later on she began saying words implying that she was not happy and could no longer respect me as she used before. We usually spend many months without having sex, because most times I feel weak due to the physical pains hence fail to perform well sexually in fact for a year now I gave up on even trying (Patrick 39 years explains).

Among the eighteen male respondents interviewed five of them had been acquired through what they called 'group I identification' and had identified themselves in different ways. Though I had separate interviews with each of them.

We decided to make a group composed of only sexually abused men, and we believe that we are the only people who could help these organizations to reach a larger number of others. I believe that out of ten Congolese men sited in that shed (he met the big shelter the office has, where they all sit) at least five of them have witnessed sexual violence either conducted not on them but their women, sister or mother but they can't come out because they fear or don't think that it is bad. We are planning to register our group as volunteers and we are ready to work with these organizations if they give us a chance (Pius the leader of the group explains).

4.4 Psychological and Physical effects

Almost all the male respondents revealed at least three in common as effects they still carry on with them after the sexual violence incident. A number of male respondents expressed emotions either through their nonverbal cues or through their narrations.

I can't control my long calls, I usually feel wet if I sit for long, this keeps me away from associating with others or even look for what to do. Constantly I feel pain during sexual intercourse however much I try to resist as a man .I also experience bad dreams normally seeing these men. I can't explain everything but it is a nasty experience to me (Pius explains)

During her narration, Sarah admitted that the sexual violence incident impacted on their lives in many ways. She further explains that it has been a challenging moment in their marital affair, pointing out the fact that until today she has never conceived something she relates to the husbands physical effects thus sexual dysfunction.

Whenever I try to carry heavy loads my anus bleeds a lot reason being that it was operated on twice. The pain is on and off; whenever I take the pain killers I feel OK but when I stop it hurts a lot. At times I feel that my body smells drugs whenever I sweat that's why some times I abandon the medication though I don't tell my counsellor or the doctors (Sebastian explains).

As Sebastian's explains, almost all the men interviewed brought out the issues relating to their anal dysfunction.

Ever since we arrived In Uganda two and half years ago I have visited Mulago hospital twice, but all these times they could check me and prescribes the medication but still my anus still produces blood. That time I couldn't control my faeces at all so I had no choice than to visit this hospital. On a number of times though I could miss seeing doctors because of the bigger lines there but even the times I interfaced with them, their prescribed medication failed to help my situation. Today I have decided to try the local herbs and so far there is a change, though still I can't do something sensible for myself,

yet the urban livelihood is not easy. I had learnt repairing shoes but still I can't sit for long time to repair them yet it is the only thing I can do to put food on the table. My sister either cannot do anything because she is ever in and out of hospital for medication, as she heavy period flows. I am supposed to be the provider of the family but still my health gives me excuses and what also worries me is the fact that I might fail to father a child in future and my sister too might fail to get married (Pappy explains).

In narration, James 42years in his body movement, I noticed that he was not mentally well. His nonverbal cues such as hand movement, eye contact, shivering and shaking were constant all throughout interview sessions we had. He was hyperactive and could give excuses for possible breaks always. Then he agreed that he regularly visits the office to see the psychiatric doctor and on a number of times he had visited Butabika hospital (a major referral hospital for mentally sick people in Uganda).

Among other physical effects men pointed out is the fact that the sexual incident has distorted their marital affairs and most of them connect their separation or their hesitance to have any opposite relationship due to it. For John 32 years old believes that his wife abandoned him because of the HIV virus he acquired after the rape incident.

She abandoned because of this sickness yet it was because of her that I was raped too

In a discussion with Naomi 35 years old who admitted to have acted rude some times to her husband because of the way her husband reacts due to the pain he experiences during the sexual intercourse.

Look at where we sleep counsellor (in some interviews respondents called so) with our five children. Our eldest son is now 11 years who could easily understand everything if he hears us arguing in the name sexual intercourse. My husband sometimes shouts in the middle of the action and then I also stop him because of the children. This is when the problem begins and we both exchange words in anger but I have tried as a woman to bear with his situation for two years now.

Looking at her facial expression one could note that Naomi was keeping a lot as a wife and it was because of the husbands reactions due to both the physical and psychological pains he sustained. Many respondents still could relate their current inabilities to the past bad experiences which befallen them.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion of key data findings, conclusion drawn from the findings and recommendation made. The conclusions and recommendations drawn were focused on addressing the purpose of the study which was to assess the masculinity and experiences of sexual violence: case study of male Congolese Refugees in Kampala Uganda effectiveness of internal audit practices on Financial performance of soft drink industries at Coca-Cola bottling company, Namanve in Mukono district.

5.1 Discussion

This section brings out the interpretations and analysis of the main findings. It explains the perceptions, values, beliefs and attitudes of gender, masculinity and sexuality among the male refugees who experienced sexual violence in their past in the fast section. In the process of analysing the findings, the social construction theory is focused on as a major analytical tool to explain the dominant norms and beliefs which forwards the dominant notions that shape and may guide a certain community (in this case the male refugee community). The connection is made between the theoretical, methodological and the analytical tools used in this chapter two. The differences and similarities that are embodied in gender and social constructions of masculinity, sexuality, and trauma are examined in both sections.

All this is related to how the Congolese refugee men struggle with disclosure of their sexual violence experiences in relation to their social and cultural beliefs of masculinity. In this section, men's narrations will be posed in brief i.e. one quotation will contains different statements as picked from men's narratives.

5.1.1 Expectations and Perceptions of masculinity

In regard to this study, seventeen out of the eighteen men who were interviewed wished to have heterosexual relationships and perceived their current in relation to their past. Their inabilities in current the situation was referred to by them as not being 'real men' as they

were before the incident of sexual violence occurred. Among the facts brought up in their narratives, was the confirmation of their innocence and to have been responsible citizens prior to what they think was disastrous or a natural calamity to their lives. Failures to provide, protect or perform well sexually among others were frequently mentioned in men's narrations as major concerns despite the fact that their conditions were not conducive in one way or the other. In Ugandan context too, 'masculinity' remains strongly tied to the bread winner identity, the dominant ideal of the provider, primarily embodied through responsible fatherhood' and all men struggles to achieve it, even though they are not in proper position to do that (Wyrod 2008:804).

The study observed that majority of the men interviewed struggled to rebuild and fit back in what Connell called 'Hegemonic masculinity' i.e. 'what is culturally dignified at any specified time' in relation to how they could perform in their past (Coles 2009:32; Connell 1999). The ideas related to 'manhood', work, and self-provision or providing for others were among the crucial elements mentioned by almost all men. For example:

I was a family man, currently depend on my wife, I could provide for my family in the past, I can't sexually perform well now, I failed to sustain an erection, I doubt my future and fatherhood' were crucial in men's narration(Sebastian, Pius, Patrick and Pappy explains).

This reinforces the view that: 'regardless of their intent and stated values, all men will struggle with elements of dissent and conformity to dominant masculinity, and will do so imperfectly and inconsistently as they make sense of who they are as human beings' (Kahn 2009:45). Bakers research supplements and clearly indicates that most African men will aim at acquiring an independent financial status, employment or certain income levels, as having a family and not being dependant are considered to be the qualities of proper 'manhood' and lacking of them puts one's self in bondage (Barker et al. 2005:5-7). Furthermore many of the refugee men interviewed rose how disappointed they were for not having proper jobs:

Today I am jobless yet I used to be a lecturer, I cannot even find an odd job because of the physical injury, I cannot sit and work and I depend on what my wife brings in the house(Pius, Patrick and Pappy explains).

Such statements can also be related to meanings of manhood as studies indicate that specific jobs in African societies adds value on individuals capability so having a stable employment

meant a lot in relation to men's masculinity (Barker et al. 2005). However some men raised contradictions which could indicate that masculinity is truly socially constructed.

I know of many men in Congo who used to depend on their women but I used to work(Sebastian confirms).

Such(what) clearly indicates that masculinity primarily occurs within an individual and his social background and relatively unstable, in due to the fact that some of men could simply not manage to provide either for themselves or others and also knew that it wasn't new for women to provide but could still blame themselves or the past situation (Kahn 2009). Moreover facts which were brought out by all men that they were coarsely assaulted added to the vast facts available that sexual violence can overpower masculinity signifiers.

I was over powered, They had guns and pangas, They had knives, They beat me up, I cried while in pain, I was forced to sleep with a hole (All men expressed that the perpetrator had something that could threaten their lives)while Peter (slept with a hole)and Pappy cried.

Such statement proves that is possible for all men with hegemonic beliefs to be subordinated but continues to represent dominant masculinities and deduce a dominant position in relation to others(Coles 2009).Still this confirms the fact that during war time due to 'unstable rules and laws' some masculinities can be subordinated by those with powers or there can be either negotiation or renegotiated thus their roles are not fixed to any content as the societal norms puts it always(Hutchings 2008:390). Additionally, it disapproves what is socially believed that 'manhood and maleness are defined through power' in relation to proof of masculinity tendencies through physical expression of aggression, something that is related to sexual violence in regard to both women and men (Zarkov 1997:144).The author's point is that it is not true that power lies in specific groups as society constructs it thus during war women in power can seize to be subordinated but also be among those in dominant positions (Zarkov 2006). This also proves the fact that gender relations though may be historical but gender hierarchies are always subject to alteration (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005)

In a nutshell many of the refugee men confirmed that for them successful masculine identity was understood in terms of bodily sexual performance or satisfaction from (for?) the opposite sex.

As of now I am in confusion of knowing really who I am, because I want women but I can't satisfy my desires. We usually spend more months without having sex. I have had three girlfriends but all of them have left me because I always fail to erect.(Peter and Pappy explains)

Such statements prove that sexual behaviours usually describe one's ability as either being feminine or masculine from one's historical or cultural background (Dixon-Mueller 1993:275). Additionally the expressions of sexual behaviours in terms of either 'eroticism' or sexual 'pleasure' proved the fact which the authors brought up that both vary culturally or historically (Pflugfelder 2000:6; Dixon-Mueller 1993:273). Furthermore this proves what Zarkov (1997:144) posits that in all societies, sexuality resembling gender is assumed in relation to heterosexuality by all men and women thus masculinity is constructed inseparably with heterosexuality. Considering the fact that there is already pre-existing so called 'internalized cultural schemas' in Uganda that influence ideas of 'proper male and female' and these 'inter subjective aspects of gender relations' that are said to operate locally and nationally (Wyrod 2008:803). Therefore the author's claim might mean that male refugees in this case follow the patterns of the fellow men in the host country, thus acts guilty with issues of victimization in defence of their identities.

5.1.2 Hegemonic Masculinity and Disclosure:

This section focuses basically on the traumatic experiences as mentioned by the male survivors of sexual violence in their narrations in the previous chapter. This section clearly proves the fact that the traumatic experiences male survivors go through challenges their own and society's notions of Hegemonic masculinity.

In regard to this study, all men interviewed confirmed to be either experiencing physical or psychological effects currently or to have expressed physical pain, emotional anger or anxiety at the time of victimization. Majority, in their narrations, expression such as feelings of 'guilt, anger, fear, powerlessness, humiliation, and destruction of gender identity or confusion of sexual orientation as hindrance to their disclosure' confirmed that men are not special but usually are constrained by their societal beliefs (Solangon and Patel 2012:422)

Additionally some of the respondents stressed the fact that at times, the physical pains could lead them to seek medical attention thus could reveal what majority referred to as 'secret' by

all of them. Thus the proof that 'gender is predisposed by historical, social and cultural influences rather than anatomical factors and it is not a part of a person's significant natural true self' and many signifiers identified for men such as independent, stoicism, strong are not fixed as always perceived by the societies (Moynihan 1998:1073). It is also stated that the privileges specified for men by their societies regardless of their abilities have always made them to carry the 'the burdens of hegemonic masculinity' with them (Wyrod 2008).

Moreover, all men who were interviewed still demonstrated either physically or psychologically scars. Through expressions the study found it to be the pain any normal person would have expressed regardless of the sex. Narrating while in tears, breaking the interview sessions, their nonverbal cues and the body language could all confirm that masculinity signifiers as of femininity can easily float according to what situation (Moynihan 1998). Furthermore many men indicated the fact that the situation still over powers them considering the fact that they could be forced to report the physical pain to their loved ones, doctors, or counsellors due to need.

This confirms the fact that men's masculinities at times may be marginalized by a number of factors and they are contestable (Connell 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Clearly in their narrations the traumatic experiences either occurred to them or their loved ones reveals the fact that masculinity is not a pinned unit in someone's body or a personality trait specific individual's (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Additionally men expressed fear and stigma through telling facts such as not to disclose the sexual incident even to the extent of putting others at risk.

She does not know of what happened to me during that time I was in prison. Until today I have never told her the truth that I am HIV positive (Sebastian explains).

The above statement stresses the fact that trauma experiences and disclosure may basically depend on someone's ego, self-capacity, psychological needs, cognitive behaviours or total explanations of one's self world 'interaction between the person and the situation' (McCann 1990:3).

Additionally, all men proved to either still or had been psychologically tortured due to the fact that they were forced to either watch, sleep or forced to sexually abuse their loved ones. This proved that the cultural beliefs and socially constructed norms that men should protect and provide for their loved ones and only aggressors were disapproved (Carpenter

2006). More over being masculine in Congolese context could be revealed more in protecting others and being emotionally independent of all these men were not in position (Mechanic 2009). With such proofs one can say that it is correct that sexual violence during peace time is the 'least reported' incident by even those whom the society regards as potential though it deserves much greater attention (Zarkvov, 1997:143).

5.2 Conclusion

This study aimed to find out how masculine identity of male Congolese refugees living in Kampala Uganda is experienced. It considered how such men experienced sexual violence prior to their flight, and then how their masculine identity had shifted during their struggles to overcome the traumatic experiences of sexual violence experiences. Social construction theory was used in order to analyze how notions of hegemonic masculinities influence men's perceptions, behaviors and identities. The major concepts used in this study included sexual violence, masculinity, gender, sexuality, power and dominance, emasculation and trauma.

The findings confirmed that sexual Violence incidences do happen to men especially from conflict situations in this case Congolese from DRC. The finding also showed that, while some refugee men living in Kampala Uganda are victims of sexual violence little is known about their sexual experiences. However, the findings indicated that there are many factors that have led to the incident of sexual violence to be hidden. Among others they included inadequate facilities for those working with these groups, and the fact that male sexual victimization was officially acknowledged by the UNHCR just after when the research was conducted (under guidelines on protection of male rape 2012). In addition, the service provision is also constrained by the notions of masculinities, which are maintained and reproduced in within their services. This has caused them to overlook the dominant notions of masculinity while handling refugees' related issues. Thus failure to recognize the sexual incidence among men as it is for the case of women. This is the main reason while little support has been given to the male survivors of sexual violence alongside the scarcity and absence of the necessary facilities to support sexual violence survivors.

Furthermore, findings clearly indicated the dominant notions of masculinities and their practices that influences men's attitudes and behavior hence were heightened to be the major barrier of their disclosure. Additionally, men's cultural beliefs and practices were discovered

to be the cause of their silence, isolation and denial of their sexual experiences. Thus those around them have been left with no choice than not to give support hence their failure to overcome the deep damages these experiences have caused.

The findings also clearly illustrated that the traumatic experiences men go through are not so different from those of women thus challenging the notions of social notions of hegemonic masculinity. Finally, although the notions of masculinity place men in the upper position, it should be noted that the traumatic experiences of sexual violence do affect men and women in the same way hence the disapproval of hegemonic notions embedded in societies and cultures.

5.3 Recommendations

During the interview process, respondents reported that they have been ignored by those who are supposed to provide services to them. There is a need for those who cater for refugees to learn how to interact with men i.e. avoid the hurdles that might hinder men's reporting. Many respondents brought out the fear that their concerns could not be proved if reported or considered. This raises a concern that issues of sexual violence need not to be gender specified and the concerns and icons present by men need to be addressed accordingly.

Additionally those in line with these services should also consider the fact that sexual violence is not discriminative. Still they have to consider it important not to stigmatize, marginalize or abandon those who have signs or forwards victimization. Considering also the fact that respondents forwarded much the fear of the reaction of their societies or communities. Then understandings, men's cultural back ground and their norms are very crucial in designing of effective mechanisms for all the survivors. Thus the issue of sexual violence against men is very important in order to hinder the negative coping mechanisms of these men.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Research instruments

Interview Guide for Sexually-abused Men (all from DRC)

1. How old are you now?
2. What level of education had you reached before you left your country?
3. What was your marital status then and what is your marital status currently?
4. Where you employed that time and are you employed today? If no why?
5. Are you a victim of sexual violence? And if so how were you related to this perpetrator?
6. How old were you at the time of the incidence?
7. Was this person a male or a female? And could you estimate the age range of that person who victimized you?
8. How many times did this happened to you and for how long did this incidence occur? (i.e days ,weeks, months or years)
9. Were you coerced into the action or you voluntarily accepted? If there was coercion was there any weapon, bribes, enticement, seduction, or threats?
10. What kind of sexual violence that was impacted on you and on which part of the body?
11. How do you describe that incidence to you as a man and how do you feel currently compared to how you felt that time?
12. Have you ever told others i.e. your relatives, friends or the society about that incidence? If yes why and if not why not?
13. After that incidence how do you describe yourself? Please express yourself.

Interview Guide for Psychosocial Counsellors

1. Most of the interviews I have conducted with men who were victims of sexual violence confessed that they fear to tell counselors; why do you think it is so?
2. Given the fact that men may feel ashamed to report such incidences; is there any way one can psychologically treat self and do you usually pass this information on?
3. Does sexual abuse psychologically affects men differently than how it does to women?
4. There are many after math effects reported to occur after any sexual abuse incidence such as flashbacks, depression, or compulsive behaviour. Do men also experience these effects?
5. Most times when the society thinks about abuses, men are taken to be perpetrators. Is that the case with the sexually abused men?
6. Do men who have experienced sexual abuse allow you to involve or inform their family members about their experience?
7. If yes above, then how does an adult man, who has a family and has struggled all his life to maintain dignity and respect among his family and society finally come out and tell it all, without devastating the very foundation build, self identity and his place in this society?
8. Do you think it is helpful for them to tell it out to others or it can be the beginning of their isolation by others hence self-abuse? Can these men go from being abused to abusing themselves, if yes why?
9. If the incidence not reported and not being identified easily by the counsellors, I wonder if the anger and rage that might build up from having to cope with the incidence, might lead the person to become physically or emotionally abusive?
10. Is there any solution given, beyond counselling if not how do you restore this man's masculinity?

Interview Guide for the Doctors Treating the Sexually Abused Men

1. Do doctors need the same skills to treat sexually tortured men as for women? Do you specialize in treating sexual torture of men as well as women?
2. How would you define sexual torture and sexual violence?
3. How often have physical and mental health problems reported to you by refugee men resulted from sexual torture, in your experience?
4. Do you think that men perceive sexual violence and torture differently from women? If yes why?
5. Do men ever report that sexual violence experiences have damaged their intimate and social relationships? If so, can you give one or two examples?
6. In your opinion, how does sexual violence and torture affect men differently from women?
7. Can you observe effects of sexual violence as a doctor, even if a man (or women) does not report it? Have you ever identified cases of sexual violence that were not reported?
8. Do you think that sexual violence can change the sexuality of men?
9. How do you refer medically to those men who report sexual torture and sexual violence experiences to you?