

A Critical Feminist Analysis of Sexual Violence of Migrant and Refugee Men: Perceptions and Experiences within International Relations

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Submitted to

Central European University

Department of International Relations

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
International Relations

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Budapest, Hungary

2019

Abstract

This research topic focuses on the sexual abuse and exploitation of male migrants and refugees, within the international relations discourse. Using feminist critical discourse analysis, the research analyzes how sexual violence, the vulnerabilities of male migrants, statehood, power, and the concept of violence, becomes gendered. The research delves into the analysis of sexual violence against men in war context, examining the experience of combatant vulnerabilities within the securitization framework. The research engages with theorizations of Marysia Zalewski, Cynthia Enloe, and other authors who have produced work regarding the masculine identities, and questioned gender norms within sexual exploitation and international relations. This research includes an analysis of Syrian and Libyan male migrant and refugee experiences of sexual violence and exploitation, on the journey to Europe, and upon arrival to the host state. The research proposes critical and immediate attention to the gendering of male migrant victims, and encourages the re-conceptualization of the male identity, when addressing male migrant survivors of sexual violence. The research points to the emergence of this topic, and its importance for the current migration development, and its effect on international relations discourse.

Dedication to Male refugee survivors of sexual violence. May your voices be heard, and your hearts healed.

*A Special Dedication to Aynabat, Aksoltan, Tchary, Gozel, and Nagmat.
Thank you for your love, support, and belief in me.*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis utilizes a feminist critical discourse analysis to understand the discourse of sexual abuse and exploitation of male refugees and migrants, throughout their migration journey and upon arrival to the host country. This issue is a viable one to analyze and conceptualize within the feminist theoretical framework. Literature on sexual violence and exploitation on male migrants and refugees is limited in research, as evidence of these abuses, their documentations, and the reaction of the international development sectors are limited. The analysis focuses on the existing discourse, and ties themes researched from evidence of sexual violence in conflict related situations, against combatants from war. The prevailing themes are the gendering of violence, the nation state, and its existence within the conceptualization of statehood power, and the gendering of the male refugee.

The research questions that this dissertation addresses are as follows: How can feminist theory help us understand sexual violence against men? How are existing perceptions about sexual violence and gender challenged by sexual abuse against the male subject? What does sexual violence against the male subject reveal about the importance and use of power and gender in international relations?

The puzzle consists of feminist critical discourse analysis of the male refugee, the use of violence, and state power execution, connecting with empirical analysis and experiences of sexual abuse cases. The puzzle connects with the conceptualization of the male subject, along with questioning the gendered norms and expectation of the male identity.

The focus of this research is important, meaningful, and should be brought to greater attention to the international community and development agencies, as sexual violence and

exploitation of male refugees and migrants is an emerging topic. Focusing on the sexual exploitation and abuse of male refugees and migrants is important because such abuses are underreported, not attended with as much attention as women's and girl's experiences with sexual abuse and exploitation, thus leaving male victims silent, forgotten, and unattended. Communication about male victims is also limited, thus leaving the international relations sector unaware about male refugee survival of sexual abuse, both at home, on the journey to asylum, and upon arrival to the host country. International development organizations, along with international relations scholars have worked closely with male combatant victims of sexual violence in war contexts, theorizing the reasoning of sexual violence as a mechanism of war. However, such attention and greater work should be directed toward understanding the experiences of male migrants, their physical and mental trauma, and how their existence as refugees becomes a gendered subject. It is critical to pay great attention to the abuses of male migrants on the same scale of female refugees and migrants experiencing sexual abuse. Currently, greater attention is directed solely to the female subject within this paradigm.

With the feminine critical analysis and theorization of the topic, the key points that will be discussed and analyzed are:

- The theoretical framework of sexual abuse against the male subject.
- The theoretical framework of how violence and statehood become gendered.
- Why the male refugee becomes feminized.
- How and why perceptions of male migrant experiences are negative.
- The empirical analysis of cases from Syrian and Libyan migrants arriving in Greece.
- The analysis of how violence becomes gendered and incorporated in state power and

use.

- The analysis of media communication about male refugee and migrant experiences.
- The gendered silencing of male refugee and migrant survival of sexual abuse and exploitation.

This topic of research is unique and important in the message it carries, which is to push the international relations sector to re-frame how sexual violence is conceptualized, and to challenge the pre-existing notions of gender and violence. The research focuses on the gendered nature of the nation state,¹ and how violence becomes an intrinsic part of enforcing statehood and control upon the governed subject. These concepts thus disseminate its influence onto how the host state and the male refugee interact. This research engages with feminist theorizations of sexual violence against men in global politics by Marysia Zalewski² and Cynthia Enloe's feminist theorization of international relations,³ which have significantly contributed to the feminist perspective on conceptualizing sexual violence against men in international relations. This research engages with both authors as their contributions of feminist theorization of the male subject within international relations are important, interesting, providing challenging and alternative views on how power and statehood are gendered concepts.

Masculinity equates directly with the language of international relations, its use of masculine perspectives, highly Eurocentric dynamic, and degradation of the female perspective creating a platform, in which discussions about warfare, vulnerabilities, and use of violence within international relations discourse diminishes the role of the female, leaving her without a

¹ Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Introduction". ed. *Gendering the nation-state: Canadian and comparative perspectives*. UBC Press, (2009): 1-18.

² Marysia Zalewski, Paula Drumond, Elisabeth Prugl, and Maria Stern, eds. *Sexual Violence against Men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018 1-278.

³ Cynthia Enloe. *Bananas, beaches and bases: Making feminist sense of international politics*. Univ of California Press, (2014) 1-263.

platform to discuss grievances.⁴ The historical conditions by which international relations have evolved with a gendered perspective, make it highly masculine biased, anarchic, and essentially Western.⁵ However, the discourses and perspectives in international relations change, and perhaps are not addressed when discussing about the vulnerabilities of migrants, specifically the male migrant, who is subjected to sexual exploitation and violence. Sexual exploitation is not a newly founded phenomenon, as its violent past and strategic use equates with rendering the victim highly vulnerable and susceptible to future abuses, psychological trauma, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD),⁶ physical trauma.⁷ The sexual violence of male refugees and migrants are left without a deeper and more fundamental discussion. The traumatic experiences of male refugees are left unattended, giving this a masculinized gender perspective, as their experiences should be considered on a similar threshold as women, since men suffer both physical and mental trauma.⁸ The deepening of male vulnerability becomes evident with sexual abuse and exploitation, as migration becomes an outlet of empowerment, specifically for women because certain job markets demand female participation,⁹ thus placing the male role into question within this paradigm. The disempowerment of male migrants and refugees is further perpetuated by sexual violence and exploitation, causing harm to their identities and agency.

⁴ Giorgio Shani. "Toward a post-Western IR: The Umma, Khalsa Panth, and Critical International Relations Theory." *International Studies Review* 10, no. 4 (2008): 722-734.

⁵ John M Hobson. *The Eurocentric conception of world politics: Western international theory, 1760-2010*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2012): 1-406.

⁶ Maria Eriksson Baaz, Harriet Gray, and Maria Stern. "What Can We/Do We Want to Know? Reflections from Researching SGBV in Military Settings." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 25.4 (2018): 521-544.

⁷ Myriam S Denov. "Wartime sexual violence: Assessing a human security response to war-affected girls in Sierra Leone." *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 3 (2006): 319-342.

⁸ Jayne Walker, John Archer, and Michelle Davies. "Effects of rape on men: A descriptive analysis." *Archives of sexual behavior* 34, no. 1 (2005): 69-80.

⁹ Russell King. "Theories and typologies of migration: an overview and a primer." *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations*. 12. (2012), 1-43.

1.1 New Phenomenon Addressed: Defining Sexual Violence Against Men

Sexual exploitation of male migrants, men and young boys, are not directly or effectively addressed, both by host states and international organizations which work to prevent abuses of male migrants. Migration renders the subject powerless, vice-less, without educational and labor opportunities, creating a subject whose dependence is solely placed upon the host state, which either chooses or does not choose to accept migrants and refugees.¹⁰ Within this paradigm, the male subject, who is left powerless and perhaps absent of his masculinity, is subjected to sexual violence and abuse, thus perpetuating a doubling of vulnerability, to which the male may not be accustomed to. Within the international relations discourse, the addressing of the male vulnerabilities of the migrant is perhaps, if not absolutely, absent of any opportunities to speak about the sexual abuses and exploitation, to which the subject is vulnerable to.¹¹ Interestingly, when discoursing about the sexual abuse and exploitation of male migrants, an immediate association with the female subject, being vulnerable to such abuses, constitutes the representation of the female attributes of vulnerability. As with most aspects of international relations, migration becomes a gendered subject, which is addressed through specific discourse, and high masculinist and perhaps even violent perspectives.¹² The female migrant and refugee is automatically viewed as a victim, due to her gender. It is expected that women and girls would be more vulnerable to sexual abuse, exploitation, may be forced into prostitution or sold in the human slave market. This perspective perpetuates the standards of gendered biases and gendered views of the female subject within the discourse of international relations and migration. The

¹⁰ Peter Kabachnik , Magdalena Grabowska , Joanna Regulska , Beth Mitchneck & Olga V. Mayorova (2013) "Traumatic masculinities: the gendered geographies of Georgian IDPs from Abkhazia", *Gender, Place & Culture*, 20:6, 773-793.

¹¹ Heather R Hlavka. "Speaking of stigma and the silence of shame: Young men and sexual victimization." *Men and Masculinities* 20, no. 4 (2017): 482-505.

¹² Christian Mervyn, Octave Safari, Paul Ramazani, Gilbert Burnham, and Nancy Glass. "Sexual and Gender Based Violence against Men in the Democratic Republic of Congo: effects on survivors, their families and the community." *Medicine, conflict and survival* 27, no. 4 (2011): 227-246.

concept of isolation¹³ and exile, its perpetuation of changing identities of refugee men,¹⁴ dependency on the host state and a high degree of uncertainty regarding the future and survival of male refugees, allows the host state to execute power. Either in the form of complacency upon the challenges faced by refugee men, or to enforce violence, the state executes power in this instance. These concepts demonstrate how the use of power and sovereign control genders the state, making it hypermasculine in conceptual form, and dominant, thus feminizing the refugees, both men and boys.

Definitions of what sexual abuse constitutes differ in many countries, while Mitchell discusses that as the legal framework for the definitions has been established by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), thus framing that exploitation is caused by means of violence, intimidation, coercion, forced labor, abduction, and a form of slavery.¹⁵ This demonstrates that men and boys can fall under the category of sexually abused, thus becoming a part of vulnerable identities. While the emphasis on understanding the detrimental effects of male sexual exploitation is ignored, the negative effects upon the health and psyche involve the transmission of sexual diseases, the onslaught of depression, and homelessness, which further the vulnerability effect of the use of such violence.¹⁶

1.2 Theoretical Discourse: Discussions and Perceptions

Gender roles and the normative discourse that revolves around the use of gender within the perceptions of international relations, becomes highly questionable, as the male and boy

¹³ Kate Reed. "Gendering asylum: the importance of diversity and context." *Feminist review* 73.1 (2003): 114-118.

¹⁴ Rosemary Jaji. "Masculinity on unstable ground: Young refugee men in Nairobi, Kenya." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22.2 (2009): 177-194.

¹⁵ Katharine Mitchell, Melissa Moynihan, Claire Pitcher, Annabel Francis, Abigail English, and Elizabeth Saewyc. "Rethinking Research on Sexual Exploitation of Boys: Methodological challenges and recommendations to optimize future knowledge generation." *Child abuse & neglect* 66 (2017): 142-151.

¹⁶ Ibid. (142).

migrant, who has the potential to become a leading male figure, becomes completely destroyed by the use of sexual exploitation and violence, while occupying the role of the migrant or refugee. Normative discourse relating to sexual exploitation and use of rape and violence against a target population¹⁷ has been used as a mechanism of breaking a society, thus perpetuating harm and vulnerability upon the perceived enemy. Such instances of violence and use of sexual abuse, as in historical cases of the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s,¹⁸ along with the Rwandan genocide, have significantly contributed to the normative discourse that mention the experiences of women. Female survival of sexual exploitation and abuse during warfare, in the trajectory of migration become more attended and studied rather than male experiences. Women's genders, their association with vulnerability and susceptibility to abuse at the perpetration of the male figure, regardless of age, as was demonstrated in the conflicts of Sierra Leone and Rwanda. They have become addressed significantly by the international community, thus perpetuating international aid and policy implementation, to address survivors and reintegrate them into society.^{19, 20} However, such attention and addressing of sexual exploitation lacks significance for male migrants and their experiences, as normative discourse within international relations does not fully acknowledge the existence of such uses of violence, their perpetrations upon men, and lacks in a deeper understanding of why such violence is executed upon men and boys.

When conceptualizing the use of sexual violence, exploitation, coercive action and abduction, the act involves, in normative discourse, of the male perpetrating upon the

¹⁷ Mendy Marsh, Susan Purdin, and Sonia Navani. "Addressing Sexual Violence in Humanitarian Emergencies." *Global Public Health* 1.2 (2006): 133-146.

¹⁸ Laura McLeod. "Configurations of Post-Conflict: Impacts of Representations of Conflict and Post-Conflict upon the (political) Translations of Gender Security within UNSCR 1325." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13.4 (2011): 594-611.

¹⁹ Julie Arostegui. "Gender, conflict, and peace-building: how conflict can Catalyse positive Change for Women." *Gender & Development* 21.3 (2013): 533-549.

²⁰ Catharine Newbury, and Hannah Baldwin. "Aftermath: women in postgenocide Rwanda." *USAID Center for Development Information and Evaluation Working Paper* 303 (2000): 1-15.

woman,^{21, 22} thus framing the use of sex as a means of violence. This makes such violence normative because the existing knowledge in international relations anticipates of such actions to occur, specifically in the war context. It is expected for the female subject to become vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse by the male, who is viewed as a combatant or a buyer, perpetuating the sale of the female, and the indiscriminate use of the female subject, her degradation within the international relations discourse.

The relationship within the discourse of international relations becomes shattered, when the identity of male and female become distorted, through the perpetration of sexual violence and exploitation of the male subject. International relations discourse fails to identify and conceptualize the grievances of the male subject, when related to sexual violence, but it perceives such violence against the man as inconceivable, therefore the discourse is not designed to effectively address such violence. The relationship of the male and the female subject changes when the male is presented as a victim of sexual abuse, therefore it places the man in the position of the female, which is the trend that the international relations discourse cannot necessary evolve to address. In a sense, the male becomes the female due to the set standards of gender roles in international relations discourse,²³ while challenging the perception that the male subject is the common perpetrator, rapist, seller, and buyer of sexual exploitation. It is critical to rethink the concept of migration, and the migratory vulnerabilities executed upon the male subject, while not leaving the male subject from the evolving discourse about perceived vulnerabilities. The use

²¹ Claudia Card. "Rape as a Weapon of War." *Hypatia* 11.4 (1996): 5-18.

²² Catharine A MacKinnon. "Rape, genocide, and women's human rights." *Harv. Women's LJ* 17 (1994): 1-13.

²³ Mervi Miettinen. "Men of Steel? Rorschach, Theweleit, and Watchmen's Deconstructed Masculinity." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47.1 (2014): 104-107.

of sexual violence within the context of war becomes more popular within discourse, due to its pervasive nature as a strategic assertion of male dominance and power execution.^{24, 25, 26.}

Through a theoretical stance, one argues the double standard conceptualization of masculinity, and its use of dominance over the feminine by the male figure. The double standard represents how the expectations of the male identity do not necessarily fit with the onslaught of sexual violence against men, as these standards become questioned through the feminist analysis. Mesok discusses within the paradigm of masculine ideology and its strategic use to incite anger, rage, and create a violent culture full of imagined ideals about the aspects of being a man, the act of sexual violence of a man upon another man distorts the normative image of a male figure in global politics.²⁷ With the patriarchal gendering of international relations,²⁸ and the use of militarization, it is necessary to understand the effects of violent masculinities by which the male figure comes into life. Within the scope of sexual violence of a male upon another male victim, the masculine culture and justification for its existence is perhaps repeated, or reiterated by the perpetrator, not by the male victim. In a sense, the individual who is sexually abusing and exploiting the man is reinstating his masculinity and the violent nature of such masculinity with sexual exploitation, while feminizing the male victim, thus not eliminating the presence of the feminine objectification^{29, 30}. A sense of rupture occurs in the act of sexual violence of a male perpetrator and his male victim, as the victim maintains the feminine aspect of sexual violence

²⁴ Maria Eriksson Baaz, and Maria Stern. "Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence, and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)." *International studies quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 495-518.

²⁵ Paul Kirby. "How is rape a weapon of war?: feminist international relations, modes of critical explanation and the study of wartime sexual violence." *European Journal of International Relations*. (2012). pp. 1-25.

²⁶ Rachel Jewkes, Michael Flood, and James Lang. "From work with men and boys to changes of social norms and reduction of inequities in gender relations: a conceptual shift in prevention of violence against women and girls." *The Lancet* 385.9977 (2015): 1580-1589.

²⁷ Elizabeth Mesok. "Masculinity, Men, and Sexual Violence in the US Military." *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (2018): 57-70.

²⁸ Eric M. Blanchard. "Gender, International Relations, and the Development of Feminist Security Theory." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28.4 (2003): 1289-1312.

²⁹ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 59.

³⁰ Nancy Farwell. "War rape: New conceptualizations and responses." *Affilia* 19.4 (2004): 389-403.

because he receives the abuse, and afterwards, tends to act as a female, feeling shame and silencing himself, thus feeling the essence of being penetrated as a woman.

The male perpetrator of sexual violence acts as the dominant figure and reinforces his hypermasculine dominance and the militarized culture of strategic violence, thus reinforcing normative gender roles, but as a male figure. The use of sexual violence perpetuates the destruction of the male identity and forces an abusive form of power upon the violated male subject,³¹ thus reinforcing of power equating with a form of violence, and highly gendered in this paradigm. The presence of hegemonic masculinity³² in this relationship, being a violent one which is existent among men, perpetuates power exchanged, in order to reassert the existing masculine and feminine roles. The male victim of sexual violence is substituted from a male to a female subject, ultimately occupying the feminine space of sexual abuse paradigm. While a woman is born as a female, and automatically gendered into a female figure by social standards, the male victim of sexual abuse is forced to become a female in this respect and becomes de-masculinized by another male. In a sense, a vilification of the feminine role is thrust upon the male victim, thus presenting a sense of homo-erotic aspect of masculinity, while not necessarily implying that a male conducting sexual violence upon another male, indicates his interest in homosexual relations. The perpetration of sexual violence of men upon other men do not definitively imply their sexual orientation, as in wartime sexual violence, the men were not definitely homosexual, but were heterosexual, committing crimes from state sanctioned orders, along with being in a chaotic environment in which violence was constantly encouraged.

³¹ Gunhild Hoogensen, and Svein Vigeland Rottem. "Gender identity and the subject of security." *Security Dialogue* 35.2 (2004): 155-171.

³² Robert W Connell, and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept." *Gender & society* 19.6 (2005): 829-859.

Interestingly, the male victims become “homo-sexualized”,³³ as his physical body and identity becomes forcibly penetrated by masculine dominance of a heterosexual man, thus feminizing the victims and making them homosexual in abstract terms, not physically changing the sexual orientation. Sivakumaran describes the emasculation of the male subject within the process and aftermath of the sexual violence, demonstrating how power relations and identities between the male and female drastically change,³⁴ forcing the male to become a female, thus demonstrating the symbolic nature of this abuse.

1.3 Politics of Violence: Sexual Violence and Power Struggles

Evidence and studies from the Rwandan Genocide have demonstrate the socialization of male combatants into militarized culture through the encouragement of violence, along with sexual violence as a strategic and widely used form of coercion, induction of fear, and weapon for community destruction, with act itself becoming a defining factor for the essence of masculine identity formation and solidification.³⁵ Through the sexual abuse and exploitation of a man upon another man, the male identity of the perpetrator is solidified and forced upon, thus adhering to the pre-existing militarized, and hypermasculine social construct of the male figure in international politics. One may infer to the existent, violent nature of international politics, and the referral of sheer domination, using violent invasions and penetrations of states into other states in warfare. In the context of field implementation, evidence demonstrates the use of person to person power exchange between the perpetrator and victim of sexual abuse, as the male victim

³³ David Eichert. ““Homosexualization” revisited: an audience-focused theorization of wartime male sexual violence.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2018): 1-25.

³⁴ Ibid. (4).

³⁵ Christopher W. Mullins. “‘We Are Going to Rape You and Taste Tutsi Women’ Rape during the 1994 Rwandan Genocide.” *The British Journal of Criminology* 49.6 (2009): 719-735.

sacrifices his masculine identity to allow the perpetrator to reinforce his masculine nature, as masculinity cannot independently exist of femininity. Interestingly, one may consider the instance of opportunistic sexual abuse, as Mullins mentions, which is exemplary of several cases found in the Rwandan Genocide research.³⁶ With the male victim not addressing the victimization and survival of sexual violence, he inhibits the role of the woman in this context, as women are also less likely to speak about their survival of sexual abuse and exploitation. Opportunistic rapes were recorded in the Rwandan Genocide as products of the chaotic environments in which the combatants, women, and children were exposed to, therefore producing greater violence from the availability of vulnerable persons.³⁷ Since militarized initiations into combatant groups were part of a soldier's identity formation in conflict zones, the use of opportunities to conduct rape upon female subjects formed as a weapon of terror. In the case of the male refugees, one may conceive the use of opportunistic use of sexual abuse and exploitation as a means of deducting payments, strategically utilizing vulnerability as a key to extracting sex, and even use prostitution as a disguise for sexual exploitation. In the case of the Rwandan Genocide reports, Mullins discusses that not all opportunities were taken advantage of,³⁸ apart from those that occurred from the effects of conflict and wartime chaos.

Zalewski conceptualizes that using sexual abuse as a masculine tool, a part of a constructed element of an identity creation reinforces the violent nature of global politics, as male perpetrators of violence use sexual abuse as a means of entitlement over the male, who is shed of his masculine identity, and not able to defend himself.³⁹ A key element that constitutes the cause of sexual violence is the sense of patriarchy and the necessity to dominate, rule over,

³⁶ Ibid. (726).

³⁷ Ibid. (726).

³⁸ Ibid. (726).

³⁹ Marysia Zalewski, et al. "Introduction: sexual violence against men in global politics." *Sexual violence against men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018. 17-35.

perhaps even govern and control through the use of violence. Connecting with biological conceptualization, the use of sexual violence, with the root causation of sex that produces future mankind, its violent form is used to hinder the future reproduction of a group of people by rendering them reproductively defeated,⁴⁰ or by penetrating the social group and forcing upon the reproduction of the seed, forced upon by the perpetrator of sexual violence. Connecting with global politics, the use of war, invasion, pertains to the force of violence, even using verbatim of penetration and invasion to render the victim state as helpless or dominated over.

Regarding the use of militarized culture and rape as a weapon, Mesok discusses that research on the American military and its normalization of masculine identity formation through sexual abuse, creates a problematic situation when the abuse is directed among combatants, fighting essentially on the same side.⁴¹ The overt exaggeration of masculinity and use of sexual violence as a form of control over the victim in warfare becomes accepted in the U.S. military, and encouraged among combatants, as the male figure must assert his identity and conformity in the group.⁴² As a survivor of sexual abuse, recovering one's identity in the aftermath effects is a challenging process, therefore vocalizing grievances is highly unlikely, because being a soldier and seeking help in this perceived shameful situation, contradicts the hypermasculine soldier identity. Pertaining to the situation of the male refugee, who is innately ridden with a statelessness, engulfed with victimization, and who may not necessarily be a combatant but a civilian, recovering from sexual abuse and seeking help may also pose as a problem of shattered identities.

⁴⁰ Bülent Diken, and Carsten Bagge Laustsen. "Becoming abject: Rape as a weapon of war." *Body & Society* 11.1 (2005): 111-128.

⁴¹ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 60.

⁴² Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 60.

As the pervasive conceptualization that men simply do not get raped, the discourse becomes shattered and not addressed when men and adolescent boys reveal their traumatic experiences, in the aftermath of sexual abuse. The use of sexual violence is considered as a tool for intimidation, control, of the male over the female, which constitutes normative discourse through the use of rape as a military strategy.^{43, 44} Used to control women in a social hierarchy, sexual violence and exploitation of men becomes a phenomenal case, because it does not perfectly fit into existing conceptualization of how sexual assault is usually executed. Mesok brings to light that within the class hierarchy, women are oppressed and kept under dominant control by the male abuser.⁴⁵ Interestingly, sexual abuse is revealed as an attempt to test whether a man is able to protect himself from the act that feminizes his identity and existence in the social order, which is inherently constructed by the man to set gender role standards.⁴⁶ Considering this proposal suggests that a man must be tested on his own sense of control and dominance. Committing sexual abuse and exploiting the man and his masculine identity, serves as a way to test how masculine he really is, in the face of feminine opposition, which he then inherits, if his strengths and power is not enough to deter the instances of sexual abuse.

This conceptualization of power is quite brutal, equating with how power is exchanged and tested in international relations. It connects with how global politics allows nation states to exercise power upon each other, along with dissemination of influence, dominance, and control. In a sense, if a man allows himself to become sexually abused and exploited, it relates to a nation state being attacked, invaded, and destroyed by another state. This executes violence in a strategic sense to exert masculine domination and power over other states. Such theorization

⁴³ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 62.

⁴⁴ Pauline Oosterhoff (Senior Health Advisor), Prisca Zwanikken & Evert Ketting, "Sexual Torture of Men in Croatia and Other Conflict Situations: An Open Secret", *Reproductive Health Matters*, 12:23, (2004): 68-77.

⁴⁵ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 62.

⁴⁶ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 62-63.

supports the normative discourse of masculine strength and warlike nature to solely belong to a man,⁴⁷ thus making the shedding of masculinity upon sexual abuse difficult to understand.

Continuing with this narrative is the understanding that committing sexual violence is exclusively a male action,⁴⁸ pertaining to the identity of masculinity and maleness, which must target a female in this matter, as women are seen to be inherently victims of sexual abuse. This conceptualization can perhaps pertain to the use of war, when a nation state is losing a war or a certain battle, it automatically becomes feminized. This may occur not inherently before the outcomes of the war are evident, but in the aftermath, the nation state becomes penetrated and ravaged as a woman would be, by her male counterpart. Committing sexual violence in a chaotic environment is part of what it means to identify as a man, therefore equating this horrid action to the hypermasculine nature of man, while not considering that such notions are entirely created for strategic purposes of enduring violence and using it for defeating a perceived enemy.

1.4 Silence: Effect of Power on Identities

A silencing component exists regarding the consideration and attention for the perpetration of sexual violence, against men and boys in the international community. Steans discusses the contesting to this silencing aspect are non-governmental organizations,⁴⁹ along with male survivors of sexual violence, who are not given an effective platform to communicate their disparities. Apart from physical effects, the presence of humiliation and the thought of being overpowered by a male perpetrator, allows for a sensitized outlook on such violence to decrease

⁴⁷ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 63.

⁴⁸ Mesok, "Masculinity, Men", 63.

⁴⁹ Jill Steans. "SGBV against men and boys as a site of theoretical and political contestation." *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics* (2018): 251-252.

attention to this subject.⁵⁰ The silencing component contributes significantly to the normalization of violence, and its rooting in the development of international relations, and the existing global order⁵¹ of warfare. Perhaps the use of sexual violence becomes a necessity as it is normalized, therefore using it against men becomes an integral part of producing a long-lasting impact, and destruction upon the victims and their social groups. Interestingly, Jill Steans argues that international law and its conceptualization of who qualifies as an innocent civilian or bystander, and who is considered a combatant, normalizes and genders the ideas that exist within international relations.⁵² This creates a barrier between both male and female, along with strengthening the hierarchy of power within international relations. Such standards emphasize the existence of violence as a necessity in gendering the power relationship between the male and female subject, thus framing the question of securitization as a gendered issue as well. The instance of sexual violence against men within the refugee space, questions the normalized discourse of identity and its political essence.

⁵⁰ Wynne Russell. "Sexual violence against men and boys." *Forced Migration Review* 27 (2007): 22-23.

⁵¹ Steans, "SGVB against", 252.

⁵² Ibid. 252.

Chapter 2

Security: Feminist Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence against Men

In this chapter, one discusses the theoretical framework of feminist critical analysis of sexual violence against men, the interplay of power, security, how identities are constructed, and the gendered nature of the nation state. Considered a fluid construct, depending on the changing trends and contexts within which certain subjects are analyzed, the concept of security, through the feminist lenses, challenges the normative constructs of the meanings of feminine and masculine conceptualizations.⁵³ Essentially, both masculine and feminine concepts cannot exist without each other within international relations discourse, gender identities, and violence.⁵⁴ therefore understanding feminist perspectives on how power is used, adding the concept of violence and how volatile it becomes in understanding the relationships between the masculine and feminine, demonstrates that when challenging gender norms and questioning what constitutes femininity, one also challenges the existing perceptions of masculinity⁵⁵, ⁵⁶. Hudson discusses from a feminist perspective, the security of humans as individuals demonstrates the effort to disband the gender differences, therefore hiding the female subject, and catering to the male perspective, while demonstrating the masculine dominance of the security concept.⁵⁷ In order to fully understand the importance of security and its conceptual framework, it is critical to underline the differences in regions, as per the Western and developing states, along with pointing to how state responsibility⁵⁸ and power are intertwined, and eventually played out in

⁵³ Heidi, Hudson, “‘Doing’ Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security.” *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 2 (June 2005): 155–74.

⁵⁴ Kimberly Hutchings. "Making sense of Masculinity and War." *Men and Masculinities* 10.4 Sage Publications (2008): 389–404.

⁵⁵ Hudson, “Doing”, 156.

⁵⁶ Claire Duncanson. “Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations”, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11:1, (2009), 63–80.

⁵⁷ Hudson, “Doing”, 157.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 157.

relation to members of specific nation states. From a feminist perspective on security, Hudson continues it is critical to include the role and identity of the female, and consider gender for analytical purposes, as excluding both would reinforce the masculine dominance and framing of security, and its conceptualization within discourse.⁵⁹

When analyzing the discourse of security and its universal conceptualization, one discusses the advocacy for the standardization of a globalized approach by NGOs, and international relations. One must consider how the framing of such understandings still evokes gender differences, while simultaneously reinforcing the male dominance within this paradigm. In a sense, the normative discourse dictates that masculine, hegemonic control and use of power, is rooted in perverse understandings of security, while emphasizing the victimized role of the woman within the security framework.⁶⁰ Hudson presents dichotomized universalism, and the term dictates how women's security is fantasized as belonging to the peacemaking action,⁶¹ thus emphasizing the lack of violence in the female subject, while considering violence inherent within the male subject. Unfortunately, when analyzing the concept of security, gender inequality⁶² serves as a significant factor to undermining the role of women. This allows men to plead for exclusive rights to militarize security, and position themselves as potential warriors or combatants, thus dominating the conditions of securitization.⁶³ It is critical to include the prevalence of inclusiveness and exclusiveness with the security paradigm, as critical security discourse discusses that human daily experiences constitute how relationships are structured, thus constituting international relations.⁶⁴ Regarding the survival method of the human subject

⁵⁹ Hudson, "Doing", 158.

⁶⁰ Hudson, "Doing", 159.

⁶¹ Ibid. 159.

⁶² Hudson, "Doing", 161.

⁶³ Hudson, "Doing", 160.

⁶⁴ Hudson, "Doing", 163.

within the security paradigm, it is critical to incorporate the role of the state, and its decision to either provide security, or exert different forms of violence against a governed population.⁶⁵

While connecting to the vulnerability of the refugee, state complacency toward the execution of sexual violence against the male refugee population, serves as an execution of power against a population. The refugee thus faces a survival dilemma,⁶⁶ as his masculinity becomes directly challenged by the notion of state securitization, thus forcing him to rely on the will of the state. The masculinized notion of dominance and control plays out, within the formation of relations between the human subject and the state.

Further engagement with Hudson's conceptual framework continues in understanding the security of the male subject. A sense of dissolution becomes inherent with the conceptualization of security and its human dimension, as people's experiences, socio-economic and socio-cultural differences become apparent, in how women and men act and react in war.⁶⁷ For example, women's and girl's susceptibility to HIV/AIDs in the African context depends on their socio-economic, biological, socio-cultural positioning, thus politicizing their statuses as females, and deepening their vulnerabilities within securitization, rendering their femaleness inherent.⁶⁸ One transfers such example to the susceptibility of women to violence,⁶⁹ and its apparent execution by the male figure, as women's social statuses, biological inherent sense of weakness, economic inclusion or exclusion, renders the woman vulnerable. This conceptualizes how security becomes masculine dominated, controlled, and executed on a globe scale. From a feminist theoretical outlook on security, Hudson incorporates individual experiences of gender roles, in order to

⁶⁵ Ibid. 163.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 163.

⁶⁷ Hudson, "Doing", 162.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 162.

⁶⁹ Stephanie J Nawyn. "Gender and migration: Integrating feminist theory into migration studies." *Sociology Compass* 4.9 (2010): 749-765.

understand the dimension of human security.⁷⁰ Interestingly, conceptualizations of security in different regions of the world must also be incorporated, as women in developed and developing states experience different securitization, or lack of it.⁷¹

2.1 Gendered Securitization and Peacemaking: Examining Violence

Gender, militarization, and securitization are closely linked together, as excluding one of these elements from the conceptual paradigm is not possible. It is critical to fully understand the power relationship and its structuring of women's and men's roles and identities. Engaging with Cynthia Enloe's feminist theoretical analysis of masculinity, is critical to understanding gender roles. Enloe describes as part of the concept of "ideological militarisation"⁷² the idea of national security is highly masculinized, and dictated by paternalistic ideas of ensuring safety, and social order. This defines the marginalization of women, and sets feminine standards within the environment of securitization. The concept of statehood is masculinized, as masculinization and its identity cannot be reinforced or clearly defined, without the presence of feminization or the mechanism of feminization, of a specific subject. Enloe continues that state power and militarization are interconnected, as their relationship is highly patriarchal and institutionalized⁷³ through the military, as a form of exerting control over a given population. In turn, this uses the military as a tool for exerting power and violence. When analyzing the construction of social order within securitization and the power of a state, the military becomes an exclusive mechanism, in which women are accepted to, but under male dominated conditions.⁷⁴ Most importantly, its identification of the superior nature of the male figure within the military adheres

⁷⁰ Hudson, "Doing", 164.

⁷¹ Hudson, "Doing", 165-166.

⁷² Cynthia H. Enloe. *Does Khaki Become You?: the Militarisation of women's lives*. Pandora Press, 1983. 1988: 1-262. (10).

⁷³ Enloe, "Does Khaki", 11.

⁷⁴ Enloe, "Does Khaki", 12.

to state power,⁷⁵ as its connection and reliability on militarized power, creates hypermasculine ideology, in which women's roles are defined as lesser subjects to the combatant identity of the man. Enloe describes that the rules are direct and clear about what it means to be a man, as quoted, "To be masculine is to be not feminine".⁷⁶ The construction of manhood can be traced to the structure of the military,⁷⁷ and its direct connection with notions of statehood and nationalistic sentiment. Both having roots in hypermasculinity, and the desire to control the bodies of women within a masculine dominant environment.

As sexual violence and its use as a weapon becomes highly political, so do the outcomes of its perpetration, as it directly hinders the securitization of the male subject, rendering his sex and identity highly de-securitized.⁷⁸ Indeed, exposing the victimization of being penetrated may cause immediate stigmatization, and challenge existing normative conceptualizations who a male subject is in certain societies. The underreporting, silencing, and even fear of being branded as a homosexual, may cause male victims to suffer the physical and mental trauma, caused by sexual violence,⁷⁹ therefore deepening their de-securitization. Sexual violence against men directly causes trauma of their sexual organs, being the penis, and the gendered norms within our society. Engaging with Clark's conceptualization of male vulnerability, this produces political issues within our conceptualization of the international order, which is highly patriarchal, hierarchical, and masculinized.⁸⁰ In a sense, if the male subject, who has become a refugee, immediately experiences vulnerability upon his penis, may experience a decrease of performance and confidence of his masculine identity both socially, and politically. Moreover, the sexual violence

⁷⁵ Enloe, "Does Khaki", 13.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 13.

⁷⁷ Enloe, "Does Khaki", 12.

⁷⁸ Janine Natalya, Clark, "The Vulnerability of the Penis: Sexual Violence against Men in Conflict and Security Frames." *Men and Masculinities* (2017). 1-23.

⁷⁹ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 2.

⁸⁰ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 3.

and exploitation may further destroy his phallic confidence, as he becomes feminized, controlled, dominated over, causing the male victim to lose his masculinized and politicized identity. Such questioning of the male gender is both political, and transfers to our conceptualization of statehood, and its use of violence.

Stemming from biological reasoning, the securitization of the penis, is an indicator of the securitization of the masculine subject, thus relating to the imagined, securitized relationship between the masculine and feminine. Clark presents that the de-securitization of the masculine subject within the security framework is revealed, thus indicating that the male subject can be just as vulnerable as the female one, both sexually and conceptually.⁸¹ Since the penis represents a sense of performance ability both sexually, so does its meaning transcend into the framework of security, positioning security as a masculine responsibility and burden. The masculine subject reaffirms its masculinity, through the feminization of female attributes and characteristics. By forcefully taking the dominant sense of power, control, and ability to exert power upon a subject, the penis becomes vulnerable, and so does the concept of securitization.⁸² Clark mentions that security can be conceptualized as a hierarchical system, in social standing, the male and female underline concrete attributes that belong to each gender, with sexual performance.⁸³ This connects with the ability to exert violence, attributing to the male subject, while exposure to sexual violence connecting to the female subject.⁸⁴ Since the penis is viewed as a weapon, used to execute dominance, the woman is inherently victimized, and her victimization is elevated greatly when the penis is used to directly de-securitize the woman within war, displacement, chaotic environment.⁸⁵ In turn, this paradigm of gender relations positions the woman at a higher

⁸¹ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 3.

⁸² Clark, "The Vulnerability", 3-4.

⁸³ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 4.

⁸⁴ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 5.

⁸⁵ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 5.

risk threshold for exposure to sexual violence, than the male subject, thus deeply de-securitizing the female. The preservation of the penis and the notion of impenetrability of the male body, encompasses the concept of security,⁸⁶ and the idea that men simply cannot become rape victims. This demonstrates a sense of elevated masculinity, gender superiority, within the threshold of gender relations, placing men higher than women, giving the male subject much more power in decision making and shaping of the security framework.

2.2 Gender Territories and Security: A Violent Response

As women's security needs are placed at a higher immediacy of attention, Clark discusses that it marginalizes men from the discourse of victimhood⁸⁷ within the sexual violence discourse, leaving the sexual abuse of men unattended as much as women's grievances are.⁸⁸ An extreme example of the use of sexual violence is recorded in the Yugoslav wars, and the use of rape as a weapon, causing genocidal consequences, with the forceful impregnation of perceived enemy women, thus placing their victimization at a higher attention level than men.⁸⁹ Masculine identifications connect with the penis and its virility as a standard of power and ability to execute violence within a strategic paradigm. The ability to connect with a specific social group also perpetuates a sense of identification with, or against a certain group within the security framework.⁹⁰ In a sense, hegemonic masculinity becomes rendered when the penis is pacified and made vulnerable.⁹¹ Clark reveals that vulnerability is a fluid concept⁹² that is able to change, according to certain circumstance and changing conceptualizations of the masculine and

⁸⁶ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 3.

⁸⁷ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 12.

⁸⁸ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 6.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 6.

⁹⁰ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 8.

⁹¹ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 9.

⁹² Clark, "The Vulnerability", 3.

feminine. The virility⁹³ and power execution of a nation becomes connected to the performance ability of the penis, thus challenging the notion of masculine penetration, and eventual territorializing through sexual violence.⁹⁴ In connection to the refugee paradigm, one may position the sense of territorializing with the use of sexual violence, against the refugee man, similarly as in wartime violence. As the refugee man is innately rendered vulnerable from his political position within the host state, this complete dependency on the will of the host nation, and its decision-making process, the vulnerable male becomes even more vulnerable and territorialized. Further, his penetration increases his feminization, rendering his penis vulnerable and pacified, while shattering his masculine identity.

One may view the territorializing of the refugee through political terms,⁹⁵ as the male victim not only represents a political subject, but his objectification through sexual violence turns him into a territorialized object. With his physical presence in the host state, the male subject, his politicized status, physical being, becomes a part of the host territory, belonging to the natives of the host state. As the male victim becomes a property of the male perpetrator of sexual violence, it becomes a gendered issue because of the objectification and feminization of the male migrant, therefore adhering to the political power of biopolitical⁹⁶ use of violence in power exchange. From a gendered, biopolitical stance, the stronger preys on the weaker subject, therefore exemplifying the interpersonal relationship of power between the male victim and his perpetrator, adhering to the aftermath effects that contribute to the framing of male sexual violence victimization. Understanding and incorporating gender and identities, social classes, racial differences, with the security paradigm, is critical to understanding the impacts that these

⁹³ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 12.

⁹⁴ Clark, "The Vulnerability", 10.

⁹⁵ Benjamin, Muller, "Globalization, security, paradox: towards a refugee biopolitics." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 22, no. 1 (2004): 49-57.

⁹⁶ Ibid. Muller, "Globalization", 51.

elements have on how security is utilized, both on the domestic and international sphere.⁹⁷ Even the victimization of male refugees, who experienced sexual violence leaves them invisible, rendering their agency of voice, communication, and reinforcing the perception that men are not exposed to any kind of sexual violence.⁹⁸ As expected, male refugees and survivors of sexual violence are perceived as homosexuals,⁹⁹ therefore continuing the perception that only women and girls are vulnerable, and become victims of sexual violence. Integration of men's survival of sexual violence and attention to their grievances within the security paradigm,¹⁰⁰ may serve to duly inform the order of international relations and warfare. This provides insight of the significant destruction of masculine identities within the male refugee status, which becomes exposed to sexual violence and exploitation.

One may conceptualize silence as a form of self-securitization, which has been observed as a form of power execution by the perpetrators of sexual violence. In the case of the Yugoslav War, specifically pertaining to the case of Bosnian men and their experiences of survival,¹⁰¹ masculine identity became highly vulnerable and questioned through sexual violence. Clark discusses her field-work research in uncovering the challenge of masculinities with the survival of sexual violence, specifically interviewing Bosnian men who underwent it in camps. The accounts, which were limited because survivors were mostly silent about their experiences, as most were stress induced, demonstrated a collective silencing in the aftermath of the war.¹⁰² This demonstrated a mechanism of self-securitization because their sense of masculinity did not

⁹⁷ Gunhild Hoogensen, and Svein Vigeland Rottem. "Gender identity and the subject of security." *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 2 (2004): 155-171.

⁹⁸ Ellen Anna Philo Gorris. "Invisible victims? Where are male victims of conflict-related sexual violence in international law and policy?." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22, no. 4 (2015): 412-427.

⁹⁹ Gorris, "Invisible", 413.

¹⁰⁰ Gorris, "Invisible", 421.

¹⁰¹ Janine Natalya, Clark. "Masculinity and male survivors of wartime sexual violence: a Bosnian case study." *Conflict, Security & Development* 17, no. 4 (2017): 287-311.

¹⁰² Clark, "Masculinity", 294.

necessarily permit their voices to be directly heard, nor their experiences articulated, as women are found to do so.¹⁰³ What the author conceptualizes as a “victimological process”¹⁰⁴ demonstrates the understanding of men’s experiences, in victimization from sexual violence at the hands of other men. Clark presents how hegemonic masculinity¹⁰⁵ is deeply entrenched in how power is used within the scope of war and violence. Unfortunately, the instance of judgment upon the masculinity of the victim, causes the positioning of the victim to assume, as Clark mentions, the role of a “sick victim”¹⁰⁶ therefore causing compassion and sympathy, while demeaning the perceived masculinity of the male subject. Interestingly the effect of word choice, apart from the social structure of masculine and feminine roles, does not allow the male victim to effectively communicate one's grievances, when surviving sexual violence.¹⁰⁷ In a sense, the masculine subject does not know how to effectively communicate about one’s experience of sexual violence effectively from the barriers in language, therefore causing victims to become completely silent and internalize one’s trauma. Such example demonstrates the use of power within a social and communicative structure, causing the perpetrator to upkeep his effect upon the victim. It shows that masculine power is highly dominant within language and communication, which may render the male victim completely helpless and unattended.

The marginalization of women from transitional justice and international law demonstrates the gender hierarchies within the methods of humanitarian development, causing the silencing of women for the purpose of power execution, and control.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, a higher degree of awareness and attention has been provided to female survivors of sexual

¹⁰³ Clark, “Masculinity”, 288.

¹⁰⁴ Clark, “Masculinity”, 289.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, “Masculinity”, 293.

¹⁰⁶ Clark, “Masculinity”, 289.

¹⁰⁷ Clark, “Masculinity”, 293.

¹⁰⁸ Clark, “Masculinity”, 296.

exploitation,¹⁰⁹ as perceptions about feminine notions of vulnerability linked to sexuality, have caused normative discourse to rule out any possibilities of male victims of such abuses. The framing of sexual violence against men, specifically by organizations such as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the International Criminal Court (ICC), as Clark discussed, did not officially acknowledge the different forms of sexual violence committed against men, while framing such abuses not as having sexual dimensions, but as forms of torture.¹¹⁰ Such examples serve as findings of male invisibility within the scope of contextualizing, and conceptualizing the gravity of sexual violence against men. This demonstrates how violence connects to power relations, power exception and exchange, with challenging masculine perceptions.

The discriminatory policy of securitization and gendering of security, transfers to the concept of how discipline and control of women, within the paradigm of security, transfers onto constructing humanitarian security.¹¹¹ From a feminist theoretical perspective, Diamond discusses that the woman inherits an inferior status,¹¹² exemplifying the attributes that the masculine order views as negative and weakening for the assertion of maleness. Inferring from such examples, the woman is viewed as a prey for the man to hunt, conquer, use, and control,¹¹³ thus exemplifying a politicized and physical approach to the matter. The woman becomes politicized in this sense, because her inferior social and physiological status to man, demonstrates the presence and utilization of masculinity to assert dominance, and execute securitization on the terms and conditions of the male subject. Considering these gender

¹⁰⁹ Clark, "Masculine", 296.

¹¹⁰ Clark, "Masculine", 296.

¹¹¹ Irene Lee Diamond, and Lee Quinby, and Drucilla Cornell. *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*. Boston, Northeastern University Press. (1988): 3-235.

¹¹² Diamond, "Feminism", 71.

¹¹³ Diamond, "Feminism", 72.

standards, it becomes highly problematic when the de-securitization of the male subject becomes apparent at his exposure to sexual violence. This paradigm questions who is responsible for securitizing the woman, protecting and saving her, as well as executing violence, when a man is not able to prevent sexual violence occurring upon his person. Michel Foucault presents an exquisite conceptualization of the gender understandings of power and relations among men and women, rooting his conceptual framework with basic movement of women's bodies, transferring his idea onto the control of women's bodies by men.¹¹⁴ This perspective is riveting, as it allows one to conceptualize how physical control and manipulation of security standards, allows the male to set security standards on hypermasculine terms, thus undermining the female subject.

2.3 Politicizing the Body: Gender and Violence Construct

When a woman's body becomes politicized, within the militarization and statehood perspective, it places emphasis not only on her sex, but on feminine gender, and its supposedly inherent subordination to the dominance of maleness. Diamond discusses the belief that women are created as obedient subjects,¹¹⁵ caters to the feminine understanding that power is inherently in the control of the man, thus demonstrating its insemination into the sphere of securitization and international relations. As understood by Michel Foucault, the state control of the body demonstrates the presence of masculine order and dominance, revealing the hypermasculine and patriotic order of statehood, and its methods of securitization.¹¹⁶ Described by Winifred Woodhull, rape is conceptualized not only as a sexual act of violence, but as a violence of power, produced by social, cultural, and political order existence.¹¹⁷ This conceptualization of the

¹¹⁴ Diamond, "Feminism", 74.

¹¹⁵ Diamond, "Feminism", 75.

¹¹⁶ Diamond, "Feminism", 79.

¹¹⁷ Diamond, "Feminism", 170.

politicized nature of sexual violence and exploitation, demonstrates its inherent gender transgression, in which male perceptions of sexual violence persist within discourse.

The paradigm becomes problematic once these abuses are used against men, and perpetrated by men, demonstrating a break within the conceptualization of sexual violence and its inherent masculine essence. This breaks normative discourse, as some masculinities become reaffirmed, and some are destroyed, with regards to male refugees and their victimhood. The construction of gender applies directly to the construction of identities,¹¹⁸ specifically with the discourse of international relations and implications on securitization. The essence of male identity becomes executed through power, which needs the feminization of a subject, for the use of protection, or for violence. The relationship between militarized masculinity, security, and international relations are interconnected,¹¹⁹ demonstrating the presence of gender hierarchy, and total bias toward the superiority of the male subject. Perhaps the use of violence transcends from the anxious perception of insecurity, by which initial attack and execution of different forms of violence, serves as a reaction to perceptions of threat. However, even in such paradigm, the use of gendering allows the state and its people to experience a sense of nationalistic development, and reaffirmation of masculine statehood, by gendering the enemy state, rendering it vulnerable and feminine, making it ready for an attack.

Considered as “hetero-nationality”¹²⁰ the use of sexual violence of a male individual belonging to a specific nation, exerting sexual violence upon an individual from a different nation, can assume national, politicized, cultural dominance. Alison presents a conceptualization

¹¹⁸ Maria Stern, and Marysia Zalewski. “Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on Feminism and Familiar Fables of Militarisation.” *Review of International Studies* 35, no. 3 (July 2009): 611–30.

¹¹⁹ Eric M Blanchard. “Gender, international relations, and the development of feminist security theory.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 4 (2003): 1289-1312.

¹²⁰ Miranda H Alison. “Wartime sexual violence: women’s human rights and questions of masculinity.” *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 1 (2007): 75-90.

of sexual violence not only a demonstration of hegemonic masculinity,¹²¹ and its strategic power use, but also as a demonstration of national, cultural, and perhaps ethnic superiority. Such ideas can also transcend the male to female sexual violence, transferring onto male upon male sexual violence, presenting how violence becomes a significant part of power execution. Equating the notion of masculinity with the nation state, demonstrates how such ideas connect with state identity,¹²² and the superiority identity, by which masculine dominance is executed by a government.

2.4 Statehood Conceptualized: Nationalism, Exile, and Gender

Nationalism and the use of violence for reaching intended purposes, either of coercion, demonstration of national power and unity, the need to dominate one a specific subject or targeted enemy, demonstrates how international relations utilizes such methods for achieving national goals. Statehood, nationalism, and violence are closely interwoven into a network, enveloped by masculine power and identification. While maintaining the opposite feminine effect, which prevails in conceptualizing an enemy population, and thus othering the group, for purposes of degradation and defeat. One considers identity formation of community and use of violence, serving as a means of justification for achieving national identification. The gendering process of statehood and its affirmation against a perceived enemy population or group, demonstrates the inherent use of violence for achieving national goals. Anand discusses the use of gender, for establishing communal identity and in facilitating hatred of us versus them,¹²³

¹²¹ Alison, "Wartime", 76.

¹²² Joane Nagel. "Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations." *Ethnic and racial studies* 21.2 (1998): 242-269.

¹²³ Dibyesh Anand. "Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, (June 23, 2016): 1-23.

demonstrating how gender and violence are interconnected in this process. In this perspective Anand describes how sexual violence becomes politicized to a heightened degree, as in the case of the conflict in Gujarat. The conflict between Hindus and Muslims, encompassed both sexual violence in strategic use, as well as the generating of the state and the enemy population, to exert symbolic violence. Anand describes the imagined perception of the state as being a ‘mother’¹²⁴, which is defiled by the masculinized Muslim population, demonstrating the use of gendering to foster future hatred between both religious, and social groups.¹²⁵ The perceived threat of the Muslim population, its men, and perceived heightened sense of sexual prowess, demonstrates the power relationship between both Hindus and Muslims.

The imagined heightened sense of sexual demand, and use by the Muslim population, adheres to the masculine use of power and symbolic demonstration, thus creating the negative identity of the Muslim in Hindu society¹²⁶. With ideas such as identity dominance, heightened sense of procreation, large population development,¹²⁷ the Hindu population uses these ideas to further the othering process, and in a reactionary sense, uses violence as a means of justification to preserve its population’s security. The emphasis on Hindu masculinity as a reaction to the threat perception from Muslim sexualized identity, demonstrates the refusal to become a feminized population, thus refusing ideas of vulnerability and victimhood. In a sense, nationalism becomes hyper-masculinized, citizenship becomes masculine and violently asserted, along with executing sexual violence strategically, to in return, feminize the threatening population.¹²⁸ Anand discusses that in the conflict, with the use of over sexualizing and under-

¹²⁴ Anand, “Anxious”, 259.

¹²⁵ Anand, “Anxious”, 258-259.

¹²⁶ Anand, “Anxious”, 259.

¹²⁷ Anand, “Anxious”, 260.

¹²⁸ Anand, “Anxious”, 261.

sexualizing enemy groups,¹²⁹ Muslim men are initially portrayed as a virile masculine subject. In a weakening strategy, they become feminized and take on the role of the woman, defeated, and subordinated, in order to allow Hindu mobilization to become masculine and violent. While the conflict in Gujarat demonstrated the pervasive use of sexual violence and violation of human rights, it portrayed how gendering, state complicity toward violence, and the use of exclusion, demonstrated power execution.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, the use of sexual violence by the Hindu population awakened their sense of nationalism, using it as a symbolic display of grandeur and sexual prowess of domination.

Masculinity, violence, and its implications and effects on statehood formation and identification, along with assertion within the international relations paradigm, demonstrates that both elements are inescapable and quite interconnected. One may apply this case with the situation of sexually abused male refugees, who undergo violence as both a political use of symbolic, demonstration of dominance and assertion of the host state, coupled with the feminized identity of the male refugees.

¹²⁹ Anand, “Anxious”, 262.

¹³⁰ Anand, “Anxious”, 263.

Chapter 3

Empirical Analysis: Cases of Sexual Abuse against Male Migrants

The empirical analysis will focus on the theoretical framework, connecting the concepts of violence, gendered statehood, and gendering of the refugee male within the evidence-based research. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) released a 2017 report on sexual violence and exploitation of Syrian male refugees in Greece.¹³¹ The report, along with news articles, detail the abuses of sexual violence and exploitation of male refugees arriving from Syria to Greece. The research focuses on the detainment of male refugees and migrants in refugee camps, where the prevalence of the sexual violence is rampant, perpetuating shock at the use of violence. Unfortunately, the male victim identity goes against cultural norms, and expectations become challenged. The male subject finds it humiliating to become dependent, and in the context of the male refugee, as dependency on the state equates with feminine weakness.¹³²

3.1 Sexual Exploitation in Greek Refugee Camps: Power and Gender Analysis

Migration and sexual exploitation equate with the aspect of vulnerability, which is a negative consequence of either war onslaught, natural disasters, or other reasons for inducing migration. While equating sexual exploitation and feminism as normative parts of daily discourse, connecting this with male victimization, all within the scope of migration, can be theorized as an unusual perspective on masculinity discourse. Within the spectrum of sexual violence against men and boys, the use of such violence in refugee camps has become abhorrent against unaccompanied minors. Specifically, the use of sexual exploitation among refugees have

¹³¹ Dr. Sarah Chynoweth. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *"We Keep it in Our Heart" Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in the Syria Crisis*, (October 2017): 1-82.

¹³² Jennifer Hyndman. "Introduction: the feminist politics of refugee migration." *Gender, Place & Culture* 17.4 (2010): 453-459.

been boys aged 14-17,¹³³ thus indicating the use of child sexual services for influencing the level of vulnerability of male refugees. The use of sexual exploitation within the scope of prostitution of unaccompanied male minors in Greek refugee camps¹³⁴ has indicated an abuse of vulnerability, the use of prostitution for increasing the presence of vulnerability, and its negative effect on the identity of a male figure, within the conceptualization of migration. As Biswas discusses from research findings from adolescent experiences, migrants are not fully knowledgeable about their human rights, along with legal rights as migrants in a host country.¹³⁵ The use of child-care services in this case are not able to fully assist male victims, and prevent the use of sexual exploitation, due to the transition of adolescent boys into legal male adults, as teenagers are given a certain sense of freedom of action.¹³⁶ Due to the use of and availability of certain liberties of male adolescents, they are not given the best protection against predators of sexual abuse and prostitution, thus allowing themselves to become a part of the illegal sale of sex within refugee camps.

Biswas continues about the lack of adequate supervision, counseling for mental health treatment, the prevalence of constant material and economic insecurities.¹³⁷ Male migrants are more willing to become a part of the prostitution business, while being completely sexually exploited by buyers. The lack of a family support system, isolation from social integration, exploitation of older males upon the younger generation, increases the level of vulnerability among unaccompanied minors, as their insecurities pose them as potential targets of exploitation. Unfortunately, the increase of dependency upon the host country, while not receiving adequate

¹³³ Julie Freccero J, Dan Biswas , Audrey Whiting , Khaled Alrabe, Kim Thuy Seelinger. (2017) "Sexual exploitation of unaccompanied migrant and refugee boys in Greece: Approaches to prevention". *PLoS Med* 14(11): 108.

¹³⁴ Freccero, "Sexual exploitation", 2.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 2.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 2.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 2.

security and not given the best coping mechanisms of being a migrant, male minors are perhaps tempted to become a part of sexual exploitation and prostitution. Prostitution is used as a means of earning income, while sacrificing their masculine identities and becoming victims to potential, sexually transmitted diseases. The negative effects of sexual exploitation and rape of male refugees causes depression, confusion of masculine identification, and perhaps a loss of identity within a community. It is imperative to understand that use of unaccompanied children for sexual services is illegal in Greece.¹³⁸ Biswas mentions that as a member of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography, Greece is obliged to maintain the illegality of sexual exploitation and violence against minors.¹³⁹ In certain circumstances, sexual exploitation and use of prostitution is accepted by migrants to repay debts to smugglers, or to increase the speed of transportation of the migrant, therefore using sex as a means of payment for the abuser, who increases the vulnerabilities of the migrant.¹⁴⁰

In terms of conceptualizing the availability of agency, and freedom within the scope of being a migrant in a host country, the aspect of dependency is constantly prevalent. The availability of agency and its use by males, while being migrants and completely depending on the use of peace or violence by the host country, constitutes a dynamic sense of identity formation. The male figure is questioned, and so is the masculine role within this environment. Perhaps the perfect and normative image of the masculine figure is one an individual who provides, protects, and maintains the dominant role, specifically when compared to the role of the female, which is submissive and the maintainer of childcare and domestic affairs. In this

¹³⁸ Freccero, "Sexual exploitation", 2.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 2.

aspect, agency is placed on a higher threshold than that of the female, thus setting a standard for gender roles in society. In the case of sexual exploitation of males, the conceptualization of such violence is distorted by the reporting mechanism, thus framing the abuse as not sexual, but simply abuse of the individual.¹⁴¹

As victims are not able to verbalize their experiences with sexual abuse and violation of their rights in a sexual manner, limped by cultural factors and fear of social stigmatization, the discourse framing of such abuses dismisses the sexual aspect completely. The misreporting of such abuses thus distorts data availability and creates the perception that such abuses are non-existent¹⁴², thus decreasing the relevance of such abuses in the international community. Health providers are not able to successfully identify victims, specifically among male victims of such abuses, thus adequate medical aid is not provided to migrants.¹⁴³ Interestingly, a sense of autonomy and agency is given to male migrant survivors, as their victimization of sexual abuse is viewed as voluntary prostitution. Biswas discusses as if men and boys are willing to undergo sexual humiliation, in an attempt to explore their sexuality and find their sense of sexual preferences in the vulnerable environment.¹⁴⁴ It is fascinating to conceptualize the perceptions of the freewill, or its imagination in the relevance to the male and female figure, thus placing the male at a higher level of free will, when compared to the female, who is normally seen as violently subjected to sexual abuse and other types of violations. In a sense, the male is not automatically viewed as being violated, when comparing to the use of sexual abuse, but seen as given the space to potentially experiment with one's sexuality. This adheres to the normative

¹⁴¹ Sarah K Chynoweth, Julie Freccero & Heleen Touquet (2017) "Sexual violence against men and boys in conflict and forced displacement: implications for the health sector, Reproductive Health Matters", 25:51, 90-94.

¹⁴² Marysia Zalewski, et al. "Introduction: Sexual violence against men in Global politics." *Sexual violence against men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018. 17-35.

¹⁴³ Chynoweth, "Sexual violence", 92.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. 92.

discourse of masculine dominance and freedom with sexual prowess. As men and boys are seen with freely using their sexuality for income generation or experimentation of some sorts, adequate protection and provision of rights becomes absent,¹⁴⁵ thus generating the understanding that women and girls instead are in dire need of such provisions, as they are not able to successfully protect themselves from perpetrators.

Statehood becomes highly gendered, as the masculine, dominant role of the perpetrator of violence, feminizes and eventually victimizes a subject, to determine and justify its masculinity in international relations. Within the space of power exchange and its relations, the state sanctions violence¹⁴⁶, either against another state, or specifically against a targeted population. In the attempt to execute a form of violence, the state perpetrator must primarily feminize the victim with the space of warfare, thus utilizing mechanisms of degradation, attempt to humiliate the victim, and increase the vulnerability of the perceived enemy state or population. Adhering to the use of discourse when conceptualizing the use of state sanctioned violence against a perceived enemy, or the victim, the state actor must invade or penetrate a targeted subject, thus adhering to the sexual terminologies within the discourse of international affairs. When conceptualizing the gravity of sexual violence, it does not only pertain to the vaginal penetration by force, as sexual abuse also constitutes oral and anal penetration, the forced penetration by objects, genital violence and castration, forced sterilization.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Chynoweth, "Sexual violence", 92.

¹⁴⁶ Marysia Zalewski. "Provocations in debates about sexual violence against men." *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018. 41-58.

¹⁴⁷ Chynoweth, "Sexual violence", 90-91.

3.2 Conceptualizing War-Time Sexual Violence from Existing Evidence

While sexual violence in war zones, as its utilization as a weapon of war for inducing vulnerability in a strategic manner, its use against combatants is normatively viewed as a casual part of war, and perhaps expected to occur. In specific conflict engulfed areas of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), almost 50% of men have either experienced sexual violence, or have been exposed to it.¹⁴⁸ Documented by Amnesty International and several United Nations (UN) reports, sexual violence in war have been reported and exposed in the former Yugoslav War.¹⁴⁹ Such accounts perhaps ceased to be phenomenal as sexual abuse is an inherent part of war, and its strategic use has almost always been directed toward women and girls. For example, the Rwandan Genocide has showed the use of mass rape and ethnic cleansing as a war tactic.¹⁵⁰ From a feminized stance, the use of rape is conceptualized as a form of dominance and exchange of power¹⁵¹, because the penetration by force allows ones to gain the power over the subject, which is being penetrated and dominated over, therefore setting the masculine standards for warfare, while solidifying the aspects of a masculine identify. Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide demonstrate the effects of the strategic use of sexual violence upon the female victim. As a method of destroying a community, sexual violence is used to damage the female identity, which is, according to gender and cultural standards in specific countries, seen as the bearer of children and future generations of a social group.¹⁵² To an extent, before the influence of Western culture and the recognition that rape is a human rights violation, the gendered perspective lingered that raping a woman was a direct threat to the man, who was seen as the

¹⁴⁸ Chynoweth, "Sexual violence", 91.

¹⁴⁹ Zalewski, "Introduction", 12.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. 91.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Charman. "Sexual violence or torture?: The framing of sexual violence against men in armed conflict in Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch reports." *Sexual violence against men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018. 198-210.

¹⁵² Lisa Sharlach (2000) Rape as Genocide: Bangladesh, the Former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda, *New Political Science*, 22:1, 89-102.

owner of the woman.¹⁵³ With the direct physical and psychological abuse of the woman through the use of rape, the abuse also had an effect on the husband, father, or other male member of the social group to which the woman belonged to. From a feminine perspective, the woman was constantly seen as both a property by members of her community, along with the enemy which perpetrated the sexual abuse as a tool of war.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, even with the development of human rights provisions and the recognition that rape is a human rights violation¹⁵⁵ against both men and women, the use of sexual violence for identity destruction continues to be used. The gendered perspective that women are still viewed as a form of property, owned and dominated over by the male figure, allows perspective on power relations to remain highly unequal,¹⁵⁶ when analyzing the use of sexual abuse and exploitation.

The woman is seen to carry the dignity, culture, and virtue of a social group, influencing children¹⁵⁷ and future generations of that particular social group. When the female becomes a victim to sexual violence and falls to enemy penetration, her dignity and virtue are essentially taken away from her, and from the male members of her social group, thus leaving a broken community.¹⁵⁸ From a feminist perspective one can infer that the use of state sanctioned sexual violence, and the targeting of the vulnerable, usually female population, allows for the impregnation of the victim. Such violence forces the victim to eventually carry the seed, or the future child of the enemy abuser in the womb of the woman, thus occupying the female as an object, for fertilizing the enemy population within herself.¹⁵⁹ From this perspective, the

¹⁵³ Sharlach, "Rape", 90.

¹⁵⁴ Sara Meger. "The political economy of sexual violence against men and boys in armed conflict." *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018. 118-132.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 90.

¹⁵⁶ Charman, "Sexual Violence", 206.

¹⁵⁷ Zalewski, "Provocations", 30.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 90.

¹⁵⁹ Sharlach, "Rape", 92-93.

objectification and use of the female subject becomes materialistic, while also strategic because it successfully utilizes the inherent vulnerability of the woman, for the purpose of abuse and womb occupation.

When analyzing the use of sexual violence against the male and female subject, it is clear from previous genocidal uses of rape for the destruction of communities, the use of sexual violence against male refugees is newly occurring, and in need of deeper analysis. As sexual abuse execution may find similarities and differences, when compared to its uses against the female. An important observation is that sexual violence against the man will not produce an offspring, as the man does not physically have a womb to carry the future children, or offspring in the form of a seed. While men perpetrate sexual violence and exploitation against other men, the violent act will not produce children, therefore the male victim may not be physically owned as a property of the male perpetrator in the same context, that a woman becomes physically and mentally owned by the abuser. In the wake of the abuse, the male victim may not display evidence of sexual abuse, because he will not carry the offspring as evidence for other members of his community to witness and feel shame toward. While the woman who survives and births a child produced of rape, will not be able to escape or deny the evidence in her community, placing her at a perhaps different threshold of shame, degradation, and stigmatization within her community.

3.3 The Case of Elliniko Camp: Experiences of Male Refugees

Case studies of sexually abused male refugees and men are not widely researched on or presented, thus posing as a newly founded issue for the current refugee crisis. Unfortunately, the cases presented are seldom reported or document due to the lack of attention from host countries

and other non-governmental organizations, along with inadequate responses to instances of sexual abuse and exploitation of male refugees and migrants. An example of a documented journey to visit the Elliniko refugee camp in Greece, in which Rachel E. McGinnis discovered instances of survival sex, which was used by displaced Afghani, Pakistani men and boys in Greece, to earn income and perhaps decrease their vulnerabilities.¹⁶⁰ In an attempt to understand the conditions in which male refugees and displaced persons lived in, and attempted to survive in, McGinnis visited bars and clubs. In an attempt to personally document the extreme, and chaotic environment in which men and boys were forced to sell sex, as a business service to Greek men, in order for their survival to continue in the host country.

The research reveals that food provisions and resources in refugee camps were limited,¹⁶¹ forcing men and boys to reach out to Greek communities, to sell sex and earn income for themselves, thus perpetuating an advantageous situation for Greek male buyers of sex to utilize. The account portrays an extremely dire situation, in which older and younger men even competed for the attention, and buying from potential buyers of sex, solely from the Greek nationals. Greek men have been purchasing sex acts from refugee men, both older and younger, thus creating a business model, full of exploitation and illegal participating. While completely breaking the laws of illegal prostitution, the competition between younger and older men account for the income that is generated, as younger and more female looking men were of a higher demand, and generated more income due to increased buyers.¹⁶² Demanding younger men which had “virgin qualities”¹⁶³ demonstrated the essence of demand for feminine attributes within a man, along with the desire to have sexual relations with a feminine like man.

¹⁶⁰ Rachel E. McGinnis. (2016) "Sexual Victimization of Male Refugees and Migrants: Camps, Homelessness, and Survival Sex," *Dignity: A Journal on Sexual Exploitation and Violence*: Vol. 1: Iss. 1, Article 8. 1-14.

¹⁶¹ McGinnis, "Sexual Victimization", 10.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 10.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 10.

The research revealed that older men had difficulty competing with younger, more feminine looking men, therefore generating income was much harder than expected, which supported the normative understanding that the masculine and feminine aspect could not be overruled, when pertaining to the sexual abuse and exploitation of an individual. In a sense, the buyer desired a more feminine man to dominate over, exploit, control, and use for personal pleasure. This perpetuated the notion that a sexually exploited man embodies the image of a female subject, while more feminine looking men seemed inherently more like women, to most buyers. Even varying by prices, the charge for sexual services in parks ranged from 2-5 euros, therefore making income generation for older males more difficult.¹⁶⁴ With the competition serving as a contributor to increased vulnerability, an environment of political and economic exchange attributed to how power was exercised and sacrificed. This example demonstrated the complete degradation and de-masculinizing nature of interpersonal interactions, among natives and refugees.

While research shows that refugees and migrants arriving from war torn nation states are traveling to European countries, to find security and survive their countries wars, the refugee men and boys are forced to perhaps fight, and survive their own personal war in the host states. On the ground level, the use of survival sex by men and boys can attribute to their country's vulnerability, as states such as Afghanistan and Pakistan¹⁶⁵, Syria¹⁶⁶, have been invaded and ravaged by stronger states. Their government are toppled over and dominated by the Western influences, along with domestic actors who defy and exert violence against its own population. Since these states are war torn, with destroyed infrastructures, forcing their people to become

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 10.

¹⁶⁵ Pervaiz Nazir. "War on Terror in Pakistan and Afghanistan: discursive and political contestations." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3.1 (2010): 63-81.

¹⁶⁶ Svante E Cornell. "The fallacy of 'compartmentalisation': the West and Russia from Ukraine to Syria." *European View* 15.1 (2016): 97-109.

vulnerable and displaced, the refugee men exemplify the inadequacy and powerlessness of their countries in the face of the host state. In a sense, the host state and its some of its citizens choose to utilize the existing vulnerabilities, to further exploit, ravage, and dominate over the members of the warring state. In a sense, Afghani, Syrian, and Pakistani male and boy refugees come from defeated countries, as they are perceived by the international community. They inherit the feminine essence of powerlessness, and cannot independently survive without becoming the female subject, within the power exchange with natives of the host country, which acts as a source of dependency, providing food and shelter for the refugees and migrants. The sexually exploited men and boys demonstrate greater defeat and humiliation of their native countries, by agreeing to become prostituted and sexually exploited. This encompasses the gravity of helplessness, demonstrating how power from global politics directly relates to interpersonal relations, among refugees and host natives.

3.4 Case of Libyan Male Refugees: Detention, Sexual Abuse, and Gender

Studies and reports completed by the Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) have uncovered the use of sexual violence and exploitation of men and boys on the route to Italy, as a normative part of the journey, which is considered one of the most dangerous ones to undertake from Libya.¹⁶⁷ The report describes the execution of sexual violence in a most brutal form toward male and boy migrants and refugees, traveling from Libya. The male refugees experience a dangerous process to enter Italy, while also being thwarted from entering European countries,

¹⁶⁷ Joanna Kuebler. "New Research Shows Widespread Sexual Violence, Torture Against Refugee and Migrant Men and Boys in Libya and Along the Central Mediterranean Route to Italy." *Women's Refugee Commission*, The Women's Refugee Commission, 25 Mar. 2019, available at: www.womensrefugeecommission.org/news/press-releases-and-statements/3460-new-research-shows-widespread-sexual-violence-torture-against-refugee-and-migrant-men-and-boys-in-libya-and-along-the-central-mediterranean-route-to-italy.

thus forcing the refugees and migrants back to endure the horror of sexual violence.¹⁶⁸ Instances of sexual violence against men and boys have been documented in Libya, along with the Myanmar conflict with the Rohingya population. Harrowing accounts have been documented, specifying the targeting of Rohingya men and boys by the Myanmar Armed Forces, strategically using sexual violence to destroy the social order, cohesiveness of the Rohingya population, and render the group vulnerable and defeated, even demonstrating a sense of genocidal intent.¹⁶⁹

News reporting of sexual violence against men and boys traveling on the migration journey from war torn states of Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, seldom document such abuses occurring toward the male subject. While reports of women and girls becoming victims of regular sexual abuse are commonly documented, and even expected to occur from historical events¹⁷⁰, and from set gender standards and perceptions of the ‘weaker’ sex, the publishing of men’s experiences in the news is quite bewildering to read. As difficult as it may seem to fathom, the use of sexual violence in detention centers, against male refugees, and during their migration journeys on the Mediterranean, has become a ‘fashionable’ and ‘popular’ method of torture and subjugation method in recent years.¹⁷¹ *The Guardian* article reports the use of sexual violence in the forms of forced enslavement and labor, and as a method of searching and torturing the victims held in Libyan detention centers, where the police turn to sexual violence without repercussions for their actions.¹⁷² The report includes a statistical account of a United Nations officer, who stated that almost 90% of male migrants and refugees had experienced

¹⁶⁸ Kuebler, “New”.

¹⁶⁹ Kuebler, “New”.

¹⁷⁰ Zalewski, “Provocations”, 36.

¹⁷¹ Patrick Wintour. “Refugees Report Brutal and Routine Sexual Violence in Libya This Article Is More than 1 Month Old Abuse Often Filmed and Sent to Victims’ Relatives, Women’s Refugee Commission Finds.” *The Guardian*, The Guardian News and Media Limited, 25 Apr. 2019, available at: www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/25/refugees-face-routine-sexual-violence-in-libyan-detention-centres-report.

¹⁷² Wintour, “Refugees”.

sexual violence throughout their journey on the Mediterranean,¹⁷³ thus emphasizing the gravity of this human rights violation, as detention centers that are supposed to provide safety and shelter for asylum seekers, are documented as also being facilities of torture, de-masculinization. Even more harrowing is the use of film to document the sexual violence committed in detention centers,¹⁷⁴ as they are sent to family members of victims to extract money, perhaps to hide the shame and humiliation that family members and victim may experience in the aftermath of the abuse. The use of payment extractions, and sex as a form of bribery were documented along the route from Libya, as the article discusses that sexual abuse became a routine part of the detention holding and traveling mechanism of the refugees, while some who did not experience such trauma used money to pay their way out of experiencing sexual violence.

The conceptualization of the Libyan refugee experience is profound in the quoting, “I’ve gone through Libya’ it is a euphemism for rape”¹⁷⁵ serves as a direct conceptualization of how the use of, and experience of sexual violence by men, construct their realities as perceived conquerors, conquering and subjugating their victims. The reports and accounts demonstrate the magnitude of pervasive gender roles, by which realities of male migrants, their perceived and perhaps destroyed securities are constructed in this environment, engulfed in gender-based violence. The gender-based form of sexual violence against men is constructed through a reality, in which male migrants and refugees are rendered their sense of security.¹⁷⁶ Masculine security could be altered through the subjugation with sexual abuse by other men, or by regaining their sense of security and passage, through allowing themselves to be sexually abused and exploited, thus using sexual services as a form of payment to become secure and eventually arrive to their

¹⁷³ Wintour, “Refugees”.

¹⁷⁴ Wintour, “Refugees”.

¹⁷⁵ Wintour, “Refugees”.

¹⁷⁶ Henri Myrtilinen. “4 Languages of castration—male genital mutilation in conflict and its embedded messages.” *Sexual Violence Against Men in Global Politics*. Routledge, 2018. 87-104.

final destinations. The migration journey serves as a form of battle, in which the male migrant's masculine will is tested by the onslaught of sexual abuse, thus forcing the male subject to decide whether he may willfully become feminized and used in sexual forms, or be forced upon with sexual abuse, and feminized by the perpetrator. Findings revealed the Italian government funding the Libyan coastguard and supporting their efforts to detain boats and migrants traveling by boats, illegally to Italy, thus allowing the guards to send the migrants back to Libyan detention centers, where they would be subjugated to further sexual violence and torture.¹⁷⁷ The state intervention to detain incoming migrants and prevent their entering into Italian soil demonstrates the state sanctioned use of power. This would perpetuate further acts of violence that would occur in the war torn state, thus demonstrating the pacifistic attitude toward migrants who are suffering from sexual violence. In a sense, the Italian state channels its power of governmentality to allow for use of violence, while ignoring the consequences of migrants returning to the violence induced environment.

3.5 NBC News Reports of Sexual Abuse of Male Migrants: Perceptions

In recent reports, *NBC News* investigated and released stories of male asylum seekers being subjugated to endure sexual violence in the Nakivale Refugee camp in Uganda, where asylum seekers were forced to endure gang-rapes, genital torture, by police and military personnel.¹⁷⁸ Costing almost \$5,000 dollars to resettle a family, ranging prices from about \$300-\$1,000 dollars to resettle an individual to a safe environment,¹⁷⁹ the bribery and use of corruption

¹⁷⁷ Wintour, "Refugees".

¹⁷⁸ Sally Hayden. "Asylum for Sale: Male Refugees Victimized by Sexual Violence Say Officials Wanted Bribes to Help." *NBC News*, NBC Universal, 8 Apr. 2019, available at: www.nbcnews.com/news/world/asylum-sale-male-refugees-victimized-sexual-violence-say-officials-wanted-n988396.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. Hayden, "Asylum for Sale: Male Refugees Victimized".

to provide safety to asylum seekers has become a normative part of life for a refugee. Some refugees have reported suspicions that the money is divided among officials' personnel and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) workers, thus demonstrating the rampant corruption among respected international development agencies, and the inadequacy of local governmentality. The allegations of UNHCR corruption among its staff workers on field work, is not a newly reported and documented part of international development work to secure the wellbeing of refugees and migrants. As allegations of corruption, acceptance of bribery, have been reported and documented in different countries, where large populations of migrants and refugees reside.¹⁸⁰ Interestingly, the article revealed that survivors of sexual exploitation and abuse used drawings and coding to describe their brutal experiences, thus demonstrating the use of certain communications mechanisms that do not address the issue directly¹⁸¹, thus demonstrating a will to describe the experiences of male migrants, while reinstalling their fear of stigma in addressing these experiences directly.

In a sense, the communication of survivors among each other demonstrate a plea for help and perhaps assistance of sorts, both physical and mental, to address these grievances. While challenging the stereotypical gender standards and conceptualization of a man not asking for help, therefore not trying to seem as a female subject in this context.¹⁸² With recurrences of sexual abuse against male migrants, the effects are documented as victims suffer from depression, social stigma, and are not capable of maintaining their social relationship, therefore

¹⁸⁰ Sally Hayden. "Asylum for Sale: Refugees Say Some U.N. Workers Demand Bribes for Resettlement." *NBC News*, NBC Universal, 6 Apr. 2019, available at: www.nbcnews.com/news/world/asylum-sale-refugees-say-some-u-n-workers-demand-bribes-n988351.

¹⁸¹ Hayden, "Asylum for Sale: Refugees Say".

¹⁸² Hayden, "Asylum for Sale: Refugees Say".

demonstrating the negative effects of sexual violence on social cohesion, community integration, and functioning.¹⁸³

Harrowing accounts of sexual violence against both male and female refugees were further recorded by the migration from Libya through the Mediterranean route.¹⁸⁴ The *Euronews* reporting of migrant abuses demonstrated the direct de-securitization of the male identity within the paradigm of masculine expectations.¹⁸⁵ These news accounts demonstrate the prevalence of abuse as a mechanism of power execution, its symbolic display, in an attempt to control the physical outflow of refugees and migrants, from the war torn developing states into Europe. The European Union support for detaining incoming boats of refugees and their immediate return to their countries of origin demonstrates the politicized identity of the refugee, the notion of a perceived threat upon the inflow of the refugee, and the necessity to control, politicize notions of borders, coupled with state power execution that affects the lives and securities of refugees¹⁸⁶,¹⁸⁷. Addressing such instances of violence against refugees is intrinsic in understanding how the international community and development organizations chose to frame, aid in prevention, and effectively communicate these grievances globally.

The UNHCR recommendation, along with the support of the UN General Assembly bring to light the immediacy to recognize the reasons by which asylum seekers seek refuge, provide effective medical aid to survivors of violence, and incorporate medical and

¹⁸³ Hayden, "Asylum for Sale: Refugees Say".

¹⁸⁴ Euronews. "Male Migrants Raped and Sexually Abused as Routinely as Women, Study Finds." *Euronews*, 26 Mar. 2019, available at: <https://www.euronews.com/2019/03/26/male-migrants-raped-and-sexually-abused-as-routinely-as-women-study-finds>.

¹⁸⁵ Patrick DeHahn. "Male Refugees Commonly Experience Sexual Violence on the Route to Europe." *Quartz*, available at: <https://qz.com/1582587/male-refugees-face-sexual-abuse-migrating-to-europe/>. Accessed 24 May 2019.

¹⁸⁶ Peter Beaumont. "EU Support for Libya Contributes to 'extreme Abuse' of Refugees, Says Study." *The Guardian*, 21 Jan. 2019. www.theguardian.com, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/jan/21/eu-support-for-libya-contributes-to-extreme-abuse-of-refugees-human-rights-watch-study>.

¹⁸⁷ IOM. "Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals Reach 4,216 in 2019; Deaths Reach 83." *International Organization for Migration*, 18 Jan. 2019, available at: <https://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-reach-4216-2019-deaths-reach-83>.

psychological aid to victims of sexual violence, with a great emphasis about female refugees.¹⁸⁸

While the proposals suggest trading the sexual violence of refugees as a human rights violation, and proposing sensitivity approach mechanisms to address their experiences, it is interesting to examine the framing of women as primary targets, perpetuating the idea that male experiences are not on the same immediacy of attention threshold as women are. Examining these instances of sexual abuse and human rights violations, one can equate the vulnerabilities of both men and women on a similar threshold, as the execution of sexual violence and exploitations brings out a form of repetitive violence, which demonstrates the rapid transition of the migrant into a deeper sense of vulnerability.¹⁸⁹ Jensen makes a thought-proving remark on how structural violence is reproduced through the sexual violation and exploitation of female migrants, which deepens their sense of vulnerability, innately genders their situation within the refugee and security spectrum, as women are inherently viewed as mothers, vulnerable and in need of protection.¹⁹⁰ Male refugees may well fall into this spectrum of theorization as sexual violence affects men in similar ways that women are affected. Male refugee mental and physical health becomes severely damaged, so does their gender identity, which manifests to impediments upon their reproductive health, economic development, and increases their dependency upon the host state further. The sexual abuse and exploitation of male migrants may relate to their sense of loss, in both gender understanding, along with stigmatization and negative perceptive within their community. Unfortunately the perception that men, when compared to women, are not duly addressed and

¹⁸⁸ UNHCR. Refugees, United Nations High Commissioner for. "Refugee Protection and Sexual Violence." *UNHCR*, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/excom/exconc/3ae68c6810/refugee-protection-sexual-violence.html>. Accessed 24 May 2019.

¹⁸⁹ Mie A Jensen. "Gender-Based Violence in Refugee Camps: Understanding and Addressing the Role of Gender in the Experiences of Refugees". *Inquiries Journal* 11 (02), (2019) available at : <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/a?id=1757>

¹⁹⁰ Jensen, "Gender-Based".

given enough attention, empathy, and consideration of their violations of human rights,¹⁹¹ due to the normative discourse of combatant perception.

¹⁹¹ Delphine Brun. Men and Boys in Displacement Assistance and Protection challenges for unaccompanied boy and men in Refugee Contexts. CARE Gender in Emergencies. (December 2017): 1-28.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research demonstrates the prevalence of the gendering process, by which sexual violence and exploitation is utilized, when understanding the execution of these abuses against the male migrant. Connecting the research with Zalewski and Enloe's feminist, theoretical framework of masculinity, it relates to the identity re-conceptualization of the male migrant. The feminist critical analysis presents the conceptual framework of gendering with sexual abuse of male migrants and refugees, as their dependency on the host state initially renders them vulnerable. Through sexual abuse and exploitation, their vulnerabilities become greater, thus perpetuating a sense of degradation, humiliation, physical and mental trauma, along with silence in communicating these abuses. Equating these silences with masculine identities, the vulnerability becomes greater, perpetuating the normative understanding of the male subject not being vulnerable to sexual violence. Unfortunately, the feminist analysis reveals that male refugees may experience a challenge toward their gender identities, as their emasculation by the male perpetrator of sexual violence feminizes the male victim, thus demonstrating how power and masculinity are connected in execution. With symbolic meaning of hyper masculine culture, a sense of dominance through victim subjugation, masculinity becomes reaffirmed through the forceful gendering and feminization of the male subject, thus reinstating that without feminization, masculinity cannot be affirmed, demonstrated, or executed.

Connecting to the conceptualization of statehood, violence, and gender, the male migrants becomes feminized in his survival within the host state. The host state takes on a masculine role as the provider, or barrier of security for the male migrants, thus becoming dominant within this power relations. As the male migrant becomes vulnerable to violence from male members of the host, or native state, the process of power exchange becomes gendered. The perpetration of sexual violence and exploitation of the male migrant reveals the necessity to emasculate, for the opposite subject to become masculine and reassert its masculine identity, thus relating to the power relations within international relations.

The use of feminization with sexual abuse may not be state sanctioned in the host state, as with male refugees and migrants residing in Greek refugee camps, however, the use of violence becomes strategic and symbolic in destroying community bonding and cohesion. In a sense, the demonstration of power through state complacency at sexual abuse of male migrants and refugees becomes symbolic of state power, it's inherent violent nature, and the connection of nationalistic identification with masculinity. Such examples demonstrate the masculinity of statehood and it's use of violence, or complacency toward violence to assert its dominance, control, thus demonstrating the inherent violent and masculine nature of international relations.

While research and academic literature on the sexual abuse of refugee male migrants, specifically Syrian and Libyan refugees in Greece, are not extensively written on, this subject is in dire need of further research. The limitations of this research were that one did not have access to Greek refugee camps and could not conduct personal interviews with migration officers and male refugee victims. However, with the feminist critical analysis, it demonstrates how violence, sexuality, international relations, and the relation between human subject and the state hold a gendering element. This research discusses and conceptualizes how gender and male security

become challenged through the abuse of men, thus questioning normative discourse of international relations, and the expectations regarding the male gender. Apart from physically compromising physical security through sexual violence, gender security becomes jeopardized through sexual violence against the male subject, as the refugee is initially seen as a gendered identity. This research demonstrates the communication barriers within international relations discourse, as it leaves male victims unable to effectively voice their experiences, thus perpetuating normative perceptions of male female identities within sexual violence and power relations.

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