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Invisible Survivors

NGO-workers Reflections on Male and Female Survivors in Gulu, Northern Uganda

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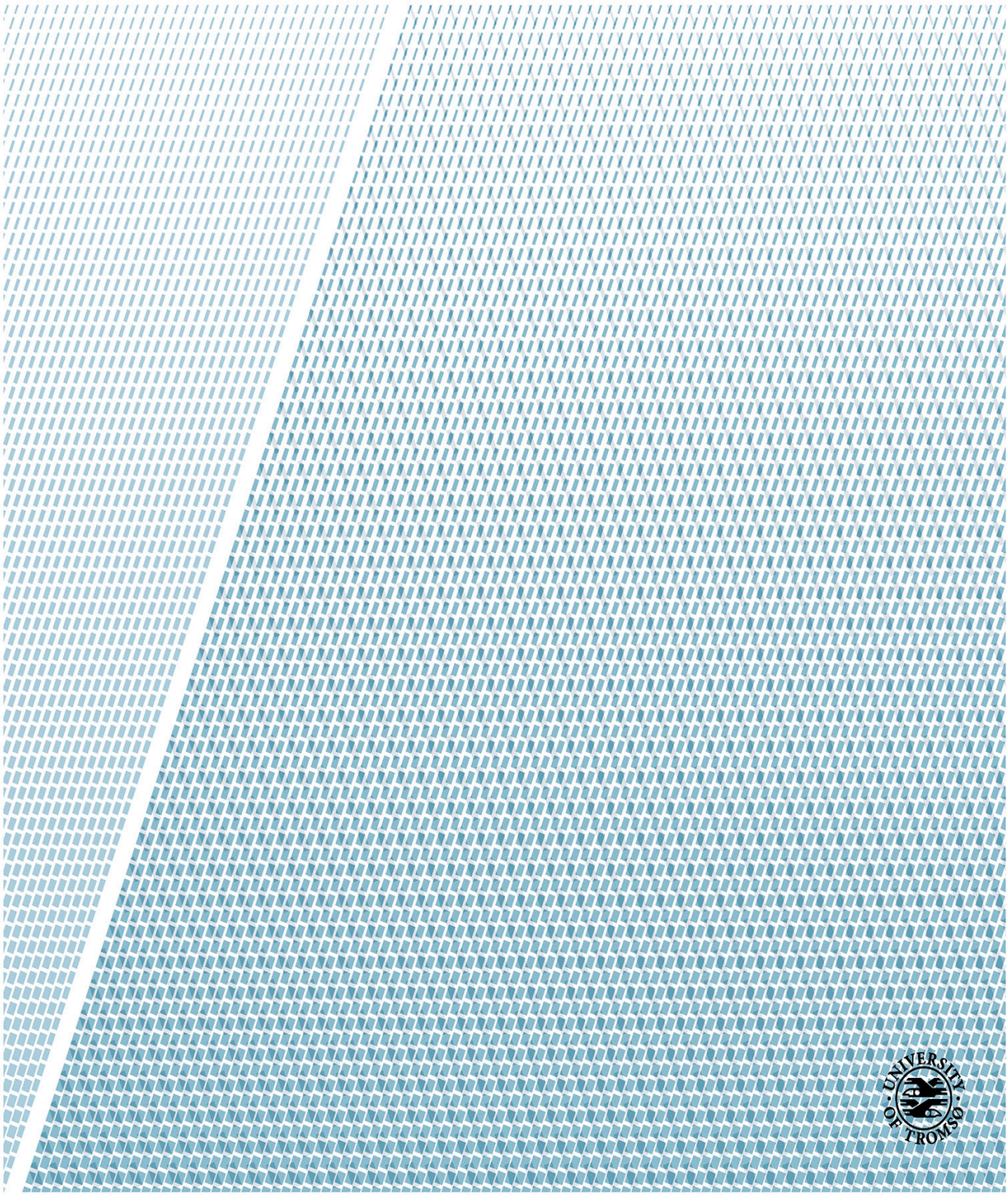

To my dear friend,

Elisabeth

I wish to dedicate this thesis to the people I met in Uganda. I want to thank you for the stories you told me, for sharing your happiness, your sorrows and your experiences, but most of all I want to thank you for showing me the courage and forgiveness that lies in all of us. I would like to especially thank Pamela, Grace, Irene, Mathew, Jerry and Godwin for letting me become a part of your lives for almost two months.

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Dear participants, thank you so much for sharing you experiences, knowledge and views. I appreciate the work you are doing for the survivors of sexual violence. You are all parts of this thesis and I hope you know and recognize that when you read it!

I am deeply grateful!

Sara

Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to map out the NGO-practitioners reflections on male and female survivors of sexual gender based violence (SGBV), in violent "peace" post conflict Gulu, Northern Uganda. To better understand how the NGO-practitioners make sense of sexual violence, perceive its survivors and how they address the survivors' needs. The empirical data is analysed through a gender lens, with a particular focus on masculinity and gender hierarchy. The survivors addressed are particularly those of intimate partner violence and male survivor. The study is conducted through an interview-based fieldwork.

The empirical findings show how a hegemonic form of masculinity does not only oppress women, but also men whom are not able to live up to the expected masculinity. The changing gender roles (chores and characteristics) and the consequences of war are factors that hinder men to accomplish the expected masculinity. To avoid being a degraded man, some men result to violence. Being a male survivor of sexual violence is perceived to emasculate, feminize and/or "taint" the survivor with homosexuality. The shame and taboo bound to be an "unreal man" hinders men from seeking assistance. Women are seen as "damaged" if they become victims of sexual violence. While women can be recognized as victims, men cannot, since victimhood is closely related to womanhood. The NGO-workers see survivors of intimate partner violence as victims, but they meet challenges in the community, where this abuse is considered to be normal and accepted. The NGO-workers acknowledged the existence towards male survivors, even though they mainly speak about them in reference to boys. Their openness towards male survivors is varied. The NGO-practitioners target survivors and their community with a variety of means. The main challenge the NGO-workers face is the lack of financial backing, lack of a safe place, corruption and mistrust.

The study is a contribution in the growing engagement on male survivors of sexual violence. It also invites to a debate on the continuation of violence in the domestic spheres after a war. Additionally, the study suggests that empowering alternative masculinities could be one way to target and hopefully reduce sexual violence.

Key words: sexual violence, survivors, victims, masculinity, gender hierarchy, patriarchy, dominance, hegemony, NGO, Northern Uganda

Acknowledgement

Dear reader,
This study has been a learning experience for me. As a researcher I have learned skills that have made me better on all stages of producing empirical knowledge. Academically I have learned allot about gender and how important gender is in a society and in interpersonal relations. What gender is, how the expectations to it affect us and how it can be changed. I have gained a better understanding on the dynamics behind sexual violence towards men or in relations were it is considered less important or as a part of everyday life. Preparing this project, meeting the people in Uganda, and encountered a spectrum of situations have not only given me more insight and enriched me as a person, but also developed my humanity. Handling my experiences after coming back home has made me reflect on my limits, ambitions and who I want to be, but has also taught me how I can handle situations that I may find myself in. Working with the empirical data, analysing and writing have been a mix of everything. I hope from the bottom of my heart that this thesis will give you as a reader, whether you are a NGO-practitioner in Northern Uganda, a academic or a friend, something to think about, an insight or a better understanding. I want to thank you for reading this thesis, and wish you all the best.

I. Abbreviations

GBV: Gender-based Violence

LRA: Lord Resistance Army, also referred to as the rebels

MSV: Male Sexual Violence, sexual violence on men

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

NRA: National Resistance Army, the military wing of the National Resistance movement

NRM: National Resistance Movement,

RLF: Refugee Law Project

STDs/STIs: Sexual Transmitted Diseases/Infections

SGBV: Sexual Gender-based Violence, also referred to as SV

SV: Sexual Violence

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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1. Introduction

Sexual violence against women has for several decades now been the centre of attention of development efforts and gender, development and peace research. Male victims of sexual violence are to a lesser degree recognized by the international community. We know little about why men are victims of sexual violence and why they do not report it. Neither do we possess good enough knowledge about their needs. Men and women survivors have received more attention when sexual violence is perpetrated in conflict situations, whereas those who suffer of sexual violence in a context that is neither war-like nor peaceful, has been largely ignored. They live in a context where a massive number of NGOs and researcher prioritize more acute conflict areas, while the governmental or private system is not fully developed or rebuilt to take on the needs of survivors of sexual violence. Northern Uganda is one such area, following the end of the war in 2006. The context of Uganda offers some interesting dimensions to an analysis of sexual violence against both men and women, such as the highly debated issue of homosexuality and the widespread and acknowledged violence against women. In this thesis there will be an emphasis on male victims – in relation to the common understanding of sexual violence directed at women. The specific focus will be on survivors of sexual violence that are not commonly recognized as survivors in a violent post-conflict setting – survivors of sexual domestic violence and male survivors.

1.1 Research questions

In this thesis I will do a general exploration of issues related to sexual violence against both men and women in Northern Uganda. I have chosen to target this topic by addressing *the reflections of specialized practitioners working for non-governmental organizations,* henceforth *NGOs,* on gender roles and sexual violence in Gulu district, Uganda. The NGO-workers are local staff that know their community well, and whom are specialized on GBV (gender-based violence) issues. It is their understanding of SGBV (sexual gender-based violence) that is the foundation of this thesis. The studies that I have come across from Northern Uganda often analyse the the victim/survivors or the perpetrators perspective on sexual violence. As far as I know - there have been no other studies that focus on specialized practitioners from this area. I therefore believe that a study with a practitioner perspective can be helpful when trying to understanding sexual violence and also the larger societal context in which it takes place. Firstly, practitioners have extensive and current field experience. Secondly, GBV NGO-workers comprise the natural, informal first line social services and

contact-person when someone has experienced rape or other forms of GBV, and thereby he or she might be the first person that the survivor shares his/her experiences with. Thirdly, they meet victims/survivors and their families on a daily basis, hence are aware of their needs and how these can be met in the local context. Lastly, they inform and sensitize the community on sexual violence and therefore contribute to the communal perception and opinion of survivors and sexual violence alike. By analysing the understanding of NGO-workers – it is possible to identify and approach prevailing perceptions, attitudes, needs and challenges within the field of GBV in the studied context. The main research questions aim at identifying the narratives on sexual violence among local NGO-workers and inform an analysis on gender constructions in Gulu district. The analysis is structured around three main research questions:

- How do the NGO-workers make sense of sexual violence against men and women?
- How aware and open are the specialized NGO-workers to male survivors of sexual violence?
- How do NGO-workers consider and address the needs of both male and female survivors?

The understanding of sexual violence presented here reflects the NGO-workers' perceptions– and equally their version of "survivor stories". The first research question targets how the NGO-workers understand the factors that are behind sexual assault, in other words why they believe it happens. The second question focus on the NGO-workers perception of males as survivors. I have included this specific question as I have found the lack of focus on male sexual violence to hinder and sometimes even exclude male survivors to be acknowledged as victims and thereby they are denied access to help. In most interviews I had to ask specifically if and under what circumstances men could be survivors, since they were not included when the NGO-worker freely reflected around sexual violence. If all survivors of sexual violence are to receive assistance they need to be recognized by the NGO-workers, hence their openness and awareness are key factors. The degree to which male victims of sexual violence are acknowledged is closely connected to the ways in which gender, masculinity and femininity is understood and constructed locally. I will therefore analyse through "gender lenses". Lastly, the needs of survivors will be addressed, here the NGO-workers identifies gaps in the current response.

Through my fieldwork in Gulu I collected data on gendered chores and characteristics to approach an understanding of prevailing gender practice and norms, sexual violence in

general (mostly on women survivors) and more specifically on male survivors in Gulu district. Mainly the research questions will be understood in a framework of patriarchy and a single version of masculinity and victimhood. Patriarchy, which academically can be a troubled term, is used here to reflect the participants view if their contemporary society. The analysis and the data presented in this thesis does not explain the-one-and-only reality, it portrays parts of multiple realities, which the participants shared at the time of the interviews. Multiple realities is how our personal narratives are reflected in our perception and understanding of the social world (Shultz, 1945, p. 534). From a multiple realities perspective one can get a wider range of perceptions and attitudes among the NGO-workers on sexual violence and survivors of it. Such wide understanding can give an indication of the many perspectives that survivors have to take into account when deciding on what to do after the assault and how differently the community can perceive them.

1.2 Relevance, importance and motivations

It was the invisibility of male sexual violence (MSV) that first triggered me to conduct this study. It is largely invisible in research, daily conversations, laws, among health personnel and in donor- and NGO-activities (Human Security Report 2012, 2012, p. 20; Stemple, 2009, p. 612; Sivakumaran, 2010, p. 260). It seems almost like the only ones whom MSV was visible too, are who had experienced it and they often stay silent. I find it conspicuous with all the focus on gender-based and sexual violence that not all gendered combinations are targeted (female on male, male on female, male on male and female on female). Sexual violence as a focus area has risen with the focus on women and women's rights. Women-rights activists who work for gender neutrality and equality argue for female survivors, and mainly for female survivors who has been raped by males. By doing so, they keep other victims marginalized. There are a few scholars who do write and research on MSV, and most of them appeal to more research and knowledge about male sexual violence (Sivakumaran, 2010; 2007; Stemple, 2009; Carpenter, 2006). This is an answer to that appeal, even though women survivors also are a part of this thesis.

Uganda is particularly interesting because it has many elements that speak against, and some might argue, even prevents sexual violence against men. I am thinking of the role and the interpretation of religion, the traditional culture, the hierarchal social patterns and the legislation against homosexuality and same-sex interaction. These social structures can

prevent rape from happening, since those values can be internalised in the individuals mind and reality, but at the same time they also prevents survivors coming forward. The war in Northern Uganda is not known to be a sexualized war that uses "rape as a weapon of war", such as the DRC or Liberia, but that is not the same as it did not happen at all (Human Security Report 2012, 2012, pp. 17,20). Sexual violence against women was and still remains widespread (Human Security Report 2012, 2012, p. 34). Sexual violence was also directed against males in Uganda during the war (Dolan, 2006, p. 74). Intimate partner violence towards both men and women is documented in rural Uganda (Koenig, et al., 2003, pp. 55-56)[1]. According to the participants this is also the case in today's violent "peace" post conflict and reconstructing setting. Now as then, it is a taboo and it remains hidden. It almost seems like it never has, or does exist. The stories are there, but not seen, told or heard. I have chosen to look into why they are not, in order to create an entry point for discussions and reflections on how the situation is today.

This thesis focuses on sexual violence in both domestic and civilian settings, but where I find it useful I draw on literature on sexual violence from the conflict in Northern Uganda. By focusing on domestic and sexual violence in the civilian society, I target the most common form of sexual violence. Yet, even though it is the most common form, it is not frequently targeted on the international political stage or in academia. The mainstream narrative in academia, newspapers and in organizations is on sexual violence in conflict-affected areas, often limited to a few conflicts[2], hence not offering a representative framework of sexual violence world wide (Human Security Report 2012, 2012, pp. 17,20). I therefore find it important to emphasize that sexual violence does also happen outside the war/conflict context.

1.3 Scope and limitations

Survivors of sexual violence encounter a particular form of stigma – were the survivor is often seen as spoiled or less worth - that other forms of violence are without. Sexual violence is less visible contra other forms of direct violence, since the physical injuries are not exposed in the same way as for example a lost arm or lost eyesight. Survivors of sexual violence[3] are often able to continue their income bringing activities and many survivors choose to suffer in

[1] The study was done in Rakai district which is not a district in Northern Uganda. The study defines verbal and physical abuse as domestic violence.
[2] Bosnia, Rwanda, DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan. See Human Security Report 2012, 2012, p 20.
[3] Survivors of sexual violence can experience ruptures, continues bleedings, pain and pregnancy, that prevent the survivor to do what he or she used to in Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall, 2009, p 3.

silence, rather than seek help and assistance after the assault (Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall, 2009, p. 3). By focusing particular attention on practitioners view upon and understanding of MSV in this thesis, I wish to emphasise that men, women and children survivors should be addressed with equal efforts and respect[4]. I believe that it is important to target all forms of violence and all survivors simultaneously.

The theoretical framework presented here is almost exclusively based on gender and sexuality. This has a few reasons. Firstly, the participants viewed gender as an important explanatory framework to sexual violence. Secondly, my limited cultural understanding, lack of language and short timespan in the local context, made it impossible for me to obtain a complete understanding of the complexity that exists in the Acholi society, as societies elsewhere. I have done my best to understand, analyse and present what the participants told me, and what I learned when I was in Gulu.

1.4 Thesis outline

This thesis will start by presenting Northern Uganda and the Gulu district. In the theoretical framework that follows I will knit together perspectives from gender studies, masculinity theories in general and male sexual violence in particular as well as insights learned from former case studies on gender relations. The power of masculinity constructions, or more exactly the division of power in a gendered hierarchy, can easily be perceived as natural or "everlasting", I therefore want to highlight that these are social constructs amenable to change. My aim is to create a theoretical framework that closely relates to gendered practices in Northern Uganda. I want those who are familiar to that society to recognize the framework that parts of their society are interpreted within. A close linkage between theory and practise is useful if the research should be translated into practical response mechanisms and efforts. Lastly in chapter 2, the epistemological position of this thesis is presented. The historical, theoretical and epistemological framework creates the backdrop for both the methodological and analytic reflections. In chapters 4, 5 and 6 I present and analyse the empirical material. In chapter 4 I address the local meanings and understandings of gender, that again influence the analysis in chapter 5 where I systematically address the research questions and chapter 6 where I take a particular look on male-on-male sexual violence. In chapter 7 I try to meet the gaps identified by NGO-workers, by suggesting way of improving the response and assistance to survivors. Lastly, I will offer a conclusion in chapter 8.

[4] Men/boys and women/girls should neither be prioritized over transgendered people.

PART ONE - Contextual Framework

2. Background, Theoretical Framework and Epistemology

2.1 Northern Uganda

Uganda is part of the Great Lakes Region. Bordering Kenya, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Tanzania, Uganda is a landlocked country. The resourceful region has encountered long periods of instability and violent conflict. Uganda has a population of 24.4 million[5] and 38% lives in extreme poverty[6]. Uganda is divied in to the Western, Central, Eastern and Northern Region. This study was conducted in Gulu, the capital of the Northern region. The North is divided into Gulu, Pader, Kitgum and Amuru district, also known as the Acholi region. It has a populaiton on 1,145,437, which is 5% of the total number of inhabitants in Uganda. The district's administrative capital is Gulu town, this is also the area in the North where most NGOs are stationed, hence the location of the research (Finnström, 2008, pp. 32-33; UN Statisics Division, 2013). Uganda were colonized by the British in 1894. They applied divide-and-rule tactics in order to controle the different ethic groups. They made the Northernes (Acholi and Langa) in charge of military and high administrative positions, since they were generally seen as trustworthy.

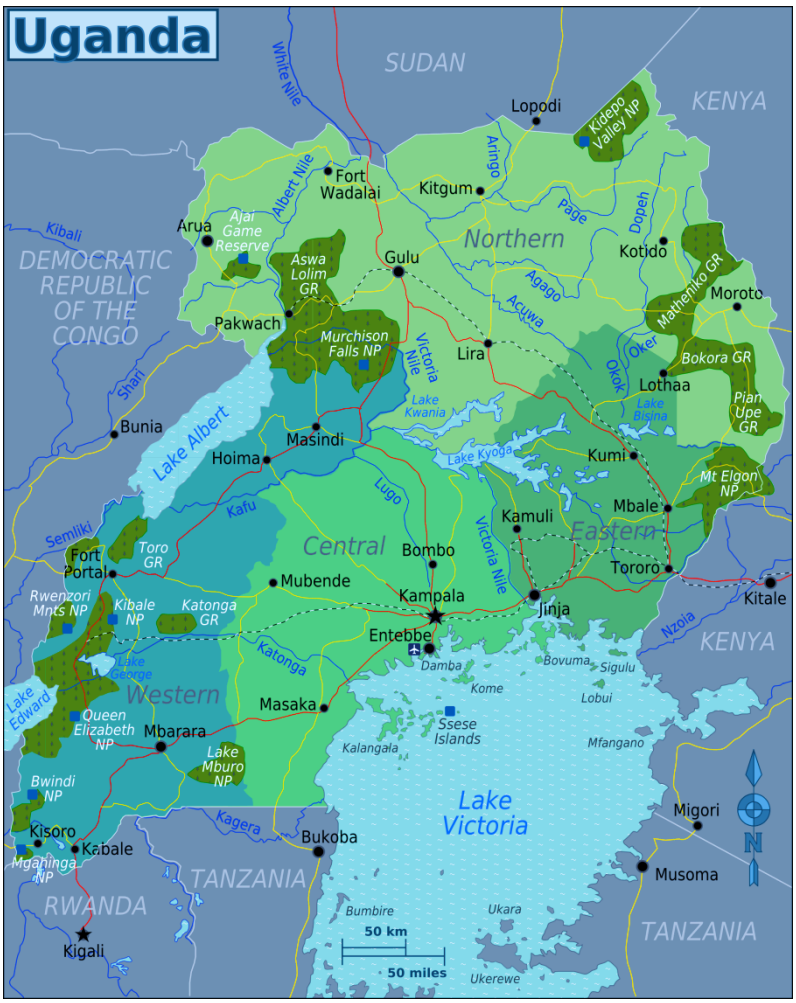

Figure 1. Regional Map of Uganda (worldofmaps.net)

[5] Numbers from 2002
[6] Under 1 USD per day per person. See http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/SeriesDetail.aspx?srid=580

The southerners, mostly Buganda, were placed in the civil-service sector. They were also given seeds, which made them more successful farmers. In other words, ethnical belonging was used to divide the military and the economical power.

When Uganda in 1962 got its independence the southerners were prioritized in constitution. A foundation of rivalry for power had been created where both Milton Obote (northerner) and Idi Amin (southerner) were self-proclaimed presidents, both which are known for their violence on civilians in the south and the north respectively. In 1986, the southerner and current president, Museveni and his political party NRM (National Resistance Movement) did a coup d'état on Obote. NRMs military forces moved north, where UPLA soldiers[7], and armed groups that now are known under Lord Resistance Army[8], henceforth LRA, were stationed (Dolan, 2011, pp. 39-46). The war between those parties togheter with, what Finnström calls bad sourndings[9], and the lack of a peace agreement, forced 1.9 million people into internally displaced peoples camps (IDP camps). The 20 year long conflict - have had widereaching complications for the lives of individuals, families and the society. Even though a peace agreement was never signed and perpetrators not convicted, the violence declined after the ceasefire in 2006. The LRA has withdrawn from Northern Uganda, but continue their activites elsewhere (Finnström, 2008, p. 5).

During the war the civillan population was trapped in a circle of terror performed by the warring parties in order to gain control (Dolan, 2011, pp. 1-2). The civillans were accused by both soldiers and rebels for being traitors and their loyalty was frequently tested. The Acholi, which were farmers and cattle herders, lost their land and calttle when their villages were looted and they had to flee into the IDP camps. Thereby their income, social status, pride and ability to provide for themselves was limited, and they became dependent on food rations and protection from others to survive (Dolan, 2011, pp. 6, 191; Finnström, Living in Bad Sourroundings, 2008, pp. 13, 34-35, 154-159, 175-176).

The fieldwork was concentrated in Gulu district, mainly in Gulu town. I used interviews to gain insight in how the NGO-workers perceived survivors of sexual violence and their situation. During my two months in Uganda, whereof 6 weeks in Gulu, I tried to partake in

[7] Soldiers that belonged to the over-ruled government
[8] Mainly a coalition between Holy spirit movement and returning UNDF (Ugandan National Defence Front)
[9] Living under disempowering circumstances (Finnström, Living in Bad Surroundings, 2008, p. 10)

different aspects of the social life, from religious ceremonies to simply talking with people on the bus. At one point I was invited to accompany the Bishop and some priests of the Northern Ugandan archdiocese to a ceremony some hours distance outside Gulu. The Bishop and the priests blessed the ground where a church was going to be build and a ceremony followed where prayers were said, especially for those children who were affected by nodding disease, which is rampant in the area. Lastly, three girls who were claimed to be possesed by evil spirits were presented to the eqipage. When the Bishop and the priest said the words of God, the girls tried to hide under grass that they ripped from the ground. After the ceremony I was told by one of the priests that the girls were possesed of the spirits of LRA rebels which used to live and hide in the "bush" surrounding the village. The spirits were most likely commanders, since the eivil spirits were "stubborn" and it took the priests a long time to drive them out. I belive that this describes how present the conflict is in the hearts and minds of the people and how they make sense of the traumas and experieces from the war. I therefore find it hard to define a phase that the Northern Ugandan community is in. Finnström (2008, pp. 11-12) descibes how a families in Northern Uganda "struggle for normality in the midst of war". I belive that this, at least partly, is still the situation. People are trying to find a sense of normality in a period which is still uncertain, were land conflicts, high rates of GBV and the perceived discrimination from the government in Kampala[10] is felt everyday. Still, there is also a thriving life in markets, children are attending school and the citizens enjoy a freedom of mobility that they did not experience during the war. The transformation process, if one can call it that, is complex. As one women I encountered said "I will never forget [what happened to her during the war], but I have to forgive". This statement shows a willingness and a wish to move on and live in a peaceful society. Even though some parts of society see the fruits of the striving peace, the conflict is still paramountly present in other parts. Sexual violence is one of those aspects of the society that has not notably changed. Liebling-Kalifani and Baker (2010, pp. 23-24) describes the situation like this,

> "…to think of Northern Uganda as `post-conflict´ is problematic. Conflict has stopped. There may be a military and political peace of sorts; but there has been no cessation of sexual violence. There is no post-sexual-conflict. Sexual violence lives on at very high rate…"

[10] Among the people I spoke to, while I was in Gulu, the power and gasoline shortage symbolized a power demonstration from the government in Kampala. The power and gas shortages affected the local business and and transportation, especially the bodaboda –drivers which were dependent on gas to their motorbikes. This again reduced the income for the affected families.

To live daily with fear of sexual violence, even in your own home, cannot be considered to portray a peaceful society. To me, it seems like a calm sea on the surface, but underneath there are strong currents ripping at the core of society. Parpart (2012, pp. 92-95) has seen a trend in African post conflict nations, where the wars have not changed funadamental development problems. There is still a high level of insecurity on a personal and collective level, due to a continuation of violence, increased poverty, corruption and lack of employment. Parpart (2012, p. 95) defines the state of these societies to be in a violent "peace" of post conflict stage. Based on in the current situation of Northern Uganda today, it is natural to place the region under this label.

2.2 Epistemology

This thesis builds on a social constructivist epistemology. The social constructivist tradition holds that there does not exist any objective truth about the social world. They stress the importance of local culture and the societal context, when all human beings make sense and construct their reality of the social world. Previous personal and learned experiences and understandings affect how the individual perceive, reflect and understand the social world, which he or she lives in. In other words, it is our perception of the world, which defines how our "reality" is understood. Alfred Shultz (1945, p. 534) explains it like this

> "All interpretation of this world is based upon a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers, which in the form of "knowledge at hand" function as scheme of reference."

Said in another way, our personal narratives construct the premises under which we understand the world. By gaining new experiences or knowledge, our personal narratives change, and thereby also our perceptions of society. Social constructs and social realities are dynamic, even though such processes can be time consuming. This means that everyone has his or her understanding and version of reality (or realities), but that they to some extent can change.

2.2.1 Gender as a conceptual framework

Gender research, focus on the social meanings and expectations of gender at specific times and places. As Tuyizere (2007, p. 108) writes "…women and men are made rather than born". In this sense gender constitutes part of an individual, complex and fluctuating identity along with other identity factors such as class, race, sexuality and political views. The relationship

between sex and gender is dependent on which approach is used or in what cultural context these concepts are viewed. The most prevailing view among the participants in this study is that sex and gender are very close knit. The biological male- and female-categorization most often indicates if an individual is considered a man or a woman. Thereby sex comes with a myriad of social codes and expectations that these gendered categories imply in the given context. This perspective enhances the perception that masculinity and femininity are opposites rather than fluid characteristics that are applicable to both sexes. Connell (2005, p. 68) argues that, "Masculinity does not exist except in contrast with femininity". In this sense the division of gender serves as an organizational principal to better understand the society (Cleaver, 2006, p. 7). Tuyizere (2007, p. 4) has a similar understanding: "Gender myths are socially and culturally constructed beliefs or ideas about men and women, which explain the origin, personalities and mental capacities of men and women, and which control sexuality, access to food, roles and responsibilities". Baaz and Stern (2010, p. 42) argue that "Gendered power inequalities are embedded in the production and reproduction of gender norms, which regulate the character and behaviour of "good women and good men". This means that certain expectations are deeply - but not permanently - inhabited in gender chores and characteristics. The reproduction and change of gender chores and characteristics in the society can come from for example NGO-activities, new economic patterns and conflict. This is an approach that I stand behind. So, gender is throughout this thesis understood as the socially constructed behavioural expectations and experiences that often are set to men and women, boys and girls.

2.3.2 Gendered hierarchy and gendered practices

Gendered chores and characteristics are socially constructed and continuously reproduced by new and traditional factors and patterns – and by the individuals who follow them. During interviews the participants and I spoke about gender roles to describe different expectations and understandings of men and women, as this was a concept that everyone was familiar with and the NGO-workers frequently used in their work. One participant gave this example of how gender is constructed,

> "You see, you have two children, both 14 and they got to school. One is a girl and one is a boy. In the morning the girl is expected to wake up very early to wipe the floor, fetch water and probably make breakfast and than go to school. When she comes back she goes about doing washing, cooking, serving, so she is tired by the time she should read. Meanwhile the boy can come home from school, play a bit, not much work is given to the boy."
>
> NGO-worker 5, July 2012

This example illustrates the different gendered expectations of girls and boys. Connell (2000, p. 23) argues "…the "male role" approach has severe limits. It has difficulty in understanding inequality, power, diversity and processes of change". The male role (or the use of gender roles in general), restricts the individual to affect his or her own social being. It is argued that roles are constructed by socialization where the individual is not more than a receiver and reflector. The aspect of being a receiver is that the individual "learn from the messages transmitted by family, school and mass media, and they try to conform to the social stereotype of manliness" (Connell, 2000, p. 23). In other words, the gendered expression is a result of what the individual absorbs from the surroundings, hence are formed by external factors only. The individual as reflector is that he or she reflects or mirrors the contextual gender expectations, and thereby reproduces the behaviour and enforces it on others. The participants mainly described the gender roles to be a result of outer pressure, - other individuals' behaviour and expectations – but also individual's own reflections, which - from a social constructivist perspective - are based on previously, learned and experienced realisations. When describing gender the participants often began with a number of set expectations and tasks for girls and boys and men and women. This indicates that gender is learned through socialization at an early age and that the pressure from relatives and the community to behave accordingly is high. The concept of gender roles limits the possibility the individual has to reflect, change and behave according to his or her values – I have therefor chosen to use gendered chores and characteristics. The chores are the expected practical aspect of gender i.e. cooking or herding, while the expected gender characteristics is for example strong or obedient in the words of Dolan, (2011, pp. 60-61, 70-71) what men or women are supposed to like. What element (societal pressure or the individuals reflections) that becomes dominant in the production of chores and characteristics depends on the social capacity the society has to influence the life of the individual and the individual's reflections. Even though the individual can affect his or her own chores and characterises, the society consist of multiple individuals who also has this opportunity. The mainstream understanding of what the gendered chores and characteristics should be like, creates pressure on the individuals and at the same time defines the gender hierarchy in the society. Which form the gender hierarchy has, depends on the organization of power between the genders. In the Acholi society men are more powerful than women, and thereby they have a patriarchal societal structure. A patriarchy can be understood as,

> ”Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Men are deemed to be superior and women require controlling. It is the foundation upon which gender relations are based. It governs how social and state institutions operate and the values and attitudes forming these operations. Patriarchy manifests itself in the culture and religion…” (Chapman 1989, in Tuyizere, 2007, p. 9)

Gender hierarchy – here presented in the form of patriarchy- is a power structure justified by gender, or the superiority one gender has over the other. The structure is reflected in all aspects of society, but the visibility and acceptance of this structure varies after the context in which it exists. It is not only between the genders that it is a hierarchy, but also within the particular gender. In other words, there is also a power inequality between the dominant men/women and the subordinate men/women. The masculinity or femininity that is dominant in the hierarchy is called hegemonic. Connell (2005, pp. 76-77) defines hegemonic masculinity as

> “…the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable...The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women”

The masculinity (or femininity) that becomes hegemonic is the one that answers to the expectations in the society at that time and by doing so gain a legitimate power position. Within the gender hierarchy the *gender relations* are produced. Tuyizere (2007, p. 129) explains “The concept of gender relation refers to the relations of power and dominance within a structure and the life choices of men and women”. The individuals’ position in the hierarchy indicates his or her level of power, authority and status. In the relation between men and women there is an unequal distribution of power and in the Acholi community men normally has a higher position in the hierarchy than women. Gendered relations also apply within the same gender, but here the individual’s ability of living up to the gender expectations are one defining factor[11] (Cleaver, 2006, pp. 6-7). In other words there are several masculinities and femininities, which one of these that are most valued depend on

[11] The hierarchy is an invisible system, and where in this system an individual is placed, depends on gender and the ability to live up to the expectation, but also class, family, ethnicity and other defining characteristics that an individual is ascribed to.

which is currently accepted and expected. Dolan (2011, p. 169; 2006, p. 60) writes "the hegemonic model…is normative in that men are taught they should aspire to judge themselves by it, and state and society in turn judge and assess them against it – before either validating, or belittling and punishing them." The men that do not live up to the current hegemonic masculinity – where there is little or no room for alternative masculinities - are either considered to be lesser men or in some cases women – since the opposite of men in the Acholi culture, are women.

2.3.3. Heterosexuality and homosexuality

Heterosexuality is a central attribute to hegemonic masculinity in most societies. Similarly Kitzinger and Wilkinson in Hockey et al. (2007, p. 1) describe heterosexuality universally as a "silent term" or "given". This indicates how "natural" heterosexuality is, also in the Ugandan society. Hockey et al. (2007, p. 5) write "…heterosexuals are a socially inscribed class, whereas lesbians and gay men are sexually inscribed grouping". In other words heterosexuality is the norm, the assumed sexuality that no one questions, while those who are homosexuals are categorized based on their sexuality. Heterosexuality and homosexuality is not as contrary concepts as masculinity and femininity, because heterosexuality – in the case of Uganda – is naturally assumed. Our social identities depend on how we perceive our selves and how others perceive us (Jenkins, 2004, p. 18; Hockey, Meah, & Robinson, 2007, p. 9).

By not conforming to the existing construction and expectation of asocial identity, such as "man", by not displaying or communicating heterosexuality, a man's identity as a "real man" will be questioned. Heterosexuality is not only a question of sexual desire and practice, but also a principle of social organization and identity (Hockey, Meah, & Robinson, 2007, pp. 9-15). By not addressing homo- or bisexuality, it is possible to uphold the dominant position of heterosexuality. Also here can a hierarchal model be useful. Heterosexuality is the hegemonic sexuality, while bi- and homosexuality are the subordinated, and often silenced, sexualities. In Uganda the sexual hierarchy is closely linked to the gendered hierarchy, since the gendered hierarchy have strict characteristics to the individuals sexuality in order to qualify as a real man or woman. Virility, sexual activity and an exclusive sexual attraction to women are defining "features". If one of these should be taken away the man would be emasculated – he would loose his masculinity. Hence, I would state that heterosexuality has a much more definite, clear and dominant position than masculinity in the gender hierarchy. A public focus on male-on-male rape can challenge the "natural" position and domination of heterosexuality. Zarkov (Zarkov, 2001, p. 81) writes in an article on the exposure of sexualized male bodies

from the Jugoslav conflict, "Too much exposure of sexually victimized male bodies, in a culture in which dominant masculinity is equated with power and heterosexuality is impossible. Where only women are seen as rape victims, there is little discursive space for the existence of the male victim of rape". Raped men challenges the traditional power relations in the realm of gender and sexuality in the Acholi society. Ultimately, it also challenges religion and what is understood as given and justified. Homosexuality is denoted as "unnatural" in the Ugandan society. In the article "Homosexuality: Is it normal or is it a sick lifestyle?" published in Daily Monitor[12], is it stated "A "normal" person, that is, a heterosexual, should under ordinary circumstances find the very idea of homosexuality repugnant" (Kalyegris, 2013).

The changing social conditions do not only apply to Northern Uganda, but to the whole Ugandan society. Even though the rest of Uganda did not experience war as in the north, women empowerment has still questioned the position of men as dominant. Some men have become anxious over loosing their position in the society, - due to women empowerment and decreasing power in masculine domains – and do therefore fear that alternative masculinities and femininities gain acceptance and with that power (Stein, 2005, p. 605). As said, the existing version of masculinity in Gulu district and the gender hierarchy is heteronormative. Which, in other words means that there is a norm, or I would even state that there is an obligation, to be heterosexual.

It is a risk that the increasing focus on homosexuality in Uganda, for example by gay-activists, religious spokespersons and politicians, that is mainly geographically placed to Kampala and its surrounding areas, is spreading through TV and radio stations to other parts of Uganda. The anxious man, as described by Stein (2005), does thereby have another factor that questions the hegemonic masculinity, namely homosexuality. Homosexuality - since it is non-gender conforming- brushes out the strict gender division between men and women, since their identity does not match with any of the acknowledged gender identities (Stein, 2005, p. 603). To avoid such development, homosexuals, gay-activists and new masculinities are hold in check by marginalization, and do therefore not currently pose a threat to the hegemonic masculinity and the gender hierarchy as they could do. In Uganda, homosexuality

[12] Daily Monitor is one of Uganda's leading newspapers.

is said to be un-African[13], since it goes against culture, religion and law. The religious aspect, mainly Christian, is that biblical text consider it immoral to have same-sex sexual relations. According to Penal Code Act of 1950, Chapter 120 in section 145, unnatural offences – that is, homosexuality, is "liable to imprisonment for life." Those who attempt to commit such act can be convicted to seven years of imprisonment. The newly proposed bill, popularly known as "kill the gays-bill" suggests that those convicted for homosexuality should face death penalty. Furthermore, it advocates that friends and neighbours are obligated to report individuals they suspect engage in such relations (Bunting 2010 and Ewins 2011 in Msibi 2011, p. 58). As a result of these conditions it might be challenging to report same-sex sexual violence.

2.4 Sexual violence in general

Gender-based violence is defined by IASC (Inter-Agency Standing Committee) as "…any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person´s will and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between males and females" (IASC, 2005, p. 7). Some forms of GBV targets men and women alike, while others are more gender specific. Forced recruitment and sex-selected massacres are more often directed towards men, whilst genital mutilation and forced pregnancy target women Transgendered people are more prone to be victims of abuse and persecution based on their "non-traditional" gender identity, as are gay men and women based on their sexual orientation. There are some forms of GBV that apply to all genders, such as rape, sexual exploitation, and domestic violence. These, together with sexual slavery, sexual harassment, attempted rape, forced sterilization, and sexual abuse are some expressions of sexual violence (Bastick, Grimm, & Kunz, 2007, pp. 18-19). It is important to emphasised that all survivors of sexual violence, not only those who been raped, should be prioritized (Baaz & Stern, The Complexity of Violence, 2010, p. 45). SGBV are most known to happen to women and girls, but is has been reported against men in 25 conflicts in the last decade (Bastick, Grimm, & Kunz, 2007, p. 13, Stemple, 2009, pp. 612-613). The statistics[14] over GBSV and GBV in general, are believed to be an under-representation (WHO i, 2002, pp. 150-151). This study does *not* aim at presenting the prevalence of rape and defilement.

[13] The terms homosexuality or gay are western terms, and in that sense not African. Neither is the penal code against homosexuality, which was made by the British under the colonial rule. However same-sex desire has existed throughout the continent, and the world, regardless of criminalization regimes (Msibi, 2011, pp. 55,57).
[14] The statistical accounts on sexual violence do vary a lot. I have chosen to give some statistical accounts, to illustrate that it is a problem, but I want to emphasize that getting a correct data on survivors of sexual violence, whether it is a male or female survivor, is highly problematic and challenging due to the personal, intimate and stigmatic nature a sexual assault can have. More reflection upon this can be found in Ch. 3

Rather, the focus is on specialized NGO-workers and their understandings of sexual violence, victims thereof and the needs of survivors.

Attention to sexual violence on the international scene has its roots in the women's rights movement. The women's rights movement has constructed the overall grand narrative of sexual violence in literature and on the ground-efforts, but has also contributed in the construction of a very particular version of the victim-perpetrator relation - namely that of women as perpetual victims and men as perpetual perpetrators (Sivakumaran, 2005, p. 1275). This understanding is predominant on global, regional, national and local levels. This grand narrative hides three alternative victim-perpetrator constellations: female perpetrator - male victim; male perpetrator - male victim; and female perpetrator - female victim. The latter will not be examined in this thesis, as it was unheard of among the participants, even though this does not mean that it does not happen. The three other forms will be elaborated on in Chapter 5 (Bastick, Grimm, & Kunz, 2007, p. 19; Sivakumaran, 2010, pp. 265-269). In other words, GBV and SGBV are not limited to women and girls it also includes boys, men and transgendered people. Even though there is an increased recognition of men and boys as survivors of sexual violence in some publications, men, boys and transgendered people are still mostly left out in many humanitarian organizations' practical efforts and in official definitions of potential survivors (Sivakumaran, 2010, pp. 265-269). Sivakumaran (2010, p. 267) shows that women are prioritized above men in Security Counsel Resolution 1820. The resolution is inclusive to who can be a survivor of sexual violence. Yet, when it comes to practical measures such as implementation and prevention, men are not included as potential victims. For example does the resolution state that "…personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, including women and children, and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations..." Stemple (2009, p. 612) found that only three out of 4 076 NGOs around the globe mentioned that men and boys could be survivors of sexual violence. These examples can be rather illustrative when examining the position of male survivors in the context of NGOs understanding and efforts.

In other words, as it is a hierarchy between men and women, there is also a hierarchy between men and men and another between women and women. In the two latter hierarchies the superior men/women are dominant over the subordinated men/women. Individuals' ability to live up to the defining characteristics of a particular gender in a particular time and place

determinates the individuals' position in the gendered hierarchy. If a man is emasculated, his masculine abilities and characteristics – powerful, in control and protective – are taken away.. The feeling of lost manhood can be amplified if the family and community are backing up on the survivors' perspective on himself as less masculine. In a male dominated society, being a victim of sexual violence is strongly associated with femininity. Another outcome of sexual violence, that has already been touched upon is the survivor being perceived and questioned as a homosexual. No matter if the survivor is viewed as emasculated, feminized or homosexual, he has lost his social status and is not considered being a real man anymore. It is most likely an incomplete presentation, but provides a take on male sexual violence from a gender perspective.

2.5.1 Sexual violence in Northern Uganda

During the conflict in Northern Uganda it is estimated that 1.9 million people in Northern Uganda had to seek refuge in IDP camps (Finnström, Living in Bad Sourroundings, 2008, p. 5). In and outside camps, SGBV was a problem during the war for both men and women. Finnström (2003, p. 247) notes, "…ethnic categories more easily become more refined than they were before [a war]. As part of this, the ethnic enemy is targeted through rape and other forms of gender based violence against enemy women (and less frequently men)". Given the strong element of ethnicity during the war, SGBV has been understood as a means to demonstrate control and power over another ethnic group (Dolan, 2006, p. 75). SGBV was perceived differently if it happened in the camps or outside. SGBV towards women within the camps were perceived as marital rape or defilement, while outside the camp, it was referred to as rape. Okello and Hovils (2007, p. 442) report that also "survival sex" happened, which means selling sex for food in order to provide for the family. Furthermore their research shows that GBV as such is linked to men's failure to live up to the ideals of men and masculinity, for example by not being able to provide for the family or paying school fees (Okello & Hovils, 2007, pp. 439-441). Furthermore they showed that 6 out of 10 women experiences some form of sexual violence[15] from someone close to them (Akumu, Okot, Amony, & Otim, 2005, pp. iii,9).

Male rape during the war in Northern Uganda is rarely written about. One study shows that 8% of the questioned civilian men in Amuru and Gulu district had been sexually abused or raped (Roberts, Ocaka, Browne, Oyok, & Sondorp, 2008, p. 44). During the war there were

[15] Sexual violence here refers to sexual assult, humiliation or threat.

especially one NRM battalion, which was known for raping men called the "Tekgungo Battalion" [16] or "Gunga". Tekgungo is translated into "bend over with difficulty" and is the Acholi word for male-on-male rape. The term surfaced when NRM soldiers raped Acholi men during the war. It is suggested that the need for a new term to describe male-on-male rape indicates that male-on-male rape previously rarely existed in the area (Dolan, 2006, pp. 74-75; 2011, p. 45). Another explanation can be that the male-on-male rape had previously been silenced, but since the war rapes were performed in the open they were hard to conceal. The Acholi Parliamentary group states"…The NRA [National Resistance Army, the military wing of the National Resistance movement] Mobile Battalion nicknamed 'GUNGA' committed homosexual acts even with very old men, raped wives, mothers and daughters in the presence of their family" (Human Rights Watch/Afrcian Human Rights Watch Children Project, 2007, p. 94). The battalion was most active during six or seven months in 1989-1990. At the time there was a heightened prevalence of STDs/STIs in the area, and it was rumoured that the spreading of STDs/STIs to the civilian population was part of a tactic intended to kill the Acholi population (Dolan, 2011, p. 45; Finnström, 2008, pp. 186-187; Dolan, 2006, pp. 74-75). The informants in Finnströms (2008, p. 187) study described the spreading of STDs/STIs through rape as "the silent gun". With a high rate of HIV/AIDS in the area, the threat and fear of being raped increased. The stigma of being a raped man was high, supposedly higher than for women. In Dolan (2006, p. 75) a workshop participant describes a survivor of tek gungo like this "when a man is raped it takes away his manhood and he fails to act to bring change". In Dolan (Dolan, 2011, p. 45) it is stated to be "regarded as worse than being killed". There are however few accounts from survivors since many of them committed suicide and those alive have been and continue to be reluctant to speak about it (Dolan, 2006, p. 75; 2011, p. 45). The message spelled out on bodies of male victims was a message of revenge, humiliation and degradation of Acholi men in general, not only the individual victims thereof (Dolan, 2011, p. 45).

Violence exists in pre-war, war, post-war and everything in between, it exists in structures and in culture and outburst in situations where resistance seems to be justified (Cockburn, 2004, p. 31). When violence occurs in the transition phase between war and post-war it is called the continuum perspective. In Northern Uganda the displaced population started to resettle in the villages and cities in the late 1980s, mid-1990 and in the beginning of 2000,

[16] Also spelled Tek Gungu.

since they thought that the war was over. The displaced population was however, each time forced to go move back to the IDP camps, due to continuations of the war (Dolan, 2011, p. 51). When the displaced population resettled the forth time they were able to stay. Living in a context of a 20-year long war has consequences for the future societal development. The livelihoods in villages had to be reinvented, infrastructure rebuilt and crops reseeded (Cockburn, 2004, p. 40). While living in those IDP camps women sometimes gained power and new skills that they brought with them into the new post IDP context. Sexual violence also occurs on a continuum from (relative) peace to war situations. Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2002, p. 10) writes, "The extreme violence that women suffer during conflict does not arise solely out of the conditions of war; it is directly related to the violence that exists in women's lives during peacetime". In a study from 2010 it is reported that two-thirds of women over age 15 have experienced physical violence form an intimate partner in Uganda, and that 39 % had experienced sexual violence in the age rage 15-49, whereof 44% is perpetrated by an intimate partner (Numbers used by Amnesty International, 2010, pp. 26-28). There are no records of sexual violence against men. The militarization in wartime increases the level of weapons, fosters a strict hierarchy and intensifies the patriarchal ideology and with that the division of men and women, masculinity and femininity (Cockburn, 2004, pp. 31-33). The direct violence is a result of a collective pressure on the individual, women's empowerment included. While informing our understanding of violence against women, a weakness with this perspective is that it does not address male sexual violence, either in war, post conflict settings or peacetime. Perhaps sexual violence towards men is a radicalized form of what in peacetime is expressed through emotional, psychological or physical violence? Dale (2006, pp. 24-26) argues that when disputes and stereotypes –that are tolerated social interactions in peacetime – become more polarized and intensified the tools used to win becomes more violent. Possibly, the same logic is behind the escalation of sexual violence against men in conflict. The structure of power, hierarchy, heterosexuality, homosexuality and gender domination, which are clearly expressed in the context of war, is also present in peacetime. Whether the sexual violence towards men and women occurs in war or in peace, these dynamics are in place. It is therefore relevant to use theoretical perspectives from conflict and war settings in an analysis of Northern Uganda today in the violent "peace", post conflict–setting that exists.

2.5.2 Sexual violence and the law

Sexual violence is a central term in this thesis. It is an umbrella term that includes a range of

different forced sexual interactions. It can be defined as,

> "…any violence, physical or psychological, carried out through sexual means or by targeting sexuality, thus including both physical and psychological attacks directed at a person´s sexual characteristics, such as forcing a person to strip naked in public, mutilating a persons genitals or slicing of a woman´s breasts as well as situations in which two victims are forced to perform sexual acts on one another or to harm one another in s sexual manner" (The Special Rapporteur on systematic rape, sexual slavery and slavery-like practises in armed conflict cited in Sivakumaran, 2007 p. 261)

In this thesis sexual violence will however be limited to rape and defilement. This limitation is done in accordance to what the participants of this study understood as sexual violence. As follows from the advocated definition of sexual violence and rape in particular, both men and women can be victims and perpetrators of such violence. However, the Ugandan legislation has an exclusive understanding of rape, Penal Code Act of 1950, section 123, defines rape as,

> "Any person who has unlawful carnal knowledge *of a women or a girl*, without her consent, or with her consent, if the consent is obtained by force or by means of threats or intimidation of any kind or by fear of bodily harm, or by false representations as to the nature of the act, or in case of a married women, by impersonating her husband, commits a felony termed rape" (Italics added)

The law it clearly states that only women and girls can be victims of rape. To clarify, rape victims can only be women and girls. This exclude men and boys from being potential victims. Likewise, according to section 129, only girls can be defiled, not boys. Spousal or marital rape is not considered rape at all, hence it is still legal in Uganda. The pending Marriage and Divorce Bill, was again stopped in the parliament in September 2013 (Hore, 2013). The bill, if passed would criminalize martial rape. The Domestic Violence Act that was adopted in November 2011, however, includes other forms of violence within the household as criminal. The practical implementation of the Domestic Violence Acts is still lagging behind (Amnesty International, 2010, p. 17; Benedetti & Kijo-Bisimba, 2012, p. 13). Boys are mentioned in section 147 in the Penal Code Act, under the rubric "Indecent assaults on boys under eighteen" it is stated,

> "Any person who unlawfully and indecently assault a boy under the age of eighteen years commits a felony and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years, with or without corporal punishment"

It is not expressed in the law that "unlawfully and indecently assaults" includes sexual actions. It is however, likely to assume so, since the law is presented together with other laws that address criminal assaults of sexual nature. In the Ugandan Penal Code Act of 1950, section 148, can "indecent practises" indicate sexual practise between two men. A different word noticing is the connotation between abuse and practice. Boys can be *abused*, forced to in to sexual actions –unequal power structure between the victim and perpetrator -, while men *practise* indecent sexual actions, which indicates a voluntary interaction between the two men that are equal. In other words, there is no law against male-on-male rape, only against consensual sexual actions. The realm of punishment can be a reflection of how the society condemns a crime. The legal framework around sexual violence makes it impossible for victim of male rape and marital rape to seek justice and support from the legal system. Men that are sexually abused are left with few other choices than to stay silent, since they can face imprisonment. I have chosen to refer to male-on-male sexual violence, since as homosexual rape (that sometimes is used), might influence those victims that are questioning their sexual orientation after such assault and build up under the understanding that only homosexual men rape other men. I have therefore chosen to use the term male-on-male sexual violence As a reminder, I want to emphasise that I throughout this thesis use rape and defilement to apply to both men, women, boys and girls.

3. Methodology

In this chapter will I reflect upon methodological choices concerning my fieldwork in Northern Uganda during June and July 2012. This chapter is divided into four sections. I begin with explaining why qualitative methods are suitable for this study. Thereafter the discussion will circulate around the participants. How interviews were used to access data will be elaborated on in the third section. Lastly, I discuss the ethical challenges encountered and the considerations made to meet these.

3.1 Interview-based fieldwork

A given research method is usually defined by the theme and the research questions. Ahre and Svensson (2011, p. 11) describes it like this, ”different gathering methods are good for different purposes” [17]. The purpose is here to analyse how NGO-workers reflect and make sense of sexual violence and the needs survivors. I find the best way of doing so, is to interact with the participants[18] and by asking open questions that allows him or her to reflect and speak about the topic. I believe that the face-to-face element, which qualitative research – especially interviews - has, provides the researcher with an opportunity to listen to - or sometimes even be a part of – the participants reflections. In quantitative research the aim is often to access the answer and not the individuals reflections behind it. The method is rather that researchers search for trends that can function as a explanatory framework of the informants’ answers. One of the benefits of using qualitative interview methods are those personal views that are rich and contain an outlook on the social phenomena that quantitative research cannot grasp. I have chosen to do interviews, because I want to access their reflections and explanations –logical or not. Qualitative methods also allows the researcher to clarify statementss and include body language in the analasys. Their perception of and response towards the survivor is crucial for the recovery and status of the survivor and her or his family, as the NGO community[19] is both first-line and key provider of legal, medical and social aid to survivors (Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall, 2009, p. 6). Academic writings are limited on regard to sexual violence against men, it was therefore hard to know how the participants would respond to inquires into the topic. This was a reason for that I chosen to interview practitioners, instead of survivors. By choosing interviews I could get

[17] Translated by the author from Swedish.
[18] Participants will be used instead of informants, since the word participants indicate that they contributed more to the research than just informing. In this study they also reflected and formed the way of the interview. This makes the researcher-participant relation more equal.
[19] Depends on the where the survivor lives. People in the villages uses the facilities in larger towns, such as Gulu.

closer to the participants' experiences and personal perceptions of the social phenomena. It also enabled me to gain data on a sensitive topic (Bryman, 2008, pp. 10-14; Denzin, 2000, p. 10). First, the topic and questions are related to sexual experiences and matters, which is a highly personal issue in Northern Uganda. Secondly, I was uncertain to how the NGO-workers would respond to questions about male survivors of sexual violence. I did not know if the practitioners associated male survivors to homosexuality[20] - which is illegal and socially stigmatized - or if they were aware and open on the issue of male rape survivors. Hence questions on the subject might make participant uncomfortable. Throughout the fieldwork I encountered participants, which at first were sceptic to talk about male survivors, but who loosened up when we got more familiar throughout the interview. In the context of this study, such approach influences how the empirical data is viewed. The data is a result of the interaction between the NGO-workers, who has their own understandings and perspectives, and me, as a researcher, who likewise has a particular positioning, experiences and expectations upon which I approach "reality". The NGO-practitioners perceptions and reflections are affected by the prevailing views and understandings in the Northern Ugandan society, which they live and have been socialised in. What we bring into the interview, how we understand the questions and answers and how we together construct a common reality are key parts in the presented data, analysis and recommendations. Additionally, the NGO-workers do have specialized knowledge on GBV, through personal encounters through work and education that influences their views on sexual violence, survivors and their needs. Hence, the presentation made here portrays parts of multiple realities – to use a phase of Shultz (1945) - which the participants and I shared at the time of the interviews. This thesis will present the most prevailing perception among the interviewed NGO-practitioners. Miller and Glassner (2011: 133) writes,

> "Research cannot provide the mirror reflection of the social world that positivists strive for, but it may provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds. While the interview is itself a symbolic interaction, this does not discount the possibility that knowledge of the social world beyond the interaction can be obtained"

In other words the interview is a constructed situation, but it facilities a mutual construction of knowledge between the participant and researcher. The creation of knowledge is influenced

[20] A connection between male survivors and homosexuality is written about in academic text. See ex. (Sivakumaran, 2005)

by the relationship, level of trust and history between the two – as well as external factors and individual backgrounds. A common construction can improve our mutual understanding of the social world that is likely to exceed what the individual is able to construct alone. This knowledge might prove helpful when making sense of sexual violence and mapping out survivors needs. As stated in chapter 2, all of us have our own perception of the social world we live in, were our own narratives influences what we notice and emphasize. Having an open dialogue it is possible to map out different aspects and perspectives around sexual violence. Miller and Glassner (2011, p. 137) writes that "the narratives which emerge in interview contexts are situated in social worlds; they come out of worlds that exist outside the interview it self", and thereby also reflect the materiality of the phenomenon under study. A collective presentation of the NGO-workers reality makes it possible to identify current attitudes, challenges and gaps in the response system – something that is needed to improve the existing services and response mechanisms to survivors of sexual violence.

3.2 Research participants

3.2.1 Who are they?

Miller and Glassner (2011, p. 137) states the importance of getting "evidence of the nature of the phenomenon under investigation, including the contexts and situations in which it emerges, as well as insights into cultural frames people use to make sense of their experiences". To be able to get both the specific and contextual knowledge, as Miller and Glassner speak about, I have chosen to have participants who are either NGO-workers with a GBV-background or people from the community who are familiar with the current northern Ugandan context. The research participants have respectively been divided into a primary and a secondary group. Due to the NGO-workers specialization on GBV their interviews have been more used in the analysis, while the secondary participant have contributed to the empirical framework in which the NGO-workers statements are analysed. The study builds on eleven interviews conducted during June and July 2012, whereof six weeks where on fieldwork[21]. I did not reach my aim of 15 interviews, since many NGO-workers did not have time to be interviewed or that expected participants repeatedly did not show up to scheduled interviews[22]. In retrospect I could have interviewed police, juridical and health personnel. Participants were informed that the research topic was related to gender and sexual violence

[21] I caluculated that I needed six weeks, since this was my first time in Uganda, my first idependent fieldwork and that I was uncertian of the level of sesitivity bound to sexual violence.
[22] Also, I have excluded data from two group interviews. The reason why they are excluded is discussed in 3.5.4.

before the interviews. My primary participants, the specialized practitioners, possess extended knowledge on sexual violence and gender relations in the area, both through education and through field practice. My aim with the interviews was to approach both their personal and professional attitudes towards the male survivors, how they made sense of sexual violence and what needs they experienced that survivors share. The five NGO-workers that are the primary participants work either in local, bilateral or international NGOs. All NGOs have a time limit to their gender project. At the time of research it varied from three months to a few years left at the different projects. Two of the NGOs are permanently stationed in Gulu, while the rest are dependent on international donors or extension of their project agreements to continue. The permanent NGOs also have other projects, so they might not continue focusing on gender. The participants have all received some form of education on GBV, usually in the form of conferences. The interviews with the primary participants have been "in-depth" interviews, were the focus has been on sexual gender based violence and gender roles. The secondary participants were people who are knowledgeable on the local culture and context. They all inhabit positions[23] were they interact with others in the community, something that enables them to see changes in the societal life. Five out of six secondary participants were parents, which means that they daily socialize with children and thereby teach them values and norms that is prevalent in the society. This is interesting for this study, since the expected gender chores and characteristics are taught to the children during the socialization process – so does the secondary participants teach the gender patterns that might promote sexual violence and prevent survivors to come forward or do they try to break this reproduction of gender norms. The interviews with the secondary participants had either a semi-formal interview style or a conversational style, depending on if the interview was planned for or it was a normal conversation that we later agreed I could use in the study. All participants (primary and secondary) are in contact with people during their working day and are therefore able to take the "pulse" on the community and eventual changes. In reference to sexual violence, ten of the eleven participants possess positions of trust. Additionally, these positions have a status that gives them the opportunity to influence others. For this study, people in such positions play an important role concerning societal views. Still it is important to keep in mind that the secondary participants only represented themselves, and not their profession or workplace. After a while I saw some tendencies in the material and felt that I had gained plenty of data to start analysing in a meaningful way. In retrospect new questions emerge that

[23] Profession of the secondary participants: 1 Farmer/seller, 2 religious leaders, 1 school employee, 2 NGO-workers with another focus than GBV.

could have been asked and I have spotted new trails that I would like to pursue further. However, when I have worked with the findings I realize that I have good and in-depth data on some issues, and it is this data the study builds and focuses on. Hence, the data produced in the in-depth-interviews with the key primary participants comprise the main empirical material in the following analysis on perceptions of MSV. The secondary interviews and the informal conversations contribute to the total framework, especially in the understanding of the existing gender norms and expectations.

For the purpose of this study, I have chosen not to address and interview victims of sexual violence out of several concerns. I believe it is important to gather information and personal narratives directly from survivors – as their voices are silenced, their traumas tabooed and our knowledge about their experiences and lives in the aftermath of violence is limited. Such knowledge will help understand how sexual violence affects individuals as well as the society. That said, I did not want to cause traumatization of potential research participants or by interviewing them complicate on-going healing processes. It would also be hard to find any male survivors that would open up or even come forward, due to the stigma, loss of social status, or fear of being "tainted" by homosexuality, or potentially criminalized. Neither can I offer or refer the survivor to get a holistic and judgment-free treatment. Specialized practitioners are in a particularly important position vis-a-vis victims and society as they constitute both first-line services and outreach programmes aimed at sensitization. Therefore the NGO-workers are familiar with many survivors with different needs and narratives and the current response system, which is useful when looking for trends and gaps. Given the stated considerations, I have spoken to one female survivor of sexualized violence. I did not know, however, that she was a survivor, until she told me on her own initiative during interview. I was surprised that she opened up, because my questions never related to my participants personal experiences, just their perceptions of others. While I was in the interviews I just listened, I did not know what to say or if I should say anything at all. I tried to think of what I would say in a similar situation at home, but this was a different culture and other norms applied. I had earlier on, during my interview with two NGO employees, learned that GBV against women were common in the area. They also told me narratives they encountered in their work, but it is easier to distance yourself from the assault when someone uses others experiences to exemplify, and not their own. The woman's honesty and strength about the ongoing sexual abuse was striking and admiring. The casual tone witnessed of normalcy and repetitiveness of the sexualized violence, that it was something that should be

expected. Even if sexual violence against women is widely known of and not as much of a taboo as sexual violence against men, this woman's willingness to open up gave me another perspective in how she was meet in the community and by NGO-workers. As mentioned earlier the interviews were situated in Gulu town and nearby communities. One goal with this research when entering the field was to see if there was any differences in the perception between the urban and rural areas. When I was in the field I soon found out that my study was to small to draw from to do such comparison. The individuals that participated have their own views that cannot be generalized into an urban and rural group. I found however that all NGO-workers reflected on sexual violence related issues according to their perceptions of what is deemed feminine and masculine. Gender norms and expectations of masculinity and femininity is central to the analysis of the research participants' perceptions of survivors of sexual violence. The NGO-workers quotes are referred to by the month and year of the interview, gender and a number. The number is used to distinguish the different NGO-workers from each other, hence offering more transparency. There are quotes from all primary participants. Before and after the quotes will my analysis of the quote and topic be provided, and if mentioned, other participants' views that provides another angle on the topic.

3.2.2 Gaining access

Gaining access is a crucial stage of every research project since the feasibility of the study depends on it. Gaining access is more than being introduced to the right people by a gatekeeper, it is to establish a trustworthy and honest relationship between the participant and the researcher. It can be hard for an outsider to establish such relationship with the insider group –the participants and the local community- since they do not know who the outsider are or what his/hers intentions are. The fact that outsiders often make mistakes in social and cultural settings increases the social distance between the participant and the researcher and make trust harder to establish (Lee, 1993, p. 133). When I was planning my fieldwork I had contact with a Christian Ugandan NGO, which cooperates with churches around the country. Through them I got in touch with a church in Northern Uganda. A lady who worked in one of the church's projects, arranged it so I could stay with her during my fieldwork. She also facilitated for an interview with an NGO worker. On the grounds of the Christian organization I met a priest who invited me to join him in a service within the prison, and where he facilitated me interviews with some of the prisoners. This will be elaborated on later in this chapter. The rest of my interviews I arranged independently, by visiting relevant NGOs and presenting my study. Some NGOs could not participate due to lack of time, or as in one case,

the NGO-worker had to respond to an emergency and rescheduling became problematic. I became a part of my hostess and her neighbours' everyday routine. They taught me the local way of cooking, washing clothes, where to fetch water and how to shop in the market. By getting to know the patterns of everyday life, I could observe how gender affected everyday life in Gulu. I saw how boys and girls were taught and expected to do different things, how individual with the same gender interacted and how this interaction changed when someone from the opposite gender where present. They commented when men or women around us acted untraditionally, or when they found something strange. The neighbours also helped me to understand the aspects of culture that was hard for me to comprehend at first. Three of these people agreed to be a part of my research and I hereafter refer to them as secondary participants. Small talk and conversations with random people in the field, with neighbours, bodaboda-drivers and others I met throughout my stay constitute inseparable parts of my background and cultural knowledge upon which the analytic reflections are based. A challenge with interviews as method is the limited time the researcher and the participant spend together. During this study the interviews has varied from 45 to 90 minutes, the average would be approximately 1 hour and 15 minutes. During this 1 hour and 15 minutes, I have had to establish a good and honest connection with the participants and at some point in this process I have to, either know that the connection was there or take a leap of faith, and ask questions about male rape and other forms for sexual violence. If the connection is not there, there is a risk that the participants become more distant or will withdraw from the interview all together – especially if the participant linked male rape to homosexuality. I can see two reasons for this. Either the participant would be reluctant to talk about what they considered to be homosexuality – I found that the people I encountered generally took a stance away from homosexuality, and would not easily discuss it. Or I was told that "You, Westerners think…" that Uganda should legalize homosexuality, or at least that I was pro-homosexuals (which I am). This assumption could have created a dilemma for the participant, either answer honestly or treating a "visitor" politely. Now, I know that that the participants were not afraid of speaking their mind. Therefore I was told that I, as a westerner, was wrong about homosexuals and that people like me, tried to make Uganda homosexual, but that was not what Ugandans were. My impression is the participants were not afraid of letting me know their sentiments or protest if I understood the wrong way. As humans we try to understand and defend our choices, through the stories we tell, in this aspect it can seem like the participants wanted to defend their position, based on their assumption of mine (Miller & Glassner, 2011, p. 136). In this aspect I found it hard to create a good connection, since I was

given specific features as a westerner. In this way I felt that our cultural presumptions stood in the way for an honest conversation. To gain the trust of the participants I begun to introduce my self, the research project and small talked about Uganda. I found it helpful that my host and her neighbour had taught me about the chores of everyday life, since these created a common platform for small talk. For example when I said where I lived in Gulu and that I lived with an Acholi women, most participants wanted to know if I washed my clothes or if I fetched water. All of my participants and people in general were pleasantly surprised that I took initiative to learn their ways and it also resulted in a lot of laughter, since it was strange that a white women would to such things, after all most foreigners stayed in hostels or hotels. By talking about everyday activities so I tried to down play our differences and focusing on similarities. How we, as researchers, present our selves often affects the research outcome, since it influences our connection to the participant and our common construction of knowledge.

Due to the recent history in Northern Uganda and the seemingly frequent practise of domestic violence and sexual abuse of women in the area, I knew it was a chance that my informants would re-visit their past during the interview and possibly after. I tried to meet such reactions by being open, letting the participant use the time he or she needed and be calm. The participants were informed that we could stop the interview or skip a topic, if they wanted to and that their responses were going to be anonymous. With this approach I aimed at letting the participant decide what to share or not share, so that they did not regret saying something. By rushing through the interviews I could miss interesting reflections and thoughts and that would not be fair towards the participants who have taken their time to speak to me. This approach resulted in long and fruitful interviews. A positive aspect of being an outsider is that it might help people to open up as most, if not all, of the participants will never see me again. This, together with my promise of anonymity, possibly provided them with a safety that they would not necessarily feel from an insider. Some participants had controversial statements compared to what seemed to be the general sentiments of Ugandan society. Due to my cultural background the participant might not feel that they had to live up to some social standards and societal expectations in their replies. Since the informants knew that I was an outsider they explained things more explicitly, something that they might not have done if I was an insider.

3.3 Interviewing

3.3.1 Conducting interviews

The interviews took place in June and July 2012, in and around Gulu town, Northern Uganda. As mentioned in the previous section I introduced my research project as focused on gender-based violence or sexual violence, not specifically male survivors of sexual violence. The reasons for this are that same-sex interactions are a taboo that I did not know if I would get enough data to write a thesis on only male survivors. My plan was to write about both men and women as survivors and compare understandings and approaches to both. The concept "gender-based violence" could be deceiving, since it is often understood as violence against women in Uganda and elsewhere, but the concept does in fact mirror violence against both males and females. My intention was not to mislead possible participants into partake and all participants were told that they could pass on a question and/or withdraw from the study whenever they wanted. In general people were surprisingly open when talking about sexual violence against women. However, later on when the interview circulated around sexual abuse of men and same-sex sexual violence, I got very varied responses. Some started to laugh, others got serious and some wanted to be sure that they heard me right. In previous studies from the area, only women and children were targeted. By bringing up males as victims of sexual violence, I could get their spontaneous understanding of the phenomenon. For me this reaction was very important, since it uncovers emotions and personalized thoughts that might not come trough when speaking to an NGO-worker who paints a more over all picture of the situation, or have institutionalized more of a political correct response.

The interviews were conducted on a location familiar to the participant. A list of topics that I wanted the participant to reflect or comment on was used as an interview guide[24] during the interviews. This list changed throughout the study when new angles were presented or when I discovered it feasible to ask or do something in a different way. I believe this approach enabled the participant and me to explore the terrain freely without being contained to a specific hypothesis or questions. Hence the structure of each interview was unique. The flexibility in this type of interview guide made it easier for me to switch between topics and check that all issues were covered. By using a topic-based interview guide I felt that both the participant and myself was able to loosen up and follow-up questions came more naturally. Using a topic-based interview guide the researcher has a limited ability to control what and

[24] The last version is attached in the Appendix

how the participant respond (Kvale, 2006, p. 483). The asymmetrical relationship between the participant and researcher may hinder the participant to express him or her fully. Using a topic-based interview guide I found that this affected the power dynamic between the participant and myself. In comparison to my previous experience with a formal interview guide, where the participant depend upon that the researcher ask the pre-decided question, it is more possible for the participant to participate – hence affect the data collection, and ultimately also the research outcome. One way of explaining it is that the participant has the abilities of an informant in formal interviews – only offering information – while in topic-based research interviews, he or she is more of a participant in the knowledge co-production. This asymmetric relation of informants, is based on that only I, the researcher, is seeking to gain a better understanding and in that sense "take information", while the participant "give information" without getting anything in return. In other words a "one-way dialogue…where the interviewer upholds monopoly of interpretation" (Kvale, 2006, pp. 483-484). Even though I choose the topics, the research participant could steer the interview, elaborate freely on topics and choose the direction of the interview. Hence, sharing what they were knowledgeable about and were comfortable telling me. I cannot say that this form of an interview guide gives the participant and the researcher an equal status, but I felt that we became more equal. It seemed as if the participants that part took in this study were relaxed and confident in the interview setting. I encountered during most interviews, that the participant corrected me if they thought I was wrong or my understanding did not make sense in their context, as I mirrored or controlled my interpretation to them throughout. In my view this implies that the participant felt that our relationship enabled them to speak up against me as a researcher, and thereby indicates that I was not a too authoritative interviewer. In my view, by giving the participant this opportunity to choose the way forward the researcher shows that he or she trusts in the participant and his or her judgment, which is important when getting an honest and trustful research relationship.

3.4 Reliability, validity and generalization

The reliability of a study says something about how trustworthy the study is. By being transparent about the social setting where the interviews took place, about the participants and the researcher it is possible to see how these aspects might have coloured the research. Ideally, by knowing those precautions it would be possible to conduct a similar study and find the similar empirical data (Silverman, 2006, p. 282). The effects of the research-participant chemistry, personality and social setting are not easily detected or accounted for, – especially

not for someone from the outside who is ignorant to social codes – this is problematic in qualitative research (Cousin, 2010, p. 14). Silverman (2005, p. 264) emphasizes that whether the researcher has the same sex as the participant can affect what data that will be accessed, especially in sensitive topics (some of my personal features that probably have affected this study is discussed under "Challenges and Considerations" next). Another factor that influences the reliability is whether or not the participants have perceived the questions in the same way. As mentioned before, I used a topic-based interview guide, which means that I did not ask exactly the same questions, hence it is unlikely that the participants have the same understanding. However, by tape-recording most of the interviews I have been able to detect when the participants elaborated around the same topic and by reading their reflections it is possible to see if they had a similar understanding of the questions (Silverman, 2006, pp. 279-281) When I was still in the field I presented my current findings to three participants, so called respondent validation, so they could confirm if I had got the right understanding of the data. Only three out of eleven was consulted, since my time in Gulu was ending. Another validating measure is to compare studies, but it does not exist other studies that focus on male sexual violence from Gulu, which makes this an impossible measure. Studies from elsewhere on sexual violence show a similar result even though they did not have a NGO- worker focus[25] (Silverman, 2006, pp. 289-291). The number and selection of participants and the case-context does not make this study representative or generalizable – neither has this been the aim. The nature of this case study is rather to present a few NGO-workers views, and to do that thoroughly. I would say that instead of trying to generalize this study, it should be viewed as a supplement to the existing literature on sexual violence and the needs of survivors.

3.5 Challenges and considerations

3.5.1 Language

In her own research Radsch (2009, 99) reminds us, "Language was a key resource in gaining access not only to informants who were monolingual but also to bilingual informants". By knowing several languages the researcher can access a greater number of informants and more easily establish a relationship with them. I felt that my non-existing language skills in Acholi hindered me in different settings and especially in the daily interaction. By missing out on these conversations I am convinced that I lost aspects of the culture and possibly distanced

[25] See for example Sivakumaran (2005, 2007, 2010), Carpenter (2006), Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall (2009) and Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013)

myself from the participants. Using a non-native language as research language, English in this case, some nuances and details necessarily got lost. On the other hand English is used in the everyday life, when talking to people outside your own ethnic group, so most people I got in touch with for interviews knew English well enough to conduct the interviews in it. I used an intern in a NGO as a translator for one interview, since the participant did not speak English to such an extent that an interview could be conducted in it. I found it hard to control that the translations where correct since my knowledge of the Acholi language is rather non-existing. However, the agreement that she should translate was made between them, because of their previously acquaintance to one another. To me that indicated that the participant felt safe in the hands of the translator and that she was someone that participant trusted. I used a tape-recorder when I thought it to be feasible and participants agreed to it as I feel that when only using pen and paper I loose a lot of data. The tape-recorder was not used in the interview with the translator, because I thought it would make the participant uncomfortable, nor did I use it in the conversations with the informal informants. One NGO employee wondered why I wanted to use the recorder, I explained that I thought it was easier to interview and listen when I did not need to write down the conversation. After that interview I took some more minutes to explain why I used the tape-recorder and that it was for my personal use only. Using tape-recorder gave me the benefit of paying closer attention to the interview and body language in real time. I find that transcribing afterwards puts me in the right set of mind and I start connecting the dots in the material.

3.5.2 "You, Westerners…" – an outsiders perspective

Being a muno, a "foreigner, even a stranger, to Acholiland" (Finnström, Living in Bad Sourroundings, 2008, p. 15), my lack of cultural "know how" was evident and expected. The locals, understanding and hospitable as they were, often described the way of life before I had a chance to ask. When I did know something, or we spoke about something I had learned, they were always pleasantly surprised. Sadly I got the feeling that this was not something that was normal for *munos* to do. I also, as stated, tried to participate in different aspects of local life. Living with locals I was taught how to prepare and cook food the "Acholi-way", we ate meals and spent evenings together. I joined the woman I was living with, when she went to church and during our daily conversations with her, the neighbours and others I met I learned a lot about their way of life and society. Miller and Glassner (Miller & Glassner, 2011, p. 134) writes "…how interviewees respond to us based on who we are – in their lives, as well as the social categories to which we belong, such as age, gender, [and] class…". I will discuss

how my ethnical, cultural and personal background also affected the data collection. As mentioned under "Gaining Access", some of the participants in this study assumed that I was pro-homosexuality based on my physical appearance (white) and cultural background (Western). Even though the participants reflected upon the topic and their assumption is correct, I never uttered this view in front of the participants. I though that their knowledge of my views could compromise the research, since the participant might be hindered in expressing their views fully if they were different from mine. I have discussed the issue of homosexuality with non-research participants, since the focus on pro-homosexuality campaigns was in the spotlight due to the arrest of gay-activists in Kampala during the time I was in Northern Uganda. Throughout the fieldwork I tried to gain a better understanding of our cultural differences and similarities, and by being respectful the participants were more inclined to explain. Even though I have been travelling and done voluntary work in Eastern Africa before, I struggled to be an integrated part of the society. I often felt lonely and excluded. I do not blame this one on anyone, I probably could have tried harder and with the limited time I had to spend there, there are limits to how established and deep integration can go. The lack of language, the limited time I was staying in Uganda, and the social norms that I was not familiar with, made it harder to fit in. I felt that the initiative contact and the interview went well. The participants had all lived in the area, when the relief organizations came during and after conflict and most of them had been interviewed by or had contact with westerners before. Yet, I felt that people were tired of people like me coming down, doing our projects, getting our degrees and continue to climb the carrier ladder. After the conflict became publicly known NGOs, journalists, politicians and academics have flocked to Gulu. Baaz and Stern (2013, pp. 97-98) have seen the very same development in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In DRC the focus has been on rape, while in Uganda it has been on child soldiers/ abductees. Baaz and Stern (2013, pp. 96-101) explains that by describing the supposedly worst stories of war and conflict academics, journalists and NGOs are getting more publicity and money – leading to a commercialization of local peoples' experiences of war. In current Northern Uganda the number of NGOs is rapidly declining, most of them have already left for the next humanitarian disaster. In a practical perspective my aim was to write a thesis from which NGOs could draw to evaluate and potentially improve their services. I have promised those who wanted to have a copy of this study – to do so, either it is to the NGO or directly to the participant.

Being a Scandinavian[26] I have been socialized in a setting where sex and sexualities are frequently discussed in the public sphere. In Uganda sex is considered to be a private matter that is not discussed. If so, it is between friends and not with strangers. Being the latter, asking about sexuality, sexual violence and experiences may be seen as an intrusion into their private sphere. If the participants felt that I disrespected their personal space by asking those questions, the fact that I do not follow their norms becomes evident and thereby placing my outsider status further away from the in-group. In Uganda there is regularly information on the radio, by NGOs or otherwise in the community about domestic violence and rape of women. I can see a similarity in Scandinavian media – a tendency to focus more on sexual violence against women than men. When I presented my research to fellow students, friends, family in Scandinavia and people I met in Uganda a lot of them responded alike. They assumed that I meant men's violence and not violence against men, they laughed or thought that I was joking or they reacted with disbelief. I frequently, especially from men, got the reply "That doesn't exist" or "Why do you want to study something that is not there?". So I can understand that it is harder to speak about MSV and that it took some warming-up before the participants were comfortable to do so. I can imagine that this is not an issue that people have reflected much upon beforehand, talked about with their friends or asked questions about. On one hand, this could have limited the responses that I gained from the participants to only include themselves and not their impression on the general understanding in society towards male sexual violence. On the other hand, the spontaneous reflections made by the participants' might be more personal and unpolluted by the general public. Those of my informants who made a connection to homosexuality, has (most likely) been exposed to the sentiments towards homosexuality since it was widely discussed within the media.

3.5.3 So, who am I?

I have previously given an account on who the participants are, but not who I am. I have decided to share the aspects of my life that I believe have influenced this thesis the most. For as long as I can remember have I, together with family, friends or alone visited, or lived in other countries than my own. That has made me into a flexible and easily adapted person that can deal with new cultures and people. I always try my best to adjust to the visible customs and find my place in the new context. Even though I do not always succeed, the local population have been pleased with my attempts. This approach has opened many doors in my fieldwork. To talk to random people on the bus, on markets and in stores has given me access

[26] I am Swedish by nationality, but I have lived in Norway from my mid-teens. I feel that I am more Scandinavian, than any of the two.

to personal accounts about their lives. All this has helped me to understand the Acholi culture and way of life better. I am however coloured by my Scandinavian background, values and education. During the fieldwork I had, as mentioned, discussions on homosexuality. In this context my background have given me another take on reality, than the Ugandans I discussed with. I live in a society where same-sex marriage is legalized and where I have friends that openly, proudly, and (in my opinion) rightly are bi-or homosexuals. I am a supporter for equal rights for sexual minorities. I do not think, that this has affected the research in important ways. Homosexuality is not the topic of this thesis. Neither did I say anything about my view on homosexuality, when I was in the interview situation, people assumed me to be pro-homosexual due to my origin. It has however, enabled me to get an insight in the criticism and societal opinion that a homosexual or those who are "tainted" with homosexuality encounter.

Both some of my friends and I have experienced different forms of sexual violence. Sexual violence and survivors of it from other cultures have I mostly encountered through literature. Through friends and personal encounters I have learned some of the consequences different expressions of sexual violence can have and how differently individuals process it. I have seen how personality, place and context, relationship between survivor and perpetrator, the individuals own evaluation of level of non-consentient and the attitudes to what is accepted as sexual violence in the individuals surroundings[27] have influenced survivors' view of the assault(s). I have never during the interviews spoken about my own encounters, since my role was to be a researcher. I had my focus on the NGO-workers and their experiences with survivors and the system that should assist them. Perhaps my personal experiences have made me more critical to the response mechanisms victims meet. One of my driving forces behind this thesis has been to acknowledge different expressions of sexual violence, which has not been as recognized, at all or as seriously, in the social context, as other forms of sexual violence, namely male-on-male and martial sexual violence. If survivors are not recognized as survivors and victims in the first place, their needs cannot be met.

Gender, race and cultural belonging often affect research outcomes (Denzin 2009). The gender expectations play out very differently in the Ugandan and Scandinavian society. In Uganda, there is a hierarchical gender structure, which is quite rigid, especially in rural areas.

[27] There is a disjunction between the law text definition and what socially is viewed as sexual violence.

In this hierarchy marital status plays a role, where people who are married have a higher status than those who are not. Through interviews I understood that unmarried women were not considered as adults, even though they were above the legal age of adulthood. Meanwhile unmarried boys were considered to be men in their mid-teens. Since all, but one of the participants where married and I being both a woman and unmarried, I should have had a low status compared to the participants. In some ways I might, but I felt that I was not a part of their hierarchy, since I was not integrated in the society, I therefore applied to another set of norms. This had certain benefits. By being a woman, I could not be a potential male survivor, something that possibly made the participants speak more freely. Being a single, young woman traveling alone in a foreign country was sometimes perceived as reckless and naive. These characteristics are not easily translated into the role of a serious and critical academic, hence it could be hard for the participants to place me into a personal type that they were familiar with (Silverman, 2005, p. 264). Most of my participants had been in contact with westerners before and I felt that our relationship was more relaxed, than those I met outside the research setting. The participants knew that student researchers have a limited budget and that it therefore can be hard to give financial support. People I met outside the research had varied responses to me, some saw me as white and rich (they did not know I was a student) and asked for funding so their children could go to school, others saw me as educated and asked what Uganda should do to become like Scandinavia, most people were friendly. There was however some people who were sceptical towards westerners and researchers. I had one man asking me almost daily, why I was there, telling me that I only did it for my own good and he wondered how it felt to use “their misery” to accomplish something for myself. Every time I tried to have a better answer than the previous day, but I could never come up with a good enough answer. I sometimes ask those questions today, what right do I have to go to Uganda and do a fieldwork? No one asked me to come, I invited myself. Another incident happen another day when I walked close to one of the markets in Gulu town, a man started throwing garbage at me that he found along the roadside and people around us started to laugh. I do not know why he did it, I had never seen him before, but I can only guess that I might represent something that did not like. It must be tiring to have a constant flow of researchers coming and going, when the people living there rarely get to see the fruits of it. With this example I would like to contrast the expectation and respect that some feel for westerners, with the dislike and disgrace others may feel. I am not sure how me being white affected the research, but I felt that the participants treated me with respect, but without any fear to say what they wanted.

Some feminist writers argue that gender is an important factor for the participant and the researcher connection during an interview. This connection will enable the researcher to get "better" and more "true" data (Lee, 1993). I agree with Lee in some aspect, I would say that it is mainly our personal connection, or chemistry, that helps the participant to open up. Our chemistry, or at least our personal history is, however affected by the gender we have and our and the society's relation to it. Fog (1994) reminds us that such a connection often happens when the participant and the researcher are on the same level. For example they might share similar narratives, might have grown up in the same culture or they have a common understanding of the world. It can be hard to figure out our similarities, I often used what I knew was our common interest or at least something that I knew both of us could relate to. For example with the NGO-workers it was evident that we had shared interest in GBV and the work they did to prevent it, with the school-employee I used my own time in school. It was a way to show that we had something in common, even though our differences were more visible. I found it challenging to balance the emotional stories and the role as a researcher. Howard Becker (1967) uses the expression "…being caught in a crossfire" and for me that is exactly what I felt like. When participants told stories that touched me - having very transparent facial expressions - I know that my emotional reactions are visible. This might have affected the participants' account of me and their reflections both in a negative and positive way. Additionally emotions can affect what findings are emphasized in the study.

3.5.4 Ethical dilemmas when doing wrong: Interviewing prisoners

In addition to the participants mentioned above, I have also interviewed male and female prisoners. I have decided to not use their interviews as a part of the empirical findings and in the ensuing analysis, due to both ethical consideration and lack of relevance to the research. When I first came to Uganda, I never planned to have prisoners as participants. After being in Uganda for five weeks I met a priest who asked if I wanted to come to the service in the male and female prison the following weekend. I said that I would like that. After the service, he and his entourage, including me, spoke to the director of the prison. We did the usual, signing visiting books, shaking hands and said polite phrases. They spoke in a mix of Acholi and English. When we were leaving, they told me that they had arranged for me to come back the next day for interviews.

The next day I went to the female prison first. I went through the security check and left all my belongings except pen and paper with the guards. They did not check my questions or even ask questions about my topic. A guard showed me the way to the morning meeting and I presented my self and my topic and asked if those who wanted to participate in the study could stay behind after the meeting. Three women stayed. I interviewed them one by one. Those who were waiting were in the same area but outside of hearing distance, there were no guards present. I felt that the interview with the female prisoners fulfilled the ethical requirements of voluntary participation, privacy and the possibility to withdraw from the interview at any time. However, I used a fourth prisoner to translate, she was a person they knew and the atmosphere between them was good. In retrospect I felt that I did not know enough about their relationship, and that the translator discussed too much with the participant before answering me. It could have been an extensive clarification on the answers. The prisoners told me very personal stories about how they had been sexually abused, without me asking for it. I feel that those stories should be heard. I have reflected a lot upon it and I have reached the conclusion that this thesis not the forum for those stories. I have decided not to use those interviews as a part of the empirical data. When that is said, I am going to carry those stories with me and they have most likely affected this study on an unconscious level.

I continued to the male prison, where it seemed like I was going through the same process, but after the security check it was another story. I was taken into a room where the guard in command had his office. He wanted to go though my interview guide and talk to me about the interview. He told me what I could and not could ask, and answered many questions himself. Those concerning male sexual violence, he just laughed about. When we finished talking I thought that they would take me to the prisoners, so I could ask if any one wanted to participate. Instead, two guards came in with three prisoners who were crouching. I was shocked and I did not know what to do. So I greeted the prisoners and introduced myself and sat down on the floor so the prisoners and I were on the same level. At once both the prisoners and the guards protested, but I answered that I would like to look them in the eyes while taking with them. In retrospect I probably should have cancelled the interview right there. Instead I, after more protests, went back upon the chair. I did not want to embarrass the priest that facilitated the meeting, so I decided to ask some of the questions. I asked about gender relations and the gender chores and characteristics of men and women. I asked if they knew anything about gender-based violence, which in other words is thought of as violence against women. I left everything on male sexual violence out. At one point one of the guards

"corrected" the answer to one of the prisoners. The atmosphere in the room was bizarre, it was a combination of laughter, rude comments and it was something tense and artificial about the whole situation. I did not want to make the situation worse than it all ready was, so I tried to finish the interview as fast as I could.

I know many disputable actions took place during this episode. I do not know how the prisoners were selected, but I got the impression that it was random. The only thing I know about their background is why they were imprisoned. One of them was convicted for defilement and the two others were accused, but not convicted, for defilement and armed robbery, the latter does not relate to the topic of this study at all. Neither was my aim to get a perpetrator-perspective, hence it makes no sense to use these interviews. Furthermore, the prison guards should not have been present. Even if they were there for my own "safety", I never felt threatened by the prisoners. It felt that the guards used the situation to show their power and position, more than making the interview secure. The guards did colour the prisoners' answers, and the quality of the data is not sufficient for the purpose of this study. It is important to highlight that my choices in this situation could have also affected the priest that tried to help me and his work and access into the prison. The previous day when I was there, I saw how happy and engaged his visit made the prisoners. I did not want to risk that by bouncing out in protest. Also, any such protest might prevent other researchers from visiting the prisoners. I hope that the prisoners I talked with did not experience any pressure or reprimands due to my visit.

3.6 Intermediate summary

I have chosen to do a case study on the NGO-practitioners based in Gulu town. The recent history of war, legislation, anti-gay sentiments and the existing stigma towards survivors of sexual violence does Northern Uganda in to a complex, but interesting area. The gender chores and characteristics in theory are rather stereotypical, but they provide a base by which people are judged. Those how are able to live up to the gender expectations becomes dominant over other masculinities and femininities. The accepted forms of masculinity and femininity place high in gender hierarchy. This hierarchy creates a framework that men and women exist within and act on behalf of. During the war both men and women became known victims of sexual violence in the area. This violence contradicted the expectations to manliness and masculinity in the Northern Ugandan society. The framework presented in part one constitutes the basis on which the empirical data will be analysed.

This study is done though a fieldwork, where I spent 6 weeks in Gulu interviewing NGO-practitioners and others, in order for me to better grasp the situations for survivors of sexual violence in the area. Doing qualitative research, as a student in a foreign culture has been educational, challenging and it has given me insights that I never thought I would encounter. For example how my cultural background (and physical appearance) triggers critical responses from the participant. I have also been more observant on the net of social relations that the researcher has to navigate through to get access and not risking that anyone looses face. It is under the methodological conditions mentioned in this chapter that the data was gathered. It has resulted in different perceptions, valuable insights and rich data, but also in situations in which I wish I acted differently. I have after my best ability analysed the participants views –in an as respectful and honest way as that I possibly can. In retrospect I can see that some situations could have been better dealt with and these will be discussed in the end of this chapter.

PART TWO – Empirical Findings and Analysis

4. The Specialized NGO-Practitioners Understanding of the Local Gender and Sexuality

4.1 Gender in the local context

In strict patriarchies, such as in the Acholi culture, gender division, power and abilities embedded in the specific gender are an ideology that justifies the domination of men and the subordination of women. This is a normative understanding of gender or as Connell (2005, p. 70) writes "...masculinity is what men ought to be…". The current gender expectations to men and women in the Acholi culture are largely opposites. The participants in this study refer to men as powerful, wise, strong and authoritative decisions makers. With power comes responsibility and the expectation that men should "…safeguard and protect the family from any danger". Additionally, men are the representatives of their family or clan. Boys are prioritized in education, since they are expected to have greater success in school than girls. Land and property are passed on from one generation to the next through patrilineal lines, because boys will stay within their clan while girls will be married off. When boys turn into men they are expected to provide for and be the head of their family. Men are considered to be both culturally and physically stronger, which can be part of the explanation why the majority of the participants stated that "men are secure [safe]" when referring to victims of sexual violence and abuse. Women on the other hand were seen as weak, inferior and as caretakers. Three male participants described a woman like this, "the woman is the man's helper". This can reflect that girls and women are socialized to attend others needs before their own. They are supposed to take care of upbringing children and domestic work. Girls are often seen as visitors in their families, and the dowry - which some clans use – are seen as an income, which frames women as a domestic good owned by the husband. If a wife should divorce her husband, the children belong to him. An NGO-worker said "They [girls and women] are weaker and so vulnerable, because they grow up knowing I am a girl and I have a little voice…because this is culture". In other words girls and women are socialized to perceive themselves and is generally perceived as weak and inferior in social as well as cultural settings. Through socialization and encounters with gender expectations and stereotypes the self-image of a man and women is created. The presentation of gender chores and characteristics above tells us how women and men are taught, expected and used to think,

behave and react towards each other and themselves (Tuyizere, 2007, p. 112). Religion is also an important part of everyday life in the area, and thereby also an influence on gender relations. When discussing gender patterns and norms the participants frequently referred to biblical texts to build up under their understanding. The Ugandan researcher Alice Tuyizere (2007, p. 5) describes how Christianity has influenced gender relations in Uganda, "The Bible is rooted in a patriarchal society. Both the Old and New Testament teachings are often taken to be the cause of generally inferior position women hold in Christianized societies" This resembles the image my research participants portrayed of a strong gender hierarchy, where the men are supposed to be on top and in charge of the women. One male NGO-worker expressed the gender hierarchy this way "in our culture, so much fit into the bible, man is the family head". A female NGO-worker stated, "Culturally a woman is not expected to challenge a man, because the man is the head of household and he knows he is right…even if the right thing is not good for the woman, she has to except". These two examples indicate firstly, that the man is superior to the woman and that he therefore always is right. The former also implies that men's position is not only socially accepted, but also a God given right that should not be questioned. An attitude this practitioner did not take a stand from. This describes the power relation between men and women that are commonly recognized as patriarchy. It also highlights the expectation of power and control, which men possess.

The masculine expectations presented here are of higher value than the feminine. If something has a higher value it has to be in comparison with something else - the expected chores and characteristics of a woman. Men and women are placed into a hierarchy where their gender and their ability to fulfil the expectations of that gender, are the defining factor of where they wind up in the gender hierarchy. In a society where the expectations and characteristics of men and women are varied and more fluid, there will be several excepted masculinities and femininities. In such a society there are also a potential of a less gendered hierarchy – this is however not the case in Northern Uganda. When describing the gender chores and characteristics all participants named the following three characteristics of a man; strong, protector/ defender and provider. This can indicate that the Acholi gender expectations to men (and women) are very specific or at least that these traits are more important than other traits when being a man, hence creating a hegemonic form of masculinity. When analysing the gender chores and characteristics, it is clear that the expectations to men are higher valued than those to women. It implies that men should have the leading position and that their chores are more important. It is argued that these gender chores and characteristics

discriminate women, while it increases the power and possibilities of men. I agree, but I will argue there are other sides to this argument that is less recognized. These expectations, the pressure they represent and the ideal they promote can also be destructive, create vulnerability and be disempowering for many men. Boys and men grow up knowing that they are – or at least are supposed to be - better, superior, more powerful and safe[28]. They are the future hope of their families. What happens when they are not able to live up to the expectations – in other words - if the experience of reality differs from the expectations? Even though the stereotypical, or hegemonic, masculinity ideal seems to be quite clear in Northern Uganda,

> "The lived experiences of men in northern Uganda are very heterogeneous; whereas in peace-time context it was possible for a majority of men to attain a reasonably close match between expectations and experiences, war sees an increasing heterogeneity of experiences and growing polarization between those who are able to attain the markers of masculinity and exercise the power which these bring, and those who are unable to fulfil expectations and are thus deeply disempowered." (Dolan, 2006, p. 77)

Before the war the expected and experienced masculinity was more or less matching and the traditional gender hierarchy was more stabilized. When the war began men lost their sources of power, such as land and cattle, and had to flee into IDP camps. This development changed the gender hierarchy. During the interviews it was brought forwards by the participants that smoe men that previously had been the main provider, protector and the leader were now unable to fulfil those characteristics. The current expectations to men and their actual ability to achieve them in reality could cause large complications on the individual's self-image and the societal reactions towards him. Those men, who were able to obtain their manly chores and characteristics and thereby were able live up to the ideal of the hegemonic masculinity, were seen as real men. The consequences of those who were not able to had in some aspect lost their masculinity. Dolan (2006, p. 67) uses the term collapsing masculinities to describe the situation these men were in (and at present some men still are). He (2006, p. 67) writes about men's lacking ability to fulfil their economical expectations "Not only are they almost impossible to meet in the northern Ugandan context, but the struggle to meet them at least partially leaves men with virtually no possibility of pursuing their individual aspirations". The aspiration of being able to pay dowry and marry or get a job or education, was for most men who lived in camps impossible to fulfil. I believe that this situation made men feel useless, a

[28] Safe here means safe from harm. In other words, they "cannot" be harmed or become victims.

sense of loss of self-realization and that they were no longer needed. From being in a position where you were admired, had responsibility, power and were someone important, to become surplus, "a nobody", is a drastic change in any humans life. Additionally, the everyday challenges and dangers of living in the midst of war, creates a huge pressure, especially on men who should be leaders and protectors. A study on suicide rates in the IDP camps in Northern Uganda shows that 4.4 men per 1 woman committed suicide (Kizza, Knizek, Kinyanda, & Hjelmeland, 2012, p. 2). The war broke-down cultural values, took away the source of power, and made women into the main provider. Their data states that,

> "For a significant number of the deceased, their suicide seemed to have followed loss of dignity and social value, either due to loss of self-worth and respect from others, lost control over the wife, inability to meet the sanctions imposed following the violation of social norms or abuse of trust. Lost self-worth and respect from others." (Kizza, Knizek, Kinyanda, & Hjelmeland, 2012, p. 701)

This tells us that the pressure on men to preform according to expectations is high, and the cost of not being able to can be fatale. The men who committed suicide probably- from their prospective- perceived that there where no other way. They, the "failed" men, were not men anymore, they were less than men. It seems that the societal context of war, the expectations of manliness, the changed gender hierarchy and the cultural and social consequences of not being able to prove your manhood led some men to use violence. Either it was introvert violence, as suicide, where the man blamed himself for failing to achieve the expected, or extrovert. The latter expressed through violence and abuse on others (Okello & Hovils, 2007, p. 442). All the practitioners spoke about the social pressure on males to be "real men", but not all told about men that tried to handle the new situation through different violent means, although violence towards others were frequently mentioned as a mean. GBV can be understood in this context. Instead of self-blame, men try to gain power and control, and through that restore some of his collapsed or lost masculinity by demonstrating power upon others. The mechanisms behind these violent reactions do not stop when a conflict ends or dissolve, they often continue in the aftermath. Consequently, so does the violence. As stated in chapter 2, there are no "post sexual violence conflict" in Northern Uganda today[29].

[29] During the two months that I stayed in Gulu I heard of two men who committed suicide that was in my hostess circle of acquaintances. Suicide did not seem to be uncommon in the region after the war ended.

4.1.2 Changes in the gender chores and characteristics

While speaking on patriarchy, a female a NGO-worker said, "Men struggle to defend their position as men, now when women realize that they have been handled badly and some women think balance between the genders mean that women should be on top of the men". The participants emphasize that there are small changes that challenges the current hegemonic masculinity and gender hierarchy. As said by one participant "...this [male dominance in gender relations] is changing when women [are] going to school and attending education and are able to buy their own land, but culturally this is not heard of." Even though the gender hierarchy presented above seems firm and still present, there are continuous changes that brush out the lines of categorization. During the conflict, NGOs saw that men misused family finances to buy alcohol or drugs. The NGOs started livelihood project directed towards women to improve the well being of women and their children. These projects ignored the traditional ideal of men as providers and "empowered" women by giving them money or other sources of income directly. The aim was that women would get a stronger role and be empowered, but it did not function equally well in all families. Later on we will see how these projects are one of the factors NGO practitioners uphold as explanatory of increased levels of gender based violence in the Acholi region. However, in some cases women became more empowered. Not only because they now got money and had the ability to control where the money should be spent, but the money where provided from outside the domestic sphere. These are new developments that helped more women to take part in the official economy. Tuyizere (2007, p. 46) states that, "Cultural values are being re-interpreted continually in response to new needs and conditions in the society". When a society changes structure, for example from conflict context to a post-conflict setting, it needs to re-adjust to the new situation. One of the changes that had been visible in this study are that some women that have a job outside the domestic sphere. This enables them to contribute to the household economy in an official way, and provide them with the possibility to take part in the society and its decisions more openly. There are also programs aimed exclusively at girls to provide them with education and vocational training, since "they are more vulnerable". This is one way to ensure that those women and their children have a potential source of income. The lack of financial means among women is stated as one of the reasons why wives cannot leave their husbands, if needed. There are tendencies that suggest that the position of men also has begun to change, at least in some cases. One of the participants emphasizes that the gender chores and characteristics can be changed if the family socialize both boys and girls to do domestic work. Where I stayed, I observed that there was a man, who washed his clothes and

cooked food. This was remarked on by some of the women. A male participant was taught to help with domestic chores at home as a child, which also indicates a transformation. This is a positive development, which gives men the skills and confidence to take a larger responsibility and become more important in the domestic sphere. Something which I think, which might balance men's declining position in the official sphere, when women are entering the labour market. This new alternative masculinity, helps to challenge the traditional expectations of men and with that the hegemonic masculinity. In time such developments may make it easier to ascribe or communicate alternative masculinities and femininities, hence easing the pressure men and women have to fulfil strict, gendered expectations. Even though the gender chores and characteristics has changed for both men and women, the focus by all but one NGO has been on women or women empowerment, without focusing on how such empowerment would effect men. This is also a trend in the general "development industry" were a majority of donors only (or mainly) want their financial donations to be spent on women as shown by Stemple, in chapter 2. Four NGO-workers emphasised that the NGOs focus is on making women independent, professionals and providers, aware of their rights and in control of their own life. In y view these are positive developments, but by only focusing on women to "take" on the chores and characteristics of men, they simultaneously challenges and undermine men's position. A position that is already constantly challenged by highly educated younger men. A focus on empowering women has resulted in that some women also wants to provide, own and be in power, a development that goes against the traditional gender expectations. How this might affect men and their position, and in extent the whole family, has however not been considered. Through recognizing and empowering men in the domestic sphere, it is possible to give them responsibility, a sense of appreciation and purpose, hence undermining the feeling of neglect and worthlessness that can spark violent reactions. Additionally it lightens the burden for women to have both an official and a domestic work, something that could reduce the frustration and anger women might feel towards men. These are feelings that also can be expressed through violence. As will be presented, some wives are violent towards their husbands.

5. NGO-workers' Reflections on Male and Female Survivors of Sexual Violence

In this section I will present and analyse NGO-workers understanding on sexual violence, male and female victims of such violence and their respective needs. The analysis is structured along the three main research questions and thus addresses, 1) How do the NGO-workers make sense of sexual violence against men and women, 2) How open and aware are the specialized NGO-workers to male survivors of sexual violence, and 3) How do the NGO-workers consider and address the needs of male and female survivors. The analysis will be based on the concept of gender, and approached from the overall gender framework presented in chapter 2 and the local gender expectations outlined in the previous chapter. Admittedly, a gender focus only constitutes part of the comprehensive knowledge that is needed to understand the NGO-workers take on sexual violence. That said, a gender focus is highly relevant in the current understanding of sexual violence and in the ways that we, in academia, as practitioners and in the international community, make sense of sexual violence as a phenomenon. The views and understandings that were uttered in interviews with specialized practitioners who work with and encounter survivors of sexual violence on a daily basis are presented and discussed. I highlight the resourcefulness of practitioners, but also the conceptions and understandings that practitioners have on sexual violence.

5.1 How do NGO-workers make sense of sexual violence against men and women?

Here, the focus will be on the factors that the NGO-workers think contributes to sexual violence. The causes of sexual violence are complex and interlinked. My intention is not to simplify the complex causes of rape and defilement, neither is it to reduce the participants understanding of them. However, there were three dominant explaining factors that was repeated by all participants in interviews. These explanations are interrelated and overlapping, and capture all the forms of explanations of sexual violence that was brought forward during the interviews. In the following I will present and discuss the categorized explanations in turn. Together they compromise important variables in the understanding of sexual violence. A presentation of factors that the participants emphasized will be argued for, namely 1) the war, 2) unawareness of law/rights and 3) changes in gender roles.

5.1.1 The war (and some of its consequences)

The conflict in Northern Uganda has given the people living in the north over 20 years of violence, hardship and trauma. According to WHOii (2002, p. 19) it is more likely for people

that grow up or live under violent conditions to reproduce that behaviour. This implies that some patterns from the war will continue to exist in the society, more or less visible, after the conflict has entered the more peaceful stages. Some of these are going to be targeted here. I will start with addressing the implications the war had on family relations, than how changed societal structures challenged the personal security. As one participant expressed it " the war made husbands love their wives less and vice versa". Before the war people lived in villages surrounded by their relatives. The social bonds between people were closely knitted and geographical and physical structures where well known. This provided a safety net, where everyone looked out for each other. In a small environment strangers where more easily noticed. When the population in the north where attacked in their villages, families sent their children to commute to larger cities such as Gulu, to seek nightly protection. This led to a separation between children and their parents. As stated by a participant

> "A consequence is that the relationship between the parents and the child has been weakened. This has resulted in an untraditional upbringing and lower moral standard. They don't have mutual trust and therefore children will not tell and parents can´t protect their children from sexual violence".
>
> Male NGO-worker 4, June 2012

When the situation in the villages became unbearable the people fled into IDP camps. Here, the family relations were also challenged. Practical factors such as limited space in the IDP camps made it hard for the displaced to bring their way of life from the outside into the camp.

> "I think the conflict has affected sexual health and sexual reproductive health, because the population was displaced into IDP camps and they had very poor accommodation. In that aspect you…have a family having one or two huts only. And all the children do not feeling comfortable sharing with their parents so they always looked out for sleeping with friends, and there they were not guided, there is no adult to give them guidance, so anything could happen".
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

When the population fled into IDP camps, the pre-war safety net was no longer possible to obtain. The change from living in a very protected atmosphere in the village, where relatives were constantly near and the exchange of knowledge, norms and wisdoms where exchanged between generations, to living under new and uncertain conditions, where the previous safety-net and knowledge did not apply. This increased the possibility for sexual abuse and violence

to happen. This environment created a framework around the individual that would keep him or her safe and avoid the dangers of the pre-conflict society.

> "Culturally [traditionally/before the war], it was very rare to find young people engaging in sex before they are married, because homestays are very far apart and the culture was very strict and the girls were protected. [In the camps and now] sometimes we say that families are strict with the girls because they are trying to protect them. They are not allowed to take a walk in the evenings just to relax. Because as they walk they probably be raped…"
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

When the societal context changed, due to the war, new dangers and values came. In crowded IDP camps lived on a limited geographical space. Children and youths often spent their time together with other adolescents, away from their relatives. As a consequence they did not get supervision and protection, hence could be an easy target for sexual assault. Similarly, this statement indicates that the girls have to be protected through restricted movement, since men rape. If the notion is that men rape and only girls have to be protected, it excludes boys from being survivors of sexual violence. A result of not being able to uphold the contact between generations is the inadequate reproduction of practical knowledge and history through socialization. The IDP community had structures, dangers and risks that where not present in the pre-war living conditions. Some of the knowledge that had previously been adequate did no longer fully apply to the new setting. NGO-practitioners implied that the moral and social boundaries that before the war limited interaction between boys and girls, and men and women had now dissolved. The amount of people living in camps under harsh conditions pushed many to their limits. The mental state of despair and frustration together with the new societal structure made sexual violence easier to commit.

When it was safe to leave the camps some people chose to resettle in cities. Others were forced to leave due to land grabbing, as other returnees had resettled on their land, or that there had been different people who lived on the land during the 20 years of conflict. This has caused violent outbursts in the area today (Rugadya, 2008, pp. 10-11). The participants stated that now when people are living in cities, generational homes are not as common as before. People live in compounds with others they do not know. The new living arrangements and family structures weaken the social safety net, which makes sexual violence more likely to occur. Where I lived I could see many children without supervision and that the different

families in the compounds moved in and out and different people coming and going, I can see how this potentially can weaken the safety.

5.1.2 Awareness and absence of rights and laws

Informing and sensitizing the communities on GBV and gender equality is one of the NGOs main tasks. By letting the people know their rights is a way to empower them, especially if the law and culture have different practise. Rape within marriage is one of those matters that are understood differently in the law and in the cultural practise. Marital rape is expressed as the most common form of rape in the area. One NGO-worker explains why,

> "…sexual violence within the house [domestic sexual violence], tend to be normal and they do not report it. If a man comes back from drinking, and ask the woman I want to have sex with you, but the woman is not ready. The man can have sex and the woman will not report. For them [the women] it is very normal…[it] is one of the activities in marriage…. The women are not satisfied with their men. The men just come and they finish and leave them unsatisfied… So they do not report that, they don't, but I think it is very common, many of them complain…"
>
> Female NGO-worker 3, June 2012

Sexual abuse and rape in marriage is a challenge, as least as this participant sees it, for women. It seems that the use of violence in different forms is almost an institutionalized right men have. Marital rape is commonly and culturally not seen as rape, but as a duty or a normal part of marital life. Neither is it illegal. The NGO-workers still inform the communities that unwanted sex between husbands and wives is also a form of sexual violence and that the will of the spouse should be respected. As one participant said "…women shy down because it is a patriarchal society". There are some factors that disempower women to say no to sex. Dowry can be one such factor since the woman is seen as "owned" by her husband. Neither is she fully accepted in her new clan, which also disempowers her. Women are frequently described by the NGO-workers to be seen as culturally and socially weaker. This notion is amplified through the expectation that men should be able to control their wife. One participant explains how it is sometimes done,

> "…if a husband beats a wife. In most cases it is said that the man was just explaining the wife. And even when we did our study, people from the community said that it is okay to beat your wife, but how is important… They feel that if you beat your wife in an orderly or organized manner, than it is okay. If you ask her to lay down and cane

> [sugarcane] her. We say that this is not the best way to clear a misunderstanding. Why do you not talk about it?"
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

Even if the legal framework is in place regarding wife beating, it is a socially accepted practise that is still enforced. This displays the difference between the cultural practise and what is right according to law. The challenge is that there is a limited knowledge about rights, especially in villages. Additionally, the practitioners stated that the low rate of convicted perpetrators indicates that the risk of being convicted is low. The law enforced reprimands if they come, will not happen directly, and does therefore not seem to deter possible perpetrators enough from obtaining the use of violence. One can imagine how a potential police report on the perpetrator will paly out in the household, since the couple most likely will stay in same house until the matter is treaded in court. The practitioners identified that husbands are victims to physical, psychological and emotional violence. Which is as noted, forms of domestic violence. It is not the main focus here, but will be addressed shortly later in this chapter. In the last quote the NGO-worker states that they try to promote dialogue as a solution to conflict instead of violence. Some of the NGO-workers are trained in mediation and facilitate a non-violent solution to the problem. A challenge they met in this regard is that mediation is time consuming and that it involves a third party. Additionally for mediation to take place both parties have to see that there is a conflict, and they should both want to seek a non-violent solution to it. By providing people with some simple, but efficient tools to handle disagreements in their relationship, NGO workers hope to help in some of the cases. Yet, they acknowledge that to change such a deep-rooted values and practise can be a time consuming process.

5.1.3 Changing gender relations

As stated in the section on gender in the local context, the justification of a supreme gender depends on the societal context. The war and its aftermath have brought new gender chores and characteristics into the Acholi culture. In the context of war, men's movement was restricted, due to the risk of being wounded or killed. It was therefore unfeasible for them to continue income-bringing activities as farming and cattle herding, something that traditionally had been a cornerstone in the hegemonic form of masculinity. During the war many men were not able to protect their family and sometimes not even themselves from harm from the armed forces and the rebels. As a result, some men became victims of Tek gungu (male-on-male rape). In IDP camps NGOs and relief organizations took over the protection and providing for men's families. Many men who felt useless and marginalized turned to substance abuse.

Some men tried to regain their position as providers through gambling. This forced some women to hide food, money and rations so that the man would not find and misuse the family resources. This has caused a higher level of crimes, domestic violence and rape according to research participants and substantiated by other case studies (Liebling-Kalifani & Baker, 2010, p. 22; Okello & Hovils, 2007, p. 442; Kizza, Knizek, Kinyanda, & Hjelmeland, 2012, p. 702). One NGO-worker explained, "Many women [were] in the households, because their men always were in bars or drinking local brew…they [the men] would also look out for someone to satisfy their needs…so many contracted STDs/STIs, HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases…". The practitioners described how wives tried to stop their husbands from going to bars, as a consequence husbands became violent towards their wives. The wives interference with the husbands decision and her attempt to control him can be seen as yet another feature that undermined the men's masculinity. The same dynamic is presented when the wife refused the man to have sex when he returned home. The influence of alcohol or drugs could in some cases increase the violence level. The impact of drastically new situation that men found themselves and its consequences left women with more responsibilities. One NGO-practitioner said, "I must say that the war increased men's irresponsibility, the man became more irresponsible, even in terms of looking after children, even family responsibility, mostly were left with the woman". The lack of income put the families in need. NGOs and relief organizations saw that men misused the family finances and that women took the lead role in trying to take care of the family, and the organizations started to prioritise women in their work.

> "With the imbalance [between men and women], even some NGO interventions became a problem, because most NGOs came with livelihood programs, because they knew women were the ones supporting the family, therefore they always looking out for the women…It reached the point when men were feeling that women overpowered and they became violent. For example it is like this saving, the village saving, so they stared out this group stared giving them [the women] some seeds capital, but the man would fight the woman, "give me the money, what do you do with the money, who is giving you the money? So it was even increasing the violence"
>
> Male NGO-worker 2, July 2012

When women display what is expected to be a masculine behaviour, -here as a (main) provider - the woman is diverting from her traditional place in the gender hierarchy. In some

cases violence was used to adjust the woman's unwanted behaviour, so that the husband - at least from the outside– was the one in charge (Baaz & Stern, 2013, p. 21). By emphasizing on expanding chores of a woman into what is expected to be male domain, the position of men is challenged, and thereby making the role of men less important. Baaz and Stern (2013, p. 21) argues "feelings of `failed masculinity´ can be seen to contribute to sexual violence in that rape becomes a way to preform power and regain masculinity and power". By the use of physical, emotional or sexual violence it is possible to re-establish the dominance and control that lay in the position of men.

In the sections above it is shown how the context of war has created a new situation for the Acholi population characterized by economical hardship, substance abuse and a focus women empowerment. These factors have contributed to changes in gender chores and characterises, which again can result in sexual violence also after that the war has ended. One participant stated "…these habits that are hard to change". She uttered this in reference to substance abuse, but it can also apply to the new chores and characteristics that women have gained, something that they want to continue to have. Additionally, it will take time to build up a financial basis in the new society, especially for those who have lost their land and their cattle. For those men who try to reclaim or hold on to the hegemonic position that was once without doubt theirs, sexual violence have in some cases become a "solution" to cope with the failing or at least declining position of the traditionally dominant man.

5.1.4 A short summary of why sexual violence happens

This chapter looks at specialized practitioners understanding of sexual violence and its causes in Gulu. It does not offer a complete explanation or etiology of sexual violence, but points out some societal factors that the research participants found most important. I have also showed the linkage between the war context and the current societal context. Men are striving to uphold the concept of manhood that was legitimized before the war. The new societal and social structures have created changes in the gender structure, – as a result of women empowerment and prioritization and men's limited ability to live up to the expectations - the new reality are some men reluctant to live in and strive therefore to up-hold the traditional ways. Others do not know how to meet the new expectations and demands. Being unaware of the rights and law makes the victims more vulnerable. Equally so, they are the legal victims of sexual violence. They need to have something to show to in order to be taken seriously.

Even though knowing about you rights is not enough in it self, it is a step in the right direction.

5.2 How aware and open are the specialized NGO-workers to male survivors of sexual violence?

5.2.1 Level of awareness of male survivors

Here male survivors of sexual violence performed by women will be targeted, male-on-male sexual violence is addressed in chapter 6. I wanted to see if the NGO-workers included men and boys when they talked about sexual violence, so I designed the interviews in such a manner that the participant first spoke about sexual violence without any restrictions to gender. When doing so only one participant mentioned men and boys as potential victims, but only in a passing, by saying, "Defilement of a man, defilement of a boy, they are not as common as for the ladies…" Even though this NGO had its main focus on women, this participant still acknowledged that men could be survivors and victims. On a later point in the interviews I asked specifically about male survivors of GBV. In that stage of the interviews all participant said that men could be victims of GBV. On the questions on GBV all the participants acknowledging that everyone could be a potential victim. However, when sexual violence was more specifically was addressed, some of the participants were more reluctant (body language and hesitative) to admit that men could be survivors. I believe that there can be multiple reasons for this. Firstly, donors who often prioritize women sponsor the NGOs, hence they have to follow their demands in order to receive money – something that left male survivors out of the projects. Secondly, men as survivors are not commonly reported or at all heard of, even though all practitioners say that they have encountered boys or men survivors. As a male NGO-worker 4 said "I think there is difference in perception, but I must admit not so many of boys experience sexual violence, sexual related or to gender…I do not have many who comes, survivors, and ask for help". This worker clearly states that sexual violence against boys does rarely happen. Yet, another NGO-worker 2 says that there are many male survivors. "You realize that certain times it can be so many of these cases [sexual violence against men], but men tend to shy down to report these cases". Sexual violence against men happens in the area, but as pointed out in the last quote, sexual violence against males is rarely reports, which is a key challenge. Thirdly, they might not feel confident to talk about it due to limited knowledge, or because it is a taboo that men are victims. Building upon the gender structure presented above and statistic of violence against women in Uganda - where

39% of the women had suffered at least form of sexual violence whereof 44 % perpetrator by an intimate partner- it is easy to see that men are traditionally are viewed as perpetrators and women as victims of sexual violence (Amnesty International, 2010, pp. 26-28). This stereotypical notion of women as victims and males as perpetrators is not limited to Northern Uganda. Some NGOs have a more inclusive approach towards males as survivors when they are out in the communities. They do for example include men as victims to GBV and sexual violence in their sensitization talks. An NGO-worker describes how they got to know about male survivors, "…we had some of these cases, when we went for community dialogue, the community started sharing this information with us and so, yes man can also be defiled, men are raped". When survivors know the NGO is aware of their existence, it is easier for them to contact the NGO. The issue of reporting will be returned to later on in this chapter. The NGO-workers demonstrate that they are aware that boys and men can be survivors of sexual violence, the question that remains is how open they are to them.

I have chosen to look at "openness" as the practitioners' attitudes towards males as survivors. Openness is here defined to be an environment that is inclusive, non judgmental and where survivors can receive equal services independently of gender. Negative attitudes such as exclusion represent less openness and positive attitudes indicating more openness. In this study it became visible that the NGO-workers are more open towards boys as survivors than men. The participants did only exemplify male sexual violence with boys and teenagers – not grown-up men - as the survivor. It seems easier for the research participants to make sense of boys as survivors. Possibly since boys are regarded as weaker than men, and are less obligated to be able to protect themselves, since they after all are still children. Another factor is teenage boys that are under the age of consent, that are sexually involved with women who are above the age of 18[30] - which by law is defilement – is not considered to be wrong in the cultural sense. Such an understanding can reflect of the male gender characteristics. Two practitioners explained that teenage boys are seen as men, while females has to be married in order to be seen as a woman. Teenage boys and men should want to have sex. Additionally men are thought to have more responsibility, authority and power. Furthermore, boys are children and children do not have the same pressure to defend or exercise power, they are often seen as vulnerable and in need of assistance from their parents or other adults, as stated in the previous chapter. At the same time, boys also meet stigma if they are sexually abused,

[30] The age of consent is by law 18 in Uganda.

since they are supposed to become future men (Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall, 2009, p. 1). Although not the primary focus of this thesis, it appears that children are the victims group that report most rape cases. Within the category of male survivors, boys are referred to as survivors more often than men. However, among all survivors, girls are the group that are stated as the most common survivor. One NGO-worker explained that "The most of the rape cases we see are mainly on children, the majority of the survivors are children and of course girls." An explanation can be that girls are seen as vulnerable and in capable to protect themselves, since their expected characteristic is to be inferior. The dominant heteronormative perspective does most likely grasp the factors behind sexual abuse of females easier than that on men, especially when keeping in mind that the stereotypical perpetrator is a man. Due to these reasons the stigma to report sexual abuse of girls is not so high. A final argument can be that it is not the children themselves that report sexual, but their parents and guardians. The general understanding in Gulu - and in the world - is that females do more often experience sexual violence. This has influenced international law, donors, NGOs and the general public to view female survivors as more important, than male. It is important to reflect upon this hierarchal divide of survivors, since it says something on who is prioritized, whom can be survivors, as well as attitudes in among NGO-workers, donors and the international community. This was especially brought forward by one NGO-practitioner, which connected it to which survivors donors aim at reaching when they finance a project. How people, as individuals, feel, need and react upon sexual abuse is highly personal (McCann & Pearlman, 1990, pp. 135,146), hence the efforts should be put on an individual level. In my view it is therefore important to have a gender-neutral approach on sensitization, provided services, law and financial support to be able to provide all survivors with the services they need.

5.2.2 Gender as a factor when perceiving survivors

The traditional roles of women as victims and men as perpetrators comprise the main narrative on sexual violence among the NGO representatives in this study. By turning the existing narrative upside-down and asking questions on male victims and female perpetrators, it is possible to detect the attitudes towards survivors who have suffered a somewhat different constellation in their assault. The participants' perspective on female on male violent relations is circulated around physical or emotional violence, rather than sexual, as the following quote illustrates,

> "What we realize is that a lot of men undergo emotional and domestic violence. There are actually some women who are very strong and beat up their husbands. And the men

> would not say that they are undergoing violence, because of the ego in Acholi men. What if I said, I got beaten by my wife? The stigma is for them higher actually"
>
> Female NGO-worker 3, June 2012

As the quote above, the next quote states that by being abused (emotionally, physically or sexually) by a woman is something that the men should hide and be ashamed of. If it is the mans wife, than he culturally should be even more in control, the level of shame is even higher, because he is no longer able to be the head in the household. One of the secondary participants had this reflection,

> "Men can also be victims, they can be tortured by their wives. For example, if the man is uneducated and the woman is educated she is in charge because he depends on her…Culturally it [female on male sexual violence] does not happened. No one would talk about it. It is not common, but if a women should rape a man, he wouldn't care, they don't mind."
>
> Secondary participant personal views, July 2012

Reporting a crime is to admit that something you did not want to happen, or in other words you were unable to protect or hinder the crime to take place. To uphold the status of being a man involves that you always want sex, are fertile and control women. If this is the ideal of being a man, reporting sexual abuse will be impossible. Not only are you admitting that you can not protect your self, but also that you do not want to have sex and that the one who forced you has an inferior status. Form this point of view, the male survivor will hardly be perceived as a man anymore. The contradiction of masculinity expectations and male survivors' experiences of sexual violence will be more elaborated on when discussing why NGO-workers think males do usually not want to report sexual violence. A likely reason for that the NGO-workers do not have extended knowledge about male sexual violence is that they do not often encounter it. Here is one illustration,

> "In our setting there they say…a women cannot convince man to have sex, but a man can start asking for… in any case if you report even then the people would say that you are the one wanting to do it… in most cases they [people in the community] say "if you have asked and been given, why do you complain again? That is how people tend to side down…"
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

As stated, a man has to initiate in order for a sexual relation to take place. In other words, there is no chance that a woman could force a man to have sex with her, without he wanting to – a man simply cannot be raped by a women. Such statement is troublesome since it excludes men completely from being survivors of sexual violence, which leaves them in a vulnerable state in which support, health and financial services for survivors do not apply. The plural form – people- indicates that those attitudes also are present in the community, hence there is little chance that a male survivor can get support by their community. As shown earlier neither is it a perpetrator/ victim relation that is accounted for in the law.

5.2.3 A short summary on awareness and openness

In this study it has become evident that all participants know that males can be survivors of sexual violence, even though some were somewhat reluctant in their recognition. However, it is a tendency that men are more easily seen as survivors of other forms of GBV, than sexual violence, such as physical, psychological and emotional violence. The NGO-workers imply that boys are more easily victimized than men, but girls more than boys. Furthermore, some NGO-workers cannot make sense of how women can abuse males sexually, or same-sex sexual violence. Men and boys can be victims in theory, but in practise and everyday acknowledgement they are not considered to be victims.

5.3 How do the NGO-workers consider and address the needs of male and female survivors?

Survivors are individuals with their personal narratives and subjective experiences and understanding of their past, present and future. Their needs will therefore vary. Even so, the NGO-workers have been able to pinpoint a few central needs for survivors. I will throughout this section present some of the challenges that the survivors meet and what their needs can be according to the specialized practitioners that I interviewed. I will use the participants experience and also draw from other scholars' knowledge of needs, which survivors commonly share, and how they can be assisted. The topics discussed here will be, 1) Lack of financial means, 2) Corruption, 3) Lack of faith in official services, 4) Safety, and 5) Mistrust and judgement. I will however begin with some reflections on why survivors do not report or seek assistance in the first place.

5.3.1 Reflections on why survivors do not tell

In order to be able to provide services and detect the needs of survivors they need to report the abuse or seek assistance. I primarily address men and boys in this section. The NGO-workers assume that is only a few male survivors that report or seek help after being sexually abused.

The NGO-workers has a common understanding of why males do not report sexual violence. Having in mind the preceding discussion, sexual violence is presented and understood not only as a gendered issue – but as a women's issue. One participant explained "genderness" very clearly, starting by asking exemplifying questions that male survivors frequently encounter in the communities,

> "…but I mean you are a man, why do you report issues of women? Aren't you man enough? So some of these things you know, discourage them, you know even if they have these issues at home you tend to cover it up and leave at that level… sometimes even if they have been wounded or hurt they say that there was maybe an animal, just because they do not want to be ashamed [in front] of their own fellow colleagues. They say, you are a man, what is wrong with you? You should behave like a man!"
>
> Male NGO-worker 2, June 2012

As mentioned in the previous chapter, male gender characteristics and the expectations to men are very specific and creates a hegemonic image of masculinity. Using this as a point of departure, it is possible to see the contradictions between the expectations to a man on one hand, and the current view on sexual assault on the other. The quote above, and the general understand among the NGO-workers illustrates, that a raped man does not behave accordingly to what is normal or expected of a man, by asking, "…why do you report the issues of women?" It is implied that a man who has been raped is no longer a "real man". He is reduced to a woman, since only women have "women issues". One of the practitioners said,

> "…the boys and the men do not want to admit that something bad happen to them. They feel they are supposed to be strong and they can handle, so it seems harder for them to say I have probably been molested or this thing happen to me. For the boys it is harder".
>
> Male NGO-worker 4, June 2012

Abilities or characteristics that in other settings would be assets and give the man or boy a higher position, does in the context of being a male survivor, undermines males possibility to come forward without having his "manhood" or future "manhood" questioned. The contrast from being highly respected person to become stigmatized is enormous. The following quote is said by an NGO-worker who mainly focusing on gender equality in the communities,

> "We [the staff of the NGO he is employed in] are going out in the communities and encouraging people to become champions… and big. But this [female on male violence] goes against culture… They say if you are a man and your wife has dominated you. You are not supposed [let them] to do that, why are you doing that? Because that's going to be laughter and he is going to be mocked. Look! He is beaten by a woman, how can you allow a woman to beat you? Even if you are not strong enough to beat your wife, it is expected that the woman should not beat the husband, because it is not a normal thing… that's why I am saying, maybe in some cases men also experience some of this violence, but they are not coming out to report, because culturally they will look weaker or inferior."
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

The participant describe how the expected behaviour (being a champion) is contradicted by an assault (becoming a victim). Even though this example speaks about physical violence, there is reason to believe that sexual violence would provoke an even stronger reaction in the community, since sex is a highly private issue. In the cultural context a man should dominate, not being *dominated*. Being dominated by a woman that has a lower social status, he will loose his social status as a full worthy man. This might be an amplifying reason to why the survivor chose to remain silent. It seems like the attitudes among NGO-workers and in the community discourage the survivor to come forward – this circle will persist until it is challenged, since it is only then, we will reflect upon our attitudes and assumptions.

Another consequence of reporting sexual abuse is, as mentioned, known that something happened that you did not agree to. In other words someone has forced/dominated the survivor, and the survivor has not been able to protect himself from it. Based on the expected gender characteristics of a man, acknowledging being a victim does not only go against "manhood", but also "accepting" a label that is considered to be female. The participants often considered men to be both culturally and physically strong, which can be the explanation why the majority of the participants stated that "men are secure" when referring to sexual violence and abuse. The characteristics and expectations of a man are similar to those of a perpetrator, while stereotypic expectations to women – vulnerable, weak and inferior - often share characteristics similar to the idealized victim. Gendered characteristics can therefore be reflected in the victim and perpetrator role and their relationship. Karen Weiss (2008, p. 277) argues that the similar characteristics between women and a victim

contribute to a feminization of victimhood. When considering men and women as opposites (as they are perceived to be in the Acholi culture), it is not possible to reconcile the characteristics of a man and a victim. You are either a man and an agent or a women and a victim. A full worthy man would never become a victim, because he would use his strength, power and authority to protect himself from the assault. If a male person is a victim, he cannot be a man, at least not as masculine as he once was. As social agents our perceived ability to act is determined by context, gender hierarchy and culture. The local understanding of masculinity and femininity regulates the power that the agent has in order to act. This understanding has two complications. Firstly, it discriminate men from the status of a victim in social settings. This means that men are not always included when addressing victims by for example NGOs and that they do not receive the social support and compassion as women survivors do. Additionally, the precautions that are taken to protect girls from sexual violence do not apply for boys, since boys are argued to be safe from harm, since they are seen as unlikely victims in the communities. For example are girls often more restricted to go outside when it is dark, than boys. Similarly, Baaz and Stern (2010, p. 44) write, "The stigma attached to male rape is often particularly strong due to the strong disjuncture between masculinity and victimhood. Being a victim—especially of sexual violence—symbolises "failed masculinity", which occupies a position of weakness associated with femininity". The view of women as victims also disempowers them from being actors and agents. This understanding makes women into helpless bystanders and men to dominant perpetrators. Secondly, it offers another scenario that makes men incapable of being victims, without loosing their masculinity, due to the notion that men always want sex (Bastick, Grimm, & Kunz, 2007, p. 19; Sivakumaran, 2005, p. 1275; Zarkov, 2001, p. 79).

Drawing on the qualities and attitudes that are seen as femininity and victimhood, it is probably easier for girls and women to report sexual violence. The occurrence of sexual violence against women and girls are known, both among survivors and generally in the community.

> "Generally in this culture girls will not report to the police, but they will report to someone, the mother, the auntie, or somebody. Because of the many examples, there are many victims, they hear from the radio, someone reported got helped, so I think it is easier for girls to report"
>
> Female NGO-worker 1, June 2012

Here it is argued that with larger focus on sexual violence against women it has been easier for other female survivors to come forward, if not to the police, to relatives. There are however many factors that also make girls and women reluctant to report. Sexual actions, sexual assault included, are considered to be highly private issue – nothing that should be spoken of. In the words of an NGO-worker "Sexual violence is a private issue, so when you come out… you are exposing family matters…you get rejected by your family" Women and girls are expected to be pure and clean until they are married. When it becomes known that a girl or a woman has been sexually active she does no longer have the same status as before she was "damaged". As a female participant said, "It affects how other men perceives you, they take distance, they don't want to marry you and other men may misuse you, you are already damaged". The survivor is blamed for being sexually abused, she is already damaged and not worth protecting (Baaz & Stern, 2013, p. 21). That the fault is placed with the female and sometimes the community takes the side of the man, can illustrate the power dimension between the genders. One example given by a secondary participant is, "They give you names, they call you things…what have you done? He didn't rape you, you are a prostitute and he didn't give you his money" By not living up to the expected "womanhood", she is seen as a lesser woman, that no one claims. The NGO-workers have identified three possible scenarios following premarital rape or consensual sex: The first outcome is that the girl is sent away to live with a relative. The second scenario is that her family neglects her, since she made the "family name dirty". Lastly, she has to marry her perpetrator to save the families face.

> "… the girl [after sexual abuse] droops out of school. Sometimes even separated from their family, they are forced to go and live with the boy [for both a rapist and a consensual sex partner] or boys' family. But for the boy, sometimes I have seen parents that are so local they just want something…if the family of the boy can give them dowry… for they would want dowry. It is something very funny…in my culture. There are families when the girl grow up they look on the girl as a source of wealth for the family, since the girl is going to be married…personally I don't agree with that cultural practise, because it has caused many girls not to go to school and ending up marring men that they should not marry"
>
> Male NGO-worker 4, June 2012

This is a way to culturally "legalize" and "institutionalize" sexual violence. In other words, make sexual violence into something clean and accepted. Additionally in settings were

poverty is present, as mentioned throughout this thesis, dowry is seen as a source of income to the family. The NGO-worker emphasized how the girl, if she is pregnant, drops out of school. Her ability to be self-sufficient does thereby decrease and she will most likely be dependent on her new husband and his family. After marriage the children belong to the husband. Many female survivors that are married to their aggressor do therefore see no alternatives than to stay with him, not reporting the sexual violence.

The logic is fairly similar in cases of incest. Explained by one participant "…parents, or the guardians to these children will not come out openly and say that this child has been abused by a relative. They tend to cover up these issues…to protect the family and family relations" Protecting the family is considered very important. In cases of incest this is particularly challenging, since there is a trend that relatives do not report sexual abuse within the family. A female NGO-worker described a case her NGO were involved in,

> "The man was arrested and got [was taken] to police custody…afterwards the mother of this girl [went to] her sister, because the girl was living with her aunt. So it is the aunt's husband who defiled her [the girl]… the sister sat down and said, if we proceed this case its going to affect…the family. So they…talked to the girl, who in the end of the day refused to make statements at the police station…As much as we try to give support to the people, certain times people tend to look at it from a different perspective"
>
> Male NGO-worker 2 June, 2012

Following (penile) rape, the survivor has to seek medical help within 72 hours. Otherwise it is not possible for the heath personnel to provide the survivor with contraceptives or/and prophylaxis treatment to prevent the spread of STDs/STIs and HIV. NGOs offer a range of services, depending on their aim. Services aiming directly at the survivor are psychosocial aid, legal counselling, mediation, local NGO-representatives[31] in the communities, and money for transport to health facility and police. The more long-term services target the attitudes in the community through sensitization on gender relations and sexual violence. The platform for the information spreading is schools, religious institutions, as well as information

[31] Some of the NGOs have educated a few people who lives in the villages to become a NGO-representative in GBV and SGBV issues so they can provide immediate assistance and report to the NGOs main office in Gulu.

meetings in the local community. Here one NGO-worker describes how they have projects on empowering children to speak up if they are sexually abused,

> "It [sexual violence] does occur, I would not say in public as such, and that is where the challenge always has been, to fail to come out and say I have been sexually violated, abused, it is very difficult, especially for children. Indeed in our culture, the stigma of coming out to say that I have been sexually abused. It is very difficult for a child to come out. So one of the things that we are doing is to build the estimate [confidence] of these children to speak and to learn them the life skills to defend themselves and also trying to identify that the risk that they can easily being involved in being subject to abuse. We try to reach the schools, education… and within the communities".
>
> Female NGO-worker, 1 June 2012

Through sensitization and education the community members, including children, are given tools that might help them to report or at least tell someone if they have been sexually abused. Such information can also teach people in in the community on what to do and how to react if someone else is a victim of sexual violence. If survivors are accepted and respected instead of stigmatized, it is more likely that they will report and in turn the perpetrator may face a higher risk for at least social, and possibly even legal consequences.

5.3.2 Challenges when a survivor seeks assistance

If survivors chose to seek help there are some possible challenges they may face. By chronologically going through the process of accessing help, I would like to look into what sections can be improved to meet the needs of survivors.

5.3.2.1 Lack of access

Most people which the NGOs work with lives in villages in the sub-counties to Gulu. There is no developed transportation system between the villages and Gulu town. Bodaboda, which is a motorcycle-taxi, is one way of transportation, although these can be scarce in the rural villages. There are some buses, but those are usually going to larger towns. The last opportunity is to get a ride with someone who has a car (for example an NGO), but most people do not have that opportunity. Without proper roads it is hard for survivors out in the district to assess help. Liebling-Kalifani and Baker (2010, p. 25) noted that the majority of

survivors in their study[32] lacked money for transport. Thereby they could not receive treatment or do the follow-up checks. This has also been emphasised by the NGO-workers in this study.

> It is really hard for someone in the villages to access these services [medical check-ups and police], so what we do is facilitate transport...and what we do is, when that survivor which has undergone violence, need some more, they need money to more physical check up"
>
> Female NGO-worker Gulu 1, June 2012

Since many people in the area are poor – and especially people in the rural areas, their possibility to pay for transport and medical examinations is limited and it is sometimes – but far from always- provided for by NGOs[33]. In an economical perspective, reporting or seeking aid, is challenging. If the survivor wants to access the offered services, some NGOs pay for transportation in urgent cases. However, the survivors still has to pay for food and a place to stay while they are in Gulu, hence seeking assistance can still be economically challenging. Additionally, when seeking help, the survivor looses income, since they cannot work this day/days. In families who have scares resources this can result in unmanageable situation for the survivor and his or her family, hence the survivor cannot seek assistance.

5.3.2.2 Corruption

> "…we actually provide them with movement [transport], but that is not complete. Like we do not provide for their feeding…and even doing other things…Also the police themselves they ask them to give them money, but it is not supposed to be like that. Sometimes they report a case, the police will ask them for money for transport to arrest the perpetrator. "
>
> Female NGO-worker 3, June 2012

Taking fees for services that are free can only be seen as corruption. Corruption[34] is a problem both within the legal system and the police. Most people do not know their rights, and are

[32] Their study where from Kitgum, a sub-county to Gulu. Which is one of the target areas for most of the NGOs in this study.
[33] Dependent on the NGO. There are two NGOs in this study that offer this.

[34] UN corruption handbook on used the working definition for corruption as variations of "the misuse of a public or private position for direct or indirect personal gain". See P. 23
http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/corruption/Handbook.pdf

unable to protect themselves form being victims of corruption. At the same time does the corrupted people inhabit a power position, were the survivor is dependent on the "good will" of the police or the judge to have their case brought forward. Another from of corruption has been described by several of the participants. When perpetrator has access to money, and the victim does not, it has been observed by the participants that there is a tendency that the perpetrators have been able to buy his or her way out of the legal process. This development is also visible outside the courtroom. Now, with the increasing business life and the contact between Gulu and other districts, such as Kampala there has been an influx of money into the Acholi region. This has created a gap between rich and poor. This development has resulted in a new trend in the region, were the rich use their financial resources to avoid either being convicted by arranging private settlement after performing an abuse. A NGO-worker explains,

> "What we are seeing is changing [a change] now, because you know there are a lot of money, and those are the once who abuse. Since they who abuse the poor, since they say they have money and I can settle it. So some parents are taking upon thus and say ´fine´ they settle it at home and it ends here. You know that has been happening and that has been very common"
>
> Female NGO-worker, 1 June 2012

5.3.2.3 Dismissing the official services

Many survivors of sexual violence has lost their faith in some official services one NGO-worker explains why,

> "When it [reports of sexual violence] goes to court it will take long [time]… criminalization can take one year to start [the] hearing. Somebody will get discouraged. After every month, every two weeks, they [the survivors] have to come to court, sometimes they give up, sometimes they say ´no I am wasting my time´. So that's one of the major challenges…Now when a family brings up evidence, [and] maybe witnesses… the next month, the complainant is not come[ing], but the defendant is there…no witness to testify. [When] this happen they close some of these cases, because there is no substantial evidence. They [others who are survivors] see…a perpetrator, someone like defiling children and doing A,B,C [other sexual crimes] are being released. This court does not help"
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

It is understandable that the NGO-workers detect a feeling of mistrust in the survivors, since the official services are not well functioning. Time-consuming procedures, as the court process above, requires that the survivor is patient, has financial resources (as mentioned), the time, and knowledge about their rights. The belief in the justice system has eroded, and has not been rebuilt after the war, hence less survivors of sexual violence and other victims choose not to seek assistance and report. As this NGO-worker describes, people loose faith in courts as a justice institution. Survivors and their families had instead turned back to cultural practises to help the survivor and settling the matter. However, this approach is not problem-free.

> "Before they [the community] set [assisted the survivor] in the cultural way, cleanse and make the person feel okay, we denounce these practises. When a person gets sexually abused it needs to get medical help. We look for HIV/STIs spread and we know if someone gets unwanted pregnancies. All this can be result of sexual abuse"
>
> Female NGO-worker 1, June 2012

Using traditional practises can have unfortunate consequences for the survivor, especially if it leads does not include medical treatment. Other needs that might not be fulfilled are safety, compensation, and psychosocial support.

5.3.2.4 Safety

In the educational papers that I could get hold of in the field, it was stated safety should be one of the main priorities for survivors. Professionals agree that providing shelter and physical safety for the survivor is crucial for his or her recovery (Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall, 2009, p. 5). It has also been a wanted efforts by three of NGOs, here one of them states what her NGO is trying to accomplish,

> "[We] work on prevention, intervention and response…create awareness, denounce bad cultural practices. Guidelines also emphasise the importance of a save place or the need of safety for survivors…"
>
> Female NGO-worker 3, June 2012

It may however been financially impossible to provide a safe place for survivors. The three practitioners do see the need for it, but they depend on donations to continue their practise. They have instead prioritized more cost-effective efforts, such as community awareness

program and sensitization. She says that the children that are victim of incest suffer the most, when there is no safe place for them,

> S.H: So, usually what happens to the survivor, in cases of incest for example?
> NGO-worker: She goes back! And from there anything can happen to the survivor. You see, the report is so and so for having raped you and the person [the perpetrator] is at the police and he gets out and he gets back to the community. And you are supposed to, you know, fetch water from the same dwell and you go to the same market. There is a risk that you are beaten up. A lot of these things happen for the survivor"
>
> Female NGO-worker 1, June 2012

When a safe house or similar alternatives are not in place, survivors are sent back to their home were the assaults can continue. When living within the same community as the perpetrator, the likeliness of meeting the perpetrator is high. As NGO-worker 5 said, "I think with the perpetrator in the community, the safety of the survivor is not guaranteed". Additionally, as stated earlier, the most frequent use of sexual violence happens among people who live under the same roof, which eliminates the survivor possibilities to be able to protect themself from further violence. By sending the survivor back, the NGO-workers fear that the survivors feel that the NGOs have not take them seriously. Such mistrust can lead to a decline of survivor who seeks assistance.

5.3.2.5 Mistrust/Judgment

The same reaction that the NGO-workers fear (mistrust) has already developed among some survivors towards the police, health and legal system. Also a few NGO-workers have experienced the reverse negative attitudes towards survivors when they have escorted them to file a report or get a medical examination.

> "I have myself taken some survivors to the police. You find, one girl was defiled and became pregnant. Then she went to report it to the police, okay she came to us and we took her to the police. The police say ´this girl, oh, we know her, she has been here. We even went and arrested the perpetrator, but she came and she went to court then she said that we should release this person [the perpetrator], so we cant have her anymore´. And this girl is like 15…so even the police, even the medical workers still have sort of negative [attitudes]. The way they treat survivors is still not the best"
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

Handling the survivor badly can complicate the recovery process, the assistant should instead be confidential and judgement free (Russell, Hilton, Peel, Loots, & Dartnall, 2009, p. 5).

5.3.2.6 Some positive contributions of NGOs

Throughout the interviews the NGO-workers return to the problem that they rely on external financial support to conduct their work. Without a sustainable source of income they are unable to provide a complete and constant assistance towards survivors. Additionally it prevents them from developing long-term projects that is needed both to target new survivors and successively change community attitudes. The NGO-workers do the best they can with the tools they have at hand. They are focusing on affecting the collective view on gender chores and characteristics to avoid sexual violence from happening in the future, and by educating people on their rights and what, where and how to seek assistance. The psychosocial concealing, mediation and legal aid given today are most likely important features for recovery for those able to access them. There is a consensus that these efforts contributes to reduce the stigma attached to being a survivor of sexual violence. A final principal that also applies to those of the NGOs that directly assist survivors is that they respect the survivors choice if they want to report or not. The NGO-workers realize that they are assisting, but the survivor is the decision-maker.

5.3.3 A short summary of challenges

It is under a complex and uncertain context that survivors decide whether or not they are going to seek assistance and/or report sexual violence. On a personal level, personal relations or lack of financial resources may hinder the survivor. On a community level, negative attitudes, judgements and faulty conclusions are contributors. In the official sector mistrust due to corruption, negative accusations and a complex and time-consuming process may discourage the survivor. Some survivors are legally acknowledged but do not trust the legal system, others are not recognized as victims, not legally nor socially, and do not have a choice other than to avoid the official sector. As NGOs are not able to offer a safe place for the survivors to stay, this contributes to an assessment that reporting is too risky. Improving the official services and affecting the attitudes in the community through awareness and education might be possible to restore survivors trust and increase the acceptance of them in the communities. The lack of financial support to the NGOs limits their offered services. They are however, seen together, able to offer preventive measures, acute assistance and tools to recover and assist the survivor to report to the police, seek medical help and legal advise.

6. Heteronormative Masculinity Challenged?

In this chapter I would like to address how male-on-male rape can be both a threat and a consequence of the heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity. I will start with an empirical presentation, than I will discuss the empirical data with a theoretical angle, drawing on theory from chapter 2. All of the NGO-workers did draw parallels to defilement[35],incest and homosexuality, when I introduced this topic. Here is the account of one participant's reflection,

> "Lets say, if a girl is abused by [her] mother or another female, [or] if a boy is abused by a man, …a male teacher for example, or a women teacher abuses a girl…it is incest or defilement. If the perpetrator and the survivor have the same sex, that can be perceived as homosexuality…people don't support homosexuality here. That would affect the child, like "I can't say this because the person who raped me had the same sex."
>
> Male NGO-worker 4, June 2012

The NGO-workers did not give any examples where adults have sexually assaulted another adult with the same sex. It seems like the assault is more comprehensible if one of the parties is a child, due to the reasons stated previously to why children became victims of sexual abuse. Furthermore, the participants gave the impression that the unequal power relation between the adult and the child, possible had a role to play in such assaults. When exemplifying the participants, mostly portrays the perpetrator to be someone who holds a trustworthy position, as a parent, a close relative or a teacher. In an adult – child relation there will always be power factors such as age difference, the physical strength and psychological comprehension of what is happening. A perpetrator that inhabits a trust position, and possibly a position that the child is dependent on, provides an additional power structure. It can therefore be hard for the child to resist or to tell about attempted and/or real abuse. In the gender and social hierarchy, a child's position is at the very bottom, hence their views, concerns and reports might be questioned or not considered. I will argue that in a society, such as Gulu district, where heterosexuality is without question the norm, same sex relations seems to be strange and incomprehensible. As stated in the quote, same-sex survivors can be reluctant to report crimes that might socially turn them into outcasts or in legal terms possibility can criminalize them. During my time in Gulu, I had conversations with people about homosexuality. In these conversations I was informed that there were mainly two ways

[35] Sexual abuse of someone under the legal age.

of becoming homosexual. One explanation was that the person had been abused as child, by the opposite gender[36] and has therefore developed a fear for this gender. Having this in mind a child who has been sexually abused, could be viewed as a future homosexual, and thereby be reluctant to come forward. I think it is clear that the following male participant is reluctant towards both same-sex sexual violence and homosexual relations in his community to the point that he questions if it could happen at all.

> "Again I must say it [same sexual violence] is not common, it is…I don't know what words I should use, hmmm, it is something that should be cursed. Something that shouldn't happen, it is a taboo… if it is sexually, than it would be a taboo. The belief here is that sexual orientation is created by God to be a man and a woman, and just a man and a women. We hear in some African cultures that some men, some kings, actually marrying men, fellow men! But not in this part of where we are. So here this is something really strange. Even for a man to sexually abuse or get involved with another man. Maybe it is happening, but you don't hear people talking about it."
>
> Male NGO-worker 5, July 2012

Using words as *cursed* and *taboo* indicates how strongly he feels about this. Same-sex sexual violence and homosexuality equally, should not happen in his community. Furthermore, my participants told me that this is an aspect of both consensual sexual relations and sexual violence that is not spoken of by the members in the community. Neither do the NGOs address this aspect, neither do they speak about the war related Tek Gungu. The NGO-workers reluctance towards same-sex sexual violence can as I see it be a result of three conditions. Firstly, in the heteronormative understanding, same-sexual violence can be perceived as not existing. If this is so, would it not only question naturalness of heterosexual relations, but possible also acknowledges that homosexuals exist (also in their community). By living in the belief that same-sex violence and homosexuality does not exist, there will be no need to address it, because such assaults would not happen. Secondly, as mentioned briefly, there is a chance that reporting the abuse could criminalize the survivor. Having in mind what the quoted participant said, – a person that should be supportive and empathic for every survivor - the risk of being judged by both by educated personnel and people in the community for being a suspected homosexual is rather high. Additionally it is not only the survivor that is confronted with social stigma[i], but also the survivors' family. During one of

[36] As noted in the 4 chapter the persons gender and sex, are seen as the same in the Acholi culture.

my conversations on homosexuality with an acquaintance in Gulu, he estimated that 99% of the Ugandans were against homosexuality. Even though this estimate does not have any empirical backing, it indicates that there is colossal unity against homosexuality and homosexuals in Uganda. If same-sex survivors interpret the societal opinion the same way as he did, the prize of coming forward and seeking assistance is too high. Thirdly, the NGO-workers do describe that same-sex sexual violence happens to children. So, at least towards children they are aware of its existence. Then the problem is not the knowledge of, but the willingness and possibility to address it. I can understand that with the heteronormative mind-set, talking about issues that goes against the core of the society can be challenging. As I said in the previous chapter, the NGO-workers are already challenged, and sometimes ignored, by community members because they are seen as spokespersons for western culture. It might be that by talking about same-sex sexual violence the NGO-workers loose their connection with the communities, hence other gendered issues might be suffering. Additionally, personal values might hinder them from speaking about same-sex sexual violence. By not addressing the issue, and by that not clarifying that being sexually assaulted by someone with the same sex is not the same as being homosexual, it will continue to be hard to be a survivor of same-sex sexual violence. It is possible that it is a combination of these that contributes to a neglect of this issue. The different participants view and position on this matter varied. The quotes here were the most negative to same-sexual violence. Others said that homosexuals might exist, but not in Gulu. Those who wanted to address it found it hard to do so in a way that the community, especially people in more distant villages, would accept.

The same dynamic that was used to understand the power dynamic in the gender hierarchy[37] can be used to understand some of the mechanisms behind male-on-male violence and rape. When a male, who is considered to be a lesser man, challenges the position of a man who are seen as more masculine, violence can be a "tool" to show this individual his "rightful" place within the male hierarchy. To clarify, within the male gender hierarchy, men are ranked by their ability to fulfil the expected masculinity norms. A potential explanation when sexual violence against a man by a man happens in the current Northern Ugandan context (without the features of ethnic divide or rivalling groups, as a background factors to rape in the context of war) is the aim can be to dominate the subordinate man that tries to challenge the position of the superordinate man in the hierarchy. A position that already is shattered, due to the

[37] See theoretical framework, chapter 2 and page 64.

consequences of war and changed gender chores and characteristics. Either through undermining the superordinate's masculinity by proving himself (the subordinated man) to be more masculine, or that the subordinate man offers an alternative masculinity that does better reflect chores and characteristics that correlates better with the new needs in current context, hence making the hegemonic masculinity look unwanted. The difference between male-on-female and male-on-male sexual violence is that the male-on-male sexual violence would be kept between the two men, while women often share their experience. Male-on-male sexual violence is something that could reflect badly upon both the perpetrator and the survivors, since other members in the community could view it as homosexuality. Also from a legal perspective, both could be criminalized, since it would be an act of homosexuality. That is why I would say, that male-on-male sexual violence has a function between the two individuals, the perpetrator and the survivor, instead of a general disapproval of one group challenging another group's domain, it is a way to adjust the behaviour of one individual. To understand this it is necessary to look at the sexuality constructions in the society. Heterosexual sexual actions are legitimate, they are the norm, while homosexual sexual actions are something that is not approved of – or often viewed as a non-existing. Sexual violence against women by men, are also seen as normal, or at least expected. The participants stated that for many women it is a part of marriage. Therefore by sexually abusing a woman, an abuse that most likely will be shared, the man can demonstrate that he disapproves, not only on the individual woman's action, but also women– as a group- that enters the men's domain. Male-on-male sexual violence on the other hand is not something that is shared, the abuse happens completely of the other community members' radar. The extended effects will therefore not hit other men who also challenge the superordinate mans position or present alternative masculinities – only the man it was aimed at.

7. The Way Forward - Meeting The Needs

In this chapter I want to offer some tentative solutions to meet the needs of survivors and provide my own reflections where I have been able to see how these can be implemented in practise. These solutions do of course depend on financial resources, political action and practical matters. I cannot offer potential solutions for all the challenges survivors and the response system meet. The focus here will be on lack of financial means, safety and mistrust/judgement.

7.1 Tentative solutions to the lack of access

To solve the issue of lack of financial means and meet the needs of survivors, I suggest to coordinate a cross-sectorial mobile team with NGO-workers who could have counselling, mediation and awareness talks, medical personnel that could do check ups and give treatment and policemen/women who could receive reports on the assault. In such way the services would be easier assessable for the survivor, also those with scarce resources. A cross-sectorial team have the benefit of supporting and helping each other, hence are able to have a holistic approach to the different survivors. On the negative side, it can be challenging for such a unit to come immediately after the sexual violence has taken place, since the region is geographically large and transportation is time consuming. Evidence collecting and giving medical treatment are a perishable commodity. A combinational approach could also be an option where there is one emergency team that could respond immediately and an operational team that visit different villages in a set time span. The positive effects of this are that follow-ups could be possible and also people who would like to report something later can do so. Possibly, it could also function as a preventative effort, because the potential perpetrator would know that the survivor would have the ability to report. A more frequent contact between the populations and representatives from the official sector, could also improve trust. A challenge with this approach, as the NGO-workers have pointed out before, is a scares finances resource into the NGOs.

7.2 Tentative solutions to safety

A tentative solution with the problem that survivors have to return to the same area where the sexual violence took place, is a safe house. This could particularly aim at those who experience violence at home. As stated, the high number of Ugandans that are survivor of different kinds of domestic violence can cause a capacity problem. The inefficient law system will most likely also contribute an even larger capacity problem. A possible solution could be to have a safe house where the survivors could stay for a short period of time, meanwhile a

more permanent accommodation could be found. This solution could become sustainable by creating survivor-run households and businesses. In such location could also psychosocial aid, legal counselling and other support activities for survivors be facilitated. In doing so, it is easier for the survivors to access the assistance. Peer survivor support groups are suggested by UNCHR and Refugee Law Project (RLP), were survivors could meet, support and share their situation with each other (2012, p. 13).

7.3 Tentative solutions to mistrust and judgement

Guidelines developed by UNCHR and RLP (2012, pp. 11-12) states that all staff that works with SGBV survivors should evaluate their own assumptions on stereotypes and gender. Furthermore, staff should develop trustworthy relationships, respect for the survivor and take him or her seriously. They should also act with urgency to medical needs and offer other services, as counselling, to the survivor. As stated in the guidelines,

> "In-depth training on the distinctions and connections between gender, sexuality, sexual orientation and sexual violence is essential for staff and partners if they are to hear and respond to accounts of sexual violence…" (UNHCR; RLP, 2012, p. 11)

Furthermore, by sensitising the society on male survivors, encouraging men to come forward, offer services to them equally, and work together with the community to create alternative masculinities, hence it is –in time - hopefully possible for members of society to draw on a range of accepted masculinities. As mentioned in chapter 4, there are changes in Gulu that indicates more fluent gender roles, even though they mostly are represented by female participation in the official economy. Still, some men do participate more in the domestic work. One NGO-worker 5 expressed that some people in the community challenged changes in gender roles by stating "…coming early from work, assist your wife and doing house work and play with the children and all this. But this goes against culture, and they say if you are a man and do that, they say that your woman has dominated you. You are not supposed to do that".

Awareness campaigns and sensitization are key factors in the participating NGOs approach when it comes to addressing and potentially altering the community perceptions on sexual violence, and sometimes also the perception of the survivors themselves. By increasing the knowledge on sexual violence and what resources are available it would be easier for the survivor to know where to turn, what rights they have and for the community to support the

survivor. To clear the misunderstanding that sexual violence equals loss of manhood (emasculation), is central if the survivor should be met without stigma. Additionally, clarifying that survivor of sexual violence is not to blame for the assault and that his or her gender is still intact. It is necessary to create safe atmosphere if the survivors should come forwards, where they know the community or a court would not judge them for the assault. Introducing alternative versions of men and women to the hegemonic construction that is today, would probably lower the barrier for admitting to oneself and seeking help. These are elements that the NGOs are working with in the communities, but it is not always easy.

> "… in our current projects we go out to the communities and talk about gender. Lets say gender equality. They say `It is you people who [are] coming and say to our women to demand for what is not necessary´. They [the men in the communities] say it is not right. Certain things we feel should be right, the community thinks that it is not right. They feel like we try to impose western culture. Try to erode your own culture, it took a lot of time building up and now we want to destroy. So gender related, gender based violence, okay, violence against women, reproductive health issues, this is really hard to work on"
>
> Male NGO-worker 4, July 2012

The NGO workers cannot do more than present an alternative to what is, and discuss the different views. Reflections and change has to come from within the community. Elements, which are so deeply structured and anchored in traditions, religion and culture as gender structures, that almost are taken as given, will take a long time to change. Gender expectations and norms, as other social constructs cannot change over night, but might be altered over time. It is as, Tuyizere brought forward in chapter 4, dependent on what the society needs and considers possible and desirable. People in Northern Uganda is currently facing a societal shift, from restricted movement, education and working possibilities to an increased freedom of movement and opportunities for education and employment. Due to the present societal shift the population in Gulu has the chance to form the "new" society. By improving already existing SGBV-training for civil servants, it is possible to slowly build up a service that survivors think it is worth turning to. In the current system the survivors have no real chance of getting sufficient medical and legal aid. Liebeling-Kalifani and Bakers (2010, pp. 26-27) study shows that there is a shortage of staff, resources and training. They suggest capacity building, legislative changes, sensitization and institutional innovation as remedies. The

NGOs are not able to fill the gaps in the official sector. Four NGOs in this study are working on short-term projects with limited financial support. Two of the NGOs have intentions to stay permanently in the area, but GBV-projects might not be prioritized. With Northern Uganda transforming into a more peaceful post conflict phase, it seems like most donors are withdrawing their finances and finalizing their projects. As stated in the introduction, the conflict of sexual violence and gender based violence, is still vividly present in the Acholi region, even though the guns have been silenced.

To strengthen juridical system it is possible to use mobile gender courts as in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Baaz & Stern, 2013, p. 101). This does also provide access to the legal system. In the DRC, there has been a strong donor support, hence it has been financially possible. The conflict in DRC is widely known both in aid agencies and in newspapers for the sexual violence perpetrated. The sexual violence in Uganda has not made the headlines in the same extent as DRC, hence it is questionable if the donors have the willingness to prioritize this violent "peace" post conflict area. The mobile courts have also been criticized for not following through the convictions. Baaz and Stern (Baaz & Stern, 2013, p. 101) informs, "…only very few of those convicted could pay even a fraction of these damages…" This does also say something about of the general poverty that exists in the area. As it seems, these courts, at least in the DRC function primarily as a symbolic institution. One can only speculate how such a court would function in the violent "peace" post conflict phase of Northern Uganda. A Ugandan legislation that acknowledged that men and boys can be victims of rape, where martial rape is illegal and where women as potential rapist, would give hope to many Ugandan survivors that today is without legal backing to the violence that has been perpetrated against them.

7.4 Potential future studies

On a final note in this thesis I would like to suggest some areas to further research. There is today a need for more research on sexual abuse on children in the area. The NGO-workers highlight that children comprise the largest group of survivors. Furthermore, more research and action is needed on marital rape and the prevention of it. Another area I think is important already now, in this early phase of male sexual violence research, to investigate the phenomenon in settings where it has not been looked at, to widen our understanding. How is male sexual violence in itself and our perception of it influenced by research on it? What are the effects on survivors, how are they met and what initiatives are there? These are interesting

questions that might be answered in future research. I would also like to know how men could be more integrated and empowered in practical NGO efforts, similar to those targeting women empowerment.

8. Summery

In this thesis I try to map out the NGO-workers reflections on survivors of sexual violence, especially those that are not frequently recognized - survivors of intimate partner violence and male survivors. The study reflects the current situation in Gulu district, Northern Uganda. The area has a history of a 20 years long war, but since 2006 it has transgressed into a violent "peace" post-conflict community. To understand the continuum of sexual gender based violence, the NGO-practitioners have pointed towards the gendered sphere – the power dynamics, masculinity, gender hierarchy and cultural values bound to these -, the history of war and its consequences, and knowledge about and absence in the current legal framework. Gender theories, especially on masculinity is used to understand the situation for survivors. Patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity theories are not only useful when making sense of violence against women, but also to see how men are weaken due the gap between lived experiences and expectations to fulfil what real men are supposed to be like in the local context. Both the theoretical and the empirical framework and the analysis portray idealized versions - stereotypes- of men and women and do not leave any room for large individual variations. In the academic context these simplifications are made to easier grasp parts of the abstract social web that human relations are made out of. These stereotypes reflect the dominant comprehension of gender that shapes and limits the actions of both men and women. This is visible in the current societal pressure to conform to the gender expectations in order to be considered a real man or woman.

It is in those cases where the gender expectations and the experience part that sexual violence and gender based violence occurs. The factors that hinders those two – the expectation and the experience – to come together in the case of Northern Uganda is mainly the consequences of war – the hard life in IDP camps, NGOs women empowerment programs and a loss of the social safety net- and changed gender chores and relations. These two have led to an increased women empowerment - also within the masculine domains, but no men empowerment with in women domains-, and alternative masculinities challenging the hegemonic masculinity. Hence the dominant men are loosing their position in the society and turn to violence, also sexual violence, to defend their position. Abused men can be perceived as emasculated, feminized and/or "tainted" by homosexuality. The latter can be extremely problematic in Uganda, due to the anti-homosexuality legislation and sentiments. Women can be seen as "damaged" or forced to live with the perpetrator to save the families reputation.

The NGO-workers are aware that there are male survivors, even though this is something that not all of them find easy to talk about. Sexual violence against males is during the interviews mostly concentrated to boys instead of men. The NGO-practitioners find it hard to understand that men, with all their dominant characteristics could be victims. Additionally, victimhood is closely linked to femininity through the expectations between the two are similar. Few of the NGOs target men as survivors in their sensitization and informational work.

The stereotypic gender expectations and the gender hierarchy do influence attitudes towards survivors, which may make survivors reluctant to seek assistance and report the violence. In the case of intimate partner violence the culture attitudes towards marital rape as something normal and the absence of awareness of rights not only keep the survivors away from NGOs, but also reinforces the practise. Male survivors do not report and/ or seek assistance, since the assault contradicts what is socially, culturally and legally seen as possible. For survivors of intimate partner violence and male survivors to address their victimization goes against the gender expectations and cultural norms in the Northern Ugandan society. There are also other reasons that can back the survivors decision to stay silent, lack of access, corruption, dismissing of services, lack of a safe place and mistrust towards NGOs.

It is needed a more inclusive approach towards survivors – especially towards male survivor and survivors of intimate partner violence – from NGOs, the Ugandan government, and the international community. More financial assistance is needed in order for the assistant to reach more survivors. There are however some positive trends. The participants informed that alternative masculinities and femininities are slowly growing. As an example of this, after I concluded my fieldwork in Gulu, I went to see a play in Kampala, based on narratives from the war in the North. In one scene an actor who plays a civilian Acholi man who says that the rebels raped him on several occasions. The audience reacted with an uncontrollable laughter. It was obvious that the laughter was a response to the violated man. This response made the taboo and silence surrounding male survivors even more evident. Even though the response is drastic, it is still a positive development that the play writer chose to have a male survivor in the play – as a way to inform and sensitize the audience on male sexual violence.

9. Literature

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10. Appendix

10.1 Topic-based interview guide

The text within the brackets is an explanation of what I focused on within that topic.

Introductory topics

- Introduction (the study, me, voice recorder)
- Personal information
- NGO (over all aim, projects, financial backing, environment in the NGO)
- The NGO-workers position (tasks, years)
- Training/education

Main topics

- Expectations to men, women, boys and girls (Gender and gender roles: before the war, during the war and now after the war)
- Expectations VS lived experience
- Gender structure (gender hierarchy, patriarchy, effects of those in the society)
- GBV/SGBV (participants own reflections)
- GBV/SGBV Project (aim, task, angel, number of participants, the participants, area, guidelines, how do you work, challenges, response system internal and external)
- GBV/SVBV (going deeper, different kinds of SGBV, why, perceptions, challenges for survivors)

Concluding topics

- Participants own questions and thoughts (possibility for the participant to add something)
- Thanks.