

'LEAKY BODIES'

MEN, WAR AND RAPE IN CONGO (DRC)

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This thesis is dedicated to Davina Massey whose fingerprints can be found on every page.

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine how contemporary framings of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war constrain what we know about them. To achieve this aim it elaborates an analytical strategy of leaky bodies that develops conceptual tools for analysing how the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war disrupt our representations of them. This analytical strategy of leaky bodies is central to my analysis of the ways in which bodies of male perpetrators surface within the literature on sexual violence in the DRC. Dissatisfied with the almost ubiquitous framing of male perpetrators of sexual violence in this landscape of war as physically and emotionally hard, it uses the term leaky to explore and contest how they materialize within explanations of sexual violence in the DRC.

Situated within feminist analyses of sexual violence in war this thesis asks how the generic stories of militarized masculinity that authors work within violently reproduce the bodies of perpetrators as well as how these stories permeate explanations of why soldiers rape in the DRC. In tracing how the literature on sexual violence in this warscape reproduces an image of soldiers who perpetrate rape as part of the 'machinery' or 'weaponry' of war, my analysis looks for residues or traces of leaky bodies that reveal how they consistently exceed our prevailing understandings of them. It does this by paying attention to how the stories soldiers tell about perpetrating sexual violence subvert the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity central to many other militarized narratives. In doing so, my analysis is overwhelmingly indebted to the extensive first hand research of Maria Baaz and Maria Stern whose interviews with soldiers about why rape occurs has generated unique insights into their experiences of warring in the DRC.

The central contention of this thesis is subsequently that, while we cannot entirely escape working within contemporary framings of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war, new insights can be gained into why soldiers rape by reading the male body through the window of its leakiness instead of its hardness in the DRC.

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Introduction

Men, War and Rape



Figure 1: Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014. *The Stuff of Nightmares*. Animation launched for the summit to end sexual violence in conflict

1.1 “Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict?”¹

In seeking to counter the mindless, yet profoundly satisfying dehumanization of sexual violators, we humanize them. This is both positive and troubling: positive because it removes them from the category of inhuman monsters, and thus makes their actions amenable to change; troubling because we risk becoming overfamiliar and inured to the terrible harms they cause.²

War rape is as old as war itself. Yet until relatively recently war rape received limited interest within both the study and practice of contemporary international politics. Rarely prosecuted and seldom denounced, war rape was generally dismissed as an inevitable aspect of warring rather than an acute concern for the international community.³ As Maria Baaz and Maria Stern however note, after years of silence and neglect concerning war rape, it would seem that “*something is finally being or about to be done.*”⁴

The recent *Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict* (June 2014) is perhaps exemplary of this sense that something is finally being done. As Paul Kirby argues, this summit which brought together delegates from over one hundred and twenty nations to discuss ending sexual violence in conflict might be read as “another success story in feminist activism around sexual violence.”⁵ Chaired by Angelina Jolie and William Hague, the summit was seen to capture an acute need to translate high level political commitment into practical action, with many taking to social media to express this sense of urgency using the hashtag #TimeToAct.⁶ For some commentators these events continued to be seen as distractions from more important matters of international security reminding us that there are still those

¹ Kirby, P., 2015. ‘Ending sexual violence in conflict: the Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and its critics.’ *International Affairs*, 91 (3): 457-472

² Bourke, J., 2007. *Rape: A history from 1860 to the present*. London: Virago Press: 7

³ See Brownmiller, S., 1975. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Fawcett Columbine; Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars.’ *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 19(1): 35-43; Lee-Koo, K., 2002. ‘Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, war and rape in the international politics of security.’ *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 37(3): 526-536

⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 1

⁵ Kirby, P., 2015. ‘Ending sexual violence in conflict’

⁶ Marysia, Z., 2014. ‘Ending Sexual Violence Summit.’ Gender In Global Governance Net-work. <http://genderinglobalgovernancenetwork.net/comment/ending-sexual-violence-summit/> (accessed July 2015, 13)

“who insist on seeing gender violence as marginal to international security.”⁷ⁱ

There were, however, also criticisms of another kind that reflected current debates about the contemporary politics of framing sexual violence in war.

These critiques ranged from concerns about the absence of individuals with relevant knowledge and experience of sexual violence in war, to concerns about how the summit raised awareness through generic stories about victims and perpetrators.⁸ As Henri Myrntinen explains, one of the most troubling features of the summit for him was how the Foreign Office used simplified stories of perpetrators as “uniformed monsters” to make the case for why we need to act on sexual violence in war (see figure 1).⁹ While sexual violence of all sorts is certainly monstrous in the figurative sense, he argues that this trope “conceals the much more disturbing fact that more often than not perpetrators are regular people.”¹⁰ This critique subsequently raises questions about how the roots of sexual violence reside not in the monstrosity of perpetrators but deep within our own societies, and it is these kinds of questions that occupy my exploration of the contemporary politics of framing male perpetrators of sexual violence in war. Inspired by the work of Maria Baaz and Maria Stern, this thesis asks questions about how our

⁷ Kirby, P., 2014. ‘Acting Time; Or, Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict.’ *The Disorder of Things*. <http://thedisorderofthings.com/2014/06/17/acting-time-or-ending-sexual-violence-in-conflict/> (accessed July 2015, 13); See also Bates, L., 2014. ‘The reports of ‘hobnobbing’ were trivial – the rape summit wasn’t.’ *The Guardian*

<http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/jun/19/reports-rape-summit-made-it-sound-trivial-everyday-sexism> (accessed July 2015, 13); New Statesman, 2014. ‘John Humphrys accuses William Hague of ignoring “what really mattered” by attending sexual violence conference.’ *New Statesman* <http://www.newstatesman.com/media-mole/2014/06/john-humphrys-accuses-william-hague-ignoring-what-really-mattered-attending> (accessed July 2015, 13)

⁸ Kirby, P., 2014. ‘Acting Time; Or, Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict’; See also Westmarland, N., 2014. ‘Not all messages were welcome at Hague and Jolie’s sexual violence summit.’ *The Conversation* <http://theconversation.com/not-all-messages-about-rape-were-welcome-at-hague-and-jolies-sexual-violence-summit-27945> (accessed July 2015, 14); Schlanger, Z., 2014. ‘Asylum-seekers protest at Jolie and Hague’s sexual assault conference.’ *Newsweek* <http://www.newsweek.com/protest-roils-jolie-and-hagues-sexual-assault-conference-254450> (accessed July 2015, 14); Williams, J., 2014. ‘UK summit on sexualized violence; ‘A time warp in the wrong direction.’ *Women Under Siege*. <http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/blog/entry/uk-summit-on-sexualized-violence-a-time-warp-in-the-wrong-direction> (accessed July 2015, 14)

⁹ Myrntinen, H., & Swaine, A., 2015. ‘Monster Myths, Selfies and Grand Declarations.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17(3): 496-502; Myrntinen, H., 2014. ‘“Monster” Myth Hides Complexity of Sexual Violence in Conflict.’ *The Huffington Post* http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/henri-myrntinen/sexual-violence_b_5487271.html (accessed July 2015, 14); Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014. ‘Animation Launched for Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict’ *GOV.UK* <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/animation-launched-for-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict> (accessed June 2016, 28)

¹⁰ Myrntinen, H., & Swaine, A., 2015. ‘Monster Myths, Selfies and Grand Declarations:’ 497

representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in war circumscribe what can be said and known about them and how we can think and write about perpetrators of sexual violence in war differently.¹¹

In order to start to tease out these questions and detail how this thesis will address them, this introduction will subsequently outline this thesis' research question and outline how each chapter will address them. To start with, however, I describe in more detail what drew me towards the topic of sexual violence in war and specifically towards perpetrators of this violence.

1.2 "The stuff of nightmares"¹²

At last year's European International Studies Association Conference (2015) Marysia Zalewski and Cristina Masters brought together several feminists interested in the study of sexual violence in war to discuss "the future of sexual violence."¹³ⁱⁱ Interestingly one of the questions that they asked during the conference was whether we were surprised that the summit to end sexual violence in war slid back into generic stories about the subjects of this violence. The answer, at least for me, was no. In recent years feminist scholars from diverse disciplinary backgrounds have explored how the dominant storylines of sexual violence in war reproduce knowledge about the subjects of rape.¹⁴ They have drawn attention to

¹¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 3; See also Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. 'Whores, Men, and Other Misfits: Undoing 'feminization' in the armed forces in the DRC.' *African Affairs*, 110(441): 563-585; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.' Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond "gender and stir": Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.' Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-105

¹² Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014. 'Animation Launched for Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict'

¹³ Zalewski, M., & Masters, C., 2015. 'The Future of Sexual Violence.' 9th EISA Pan-European Conference, Sicily, September 20-23 2015 (paper presentation)

¹⁴ See Carpenter, C., 2006. 'Recognizing gender based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations'. *Security Dialogue*, 37(1):83-103; Wood, E., 2006. 'Variation in Sexual Violence during War.' *Politics and Society*, 34(3):307-341; Higate, P. 2007. 'Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation.' *Men and Masculinities*, 10(1): 99-119; Sivakumaran, M. 2007. 'Sexual violence against men in armed conflict.' *European Journal of International Law*, 18(2): 253-76; Buss, D., 2007. 'The Curious Visibility of Wartime Rape: Gender and Ethnicity in International Criminal Law.' *Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice*, 25: 1-22; Buss, D., 2009. 'Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of

how the one-dimensional stories we tell about sexual violence in war performatively reproduce women as victims and men as perpetrators of rape. Like many other feminist scholars interested in the study of sexual violence I subsequently was not surprised to find that the summit raised awareness through stories that reproduced men who commit this violence as “the stuff of nightmares.”¹⁵

While much has been written about how women become the victims of sexual violence in war, what has always struck me about the literature on this subject is the sense of certainty that seems to mark out men that commit this violence. The literature on sexual violence in war, in describing them as monsters, seems to know what men are and thus how we can defeat sexual violence. Yet despite the sense of certainty that accompanies explanations of why men rape, sexual violence remains an enduring feature of war. Our news feeds are strewn with stories of uniformed monsters from Syria, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria and Congo that commit unspeakable acts of violence against women. For me this raises concerns about how contemporary framings of perpetrators of rape in landscapes of war may be complicit in the violent reproduction of rapists.

Put simply, the idea that war reduces men who commit sexual violence to uniformed monsters scares me more than the idea that they are like you or me. For me to refuse to see rapists as monsters devoid of humanity is both to locate the roots of their violence deep within our own societies and importantly to make

War.’ *Feminist Legal Studies*, 17(2):145-163; Lewis, D., 2009. ‘Unrecognized Victims: Sexual violence against men in conflict setting under international law.’ *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, 27(1):1-49; Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).’ *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC).’ *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books; Wood, E., Green, A., & Wood, E., 2013. *Wartime Sexual Violence: Misconceptions, Implications, and Ways Forward*. Washington: Special Report United State Institute of Peace; Grey, R. & Shepherd, L., 2013. “‘Stop Rape Now?’ Masculinity, Responsibility and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 35(16): 115-135; Kirby, P., 2014. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist international relations, modes of critical explanation and the study of wartime sexual violence.’ *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(4): 797-821

¹⁵ Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014. ‘Animation Launched for Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict’

their actions amenable to change.¹⁶ The aim of this thesis is, conversely, to explore how men that rape are not wholly or relentlessly framed by this overly simplistic representation of them. In doing so this thesis more precisely fleshes out how the leaky bodies of military men may provide an interesting site of feminist politics around which to disrupt prevailing modes of representation. This thesis subsequently represents my attempt to think about the bodies of military men in ways that more fully capture the messiness of warring: it explores how reading the male soldiering body through its vulnerabilities may provide new insights into perpetrators of sexual violence in the so called “rape capital of the world” – *The Democratic Republic of Congo*.¹⁷ Throughout this thesis the country the Democratic Republic of Congo will be referred to by its short-form names the “Congo” and “DRC”.

While this thesis is located within the disciplinary field of feminist international relations, it draws on feminist theory more generally to explore how the literature on wartime rape depicts the bodies of men in ways that demarcate what can be known about the perpetrators of rape. Specifically, in exploring how they are portrayed within feminist scholarship, political advocacy, news reporting and film making in the DRC, it asks how our prevailing modes of representation limit how we understand their embodied performances of masculinity. What this thesis however also shows is how even within those texts that seem most devoid of bodies they break through cracks within the analysis. Through its own analysis of the everyday experiences of soldiers in the DRC it subsequently foregrounds how the bodies of men exceed our representations of them. This thesis is then structured around two specific research questions which the rest of this introduction will unpack in more detail.

1) In what ways are contemporary framings of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC complicit in the violent reproduction of the bodies of rapists?

¹⁶ Bourke, J., 2007. *Rape*: 7

¹⁷ BBC, 2010. 'UN official calls DR Congo 'rape capital of the world' *BBC* <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8650112.stm> (accessed October 2015, 16)

2) How in paying attention to the leaky bodies of rapists in the DRC can we productively contest these overly simplistic representations of them?

Underpinning these questions is not the assumption that we can authentically or realistically represent the bodies of male perpetrators of rape. Instead this thesis is situated in critical feminist approaches to international relations, which explore the politics of representation beyond the idea of substance.¹⁸ Inspired by poststructuralist feminist analyses of political subjectivity it examines how practices of representation are never complete.¹⁹ Crucially, in adopting this approach, the intention of this thesis is not to underestimate the productive power of practices of representation but rather to show how the bodies of male perpetrators of rape are not consistently framed by our representations of them.

1.3 *Fleshy Politics – Why Bodies?*²⁰

Bodies, feminist scholars of international relations have shown, are the “sites in which the international and the personal most painfully converge.”²¹ They are at the centre of practices of international relations such as war. As Monica Casper and Lisa Moore write, during war human bodies are thrown together in perhaps the most desperate of circumstances - “bodies collide, limbs are severed, flesh is seared.”²² The rest of international relations however has tended to operate at more abstract and sanitized levels of analysis when studying war. Bodies have been swept aside or “assigned to some other field of study.”²³

For many feminists the absence of bodies from the study of war is closely linked to the ways in which the experiences of women have been excluded from politics.

¹⁸ Zalewski, M., 2013. *Feminist International Relations: Exquisite Corpse*. Abingdon: Routledge

¹⁹ Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge; Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge; Grosz, E. 1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press; Braidotti, R., 1994. *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press; Gatens, M., 1996. *Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality*. New York: Routledge

²⁰ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh’ Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. New York: Zed Books : 87-107

²¹ Pettman, J., 1997. ‘Body politics: International sex tourism’ *Third World Quarterly*, 18(1): 93-108, p.93

²² Casper, M., & Moore, L., 2009. *Missing Bodies: The Politics of Visibility*. New York: New York University: 142

²³ Sylvester, C. 2013. *War as Experience: Contribution from international relations and feminist analysis*. London: Routledge: 2

What they show is that the association of women with the body, which has historically functioned to exclude them from politics, works to render absent bodies more broadly from the male dominated realm of war.²⁴ Yet what many feminists have also shown is that, even in contemporary theories of war that seem most devoid of bodies, they nevertheless repeatedly surface as the implicit tools or targets of practices of international politics.²⁵ As Jan Jindy Pettman contends, the bodies of men and women break through the disembodied world of international relations “in very physical ways.”²⁶ In exploring the ways in which bodies continue to surface, several authors have subsequently tried to place bodily experiences at the centre of their analysis of war.²⁷

Specifically, what feminist scholarship on war has shown is how studying war as though bodies actually mattered can productively disrupt the dominant storylines of international relations. One of the key areas in which feminist scholars of international relations have asked after bodies has been the study of sexual violence in war.²⁸ As Pettman writes, feminist scholarship on rape in war shows how “bodies, boundaries, violence and power come together in devastating combinations.”²⁹ Markedly, much has been written by feminist scholars of international relations about how the violated bodies of women become the terrain upon which politics is articulated.³⁰ In exploring the ways in which war operates on the bodies of women, what these authors have subsequently shown is

²⁴ Masters, C., 2009. ‘Femina Sacra: The ‘War on/of Terror’, Women and the Feminine’ *Security Dialogue* Vol. 40(1): 29–49, p.33

²⁵ Wilcox, L., 2015. *Bodies of Violence: Theorizing Embodied Subjects in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 10

²⁶ Pettman, J., 1997. ‘Body politics’: 95

²⁷ See Casper, M., & Moore, L., 2009. *Missing Bodies*; Sylvester, C. 2013. *War as Experience*; Auchter, J., 2014. *The Politics of Haunting and Memory in International Politics*. New York: Routledge; Wilcox, L., 2015. *Bodies of Violence*

²⁸ See Brownmiller, S. 1994. ‘Making Female Bodies in the Battlefield’ Eds. Stiglmeier, A., *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press: 180-183; Pettman, J. J., 1996. *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. London: Routledge; Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars.’ *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 19(1): 35-43; Card, C., 1996. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War.’ *Hypatia*, 11(4):6-1; Fisher, S., 1996. ‘Occupation of the Womb: Forced Pregnancy as Genocide.’ *Duke Law Journal*, 46:91-133 Yuval-Davis, N., 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage Publications; Ouljic, M., 1998. ‘Embodiment of Terror: Gender violence in peacetime and wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.’ *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 12 (1): 31-50

²⁹ Pettman, J., 1996. *Worlding Women*: 101

³⁰ Masters, C., 2009. ‘Femina Sacra: 45

how bringing bodies into view may disrupt the myth that men fight wars to protect women.³¹

Notably, the feminist literature on sexual violence in war has largely explored how this form of violence is used strategically by armed groups. In pointing to the ways in which women are seen as symbols of the broader political body or community, it explores how they disproportionately become targets for sexual violence in war. However, despite evidence that sexual violence was used strategically in Bosnia and Rwanda, as recent studies have shown this explanation does not fully capture the complexity of this violence. This then raises questions about how, in repeating the same explanations for why rape occurs, the feminist literature on sexual violence in war may also shut down explorations into how this practice of violence affects bodies in diverse settings. One of the central contentions of this thesis is subsequently that we need to return to the body in ways that trouble our own feminist narratives about them. In other words, it contends that we need to more carefully attend to the complexity of subjects' bodily experiences of rape.

Crucially, although this thesis argues that bodies are central to practices of sexual violence in war, they are not static. As feminist theory has shown, the ways in which bodies are gendered, racialized, classed and sexualised shapes their contingent experiences of the social world in which they live.³² What this means is that in order to analyse the embodied experiences of subjects of sexual violence in war we must locate them within the cultural specificities of the landscape of war.³³ The reason I choose to use the terms landscape of war and/or warscape is because I believe that these terms are useful for situating the enactment of sexual violence within the particular context of the conflict. Specifically, I use Carolyn Nordstrom's idea of the warscape to explore the enactment of sexual violence beyond the

³¹ See Runyan, A., 1990. 'Gender Relations and the politics of protection.' *Peace Review*, 2(4):28-31; Young, I., 2003. 'The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State.' *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*, 29(1): 1-25; Peet, J., & Sjoberg, L. 2011. 'A(nother) Dark side of the Protection Racket: Targeting Women in Wars.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(2): 163-182

³² Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble*; Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter*; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*; Braidotti, R., 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*; Gatens, M., 1996. *Imaginary Bodies*

³³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2016. 'Researching wartime rape in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): A methodology of unease.' Eds. Wibben, A., *Researching War: Feminist methods, ethics and politics*, London: Routledge: 117-140, p.123

immediate zone of combat.³⁴ Building on her analysis of how the global and local are enmeshed in the cultural construction of conflict that is continually reconfigured across time and space, I ask questions about how victims and perpetrators' experiences of sexual violence exceed traditional boundaries between military and civilian zones.³⁵

In order to analyse victims and perpetrators' experiences of sexual violence in war, this thesis then elaborates an analytical strategy of leaky bodies that provides tools for analyzing the fluidity of embodied subjects of rape. This analytical strategy will specifically be used in this thesis to explore how the bodies of men that mete out sexual violence in war exceed our stories about them. The next section then outlines in more detail why this thesis chooses to use this strategy to focus on the bodies of men who perpetrate rape rather than those of women. It details how this analytical strategy is used in this thesis to challenge our notions of the bodies of men who commit sexual violence in war as overly hard.

1.4 Rocky Terrain - Why Men?

Feminist work within international relations has always been centrally concerned with not only the study of women and femininity, but also of men and masculinity.³⁶ However, while much feminist research points towards the ways in which the global political landscape is dominated by men, in recent decades there has been an increase in explicitly gendered research on the subject of man in international politics.³⁷ Within this research, the focus on the subject of man importantly draws attention to the ways in which masculinities in their variable forms shape international politics. Nevertheless, despite this increasing focus on the subject of man within international politics, gender is still often conflated with

³⁴ Nordstrom, C., 1997. *A Different Kind of War Story*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 37-39

³⁵ Nordstrom, C., 1997. *A Different Kind of War Story*: 38

³⁶ Tickner, J., 1992. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist perspectives on achieving global security*. New York: Columbia University Press

³⁷ Parpart, J.L., & Zalewski, M., 1998. *The 'Man' Question in International Relations*. Colorado: Westview Press; Hooper, C., 2001. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations and Gender Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press; Parpart, J.L., & Zalewski, M., 2008 *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, London: Zed Books

women.³⁸ This can clearly be seen within the study of sexual violence in war. Sexual violence in war does not just affect women but also men. Yet relatively little has been written about how men experience sexual violence in war. When we consider the body of literature “we can see that the shape of that body is female.”³⁹

Although women are disproportionately the targets of sexual violence in war, several authors have asked how the focus on female victims constrains the storylines of feminist scholarship on rape more generally. Specifically, what many of these authors, such as Dubravka Zarkov, Charli Carpenter, Sandesh Sivakumaran and Dustin Lewis, have drawn attention towards is how this focus renders absent the varied types of sexual violence men also experience in conflict settings.⁴⁰ While these authors have significantly challenged the notion that sexual violence in war involves only female sexed bodies, what this thesis is more specifically concerned about is the paucity of understanding that exists around the perpetrators of rape. Indeed, one of the main contentions of this thesis is that aside from some notable exceptions the embodied experiences of men who perpetrate sexual violence in war remain largely underanalysed.⁴¹ There is relatively little research that directly looks at the reasons military men give for why rape occurs in war.

Notably, what struck me from the outset about the literature on sexual violence in war was the absence of the bodies of men. While the literature described in vivid detail how the bodies of women become the bloody terrain on which war is conducted, where the bodies of men did feature they tended to surface as the hardened instruments of violence that are wielded by armed groups in pursuit of political goals. For me this raises troubling questions about how, in reducing the

³⁸ Carver, T., 2014. ‘Men and Masculinities in International Relations Research.’ *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol XXI(1):113-126

³⁹ Grey, R. & Shepherd, L., 2013. “Stop Rape Now?’ Masculinity, Responsibility and Conflict-Related Sexual Violence.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 35(16): 115-135, p. 120

⁴⁰ Zarkov, D., 2001. “The Body of the Other Man: Sexual Violence and the Construction of Masculinity, Sexuality and Ethnicity in Croatian Media.” Eds. Moser, C., & Clark, F., *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence* London: Zed Books: 69–82; Carpenter, C., 2006. ‘Recognizing gender based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations’; Sivakumaran, S., 2007. ‘Sexual violence against men in armed conflict’; Lewis, D., 2009. ‘Unrecognized Victims: Sexual violence against men in conflict setting under international law.’

⁴¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).’ *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute

bodies of men to the machinery or weaponry of war, the literature does not provide us with adequate conceptual tools for attending to the fluidity of their embodied experiences of rape.

In order to further explore these questions this thesis subsequently examines how the bodies of men who perpetrate rape are commonly delineated through metaphors of hardness. By reading with and against feminist scholarship on the interconnections between gender and war, this thesis explores how the literature on sexual violence in war, in repeatedly reproducing representations of men who mete out sexual violence as physically and emotionally tough, leaves us devoid of ways of properly hearing and writing about their embodied experiences of rape.⁴² What it will argue is that, in reproducing the bodies of men who perpetrate rape as overly hard, feminist scholarship becomes complicit in the violent reproduction of rapists.

In looking for the leaky bodies of men this thesis however will also start to question the stability of these hard representations of them. In particular, in reading the bodies of men through their leakiness rather than their hardness, it will seek to provide some different kinds of insights into their embodied experiences of rape that more accurately reflect the culture specificities of the warscape in which they are located. In order to challenge what this thesis sees as generic representations of the bodies of men who perpetrate rape, I specifically examine the embodied experiences of military men in the so called “rape capital of the world”, the DRC.⁴³ As the next section will show, the considerable amount of attention dedicated to the topic of sexual violence in this conflict makes the DRC an interesting example from which to contest prevailing representations of male perpetrators of rape. In attempting to look for the leaky bodies of men who perpetrate rape, the aim of this thesis crucially is not to excuse their violent acts or expose how they truly “are”, but rather to try to glimpse the slippery politics of contemporary framings of male perpetrators of rape in the DRC.

⁴² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 7

⁴³ BBC, 2010. 'UN official calls DR Congo 'rape capital of the world' *BBC*
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8650112.stm> (accessed October 2015, 16)

1.5 The “Rape Capital of the World” - Why Congo?⁴⁴

The conflict in the DRC has claimed an estimated three million lives since 2002.⁴⁵ An enduring feature of this conflict is high levels of sexual violence. While sexual violence previously existed at higher levels than today, until recently journalists favoured stories about death.⁴⁶ As the former journalist Anjan Sundaram notes, “death had the best chance of making the news.”⁴⁷ Today sexual violence arguably receives more attention from outside observers than any other form of violence. In recent years several representatives from diverse international organizations have visited the DRC to generate awareness of the shocking plight of women caught in the sexual crossfire.⁴⁸ To quote Séverine Autesserre these visits have cemented sexual violence as “*the* frame to use when thinking about Congo.”⁴⁹

This attention is hardly unwarranted. Working from household data, Amber Peterman et al. found that over twelve months around four hundred thousand women in the DRC experienced sexual violence.⁵⁰ That translates into approximately four women every five minutes. Questions remain about whether this “singular focus” on sexual violence channels resources away from other forms of violence that occur within this global political landscape.⁵¹ As Nynke Douma and Dorothea Hilhorst show, the “everyday commercialization” of sexual violence creates an economy in which local agencies treat victims as goods to showcase to donors.⁵² An economy in which some women must present themselves as victims

⁴⁴ BBC, 2010. ‘UN official calls DR Congo ‘rape capital of the world’ *BBC*

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8650112.stm> (accessed October 2015, 16)

⁴⁵ International Rescue Committee, 2008. *Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An Ongoing Crisis*. New York: International Rescue Committee

⁴⁶ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences.’ *African Affairs*: 202-222 p. 214

⁴⁷ Sundaram, A., 2013. *Stringer: A Reporter’s Journey in the Congo*. New York: Anchor Books: 88

⁴⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?: 6*

⁴⁹ Autesserre, S., 2012. *Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences.* *African Affairs*:202-222, p.215

⁵⁰ Peterman, A., Palermo, T., & Bredenkamp, C., 2012. ‘Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *American Journal of Public Health*, 101(6): 1060-1067

⁵¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?: 6*

⁵² Douma, N., & Hilhorst, D., 2012. *Fond de commerce? Sexual violence assistance in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Wageningen: Wageningen University

of this form of violence in order to gain access to much needed basic services such as medical assistance.⁵³

In this context, Maria Baaz and Maria Stern have also spoken about how the singular focus on sexual violence contributes to the “pornography” of violence in which observers try to outdo each with stories of the most barbaric rape scenario.⁵⁴ While they have voiced concerns about how victims are subject to intrusive visits from journalists that press them to share their stories with complete strangers, it also strikes me that many academics make similar pilgrimages. Every other study of sexual violence seems to have been based on findings from Panzi Hospital or Heal Africa with some victims being interviewed multiple times in one day.⁵⁵ⁱⁱⁱ Although I am clearly troubled by the “fetishization” of violence in the DRC, the numerous articles, chapters, books, and films that dedicated to the subject of sexual violence in this warscape can tell us something important about the politics of contemporary framings of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war.⁵⁶

As this thesis will show, the dominant trope of sexual violence in the DRC is the victim rendered incontinent by her rape induced injuries. Stories of sexual violence (it seems) must feature victims soaked in their own urine or faeces.⁵⁷ While several authors have commented on how this fetishizes the bodies of victims, what this thesis wants to examine is how such stories paradoxically frame the men who wound them. In particular, in exploring the considerable amount of attention

⁵³ See also Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 96-102; Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 12-17

⁵⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*: 6

⁵⁵ See Maedl, A., 2011. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC? The Victims’ perspective.’ *Human Rights Quarterly*, 33(1): 128-147; Kelly et al., 2012. “If your husband doesn’t humiliate you, other people won’t:” Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Global Public Health*, 7(3): 285-298; Trenholm J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war: women and rape in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*: 2-19

⁵⁶ Meger, S., 2016. ‘The Fetishization of Sexual Violence in International Security’ *International Studies Quarterly* (2016) 0, 1–11

⁵⁷ See Ensler, E., 2007. ‘Women left for dead- and the man who’s saving them.’ *Glamour Magazine* <http://www.glamour.com/magazine/2007/08/rape-in-the-congo> (accessed February 2016, 11); Mukwege, D., & Nangini, C., 2009. ‘Rape with Extreme Violence: The new pathology in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *PLoS Med*, 6(12): 1-5; Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters: My journey to the worst place on earth to be a woman*. Berkley: Seal Press: 99; Michel, T., 2015. *The Man who Mends Women*. Les Films de la Passerelle & Ryva Production

dedicated to the topic of sexual violence in the DRC this thesis will examine how, consistent with the dominant understandings of rape in war, the bodies of male perpetrators emerge as overly hard. Aside from looking at how the bodies of men who perpetrate rape surface as hard within the literature on sexual violence in this warscape, this thesis will also explore how they exceed our representations of them. In attending to the embodied experiences of male combatants who speak about perpetrating rape in the DRC, it will point to leaks in their hard exterior.

Crucially, this thesis is inspired by the extensive firsthand research conducted by Baaz and Stern into perpetrators of sexual violence in this warscape. Dissatisfied with the almost ubiquitous framing of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC as physically and emotionally hard, it uses their interviews with soldiers to explore and contest representations of the bodies of men who perpetrate rape.⁵⁸ To expand, rather than depart from their research, which shows how male perpetrators of sexual violence trouble our stories about them, this thesis builds on their analysis in order to explore how the bodies of men who perpetrate rape do not act in the ways we expect them to. Put simply, it builds on the work of Baaz and Stern to explore how listening to the stories soldiers tell about perpetrating rape may disrupt our representations of them. In doing so this thesis, however, will not only try to listen to their stories about rape but also use the medium of film to observe how their body language, from the appearance of tears in their eyes to hesitation in their movements, reveals that they are not as hard as they seem.

1.6 Outline of Chapters

Attending to the traces of delimiting grammars allows us to notice that, despite the deeply etched grooves that induce us to slide into the production of feminist comfort stories – which both occasion our unease and elicit our weariness – these grooves are lined with always shifting and numerous snags, tears and portals, inviting alternative paths.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute

⁵⁹ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.' *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630, p. 629

Inspired by poststructuralist readings of the main storylines of international politics this thesis will explore how the leaky bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence exceed our overly simplistic representations of them in the DRC. This thesis will subsequently be divided into five substantive chapters which will open up space to think differently about the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

Chapter 2 *Leaky Bodies* lays out the theoretical terrain for the analysis of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. In exploring how poststructural and feminist theorists have conceptualized the fluidity of the body it develops analytical tools for reading the male body as leaky. Specifically, through its engagement with the work of both Luce Irigaray⁶⁰ and Elizabeth Grosz,⁶¹ this chapter examines how the concept of leakiness can be productively appropriated to explore what is disruptive about the embodied experiences of masculinity. In pointing to how the male body is commonly delineated through metaphors of hardness it shows how reading the male body through its porosity may provide new insights into the perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

Chapter 3 *Hardwired or Haywire* reviews the feminist academic literature on male perpetrators of sexual violence in war more generally. It explores the nexus between feminist explanations of wartime rape and scholarship on militarized masculinities in order to illustrate the ways in which feminists depict the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in landscapes of war. In tracing two modes of militarized masculine embodiments that surface within the feminist academic literature on sexual violence in war, it asks to what extent their hard contours make it difficult to attend to the messiness that exists outside the dominant storylines of rape in war. In particular, it asks questions about how, in depicting soldiers as part of the machinery or weaponry of war, these embodiments thwart us from attending to the leakiness of their performances of masculinity. In doing so, this chapter builds on recent explorations of how within feminist academic

⁶⁰ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*, translated by Porter, C., & Burke, C., 1985. New York: Cornell University Press

⁶¹ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

scholarship on militarized masculinities there remains an inadvertent “ontological solidification” of the body.⁶²

Chapter 4, *Machetes, Militaries, Minerals and Masculinities*, details how the feminist academic literature on male perpetrators of sexual violence in war shapes explanations of rape in the DRC. In order to answer this question, it explores how the bodies of male perpetrators of rape emerge within four explanatory framings of rape found mainly within the academic scholarship on male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. In examining each of these explanatory frameworks the chapter specifically analyses how they contribute towards an image of the bodies of perpetrators of rape as physical weapons that are wielded by armed groups to achieve particular political goals in the DRC. Through attending to the voices of soldiers who speak about perpetrating rape this chapter, however, also starts to explore how the reasons individual soldiers give for why rape occurs disrupt the dominant storylines of rape in the DRC. In particular, in listening to their stories about suffering, poverty, frustration and anger it starts to flesh out how the embodied experiences of perpetrators of sexual violence do not neatly map onto to our representations of them in the DRC.

Chapter 5 *Malignant Male Muscle* explores in more detail how feminist academic literature on male perpetrators of sexual violence in war permeates global policy debates about rape in the DRC. It examines how representations of perpetrators of rape as part of the machinery of war pervade security sector reforms that have become intimately linked within fighting rape in the DRC. In particular, it points to how gender sensitive defence reforms treat perpetrators of rape as weapons that must be disarmed. This chapter, however, also shows how security sector reforms locate the problem of rape within the “bestiality of the rapists” in the DRC.⁶³ In drawing attention to how defence reforms rest on overly simplistic gendered and racialized understandings of perpetrators of rape, it raises questions about their ability to effectively combat sexual violence in the DRC. This chapter subsequently further explores how we may engage men in the prevention of sexual violence, in

⁶² Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized violences, basic training, and the myths of asexuality and discipline’. *Review of International Studies*, 39 (4): 881–902: 883

⁶³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*: 25

ways that are more sensitive to the leakiness of soldiers' embodied experiences of masculinity.

Chapter 6 *Confessions of Rape in Congo* is slightly different to the rest of the thesis. Rather than examine how the academic or policy literature frames the bodies male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC it uses the medium of film to more palpably evoke some of the ways in which male combatants exceed our representations of them. While several films have been made about sexual violence that occurs within this warzone most have been structured around victims' stories.⁶⁴ In contrast to these films this thesis explores Isle Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen's documentary *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*, which revolves around the stories of two former perpetrators of sexual violence Basima Honoratte and Alain Kasharu.⁶⁵ In exploring both their narratives, as well as their body language, it examines how they disrupt the dominant representations of perpetrators of rape set out in this thesis. The intention of this discussion is subsequently to underline why we must learn to better attend to the traces and residues of the bodies of perpetrators sexual violence that cannot be easily contained within our prevailing frames of reference.

Finally, this thesis is strewn with artworks which are intended to invite readers to think differently about how we represent the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence.⁶⁶ These artworks represent my attempt to inject "methodological plurality" into the thesis in ways that illustrate the complexity of representing the bodies of male perpetrators in the DRC.⁶⁷ This thesis however is also my attempt to write creatively in ways that show how bodies of male perpetrators of sexual

⁶⁴ Lloyd-Davis, F., 2013. *Seeds of Hope*. Studio 9 Films; Blanding, S. & Labriola, B., 2009. *Women in War Zones: Sexual Violence in the Congo*. Women in War Zone International; Jorgen, B., & Walker, N., 2007. *Lumo*. POV: Documentaries with a point of view. Jackson, L., 2007. *The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo*. Women Make Movies; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007 *Fighting the Silence: Sexual Violence against Women in the Congo*. If Productions.

⁶⁵ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions.

⁶⁶ Ono, Y., 1971. *A Hole To See The Sky Through*. Postcard. New York: Museum of Modern Art; Parker, C. 2007. *Bullet Drawing*. Lead from a bullet drawn into wire. London: Whitechapel Gallery; Mosse, R., 2012. *Better Than the Real Thing II*, Digital C-Print. Paris: Galerie Nichido; Samba, C., 2004. *Little Kadogo*. Acrylic on Canvas. Geneva: The Pigozzi Collection; Mpané, A., 2008. *Untitled*. Mixed media on wood panel. New York: Skoto Gallery; Irigaray, L., 1980. *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche* translated by Gill, G., 1991. New York: Columbia University Press

⁶⁷ Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M , 2008. 'Introduction: rethinking the man question.' Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, London: Zed Books 1-22; p. 8

violence consistently break through our disembodied representations of them. To quote Avery Gordon this thesis signals my effort to provide new words in which to express how that which has *“been suppressed or concealed is very much alive and present, messing or interfering precisely with those always incomplete forms of containment and repression ceaselessly directed towards us.”*⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Gordon, A., 2011. ‘Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity.’ *Borderlands*, Vol 10:(2): 1-21, p.2

Chapter One

Leaky Male Bodies

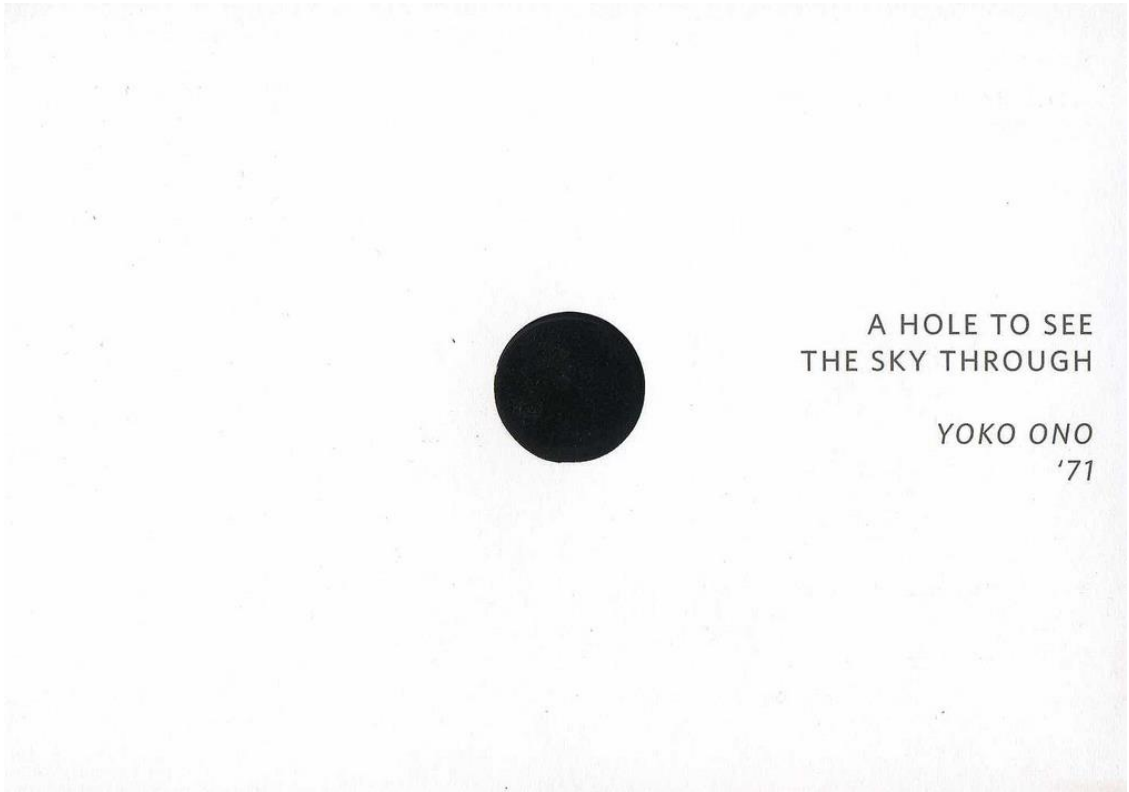


Figure 2: Ono, Y., 1971. *A Hole to see the Sky through*. Postcard.

2.1 What is leakiness?

We live and move in this skin and flesh. Yet the tidy stories we tell about bodies often seem removed from the world in which we live. They describe bodies in abstract and often mechanical and scientific terms that distance us from the messiness of everyday life. What this thesis asks is how can we breathe life back into bodies and make them come alive within our research. To do so, the answer it advances is that we can think about bodies in terms of leakiness. For most, the notion of leakiness calls to mind the fluids that ooze from our bodies – the blood, vomit, sweat, urine, saliva, milk, and excrement – and to some extent this thesis is curious about the cultural and historical resonances of these material flows. Within this thesis the term leakiness, however, refers to more than just the physical ‘stuff’ that leaks from our bodies. Leakiness is used to write about and describe how bodies are both entrenched within and exceed contemporary political framings. The aim of this chapter is to lay the theoretical ground work for the rest of the thesis and to elaborate an analytical strategy of leaky bodies that it will use to examine how the bodies of male perpetrators surface within the literature on sexual violence in the DRC. Dissatisfied with the almost ubiquitous framing of male perpetrators of sexual violence in this warscape as physically and emotionally hard, it uses the term leaky to explore and contest representations of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in this warscape. In order to achieve this aim this chapter asks and answers questions about what such an analysis of bodies might look like and how it proceeds from leakiness. The structure of this chapter subsequently takes the following order. To start with, it presents my own understanding of the term leakiness. Having explained how I intend to interpret leakiness, it turns to the feminist and poststructural literature on leakiness to explain how I intend to conceptualize the male body as leaky. Finally, it outlines the significance of conceptualizing the male body as leaky for thinking about perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

In the academic field of International Relations poststructural scholars have been concerned with how we can contest the often all too “tidy” stories we use to

describe the world in which we live.⁶⁹ Poststructural scholars in IR have experimented with terms such as “leakiness”, “messiness”, “fuzziness”, and “ghostliness” to explore the complexity of political subjectivity.⁷⁰ For instance, Veronique Pin-Fat uses the term leaky to explore practices of line drawing that makes distinctions “between what kinds of lives and subjects are politically permitted as possible or impossible.”⁷¹ The porosity of the line between possibility and impossibility, she argues, importantly “reminds us that attempts at holding the line must always eventually fail.”⁷²

As Aoileann Ní Mhurchú writes, an ever-growing body of poststructuralist literature has developed in recent decades “which explores the nature of political subjectivity beyond the idea of substance.”⁷³ Inspired by poststructuralist readings and retellings of the main storylines of international politics, I explore ways of thinking about gendered subjectivity in international politics beyond the idea of substance, by specifically considering the leakiness of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. In this chapter, I explore how considering leakiness creates innovative ways of thinking about embodied experiences of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. Building specifically on the work of Luce Irigaray and Elizabeth Grosz on fluidity, I advance an understanding of leakiness that invites readers to think differently about male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.⁷⁴ The question then is what do I mean

⁶⁹Zalewski, M., 2006. ‘Distracted reflections on the production, narration, and refusal of feminist knowledge in International Relations’ Eds. Ackerly, B., Stern, M., and True, J., *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 42-61, p.50; Dauphinee, E., 2007. *The Ethics of Researching War: Looking for Bosnia*. New York: Manchester University Press: 86

⁷⁰ Pin-Fat, V., 2010. *Universality, Ethics and International Relations: A Grammatical Reading*. Abingdon: Routledge: 122; Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.’ Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 87-107, p. 103; McLeod, L., 2011. ‘Configurations of Post-Conflict: Impacts of Representations of Conflict and Post-Conflict upon the (Political) Translations of Gender Security within UNSCR 1325.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13 (4): 594-611, p. 595; Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarised violence’s, basic training, and the myths of asexuality and discipline’. *Review of International Studies*, 39 (4): 881-902, p. 886

⁷¹ Pin-Fat, V., 2010. *Universality, Ethics and International Relations*: 123

⁷² Pin-Fat, V., 2015. ‘Cosmopolitanism without Foundations’ Eds. Gupta, S., & Padmanabhan *Politics and Cosmopolitanism in a Global Age*. Abingdon: Routledge: 85-102, p. 96

⁷³ Ní Mhurchú, A., 2015 ‘Ambiguous Subjectivity, Irregular Citizenship: From Inside/Outside to Being-Caught In-between.’ *International Political Sociology*, 9: 158-175, p. 161

⁷⁴ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*, translated by Porter, C., & Burke, C., 1985. New York: Cornell University Press; Irigaray, L., 1980. *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche* translated by Gill, G.,

by leakiness and how might it invite readers to think otherwise about male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC?

The term leakiness resists clear definition. More often than not leakiness is used to refer to the various ways in which distinctions, rather than being neat and tidy, blur and bleed into each other. Leakiness evokes the porosity of practices of boundary making. I however am drawn towards two properties of leakiness that are frequently used to describe leaks. The first of these concerns their fluid and seeping movements and evokes how leaks ooze and trickle. Leaks, however, do more than just simply flow. They breach conventional boundaries and channels and threaten neatness and orderliness. This description is found in the everyday language of leakiness in which it refers to that which exceeds established borders. It reflects official definitions of leakiness as that which overflows and overflows the normal and proper limit.^{iv} There is, however, another feature of leakiness which my reading of leakiness draws upon. It concerns the incomplete forms of containment that are ceaselessly directed towards leaks. What it emphasises is that leaks must also be understood in relation to the external forces and structures that try to seal off and stem their flows. The added value of this amendment is that it reminds us that, while leaks disrupt and dislodge that which was once assumed stable and fixed, we must also remain attentive to how they congeal and coagulate into more solidified forms.

These two properties of leakiness start to elaborate some of the ways in which an analytical strategy of leaky bodies may provide different ways to think about the fluidity and contingency of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. On the one hand, we can start to see how the term leakiness may provide one way in which to explore how the bodies of perpetrators exceed contemporary framings of sexual violence in the DRC. On the other, we can also see how the term leakiness may provide another way to explore the seeming ubiquity of the hold of these framings in the DRC. Indeed by extending the metaphor of leakiness to male bodies we can start to see how the idea of leakiness could be used to trace residues of the bodies

1991. New York: Columbia University Press; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

of perpetrators that do not always look or behave in ways we expect them to, and how the idea of leakiness could also be used to identify the ways in which representations of the bodies of perpetrators solidify over time to create the effect of substance. Nevertheless, while this starts to gesture towards the relevance of leakiness for thinking about representations of perpetrators of sexual violence, this chapter elaborates in much more detail my analytical strategy of leaky bodies. It outlines what analytical tools leakiness makes available to explore representations of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in this complex landscape of violence. The next section looks at some of the different ways in which the body is conceptualized as leaky in feminist scholarship, and examines what these conceptualizations add to my analysis of leaky bodies.

2.2 How can we conceptualize the body as leaky?

The most substantial research that has been conducted on leakiness has focused chiefly on the porosity of the body.⁷⁵ Within this rich body of research the margins of the body, the skin and its orifices, its crevices and dark places, are particularly representative of its permeability. Bodily fluids and excretions that traverse these margins attest to the impossibility of the “clean” and “proper” body.⁷⁶ Blood, vomit, saliva, sweat, excrement, milk are testimony to the precarious division between the outside and inside.⁷⁷

Mary Douglas provides what is perhaps one of the most comprehensive accounts of the possible polluting powers of bodily fluids.⁷⁸ For Douglas, boundaries of the body represent the boundaries of the social system and their defilement thus represents the precariousness of the social order. This, she argues, explains how bodily fluids and excrement signal sites of possible danger to social systems as well as how rituals to cleanse the body serve as metaphors for processes of social

⁷⁵ Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Kristeva, J. 1982. *Powers of Horror: An essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press; Shildrick, M., 1997. *Leaky Bodies and Boundaries: Feminism, Postmodernism and (bio) ethics*. London: Routledge; Young, I M. 2005. *On Female Body Experience: “Throwing Like a Girl” and Other Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press

⁷⁶ Kristeva, J. 1982. *Powers of Horror*: 8

⁷⁷ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 194

⁷⁸ Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger*:3

homogeneity.⁷⁹ Her analysis strongly foreshadows the work of Julia Kristeva whose concept of the abject seeks to explain our feelings of revulsion, among other things, towards bodily matter out of place.⁸⁰ She theorizes the abject in distinctly phenomenological terms associating the 'abject' with those aspects of bodily experiences - death, decay, fluids, orifices, sex, defecation, vomiting, illness, menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth - which unsettle bodily integrity.⁸¹ As David Harradine writes, "the abject emerges, seeping forth, oozing out, trickling across, in a fluid excess that denies coherence."⁸² In his account of the uses of bodily fluids and excrement in the work of queer performance art, he explores the transgressive potentiality of encounters with the abject. In particular, he explores how "the exteriorisation of matter from inside the body defies the very oppositional meanings of the outside and inside."⁸³

What Kristeva however emphasizes is that, while the abject disrupts the social order, this danger is precisely what makes possible the practices of exclusion that are constitutive of political subjectivity. For Judith Butler, the abject comes to represent "precisely those unliveable and inhabitable zones of social life which are nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject."⁸⁴ The subject who can act and move in the world does so through necessarily expelling the abject from this zone of living.⁸⁵ Many feminists have subsequently found the trope of abjection useful for examining the regulatory regimes of gender.⁸⁶ Notably, Grosz draws on this body of work to theorize how the bodies of women have been inscribed as particularly leaky.⁸⁷ She builds on Douglas' idea that bodily fluids have different indices of disgust to explore how our revulsion is also linked to cultural representations of bodies. What she argues is that, while there is nothing innate about the bodies of women that makes them

⁷⁹ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 193

⁸⁰ Kristeva, J. 1982. *Powers of Horror*: 3

⁸¹ Tyler, I., 2008. 'Against Abjection.' *Feminist theory*, 10(1):77-98, p.80

⁸² Harradine, D., 2000. 'Abject identities and fluid performances. Theorizing the leaking body.' *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 10(3): 69-85, p.75

⁸³ Harradine, D., 2000. 'Abject identities and fluid performances:' 75

⁸⁴ Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge: 3

⁸⁵ Ahmed, S., 2000. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality*. Abingdon: Routledge: 53

⁸⁶ Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter*; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*; Shildrick, M., 1997. *Leaky Bodies and Boundaries*; Young, I M. 2005. *On Female Body Experience*

⁸⁷Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 202-208

more or less suitable for culturally representing sexual difference, the “cyclically regulated flows that emanate from the bodies of women” are used to emphasize their otherness from men.⁸⁸ For Grosz such representations are consistent with historic modes of thinking that have violently excluded women from full subjectivity by defining them of the side of the body and men on the side of the mind.⁸⁹ For instance, she explores how the onset of menses is used to depict the female body as vulnerable to unruly disruptions not under conscious control. What she shows is how menses becomes associated with an emotional and physical disorder that is used to explain the different social positions of men and women.⁹⁰ Misogynistic thought, she writes, has commonly found justification for the secondary social position of women by containing them within bodies that are represented as particularly prone to hormonal irregularities.⁹¹

In exploring the dangers and powers of bodily fluids, feminists and queer theorists have pointed to various ways in which bodily fluids both expose the impossibility of the boundaries between outside and inside, as well as how this impossibility provokes the frenzied policing of these borders which separate the subject and object. This thesis, while inspired by feminist and queer scholarship that uses the trope of abjection to explore the cultural significance and transgressive potential of bodily fluids, is also interested in how else the body is metaphorically coded as leaky. To expand, this thesis is also curious how certain expressions of emotion are used to code the body as leaky. By way of example, chapter four, in analysing the stories child soldiers tell about perpetrating rape it explores how expressions of fear or sadness are often seen as soft or feminine in the DRC.⁹² Indeed it looks at how expressions that are seen as soft or feminine are pathologized to such an extent that child soldiers felt they would be physically punished for expressing them.⁹³ While I draw on the rich feminist and queer literature on abjection to

⁸⁸ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 203

⁸⁹ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 203

⁹⁰Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 205; See also Martin, E., 1997. ‘Medical Metaphors of Women’s Bodies: Menstruation and Menopause’. Eds. Conoby, K., Medina, N. & Stanbury, S. *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press

⁹¹ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 13

⁹² Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 16(2): 203-227: 214

⁹³ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys:’ 214

examine how, in representations of sexual violence, the violated and injured bodies of women are inscribed as especially leaky, seeping blood, urine, faeces and other fluids,⁹⁴ I also build on more performative understandings of political subjectivity that emphasise the fluidity of embodied experiences of gender in order to conceptualize bodies as leaky.

As Susan Heckman observes, performative understandings of political subjectivity have become the baseline from which most feminist discussions of gender proceed.⁹⁵ Feminism has developed from analysing gender as the natural configuration of bodies to conceptualising gender as the outcome of stylized performances.⁹⁶ Poststructural feminists such as Judith Butler, Elizabeth Grosz, Rosi Braidotti, and Moira Gatens have in varying ways reconceptualised gender in terms of acts or performances that reproduce the appearance of the gender binary as natural.⁹⁷ As Judith Butler, whose work has most closely been associated with performative understandings of gender, argues “the gendered body as performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality.”⁹⁸ At the most basic level it points out how “we act and walk and speak and talk in ways that consolidate an impression of being either a man or woman.”⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Nordland, R, 2006. ‘Congo: More vicious than rape’ *Newsweek* <http://europe.newsweek.com/congo-more-vicious-rape-106653> (accessed February 2016, 11); Enslar, E., 2007. ‘Women left for dead- and the man who’s saving them.’ *Glamour Magazine* <http://www.glamour.com/magazine/2007/08/rape-in-the-congo> (accessed February 2016, 11); Mukwege, D., & Nangini, C., 2009. ‘Rape with Extreme Violence: The new pathology in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *PLoS Med*, 6(12): 1-5; Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters: My journey to the worst place on earth to be a woman*. Berkley: Seal Press: 99

⁹⁵ Heckman, S., cited in Parpart, J.L, & Zalewski, M. 2008 *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, London: Zed Books: 2

⁹⁶ Butler, J., 1988. ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory’. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4): 519-531; see also Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge; Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge

⁹⁷ Butler, J., 1988. ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution’. Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble*; Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter*; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*; Braidotti, R., 1994. *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Thought*. New York: Columbia University Press; Gatens, M., 1996. *Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality*. New York: Routledge

⁹⁸ Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble*: 136

⁹⁹ Butler, J., 2011. ‘Your Behaviour Creates Your Gender’, Interview Max Miller, *Big Think* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bo7o2LYATDc> (accessed May 2016, 23)

In examining the performative production of gender, much poststructural feminist work subsequently emphasises the fluidity of categories of gender and of embodied experiences of gender. It highlights the fluidity of the boundary around the concepts of masculinity and femininity, and the possibility of loosening their hold over “life and meaning.”¹⁰⁰ As Jacquelyn Zita writes, in poststructural feminist theory “the body is often metaphorically coded as fluidity.”¹⁰¹ The feminist theorist whose work has perhaps been most closely associated with the metaphor of fluidity is Luce Irigaray.¹⁰² The work of Irigaray provides what remains one of the most sustained and detailed feminist accounts of fluidity. In *‘On the Mechanics of Fluids’* (1977) she argues that fluidity of the embodied experience of femininity provides an alternative framework through which both to understand and to problematize the conditions in which femininity is silenced in patriarchal discourse.

Irigaray is interested in our historical inattention to fluid substances.¹⁰³ In her work, she explores how it becomes necessary to minimize certain features of fluid substances in order to keep them from “jamming the works of the theoretical machine.”¹⁰⁴ In *‘On the Mechanics of Fluids’* (1977) Irigaray describes how the properties of fluids, their formlessness, their excessiveness, their unstableness, diffuse themselves according to “modalities scarcely compatible with the framework of the ruling symbolic.”¹⁰⁵ However, while she points to how the properties of fluids call into question the solidity of things, she also analyses the “adaption of certain properties of fluids to rationality.”¹⁰⁶ She uses metaphors of fluids to describe the processes by which certain properties of the fluid are “deadened into the constancy required to give it form.”¹⁰⁷ Yet, despite these efforts to reduce certain properties to the solid, she argues that fluids continue to

¹⁰⁰ Ferguson, K., 1993. *The Man Question: Visions of subjectivity in feminist theory*. California: University of California Press: 4

¹⁰¹ Zita, J.K., 1998 *Body talk: Philosophical reflections on sex and gender*. New York: Columbia University Press,: 133

¹⁰² Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*; Irigaray, L., 1980. *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*

¹⁰³ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 107

¹⁰⁴ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 107

¹⁰⁵ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 106

¹⁰⁶ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 115

¹⁰⁷ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 115

“disconcert any attempt at static identification.”¹⁰⁸ She points out how the neglected residues that fluids leave in their wake lay bare the ways in which they “continue to resist adequate symbolization.”¹⁰⁹ In her writings, metaphors of fluids subsequently provide ways in which to analyse the processes through which subjects and objects become solidified, as well as how they challenge our prevailing philosophical models of ontology. They provide ways in which to analyse how that which has suppressed or concealed is very much alive and present, “messing or interfering precisely with those always incomplete forms of containment and repression ceaselessly directed towards us.”¹¹⁰

Irigaray’s interest in metaphors of fluids is intimately connected to their implicit connection with female corporeality. As Elana Gomel writes, despite the complexities and shifts of her theoretical perspective throughout her career “the fluidity of the female body remains the rhetorical centrepiece of her project to articulate the ethics and aesthetics of sexual difference.”¹¹¹ In ‘*On the Mechanics of Fluids*’ (1977) Irigaray explores the exuberance of the female bodily experience. “Milk, luminous flow, acoustic waves ... not to mention the gasses inhaled, emitted, variously perfumed, of urine, saliva, blood, even plasma”¹¹² This exploration of the fluidity of the female body represents her attempt to develop another possible language or signifying economy in which women can articulate “their corporeal specificity which is denied or repressed in patriarchal discourse.”¹¹³ Elsewhere she describes this project as central to creating an alternative poetics of the body, which breaks out of “the autological and tautological circle of systems of representation and their discourses.”¹¹⁴ As Stephens, however, points out materiality and biology are not simply or unproblematically sources of difference or resistance in her work they are also “the very category by which the exclusion of

¹⁰⁸ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 111

¹⁰⁹ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 106

¹¹⁰ Gordon, A., 2011. ‘Some Thoughts on Haunting and Futurity.’ *Borderlands*, Vol 10:(2): 1-21, p.2

¹¹¹ Gomel, E., 1998. ‘Hard and Wet: Luce Irigaray and the fascist body’. *Textual Practice*, 12 (2): 199-223, p. 199

¹¹² Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 113

¹¹³ Gomel, E., 1998. ‘Hard and Wet’: 202

¹¹⁴ Irigaray L., cited in Gomel, E., 1998. ‘Hard and Wet:’ 202

the feminine is effected.”¹¹⁵ While on the one hand, Irigaray is strongly invested in the idea that the fluidity of the female body has potential for productive and strategic appropriation, on the other hand, she acknowledges that “femininity is always already inscribed within systems of language and thought.”¹¹⁶

This is perhaps most clearly evident in Irigaray’s discussion in ‘*On the Mechanics of Fluids*’ (1977) of how woman speaks fluid.¹¹⁷ While it explores how what women emit is both flowing and blurring it also points towards how the voices of women are effectively silenced within systems of language and thought.¹¹⁸ As Stephens highlights, language is both exemplary of how women are disruptive of systems of representation as well as the mechanism by which they are excluded from them.¹¹⁹ While this provides an important counter argument to feminist scholarship in which the association of femininity with fluidity is often categorised as unequivocally positive, it also draws attention to how else we might consider the body as leaky. What it shows is that, in addition to looking at bodily fluids that attest to the porosity and permeability of the physical body, we may also find it productive to ask questions about how the body is metaphorically coded as leaky. The focus on language suggests that we may also find it productive to ask questions about how female bodies are commonly delineated through metaphors of leakiness, which are particularly important in doing the further discursive work required to tell us what women are.¹²⁰

While in this thesis discussions of bodily fluids continue to provide productive sites of research for thinking about the porosity and permeability of bodies that feature in contemporary framings of sexual violence, I build upon Irigaray’s linguistic understandings of fluidity to explore how subjects of rape in war are commonly delineated through metaphors of leakiness and hardness. In building upon discursive understandings of fluidity I specifically analyse the extent to

¹¹⁵ Stephen, E., 2014. ‘Feminism and New Materialism: The Matter of Fluidity.’ *A Journal of Queer Studies*, 9: 186-202, p.190

¹¹⁶ Stephen, E., 2014. ‘Feminism and New Materialism:’ 189

¹¹⁷ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*:112-113

¹¹⁸ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*:112-113

¹¹⁹ Stephen, E., 2014. ‘Feminism and New Materialism:’ 188

¹²⁰ Carver, T., 2008. ‘The Man in the Machine.’ Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 70-86, p.72

which metaphors of leakiness and their corollary hardness coincide with binary understandings of femininity and masculinity, soft and hard, strong and weak, emotional and rational, passive and assertive, which are used to describe victims and perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. In asking questions specifically about the various extents to which the perpetrators of rape performatively reproduce these understandings, I however do not simply assume that they are relentlessly framed by them but rather probe them for cracks. In particular, I analyse perpetrators leaky performances of gender which show that they do not always behave in ways that are consistent with these understandings. In other words, I am curious about how perpetrators do not “act and walk and speak and talk” in ways that we have come to assume they will in the DRC.¹²¹ Crucially, although cautious about how metaphors of leakiness and hardness reproduce gender, in exploring the porosity and fluidity of perpetrators’ experiences and performances, I retain Irigaray’s idea that that leakiness can be productively and strategically appropriated to explore what is subversive and disruptive about embodied experiences.

Feminist scholarship on bodies not only further deepens our understanding of how they have been conceptualized as leaky but also provides us with two modes of analysis to explore representations of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. The first of these modes of analysis involves asking questions about their leaky performances of seemingly stable gender identities, and the second involves asking about the bodily fluids of male perpetrators of sexual violence. Even though these methods involve looking for and analysing leaky bodies in different ways, what both of them share in common, and what this thesis uses to explore representations of male perpetrators of sexual violence, is the understanding that although metaphors of leakiness carry with them gendered meanings that cannot simply be cast aside, these metaphors powerfully draw our attention to how bodies subvert and disrupt our prevailing ways of thinking about them. Despite the fact that this discussion begins to unpack some of the different ways in which we can look for and analyse leaky bodies, I however am keenly aware that the vast

¹²¹ Butler, J., 2011. ‘Your Behaviour Creates Your Gender’, Interview Max Miller, *Big Think* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bo7o2LYATDc> (accessed May 2016, 23)

bulk of the literature discussed explores the potential for conceptualizing and understanding female bodies as leaky. The next section subsequently explores in more detail the possibilities for extending and ascribing leakiness to male bodies, and asks questions about whether the concept of leakiness has the same analytical and methodological implications for them.

2.3 How can we analyse the male body as leaky?

The vast bulk of feminist scholarship that talks about leakiness examines the association of femininity with fluidity.¹²² What is evident from Irigaray's writing is that if woman is fluid then man is solid. For instance in *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche* (1980) the sometimes playful, sometimes angry, dialogue between the feminine interlocutor and the masculine theorist is one between the land and the sea.¹²³ Some feminists however have voiced concerns about how such metaphors essentialize female biological difference.¹²⁴ What they claim is that Irigaray "falls into the very essentialist trap of defining woman that she set out to avoid."¹²⁵ As Young writes the idea that women are "specially linked to the aqueous is the subject of much ridicule."¹²⁶ What she however points out is that Irigaray is not posing some "new ontological truth about women's inherent fluidity."¹²⁷ In her work she explores about how Irigaray's metaphors of fluids in "subverting the metaphysics of objects can be liberating for women."¹²⁸ What however really captures my attention is Young's observation that, conceptualized in radically different ways "men's bodies are at least as fluid as women's."¹²⁹ While only mentioned in passing, it raises some interesting questions about what implications conceptualising men's bodies as fluid may have for feminist politics.

¹²² Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*; Shildrick, M., 1997. *Leaky Bodies*; Young, I M. 2005. *On Female Body Experience*

¹²³ Irigaray L., 1980. *The Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche* translated by Gill, G., 1991. Columbia University Press: New York

¹²⁴ Fuss, D., 1989. 'Essentially Speaking: Luce Irigaray's Language of Essence' *Hypatia*, 3(3):62-80

¹²⁵ Moi, T., 2002. *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory, Second Edition*. Abingdon: Routledge: 142

¹²⁶ Young, I M., 2005. *On Female Body Experience*: 82

¹²⁷ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*:205

¹²⁸ Young, I M., 2005. *On Female Body Experience*: 82

¹²⁹ Young, I M., 2005. *On Female Body Experience*: 82

In feminist circles there has been much debate over whether we can rescue terms such as leakiness from their more essentialized meanings. As we have seen some feminist theorists are of the view that the use of such terms returns an essentialized association between women and the body, which has been used to emphasize their difference and otherness to men. Others still are of the view that such terms allow women to talk and speak about their embodied experiences in terms other than those that have been used to excluded them from patriarchal systems of representation.¹³⁰ Those that share the latter of these views argue that, although such terms have been used to deny and repress the embodied experiences of women, they are also subversive and disruptive because they point to how women threaten to escape modern forms of regulation. However, while they reveal how terms such as leakiness may be productively and strategically appropriated to allow women to speak, it is not clear that leakiness has the same implications for men as it does for women. The purpose of this section is to explore to what extent the leaky bodies of men can also become sites of feminist politics around which to problematize the reproduction of gender, and to start to gesture towards how this may provide one way in which to analyse how the bodies of perpetrators exceed contemporary framings of sexual violence.

While several feminists have drawn attention to the fluidity of the female body other authors have investigated the other side of this logic. They have explored how the fluidity of the female body is linked to the solidity of the male body.¹³¹ The solidity of the male body is investigated in depth in the work of Klaus Theweleit on the twentieth century German fascist imaginary. In *Male Fantasies* (1987) he argues that for the fascists there existed two types of body, the hard muscular male body and the soft flaccid fluid feminine body. What he contends is that, although the female body provided the archetypal model for the latter body, the fascist fear of dissolution into feminine liquidity was projected onto the Jewish male body.¹³²

¹³⁰Whitford, M., 1986. 'Luce Irigaray and the Feminist Imaginary.' *Radical Philosophy*, 43:2-8; Shor, N., 1995. 'This Essentialism which is Not One: Coming to Grips with Irigaray.' Ed. Shor, N., *Bad Objects: Essays Popular and Unpopular*, Duke University Press: London: 44-60

¹³¹Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 113; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198-202; Bordo, S., 1997. 'Reading the Male Body' Ed. Moore, P., *Building Bodies* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press: 31-74

¹³²Theweleit, K., 1987. *Male Fantasies: Women, floods, bodies, history*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press

Such observations about the solidity of the male body, however, are not limited to explorations of fascist societies. For instance, the work of Susan Jeffords similarly examines the centrality of the strong tough assertive male body to American national popular identity. In *Hard Bodies* (1994) she explores the action adventure films of the Regan era that were central to the construction of this body.¹³³ Such accounts reveal that terms such as leakiness do not necessarily have the same inferences for the bodies of men as for those of women. They remind us that even when the characteristics of the fluid are inscribed onto male bodies the association with the feminine continues to code women and their bodies as inferior. However, while these accounts draw attention to the ubiquitous framing of male bodies as hard within contemporary western culture, much of this work also probes these framings for leaks. In this section I return to the two methods delineated above for analysing leaky bodies – bodily fluids and leaky performances - and ask how we can use them to analyse instances of rupture in which men deviate from dominant modes of cultural representation in which they surface as hard.

The male body, feminists have shown, “has not been anatomized or made an object of study in the same ways as the female body.”¹³⁴ As Grosz writes, perhaps “the great mystery of the body comes not from the peculiarities and enigmas of female sexuality but from the unspoken and generally unrepresented particularities of the male body.”¹³⁵ Specifically, she observes how, despite the huge volume of literature on the specificities of the female body, “there is virtually nothing beyond the discourses of medicine and biology on male bodily fluids.”^{136v} In her exploration of the powers and dangers of bodily fluids, she argues that “it is not the case that men’s bodily fluids are regarded as polluting and contaminating for women in the same ways or to the same extent as women’s are for men.”¹³⁷ In particular, she builds on Irigaray to explore how our disquiet about fluids stems from their implicit association with the female body. As she writes, “it is women and what

¹³³ Jefferson, S., 1994. *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press

¹³⁴ Sheets-Johnstone, M., 1994. *The Roots of Power: Animate Form and Gendered Bodies*. Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company: 93

¹³⁵ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198

¹³⁶ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198

¹³⁷ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 197

men consider to be their inherent capacity for contagion, their draining, demanding bodily processes that have figured so strongly in cultural representations, and that have emerged so clearly as a problem for social control.”¹³⁸ Following from Irigaray she explores how “seminal fluid is understood primarily as what it makes.”¹³⁹ In her account of the solidification of seminal fluid she explores how “its fluidity, its potential seepage, its spread, its formlessness, is perpetually displaced in discourse onto its properties, its capacity to fertilize, to father, to produce an object.”¹⁴⁰ Parallels can be drawn with Camilla Paglia, who argues that “male urination is really a kind of achievement.”¹⁴¹ Parodying Freud, who claims that primitive man prided himself on his ability to put out a fire with a stream of urination, she argues that male urination is seen as an arc of transcendence while a woman “merely waters the ground on which she stands.”¹⁴²

What Grosz sees in this reduction of male bodily fluids to the raw materials of production is the establishment of a boundary that phallicizes male flows, “which link male bodies to the modes of representation they commonly attribute to female bodies.”¹⁴³ In her account of the solidification of seminal fluids, she asks questions about how the ways in which male bodily fluids are lived coalesce with binary oppositions in which “women are attributed the very capacities that men fear in themselves”, and how the ways in which men disavow their dependence on what they construe as feminine in themselves “may account for the contempt in which many of them hold women.”¹⁴⁴ What Grosz is subsequently arguing is that the reduction of male bodily fluids to the raw materials of production may provide one way in which to explore how the male body is commonly delineated through metaphors of solidity, which not only tell us what men are but also importantly what they are not. Still, while this may importantly help to explain the seeming ability of men to distance themselves from the very kinds of corporeality they have attributed to women, some authors claim that “far fresher insight can be gained by

¹³⁸ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 197

¹³⁹ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 199

¹⁴⁰ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 199

¹⁴¹ Paglia, C., cited in Bordo, S., 1997. ‘Reading the Male Body’: 31

¹⁴² Paglia, C., cited in Bordo, S., 1997. ‘Reading the Male Body’: 31

¹⁴³ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198

¹⁴⁴ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198

reading the male body through the window of its vulnerabilities rather than the dense armour of its power.”¹⁴⁵ For instance, Susan Bordo argues that this is not to deny the formidable social, historical and cultural actualities of male dominance “but to reveal the ways in which that dominance maintains not only the female body but the male body as a place of shame, self-hatred and concealment.”¹⁴⁶

One of the ways in which feminists have tried to read the male body through its vulnerabilities is through exploring the taboo on men crying. While this taboo is observed within western culture more widely, feminist scholarship on militarism has explored how crying is one of the ultimate taboos for male combatants who are taught to suppress their emotions.¹⁴⁷ In his account of the difficulty some veterans have in connecting emotionally with each other, Goldstein for instance explores how hardened male combatants learn to repress the desire to cry.¹⁴⁸ He explores how for a grown man to cry implies “not only the pain of all he had endured becoming in one moment no longer endurable, but the shattering, at the same moment, of a sheltering, encircling the notion of who he was, a strong man, a protector.”¹⁴⁹ What such accounts reveal is how male bodily fluids, whilst conceptualized differently, are also testimony to the vulnerability of the male body. This thesis also explores the presence of tears in order to probe contemporary representations of male perpetrators of sexual violence in which they appear hard.¹⁵⁰ As chapter five will argue, the presence of tears attests to the very incompleteness of processes of militarization in which male perpetrators are taught to deny or repress expressions of fear or sadness that are seen as soft or feminine.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ Bordo, S., 1997. ‘Reading the Male Body’:32

¹⁴⁶ Bordo, S., 1997. ‘Reading the Male Body’:32

¹⁴⁷ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 268; Whitworth, S., 2008. ‘Militarized Masculinity and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder’ Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 109-126, p. 116

¹⁴⁸ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender: 268*

¹⁴⁹ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender: 268*

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter Five: Malignant Male Muscle: 159; Chapter Six: Confessions of Rape in the Congo: 186

¹⁵¹ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys:’ 214

Whilst my empirical analysis will explore how the presence of tears attest to the vulnerability of the body, the main way in which I analyse leaky bodies is through examining the extent to which their performances of gender conform to cultural representations of the male body as hard. In this thesis, I am chiefly concerned about the extent to which male perpetrators of sexual violence through their discursive doings performatively reproduce understandings of the male body as hard, strong, assertive, disciplined, and calculating in ways that operate to distance them from the uncontrollable, excessive, expansive, disruptive, and irrational forms of corporeality they commonly attribute to the female body. While this chapter will go on to explore in more detail these understandings of male perpetrators of sexual violence as especially hard, in this section I look more specifically at how in addition to looking at bodily fluids we can analyse the male body as 'performatively' leaky.

As discussed above, performative understandings of political subjectivity have become the baseline from which most feminist scholarship proceeds.¹⁵² Within poststructural scholarship, there have more generally been efforts to think about the fluidity of embodied experience. In particular, the work of Deleuze and Guattari stands out for its rare affirmative understanding of the body that attempts to reconceive the body "outside of the binary oppositions imposed on the body."¹⁵³ Within their writings, the body is no longer defined by its organs or functions but by what it can do.¹⁵⁴ To paraphrase Grosz, the body is understood in terms of the things it can perform, the linkages it establishes, the transformations it undergoes, and the connections it forms.¹⁵⁵ In advancing this rare affirmative understanding of the body, they reconfigure the body in terms of flows that are "capable of being linked together or severed in potentially infinite ways other than those that congeal them into identities."¹⁵⁶ Crucially, this is not to say that the world is

¹⁵² Heckman, S., cited in Parpart, J.L., & Zalewski, M. 2008 *Rethinking the Man Question: 2*; See Butler, J., 1988. 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution'. Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble*; Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter*; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*; Braidotti, R., 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*; Gatens, M., 1996. *Imaginary Bodies*

¹⁵³ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 165

¹⁵⁴ Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F., 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*, Trans Massumi, B., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 257

¹⁵⁵ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 165

¹⁵⁶ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 167

without strata or that the body is free from constraints.¹⁵⁷ In their work, Deleuze and Guattari are acutely aware of the body as subject to processes of sedimentation that organize them into hierarchies. Rather, this rare affirmative understanding of the body represents their attempt to render more complex the forms that these oppressions take.¹⁵⁸ In attempting to more accurately understand the body as always in the process of 'becoming otherwise' they explore how the body does not consistently congeal in ways we expect. As Braidotti argues, adopting their understanding of the body demands that we explore and examine modes of becoming away from notions of political subjectivity modelled on sedentary and majoritarian identities.¹⁵⁹

Consistent with feminist understandings of phallogocentrism, Deleuze and Guattari argue that the male body is the privileged referent of subjectivity.¹⁶⁰ Because in their work processes of becoming are understood as movements away from notions of political subjectivity based on majoritarian identities, masculinity they argue can only be the "site of deconstruction or critique."¹⁶¹ Specifically, they state that all "lines of flight" away from the fixity of subjectivity must necessarily go through the stage of "becoming woman", which is not just any other form of becoming otherwise but key to the whole process.¹⁶² In their work becoming woman is not based on either mimesis or resemblance, rather it refers to those processes that destabilize models of subjectivity that "privilege men at the expense of women."¹⁶³ Becoming woman in this sense is not about imitating or assuming the female form but dismantling gendered identities.¹⁶⁴ As Grosz writes, becoming women represents the desedimenting of "the masculinity of identity."¹⁶⁵ Subsequently the work of Deleuze and Guattari strikes an alliance with poststructural feminists that want to contest the "deeply entrenched expectations

¹⁵⁷ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 167

¹⁵⁸ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 173

¹⁵⁹ Braidotti, R., 2003. 'Becoming Woman: Or Sexual Difference Revisited.' *Theory, Culture and Society*. 20(3): 43-64, p. 52

¹⁶⁰ Braidotti, R., 2003. 'Becoming Woman:' 49

¹⁶¹ Braidotti, R., 2003. 'Becoming Woman:' 49

¹⁶² Braidotti, R., 2003. 'Becoming Woman:' 49

¹⁶³ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 177

¹⁶⁴ Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F., 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*: 291

¹⁶⁵ Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 179

of gendered existence.”¹⁶⁶ It advances an understanding of the body that is informative for feminist performative understandings of how the male body can also be conceptualized as leaky. In seeing the male body as always in processes of becoming, it invites feminists to analyse the male body in excess or abundance of the coalescence of processes of subjectification imposed on them. It suggests that by starting from questions about what the body is capable of feminists may be able to ask pertinent questions about how men do not always act and behave in ways that consolidate the impression of masculinity, which clearly has important inferences for how we read the bodies of men especially in the context of sexual violence in conflict.

What draws me towards Deleuze and Guattari is not only their rare affirmative understanding of the body, but also their insistence on problematizing the privileged position the male body occupies in our political imaginary. While there is much excellent poststructural feminist work on the contemporary politics of framing the female body, as feminists such as Kathy Ferguson suggest there is something troubling about how this focus continues to leave intact the idea that the male body is the norm.¹⁶⁷ In the *Man Question* (1993) she explores how in problematizing the female body the male body goes unremarked on.¹⁶⁸ To expand, in exploring how this framing constructs the female body as the problem she argues that feminist work leaves unquestioned the seeming naturalness of the male body in visions of subjectivity.¹⁶⁹ By reversing this perspective and asking after the subject of man in visions of subjectivity, Ferguson conversely asks questions about what kinds of thinking are necessary to dislodge masculinity from its claims to normalcy.¹⁷⁰ Crucially, within the literature on sexual violence feminists have argued that such questions are important for readdressing the

¹⁶⁶ Butler, J., 1988. 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory'. Eds. Conoby, K., Medina, N. & Stanbury, S. *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press: 401-419, p.409

¹⁶⁷ Ferguson, K., 1993. *The Man Question: Visions of subjectivity in feminist theory*. California: University of California Press: 7; See also Zalewski, M., 1994. 'Introduction: Form the "Woman" to the "Man" Question in International Relations, Eds. Parpart, J.L. & Zalewski, M. *The 'Man' Question in International Relations*. Colorado: Westview: 1-13
Press

¹⁶⁸ Ferguson, K., 1993. *The Man Question*: 2

¹⁶⁹ Ferguson, K., 1993. *The Man Question*: 7

¹⁷⁰ Ferguson, K., 1993. *The Man Question*: 7

almost ubiquitous focus on female victims. By way of example, Joanna Bourke argues that there is something odd about exploring the violence “carried out predominantly by men by studying the women they wound.”¹⁷¹ In adopting this approach towards the study of sexual violence this thesis does not dismiss feminist scholarship which is intent on placing centre stage women, who have been marginalized within rape myths that blame the victim for their own violation.¹⁷² Rather, in building on the insights of Deleuze and Guattari alongside those of Grosz and Irigaray, it looks at how reading the male body as leaky may dislodge representations of masculinity that have harmful effects.

This thesis builds on the work of Deleuze and Guattari to place the leaky male body at the centre of its analysis of perpetrators of sexual violence in war. It builds on their work to explore how the leaky male body can become a productive site of feminist politics around which to problematize representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in war. In contrast to other male theorists that write about the body, such as Foucault and Lacan, their status within feminist evaluations “seems rather more shaky.”¹⁷³ As several authors have pointed out they are not necessarily advancing feminist politics or sensitive to feminist concerns.¹⁷⁴ Indeed even those feminists who do use their work, such as Grosz and Braidotti, have tended to be critical or at the very least cautious of its usefulness for feminist purposes.¹⁷⁵ In particular, feminist reservations about the work of Deleuze and Guattari tend to concern the relative ease with which they call for the dissolution of gender. To expand their ultimate aim in relation to gender is to “move towards its final overcoming.”¹⁷⁶ While this call strikes an alliance with feminists that are interested in how we can loosen the hold of gender over life, it clashes with “women’s sense of their own historical struggles.”¹⁷⁷ In particular, within feminist

¹⁷¹ Bourke, J., 2007. *Rape: A history from 1860 to the present*. London: Virago Press: 5

¹⁷² Cahill, A., 2001. *Rethinking Rape*. London: Cornell Press; Bourke, J., 2007. *Rape: A history from 1860 to the present*. London: Virago Press; Du Toit, L., 2009. *A Philosophical Investigation of Rape: The Making and Unmaking of the Feminine Self*. New York: Routledge

¹⁷³ Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 161

¹⁷⁴ Jardine, A., 1984. ‘Woman in Limbo: Deleuze and His Br(others)’ *Signs*: 3(44): 46-60

¹⁷⁵ Grosz, E., 1993. ‘A thousand tiny sexes: Feminism and rhizomatics.’ *Topoi*, 12(2): 167-179; Braidotti, R., 2003. ‘Becoming Woman’

¹⁷⁶ Braidotti, R., 2002. *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 80

¹⁷⁷ Braidotti, R., 1994. *Nomadic Subjects*: 120

circles serious reservations exist about how this move neutralizes feminist efforts to secure new roles for women in cultural life.¹⁷⁸ They argue, the idea that feminism exists only as part of some broader cause “must be viewed with great suspicion.”¹⁷⁹

In contrast to the relative ease with which Deleuze and Guattari dismiss feminist theory as perpetuating rigid gender categories, I situate my own analysis of perpetrators of sexual violence firmly within feminist readings of leaky bodies that point to the pervasiveness of gender regimes that privilege men over women. In particular, in situating my analysis within the writings of Grosz and Irigaray on leaky bodies, rather than accept their work uncritically I cautiously probe representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in war for leaks. In this sense, rather than dismiss feminist scholarship that points to the enormous amount of effort that goes into maintaining the illusion of stable gender identities in landscapes of war, I argue that this work importantly reminds us that there is much at stake within the politics of contemporary framings of perpetrators of sexual violence specifically in the DRC.¹⁸⁰

In sum, in situating the work of Deleuze and Guattari within the writings of Grosz and Irigaray on leaky bodies I explore some of the more “sticky” understandings of gender in landscapes of war and, in particular, references to representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.¹⁸¹ The next section of this chapter I ask more specific questions about what is at stake in reconceiving perpetrators beyond the metaphors of hardness that are often used to define them in contemporary framings of sexual violence in the DRC.

¹⁷⁸ Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 163

¹⁷⁹ Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 179

¹⁸⁰ See Whitworth, S., 2008. ‘Militarized Masculinity and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder’ Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 109-126, p.110; Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarised violences, basic training, and the myths of asexuality and discipline’. *Review of International Studies*, 39 (4): 881–902, p.894; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 21

¹⁸¹ Ahmed, S., 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: University Press: 82-100

2.4 Why is leakiness significant for thinking about perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC?

As gestured towards in the introduction to this thesis, sexual violence has arguably become the frame to use when thinking about the DRC.¹⁸² Numerous articles, chapters, books and films have been dedicated to the topic of sexual violence in the DRC. While much of this attention is focused on the victims of sexual violence, this thesis is curious about the men who mete out this violence in the DRC. Dissatisfied with the ways in which the bodies of male perpetrators are commonly delineated through metaphors of hardness, it analyses how the concept of leakiness can be used to explore and contest representations of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

This thesis, in exploring the significance of leakiness for thinking about perpetrators of sexual violence, is overwhelmingly indebted to Maria Baaz and Maria Stern whose extensive first hand research has provided unique insights into the uncontainability of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence within explanations of rape in the DRC. Since 2005 these two scholars have conducted several interrelated research projects on sexual violence.¹⁸³ Widely credited with turning how we think about rape in war on its head, their project exploring gender in the military is based on over two hundred interviews with soldiers from the national armed forces in the DRC. The interviews, amongst other things, address the reasons soldiers give for why rape occurs in this landscape of war.¹⁸⁴ As they explain, in listening to these soldiers they wanted “to disrupt the main storylines of rape.”¹⁸⁵ In analysing perpetrators’ narratives through the poststructural tools of discourse analysis, Baaz and Stern specifically explore the possibility for

¹⁸² Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences.’ *African Affairs*:202-222, p.215

¹⁸³Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’: 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. ‘Whores, Men, and Other Misfits’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’

¹⁸⁴Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’

¹⁸⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 6-7

contestation of the dominant storylines of rape in the DRC.¹⁸⁶ In particular, what their readings show is that while the gendered identities soldiers articulate in many ways echo attributes associated with generalised notions of militarised masculinity they were also different.¹⁸⁷ In pointing to the failings of military institutions to embody control as well as how soldiers are always already gendered, their research highlights points of departure from configurations of militarized masculinity found elsewhere.¹⁸⁸

Crucially Baaz and Stern, in analysing the gendered identities that underwrite the dominant storylines of rape, provide the starting point for my own analysis of perpetrators of sexual violence as leaky in the DRC. In querying their limits they provide new vantage points from which to ask different kinds of questions about the untidiness that exists outside of generalized stories of rape in war. In particular, in pointing to the messiness of warring they provide unique insights from which to challenge the coherency of images of militarized masculinity in the DRC.¹⁸⁹ In this thesis their research, however, provides more than just illustrations of how perpetrators seep beyond the depictions we use to make sense of them.

The questions Baaz and Stern ask about how soldiers complicate our representations of them have inspired my own reading of perpetrators of sexual violence as leaky in the DRC. They have been the driving force behind this thesis, pushing me constantly to question my own assumptions about perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. Rather than departing from their work, in asking questions about how perpetrators do not consistently act in ways we expect them to, this thesis more specifically sees itself as responding to some of their questions about what kinds of subjects mainstream understandings of rape in war reproduce.¹⁹⁰ In particular, in trying to find new words in which to talk about how embodied experiences of sexual violence in conflict do not map neatly onto our representations of them, I see myself as explicitly responding to their observation

¹⁸⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 8-9

¹⁸⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity':40

¹⁸⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity':40

¹⁸⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 64-87

¹⁹⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 21-41

that our dominant understandings have left us devoid of ways of properly hearing and writing about the perpetrators of rape differently.¹⁹¹

What my engagement with Baaz and Stern demonstrates is that there is clearly precedent in the literature for using leakiness to think about perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. Their work emphasizes that not only are we missing ways of properly hearing and writing about the perpetrators of rape, but by also using the language of “messiness” and “blurriness” it suggest that we need to find ways of hearing and writing that attest to the fluidity and porosity of life in the DRC.¹⁹² Drawing on insights generated by their poststructural analysis of this warscape, this section explores how the language of leakiness set out in the sections above is significant for exploring and contesting the almost ubiquitous framing of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence as the hardened tools of violence. This section, then, firstly gestures towards how perpetrators of sexual violence are seen as part of the machinery of war before further exploring the significance of using leakiness for challenging our representations of them.

As shown in the previous section, Deleuze and Guattari provide some interesting insights into how leaky male bodies can become sites of feminist politics around which to analyse perpetrators of sexual violence as leaky in the DRC. Specifically, this chapter starts to gesture towards how their reading of leaky male bodies, alongside the writings of Grosz and Irigaray, can be used to ask questions about the extent to which perpetrators of sexual violence depart from prevailing modes of representations of them in the DRC. Feminist thinkers, however, have raised questions about how they do not acknowledge their own investment within masculine perspectives. They argue that like other male theorists Deleuze and Guattari use metaphors that have been historically predicated on women’s exclusion.¹⁹³ In particular, serious reservations exist about their use of metaphors of machinic functioning.¹⁹⁴ Ian Burkitt, for instance, observes that it seems alien to use metaphors which usually describe the automated movements of the machine when one is trying to construct theories of the malleability of the body and “the

¹⁹¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 7

¹⁹² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 64-87

¹⁹³ Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 164

¹⁹⁴ Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 163

potential for challenging patriarchal power relations.”¹⁹⁵ In his view, what seems to disappear in the adoption of these metaphors of machinic functioning is how the lived body does not just become part of the machinery of power but also an essential site around which to contest the regimented workings of patriarchal power in everyday life.¹⁹⁶ What feminists contend is that while not irremediably masculine, such metaphors have been particularly important in doing the further discursive work required to tell us what men are. Terrell Carver, for instance, explores how the machine has become the dominant metaphor of “modern rational hegemonic masculinity.”¹⁹⁷

This reservation is of particular interest to the thesis insofar as the machine has become one of the prevailing metaphors for describing male combatants.¹⁹⁸ As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, the adoption of these metaphors to describe the transformation of recruits into soldiers that embody the values of the military has worrisome inferences for how we talk about perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. Not least because such metaphors distance us from bodies with words so “bland” and “abstract” that they neither force the writer nor enable the listener to attend to the messiness of war.¹⁹⁹ But also equally troubling because such metaphors have been shown by feminists to leave unquestioned the roles that men and women are expected to play in places such as the DRC.²⁰⁰ In this thesis, these metaphors of machinic functioning subsequently serve as counterpoints against which to articulate an understanding of perpetrators of sexual violence that does not simply see them as cogs or wheels in the wider military machine.²⁰¹ It explicitly advances an account of leaky bodies that stresses both the fluidity and stickiness of embodiment in order to experiment with

¹⁹⁵ Burkitt, I., 1999. *Bodies of Thought: Embodiment, Identity and Modernity*. London: Sage Publication: 100

¹⁹⁶ Burkitt, I., 1999. *Bodies of Thought*:100

¹⁹⁷ Carver, T., 2008. ‘The Man in the Machine.’ Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 70-86; R. W. Connell, 2005. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 46-50

¹⁹⁸ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh:’ 92

¹⁹⁹ Cohn, C. 1987. ‘Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals’, *Signs* 12 (4): 687-718

²⁰⁰ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh:’103

²⁰¹ Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. “The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch: Biopolitics, Gender and the “Feminization” of the U.S. Military.” *Alternatives*, 30: 25-53, p.41

metaphors other than those abstract and machinic ones, which have often been used to represent perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.²⁰²

To elaborate, what struck me from the outset about the literature on sexual violence in the DRC was the marked absence of “fleshy” male bodies.²⁰³ Where male bodies did feature in stories of rape it was predominantly as the tools or instruments of violence. These representations of male bodies in the DRC seemed to reflect broader ideas about how combatants undergo process of “hardening” that teach them to withstand pain without losing control.²⁰⁴ In particular, these representations conformed to ideas about how the military manipulates particular forms of masculinity in order to produce finely tuned fighting machines.²⁰⁵ Rather than completely refute these explanations in which the military moulds soldiers into deadly weapons, by building on the insights generated by Baaz and Stern into how soldiers’ narratives disrupt dominant storylines of rape in war, my analysis asks whether in reading the male body through its leakiness we may produce different insights into perpetrators of sexual violence within this setting.²⁰⁶

Significantly, my analysis of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC will use leakiness to trace the hardened contours of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence. It asks questions about how in the literature perpetrators are delineated through metaphors that perpetuate an understanding of them as hardened towards rape. In particular, it explores familiar tropes that describe how processes of militarization develop a militarised body that “must be permanently hard and function with mechanical efficiency.”²⁰⁷ In tracing the various different ways in which the literature perpetuates this image of soldiers, my analysis also importantly asks about the effects that may flow from these representations. In particular, in tracing the ubiquity of this image of perpetrators it asks how in

²⁰² Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 106-118; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198-208

²⁰³ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.’ 91

²⁰⁴ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*: 268

²⁰⁵ See Ehrenreich, B., 1998. *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War*. London: Virago Press: 11; Hatty, S., 2000. *Masculinities, Violence and Culture*. London: Sage: 120; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A gendered analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Reiner: 158

²⁰⁶ Baaz/Stern

²⁰⁷ Jarvis, B., 2008. ‘Tim O’Brien and the topography of trauma.’ Eds. Prosser, J., *American Fiction of the 1990s: Reflections of History and Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge: 1-17. p. 4

repeating these representations the literature may performatively reproduce gender.²⁰⁸ As this chapter has repeatedly shown through its engagement with Grosz and Irigaray, gender is performatively reproduced through metaphors of hardness and leakiness.²⁰⁹ While this alone suggests that we may want to pause to reflect on the images we use to represent perpetrators of sexual violence, feminists working in international relations have also pointed to how feminist scholarship performatively reproduces gender in landscapes of war.²¹⁰ Building on authors such as Stern and Zalewski, who have pointed to how feminist scholarship on militarization ends up reproducing some of the effects it names, this thesis will subsequently analyse how through our representations of perpetrators in the DRC we risk becoming implicated in their reproduction.²¹¹ In particular, in looking at how sexual violence becomes one way perpetrators try to shore up their own masculinity, the next chapter asks how feminist scholarship on sexual violence, in invoking particular images of militarized masculinity, emerges as complicit in violent reproductions of gender in this warscape.²¹²

In tracing how perpetrators of sexual violence are delineated through metaphors of hardness in the DRC the suggestion is not that we can entirely escape working within representations, which end up reproducing gender in ways that we may not intend.²¹³ Rather, in pointing to some of the familiar metaphors and tropes that appear within the literature, the suggestion is that different kinds of insights into perpetrators of sexual violence may be glimpsed by exploring the porosity of these understandings. The reason my analysis places so much emphasis on tracing how the literature perpetuates an image of perpetrators in the DRC as instruments or tools of violence is because this forms the starting point from which to ask questions about the fluidity of their embodied experiences. To put it differently, it

²⁰⁸ Butler, J., 1988. 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution'. Butler, J., 1990. *Gender Trouble*; Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter*; Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s)'

²⁰⁹ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 106-118; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies*: 198-202

²¹⁰ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.' *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630; Welland, J., 2013. 'Militarised violences, basic training, and the myths of asexuality and discipline'. *Review of International Studies*, 39 (4): 881-902

²¹¹ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s)'; Welland, J., 2013. 'Militarised violences

²¹² Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*: 166; 2013. Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 20

²¹³ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s)'; Welland, J., 2013. 'Militarised violences

is only through having traced the contours of these images that my analysis is able to point to the various ways in which perpetrators of sexual violence exceed them.

Having started to trace how leakiness might be significant for thinking about perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC, what the final section of this chapter then outlines is how exactly this thesis will look for and analyse the leaky bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence.

2.5 How does this thesis use, look for and analyse leakiness in the context of the DRC?

In contemporary framings of sexual violence in the DRC the violated bodies of women are inscribed as especially leaky. Indeed the dominant motif of sexual violence in the DRC is arguably the victim rendered incontinent by her injuries.²¹⁴ While relatively few actual cases of fistula are rape related, tales of women “soaked” in their own urine and faeces are commonplace within media reporting.^{215vi} Stories of sexual violence in the DRC, it seems, must feature women waiting for or just recovering from surgery for their rape induced injuries.²¹⁶ While several authors have commented on the “fetishization” of the bodies of victims of sexual violence in the DRC, these stories of rape also raise questions about how perpetrators are configured as hard.²¹⁷ In particular, my analysis problematizes how in these stories of rape perpetrators emerge as coldly “calculating” individuals who further military objectives through attacking women.²¹⁸ While not excusing their violence,

²¹⁴ Ensler, E., 2007. ‘Women left for dead- and the man who’s saving them.’ *Glamour Magazine* <http://www.glamour.com/magazine/2007/08/rape-in-the-congo> (accessed February 2016, 11); Mukwege, D., & Nangini, C., 2009. ‘Rape with Extreme Violence: The new pathology in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *PLoS Med*, 6(12): 1-5; Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters: My journey to the worst place on earth to be a woman*. Berkley: Seal Press: 99; Michel, T., 2015. *The Man who Mends Women*. Les Films de la Passerelle & Ryva Production

²¹⁵ Onsrud, M., Sjøveian, S., Lahiriri, R., & Mukwege, D., 2008. ‘Sexual Violence-Related Fistulas in the Democratic Republic of Congo’. *International Journal of Gynaecology & Obstetrics*, 103 (3): 265-269: 265

²¹⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 92; Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences.’ *African Affairs*: 1-21, p.13

²¹⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 92; Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales: 13; Meger, S., 2016. ‘The Fetishization of Sexual Violence in International Security’ *International Studies Quarterly* (2016) 0, 1–11, p. 5

²¹⁸ Kirby, P., 2013. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence.’ *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(4): 797-821:807

it asks how reading their bodies as leaky may disrupt crude representations in which perpetrators appear as simply “automatons” that follow orders without question.²¹⁹

One of ways in which my analysis does this is by asking questions about the fluids that physically seep from the bodies of perpetrators.²²⁰ As already gestured towards earlier in this chapter, my analysis investigates how the presence of tears, for example, disturbs our assumptions about male soldiers that perpetrate rape. It analyses how the presence of tears may help us glimpse how feelings that soldiers in the DRC have supposedly been taught to deny resurface in ways that disrupt our notions of them as emotionally repressed.²²¹ In particular, in exploring descriptions which soldiers themselves give of how their tears spill over into violence in the DRC,²²² it starts to flesh out how reading their bodies as leaky may help to dislodge depictions which simply reduce perpetrators to “robots” that rape as commanded.²²³

The main way in which this thesis attempts to query representations of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC, however, is through examining how their performances of masculinity are inherently leaky.²²⁴ In listening to the

²¹⁹ Higate, P., 2007. ‘Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 10(1): 99-119, p.102; Higate, P., 2015. ‘From ‘squaddie’ to ‘bodyguard’: towards a remilitarized agency?’ Eds. Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 150-168, p.152

²²⁰ See Ferguson, K., 1993. *The Man Question: 7*

²²¹ See Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender: 268*; Whitworth, S., 2008. ‘Militarized Masculinity and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder:’116; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys:’ 214

²²² LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups: Implementation Manuel and Final Project Report*. Washington. World Bank: 20

²²³ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo’:221

²²⁴ See Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).’ *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the congo (DRC)’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. ‘Whores, Men, and Other Misfits: Undoing ‘feminization’ in the armed forces in the DRC. *African Affairs*, 110(441): 563–585; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.’ Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond “gender and stir”*: *Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’ Eds.

reasons soldiers give for why rape occurs, it points to how they depart from dominant understandings of sexual violence in which the form of masculinity produced within the military is conducive towards an aggressive misogyny. For instance, in building on the insights generated by Baaz and Stern into the complex lived realities of soldiers in the DRC it explores how their stories of poverty or suffering more often attest to the fragility rather than solidity of militarized masculinity in this setting.²²⁵ In other words, it explores how the stories soldiers tell about perpetrating rape disrupt the seeming coherence of images of militarized masculinity in this warscape.²²⁶

In addition to attending to how soldiers describe their embodied experiences, where possible my analysis also simultaneously observes how their body language also points to cracks in their hard exterior. The body language of soldiers is understood here as those forms of communication, where thoughts, intentions and feelings are expressed through physical behaviours such as facial expressions, body posture, and eye contact. One of the most obvious ways in which this thesis subsequently traces the body language of soldiers is through documentary film to glimpse instances in which their physical behaviours does not conform to the strict expectations of militarized masculinity articulated elsewhere.²²⁷ In particular, in exploring how one soldier physically shakes when probed about the abused he has meted out it adds another dimension to its analysis of the incoherency of performances of militarized masculinity in this warscape.²²⁸

While this reveals some of the ways in which the lived leaky male body becomes a site of feminist politics around which to contest representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC in this thesis, what I also want to outline in more detail here is where exactly this thesis intends to look for and analysis leaky male bodies

Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-105;

²²⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape?'

²²⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape?'

²²⁷ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions

²²⁸ See Chapter Six: Confessions of Rape in Congo: 181

in this warscape. In this section, I consequently discuss where this thesis will look for lived leaky male bodies in contemporary framings of sexual violence in the DRC. As described above, this thesis looks for representations of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence as hard. Because where it finds representations of the bodies of perpetrators as hard is also where it locates leaks in their seemingly tough exterior. This thesis then looks for representations of the bodies of perpetrators as hard in several diverse locations. To start with, this thesis looks in more detail at the ways in which these representations emerge in the feminist scholarship on militarized violences.²²⁹ The literature on militarized masculinity, in particular, forms the main point of departure from which to think about various ways in which the bodies of perpetrators are reduced to the instruments or tools of violence. The reason it starts with this literature is crucially so that it can show that while the work of individual authors on militarized masculinity is itself often nuanced, these complexities get lost within more generic forms of militarized masculinity that surface in explanations of sexual violence in places such as the DRC.²³⁰

This thesis however does not restrict itself to the literature on militarized masculinity. It also looks at the broader literature on sexual violence in war in order to explore the pervasiveness of the image of perpetrators of sexual violence as hard in the DRC. Building on highly politicized temporal and spatial configurations of the conflict, this thesis divides the literature into conflict and postconflict explanations of sexual violence in order to trace the multiple and diverse ways in which this image of perpetrators of sexual violence take shape in

²²⁹ See Connell, R., 1995. *Masculinities*. Los Angeles: University of California Press; Morris, M., 1996. 'By Force of Arms: Rape, War and Military Culture.' *Duke Law Journal*, 45(4): 651-781; Enloe, C., 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Los Angeles: California University Press; Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Higate, P., 2004. 'Engendering (In) Security in Peace Operations.' *Security Dialogue*. 34(4): 481-498; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A gendered analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Reiner; Alison, M., 2007. 'Wartime Sexual Violence: Women's human rights and questions of masculinity.' *Review of International Studies*, 33(1):75-90; Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press

²³⁰Higate, P. 2007. 'Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation': 102; Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.' *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630; Welland, J., 2013. 'Militarised violence's

the DRC.²³¹ The first two empirical chapters, which trace representations of combatants and former combatants who perpetrate rape, are divided into conflict and postconflict explanations of sexual violence in the DRC.²³² The reason this thesis make this distinction is not because it does not recognize the “fuzziness” of distinctions between temporal and spatial configurations of conflict, but because it wants to explore the points of convergence between conflict and postconflict explanations of sexual violence in the DRC.²³³ What is significant is how despite differences between depictions of combatants and former combatants that perpetrate rape, conflict and postconflict explanations continue to attribute sexual violence to similar process of hardening in the DRC.

Within these empirical chapters this thesis however makes four further divisions between feminist scholarship,²³⁴ political advocacy,²³⁵ news reporting²³⁶ and film

²³¹ See McLeod, L., 2011. ‘Configurations of Post-Conflict: Impacts of Representations of Conflict and Post-Conflict upon the (Political) Translations of Gender Security within UNSCR 1325.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13 (4): 594-611; Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 41-83

²³² See Chapter 3 ‘Machetes, Minerals, Militaries and Masculinities’:95; Chapter 4 ‘Malignant Male Muscle’: 134

²³³ McLeod, L., 2011. ‘Configurations of Post-Conflict’: 595; see also Zalewski, M. 2006. ‘Intervening in Northern Ireland: Critically re-thinking representations of the conflict’, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 9 (4): 479–497, p. 481

²³⁴ See Carslen, E., 2008. ‘Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 21(4): 474-483; Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo: Understanding sexual violence in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(2): 199-135; Meger, S., 2012. ‘Militarized Masculinities and the Political Economy of Wartime Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ Eds. Freedman, J., *Engaging Men in the Fight against Gender Violence: Case Studies from Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 39-68; Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Banwell, S., 2012. ‘Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case Study of Gender Based Violence.’ *Journal of Gender Studies*, 23(1): 45-58; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo’; Trenholm, J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war: women and rape in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*: 2-1; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. ‘Whores, Men, and Other Misfits’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’

²³⁵ See Pratt, M., & Werchick, L., 2004. *Sexual Terrorism: Rape as a Weapon of War in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: An assessment of programmatic responses to sexual violence in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces*, USAID; Mechanic, E., 2004. *Why Gender Still Matters: Sexual Violence and the Need to Confront Militarized Masculinity, A Case Study of the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. Partnership Africa: Canada; Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone: Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Human Rights Watch: New York; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo*

making²³⁷ on sexual violence in the DRC. In distinguishing between these texts this thesis recognizes that how they depict perpetrators of sexual violence depends on variables such as intended audiences or intended outcomes. In analysing these texts it points to differences between media reports that try to outdo each other with headline grabbing stories of horrific wartime rape campaigns²³⁸ and feminist scholarship that seeks to influence global policy debates through rendering visible the ills of rape in the DRC.²³⁹ It however does not maintain strict lines of separation between these texts in its analysis of them because, as already gestured towards, one of the things the thesis seeks to demonstrate is how they converge to form an image of perpetrators as hard; an image that is widely recognisable in contemporary framings of sexual violence in the DRC. In particular, it wants to explore points of convergence between these texts in order to understand how we become seduced by this image of perpetrators of sexual violence and to understand the wider implications of this representation.²⁴⁰ To elaborate, one of the ways in which it does this is through exploring points of convergence between feminist analyses of how processes of militarization reduce soldiers to “robots”

(DRC). Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Dolan, C., 2010. *War is Not Yet Over: Community Perceptions of Sexual Violence and its Underpinnings in Eastern DRC*, International Alert; Lwambo, D., 2011. *Before the War, I was a Man: Men and Masculinities in Eastern DR Congo*, Goma: Heal Africa
²³⁶ See Gettleman, J., 2007. 'Rape Epidemic Raises Trauma of Congo War.' *The New York Times* <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/world/africa/07congo.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed June 2014, 10); McGreal, C., 2008. 'Inside the villages where every woman is victim of hidden war.' *The Guardian* <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/05/congo-women> (accessed June 2014, 9); Associated Press, 2011. 'Congo army colonel guilty of ordering mass rape on New Year Day.' *The Guardian* <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/feb/21/congo-rape-trial> (accessed June 2014, 10); Jones, P., & Smith, D., 2013. 'Congo: We did whatever we wanted, say soldier who raped 53 women.' *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/apr/11/congo-rapes-g8-soldier> (accessed March 2015, 27); Nallu, P., 2015. 'Rape is being used to terrorise the population.' *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/22/rape-congo-doctor-denis-mukwege> (accessed June 2015, 15)

²³⁷ See Jackson, L., 2007. *The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo. Women Make Movies*; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007 *Fighting the Silence: Sexual Violence against Women in the Congo*. If Productions; Blanding, S. & Labriola, B., 2009. *Women in War Zones: Sexual Violence in the Congo*. Women in War Zone International; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions; Lloyd-Davis, F., 2013. *Seeds of Hope*. Studio 9 Films

²³⁸ Stearns, J., 2009. 'Are we focusing too much on sexual violence in the DRC?' *CONGO SIASA* <http://congosiasa.blogspot.co.uk/2009/12/are-we-focusing-too-much-on-sexual.html> (accessed June 2014, 10)

²³⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 1

²⁴⁰ Pin-Fat, V., 2010. *Universality, Ethics and International Relations*: 3;5

that will rape as commanded²⁴¹ and policy reports that point to the enormous challenges of putting the body out of military “usage” in the DRC.²⁴²

While this outlines where this thesis intends to look for images of perpetrators as hardened towards sexual violence, it does not necessarily reveal how it will locate leaks within their seemingly solid exterior. In order to trace how the bodies of perpetrators are not nearly as solid as the literature on sexual violence would lead us to believe, this thesis looks for signs of leakiness primarily in interviews with male soldiers in the DRC. This thesis looks for neglected residues of bodily fluids and leaky performances in texts and films that document interviews conducted with male soldiers about perpetrating rape in the DRC.²⁴³ The first way it does this is through listening to the voices of male soldiers who speak about perpetrating rape in the DRC. In listening to the voices of male soldiers it explores how their embodied experiences do not neatly map onto our images of them. For instance, in listening to male soldiers who speak openly about their struggles to embody military values in this warscape it starts to expose cracks in our representations of them.

As already noted, in looking for leaks in this way this thesis is strongly obligated to Baaz and Stern, whose interviews with male soldiers in this warscape complicate the main storylines of rape in the DRC. In addition to listening to the voices of male soldiers who speak about perpetrating rape, this thesis however also observes how their actions may trouble representations of soldiers who perpetrate rape in the DRC. By using film to observe their body language it asks questions about how male soldiers may act in ways that do not conform to our expectations of them. From the appearance of tears in their eyes, to the hesitation in their voice, it argues that in paying attention to their body language we can glimpse moments of

²⁴¹ See Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo’:221

²⁴² See Aoláin, F., Haynes, F., & Cahn, N., 2011. *On the Frontlines: Gender, War and Post-Conflict Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 51

²⁴³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC’; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo’; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions;

leakiness in which they break from our assumptions about them. In particular, this added layer of analysis is found in chapter six, which uses film to explore the marked differences between soldiers embodied experiences in this warscape.

In short, this thesis use interviews to analyse to what extent the words and actions of male soldiers reveal how fragile even seemingly solid representations of them are. Underpinning this analysis, however, is not the assumption that we can authentically or realistically represent the bodies of male perpetrators of rape.²⁴⁴ Rather than expose how male soldiers 'truly' or 'really', these interviews, as Baaz and Stern acknowledge, are discursive constructions that reflect the views of the researchers and respondents.²⁴⁵ For instance, they argue that the politics and theoretical framing of the researcher plays an important role in the production of the text.²⁴⁶

We govern through the framing of our questions, the embodiment of our privilege, the subtle and not so subtle cues as to what we want to hear, and through our interpretations of the narrators' understanding, stances and words.²⁴⁷

Despite these self-criticisms, they however argue that in playing close attention to the experiences of soldiers we can learn to better attend to some of the complex and even contradictory ways in which masculinity is performed in the DRC.²⁴⁸ The point of looking at interviews in this thesis is subsequently is not to expose how male soldiers 'truly' or 'really' are, but to try to glimpse the slippery politics of contemporary framings of male soldiers that perpetrate sexual violence in the DRC.

As detailed in this chapter, the thesis brings together several diverse literatures in its search for leaky male bodies in the DRC. In bringing together these literatures the suggestion, however, is not that they are doing the same thing or that they are making the same argument. Rather, the suggestion is that in bringing them together we can identify an image of perpetrators as hard that repeatedly surfaces

²⁴⁴ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. 'Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.' *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630

²⁴⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518

²⁴⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.' Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-123, p. 122

²⁴⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC:' 122

²⁴⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC:' 122

in their explanations of sexual violence in the DRC. The suggestion is also that in looking at these diverse literatures we can start to glimpse moments of leakiness in which perpetrators go off script. While we can never completely escape working within representations that reproduce meaning, this thesis will show that looking for leaky male bodies in the literature we can start to radically shift our perceptions of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

2.6 Conclusion

Any feminist reading of leaky bodies, this chapter argued, must do two things. First, it must explore the sticky understanding of gender that cling to bodies, and second, it must remain open to the ways in which bodies escape their grasp. As Cahill writes, we must see bodies as essentially moving targets that adopt some practices and eschew others.²⁴⁹

We must understand the body on which political and social forces work not as an inert surface, which soaks up and reflects back the dominant claims and values of the discursive regimes without permutation, but rather as an active and at times resistant factor in the processes of subjection.²⁵⁰

Such an understanding of the body however does not happen “without causing some turbulence.”²⁵¹ One may become swept up within a “whirling ocean of masculine configurations”²⁵² or “reconfined within solid walls.”²⁵³ At stake in talking about leaky bodies is the risk that we may dissolve them into “an inchoate drift of possibilities.”²⁵⁴ As this chapter has shown, there are two critiques that an analysis of leaky bodies invites. The first of these concerns how the rhetoric of fluidity might reinforce misogynist stereotypes of femininity, whilst the second concerns how this emphasis on fluidity may detract attention away from the solidity of gender categories. It however is not clear to me that an analysis of leaky bodies must necessarily result in this impasse.

In order to create an opening in which we might wrest bodies away from this impasse this chapter drew heavily upon feminist accounts of the fluidity of embodied experiences of gender. Specifically, this chapter built on the work of

²⁴⁹ Cahill, A., 2001. *Rethinking Rape*. London: Cornell Press; 206

²⁵⁰ Cahill, A., 2001. *Rethinking Rape*: 206

²⁵¹ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 106

²⁵² Jardine, A., 1985. *Gynesis: Configurations of Woman and Modernity*. Ithaca: Cornell University press: 217

²⁵³ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*: 106

²⁵⁴ Zita, J.K., 1998 *Body Talk*: 133

Grosz and Irigaray, in order to advance an analytical strategy of leaky bodies that explores the different ways in which bodies become immersed with discursive regimes of gender. It used their insights into the ontological incompleteness of bodies in order to think about how we can analyse the processes of solidification that operate to fix bodies to some substantive meaning, while simultaneously attending to how they do not consistently congeal in the same ways. What is more, in asking questions about the leaky male body, my analysis showed how such an approach may be productively deployed to dislodge the male body from its claims to normalcy. It developed two analytical tools for analysing the leaky male body. The first of these tools involved looking at how their leaky performances disrupt and destabilize dominant understanding of the male body as hard, while the second involved examining how bodily fluids attest to the porosity and permeability of the male body.

In exploring in this chapter how the male body has been commonly delineated through metaphors of hardness, I sought to expose how the leaky male body can become a site of feminist politics around which to challenge the everyday reproduction of gender. More specifically, in highlighting the absence of leaky male bodies in contemporary framings of sexual violence in the DRC, I wanted to demonstrate their significance for thinking about the perpetrators of rape in this warscape. As I acknowledge in this chapter, this argument builds on the wealth of research that has been undertaken by Baaz and Stern into soldiers' performances of masculinity in this landscape of war. The core contention of this thesis, therefore, is that one of the ways in which new insights into perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC can be produced is through analysing the ways in which they exceed our representations of them.

Chapter Three

Hardwired *or* Haywire



Figure 3: Parker, C. 2007. *Bullet Drawing*. Lead from a bullet drawn into wire.

3.1 Feminist scholarship, sexual violence and militarized masculinities

In February 2015, The London School of Economics (LSE) opened The Centre for Women, Peace and Security. The centre signals a joint collaboration with William Hague and Angelina Jolie to bring together academic and policy experts to tackle sexual violence against women.²⁵⁵ Within feminist circles this concerted effort, along with the 2012 Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative (PSVI)²⁵⁶ and 2014 Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict,^{257vii} reflects an evident shift in how sexual violence has been understood. As Maria Baaz and Maria Stern write, sexual violence “has at long last started to receive the attention it warrants”.²⁵⁸ Yet, in the midst of this sense of success “that something is finally being done”²⁵⁹, Baaz and Stern have voiced serious concerns about how our dominant frames of sexual violence “circumscribe what can be said about rape in war.”²⁶⁰ This thesis subsequently shares an interest with them in “the contemporary politics of framing sexual violence in war.”²⁶¹

One of the main contentions of this chapter is that, as feminist work within the field of International Relations (IR) is increasingly brought to bear on the formulation of initiatives to combat sexual violence in war, we need to think about how feminist scholars in this field have framed this violence. I am of course not alone in this contention. Several feminists have written about the effects of feminist scholarship on how we produce knowledge about sexual violence in war.²⁶² The aim of this chapter is to build on this this body research to think

²⁵⁵LSE, 2015, ‘New Centre for Women, Peace and Security launched at LSE by William Hague and Angelina Jolie Pitt.’ <http://www.lse.ac.uk/newsAndMedia/news/archives/2015/02/WPSCentre.aspx> (accessed March 2012, 20).

²⁵⁶ GOV.UK, 2014. ‘Policy: Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict’ <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/preventing-sexual-violence-in-conflict> (accessed March 2012, 20).

²⁵⁷ GOV.UK, 2015. ‘Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict.’ <https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/sexual-violence-in-conflict> (accessed March 2015, 10)

²⁵⁸ Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 1

²⁵⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:1*

²⁶⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:3*

²⁶¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:2*

²⁶² Wood, E., 2006. ‘Variation in Sexual Violence during War.’ *Politics and Society*, 34(3):307-341; Higate, P. 2007. ‘Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 10(1): 99-119; Buss, D., 2009. ‘Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of War.’ *Feminist Legal Studies*, 17(2):145-163; Grey, R. & Shepherd, L., 2013. “‘Stop Rape Now?’ Masculinity, Responsibility and Conflict-

specifically about how we represent perpetrators of rape in war. In particular, it seeks to trace how the feminist literature on male soldiers who perpetrate rape has contributed to the inadvertent “ontological solidification” of the hard male soldiering body.²⁶³ It is not the aim of thesis to caricature in any way the nuanced feminist literature which has come before it (and to which it is indebted), but rather to invite careful consideration on why soldiers who perpetrate rape so often materialize as hard. As this literature review will show, while much of the feminist scholarship on this topic draws attention to the fluidity and porosity of soldiers’ experiences and performances of masculinity in militarized contexts, these complexities become subsumed within generic stories of militarized masculinity, which reduce the bodies of soldiers to biological or embodied weapons.²⁶⁴ In order to demonstrate this it traces and delineates two kinds of male bodies that materialize in the earlier and later feminist literature on militarized violences: *hardwired* and *haywire* bodies. The first of these bodies surfaces in the feminist literature on how the “stylization” of masculinity in the military is conducive towards rape,²⁶⁵ while the second emerges in the feminist literature on how rape may reveal soldiers “failure” to embody the highly specific forms of masculinity produced in militarized environments.²⁶⁶

This literature review of feminist academic scholarship on perpetrators of rape in war is divided into two parts. The first half of this chapter explores the nexus between stories of militarized masculinity and explanations of why soldiers rape in order to illustrate the ways in which feminist academic scholarship depicts soldiers as “cogs” in the military fighting machine.²⁶⁷ It explores how feminist

Related Sexual Violence.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 35(16): 115-135; Kirby, P., 2014. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist international relations, modes of critical explanation and the study of wartime sexual violence.’ *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(4): 797-821

²⁶³ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences, basic training and the myths of asexuality and discipline.’ *Review of International Studies*, 39(4): 881-902: 883

²⁶⁴ Carter, K., 2010. ‘Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?’ *Politics and Gender*, 6(3): 343-371, p. 350

²⁶⁵ Schott, R., 2003. *Discovering Feminist Philosophy: Knowledge, Ethics, Politics*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers: 110

²⁶⁶ Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A gendered analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Reiner: 172

²⁶⁷ Arkin, W., & Dobrofsky, R., 1978. ‘Military Socialization and Masculinity’, *Journal of Social Affairs*, 34(1):151–68, p.158; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*: 158; Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. “The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch: Biopolitics, Gender and the “Feminization” of the U.S. Military.” *Alternatives*, 30: 25-53, p.41

explanations, which depict soldiers as either *hardwired* or *haywire*, slide back into representations that reduce the bodies of soldier to the tools or instruments of the military (3.2.1-3.2.2). The second half of this chapter retraces these stories and explanations in order to explore in much more detail how these representations make it difficult to glimpse the leakiness of soldiers embodied performances in landscapes of war. In reading and retelling stories of militarized masculinity and explanations of why soldiers rape, this chapter importantly seeks to contribute to feminist academic conversations about what “ontological work” contemporary framings of sexual violence do within international politics.²⁶⁸ In particular, in paying attention to the ontological work contemporary framings of perpetrators of sexual violence in war do, it critically reflects on the implication of feminist academic scholarship in the violent reproduction of rapists (3.3.1-3.3.2).²⁶⁹ To start with this chapter sets out the leading feminist understanding of rape in war, from which feminist explanations of why soldiers perpetrate rape cannot be easily disentangled.

3.2 Understanding Rape in war

In *Against Our Will* (1975) Susan Brownmiller documents attitudes towards sexual violence across time.²⁷⁰ She uncovers an intimate history of sexual violence in war that stretches back to ancient civilization.²⁷¹ What she finds is that, while almost all wars are strewn with cases of sexual violence, the existence of sexual violence in war is often framed within historical accounts as somewhat “inevitable.”²⁷² It, however, is not just historians that have failed to articulate the extreme insecurities that individual women face in war. Within International Relations (IR) much of the debate has also tended to reflect, rather than confront, traditional ideas about roles of women in war.²⁷³ The result of which has been the failure to admit how the extreme insecurities of individual women are actually central to how war is waged.²⁷⁴viii

²⁶⁸ Buss, D., 2009. ‘Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of War.’ *Feminist Legal Studies*, 17(2):145-163

²⁶⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:* 24

²⁷⁰ Brownmiller, S., 1975. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*. New York: Fawcett Columbine

²⁷¹ Brownmiller, S., 1975. *Against Our Will*: 31-113

²⁷² Brownmiller, S., 1975. *Against Our Will*: 31

²⁷³ Lee-Koo, K., 2002. ‘Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, war and rape in the international politics of security.’ *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 37(3): 526-536 p. 525

²⁷⁴ Zalewski, M., & Enloe, C., 1995. ‘Questions about Identity in International Relations.’ Eds. Booth, K, & Smith, S., *International Relations Theory Today* Cambridge: Polity Press p.295

It however is notable that, while mainstream scholars continue to silence the extreme insecurities that women face in warzones, the notion that sexual violence in war warrants attention has become less controversial. As Inger Skjelsbaek writes, within IR the sheer volume of texts written on sexual violence in war at the end of the twentieth century indicates that the taboo which made it hard to talk about this violence has to some extent been “lifted.”^{275ix} What these texts more specifically reveal is that, while feminist work that documented cases of rape in the wars of the early twentieth century laid the foundations for the research of sexual violence in war,^{276x} this form of research became more visible in the aftermath of the armed conflicts in Bosnia and Rwanda.²⁷⁷ In the aftermath of the mass incidents of sexual violence within these conflicts, feminists vehemently argued that “the use of sexual violence in war is too widespread too frequent and seemingly too calculated and too effective for it not to be a larger part of some political scheme and hence a weapon of war.”²⁷⁸

In the last two decades we have subsequently witnessed an explosion in feminist work that explores how rape, rather than an inevitable aspect of war, is specifically used as a weapon used to target enemy women. In particular this work explores how rape is used to denigrate the bodies of women which are often cast as symbols of the political body. In ‘A(nother) Dark Side of the Protection Racket’ (2011) Laura

²⁷⁵ Skjelsbaek, I., 2001. ‘Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a complex relationship.’ *European Journal of International Relations*, 7(2): 211- 237 p. 213

²⁷⁶ Skjelsbaek, I., 2012. *The Political Psychology of War Rape: Studies from Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Abingdon: Routledge: 47-60

²⁷⁷ See Brownmiller, S. 1994. ‘Making Female Bodies in the Battlefield’ Eds. Stiglmeier, A., *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press: 180-183; Stiglmeier, A., 1994. ‘The War in the Former Yugoslavia’ Eds. Stiglmeier, A., *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press: 1-35; Mackinnon, C., 1994. ‘Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide’ Eds. Stiglmeier, A., *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press: 78-32; Zalewski, M., 1995. ‘Well, What is the Feminist Perspective on Bosnia?’ *International Affairs*, 71(2): 339-356; Allen, B., 1996. *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars.’ *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 19(1): 35-43; Card, C., 1996. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War.’ *Hypatia*, 11(4):6-17; Nordstrom, C., 1996. ‘Rape: Politics and theory in war and peace.’ *Australian Journal of Feminist Studies*, 11(23):147-162; Fisher, S., 1996. ‘Occupation of the Womb: Forced Pregnancy as Genocide.’ *Duke Law Journal*, 46:91-133; Nowrojee, B., 1996. *Shattered Lives: Sexual violence during the Rwandan Genocide and the aftermath*, Human Right Watch; and Ouljic, M., 1998. ‘Embodiment of Terror: Gender violence in peacetime and wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.’ *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 12 (1): 31-50

²⁷⁸ Skjelsbaek, I., 2001. ‘Sexual Violence and War’: 213

Sjoberg and Jessica Peet explore the ways in which “war as an institution depends on gendered images of civilians and combatants as beautiful souls and just warriors.”²⁷⁹ Building upon Iris Marion Young’s observation that women’s need for protection as ‘beautiful souls’ and men’s duty to protect them as ‘just warriors’ combines to justify wars,²⁸⁰ they make the case that “the very logic that allows men to fight wars for women also allows men and states to fight wars on and against women.”²⁸¹

In order to make this case they cite an abundance of feminist work on sexual violence in war that draws attention how the bodies of women become the battlefield in nationalist discourse and in armed conflicts.²⁸² Of particular relevance is Ruth Seifert’s widely cited article ‘The Second Front’ (1996): it envisions two ways in which sexual violence in war is used to “pollute the enemy.”²⁸³ The first of these refers to how sexual violence in war contaminates the enemy’s blood and genes by forced pregnancy,^{284xi} while the second refers to how it dissolves the enemy’s spirit and identity by defiling the bodies of women on which collective honour and shame reside.²⁸⁵ In this second explanation an important site of understanding is the ways in which sullyng the bodies of women “splits the familial atoms of which society is composed.”²⁸⁶ In particular this explanation explores how this attack on the virtue of the bodies of women functions to disrupt the conjugal order by “violating established norms relating to

²⁷⁹ Peet, J., & Sjoberg, L. 2011. ‘A(nother) Dark side of the Protection Racket: Targeting Women in Wars.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(2): 163-182 p.167

²⁸⁰ Young, I., 2003. ‘The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State.’ *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*, 29(1): 1-25

²⁸¹ Peet, J., & Sjoberg, L. 2011. ‘A(nother) Dark side of the Protection Racket’: 166

²⁸² See Brownmiller, S. 1994. ‘Making Female Bodies the Battlefield’; Stiglmeier, A., 1994. ‘The War in the Former Yugoslavia’; Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front’; Fisher, S., 1996 ‘Occupation of the Womb: Forced Pregnancy as Genocide.’ *Duke Law Journal*, 46:91-133; Nowrojee, B., 1996. *Shattered Lives*; Schott, R., 1996. Gender and Postmodern War.’ *Hypatia*, 11(4):19-28; Yuval- Davis, N., 1997. *Gender and Nation*; Ouljic, M., 1998. ‘Embodiment of Terror’; Hynes, P., 2004. ‘On the Battlefield of Women’s Bodies: An Overview of the Harm of War to Women.’ *Women’s Studies International Forum* 27: 431-445; Diken, B., & Lausten, C., 2005. ‘Becoming Abject. Rape as a weapon of war.’ *Body and Society*, 11(1): 111-128; Snyder, C., Wesley, J., May, D., & Zulic, N., 2006. ‘On the Battleground of Women’s Bodies: Mass Rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina.’ *Journal of Women and Social Work*, 21(2) 184-195

²⁸³ Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front’: 40

²⁸⁴ Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front’: 40

²⁸⁵ Siefert, R., 1996. ‘The Second Front’: 40

²⁸⁶ Gottschall, J. 2004. ‘Explaining Wartime Rape.’ *The Journal of Sex Research*, 41(2): 129-135 p. 131

family and marriage.”²⁸⁷ It examines how the shame associated with sexual violence leads communities to abandon “wives, mothers, sisters and daughters.”²⁸⁸

Notably, Bulent Diken and Carsten Lausten contend that the revulsion associated with sexual violence in war, which tears communities apart, is linked to how rape renders women abject.²⁸⁹ In exploring how “the concern for the unity and order of the political body is reproduced in the preoccupations about the purity and impurity of the female body”, which appears here as an explicitly leaky body that is vulnerable to invasion, they argue that “rape becomes an integral aspect of ethnic cleansing.”²⁹⁰ However, while their work draws attention to some of the dangerous ways in which the bodies of women are coded as penetrable in landscapes of war, questions remain about how the bodies of soldiers emerge within the literature.

As Megan Mackenzie observes, the feminist literature on sexual violence in war uses terms usually associated with traditional warfare to frame sexual violence as an “extension of conflict onto women’s bodies.”²⁹¹ Indeed what becomes evident, and what this section has shown, is that in much of the literature the female body is represented as an explicitly leaky body that is vulnerable to intrusion. In this literature it is the vulnerability of the bodies of women to invasion that renders them the intimate battlefield of war. However, while the feminist literature on sexual violence in war tends to focus on how framing women as “bearers of the narratives and identities of nations and other collectivities” renders them penetrable to attack, feminists have also paid attention to the other side of this logic.²⁹² Specifically, they have paid attention to how the extension of conflict onto the bodies of women entails the construction the bodies of men as hard. The next section subsequently looks in much more detail at the violent militarization of the

²⁸⁷ Mackenzie, M., 2010. ‘Securitizing Sex: Towards a theory of the utility of wartime sexual violence’. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12(2): 202-221 p. 206

²⁸⁸ Bergoffen, D., 2009. ‘Exploiting the Dignity of the Vulnerable Body: Rape as a Weapon of War.’ *Philosophical Papers*, 38(3): 307-325 p. 318

²⁸⁹ Diken, B., & Lausten, C., 2005. ‘Becoming Abject’:119

²⁹⁰ Diken, B., & Lausten, C., 2005. ‘Becoming Abject’:126; See also Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Kristeva, J. 1982. *Powers of Horror: An essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press

²⁹¹ Mackenzie, M., 2010. ‘Securitizing Sex’: 207

²⁹² Yuval- Davis, N., 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage Publications: 39

bodies of soldiers.²⁹³ The question it asks is how does the male body surface as hard within feminist explanations of why soldiers rape.

3.3 Bodies of Violence

By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of habit.²⁹⁴

The increase in literature on how war is carved on the bodies of women has led some feminist scholars to assert that one of the areas in which our theorizations require further elaboration is how masculinities feature in wartime sexual violence.²⁹⁵ In order to elaborate on the conditions under which some men, and not others, undertake sexual violence several of these scholars have turned to critical masculinities studies and feminist international relations (IR). Scholars from both of these fields have looked at how militarization is constitutive of violent masculinities.^{xii} However, while scholars from both of these fields share and build on each other's research into the intimate connections between militarism and masculinities, what this section explores is how the concept of "militarized masculinity" developed by feminist IR scholars has been used to explain why soldiers rape in landscapes of war.²⁹⁶ It specifically asks questions about what kinds of stories feminist IR scholars tell about militarized masculinity and how exactly these stories perpetuate an image of soldiers as hardened towards rape.

In order to explore what kinds of stories feminist IR scholars tell about militarized masculinity this section identifies some commonly occurring themes that emerge

²⁹³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*:23;27

²⁹⁴ Foucault, M., 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Sheridan, A., New York: Vintage: 135

²⁹⁵ Alison, M., 2007. 'Wartime Sexual Violence: Women's human rights and questions of masculinity.' *Review of International Studies*, 33(1):75-90 p. 76

²⁹⁶ See Morris, M., 1996. 'By Force of Arms: Rape, War and Military Culture.' *Duke Law Journal*, 45(4): 651-781; Enloe, C., 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Los Angeles: California University Press; Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A gendered analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Reiner; Alison, M., 2007. 'Wartime Sexual Violence: Women's human rights and questions of masculinity.' *Review of International Studies*, 33(1):75-90; Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*; Meger, S., 2016. *Rape, Loot, Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*: Oxford: Oxford University Press

within the literature. The aim of this section is not to engage with the work of individual authors on militarized masculinity, but rather to ask questions about the generalized story they work within.²⁹⁷ As such it shares an interest with Maria Stern and Marysia Zalewski in “the ease with which generalised renditions of feminist narratives of militarization are generated.”²⁹⁸ In their article on the production of knowledge in feminist IR scholarship they examine how the complexities of individual authors work on militarized masculinity become lost within a “generalized story the main plot of which is regularly retold in classrooms.”²⁹⁹ This section subsequently draws extensively on their work to explore how militarized masculinity becomes subsumed with a “particular story about its substantive content.”³⁰⁰ At the same time, it takes their work in new directions in order to explicitly ask how the generic stories we tell about militarized masculinity operate to solidify an image of soldiers as hardened towards rape. So what do these stories about militarized masculinity look like and importantly how do they make feminist sense of perpetrators of rape?

Historically, rape was seen as an inevitable side effect of sending men to war.³⁰¹ Leading explanations for rape in war varied from explanations that rape occurs because men are deprived of outlets for their sexual needs, to explanations that war suspends social constraints that normally prevent men from venting their sexual urges.³⁰² Despite their apparent variations, these forms of reasoning shared in common the idea that the problem resides in the natural biological sexual drives of the male body.³⁰³ What feminist scholars claim however is that these understandings of rape in war merit much further examination. Rather than locate sexual violence in essentialized notions about the formidable sexual drives of the male body, feminist scholarship on militarized masculinities tells an alternative

²⁹⁷ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.’ *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630, p. 619

²⁹⁸ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s)’: 619

²⁹⁹ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s)’: 619

³⁰⁰ Hutchings, K., 2008. ‘Making Sense of Masculinity and War.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 10(4): 389-404, p.394

³⁰¹ Brownmiller, S., 1975. *Against Our Will*: 31-113; Bourke, J., 2007. *Rape*: 357-386

³⁰² Gottschall, J. 2004. ‘Explaining Wartime Rape:’133;

³⁰³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 17-19

story in which modern state militaries subject soldiers to processes of hardening that ultimately produce rapists.³⁰⁴

What feminist work on militarized masculinity more generally stresses is that the bodies of combatants are made not found. As Cristina Masters however notes, to claim that the bodies of soldiers are made is hardly novel.³⁰⁵ We can trace such claims back to authors such as Michel Foucault, whose work discusses how modern state militaries drill and mould the bodies of soldiers into fighting machines.³⁰⁶ Nevertheless, feminist work on militarized masculinity has arguably been at the forefront of research into the intensive and concerted efforts militaries dedicate to the construction of the bodies of recruits into soldiers. Feminists have undertaken nuanced research into the methods and tactics, the endless drills and ritualized humiliations, which militaries from around the world use to transform recruits into soldiers who are able to kill.³⁰⁷ While feminists have conducted research into the different methods and tactics that militaries across the world use to transform recruits and their habits, what this work shares in common is an interest in how the violent militarization of masculinities is central to this transformation. As Cynthia Enloe writes, if ideas about masculinity as they currently exist in civilian culture were deemed sufficient for building the necessary

³⁰⁴ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 268; See also Whitworth, S., 2008. 'Militarized Masculinity and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder' Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 109-126, p. 116

³⁰⁵ Masters, C., 2008. 'Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.' Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 87-107, p. 92

³⁰⁶ Foucault, M., 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Sheridan, A., New York: Vintage: 135;

³⁰⁷ See Arkin, W., & Dobrofsky, L., 1978. 'Military Socialization and Masculinity.' *Journal of Social Affairs*, 34(1):151-168; Connell, R., 1992. 'Masculinity, violence, and war' Eds. Kimmel, M., & Messner, M., (Eds.), *Men's lives* New York: Macmillan: 176-183; Morgan, D., 1994. 'Theatre of war: Combat, the military, and masculinities.' Eds. Brod, H., & Kaufman, K., *Theorizing masculinities*. California: Sage Publications; Barrett, F., 1996. 'The organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity: The case of the US Navy.' *Gender, Work and Organization*, 3 (3): 129-142; Ehrenreich, B., 1998. *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War*. London: Virago Press; Enloe, C., 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives*. Los Angeles: California University Press; Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Hopton, J., 2003. 'The State and Militarized Masculinity' Eds. Higate, P., *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. London: Praeger: 111-123; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A gendered analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Reiner; Masters, C. 2005. 'Bodies of technology.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(1): 112-132; Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. "The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch: Biopolitics, Gender and the "Feminization" of the U.S. Military." *Alternatives*, 30: 25-53

armed forces “there would be little need for basic training.”³⁰⁸ What feminist work of militarized masculinity subsequently observes is how the military manipulates particular forms of masculinity to produce the desired soldiering subject. Specifically, feminists explore how the desirable type of masculinity produced within the military celebrates those qualities deemed necessary for practices of warring such as strength, aggression, and discipline while simultaneously pointing to how any deviance from these strict military ideals is construed as feminine, inferior and dangerous.³⁰⁹ As Sandra Whitworth expresses it within her influential study of militarized masculinity in peacekeeping forces,

When the stoic, tough, emotionless soldier begins to feel and react, when he feels pain, fear, anxiety, guilt, shame and despair as a result of the activities in which he participated as a soldier, he violates the precepts of his military identity and can no longer fulfil the myths of militarized manhood that have shaped him.³¹⁰

While much of this work recognises the “impossibility” of militarized masculinity,^{311xiii} the generalized story that feminists arguably work within describes how soldiers are subject to processes of “hardening” that teach them to withstand pain without losing control.³¹² Within this generalized storyline, the military manipulates particular forms of masculinity to form soldiers whose bodies are “permanently hard and function with mechanical efficiency.”³¹³ The soldier becomes “technologized and simply administered by the command structure of the military.”³¹⁴ According to this logic practices of militarized masculinity require that the soldier learns to “deny all that is feminine and soft in himself.”³¹⁵ This is perhaps most clearly illustrated in the work of Aron Belkin, which explores how military differentiations of the masculine and the feminine “have often been

³⁰⁸ Enloe, C., 1993. *The Morning After. Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 55

³⁰⁹ See Elshtain, J., 1987. *Women and War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Kovitz, M., 2003. ‘The Roots of Military Masculinity.’ Eds. Higate, P., *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. London: Praeger: 1-14; Hutchings, K., 2008. ‘Making Sense of Masculinity and War’; Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh’; Belkin, A., 2012. *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire*. London: Hurst and Company; Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War*

³¹⁰ Whitworth, S., 2008. ‘Militarized Masculinity and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder:’ 118

³¹¹ Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. “The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch:’29

³¹² Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*: 268

³¹³ Jarvis, B., 2008. ‘Tim O’Brien and the topography of trauma.’ Eds. Prosser, J., *American Fiction of the 1990s: Reflections of History and Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge: 1-17. p. 4

³¹⁴ Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. “The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch:’41

³¹⁵ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*: 266

represented in terms of hard versus leaky bodies.”³¹⁶ What he argues is that, while fluidity, softness, leakiness, and penetrability have long been understood as “corrosive” to the masculinity of civilian bodies because of their implicit association with femininity, such concerns become particularly intensified in the military.³¹⁷ What is particularly interesting about his understanding of the ways in which the ideal soldiering body is delineated through gendered representations of leakiness and hardness is his argument that one of the ways in which soldiers perform the “impenetrability” of their bodies is through rape.³¹⁸ Specifically, what he argues is that rape takes on heightened importance within military settings because it signifies “the dominance, virility and masculinity of men and the subordination, weakness and obliteration of women.”³¹⁹

While Belkin explicitly explores how gendered understandings of leakiness and hardness found within the military may help explain the ability of soldiers to use their bodies as weapons, as this chapter will show, parallels can also be drawn with other authors who argue that soldiers who engage in rape are simply sticking to ideal types of militarized masculinity. In exploring the nexus between the generalized storylines that feminist scholars of militarized masculinity work within and explanations of rape in war, this section goes on to analyse in more detail how the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence more generally emerge as instruments of violence with the literature. In particular, in order to trace the overlap between these stories and explanations it specifically delineates two modes of militarized masculinity that emerge within the literature: *hardwired and haywire* bodies.

3.3.1 *Hardwired Male Bodies*

As discussed previously there has been an explosion in feminist work that argues that rape has become an integral aspect of warfare. The result of this is that most of what has been written about rape in war has been concerned with how it denigrates victim and strips the humanity of the wider political group. Against the

³¹⁶ Belkin, A., 2012. *Bring Me Men*: 35

³¹⁷ Belkin, A., 2012. *Bring Me Men*: 85

³¹⁸ Belkin, A., 2012. *Bring Me Men*: 85

³¹⁹ Belkin, A., 2012. *Bring Me Men*: 85; See also Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press: 198; Myrntinen, H., 2003. ‘Disarming Masculinities’. *Women, Men Peace and Security*, 4: 37-46, p.39

backdrop of this understanding of rape in war some feminist scholars, however, have attempted to explain the motives or intentions of individual soldiers. Specifically, they have sought to unravel how rape is intimately tied up with the production and expression of militarized masculinity in landscapes of war. This section subsequently explores two explanations in which rape emerges to varying extents as the fault of militarized masculinity and asks how they depict the bodies of soldiers who perpetrate rape. To start with it analyses how within earlier feminist explanations the bodies of soldiers materialize as *hardwired* towards sexual violence.

Within earlier feminist academic work on sexual violence in war the bodies of soldiers come across as *hardwired*. In short, they surface as particularly inclined or predisposed to rape. Specifically, these explanations in exploring how men are far more likely to rape in war point to how the military constructs soldiers that share group norms that are conducive towards this form of violence.³²⁰ Madeline Morris, for instance, explores how the gendered norms imparted to recruits entering the military are largely comprised of the “sort associated with heightened rape propensity.”³²¹ She explores how gendered norms such as adversarial sexual beliefs and hostile attitudes towards women that are conducive towards rape are reflected in various ways in the military.³²² Morris, however, is not the only author to have drawn links between the production of militarized masculinity and rape in the armed forces. Several other early feminists that write about rape also focus on the relationship between masculinist institutions such as the military and the valorisation of violent aggressive forms of masculinity.³²³ For instance, Robin Schott also contends that one must consider the ways in which the stylization of masculinity in the military “is conducive towards an inclination to rape.”³²⁴ The shaping of masculinity in the military, she argues, does not mean that every soldier rapes,

But it does mean that the construction of the soldiers – or to express it differently, the subjective identity that armies make available, by fusing

³²⁰ Morris, M., 1996. ‘By Force of Arms:’ 690

³²¹ Morris, M., 1996. ‘By Force of Arms:’ 690

³²² Morris, M., 1996. ‘By Force of Arms:’ 707

³²³ See Ehrenreich, B., 1997. *Blood Rites*; Enloe, C., 2000. *Maneuvers*; Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*

³²⁴ Schott, R., 2003. *Discovering Feminist Philosophy*: 110

certain cultural ideas of masculinity with a soldier's essence – is more conducive to certain ways of behaviour rather than others.³²⁵

As we can see much of this early feminist work portrays the male soldiering body as *hardwired* towards rape within military institutional contexts. What however also becomes apparent when looking at the body of feminist literature on sexual violence in war is that, this understanding of the *hardwired* male body continues to shape our understandings of soldiers who perpetrate rape as well as how rape functions as a weapon of war. Markedly, several studies of militarized masculinity and rape in war remark on how drill chants soldiers march along to encode violent and sexual connections between bodies and their weapons such as, “this is my rifle, this is my gun (holds rifle)/ this is for fighting, this is for fun (holds crotch).”³²⁶ For Henri Myrntinen and Cynthia Cockburn, this violent strand of masculinity not only sees weapons as phallic extensions, but may also explain how soldiers who perpetrate rape come see their sexual organs as weapons.³²⁷ “Boys learn that their bodies - fists, boots and eventually penis - are instruments through which to impose their will.”³²⁸ Such explanations make sense of rape in relation to the embodied norms that militaries repeatedly drill into soldiers. They suggest that the bodies of soldiers are subject to practices of militarized masculinity that gear them towards rape in war.

Consistent with the generalized story of militarized masculinity that feminist scholars work within, according to this explanation the soldier emerges as an automaton that is not only able to kill but also rape. Crucially, this explanation is often presented as complementary to arguments that rape represents an integral aspect of asymmetric warfare. It allows authors to continue to see rape as something that is produced within the military and to trace it back to military objectives. Claudia Card, for instance, argues that while at the level of the motivations of individual soldiers it can be difficult to see meaningful patterns

³²⁵ Schott, R., 2003. *Discovering Feminist Philosophy*: 110

³²⁶ Myrntinen, H., 2003. ‘Disarming Masculinities’:39; Whitworth, S., 2008. ‘Militarized Masculinity’: 113; Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 154

³²⁷ Myrntinen, H., 2003. ‘Disarming Masculinities’: 39; See also Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*, p.154; Cockburn, C., 2010. ‘Militarism, Masculinity and Men.’ Eds. Women Peacemakers Program, *Together for Transformation: Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding*.

Netherlands: Women Peacemakers Program: 16-20, p.18; Meger, S., 2016. *Rape, Loot, Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*: Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.46

³²⁸ Cockburn, C., 2010. ‘Militarism, Masculinity and Men.’18

which could explain why rape occurs, at the level of the military authorities who shape soldiers embodied performances it seems that “coherent strategic patterns emerge.”³²⁹

3.3.2 Haywire Male Bodies

In contrast to earlier feminist explanations which depict soldiers as *hardwired* towards rape, more recent feminist scholarship on this topic points to how the forms of masculinity demanded of soldiers by the military “rarely resonate” with their embodied experiences of war.³³⁰ While this scholarship shares an interest with earlier feminist explanations in how performances of rape are shaped by forms of masculinity produced within the military, in exploring the impossibility of militarized masculinity my argument is that this literature ends up producing a picture of soldiers who engage in rape as *haywire*. Specifically, what several authors, including importantly Baaz and Stern, argue is that rape may become one of the ways in which soldiers who are unable to embody the values of militarized masculinity try to shore up this identity for themselves.³³¹ For instance, in her analysis of how the masculinity of perpetrators is experienced as an accomplishment constantly measured through processes of performance, Lisa Price argues that an “illusion” of masculinity is created to make up for its absence in landscapes of war.³³² Simply put, within this argument the bodies of soldiers rather than geared towards rape seem to have gone awry.³³³ In other words, my argument is that within the more recent feminist scholarship rape is more accurately seen as occurring when hard masculine bodies go *haywire*.

Despite the enormous amount of effort that militaries dedicate towards transforming the bodies of soldiers into finely tuned fighting machines what this literature highlights is the very “incompleteness” of this process.³³⁴ This

³²⁹ Card, C., 1996. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War.’: 9

³³⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 20

³³¹ See Price, L., 2001. ‘Finding the man in the soldier-rapist: some reflections on comprehension and accountability.’ *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 24(2): 211–227; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*; Alison, M., 2007. ‘Wartime Sexual Violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*

³³² Price, L., 2001. ‘Finding the man in the soldier-rapist.’ 217

³³³ Price, L., 2001. ‘Finding the man in the soldier-rapist.’ 217

³³⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 73

subsequently invites pertinent questions about how rape may actually reveal the slippery and incomplete hold of practices of militarized masculinity over the bodies of soldiers. However, while this thesis draws upon this argument of why soldiers rape in order to probe for leaks in their machine-like bodies, what concerns me about this work is how some (although certainly not all) authors that draw on this explanation continue to overdetermine the role that practices of militarized masculinity play in shaping soldiers that perpetrate rape. In particular, what concerns me about feminist academic scholarship on rape in the DRC is how some authors, while straying from the generalized story of militarized masculinity, in continuing to argue that rape is appreciable at the level of strategy slide back into representations that depict soldiers as instruments of violence.³³⁵ As the next chapter will show the work of Jill Trenholm on child soldiers is illustrative of this in that it simultaneously points to the multiplicities of child soldiers' soldiering experiences, while insisting that practices of militarized masculinity homogeneously reduce them to "robots" that dare not question but rape as commanded.³³⁶

Indeed, what is striking about much of the more recent scholarship on the perpetrators of rape in war is the unwillingness of authors to stray from prevailing understandings of rape as strategic. Notably, what strikes me about feminist explanations of rape in war is that, while the links between the motivations of individual soldiers and the broader strategic purposes of rape are often poorly fleshed, authors continue to present them as complementary explanations. Exemplary of this is the work of Stacey Banwell, whose study of how rape is perpetrated at the micro and macro level in the DRC lists explanations of how rape is used to by soldiers to try to more successfully perform militarized masculinity, as well as by armed forces to gain control over territory, without reflecting on

³³⁵Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo'; Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Meger, S., 2012. 'Militarized Masculinities and the Political Economy of Wartime Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.' Eds. Freedman, J., *Engaging Men in the Fight against Gender Violence: Case Studies from Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Banwell, S., 2012. 'Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case Study of Gender Based Violence.' *Journal of Gender Studies*, 23(1): 45-58

³³⁶ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo':221

whether these explanations are compatible.³³⁷ To me there seems to be a problematic slippage in these accounts between the motivations of individual soldiers and the strategic rationalities of armed warfare. What specifically concerns me about this slippage between the motivations of individual soldiers and the broader consequences of rape in war is that it ultimately continues to depict soldiers as the tools or instruments of the military. My concern is that such a slippage reproduces representations of soldiers that perpetrate rape as simply cogs or wheels in the military apparatus. To put it differently, in reducing rape in war to its strategic functions, my concern is that even those authors who do point to the complexities of soldiers' experiences might end up reproducing an image of soldiers that makes it difficult to attend to the leakiness of their performances. As subsequent chapters will show, this becomes particularly problematic when we explore how feminist knowledge about perpetrators in the DRC is further extrapolated into policy initiatives aimed at addressing rape in war.³³⁸

The second half of this chapter subsequently explores this concern in more detail. It builds on Julia Welland's analysis of how generalized stories of militarized masculinity operate to fix the soldiering subject in order to explore the limits of feminist explanations of why soldiers rape. In doing this, it unpacks the varying extents to which explanations where the bodies of soldiers that perpetrate rape emerge as *hardwired* or *haywire* make it hard to attend to their leakiness. Before looking at the paucity of understanding that exists around the leakiness of the bodies of soldiers that engage in rape however, this chapter initially locates this examination within critical feminist work on contemporary framings of sexual violence in war more generally.

3.4 Rethinking Rape in War

In the last two decades we have witnessed a shift in the ways in which sexual violence in war is framed.³³⁹ Thanks in part to feminist scholarship dominant framings have moved away from seeing sexual violence in war as something that is inevitable, towards perceiving it as something that is intimately related to

³³⁷ Banwell, S., 2012. 'Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo'

³³⁸ See Chapter Five: Malignant Male Muscle:138

³³⁹ Buss, D., 2009. 'Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of War:' 145-146

practices of warring.³⁴⁰ As several commentators observe, the notion that sexual violence is a *weapon of war* has become commonplace in contemporary framings of sexual violence in war.³⁴¹ In their powerful exposé of the workings of the contemporary politics of framing sexual violence in war, Baaz and Stern argue that what makes this particular framing so appealing is the underlying understanding that sexual violence in war, like other weapons, can be controlled.³⁴² Yet, despite the seeming global consensus that the current presence of sexual violence in war is wholly unwelcome, sexual violence in war continues to persist.³⁴³ In contrast to claims that overall levels of sexual violence in war have decreased worldwide, empirical research shows that such claims are no more supported by data than claims about the increased incidence of sexual violence in war.³⁴⁴ Indeed, in many ways sexual violence in war seems more prevalent than ever as understandings of what constitutes sexual violence in war deepens.^{345xiv}

This paradox has led researchers from diverse backgrounds to explore the limits of the prevailing ways of thinking about sexual violence in war.³⁴⁶ In recent years an increasing number of feminist scholars, such as Doris Buss, have raised pertinent questions about what “ontological work” contemporary framings of sexual violence as a weapon of war do within international politics.³⁴⁷ They have asked diverse questions about how this framing shapes what can be known about the subjects of sexual violence in war. From questions about how men have been rendered invisible as the victims of rape, to questions about soldiers that do not

³⁴⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 1-2

³⁴¹ Wood, E., 2006. ‘Variation in Sexual Violence during War’; Buss, D., 2009. ‘Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of War’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*; Kirby, P., 2014. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War?’

³⁴² Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 1-2

³⁴³ Zalewski, M., & Masters, C., 2015. ‘The Future of Sexual Violence.’ 9th EISA Pan-European Conference, Sicily, September 20-23 2015 (paper presentation)

³⁴⁴ Human Security Report Project, 2012. *Sexual Violence, Education and War: Beyond the Mainstream Narrative*. Simon Fraser University Canada: Human Security Report Project; Cohen, D., Green, A., & Wood, E., 2012. ‘What’s Wrong with the Human Security Report and the “Global Decline Claim.”’ *Duck of Minerva*. <http://duckofminerva.com/2012/11/guest-post-whats-wrong-with-the-human-security-report-and-the-global-decline-claim.html> (accessed March 2015, 10)

³⁴⁵ Bastick, M., Grimm, K., & Kuhn, R., 2007. *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*. Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.

³⁴⁶ Wood, E., 2006. ‘Variation in Sexual Violence during War’; Buss, D., 2009. ‘Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of War’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*; Kirby, P., 2014. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War?’

³⁴⁷ Buss, D., 2009. ‘Rethinking Rape as a Weapon of War:’ 145-146

engage in rape in war. In particular, my analysis of explanations of perpetrators of rape builds on the extensive first hand research of Baaz and Stern into how contemporary framings of sexual violence as a weapon of war circumscribe what can be said about perpetrators in ways that make it difficult to attend to them. In building on their vast body of work, I explore how our representations of perpetrators as *hardwired* and *haywire* reproduce understandings of them which make it hard to attend to the leakiness of their performances in complex landscapes of war.³⁴⁸

This section subsequently takes critical investigations into contemporary framings of sexual violence as a weapon of war in slightly different directions. While there is much nuanced research into the perpetrators of sexual violence in war, this section shows how the ubiquity of this framing contributes to the reproduction of perpetrators as the instruments of violence. In particular, in continuing to trace the nexus between the generalized storylines that feminist scholars of militarized masculinity work within and explanations of rape in war, it explores the limitations of seeing soldiers that perpetrate rape as simply products of the military. In doing so, this section is curious about how discourses of machinic functioning permeate representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in war. Inspired by the work of feminists such as Carol Cohn and Cristina Masters, who have investigated how such discourses reproduce gender in dangerous ways, it starts to ask what might be some of the more perverse effects of these reproductions.

3.5 Instruments of Violence

When rape is conceptualized not only as a war crime but also as a weapon of war, it becomes a subject of arms control and statecraft, assuming its rightful place as a topic of security studies.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape?'; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*

³⁴⁹ Carter, K., 2010. 'Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?' *Politics and Gender*, 6(3): 343-371, p.364

Kimberley Carters' argument that international relations should conceptualize sexual violence in war as an increasingly destructive weapon is perhaps exemplary of what happens when we talk about the bodies of perpetrators in instrumental terms.³⁵⁰ Whilst it contends that this conceptualization corresponds closely with many of the disciplines 'core' realist theoretical assumptions and definitions concerning states and power, the bodies of perpetrators remain troublingly inert.^{351xv} They feature only insofar as they provide the physical properties which render this violence an effective means of undermining the state's control over war weaponry.³⁵²

Due to the embodied nature of the weapon itself, rape escapes any traditional type of weapons control or embargo; consequently, the practice and effect of rape are not contained within state borders. On the contrary, when rape enters warfare that may have begun as intrastate civil war, its weapon's reach easily carries the war across territorial lines. For example, the use of rape as a weapon of war in Rwanda has now transferred into the Eastern Congo.³⁵³

In many ways the argument advanced by Carter in this article deviates from feminist analyses of sexual violence in war discussed above, which argue that gender is crucial to the story of why civilians are targeted in war. As Marysia Zalewski and Cynthia Enloe argue, while the realist may acknowledge the strategic use of sexual violence in war they will not go any further.³⁵⁴

Realists do not deny that women suffer in wartime and that they suffer in particular ways. Off the record (not in print, not at the podium) a realist may acknowledge the common use of rape as a weapon of war. But the realist will not go further. He or she will not accept that the construction and articulation of gender identity, or sexual identity or racial identity, might play an important part in the causation, enactment and continuation of war. The actors who matter to the realist, the people the realist thinks it is worth watching and listening to, are only that handful of people – usually male, usually members of the dominant ethnic group – with enough power to steer a state. They are the causal factors. Everyone else is a mere consequence, or coincidence³⁵⁵

While the argument advanced by Carter clearly diverges from feminist analyses, it raises some pertinent questions about how framing sexual violence in war as

³⁵⁰ Carter, K., 2010. 'Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?'

³⁵¹ Carter, K., 2010. 'Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?': 367

³⁵² Carter, K., 2010. 'Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?': 348

³⁵³ Carter, K., 2010. 'Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?': 349

³⁵⁴ Zalewski, M., & Enloe, C., 1995. 'Questions about Identity in International Relations.' Eds. Booth, K, & Smith, S., *International Relations Theory Today* Cambridge: Polity Press p.295

³⁵⁵ Zalewski, M., & Enloe, C., 1995. 'Questions About Identity in International Relation:' 295

either an “embodied” or “biological” weapon functions to reduce the bodies of perpetrators to implements of violence which, like other weapons, can be deployed to achieve particular strategic purposes.³⁵⁶ My critical reading of feminist scholarship on sexual violence in war subsequently examines both the limits and effects of representations which cast the bodies of perpetrators as potential weapons. In particular, it builds on the work of Julia Welland to examine how such representations operate to reproduce an ontologically solidified soldiering body.³⁵⁷

In her work Welland examines how generalised renditions of feminist stories of militarized masculinities end up reproducing the effects they name.³⁵⁸ Specifically, what she argues is that, although much of the scholarship on which this generalised rendition rests points to the fragility of militarized masculinity, “there remains an inadvertent ontological solidification of the subject.”³⁵⁹ The generalized rendition which she outlines bears close resemblance to the familiar story of militarized masculinity described in section 3.3 above. It traces how authors working within this story frequently point to the inculcation of particular traits within soldiers that are understood as being forged through pervasive gendered understandings.³⁶⁰ For Welland the recitation of this generalised storyline raises some pertinent questions about how, despite their best intentions, in writing about militarized masculinities in particular ways feminists are implicated in practices of line drawing that map “hard lines around this always shifting subject.”³⁶¹ While she recognizes that we cannot entirely avoid marking borders, in her work she subsequently experiments with “a language in which to talk about the fluidity and the porosity of the border.”³⁶²

Welland, however, is not the only author to have problematized this inadvertent ontological solidification of the soldiering subject. Parallels can also be drawn with

³⁵⁶ Carter, K., 2010. ‘Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?’: 350

³⁵⁷ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences:’ 883

³⁵⁸ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences.’ 883 Butler, J., 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”*. New York: Routledge: 12

³⁵⁹ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences:’ 883; See also Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s):’ 619

³⁶⁰ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences:’ 885

³⁶¹ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences:’ 886; See also Pin-Fat, V., 2010. *Universality, Ethics and International Relations: A Grammatical Reading*. Abingdon: Routledge: 118

³⁶² Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences:’ 886

authors such as Higate, whose work on sexual exploitation in peacekeeping missions highlights how some feminist scholarship accords an “excessive explanatory power to crude forms of military masculinity.”³⁶³ In particular, he argues that the narrow cluster of gender identities that constitute militarized masculinity is attributed an explanatory force so great “they are implicitly assumed to control men’s social practices.”³⁶⁴ Particularly relevant for this chapter is his exploration of how feminist explanations of sexual exploitation in peacekeeping missions make use of discourses of machinic functioning, which “cast peacekeepers as unthinking automatons.³⁶⁵” Higate shows how understandings of these kinds remove agency from heterogeneous groups of soldiers, “who may resist, mutiny, question, desert and conscientiously object as well as conform and obey.”³⁶⁶

In building on these observations on generalized renditions of feminist stories of militarized masculinities, my own exploration of explanations of soldiers that perpetrate rape subsequently attempts to explore two threads of analyses. The first of these threads requires exploring how representations of soldiers as *hardwired* or *haywire* result in our seeing their bodies as part of the military machinery or weaponry, thereby making it hard to imagine them as leaky sites of practice. The second thread requires examining how representations of soldiers as *hardwired* or *haywire* tether their bodies to particular attributes or traits, making it hard to think about the leakiness of their embodied performances. Through exploring these two threads this chapter will start to unpack how such explanations make it difficult to attend to the bodily fluids and leaky performances of soldiers that engage in rape in landscape of war. In doing so, this chapter will importantly also start to flesh out some of the effects our explanations of soldiers that perpetrate rape may have for thinking about sexual violence in the DRC. In

³⁶³ Higate, P. 2007. ‘Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 10(1): 99-119: 99; See also Higate, P., 2012. ‘Foregrounding the In/Visibility of Military and Militarized Masculinities.’ Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., *Beyond “gender and stir”: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 31-37 p.32; Higate, P., 2015. ‘From ‘squaddie’ to ‘bodyguard’: towards a remilitarized agency?’ Eds. Hansson, S., Helberg, S., & Stern, M *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* Routledge: Abingdon: 150-166, p. 152

³⁶⁴ Higate, P. 2007. ‘Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation’: 102

³⁶⁵ Higate, P. 2007. ‘Peacekeepers, Masculinities and Sexual Exploitation’: 102

³⁶⁶ Higate, P., 2012. ‘Foregrounding the In/Visibility of Military and Militarized Masculinities.’ 32

particular, it will start to flesh out how the narrow focus on militarized masculinities and the related ontological solidification of the soldiering body potentially misses the wider implications of more complex forms of gender in the reproduction of rape in warzones, in ways that are of detriment to the leaky male body.

3.5.1 Missing leaky male bodies

Feminist scholarship on militarized masculinity has arguably shifted our perceptions of soldiers who engage in rape. Understandings of soldiers who perpetrate rape have moved, from seeing the military and war as settings in which men can vent their biological urges, to exploring how perpetrators are produced through military training.³⁶⁷ Questions remain about whether feminist scholarship accord an excessive explanatory force to the role practices of militarized masculinity play in shaping soldiers that perpetrate rape. This section, therefore, asks several questions about the effects that may flow from understandings and explanations that depict soldiers as *hardwired* to rape.

The first of these questions concerns what happens when we start to see bodies as machines rather than as fleshy sites of practice.³⁶⁸ This question has preoccupied several feminists that explore the fetishization of technology evident in contemporary practices of warfare.³⁶⁹ The author who has perhaps been most closely which this line of questioning is Cristina Masters, whose work examines how “bodily matters” are increasingly coming under the sphere of military institutions.³⁷⁰ Echoing the insights of authors such as Carol Cohn into how military organizations use technostrategic language to distance themselves from “mangled bodies”,³⁷¹ she explores how the cyborg soldier has been constituted to

³⁶⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:* 27

³⁶⁸ Higate, P., 2015. ‘From ‘squaddie’ to ‘bodyguard’’:150

³⁶⁹ See Cohn, C. 1987. ‘Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals’; Carver, T., 2008. ‘The Man in the Machine’; Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh’

³⁷⁰ Masters, C., 2005. Bodies of Technology: Cyborg Soldiers and Militarized Masculinities.’

International Feminist Journal of Politics, 7 (1) 112–132; Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh’; Masters, C., 2010. Cyborg Soldiers and Militarized Masculinities.

Eurozine <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2010-05-20-masters-en.html> (accessed June 2016, 6)

Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh’;

³⁷¹ Cohn, C. 1987. ‘Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defence Intellectuals:’ 691

the detriment of the fleshy body.³⁷² In looking at the specific ways in which the mechanical is inserted into the biological, she explores how the cyborg soldier effectively circumvents the “imperfections of the human body.”³⁷³ For her this evisceration of the messiness and excess of embodiment is specifically related to how the cyborg soldier is “discursively formalized along the lines of masculinity and femininity.”³⁷⁴ In reinforcing the split between the mind and body she argues that it reflects the masculine desire to transcend the “organic body” which, as discussed in the previous chapter, is explicitly associated with the feminine.³⁷⁵ In exposing the ways in which the cyborg soldier, in blurring particular distinction between man and machine, removes us from the “sentient body” what I subsequently argue is that her research raises interesting questions about how in seeing soldiers as *hardwired* to rape we make it harder to attend to the their leakiness.³⁷⁶

One of the most obvious effects of reducing soldiers who engage in rape to machines is that it becomes difficult to attend to the fluidity of their bodies. We pay more attention to the “hard shell” that soldiers supposedly develop than the porosity of the physical body.³⁷⁷ Our depictions of soldiers who engage in rape as components of the military apparatus fail to capture the ways in which the presence of fluids such as tears attest to their vulnerability. Beyond bodily fluids, the focus on the tightly “choreographed movements” developed in the military also make it hard to notice how soldiers act in ways that disrupt our notions of them as permanently hard.³⁷⁸ As gestured towards in the last chapter, the body of the soldier which shakes and trembles in the DRC is exemplary of the kind of body that does not neatly map onto to our representations of perpetrators of rape.³⁷⁹ His leaky, shaky, trembling body however is also demonstrative of the sort of body that our portrayals of soldiers as *hardwired* may inadvertently suppress. It does

³⁷² Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.’ 91

³⁷³ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.’ 94

³⁷⁴ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.’ 96

³⁷⁵ Masters, C., 2008. ‘Bodies of technology and the politics of the flesh.’ 99

³⁷⁶ Masters, C., 2005. ‘Bodies of Technology’: 122

³⁷⁷ Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and Gender*: 268

³⁷⁸ Higate, P., 2015. ‘From ‘squaddie’ to ‘bodyguard’’: 153

³⁷⁹ Chapter Six: Confessions of Rape in Congo: TBC

not conform to our view of soldiers as physical extension of the military and thus is often hidden from view.

Looking at how depictions of soldiers as *hardwired* deny the “sentient physicality” of embodiment reveals one of the ways in which the ontological solidification of the soldiering body makes it difficult to attend to the leakiness of soldiers who engage in rape in war.³⁸⁰ In pointing to how depictions of soldiers as *hardwired* in deny the ways in which bodies are sites of pain and feeling, it demonstrates how feminist scholarship on militarized masculinity, while importantly shifting our understandings of why soldiers rape away from explanations in which rape arises as the fault of biology, may not radically alter our perceptions of perpetrators as physically and emotionally hard. Aside from preventing us from glimpsing the porosity of the body, questions also arise about how depictions of the soldiering body as *hardwired* to rape operate to suppress their leaky performances. In pointing to the ways in which the military drills specific attributes and traits into soldiers, feminist explanations of why soldiers rape, I want to argue, constrain alternative forms of research into how perpetrators act and behave in ways that depart from these strict codes of conduct. In seeing soldiers as regimented and interchangeable parts of the military apparatus we end up identifying soldiers with attributes and traits that are grounded in the “unchanging requirements” of the military, rather than asking questions about how they disrupt these representations.³⁸¹

While this may seem somewhat abstract, through my exploration and analysis of perpetrators of sexual violence in DRC, I flesh out in the rest of the thesis how seeing soldiers as part of some homogenous group fails to capture how their embodied performances are crafted in the confluence of local and global contexts.³⁸² In particular, in building on second-hand interviews, especially those

³⁸⁰ Gusterson, H., 1998, cited in Masters, C., 2005. *Bodies of Technology: Cyborg Soldiers and Militarized Masculinities:* 124

³⁸¹ Hutchings, K., 2008. ‘Making Sense of Masculinity and War:’ 394

³⁸² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’

of Baaz and Stern, with soldiers which highlight the ways in which the production of gendered identities is “locally specific”, subsequent chapters look at how other articulations of hegemonic masculinity contribute to rape in this landscape of war.³⁸³ In doing so the suggestion is, not that feminist scholars have somehow got it wrong and that militarized masculinity does not contribute to rape, but rather that the depiction of the soldiers as *hardwired* to rape obscures the complexity of embodied experiences of gender in this warscape.

3.5.2 *Reproducing hard male bodies*

Crucially, the effect of this ontological solidification of the soldiering body is not only that we fail to glimpse the leakiness of the body, but that we also reproduce the association of masculinity with hardness. As previously discussed, while the complexity of soldiers’ embodied experiences of gender in landscapes of war demonstrates the incompleteness of practices of militarized masculinity, what feminists such as Baaz and Stern have shown is that rape may be one of the ways in which soldiers try to shore up this identity.³⁸⁴ These insights raise troubling questions about how feminists, in continuing to reproduce the association of masculinity with hardness, may become implicated in the reproduction of militarized masculinity “despite perhaps their best intentions of disrupting this.”³⁸⁵ In exploring how feelings of failed masculinity spill over into violence in the DRC this thesis will subsequently show how depicting militarized masculinity as solid or concrete may further entrench this identity. In particular, what this thesis will show, through its engagement with the work of Baaz and Stern, is how feminists may end up reproducing not only the gendered identities but also the attached harms they seek to address through their work.³⁸⁶

This issue is partly resolved in the feminist literature that depicts soldiers who engage in rape as *haywire*. In pointing to how rape may more accurately represent

³⁸³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity:’ 40

³⁸⁴ See Price, L., 2001. ‘Finding the man in the soldier-rapist’; Whitworth, S., 2004. *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping*; Alison, M., 2007. ‘Wartime Sexual Violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?*

³⁸⁵ Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized Violences:’ 886

³⁸⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:*22; See also Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s):’ 616

the inability of soldiers to ever fully embody the particular forms of masculinity produced within the military, it highlights one of the ways in which their performances of gender can be read as leaky. However, while this thesis builds on feminist explanations that argue that rape reveals the fragility of seemingly solid constructions of militarized masculinity, as already gestured towards, there are still some lingering issues with how some (again not all) authors that make this argument continue to reduce the bodies of soldiers to instruments of militarization. As discussed in the first half of this chapter, while authors such as Trenholm and Banwell stray from dominant notions of militarized masculinity in their explanations of rape in the DRC, in continuing to see rape as strategic they slide back into representations that depict soldiers as part of the machinic functioning of the military.³⁸⁷ In subsuming explanations of how individual soldiers use rape to shore up their masculinity within stories about how rape serves broader strategic purposes, they end up reducing soldiers once again to instruments or tools of militarization. This is not only seen in the slippage that occurs between motivations of individual soldiers and the broader consequences of rape in war, but also the metaphors that authors work within. As subsequent chapters will go onto detail, even in the literature that recognizes the incompleteness of practices of militarized masculinity, there are references to soldiers as part of the machinery of war.³⁸⁸ For instance, as chapter five will show, the feminist literature on the post conflict landscape in the DRC, while exploring the complexities of former soldiers' embodied experiences, often refers to the challenges of putting the body out of military usage.³⁸⁹ In pointing to how particular authors slide back into this imagery of militarized masculinity, this chapter explores the seduction of seeing soldiers as weapons that can be disarmed.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo'; Banwell, S., 2012. 'Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo'; See also Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*; Meger, S., 2012. 'Militarized Masculinities and the Political Economy of Wartime Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.'

³⁸⁸ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boy in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo:' 221

³⁸⁹ See Chapter Five: Malignant Male Muscle: 138

³⁹⁰ Myrtilinen, H., 2003. 'Disarming Masculinities:' 39; See also Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*, p.154; Cockburn, C., 2010. 'Militarism, Masculinity and Men:' 18; Meger, S., 2016. *Rape, Loot, Pillage*: 46

What this discussion of *hardwired* and *haywire* bodies has subsequently sought to show is how remaining within the dominant storyline and imagery of militarized masculinity make it hard to attend to perpetrators of rape in all of their leakiness. While this is particularly true of depictions of soldiers as *hardwired* in which they emerge, to quote one author, as “pawns” or “robots” that rape as commanded, what this discussion has also shown is that we need to remain attentive to how depictions of soldiers as *haywire* may also slide back into these representations. Specifically, this requires remaining attentive to how even those explanations that stray from dominant storyline and imagery of militarized masculinity may depict soldiers who rape as products of the military. We must keep an eye on how even *haywire* accounts of perpetrators of rape reproduce an image of the militarised masculine body as hard.

In the rest of this thesis I then use this reading of feminist explanations of why soldiers rape to analyse representations of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. Over the course of the next three chapters I use the categories of *hardwired* and *haywire* bodies to explore the presence and absence of leaky bodies within these depictions. While these chapters examine the feminist and academic scholarship on soldiers who engage in rape, I also pay attention to policy and media reporting on perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. In particular, in building on Hutchings’s observation that militarized masculinity has gained recognition in the international policy community – “which has recently begun to take on board the view that masculinity can be seen as a significant explanatory variable in political violence and therefore as a problem that needs to be addressed by institutional actors seeking to limit levels of political violence” – this thesis look at the extent to which feminist explanations of soldiers who perpetrate rape permeate global debates.³⁹¹

3.6 Conclusion

Studies done on rape can constitute a form of violence in themselves if they are not done with care [...] we must take care not to reproduce systems of violence in speaking about them.³⁹²

³⁹¹ Hutchings, K., 2008. ‘Making Sense of Masculinity and War:’ 392

³⁹² Nordstrom, C. 1996. Rape: Politics and Theory in War and Peace. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 11(23): 147-162, p.149

In *Masculinities* (2005) Raewyn Connell argues that the power of sociobiological accounts of gender lies in the metaphor of the body as machine.³⁹³ Researchers, she argues, discover biological mechanisms that explain gender differences. “Brains are ‘hardwired’ to produce masculinity; men are ‘genetically’ programmed for dominance; aggression is in their ‘biogram.’”³⁹⁴ These ideas are echoed in sociobiological theories of rape in war, which rest on hydraulic models of male sexuality.³⁹⁵ This is most clearly seen in ‘pressure cooker theories’ of rape in war which contend that the military allows men to vent their natural sexual urges.^{396xvi} While feminist academic scholarship importantly challenges this explanation of rape, what I have argued in this chapter is that authors continue to work within generalized stories of militarized masculinity that continue to use the metaphor of the body as machine.

In exploring feminist academic scholarship on rape in war, this chapter has traced two representations of soldiers that commit rape. The first of these modes of representation portrays the bodies of soldiers as ‘hardwired’ to rape. This representation of soldiers evokes how the stylization of masculinity in the military is conducive towards rape. My critique of this mode of representation was that, in depicting soldiers as machines or automatons, it makes it hard to properly attend to their leakiness. Specifically, what this chapter argued was that this representation, in reducing the bodies of soldiers to instruments of the military, reproduces them as permanently hard. This, it suggested, reveals how feminist academic scholarship on rape in war despite its best intentions becomes implicated in the very process it seeks to disrupt.

As argued in the previous chapter, we can never entirely escape working within representations that reproduce knowledge about perpetrators of rape. However, the second mode of representation explored in this chapter suggests that in seeing the bodies of soldiers as *haywire* we can avoid mapping or marking hard lines

³⁹³ R. W. Connell, 2005. *Masculinities*: 48

³⁹⁴ R. W. Connell, 2005. *Masculinities*: 48

³⁹⁵ Gottschall, J., 2004. ‘Explaining Wartime Rape’: 133

³⁹⁶ Gottschall, J., 2004. ‘Explaining Wartime Rape’: 133

around them.³⁹⁷ This representation of soldiers crucially evokes how soldiers fail to embody the specific forms of masculinity produced in the military. In exploring how rape becomes one of the ways in which soldiers try to shore up their masculinity, this mode of representation points to the leakiness that exists outside the general story of militarized masculinity that feminist academic scholarship works within. However, what this chapter showed is that even authors who stray from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity cannot completely escape from working within this storyline. In their efforts to make sense of rape in war they also slip back into depictions of the bodies of soldiers that reproduce them as cogs in the military fighting machine. Even accounts of *haywire* bodies may reproduce an image of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict as hard.

Having demonstrated how, through my analysis of *hardwired* and *haywire* bodies, some of the various ways in which feminist academic scholarship reproduce the bodies of soldiers as physical weapons, the rest of this thesis explores and examines how these representations permeate the broader literature on rape in the DRC. Through its exploration of this warscape the next chapter specifically explores and examines to what extent explanations of rape in the DRC remain within and stray from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity. In particular, in drawing on the extensive field work of Baaz and Stern, it starts to flesh out the leakiness of perpetrators experiences and performances of masculinity in the DRC.

³⁹⁷ Welland, J., 2013. 'Militarized Violences:' 886; See also Pin-Fat, V., 2010. *Universality, Ethics and International Relations*: 118

Chapter Four

Machetes, militaries, minerals, and masculinities



Figure 4: Mosse, R., 2012. *Better Than the Real Thing II*, Digital C-Print.

4.1 'Sexual Violence Ground Zero'³⁹⁸

During the twentieth century the Congolese population suffered an unbroken succession of extremely brutal colonial rule followed by corrupt military dictatorship.³⁹⁹ With western backing, Joseph Mobutu's ailing regime managed to hold onto to power until the end of the twentieth century. In the closing years of the twentieth century Mobutu's western allies, however, became increasingly reluctant to prop him up. In May 1997, Laurent Kabila, with the aid of the governments of Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda seized power from him. One year after naming himself president Kabila's allies, however, turned against him and the country found itself at the centre of another deadly war.^{xvii} Although diplomatic efforts to negotiate peace resulted in the withdrawal of foreign forces from most parts of the country, militia groups continue to operate in the east where the country's vast natural resources are located. In the east military clashes with militia groups remain an enduring feature of the landscape. Notably, while much of the insecurity in the region is caused by the remaining militia groups, insecurity is also created by the national armed forces - *Les Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* – not only through clashes with militias groups but also through harassment of the population. The International Rescue Committee estimates 5.4 million deaths have occurred since 1998, with almost half of those taking place since the formal end of the war in 2002.⁴⁰⁰ In 2014 alone there were reports of civilians being killed in Beni Territory,⁴⁰¹ 1,500 homes scorched in Ituri District,⁴⁰² and 400,000 people internally displaced in Katanga Province.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁸ Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters: My journey to the worst place on earth to be a woman*. Berkley: Seal Press:98

³⁹⁹ Hothschild, A., 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin; Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Van Reybrouck, D., 2014. *Congo: The Epic History of a People*. London: Fourth Estate

⁴⁰⁰ International Rescue Committee, 2008. Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An Ongoing Crisis. New York: International Rescue Committee

⁴⁰¹ Bangré, H., 2014. 'Massacres highlight complexity of violence in DRC's Beni Territory.' *Integrated Regional Information Networks* <http://www.irinnews.org/report/100932/massacres-highlight-complexity-of-violence-in-drc-s-beni-territory> (accessed April 2015, 4)

⁴⁰² Integrated Regional Information Networks, 2014. 'Mob violence rife in DRC's Ituri District.' *Integrated Regional Information Networks* <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99958/mob-violence-rife-in-drc-s-ituri-district> (accessed April 2015, 4)

⁴⁰³ Graham, S. 2014. 'Bad roads, insecurity hamper relief effort in DRC's Katanga Province.' *Integrated Regional Information Networks* <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99669/bad-roads-insecurity-hamper-relief-effort-in-drc-s-katanga-province> (accessed April 2015, 4)

An enduring feature of coverage of this warscape is sexual violence. It figures heavily in articles⁴⁰⁴, reports⁴⁰⁵ and films⁴⁰⁶ on the DRC. In recent years, several representatives of international organizations have made trips to this part of the world to generate awareness of the shocking plight of women caught in the sexual crossfire.⁴⁰⁷ As Séverine Autesserre writes, visiting either Panzi hospital in Bukavu or Heal Africa in Goma, which specialize in treatment of victims of sexual violence, seems to have become an “obligatory stop during diplomatic visits to the point that aid workers on the ground find it appalling.”⁴⁰⁸ Sexual violence has not always dominated the discourse on the DRC. Until recently, “death had the best chance of making the news.”⁴⁰⁹ Since the visit of Hillary Clinton to the eastern Congo in 2009, followed shortly after by that of Margot Wallström in 2010, sexual violence has arguably become “*the* frame to use when thinking about the DRC.”⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁴ Carslen, E., 2008. ‘Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 21(4): 474-483; Eriksson Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo: Understanding sexual violence in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(2): 199-135; Freedman, J., 2011. ‘Explaining Sexual Violence and Gender Inequalities in the DRC.’ *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 23(2): 170-175; Trenholm, J., et al., 2011. ‘Battles on Women’s Bodies: War, rape and traumatising in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research*, 6(2): 139-152; Maedl, A., 2011. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC?: The Victims’ perspective.’ *Human Rights Quarterly*, 33(1): 128-147; Banwell, S., 2012. ‘Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case Study of Gender Based Violence.’ *Journal of Gender Studies*, 23(1): 45-58; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 16(2): 203-227

⁴⁰⁵ Pratt, M., & Werchick, L., 2004. *Sexual Terrorism: Rape as a Weapon of War in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: An assessment of programmatic responses to sexual violence in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces*, USAID; Mechanic, E., 2004. *Why Gender Still Matters: Sexual Violence and the Need to Confront Militarized Masculinity, A Case Study of the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. Partnership Africa: Canada; Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone: Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Human Rights Watch: New York; Eriksson Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Dolan, C., 2010. ‘War is Not Yet Over’: *Community Perceptions of Sexual Violence and its Underpinnings in Eastern DRC*, International Alert; Lwambo, D., 2011. ‘Before the War, I was a Man’: *Men and Masculinities in Eastern DR Congo*, Goma: Heal Africa

⁴⁰⁶ Jackson, L., 2007. *The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo*. Women Make Movies; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007. *Fighting the Silence: Sexual Violence against Women in the Congo*. If Productions; Blanding, S. & Labriola, B., 2009. *Women in War Zones: Sexual Violence in the Congo*. Women in War Zone International; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions; Lloyd-Davis, F., 2013. *Seeds of Hope*. Studio 9 Films

⁴⁰⁷ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences.’ *African Affairs*: 202-222, p. 214; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?: 6*

⁴⁰⁸ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 214

⁴⁰⁹ Sundaram, A., 2013. *Stringer: A Reporter’s Journey in the Congo*. New York: Anchor Books: 88

⁴¹⁰ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 215

This attention is not without precedent. Peterman et al. found that over twelve months more than four hundred thousand women experienced sexual violence in DRC.⁴¹¹ That translates into approximately four women every five minutes.⁴¹² Some observers, however, have raised concerns about whether this “singular focus” on sexual violence diverts attention away from other forms of violence that occur during conflict.⁴¹³ Autesserre reports that during off the record interviews, both local and foreign aid workers regularly complained that they cannot draw the attention of the media or donors to horrific events that have no sexual dimension.⁴¹⁴ She argues that the “overwhelming focus” on sexual violence detracts attention away from equally horrific forms of violence such as systematic torture or forced recruitment of child soldiers.⁴¹⁵ Within this literature, there are further concerns about how this singular focus encourages women to present themselves as victims of sexual violence in order to gain access to basic services such as health.⁴¹⁶ This raises questions about how the “everyday commercialization” of sexual violence, aside from diverting funding away from other forms of violence, perpetuates an image of women as helpless victims.

As previously discussed, reporting on rape, it seems, must feature stories of women whose injuries have rendered them incontinent.⁴¹⁷ Within these stories their incontinence or leakiness becomes symbolic of their helplessness. Such stories subsequently raise questions about how representations of rape in the DRC frame women as particularly vulnerable to this form of violence. However while

⁴¹¹ Peterman, A., Palermo, T., & Bredenkamp, C., 2012. ‘Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *American Journal of Public Health*, 101(6): 1060-1067

⁴¹² Peterman, A., Palermo, T., & Bredenkamp, C., 2012. ‘Estimates and Determinants’: 1065

⁴¹³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 6

⁴¹⁴ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 216

⁴¹⁵ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 216; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?:6*

⁴¹⁶ Douma, N., & Hilhorst, D., 2012. *Fond de commerce? Sexual violence assistance in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Wageningen: Wageningen University See also Eriksson Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?: 96-102*; Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 12-17

⁴¹⁷ Ensler, E., 2007. ‘Women left for dead- and the man who’s saving them.’ *Glamour Magazine* <http://www.glamour.com/magazine/2007/08/rape-in-the-congo> (accessed February 2016, 11); Mukwege, D., & Nangini, C., 2009. ‘Rape with Extreme Violence: The new pathology in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *PLoS Med*, 6(12): 1-5; Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters: My journey to the worst place on earth to be a woman*. Berkley: Seal Press: 99; Michel, T., 2015. *The Man who Mends Women*. Les Films de la Passerelle & Ryva Production

there is much excellent feminist work that examines this contemporary framing of the subjects of rape in war, this chapter is interested in the flip side of this image.⁴¹⁸ Specifically, this chapter is interested in the extent to which contemporary framings of rape in the DRC continue to depict the bodies of male perpetrators of rape as hard. In order to answer this question it explores how the bodies of male perpetrators of rape appear as physically and emotionally hard within four explanatory framings of rape found mainly within the academic scholarship on this warscape: 1# “Rwandan Machete Culture”⁴¹⁹, 2# “Commanders that Condone”⁴²⁰ 3# “Rape is Cheaper than Bullets”⁴²¹, and 4# “Constructing Soldiers from Boys.”⁴²² This chapter is subsequently divided into four sections that cover each of these explanatory frameworks in loosely chronological order: the first of the sections explores assertions that use of rape has transferred across territorial lines (4.2), the second section assess claims that rape is condoned by commanders(4.3), the third section examines explanations that commanders benefit economically from rape(4.4), and the final section analyses arguments that soldiers are produce as rapists through militarization (4.5).

In examining each of these explanatory frameworks’ underlying assumptions, this chapter explores how they portray the perpetrators of rape as embodied weapons that are strategically used by armed groups to achieve particular political goals. Through its engagement with Baaz and Stern, however, it explores how the reason individual soldier give for why rape occurs disrupts the “dominant storylines of rape”.⁴²³ This is most clearly seen in the final section (4.5) which examines how interviews conducted with soldiers provide fresh insights into the ways in which their leaky embodied experiences and performances of masculinity exceed generalized stories of militarized masculinity. In exploring to what extent these

⁴¹⁸ Shepherd, L., 2008. *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice*: London: Zed Book: 40-42

⁴¹⁹ Chiwengo, N., 2008. ‘When wounds and corpses fail to speak: Narratives of violence and rape in the Congo (DRC).’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 28(1):78-92 p. 86

⁴²⁰ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone: Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. New York: Human Rights Watch

⁴²¹ Amnesty International, 2009. ‘Women’s rights: Provocative new rape in conflict advert to appear in London tubes.’ *Amnesty International* <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/womens-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rights-provocative-new-rape> (accessed April 17, 2015)

⁴²² Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys.’

⁴²³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 9

explanatory frameworks stray from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity, this chapter also subsequently asks questions about whether the bodies of soldiers emerge as *hardwired* or *haywire*. In particular, building on the previous chapter, it will ask whether authors, in using the conceptual framework of militarized masculinity, continue to depict soldiers as embodied weapons that are crafted in the military through practices of basic training, or whether alternatively they stray away from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity in order to explore how soldiers exceed the “habituated strictures of military socialization.”⁴²⁴

One of the things that really struck me while writing this chapter was how the body repeatedly slid from view. In writing this chapter I really struggled to bring into the view the body of the perpetrator of rape. This struggle to write about the body of the rapists, I however argue in this chapter, rather than detract from my argument illustrates two things: first, precisely how devoid of bodies our explanations of perpetrators of rape are, and second, why we need to find better ways of attending to them.

4.2 Explanation #1: “Rwandan machete culture spilled over into Congo.”⁴²⁵

To begin with this section, explores how, in framing rape as an integral aspect of ethnic warfare, academic scholarship portrays perpetrators of rape as weapons. What it analyses is how the presence of Rwandan armed forces and militia groups in parts of Congo has led some authors to argue that the strategic use of rape has transferred across territorial lines.⁴²⁶ In order to explore this slippage, we have to first understand the complex relationship between these two warring neighbours. This section subsequently starts by explaining the presence of Rwandan armed forces and militia groups in eastern Congo since the end of the twentieth century, before exploring how this has shaped explanations about perpetrators of rape in this landscape of war.

⁴²⁴ Higate, P., 2015. ‘From ‘squaddie’ to ‘bodyguard’: towards a remilitarized agency? Eds. Hansson, S., Helberg, S., & Stern, M *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* Routledge: Abingdon: 150-166, p.150

⁴²⁵ Chiwengo, N., 2008. ‘When wounds and corpses fail to speak.’ p. 86

⁴²⁶ Carter, K., 2010. ‘Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?’ *Politics and Gender*, 6(3): 343-371, p. 348

While there is no clear agreement amongst scholars as to the roots of the Congolese Rebellions of the late twentieth century, most agree that the Rwandan Genocide (1994) played an important role.^{427xviii} They argue that the perception that the Interahamwe, who have largely been held responsible for the genocide, were using refugee camps to conduct cross border attacks, caused Rwandan armed groups to intervene in eastern Congo.⁴²⁸ The continued presence of Rwandan armed forces within the region, combined with hostility towards Rwandans more generally, has arguably contributed towards the perception amongst some members of the population that Rwandans are responsible for rape in the region.⁴²⁹ However, while evidence of the strategic uses of rape in Rwanda has been well established, this section asks questions about how some academic literature seems to uncritically accept the notion that sexual violence is “*Rwandan machete culture spilled over into Congo* [own emphasis].”⁴³⁰

The Congolese attribute the majority of sexual violence to the Interahamwe.⁴³¹ Anna Maedl’s interviews with survivors of sexual violence at Panzi Hospital show that the majority of women interviewed - twenty-five out of twenty-two - stated that the perpetrators were Interahamwe.⁴³² The victims identified them as Interahamwe by the language they spoke, by the way they dressed, as well as by the way they acted, and were armed.⁴³³ Two other studies notably also conducted at Panzi Hospital report parallel findings.⁴³⁴ Both Kelly et al. and Trenholm et al. report that women cited perpetrators as belonging to the Interahamwe, who were considered to have brought sexual violence with them after fleeing from

⁴²⁷ Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo*: 142

⁴²⁸ Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo*: 149

⁴²⁹ Chiwengo, N., 2008. ‘When wounds and corpses fail to speak’:86

⁴³⁰ Chiwengo, N., 2008. ‘When wounds and corpses fail to speak’: 86

⁴³¹ Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’: 126

⁴³² Maedl, A., 2011. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC?’: 136

⁴³³ Maedl, A., 2011. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC?’: 139

⁴³⁴ Trenholm J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war: women and rape in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*: 2 23(4): 484-502, p.493; Kelly et al., 2012. “‘If your husband doesn’t humiliate you, other people won’t.’ Gendered attitudes towards sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Global Public Health*, 7(3): 285-298 p.288

Rwanda.⁴³⁵ When asked why the Interahamwe rape, the most prominent response from both sets of women was that perpetrators wanted to destroy the Congolese.⁴³⁶ Most prominently, they argued that perpetrators of rape infect women with sexually transmitted diseases “so that they may not reproduce anymore.”⁴³⁷ Interviews conducted with local members of the community more broadly also underscored that rape was said to have started with the arrival of Interahamwe into the area.⁴³⁸ Like the women interviewed, they argued that perpetrators systematically infect women in order to “destroy the very fabric of society.”⁴³⁹ They also pointed to other brutal methods that were used to tear the community apart such as forcing fathers to rape their daughters or using their guns to rape women.⁴⁴⁰ In describing methods that have been well documented in Rwanda, such as infecting or mutilating the bodies of women,⁴⁴¹ what they subsequently argue is that “what the rebels do to the women is another form of genocide.”⁴⁴²

In these interviews the bodies of perpetrators and the objects that serve as extensions of them appear as weapons that are used by foreign militias to destroy the enemy. Their bodies emerge as biological weapons that carry and spread disease, while the objects they use to rape women highlights how the line between perpetrators and their weapons become blurred in this landscape of war. As several empirical studies however have pointed out, this framing of perpetrators and their bodies does not reflect the slippery politics of identity in the region.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁵ Trenholm J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war’:494; Kelly et al., 2012. “If your husband doesn’t humiliate you, other people won’t.” 288

⁴³⁶ Trenholm J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war’:494

⁴³⁷ Trenholm J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war’:494

⁴³⁸ Trenholm, J., et al., 2011. ‘Battles on Women’s Bodies’: 142

⁴³⁹ Trenholm, J., et al., 2011. ‘Battles on Women’s Bodies’: 143

⁴⁴⁰ Trenholm, J., et al., 2011. ‘Battles on Women’s Bodies’: 143

⁴⁴¹ Nowrojee, B., 1996. *Shattered Lives: Sexual violence during the Rwandan Genocide and the aftermath*, Human Right Watch; Mullins, C. R. 2009. “‘We Are Going to Rape You and Taste Tutsi Women’: Rape during the 1994 Rwandan Genocide.” *British Journal of Criminology* 49 (6): 719–735; Staub, E., 2011. *Overcoming Evil: Genocide, Violent Conflict and Terrorism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 248-251

⁴⁴² Dietsch, E., & Mulimbalimba-Masururu, L., 2012. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War: Stories from the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ Eds. White, J., & White, R., *Global Case Studies in Maternal and Child Health*. Burlington: Jones and Bartlett Learning: 134-144 p. 139

⁴⁴³ Human Rights Watch, 2002. *The War within the War: Sexual violence against women and girls in Eastern Congo*. New York: Human Right Watch: 24; Pratt, M., & Werchick, L., 2004. *Sexual Terrorism:*

This section, in exploring some of the difficulties associated with identifying perpetrators of rape, raises serious questions about how some academic scholarship continues to frame sexual violence as another form of genocide that has carried across territorial lines.

As Stephen Jackson documents, within Congo, the term Rwandan is often used to refer to both those individuals who fled Rwanda after the genocide, as well as denizens of Congo whose ancestry historically lies in the environs of Rwanda.⁴⁴⁴ Crucially, the slipperiness between these different scales of identity raises questions about the difficulties of identifying perpetrators of rape. As several authors that write specifically about rape in this region note, this problem is further compounded by the fact that interviews with victims reveal that their assailants also often hide their faces behind masks or blinding light to deliberately obscure their true identity.⁴⁴⁵ There is also reason to believe that other armed groups that operate in the region stage rape to make it look like the Interahamwe are to blame. For instance, there is evidence to suggest that local armed soldiers cut out the eyes, nose, and mouth of their victims to imitate Interahamwe signature attacks.⁴⁴⁶ As Marion Pratt and Leah Werchick report, while rape is often blamed on the Interahamwe this term is used in many rural areas to identify any armed person who comes out of the bush.⁴⁴⁷ The Interahamwe, they argue, have become “scapegoats for virtually all of the sexual violence in the region.”⁴⁴⁸

In pointing towards the problems associated with identifying perpetrators of rape, the suggestion is not that survivors of sexual violence deliberately misrepresent the identity of their perpetrators. Clearly many victims of rape do strongly identify their perpetrators as Interahamwe, while many more are afraid to identify them

9; Maedl, A., 2011. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC?’: 134; Trenholm J., et al., 2015. ‘The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war’:494

⁴⁴⁴ Jackson, S., 2006. ‘Sons of Which Soil? The language and politics of autochthony in Eastern D.R. Congo.’ *African Studies Review*, 26(2): 95-123; Dunn, K., 2009. “Sons of the Soil” and Contemporary State Making: Autochthony, uncertainty and political violence in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(1): 113-127

⁴⁴⁵ Human Rights Watch, 2002. *The War within the War: Sexual violence against women and girls in Eastern Congo*. New York: Human Right Watch: 24; Pratt, M., & Werchick, L., 2004. *Sexual Terrorism*: 9; Maedl, A., 2011. ‘Rape as a Weapon of War in the Eastern DRC?’: 134

⁴⁴⁶ Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters*:296-303

⁴⁴⁷ Pratt, M., & Werchick, L., 2004. *Sexual Terrorism*: 9

⁴⁴⁸ Pratt, M., & Werchick, L., 2004. *Sexual Terrorism*: 9

among local armed groups such as the Mai-Mai which may enjoy popular support in their communities.⁴⁴⁹ Rather the suggestion is that we need to remain attentive to how bodies betray the very cosmologies they are supposed to encode. As Arjun Appadurai expresses it, “far from providing the map for a secure cosmology, a compass from which mixture, indeterminacy, and danger may be discovered, the ethnic body turns out to be itself unstable and deceptive.”⁴⁵⁰

This section argues that these problems raise serious questions about how some academic scholars continue to frame sexual violence as another form of genocide in ways that support an image of perpetrators as physical weapons. One of the most obvious illustrations of this is the work of Kimberley Carter, which uses the example of the transfer of rape from Rwanda to Congo to support her argument that rape can be viewed in International Relations as a highly effective weapon of war.⁴⁵¹ In using this example of how rape easily crosses territorial lines, she argues that rape represents an embodied weapon that cannot be contained within state borders.⁴⁵² In particular, in pointing to how rape effectively escapes any traditional type of weapons control or embargo, she perpetuates an image of perpetrators as embodied weapons which does not capture the slipperiness and indeed leakiness of performances of ethnic identity in this landscape of war.⁴⁵³

While the majority of academic scholarship on perpetrators of rape recognizes that they come from virtually all armed factions implicated in the conflict, many still argue that rape can be traced back to the arrival of foreign militias into the country. Ervin Staub, for instance, argues that the use of rape by groups led by former génocidaires to intimidate the enemy has contributed to creating a rape culture among all armed groups.⁴⁵⁴ Notably, while he identifies multiple explanations for why perpetrators engage in rape, this argument echoes those made by members of

⁴⁴⁹ Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters*: 212-213

⁴⁵⁰ Appadurai, A., 1998. ‘Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization’, *Public Culture* 10(2): 225-247, p. 232

⁴⁵¹ Carter, K., 2010. ‘Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?’ *Politics and Gender*, 6(3): 343-371

⁴⁵² Carter, K., 2010. ‘Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?’ 349

⁴⁵³ Carter, K., 2010. ‘Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?’ 349

⁴⁵⁴ Staub, E., 2011. *Overcoming Evil: Genocide, Violent Conflict and Terrorism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 248-251; See also Gillmore, C., 2011. ‘Understanding Rape in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Conflict Trends*, 1: 31-37 p. 34-36

the population which describe how rape evolved from a problem caused by foreigners to one that is now more commonplace.⁴⁵⁵ As one participant in Kelly et al.'s study of communal perspectives of sexual violence expressed it, witnessing such incidents can affect you emotionally: "Then those who have witnessed those incidents sometimes repeat them because they start to think it is normal to behave like that."⁴⁵⁶

This framing, while arguably more keenly aware of difficulties involved in identifying and categorizing perpetrators of rape, in tracing rape back to the arrival of foreign militias into the area continues to explore how the use of rape to intimidate the enemy has transferred to local armed groups. In this sense, while this explanation starts to complicate our understanding of the evolution of rape in the region, it still overwhelmingly portrays soldiers as embodied weapons which, makes it extremely difficult to glimpse the leakiness of their embodied experiences. The next section, therefore, asks: in turning our gaze away from explanations in which the use and means of rape have transferred across state lines, what other explanations are there for why perpetrators engage in rape and in these explanations do perpetrators emerge as anymore leaky?

***4.3 Explanation #2: 'Soldiers that Rape, Commanders that Condone'*⁴⁵⁷**

In contrast to arguments that rape can be traced back to the arrival of Rwandan militias into the region, some authors point to how the Congolese military has traditionally been used by elites to protect the ruling regime.⁴⁵⁸ What they argue is that the problem of rape must be understood in relation to the historical and present architecture of the national armed forces. In examining explanations that explore the institutional context of the army, this section queries whether such explanations significantly disrupt the image of perpetrators as simply embodied weapons.

⁴⁵⁵ Trenholm, J., et al., 2011. 'Battles on Women's Bodies': 144; Kelly et al., 2012. "If your husband doesn't humiliate you, other people won't:" 289

⁴⁵⁶ Kelly et al., 2012. "If your husband doesn't humiliate you, other people won't:" 289

⁴⁵⁷ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*

⁴⁵⁸ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*

Historically the national armed forces did not exist to provide security for the public in any normal sense, but were primarily predatory organs used by political elites to pursue individual political aims and economic goals while perpetrating massive human rights abuses.⁴⁵⁹ While many of the worst tendencies of the army such as murder, rape, torture, and extortion can be traced directly back to the colonial period under Mobutu, the national armed forces have largely continued to serve as predatory tools for the ruling elite.⁴⁶⁰ Today, one of the main challenges the government faces is reforming the army into an institution that protects, rather than preys upon, the local population. The challenges associated with reforming the army, however, have been intensified by the military integration process which seeks to fuse together soldiers from all of the main warring factions into one newly integrated armed force.

The Inter-Congolese Dialogue resulted in the creation of *Les Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC)*. An entirely new command structure was created in order to mix soldiers from the national and rebel armed forces.⁴⁶¹ This process of military integration, however, has not been particularly successful in breaking down former chains of command.⁴⁶² As Henri Boshoff observes, military integration in many cases is “merely theoretical integrated command.”⁴⁶³ Many newly formed units often remain responsive to former belligerents creating parallel chains of command.⁴⁶⁴ In its report of sexual violence and military reform Human Rights Watch explores how these new integrations have contributed further to the widescale abuses committed by the army against civilians, including rape.⁴⁶⁵ Specifically it looks at how, against this backdrop, army commanders have

⁴⁵⁹ Ebenga Jacques and Thierry N’Landu, 2005, “The Congolese National Army: In Search for Identity”, in Rupiya, Martin (ed.), *Evolutions and Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militarism in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies; International Crisis Group (ICG), 2006. ‘Security Sector Reform in the Congo.’ *Africa Report*, 104: 1-36

⁴⁶⁰ Ebenga Jacques and Thierry N’Landu, 2005, “The Congolese National Army:”73; International Crisis Group (ICG), 2006. ‘Security Sector Reform in the Congo:’12

⁴⁶¹ Boshoff, H., 2005. ‘Overview of Security Sector Reform Processes in the DRC’, *African Security Review* 13 (4): 61-66

⁴⁶² Eriksson Baaz, M., & Verweijen, J., 2013. ‘The Volatility of a Half-Cooked Bouillabaisse: Rebel-military integration and conflict dynamic in the eastern DRC.’ *African Affairs*, 112 (449): 563-582

⁴⁶³ Boshoff, H.2007. ‘Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Never-ending Story’, *African Security Review*, 16 (2): 59-62 p.39

⁴⁶⁴ Hoebeke, H., Boshoff, H., & Vlassenroot, K., 2008. *Assessing Security Sector Reform and its impact on the Kivus*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies: 3

⁴⁶⁵ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*

frequently failed to stop sexual violence.⁴⁶⁶ This section subsequently explores this report in more detail before examining how it depicts perpetrators of rape in this warscape.

The newly integrated army, Human Rights Watch argues, is one of the main perpetrators contributing to the current climate of insecurity in eastern Congo. Although other armed groups also commit brutal acts of sexual violence against women, the sheer size of the army and its deployment throughout the country it argues “make it the single largest group of perpetrators.”⁴⁶⁷ Specifically, Human Rights Watch documents abuses committed by members of the newly integrated fourteenth brigade based in eastern Congo.⁴⁶⁸ Through citing the testimonies of several victims of rape, who positively identified their attackers amongst members of the brigade from their distinctive uniforms, it shows how the brigade regularly engaged in sexual violence against the local population.⁴⁶⁹ Notably, in documenting cases of rape committed by the fourteenth brigade, it does not claim that they are exceptional^{xx} but rather illustrative of how rape by the army continues despite serious efforts to end impunity.^{470xxi} For Human Rights Watch the pervasiveness of rape in the army is closely related to the problems associated with military reform and specifically integration.⁴⁷¹ Exploring the case of the fourteenth brigade, it argues that soldiers are able to commit abuses without consequences, partly because of the confusion over chains of command and partly because commanders made aware of the abuses do not take actions against those responsible.⁴⁷²

Human Rights Watch have not been the only ones to connect military reform with sexual violence. Several academics and policy experts have also made links between the two. Yet, how they depict perpetrators of sexual violence is very different. In their analysis of the contingent dimensions of sexual violence in this warscape, Baaz and Stern notably argue that rape must be understood in relation

⁴⁶⁶ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*

⁴⁶⁷ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*: 4-5

⁴⁶⁸ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*: 23-27

⁴⁶⁹ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*: 27-31

⁴⁷⁰ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*: 21-22

⁴⁷¹ Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*: 32-34

⁴⁷² Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone*: 32-34

to the fractured state of the army.⁴⁷³ In exploring how general military culture is characterised by lack of discipline and mutinies, what they argue is that “instead of reflecting the tidy workings of the military the widespread occurrence of sexual violence can also be seen to reflect the breakdown of the chain of command.”⁴⁷⁴ In drawing on military sociology they specifically explore two ways in which the failure of military institutions to embody discipline and control contribute to widespread occurrence of sexual violence.⁴⁷⁵ The first of these concerns how these failures of military institutions to embody discipline and control make it difficult for commanders to punish perpetrators, while the second concerns how the constant fear of rebellions and mutinies makes commanders less inclined to hold abusers to account.⁴⁷⁶ What their research subsequently leads them to argue is that, in contrast to dominant understandings in which the widespread occurrence of rape seems sufficient evidence that sexual violence is being used strategically, rape in war cannot simply be understood as stemming from the orders of military or political elites.⁴⁷⁷

Crucially, in pointing to how soldiers mutiny and rebel, this understanding of sexual violence significantly disrupts explanations in which perpetrators of rape emerge as simply embodied weapons. It begins to unpack how rape, rather than reflect the orderly working of the military, may more accurately reveal the leakiness of perpetrators’ embodied performances. As the subsequent sections will show, in disrupting this explanation, Baaz and Stern provide some unique insights into how perpetrators exceed representations of them as weapons wielded by military elites. However, while this chapter will go onto explore how their work highlights the leakiness of perpetrators’ embodied performances, it does not escape my notice that other authors, who explore how military reform contributes to rape, slide back into representations in which their violence serves strategic purposes.

⁴⁷³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 20

⁴⁷⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 71

⁴⁷⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 71

⁴⁷⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 76

⁴⁷⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 78

In contrast to arguments that commanders are reluctant to hold abusers to account because they live in more or less constant fear of rebellion, several authors that write about sexual violence in this warzone argue that commanders actively condone sexual violence for strategic reasons.⁴⁷⁸ They argue that most rapes that occur are not necessarily orders from above, but are often orchestrated or at least condoned by commanders and individuals of small units.⁴⁷⁹ To expand, in pointing to how sexual violence elicits no consequence or condemnation from military leadership, they argue that the implicit condoning or encouragement of rape can serve strategic purposes. As Henri Boshoff et al. argue, violence against civilians, including sexual violence, is above all the direct consequence of the lack of political will to change the status quo, “which reflects a situation in which local and national actors benefit politically and economically from continuing instability.”⁴⁸⁰

According to this line of reasoning, political and military elites take advantage of the chaos and disorder caused by rape in order to pursue political and economic ambitions.⁴⁸¹ This line of argumentation is also found in the work of Sara Meger, which explores how the use of sexual violence is something that is encouraged and exploited by military commanders and political leaders.⁴⁸² She argues that armed groups, including the military, implicitly allow or approve sexual violence in order to gain access to and control over regional mines and vast mineral wealth in the east.⁴⁸³

Within this explanation of rape, perpetrators once again emerge as weapons wielded by military elites in order to achieve specific political and economic goals. In pointing to how commanders manipulate soldiers’ behaviour by implicitly condoning and encouraging rape, it continues to depict them as tools or instruments of the military. This explanation not only overlooks other dynamics of

⁴⁷⁸ Farwell, N., 2004. ‘War Rape: New Conceptualizations and Responses.’ *Affilia*, 19(4): 389-403, p.389

⁴⁷⁹ Carslen, E., 2008. ‘Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 21(4): 474-483, p.480

⁴⁸⁰ Hoebeke, H., Boshoff, H., & Vlassenroot, K., 2008 *Assessing Security Sector Reform*: 5

⁴⁸¹ Banwell, S., 2012. ‘Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Case Study of Gender Based Violence.’ *Journal of Gender Studies*, 23(1): 45-58, p.50

⁴⁸² Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’: 129

⁴⁸³ Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’:124

the conflict that may cause commanders to condone rape but also, in perpetuating an image of soldiers as weapons, makes it hard to attend to the leakiness of their embodied performances. While this explanation explores how the army has traditionally been used to prey upon the civilian population, what it shares in common with those explanations that blame foreign militias for the problem of sexual violence in the region is the assumption that rape is used strategically by armed groups. Having established the ubiquity of this understanding of why perpetrators rape, as well as how it perpetuates an image of them as tools or instruments of the military, the next section of this chapter explores in more detail what are the specific political and economic objectives that are seen as driving this violence. Crucially, in looking at explanations that hold that the illegal exploitation of mineral resources is the main source of violence, it starts to explore moments of leakiness in which perpetrators of rape disrupt this storyline. Specifically, in exploring soldiers own stories of poverty, it begins to unpack how rape may more accurately reveal the leakiness of their embodied performances in this landscape of war.

4.4 Explanation #3: “Rape is Cheaper than Bullets”⁴⁸⁴

As Autesserre argues, one of the prevailing explanations for the persistence of sexual violence in eastern Congo holds that the illegal exploitation of minerals is the main source of rape.⁴⁸⁵ European advocacy groups, such as Global Witness and later the Enough Project, were the first to put forth this explanation.⁴⁸⁶ Their campaigns, she argues, put the topic of the exploitation of mineral resources in eastern Congo firmly on the global policy agenda.⁴⁸⁷ This section subsequently explores in more detail arguments that sexual violence serves to facilitate the exploitation of minerals. In particular, in exploring the political economy of sexual violence in eastern Congo, it analyses how soldiers’ stories of poverty disrupt understandings of them as the instruments or tools of open warfare.

⁴⁸⁴ Amnesty International, 2009. ‘Women’s rights: Provocative new rape in conflict advert to appear in London tubes.’ *Amnesty International* <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/womens-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rights-provocative-new-rape> (accessed April 17, 2015)

⁴⁸⁵ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’:210

⁴⁸⁶ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’:210; See also Global Witness; Enough Project

⁴⁸⁷ Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’:210

Several authors have argued that armed groups use sexual violence to actively maintain chaos in eastern Congo in order to loot its vast natural mineral resources.^{488 xxii} For instance, Sara Meger argues, that with global demand for Congolese resources continually rising, there is an economic incentive for armed groups to use sexual violence to “maintain the destabilisation in order that they may access and mine these resources.”⁴⁸⁹ Similarly, Jani Leatherman explores how “clearing the land of local resistance through sexual violence and other atrocities against civilians opens the doors to predatory practices that enrich armed groups, political backers, and their network of allies, while funnelling the rest of the wealth out of the country.”⁴⁹⁰ She argues that rape has proven to be an effective method of maintaining control over the mines that contain these minerals, as “many of the villagers flee their homes to escape the violence thus leaving the land open to economic exploitation.”⁴⁹¹ As Paul Kirby argues, the emphasis on resource extraction, within these explanations, suggests that “greed is the fuel for civil war with sexual violence the weapon of choice in the struggle for minerals.”⁴⁹²

In exploring the global political economy of sexual violence in eastern Congo, these authors have stressed how international mining companies contribute deliberately or through negligence to rape through the illicit extraction of natural resources.⁴⁹³ What they stress that is that, while there have been some attempts to regulate the illicit trade in minerals, such as the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, international mining companies continue to fund the fighting in exchange

⁴⁸⁸ Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’; Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*; Banwell, S., 2012. ‘Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’

⁴⁸⁹ Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’:131; Meger, S., 2012. ‘Militarized Masculinities and the Political Economy of Wartime Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ Eds. Freedman, J., *Engaging Men in the Fight against Gender Violence: Case Studies from Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 48-83; Meger, S., 2016. *Rape, Loot, Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict*: Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁴⁹⁰ Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*: 116

⁴⁹¹ Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*: 118; Banwell, S., 2012. ‘Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.’ 49

⁴⁹² Kirby, P., 2013. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War? Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence.’ *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(4): 797-821: 808

⁴⁹³ Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*: 117

for lucrative mining contracts.^{494xxiii} For instance, Leatherman gives the example of the Canadian company Anvil Mining Limited, which was accused of providing logistic support to local armed soldiers that raped, murdered, tortured and brutalized the people of Kilwa.⁴⁹⁵

As Kirby argues, the “cheapness” of sexual violence in eastern Congo is central for campaigners.⁴⁹⁶ Exemplary of this is Amnesty International’s campaign to raise awareness of the prolific use of sexual violence in war (see figure 4). It features an “extended” bullet with the caption “rape is cheaper than bullets”.⁴⁹⁷ What is particularly interesting about this campaign is how it evokes the male body. In extending the bullet lengthways it evokes how perpetrators use their sexual organs as weapons.⁴⁹⁸ Similar to Judith Bernstein’s drawings of penises as weapons, it evokes soldiers themselves as embodied weapons.⁴⁹⁹ What subsequently becomes apparent is that explanations, which argue that sexual violence is the weapon of choice in the struggle over minerals, continue to depict the bodies of soldiers as weapons or tools that are wielded by armed groups. What this section, however, explores is how this explanation is disrupted by soldiers’ stories of poverty, which suggest that their acts of violence may be driven by feelings of frustration rather than economic goals of resource extraction. In exploring soldiers’ stories of poverty, this section explicitly draws on the interviews conducted with soldiers from the national armed forces by Baaz and

⁴⁹⁴ United Nations Security Council, 2002. *Report of the panel of experts on the illegal exploitation of natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo*. S/2003/1027

⁴⁹⁵ Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*: 128; See also Global Witness, 2012. ‘No justice in Canada for Congolese massacre victims as Canada’s Supreme Court dismisses leave to appeal in case against Anvil Mining.’ *Global Witness* <https://www.globalwitness.org/library/no-justice-canada-congolese-massacre-victims-canada%E2%80%99s-supreme-court-dismisses-leave-appeal> (accessed April 2015, 14)

⁴⁹⁶ Kirby, P., 2013. ‘How is Rape a Weapon of War?’ 808; See also National Public Radio, 2009. ‘Group fights rape in Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *National Public Radio Weekend Edition* <http://www.npr.org/templates/player/mediaPlayer.html?action=1&t=1%20&islist=false&id=99838343&m=99838315> (Accessed August 2015, 20).

⁴⁹⁷ Amnesty International, 2009. ‘Women’s rights: Provocative new rape in conflict advert to appear in London tubes.’ *Amnesty International* <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/womens-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rights-provocative-new-rape> (accessed April 17, 2015)

⁴⁹⁸ See Myrntinen, H., 2003. ‘Disarming Masculinities.’ 39; See also Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*, p.154; Cockburn, C., 2010. ‘Militarism, Masculinity and Men.’ Eds. Women Peacemakers Program, *Together for Transformation: Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding*. Netherlands: Women Peacemakers Program: 16-20, p.18; Meger, S., 2016. *Rape, Loot, Pillage: 46*

⁴⁹⁹ Bernstein, J., 1967. *Fun Gun*. Acrylic on canvas with collage .45 calibre bullets. Collection of Paul and Karen McCarthy; See also Spero, N., 1966. *Gunship*. Gouache on paper. Estate of Nancy Spero

Stern as well as their analysis of these texts.⁵⁰⁰ Notably, while it acknowledges that these interviews, rather than expose the 'true' or 'real' true attitude or identity of soldiers, reflect both the views of the researchers and respondents it argues that they provide different kinds of insights into the leakiness of soldiers who perpetrate rape in this warscape.^{501xxiv}

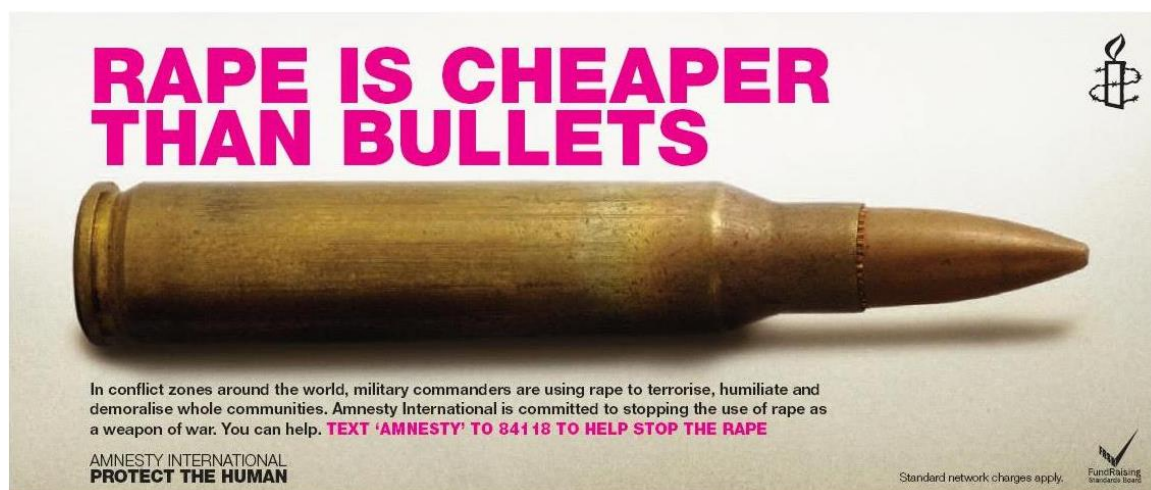


Figure 5: Amnesty International, 2009. 'Rape is cheaper than bullets.' Anti-rape poster

While much has been written about how armed groups are heavily involved in the illegal trade in minerals in the Congo, mining is only one source of income for individual soldiers.⁵⁰² Ann Laudati presents evidence of the diverse range of activities, such as the pillaging of livestock and extortion of civilians, which armed groups are engaged in beyond minerals.⁵⁰³ One of the most visible and ubiquitous features of the warscape has become the *péage route* or roadblock.⁵⁰⁴ Revenues gained through roadblock taxes, particularly along important trading routes, she argues, have been critical in sustaining the war efforts of armed groups.⁵⁰⁵ Rather than greed, what some authors contend is that economic desperation causes

⁵⁰⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute

⁵⁰¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape?' p. 504

⁵⁰² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 20

⁵⁰³ Laudati, A., 2013. 'Beyond Minerals. Broadening economies of violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Review of African Political Economy* 40 (135): 32-50

⁵⁰⁴ Laudati, A., 2013. 'Beyond Minerals:' 35

⁵⁰⁵ Laudati, A., 2013. 'Beyond Minerals:' 35

soldiers to prey on local populations for survival. They point to how historically soldiers have been left to fend for themselves by exploiting the civilian population. Lacking adequate salaries and other means of survival they argue that soldiers are forced to live off of the local population to ensure their daily survival.⁵⁰⁶ What this has led some authors to claim is that individual economic gain is the motivation for sexual violence.⁵⁰⁷ Erika Carslen, for instance, explores how combatants target women en route to the market to sell their goods as well as how they keep them as slaves.⁵⁰⁸ In particular, in exploring how soldiers steal from women following sexual violence, she argues that the productive labours that women engage in daily make them prime targets for armed groups.⁵⁰⁹

In contrast to this understanding of the motivation for sexual violence, Baaz and Stern ask whether poverty and suffering alone can be understood as the main source of violence.⁵¹⁰ What their extensive field work shows is that while salaries remain low and deficient, they have also been increased without visibly diminishing levels of rape.^{511xxv} This subsequently leads them to ask questions about whether their living conditions may, more accurately, be sources of feelings of frustration that manifest in an urge to harm and destroy.⁵¹² As their interviews with soldiers from the national armed forces show, most members of the army they talked with identified poverty and frustration as one of the main reasons for the occurrence of sexual violence and abuse.

You know, rape is also because of the suffering from being hungry, not having anything, living like animals. Even the dogs here eat better than us! We were hungry yesterday, today hungry and tomorrow hungry. Also when we get it, you should see it: look at this! [pointing to plate with dark fufu on the ground]. When we get something this is what we get. Not even the pigs would eat it. Also, is this food for soldiers in combat who have to walk long distances and carry heavy weapons? It also makes people angry and anger makes you want to do bad stuff. Rape is also part of that. But it is not good.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁶ Carslen, E., 2008. 'Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo:' 477

⁵⁰⁷ Carslen, E., 2008. 'Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo:' 477

⁵⁰⁸ Carslen, E., 2008. 'Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo:' 478

⁵⁰⁹ Carslen, E., 2008. 'Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo:' 478

⁵¹⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 30

⁵¹¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 30

⁵¹² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 32

⁵¹³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 32

Notably, what these interviews also reveal is these soldiers' sense of betrayal by military commanders.⁵¹⁴ During interviews soldiers commonly ascribed missed salary payments to military commanders who, they argued, stole from them.⁵¹⁵ Building on the aforementioned argument that commanders live in constant fear of rebellion, what Baaz and Stern subsequently contend is that it could be imagined that sexual violence against civilians functions as one way of protesting against military authority.⁵¹⁶ Specifically, they argue, that given the efforts of some commanders to limit sexual violence, raping "can sadly become an effective tool of resistance and punishment."⁵¹⁷ Soldiers' feelings of betrayal by the military, Baaz and Stern contend, can also be misdirected towards civilians that they feel do not value "the work they do fighting and suffering for the country."⁵¹⁸ This is exemplified in the following extract in which one soldier describes how civilians look down on them:

Yesterday when I was out, somebody spat on me. Sometimes they even attack us. We don't go out alone anymore, not alone without any weapon. That can be dangerous, because sometimes they can attack you. Here, in this area, there are a lot of weapons around. The civilians have lots of weapon and they can kill you. So therefore, sometimes you have to show them. They are thick headed. They don't understand things. So sometimes they need some punishment. That is also sometimes, sometimes, an explanation for rape. If they respected us, it would be it would be different. Then you would not see so much of all that, rape, killings and stealing. It is also that. Their disrespect. They don't understand.⁵¹⁹

Crucially, what these interviews reveal is that soldiers' feelings of not being respected, in combination with their sense of betrayal by their military leaders, contribute towards violence against civilians, including rape. This is most clearly expressed in interviews in which soldiers spoke about punishing or putting civilians who did not show them respect in their place.

In attending to the voices of soldiers who speak about perpetrating rape, Baaz and Stern acknowledge their own complicity in reproducing perpetrators of rape.⁵²⁰ In

⁵¹⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 33

⁵¹⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 33

⁵¹⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 76; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 33

⁵¹⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 33

⁵¹⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 28

⁵¹⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 28

⁵²⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 7; 38

particular, they recognize that the kinds of question they ask and how they interpret their answers to varying extents reflect their own politics and theoretical framing.⁵²¹ In reading against dominant understandings of soldiers who perpetrate rape, I however interpret their work as demonstrating the leakiness of soldiers' bodies. To expand, in pointing to how soldiers do not make sense of their violence in relation to either commands or orders, their interviews importantly reveal how perpetrators of rape exceed images of them as tools or instruments of the military. They show that soldiers' embodied performances and experiences within this warscape, rather than being inextricably grounded in the unchanging requirements of war and the military, are highly fluid and porous.

Specifically, in exposing the different ways in which soldiers' feelings of frustration and anger ooze out and spill over into violence in the Congo, Baaz and Stern disrupt explanations in which commanders exercise control over and manipulate soldiers who perpetrate rape. Rather than subscribe to the idea that the stories soldiers tell about perpetrating rape reveal the real or true identity of the respondents, Baaz and Stern's explicitly leaky account of perpetrators points to the ways in which the reasons soldiers themselves give for why rape occurs exposes the limits of seeing their embodiments and performances as simply reflections or extensions of "the tidy workings of the military."⁵²² However, although this discussion points to gaps in dominant understandings of soldiers who perpetrate rape in the Congo, as Baaz and Stern acknowledge, the question of why soldiers rape lingers on.⁵²³ While they claim that rape is not as easily distinguished from other forms of violence, as dominant understandings suggest, they also argue that exploring why soldiers rape requires analysing their embodied performances and experiences of gender.⁵²⁴ Much of their work on this topic consequently examines the extent to which the gendered identities articulated by soldiers, who speak

⁵²¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.' Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-123, p. 122

⁵²² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 71

⁵²³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 86

⁵²⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 86

about perpetrating rape, echo attributes associated with generalised notions of militarized masculinity.⁵²⁵

The final section of this chapter subsequently explores and examines to what extent explanations of perpetrators of rape in the Congo remain within and stray from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity. In doing so, this section asks questions about whether understandings of perpetrators of rape tend to depict them as *hardwired* or *haywire*. Specifically, it explores and examines to what extent explanations of perpetrators of rape in the Congo attribute their violence to dominant forms of masculinity produced in the military.

4.5 Explanation #4: 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys'⁵²⁶

What the previous chapter argued is that, while there is much excellent feminist academic scholarship on militarized masculinities, authors that write about soldiers who perpetrate rape continue to work within generalized stories of militarized masculinity that depict soldiers as machines or automatons that rape as commended. In exploring feminist academic scholarship on perpetrators of rape in war I traced two different representations of the bodies of soldiers who commit rape. The first of these modes of representation, in which soldiers emerge as *hardwired*, points to the ways in which the stylization of masculinity in the military is conducive towards rape, while the second of these modes, in which soldiers emerge as *haywire*, points to the ways in which rape may reveal soldiers' failure to embody the specific forms of masculinity produced in the military. Crucially, what this chapter argued is that while the second of these modes significantly disrupts dominant understandings that reduce perpetrators to tools or instruments of militarization, we need to remain attentive to how even authors who stray from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity slide back into these tropes. Having already shown how the literature on perpetrators of rape in the Congo perpetuates an image of soldiers as embodied weapons, this section subsequently examines in more detail how the concept of militarized masculinity is used to

⁵²⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence'; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape?'; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity'

⁵²⁶ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.'

explain why soldiers rape. Specifically, in examining the literature on militarized masculinities in the Congo, it explores how perpetrators of rape are delineated through gendered metaphors of hardness and leakiness.

In her extensive work on sexual violence in the Congo, Meger argues that the prevalence of sexual violence occurring in this war must be understood in relation to “social constructs of masculinity fostered in the military.”⁵²⁷ In particular, in pointing to how military institutions foster violent forms of masculinity, she contends that the militarised groups of the Congo are like all militaries: places where “men learn to associate violence with masculinity.”⁵²⁸ In doing so, she argues that in the Congo, sexual violence is something being encouraged by all armed groups implicated in the conflict.⁵²⁹ Notably, while social constructions of militarized masculinity are important for understanding how political violence can become sexualized, Meger contends that we must also take into account the motivations for “employing sexual violence as an instrument of conflict.”⁵³⁰ Despite acknowledging in her analysis that what motivates individual soldiers to rape is linked to their inability to embody ideals of militarized masculinity, she simultaneously sees them as tools or armed groups who “employ sexual violence as part of their repertoire of violence.”⁵³¹ Parallels can also be drawn with Eli Mechanic, whose policy report explores how weapons and violence become “intertwined with concepts of what it means to be masculine.”⁵³² Notably, in exploring how society generally places the means of violence, such as military training and weapons, in the hands of men while promoting an explicit link between masculinity and practices of dominance and violence, he also depicts soldiers who perpetrate rape as part of armed groups’ war weaponry.⁵³³ This is clearly seen in his argument that the connection between sexual violence and

⁵²⁷ Meger, S., 2012. ‘Militarized Masculinities and the Political Economy of Wartime Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo’:48

⁵²⁸ Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’:128

⁵²⁹ Meger, S., 2010. ‘Rape of the Congo’:129

⁵³⁰ Meger, S., 2012. ‘Militarized Masculinities’: 63

⁵³¹ Meger, S., 2012. ‘Militarized Masculinities’: 63

⁵³² Mechanic, E., 2004. *Why Gender Still Matters: Sexual Violence and the Need to Confront Militarized Masculinity, A Case Study of the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. Partnership Africa: Canada: 16

⁵³³ Mechanic, E., 2004. *Why Gender Still Matters*: 16

militarized masculinities is “most apparent in documented cases of soldiers using weapons such as rifles and knives to rape women.”⁵³⁴

Within these explanations of perpetrators of rape in the Congo soldiers emerge as *hardwired* as defined in this thesis. In pointing to how the military forges strong connections between masculinity, weapons, violence, and dominance, it produces an understanding of soldiers as physically hardened towards rape. While surely these social constructions of militarized masculinity exist in this warscape, what this chapter wants to show is how different insights can be gained into perpetrators by reading the male body through its leakiness instead of its tightly armoured boundaries. As the last section already started to unpack, the sense of frustration, anger, betrayal and neglect that soldiers express when talking about perpetrating rape does not map neatly onto the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity. The following discussion subsequently fleshes out how soldiers exceed generalized renditions of militarized masculinity by examining interviews in which they disrupt the main storylines of rape.

To start with, the following discussion examines Trenholm et al.’s interviews conducted with former child soldiers with diverse military affiliations.⁵³⁵ While Trenholm et al.’s research is based on fewer interviews than those conducted by Baaz and Stern, there has been limited research undertaken on the actual attitudes of soldiers in the Congo towards sexual violence. One of the reasons this section then chooses to look at Trenholm et al.’s work in so much detail is because, it offers one of the most substantive accounts of the views of soldiers in the Congo towards sexual violence, against which to compare Baaz and Stern’s findings. Aside from this it also provides interesting insights of its own into child soldiers’ leaky performances of masculinity. Specifically, in exposing the physical and emotional vulnerability of child soldiers’ it starts to tease out how they exceed understandings of soldiers as *hardwired* to rape.

⁵³⁴ Mechanic, E., 2004. *Why Gender Still Matters*: 17

⁵³⁵ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys.’

Trenholm et al.'s article 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys' is based on their interviews with twelve former male child soldiers between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The interviews are comprised of broad questions, such as how has the war impacted on their lives, as well as more focused questions, such as why do they think soldiers rape.⁵³⁶ What Trenholm et al. argue is that these interviews reveal the "systematic construction of children into soldiers."⁵³⁷ They point to how during the interviews the former child soldiers spoke about how they were beaten, starved, drilled and drugged into obedience.⁵³⁸ Specifically, they point to how the former child soldiers spoke about how these modes of entry into the military were used to violently expunge any "expressions of emotions which could be seen as weakness."⁵³⁹ In exploring how the child soldiers' world was comprised of a narrow range of acceptable masculine coded behaviours, such as violence and aggression, as well as an even longer list of feminine coded forbidden traits, such as fear and empathy, what they argue is that the child soldiers were moulded into a militarized masculine identity: "a rigid set of stereotypical hyper masculinized behaviours promoting dominance by violating sexually and otherwise the subordinate other."⁵⁴⁰

In using the conceptual framework of militarized masculine identity, Trenholm et al. explore how rape became part of their broader repertoire of violence. In particular, in exploring how former child soldiers become physically and emotionally hardened towards this violence, they argue that militarized masculinity reduces soldiers to "robots that dare not question but rape as commanded to."⁵⁴¹ In other words, Trenholm et al.'s analysis ultimately contends that child soldiers are subject to particularly violent processes of militarized masculinity that produce perpetrators of rape. Interestingly, however, while in their argument the child soldiers emerged as *hardwired* to rape this was not my interpretation of the interview material. While the interview texts surely attested to the use of methods and tactics that armed groups across the world use to

⁵³⁶ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys': 208

⁵³⁷ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys': 203

⁵³⁸ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys': 214

⁵³⁹ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys': 214

⁵⁴⁰ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys': 214

⁵⁴¹ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys': 221

transform recruits into soldiers, these mechanisms and modes of entry into the military were not necessarily successful. Read through the window of leakiness they suggest that child soldiers do not soak up the dominant values of the military without some permutation.

In their work, Trenholm et al. demonstrate that they are aware of the potential impact the researcher may have on the respondent.⁵⁴² Specifically, they reflect on how the power dynamics between the researcher and the respondent may shape the interview.⁵⁴³ However, they are perhaps less aware of how their own theoretical framing informs their interpretation of the text. In using conceptual frameworks of militarized masculine identity to guide their analysis, Trenholm et al. miss some of the more interesting insights these interviews provide into the leakiness of child soldiers' performances of militarized masculinity. In their analysis of how child soldiers become physically and emotionally hardened towards sexual violence, Trenholm et al. place particular emphasis on how child soldiers described situations where they deeply denied their own feelings. These interviews, however, suggest that this was not always easily done. The child soldiers described how despite using mind altering substances to anesthetize against certain emotions, such as fear, these feelings continued to surface.⁵⁴⁴ One former child soldier that had witnessed an extremely violent act of rape in which the victim was shot in the vagina expressed deep feelings of sadness.⁵⁴⁵ Indeed, what many of the other former child soldiers revealed is that while they learned to deny their emotions this did not mean that they went away entirely. Aside from expressing feelings of fear and sadness, the former child soldiers, like those interviewed by Baaz and Stern, also voiced frustration and anger at their situation. They described how their commanders made the decision to go to war, "yet those on the battlefield pay the highest price with their lives."⁵⁴⁶ Notably, their narratives of war were not about nationalism and heroic masculine violent achievement but how the war left them physically damaged and wounded. One former child soldier,

⁵⁴² Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':209

⁵⁴³ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':209; See also

⁵⁴⁴ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':213

⁵⁴⁵ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':214

⁵⁴⁶ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':211

for instance, talked of the uselessness of war as he exhibited his bullet scar.⁵⁴⁷ Importantly, these feelings of fear and pain seem to surface and find expression in violence towards civilians, including rape.

What these interviews show is that while some of the former child soldiers claimed they felt group pressure to conform to violence was paramount, especially in incidences such as gang raping, more yet talked about how rape was forbidden by commanders.⁵⁴⁸ They claimed that commanders, who were guided by religious values, or sought to protect their troops from contracting sexual diseases, actively went out of their way to try to limit rape.⁵⁴⁹ Some of the former child soldiers even told stories about how some armed groups killed soldiers who perpetrated rape against women.⁵⁵⁰ Although the reasons they gave for why soldiers rape were varied, one of the more prominent themes that surfaced in the interviews concerned how they used violence to punish civilians. Specifically, they spoke about how they used rape to punish civilians that had made them feel small, for instance women who had rejected their advances.⁵⁵¹ Notably, these abuses, they argued, often took place after soldiers had been humiliated in battle or after they had been drinking. These interview texts subsequently reveal cracks in the “masculinity” that Trenholm et al. argue child soldiers develop.⁵⁵² Specifically, in exposing moments of emotional and physical vulnerability, they highlight how child soldiers exceed the strictly disciplined codes of masculine behaviour produced within the military. Aside from exposing leaks in representations of the soldiers as permanently hard, these interviews also start to flesh out how rape may reflect an attempt by soldiers to shore up their masculine identity. To expand, these interview texts, in pointing to how soldiers use rape to punish women that reject their advances, suggest that rape may be one way in which they try to solidify their fragile masculinity. In doing so, they raise some interesting questions about whether rape may more accurately reveal the leakiness of soldiers’ embodied experiences and performances of masculinity in this warscape. In other

⁵⁴⁷ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys’:211

⁵⁴⁸ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys’:217

⁵⁴⁹ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys’:217

⁵⁵⁰ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys’:217

⁵⁵¹ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys’:217

⁵⁵² Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. ‘Constructing Soldiers from Boys’:214

words, they raise questions about soldiers' potentially *haywire* bodies. In order to explore in more detail how child soldiers emerge as *haywire* this section turns to the work of Baaz and Stern, which more explicitly draws out the ways in which soldiers fail to embody the dominant values of masculinity found in this warscape.

In the last ten years Baaz and Stern have arguably rewritten the rule book on how to study rape in war. Few and far between are those authors that do not acknowledge their significant impact on how we research and think about rape in war. Yet, while their work has inspired many feminist scholars to rethink their ideas about rape in war several authors, such as Meger, Trenholm, Carslen, and Banwell, continue to present their findings as complementary to prevailing arguments that rape is used strategically by military commanders.⁵⁵³ One of the outcomes of this is that, while authors often point to how soldiers who engage in rape emerge as *haywire* (in the sense that they struggle to embody the specific forms of masculinity produced in the military), in their analyses they continue to slide back into representations of them as *hardwired* to rape. In contrast to these authors, my engagement with Baaz and Stern attempts to take seriously their provocation that we need to think outside the dominant storylines of rape in war and tries to use their work to examine how perpetrators' embodied experiences exceed generic stories of militarized masculinity. Specifically, my reading of their work on soldiers who perpetrate rape explores some of the explicit ways in which it helps us see leaky bodies.

In their extensive interviews with soldiers from the Congolese national armed forces, Baaz and Stern explore to what extent soldiers articulate gendered identities that resonate with depictions of masculinity found in military institutions worldwide.⁵⁵⁴ What they found was that in the interviews texts the main image of masculinity which soldiers drew upon to explain sexual violence was that "of the macho male virile potentially violent soldier whose sexual desire is

⁵⁵³ Meger, S., 2010. 'Rape of the Congo'; Banwell, S., 2012. 'Rape and Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo'; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys'; Carslen, E., 2008. 'Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of Congo.'

⁵⁵⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence': 69; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? 505; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity:' 39

barely containable.”⁵⁵⁵ In particular, what they discovered is that the soldiers they interviewed repeated familiar stories about how rape occurs in military contexts in which soldiers do not enjoy regular access to women. This was clearly illustrated by one male sergeant who explained that the “thirst of male sexuality combined with the absence of women renders soldiers parched.”⁵⁵⁶ In exploring how soldiers make sense of rape, Baaz and Stern however also point to how their explanations are reflective of gender discourses which are found in civilian zones. Another theme that the soldiers used to explain sexual violence was the association of masculinity with material wealth.⁵⁵⁷ The successful aspired-to masculinity depicted in their interviews, rather than symbolized by the tough brave soldier, was the affluent man that provides for the family.⁵⁵⁸ The man who does not fulfil his material obligations, they argue, is not only somehow deprived of his own masculinity but “also not considered as having the same rights to demand submission from his wife.”⁵⁵⁹

A good soldier is someone who knows discipline. But how can we do a good job when we are hungry, when you haven't eaten something for the whole day, when our children are hungry and don't go to school and when you could not leave any money to your wife in the morning so she can cook for the children? What is she to do? She is unhappy. When I come home and want to be with her she is upset and says “don't touch me.” What should I do? If it continues, after three days and I have no money to give for food she will get tired and when I am at work she will give her body to another man just to get a little something to feed the children.⁵⁶⁰

In their explanations of rape the soldiers repeated how their harsh living conditions made it difficult for them to fulfil their role as “the head and provider of the family.”⁵⁶¹ In doing so, they “set the stage for making sense of the sexual violence they commit.”⁵⁶² Poverty featured in their explanations of rape as both an “obstacle hindering them from having sex and forcing them to use force.”⁵⁶³

It is a problem of suffering/poverty. A soldier, if he has no possibilities, no money so that he can go the normal way ... if he has nothing in his pocket,

⁵⁵⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 507

⁵⁵⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 506

⁵⁵⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’:71; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 507; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity:’ 38

⁵⁵⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’:71

⁵⁵⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 507

⁵⁶⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 507

⁵⁶¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 507

⁵⁶² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 508

⁵⁶³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 508

he cannot eat or drink his coke, he has nothing to give to a woman he will take her by force. He will take a woman by force. Physically, men have needs. He cannot go a long time without being with a woman. It is very difficult to stop him ... So a soldier needs a bit of money in his pocket, and he needs to have leave. If that would happen, it would reduce the rapes a lot.⁵⁶⁴

In pointing to how soldiers locate the impetus for their resorting to violence in the mismatch between their exceptions and embodied experiences of masculinity, what Baaz and Stern subsequently suggest is that rape represents one of the ways in which soldiers try to perform this identity.⁵⁶⁵ What they however stress is that, while the act of rape may signify the temporal realization of masculinity, it ultimately symbolizes their failure to embody masculinity “since the act itself is so clearly distanced from the notions of masculinity that these soldiers articulate.”⁵⁶⁶ While the soldiers may have explained or even excused rape, Baaz and Stern stress that they never celebrated it. In the soldiers’ testimonies, not only was the act of rape clearly distanced from the successful notions of masculinity that were intimately linked to being able to keep many women, the soldiers also “openly struggled with the overarching sense that rape was wrong.”⁵⁶⁷ What this subsequently leads them to conclude is that the problem of rape “*cannot be located in a simplified understanding of a violent militarised masculinity celebrating rape [emphasis own].*”⁵⁶⁸

In paying attention to the local particularities of this warscape, this reading reminds us that soldiers’ embodied performances of masculinity cannot simply be reduced to militarized masculinity. The bodies of soldiers are not simply inert surfaces that absorb and reflect back the dominant values and ideals of militarized masculinity, but are always already steeped in gendered expectations. They exceed explanations of rape in which soldiers who engage in rape are seen as adhering to rigid forms of masculinity produced within the all-male zone of combat. In other words, in pointing to how soldiers’ embodied experiences of masculinity are reflective of gender discourses that are “crafted in the confluence and disjuncture

⁵⁶⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 32

⁵⁶⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 510;514

⁵⁶⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 515

⁵⁶⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 512

⁵⁶⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity:’ 41

between military and civilian zones,” this reading shows that perpetrators of rape cannot simply be contained with the explanatory framework of militarized masculinity.⁵⁶⁹ While this suggests that paying attention to the local particularities of perpetrators’ embodied performances of masculinity may be one way in which we can see leaky bodies, what I want to argue is that this reading more profoundly reveals how we can interpret the attempts of soldiers to embody the expectations of masculinity as leaky. To expand, in pointing to how the act of rape ultimately symbolizes the failure of soldiers to successfully embody dominant notions of what masculinity entails, what I want to argue is that this reading reveals how performances of masculinity are never complete.⁵⁷⁰ In pointing to how the act of rape itself symbolizes the failure of soldiers to embody dominant notions of masculinity “dependent on being economically solvent and enjoying regular access to women” it reveals how, read in this way, the act of rape itself exposes the incompleteness of embodied performances of masculinity.⁵⁷¹

4.6 Conclusion

By all accounts rape has become the frame to use when thinking about the Congo.⁵⁷² The aim of this chapter, however, was to explore the different ways in which rape, and specifically the perpetrators of rape, have been framed by outside observers. What this chapter subsequently demonstrated is how contemporary framings of the perpetrators of rape remained largely within the dominant storylines of rape in war. It set out how, despite the slippery politics of identity and the fractured state of the army, within much of the academic scholarship the perpetrators of rape emerge as embodied weapons, wielded by military elites who benefit politically and economically from the continuing instability.

In much of the literature on sexual violence in the Congo, the male bodies of perpetrators of rape feature only insofar as they provide the physical properties that make rape an efficient means of achieving strategic purposes. What this chapter also explored is how several authors use the conceptual framework of

⁵⁶⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 505

⁵⁷⁰ Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. “The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch:’ 41

⁵⁷¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ 509

⁵⁷² Autesserre, S., 2012. ‘Dangerous Tales’: 215

militarized masculinity in order to explain how the military fashions the bodies of soldiers into weapons. Specifically, what it argued is that, in pointing to the ways in which the stylization of masculinity in the military is conducive to rape, these authors continue to depict the bodies of soldiers who perpetrate rape as simply the tools or instruments of the military. In doing so, this chapter showed how the literature predominantly reproduces an image of the male bodies of perpetrators of rape as *hardwired*.

While the literature on sexual violence in this warscape was largely devoid of leaky male bodies, this chapter explored how the stories soldiers tell about perpetrating rape reveal the leakiness that exists outside the main storylines of rape in war. Through analysing interviews conducted with soldiers about perpetrating rape, what this chapter showed is that the soldiers' explanations of rape do not neatly map onto dominant representations of perpetrators of rape in war. Specifically, in pointing to how suffering and poverty feature in their explanations of rape, what the final two sections showed is how certain feelings that are seen as corrosive of militarized masculinity resurface in ways that disrupt our notions of perpetrators of rape in war as physically and emotionally hard. However while my reading of the stories that soldiers tell about rape exposed moments of emotional as well as physical vulnerability, it also pointed to how in their analysis of these stories feminist scholars continued to slide back into representations of soldiers in which they emerge as the hardened tools or instruments of violence. One of the outcomes of this is that while authors often identify how rape occurs when hard male bodies go *haywire*, in presenting their findings as complementary to prevailing arguments that rape is used strategically by military commanders they continue to depict soldiers as *hardwired*.

In contrast to these authors, my engagement with the work of Baaz and Stern identified two other ways of reading the male body of the perpetrators of rape through the window of its leakiness. Firstly, it explored how paying attention to the local particularities of this warscape may help us see how the bodies of perpetrators of rape exceed simplified understandings of militarized masculinity, in which soldiers are portrayed as embodying forms of masculinity that are

conducive to rape. Secondly, it analysed how paying attention to the failure of soldiers to successfully embody dominant notions of masculinity may expose the ways in which performances of masculinity are always leaky, never completed, finished, or done with.

As this chapter acknowledges the work of Baaz and Stern has had an enormous effect on the study rape in war. Their work however has shaped not only academic work but also more broadly policy analysis on rape in war. With this in mind, the next chapter looks at how the ways in which we frame perpetrators' bodies as hard informs policies around combating sexual violence in war, and considers why seeing embodiment as leaky might be important for thinking about how we intervene politically in sexual violence. In particular, in exploring global policy debates on sexual violence in the Congo, it asks how our contemporary framings of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence as hard may limit our ability to meaningfully engage soldiers in the prevention of sexual violence

Chapter Five

Malignant Male Muscle



Figure 6: Samba, C., 2004. *Little Kadogo*. Acrylic on Canvas.

5.1 'The Postwar Moment'⁵⁷³

Sexual violence challenges conventional notions of what constitutes a security threat. Cheaper than bullets, it requires no weapons system other than physical intimidation, making it low cost, yet high impact. This may also render sexual violence resistant to disarmament processes and ceasefire monitoring, aimed to rid communities of conventional weapons and ensure the cessation of shooting and other openly hostile acts⁵⁷⁴

The previous chapter detailed four explanatory frameworks through which academic scholarship makes sense of why soldiers perpetrate rape in the DRC. What it found is that authors largely worked within understandings of sexual violence in war that reproduce an image of soldiers who perpetrate rape as embodied or physical weapons. Specifically, what this chapter showed was how the literature, in deploying the conceptual framework of militarized masculinity, predominantly reproduces an image of perpetrators of rape as *hardwired*. Furthermore, what it found was that even authors who strayed from the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity, and explored how sexual violence is related to the failure of soldiers to embody dominant notions of masculinity celebrated in the military, reproduced an image of the perpetrators of rape as *hardwired*. While in their analyses they frequently pointed to how rape occurs when soldiers go *haywire*, in remaining within prevailing arguments about how sexual violence is used strategically by militarized groups, they continued to depict the perpetrators of rape as adhering to strict form of masculinity produced within the all-male zone of combat.

Nevertheless, while much of the literature located the problem of rape within generic understandings of militarized masculinity, interviews conducted with soldiers pointed to how their embodied experiences disrupted dominant assumptions about militarised masculinity. Through its engagement with the work of Baaz and Stern, chapter four explored some of the ways in which we can start to read the male body of the perpetrator as leaky in the DRC. Although much of their work is directed at feminist analysis of the interconnections between gender,

⁵⁷³ Cockburn, C., & Zarkov, D., 2002. *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. London: Lauren and Wishart Limited

⁵⁷⁴ Anderson, L., 2012. *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*. United Nations Women. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women:10

warring, violence, and militarization, they have also notably engaged with the policy literature on rape in war.⁵⁷⁵ This raises some interesting question about how feminist explanations of rape in war permeated global policy debates about soldiers who perpetrate rape in the DRC. The aim of this chapter is subsequently to explore how feminist analyses have been brought to bear on policy efforts to address the problem of rape. Specifically, it explores how feminist scholarship on postconflict conceptualizations of security has shaped attempts to reform the military.

To expand, an extensive body of feminist work on postconflict conceptualizations of security examines how women experience war differently to men.⁵⁷⁶ One of the things that it shows is that sexual violence rarely conforms to the timelines of peace treaties and ceasefires “but endures past them.”⁵⁷⁷ This has typically led to welcome calls within the policy community for the inclusion of gender in thinking about questions of conflict resolution. In particular, feminists have lauded United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which demands that members to take special measures to address conflict related sexual violence.^{578xxvi} However, while many feminists have welcomed these calls to take seriously the interconnections between gender, warring, violence, and militarization, several authors argue that we need to examine their conceptual foundations as well as practical impacts.⁵⁷⁹ Building on this body of feminist work, this chapter critically examines how attempts to address violent masculinities have been intimately linked to the fight against sexual violence in the DRC.

⁵⁷⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.’ Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond “gender and stir”: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45

⁵⁷⁶ Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., & Turshen, M., 2001. *The Aftermath: Women in Post-conflict Transformation*. London: Zed Books; Cockburn, C., & Zarkov, D., 2002. *The Postwar Moment*; Handrahan, L., 2004. ‘Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction’. *Security Dialogue*, 35(4):429-445

⁵⁷⁷ Aoláin, F., Haynes, F., & Cahn, N., 2011. *On the Frontlines: Gender, War and Post-Conflict Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 47

⁵⁷⁸ McLeod, L., forthcoming 2015. ‘The Women, Peace and Security Resolutions: UNSCR 1325 TO 2122’ Eds. Steans, J., & Tepe-Belfrage, D., *The Handbook of Gender and International Relations*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

⁵⁷⁹ Pratt, N. & Richter-Devroe, S., 2011. ‘Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13 (4): 489-503

As previously argued in chapter three, the international policy community has begun to take on board the view that closer attention must be paid to masculinities as part of “the project of ending violence.”⁵⁸⁰ One of the areas in which policy makers argue we need to pay closer attention to masculinity, and integrate men into programs aimed at reducing violence against women, is security sector reforms.⁵⁸¹ In particular, in recent years, policy actors have paid particular attention to the forms of masculinities found within military institutions.⁵⁸² Militarized masculinity, as Baaz and Stern point out, specifically emerges as the “object for reform.”⁵⁸³ However, while constructions of militarised masculinity certainly contribute towards rape, this chapter pauses to reflect on how the body of the male perpetrator of rape emerges in gender sensitive defense reforms. In doing so, this chapter will explore what are some of the limitations and effects of how masculinity is configured within these security interventions.

In exploring how the body of the male perpetrator of rape figures in gender sensitive defense reforms, this chapter will identify two forms of what Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell calls “malignant male muscle.”⁵⁸⁴ Within the first of these forms of malignant male muscle, what this chapter will show, is that militarized masculinity emerges, to borrow Baaz and Stern’s phrasing, as the “object for reform.”⁵⁸⁵ Notably, in pointing to how militarized masculinity surfaces as the object for reform, what this chapter will show is how, consistent with the literature on sexual violence in the DRC, gender sensitive defence reforms locate the problem of rape within the *hardwired* male body. However, while this chapter will look at how efforts to reform militarized masculinity are closely linked to combating

⁵⁸⁰ Aoláin, F., Haynes, F., & Cahn, N., 2011. *On the Frontlines: Gender*: 52; See also Hutchings, K., 2008. ‘Making Sense of Masculinity and War.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 10(4): 389-404, p.392

⁵⁸¹ Clarke, Y., 2008. ‘Security Sector Reform in Africa: A Lost Opportunity to Deconstruct Militarised Masculinities?’ *Feminist Africa*, 10:49-66; Kunz, R., 2014, ‘Gender and Security Sector Reform: Gendering Differently?’ *International Peacekeeping*, 21(5): 604-622

⁵⁸² Kunz, R., 2014, ‘Gender and Security Sector Reform:’ 613

⁵⁸³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.’ Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond “gender and stir”: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45, p.38

⁵⁸⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell cited in UNIFEM, 2004. *Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, demobilisation and Reintegration*: New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women:19

⁵⁸⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity: 38

sexual violence in the context of the military, it will also examine another more stubborn form of malignant male muscle that emerges as the object for reform within security interventions. Specifically, it will look at how attempts to reform militarized masculinity in the DRC slide back into racialized imageries of the “bestiality of rapists.”⁵⁸⁶

In unpacking these two distinctive forms of malignant male muscle I subsequently analyse how these security interventions solidify the male body. In particular, in analysing how these forms of malignant male muscle congeal the male body into fixed forms, I reflect on some of the ways in which they may hinder alternative interventions that take seriously the leakiness of embodied experiences of masculinity. In order to explore how the body of the male perpetrator of rape figures in gender sensitive defense reforms I will then specifically examine two examples of gender sensitive defense reforms in this landscape of violence:

- 1) *The European Union-led training mission to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the area of defence*
- 2) *The United States-led train and equip mission to increase the ability of the army to conduct effective internal security operations*

The reason I choose to look at these two examples of gender sensitive defense reforms is partly for practical reasons. Both the European Union and United States have produced materials detailing their strategies and activities, which make them both useful examples from which to learn about how gender sensitive defense reforms construe the bodies of male soldiers. The main reason I however choose to look at these two examples is because they are both exemplary of how militarized masculinity surfaces as the object for reform in gender sensitive defense reforms. Specifically, they provide valuable insights into how the body that emerges as the object for reform is not simply the *hardwired* male body but an explicitly racialized embodiment of militarized masculinity.

⁵⁸⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 25

In addition to examining these examples of gender sensitive defense reforms, which I argue limit the possibilities for intervening politically in sexual violence, this chapter will also reflect on how interventions that pay attention to the local particularities that shape performances of masculinity may provide an alternative model that is more sensitive to the leakiness of their embodied experiences. In particular having explored the limitations of gender sensitive defense reforms, this chapter will examine how male group therapy may provide one way of engaging men in the prevention of sexual violence:

3) *The Living Peace Groups Program helping men cope with the traumas of war and to reconstruct their identities in gender transformative ways*

This chapter is then separated into two parts. Part one sets out how the fight against sexual violence is intimately linked to security sector reform and the forms of malignant male muscle that emerge within gender sensitive defence reforms (5.2), while part two will look in more detail at how perpetrators of rape surface within specific security interventions and will reflect on the violent effects of these configurations (5.3).

5.2 “The Trouble with the Congo”⁵⁸⁷

In 2002, the main warring factions in the Congo signed The Global and Inclusive Agreement on Transition. The agreement marked the formal end of the Second Congo War. Over the course of the next three years, the Congolese transitional government was tasked with securing regions torn apart by conflict. As Autesserre writes, during these transitional years “international actors exerted an unusually strong influence over the country’s affairs.”⁵⁸⁸ Thanks in part to heavy international pressure, neighbouring countries considerably decreased assistance to local armed militia groups. Living conditions dramatically improved as families that had fled to the bush to escape the violence were finally able to return home. However, as Autesserre shows, “while the situation in many parts of the country

⁵⁸⁷ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. New York: Cambridge University Press

⁵⁸⁸ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*: 3

has considerably improved the situation in the east remained highly unstable.”⁵⁸⁹ Despite being home to over twenty thousand peacekeeping personnel from all around the world, clashes between armed groups, massive population displacement, and human right violations persist in areas such as Ituri District, Beni Territory, Katanga Province and Kivu Region.⁵⁹⁰

Notably, what Dolan shows is that within these communities the general consensus was that “the war had not yet come to an end.”⁵⁹¹ The main justification advanced for this view was given in terms of threats to personal security, such as raping or looting.⁵⁹² Specifically, rape ranked above all other forms of violence as the primary indicator for ongoing war.⁵⁹³ However, while over eighty percent of civilians consider their living conditions in general to be the same as or worse than it was during the war, international actors have largely come to refer to the situation as postconflict.⁵⁹⁴ The application of this label, according to Autesserre, was deliberately spread –over drinks and through email exchanges - among members of the peacebuilding community.⁵⁹⁵ To begin with most field based actors highly contested this new categorization, however, as Autesserre argues, over time even those confronted with large scale fighting between former warring parties “progressively adopted the postconflict language.”⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁸⁹ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*: 4

⁵⁹⁰ Bangré, H., 2014. ‘Massacres highlight complexity of violence in DRC’s Beni Territory.’ *Integrated Regional Information Networks* <http://www.irinnews.org/report/100932/massacres-highlight-complexity-of-violence-in-drc-s-beni-territory> (accessed April 2015, 4); NA, 2014. ‘Mob violence rife in DRC’s Ituri District.’ *Integrated Regional Information Networks* <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99958/mob-violence-rife-in-drc-s-ituri-district> (accessed April 2015, 4); Graham, S. 2014. ‘Bad roads, insecurity hamper relief effort in DRC’s Katanga Province.’ *Integrated Regional Information Networks* <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99669/bad-roads-insecurity-hamper-relief-effort-in-drc-s-katanga-province> (accessed April 2015, 4)

⁵⁹¹ Dolan, C., 2010. ‘*War is Not Yet Over*’: *Community Perceptions of Sexual Violence and its Underpinnings in Eastern DRC*, International Alert: 18

⁵⁹² Dolan, C., 2010. ‘*War is Not Yet Over*’: 18

⁵⁹³ Dolan, C., 2010. ‘*War is Not Yet Over*’: 18

⁵⁹⁴ Vinck, P. et al., 2008. *Living with Fear: A population-based survey on attitudes about peace, justice and social reconstruction in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo*. Berkley: Human Rights Centre: 23

⁵⁹⁵ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*: 67

⁵⁹⁶ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*: 66

Crucially, this postconflict labelling ushered in changes in the tools that international actors used to act within this landscape of violence.⁵⁹⁷ One of the strategies that they implemented to try to limit levels of political violence was security sector reform. Security sector reform refers to the transformation of security institutions or systems such as the military in order to get them to play an effective role in providing security. Widely understood as critical to the consolidation of peace and stability in postconflict settings, security sector reform took on a particular significance in the Congo where one of the main challenges facing the transitional government was the three hundred thousand armed combatants to be integrated into the newly formed armed forces.⁵⁹⁸ Specifically, international actors saw defence reform as important for combating the abuses committed by the armed forces against civilians.

The threat posed by the armed forces to the population has been of central concern to international actors intervening in the region. Interviews with civilians often identify soldiers as sources of insecurity. For instance, Paul Vinck's research shows that less than twenty percent of civilians felt safe when they came across soldiers, while Chris Dolan's interviews with civilians show that many linked the presence of soldiers to increased levels of sexual violence in the region.⁵⁹⁹ This awareness that the military is one of the main perpetrators contributing to violence against civilians, especially sexual violence,⁶⁰⁰ has led many international actors to argue that defence reform needs to pay closer attention to the violent masculinity of soldiers.⁶⁰¹ This argument is clearly articulated by Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell, an expert on processes of peacekeeping, who claims that "*the question of what to do with the morass of malignant male muscle remains unanswered.*"⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁷ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*: 100

⁵⁹⁸ Onana, R., & Taylor, H., 2008. 'MONUC and SSR in the Democratic Republic of Congo'. *International Peacekeeping*, 15 (4): 501-516, p. 503

⁵⁹⁹ Vinck, P. et al., 2008. *Living with Fear*: 26; Dolan, C., 2010. 'War is Not Yet Over': 28

⁶⁰⁰ Bartles et al., 2013. 'Militarized Sexual Violence in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 28(2): 340-358, p.345

⁶⁰¹ Bendix, D., 2008. 'A Review of Gender in Security Sector Reform: Bringing Post-Colonial and Gender Theory into the Debate.' Eds. Jacob, M., Bendix, D., & Stanley, R., *Engendering Security Sector Reform: A Workshop Report*. Workshop hosted by the Free University Berlin: 9-31, p.20

⁶⁰² Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell cited in UNIFEM, 2004. *Getting it Right, Doing it Right*:19

While this chapter welcomes calls to pay closer attention to violent masculinity of soldiers, it argues that international security interventions in the shape of defence reform require critical examination. Some of the questions it subsequently asks are, what does this morass of malignant male muscle look like, how is masculinity configured within gender sensitive defence reforms, does it simply resemble dominant notions of militarized masculinity, or does it reflect other understandings of masculinity in this warscape?

Before exploring specific examples of gender sensitive defence reform this chapter sets out two forms of malignant male muscle that surface in the literature. To start with it outlines how militarized masculinity emerges as the object of reform within of gender sensitive defence reform, before exploring how the object of reform is not simply militarized masculinity but an explicitly racialized embodiment of militarized masculinity that is seen as being overly aggressive towards women. The first of these forms of malignant male muscle follows neatly on from my analysis of militarized masculinity in previous chapters. In seeing the problem of rape as residing in the *hardwired* male soldiering body, it draws attention to how soldiers who mete out sexual violence emerge as weapons which like other deadly weapons must be disarmed.

5.2.1 The Machinery of War

As the previous chapter argued, feminist explanations of sexual violence in the Congo largely remain within the dominate imagery of militarized masculinity. In pointing to how the stylization of masculinity in the military produces soldiers that are 'capable' of raping, they largely depict soldiers who perpetrate rape as weapons which are wielded by military elites in order to achieve political objectives. What this section, however, wants to explore in more detail is how this understanding of perpetrators of rape in the Congo has subsequently shaped global policy debates about gender sensitive defence reform. One of the most obvious ways in which this understanding has shaped both global policy debates about gender sensitive defence reform can be seen in the literature on disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration.

The peace agreement signed at the end of the Second Congo War called for the establishment of disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration processes. The disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration processes consisted of three distinct phases that involve removing weapons from the hands of combatants, taking the combatants out of military structures, and integrating combatants into society.⁶⁰³ Specifically, combatants from armed groups that were party to the peace agreement were expected to stay in processing centres for five days before being allowed to choose between integration into the army or into civilian life.⁶⁰⁴ Notably, what early commentators observed is that these processes tended to revolve around technocratic exercises, concerned with tallying the number of combatants enrolled and weapons collected, which allowed international actors to measure their effects.⁶⁰⁵ These technocratic exercises subsequently reveal how combatants and weapons were intimately linked in the minds of international actors. Both were arguably seen as threats to security and stability in the region. However, while these technocratic exercises have dominated discourses and debates around defence reform, concerned international actors have also examined how the integration process offers an opportunity “to place the transformation of militarised masculinity on the agenda.”⁶⁰⁶

Feminist scholars interested in how the integration process may offer an opportunity to reform violent masculinities have frequently pointed to how “weapons and violence become intertwined within concepts of militarised masculinity.”⁶⁰⁷ Kimberley Theidon, for instance, argues that the integration of former soldiers into society requires an examination of the salient links between

⁶⁰³ United Nations, 2016. ‘Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration.’ *United Nations Peacekeeping* <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/ddr.shtml> (accessed June, 2016, 23)

⁶⁰⁴ United Nations, 2016. Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration.’ *United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo* <http://monusco.unmissions.org/en/ddr> (accessed June, 2016, 23)

⁶⁰⁵ Knight, M., 2004, ‘Guns, Camps and Cash: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion of Former Combatants in Transitions from War to Peace.’ *Journal of Peace Research*, 41 (4): 499-516; see also Young, E., & Yacoubian, N., 2007. ‘DR Congo: DDR - It’s the first time that the criteria of “one man one weapon” has been respected (UNDP).’ *Relief Web* <http://reliefweb.int/report/democratic-republic-congo/dr-congo-ddr-its-first-time-criteria-one-man-one-weapon-has-been> (accessed July 2015, 31)

⁶⁰⁶ Clarke, Y., 2008. ‘Security Sector Reform in Africa’: 60

⁶⁰⁷ Theidon, K. 2009. ‘Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia’, *Human Rights Quarterly*, 3 (1): 1-34, p.2

weapons and violence within constructions of militarized masculinity.⁶⁰⁸ Specifically, she argues that the successful and effective integration of former combatants into society must pay attention to the *technique du corps* that men learn as part of their transformation into combatants.⁶⁰⁹ In examining how practices of combat training produce soldiers that are physically and emotionally hard, her work stresses the need to consider “the enormous challenges of putting the body out of military usage.”⁶¹⁰ Although her interviews with former combatants provide some interesting insights into how men embody their violent pasts in enduring and often unconscious ways, in seeing them as predominantly products of their training she arguably continues to remain within representations of soldiers as simply tools or instruments of violence.⁶¹¹ In her work, the object of reform remains the hard male soldiering body which must “be reconstructed following periods of violence.”⁶¹²

This image of the hard male body also emerges within discourses in the Congo about the integration of former soldiers into society. While there has not been much feminist scholarship on the integration of former soldiers into society, the hard male soldiering body surfaces in policy debates. For instance, it surfaces in discussions about how integrating former combatants into civilian settings in closer proximity to women “may exacerbate sexual violence.”⁶¹³ Within these discussions, former combatants that are deeply enmeshed within constructions of militarized masculinity have been characterized as “time bombs for the community.”⁶¹⁴ Similar to the feminist scholarship on the integration of former soldiers into society, the policy literature also continues to use the metaphor of the body as machine in order to describe the challenges associated with reconstructing the masculinities learned during wartime. In doing so, this policy literature arguably remains within and reproduces the dominant imagery of militarized

⁶⁰⁸ Theidon, K. 2009. ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’: 2

⁶⁰⁹ Theidon, K. 2009. ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’: 22

⁶¹⁰ Aoláin, F., Haynes, F., & Cahn, N., 2011. *On the Frontlines: Gender*: 145

⁶¹¹ Theidon, K. 2009. ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’: 27

⁶¹² Theidon, K. 2009. ‘Reconstructing Masculinities’:30

⁶¹³ Anderson, L., 2012. *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: An Analytical Inventory of Peacekeeping Practice*. United Nations Women. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women: 10

⁶¹⁴ Dolan, C., 2010. ‘*War is Not Yet Over*’: 50

masculinity in which soldiers emerge as *hardwired* to rape. However, while this draws attention to one of the main ways in which the male body of the former soldier is configured within policy debates around gender sensitive defence reform, more attention has perhaps been paid to the integration of non-decommissioned combatants into the national armed forces. Specifically, the awareness that the newly integrated military is one of the main perpetrators of sexual violence has resulted in attempts to reconstruct the violent masculinities of soldiers that have chosen to remain in the military.⁶¹⁵ Although slightly at odds with feminist scholarship, which has historically been highly critical of militarism in its various guises, this approach is clearly informed by feminist concepts of militarized masculinity.⁶¹⁶

As Rahel Kunz shows, although the literature on gender sensitive defence reform is relatively scarce, by looking at security sector reform toolkits we can see that these reforms are not only about adding women “but also importantly about gendering men differently.”⁶¹⁷ Partly in response to critics, who accused gender sensitive defence reform of not challenging violent forms of masculinity in military institutions and even worse legitimizing them, she claims that policy makers have increasingly begun to take on the view that reforms need to take masculinity seriously in order to limit levels of violence in postconflict settings.⁶¹⁸ Specifically, she examines how in gender sensitive defence reform handbooks and manuals particular emphasis is placed on the importance of “engaging military males in the prevention of sexual violence.”⁶¹⁹ The problem of rape, she argues, is seen as residing in the violent behaviour and attitudes of male security forces. The aim is, then, “to reform individual violent men into less violent professional security

⁶¹⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’ Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-123, p.107

⁶¹⁶ Enloe, C., 1993. *The Morning After. Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; 2000. *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women’s Lives*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press; 2002. ‘Demilitarization – or more of the same? Feminist Questions to ask in the postwar moment’, Eds. C., & Zarkov, D., *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping*. London: Lauren and Wishart Limited: 22-32

⁶¹⁷ Kunz, R., 2014. ‘Gender and Security Sector Reform:’ 605

⁶¹⁸ Kunz, R., 2014. ‘Gender and Security Sector Reform:’ 613

⁶¹⁹ Kunz, R., 2014. ‘Gender and Security Sector Reform:’ 613

sector personnel - based on the idea that through gender training and codes of conduct that men can learn to become less violent.”⁶²⁰

The literature on gender sensitive defence reform in the Congo is even scarcer. However, the work of Baaz and Stern, in addition to the examples of specific training missions discussed in the second half of this chapter, provide insights into the role of gender sensitive defence reform in this setting. In particular, their engagement with policy makers as well as soldiers, on the subject of gender sensitive defence reform, reveals how attempts to reform militarised masculinity have been intimately linked to the fight against sexual violence.⁶²¹ Similar to many other post conflict contexts, these efforts, they show, have largely taken the form of training sessions on human rights and international humanitarian law.⁶²² What is notable about these efforts to reform militarized masculinity, as the second half of this chapter will show in more detail, is that the male soldiering body emerges as already known.⁶²³ What this chapter subsequently argues is that, while they perhaps do not explicitly uses metaphor of the body as machine, in evoking dominant notions of militarized masculinity these efforts continue to depict the male soldiering body as *hardwired* to rape. The male soldiering body, it argues, emerges as the object of reform that needs to be rewired or reprogramed in order to produce less violent and destructive forms of masculinity. As Baaz and Stern write, “violence and the weapons that wield it are comfortably moved back into the control of security governance and neutralized through the responsabilization of the state via international security interventions.”⁶²⁴

The arguments feminists make about reforming militarized masculinity are often more complex than those that appear in the policy literature. However, in locating some points of convergence between them, what this chapter has started to show

⁶²⁰ Kunz, R., 2014. ‘Gender and Security Sector Reform:’ 613

⁶²¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’:38; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. ‘Whores, Men, and Other Misfits: Undoing ‘feminization’ in the armed forces in the DRC. *African Affairs*, 110(441): 563–585, p.22

⁶²² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity: 38; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. ‘Whores, Men, and Other Misfits:’ 2

⁶²³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’:39; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. ‘Whores, Men, and Other Misfits:’23

⁶²⁴Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 66

is how feminist understandings of militarized masculinity permeate global policy debates about soldiers who perpetrate rape. Specifically, what this chapter argues is that in adopting feminist ideas about notions of violence become deeply bound up with concept of masculinity policy markers depict soldiers as deadly weapons which must be controlled or regulated. The second half of this chapter discusses in more detail the specifics of this image of soldiers as well as its implication for thinking about the leaky male body. Before looking at some specific examples of training mission that have integrated gender sensitive defence reform into their mandate, however, I want to talk about another more stubborn male body which haunts the literature.

5.2.2 “The Bestiality of Rapists”⁶²⁵

Within much of the policy literature militarized masculinity emerges as the object for reform. The ‘Defence Reform and Gender Toolkit’ (2008), for instance, states that masculinities need to be taken into account “to ensure men are supported to move from a warrior identity to a more appropriate role.”⁶²⁶ However, what this section argues is that discourses of gender sensitive defence reform are also saturated in colonial imagery which depicts soldiers as fundamentally other. As Baaz and Utas write, “military men emerge as depraved objects to be tamed and civilised through training programmes.”⁶²⁷

International actors have historically pictured the Congo as an inherently violent country.⁶²⁸ For many outside observers the situation has not changed much since Joseph Conrad wrote his famous novel the *Heart of Darkness*.⁶²⁹ The Congo remains firmly entrenched within the western political imaginary as “the bleeding heart of

⁶²⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 25

⁶²⁶ Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. ‘Defence Reform and Gender.’ Eds. Valasek, K. & Bastick, M., *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW: 17

⁶²⁷ Baaz, M., & Utas, M., 2012. ‘Beyond “gender and stir”’: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts’ Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., *Beyond “gender and stir”’: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 5-10, p. 7

⁶²⁸ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*:74-81

⁶²⁹ Conrad, J., 1902. *The Heart of Darkness*, 1990 Edition, New York: Dover Thrift Editions; See also Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo*: 166 Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*: 25; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 60

Africa.”⁶³⁰ One does not need to look far for media reports that refer to Congo as “one of the most chronically afflicted parts of Africa.”⁶³¹ This diagnosis is particularly evident in several articles written by Jeffery Gettleman, who describes Congo’s problems as “wounds that have never quite scabbed over.”⁶³² Within global media reporting, victims of rape frequently figure as symbols of Congo’s wounds.⁶³³ Sexual violence, as Jason Stearns explains, has been an effective way of portraying the situation as “it brings home in graphic and personal terms the brutality and immensity of the violence.”⁶³⁴ This depiction of the Congo, he however argues, contributes to the phenomenon of rape tourism in which victims of particularly brutal acts of rape are prevailed upon by reporters to tell their stories.⁶³⁵ Notably, what this section is interested in is how, in trying to outdo each other with the most barbaric rape scenario, reporters depict perpetrators as “barbaric killers and rapists who mutilate and even eat their victims.”⁶³⁶

Within global media reporting the problem of rape, Baaz and Stern point out, is often portrayed as residing in “the supposed bestiality of the rapists.”⁶³⁷ Soldiers who perpetrate rape in the Congo are depicted as being governed by their bestial nature rather than norms of modern civilisation.⁶³⁸ This overtly racist portrayal of soldiers who perpetrate rape, Baaz and Stern argue, is perhaps most clearly seen in reports which argue that the gorillas that inhabit the national parks “have been

⁶³⁰ Time Magazine 15 March 1999 cited in also Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo*: 169

⁶³¹ Gettleman, J., 2012. ‘The World’s Worst War.’ *The New York Times*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/16/sunday-review/congos-never-ending-war.html> (accessed June 2014, 6)

⁶³² Gettleman, J., 2012. ‘Congo Slips into Chaos Again As Rebels Gain.’ *The New York Times*

http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/26/world/africa/as-rebels-gain-congo-again-slips-into-chaos.html?_r=0 (accessed June 2014, 6)

⁶³³ See Gettleman, J., 2007. ‘Rape Epidemic Raises Trauma of Congo War.’ *The New York Times*

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/world/africa/07congo.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed June 2014, 10); McGreal, C., 2008. ‘Inside the villages where every woman is victim of hidden war.’ *The Guardian*

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/05/congo-women> (accessed June 2014, 9); Wolfe, L., 2016. ‘If 18-month-year-old girls are being raped, then why are the suspect still free?’ *The Guardian*

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/girls-gang-raped-suspects-free-democratic-republic-congo-president-kabila> (accessed June, 2016, 23)

⁶³⁴ Stearns, J., 2009. ‘Are we focusing too much on sexual violence in the DRC?’ *CONGO SIASA*

<http://congosiasa.blogspot.co.uk/2009/12/are-we-focusing-too-much-on-sexual.html> (accessed June 2014, 10)

⁶³⁵ Stearns, J., 2009. ‘Are we focusing too much on sexual violence in the DRC?’ *CONGO SIASA*

<http://congosiasa.blogspot.co.uk/2009/12/are-we-focusing-too-much-on-sexual.html> (accessed June 2014, 10)

⁶³⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 25

⁶³⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 25

⁶³⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 26

replaced by much more savage beasts.”⁶³⁹ In comparing soldiers to savage beasts that rule the jungle such depictions perpetuate an image of them as exceptional to norms of modern warfare that civilized people abide by.⁶⁴⁰ That this representation has little anchoring in the experiences of warfare in the supposedly civilized world, Baaz and Stern contend, “seems to have little bearing on its purchase.”⁶⁴¹ What this section then wants to explore in more detail is how this racialized male body also simultaneously emerges as the object for reform within gender sensitive defence reform.

Although such overtly racialized depictions of soldiers as savage beasts are rarely directly found within the policy literature, off the record interviews with members of the international community show that outside interveners regularly repeat them in their explanations for high levels of violence.⁶⁴² Significantly, in exploring how international actors on the ground see violence as the “typical state of affairs”, Séverine Autesserre demonstrates how this unofficial understanding has shaped the strategies that the international community uses to address the widespread occurrence of violence.⁶⁴³ What my reading of gender sensitive defence reforms subsequently finds is that this portrayal of perpetrators as savage beasts can be seen to have informed reforms which have become synonymous with combating rape. Specifically, it can be seen to have shaped gender sensitive defence reforms that seek to modernize and professionalize soldiers through training programmes.

Although the concept of security sector reform is relatively new it has come to occupy an important place on the peacebuilding agenda. What Daniel Bendix, however, argues is that more generally the emergence of security sector reform and therefore defence reforms needs to be situated in the context of global power relations “that reproduce patterns of domination stemming from the era of

⁶³⁹ Jeffery Gettleman cited in Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 26; see also Gettleman, J., 2007. ‘Rape Epidemic Raises Trauma of Congo War.’ *The New York Times* <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/07/world/africa/07congo.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed June 2014, 10)

⁶⁴⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 26

⁶⁴¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 26

⁶⁴² Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*:75

⁶⁴³ Autesserre, S., 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo*:82

colonialism.”⁶⁴⁴ In pointing to how gender sensitive defence reforms attempt to teach soldiers about norms of modern warfare that civilized peoples supposedly abide by, what this section argues is that the racialized male body also emerges as the object for reform within security interventions. Crucially in pointing to how the racialized body also emerges as the object of reform the contention is not that this body replaces the *hardwired* male soldiering body. Rather the argument is that, within the context of the Congo, this embodiment of militarized masculinity becomes explicitly racialized. Put simply my contention is that within gender sensitive defence reforms the *hardwired* male soldiering body is also an overtly racialized body.

In making this argument, it draws heavily on the work of Baaz and Stern, which shows how gender sensitive defence reforms, in attempting to educate soldiers in international regimes on human rights particularly those of women, “carry with them deeply entrenched civilizing ambitions.”⁶⁴⁵ They argue that underlying these educative techniques is the assumption that through modernization of the armed forces soldiers can leave behind these bestial practices in order to “become more productive less violent gendered subjects.”⁶⁴⁶ In building on their insights into the civilizing ambitions of gender training, the second half of this chapter shows how the racialized male body surfaces within attempts to reform militarized masculinity by exploring training missions. In particular, in exploring how training missions have integrated gender training into their mandate, it explores how the male racialized soldiering body emerges in the distinctions between trainer and trainee.

While the second half of this chapter will look specifically at how an overtly racialized male soldiering body emerges within attempts to produce less violent militarized masculinities through gender training, it will also importantly show how this body prevents us from thinking about leaky male bodies. This thesis has already detailed some of the ways in which the hard male soldiering body makes it difficult to attend to the leakiness of perpetrators’ embodied experiences in this

⁶⁴⁴ Bendix, D., 2008. ‘A Review of Gender in Security Sector Reform’:20-22

⁶⁴⁵ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. ‘Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.’ 108

⁶⁴⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 26

setting. Following on from this, the second half of this chapter will point to some of the ways in which the hard racialized male soldiering body functions to congeal an overly determined embodiment of militarized masculinity that further distance us from leaky male bodies. In doing so, this chapter will not only point to how this specific portrayal of the *hardwired* male soldiering body is essentializing but will also highlight some of the more practical implications it has for intervening and combating sexual violence. Specifically, in thinking about some of the practical implications of training missions that have integrated gender sensitive defence reform into their mandate, I explore how locating the problem of rape within the bestiality of the rapist distances outside interveners from the everyday experiences of the very people most directly involved in this violence.

The purpose of the first half of the chapter was to set out the forms of malignant male muscle that emerge within gender sensitive defence reforms. What this half of the chapter has shown is that, while the hard male ‘weaponized’ and ‘mechanized’ soldiering body officially emerges as the object for reform in discourses about gender sensitive defence reforms, another more stubborn body haunts these security interventions. Specifically, it pointed to how within gender sensitive defence reforms military men also emerge as savage beast that must be ‘tamed’ and ‘civilised’ through educative techniques. In the next half of this chapter I will then explore in more detail is how both of these two forms of malignant male muscle, the hard weaponized male body and the racialized bestial body, specifically surface within bilateral donor training missions that have integrated gender sensitive defence reform into their mandate.

5.3 Gender Sensitive Defence Reform

International actors have increasingly come to see gender as central to defence reform that involves changes to organisational cultures, policies, structures, behaviours, management, authorities and controls.⁶⁴⁷ Several security sector reform ‘toolkits’ or ‘manuals’ have been created that outline practical actions to mainstream gender into defence reform initiatives. The Organization for Security

⁶⁴⁷ Valasek, K. & Bastick, M., 2008. *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW

and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) 'Gender and Defence Reform' (2008) toolkit specifically details practical actions to mainstream gender, within political, economic, institutional and societal processes (see figure TBC).⁶⁴⁸

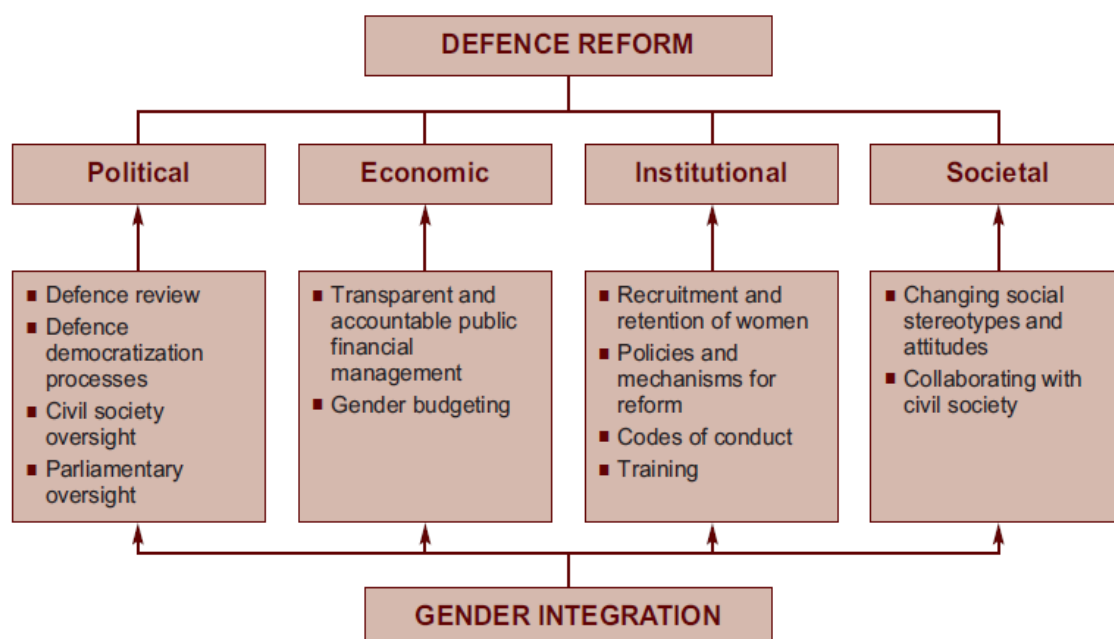


Figure 7: Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. Integration of gender in the four levels of defence reform⁶⁴⁹

One of the reasons gender is central to defence reform, its authors claim, is because as feminist academics and activists have shown gender based violence often persists and even increases after fighting has stopped.⁶⁵⁰ They subsequently set out mechanisms for ensuring the protection of women, both during times of conflict and in postconflict situations. Specifically, in setting out institutional mechanisms and tools intended to professionalize and modernize defence forces, what they contend is that developing new codes of conduct are an opportunity to dictate the standards of behaviour for armed forces.⁶⁵¹ Defence codes of conduct are an opportunity to:

- Set out the rules and standards of behaviour as regards sexual discrimination, harassment, exploitation, and abuse

⁶⁴⁸ Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. 'Defence Reform and Gender.' Eds. Valasek, K. & Bastick, M., *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW

⁶⁴⁹ Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. 'Defence Reform and Gender:' 7

⁶⁵⁰ Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. 'Defence Reform and Gender:' 3

⁶⁵¹ Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. 'Defence Reform and Gender:' 12

- Reinforce the seriousness of these acts and thus help to change attitudes among defence reform personnel
- Underscore both individual criminal responsibility and command responsibility for such acts
- Demonstrate to the public that the defence forces are committed to protecting women and children⁶⁵²

Aside from entrenching codes of conduct, the authors of this toolkit also contend that training courses must incorporate training on gender at all levels for all personnel. In doing so, they argue that masculinities should be taken into account in order to engage men in the prevention of gender based violence within the armed forces.⁶⁵³ This gender and defence reform toolkit subsequently sets out two tools for engaging military men in the prevention of sexual violence: codes of conduct and gender training.

While there is scarce academic work on gender sensitive defence reform, those authors who have written about these processes have raised some concerns about the ways in which generic toolkits and ‘how to’ manuals import expatriate knowledge. Baaz and Utas, for instance, argue that we rarely learn from the experiences of the people on the ground but instead push onto them our one size fits all solutions.⁶⁵⁴ The aim of the second half of this chapter is, therefore, to explore some of the ways in which these toolkits and ‘how to’ manuals have formed the basis for two bilateral donor training missions attempting to integrate measures around gender based violence into their mandate. Specifically, in exploring how European Union and United States-led training missions to assist the Congolese government reform its army have utilized these tools to combat sexual violence, it will further explore how they locate the problem of rape as residing in the gendered and racialized bodies of soldiers.

⁶⁵² Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. ‘Defence Reform and Gender:’ 15

⁶⁵³ Hendricks, C., & Hutton, L., 2008. ‘Defence Reform and Gender:’ 15

⁶⁵⁴ Baaz, M., & Utas, M., 2012. ‘Beyond “gender and stir”: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts’; See also Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity;’ Higate, P., 2012. ‘Foregrounding the In/Visibility of Military and Militarised Masculinities.’ Eds. Eriksson Baaz, M., & Utas, M., *Beyond “gender and stir”: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 31-37

5.3.1 “Forces for Good?” *The European Union led training mission to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the area of defence (2005-Present)*⁶⁵⁵

The European Union led training mission mandate in Congo is to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the area of defence. The main aim of the mission is to contribute towards the formation of an army that is able “to secure the borders of the vast country and maintain public order while respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms.”⁶⁵⁶ Notably, within the European Union led training mission an emphasis has been put on “gender and especially the fight against sexual violence too often committed by men in uniform.”⁶⁵⁷

As Ramadan Fabrice, who worked as the gender advisor of the mission for eighteen months, details, different tools are being used to integrate gender into defence reforms, from promoting more women in uniform, to setting up structures to prevent sexual violence committed by soldiers.⁶⁵⁸ The specific measures that have been introduced to help assist armed forces tackle sexual violence in the military map neatly onto those advised by the defence reform and gender toolkit. Broadly speaking, they have attempted to help the army combat sexual violence through distributing codes of conduct and gender training.⁶⁵⁹ The aims of these measures have been to both remind soldiers of their duty towards civilians and to educate them about the harms of sexual violence.⁶⁶⁰ Specifically, in rehabilitating the army training school, they have sought to educate soldiers about human rights to eliminate bad practices such as the rape of young girls in order to render themselves invulnerable in combat.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁵ Duncannon, C., 2009. ‘Forces for Good? Narratives of Military Masculinity in Peacekeeping Operations.’ *International Feminist journal of Politics* 11 (1): 63–80; Stern, M. 2011. ‘Gender and race in the European security strategy: Europe as a ‘force for good?’’ *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 14: 28-59

⁶⁵⁶ European Union External Action Service, 2015. ‘Common Security and Defence Policy EU Mission to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the area of defence (EUSEC RD CONGO). *EEAS*, http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eusec-rd-congo/pdf/factsheet_eusec_rd_congo_en.pdf (accessed October 2012, 25)

⁶⁵⁷ Fabrice, R., 2012. ‘Towards a Gender-Sensitive Police and Army: How the EU is assisting the DRC government reform its security apparatus.’ Eds. Eriksson Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond “gender and stir”: Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 55-62, p.55

⁶⁵⁸ Fabrice, R., 2012. ‘Towards a Gender-Sensitive Police and Army:’ 55

⁶⁵⁹ Fabrice, R., 2012. ‘Towards a Gender-Sensitive Police and Army:’ 57

⁶⁶⁰ Fabrice, R., 2012. ‘Towards a Gender-Sensitive Police and Army:’ 58

⁶⁶¹ Fabrice, R., 2012. ‘Towards a Gender-Sensitive Police and Army:’ 59

Much like other European Union training missions that have attempted integrate gender into their defence reforms, this mission seeks to reform soldiers' violent masculinity through educating them in international regimes on human rights.⁶⁶² As Annica Kronsell, who has conducted research on European Union led missions to Somalia and Mali, contends the ideal form of masculinity within these missions is symbolised by the soldier for whom the laws and norms that guide civil and military interactions “are not only well known but also considered second nature.”⁶⁶³ Notably, the emphasis on educating soldiers about international regimes of human rights, especially those relating to women, reflect efforts within military institutions to reshape militarized masculinity more generally.⁶⁶⁴ As Julia Welland points out, contemporary soldiers are expected to embody “softer” and “gentler” types of militarized masculinity that amongst other things are more suited to protecting women.⁶⁶⁵ What this subsequently helps us see is how the object for reform within this training mission is not simply militarized masculinity but an embodiment of this soldiering subjectivity that explicitly celebrates violence against women. In other words, the militarized body that requires rewiring and reprogramming is that of the *hardwired* male soldiering body that is particularly misogynistic.

While surely addressing aspects of militarised masculinity are central to combating sexual violence within the army, the assumption that this aggressively misogynistic form of soldiering subjectivity requires replacing with another less violent version raises several troubling question. The first of which concerns how this simplified understanding of militarized masculinity does not clearly reflect the embodied performances and experiences of masculinity within this setting. As previously discussed in the last chapter, paying attention to the local particularities of this warscape reveals that the bodies of soldiers are not merely inert surfaces that absorb and reflect back the dominant values of militarized masculinity but are

⁶⁶² Kronsell, A., 2016. 'Sexed Bodies and Military Masculinities: Gender Path Dependence in EU's Common Security and Defence Policy.' *Men and Masculinities*: 19(3) 311-336

⁶⁶³ Kronsell, A., 2016. 'Sexed Bodies and Military Masculinities': 327

⁶⁶⁴ Niva, S., 1998. 'Tough and Tender: New World Order Masculinity and the Gulf War.' Eds. Zalewski, M., & Parpart, J., *The 'Man' Question in International Relations*. Colorado: Westview: 94-109; Duncanson, C., 2009. 'Forces for Good?'; Welland, J., 2014. 'Liberal Warriors and the Violent Colonial Logics of "Partnering and Advising"', *Feminist Journal of International Politics*, 17(2): 289-307

⁶⁶⁵ Welland, J., 2014. 'Liberal Warriors:'291

“always already gendered.”⁶⁶⁶ Specifically, in highlighting some of the ways in which soldiers’ performances and experiences of masculinity are shaped in local contexts, it showed how the problem of rape cannot simply be located within an understanding of militarized masculinity that celebrates violence against women.⁶⁶⁷ Notably, what chapter four showed is that, while they may have excused or explained sexual violence, the soldiers interviewed by Baaz and Stern conveyed “an overarching sense that sexual violence was wrong.”^{668 xxvii} This subsequently points to the limitations of training missions in which militarized masculinity already emerges as *hardwired* to rape. In particular, it points to how attempts to reform militarized masculinity through educating soldiers in international regimes on human rights fail to take seriously the leakiness of their performances and experiences of masculinity that crafted in local as well as global contexts.

One of the critiques that can be levelled at the European Union led training mission is that it relies on generic forms of gender training, rather than evidence-based studies of the forms of masculinity found in this setting. Specifically, my concern is that, in failing to attend to how soldiers’ performances and experiences of masculinity are marked by poverty, suffering, frustration, and anger in this landscape of violence, those involved in the training process miss the opportunity to learn from the very people they are trying to reform. The problem, however, is not just that this approach neglects the leakiness of their everyday performances and experiences of masculinity but also that it continues to entrench the roles that military men are expected to play in war. To expand, what feminist scholarship on the emergence of softer and gentler types of militarized masculinity shows is that these forms of soldiering subjectivity are still relationally produced through discourses of difference which privilege masculinity over femininity.⁶⁶⁹ As Steve Niva argues, this new paradigm of masculinity which combines toughness with tenderness “is still built on affirming masculinity as something that is categorically distinguished and in many ways superior to femininity.”⁶⁷⁰ This is perhaps most

⁶⁶⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’

⁶⁶⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’:42

⁶⁶⁸ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’ ; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’

⁶⁶⁹ Welland, J., 2014. ‘Liberal Warriors’:291

⁶⁷⁰ Niva, S., 1998. ‘Tough and Tender’:117

clearly seen in attempts to produce types of militarized masculinity that are more suited to protecting women. As much feminist scholarship shows chivalrous forms of masculinity that express and enact concern for women “do so within structures of superiority and subordination.”⁶⁷¹ Specifically, it reminds us that this paradigm of masculinity is based on depictions in which masculinity and femininity are represented in terms of hard male bodies versus leaky female bodies.⁶⁷² What this subsequently suggests is that we need to reflect not only on the type of militarized body that emerges as the object of reform but also whether or not the body we put in its place radically disrupts the association of masculinity with hardness.

Another troubling issue that stems from the assumption that we need to produce less violent soldiering subjectivities is how the masculinity of those conducting the training is produced in relation to that of the trainee. As Annica Kronsell explains, in the training mission we encounter two forms of masculinity: 1) the chivalrous masculinity of the trainer that abides by the norms of warfare and protects women, and 2) the overly aggressive masculinity of the trainee who has both failed in his role as protector and is implicated in the violence toward women.⁶⁷³ Building on the work of Gaby Schlag, what she subsequently starts to tease out is how within this mission the racialized masculinity of the trainee also surfaces as the object for reform.⁶⁷⁴ This raises several troubling questions about how the training mission essentializes the body of the Congolese soldier as a violently racialized masculine body. In order to further tease out the limitations of this understanding of the body, this chapter will explore in more detail the overtly racialized imagery of United States-led training mission. At the same time, it will also explore how this mission upholds the hierarchal relationship between the superior masculinity of the trainer and the inferior masculinity of the trainee.

⁶⁷¹ See Runyan, A., 1990. ‘Gender Relations and the politics of protection.’ *Peace Review*, 2(4):28-31; Young, I., 2003. ‘The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State.’ *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*, 29(1): 1-25; Peet, J., & Sjoberg, L. 2011. ‘A(nother) Dark side of the Protection Racket: Targeting Women in Wars.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(2): 163-182

⁶⁷² Belkin, A., 2012. *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001*. London: Hurst and Company: 35

⁶⁷³ Kronsell, A., 2016. ‘Sexed Bodies and Military Masculinities’: 325

⁶⁷⁴ Schlag, G., 2012. “Into the “Heart of Darkness”- EU’s Civilizing Mission in DR Congo.’ *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15: 321-444

5.3.1 “Forces for Good?” Operation Olympic Chase the United States led train and equip mission to increase the ability of the army to conduct effective internal security operations (2009-2010)⁶⁷⁵

In 2009 representatives from the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and Congolese National Armed Forces (FARDC) gathered to mark the establishment of an infantry battalion intended to be a model unit for the future of the military.⁶⁷⁶ The AFRICOM-led train and equip mission was intended to assist FARDC in their ongoing efforts to transform the army.⁶⁷⁷ Its objective was to create a platform from which training will continue and expand under the direction and leadership of FARDC itself.⁶⁷⁸ As Brigadier General Christopher Haas claimed, this battalion was intended to set a new mark in this “nation's continuing transformation of an army dedicated to professionalism, accountability, sustainability, and meaningful security.”⁶⁷⁹

Members of the newly formed battalion were to undergo twelve weeks of training that would cover traditional soldiering skills, such as small unit tactics and logistics support.⁶⁸⁰ In addition to this, the training program was to emphasize respect for human rights and the need to protect civilians. Human rights considerations, and specifically sexual violence prevention, were incorporated into every aspect of the training.⁶⁸¹ The Defence Institute of Legal Studies provided legal studies training, while the Sociocultural Research and Advisory Team provided instruction regarding sexual violence.⁶⁸² As the United States Ambassador, Samuel Laeuchli, told the soldiers that graduated from the training programme, “you have enhanced

⁶⁷⁵ Duncannon, C., 2009. ‘Forces for Good?’, Stern, M. 2011. ‘Gender and race in the European security strategy.’

⁶⁷⁶ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘U.S. and DRC in Partnership to Train Model Congolese Battalion.’ *Africa Command United States* <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/article/7196/us-and-drc-in-partnership-to-train-model-congolese> (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁷⁷ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘Transcript: Briefing to Congolese Media –Operation Olympic Chase.’ <http://www.africom.mil/newsroom/transcript/7963/transcript-briefing-to-congolese-media-operation-> (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁷⁸ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.-led Military Training, Form Light Infantry Battalion.’ *Africa Command United States* <http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/7727/750-congolese-soldiers-graduate-from-us-led-milita> (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁷⁹ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.-led Military Training’

⁶⁸⁰ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.-led Military Training’

⁶⁸¹ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.-led Military Training’

⁶⁸² AFRICOM, 2010. ‘750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.-led Military Training’

your moral understanding of how a professional military operates effectively within a democratic society to provide security, to protect the civilian population, and to contribute to greater stability.”⁶⁸³

Although much of the rhetoric surrounding this training mission centred on the partnership between the two militaries, the encounter between the American soldier and his Congolese counterpart also arguably reproduced racialized structures of power. As seen in the previous section, the superior masculinity of the American soldier was produced in relation to the inferior masculinity of the Congolese soldier, who must be reminded of his duty to protect women from violence. This was perhaps most clearly illustrated in critiques of the training mission which questioned whether the Congolese soldiers could be taught to behave as the professionals the Americans hoped they would become. Notably, while the Americans seemed confident about their ability to produce an army with an enhanced moral understanding of their duty towards women other outside observers were not persuaded. They argued that fundamental questions lingered about whether the soldiers “would serve as protectors of the population or would they revert to acts of sexual violence once on the battlefield.”⁶⁸⁴

When the Americans decided to train the Congolese, it was with the knowledge that some of troops they would be teaching to fight also had histories of committing human rights abuses. That meant the job demanded more than just establishing a fighting force to help Congo better secure its volatile border regions. The job also meant building a battalion of benevolent citizen soldiers, who could serve as an example to the rest of the Congolese military. But in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where many people shudder at the sight of a soldier, the American training mission is a high stakes gamble fraught with risk.⁶⁸⁵

To some extent these fears were realized when soldiers from the battalion was implicated by the United Nations in acts of mass rape in the areas close to where they were stationed.⁶⁸⁶ For some commentators the atrocities committed by the

⁶⁸³ AFRICOM, 2010. ‘750 Congolese Soldiers Graduate from U.S.-led Military Training’ (whit...

⁶⁸⁴ Vandiver, J., 2011. ‘AFRICOM IN THE CONGO: Trainees try to be a force that can overcome child-abducting rebels – and their own horrific past.’ *Stars and Stripes* <http://www.stripes.com/trainees-try-to-be-a-force-that-can-overcome-child-abducting-rebels-and-their-own-horrific-past-1.144366> (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁸⁵ Vandiver, J., 2011. ‘AFRICOM IN THE CONGO’

⁶⁸⁶ McCrummen, S., 2009. ‘Congo's Rape Epidemic Worsens During U.S.-Backed Military Operation.’ *Washington Post* <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/08/10/AR2009081000492.html?sid=ST2009081001043> (accessed

battalion against women raised pertinent questions about whether United States armed forces should be offering training on sexual violence in the first place. Former veteran Ann Wright, for instance, pointed to the United States armed forces own track record of rape at home as well as abroad.⁶⁸⁷ The United States armed forces, she wrote, should stop the criminal acts of sexual assault and rape in its own ranks before offering advice to another country.⁶⁸⁸ This argument was also made by Nick Turse, whose research reveals that the army has been implicated in numerous cases of sexual assault and rape against local populations within this part of the world. However, while several commentators have raised serious questions about the appropriateness of deploying soldiers known to engage in acts of rape to deliver training on sexual violence, the loudest voices have tended to focus on whether the United States armed forces misjudged what it would take to turn these soldiers into an elite rapid reaction battalion.⁶⁸⁹ They argued that these acts of violence towards women underscored the dilemma facing the United States armed forces “as they determine whether to engage with unreliable militaries in volatile parts of Africa.”⁶⁹⁰

The dominant interpretation of the atrocities committed by the battalion was subsequently that the blame did not rest with the United States army, which had attempted to reform the military, but rather with the soldiers themselves who could not help but revert to their former habits. This interpretation was also found in the official rhetoric of the United States army, who argued that they had done

June 2016, 25); Spielmann, J., 2013. ‘UN Report: Girls As Young As 6 Raped By Congo Troops.’ *The World Post* http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/08/un-congo-rape-young-girls_n_3239429.html (accessed June 2015, 15); Whitlock, C., 2013. ‘U.S.-trained Congolese troops committed rapes and other atrocities, U.N. says.’ *The Washington Post* http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-trained-congolese-troops-committed-rapes-and-other-atrocities-un-says/2013/05/13/9781dd88-bbfe-11e2-a31d-a41b2414d001_story.html (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁸⁷ Wright, A., 2009. ‘With Its Record of Rape, Don’t Send the U.S. Military to the Congo.’ *The World Post* http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ann-wright/with-its-record-of-rape-d_b_264980.html (accessed June 2015, 15); See also Bancroft, C., 2013. ‘Pentagon Releases Startling New Statistics On Military Sexual Assault.’ *Policy.Mic.* <http://mic.com/articles/72503/pentagon-releases-startling-new-statistics-on-military-sexual-assault> (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁸⁸ Wright, A., 2009. ‘With Its Record of Rape, Don’t Send the U.S. Military to the Congo.’

⁶⁸⁹ Whitlock, C., 2013. ‘U.S.-trained Congolese troops committed rapes and other atrocities’

⁶⁹⁰ Vandiver, J., 2013. ‘U.S.-trained Congolese battalion among units accused of rape.’ *Stars and Stripes* <http://www.stripes.com/news/africa/us-trained-congolese-battalion-among-units-accused-of-rape-1.220357> (accessed June 2015, 15)

everything they could to transform the soldiers into protectors of the population.

As one senior United States army official familiar with the training program said:

There were a lot of criticisms at the time that this would just make them better able to oppress their own people. It's one of those political judgment calls. We bent over backwards to make this investment and to avoid the pitfalls and to really do it right.⁶⁹¹

Significantly, what this interpretation of the training mission helps us see is how the spectre of race haunts gender sensitive defence reforms. In depicting the male Congolese soldier as being essentially governed by his violent nature it not only removes any responsibility from the mission itself but also serves to maintain the superiority of the American soldier. Specifically, it upholds the hierarchical relationship in which the heroic masculinity of the American soldier is produced in relation to the overly aggressive masculinity of the Congolese soldier. What this section subsequently argues is that this portrayal, in which the body also surfaces as explicitly racialized, raises a number of important concerns about the possibility of intervening politically against sexual violence in the Congo.

The first of these concerns relates to how this portrayal not only essentializes the body of the Congolese soldier as naturally violent but how, in doing so, it also prevents us from asking serious questions about who gets to intervene to combat sexual violence. Specifically, in depicting the soldier as reverting to their former habits, it arguably prevents us from reflecting on whether the armed forces are an appropriate venue through which to undertake training on sexual violence. Indeed, if we are to take seriously feminist insights into the interconnections between gender, warring, violence and militarization, we may also need to think about whether armed forces that have been known to engage in rape should be conducting this type of training. This portrayal of the Congolese soldier also returns us to the problem of how simplistic explanations of sexual violence neglect the particularities of their embodied experiences of this warscape. It raises the problem of how training missions in which soldiers emerge as objects that must be tamed fail to attend to how soldiers' embodied experiences are marked by poverty suffering, frustration, and anger that shape their performances of masculinity. This

⁶⁹¹ Whitlock, C., 2013. 'U.S.-trained Congolese troops committed rapes and other atrocities'

critique is articulated by Thierry Vircoulon who argued that the United States government neglected the structural causes of violence:

The state of the army in itself is a disaster, so you train people and you send them back to a dysfunctional army. You are trained, but you still have a very low wage, no logistics, a very poor command system and no sense of belonging and cohesion because the Congolese army is still a patchwork of very different groups. Even if you're trained, at the end of the day, you're still a hungry and unpaid soldier.⁶⁹²

Building on insights from the previous chapter into the particularities of this conflict, the second of my concerns is that training missions, in essentializing the body of the Congolese soldier as naturally violent, make it more difficult to remain attentive to the leakiness of his experiences of masculinity and thus limits the effectiveness of defence reforms intended to combat sexual violence. In locating the problem of rape within the supposed bestiality of soldiers, it leaves us bereft of ways of properly attending to and effectively addressing other factors that contribute towards sexual violence within this setting. For instance, it makes it difficult to listen and learn from Congolese soldiers' own stories about how their sense of frustration relating to poor living conditions may find its outlet in sexual violence or how sexual violence may function as one way of protesting military authority.⁶⁹³ By focusing too heavily on an essentialized figure of soldiering body we miss the leakiness that lies behind the formation of soldiers, and which importantly goes into forming the conditions in which sexual violence is perpetrated as well as potentially prevented.

Within both the European Union and United States led training programmes, what we subsequently see is that the object of reform is not simply militarized masculinity but an explicitly gendered and racialized embodiment of militarized masculinity that is depicted as celebrating rape. What this chapter contends is that this overly simplistic portrayal of soldiers who perpetrate rape in this context not only solidifies the body of the soldier in overtly gendered and racialized ways, but in doing so it severely limits and restricts the effectiveness of gender sensitive defence reforms to combat sexual violence. The final section of this chapter, consequently, explores how else we may intervene in this violence in ways that are

⁶⁹² Whitlock, C., 2013. 'U.S.-trained Congolese troops committed rapes and other atrocities'

⁶⁹³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 33

more sensitive to the leakiness of soldiers embodied experiences of masculinity. Specifically, it examines how the Living Peace Groups Program offers some interesting insights into how outside interveners may more effectively work with men to engage them in prevention of sexual violence.

5.3.3 Living Peace Groups: Helping men cope with the traumas of war and reconstruct their identities in gender transformative ways (2012-Present).

As set out above, bilateral donor training missions have worked closely with the national armed forces to educate soldiers about the wrongs of sexual violence. However, while these programs have largely focused on reform within the army, both local and international actors have argued that we also need to pay closer attention to those soldiers that chose to return to civilian life. Doctor Denis Mukwege, who specializes in the treatment of victims of sexual violence, argues that effectively addressing sexual violence within society also requires engaging men who have left the armed forces in the prevention of sexual violence.⁶⁹⁴ In particular, local and international actors have pointed to high levels of intimate partner sexual violence as evidence that former combatants continue to use sexual violence to exercise power in the home.⁶⁹⁵ This reflects broader arguments that women often bear the brunt of the flux in masculine roles after war formally ends.⁶⁹⁶ As Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell argues, “it seems obvious that men unable to positively manifest masculine roles may return to violent and destructive means of expressing their identities.”⁶⁹⁷ This section is subsequently curious about whether some of the attempts to engage men formerly associated with armed groups in the prevention of sexual violence may provide some different insights into other ways of combating sexual violence. Specifically, this section explores the

⁶⁹⁴ Nallu, P., 2015. ‘Rape is being used to terrorise the population, says DRC gynaecologist.’ *The Guardian* <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/22/rape-congo-doctor-denis-mukwege> (accessed June 2015, 15)

⁶⁹⁵ Peterman, A., et al., 2011. ‘Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo’, *American Journal of Public Health*, 101 (6): 1060-1067; Bartles, S., Scott, A., Leaning, J., Kelly, J., Mukwege, D., Joyce, N., & Vanrooyen, M., 2011. ‘Sexual Violence trends between 2004 and 2008 in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.’ *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*, 26: 408-413

⁶⁹⁶ Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., & Turshen, M., 2001. *The Aftermath*; Cockburn, C., & Zarkov, D., 2002. *The Postwar Moment*; Handrahan, L., 2004. ‘Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction’; Aoláin, F., Haynes, F., & Cahn, N., 2011. *On the Frontlines*

⁶⁹⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell cited in UNIFEM, 2004. *Getting it Right, Doing it Right*: 19

Living Peace program in the Congo which seeks to prevent violence in postconflict settings through using group therapy as well as group education techniques.⁶⁹⁸

The Living Peace program explored in this section was inspired and informed by results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) conducted by the Instituto Promundo,^{xxviii} which identified a strong link between men experiencing or witnessing violence and trauma in conflict and later perpetrating violence at home.⁶⁹⁹ The aim of the program was subsequently to provide practical resources and tools for organizations and practitioners in postconflict settings to sustainably engage men in gender based violence prevention. Notably, its methodology and curriculum was based on formative research conducted with both local partners and actors in the Congo. What this section argues is that, in basing the methodology and curriculum on formative research in Congo, this initiative may provide some different insights into other ways of engaging men in gender based violence prevention that are more sensitive to the leakiness of soldiers' embodied experiences of masculinity in the Congo.

From 2012-2014 the Living Peace program conducted formative research alongside local partners into the attitudes of men, many who had some form of direct involvement in armed groups, into the possibilities for gender based violence prevention.⁷⁰⁰ What this formative research showed is that most of the men had already received some education about gender equality and were aware that sexual violence against women was wrong.⁷⁰¹ These insights, however, did not resonate with their everyday experiences in which stress and frustration lead them to use violence against their partners and other women.⁷⁰² While existing educational measures had clearly contributed towards awareness that sexual violence against women was wrong, the men they talked to linked their sense of

⁶⁹⁸ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups: Implementation Manuel and Final Project Report*. Washington. World Bank

⁶⁹⁹ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*; Sleggh, H., Barker, G. and Levtoov, R., 2014 *Gender Relations, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence and the Effects of Conflict on Women and Men in North Kivu, Esatern Democratic Republic of Congo: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)* Washington: Promundo-US and Sonke Gender Justice

⁷⁰⁰ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:14

⁷⁰¹ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:23

⁷⁰² LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:23

powerlessness and loss of respect to practices of sexual violence at home and in society.⁷⁰³ Notably, both the men and women interviewed linked practices of sexual violence to their lack of means to support their families and loss of sense of masculinity in their families.⁷⁰⁴ They both spoke about how men “tried to assert their lost authority with force and use violence to show that they are the boss in the house.”⁷⁰⁵

This formative research undertaken by the Living Peace program resonates with the findings of the previous chapter which, through its engagement with Baaz and Stern, showed how soldiers linked sexual violence to their failure to embody ideals of masculinity based on being the provider of the family.⁷⁰⁶ It also resonates with studies of masculinity that have more generally focused on how civilians linked sexual violence to their loss of authority as the head of the family.⁷⁰⁷ Subsequently, it offers an understanding of why men rape which, rather than locate the problem of sexual violence within an overly simplistic gendered or racialized understanding of masculinity, points to how the local particularities of this landscape shape their performances of violence. Crucially, in doing so this study does not just simply see poverty as the cause of rape but listens to how soldiers link sexual violence to ideals of masculinity found within society.

What is more, while this formative research shows how men see sexual violence as related to their failure to inhabit traditional gendered roles within the home, the Living Peace program also points to how they link the use of violence to war related traumas.⁷⁰⁸ What it shows is that the men interviewed openly spoke about how their lack of tools to deal with the trauma of war contributed towards violent outbursts towards women.⁷⁰⁹ Notably, they acknowledged that they needed to find better ways of talking about their problems and trauma in order to prevent “their

⁷⁰³ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:16

⁷⁰⁴ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:17

⁷⁰⁵ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:14

⁷⁰⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape?’; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. ‘Beyond Militarized Masculinity’

⁷⁰⁷ Lwambo, D., 2011. *‘Before the War, I was a Man’: Men and Masculinities in Eastern DR Congo*, Goma: Heal Africa

⁷⁰⁸ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*: 17

⁷⁰⁹ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*: 20

tears inside becoming sour and exploding into violence.”⁷¹⁰ Specifically, in taking seriously how experiencing or witnessing acts of violence profoundly traumatize men in this warscape, I suggest, this formative research reads the bodies of men through their leakiness rather than their hardness. In doing so, this formative research does not deny the formidable actualities of male dominance but rather, in exploring how men openly acknowledged their need for an outlet in which to express their feelings about violence, and even cry, it appears to recognize that their performances of masculinity are always leaky. Indeed, in pointing to the tears they shed, I suggest, it acknowledges how men stray from the dominant imagery of masculinity as emotionally repressed. These tears are subsequently shown to be important not only because they attest to vulnerability of men but also because they provide an opening through which to engage men in the prevention of sexual violence.

In contrast to overly simplistic gendered or racialized understandings of masculinity in which soldiers emerge as hardened towards rape, I propose that this formative research shows how reading men through the window of their leakiness may provide an opening through which to engage them in prevention of sexual violence. In particular, in pointing to how their feelings and emotions spill over into violence, the Living Peace program implementation manual suggests that one way in which to engage men in the prevention of sexual violence is through male group therapy.⁷¹¹ What the implementation manual suggests is that educational programs must also be combined with male group therapy, which teaches men “healthier, constructive ways of coping with the challenges of life and in doing so improve the quality of life for themselves and for their families.”⁷¹²

The group therapeutic approach aims to guide this process of change so that it comes from within the participants themselves. The groups create space for men to share stories and experiences that have affected them, and to listen to other men and learn from each other positive and better ways of coping with stress. This approach provides a very promising opportunity for effective, sustainable change, especially when it is combined with new

⁷¹⁰ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*: 20

⁷¹¹ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*: 23

⁷¹² LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*: 23

information about gender equality, and guidance to help participants apply this new information to their daily lives.⁷¹³

The curriculum set out in the manual is subsequently divided into four main topics: 1) getting to know each other and identify your problems 2) addressing the problems and healing the wounds, 3) integration of new insights and building new relationships, 4) consolidation and dissemination in the community.⁷¹⁴ While the manual further divides these four main topics into fifteen sessions, it recommends that the way the topics are addressed should be flexible so that the topics of conversation are determined by the particular concerns of the group members. For instance, if more time is needed for certain topics the facilitator in collaboration with the group should decide whether they want to skip individual exercises.⁷¹⁵

In allowing participants to shape the discussion, the curriculum set out in the Living Peace program manual gives men more ownership over the process of reform. It does not assume to know why men rape but rather invites them to speak about their own leaky experiences of masculinity. In particular, rather than simply creating educational tools intended to produce less violent and more civilized masculinities it offers an alternative meaningfully way of engaging men in the prevention of sexual violence. In doing so, the Living Peace program also challenges dynamics of racial hegemony which, as Daniel Bendix argues, external security interventions risk remaining within if they do not address their “entanglement in patterns of domination stemming from the era of colonialism.”⁷¹⁶

I suggest that, in its methods as well as research, the Living Peace program might offer another way of attending to the leaky bodies of perpetrators of rape. Importantly, this does not mean that this intervention entirely escapes the gendered or racialized scripting of perpetrators of rape set out in this chapter. While the Living Peace program is run in partnership with local organizations the problem of the import of expatriate knowledge still lingers. Specifically, in locating alternative types of masculinity within the family it can be seen to reify gender

⁷¹³ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*: 24

⁷¹⁴ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:27

⁷¹⁵ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups*:27

⁷¹⁶ Bendix, D., 2008. ‘A Review of Gender in Security Sector Reform:’ 22

norms found within contemporary western culture. However, even in locating alternative types of masculinity within the family it asks participants to reflect on what they think these alternatives might look like, rather than simply pushing its own agenda. As such, this intervention can be read as trying to avoid mapping or marking hard lines around the leaky male body. The fact that this might be an imperfect endeavour I argue does not mean that it cannot provide valuable insights into how we might attend otherwise to the leaky bodies of perpetrators in efforts to confront sexual violence.

In contrast to the gender training offered by the European Union and United States, the Living Peace program strays from the dominant gendered and racialized imagery of the male body. In reading the male body through the window of its vulnerabilities, it offers an alternative way to address sexual violence that does not assume to know how men are or how they will act but rather seeks to learn from their experiences. In particular, in paying attention to how the male body is exposed to and traumatized by war related violence, it builds its curriculum in such a way that more attentively foregrounds the leakiness of the male body. What this section has subsequently shown is that initiatives which pay attention to the leakiness of the male body might provide new and more successful grounds from which to begin combatting sexual violence, to those grounded in the gendered and racialized *hardwired* male soldiering body. This argument is then further explored in the next chapter in which I examine one former soldiers' personal journey to deal with the trauma of war related rape.⁷¹⁷

5.5 Conclusion

Sexual abuse has become a cancer in Congolese society that seems to be out of control Egeland, J., 2006 ⁷¹⁸

In *Imagining the Congo* (2003) Kevin Dunn describes how Joseph Mobutu's cancer ridden body was seen as symbolic of his ailing regime.⁷¹⁹ As the cancer progressed

⁷¹⁷ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions

⁷¹⁸ Jan Egeland former Under-Secretary-General (USG) for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC) cited in BBC, 2006. 'UN calls rape a 'cancer' in DRC.' *BBC News* <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/5351012.stm> (accessed June 2015, 13)

⁷¹⁹ Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo*: 139

through his body rebellion broke out in the east and spread through the rest of the country. Just four months after the rebels successfully seized the capital and drove him into exile he died from the cancer. In the closing years of the twentieth century the country subsequently underwent substantial change and yet again emerged as “the embodiment of all the continent’s woes.”⁷²⁰

As this chapter has shown, within contemporary framings of sexual violence the cancer metaphor in which the bodies of soldiers materialize as a “morass” of malignant male muscle continues to resonate in dominant descriptions of the bodies of soldiers who commit sexual violence in the Congo.⁷²¹ The bodies of soldiers who commit sexual violence are seen as malignant male muscle that must be cured in order to effectively rid the region of the cancer of sexual violence. Specifically, this chapter examined two forms of malignant male muscle that surfaced within the policy literature on gender security sector reform intended to combat sexual violence. To expand, while the literature rarely spoke explicitly about the body, what this chapter showed is that as a form of malignant male muscle it surfaced as the object of reform in two important ways in security interventions. The first of these forms of malignant male muscle reflected the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity set out in previous chapters. In exploring the challenges of putting the body out of military usage, it perpetuated an image of soldiers as part of the machinery of war that like other weapons requires dismantling. The second of these forms of malignant male muscle recycled the colonial imagery of the Congo. In depicting soldiers as being governed by their violent nature, it portrayed them as beasts that must be tamed through training programmes. Crucially, exploring how the object for reform was not simply militarized masculinity but an explicitly racialized embodiment of militarized masculinity that was portrayed as being aggressively misogynistic, this chapter also pointed to the interconnections between these two forms of malignant male muscle that surfaced within gender sensitive defence reforms.

⁷²⁰ Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo*: 141

⁷²¹ Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell cited in UNIFEM, 2004. *Getting it Right, Doing it Right*: 19

What this chapter subsequently contended, through its exploration of the European Union and United States-led training missions that integrated gender sensitive defence reforms into their mandate, was that essentializing the male body in these two ways had limitations for their ability to effectively address sexual violence. It argued that these training missions not only solidified structures of superiority and subordination but also, in doing so, entrenched an overtly simplified understanding of male body, making it difficult to attend to the leakiness of soldiers' embodied experiences of masculinity that were described in the previous chapter. For feminists interested in militarized masculinity, the ways in which these training missions have attempted to integrate gender sensitive defence reforms into their training programs clearly raises some troubling questions about how feminist knowledge is used to shape policy. What the last section of this chapter, however, showed is that there are also initiatives that have taken seriously feminist insights into the leakiness of masculinity within landscapes of conflict. It argued that, in paying attention to the local particularities that shape performances of masculinity as well as the trauma of war, the Living Peace program provided an alternative model for engaging men in the prevention of sexual violence that was seemingly more sensitive to the leakiness of soldiers' embodied experiences of masculinity in the Congo.

My final substantive chapter will, then, bring together the findings from both this chapter and the previous chapter in order to offer its own account of the leaky male body of the perpetrators of sexual violence in the Congo. In bringing together insights from both chapters into how soldiers act in ways that do not conform to our expectations of them, as well as how they fail to embody idealized constructions of masculinity, it will more palpably evoke how they exceed the dominant gendered and racialized scripting of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the Congo. In particular, it will explore the confessions of two soldiers whose stories as well as body language more tangibly draw attention to some the ways in which soldiers “disrupt the main storylines of rape.”⁷²²

⁷²² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 9

Chapter Six

Confessions of Rape in the Congo



Figure 8: Mpané, A., 2008. *Untitled*. Mixed media on wood panel.

6.1 An alternative reading of perpetrators stories of sexual violence

This thesis makes several moves which attempt to ascribe and extend leakiness to combatants' embodiments. However, what it finds is that at every juncture, at every turn, bodies cease to flow. Bodies congeal, harden, and solidify, until all that is left is "immutable matter"⁷²³, "bloodless categories"⁷²⁴ and "static identifications."⁷²⁵ To quote Lieutenant Colonel Barry Barnwell, all that is left is a "morass of malignant male muscle."⁷²⁶ Whilst this morass comes in many different shapes and sizes, the previous chapter explored two related modes of malignant male muscle that surface within defence reforms intimately connected to fighting sexual violence in the DRC. The first of these modes of malignant male muscle took the form of the hardwired male soldiering body. The second reveals how this embodiment of militarized masculinity, which is seen as conducive towards sexual violence, takes on racialized facets within the context of the DRC. In exploring these modes of malignant male muscle what chapter five showed is that by focusing too heavily on an essentialized figure of the male soldiering body, we miss the leakiness that lies behind the formation of soldiers that mete out sexual violence in the DRC.

This chapter subsequently attempts to provide an alternative reading of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war to those already undertaken in this thesis. Rather than explore how they surface within the academic and policy literature on sexual violence in war, it turns to the medium of film in order to further explore at how the stories soldiers tell about sexual violence disrupt our representations of them in the DRC. While chapters four and five analysed interviews with soldiers, in listening to the stories soldiers tell about sexual violence,⁷²⁷ this chapter tries to further flesh out how soldiers stray from gendered

⁷²³ Grosz, E., 2005. *Time Travels: Feminism, Nature and Power*, Australia: Allen & Unwin: 189

⁷²⁴ Gordon, A., 2008. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, second edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press:22

⁷²⁵ Irigaray, L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*, translated by Porter, C., & Burke, C., 1985. New York: Cornell University Press:111

⁷²⁶ UNIFEM, 2004. *Getting it Right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*: 19

⁷²⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC)'. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute;

and racialized representations of the hard male body found in the literature on sexual violence in the DRC. Notably, in addition to attending to how soldiers describe the messiness of their lived realities and embodied experiences, my analysis uses the medium of film to observe how their body language reveals leaks within their supposedly hard exterior. (The body language of soldiers is understood here as those forms of communication, where thoughts, intentions and feelings are expressed through physical behaviours such as facial expressions, body posture, and eye contact.)

There is an abundance of films about sexual violence in the DRC. However, while several films have been made about sexual violence that occurs within this warzone, in seeking to generate global awareness of the shocking plight of women and girls caught in the sexual crossfire, they have been almost exclusively focused on victims' stories.⁷²⁸ Those films that do feature interviews with perpetrators often only loosely touch upon their attitudes towards sexual violence in the DRC.⁷²⁹ The films of Isle Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen are distinctive in the respect⁷³⁰ that their intimate portraits of this warzone invite empathetic modes of listening that take seriously the concerns of perpetrators within this landscape of war.⁷³¹ This chapter then specifically uses Isle Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen's

Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. 'Whores, Men, and Other Misfits: Undoing 'feminization' in the armed forces in the DRC. *African Affairs*, 110(441): 563-585; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.' Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond "gender and stir": Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.' Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-105; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Men and Masculinities*, 16(2): 203-227; LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups: Implementation Manuel and Final Project Report*. Washington. World Bank

⁷²⁸ Lloyd-Davis, F., 2013. *Seeds of Hope*. Studio 9 Films; Blanding, S. & Labriola, B., 2009. *Women in War Zones: Sexual Violence in the Congo*. Women in War Zone International; Jorgen, B., & Walker, N., 2007. *Lumo*. POV: Documentaries with a point of view. Jackson, L., 2007. *The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo*. Women Make Movies; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007 *Fighting the Silence: Sexual Violence against Women in the Congo*. If Productions.

⁷²⁹ Barnwell, R., 2013. *Dan Snow's History of the Congo*. BBC; TBC, 2011. *Ross Kemp's Extreme World Congo*. Sky; Stramowski, J., 2012 *Bush League Rebels*. VICE

⁷³⁰ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007 *Fighting the Silence: Sexual Violence against Women in the Congo*. If Productions; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2011. *Justice for Sale*. If Productions

⁷³¹ Sylvester, C., 1994. 'Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method For IR.' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 23(2): 315-354, p. 317

documentary *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo* (2009) to try to flesh out some of the leakiness that exists outside of our dominant representations of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

To start with, this chapter locates *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo* (2009) within their wider body of work, before proceeding to explore in more detail the stories of two soldiers around which the film is structured (6.2). In exploring the stories as well as body language of Basima Honoratte and Alain Kasharu respectively, it attempts to more palpably evoke the leakiness of their experiences and performances of masculinity within this landscape of war (6.3-6.4). In doing so, this chapter both reinforces the findings generated in previous chapters about how sexual violence occurs in the context of military integration and widespread poverty, as well as generating new insights into how soldiers exceed the representations of the hard male soldiering body set out in this thesis. By way of example, in exploring how some of the soldiers featured in this film demonstrate symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder such as acute anxiety, nightmares, trembling, sweating and crying, it looks at how they disrupt our notions of them as emotionally as well as physically hard.⁷³²

6.2 *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*

Since 2002, Ilsle van Velzen and Femke van Velzen have been directing and circulating documentaries under their own small independent film label *If Productions*. Although the sisters' stated purpose is to expose injustices in developing countries to international audiences, an essential part of what they do involves bringing back their films as educational tools.⁷³³ The *Mobile Cinema* is an example of one of their educational initiatives. It travels between villages in the DRC screening films that it believes stimulate debate about sexual violence. In comparison to other educational initiatives, it prioritizes films which it believes

⁷³² Whitworth, S., 2008. 'Militarized Masculinity and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder' Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*. London: Zed Books: 109-126, p116

⁷³³ If Productions, 2015. 'About If'. *If Productions*. <http://www.ifproductions.nl/eng/about.html> (accessed January 2015, 23)

open up space for local communities to discuss the silences and taboos that often surround sexual violence.⁷³⁴

Ilsle van Velzen and Femke van Velzen's main body of work centres on communal perceptions of sexual violence.⁷³⁵ Over the course of the last ten years, they have released three documentaries which broach difficult questions about how we frame sexual violence in this context.⁷³⁶ Notably these documentaries reveal their changing perspective, from their first film which tells familiar stories about survivors of sexual violence efforts to obtain justice (*Fighting the Silence* (2007)), to their third film which more controversially documents how the justice system also fails defendants (*Justice for Sale* (2011)).^{xxix} What is striking about each of these films is that the sisters' presence is effaced. There is no introductory segment, no voice over, and no interviewer, instead they leave viewers to tease out the connections between conflict, gender and violence.⁷³⁷ While some of their critics find this lack of interpretive focus jarring, it occurs to me that it is precisely their refusal to tell stories with clear beginnings or endings that makes their work so interesting.⁷³⁸ It demands that as viewers we reflect on the stories we have become accustomed to hearing about sexual violence in the DRC.

While Ilsle van Velzen and Femke van Velzen's films generally invite us to reflect on the stories we hear about sexual violence, my final empirical chapter is predominantly interested in the second film in their trilogy and the subtlety with which it portrays perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in the Congo* (2009) has been subject to considerable acclaim, by both film critics as well as members of the international community.⁷³⁹ From the

⁷³⁴ Mobile Cinema Foundation, 2015. 'Our Vision And Mission'. *Mobile Cinema Foundation*. http://mobilecinemafoundation.com/website/?page_id=26 (accessed January 2015, 23)

⁷³⁵ If Productions, 2015. 'Documentaries'. *If Productions*. http://www.ifproductions.nl/eng/documentaries/terug_naar_angola.html (accessed February 2015, 9)

⁷³⁶ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007 *Fighting the Silence: Sexual Violence against Women in the Congo*. If Productions; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2011. *Justice for Sale*. If Productions

⁷³⁷ Bouwer, K., 2013. 'The Van Velzen Sisters'. *African Studies Review*, 56 (2): 221-226, p. 221

⁷³⁸ Bouwer, K., 2013. 'The Van Velzen Sisters': 223

⁷³⁹ Winner Amnesty International Award 2010, Warsaw International Film Festival Planet Doc Review; Winner Gouden Kalf Award Best Short Documentary 2010, Netherlands Film Festival; Winner Dick Scherpenzeel Award for best Dutch Journalistic Production 2010; Winner 2010 Turkish Radio and Television Corporation International Documentary Film Competition; Official Selection Botswana Documentary Film Festival 2010; Official Selection London International

outset Ilse van Velzen and Femke van Velzen were committed to making an educational film that would facilitate discussion about sexual violence among soldiers. Concerned that army training was limited to initiatives that insufficiently touched upon sexual violence, and made use of traditional pedagogic tools that are ineffective for illiterate soldiers, they wanted to work with the army to create an educational resource that would reach larger numbers of soldiers.⁷⁴⁰

It is perhaps precisely because they wanted to speak directly to soldiers that this film elicits different kinds of insights into the leaky bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence within the DRC. These insights were not immediately apparent upon viewing this film. At first glance, this film seems to present an image of soldiers who perpetrate rape as embodied or physical weapons. The cover shows an armed soldier brandishing an AK-47. What is particularly notable about the image is the way in which it directs our gaze toward his target, how it draws our eye to his victim, or more precisely the hole between her legs, her genitalia (see figure 8).



Figure 9: Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007. *Weapon of War*, Front Cover

Documentary Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Movies that Matter Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Buenos Aires International Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Istanbul International Documentary Film Competition 2010; Official Selection Geneva International Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Full Frame Documentary Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Cameroon International Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Addis Ababa International Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Belgrade Documentary Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Croatia Motovum Film Festival 2010; Official Selection Mexico Ad Hoc: Inconvenient Films 2010.

⁷⁴⁰ Britdoc Impact Award, 2009. 'Weapon of War.' *Britdoc Impact Award*
<http://www.britdocimpactaward.org/films/weaponofwar> (accessed July 2015, 07)

Aside from more obvious connotations regarding the strategicness of sexual violence in war, it appears to fetishize vaginal destructions caused by penetrating victims with weapons or other sharp objects. At first glance, we might then expect the subjects of this film to embody familiar tropes of hardness that are commonly used to delineate the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. However while this film claims to “unveil what lies behind this brutal behaviour and the strategies men who employ it”,⁷⁴¹ what is missing is precisely “an explanation of who is making war on whom and to what ends.”⁷⁴² Interestingly, amid the clamour of familiar resonances about how sexual violence is used strategically by armed groups, perpetrators of this violence tell stories that significantly disrupt our representations of them. They tell stories about their frustrations, addictions, shame and fear that do not neatly conform to representations of them as emotionally or physically hard.

My analysis centres on the stories of two perpetrators of sexual violence who feature prominently in this film. In attending to the stories of Basima Honoratte and Alain Kasharu respectively, it analyses how their embodied experiences of masculinity both resonate with and subvert gendered and racialized representations of them in which they surface as part of the machinery or weaponry of war. In particular it tries to tell their stories in ways that evoke for the reader the leakiness of their performances of masculinity, before more straightforwardly analysing how they exceed the representations of soldier set out in this thesis. In attempting to describe the stories of Basima Honoratte and Alain Kasharu in ways that illustrate the leakiness that lays behind the formation and construction of soldiers, this chapter represents my attempt to intervene creatively in the production of knowledge about perpetrators of sexual violence. In other words this chapter, rather than simply spell out how soldiers exceed representations of them as hardened tools or instruments of violence using traditional analytical tools, in using narrative methods of writing – narratology or

⁷⁴¹ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2007. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions

⁷⁴² Bouwer, K., 2013. ‘The Van Velzen Sisters’: 223

simply storytelling – tries to challenge conventional forms of producing knowledges about perpetrators of sexual violence.⁷⁴³

To start with, this chapter analyses Basima Honoratte's story. Basima in many ways is the ideal soldier. While formerly implicated in the perpetration of sexual violence, he has since changed his ways and now dedicates his time to helping other soldiers to change by offering educational workshops on the harms of sexual violence. Behind this story, however, is another darker tale of marital rape and domestic violence which raises some questions about how we politically intervene in sexual violence. It raises questions about the ability of gender sensitive defence reforms to account for how roots of sexual violence reflect gender attitudes that are also crafted in civilian zones.

6.3 The Good Soldier?

My reading begins with Reverend Captain Basima Honoratte of the national armed forces. While this film centres on the stories of several perpetrators of sexual violence in DRC, he provides voice-overs between scenes which loosely weave together their stories of sexual violence in war.

Basima's own story proves highly seductive: A former rapist, he wants to help other soldiers to change their ways. Significantly, he considers himself as testimony to others that change is possible. What my reading finds however, is that although he seems to embody an articulation of militarized masculinity which is more sensitive to the harms of sexual violence, this promise of deliverance is fragile.

Throughout the film, Basima's every movement seems to convey solidity. He does not walk, but instead strides. He looks directly at the camera when speaking and punctuates his sentences with firm hand gestures. He has made it his task to confront systematic sexual violence within the newly integrated national armed

⁷⁴³ Wibben, A., 2010. *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*. Abingdon: Routledge; Dauphinee, E., & Inayatullah, N., 2016. *Narrative Global Politics: Theory, History and the Personal in International Relations*, Edited Collection. Abingdon: Routledge

forces and he takes this role extremely seriously, circulating information and providing counselling on the harms of sexual violence.

Despite encountering substantial resistance from his fellow soldiers, he remains resolute that he can help them change their behaviour just like he did himself. He tells us that, “the soldiers of our army are the pillar of national security, and to provide security firstly women need to be respected.” To start with, we then watch as Basima attempts to talk to former warring parties undergoing military reform. Their reaction to him, however, is extremely hostile:

{Unnamed Rebel} This is the wrong time to bother us. We're pissed off right now. We've got things to settle with the government. Do this information thing when our problems are solved. I'm speaking for myself but I think the others agree. So pack up your stuff and go. Come back when there's peace.

Basima's congregation seem more receptive. He strongly appeals to deeply entrenched religious teachings concerning the family and marriage. Women who have been raped, Basima preaches, are marked for the rest of their life. In the eyes of the church he tells them they become soldiers' wives because they have lost their virginity. This logic appears however to extend only to victims, as Basima invites soldiers to ask for forgiveness. Although several soldiers come forward to confess, their words sound somewhat hollow as they crudely gesticulate towards the girls in the congregation that would have been similar ages to their victims. Notably the young girls break into peals of nervous laughter as the soldiers point at their breasts, while their mothers observe with stony faces and pursed lips.

{Unnamed Soldier} They called me the alternating father. Because one day I took this one and the next day someone else. At that time we were soldiers and we had the power. Don't doubt what I'm saying. Please sit down, child. I ordered them to go stand in a row. They were frightened after we had taken the village. We didn't do it out of love. They had to stand up and we'd test their breasts. This one, no. This one, no. These, yes. And now I am here. I have not changed completely yet. But pray for me.

While conducting training sessions with soldiers on the wrongs of sexual violence, Basima speaks openly about his own dark past. To begin with, he initially explains that what he witnessed while fighting with the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) made him revolt against sexual violence. He tells us that, while they did not receive any direct orders during operations, they were encouraged to rape. They were told that everything then found including the women was theirs. In this sense

he contends that it was sort of an order. What we learn in another scene is that Basima also contributed towards this violence.

{Basima} I raped six women. Six women during that period. At the front, I'd grab them and rape them violently. I began to drink alcohol and smoke weed. So I became really violent. Do you understand that my life afterwards was horrible? Because I could just meet someone, stab him, and walk on. Sometimes it was someone bigger than me but I'd beat him, steal his watch and everything. I'm okay now, and everybody knows it. Everyone here knows what life I lead. And I'd like you to be like me.

In her review of this film, Bouwer notably finds it hard to come to terms with this image of the sweet faced crusading pastor.⁷⁴⁴ It, however, strikes me that what we should be more curious about is the ease with which Basima distances himself from this dark chapter in his life. In this film, Basima not only advances an image of himself which attest to the possibility of producing less violent soldiers but also as an attentive and loving husband. When he arrives home from work he tenderly embraces his wife Nabintu. This affectionate performance, however, masks their marriages' violent and coercive beginnings. Another scene opens with Nabintu diligently scrubbing Basima's bulky regulation army boots. As she tries to dislodge stubborn traces of dried mud he describes their first meeting.

{Basima} As a soldier, I was stationed in Panzi, five kilometres outside the city. I saw a girl coming home from school. I told my cab driver to stop. Because I liked the looks on her, she was very pretty. I was wearing civilian clothes and started flirting. She liked me. But when she discovered I was a soldier, she started avoiding me. She began to hide but I thought of strategies to meet her now and then.

Basima explains that he would come up with strategies to make sure that they would still meet. Using hand gestures, he motions that if Nabintu saw him heading one way he would change directions making certain that their paths would cross so that she had no option left than to get to know him. During these encounters Basima would speak of marriage until eventually she agreed to date him. While this chase seems harmless, what emerges is that he went onto to violently force himself upon Nabintu.

{Basima} The first evening I had a date with her, I said to her: "You have to stay here you're going to be my wife." After she cooked food, she said: "No, let me go". "If you try that, I'll beat you, I'll kill you!" "You'll stay here and be my wife." She was scared and started to cry. Then I had sex with her. I gave her orders: "Undress, lie down." We had sex. But against her will. A few

⁷⁴⁴ Bouwer, K., 2013. 'The Van Velzen Sisters': 223

days later, she began to get used to me. We got married. Now she really loves me a lot. She saw that I meant it. Many soldiers get married that way.

What is particularly striking about this scene is that Basima seems to excuse sexual violence in this instance. He seems to discern between sexual violence which stems from the climate of warring in which soldiers live and sexual violence that occurs in civilian contexts.⁷⁴⁵ In this sense, Basima shares much in common with other soldiers whose stories of sexual feature in this thesis.⁷⁴⁶ He draws lines of distinction between sexual violence that takes place in the context of warring and sexual violence that occurs because of the dearth of normal sexual encounters available to soldiers.^{xxx} While Basima claims that things settled down once they were married, Nabintu's testimony disrupts this account. It reveals that when Basima returned home from war he would continue to subject Nabintu to humiliating beatings.

{Nabintu} When I married my husband he drank too much. He smoked a lot too. I regretted having married him. He was very aggressive, he beat me even for a tiny mistake. Sometimes he beat me so often my whole face would swell up. People asked: "what happened to you?" I was too embarrassed to say. He beat me really often. I saw how he came back from the war, as a completely different person. And I had to pay for something I hadn't done. The war seemed to be my fault; he was aggressive. A soldier can leave the war behind at the front. But sometimes the fight goes on at home from the trauma of the war. All sorts of rebels and other soldiers all have trauma. Without help, they go on like that as if they're still at war.

Nabintu's testimony subsequently places on display chinks in Basima's knightly armour. It demonstrates that, while Basima seems to inhabit an articulation of militarized masculinity which is more sensitive towards the wrongs of sexual violence, he continues to dismiss the gravity of his violence towards Nabintu in ways that arguably reflect constructions of masculinity that contribute towards sexual violence in this setting. Notably Nabintu's testimony, in drawing attention to ways in which the trauma of war may follow combatants home, also highlights the marked absence of trauma from Basima's image of himself. In contrast to Basima, other soldiers that featured in this film were far more forthcoming about their

⁷⁴⁵ Dolan, C., 2010. 'War is Not Yet Over': *Community Perceptions of Sexual Violence and its Underpinnings in Eastern DRC*, International Alert; Lwambo, D., 2011. 'Before the War, I was a Man': *Men and Masculinities in Eastern DR Congo*, Goma: Heal Africa

⁷⁴⁶ Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Men and Masculinities*, 16(2): 203-227

struggles to deal with the trauma of war. They described how when they went to sleep at night they would vividly relive the violence they have meted out against women.

While Basima seems to have exorcized these haunting reminders of violence he has committed, this chapter looks in more detail at combatants' stories of trauma and suffering through exploring Alain Kasharu's story. Rather than paper over cracks that emerge within soldiers' narratives it begins by talking about hands, hands that shake. To start with, I undertake further analysis of what Basima's story tells us about the politics of representing perpetrators of sexual violence.

6.3.1 Analysis - Basima's story

Basima's story is seen by many reviewers of this film as an example of how military reform can turn the tide on sexual violence in the DRC.⁷⁴⁷ My analysis however, while acknowledging the effort he dedicates trying to help other soldiers to reform their lives, looks at how he reproduces familiar stories and representations of perpetrators of sexual violence. Specifically, it explores how the determination with which Basima resolves to combat sexual violence is perhaps symbolic of the certainty with which we seem to theorize about perpetrators of sexual violence.

Basima's story notably echoes dominant understandings of the strategicness of sexual violence in war. While he tells us that he was not directly ordered to rape, his story suggests that sexual violence was actively encouraged by military commanders who benefited from the chaos caused by rape in the DRC. Basima was not the only soldier interviewed to put forward the argument that sexual violence is used strategically by military elites to pursue political goals. Commander Taylor of the armed militia the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP) also claimed that commanders actively encouraged soldiers to rape.

{Commander Taylor - CNDP} I can state that sexual violence was our big weapon. The leaders of our group organised secret meetings among colonels, the generals and majors. They discussed it. We thought up strategies that ordinary militia wouldn't understand. We did it as a way of

⁷⁴⁷ Rosenberg, J., 2010. 'A step in the right direction'. *Weapon of War* <http://www.weaponofwar.nl/presskititems/Weapon%20of%20War%20-%20%20A%20Step%20in%20the%20Right%20Direction%20-%20Final.pdf> (accessed July 2015, 07)

provoking the Congolese government. We didn't give the order, but if they went out raping, we were proud of them. I can tell you that sexual violence had led to the government wanting to negotiate with us to reach a ceasefire, and getting us out of the jungle and into Goma. Because they saw we wouldn't stop raping otherwise.

In echoing dominant understandings of the strategicness of sexual violence in war, Basima also arguably reproduces an image of the bodies of soldiers as part of the weaponry of war. Specifically, his argument that soldiers need to learn to respect women, as shown in chapter five, resonates with representations of the hard male soldiering body that locate the problem of rape within the kinds of masculinity soldiers learn to embody in the military. In trying to teach soldiers their duty to protect women, he suggests that like other weapons soldiers can be physically neutralized through educative techniques.

Basima, we learn elsewhere, attended United States-led seminars intended to train military chaplains to instruct soldiers in international norms around human rights especially those pertaining to women.⁷⁴⁸ It is subsequently not surprising that he reproduces representations of the hard male soldiering body found in international security interventions. What is interesting is how his story powerfully evokes some of the limitations of gender sensitive defence reforms set out in chapter five, in which militarized masculinity surfaces as the object for reform.⁷⁴⁹ Indeed, it strikes me that the sense of certainty with which he resolves to combat sexual violence within the national armed forces by teaching soldiers to protect women is symbolic of how international security interventions, in focusing too heavily on the hard male soldiering body, miss the leakiness that lies behind the formation of perpetrators of sexual violence.

To elaborate, what struck me about Basima was that while he seemed to know how sexual violence could be combatted, he was blind to other factors around him which contribute towards the continuation of sexual violence. By way of example, he did not come across as troubled by the hostile reaction he received from some of the soldiers he tried to talk to about the harms of sexual violence. Rather than

⁷⁴⁸ U.S. Army Africa. 'USARAF chaplains traveling contact team work with DRC counterparts.' *USARAF* http://www.usaraf.army.mil/NEWS/NEWS_121012_chap_drc.html (accessed July 2015, 07)

⁷⁴⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.' Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond "gender and stir": Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45, p.38

listen to their frustrations with the fractured state of the military, he seemed interested only in informing them about the wrongs of sexual violence. In this sense, he appeared to miss the broader context of military integration in which sexual violence occurs. However, as chapter four showed, this context is important because it helps to explain the failure of military institutions to embody control, as well as reveal how sexual violence may function as one way in which soldiers frustrated at their social conditions protest military authority.⁷⁵⁰ In failing to address this broader context, Basima ended up reproducing aspects of these problematic initiatives in relation to perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

What also struck me was that he did not seem to notice the angry looks that the women in his congregation directed at him, as he preached about the wrongs of sexual violence. He seemed entirely unaware of their infuriated reaction to his claim that sexual violence was forbidden because it marked the woman for the rest of her life. Crucially, this captured the broader issue of how Basima simply viewed the bodies of women as objects in need of protection. In teaching men that sexual violence is forbidden because it marks women as the property of the soldiers that have raped them, he rehearsed familiar discourses of masculine protection which much feminist work shows contribute to sexual violence in war.⁷⁵¹ In this way we can also see how Basima reproduces familiar problems with initiatives aimed at combatting sexual violence through reforming the male soldiering body, which this thesis has addressed in chapter five.

What these examples powerfully show is that in locating the problem of rape within the hard male soldiering body, Basima both misses the leakiness that exists outside of this representation, and further entrenches the conditions in which sexual violence occurs. These issues were most evident in his account of how he forced himself on his wife. The ways in which he excuses this act of violence, as

⁷⁵⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 76; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 33

⁷⁵¹ Runyan, A., 1990. 'Gender Relations and the politics of protection.' *Peace Review*, 2(4):28-31; Young, I., 2003. 'The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State.' *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*, 29(1): 1-25; Peet, J., & Sjoberg, L. 2011. 'A(nother) Dark side of the Protection Racket: Targeting Women in Wars.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(2): 163-182

well as how he downplays the violence he continued to subject Nabintu to once they were married is indicative of how, in seeing the problem of rape as residing simply in the attitudes and embodiments of the military, we may miss the complexity of this violence. Crucially, what his story shows is that we not only miss how the increase in domestic sexual violence may be related to the war but also, how soldiers' performances of violence more generally are also shaped by gendered attitudes found in civilian contexts.⁷⁵² As indicated throughout this thesis, failure to pay attention to such complexities around the perpetration of sexual violence severely limits initiatives aimed at combating its continuation.

As this thesis showed in chapter five, how we represent soldiers have important implications for how we intervene politically in sexual violence. The point of looking at Basima's story of sexual violence was not simply to repeat this point, but to try to reveal the very real effects our representations have on those most directly affected by sexual violence. In evoking the hostile and frustrated reactions Basima received from those around him as well as the acts of violence he meted out against his wife, this section wanted to show more palpably the effects of our modes of theorising about perpetrators of sexual violence. For me, the determination with which Basima resolved to combat sexual violence was indicative of the certainty with which we often approach the perpetrators of sexual violence. His failure to listen to those around him mirrors the failure of our theories to properly attend to the leakiness that exists outside representations of perpetrators of sexual violence. The next section, in looking more at the trauma of war, then further explores what we see differently when we read the perpetrators of sexual violence through the window of their leakiness.

Specifically it analyses Alain Kasharu's story. Alain is in many ways the opposite of Basima. A former rebel that has chosen not to join the national armed forces Alain unlike Basima is struggling to make the transition from soldier to civilian. A large part of this has to do with his feelings of shame. Living among his former victims he is constantly confronted with the consequences of his actions. What the next

⁷⁵² Peterman, A., et al., 2011. 'Estimates and Determinants of Sexual Violence against Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo', *American Journal of Public Health*, 101 (6): 1060-1067; Bartles, S., Scott, A., Leaning, J., Kelly, J., Mukwege, D., Joyce, N., & Vanrooyen, M., 2011. 'Sexual Violence trends between 2004 and 2008 in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*, 26: 408-413

section explores is how his story may provide different vantage points from which to think about the leakiness of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

6.4 The bad soldier?

In the film, Alain Kasharu speaks with his hands. He uses his hands, the same hands that shake, the same hands with which he smokes, plays music, and shovels earth, to gesture how he took part in raping a woman who he came across washing her clothes. He motions loading his gun before simulating how his group held her tightly, covered her mouth, spread her legs and entered her body. We took hold of her like this, he tells us, that is how we did it.

{Alain Kasharu} In our group, I had three good friends. During the rapes I took part in, they were always there. We worked together a lot. There was a large river. People washed their clothes there. We gave her our clothes to wash. I intimidated her by loading my gun three times. I didn't shoot, just threatened. The sound of the loading was enough. We spread her legs. We took hold of her like this took off our clothes and held her tight. One of us put a gag in her mouth. That's how we did it. Then we beat her up and left.

We see her shape in his hands.⁷⁵³ As Alain gestures loading his gun one, two, three, times, the air becomes heavy with the control he exercises over her body. The force he wields over her life. We however not only see her shape in his hands, but also his own. The stories he traces with his hands, their twists and turns, form an image of him.

Alain attributes joining the Mai-Mai rebels to both the loss of his job and departure of his fiancée. Unable to inhabit ideals of manhood based on wealth and marriage he enlisted with the Mai-Mai militia and embarked upon three months of training during which he learned the "military life." The Mai-Mai by his account however do not seem to adhere to 'modern' norms of warfare. Recruits train with sticks shaped like guns and depend predominantly upon the neighbouring population for support and rations. When relations with civilians became strained and civilians refused soldiers assistance he tells us, that is when we started "saving ourselves." Their usual strategy was looting and raping.

Alain's story covers familiar territory. Struggling to inhabit idealized notions of manliness found within armed groups and society more generally, he finds other

⁷⁵³ Gordon, A., 2008. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, second edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 7

outlets in which to enact such masculinity. “We smoked weed, we beat people, we raped, we did lots of bad things”. At several points during filming Alain describes himself as acting like an animal or wild beast. His brain, he tells us, did not work like other people’s do. “I was unable to separate good from bad.” Alain’s story in this respect resonates with racialized understandings of perpetrators of sexual violence that portray the problem of rape as residing in the supposed bestiality of the rapists.⁷⁵⁴ Despite this, his story however was also strewn with leaks. My reading of Alain’s story subsequently explores some of the ways in which traces of these leaks manifest themselves. It looks at how those hands that shake reveal cracks in his hard exterior.

Alain’s whole body shakes as he tells us about the guilt he feels. Our gaze is mainly directed towards his hands which anxiously tie themselves in knots. At one point the camera pans down to reveal Alain holding onto the table. Bracing himself (it would seem) against the deluge of painful memories that threaten to come flooding back. Aside from these physical signs of agitation he also seeks relief in medication. He takes Haldol in order to stave off the sickness.^{xxxix} “If I don’t take it any more my sickness takes over. Then I get the urge to rape again. To use force to get women.” When he doesn’t have access to antipsychotics he listens to music instead. “If the memories come back, I turn on music. Then I think they won’t come back.” In one scene we watch as Alain anxiously switches between different radio-stations, before meeting with Achille who represents an organization that orchestrates reconciliations between perpetrators and their victims.^{xxxix}

While his time in the Mai-Mai seem to have hardened Alain against sexual violence, the signs of agitation that materialize over the courses of this film reveal that such constructions might be more fragile than previously assumed. Amid the clamour of familiar resonances about the bestiality of the rapists, an alternative narrative begins to materialize whose traces reveal how Alain also exceeds the representations of perpetrators of sexual violence we have become accustomed to hearing. In this alternative narrative we see Alain through his mother’s eyes. We see both the active child that played a lot, as well as the child that left to fight. As

⁷⁵⁴ Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 25

Jean Kasharu tells us about his childhood while washing his clothes, our sympathies are elicited.

{Jean Kasharu}He was a child who played a lot, just like others. He was an active child; he talked and played a lot. He was playing all the time. He was always busy. He worked and earned money, just like other people. When he was a soldier, I was afraid. I was worried. Maybe he'd get sick or even die there. It hurt not to know how he was doing. When he went away, I didn't know how he'd get on. I asked myself if he was still alive. I don't know anything about bad things he did, because I wasn't there. I think the sound of bullets has made his head sick. This is my idea; I don't know if it's true. Our son came back and we welcomed him. I forgave him; he'll always be my son. I see him the way he was as a boy. I'll keep taking care of him, like when he was a boy. I'll always love him.

In another scene, Alain goes onto tells us that when he became sick the rebels rather than care for him chased him away. Whilst his family welcomed him back his friends avoided him. "I only told my best friends about my life as a rebel. After I told them, they were scared of me. Some broke off our friendship. They stopped being friends, because they were afraid I would cause problems." The image that emerges of Alain after he returns to civilian life is also, like many former combatants, marked by poverty. He explains that gold digging is not only hard work but badly paid. "Gold digging is heavy work. We do it four days a week. In four days, I earn one dollar. This is work for someone who has not got anything else." Curiously, what he finds most exasperating about these circumstances is not simply that he finds himself waist high in muddy water shovelling, shifting and sieving heavy loads of dirt. Rather, what troubles Alain is that this state of poverty prevents him from being able to make amends by compensating his victims. "Because I don't have anything I am afraid of the people I did bad things to because I cannot give them anything so they can forgive me. "

Crucially, in this film Alain tries to make amends to one of his victims. Whether this attempt at reconciliation marks some profound transformation is hard to say. As Bouwer contends, we never know how much of what we observe in this film is for the benefit of the camera.⁷⁵⁵ However, regardless of who the intended audience is, this moment in this film is perhaps worth pausing to reflect upon. If only because it suggests that Alain is aware of the effects of his actions, and that contrary to what he previously claimed, he does have some sense of good and bad.

⁷⁵⁵ Bouwer, K., 2013. 'The Van Velzen Sisters': 223

Throughout this film Alain demonstrates remorse for his actions. However, it is only when he meets Achille, who works for an organization that facilitates reconciliations outside of the courts, that he acts upon this desire for forgiveness. While apprehensive Alain remains hopeful. "If she wants to hear what I have to say then I can hope she'll forget how much she hates me." The meeting itself happens over an inconceivably short time frame. Nevertheless, during this brief encounter we witness an interesting change in the relationship between perpetrator and victim. Rather than coming across as being in control, Alain struggles to maintain eye contact. Instead, he looks at his hands as they trace the table's surface exploring it deeply etched grooves. In contrast, Alain's victim seems in control. She looks directly at him as she tells him what impacts his actions have had on her life.

{Unnamed Victim} I'm ready to talk but not about what happened. I don't want to remember it and feel it all over again. Otherwise I'll think of it too much.

{Achille} Do you have questions you want to ask him? He'll give you answers. Are there questions?

{Unnamed Victim} Because of what you did to me I'm still living with my parents. My family is taking care of me now. Since I was raped, it's as if I've lost all my chances. Everybody holds me responsible for what happened. After what you did, I can't get a good position in life. Everyone gossips behind my back. You destroyed my whole life.

{Alain Kasharu} Try not to think any more of what I did to you. We have to forget and forgive each other.

{Unnamed Victim} I feel that I can do what I want now. Now that we're seeing each other, I can do what I want. I could get you punished by the court. People know I was raped. My fiancé left me because he wouldn't marry someone who'd lost her virginity. You have destroyed my life. I'm not sure you understand you are now responsible for my life. This is very, very difficult for me.

{Alain Kasharu} That's why I asked for this meeting. I'm aware of what I did to you. Oh, this is so difficult. But I really want to relieve my feelings. That's why I am begging for forgiveness. Please forgive me. I now know what I did.

{Unnamed Victim} What you did left an open wound in my heart. But because you came to me to ask forgiveness my heart is starting to heal. Terrible things can happen in a war. The terrible things you did to me will never leave me. Remember that well. Now I will forgive you and I will try to forget all the bad feelings stored in my heart. We never thought we'd meet again. We have to forgive each other.

{Achille} what are you going to give her now that she's forgiven you?

{Alain Kasharu} I don't have much but I do have something. I have a piglet and now that I know what I did, I want her to have it.

While fleeting, what is interesting about this encounter is that Alain deviates from understandings which locate rape as residing in the bestial male body of the soldier. Rather than excessively aggressive and misogynistic, he comes across as scared and ashamed. The final section of this chapter then draws out how Alain helps us see the leakiness that exists outside of our representations of perpetrators of sexual violence.

6.4.1 Analysis - Alain's story

On the surface, Alain's story seems to most clearly echo gendered and racialized representations of perpetrators of sexual violence. On the one hand, his story appears to reflect representations in which sexual violence is seen as residing in the types of masculinity that soldiers learn in the military. On the other hand, his story bears resemblance to those representations that locate the problem of sexual violence within the bestiality of the rapists. As shown in chapter five, this representation of perpetrators of sexual violence are not seen as distinct from the hard male soldiering body, but rather as related to how this body is also seen as an explicitly racialized body in the context of the DRC. My analysis of Alain's story explores how he exceeds both of these representations of rapists.

In describing how he was subject to military training, that included contemporary practices of basic training found in most armed groups, Alain's story seems to resonate with representations of perpetrators as hardwired which explore how the types of masculinity drilled into soldiers are conducive to rape. However, while his story echoes representations that portray soldiers as parts of the weaponry or machinery of war, missing from his story were discourses in which combatants celebrate heroic masculine violent achievement. While he located his violence within the context of the militarization similar to other soldiers who featured in this film, he cited poverty as the main reasons for the occurrence of rape. In doing so, Alain situated his own acts of sexual violence within a wider civilian context in such a way that unsettles the usual narratives of militarised male bodies hardwired to rape.

As already shown, when broached on the subject of sexual violence, soldiers who featured in this film voiced frustration with the fractured state of the military.

Notably, several soldiers who featured in this film cited the poor living conditions as sources of frustration as well as violence. They located the impetus for raping in the generalized climate of poverty in the military:

{Unnamed Soldier - FARDC} My captain, please do you best to make me a civilian again. It hurts me to see my comrades get paid well and not me. I fought for my country and now that there's a sort of peace I don't get what I deserve. They sent me out to rape and steal. Now I'm here, my captain, but I don't know if I'll make it through the evening.

Similarly, in Alain's story, military conditions also featured as an overwhelming source of frustration that manifested in an urge to harm civilians. In particular, what this film shows is that, while he cited poverty as the main reasons for the occurrence of rape, rather than an economic tactic, sexual violence more accurately arose out of his frustration with civilians that refuse to support the militia.⁷⁵⁶ Notably, in Alain's case this sense of frustration is directed at civilians that not only refuse to provide rations but also carry out domestic chores for the militia. As the following extract indicates he uses sexual violence to punish one of his victims after she refuses to wash his clothes for him.

{Unnamed Victim}When I was washing my clothes, I saw three soldiers. They also had their clothes with them and asked me to wash them. I said I didn't want to while I hadn't washed my own yet. When they heard that, one was impatient and beat me with a stick. The one with the gun tried to push me legs apart. First they intimidated me and fired the gun. Then they took me violently. I don't want to say the rest, because I don't want to think about it.

What Alain's story subsequently brought to life for me was how soldiers' acts of violence, rather than simply reflect the orderly and neat working of armed groups, were related to their sense of frustration with their poverty.⁷⁵⁷ Notably, it also indicated that their performances were shaped by factors found in not only military but also civilian contexts. In particular, Alain's account of how his fiancée left him after he lost his job seemed to imply that his frustration at his poverty was, at least in part, related to his failure to embody civilian notions of masculinity dependent on being able to provide for the family.⁷⁵⁸ In others words, Alain's story demonstrates that the problem of rape cannot simply be located within the hard

⁷⁵⁶ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 28

⁷⁵⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 71

⁷⁵⁸Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518, p.507

male soldiering body. The bodies of soldiers it shows are not simply blank surfaces that absorb and reflect back the values of armed groups but leaky bodies that are always already gendered.

My analysis of Alain's story, then, reinforces the findings of chapter four which drew on Baaz and Stern's work to show both how soldiers' performances of masculinity are shaped in local contexts, as well as how these performances symbolize their failure to embody notions of masculinity based on being economically solvent. However, what was also striking about his story was how it drew attention to the ways in which soldiers often feel remorse for their actions. As previously discussed, in this film many soldiers described how they were traumatized by war. Specifically, they described how they relived their violence in their dreams.

{Unnamed Soldier - FARDC} I recognize myself. I have nightmares about murdering people. I picture us imprisoning the enemy. I get ordered to kill and I do it right away. Or I stab him to death. Sometimes I see a woman and I grab her and rape her. If I dream that, I wake up screaming.

While the soldiers feature in this film spoke openly about their sense of guilt, it also manifested itself in very physical ways. Notably, their tearful confessions attested to how soldiers exceed process of militarization in which they are taught to deny or repress expressions of fear or sadness that are seen as soft or feminine. Indeed, as argued at various points in this thesis, the presence of tears shows how feelings of fear or sadness that soldiers are taught to deny resurface in ways that disrupt our notions of them as emotionally as well as physically hard. While tears attest to the importance of seeing the bodies as sites of pain and feeling, my analysis has argued that this was not the only way in which the leakiness of soldiers' bodies physically manifested.

In particular, what was interesting about Alain's story was how he showed physical signs of guilt when talking about sexual violence. In paying attention to how he studiously avoided eye contact and physically trembled, my reading of his story exposed the leakiness rather than hardness of his body. In other words, in pointing to how his feelings of shame physically manifested themselves, it laid bare the fragile ground on which the hard male soldiering body is built. Crucially, I

suggested, this also had connotations for representations of perpetrators of sexual violence that locate the problem of rape within the bestiality of the rapists.

Alain's story also echoes representations of perpetrators of sexual violence that do not just locate the problem of rape within the hard male soldiering body, but also the bestiality of rapists. In particular, describing how he acted like an animal that could not make ethical choices, his story resonates with both gendered and racialized representations of that depict soldiers as excessively violent.^{xxxiii} Alain's story however, in revealing how soldiers' feelings of guilt or shame physically manifest themselves in their actions, also subverted representations of perpetrators of sexual violence as savage beasts. Crucially, while his story explicitly traces his attempt to make amends to one of his victims, what really captured my attention was how he physically struggled to come to terms with the violence he enacted. For me, in pointing to how soldiers' openly struggle with an overarching sense that sexual violence is wrong, Alain's story then importantly creates an opening in which to not only think but also potentially intervene differently in sexual violence. In this way, my analysis of Alain's story here perhaps provides useful insights for how we might approach working with perpetrators to combat sexual violence differently.

My analysis of Alain's story not only reinforces some of the findings of chapter four and five, but it also serves to further my analysis of Basima's story. Whereas the point of my analysis of Basima's story was to show how the determination with which he resolved to combat sexual violence was indicative of the certainty with which we more broadly approach the perpetrators of sexual violence, what my analysis of Alain's story was intended to flesh out was how perpetrators' bodies exceed our conventional modes of producing knowledge about them. In contrast to Basima's story, which revealed some of the very real effects our representations have on those most directly affected by sexual violence, for me Alain's story was paradoxically symbolic of how reading the bodies of perpetrators of rape through the window of their leakiness may provide valuable insights into how we might attend otherwise to the leaky bodies of perpetrators in our efforts to politically intervene in sexual violence.

6.6 Conclusion

What this chapter has demonstrated is that while on the surface Isle Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen's film, *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo* (2009), seemed to remain within dominant understanding of the strategicness of sexual violence in war, in contrast to other films the subtlety with which it portrays perpetrators of sexual violence invites viewers to stray from the dominant storylines of rape in the DRC. In analysing the stories of soldiers who featured in this film, what this chapter then showed is that in order to intervene politically we must learn to better attend to the traces of the bodies of perpetrators sexual violence that cannot be easily contained within our prevailing frames of reference for thinking about rape in the DRC. Specifically, it did this by analysing to what extent soldiers' stories and their body language exceed the almost ubiquitous framing of perpetrators sexual violence as physically and emotionally hard in the DRC.

Solid, stable, and sure: what this chapter contended was that, the determination with which Basima resolved to combat sexual violence in the armed forces is symbolic of the sense of certainty with which we theorize about perpetrators of rape in war. In exploring how he failed to locate sexual violence within the broader context of soldiers' frustration at their social conditions, as well as how the ways in which he dismissed the violence he meted out against his wife, my analysis of Basima's story evoked how in focusing too heavily on the hard male soldiering body, we may miss the leakiness that lies behind the formation of perpetrators of sexual violence, and emerge as complicit in the violent production of rapists. In contrast to Basima, what this chapter analysed is how Alain disrupted the sense of certainty with which we theorize about perpetrators of sexual violence. In particular, what was interesting about Alain's story was how his sense of shame manifested itself physically when talking about sexual violence. In paying attention to how he physically trembled and almost studiously avoided eye contact, what my reading showed was that Alain's story disrupted representations of perpetrators of sexual violence that locate the problem of rape within the hard male soldiering body in two ways. Firstly, in analysing how he attributes sexual violence to frustrations resulting from the climate of poverty, what this chapter showed was

how sexual violence, rather than reflect “the tidy workings of the military”,⁷⁵⁹ represents the failure of soldiers to embody ideals of masculinity found within military as well as civilian contexts, and as such reveals the leakiness that exists outside of representations that simply attribute sexual violence to the strict forms of masculinity constructed within the military. Secondly, in analysing how he demonstrates remorse for his actions what it showed is that, while he claimed that he acted like an animal, he also subverted racialized representations that, in addition to the forms of masculinity constructed within the military, attribute sexual violence to the bestiality of rapists.

What my reading of *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo* (2009) then shows is that while the stories soldiers tell about sexual violence often resonate with our representations of perpetrators of sexual violence, they also reveal moments of leakiness in which they break from our assumptions about them. Interestingly, in attending to soldiers’ experiences and performances of masculinity, what my reading also tangentially showed is that perpetrators of sexual violence cannot be understood aside from the broader web of social relations in which their violence occurs, however torn asunder that web may be. Notably, while my reading focused predominantly on male soldiers, in listening to their stories what it also found was that they almost always featured women. Furthermore, it found that in listening to the stories their wives, mother and victims told about them, it was able to further glimpse moments of leakiness in which perpetrators trouble our representations of them. It then strikes me that while this thesis focuses on male perpetrators, the presence of women’s stories in this film remind us that soldiers’ experiences and performances of masculinity do not occur in isolation, but also must be understood in relations to the everyday social context in which they live.

Broadly speaking, while this chapter echoed many of the insights generated in chapters four and five, in using the medium of film to analyse soldiers’ words and actions, as well as experimenting with narrative methods of reading and writing, it has tried to more palpably evoke for the reader how the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence seep beyond our static representations of them. The final chapter

⁷⁵⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 71

of this thesis then lingers over the contribution my analysis of leaky bodies has made to the feminist study of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Concluding Remarks

This thesis invites the reader to think differently about perpetrators of sexual violence in war in several distinct ways. Firstly, through elaborating an analytical strategy of leaky bodies that develops conceptual tools for analysing male bodies through the window of their leakiness rather than their hardness. Secondly, through critically examining how within generic stories of sexual violence, the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence surface as the hardened tools of violence. And thirdly, through exploring to what extent contemporary framings of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC, a) perpetuate an image of soldiers who perpetrate rape as physically and emotionally hard and, b) expose the ways in which soldiers disrupt and dislodge this image of them. This conclusion then summarizes the distinct yet complementary insights this thesis has generated into contemporary framings of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC and critically reflects upon why they matter for feminists interested in the study of sexual violence in war.

7.2 Theorizing Male Bodies

Within feminist academic circles there is much debate about the bodies. In some circles this debate revolves around how the matter of the body has been “sidelined” or “bracketed” within feminist research.⁷⁶⁰ What this thesis was curious about was not how bodies were absent from feminist research agendas, but rather how they were represented. In particular it was interested in how the bodies of men are represented differently to those of women.

One of the key insights this thesis has generated is that while the bodies of men are present within feminist research, they are often not present as fleshy sites of practice in the same ways as the bodies of women are. Specifically, in exploring how the bodies of women are metaphorically coded as soft and fluid, chapter two more generally showed how the bodies of men are constructed as hard and solid. This construction of the leaky female body versus the hard male body, it showed, is consistent with misogynist thought commonly uses it to justify the secondary

⁷⁶⁰ Frost, S., 2011. ‘The Implications of the New Materialisms for Feminist Epistemology.’ Eds. Grasswick, H., *Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science*. London: Springer: 69-83

social position of women by representing them as unable to transcend the biological necessities of life.

While there has been much written about whether the term leakiness can be strategically appropriated by women, what chapter two explored is how this analytical lens may be extended to men. Through its engagement with the feminist philosophy of Elizabeth Grosz and Luce Irigaray, it explored how reading the bodies of men through the metaphor of leakiness may disrupt our prevailing representations of them as hard.⁷⁶¹ Specifically, what this chapter sought to show is how pointing to the leakiness of the male body unsettles regulatory practices of gender that congeal bodies into two sexes that exist in binary relation to each other. This thesis subsequently developed two specific analytical strategies for reading the bodies of men through the metaphor of leakiness, rather than reproducing their hard contours.

The first of these analytical strategies involved asking questions about how bodily fluids attest to the vulnerability of the male body, while the second involved asking questions about how men do not consistently act in ways we expect them to. Even though these two strategies involved analysing leaky male bodies in different ways, what both of them shared in common was an understanding that although male bodies are deeply entrenched within regulatory regimes of gender, the concept of leakiness can powerfully draw our attention to how they subvert our prevailing ways of thinking about them. While arguably these analytical strategies have implications for thinking about representations of the bodies of men more generally, what this thesis specifically shows is how the lived leaky male body can become an important site of feminist politics around which to contest representations of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war.

As this thesis has described in detail, what initially interested me about representations of the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war was how they were represented differently to the bodies of female victims. While the

⁷⁶¹ Irigaray L., 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One*, translated by Porter, C., & Burke, C., 1985. New York: Cornell University Press; Grosz, E.1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press

literature seemed fixated on the violated bodies of female victims, what struck me was how the bodies of male perpetrators seemed to slide from view. At first this seemed indicative of how the literature neglected the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war. However on second glance, it became clear that they were present as the implicit as well as sometimes explicit tools of violence.

Indeed, one of the main findings of this thesis was that when we consider the body of literature on perpetrators of sexual violence we can see that this body takes the shape of a gun. Particularly illustrative of this representation of the body of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war was the Amnesty International campaign, discussed in chapter four, which featured an extended bullet with the caption “rape is cheaper than bullets” (see figure 5).⁷⁶² The extended bullet intended to resemble the penis is exemplary of how the body of male perpetrators of sexual violence is seen as an embodied weapon firmly encased within armoured boundaries.

The analytical starting point for this thesis was subsequently, how within the literature the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war surfaced as deadly weapons. It started by tracing the hard contours of the bodies of male perpetrators, before exploring how these deeply etched grooves are lined with “tears” and “snags” that invite alternative insights into the leakiness of male perpetrators of sexual violence.⁷⁶³ The next section then summarizes in more detail how, within the literature, the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war were commonly delineated through tropes of hardness.

7.3 Hard Male Bodies

As chapter two demonstrated, while the concept of leakiness draws attention to how bodies consistently congeal or coagulate in the same ways, it also reminds us that we must remain attentive to how representations of the bodies solidify over

⁷⁶² Amnesty International, 2009. ‘Women's rights: Provocative new rape in conflict advert to appear in London tubes.’ *Amnesty International* <http://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/womens-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rightss-rights-provocative-new-rape> (accessed April 17, 2015)

⁷⁶³ Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.’ *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630, p. 629

time to create the effect of substance. One of the main contributions of this thesis was subsequently not only analysing how the bodies of male perpetrators of sexual violence in war disrupted our representations of them, but also analysing how they repeatedly surfaced within the literature as part of the machinery of war. In doing so, the aim was not to caricature the excellent work of individual authors on perpetrators of sexual violence in war but to ask questions about the generic storylines they end up working within.

Crucially, what this thesis was interested in was how within explanations of the strategicness of sexual violence in war⁷⁶⁴ the bodies of perpetrators surfaced as the hardened tools of violence, which were consciously wielded by military elites to achieve political goals. Through its analysis of recent critical feminist research on militarized masculinity,⁷⁶⁵ it explored how the feminist academic literature on sexual violence in war locates the problem of rape within an overly simplistic understanding of the ways in which the stylization of masculinity in the military is conducive towards misogyny. What it showed was how within explanations of the strategicness of sexual violence in war, the military was seen as producing forms of masculinity associated with heightened rape propensity.

What chapter three outlined was how feminist explanations of why soldiers rape portray perpetrators of sexual violence in war as *hardwired*. In pointing to how the military produces soldiers that are “permanently hard and function with mechanical efficiency,”⁷⁶⁶ it contended that feminist explanations generally portray perpetrators of sexual violence as geared towards rape. In contrast to feminist explanations that portray perpetrators of sexual violence as *hardwired* to rape, it however also took into account more recent scholarship that explores how the dominant imagery of militarized masculinity rarely resonates with soldiers’

⁷⁶⁴ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books:42-63

⁷⁶⁵ Hutchings, K., 2008. ‘Making Sense of Masculinity and War.’ *Men and Masculinities*, 10(4): 389-404; Stern, M., & Zalewski, M., 2009. ‘Feminist Fatigue(s): Reflections on feminism and familiar feminist fables of militarization.’ *Review of International Studies*, 35(3):631-630; Welland, J., 2013. ‘Militarized violences, basic training, and the myths of asexuality and discipline.’ *Review of International Studies*, 39 (4): 881–902

⁷⁶⁶ Jarvis, B., 2008. ‘Tim O’Brien and the topography of trauma.’ Eds. Prosser, J., *American Fiction of the 1990s: Reflections of History and Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge: 1-17. p. 4

embodied experiences of warring. Specifically, in exploring how sexual violence becomes one of the ways in which soldiers attempt to shore up this fragile identity, it argued that more recent feminist explanations portray perpetrators of sexual violence as *haywire*. As chapter three subsequently went on to show, feminist explanations that portray perpetrators of sexual violence as *haywire* evoke how soldiers embodied experiences do not consistently conform to the specific expectations of masculinity produced within the military.

However, while more recent feminist scholarship on the perpetrators of sexual violence lays bare the fragility of militarized masculinity, what also became clear is that even authors that stray from the generic storylines of rape reproduce representations of soldiers in which they embody the weapons of choice in asymmetric warfare. Indeed, what my analysis of some of the more recent feminist scholarship on the perpetrators of sexual violence revealed is that, while there is clearly some awareness that individuals' performances of masculinity depart from those celebrated within the military, authors still contend that strategic patterns surface at the level of military authority. In other words, despite acknowledging the complexity of violence at the level of the individual, they continue to indicate that the body of the male perpetrator of sexual violence becomes administered by the command structure of the military.

In delineating these two different forms of militarized masculine embodiment - the *hardwired* and the *haywire* body - my analysis importantly showed how the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence were viewed through the prism of their hardness. Yet, while my analysis generated insights into how the feminist scholarship produces an image of the bodies of perpetrators as the hardened weapons of war, what this thesis was specifically interested in unpacking was how this played out in the DRC. It wanted to explore to what extent this image permeated the academic scholarship, as well as policy literature on perpetrators of sexual violence in this landscape of war.

As chapter four details, sexual violence within the DRC has attracted considerable attention from outside observers. Much of this attention from these observers has

concerned how sexual violence is used strategically by armed groups to achieve political goals. In doing so, what this chapter showed is that they tend to perpetuate an image of the perpetrators of sexual violence as part of the weaponry of war. This was seen most distinctly within explanations that pointed to the transfer of sexual violence across territorial lines, as well as how it was condoned by military elites that benefit economically from the disorder it causes. Indeed, as chapter four shows, the prevailing explanation of sexual violence that has surfaced holds that the exploitation of natural resources is the main source of sexual violence, with the bodies of soldiers as the weapon of choice in the fight over minerals.

What much of the feminist academic literature, however, explicitly contends is that the strategic use of sexual violence must be understood in relation to social constructions of masculinity fostered in the military. In exploring how armed groups in the DRC, like all militaries, are places where men learn to associate violence with masculinity, it also more precisely examines how militarization reduces soldiers to the hardened weapons of war that rape as commanded to. Specifically, the literature on child soldiers, as chapter four shows, points to how new recruits are forcibly taught to deny emotions that are not only seen as soft but also importantly feminine. As chapter five shows, the image of the bodies of soldiers who perpetrate rape as the hardened weapons of war also surfaces within the policy literature on combating sexual violence in war. Within gender sensitive defence reforms intended to combat sexual violence, the object of reform is the hard soldiering male body. Crucially, in pointing to how this image surfaces within academic as well as policy literature on sexual violence in the DRC the contention is not that constructions of masculinity fashioned in the military do not contribute to this violence. Rather, the contention (as the next section will show) is that representations of the soldiers as the hardened weapons of war hard leave us devoid of ways of properly attending to other factors that shape their performances of sexual violence within this context.

Notably, while this thesis predominately traced how the image of soldiers as the hardened weapons of war permeated the literature on sexual violence in the DRC,

in paying attention to the particularities of this warscape it also pointed to the racialized scripting of perpetrators of sexual violence. Specifically, in exploring efforts to educate soldiers in international human rights regimes, it showed how the problem of rape was also problematically located within the bestiality of the rapist. For instance, chapter five demonstrated that within gender sensitive defence reform the object of reform is not simply the hard male soldiering body, but an explicitly racialized articulation of this body that is depicted as excessively violent.

What this thesis subsequently shows is that overall picture being produced is one of hard bodies. The literature on sexual violence is saturated with men who purportedly perform the impenetrability of their bodies through rape. However rather than just trace the hard contours of these representations of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence, this thesis was also interested in how they exceeded them. The next section then summarizes some of the key insights this thesis generated into the leakiness of bodies in DRC, as well as why it matters how we represent the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence more generally.

7.4 Leaky Male Bodies

In describing how the literature portrays soldiers as part of the machinery or weaponry of war, this thesis tried to palpably evoke how the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence were construed as hard. In particular, it tried to evoke how the literature pays more attention to the hard shell and automated movements that soldiers develop in the military than the leakiness of their bodies. It however, was curious not only about how the literature reproduces an image of soldiers as part of the machinery or weaponry of war but also how we can start to locate leaks within their purportedly hard exterior.

In exploring how the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence surfaced in the literature, my aim was subsequently to pinpoint the ways in which they exceeded representations of them in which they were almost ubiquitously configured as hard. In particular, this thesis explored how the stories soldiers in the DRC tell about perpetrating rape disrupt our representations of the bodies of perpetrators

of sexual violence in this landscape of war. In doing so, this thesis explicitly drew on the extensive interviews conducted by Baaz and Stern with soldiers from the national armed forces about why rape occurs.⁷⁶⁷ Notably, while my reading of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence as leaky also drew on other interviews conducted with soldiers within this warscape, it was inspired by how in listening to the reasons soldiers give for why rape occurs they questioned the dominant storyline of rape in war.⁷⁶⁸ To put it differently, their extensive first hand research did not just provide illustrations of how bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence seep beyond the depictions that surface of them in the literature. It was also the driving force behind my reading of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence as leaky, pushing me constantly to question my own prevailing assumptions about how them.

Through its analysis of interviews conducted with soldiers, this thesis explored several ways in which the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC disrupt our representation of them as simply cogs in the military fighting machine. Firstly, in locating soldiers within the everyday context of the warscape, what it showed was how perpetrators made sense of sexual violence in relation to feelings of frustration and anger related to their poor living conditions.⁷⁶⁹ In pointing to how soldiers identified their poor living conditions as one of the main reasons for the occurrence of sexual violence, it demonstrated how this violence can become one ways in which soldiers punish civilians to whom these feelings are often

⁷⁶⁷ Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 3; See also Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. 'Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).'*Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2011. 'Whores, Men, and Other Misfits: Undoing 'feminization' in the armed forces in the DRC. *African Affairs*, 110(441): 563-585; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity: The Case of the DRC.' Eds. Baaz, M., & Utas, M., Mats, *Beyond "gender and stir": Reflections on gender and SSR in the aftermath of African conflicts Policy Dialogue*, Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 38-45; Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2015. 'Studying reform of/in/by the national armed forces in the DRC.' Eds. Hansson, S., Hellberg, S., & Stern, M., *Studying the Agency of Being Governed* New York: Routledge: 103-105

⁷⁶⁸ Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Men and Masculinities*, 16(2): 203-227; LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups: Implementation Manual and Final Project Report*. Washington. World Bank; Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions.

⁷⁶⁹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 32; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':211

misdirected.⁷⁷⁰ Specifically, in exploring how these deeply rooted feelings spill over into sexual violence, this thesis showed how soldiers' performances of violence reflect the messiness of warring rather than rigid forms of masculinity produced within the military.

The picture these interviews painted, rather than one in which soldiers conformed to strict codes of behaviour, was one in which they openly resisted military authority through raping women.⁷⁷¹ Their acts of sexual violence, this thesis showed, could not just be seen in relation to their sense of betrayal and neglect by the military hierarchy, but was also related to embodiments of masculinity found in civilian zones. What it showed was how in their explanations, soldiers also cited their inability to fulfil their role as provider of the family as one of the main factors contributing towards sexual violence.⁷⁷² Crucially, in revealing how the bodies of soldiers are not blank surfaces that absorb and reflect back the dominant values of the military, this explanation threw another wrench in representations that simply portray soldiers as part of military machinery.

In locating soldiers in the local particularities of the warscape, this thesis generated several insights into how their acts of sexual violence exceed representations in which they are seen as adhering to dominant forms of militarized masculinity. It, however, perhaps most profoundly illustrated the leakiness of soldiers by showing how they reflected on the harms of sexual violence. Notably, what interviews showed is that "while soldiers, may have explained or even excused rape, they never celebrated it."⁷⁷³ In their interviews sexual violence ultimately symbolized the failure of men to embody notions of masculinity based on having the economic means to provide for women. In subsequently pointing to how soldiers try to shore up this identity through acts of sexual violence, it contended that sexual violence itself was symbolic of the leakiness of their embodied performances of masculinity. In making these arguments, this thesis drew heavily on those insights generated by the Baaz and

⁷⁷⁰ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 28; Trenholm, J., et al., 2013. 'Constructing Soldiers from Boys':217

⁷⁷¹ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence*: 33

⁷⁷² Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape?' 507

⁷⁷³ Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2012. 'Beyond Militarized Masculinity':41

Stern in their analysis of why soldiers rape. However, in addition to thinking about how the act of sexual violence is symbolic of the leakiness of bodies, this thesis also explored how soldiers struggled with their sense of themselves as responsible for this violence. In doing so, this thesis specifically evoked how we can read the bodies of soldiers who perpetrate rape through their vulnerabilities.

What this thesis showed is that soldiers are traumatized by the violence they have both enacted and endured with this volatile landscape of war. While they repeatedly told stories about how they learned to deny emotions such as fear and guilt, they were clearly affected by the violence they had witnessed as perpetrators as well as victims. In exploring the role trauma plays in shaping soldiers performances of masculinity, this thesis highlighted how it can be seen as contributing towards their violence. In particular, it showed how soldiers who lack the tools to deal with the trauma of war may lash out in violent ways. This was exemplified by soldiers who talked about how their tears became sour inside and exploded into violence.⁷⁷⁴ This analysis, in pointing to how soldiers struggle to control their emotions subsequently, further disrupts representations of them as simply the tools of violence. What this thesis however was able to most vividly evoke, through its engagement with Isle Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen's documentary *Weapon of War*, was how soldiers who perpetrate rape are profoundly traumatized by their acts of violence.⁷⁷⁵ In tracing the story of one of the soldiers featured in the documentary, Alain Kasharu, it explored how perpetrators actions as well as words can physically convey their distress. Notably, in paying attention to how he studiously avoided eye contact and physically trembled, it viscerally evoked how he did not conform to representations of soldiers who perpetrate rape as the supposedly hardened instruments of violence. While other soldiers in this film expressed similar feeling through their stories and body language, the trembling figure of Alain Kasharu for me became symbolic of the paucity of understanding that exists around the leaky bodies of perpetrators of rape. In listening to his story, I was no less inured to the harm and anguish he had

⁷⁷⁴ LOGICA & PROMUNDO, 2014. *Living Peace Groups: Implementation Manuel and Final Project Report*. Washington. World Bank: 17

⁷⁷⁵ Velzen, F., & Velzen, I., 2009. *Weapon of War: Confessions of Rape in Congo*. If Productions.

caused to his victim, however, I was able to see how his violence was deeply rooted in the landscape of war in which he had lived and later fought.

Crucially, through the use of interviews and film this thesis was able to flesh out some of the leakiness that exists outside of representations of the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC. The final section of this conclusion then lingers over the question: 'Why does this matter?' Through looking at other projects that have tried to disrupt representations of this warscape, it reflects on why attending to this leakiness is relevant for thinking about bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC.

7.5 Queering the Congo

By injecting this measure of methodological plurality in the book we hope to tangentially illustrate the complexity of gender's work and simultaneously problematize the turn to certainty evident in both the study and practices of international politics.⁷⁷⁶

The aim of this thesis was to generate insights into how the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence unsettle representations of them as part of the machinery or weaponry of war. While the main way in which this thesis did this was through attending to how they behave in ways that disrupt our expectations of them, each chapter also began with an artwork - a hole to see the sky through, a bullet drawn into wire, a soldier built from straw - that invited the reader to think differently about the bodies of perpetrators of sexual violence in war. Through injecting this this measure of "methodological plurality" into the thesis, the intention was to find another ways to express the leakiness of bodies which arguably often gets lost when using traditional analytical tools.⁷⁷⁷ Notably, in this thesis one of these artworks in particular powerfully captured my imagination. Richard Mosse's soldier built from straw vividly portrayed the fragility of masculinity in the DRC. It evoked how constructions of masculinity rather than tethered to some fixed content unravel in the wind (see figure 4)⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁶ Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M , 2008. 'Introduction: rethinking the man question.' Eds. Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M., *Rethinking the Man Question: Sex, Gender and Violence in International Relations*, London: Zed Books 1-22; p. 8

⁷⁷⁷ Parpart, J., & Zalewski, M , 2008. 'Introduction: rethinking the man question:' 8

⁷⁷⁸ Mosse, R., 2012. *Better Than the Real Thing II*, Digital C-Print. Paris: Galerie Nichido

Mosse's photographs resonate strongly with the aims of this thesis. In shooting the landscape in vivid shades of pink, he attempts to disorder the conventional aesthetics of documentary photography in the DRC.⁷⁷⁹ As Neelika Jayawardane perceptively observes, he invites the viewer to go "beyond being told what to think by the black and white of the newsreel."⁷⁸⁰ The majority of these photographs are portraits of armed combatants striking macho stances for the camera. Mosse's portraits of machine gun toting soldiers clad in pink fatigues, however, do not simply convey their manliness (see figure 10).



Figure 10: Mosse, R., 2012. *Suspicious Minds*. Digital c-print

In drawing attention to their overly macho poses, these intimate portraits paradoxically raise questions about the inherent vulnerability of men in the DRC.⁷⁸¹ Mosse's photographs subsequently speak to me because they remind me what is at stake within thesis: a refusal to reduce soldiers that mete out sexual

⁷⁷⁹ Blackburn, M., & Huber, A., 2010. 'The Flash made Flesh.' *Triple Canopy* https://www.canopycanopycanopy.com/issues/11/contents/the_flash_made_flesh (accessed August 2015, 31)

⁷⁸⁰ Jayawardane, N., 2011. 'Queering the Congo.' Africa is a country, <http://africasacountry.com/contact/> (accessed August 2015, 31)

⁷⁸¹ Ireland at Venice, 2013. 'Richard Mosse -The Enclave.' *Ireland at Venice* <http://www.irelandvenice.ie/archive/exhibition/richard-mosse> (accessed August 2015, 31)

violence to overly simplistic representations of them, and an attempt to write about them in ways that evoke the complexity of their embodied experiences.

Significantly, these photographs remind me why it matters how we represent soldiers who perpetrate sexual violence in the DRC. In challenging the conventional grainy black and white aesthetic of war photography that brood with violence, they remind me how representations of soldiers who perpetrate sexual violence performatively reproduce rapists. As this thesis has shown, how we represent the bodies of soldiers has important implications for how we intervene politically in sexual violence in the DRC. Notably, through its detailed exploration of the ways in which representations of the bodies of soldiers as hard inform explanations of sexual violence in this warscape, this thesis pointed to how our practices of representations leave us devoid of ways of properly attending to how the everyday experiences of soldiers shape their embodied performances of sexual violence. This was perhaps most clearly shown in chapter five, which explored how security sector reforms, by simply locating the problem of sexual violence in the violent attitudes of soldiers, failed to meaningfully engage them in the prevention of sexual violence. In addition to being broadly concerned with how representations of the bodies of soldiers as hard found within the feminist academic literature are complicit in the violent reproduction of rapists, this thesis was then also specifically concerned with some of the more tangible effects our practices of representation have on more practical efforts to address sexual violence.

Importantly, while these photographs remind me why it matters how we represent soldiers who perpetrate sexual violence in the DRC, in critiquing the practices of representations through which we view soldiers who perpetrate rape the contention was not that we can entirely escape working within representations. Instead, in pointing to some of the perverse effects that flow from representations of soldiers who perpetrate sexual violence, the contention was that in avoid mapping hard lines around the subject we may remain more open to what exists outside the limits of our own articulation.⁷⁸² This thesis, rather than resolve the

⁷⁸² Pin-Fat, V., 2010. *Universality, Ethics and International Relations: A Grammatical Reading*. Abingdon: Routledge: 122

question of representation, subsequently explored how reading soldiers through the window of their leakiness may importantly provide an alternative mode of writing that radically shift our perceptions of them. Put differently, my argument was not that we should simply consign ourselves to saying or doing nothing but rather, that as feminist scholars who are passionately interested in the possibilities of intervening politically in practices of violence, we need to experiment with different ways of writing about sexual violence that challenge our assumptions about perpetrators.

7.6 “The Future of Sexual Violence”⁷⁸³

Since I embarked upon this research project, criticisms about the kinds of stories we tell about sexual violence in war have become more commonplace within feminist academic circles. Recently, I attended an academic conference on sexual violence in war which almost all of the contributors voiced some form of weariness with contemporary framings of sexual violence in war. Nevertheless, as this thesis demonstrates, we continue to remain stuck within the same frames of reference. There is still an overwhelming sense of certainty that we seem to know what sexual violence in war is and importantly who is responsible for it. Crucially, this sense of certitude seems to translate into an assurance that we know how to combat sexual violence in war and how to deal with perpetrators. Yet, despite this sense of certainty, that we know who the perpetrators are and how to deal with them, sexual violence in war endures. As such, it seems as crucial as ever to reflect on the ways in which we think and write about perpetrators write “sexual violence into the future.”⁷⁸⁴

As I sat down to write this conclusion this seemed even more relevant than ever. The film *The Man Who Mends Women*, which documents the efforts of one doctor to heal victims of sexual violence, had just been banned in the DRC.⁷⁸⁵ In response to critiques that the government was trying to shut down the debate on sexual violence by banning the film the communications minister said that it contained

⁷⁸³ Zalewski, M., & Masters, C., 2015. ‘The Future of Sexual Violence.’ 9th EISA Pan-European Conference, Sicily, September 20-23 2015 (paper presentation)

⁷⁸⁴ Zalewski, M., & Masters, C., 2015. ‘The Future of Sexual Violence.’

⁷⁸⁵ Michel, T., 2015. *L’Homme Qui Répare les Femmes*. Les Films de la Passerelle & Ryva Production

unjustified attacks on soldiers who have died protecting their country.⁷⁸⁶ What interested me about this reaction was how it may reflect soldiers' own weariness with how they are seen by the rest of the world. It seemed like a timely reminder that in our efforts to address sexual violence we need to listen seriously to perpetrators.⁷⁸⁷ As Maria Baaz and Maria Stern write, we need to ask ourselves, how can we "recognise and relate to the face and voice of those who commit rape so that we can differently ask how rape and rapists become possible?"⁷⁸⁸

The answer I have offered is that we must start by taking their leakiness seriously. That in order to attend to perpetrators' embodied performances of sexual violence we need to pay attention to how they consistently exceed our assumption about them. This, of course, does not occur without some turbulence. In focusing on violent individuals we may risk becoming inured to their harms. Nevertheless, what this thesis has argued is that in taking leakiness seriously we can write about sexual violence in war in ways that significantly start to break out of the violent systems of representation that determine perpetrators and more meaningfully involve them in our efforts to intervene politically in this violence.

⁷⁸⁶ Olivier, M., 2015. 'RDC: le film de Thierry Michel sur Denis Mukwege interdit de projection à Kinshasa.' *Jeune Afrique Magazine*, <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/261577/politique/rdc-film-de-thierry-michel-denis-mukwege-interdit-de-projection-a-kinshasa/> (accessed 29/10/2015)

⁷⁸⁷ Sylvester, C., 1994. 'Empathetic Cooperation: A Feminist Method For IR.' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 23(2): 315-354, p. 317

⁷⁸⁸ Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?* 38

Notes

Men, Rape and War

ⁱ On Radio Four's Today program John Humphreys told William Hague: "you must have been a bit embarrassed that with a full-blown crisis in the Middle East, you were in all the papers being photographed with Angelina Jolie – and no one's suggesting that rape, which is what that conference was all about, isn't a massive cause for concern, obviously it is – but it did look as if you were a bit starstruck and as if it was a bit of a diversion from what really mattered." While Sunday Times columnist Adam Boulton similarly wrote: "William Hague's four days of posing with Britain's newest honorary dame, Angelina Jolie, has been in a good cause. The first international conference against sexual violence in war has established procedures for investigating allegations, which could deter future rapists in uniform. But doesn't it all look a little bit trivial in a week when a brutal Islamist militia took control of much of northern Iraq." See Bates, L., 2014. 'The reports of 'hobnobbing' were trivial – the rape summit wasn't.' *The Guardian* <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/jun/19/reports-rape-summit-made-it-sound-trivial-everyday-sexism> (accessed July 2015, 13);

ⁱⁱ At the 2015 European International Studies Association Conference (EISA) Marysia Zalewski and Cristina Masters used this phrase in their presentation 'The future of Sexual Violence' to describe how the persistence of sexual violence, and indeed its future, is intimately bound up with how gender is entrenched in research, policy and legislation on sexual violence. See Zalewski, M., & Masters, C., 2015. 'The Future of Sexual Violence.' 9th EISA Pan-European Conference, Sicily, September 20-23 2015 (paper presentation)

ⁱⁱⁱ As Trenholm et al. note in their discussion of their interviews with victims of sexual violence at Panzi Hospital one interview was curtailed, as it was deemed not in the best interest of the very fatigued participant who, unknown to the researcher, had already been interviewed that day. While they write in their ethical considerations that the participants revealed no untoward effects and many requested the first author to share their stories with people in power I feel that this anecdote raises some troubling questions about how victims are prevailed upon to share their stories of rape with not only journalists but also academics. See Trenholm J., et al., 2015. 'The Global, the ethnic and the gendered war: women and rape in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.' *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*: 2-19 p. 7

Leaky Male Bodies

^{iv} Leakiness is officially defines as the passage of water of other fluid through a hole or fissure. See Oxford English Dictionary, 2016. 'Leaky.' *OED* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/106664#eid39559136> (accessed July 2016, 12)

^v Elizabeth Grosz makes the point that there are virtually no phenomenological accounts of men's body fluids, except in borderline literatures of homosexuality and voyeurisms. The writings of Marquis de Sade and others are as close as we get

to a philosophical or reflective account of the lived experiences of male flow. See Grosz, E., 1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press: 198

^{vi} In *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War* Maria Baaz and Maria Stern also comment on this focus on rape induced injuries in the DRC. What they however point out is that contrary to what could be concluded from article and reports on rape and fistula only a tiny proportion – 08 per cent – of fistula cases are rape related See Baaz, M., & Stern, M. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. London: Zed Books: 98-99

Hardwired or Haywire

^{vii} In 'Ending sexual violence in conflict' (2015) Paul Kirby's details and assesses both the 2012 Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and 2014 Global Summit to End Sexual Violence. See Kirby, P., 2015. 'Ending sexual violence in conflict: the Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and its critics.' *International Affairs*, 91 (3): 457-472. See also Introduction: The End of Sexual Violence: 3-4

^{viii} Alexander Stiglmayer and Beverly Allen both offer interesting accounts of underreporting sexual violence during the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In particular Stiglmayer describes how it was the pressure of publicity resulting from continual reports of rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina that finally caused the United Nations and Red Cross to admit that cases of rape rather than isolated were widespread. See Allen, B., 1996. *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Stiglmayer, A., 1994. 'The War in the Former Yugoslavia' Eds. Stiglmayer, A., *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press

^{ix} Between 1990 and 1999 Inger Skjelsbaek documented the number of academic publications that were published on the subject of rape in war. She noticed that the number of publications sharply increased in the years 1993 and 1994- the years of the wars in Bosnia and Rwanda. This sharp increase in the years 1993 and 1994 led her to conclude that the taboo around rape in war specifically in the social sciences has been lifted. See Skjelsbaek, I., 2001. 'Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a complex relationship.' *European Journal of International Relations*, 7(2): 211- 237 p. 213

^x As Ruth Siefert demonstrates much feminist work documents the mass rape of Chinese women during the Nanking Massacre (1937), of German Women during the Russian Occupation (1944), of Asian women from countries under Imperial Japanese during the Second World War (1939), of Bangladeshi during the Bangladesh liberation war (1971) and Kuwaiti women during the Iraqi occupation (1990). See Siefert, R., 1996. 'The Second Front: The Logic of Sexual Violence in Wars.' *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19(1): 35-43

^{xi} As Siobhan Fisher reports both during and since the war in the former Yugoslavia, allegations of forced impregnation as part of a larger policy of ethnic cleansing of Bosnia have arisen. "Bosnian Muslim women claim that they were raped

repeatedly until they became pregnant. In many cases, they were told that they would be forced to bear Serbian children. After they became pregnant they were held captive until it was too late to have an abortion." See Fisher, S., 1996. 'Occupation of the Womb: Forced Pregnancy as Genocide.' *Duke Law Journal*, 46:91-133

^{xii} For instance scholars, such as Raewyn Connell, David Morgan and Jeff Hearn (whose work is more broadly associated with critical masculinities studies) have written extensively at how militarization is constitutive of violent masculinities. See Connell, R., 1992. 'Masculinity, violence, and war' Eds. Kimmel, M., & Messner, M., (Eds.), *Men's lives* New York: Macmillan: 176-183; Morgan, D., 1994. 'Theatre of war: Combat, the military, and masculinities.' Eds. Brod, H., & Kaufman, K., *Theorizing masculinities*. California: Sage Publications; Hearn, J., 2012. '*Men/Masculinities: War/Militarism – Searching (for) the Obvious Connections?*' Eds. Kronsell, A., & Svedberg, E., *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, New York: Routledge: 35-48

^{xiii} In 'The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch' (2005) Maria Stern and Veronique Pin-Fat describe the impossibility of representations of either masculinity or femininity. They argue that full representation of either masculinity or femininity can never be complete because what masculinity or femininity means will always include by exclusion its opposite. "This may seem like a variation of the notion of gender as relational insofar as meaning is provided only in opposition. However, identifying an impossible constitutive dynamic differs in that impossibility implies that what is excluded is an integral, constitutive part of that which is included. Impossibility highlights that any seemingly coherent representation is always an unstable configuration." Pin-Fat, V., & Stern, M., 2005. *The Scripting of Private Jessica Lynch: Biopolitics, Gender and the "Feminization" of the U.S. Military.* *Alternatives*, 30: 25-53, p.29

^{xiv} In their extremely cohesive report in documented cases of conflict-related sexual violence in countries that have experienced armed conflict over the past twenty years. Megan Bastick, Karin Grimm and Rahel Kunz document multiple forms of conflict-related sexual violence including although not limited to military rape, sexual slavery, genital mutilation, and forced marriage. Bastick, M., Grimm, K., & Kuhn, R., 2007. *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*. Geneva: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed: 18-19

^{xv} Notably, Kimberley Carter's article is based on two claims that may clash with feminist scholarship on wartime rape. The first of these claims is that there exists an identifiable set of core assumptions fundamental to International Relations and the second of them is that International Relations' theoretical heart is comprised of neorealist and neoliberal theories. These claims subsequently distance Kimberley Carter's argument from feminist scholarship on wartime rape which has shown how the core theoretical assumptions of the discipline have silenced the extreme insecurities that women face in war. See Carter, K., 2010. 'Should International Relations Consider Rape as a Weapon of War?' *Politics and Gender*, 6(3): 343-371;

Lee-Koo, K., 2002. 'Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, war and rape in the international politics of security.' *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 37(3): 526-536 p. 525

^{xvi} 'Explaining Wartime Rape' (2004) Joshua Gottschall provides the following explanation of sociobiological accounts of wartime rape. "Biology-based theories of wartime rape are often described by critics as indicating that sociocultural factors are insignificant variables in soldiers' decisions to rape and that the activity is wholly under genetic control. In this view, rape in war is an inevitable, genetically determined reflex. This view is sometimes identified with the above mentioned pressure cooker theory of wartime rape: the idea that men possess instincts for sexual aggression that are restrained under normal conditions but that, in the chaotic wartime milieu, spew forth like the vented gas of a pressure cooker." Gottschall, J. 2004. 'Explaining Wartime Rape.' *The Journal of Sex Research*, 41(2): 129-135, p.133

Machetes, militaries, minerals, and masculinities

^{xvii} On the 16th of January 2001 Laurent Kabila was assassinated at close range by one of his personal bodyguards. His son Joseph Kabila was quickly appointed to replace him. See Van Reybrouck, D., 2014. *Congo: The Epic History of a People*. London: Fourth Estate: 465; 467

^{xviii} On April 6, 1994, a plane carrying Rwandan President Habyarimana and Burundian president Ntaryamira was shot down. This provided the spark for several months of killing and fighting, now commonly referred to as the Rwandan genocide. The hundred day killing spree resulted in the murder of at least 80,000, the overthrow of the government, and the exodus of over two million refugees into camps inside eastern Congo. Most of them arrived in the city of Goma in North Kivu (850,000) and the city of Bukavu on South Kivu (650,000) See Dunn, K., 2003. *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 143

^{xix} The Kaniola Massacre described in this extract took place in May 2002. Up to thirty people were killed. While the United Nations investigation held Rwandan rebels from the *Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda* (FDLR) responsible Lisa Shannon's account of events in her memoir of her time in the Congo implicates soldiers from the *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC) (Expand). See Agence France Presse, 2007. 'UN Probes Massacre in Congo.' *Global Policy Forum*

<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/181/33657.html>

(accessed October 2015, 20); Shannon, L., 2011. *A Thousand Sisters: My journey to the worst place on earth to be a woman*. Berkley: Seal Press: 300-303

^{xx} As the Human Rights Watch report on sexual violence *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone* documents soldiers of different brigades in different parts of Congo - including integrated brigades - have committed crimes of sexual violence. "This report focuses on the 14th brigade as an example, not as an exceptional case. For example, the 4th brigade committed many acts of sexual violence in Aweba, Ituri, Oriental Province, in 2005-2006. The 62nd, 63rd and 67th

brigades were responsible for widespread acts of sexual violence in central Katanga in 2006. In 2007, members of the 1st, 2nd, and 11th integrated brigades raped girls in Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu respectively. In September 2008, soldiers of the 7th and 15th integrated brigade raped women and girls in Rutshuru and Lubero territory, North Kivu. The UN has continuously emphasized the problem of FARDC abuses against civilians, including sexual violence, and provides details on cases in its reports.” See Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone: Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Human Rights Watch: New York: 21

^{xxi} In 2006 the Congolese government passed two laws specifically addressing sexual violence. The first provides a formal definition of rape, includes both sexes and all forms of penetration, and criminalizes acts such as the insertion of an object into a woman’s vagina, sexual mutilation, sexual slavery, forced prostitution and forced marriage. It also defines sexual relations with a minor (any person under age 16) as statutory rape, establishes penalties for rape, and prohibits the settling of rape cases by ‘amicable’ resolutions. The second law deals with criminal procedure with regard to rape cases. It states that victims have the right to be seen by a doctor and a psychologist, that judicial proceedings cannot last longer than three months, and that the security and psychological well-being of victims and witnesses must be guaranteed. See Human Rights Watch, 2009. *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone: Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Human Rights Watch: New York: 19

^{xxii} The Congo has considerable deposits of vital natural resources including, uranium, gold, diamonds and tin. Notably the Congo is estimated to have 80% of the world’s reserves of coltan which is vital for the global electronics, aerospace, defense and nanotechnology industries. The tech boom has caused the price of coltan to significantly escalate from US \$65 per kilogram in 1998 to as high as US\$600 per kilogram in 2001. See Leatherman, J., 2011. *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Polity Press:117

^{xxiii} The United Nations ‘Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the DRC’ (2003) established that there were 119 different companies involved in mining. Out of the 29 companies found to be in violation of the law, many of them, although registered in Congo, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe, were shown to be fronts for Western firms. United Nations Security Council, 2002. *Report of the panel of experts on the illegal exploitation of natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo*. S/2003/1027

^{xxiv} In their discussion of the role of the author Maria Baaz and Maria Stern argue that in the co-production of a narrative, the person ‘conducting’ the interviews is also surely a co-author of the text produced: “Maria Baaz, a native Swedish woman, fluent in Lingala and at home in the context of the DRC, conducted the interviews. Her position as both insider (arguably because of the shared language), and outsider (as a civilian and a European) surely influenced what the soldiers chose to

relay to her.” See Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2008. ‘Making sense of violence: Voices of soldiers in Congo (DRC).’ *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46(1): 57-86, p.62

^{xxv} In their discussion of what level of salaries would act as a disincentive to extra-legal income activities Maria Baaz and Maria Stern specifically point out that, while still low and deficient, monthly salaries have been raised from approximately US\$ 20 to US\$ 50 between 2006 and 2009, without visibly diminishing levels of extra-legal income activities. See Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2010. *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute: 34

Malignant Male Muscle

^{xxvi} In addition to United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 three further resolutions demand that members to take special measures to address conflict related sexual violence. These include UNSCR 1820 (2008) which demands parties to armed conflict to immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians from sexual violence, including training troops and enforcing disciplinary measures, UNSCR 1888 (2009) which mandates that peacekeeping missions protect women and children from sexual violence during armed conflict and UNSCR 1960 (2010) which builds on and deepens the women, peace and security agenda on sexual violence. See United Nations, 2015. ‘Women, Peace and Security’ *United Nations Peacekeeping* <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml> (accessed August 2015, 14)

^{xxvii} In their discussion of the ethics of rape Maria Stern and Maria Baaz also shows that while soldiers made sense of sexual violence in relation to ‘normal’ frustrations that arise with war that these soldiers describe sexual violence itself as wrong forbidden. To quote them “[i]n some of the soldier’s accounts, this sense of ethical wrongdoing was internalized; in other it seems to remain a moral code, which was acknowledged, but seemed to be placed outside of the speaker in his reflections. Nonetheless, almost all of their accounts of rape included a statement that rape is bad and forbidden, both in military and civilian life. Some of the soldiers’ stories of rapes featured a cautionary lesson or warning, thus conveying that the immoral act of rape in any of its hybrid forms is universally wrong. See Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. ‘Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC)’, *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518 p.512

^{xxviii} The Instituto Promundo is an international organization that believes that working with men and boys to transform harmful gender norms and unequal power dynamics is essential critical part of the solution to achieve gender equality. It uses campaigns and local activism to build community support and advocate with institutions and governments to adopt policies and scale up programs that engage men and boys in personal and social change. Promundo, 2015. ‘About us’ Promundo <http://promundoglobal.org/about/> (accessed June 2015,27)

Confessions of Rape in the Congo

^{xxxix} The first of Ilse Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen's films set in the DRC *Fighting the Silence* (2007) centres on the stories of survivors of sexual violence. Unlike many other films which depict survivors of rape as irremediably ostracized it shows that while this often the case it is not the only story. What is encouraging about how it depicts the survivors of rape is the picture it gives of the larger web of community in which women proceed with their lives however torn asunder that web may be. The last of Ilse Van Velzen and Femke Van Velzen's films set in the DRC *Justice for Sale* (2011) further attempts to query the dominant imagery of sexual violence in this complex landscape of war. *Justice for Sale* (2011), controversially documents one human rights lawyers' efforts to obtain justice for defendants of sexual violence. Despite being advised that this film could undermine efforts to punish perpetrators, the sisters felt it raised important questions about international organizations' influence over cases, such as, if an international organization arranges the tribunal, presents the cases, and pays the lawyers are they not buying justice? See Alihusain, C., 2012. 'Justice for Sale: Interview with documentary filmmakers, Ilse and Femke van Velzen'. *Peace Palace Library*. <http://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/2012/04/justice-for-sale-interview-with-documentary-filmmakers-ilse-and-femke-van-velzen/> (accessed January, 23)

^{xxx}As Megan Mackenzie's work documents international legal debates about whether forced marriage constitutes sexual violence demonstrate that norms around martial sexual relations remain entrenched within most societies. The first international criminal tribunal to recognize forced marriage as a crime against humanity did not take place until relatively recently. In 2008 the Appeals Chamber of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) became the first international criminal tribunal to prosecute forced marriage as a crime against humanity. The Chamber defined forced marriage as "a situation in which the perpetrator through his words or conduct, or those of someone for whose actions he is responsible, compels a person by force, threat of force, or coercion to serve as a conjugal partner resulting in severe suffering, or physical, mental or psychological injury to the victim." See Mackenzie, M., 2010. 'Securitizing Sex: Towards a theory of the utility of wartime sexual violence'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 12(2): 202-221; Morley, J., 2008. 'Forced Marriage Is a Crime against Humanity'. *International Family Law* <http://www.internationalfamilylawfirm.com/2008/10/forced-marriage-is-crime-against.html> (accessed June 2015, 24).

^{xxxi} Haldol is an antipsychotic medication prescribed for long term treatment of delirium and excited behaviour. Haldol is commonly used to treat post-traumatic stress disorder amongst armed combatants

^{xxxii} We are not told the name of the organization that Achille works for, only the acronym, GOA. However what we learn from this film is that Achille is from an organization involved in facilitating reconciliations between perpetrators and victims that place outside of the courts. This organization in encouraging perpetrators to compensate their victims closely conforms to traditional modes of dealing with sexual violence whereby the crime of rape was punished in different way such as through compensation and shaming processes. See Eriksson Baaz, M., & Stern, M., 2009. 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence and sexuality in the

armed forces in the congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 495-518 p.503

^{xxxiii} Veronique Pin-Fat explores how the faculty of reason is problematically seen as allows us to overcome the animalistic aspects of our nature. The ability to tell wrong apart from right she argues provides "humanity with the possibility of freeing itself from the constraints of specific dispositions such as passion, emotion, basic needs, and, more importantly, traces of animalistic urges such as the urge to kill." "We, might say, then, that reason is what allows us to overcome the animalistic aspects of our nature. Of particular pertinence here, it provides not only the possibility of distinguishing the human from the animal, but with it the very possibility of ethics. We can control ourselves and refrain from simply acting on "passions" such as hate, fear, revenge, lust, and so on. Reason, in this picture, is what allows us to be 'masters' of ourselves: to be sovereign and autonomous and to take ownership of our actions. In this sense, the human is distinguishable from the animal and, indeed even able to master nature by overcoming it. See Pin-Fat, V., 2013. 'Cosmopolitanism and the End of Humanity: A Grammatical Reading of Posthumanism.' *International Political Sociology*, 7, (3): 241-257

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<http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/7727/750-congolese-soldiers-graduate-from-us-led-milita> (accessed June 2015, 15)
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