MEN CAN BE VICTIMS TOO

A Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Male Victims of Sexual Assault in Official Documents Issued by INGOs and NGOs in the Democratic Republic of Congo

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Abstract: Male victimisation of sexual assault is not often spoken about and hidden by the victims. This trend can be found within research as well, where men play a marginalised role in the literature about sexual assault. It is precisely this gap that has been identified in 2012, and that is to be explored again within the following analysis. Several INGO and NGO websites and reports from organisations in the Democratic Republic of Congo have been analysed through a multimodal multi-layered discourse analysis. The conceptualisation of these male victims is reviewed with the help of discourse analytical tools from Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011), Mackay (2015), Van Leeuwen (2007), and Schröter (2018). The latter dives deeper into the silence that can be found as part of the dominant discourse. The silence is what is often recognised by these male victims of sexual assault. This silence is investigated in the conducted analysis, as the male representation of victims of sexual assault is still lacking within several organisations. The analysis and conclusion present how the silence and absence, marginalisation and stigmatisation can be found among male victims of sexual violence. The need for these voices to be heard to take the first step to acknowledge the existence, and the need of these victims of sexual assault is necessary to break the spiral of silence that these men suffer from.

Key words: Male Victims of Sexual Assault, Discourse Analysis, Discourse Linguistics, Multimodal Discourse Analysis, Silence, Stigmatisation, Marginalisation, Democratic Republic of Congo.

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1. Introduction

'Participants were initially traumatized by the sexual victimization experience. Now, they are re-traumatized by the ongoing symptoms of the sexual trauma and suffering linked to it.'. Yagi et al. (2022, p.8) conducted research on the experiences of male victims of sexual assault in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where women are mostly the target of sexual assault; however, men are subject to this as well (Christian et al., 2011, p.229). The citation above is using the word participants to refer to these male victims, who do not get the opportunity to receive care after being victim of sexual assault and continue to suffer from their traumatic experiences and their injuries (Yagi et al., 2022, p.7).

Rape during conflict is a phenomenon that happens globally and that affects all layers of the population (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.14). Sexual assault is used as a strategy to directly influence the victim of the assault and indirectly the people around him/her (Jean Claude et al., 2013, p.1). The majority of the victims of sexual assault is female, which makes them suffer greatly from conflict related sexual violence. However, males are victimised as well. There seems to be a tendency among scholars to marginalise the occurrence of sexual assault against men and mainly focus on the hardships that are done to women (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.120). This makes these men suffer even more, they are caught in being a victim, playing a role that they are not suitable to play according to the dominant discourse. Men 'are not only victims of rape but also victims of male stereotypes.' (Yagi et al., 2022, p.2). The exclusion of men in the discussion of sexual assault continues to sustain the already existing gender norms in the DRC (Thulin et al., 2020, p.12). Therefore, the inclusion of these actors in the debate is essential to break down these stereotypes.

The aforementioned problem that men encounter can be specifically found in the DRC, as it has become infamous as being the 'rape capital of the world' (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.5). Since the majority of the victims in the DRC are females, holistic care centres addressing their needs have successfully been set up in the region (Mukwege and Berg, 2016, p.3). However, healthcare systems that address the specific needs of male victims of sexual assault are lacking (Yagi et al., 2022, p.10).

Grey and Shepherd (2013, p.117) identified that the representation of male victims of sexual assault is generally lacking among NGOs and scholars. This indicates that there is a gap between the knowledge about sexual assault against men, and the experiences these men have. The given framework by these scholars will be extended to show whether this gap remains within several institutions that are present in the DRC. The extension of the research to more documents than those reviewed in 2012 will give a broader image of the representation of men in the different organisations (Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007, p.1374). The research will help understand how men are addressed, or not, by different actors globally and locally in the DRC (Yagi et al. 2022, p.10). Thulin et al. (2020, p.17) argue that the way sexual assault is perceived in the context of the DRC, is something that will be able to contribute to the general understanding of sexual assault; especially in relation to 'the intersection of gender, identity and stigma'.

Through the multimodal analysis of dominant discourses, silence and counter discourses may be identified. The importance of these other discourses within the context of sexual assault against men is important to identify, as these victims are often stigmatised and suffer in silence. Therefore, the following research aims to investigate whether the identified gap in the

representation of male victims of sexual assault in the DRC is still present at the time of writing (2022). Connected to this aim is the question:

> How are men, in relation to the context of sexual violence, conceptualised within official documents by INGOs and NGOs in the Democratic Republic of Congo when it comes to organisations that address sexual assault?

To answer this question several sub-questions are proposed and answered to form a more concise conclusion to this overarching question:

a) What lexemes are used to refer to perpetrator and perpetrated in the context of sexual assault?
b) How are agents in the context of sexual assault conceptualised in relation to gender?
c) How are male victims of sexual assault presented by the INGOs and NGOs affiliated with sexual assault?
d) Are there signs of stigmatisation, marginalisation, and silence and absence of male victims of sexual assault in the media provided by these organisations, and if so, what signs can be identified?

To answer these questions, a multimodal discourse analysis of video, images and texts that are displayed on selected websites and reports is conducted. Discourse analytical tools mainly provided by Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011), Mackay (2015), Van Leeuwen (2007), and Schröter (2018) will be used to analyse this material. After explaining some of the terms used in this research, a background of the DRC is presented in section 2, followed by the representation of male victims of sexual assault in research literature in section 3. The theoretical points of departure that provide the tools for this multimodal discourse analysis will be explained in section 4. Section 5 will elaborate on the methodology and present the selected data, and section 6 will analyse the material through the application of the theories. Lastly, the conclusion will sum up the research in section 7.

1.1 Terminology

The research will use several terms that need justification. One of the terms that this research adheres to is 'victim' to refer to the ones who have endured sexual assault. The term is chosen despite its connotative message; it is said to be ascribed to someone who cannot defend him or herself (Young and Maguire, 2003, p.42). However, since it also emphasises the victims' 'compassion and sensitivity, their strength and resilience', it will be the term that is used here (UNHCR, 1995, p.3; UNHCR, 2003, p.14).

The other term to be explained is 'sexual assault'. Sexual assault can be seen as a term that is useful to describe sexually violent attacks, as it is a 'collective noun' that covers all sexual hardships that can be done to someone (Young and Maguire, 2003, p.42).

2. Background

The following section will give an overview and contextualise the area of research, the DRC. As said, the understanding of male victims of sexual assault in the DRC will contribute to the understanding of sexual assault in conflicts in general (Thulin et al., 2020, p.18). Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2013, p.14) argue in their book that wartime rape is something that occurs all over the world. Studies have been conducted in various regions assessing the extent of sexual assault in areas such as Germany, Japan, India, South Sudan, Liberia, Uganda, and the DRC

(Chynoweth et al. 2020, p.4; Weitsman, 2008, p.563; Yagi et al, 2022, p.8). Conflict in the DRC is ongoing since 1994, after the Rwandan Genocide, many see the war that followed, the first Congo war, as the start of sexual assault and rape practices in their country (Kelly et al., 2016, p.288; Thulin et al., 2020, p.5). Sexual assault is used as a weapon of war, mostly targeted at women and indirectly the communities around them (Jean Claude et al., 2013, p.1; Kelly et al., 2012, p.286; Onyango et al., 2016, 2). Consequently, sexual assault can have an impact that is beyond the direct victim of the abuse (Mukwege and Berg, 2016, p.1; Thulin et al., 2020, p.4). Despite that they are not given a lot of attention, sexual assault aimed at men is something that has been documented in areas that are subject to war (Yagi et al., 2022, p.1).

Even though victims of sexual assault do not often disclose what has happened to them due to the fear of stigmatisation from the community they live in, the importance to address the issue of sexual assault in the DRC as the occurrences of these types of abuses are rising, is emphasised (Thulin et al., 2020, p.2, 4). Stigmatisation in the community often demands from female victims to leave the house after they have endured these hardships. On the other hand, male victims endure not only the stigmatisation of being a victim but also the deconstruction of their masculinity. His role in the family and society is deconstructed because of this (Christian et al., 2011, p.234).

Nevertheless, if moving away, the victims often do not disclose what has happened to them. The silent suffering of these victims of sexual assault is hindering them in seeking the care that they need (Yagi et al., 2022, p.9). Grey and Shepherd (2013, p.122) argue that 'The recognition of men as victims of sexual violence and the treatment of care for men as survivors of sexual violence in conflict are important empirical steps forward in acknowledging a responsibility to protect men as well as women from war-time rape and sexual violations.'.

3. Previous Research - Representation of Male Victims of Sexual Violence in Research Literature

The silence mentioned, can be found in published research, as more attention has been given to female than the male victims who have similar experiences. As said, the majority of victims of sexual assault are females and their needs should not be diminished when focussing on male victims of sexual assault. The research by Grey and Shepherd (2013) has investigated how men as victims of sexual assault have been represented on the website of UN ACTION, accessed in 2012. The data has been compared to the way the *Rome Statute* (1998), founding document of the International Criminal Court (ICC), addresses both male and female victims of sexual assault. They analysed how both society and scholars have been marginalising men as victims of sexual assault (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.117).

This view is supported by Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2013, p.16), who argue that 'the role of villain/perpetrator is held by the man in uniform and the victim/survivor role is occupied by women especially raped women.'. Within research literature, a dominance of sexual assault mainly happening to women, not to men can be found. Even though men are subject to sexual assault too, they have been excluded from studies and attention of the international community (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.34). A narrow narrative of the definition of what rape consists of can be found in what Hockett et al. (2016, p.140) call 'rape myths', a prescribed story that creates a dominant idea of what rape entails and what counts as rape and what does not. Within this discourse, there is no space for the man to be the victim of sexual assault (Hockett et al., 2016, p.140).

Grey and Shepherd (2013, p.122) challenge the notion of the constructed and 'taken-for-granted assumptions' of who is suitable to be perceived as a victim or perpetrator of sexual assault. As Young and Maguire (2003, p.41) argue, being more specific about what is included and what is excluded can sometimes diminish the importance of other sexual acts performed against someone's will. These can, henceforth create a notion that what has been experienced by these individuals is not seen as sexual assault. As the definition of rape has in many countries been limited to penetration of the vagina by a penis, the penetration of other parts of the body has in many cases been excluded from being classified as rape. This sometimes led to the dominant position of the impossibility of male rape, consequently resulting in the discrimination of men and the silencing of the male victims of sexual assault (Pretorius, 2009, p.576).

Considering sexual assault through the lens of biological urge, wartime sexual assault is seen as something natural: male soldiers are natural humans who need their sexual satisfaction from a woman (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.17). Resulting in women being presented as 'silent victims of the expression of men's biology, and men as subjected to the drives of their bodies.' (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.19). This is something that was also found by Gunnarsson (2018, p.6) who highlighted the dominant discourse that men are sexually active because they want to, not because they are forced. Sexual violence is perceived through a gendered perspective in which men are the perpetrators, and women the perpetrated, which relies on 'the male sexual drive discourse'. This gives the idea that men always want sex. It is highly contested by male victims of sexual assault and upholding the taboo for men not to want sex (Gunnarsson, 2018, p.11-13). This limits the understanding of sexual assault directed against men and women. Aiming to prevent sexual assault from happening, first, it needs to be recognised to exist against all (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.122).

Nevertheless, literature has been critically examining the way policy documents and reports have dealt with sexual assault. Thulin et al. (2020, p.3) emphasised the neutrality in the terminology used in these documents. One example can be found in the Rome Statute, which addresses in various articles what kind of acts of sexual violence are to be included in the spectrum of sexual assault. As argued by Oosterveld (2011, cited in Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.127) the victimisation of men is included as a possibility in the document, the way acts of violence are described, in a gender-neutral way, gives space for both men and women to occupy the position of being a victim.

On the contrary, it is argued that the opposite is the case in research literature:

> Scholarship should bear some responsibility of ensuring that theorizing gender and sexual violence in conflict does not perpetuate a discursive slippage, either between ''gender'' and ''woman'', or between ''victim'' and ''woman,'' such that male victims are marginalized and women's agency is curtailed. (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.117).

Indicating that the research literature is using these terms interchangeably, creating the idea that neither men nor boys are suitable to occupy the positions of being a victim and, simultaneously, denying that sexual assault can also be targeted at males. Similarly, the study by Yagi et al. (2022, p.10) found that the terminology used to define what sexual assault entails when experienced by men, is limited due to the naming of rape in a specific way that did not match with the experiences of the men.

The 'rape myths' in combination with the dominant idea that male rape is not possible lead to the underrepresentation of male victims of sexual violence in research literature. All these different factors reinforce and contribute to the silence surrounding this topic. Despite that men are seen as possible victims of sexual violence in documents such as the Rome Statute, they are still being marginalised in several scholarly documents. Whether this tendency can be found within the INGO and NGO documentation in the DRC will be reviewed in the analysis with the help of the theories that are explained in the following sections.

4. Theoretical Delimitations

To conduct the analysis in section 6, several theoretical points of departure that are engaged with discourse analysis, and their respective tools will be explained. The creation of meaning beyond what is written, and the lexemes that the meaning relies on, is what is at the heart of discourse analysis (Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007, p.1374). Discourse itself can be referred to as collective knowledge in society (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.87). How something is referred to cannot be considered neutral, and the connotative message that is attached to a certain message is culturally determined (Ledin and Machin, 2020, p.501). Discourse can be constructed in various ways, e.g. through mass media, which should be considered when analysing discourse (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.79). Discourse analysis can be used to understand how themes are linguistically conveyed in language use (Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007, p.1376).

Within the analysis of discourse, power structures can be identified with the help of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as well as a more linguistic and descriptive mode of analysis, Discourse Linguistics (DL; section 4.1). These will be combined in the following analysis in a multimodal way. As per Huckin (2002, p.348), discourse analysis is more than analysing the linguistic or verbal message. What is referred to here is the unsaid, the silence and the implicit norms that underlie explicit assertions, arguments and wordings of any kind. However, one could also argue that discourse analysis exceeds written and spoken language and that other carriers of meaning should be included in discourse analysis too. Therefore, the multimodal discourse analysis (section 4.3; Mackay, 2015) is needed; to analyse not only the texts presented on the INGO and NGO websites but also the visual and other ways of communication that are present on these websites. DL has been limited to written language in the past, however, the boundaries have been crossed and DL has been used to analyse different forms of language such as spoken language as well (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.78). To analyse what can be found in the silence beyond the given information, the framework provided by Schröter (2018, p.38) will be used within multimodal discourse analysis. The male victims of sexual assault are likely to be subdued and silently addressed between the lines of dominant discourse (section 4.2).

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse Linguistics

To analyse language and multimodal forms of communication, Critical discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse Linguistics (DL) will be used to analyse the documents from, INGO and NGO material. The two strands of analysis will be combined to fit Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). MDA is needed as the materials on the websites show different carriers of meaning. CDA originates from several fields such as linguistic studies, semiotics, and critical analysis, and has been the result of these analyses uttered towards literature. Ledin and Machin (2020, p.504) argue that 'all semiotic materials are loaded with the power interests of the times

in which they evolved'. Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011, p.79), whose framework for DL will be used in this analysis, acknowledge that 'nobody denies that discourse is more than language, and hence linguistic investigation can only cover a part of discourse analysis'. The importance of corpus analysis is emphasised in DL, which is also what distinguishes DL mostly from CDA, as the latter is analysing discourse in a more critical and qualitative way. This line is continued by stating that DL is a subdivision of general discourse analysis as it focuses on this linguistic part of discourse (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.77, 80). One could argue since both CDA and DL pay attention to, and seek to uncover structures of more or less dominant or peripheral settings, standpoints and our knowledge in discourse, that the fields of CDA and DL are overlapping, interacting, and can be used together to analyse discourses (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.76).

The male victims of sexual assault will be reviewed through the analysis of the silence, absence and marginalisation of these victims. Schröter (2018, p.37, 40) highlights how the conveyed meaning can reveal the interaction between language and power, which is often seen as the main interest of CDA; CDA is analysing power relationships, socio political context and the dialogue between language and power. CDA engages with the analysis of specific elements within language use and how these semiotic practices can convey meaning beyond the text itself, e.g., silence. As argued by Starks and Brown Trinidad (2007, p.1374) discourse analysis aims to follow 'the historical evolution of language practices' and the interaction these practices have with 'cultural, social and political practices'. These analyses of the patterns of phenomena that are present within society can be conducted through qualitative or quantitative analysis of texts (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.75, 79).

Turning to how DL can be used for discourse analysis, a multilayer analysis is conducted to grasp the discourse beyond the linguistic level. Henceforth, the multilayer method called DIMEAN, short for: 'Discourse-linguistic multilayer analysis' and its three layers are proposed: the intra textual layer, the agent layer and the trans textual layer (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). These will be explained in the following sections.

The first, or 'straightforward', base layer of analysis is the intra textual layer that looks at the language that is used in the texts (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). The language itself in the text is the basis of the carriers of meaning throughout the other layers. It encompasses the analysis of the actual language, the words, propositions, and texts. The first category, the words, refer to elements that could be identified as signifying a certain discourse such as keywords, stigmatised words, names, ad hoc formations, propositions, and lastly the text itself (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.83, 84). The second category, propositions, entails bigger parts of language than the single word and looks at parts of the texts such as 'syntactic configuration' which is more concerned with the grammatical voice (active and passive clauses); metaphors, meaning beyond the linguistic level in the form of the expressive, values and emotions, and the deontic, referring to a desired stance from the reader; and lastly, presuppositions are included in this second category as well. The third category is the text itself is divided into two parts, the whole text, or the macrostructure and smaller subsections of the text that are the mesostructure (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.84). When considering the text as a whole, its visual relation to other elements that are presented in the text can also be examined, such as images.

The agent layer involves the actors who seemingly appear through the discourse under study and how they interact from within the discourse with the text that is a product of this discourse

(Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). To identify how these actors interact and link text and discourse, several tactics can be used, such as the roles of interaction. Describing the action that this agent can have in relation to the text (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.85). Agents can become visible through their professionality as well, which can signify legitimation (Van Leeuwen 2007). Related to this idea of legitimation is also the concept of voice, that Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011, p.86) bring in from sociolinguistics; it refers to the way people use language to make themselves understood, take up space, and create and create an environment through which their voices are heard.

The analysis of selected phenomena on the level of language use can be regarded to be a discourse analysis once the analysis of possible phenomena can be done (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.89). The trans textual layer identifies phenomena on the intra textual and agent level, after which the superstructure is considered that exceeds the individual texts and reviews the corpus as a whole. The trans textual layer can be found in several aspects that are beyond the scope of the texts, such as historical connotations, cultural context, mentalities groups belong to, as well as the general debate about a certain topic (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.87). An example of trans textual analysis based on certain lexical features, could be stigmatised words (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.87).

Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011, p.89) stress the possibility of using this research model in a flexible way that can be adapted to different research purposes. The qualitative approach that can be found in CDA will be combined with the quantitative analysis of DL. Since MDA is carried out, different kinds of carriers of meaning will be assessed across the websites. The combination of the verbal and the non-verbal carriers of meaning will be examined together and the trends in the usage of these types of messengers can be analysed in this trans textual layer. Within the scope of this research, there will be a specific focus on the silence of male victims of sexual assault that may be present within the dominant discourse that surrounds this topic.

4.2 Silence

As CDA analyses the relationship between language and power; dominant discourses as well as counter discourses may be found in language use (Schröter, 2018, p.37, 40). Dominant discourses can be viewed as something that is structured in a top-down manner, but on the contrary, counter-discourses are subdued and operate silently (Schröter, 2018, p.38). This silence does not make these discourses less important; despite that they are harder to identify, the silence can influence communication as well (Huckin, 2002, p.237; Schröter, 2018, p.39). Counter discourses are challenging the hegemonic dominant discourses that are present and are sometimes silenced and not expressed openly because of unease. Argued by Ribeiro (reviewed in Cammarata 2021, p.13) is how the past of certain dominant discourses can influence which topics will be perceived with unease by the participants of the conversation, which can lead to the reproduction of this dominant discourse at the expense of the counter-discourse. If analysing the counter-discourses, dominance of other discourses is challenged; it is contributing to 'un-silencing marginalised discourses' (Schröter, 2018, p.45).

There are different types of silences, and challenges can be found in the identification of intentional and unintentional silences, especially since silence is something that cannot be observed directly as such (Schröter, 2018, p.42). Huckin (2002) elaborates on these different types of silences and emphasises how silences can be ascribed to different origins. The

following groups are identified: speech-act silences, silence as a result of common knowledge, discreet silences, genre-based silences and manipulative silences. The first type of silence is the speech-act silence, which originates from 'culture- and gender-based silences.', these can communicate new information to the participants of the conversation and are meant to intentionally bring a message across to the other party. The silence will only be effective if both parties in the speech-act refer to the same context and interpret the silence in the same way (Huckin, 2002, p.349). The next category refers to silence that stems from common knowledge, that is perceived to be known by the audience and, therefore, there is no need for it to be added. The following category are discreet silences, describing the omission of information due to confidentiality or privacy. Taboo topics are also classified in this category and are often culturally determined (Huckin, 2002, p.350). This type of silence is often reinforcing the norms that are already present in society. Genre-based silences are constructed around what type of information is expected within a certain genre or communication. The cultural context and norms will dictate what information is expected within different occasions for communication and will determine what language is to be used and omitted in the different genres (Huckin, 2002, p.351). The last category are manipulative silences, it is the type of silence that hides information to manipulate the receiver of the information (Huckin, 2002, p.352). Despite that silences are often not noticed, several ways have been proposed to identify and analyse them, the following are proposed: 'silence and absence, counter discourses, as well as comparative discourse analysis.' (Schröter, 2018, p.40).

The first conceptualisation of silence proposed by Schröter (2018, p.41) is silence and absence. This is intertwined with the idea of marginalisation, which occurs when the other discourse, idea, or view is side-lined. In the case of absence, what is present is preferred and dominant over that what is absent. This is something that can be seen when examining what is put in the spotlight, and what is chosen to be omitted, which can be referred to as foregrounding and backgrounding, or framing, a practice that can be identified in legitimation strategies and manipulative silencing (Huckin, 2002, p.366; Mackay, 2015; Van Leeuwen, 2007). A strategy that can reveal framing, can be found in passive language use to draw attention from the participant in certain actions (Schröter, 2018, p.41). This is identifying silence on a linguistic level, through the wording that is used within texts. Schröter (2018, p.43) identifies a way to notice silence in meta discourses when agents refer to silence specifically. Continuing this approach, it 'allows for an analysis of how and when silence gets noticed, and in what terms it gets discussed.' (Schröter, 2018, p.43). The last method discussed to identify counter-discourses, is through comparative discourse analysis. This tool can be used to identify cultural, political and historical influences on discourses across texts. Silences between the different texts can in this same way also be traced and investigated more deeply (Schröter, 2018, p.49).

4.3 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

To detect the different types of silences presented in the previous section in other carriers of meaning, Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) will be explained. Multimodality refers to the analysis of all carriers of meaning beyond the spoken and written language, such other sources of communication can be found as pictures, but also music or sounds (Ledin and Machin, 2020, p.501).

The framework used for this research is based on the multimodal method proposed by Mackay (2015), who builds on the work of Van Leeuwen (2007) that concerns legitimation. Language, spoken or written is as Van Leeuwen (2007, p.91) describes it as 'the most important vehicle'

for getting across legitimation from one actor to the next. The concept of legitimation is described by Mackay (2015, p.325) as being present when the power that is exercised over something/someone is perceived as justified to the latter. The person who gives the legitimation is an agent who is interacts with the text and the discourse. The legitimation framework consists of four interconnected categories; most related to this analysis is legitimation through authorisation. This type of legitimation can be divided in three subcategories, legitimation through custom (e.g., tradition), legitimation due to authority (e.g., personal), and legitimation through commendation (e.g., expert) (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p.97).

The framework that Mackay (2015, p.330) develops is more elaborate and identifies several strategies that can be used within multimodal representations. The strategies that are used by the producer of the material can be analysed through this framework. Mackay (2015) provides the tools to analyse the material with the help of this framework. The framework is explained with the help of a video that is analysed, however, the tools can be adapted and used for the analysis of other carriers of meaning, such as pictures as well (Mackay, 2015, p.329). The analysis shows how the different parts of the video presented can be analysed in a multimodal way. Different aspects, such as music and the portrayal of images to accompany the language in the video should be analysed as they can influence the connotative message of the material (Mackay, 2015, p.337). The broadest tool provided for analysis is the way certain things are portrayed, this is called the 'general strategy' (Mackay, 2015, p.329). This refers to the possibility to engage with the depicted data. However, the connotative message of this type of data will be culturally determined. Especially, since positive and negative images can be perceived differently according to a difference in cultural background (Mackay, 2015, p.337).

The second tool identified is more aimed at language. This is coined by Mackay (2015, p.329) as the 'macro-speech act' and refers to either positive or negative phrases that can send a message across to the reader/viewer of the data. However, this type of messaging can also be brought across to the viewer of the data through other forms of messaging, such as through black and white versus coloured pictures (Mackay, 2015, p.337). The third tool to analyse the data is the 'topic selection'. It refers to what is being discussed, or not; what is possibly subordinate to the main topic, but still addressed in the side-lines, or what is not discussed at all (Mackay, 2015, p.329). The fourth tool presented is 'supporting internal coherence', which refers to anything, written, visual etc., that supports the broader cause (Mackay, 2015, p.329). This means in the case of Mackay's multimodal analysis, the way music and colour schemes are used in certain messages can amplify each other (Mackay, 2015, p.338). The fifth tool is called 'semiotic lexicon' which is related to what Van Leeuwen (2007, p.99) describes in his work as framing. This is intertwined with the sixth tool as it concerns 'foregrounding and backgrounding'. The tool semiotic lexicon is revealing how language can be used to emphasise positive actions more, with clearly defined language and keep negative actions vaguer and push these to the background. However, both show how language, or a multimodal form of communication can be used to emphasise the positive or the negative aspects of the message (Mackay, 2015, p.339).

'Rhetorical figures' refer to 'visual metaphor and musical hyperbole' (Mackay, 2015, p.329). What is meant by visual metaphor are the representations of certain symbols by different carriers of meaning, which leaves room for interpretation by the viewer. In the analysis by Mackay (2015, p.340), this can be found in an example of a smiling person on a bicycle accompanied by upbeat music which represents a green and sustainable future. Musical

hyperbole can be found in the same analysis when black and white images are shown simultaneously with a piano solo (Mackay, 2015, p.340). The eighth tool, 'deixis' refers to the 'expressions to create temporal and spatial proximity and distance', the term has been adopted by Mackay within MDA and can be found within the analysis in a personal way that pulls the viewer more into the topic the video aims to address (Mackay, 2015, p.340). The last tool explained is 'emotional coercion', which refers to the emotional aspect of messages that can lead to persuasion of the viewer (Mackay, 2015, p.330). The signifiers that can be identified can be presented in several ways to get the viewer engaged, such as the representation of children to create a sense of responsibility across to the viewer and to make them act in a certain way (Mackay, 2015, p.340).

5. Methodology and Data

As said, the following research will aim to investigate if the gap that has been identified by Grey and Shepherd (2013), is remaining. The gap referred to is the lack of addressing men as possible victims of sexual assault in the data they collected in 2012. The dominant discourse identified around this topic ignores the possibility of male victims of sexual assault (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.117). The research by Grey and Shepherd (2013, p.122) has investigated text, the Rome Statute, and compared this with data (text and video) that has been provided by the website of UN ACTION.

The following analysis will build onto and expand the scope of the aforementioned research by including several INGOs and NGOs in the DRC who are engaged with sexual violence. Next to this, the comparable data, the Rome Statute (1998, last edited in 2010), will be accompanied by documents from UNHCR regarding sexual violence and how to deal with this in a situation with refugees (1995 and 2003):

- Sexual Violence Against Refugees, Guidelines on Prevention and Response (UNHCR, 1995).
- Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons, Guidelines for Prevention and Response (UNHCR, 2003).
- The Rome Statute, the founding document of the International Criminal Court (UN General Assembly, 1998).

This analysis will partially be inductive, qualitative research, that may be able to investigate variations in language use. However, as multiple data sources are selected, the data allows to analyse the trans textual layer that Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011, p.89) have included in their model. The research consists of a small selection of material analysed, which may possibly lead to generalisations (Bryman, 2016, p.24, 36; Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007, p.1375). Schröter (2018, p.38) argues that counter-discourses can be more clearly found in smaller bodies of texts, as misrepresentation can occur when large bodies of texts are used to identify them. This could create an overrepresentation of the dominant discourse at the expense of the marginalised counter-discourse. Highlighted by Bryman (2016, p.53) is the possibility of comparison when more than one case is assessed. This will be done in various ways as the data from the different organisations and documents will be compared with each other and with the findings of the research by Grey and Shepherd. Commonality between these organisations makes it possible to compare the data collected, something that Schröter (2018, p.49) highlights as important for the data to qualify for comparison.

5.1 Selection of the Data

An online map has been the start of the identification of the different actors in the region (Rauch, 2020), after which snowball-sampling was used to find other organisations that are also active within the field of sexual assault (Bryman, 2016, p.188). Several organisations in the region have been identified, a broader description and presentation can be found in appendix 1.

5.2 Justification and Analysis of the Selected Data

Not all the organisations presented in appendix 1 will be used in the analysis due to a lack of suitable information to analyse on their websites. Commonalities between the organisations that will be analysed can be found in that they are all engaged in taking care, or conducting research that benefits the victims of sexual assault (Schröter, 2018, p.49). The organisations that are displayed in the table below (table 1) have been selected for further analysis:

Who?	Where?	Type of Information
Médicines Sans Frontières	North Kivu, South Kivu, Ituri and Tanganyika	Text and images from country website and subsections
Amnesty International	Maniema, North Kivu, South Kivu and Ituri	Text from country website
Human Rights Watch	South Kivu, North Kivu	Text and images from country website; Video from country website
Panzi Foundation	South Kivu, Bukavu	Text and images from website and subsections
Global Survivors Fund	Global	Text and images from home website and country website; Text from annual report
Stop Rape Now	Global	Text country website; Images from home website; Video from home website; Text from UN report

Table 1. Selected Data and Organisations for Analysis

From these data sources mainly short texts from the home web pages, or the country web pages from the DRC have been analysed. Depending on the availability of the data on these two pages, reports of the organisation have been added to the data for analysis. Generally, the websites show different types of texts and headers. Small sections or subsections of text with more elaborated information on a specific topic can be clicked on. These texts on the websites are in most cases accompanied with a picture or a quote, but some of the websites also show a video to explain a certain matter.

The data chosen to compare the data from the INGOs and NGOs to, consists of the Rome Statute, the foundation of the ICC, which is the authority that can hold people who adhere to the document accountable internationally (UN General Assembly, 1998). The ICC is internationally recognised by many countries and deals with injustices, among others (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.127). This institution enjoys its legitimation based on authorisation through its authority (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p.97). The other two documents that are reviewed as the baseline data are different versions of the document from the UNHCR regarding sexual violence and refugees (1995 and 2003). The document emerged first after several cases of sexual assault had been reported after genocides in countries such as Bosnia, Somalia, Vietnam, and Rwanda. The latter is highly relevant in relation to the context of the DRC. The conflict

and the occurrence of sexual assault in the DRC has increased since the outbreak of the Rwandan Genocide (Thulin et al., 2020, p.5; UNHCR, 1995, p.1).

The selection of the INGO and NGO data can be divided in two sections, the international organisations that operate from a global organisation and the more local organisations. Médicines Sans Frontières, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Stop Rape Now and The Global Survivors Fund are all organisations that operate internationally. The first 4 organisations are operating on a global scale from outside the DRC. They are internationally known which gives them status and authority because of this; they enjoy the legitimation of being the authority (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p.97). The Global Survivors Fund is a young organisation founded by Dr. Mukwege and Nadia Murad, who were laureated with the Nobel Prize for their work for victims of sexual assault (Global Survivors Fund). This prize and the expertise that these individuals bring to the organisation gives them expert authority in the field (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p.94). The reason to select the local Panzi Hospital stems from the founder of the hospital, Nobel Laureate Dr. Denis Mukwege as well. Panzi is a locally founded hospital that has been aiming to treat survivors of sexual assault for around two decades (Panzi Foundation, 2021).

To answer the questions that have been posed in the introduction, the theories that have just been explained in section 4 will be used to analyse the selected data. The theories from Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011), Mackay (2015), Van Leeuwen (2007) and Schröter (2018) will help to analyse the texts, images, videos, and reports of the organisations that are selected.

6. Analysis

The following section will analyse the documents that are used as a baseline and the data that has been taken from the websites and the documents of the INGOs and the NGOs presented above. Section 4 has explained the tools to conduct this analysis and gain insights in how these organisations portray a certain image. The data analysed is divided into several sub-sections (6.1 Gendered Conceptualisations of Roles, 6.2 Absence of Males and 6.3 Stigmatisation), after which in section 6.4 the Comparative Analysis is provided.

6.1 Gendered Conceptualisations of Roles

6.1.1   Gendered Conceptualisations, Rome Statute and UNHCR Documents

As was presented in section 3, where previous research was presented, it became evident that men are often perceived only in the role of the perpetrator (Eriksson Baaz and Stern, 2013, p.16). The Rome Statute shows the opposite and leaves the possibility of male victimisation of sexual assault in various articles. The way the acts of violence are described are in a gender-neutral way, giving space for both men and women to occupy the space of being victim to these hardships (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.127). This is clarified in the following sentences from the Rome Statute:

(1) For the purpose of this Statute, it is understood that the term "gender" refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term "gender" does not indicate any meaning different from the above. (UN General Assembly, 1998, p.4)

This same stance is taken in the UNHCR guidelines published in 1995. The preface by Sadako Ogata (1995) recognises the possibility of male victimisation. Nevertheless, statistics show that

the majority of the victims of sexual assault are female. Therefore, it is said that the report refers in the following pages to the perpetrator with male pronouns and the victims of the violence with female pronouns (UNHCR, 1995, p.3).

> (2) The majority of the reported cases of sexual violence among refugees involve female victims and male perpetrators. (UNHCR, 1995, p.3).

This identification and clarification at the beginning of the document shows the possibility of both men and women to occupy the spaces of victim and perpetrator, despite being addressed differently in the report (Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007, p.1375). This same acknowledgement can be found in the renewed version of the document in 2003 (UNHCR, 2003, p.14). Through the acknowledgement and the justification of the terms, the agent interacting with the discourse becomes visible (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.85; Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007, p.1375).

The renewed document of the UNHCR (2003) presents sexual assault as something that results from unequal power relationships, as can be seen in quote 3:

> (3) In recognising that sexual and gender-based violence is perpetuated by unequal power relationships between women and men, the Guidelines provide a fresh approach to the problem, calling for strategic partnerships – including between men and women, national and international human rights NGOs, UNHCR, other UN agencies and States – to promote change. (UNHCR, 2003, p.12).

The first part of the quote from 'In … men' indicates that sexual assault occurs between women and men resulting from power differences. It does not elaborate on who occupies what position in this sense. However, it seems to exclude sexual assault where the perpetrator and the victim are of the same sex. The last three lines of the quote emphasise the need for cooperation between all to combat this type of violence. It is engaging the reader with the topic and the change that is needed. The 'cooperation' and 'change' is something that is in this context perceived to be a positive action that needs to happen. Reviewing it this way shows that the strategy of 'macro-speech act' can be identified here (Mackay, 2015, p.329). It is also a way of pulling the reader into the text and engaging the reader with the topic; it is a tool that Mackay (2015, p.340) described as 'deixis'. Next to this, the agents are named and the role of the agents within this discourse is noted (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.86).

6.1.2   Gendered Conceptualisations, Human Rights Watch

Human Rights Watch is an organisation that monitors human rights within the DRC, image 1 shows information given on their country page:

The human rights situation across the Democratic Republic of Congo remains dire, with more than 5.2 million people internally displaced and nearly a quarter of the population in severe food insecurity. About 120 armed groups are active in eastern Congo. Many of their fighters and often abusive government security forces have carried out massacres, kidnappings, sexual violence, recruitment of children, and other attacks on civilians – often with near total impunity. Repression against activists, journalists, politicians, and peaceful protesters escalated in 2020, after some initial positive steps during President Felix Tshisekedi's first year in office, including the release of political prisoners. The collapse of Tshisekedi's alliance with former President Joseph Kabila's coalition in December 2020 may create new opportunities to push forward with stalled reform efforts, including to advance the rule of law and democratic governance and to end the cycles of violence, abuse, corruption, and impunity. ∎

Image 1. Human Rights Watch (2022)

The following quote is from the text in image 1 (Human Rights Watch, 2022):

(4) Many of their fighters and often abusive government security forces have carried out massacres, kidnappings, sexual violence, recruitment of children, and other attacks on civilians – often with near total impunity.

The organisation gives a broad description of the violations of human rights in the country and clearly appoints the fighters of the different armed groups in the region as the perpetrators of the violence. But whom the violence is addressed to, remains broad, as the victims are referred to here on the intra textual level as 'civilians' (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). The gender-neutral description of who is victim of these violations is given, leaving space for all genders to occupy the position of victim and perpetrator. The text presented is accompanied by a map of the DRC. The map is coloured in a way that highlights the DRC and distinguishes it from the other countries that are shown on the map; a strategy that can be used to 'support internal coherence' of the message (Mackay, 2015, p.338). The situational representation of the country helps to bring a more complete message across to the viewer in terms of where these atrocities are taking place (Mackay, 2015, p.329).

6.1.3 Gendered Conceptualisations, Panzi Foundation and UN ACTION

A different view can be found at the home website of the Panzi Foundation, the words 'where victims transform in survivors' stand out (Panzi Foundation, 2021). On an intra textual level the text itself has a gender-neutral approach to these victims and leaves space for everyone to identify oneself as a victim. However, the text is accompanied by an image of several women. This gives a gendered idea of the victims that are addressed in the text. This same approach is found on the website of UN ACTION. The text on the homepage is gender-neutral:

(5) It is a concerted effort by the UN system to improve coordination and accountability, amplify programming and advocacy, and support national efforts to prevent sexual violence and respond effectively to the needs of survivors. (Stop Rape Now, 2022).

However, the image that is shown at the top of this page shows two women. A civilian with a baby on her back and a UN employee shaking hands and smiling. See image 2 below:

Image 2. Stop Rape Now Homepage (2022)

As was described by Mackay (2015, p.340), children are often used to create a sense of responsibility towards the viewer of the image. A strategy that aims to engage the audience and that can be seen in this picture. It shows that 'emotional coercion' as a strategy is used to persuade the viewer to act too. This picture is showing the cooperation between the UN and the locals. Through the smiling of the two women, it seems as if the viewer is shown the positivity of the action that is taken. This could be signing the proximity of the people of international organisations and also the proximity to the viewer of the picture with the local people. The strategy of 'deixis' is used to pull the viewer into the picture and the actions (Mackay, 2015, p.329). Next to this, the image gives a gendered idea of who is the victim. This line is continued on their country page. The text tends to be gender-neutral, except for one subsection where it talks about one of their projects that regards women's protection. Despite that this is a subsection of the whole website, in the image that accompanies their country page only women are shown (Stop Rape Now, 2022). The text that is written under the image is:

(6) In DRC, women refugees rebuild lives, with determination and hope

This may be a sign of 'topic selection' where the space for others than women to identify as the victim is present. But, as the majority of the victims of sexual assault are female this text may be accompanied with images of females 'supporting internal coherence' of the message (Mackay, 2015, p.329).

When scrolling down on the website of the Panzi Foundation, one sees an image of 4 individuals both men and women practicing a self-defence sport, supposedly 'supporting internal coherence' (Mackay, 2015, p.329). The text that accompanies this image starts gender-neutral, in the first two sentences addressing all when it comes to the action that needs to be taken. However, from the third sentence onwards it continues by talking about victims as females:

(7) Rape is a deliberate tactic of war. And, together, we're pushing back. Countless women were brutally sexually assaulted during the Congo Wars, a practice which continues today. The result? Untold physical and psychological wounds. But for more than 20 years, Panzi has not only mended survivors' bodies and delivered their babies – we've supported them as they boldly reclaim their lives, against all odds.

The second sentence of the quote is gender-neutral and including all in fighting back against the atrocities. One of the tactics described by Mackay (2015, p.330) 'emotional coercion' can

be found in this quote, where the reader is addressed and called upon. The reader is included into 'pushing back' rape as a tactic of war. The strategy 'macro-speech act' can be identified here in two different ways as well. On one hand the text is highlighting the positive 'pushing back' of all against rape as a tactic of war. On the other hand, the text is using the negative word 'brutally' to emphasise the negative impact of rape as a tactic of war (Mackay, 2015, p.329).

From the third sentence in quote 7, men are excluded from being subject to the sexual assault on the intra textual and thus lexical level; only the women are addressed as victims (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.83). In the last sentence reference is made to the delivery of the babies of these victims, something that is biologically impossible for men. The phrase does not explicitly state these victims are women, but through the biological process that is spoken about, men are excluded throughout this text (Gunnarsson, 2018, p.13). As reviewed in Grey and Shepherd (2013), the Rome Statute addresses all acts of sexual violence in a gender-neutral way, except for when it concerns pregnancies, because of this biological impossibility (UN General Assembly, 1998, p.4).

6.1.4   Gendered Conceptualisations, Amnesty International

On the DRC country page of Amnesty International (2022), the following quote was found in the subsection on the website called background:

> (8) Charges included the rape of some 400 women, men and children in 2010.

Since the text is presented by itself without an image or other multimodal carriers of meaning, analysis through the lexical carriers of meaning is only possible (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). The text is part of a section that concerns the charge against a military leader in the DRC who received a sentence for these crimes. The quote clearly addresses men as victims of sexual assault, indicating that Amnesty International (2022) is openly stating that rape is happening against 'women, men and children'.

6.1.5   Gendered Conceptualisations, Global Survivors Fund

This gender-neutral approach is also followed by the Global Survivors Fund (GSF). GSF's country page that emphasises the work they do in the DRC, talks about survivors of sexual assault in a gender-neutral way (Global Survivors Fund, 2021). This is in line with GSF's home page and the pictures that are shown there. This can be seen in the text in image 3, which addresses the ones who have been subject to sexual assault as survivors in a gender-neutral way. However, the picture that accompanies this text is giving a slightly different image. As can be seen in the picture below, they seemingly only depict women and do not show men.

Image 3. Global Survivors Fund Frontpage (2021)

However, to highlight the inclusiveness of GSF the following quote from their annual report of 2020 is presented:

> (9) What also unites these people is their extraordinary ability to stand up and to bring people together, claiming their rights and dignity as women, wives, widows, professionals, girls, boys or men. (Global Survivors Fund, 2020, p.2).

This quote includes all whose rights have been violated. One could argue that the naming of the men as victims of sexual assault is 'un-silencing marginalised discourses' (Schröter, 2018, p.45). More examples of this will be given in section 6.2.

6.1.6 Gendered Conceptualisations, Médicines Sans Frontières

A different view can be found on the country page of Médicines Sans Frontières (MSF). It shows several activities that are undertaken in the country by the organisation and when looking at the subsection of 'women's health' an image of a pregnant woman is displayed accompanied with the following text:

> (10) Many of our projects have an important component of women's health. Sexual violence is also a major issue in DRC, affecting men and boys as well as women and girls. We provide medical and psychological support, organise family planning activities, antenatal and postnatal consultations, and treat patients for sexually transmitted diseases.

Despite that it is concerning a section aimed at women's health, men are clearly included as well. The text is seemingly more inclusive than the image that accompanies it, see image 4.

Image 4. Médicines Sans Frontières

However, as it is part of the subsection 'women's health' the strategy of 'internal coherence' seems to be in play here (Mackay, 2015, p.329). The image and the text together form a coherent structure where men and women are both included as being possible victims of sexual assault. Nevertheless, as the text is part of this subsection, it may also play into the idea that women are the only victims of sexual assault. By placing male victims underneath 'women's health' a

connotative message may be that these men are in need of health that is related to women's health.

6.2 Absence of Males

As was already mentioned in section 6.1.5, the marginalisation and absence of males will be addressed in the following section. Absence and marginalisation are highly intertwined and as described by Schröter (2018, p.41), engaged with the discourse and the topic that is side-lined next to the dominant discourse.

6.2.1 Absence, UNHCR Document

The UNHCR document of 1995 acknowledges the possibility of encountering male victims of sexual assault among refugee populations. The document is indicating how to create a setting which may help the care workers to figure out who has been subject to sexual assault. It is argued to be a suitable strategy for female victims of sexual assault. The argument for this is presented as follows:

> (11) In the case of male victims, the taboos are so strong that it is extremely
> unlikely that an incident will be revealed or acknowledged (UNHCR, 1995,
> p.22).

It is stated as highly unlikely to encounter male victims through either people who know of them, or by the male victim himself (UNHCR, 1995, p.22). The implication that is given here, that this approach will only be beneficial when it concerns women, is legitimised through authorisation based on tradition and cultural practices (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p.97). The taboo that surrounds the male victimisation appears to be too strong (Huckin, 2002, p.350). Both the taboo and the male victimisation itself is named. This intra textual analysis of the silence shows marginalisation of the group of male victims of sexual assault (Schröter, 2018, p.41; Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.84). The marginalisation is based on the taboo of this topic, a taboo that is accompanied with unease to talk about it (Cammarata, 2021, p.13). This is in line with the strategy of 'topic selection' that Mackay (2015, p.329) proposed as one of the tools to identify topics that are addressed in the side lines. Despite this marginalisation of the male victims, one could argue that the document is prescribing protocols that are mostly aimed at women, but that men are included. Men are in some cases addressed and given a voice next to the idea of female victims and incorporated as possible victims of sexual assault (Schröter, 2018, p.45).

6.2.2 Absence, Global Survivors Fund

As said, on the website of Global Survivors Fund space is left for men to identify as survivors of sexual assault (Global Survivors Fund). One could argue that due to the 'topic selection', the male victims are not specifically addressed but are silently incorporated within the approach that GSF is aiming to make (Mackay, 2015, p.329). The women are put more into the attention due to the pictures that accompany the text, which could be seen as a case of foregrounding females and backgrounding males (Schröter, 2018, p.41). In this way the men are silently incorporated, but also absent in the media that is shown on their website (image 3). However, as quote 9 in section 6.1.5 showed, the men are explicitly named in the annual document of this organisation. Arguably, this could be a sign of 'un-silencing marginalised discourses' (Schröter, 2018, p.45).

6.2.3 Absence, UN ACTION

Quote 12 is taken from the UN report from 2019. The report is chosen in line with the website from UN ACTION. The text below can be considered as two-folded. The first part until the word 'conflict', talks inclusively about how 'women, men, boys and girls' are differently impacted by conflict, but it does not specify in what way this influence should be interpreted. The second part, from the word 'including', talks about the safety of women and tends to ignore the other groups that were mentioned before.

(12) Structural gender inequalities and discrimination are at the heart of the differential impact conflict has on women, men, boys and girls. Preventing sexual violence requires the advancement of substantive gender equality before, during and after conflict, including by ensuring women's full and effective participation in political, economic and social life and ensuring accessible and responsive justice and security institutions. (UNSC, 2019, p.1)

The other groups, including the male victims of sexual assault, are marginalised in the second part of the quote (Schröter, 2018, p.41; Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.84). The words 'gender equality' is in this context referring to how women should be included equally in relation to men. Showing how the words 'gender' and 'women' are used interchangeably (Grey and Shepherd, 2013, p.117). This clear reference towards women is a strategy that Van Leeuwen (2007, p.99) refers to as 'semiotic lexicon'. The language puts emphasis on how women should be included but it is vague regarding how men are to be incorporated too. This contributes to putting women more in the foreground. One could argue that the tactic of 'foregrounding and backgrounding' has been used here and that the women have been put more at the front in this second part of the quote (Mackay, 2015, p.329).

6.2.4 Absence, Stop Rape Now

When scrolling down on the homepage of Stop Rape Now (2022), a video is displayed.[1] The video begins by showing a helicopter flying in an arid area. The video is accompanied with suspenseful music and statistics are presented by a female voice. She talks about how many women have been victim of rape in conflict areas around the world. The music is slowly becoming louder and more suspenseful while the voice continues to tell what violations these women and girls have endured. The images that are shown display destruction, children and mothers with their children. None of them are smiling. The combination of the music and these images is 'supporting internal coherence' in trying to bring across the message to its viewers (Mackay, 2015, p.329). All these indicators that are 'supporting internal coherence' are contributing to the negative message that is sent across to the viewer through the strategy 'macro-speech act'. All carriers of meaning beyond the linguistic layer are amplifying this; the images and the music are the multimodal signifiers of this. Mackay (2015, p.340) described how the image of children can be utilised to create a sense of responsibility, 'emotional coercion' towards the viewer of the image, a strategy that can be used by the sender of the message to trigger action from the viewer. While these images are shown the voice says:

(13) Many women and girls suffer torture and mutilation in front of their families, others are impregnated to shift the ethnic balance of territories.

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[1] https://www.stoprapenow.org/

The video itself is only addressing women as victims of sexual assault. However, in the quote above one can see how others are included in the word 'families'. The attention is drawn to the women who suffer these human rights violations, they are foregrounded. But the secondary violations of the family members who must watch how these atrocities are performed, are mentioned on the side, backgrounded (Mackay, 2015, p.329). One could argue that the other members of the families are marginalised and absent in this video, that does not address males as possible victims of sexual assault (Schröter, 2018, p.41).

6.2.5 Absence, Human Rights Watch

Scrolling down on the country page of Human Rights Watch (2022), a video of a prison riot that happened in 2020 draws the attention to the reader.[2] The video tells the story of how some of the prisoners rioted against their guards and took over the prison. The authorities left the prison without any supervision for around 3 days, during which a group of male prisoners assaulted a group of female prisoners. During the first part of the video, suspenseful music and sounds of screaming people can be heard. Mackay (2015, p.329) identified this as 'rhetorical figures', with the help of hyperbolic music the tension of the moment in the prison is brought across to the viewer of the video. Together with the suspenseful music the images shown on the screen were quite dark (image 5; Mackay, 2015, p.340). The 'general strategy' to show coherence in the video can be identified with of the use of music and lightening in this way (Mackay, 2015, p.329). The darkness and the suspenseful music creates a sense of unity in this part of the video.

Image 5. Human Rigths Watch (2022)

Image 6. Human Rigths Watch (2022)

The second half of the video that explains what signs of what was about to happen, and the aftermath of the riot were found is accompanied with higher pitched music. The music sounds a bit lighter and may be a sign of 'deixis', temporarily distancing the viewer from the horrors of the riot and engaging them more with the structural violations of human rights that are explained afterwards (Mackay, 2015, p.329). During these explanations the images tend to be a bit lighter in colour, as can be seen in the comparison of image 5 and 6. This seems to be part of hyperbole, which can be used as a strategy in video (Mackay, 2015, p.340). The video talks about the rape of the women by the other male prisoners. Besides acknowledging this attack towards these women, the possibility of men being victim within this same event is not spoken about. Whether this is an intentional silence since it did not happen is unclear. As has been explained in the background section, stigmatisation of male victims of sexual assault is even higher than that of female victims (Christian et al., 2011, p.234). It could be a case of a 'discreet' silence as Huckin (2002, p.350) described it, as it concerns a taboo topic that is embedded

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[2] https://www.hrw.org/africa/democratic-republic-congo

within Congolese culture. This stigmatisation is what the following section will review more in-depth.

6.3 Stigmatisation

6.3.1 Stigmatisation, Human Rights Watch and UNHCR Document

As was just said, the video from Human Rights Watch on the prison riot is touching upon the stigmatisation of victims of sexual assault. The stigmatisation and the taboo that surrounds sexual assault can be found in quote 11 (section 6.2.1), that is taken from the UNHCR document of 1995 as well. The quote names the taboo that surrounds sexual assaults especially for male victims.

6.3.2 Stigmatisation, Panzi

Looking at the Panzi Foundation website, there is a section that addresses 'the crises' (Panzi Foundation, 2021). When clicking on this, several themes are highlighted. One of the subsections 'seclusion and stigma' highlights the cultural implications for the victims of sexual assault.

> (14) Much like sexual assault survivors in the rest of the world, those in the DRC are often rejected by their families and communities. This separation and stigma keeps them from getting the support, love, opportunities – and even basic services - that they need. Approximately 60% of women who seek treatment at Panzi can't return to their homes.

The stigmatisation and the separation from the community is something that is addressed, as described by Schröter (2018, p.43), the meta level is openly pointing towards the silence. The interaction with the agent layer becomes visible within the text (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). The stigmatisation is addressed in a gender-neutral way, however, in the last sentence of the quote it moves towards how this affects women, excluding men. This is related to section 6.2 Absence of Males.

6.3.3 Stigmatisation, UN ACTION

In line with the UN ACTION website, the report on conflict-related sexual violence of the United Nations Security Council (2019) was reviewed. The report addresses sexual assault, especially in relation to conflict. The following quotes in relation to male victims of sexual assault were found:

> (15) Men and boys also face reporting barriers owing to the stigma relating to perceived emasculation, as well as particular physical and psychological consequences. There are often no legal provisions regarding the rape of men (UNSC, 2019, p.5).
> (16) The strengthening of policies that offer appropriate responses to male victims and challenge deeply entrenched cultural assumptions about male invulnerability to such violence (UNSC, 2019, p.32).

The need for the recognition of male victims of sexual assault is made, as the male victims lack systematic support. This can be identified here as a 'speech act silence' as it is based on cultural norms and practices (Huckin, 2002, p.349). The 'general strategy' of Mackay's (2015p. 329) framework seems to be present here as the negative cultural connotation of being victim of sexual assault is elaborated on. The stigma that surrounds the male victims of sexual assault is

named in quote 15 and can be identified as an intended silence due to historical context (Mackay, 2015, p.327; Schröter, 2018, p.37). Quote 16 refers to the assumptions about the invulnerability of men, this implicates those assumptions have to be changed. This is in line with the position that was found in some of the literature in section 3. Male rape was seen as impossible, leading to discrimination against male victims (Pretorius, 2009, p.576).

6.4 Comparative Analysis

In the comparative analysis the trans textual layer, described by Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011, p.82, 86) will be analysed. The commonality that is found between the organisations allows for comparison to be done (Schröter, 2018, p.49). The excerpts that have been presented in the subsections 6.1 Gendered Conceptualisations of Roles, 6.2 Absence of Males, and 6.3 Stigmatisation will be compared. In table 3 below, an overview of the type of material that has been reviewed in these subsections can be found.

Organisation	Material Reviewed
Rome Statute	Founding Document of ICC, quotes
UNHCR Guidelines 1995	Document, quotes
UNHCR Guidelines 2003	Document, quotes
Médicines Sans Frontières	Website, quotes and images
Amnesty International	Website, quotes
Human Rights Watch	Website, quotes, images and video
Panzi Foundation	Website, quotes and images
Global Survivors Fund	Website quotes and images Annual report, quotes
Stop Rape Now	Website, quotes, images and video UN report, quotes

Table 2. Material Reviewed per Organisation

Looking at the way the organisations talk about victims of sexual assault in relation to gender, it can be found that some of the organisations refrained from specifying the gender of the victim in general, some of the organisations specified the victim as female, and some of the organisations named the male victims of sexual assault specifically. Considering the older, or baseline documents: The Rome Statute (1998), and the UNHCR Guideline reports, 1995 and 2003, it can be observed that the documents showed a more gender-neutral approach towards who could be perceived as a victim or perpetrator of sexual assault. Looking at the other organisations, Amnesty International and the Global Survivors Fund were gender-neutral in their conceptualisation of victims too, as they both mention not only female but also the possibility of male victimisation. The website of Human Rights Watch seemed to be gender-neutral in its text but not in its multimodal material. Lastly, the website of Médicines Sans Frontières was conceptualising victims in a gender-neutral way under the subsection of women's health, creating a different connotation where men were included within policies regarding women. The other two organisations, Stop Rape Now and Panzi Foundation showed a tendency to refer to the victims of sexual assault as female.

The material reviewed showed that marginalisation, or absence of the male victims of sexual assault in some of the INGO and NGO documentation still present. Despite that they are named in most of the instances, the male victim is not openly addressed in all. It can be said that a pattern showed on the intra textual and agent layer as silences were identified in the excerpts presented. Cultural conceptualisations such as a taboo that surrounds the topic of sexual

violence, especially when it concerns men, were encountered. Victims of sexual assault are presented with the help of strategies such as 'foregrounding and backgrounding', and 'topic selection' foregrounding the female victims at the expense of the male victims. The female victims are named and more clearly represented in several multimodal carriers of meaning, texts, images and video than the male victims of sexual assault. The representation of female victims being more clearly than the representation of male victims, may result from the numbers that represent female and male victims of sexual assault. As was acknowledged by the UNHCR (1995, p.3) guidelines document, the majority of the victims is female, and therefore receive more attention within these organisations than the male victims of sexual assault.

The final sub-section, 6.3 Stigmatisation, analysed different signifiers of silence. The following were identified: 'taboo' (quote 11), 'stigma' (quote 14, 15), and 'deeply entrenched cultural assumptions' (quote 16). It can be said that women and men are both discussed in relation to stigmatisation. The naming of these silences on two levels of the DIMEAN model, the intra textual level and the agent layer showed how the agents who interact with the discourse recognised and discussed the silence (Schröter, 2018, p.43; Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.84). The naming of the stigmatisation is pointing out the silence that was identified by Schröter (2018, p.48). This is showing the linkage between the discourse and the agent who becomes visible through the text produced by the discourse (Spitzmüller and Warnke, 2011, p.82). However, as was noted, the male victims of sexual assault are not addressed among all carriers of meaning by these organisations; still silencing and leaving male victims absent within the process of battling sexual violence in the DRC. As Schröter (2018, p.49) has identified the silence that can be traced across texts can be the result of 'cultural, political and historical influences'. Something that seems to still be present within the DRC as the 'discreet silences', the taboos are still pointed out by these organisations (Huckin, 2002, p.350). These silences are not only named in relation to male victims of sexual violence, but on some occasions the stigmatisation is only addressed in relation to the female victims of sexual violence. Stigmatising the female victims of sexual assault is silencing them and marginalising the male victims at the same time.

7. Conclusion

After conducting analysis on all layers of the DIMEAN model, the intra textual layer, the agent layer and the trans textual layer, all is summed up in the following section. The questions posed in the introduction will be reviewed. The sub-questions and the main question leading this research will be regarded first, after which the aim of the research will be re-examined. Question a, 'What lexemes are used to refer to perpetrator and perpetrated in the context of sexual assault?', considers the specific words that are used to refer to the different actors related to sexual assault. The possibility for male occupation of the space victim was especially present in the baseline documentation. It provided clarification for the pronouns that were used to address the victims and perpetrator throughout the report. The agent layer became visible by referring to the victims, and it justified the use of these terms. It can be said that the INGOs and NGOs are conceptualising both men and women in various ways. To refer to the victims of sexual assault the organisations used terms such as: 'civilian', 'women', and 'men'. The perpetrators are less often addressed in the selected material. When presented in the material, they are addressed as the armed groups conducting the violence, or with male pronouns. In the latter the explanation for the use of this gendered pronoun was given leaving space for women

to occupy this position. Therefore, in both instances it is a gender-neutral way of addressing the perpetrators.

Question b, 'How are agents in the context of sexual assault conceptualised in relation to gender?', and question c, 'How are male victims of sexual assault presented by the INGOs and NGOs affiliated with sexual assault?' are related to each other and will be answered together. Through the representation of the actors through the lexemes discussed, it becomes evident that gender-neutral, female, and male terms were used to refer to victims. However, in the case where the female terms were used to refer to the victims, this was solely terminology referring to the female gender to refer to the victims, accompanied by images of women; in the case of the gender-neutral terms, sometimes the language was accompanied by images of women, marginalising men; and in the case where men were addressed specifically, the texts were presented in combination with the referral to female victims, both in pictures and language. As the website of MSF showed too, the male victims were classified under the subsection of 'women's health', something that may have implications for the possibility of male victims of sexual assault to identify as a victim. It may even hinder men from seeking care. Regarding the referral to perpetrator, one could argue that both genders can occupy the space of perpetrator. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that men are more often the perpetrator, resulting in the referral to perpetrator as male.

The last sub-question d, 'Are there signs of stigmatisation, marginalisation, and silence and absence of male victims of sexual assault in the media provided by these organisations, and if so, what signs can be identified?' will be answered next. The stigmatisation of male victims of sexual assault can be found in some of the organisations. They did not include male victims of sexual assault into their approach for treating victims as a result of the stigma that surrounds the victims. In this case it can be said that the male victims were absent and silent, not being incorporated in the documentation. The stigma for female victims of sexual assault, and the stigma related to male victims of sexual assault is named by some of the organisations. The signifiers 'taboo', 'stigma' and 'deeply entrenched cultural assumptions' were mentioned to contribute to the stigmatisation of both female and male victims. In the case of addressing the stigmatisation of female victims, it is addressing the stigma, while marginalising the male victims.

From the analysis of the material of the INGOs and NGOs can be deducted that 'topic selection' and 'foregrounding and backgrounding' is limiting the presence of male victims of sexual assault in these organisations. Marginalisation, and silence and absence of male victims has been identified in the analysis as being present in some of the organisations. As becomes clear from the conclusions of question a, b, and c men are included in the possibility of occupying the space of victim in some of the organisations, but the female victims, being the majority of the victims of sexual assault, receive more attention. The female victims are foregrounded, and more evidently present, at the expense of the male victims. Despite this, it can be said that the male victims are more present in the material analysed in this research than found in the research by Grey and Shepherd (2013) and therefore, being unmarginalized.

Considering the conclusions from these sub-questions the main question leading this research will be regarded again:

How are men, in relation to the context of sexual violence, conceptualised within official documents by INGOs and NGOs in the Democratic Republic of Congo when it comes to organisations that address sexual assault?

The question can be answered by arguing that men are conceptualised in both gender-neutral terms, and in terms referring to the male sex. The position of perpetrator has been presented as possibly being occupied by males and females. The position of victim has been conceptualised in gender-neutral terms, referring to female and male victims of sexual assault by some of the organisations, while other organisations conceptualised victims of sexual assault specifically as male. Nevertheless, not all organisations included males as possible victims of sexual assault. Reviewing the aim connected to this research question, 'to investigate whether the identified gap in the representation of male victims of sexual assault in the DRC is still present at the time of writing (2022)'; it can be concluded that representation is more clearly visible and that male victims receive more attention than in the past. The visibility of male victims of sexual assault is increasing in the DRC. On the one hand, male victims are still silenced and marginalised by some of the organisations. On the other hand, some organisations are addressing male victims openly and are un-marginalising and un-silencing them. Despite that these victims receive attention from these organisations, both female and male victims of sexual assault still suffer from the stigmatisation that surrounds this topic.

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9. Appendix 1 - Overview of organisations in the DRC

Who?	Where?	What?
Médicines Sans Frontières	North Kivu, South Kivu, Ituri and Tanganyika	Medical, psycho-social treatment of women, children and men who were subject to sexual assault
Oxfam	North Kivu, South Kivu, Ituri and Tanganyika	Research surveys on sexual assault against women and children to gain international support; cooperation with local NGOs
Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (close ties with Oxfam)	South Kivu, specifically Bukavu	Research focussed on sexual assault against women
Amnesty International	Maniema, North Kivu, South Kivu and Ituri	Research to identify the needs of victims and their families of sexual assault; advocate for local organisations needs in assisting these victims
Malteser international	South Kivu	Research on victims of sexual assault; Victimes d'aggression sexuelle centres that provide medical care and psycho-social care with the help of local women
Human Rights Watch	South Kivu, North Kivu	Legal aspect of sexual assault; research into judicial measures. Report back to UN for support
Panzi Foundation	South Kivu, Bukavu	Panzi hospital for survivors of rape attacks; medical services, STI treatment, surgeries, testing for HIV/AIDS; initiatives to rebuild life after recovery
Synergie	North Kivu	35 local organisation providing medical, psychological and legal services
Global Survivors Fund	Global	A global fund for survivors of conflict-related sexual assault
Stop Rape Now	Global	Un Action against Sexual violence in conflict