E. Sexual violence against men since 2015

 1. Background

444. Since its establishment, the Commission has collected a substantial number of witness accounts related to sexual violence against men and boys committed in Burundi between April 2015 and June 2020, particularly in the context of detention.[[1]](#footnote-1)

445. Sexual violence against men and boys in conflict situations or countries in transition receives little recognition or consideration, due to the tendency to prioritize sexual violence against women and girls in international organizations’ policies and programmatic frameworks, and the United Nations in particular.[[2]](#footnote-2) This situation, which essentially results from the observation that women and girls are disproportionately[[3]](#footnote-3) affected by sexual violence in situations of armed conflict and transition, has the effect of creating a conflation between *sexual violence* and *violence against women and girls.*[[4]](#footnote-4)

446. In addition, due to the gender roles and norms that prevail in Burundi, as in most societies, which associate masculinity to strength and power,[[5]](#footnote-5) men and boys are particularly reluctant to report the violence which they have been subjected to as *sexual violence* and would rather speak of torture. Indeed, as a result of sexual violence, men feel diminished or stripped of their virility and masculinity, and they call into question their ability to procreate and their role in the family and the community.[[6]](#footnote-6)

447. Moreover, when social norms prohibit homosexuality and national legislation criminalizes homosexual relations without distinguishing between consensual and non-consensual sexual acts, as it is the case in Burundi, men who survive sexual violence are also at risk of being stigmatized for their alleged sexual orientation and even run the risk of being prosecuted, thus fostering a sociocultural and legal framework that favors impunity for such violence. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for survivors to find it easier to initially report that they witnessed these acts rather than declaring themselves victims[[7]](#footnote-7) of the reported acts.

448. Interviews and research conducted by the Commission suggest that the difficulty of conceptualizing acts constituting sexual violence against men as *sexual violence* and not simply as acts of torture or ill-treatment also extends to human rights organizations that work in Burundi or on Burundi.[[8]](#footnote-8) Since at least 2006, methods of torture constitutive of sexual violence have been used regularly against men and women in detention, especially those under the responsibility of the SNR.[[9]](#footnote-9) However, in most cases, sexual violence against men was solely reported as *torture and ill-treatment*, while violence against women was reported as *sexual and gender-based violence.*[[10]](#footnote-10)

449. This partial recognition - or lack thereof - of sexual violence committed by state agents against men and boys has multiple consequences. Indeed, when the sexualized nature of the acts is obscured, there is little chance that the violence will receive any adequate and specific response, be it in the form of providing assistance to survivors, fighting impunity and preventing this type of violence or access to justice and reparations. The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights also underlined in 2017 that acts of sexual violence can target any individual, no matter their gender, and that sexual violence against men and boys (among others gender categories) must receive adequate and effective response from States.[[11]](#footnote-11) Better understanding of sexual violence against men is therefore necessary to improve and complete the analysis of the gender dimension of a conflict or a crisis.[[12]](#footnote-12)

 2. Main victims

450. Victims were born between 1977 and 2000, and two of them were minors[[13]](#footnote-13) at the time of the occurrence. Several were students,[[14]](#footnote-14) some were unemployed,[[15]](#footnote-15) some others were employed in the public service,[[16]](#footnote-16) or in the private sector[[17]](#footnote-17). Many of them resided in Bujumbura (Mairie), although they often were natives of other provinces. Several victims were affiliated with an opposition party (mainly MSD in 2015-2016 and mostly CNL in 2019-2020),[[18]](#footnote-18) but others said they were not members of any party[[19]](#footnote-19).

451. Commenting on the profile of male victims of sexual torture in detention at SNR, one witness said “*the people targeted were mostly strong young men who looked intelligent*”.[[20]](#footnote-20)

452. The reasons cited for targeting the victims were, above all, political and security related and were generally multiple. Victims were accused of participating in protests against the third term;[[21]](#footnote-21) supporting or participating in armed actions against the Government in the capital or in certain provinces or of having information on these actions;[[22]](#footnote-22) possessing arms or ammunition;[[23]](#footnote-23) being in contact with rebels or of spying on behalf of a foreign government;[[24]](#footnote-24) providing information or working in collaboration with civil society or independent media;[[25]](#footnote-25) supporting an opposition party or of having refused to support CNDD-FDD[[26]](#footnote-26). They were also targeted because one of their relatives was wanted for one of these reasons.[[27]](#footnote-27)

 3. Sexual violence as a form of torture used by the SNR

453. The vast majority of sexual violence against men documented by the Commission was committed in the context of arbitrary detentions under the responsibility of the SNR and ranged from a few hours to several weeks, in official or unofficial places, mainly at SNR’s headquarters located near the cathedral in Bujumbura,[[28]](#footnote-28) but also residential houses, rooms or containers located in Bujumbura, Rumonge, Ruyigi or Ngozi. Moreover, even when a place of detention was not identified, victims recognized their aggressors as SNR agents, in particular by their attire or through the presence of certain senior officers whom they identified or recognized.[[29]](#footnote-29)

454. Sexual violence was also perpetrated by police officers, in particular the unit for the protection of institutions (API - *Appui à la protection des institutions*), and Imbonerakure in places of detention under the responsibility of the SNR.[[30]](#footnote-30)

455. Sexual violence was always committed jointly with other forms of violence that also constitute torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, particularly kicking, beating with sticks, truncheons or even with the butt of a gun or electric cables. It was also accompanied by death threats, mock executions, and victims were forced to witness the torture or execution of others.

456. Certain acts of violence, particularly those targeting genitals and rape, have been committed with the intention of inflicting severe mental or physical suffering on the victims with the aim of punishing them or extracting a confession, and are therefore constitutive of torture. Others, such as forced nudity and insults, which were clearly intended to humiliate or intimidate victims, amount to inhuman or degrading treatment.

457. The analysis of the modus operandi of this sexual violence reveals that the sexual organs and sexuality of men were strategically and deliberately targeted, and several witness accounts suggest that the choice of torture methods to be applied on a detainee was not intuitively decided by the questioning agent.[[31]](#footnote-31)

458. In some cases, senior SNR officers were present during torture sessions and they either participated in interrogations or left the scene after leaving instructions.[[32]](#footnote-32)

*“He then told me to stand up and walk with the can […] [a SNR official] said, ‘this bastard of a Tutsi does not want to talk. He is going to talk whether he wants to or not’. He ordered the [officers] to do the job”.[[33]](#footnote-33)*

459. In addition, several witness accounts indicate that there were tools dedicated to torture, including those targeting genitals, and that the tools was stored in a specific location at the SNR headquarters in Bujumbura.[[34]](#footnote-34) Some detainees found the tools already set up in the room where they were questioned.[[35]](#footnote-35)

460. One man described his arrival at SNR’s detention center as follows:

“*They undressed me […] because my hands were still [tied up]. Then they […] tied my testicles […] and the rope was attached to a can filled with sand. […] The can and the rope were in the room already*”.[[36]](#footnote-36)

 a) Violence targeting genitals

461. One of the most common forms of sexual violence inflicted upon men and boys in detention involves tying up their genitals – testicles in most cases, to a ballast, most often a water or sand-filled container – and forcing the victim to stand up and walk, or suspend the victim in the air with their feet not touching the ground, in order for the weight of the container to pull down their testicles, for a timeframe ranging from a few minutes to several hours.[[37]](#footnote-37) This practice already existed at the SNR before the 2015 political crisis, but several sources indicated that the security forces have used it more systematically since 2015.[[38]](#footnote-38)

462. This method, commonly referred to as the *canister technique*, which aims at inflicting severe pain, has been used during interrogations to force victims to give information they may have, particularly on hidden weapons caches or armed groups activities or to punish them for acts they allegedly committed.[[39]](#footnote-39)

“*This technique was used against anyone accused of being against the Government. The goal was to inflict as much pain as possible, often in order to make one confess doing things they had not done and have an excuse for sending them to prison […] these same confessions were used to bring people to court […] [or to] extract confessions against [other persons]*”.[[40]](#footnote-40)

463. One man recounted how the individuals who tortured him hung him from the ceiling before attaching a weight to his penis and testicles:

*“They took a canister […] filled with sand mixed with water and tied it to my genitals. […] I felt unspeakable pain because it was my genitals that carried the canister. […] They left it there for at least ten minutes. Then I was brought down. […] They kept telling me […] ‘why do you not contribute to the leading party?*’, *that I am a spy for the civil society”.*[[41]](#footnote-41)

464. The same man testified that after several days in detention during which he was subjected to various forms of torture, including on his genitals, he ended up acknowledging everything he was accused:

*“Begging for forgiveness, I was in so much pain, I accepted all of their accusations when in reality I am not in contact with any of the people whose names they mentioned”*.[[42]](#footnote-42)

465. Witness accounts collected by the Commission describe certain variations of this technique,[[43]](#footnote-43) such as the replacement of the container by a system of cords or tying up bags filled with mud or applying this system to several detainees concurrently, for added humiliation.[[44]](#footnote-44)

466. Several men detained at SNR were subjected to injections of unidentified fluid into their testicles.[[45]](#footnote-45) These injections caused a burning sensation, severe pain and dizziness, sometimes fainting. A man also reported being badly burned from boiling water poured over his penis, which SNR agents lifted with sticks.[[46]](#footnote-46) Another man reported that his testicles were pinched and injured with pliers.[[47]](#footnote-47)

467. Several men reported being kicked, including with boots,[[48]](#footnote-48), beaten with sticks[[49]](#footnote-49) or hardwire or metal cables,[[50]](#footnote-50) and explained how the beating specifically targeted their genitals.

“*They also kicked me on the chest, [in] the ribs, on my genitals […] The blows on the genitals, they were precise; they forcibly spread my legs and then they kicked me […] the beating lasted about 30 minutes*”.[[51]](#footnote-51)

468. In some cases, detained victims were taken into the forest or the bush by SNR agents, with or without Imbonerakure, where they were subjected to sexual violence and other forms of violence:[[52]](#footnote-52)

“*After we got out [of the vehicle], we were beaten; our pants pulled down and they hit us on the genitals while asking who sent us [mandated]. It was they [members of the SNR] who lowered our pants. To hit us, they used the rod of the Kalashnikov rifles*”.[[53]](#footnote-53)

 b) Rape

469. In the course of their detention under SNR responsibility, men were raped by SNR agents or Imbonerakure, or forced under threat to have sex with other men or women detainees.

470. Literature on sexual violence against men in conflict situations recognizes that men can be affected by different forms of rape that have not yet been specifically qualified, including situations in which a man is forced to have sex with another victim, male or female, including someone who may be a family member.[[54]](#footnote-54)

471. More than any, this type of sexual violence touches on taboos on sexuality and the morality of the society; and is therefore much more difficult for the victims or the witnesses to denounce. It is therefore likely that many victims refuse to tell anyone about what happened to them. One victim explained:

*“After forcing me to sleep with [X] they laughed a lot. Reflecting on what I had done, I wondered why they made me do it. Maybe to make a fool of me, maybe to hurt me. […]. What has happened to me has happened to other people even though people do not talk about it a lot […] There are people who cannot talk about it for mental reasons. Some are relieved to talk about it while others are so troubled, they cannot talk about it”*.[[55]](#footnote-55)

472. Men detained by the SNR were coerced into having vaginal sex with a woman detainee also under threat of death if they did not do so; act which constitutes both the rape of the detainee and the rape of these men, in the presence of the officers who had ordered them to do so.[[56]](#footnote-56)

473. Men have been forced by SNR members to have anal sex with fellow men detainees. In case of refusal, they were severely beaten or subjected to other painful treatments. While they were complying, SNR members laughed at them and humiliated them with insults.[[57]](#footnote-57)

“*We were forced to do anal penetrations. We were told that we are friends, that we can [do anything]*”.[[58]](#footnote-58)

“*They took a young man who was next to [me], told him to lie down on the ground and told me to go inside him. Then we reversed. […] During that time, the police were there laughing, hitting, saying ‘these Tutsi dogs, go back to where you come from’.*”[[59]](#footnote-59)

474. In addition, at SNR, a man was raped by a man he identified as an Imbonerakure.[[60]](#footnote-60)

475. Anal penetration, whether consensual or not, is taboo in the Burundian society. For men, it represents the opposite of a virile, socially valued sexual relationship, and therefore constitutes a factor of stigma. In addition, it should be remembered that sexual relationships between persons of the same gender are criminalized under Burundian law.

 d) Coerced nudity

476. Many men were subjected to forced nudity during their detention.[[61]](#footnote-61) They were forcibly stripped of their clothes or forced to undress, usually prior to an interrogation session during which they were in the presence of several other dressed men, and during which they were subjected to various forms of physical or psychological violence. This forced nudity served both to intensify the pain of other forms of violence,[[62]](#footnote-62) as well as the victims’ humiliation and sense of vulnerability, particularly because that caused them to expect further sexual violence.[[63]](#footnote-63)

477. A man detained by SNR police officers reported that he was stripped naked before being kicked as well as beaten up with sticks and rifle butts. Policemen threatened to cut off his penis.[[64]](#footnote-64) Another, also held by the SNR, explained:

“*We were naked, that is how they got to our testicles. […] Every time [the police] entered the container, they would ask us to undress. It was systematic*”.[[65]](#footnote-65)

478. Some have reported remaining naked for hours or even days among fellow inmates, men and sometimes women, who were also naked.[[66]](#footnote-66)

“*In total we were 31 people imprisoned in a small cell […]. We remained naked for the duration of the detention there [a month and a half]. The girls had also been tortured; we could see it on their bodies but we did not discuss the type of torture they suffered*”.[[67]](#footnote-67)

 e) Insults

479. While subjected to sexual violence, several men were humiliated with insults referring to their ethnicity[[68]](#footnote-68) or sexuality.[[69]](#footnote-69)

480. A man subjected to violence targeting his genitals declared:

“*As soon as the [SNR agents] entered [the dungeon] they began to hurl insults at us, saying: ‘You Tutsis, you want us to return where we came from [the bush]. […] And now we are going to do something for you to make sure that you do not have children who are going to come and cause us problems. We are also going to ensure you are never going to want a girl’. […] Every one of them repeated the same thing every time*”.[[70]](#footnote-70)

481. Another man reported how, after being severely beaten, police officers used their hands to crush the testicles of his fellow inmate, whose arms and legs were tied, saying, “*You little Hutu fool. Are you the one to want to protest against the President when you are of the same ethnic group? Tutsis are deceiving you*”.[[71]](#footnote-71)

4 . Rape and sexual violence targeting women at SNR

482. During its investigations, the Commission also collected witness accounts relating to rape and other forms of sexual violence against women while in detention and under the responsibility of the SNR[[72]](#footnote-72). Some of this violence was inflicted in the context of interrogations using procedures similar to what has been described for the men in order to make them confess certain information, to intimidate them or to punish them in relation to their alleged activities against the Government.[[73]](#footnote-73)

483. Women were also raped on several occasions during their detention outside the context of interrogation. Far from constituting isolated opportunistic acts, the modus operandi of these rapes shows that this violence also helped to create the intimidating and punitive environment in which these women would confess the desired information.[[74]](#footnote-74)

484. Witness accounts indicate that high-ranking officials of the SNR were aware of the ongoing violence and did not provide an adequate response, and that sometimes they were directly involved.[[75]](#footnote-75)

485. Another indicator of the institution’s reputation in this regard is that relatives of women detainees at the SNR sought to ensure that these women would not be sexually tortured, mostly through their network of influence within the ruling party.[[76]](#footnote-76)

486. A woman who had been detained by the SNR recounts her meeting with a member of her family who had pursued such steps: “*the first thing [he] asked me was if I had been raped because I cried when I saw him*”.[[77]](#footnote-77)

487. Additional research and surveys would be warranted in order to determine the prevalence of this type of violations against women.

 5. Other forms of sexual violence against men

488. In the context of the crisis, other forms of sexual violence have been perpetrated against men, outside the context of SNR detention, particularly cases of “forced incest” and cases of emasculation. The violence was sometimes committed by Imbonerakure acting alongside police officers, or by armed men dressed in police or army uniforms and as civilians.

489. This violence took place outside official places of detention, during raids on victims’ homes[[78]](#footnote-78) or during arbitrary arrests[[79]](#footnote-79). Some cases were committed as part of the operations by security forces in the wake of the attacks on military camps in Bujumbura in December 2015 and during the first half of 2016.

490. Men, under threat of physical violence, have been forced to commit incest by engaging in sex with a family member.[[80]](#footnote-80) In one case, the man who refused to carry out the order was severely beaten and forced to watch two of his family members being raped by police and Imbonerakure. He was later executed. In another case, the man who refused was beaten and threatened to be killed, before he obeyed orders by the police and the military who threatened him and his family. Such violence has had a highly traumatic impact on the affected families.

491. Two witnesses said they saw that a male relative had been emasculated when his body was found.[[81]](#footnote-81) In one case, the emasculation took place before the victim’s execution as part of a night attack on his home by a group of armed men wearing different uniforms and civilian outfits. In the other case, the Imbonerakure are said to have mutilated the victim’s body; there was no way of telling whether the mutilation took place before or after his execution. Both victims were members of opposition political parties.

 6. Consequences on the victims and their families

492. Similarly to sexual violence against women and girls, sexual violence against men and boys has serious, long-lasting effects on the lives of the survivors, their health, their family relations as well as their role and place within community.

493. The majority of survivors of sexual violence cases documented by the Commission were forced to leave Burundi, many of them believing that they would have been killed if they had stayed longer. Many of them left on their own, leaving their families behind; whom they have sometimes not heard since their departure, or even since their arrest months or years before.

494. The men and boys subjected to violence targeting their genitals testified about pain and swelling of their testicles which, among other things, prevented them from walking normally[[82]](#footnote-82) and about severe pain that persisted for several months after these occurrences, especially when urinating.[[83]](#footnote-83) Some have developed erectile dysfunction.[[84]](#footnote-84)

*“I have been hit so many times in the genitals. They told me to bow with my arms at knee level and kicked me in the genitals. One consequence of the beating is that I can no longer have sex, I cannot have an erection, I have become like impotent”*.[[85]](#footnote-85)

495. Several of them requested access to medical care while in detention. However, treatment was only granted to two of them, in one case several months after the violence. The care in both cases proved to be clearly inadequate.[[86]](#footnote-86)

496. Survivors did not always dare report to the medical staff that they had been raped.[[87]](#footnote-87)

“*I did not tell the doctor who was treating me because this is taboo in our culture. They gave me medicine. I have not recounted what happened to me, I am ashamed. I cannot talk about what happened in my life because I went through hell. I was humiliated and made to feel worthless*”.[[88]](#footnote-88)

497. Due to the multiple forms of violence that some men have suffered, they often present complex or severe clinical cases, sometimes also including fractures, digestive or respiratory problems.[[89]](#footnote-89)

*“The symptoms [I have]: diarrhoea, vomiting, dizziness, reddish urine, weakness […] they will not stop. The doctor is worried because even he can see that I am not getting better. […] I do not receive any psychological support, it would be better if I did, but I have to find someone who can help me”.*[[90]](#footnote-90)

498. Several men also described symptoms of depression and suicidal thoughts.[[91]](#footnote-91)

499. A man detained by the SNR who suffered various forms of violence, including violence targeting his genitals, explained that he first thought of dying after escaping, before seeking asylum in another country:

*“My problem was not so much about having a place to live as about going to a place where I did not feel the need to end my life”*.[[92]](#footnote-92)

500. Men who were raped expressed shame and fear of stigmatisation and marginalization associated with the kind of violence to which they were subjected.[[93]](#footnote-93)

*“Some things are shameful and one thinks that, if recounted, those who hear about them will start treating you differently. […] Even when I talked about it, it was not easy because I feared it would spread outside. […] You do not want to be known on the street as ‘the one who was taken from behind’. If what happened to me should be known in today’s society, it would be considered something dishonourable, for which one could be banished from society […] I would do not know where to go if that were to be known”*.[[94]](#footnote-94)

501. Sexual violence has also had a significant impact on these men’s sexuality and their emotional lives.[[95]](#footnote-95)

“*I no longer want to make love. They touched sensitive parts. […] I cannot make love to a woman because images of torture come back to me*”.[[96]](#footnote-96)

502. Survivors also expressed doubts on their ability to perform the valued and expected social functions of a man in Burundian society, particularly within the context of marriage and family.

*“When I think back to what happened [violence on genitals], it hurts a lot. And the idea of taking a wife is not something I envision because I do not know if I could manage”*.[[97]](#footnote-97)

503. In Burundian culture, marriage is a necessary step for one to be considered a successful man (or woman) in that it is the basis of the family. It is one of the most important traditional gender roles’ indicators,[[98]](#footnote-98) and a couple is generally expected to have their first child within 18 months of marriage. In a relationship, it is difficult to imagine that infertility can be caused by the man, the woman being generally held responsible. A study points out that a man’s impotence can thus become a domestic violence factor.[[99]](#footnote-99)

*“Because of this injection [into the testicle], I am afraid I will not be able to have children. I was in pain, there was pus coming out of my penis on its own and I was in great pain when I urinated”*.[[100]](#footnote-100)

504. Beyond the sometimes irreversible damage to their physical and mental health, sexual violence targeting men therefore has significant consequences on an essential component of the Burundian social fabric: the family, and on the way survivors perceive themselves and are perceived as men at the heart of the community.

505. One woman said of the sexual torture inflicted on her husband: “*Somehow this ensures that, even when he does not succumb to the torture, the victim cannot reproduce and they will live the handicap of not having sexual intercourse; it is a handicap, especially for a man. The aim is to ruin their lives permanently”.*[[101]](#footnote-101)

506. Depending on the country in which they sought asylum, these survivors had access to care more or less adapted to their physical and psychological problems. However, this assistance has not been provided as part of the support mechanisms for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, which are generally not adapted to the specific needs of men. Programs intended to respond to and prevent sexual and gender-based violence are generally designed according to the logic of “woman and girl – victims and man – potential or actual perpetrator of violence”.

507. Having support groups, community associations and non-governmental organizations sensitized to the issue of sexual violence against men and boys would undoubtedly be a factor that would encourage survivors to speak up about their experience and help them obtain appropriate support.[[102]](#footnote-102)

1. CI-047, CI-088, CI-100, CI-101, CI-119, CI-122, CI-139, CI-144, DI-020, DI-087, DI-115, JI-073, JI-121, JI-122, JI-125, JI-160, KI-004, KI-005, KI-070, MI-044, MI-046, MI-070, MI-082, QI-015, QI-035, QI-037, QI-045, QI-062, QI-074, QI-227, TI-028, TI-031, TI-047, TI-055, TI-080, TI-133. Information on other victims of these types of violence who did not survive their injuries or either disappeared or were executed is also included in these accounts. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. S. Sivakumaran, *Lost in translation: UN responses to sexual violence against men and boys in situations of armed conflict*, International Review of the Red Cross, Volume 92, Number 877, March 2010. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. S/RES/2467, (2019), para. 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. A. Kapur and K. Muddell, *When no one calls it rape: addressing sexual violence against men and boys in transitional contexts*, International Center for Transitional Justice (2016) p 4. But also [https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/ignoring-male-victims-sexual-violence-conflict-short-sighted-and-wrong#](https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/ignoring-male-victims-sexual-violence-conflict-short-sighted-and-wrong). This is not a case of calling into question the achievements reached thanks to efforts invested over the last two decades which has enabled this important aspect of violence against women and girls being recognized and taken into consideration both by international law and humanitarian and development initiatives. Rather, it is a matter of recognizing that this type of violence also affects men and boys and that the response to this type of violence must necessarily involve its “gendered” specificities as well as their consequences. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. On gender stereotypes and ideals of masculinity in Burundi : CARE, *Rapport d’évaluation du projet « Nous les jeunes »*, January 2018, p.13-15 (https://www.careevaluations.org/wp-content/uploads/Rapport-final-PLA-version-Franc%CC%A7aise-1.pdf) ; G. S. Friðriksdóttir, *Soldiering as an obstacle to manhood ?masculinities and ex-combatants in Burundi*. Critical Military Studies (2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. I. Eliott, C. Kivlahan and Y. Rahhal, *Bridging the gap between the reality of male sexual violence and access to justice and accountability*, Journal of International Criminal Justice 18 (2020), p.490. ; A. Kapur and K. Muddell, (2016) ; UNHCR, *Travailler avec des hommes et les garçons survivants de violence sexuelle et sexiste dans les situations de déplacement forcé*, (2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. KI-005. A. Kapur and K. Muddell, (2016), p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. This tendency is a worldwide phenomenon that is not specific to Burundi. In 2002, 3 % of non-governmental organizations working on rape and other forms of political sexual violence in conflict situations also referred to sexual violence against men in their programs or narratives. A. Kapur and K. Muddell, (2016), p. 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. CI-121, CI-139, CI-142, CI-144. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. See: Amnesty International, *Burundi : briefing to the committee against torture*, 30 September 2006, index no.:AFR16/016/2006 (https://www.amnesty.org/fr/documents/AFR16/016/2006/fr/) and more recently: Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights on the situation of human rights in Burundi, 17 June 2016, A/HRC/32/30. A report by FIDH and Ligue Iteka, *Burundi : une répression aux dynamiques génocidaires*, November 2016, however, adopts a more gender neutral approach and analyses the modus operandi of sexual violence targeting women and that which targets men in the chapter devoted to sexual and gender-based violence (https://oenz.de/sites/default/files/fidh\_fr.pdf). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights, *General Comment No. 4 on the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights: The Right to Redress for Victims of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Punishment or Treatment (Article 5)* (2017), para. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. S. Sivakumaran, *Sexual violence against men in armed conflict*, The European Journal of International Law, (2007) vol. 18 n. 2, p. 260. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. CI-047, MI-046. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. CI-047, KI-005, MI-046, MI-070, TI-028, TI-031, TI-080, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. CI-100, CI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. DI-087, MI-044, QI-062, TI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. CI-101, DI-115, MI-082. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. CI-100, DI-087, DI-115, JI-160, JI-168, KI-004, KI-005, KI-070, MI-044, QI-062. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. CI-047, CI-101, QI-227, TI-028, TI-031, TI-080, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. CI-139. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. KI-005, KI-070, TI-028, TI-031. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. CI-047, CI-100, KI-005, TI-047, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. CI-101, JI-121, KI-004, MI-044, MI-046, MI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. JI-073, MI-044, MI-070, TI-028, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. JI-125, KI-018, TI-031. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. CI-088, CI-101, DI-087, DI-115, JI-122, JI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. JI-121. Women have generally been more targeted for this reason. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. KI-005, MI-044. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. JI-121, MI-044, TI-028. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. CI-144, KI-070, QI-062, TI-031. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. CI-139, CI-144. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. CI-139, JI-073, JI-121, MI-044, TI-031, TI-196. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. JI-073. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. CI-139, CI-144. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. CI-047, JI-073, TI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. JI-073. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. CI-047, DI-115, JI-073, JI-125, KI-004, MI-082, QI-062, TI-031. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. CI-100, CI-121, CI-139, CI-142. Also see: A/HRC/33/37, *Report of the United Nations’ Independent Inquiry on Burundi* *(EINUB),* (2016), para. 53-54. Reports by human rights organisations also mention the use of this type of practice, in particular those cited above by FIDH and Ligue Iteka, see supra note. https://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2016/07/07/burundi-des-agents-du-service-national-de-renseignement-ont-torture-des-opposants. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. CI-139, JI-125, TI-031. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. CI-139. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. JI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. JI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. QI-227, TI-047, TI-066, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. JI-121. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. JI-125, MI-046, TI-080. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. CI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. MI-044. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. JI-125, KI-004, QI-037. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. CI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. KI-018. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. JI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. CI-122, TI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. CI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. R. Charli Carpenter, *Recognizing gender-based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations*, in Security Dialogue, vol. 37, no. 1 (2006), p. 95-96; S. Sivakumaran (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 263-264. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. CI-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. CI-096. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. CI-101, KI-004. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. KI-004. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. CI-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. KI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Nudity here is understood as the nudity of a person’s genitals or that of their sexualized body parts (breasts, buttocks). CI-047, CI-101, CI-122, CI-139, DI-087, JI-073, JI-121, JI-122, JI-125, KI-018, MI-044, MI-082, TI-028. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. CI-139, JI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. JI-121, KI-070. See also : S. Sivakumaran (2007), *op.cit*., p. 266. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. TI-028. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. JI-121. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. MI-082, JI-121, JI 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. MI-082. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. CI-101, MI-046, JI-121, TI-066. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. JI-121, JI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. JI-121.  [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. MI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. CI-070, CI-094, CI-096, CI-139, CI-144, KI-005, MI-030,TI-196. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. CI-096, CI-144, MI-030. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. CI-094, CI-139, MI-030, TI-196. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. CI-070, CI-096, CI-139, CI-144, MI-030, TI-196. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. CI-098, CI-135, CI-140. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. CI-135. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. CI-100, CI-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. JI-168, TI-310. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. CI-100, TI-310. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. CI-101, JI-168. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. CI-121, MI-082, QI-037, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. CI-047, DI-115, JI-073, JI-121, JI-125, KI-004, KI-018, QI-178, TI-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. DI-115, JI-125, KI-004, KI-005, KI-018, TI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. KI-004. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. MI-046, QI-227. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. CI-119, KI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. KI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. CI-101, CI-117, JI-121, JI-122, JI-125, TI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. CI-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. CI-047, CI-101, CI-119, KI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. CI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. CI-100, CI-101, CI-119, KI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. CI-101. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. CI-119, KI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. CI-070. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. CI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. On the importance of family in the Burundian society and the gender roles associated to it, also see para. 342-371 (women’s political participation). [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Care Burundi, *Norms and practices impeding gender equality in Burundian society* (2017), p. 5 (http://careevaluations.org/wp-content/uploads/Norms-and-practices-impeding-Gender-Equality-in-Burundi.pdf). [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. MI-047. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. JI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. CI-100, CI-101, CI-122. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)