Ingunn Bjørkhaug and Morten Bøås

Men, women, and gender-based violence in North Kivu, DRC

Fafo

Ingunn Bjørkhaug and Morten Bøås

Men, women, and gender-based violence in North Kivu, DRC

Fafo-report 2014:39

© Fafo 2014
ISBN 978-82-324-0143-7 (paper edition)
ISBN 978-82-324-0144-4 (web edition)
ISSN 0801-6143

Cover photo: Morten Bøås
Cover design: Svein Inge Bjørkhaug and Fafo Information office
Printed in Norway by: Allkopi AS

Contents

Foreword 4
Abstract 5
Introduction 7
The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo 9
The Fatherhood Programme 12
Methodology 13
Manhood and masculinity 14
Men and masculinity in the eastern Congo 16
Men's lives in the eastern Congo 17
Family relations 24
Attitudes and perceptions about women 28
The study of sexual violence: methodological challenges 30
Conclusion 32
References 33

Tables and Figures

Table 1: Percent of respondents having been a victim, perpetrator or witness of violence 15
Table 2: Place of interview by number and percent of respondents 17
Table 3: Highest level of completed education, in percent 18
Table 4: Respondents' main source of income, in percent 19
Table 5: Marital status of participants in the fatherhood program, by number and percent 24
Table 6: Children under 18 years of age living with father and mother, in percent 25
Table 7: Children under 18 years of age living with father by child living with mother, in percent 26
Table 8: Opinions regarding the most important role for the father, in percent ... 26

Figure 1: Percent of the population reporting sexual violence 7
Figure 2: Percent of population impacted by conflict in seven countries 8
Figure 3: Fear and prevalence of sexual violence the previous year, in seven countries, in percent 11
Figure 4: Assets in the household, in percent 21
Figure 5: Men's perceptions of acceptable activities for the woman, in percent . 28

Foreword

The fieldwork on which this report is based was carried out over a period of three years. The first fieldwork was conducted in November 2011, followed by two additional visits to the field in 2012 and 2013. The research we conducted was based on a combination of survey work, focus groups and individual ethnographic in-depth interviews. The research was a collaborative effort between researchers from Fafo and NUPI, and staff from JOIN Good Forces (JOIN) and Hope in Action (HiA). The main objective of this report is to contribute to a knowledge base that promote a more nuanced and holistic approach to policy and policy making within this field.

The authors would like to thank the staff of JOIN and HiA for all their input and assistance during this project. We have had a constructive and fruitful dialogue with JOIN throughout the process, and we would like to thank Oddvar Espegren, Tore Gullaksen and Marit Toppe Berg for their commitment to the project. We would like to thank the HiA staff and in particular Banyene Bulhere, Anthony M.M. Bandibanga and Jackson Kambere, and all the people who accepted to participate in the interviews and focus group discussions and shared their knowledge, experience and insight with us in North Kivu. We would also like to thank the facilitators at the Fatherhood Program for their indispensable contribution to the fieldwork.

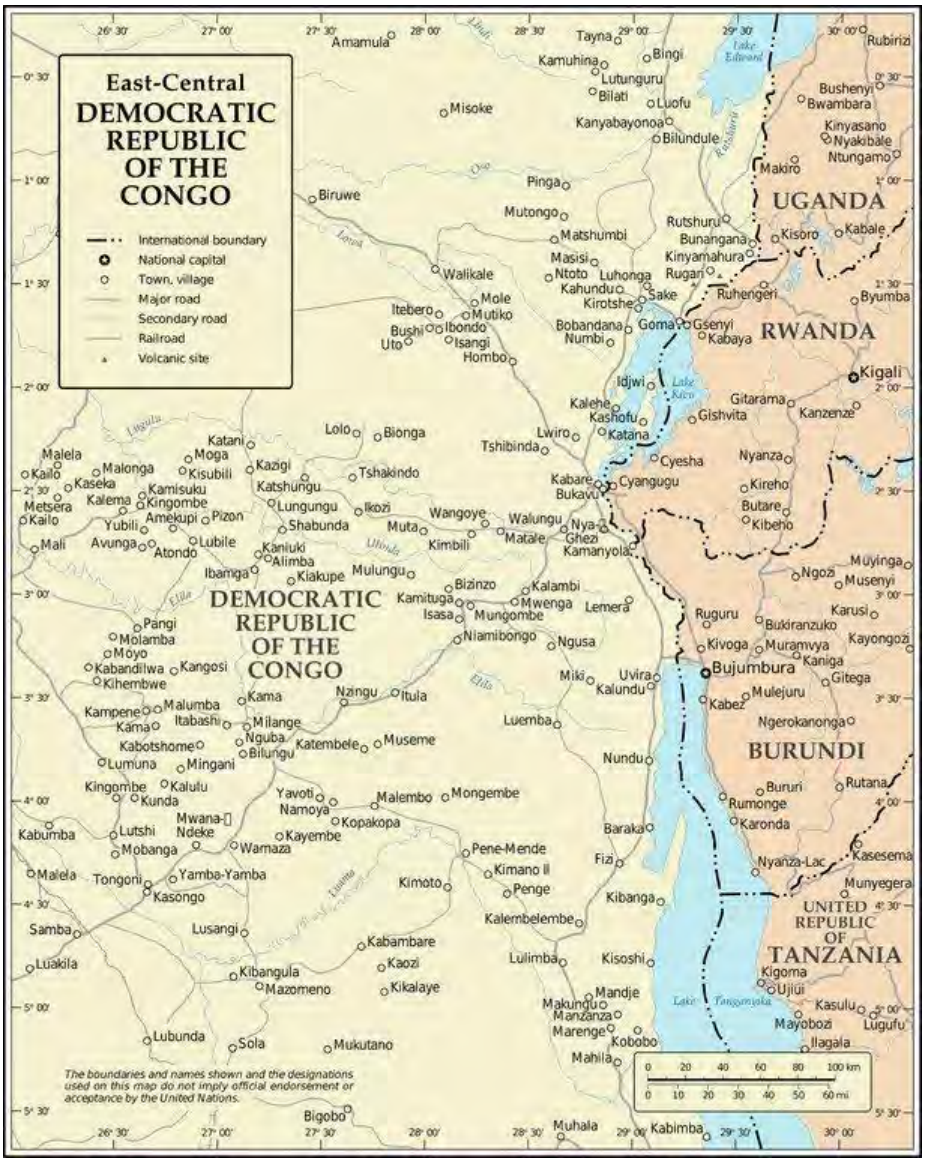
We are grateful to Norad's Civil Society Department for financial support, without which the research that this report is based on would not have been possible.

Finally, we would like to stress that the responsibility for the content, analysis and arguments of this report rests with the authors.

Oslo, June 2014
Ingunn Bjørkhaug (Fafo) and Morten Bøås (NUPI)

Abstract

The research on which this report is based was a collaborative project between researchers and practitioners on the ground in North Kivu with the aim of increasing the knowledge base concerning sexual violence. In the eastern Congo, a number of interventions have been implemented to assist victims of sexual violence, but much less work has been done to prevent sexual violence from happening in the first place. This report therefore seeks to increase our knowledge of possible preventive strategies. In particular, it turns the attention to the issue of men and existing definitions and practices of masculinity and gender in the eastern Congo, arguing that sexual violence is not an isolated conflict phenomenon, but must be understood within the larger sociocultural context to which offenders and victims belong.

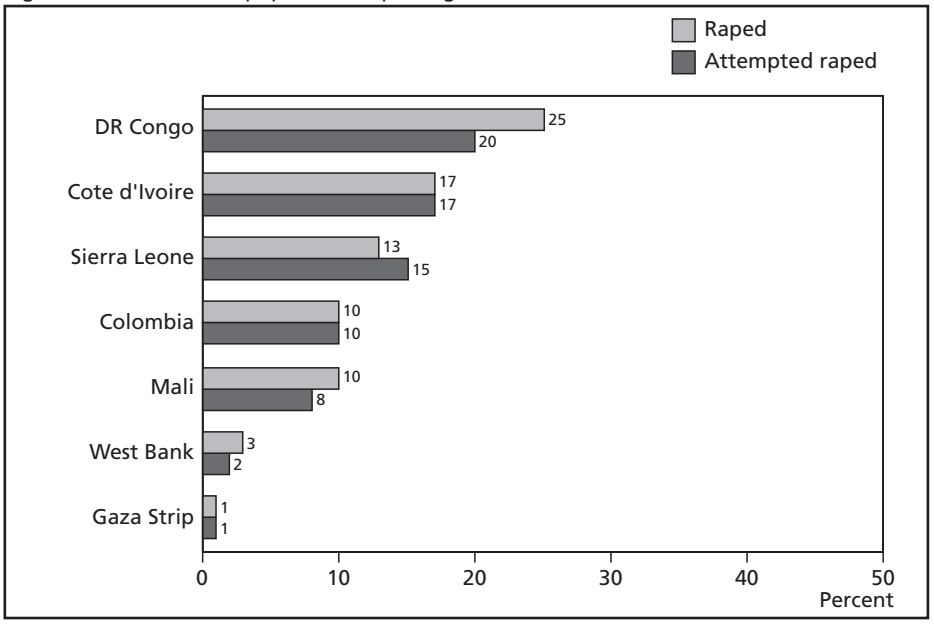


Map No. 4061 United Nations. Department of Public Information (1998)

Introduction

Sexual and gender-based violence is not only an issue for women; it is also an issue of utmost concern for men, as it is intrinsic to and affects entire households and society at large. Furthermore, although it is much less spoken of, men can be victims as well as perpetrators of sexual violence. When it comes to the eastern Congo, while we stress that not all men there are rapists or sexual offenders, the level of sexual violence is alarmingly high even when compared to other conflicts in the region. As Figure 1 shows, the rate of sexual violence in the Congo exceeds other violent African conflicts as those in Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Mali, and dwarfs the reported prevalence in Gaza and the West Bank (Bøås, Bjørkhaug, Hatløy and Tiltnes 2011).

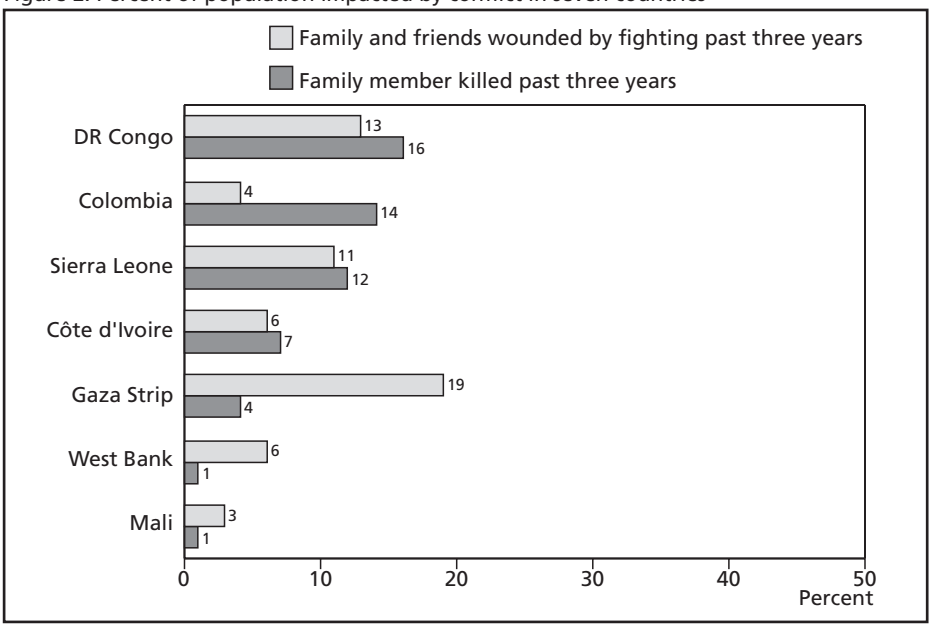
Figure 1: Percent of the population reporting sexual violence



The majority of men in the DRC do not commit sexual violence or other forms of gender-based violence. However, while most people in the DRC have been affected by the conflict in some way (as shown in Figure 2), gender approaches to the conflict in the eastern Congo have predominantly focused on women.

In our view, the focus solely on women is unfortunate, as the value of a gender approach is that it refers to practices and perceptions of both the masculine and feminine, and thereby the roles of men and women in relation to each other.

Figure 2: Percent of population impacted by conflict in seven countries



Recommendations to include men in a gender approach to conflict and conflict-related sexual violence have increased during the last decade (see for example Smiths and Cruz 2011), but many organisations have yet to actually do this. The majority of work on sexual violence still only focuses on women and women's rights. Numerous reports by Amnesty International, MSF, UN agencies and others have documented the high level of sexual violence committed against women and girls in the DRC (see for example Amnesty International 2010, Human Rights Watch 2008, Wakabi 2008). When the policy discourses emphasise the situation of 'women and girls', the role of men is often overlooked, thus perpetuating gender stereotypes of vulnerability and marginalisation. Hence, this report shares much of the same concern as Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern (2013): 'Simply put, our fear is that the dominant framework for understanding and addressing wartime rape has become so seemingly coherent, universalising and established that seeing, hearing and thinking otherwise about wartime rape and its subjects (e.g. perpetrators, victims) is difficult'. The main objective of this report is therefore to contribute to an empirical knowledge base that can facilitate a new and more holistic discourse—as well as an approach—for policy and policy-making. However, in itself, this project can be but a small contribution to this aim; if we are to achieve a more nuanced understanding of the causes of gender-based violence in the eastern Congo, a larger and more comprehensive research programme is needed. We will return to some of the practical and methodological challenges for this type of research towards the end of the report.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is one of the deadliest since the Second World War,[1] and the consequences for the civilian population have been devastating. The site of the most persistent fighting has been in the Kivus (North and South Kivu) in the eastern part of the DRC (Bøås 2008, 2015). Even the establishment of the world's largest peacekeeping force, the United Nations Organisation Stabilising Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), has not been able to stop the conflict.[2] As recently as late autumn 2012, the rebel group M23 controlled Goma, the provincial capital of North Kivu, for 11 days. The question of why a mission of 20,000 peacekeepers at an annual cost of one billion US dollars could not prevent the rebel advance is not easy to answer, though some reasons can be seen for this. The most important of these is that the conflict, and particularly the one that still continues in North Kivu, is an immensely complicated, multi-layered struggle, involving many actors with different interests (see Prunier 2009).

Despite the complex realities on the ground, the crisis in the eastern Congo is still commonly described as a 'resource war' that simply involves the pillage and plunder of natural commodities (see Braeckman 2003). However, this only constitutes a small fragment of the conflict. As already indicated, this conflict and the borderland in which it takes place is deeply entrenched in history. Here, as elsewhere in Africa, the past and the present are bound together in complex ways. Contrary to the widespread view, the conflict is by and large an agrarian war; its root causes cannot be separated from the complex web of uncertainties concerning citizenship and land rights that directly affect peoples' livelihoods in a borderland that has been inhabited for centuries (Bøås 2008). This is fuelled and further complicated by the extraction of valuable minerals that are abundant in this part of the Congo.

[1] The International Rescue Committee (IRC) has estimated a total of 5.4 million excess deaths between August 1998 and April 2007. An estimated 2.1 million of these deaths have occurred since the formal end of the war in 2002, while almost 1.4 million people are internally displaced and 344,000 live as refugees in other African countries (see IRC 2008). It should be noted that these figures are contested (see Lambert and Lohlé-Tart, 2008), and that the majority of the excess deaths in DRC are not a direct consequence of the conflict, but due to secondary and tertiary effects of the war.

[2] The UN mission was established following the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and UN Security Council Resolution 1279 to establish the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). In accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1925 (28 May 2010), MONUC was renamed as MONUSCO to reflect what was thought of as a new phase of stabilisation in the country.

The DRC is a poor country, but it also contains such vast reserves of mineral resources that Belgian colonial scientists described it as a 'geological scandal' (see Dunn 2003). In fact, the DRC seems to have it all: bauxite/aluminium, cadmium, cassiterite, coal, cobalt, copper, coltan, diamonds, natural gas, gold, iron ore, lead, manganese, oil, silver, timber, uranium and zinc. What it has never had is a government interested in building an institutional design to manage this wealth for the benefit of the people (Bøås 2015).

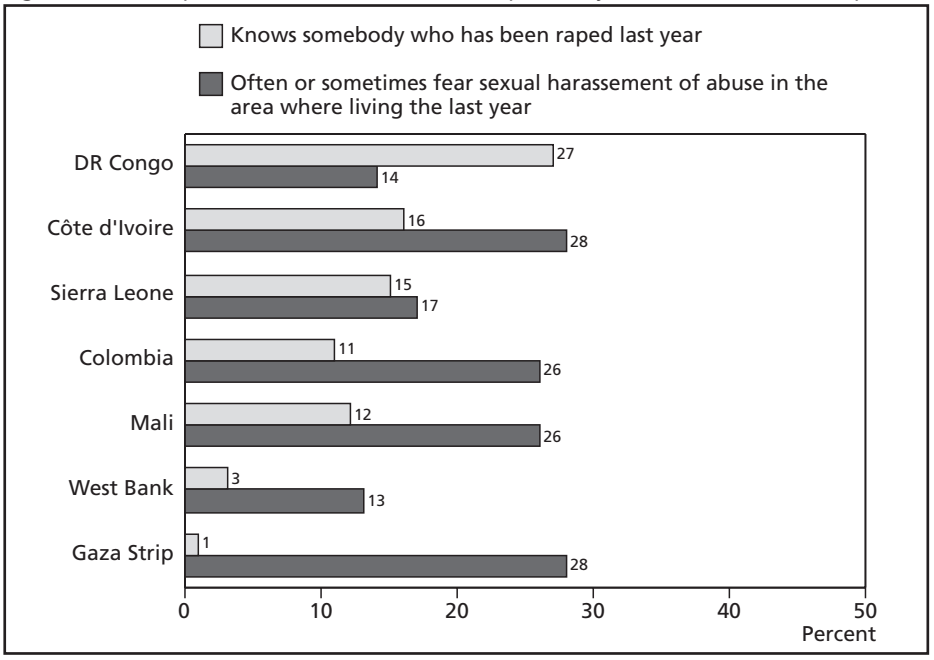
Sexual violence, looting, gender-based violence (including the targeted killing of men and boys) and various forms of torture have seemed to become routine among some of the combatants. The nature of the also makes it difficult to reach any consensus about the number of victims of sexual violence, and consequently, how to access and treat them and develop more effective protection strategies (Baaz and Stern 2009). In the DRC the official response against sexual violence has been the Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in the DRC from 2009. This policy paper was produced by the UN Mission to the Congo (MONUSCO), but endorsed by the DRC government, and aims to curb sexual violence in the DRC. One of the four interrelated components in the strategy (2009:2) concerns the prevention of sexual violence: 'The following objectives were identified as central to addressing sexual violence as part of the broader Protection of Civilians Agenda in the DRC: (1) To prevent and/or mitigate threats and reduce vulnerability and exposure to sexual violence (2) To strengthen the resilience of survivors of sexual violence and (3) To create a protective environment'. Unfortunately, (1) and (3) have received far less attention than (2), meaning that the question of how to design preventive strategies has not received the attention it needs.

Even if many unknowns remain about sexual violence in the eastern Congo (see Bøås, Dalen, Pedersen and Solhjell 2009; Baaz and Stern 2013), some characteristics have been established. Sexual violence often occurs opportunistically, e.g. when women leave the homestead to conduct typical women's work (such as fetching firewood or water), a situation where they tend to be more vulnerable. More predictably, it also occurs when armed forces enter villages to pillage, loot and abduct people (Solhjell 2009a, 2009b), which is consistent with the finding that many are attacked in their own homes (Bartels et al. 2010a, Bartels 2010b). In 2010, an analysis conducted in South Kivu by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and Oxfam showed an increase in the number of rapes committed by civilian men (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative 2010).[3] This is particularly problematic as it may suggest a trend of normalisation of sexual violence among the civilian population, with civilians adopting the behaviour they see among soldiers. This is also one possible reason why, in the DRC, the percentage of those who fear sexual abuse and those who know someone who was raped

[3] This study also showed a steady decrease in the number of sexual assaults reported at Panzi Hospital between 2004 and 2008, but did not attempt to explain this trend.

in the last year largely correspond, to an extent not seen in Mali, Gaza and the West Bank (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Fear and prevalence of sexual violence the previous year, in seven countries, in percent



Sexual violence is therefore not necessarily just a direct consequence of the war; it may also have morphed into a sociocultural phenomenon in the DRC. This makes it all the more important to try to understand how manhood and masculinity are perceived and imagined, and how they correspond to ideas about women and relations between men and women.

The Fatherhood Programme

This research is mainly concerned with the *Fatherhood Programme* that started in October 2010, which grew to include 2132 men over a period of two years. About half of these men are relatively young, from 18 to 35 years old, but all age groups have been represented in the programme. The programme targets ordinary civilian men, seeking to educate and inform them about gender-based violence (GBV), but also aims to raise awareness among members of religious communities, the military and the police.

The overall goal of the Fatherhood Programme is to prevent violence against women and children by teaching men how they can be good role models for their children and about the impact of sexual violence among children, families and women in their community. The four main objectives of the Fatherhood Programme are:

1. To provide education and information to help men understand how their behaviour and violence against women and girls affects their role as fathers and has a negative impact on the lives of the victims, children and society.
2. To enhance knowledge and awareness of GBV among members of the religious community, military and police, so that they can more adequately address the prevention of GBV.
3. To build the capacity of community-based structures and religious groups to take action towards reducing GBV in their communities.
4. To improve interagency information-sharing and coordination.

Methodology

This project has been a collaborative effort between practitioners and researchers. Hope in Action (HiA) is the local implementing partner in Goma and is the organisation responsible for the Fatherhood Programme. HiA is funded by Join Good Forces (JOIN) and NORAD. It was HiA that facilitated access to the informants to this study, who were all participants in the Fatherhood Programme. However, this report is not a collaborative effort in that it reflects the authors' own views, despite HiA's participation in the collection of interviews and data entry.

The researcher's first trip to the field took place in November 2011, and was followed by additional two trips in 2012 and 2013. The study utilised both qualitative and quantitative methods.[4] The survey collected by HiA consists of a small questionnaire concerning basic background information about participants in the Fatherhood Programme (e.g. age, level of education, occupation and family situation) as well as questions about attitudes towards women and sexual violence. These questions were followed up in focus group sessions and individual interviews with participants in the programme, where we spent time discussing and debating the issues and questions in this study. In, addition, interviews were conducted among a wide range of stakeholders in the work against sexual violence (e.g. community activists, NGO workers, church leaders/members, UN personnel).

The subjects discussed in the focus groups and interviews include:

- How do men understand their own role and gender relations within the broader context of war and crisis – how can a man continue to be a 'father' in an almost permanent condition of war and violence?
    - How has the war affected men?
    - How has the war affected women?
    - How has the war affected the relationship between men and women?
- What are the most effective policy responses?

The results we found are interesting, but we should also keep in mind the limitations and restrictions of a study based on interviews with informants who are or have been enrolled in a programme such as the Fatherhood Programme. Having been exposed to the programme, they are prone to adjust their answers according to what they anticipate

[4] The names and certain details from the qualitative interviews presented in this report are changed to protect the identities of the respondents.

we expect to hear. In addition, discussions concerning sexual violence are influenced by the general discussions about the topic within the community, any awareness campaigns informants have been exposed to, as well as by the sensitive nature of the subject. Later in this report, we will further discuss the methodological challenges of doing research on sexual violence in order to offer recommendations for future research and evidence-based policymaking.

From the inception of the Fatherhood Programme, all participants were interviewed with a standard questionnaire regarding their marital status, exposure to violence and a set of questions regarding their family. During the first fieldwork in 2011, we trained the HiA team in a data entry program called the Census and Survey Processing System (CSPro) and followed up this work in the two subsequent fieldwork investigations. This enabled the HiA team to enter, systematise and better monitor the data from questionnaires. In this report, we utilise some of the data to chart some of the characteristics of the programme participants. The initial short questionnaire developed by the Fatherhood Programme was further developed by the authors in collaboration with the programme. This questionnaire was used in 2011 and revised in 2012 based on an assessment of the usefulness of each question. The number of respondents therefore varies in each of the quantitative findings cited in this report. Some tables are based on all questionnaires, whereas others are from the revised questionnaire, and hence have fewer respondents. We do not therefore claim that the sample of men in the eastern Congo is representative. Rather, the aim has been to collect some data about men who live in the eastern Congo in order to begin renewing the discourse on men, masculinity and gender-based violence. The respondents are men who have been selected to participate in the Fatherhood Programme and offer us insight into their lives, livelihoods and attitudes. The quantitative findings are supplemented by qualitative interviews collected in the course of our three fieldwork investigations.

Manhood and masculinity

Gender research over the past two decades has increasingly focused on the social construction of man and woman. Masculinity encompasses a range of possible positions, identities and performances, and can refer to 'a set of attitudes and practices culturally deemed appropriate to men' (Buchbinder cited in Hilgate and Henry 2004:483). It can be a process, that is, an identity that is never fully-formed but constantly being

built in its very performance. However, masculinity cannot be understood in isolation from other factors that shape identity (Hilgate and Henry 2004). In the eastern Congo, any pre-existing inequality in gender relations may have been exacerbated or altered in some way by the conflict. As we will see later in this report, this is the perception of some of the informants. To become what is expected of a man can be difficult, leaving men confused by the expectations of masculine performance and their inability to perform this particular set of masculinities. They want to be the protector and the breadwinner, but in many households the reality is that they are neither. The ability to perform the role of the 'traditional man' is rapidly diminishing, but a new model of 'manhood' has not materialised to fill the gap, leaving many Congolese men frustrated and angry. This anger can—although this is not universally the case—be unleashed against women. The myth of 'the Congolese man' as brutal and violent cannot, in any case, be assumed as a general definition of masculinity in the eastern Congo.

What is certain is that life in the eastern Congo is extremely difficult and many people constantly face despair in their daily lives. Violence is a reality that has left its mark upon men and women alike. Table 1 shows respondents' reporting of how they have been affected by violence. Especially given that some underreporting can be expected with this type of question, the response of 30 percent having been a victim of some type of violence is very high. In a survey conducted for the World Development Report in 2011, the DRC had the highest frequency on every parameter regarding the fear of violence, fear of sexual harassment and abuse, prevalence of sexual violence, fear of political violence and looting and damage to their property (Bøås, Bjørkhaug, Hatløy and Tiltnes 2011). The DRC, and the eastern Congo in particular, is a place of high insecurity and violence that presents numerous challenges and tremendous hardship to the communities. Again, however, we emphasise that nothing in our findings indicates that the overall majority of the men take this out as sexual violence towards women.

Table 1: Percent of respondents having been a victim, perpetrator or witness of violence

	Yes	No	No answer	Total %	Total number
Victim of violence	30	70	-	100	1803
Perpetrator of violence	20	54	24	100	1801
Witness of violence	22	77	1	100	1804

Men and masculinity in the eastern Congo

There is no 'typical' man or perception of masculinity in the eastern Congo. Instead, these perceptions are multifaceted and vary from setting to setting based on a number of factors. As Barker and Ricardo (2005:5) argue, 'versions of manhood in Africa are: (i) socially constructed; (ii) fluid over time and in different settings; and (iii) plural. There is no typical young man in sub-Saharan Africa and no single African version of manhood. There are numerous African masculinities, urban and rural and changing over time; including versions of manhood associated with war, or being warriors and others associated with farming or cattle herding. There are indigenous definitions and versions of manhood, defined by tribal and ethnic group practices, and newer versions of manhood shaped by Islam and Christianity, and by Western influence, including the global media'. However, some common features of masculinity do exist in Africa (as elsewhere), and they revolve around financial independence, employment/income and the ability to start a family (Barker and Ricardo 2005). This, in sum, is what it takes to become an adult citizen of one's respective society, and it is also the case among men in the eastern Congo. Their main understanding of 'manhood' is to be the breadwinner and pay for marriage according to the tradition of dowry, but being this kind of man and husband has become harder and harder in the chaos of almost permanent conflict.

However, the perception of what it means to be a man in the eastern Congo also varies according to a number of factors, including tribal and ethnic group practices concerning the role of a man. This plurality of masculinities must therefore be contextualised and further unpacked and debated, as they are fluid over time and space. In the DRC, gender relationships seem to have been exacerbated by the conflict, but little research is available that can serve as a basis for comparison. However, it is reasonable to assume that 'equality' did not exist in the Western sense between man and woman before the conflict started. Women have traditionally been viewed as subordinate to men, and before the war, Congolese law recognised the man as the head of the household (Human Rights Watch 2002).

The traditional relationship between women and men has been challenged by the lack of stability and increased hardship faced by almost all households. Many men find it almost impossible to uphold their traditional role as the breadwinner and the protector of the family, and women's contributions increasingly involve economic activities outside of the household. The lack of income, along with the insecurity that undermines traditional views about manhood and masculinity and hence the very essence of what it means to be a man, is something that most of our male informants returned to numerous times in conversations and interviews. For many, this was a

source of immense frustration, while on the other hand, some men were clearly better able to adapt and act according to their surroundings than others.

Men's lives in the eastern Congo

The Fatherhood Programme started in Goma, the provincial capital of North Kivu in 2010. After a year it moved out to rural villages. The aim for the program is to reach out to people where they are, and the lack of sensitisation programmes in the villages was one of the motivations for moving the programme outside Goma. In 2012 this became difficult due to increased violent conflict. The Fatherhood Programme therefore targeted men inside camps for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), such as Lac Vert and Mugunga, for a period. The constant movement of people in this region makes it difficult to separate urban settlements from rural areas. This report will therefore not break the findings into urban and rural, but discuss issue of masculinity and manhood in the eastern Congo in general. Table 2 shows the distribution of interviews among the different places in which the Fatherhood Programme has been implemented.

Table 2: Place of interview by number and percent of respondents

	Number	Percentage
Goma	321	15.1
Masisi Centre	549	25.8
Masisi Lusheber	48	2.3
Mweso	75	3.5
Kalembe	86	4.0
Kashebere	40	1.9
Kitchanga	199	9.3
Kashuga	64	3.0
Sake	150	7.0
Bweremana	225	10.6
Kirotshe	75	3.5
Lac Vert	75	3.5
Mugunga	225	10.6
Total	2132	100.0

The sample has a relatively high level of education, which is likely due to the fact that the programme targets community religious leaders, along with military and police representatives. The rationale of training people in leading positions is that they can then help train other men in the community with respect to gender-based violence. Table 3 shows the highest level of education the participants have completed. Very few respondents had no schooling at all; 31 per cent had completed high school, and some higher education was completed by only ten per cent of the respondents. This is a relatively educated group in the context of the eastern Congo.[5] The qualitative interviews and focus groups confirmed that many participants were teachers, community leaders or religious leaders. The majority of the respondents could read and write well; only ten per cent could only do so with difficulty and three per cent were illiterate. Though the ability to read and write was to some extent necessary in order to participate in the Fatherhood Programme, the facilitators adapted the training for those who were unable to hand in assignments in a written form.

Table 3: Highest level of completed education, in percent

Age	18-35	36-50	50-65	66-80	All	n
No School	1	1	3	14	14	17
8th grade or less	16	22	37	57	57	209
Some high school	34	39	45	29	29	363
High school graduate	38	29	12	-	31	304
Some college or training	12	8	3	-	10	94
Total	100	100	100	100	100	987

Finding a job in the war-afflicted areas of the eastern DRC is not an easy task. Men describe an everyday life of want, of empty pockets and few resources to bring home to their family. There is little income-generating work available to them, and it is to a certain degree the women who have taken over as the main providers for the families. This is quite similar to the situation in many African conflicts (see Bøås and Hatløy 2005). The men we interviewed express serious frustration at not being the main provider for their family, and that it is a challenge for them to see women go out and do 'what a man is supposed to do'.

From such statements, it is clear they feel disempowered as men; not only are they failing in their expected roles as the head of the household, but the women are taking over some the traditional responsibilities of men. One of the respondents said that 'the root problem in the Congo is that men do not have work and that if they had been

[5] Although we cannot compare these figures to statistics of education in the eastern Congo, we refer to studies that discuss how conflict-affected areas tend to be challenged in the area of education (UNESCO 2010).

able to provide for their families, they could continue to fulfil their responsibility'. Economic conditions in the eastern Congo make it challenging to even start a family, as the dowry represents a constraint in itself. The price of a dowry has increased the last years as well, although it is hard to establish an average price, as it is usually open for discussion between the partners. As an example of the increased prices, one of our informants was expected to pay a dowry equivalent of USD 900 four years ago, but currently the price he would have to pay for his wife would be equivalent to USD 2000. This is of course an enormous amount of money for a young man to raise. However, for the family of the bride, the dowry is often an important source of income as well.

Table 4: Respondents' main source of income, in percent

Farming/Agriculture	37
Cattle/Livestock	5
Wage employment	30
Petty trading	8
Contract work	3
Mining	4
Support from kinship network	13
Total	937

An important aspect of everyday life is fellowship with other men, which respondents describe as a 'fellowship of sharing'. Not only do they share small goods among themselves when the opportunity arises, but they also pass the time together, sharing a drink, talking about the challenges of everyday life and discussing everything from family matters to political issues.

Mostly, however, respondents describe their days as a search to find something that they can bring home to their families, a situation characterised by a high degree of uncertainty for the average Congolese man. This is an insecurity of many layers, with many new situations men have to adapt to. One of the informants shared his story of how he attempted to move to Goma to set up a new life for his family, a challenging task in which success is elusive and the future insecure:

> After the death of my mother, my father remarried and this made life difficult. The new wife [of the father] did not want me to live with them, so I went to live with my uncle. Here I worked on the palm fields in order to support myself. I lived there till I finished fifth grade in secondary school. During the last year of secondary school my uncle from Bukavu sent me money to finish up school. After this I became a primary school teacher for the next three years. However, this was not paid enough to make a sustainable life. The students mainly paid their school fees in substances, such as chicken and other field items. I decided to quit the job and

> asked a friend to help me with money so I could move to Goma; I expected life to improve positively there and this should enable me to support my wife and child. My wife still lives with my father's family, but I would not want to return back to my hometown. Life is hard there and I do not see any future if I return back. There is an increased insecurity situation, scarce access to food and lack of infrastructure, which makes access to medical care and food difficult. In Goma I try to set up a life that can bring my wife and child to the city so that we can all live together. I do not have a home in Goma; I spend the nights in the mosque. It is a life in humiliation. I became a Muslim after I came here because the fellowship there could help me. The mosque gives me some to survive, but I mainly consider myself to be a beggar. I do not find it easy to make friends, but I have some fellowship with the other Muslims. The goal is to find a job, to provide for my family.

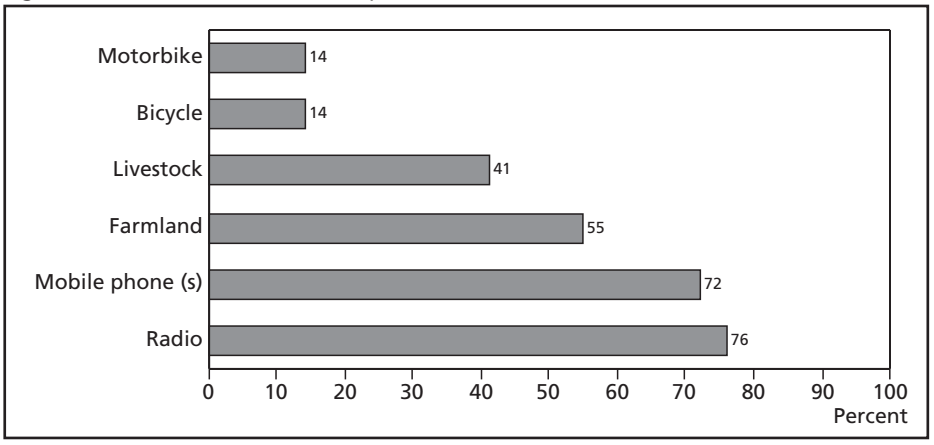
This man left the uncertainty and insecurity of his own village in search for improved opportunities in Goma, but instead he found himself facing fresh insecurities in the new town. He is unsure when he can support his wife and his children again. Although well-educated, he finds himself a beggar, not sure what tomorrow will bring.

Those few with sufficient skills (such as language skills) may reasonably hope to get a job with a national/international NGO, but for the vast majority, a steady job with regular income is almost impossible to find. Sometimes the men we interviewed managed to find some *ad hoc* income-generating work, but a permanent position that could enable them a steady income was almost an unachievable dream. A telling anecdote comes from the run-up to the 2011 election, when President Joseph Kabila was campaigning for re-election in Goma. At an election rally, he made a number of promises, like providing new roads, better education and a new football stadium. To this, however, the crowd in front of him shouted back that all they wanted was a job. Kabila's response was that they needed to ensure peace in the region before employment could be ensured. Long after the election, the question of when this will happen remains unanswered.

A general pessimism pervades people's view of the future in the eastern Congo. Many cling to a nostalgic, almost melancholic vision of a past in which life was good (see also Bøås and Dunn 2013), but the present and the future seem hopeless: 'Before the war, life was good. However, now there is not much hope for this country', in the words of one respondent. Some people place hope in religion, others in political change, but most of the current frustrations expressed by the men in the survey seem to have no definite outlet, instead ending in bitterness and a feeling of deprivation and alienation. Naturally, most respondents recognise peace in North and South Kivu as absolutely necessary for a better future, but how to achieve this is not something easily imagined.

Despite an ever-present despair, lives go on and people continue to try to make the best of the opportunities available and the small income they can find. However, their lives are in constant state of flux, with new conflicts and economic constraints always forcing them to adapt. Table 4 above shows the main sources of income among the respondents. 37 per cent rely mainly on agricultural activities and 30 per cent live on wage employment, although both are insecure sources of income. Agriculture is often compromised by armed conflict (see Bøås 2015) and wage employment is almost always *ad hoc*, short-term informal work. However, people in the eastern Congo somehow manage in seeking the resources and opportunities available. Many also receive support from their kinship networks, a coping strategy that is not unusual in a conflict zone. Figure 4 below shows the assets available in the households of some of the respondents. Almost 80 per cent have a radio; more than 70 per cent have a mobile phone in their households. Farmland and some types of livestock are also often available. However, a survey reported that nearly 40 per cent of women and men in the eastern DRC are out of work or have never had any income-generating activities at all (Slegh et al. 2012). Without question, life here is difficult.

Figure 4: Assets in the household, in percent



The war affects everybody in the eastern Congo, but the international attention on sexual violence has made the plight of women the visible 'face' of the conflict. Women and children are clearly vulnerable in this kind of environment, and this is also the reason why they have been at the centre of humanitarian interventions. The fact that women are vulnerable and have suffered deeply due to sexual violence cannot be contested. Not only do they bear the physical and psychological wounds of war, they are also at risk of social condemnation, of becoming outcasts from their family and being abandoned by their husbands. However, the 'gender-sensitive' approach has become more of a focus on women than a holistic approach that includes men as well.

The fact is that men have been moulded by the conflict as well, and their image of what it is to be a man has been challenged. As one of the informants spoke of the current challenges in the eastern DRC:

> One of the root problems in Congo is that the men do not have work. If they had been able to provide for their families, they could continue to support for their family and fulfil their responsibilities. Before the war, DRC was a disciplined and respectful domain to be in. After the war, everyone is poor. It is a situation of no hope. It is the monument of turbulence.

Many of the informants remember the days of the Mobutu regime, before Laurent Kabila came to power in 1997, describing it as a better time with more hope. Though it is not our task to trace perceptions of life before and since 1997, the sense of nostalgia among the people reflects the way they feel at present, living in what they experience as a chaotic and restless life, filled with poverty. For men, the very ability to become who you aspire to become as a man is challenged, with a fundamental clash between perceived and expected ideals of masculinity and the lived reality. The ensuing uncertainty and confusion can easily spill over into violence, including gender-based violence. One of the informants had entered the refugee camp in Lac Verde 14 days before we met him. At the time of the interview, he had yet to receive any news concerning the whereabouts of his three oldest children, having lost contact with them when the family fled. He describes his life back home in the village as good, despite its challenges: 'One of the challenges of being a man is how the man has to carry all the responsibility for the households; we carry the burden for our family. We have to provide and sometimes this is difficult'.

This nostalgia is also present among many soldiers. The story of 'Michael' describes his perception of the time he served in the army.[6] Michael was born in 1967. He is the third of 11 siblings. However, his two elder brothers died in 1977 and 1980 of illness, five of the others died as infants and yet three more during the war. He is from a military family, and his family frequently moved from province to province. They

[6] All names are changed in this report.

were raised in a military spirit, with misbehaviour being punished, but he also had a good relationship to his father. In 1972 his father was sent to live in Minova, and that is where he started primary school. Life was good, he recalls, and in 1981 he completed secondary school. However, in 1982 his father died unexpectedly. He just woke up one morning feeling sick and died the same day. The death of his father changed his live and it became more difficult. He could not continue his education and got a job at a coffee farm that was owned by some white men. He was well paid and after two years he became the assistant of the driver. In 1986 he left for Kisangani and was enrolled in the Forces Armées Zaïroises (FAZ), Mobutu's national army. He was regularly paid and after 36 months his service in Kisangani was finished and he was transferred to Kinshasa.

This is how he chooses to remember the organisational culture in the FAZ:

- Respect for the population
- Men did consider women as an object, but an object to be respected so sexual violence was simply not an issue

In Kinshasa he got married and worked as an officer in the academy. Later he became a lieutenant and an officer. In 1991 he was transferred to Bunia, Ituru, before he was transferred to Mahagi, on the border between Sudan and DRC. The time in Bunia he describes as peaceful. There was only one army, no interference and no ethnic conflict. He was happy with Mobutu and enjoyed his leadership. He says the country has experienced more suffering during the time with democracy. To him, Mobutu was a good leader. In 1995/96 he was transferred to Bukavu. However, then Kabila came and FAZ did not exist after 19th of October 1996. After 45 days of instructions he changed into a new uniform.

According to Michael, there was a change in moral attitudes and behaviour among the soldiers when Zaire was renamed the DRC. Under Kabila, the soldiers were no longer paid regularly and needed to find other sources of income. At this point, according to Michael, the soldiers were no longer as disciplined, started looting and took advantage of women. Thus, Michael's testimony gives weight to the suggestion that old standards of behaviour changed as the army increasingly had to prey on the population to make a living, and they started to take not only food items, but also women for sex.

The feeling of nostalgia was also described by a female respondent: 'Life was better before the wars started. Life was much better when Motubu was the President. I lived in harmony with my husband. We were happily married and our life condition was good. After Mobuto fell, life changed. It worsened. We started living with gun shots and unrest'. Her husband was killed 11 years ago by armed robbers in Ruchuru, and now children live with relatives. She tried to live in Goma when she first fled from Sake, but

was unable to make a sustainable income in the town. At the time of the interview she was living by herself in an IDP camp in Goma, where she had moved to benefit from the humanitarian aid. She has a tent that she currently resides in, and to supplement the aid she receives, she works in the market in Goma to earn some small extra income.

Family relations

One of the conclusions from a focus group was that masculinity is not necessarily about what a man is, but rather what he should be able to do. To have a wife and children and be their provider and protector constitutes social obligations that a man feels he needs to fulfil in order to become an adult and a real citizen. The conflict has challenged the ability of a man to fulfil his duties as the head of the household and to live up to the ideal of the man as breadwinner and protector, as one of our informants explained: 'Masculinity is not about money, but it is always perceived as if you are an incapable man if the woman is the boss in the house'. In the conflict, given that the challenge of supporting your close family is difficult in itself, the man as the patriarchal provider is challenged and seems to lose power within the household. This sense is heightened by the fact that not only does he have the responsibility of his close family, but he has expectations to provide for the extended family as well; the ideal of a good man is that he should be able to provide for more than just his close family.

Table 5: Marital status of participants in the fatherhood program, by number and percent

	Frequency	Percentage
Single, not married	193	20
Married	752	76
Engaged	5	1
Cohabitant	28	3
Widowed	3	-
Divorced	2	-
Separated	4	-
Total	987	100

Interestingly, however, the family as an institution very much remains the cornerstone of society in the DRC. Table 5 above gives the marital status of the participants, showing that most of them are married and very few divorced, but a number of them live together without being married, most likely due to the high dowry. As mentioned, the dowry is the main challenge for a young man looking to properly marry. Some of the sentiments reflected in the focus groups concerned how the wife makes herself worthy of the investment of a dowry. This investment, together with the expected duties of a woman, influences the balance between men and women. The idea of love between man and women as the main impetus to marry is still not common, although it is slowly becoming more normal among the younger generations. Despite some changes, the family remains an important social institution in these communities. As Table 6 and Table 7 show, the majority of children grow up living with their father and mother, with 91 per cent of fathers living with the mother of their children. The aspirations the men have for their children are illustrated in Table 8, of which the most common sentiments are to raise their children to become good citizens and to provide their necessities.

As we will see from the story of 'Jason' below, the ability to provide for the family is one of the main concerns among the younger generation. They live in a reality shaped by conflict, fleeing from place to place with few economic opportunities that enable them to plan for the long term. This may change the family structure in the DRC and hence the perceived roles of masculinity and gender structures. However, changes in a society take time and do not elapse over a short timeframe. The eastern DRC needs stability in order to define new roles of masculinity. However, in this process it is necessary to consider gender though the lens of both women and men; sensitisation campaigns targeting women and women's rights need to involve men as well. A holistic approach embedded in existing cultural norms can then be an important preventive element in the fight against sexual violence.

Table 6: Children under 18 years of age living with father and mother, in percent

	Child living with father	Child living with mother
Always/most	91.7	95
Some	7.9	4
Never	.5	1
Total	2315	2301

Table 7: Children under 18 years of age living with father by child living with mother, in percent

		Mother living with the child		
		Always/most	Some	Never
Father living with child	Always/most	91	1	-
	Some	4	4	-
	Never	-	-	-

Table 8: Opinions regarding the most important role for the father, in percent

To be a role model to my children	9
To punish my children	5
To raise my children to become good citizens	48
To love my children	10
To provide necessities	28
Total	931

The following tells the story of 'Jason', one of the young Congolese men who have been exposed to violence in different forms, and whose lives have been altered by the conflict, fear and displacement.

Jason was born in the eighties in Masisi Hospital and he was the first son among eight siblings. His father is a teacher whereas his mother does not have any education. She has always been a housewife. He experienced much love and cohesion between his parents and he grew up in a respectful environment. His father taught the children to respect one another and to prepare for their future. Before the war, in 1993, they had a farm with cows where they manage to provide for themselves. It was a generous community and he remembers it as peaceful. Each one looked upon the neighbour as a friend, and he was proud of his father who was a generous and sharing person.

Jason was able to finish first grade before the war started. However, the situation in Masisi worsened when ethnic conflict broke out between the Hunde and the Tutsis. He experienced that it was mainly a conflict regarding land and territories; all the livestock disappeared from the farm and there were threats to kill his father. That night the family fled from the Masisi. They moved on foot, 70 km, with some few clothes and documents. He felt great sadness to leave the house. The following year they moved to Goma. This was during the time of the genocide in Rwanda, but Goma was considered a safe place without guns and ongoing war. His family lived in a one bedroom house and the conditions were much worse than they were used to, but they felt safe. Jason was able to continue his education when a priest took care of the school fees for his brother and himself the next two years. His father eventually got a job as a private tutor for white children. This was in 1995/96 and life eventually started to become normal for the family. They moved to a house they rented. But peace did not

last for long and in 1996, when Laurent Kabila entered Goma, the family once again felt insecure. They experienced being threatened and were robbed, and they did not see any other solution than to move again. Once again they left in the middle of the night and went to stay in Sake, Masisi. This was a difficult journey. The father got ill and they had to hide in the bushes to avoid attacks. The family stayed in Sake for one year, surviving on hand-outs from friends. A year later they were able to return back to Goma. In 1998 Kabila became the president, and peace was declared. Life returned back to normal again for the family and Jason was eventually able to complete secondary school. After 1998 the family felt more or less secure in Goma. To some extent they had become accustomed to the threats of unrest, and the conflict had become more a normal situation than the exception. The family had decided to not move again, and prepared themselves for potential hardship by stocking up food in the house. They had learned how to be prepared for changes.

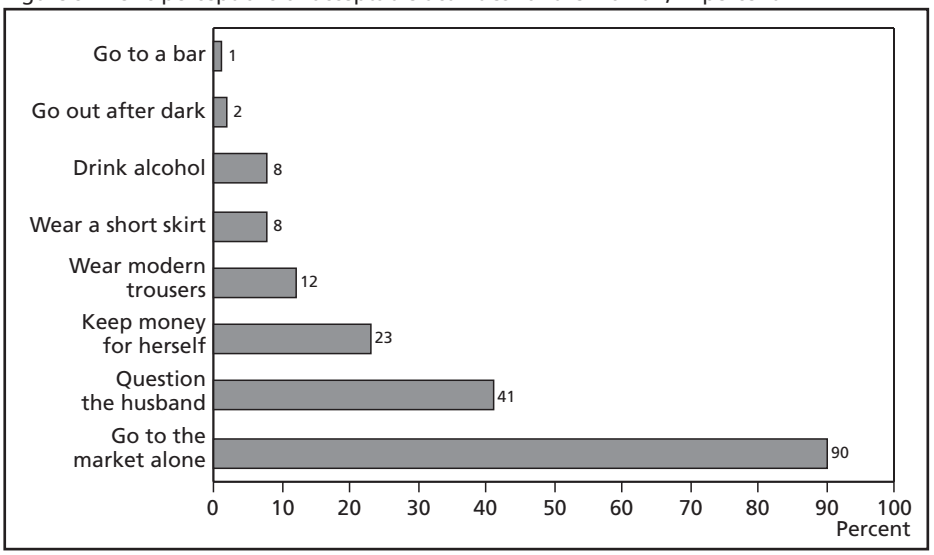
At the time of the interview, Jason had taken a year off after graduating from secondary school. He already speaks English well, and is eager to increase his fluency in the language. His dream is to study at the university. He does some voluntary work for NGOs while living with his family. In the future he wants to settle down with a wife, and he feels that the Fatherhood Programme has prepared him for marriage. However, he experiences little pressure to get married for now; the dictates of urban culture do not pressure young men to get married as much as in rural areas. Jason has decided to wait until he can provide for his family before he gets married.

His language skills can be an advantage as he seeks jobs in the future, but as a young man in Goma today, he faces a number of challenges. Finding steady employment is difficult, and in order to marry a girl, he needs to save money. The dowry is part of the culture and is challenging for young men who seek to marry. In addition to money for the dowry, he wants to be able to support himself and his future family. Many young men postpone their marriage when they lack employment that would enable them to start their lives independent of their families. Jason may represent a new generation that will adopt the 'changing masculinity' in the eastern Congo. They are currently stuck in the limbo between the practices of their parents' generation, societal changes and future expectations. Things may be on the verge of changing, but to become an adult, a full citizen also means to be a formally married and settled man on land that belongs to him. This is not easy to achieve under current conditions, with the consequence that far too many young men end up almost permanently in the liminal position of youth—neither child nor adult, but something unsettled and in-between. This has and will continue to affect stability as well as general levels of violence and unrest (see also Christiansen, Utas and Vigh 2006).

Attitudes and perceptions about women

As Figure 5 shows, the eastern Congo remains a highly traditional society concerning attitudes to women, what a woman can do, and not least, what a women may not do. This does not in itself explain the high level of sexual violence, but there may be a relationship between traditional gender roles and perceptions, the war and its chaos, and the challenges that this poses to traditional views concerning the role of man and manhood.

Figure 5: Men's perceptions of acceptable activities for the woman, in percent



The ideal of the married man is very much an integral part of the identity of manhood among the population of Goma. The longstanding practice of the dowry makes it crucial to have the financial means to start a family, and thus achieve some measure of adulthood and independence. A review of the literature and research suggests that that men's social recognition and sense of manhood suffer when they are out of work (Barker and Ricardo 2005). High unemployment is a challenge for many of the men participating in the Fatherhood Programme, as Jason's narrative illustrates.

Although the participants may learn from and agree with the lessons taught in the Fatherhood Programme, the actual implementation might be challenging in their own families and neighbourhoods. Some of the men do not want to talk to other men about what they have learned because they do not feel comfortable sharing the ideas with other men, unsure that they would be understood. Although they aim to

behave differently in their home, they do not necessarily broadcast this to others, thus making the Fatherhood Programme's objective of producing community role models harder to achieve. One area of conflict between parts of the Fatherhood Programme curriculum and their implementation in a traditional community is that it takes time to change culturally embedded norms, and instead of working against these norms, it is important to work alongside them.

The study of sexual violence: methodological challenges

Sexual violence is a highly sensitive issue; the traumas and stigmas experienced by the victims and their relatives are extreme, sometimes to the extent that it becomes impossible for women to re-join their families or local communities. A frank discussion of sexual violence with informants, including male informants, is therefore challenging, and such research must be conducted on the basis of the 'do no harm' principle. In this project, this was important for the individual participants in the programme, but was also required in order to avoid any tension between ethnic groups, as some are more likely to be seen as perpetrators and some as victims than others. For this reason, the questionnaire did not include questions about ethnicity. We also tested out three different versions of the questionnaire. In the initial questionnaire, although conducted in collaboration with local partners, some of the questions were deemed too sensitive.[7] Based on the experiences of the people conducting the first interviews, it was twice revised in collaboration between the external researchers and the implementing team.

Based on the experiences of doing research on sexual violence in the DRC, this report seeks to reflect on the methodological challenges in this subject. Research on sexual violence is difficult, but that does not mean that research on this topic should be avoided. One of the main limitations on effective action against sexual violence in the DRC is a lack of reliable data concerning its prevalence and other relevant factors, such as the tribal affiliation of the perpetrators, geographical distribution, and what form this violence takes. This is a concern that is well-known by now, but uncertain data continue to be cited and stories of mass rapes form the main storyline of the DRC. Slowly, the knowledge base on sexual violence in the DRC (and the eastern Congo in particular) is coming together, but there is still an over-reliance on anecdotal evidence and/or non-representative data. This means that both aid and policy interventions are being planned and implemented in the absence, in most cases, of a comprehensive understanding of the scope and dimensions of the problem in the affected areas; it also complicates later efforts to assess the success of such interventions, given the absence of baseline data. The UN itself acknowledges the problem caused by the 'disparate reports and accounts' that constitute much of the knowledge base on sexual violence in the DRC, calling for a 'contextual and situation analysis on sexual violence in DRC

[7] The first questionnaire included questions concerning ethnicity and questions related to violence and sexual violence in the family. Although they were standard questions from other similar surveys, the interviewers reported that the respondents did not want to answer some of the questions. Some questions were omitted and others were rewritten and asked more generally rather than personally.

[to] be developed to better inform and develop appropriate and effective prevention and response strategies' (MONUSCO 2009:6). To this might be added the need for critical, constructive evaluations of existing projects, so that national and international actors can better target limited resources towards activities that are shown to have a positive impact on the prevention or punishment of sexual violence, and/ or on the quality of life of survivors.

It takes time to establish the knowledge base needed, and it must be built on a carefully selected mixed-method approach that combines survey instruments with detailed anthropological fieldwork that has a long timeframe. Better surveys can help us achieve more reliable data concerning the number of cases and victims, where and when sexual violence takes place, information about offenders, and information concerning ideas about gender roles (including manhood and masculinity). However, based on our experiences in the eastern Congo and elsewhere, there are also some clear limitations concerning what survey instruments can achieve with regard to this type of inquiry. Qualitative research is also needed, and this research must have a longer timeframe than a handful of interviews and focus groups hastily organised for the benefit of a researcher who is only present in the field for a couple of weeks. Getting reliable information also means establishing a sense of trust between informants and researchers. They need to get to know each other, and this means frequent interaction over time, and not only in 'research sessions', but in a programme that allows researchers to participate in the daily life of local communities and groups of both men and women, as well as interact with them on issues of concern to them. It is quite strange that in spite of all the attention that sexual violence in the eastern Congo has received, there have been few (if any) attempts to organise, fund and implement a full-scale research programme on this subject that could help us achieve the combined objective of helping victims and starting the social design of preventive strategies and policies.

Conclusion

Men and their families are faced with many threats and insecurities in the eastern Congo, among them substantial underemployment. Another is the constant perception of insecurity that people are faced with in their everyday lives; even if things are relatively calm today, this may not be the case tomorrow. This severely constrains any ability to plan for the future. Many families have moved several times from place to place in search for security and are prepared to move again if necessary. The access to land that existed before the war is now limited due to security concerns. Men are therefore faced with a number of ontological uncertainties concerning their ability to fulfil the traditional role of the husband as the protector and breadwinner of the family, resulting in social angst, frustration, alienation and bitterness. This does not automatically lead to increased violence against women, but at the very least, it does suggest that existing notions of 'man' and 'manhood' are in crisis. New ideas concerning what it means to be a man may be in the making among parts of the younger population, but for the time being, no new clear roles for men have emerged. Initiatives such as the Fatherhood Programme may come to play a positive role in this regard, as it also seeks to work with popular perception of what it means to be a man, namely, a father. However, this and other similar initiatives need the support of a qualitatively better and more systematic knowledge base. As future programmes shift towards preventive strategies, these will only be sustainable if they also include the other side of the equation: men and their tales, perceptions, opinions and actions concerning sexual violence.

References

Amnesty International (2010) *Mass Rapes in Walikale: Still a Need for Protection and Justice in Eastern Congo*, London: Amnesty International Publications. URL:http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR62/011/2010/en

Baaz, Maria Eriksson and Maria Stern (2013) *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War: Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*, London: Zed Books.

Baaz, M. E. and M. Stern (2009) 'Why do soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence, and sexuality in the Armed Forces of the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 53, pp 495-518.

Barker, G. and C. Ricardo (2005) *Young men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict, and Violence*. Social Development Papers. Paper No. 26.

Bartels, S., Scott, J., Leaning, J., Mukwege, D. and R. Lipton (2010a) 'Surviving sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 37-49.

Bartels, S.A., J.A. Scott, D. Mukwege, R.I. Lipton, M.J. van Rooyen and J. Leaning (2010b) 'Patterns of sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: reports from survivors presenting to Panzi Hospital in 2006', *Conflict and Health*, vol. 4, no. 9, pp. 1-10.

Braeckman, C. (2003) *Les Nouveauz Prédateurs,* Paris: Fayard.

Bøås, M. (2015) *The Political Economy of African Borderlands: Miners, Merchants and Warriors*, London: Routledge (forthcoming).

Bøås, M. (2008) 'Just another day – the North Kivu security predicament after the 2006 Congolese elections', *African Security*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 53-68.

Bøås, M. and K.C. Dunn (2013) *The Politics of Origin in Africa: Autochthony, Citizenship, Conflict*, London: Zed Books.

Bøås, M., I. Bjørkhaug, A. Hatløy and Å. Tiltnes (2011) *Background survey for the WDR 2011*, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Bøås, M. and A. Hatløy (2005) *The Northern Uganda Internally Displaced Profiling Study*, Kampala: Office of the President/UNDP.

Bøås, M., K. Dalen, J. Pedersen and R. Solhjell (2009) Sexual violence in Eastern DRC: assessing reliable information and policy implications (mimeo).

Christiansen, C., M. Utas and H. Vigh (eds) (2006) *Navigating Youth, Generating Adulthood: Social Becoming in an African Context*, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

Dunn, K.C. (2003) *Imagining the Congo: the Identity of International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

International Rescue Committee (2008) *Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An ongoing Crisis,* New York: International Rescue Committee. URL: http://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/resource-file/2006-7_congoMortalitySurvey.pdf

Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (2010) *Now the World is Without Me: an Investigation of Sexual Violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo*, Cambridge: HHI.

Hilgate, P. and M. Henry (2004) 'Endangering (in)security in peace support operations', *Security Dialogue*, vol.4, no, pp. 481-498.

Human Rights Watch (2002) *The War within the War. Sexual violence against women and girls in Eastern Congo*, New York: Human Rights Watch.

Human Rights Watch. (2009) *Soldiers Who Rape, Commanders Who Condone: Sexual Violence and Military Reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, New York: Human Rights Watch. URL: http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/07/16/soldiers-who-rape-commanders-who-condone.

Lambert, A. and L. Lohlé-Tart (2008) DR Congo's excess death toll during the 1998-2004 conflicts: an excess death estimate based scientifically on demographic methods (unpublished paper).

MONUSCO (2009) *Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in DRC: Executive Summary*, Kinshasa: Office of the Senior SV Advisor and Coordinator, MONUSCO. (pp 1-8).

Prunier, G. (2009) *From Genocide to Continental War: The Congolese Conflict and the Crisis of Contemporary Africa.* London: Hurst Publishers Ltd.

Smiths, R, and S. Cruz (2011) *Increasing Security in DR Congo: Gender-Responsive Strategies for Combating Sexual Violence*, The Netherlands: Clingendael Conflict Research Unit (CRU) Policy Brief #17.

Slegh, H., Barker, G., Ruratotoye, B, and T. Shand (2012) *Gender relations, sexual violence and the effects of conflict on women and men in North Kivu, Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: Preliminary results from the International men and gender equity survey (IMAGES)*. Goma: Institute of Mental Health of Goma.

URL: http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/sites/default/files/documents/6945.pdf

Solhjell, R. (2009a) *Combating Sexual Violence in the DRC: From Resolutions to Practice*, Oslo: NUPI (NUPI Policy Brief).

Solhjell, R. (2009b) 'Sexual violence in war – civilians as battleground', *Development Dialogue*, vol. 53, pp. 123-135.

UNESCO (2010) Education aid flows to conflict-affected countries with large IDP and refugee populations. Education for all Global Monitoring Report. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011. URL: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001912/191244e.pdf

Wakabi, W. (2008) 'Sexual violence increasing in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Mass rape: time for remedies', *The Lancet,* vol. 371, no. 9606, pp. 16-16.

Men, women, and gender-based violence in North Kivu, DRC

In the eastern Congo, a number of interventions have been implemented to assist victims of sexual violence, but much less work has been done to prevent sexual violence from happening in the first place. This report therefore seeks to increase our knowledge of possible preventive strategies. In particular, it turns the attention to the issue of men and existing definitions and practices of masculinity and gender in the eastern Congo, arguing that sexual violence is not an isolated conflict phenomenon, but must be understood within the larger sociocultural context to which offenders and victims belong.

Fafo
P.O.Box 2947 Tøyen
N-0608 Oslo
www.fafo.no/english/

Fafo-report 2014:39
ISBN 978-82-324-0143-7
ISSN 0801-6143
Order no. 20386