

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**BUILDING MORE PEACEFUL GENDER
RELATIONSHIPS IN SOUTH KIVU PROVINCE,
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO**

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DECLARATION

I, MAROYI WILLY MULUMEODERHWA declare that

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to understand the attitudes and behaviour of young South Kivu men towards women in order to encourage the development of more peaceful attitudes and behaviour. This study provides insights from an urban and rural young male perspective into attitudes, behaviour, and context within which violence against women occurs. The study also included urban and rural young females to understand their perspectives and experiences on male – perpetrated violence within relationships. This study examines men’s and women’s gender roles and relationship norms, attitudes and beliefs in the context of ongoing relationships and marriage. While investigating the culture of sexual violence, it is shown that the construction of young people’s attitude and behaviour is certainly influenced by social, cultural, political and economic factors and these factors have also implications for the ways in which heterosexual relationships are constructed and narrated. A curriculum is developed, based on the study’s findings for use in secondary schools.

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GLOSSARY

Bakongo: One of DRC ethnic groups

Bashi: A large ethnic group in South Kivu province/DRC

Boro: A thing or object

Fille mere: An unmarried girl who gives birth while still living in her parents' home

Funga mikeka: To pack her stuff and go back to her family

Interahamwe: Rwandan Hutu rebels who came in DRC after making genocide in Rwanda in 1994

Kanga dadi: A woman's t-shirt/shirt exposing breast

Kesheni: Derogatory name of an old girl

Nkwale: Means a quail which is a bird related to the partridge, used as food.

Papa wa mwake: Married man

Tamaa: Sexual urge

Voix cassée: Shirt or blouse exposing breasts

ABBREVIATIONS

CADRE: Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation

CEDAW: Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

CFR Congolese Francs

CNDP: Congrès National Pour la Défense du Peuple

CSV: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo

ESC: FARDC: Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo

FDLR: Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda

FIDH: International Federation for Human Rights

GBV: Gender-Based Violence

HIV/AIDS: Human immunodeficiency virus /Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

IASC: Inter-Agency Standing Committee

INEE: Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies

MONUC: Mission d'Organisation des Nations Unies pour le Congo

NGOs: Non-Government Organizations

PNC: Police Nationale Congolaise

RCD: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie

RFDA: Réseau des Femmes Pour un Développement Associatif

RFDP: Réseau des Femmes Pour la Défense des Droits et la Paix

STIs: Sexually Transmitted Infections

UN: United Nations

UNAIDS: United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

UNIFEM: United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees

USAIDS: United States Agency for International Development

VCR: Video Cassette Recorder

WHO: World Health Organization

PART I INTRODUCTION

Part I introduces the research topic and presents the research background and overall approach to the thesis.

Chapter 1 will provide a general overview of the study, including the background of the study, context, importance, and aims of the study. The chapter discusses the foundations of gender violence in general, then it moves into gender violence in the DRC an examination of armed conflict in the DRC and its effects on gender violence, the context moves from traditional gender relations; then summarises the armed conflicts in the country since 1996, showing how the armed conflict has affected gender relations/GBV. Section 1.2.5 will act as a summary of the section 1.2 it will summarise traditional gender relations and the context of GBV. It will point out how the armed conflict has greatly worsened this. It will make the point that an underlying assumption of peace studies is that attitudes and beliefs are learned and that they can be unlearned and new better ones can be learned. Section 1.3 provides the overall objective and specific aims of the research.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE FOUNDATIONS OF GENDER VIOLENCE

Sexual violence is “any sexual act, seek to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual words or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person’s sexuality using force, by any person despite their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work” (Krug et al., 2002, p.149). According to Heise et al (1995, p.6) it comprises a wide range of behaviours from sexual violence to more contested areas that require young women to marry and provide sex without their will.

Intimate partner sexual violence is one of the most common forms of sexual violence (Krug et al., 2002). Most data often come from police or clinics, which represent a small part that is normally the most critical cases involving few women who are willing to report their cases (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002). The international gender-based violence surveys, employing a common methodology, found that the prevalence of 16 years women who reported sexual assault between 1992 and 1997 was 2.2% for Zimbabwe, 4.5% for Uganda and 2.3% for South Africa (Krug et al., 2002). Underlying these data is the widely accepted belief in the region that forced sex by intimate partners is not sexual abuse. As many as one in four women in Uganda have experienced forced sex in intimate partnerships (Koenig et al., 2004), while in Kenya, 21% of female adolescents 10-24 years old have experienced sexual coercion (Erulkar, 2004).

Sexual coercion is a widespread phenomenon in Africa. A prevalent practice found in most sub-Saharan African countries is the “sugar-daddy effect”- in which girls are seduced into cross-generational sexual relationships in exchange for money and/or gifts. A review of cross-generational sex among girls (ages 15-19) found that on average, girls’ sexual partners in sub-Saharan Africa are 6 years older than they are (Luke and Kurz, 2002).

Gender relations and interaction between males and females is viewed as both a historical and a social construction. Boonzaier’s (2008) narrative study conducted among women and men in Western Cape, South Africa found that the division of people according to biological sex is unproductive when trying to understand the

pattern of gender relations in Africa. Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) indicate that gender is constructed from power relations and reinforced through ongoing interactions between men and women. Power is the basic point that shapes the construction of male role, and gender socialisation provides the mechanisms by which males are trained to maintain power. These characteristics are thought to promote violent male behaviour and a propensity toward violence. The patriarchal construction of society, through the socialisation of its males, engenders sexual violence against women. As such, attitudes toward women may derive from principles of gender that are predominant in that society. CADRE (2003) argues that violence is prevalent where the concept of masculinity is associated with male honour, power and dominance.

Gender power relations constitute the source of gender inequality and are an important social determinant of health. Gender relations as experienced in daily activities are based on core structures that dictate how power is entrenched in social hierarchy. The constructions that control gender systems share basic characteristics and similarities across different societies, although how they manifest through beliefs, norms, organisations, behaviours and practices can vary. Sex and society correlate to reveal who is well or ill, who is considered or not, who is at risk of ill-health, whose behaviour is wanting to avoid risk, and whose wellbeing needs are approved or denied (Sen et al, 2007, p. xii).

Addressing the oppression of women requires a focus on the experiences and lives of both men and women, and the inclusion of men as allies and partners. This entails exploring the social context within which gender roles and relations are constructed (Cleaver, 2002). Understanding gender roles and gendered power relations is necessary in order to tackle persistent gender inequality and gender-based violence (Shefer et al, 2008, p. 160). Itano (2009) corroborates that discrimination and unequal power relations are causes of female vulnerability to gender-based violence and that addressing the inequality which is deeply established in most societies should be the concern of men and women. Leading South African researchers maintain that the two principal factors underlying violence against women and girls are their subordinate status to men and the endorsement of interpersonal violence in society (Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekanana, 2002). These two factors influence the nature of sexual relationships between partners.

Another South African study reveals that social factors such as high rates of sexual violence and the poor economic position of women, give women little power over the timing of sex and the practice of safe sex in the context of HIV/AIDS. Promoting their own preferences is difficult because of male violence and cultural norms and expectations (Ackermann and De Klerk, 2002, p.169). Research in South Africa suggests that the high rape levels are due to notions of masculinity are constructed from gender hierarchy and that the sexual entitlement of men is entrenched in an African ideal of manhood (Jewkes, 2007). Factors that encourage male dominance and entitlement are those social norms that accept or endorse violence against women; impunity of perpetrators; poverty; high levels of crime and conflict in society (WHO, 2002).

Kalichman et al (2005) report in their South African study that cultural attitudes toward females' social and gender roles, as well as rape myths, were approved by a considerable majority of both males and females. Coercion plays a major role in initiating young women into sexual activity. The practice of forced sex is the norm for young African men who are driven by pressure from peers to engage in early-unprotected sex as makers of trust and commitment (Mulumeoderhwa, 2009; Sathiparsad, 2006; Varga, 2003). Social pressure that implies that boys and men should have sex relations as a mark of their masculinity is seen as a strong factor influencing males who do not have partners or cannot get sexual intercourse legitimately; then they have to get it illegitimately, by force (Petersen et al., 2005).

People draw their sense of meaning from their traditions. What does it mean to be a human being? What is - or ought to be - the nature of human relations? These ideas provide the values and attitudes that people want to adopt, which in turn establish how they interact with each other. Cultural values and attitudes provide the source of social norms by which people live. Through adopting and communicating these traditional values and attitudes to their fellow community members, and passing them on future generations, communities can re-inform and re-construct themselves on the foundation of a specific cultural image (Murithi, 2009). Gender is constructed from power relations and reinforced through ongoing interactions between males and females. Power is the basic point that shapes the construction of male role, and gender

role socialisation provides the mechanisms by which males are trained to maintain power. These characteristics are thought to encourage male violent behaviour and an inclination toward violence. The patriarchal structure of society, through the socialisation of its males, generates sexual violence against women. As such, attitudes toward women may be derived from the ideology of gender that is predominant in that society (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008). Gender-based violence has deep roots in many societies, and is seen as the rightful exercise of authority. This relates to how boys, in particular, are socialised, in the family and more widely (Fisher et al., 2005).

So cultural values and attitudes determine the way that people act and how they relate to others. Culture is not something people have at birth. People gain knowledge of culture during their childhood from parents, family, elders, teachers, religious leaders and media. Similarly, culture is not static, though it may sometimes seem to be. It changes over the course of time through the influence of various internal and external forces. In this thesis, we try to understand the cultural values and attitudes of a group of young people insofar as they relate to male-female relationships. Based on this understanding, we attempt to change these values and attitudes in order to bring about more respectful and peaceful male-female relationships.

1.2 CONTEXT

1.2.1 GENDER RELATIONS IN THE DRC

Traditional gender norms and social violent supportive norms render Congolese women victims of violence. Congolese women have no right to divorce their husbands though living in an abusive relationship. The community supports abusive husbands by attributing the blame to women who are required to be obedient to their husbands in everything. Most victims remain in such relationships because of their children. In case of separation with the abusive husband, women have no right to keep their children because children belong to the husbands. In this situation, a woman fears that if her former husband remarries another woman, it is her children who are going to suffer, and such cases children often do not cope well with their foster mother, especially when she has her own children (CEDAW, 2004; Family Code, 1987).

Most Congolese parents favour boys' education to the detriment of girls. From this perspective, women are not encouraged to study. This fact contributes to women's lower education and training. The above assumption is clearly understood from the gender inequality perspective that is current in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (CEDAW, 2004). The Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of plan (2005) indicates that in the total of 74,855 students studying at secondary school in the Province of South Kivu in 2005 there were 51, 434 boys and 23, 421 girls. 42.1% of girls studying at primary education against 57.9% of boys and 31.2% of girls studying at the secondary education against 68.8% of boys. The gender difference is still significant. Abane (2004) argues that norms that re-enforce barriers to the education of girls involve negative views about women which decrease their abilities and strong attitudes about the division of labour that places unequal burdens on females, and gender-biased beliefs about the importance of educating girls which are seen as inappropriate for girls. Sen et al (2007) maintain that such norms are often increased by structural hindrances such as school fees, distance from schools or lack of security for girls going to school, absence of female teachers, lack of gender understanding in schools, and inflexibility of classroom programmes. Oxfam (2010) argues that women are exposed to sexual violence in spite of age, marital status or ethnicity. Most of sexual violent survivors are illiterate and depend on subsistence farming to sustain their families. Women in South Kivu are unsafe; they are raped not only while cultivating their fields or collecting firewood in the forest but also in supposedly secured homes, often while sleeping at night with their families.

Congolese young men aim at marrying virgins. Sen et al (2007) argue that conditions around sexuality usually involve rite (and tortured) 'deflowering' of brides, and endorsed marital rape. They are also among the most punitive of deviation from the social norm by women as subordinate castes.

The DRC Ministry of Planning (2005) argues that there is a spread of STIs, HIV/AIDS, rape and prostitution of adolescent females on a large-scale for survival reasons in Bukavu, South Kivu province. Braimoh et al (2004) also indicate that a woman is presented as dependent on a man. She is considered as social and economic burden when it suits the man's patriarchal attitude and yet in most cases women bear an unequal burden of injustices as a result of some men's irresponsibility. Oxfam

(2010) maintains that in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, rape is a highly stigmatised and social punitive practice associated with spousal desertion, inability to marry and being disliked by the community. Spousal and community rejection lead to divorce and homelessness.

From December 2004 to March 2006, a national behaviour survey was conducted in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) among teenagers and young adults aged 15-24 years old. The survey aimed at recording the following: knowledge of HIV/AIDS, attitude, the capacity to resist pressure to have sex, sexual behaviour, and exposure to prevention programs. This also identified the link between sexual experience and recent sex among the youth in the DRC, where little is known about factors motivating sexual behaviour (Kayembe et al, 2008b). The current study covers this gap in understanding the attitudes and behaviour of young South Kivu men towards women in order to encourage the development of more peaceful attitudes and behaviour.

1.2.2 THE ADVENT OF ARMED CONFLICT

Sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has been one of the most destructive aspects of the armed conflict that began in 1996 (Amnesty International, 2004; Amnesty International, 2008). Rape has been used by militia groups to threaten and punish communities and to control territory. Rape and sexual torture have systematically destroyed communities and the dignity of its survivors (Gingerich and Leaning, 2004), and has been an obstacle to achieving peace and stability within the region.

After the Rwandan civil war and genocide in 1994, a great number of refugees from Rwanda arrived in eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo. In addition to refugees, several armed groups entered the region. The subsequent civil conflicts of 1996 and 1998 have turned to a protracted state of violence, killing over 5.4 million people since 1996 (International Rescue Committee, 2007). Armed group activity and lawlessness continue, especially in the eastern provinces, in spite of the promise of peace accords in 2003 and 2008, as well as the nation's first free elections in 2006.

Thirty years of dictatorial rule under President Mobutu Sese Seko beginning in 1965 destroyed public services and the rule of law throughout the country. In 1996, Laurent Kabila launched a revolution with the backing of Rwanda and Uganda, now known as the First Congo War, which succeeded in unseating Mobutu and installing Kabila as head of state. At the same time, an influx of armed actors and refugees from the Rwandan genocide effected the complete destabilization of the country, particularly along the eastern border with Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. In 1998, Kabila sought to separate from his former allies – a move that marked the Second Congo War as government forces fought a variety of rebel factions supported by Rwanda and Uganda. In an attempt to reconstruct the country in July 1998, President Kabila asked the Rwandan and Ugandan troops to leave the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kabila's initiative resulted in a joint invasion by Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi called "Second Congo War" (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009). This war, fought from 1998 to 2003 was named "Africa's World War" because it involved eight African countries which are namely: Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Chad, Sudan, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi (Prunier, 2009). Conflict resulted in an estimated 5.4 million deaths between 1998 and 2007 (International Rescue Committee, 2007) making the Democratic Republic of the Congo's wars the deadliest conflict since World War II. Millions of people fled and abandoned their homes and many became refugees in neighbouring countries (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009).

Since the beginning of conflict in the mid-1990s, armed groups in Eastern Congo have increased. Roughly 20 distinct armies, rebel groups, and national militia have been identified in the conflict, and there are other splinter groups and smaller local forces that pass under the international radar. Ethnic fighting between Hutus and Tutsis was responsible for many of the deaths. There were many challenging interests and changing agendas surrounding the struggle to get control over Democratic Republic of Congo's rich mineral deposits of diamonds, gold and coltan (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009).

The "Second Congo War" officially finished in 2003 with the signing of the Luanda Peace Agreement which allowed the election of a new government in 2006 (Prunier, 2009). However, the violence and insecurity remain, especially in Eastern DRC,

where militias apply political influence in the mostly un-policed region. The *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR), involved in the Rwandan genocide, is considered to be responsible for the region's instability. The other armed group responsible for hostilities in the DRC is the Congolese Tutsi rebel group, *Congrès National Pour la Défense du Peuple* (CNDP) led by General Laurent Nkunda. However, there are multiple other armed groups which have been involved in the conflict (International Crisis Group, 2007).

In 2009 the Rwandan and Congolese governments joined forces against the *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR) in an operation called *kimia 2* (calm in Swahili) in an attempt to disperse it. Rwandan soldiers were allowed to enter the Democratic Republic of the Congo to deracinate the FDLR in exchange for Rwanda taking Nkunda out of power. Nkunda was arrested in late January 2009 and the CNDP signed a peace treaty with the Congolese government to become a political party in March 2009 (International Crisis Group, 2007). The effort to disperse the Hutu Rwandan rebel group *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR) continues and has caused more fighting and more displacement in the eastern Provinces of North and South Kivu. More than 45,000 people are dying each month from malnutrition and disease (International Rescue Committee, 2007) and 1.8 million people are forced to leave their homes (Maigua, 2009). Despite a 2002 peace agreement that officially ended the second Congo war, fighting in the eastern part of the Congo has continued. In January 2008, the Congolese government has signed a peace accord with various rebel groups. Violence, however, persists in the eastern provinces of Ituri, North Kivu, and South Kivu where civilians continue to be the primary targets. The Congolese army also started a follow up operation in 2009 named *Kimia 2* with the involvement of MONUC [MONUC is the French acronym for the UN Peacekeeping Force in the Congo]. The operation resulted in displacement of people in North and South Kivu since the beginning of the year, a large number of reported rape cases, and a major intensification of retaliated attacks on civilians (Oxfam, 2009).

In the year 1996 the Democratic Republic of the Congo had known a so-called liberation war led by the former president Laurent Desire Kabila, who after his death in early 2001 was succeeded by his son Joseph Kabila.

1.2.3 ARMED CONFLICT AND GENDER VIOLENCE IN THE DRC

Sexual violence in the Congo has become rampant with extensive implications of rape (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009). The use of sexual violence as a means of warfare has various unsurprising consequences, including: forced scattering of populations as they flee feared atrocity; submission of an invaded community through fear of reprisal rape; intensification of bonding among perpetrators through commission of brutal acts; demoralization of an entire people through violence against their women; genetic disruption through impregnation of women; and destruction of a social fabric by attacking women whose denigration or death often destroys the entire family unit (Eriksson et al., 2003).

The increasing incidents of sexual brutality against women in the DRC result in high rates of trauma, fistula, and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Gang rapes, sexual slavery, purposeful mutilation of women's genitalia, and killings of rape victims are becoming norms in eastern Congo, especially in the North Kivu and South Kivu province. Male relatives are often forced at gunpoint to rape their own daughters, mothers, or sisters, and that frequently; perpetrators shoot or stab women in their genital organs or sometimes break bottles or corncobs and push them into the women's genitalia after raping them (Walabi, 2008). Consequently, women victims of such atrocities, as indicated WHO (2005a), are characterised by phobias, substance abuse, sleep disturbances, depression, sexual dysfunction, social rejection, and suicide. Raped Congolese women also experience several types of social exclusion. They are abandoned by their husbands or prevented from returning to their families, and are very likely to end up at very low socio-economic rank. The Congolese raped women's children are often abandoned, neglected or stigmatised.

WHO (2005a) argues that sexual violence is one of the highest threats to women's health in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Since 1994 there have been 41,225 documented cases of rape in the provinces of Maniema, North Kivu, South Kivu and Kalemie. The number of rape cases is underestimated in the DRC, and these unknown cases are assumed to be several times higher than the official figures, due to the fact that women hesitate to report their cases, fearing social stigmatisation and impunity.

Rape victims use several reporting means such as police, traditional leaders, health facilities and non-government organisations. This results in missing information and under reporting as data is not systematically collected and harmonised. Rakoczy (2000) finds that there is unwillingness on the part of the victims to report domestic violence. Several explanations for this reluctance include: (a) an endorsement of violence as a norm dynamic of intimate relationships, (b) victims' fear on the part of losing the relationship once the abuse has been exposed, and (c) women's economic dependence on their male partners who are often the perpetrators of violence.

After years of military rape in South Kivu, sexual violence perpetrated by civilians has become a norm (Oxfam, 2010). The conflict in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo has been characterised by a number of human rights abuses, as well as the use of excessive sexual violence. The real level of the Congolese sexual violence is not known; approximately tens of thousands of females have been raped by militia groups (Mealer, 2008). The cruelty of sexual violence in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo has also been documented, with reports of young girls and elderly women being tortured and violently raped (Prunier, 2009). An increase in sexual violence over the past five years, marked most recently by a dramatic spike in attacks in 2009 (Human Rights Watch, 2009b), makes research on the violence in DRC more pressing than ever.

This war has caused many problems, but the most serious one still prevalent in the country is the problem of gender-based violence. A report from Amnesty International (2004) indicates that the eastern province was the most affected by the war and that at least 40,000 female civilians have been raped over the past ten years. While the above statistics represent the whole country, the United Nations reports 27,000 sexual assaults in South Kivu province alone for the year 2006 (UNAIDS, 2006; Wakabi, 2008).

Cherie (2006) compares the Congolese crisis with the 1994 Rwandan genocide and remarks that in the DRC gender-based violence is used as a weapon to weaken the fabric of communities that women work so hard to maintain. Furthermore, UNFPA (2006) reports that fear of sexual violence severely restricts the economic activities of women; for example, going to the market, collecting water, gathering firewood,

among others. However, researchers conclude that sexual assault is an invasive and defining form of violence in this conflict (International Crisis Group, 2006; Grignon, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2002).

It is clear that HIV/AIDS is often deliberately used as a weapon to infect women through rape. Experts estimate that some 60% of all combatants in the DRC are infected with HIV/AIDS (Amnesty International, 2007). It is by virtue of this that the journalist Jan Goodwin (2004) describes rape as a cheaper weapon than bullets, implying that soldiers use HIV/AIDS as ammunition to demolish and devastate. The epidemic has become a weapon with which to continually harm the victims (Goodwin, 2004).

Most perpetrators of rape in this conflict are men from armed groups including Rwandan soldiers, Rwandan Hutus, Burundian rebels of the Forces for the Defense of Democracy, combatants of the *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie* (RCD), the Mai-Mai, the Front for National Liberation, and the combatants of the Congolese army (Jefferson, 2004). The majority of sexual assaults were described as gang rape, defined as rape by more than one perpetrator. There were so many rapists that the woman lost strength or fell unconscious during the assault. Twenty four percent of assailants are described as being either, “soldiers” or “men in military uniform” without identifying any particular military detachment. Another 28% of perpetrators were identified as belonging to a specific military group and the final 6% of perpetrators were classified as civilians. Specific military affiliations included Interahamwe, Hutu soldiers, FARDC (government army), *Mai Mai*, *Nkunda* soldiers, Congolese soldiers, Tutsi soldiers, Soldats de 106, Rwandan soldiers, FDD, RCD, *Mudundu 40*, Mutebutsi, and Rasta (Oxfam, 2010).

The peacekeeping forces in the DRC have also sexually abused girls and women. In 2004, in reaction to media reports, an investigation conducted by the UN Office of Internal Surveillance Services in Bunia (Ituri District) maintains that sexual intercourse between Congolese women and peacekeepers often happened, in exchange for food or small sums of money, often including girls under the age of 18,

some as young as thirteen¹. This obviously contradicts UN standards, which proscribe any solicitation of prostitution, regardless of the age or consent of the person solicited (Ertürk, 2008).

The brutality of rape in South Kivu has been one of the conflict's defining characteristics. Women report genital mutilation by inserting sticks and weapons in their private parts, forced rape between victims while held at gunpoint, and family members being forced to witness rape. In addition to the rape of young girls and elderly women, the shockingly cruel acts also include rape of women in the advanced stages of pregnancy, rape of disabled women and rape of hospitalized patients recovering from recent surgery. But the brutality goes beyond the sexual violence (Oxfam, 2010). Human Rights Watch also describe the incomparable brutality of rapes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – girls as young as five and women as old as eighty were reportedly shot in the vagina or mutilated with knives and razor blades. It is believed that rape in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is extensive that “it [rape] has become a significant characteristic” of the DRC war (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Women also report forced cannibalism, being forced to drink bodily fluids such as urine, the slaughter of infants and young children in front of their mothers and the burning alive of family members. The ruthless nature of these attacks indicates that this is not rape for the sake of rape; instead these horrific acts are meant to terrorize and intimidate an entire population. The disgrace and humiliation caused by these crimes is aimed at inhibiting recovery and re-integration into society, and to thereby destroy the victims' families and communities (Oxfam, 2010). Rape in the DRC war is practiced by armed groups as a weapon of war, and is done with total impunity. As a result, rape has become underestimated and has increased throughout the country, even in areas where conditions are relatively stable. Victims consist of women, men and children of all ages, from six-months to over seventy years (Human Rights, 2008).

¹ “Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse” report of the Secretary-General, 15 June 2007 (A/61/957) annex IV. Full report at [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2005.nsf/FilesByRWDocUNIDFileName/HMYT-68JM2N-unga-cod-05jan.pdf/\\$File/unga-cod-05jan.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2005.nsf/FilesByRWDocUNIDFileName/HMYT-68JM2N-unga-cod-05jan.pdf/$File/unga-cod-05jan.pdf)

1.2.4 GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES CONCERNING GENDER VIOLENCE

Gender-related legislation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo needs to be understood within the broader framework of national reconstruction in the first decades of democracy following the end of war that lasted thirteen years. As the Democratic Republic of the Congo emerged from war, both the country and its leadership faced not only the massive task of reconstruction, but also the challenge of the growing oppression, inequality, rape and HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The Congolese government has taken some small steps to stop sexual violence and HIV. The government has implemented a law in 2006 enabling survivors of sexual violence to bring the perpetrators to court, and declaring HIV as one of the national governmental tragic plans (Gaestel, 2010). Steiner et al (2009) also indicate that the Democratic Republic of the Congo has recently established the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Family, and created a collaborative initiative on sexual violence among NGOs, the Congolese Government and the United Nations. Sexual violence has been integrated in the mandate of the Congolese Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is party to several human rights pacts advocating women's rights, such as the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women² and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court which recognize sexual violence as both a crime against humanity and a war crime. Despite the above the Democratic Republic of the Congo's juridical institutions are weak and impunity for perpetrators largely prevails (Steiner et al, 2009). In this situation females are discouraged from reporting sexual violence to judicial authorities. Because of lack of such a mechanism which results in low conviction rate for crimes of violence and cases of sexual violence becomes inadequately recorded, followed up and put on trial (CADRE, 2003). There is a huge gap between the oratory and action of the Congolese government. Women are often called 'sluts' or 'loose women' for trying to negotiate safe sex or being aware of safe sex, with social norms encouraging violence against them as a means to discipline deviance (Sen et al., 2007, p.48). Dominant sexual norms for Congolese men

² General Assembly, Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 18 December 1979 <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw> (accessed on 10 April 2010)

encourage promiscuity, non-existent condom use and non-sanctioned violence against women (WHO, 2003; UNAIDS/UNFPA/UNIFEM, 2004).

1.3 OVERALL OBJECTIVE AND SPECIFIC AIMS

The overall objective of this thesis is to understand the attitudes and behaviour of young South Kivu men towards women in order to encourage the development of more peaceful attitudes and behaviour

The specific aims are:

1. To determine the attitudes of a sample of young South Kivu men and women in rural and urban secondary schools concerning:

1a) How they understand traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy

1b) What they think about the roles of women and men in relationships and marriage

1c) What they think about sex in relationships, including sexual violence

1d) How they think male-female conflicts can be dealt with

2. On the basis of these results, to design a training package on male-female relationships, built on specific peace principles, for young South Kivu men and women

1.4 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Considering men in projects on violence against women is important and enables to reduce “problems brought by the excesses of masculinity (and) harmful concepts of masculinity” (Adomako and Boateng, 2007, p.71). The UNFPA similarly maintains that work on minimising gender-based violence would benefit from the assistance and involvement of males since “men themselves are increasingly confronting notions of “masculinity” that restrain their humanity, limit their participation in the lives of their children, and put themselves and their partners at risk” (2006, p. 5). Many men, asserts the UNFPA, “want to become more supportive husbands and fathers, but need support to overcome deeply entrenched ideas about gender relations... stronger efforts

to involve men more fully in reproductive health, family life and gender equality are urgently needed.” Whether or not some, many or most men do in fact want to change is a question that needs more theoretical and empirical investigation. The current study is located in this perspective, and moves from the attitude that males must be called to transform and challenge structures and traditions that encourage domineering masculinities and gender inequity (2005, pp. 4-5).

The fundamental ideas here are that human behaviour is based upon meanings which people attribute to and convey to situations, and that behaviour is not ‘caused’ in any mechanical way, but is constantly constructed and reconstructed on the basis of people’s interpretations of the situations they are in (Punch, 2005).

Men, as the principal holders of power in modern gender orders, are in an important sense “gatekeepers for reform” (Sen et al., 2007, p. ix). Consequently, to have an environment where females and males are treated without prejudice in all areas of all life affecting them, studies of men and masculinities argue that change among males has to happen (Kopano, 2008). Walsh and Mitchell (2006) demonstrate the importance of listening to males’ stories and experiences as a way to unload their own construction of masculine identities and values relating to violence, control, sexual manipulation and ownership of girls. Hearn (1996, p. 214) contends that it is more important to understand ‘what men do, think and experience’ than say about masculinity. Cleaver (2002) argues that issues of concern to females such as sexual health and right, fundamental human rights, exploitation and oppression, violence and indignity should also be of concern to males. Exploring the perceptions of male youth on the subject of gender violence provides insights into the attitudes, behaviour occurs.

Adolescents should be approached because they are old enough and able to chronicle events, including domestic violence that is pertinent in their lives. They are at the stage where they can verbally interpret how domestic violence has affected them, mentally, physically and emotionally. More importantly, they are at the stage where they have to make critical decisions about interpersonal relationships based on their socialization at home (Kubeka, 2008). Adolescence is the period when masculine and feminine roles are strongly defined, with boys being trained for independence,

strength and authority, while girls are skilled to restrain their capacities and abilities (Sen et al., 2007). This is also the time when sexual roles are described and indoctrinated. “These social norms and identities are adopted by young women and girls and translated into cultural practices and individual actions of those who should defend girls and young women (for example, by parents who may support or ignore early coerced sex, allow their daughters to establish relationships with much older men, or permit their daughters to be sold into sex work). These social norms generate the conditions in which some young and adult men (in the family or outside of it) rape girls or utilise physical violence against them, the choice of some adult men for younger female sexual partners, and the practice of sexual coercion by men and boys against girls” (Barker, 2006, pp. 20-21). Adolescence is a critical period to initiate programs that reduce the risk of boys becoming perpetrators of sexual abuse. While attitudes and behaviour about sex and gender are learned from an early age, adolescence is a critical age for reinforcing standard sexual behaviour. The peer group is seen as training grounds for “hostile masculinity,” and “hyper masculine,” both included sexual and nonsexual relations (Petersen et al, 2005, p. 1234). Adolescent period represents an opportunity to implement prevention efforts since young people sexual behaviours are still at a formative stage. To design effective interventions, (Kayembe et al., 2008b) suggests that one needs to link the correlates of sexual initiation to subsequent sexual activity.

One of the major innovative ideas of the Cairo and Beijing conferences was the concept of male responsibility for the health of their spouses as well as of themselves and their children. There has been a stable forward movement in supporting and experimentation with programs on the ground, as well as a rethinking the ideas themselves. “The critical perspective that has led to calls for greater male participation in sexual health has often described men in rather negative terms. This “shortfall example” of male roles does not essentially encourage people to take action of any sort... Explaining the negative effects of gender norms on men’s health and wellbeing and not just women’s could facilitate the development and implementation of more visionary policies and more innovative implementation” (Greene et al., 2006, p. 17).

The focus on women as victims was important in order for feminist researchers to draw attention to the magnitude of the problem (Cleaver, 2002). Men and women, boys and girls may be victims of violence, but men perpetrate most violence. Cleaver (2002) argues that a focus on men and masculinities will distract attention from women's inequalities, and that by focusing on men, their dominance will increase and patterns of gender inequality will be maintained. However, considering such aspect Boonzaier (2008) also suggests that focusing only on victims' experiences can unintentionally deflect attention away from men - who are the most frequent perpetrators of violence against women. This one-sided focus affects the literature on the descriptions of both women and violent men to be not well elaborated. Barker and Jaffe (2003) argue that focusing only on women is counter-productive in levels of gender violence critically require male behaviour change. Our understanding of the problem would profit by according attention to both partners in the relationships. This study therefore examines the experiences of both women and men in relationships dominated by men's violence, and also investigates how each of the individuals constructs stories about violence and the relationship in relation to the other partner.

It is important to understand that in some circumstances, males also are victims of gender-based violence, such as rape as a method to dehumanise men or boys. Gender roles also influence the idea that men and boys not only feel pressured by their male peers to demonstrate their manhood through acts of violence against women, but also against other males, as is often the case with gang violence (USAID, 2006). Given the alarming evidence that gender-based violence greatly affects women, this study focuses primarily on gender-based violence against women.

To enhance an effective and sustainable transformation Congolese need to critically conceptualise the underlying reasons that gave rise to the crisis, expose them to an education experience that will critical raise their consciousness and empower them with choices to build a Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) different from the old. This process is critical for the young people of today and the future of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

When researching various parts of the world, researchers encounter images and cultures of violence. Societies seem to be tearing themselves apart and the attitudes

and values in these societies are proved from a cultural logic of self-interest, private accumulation and the competitive drive for power and resources. These attitudes and values encourage inequality and economic exclusion while simultaneously constructing and reconstructing the vicious cycles of persistent violence. Any effort to stop these cycles entails an intervention at the level of culture, particularly with regard to the way that people understand themselves and their responsibilities in relation to others. Until critical steps are taken to reduce the adherence to a culture of violence and exclusion, people will continue to postpone genuine peace. In order to instigate the social transformation of war-affected communities, an important step is to find a way for members of communities to “re-inform” or educate themselves in a way that puts emphasis on inquiring new values, attitudes and sharing reasonable resource distribution. This, actually, means highlighting the importance of restoring social values and attitudes that encourage education in order for peace to flourish (Murithi, 2009, p. 225). The current study supports the above ideal in its search for transforming South Kivu males’ attitudes and behaviour towards females.

The data generated in this study should be understood within the broader social context in which they were produced. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deeply explore the sexual violence perpetrated by military personnel in the Democratic Republic of the Congo while investigating its culture of sexual violence, but the construction of young people’s attitude and behaviour is certainly influenced by social, political and economic factors, and these factors have also implications for the ways in which heterosexual relationships are constructed and narrated (see Chapter 5).

This study provides insights from an urban and rural young male perspective into attitudes, behaviour, contributory factors, and context within which violence against women occurs. The current study also includes urban and rural young females to understand their perspectives and experiences of male perpetrated violence within their relationships. Female responses regarding violence in their lives may enhance an understanding of what women think as well. This also allows answering some questions such as:

- What do women think? Just how different is their thinking from men?
- Are men's perceptions of what women think accurate?

- If men are told (from this research) 'this is what women think', what will men do about it? (Will they behave differently?)

1.5 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Chapter one will provide a general overview of the study including the background of the study, context, importance and aims of the study. This part will be motivated by the identification of the central problem to be investigated. **Chapter two** will discuss the theoretical frameworks supporting the current study including educational theoretical framework as a tool for effective transformation of young people attitudes and behaviour. This will also review the literature on masculinities and discuss scholars' analyses looking at masculinity as social gendered construct. **Chapter three** will review the literature on young people relationships and gender violence, providing an overview of role of women and men in society, also looking at the nature, contexts and determinants of violent attitudes and behaviour towards females. Exploring the relationship between genders, this will require looking at the conflicting norms and values which are connected to male sexual behaviour, and the threat that male sexuality constitutes to women's identity. **Chapter four** will discuss the research design method approved for this study. **Chapter five** will explore and describe the research methodology. This chapter will also discuss how the study will be conducted and will justify the choice of data collection methods used. **Chapter six** which is one of the three chapters discussing the findings of the research according to main themes that emerged from data will focus on gender role, and examines the cultural beliefs and practices that encourage violence among youth. **Chapter seven** will explore sexual attitudes, and describes male-female sexual relationship and how male-female conflicts can be dealt with. **Chapter eight** will investigate sexual violence. **Chapter nine** will summarise the main findings of the study with reference to the key objectives, and will propose finally implications of the findings with regard to future interventions and further research.

PART II LITERATURE REVIEW

Part II covers two chapters, one dealing with the relevant peace theories and the other comprises with the literature on gender violence.

Chapter two will discuss the peace theories underlying the current study including the role of peace education as a tool for effective transformation of young peoples' attitudes and behaviour. This chapter will also review the literature on African masculinities.

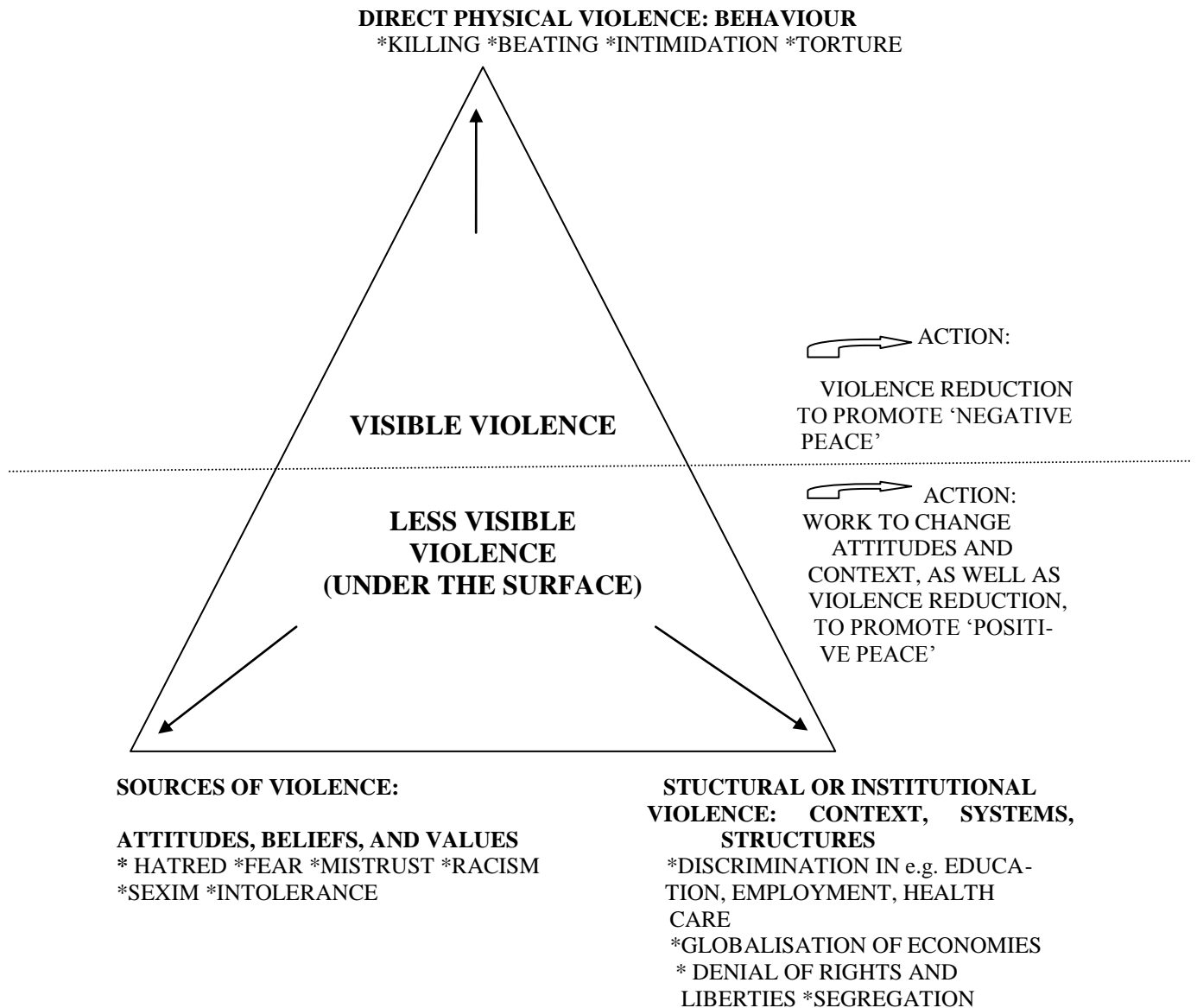
Chapter three will review the literature – for Africa in general and the DRC – on young peoples' relationships and gender violence, provide an overview of role of women and men in society, and examines the nature, contexts and determinants of violent attitudes and behaviour towards females. The chapter also examines how male-female conflicts can be dealt with.

CHAPTER 2 RELEVANT PEACE THEORY

2.1 GALTUNG'S ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR-CONTEXT TRIANGLE

Galtung's ABC conflict triangle is a diagrammatic way of understanding conflict and violence. Galtung (1990) maintains that all conflicts have three main features. First of all there are the attitudes of people who are implicated in conflict, which seem to become aggressive towards each other as the conflict intensifies. The conflict parties' attitudes and practices have to change in order to achieve the conflict settlement. He defines it as the process of peacemaking. Fisher et al (2005) confirm the ABC triangle is based on the assumption that conflicts have three main factors: the context or situation, the behaviour of those involved and their attitudes. These three elements influence each other. For example, a situation that ignores the claims of one group is likely to lead to an attitude of dissatisfaction, which in turn may result in protests. This behaviour might then lead to the situation of further denial of rights, causing disappointment, perhaps even anger, which could erupt into violence. Work that is done to transform the situation (by making sure that claims are approved), to decrease the level of disappointment (by enabling people to focus on the long-term nature of their struggle) or provide opportunities for behaviours that are not violent will all help decreasing the levels of tension. This is explained in the figure 2.1 in the figure overleaf.

Figure 2.1 The ABC Triangle



In figure 2.1, these three factors (behaviour, attitude and context) are shown as interconnected. An action proposed to eradicating violent behaviour, vital as it is, needs to enhance by actions focussed at both context and attitudes if real positive peace is to be attained. A negative peace or absence of violent behaviour, will not take long unless other elements are addressed. Working on all three factors is required to encourage positive peace (Fisher et al, 2005).

In applying the ABC triangle it is important to know whose opinion the analysis is based upon. You can entirely base the analysis on your own perception of the realities in the conflict if you are closely involved in it. Otherwise, it will be important to put yourself in the shoes of each of the main parties and look at the issues in conflict as they see it in terms of 'context', 'behaviour' and 'attitudes' (Fisher et al., 2005).

Attitudes in conflict situations are very much influenced by the conflicting parties' behaviour. Rising of hostility make it more difficult to see the benefit of ending a conflict. Therefore it is important to understand how to deal with violence itself in order to degenerate the situation and enable the peacemaking process to develop. Galtung identifies this as the task of peacekeeping (Galtung, 1996).

Galtung (1990) differentiates direct violence (people are killed), structural violence (people die because of lack of means) and cultural violence (things that blind us to this and try to approve it). People get rid of direct violence by transforming attitudes, behaviour, cultural violence and eradicating structural injustices. To transform a conflict is possible when changing conflicting attitudes and behaviour. It is also important to pay attention to the destructive dynamic of the conflict in order to transform it and proceed in a positive direction.

There is, however, another deeper level to our comprehension of violence. This links with less perceptible, mental activities: feelings, attitudes and values that people have. These can easily become the roots of violence, or at least permit violent behaviour and violent constructions to operate. Hate, fear and mistrust are feelings which enable us to classify people as inferior, or superior, in terms of classifications such as race, gender, religion, ethnicity, mental ability, physical ability, political ideology or sexual orientation. These feelings may cause some groups of people to become intolerant of anyone who is different from them (Fisher et al., 2005).

Finally, there is an issue that causes the conflict. This is the source that generates the conflict, and without dealing with that reality, transformation of attitudes and behaviour will not be successful. Dealing with the actual roots of the conflict is what Galtung identifies as peace building. If a conflict comprises all three of these aspects namely attitude, behaviour and context, then it conveys that all three approaches to

peace work are important. Peacekeeping is considered as a requirement to peace building, constructing a safe environment in which to make the important long-term work. To make progress, peacemaking has to relate to the other two in order to generate and sustain the wish of having peace and reaching a political agreement that can begin to de-escalate the situation. Thus, Fisher and Zimina (2009) recommend that peacebuilding and conflict transformation certainly have also the ability to provide feasible alternatives, tackling conflicts and their causes.

Galtung improved the concepts of peace and violence by bringing in structural or indirect violence, and this was a direct challenge to the fundamental ideas about the nature of peace. The broadened definition of violence guides to a complete understanding of peace. According to Galtung, peace research is an investigation into the conditions for going closer to peace or at least not marching closer to violence. Therefore, negative peace “is the absence of violence, absence of war”, and positive peace “is the unification of human society” (Galtung, 1964, p. 2). Further, these two types of peace are considered as two distinct components, where one is possible without the other.

To clarify these three concepts (direct, cultural and structural violence), Galtung (1996) employed the concept of power and distinguishes four aspects of power relating to positive and negative peace: cultural, economic, military and political. Galtung believes that the escalation of violence can be broken with peace streaming from cultural peace through structural peace to direct peace. This process would bring about positive peace. He distinguishes positive to negative peace. The main characteristics of positive and negative peace can be understood as follows: Negative Peace: Absence of violence, pessimistic, restorative, peace not always by peaceful means. Positive Peace: Structural assimilation, optimistic, preventive, peace by peaceful instruments. It also involves direct positive peace, cultural positive peace and structural positive peace. Fisher et al (2005, p. 12) maintain that absence of war is often described as negative (‘cold’) peace, and is contrasted with positive (‘warm’) peace, which encompasses all aspects of good society that we might envisage for ourselves. Most people consider peace to be the absence of violent behaviour. While this is, of course, vital, others see it as only first step towards a fuller ideal, using

definitions such as; a link of relationships between individuals, groups and institutions that value diversity and foster the full development of human potential.

The understanding of violence is important as it demonstrates that violent behaviour, in most cases, is only a small part of what generates a conflict. It also shows the interconnectedness of all three dimensions, an intervention in one area has ripple effect in the others (Fisher et al., 2005).

Galtung (1996) describes cultural violence as symbols that are found in ideology, religion, linguistic, art, law, science, media, education whose purpose is “to sanction direct and structural violence.” Indirect violence results from social structures. Direct violence reveals physical violence consciously perpetrated by a sending actor. Galtung (1990, p.294) considers the concept of cultural violence as those characteristics of culture that can be applied to endorse and encourage cultural and direct violence. He also considers violence as “unnecessary insults to basic human needs and more generally to life.” Cultural violence has been considered as a type of violence in conjunction with direct and structural violence.

2.2 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

Conflict is a common feature of human interaction and can be both a positive and a negative force. Conflict is inherent, for example, in the democratic process. Violent conflict is inherent in human interaction; rather, it is dependent on particular and preventable cultural and environmental conditions. The objective of conflict management of any kind is not to eradicate conflict, but rather to deal with it successfully so that it does not become a destructive force (Fetherston and Nordstrom, 1995).

Many of the ideas that direct conflict management are more a result of habitus than of logical decision making and, moreover, are founded on facts of conflict that are no longer relevant of present circumstances. The physical state that supports the use of conflict settlement strategies and largely pays no attention to transformative ones (Bourdieu, 1990; Fetherston and Nordstrom, 1995).

The main problem in the comparative analysis of conflict management practices is the broad combination of methods used in some cultures for dealing with conflict. For example, a study that finds differences in conflict management styles across countries may overlook the fact that direct handling of conflicts is not always relevant and the culture has developed means of containing confrontation (Kozan, 1997-2002).

It is important to understand that war is not a biological imperative but a cultural possibility. The means of resolving conflict cannot be concentrated to natural laws but are based on ways of thinking and behaving that adhere to a specific time, place, history, and culture. Questions regarding the conduct of war, the appropriate use of force, or the best way to solve destructive conflict are shaped within a cultural milieu. Although one can question whether the management of conflict has ever followed such simple and clear-cut lines, we can say with certainty that such models do not provide an effective response to the complexities of many ongoing conflicts. Understanding the dynamics of antagonisms as well as their connection to conflict management strategies is crucial in solving conflicts (Fetherston and Nordstrom, 1995).

It is no surprise when one looks beyond the strategies of conflict settlement that contradictions and uncertainties become apparent. This practice experiences a serious lack of attention to concepts and conceptualizing, interest of which would at least help to make interveners aware of complexities and contradictions. Awareness, especially of habitus, in thinking about conflict management is not only an important first step in a process of tackling and dealing with such limitations but could provide a useful tool for continual evaluation and development. Without some type of clear theoretical base from which one's own assumptions can be examined, and through which interventions can be designed and executed in direct relation to the complex and multileveled conflict environment, interventions are far less likely to have any stable affirmative impact (Fetherston and Nordstrom, 1995).

Any decision in conflict management is founded on a sequence of assumptions both derived from and produced by practice. To deal exclusively with the problematical level without examining those assumptions means relying on habitus produced in

relation to conflict contexts that no longer exist. The profound, protracted, culturally and socially fluid, and highly complex nature of ongoing conflicts indicates the deficiency of such an approach. Conflict settlement approaches are no longer even minimally sufficient to meet present challenges (Fetherston and Nordstrom, 1995).

In managing conflict, Gobet (2005) compares it to the skill of thinkers who had to solve problems, such as chess players, and on that of Howard-Jones (2002) who notes that much creative thinking was based on a combination of analysis and what he called generative reasoning (seeing the skill, in a different way). To deconstruct the skill (stage one) we have to know what we can assert or declare about the business of conflict management, to identify the processes that we use to tackle conflict and to appreciate the knowledge that underpins this. It then follows that conflict management does not have to be based on winning or losing (where the most powerful gain the most and the least powerful lose the most) but instead can be based on solutions that support human development and structural transformation. The aim is to create a conflict transformation process that is self-generated, self-perpetuating, and long term (Fetherston and Nordstrom, 1995). If conflict is a natural part of interpersonal relations, it follows that any major theory of human behaviour must have some relevance to conflict and conflict resolution, if not explicitly, then implicitly (Sweeney and Carruthers, 1996).

In connection with the term, conflict resolution, (Sandole and van der Merwe, 1993) indicate that conflict resolution is a new concept and still not part of any acceptable understanding. The few definitions that exist generally describe a "process" of resolving conflicts. Maurer (1991), for example, describes resolution as "a process whereby the conflicting parties work out their disagreements to bring the conflict to a successful conclusion" (p. xiv). Duryea (1992, p. 5) shows that dispute reconciliation is an interest-based settlement process for generating consensus. Sweeney and Carruthers (1996) indicate that some basic notions about conflict resolution processes are that there are various ways in which conflicts can be resolved and different consequences that result based on how conflicts are handled. This general conceptual definition differs from the typical use of the term in practice, to describe nonviolent methods such as negotiation or mediation, but our general definition is a better instructional tool. The general definition allows one to discuss different types of

conflict and place different methods of conflict resolution along various continua or within various schemes such that one can compare and contrast these different forms by any number of variables.

Most authors writing about conflict resolution processes equate the term with constructive processes such as problem solving through communication rather than with destructive processes such as physical aggression. In the aforementioned definitions, note Maurer's use of the word successful and Duryea's emphasis on consensus. For a conceptual definition, however, it is our preference to use the term in its most general sense; that is, conflict resolution is the process used by conflicting parties to reach an agreement. This process can employ various approaches such as warfare, contest, flipping a coin, mediation, and negotiation (Sweeney and Carruthers, 1996).

Consequences of conflict and its resolution are usually broad and complex. Consequently, the criteria used in assessing effectiveness of conflict resolution have varied, depending on which section of consequences is highlighted (Thomas, 1992). Conflict Resolution allows using peaceful means of resolving interpersonal conflict and teaches people the ways and means of nonviolent, cooperative, and constructive conflict resolution processes such as negotiation and mediation (Carruthers and Carruthers, 1995).

To bring development course of action in conflict, peace-builders suggest taking account to the following most important factors such as financial, injustice, rejection of rights, and environmental destruction as fundamental causes of violence. They discuss about systems, and how big transformations can be initiate instigated by small strategic interventions. For constructive change in attitudes and behaviour to happen, Lederach (2003, p. 30) differentiates conflict resolution and conflict transformation in the following terms: conflict resolution often focuses our attention on the presenting problems. It is content-centered. Conflict resolution sees the development of process as centered on the proximity of the relationship where the symptoms of crisis and disruption take place. On the other hand, conflict transformation includes the concern for content, but centers its attention on the context of relationship patterns. It sees conflict as rooted in the web and system of relational patterns. Conflict transformation

visualises the presenting problem as an opportunity to engage a broader context, to investigate and understand the system of relationships and patterns that gave birth to the crisis. It seeks to address both the immediate issues and the system of relational patterns. This requires longer-term vision that goes beyond the anxieties of immediate needs. Transformation actively pursues a crisis-responsive approach rather than one that is crisis-driven. Lederach (2003) argues that relationships present visible positions, but they also have sites that are less visible. To encourage the positive potential inherent in conflict, people should concentrate on less visible extent points of relationships, rather than concentrating only on the content and substance of the fighting that is often much more visible. The matters over which people fight are crucial and necessitate practical response.

Conflict transformation is not satisfied with a quick solution that may seem to solve the immediate problem; transformation aims at creating a framework that addresses the content, the context, and structure of the relationship. Transformation as an approach intends to create constructive transformation processes through conflict. Those processes provide opportunity to learn about patterns and address relationship structures while providing concrete solutions to presenting issues. Lederach believes that conflict transformation entails the expansion of change routes which clearly focus on generating positives from the difficult or negative. It promotes greater understanding of fundamental interactive and structural patterns while generating productive solutions that enhance relationships (Lederach, 2003).

Fisher et al (2005) maintain that conflict transformation theory assumes that conflict is caused by real problems of inequality and injustice manifested in competing to cultural, social and economic frameworks. According to Fisher et al, conflict transformation is effective if it seeks changing structures and frameworks that lead to inequality and injustice, including economic redistribution, encouraging longer-term relationships and attitudes among people in the conflict, and evolving processes and approaches that endorse empowerment, peace, justice, tolerance, reconciliation, and acceptance.

Transformation at the descriptive point of change involves examining the social conditions that escalate to conflict and the way that conflict influences change in the

existing social structures and patterns of making decisions. At a prescriptive position, transformation requires deliberately participation in order to get the understanding of the fundamental causes and social conditions which generate and encourage violent conditions of conflict. In addition, it openly advocates nonviolent means to decrease adversarial interaction and seeks to lessen – and ultimately eliminate – violence. This includes nonviolent advocacy for change (Lederach, 2003, pp. 25-26).

To bring change in male attitude and behaviour towards female requires more education and training. Reardon (1998) notes that the main objective of peace education is to encourage the development of a genuine global consciousness that enables people to act as global citizens and to change the current human situation by transforming the social constructions and patterns of thought that influence it. There are two clear approaches to the development and use of actual peace education curriculum substance. This can either be implemented as a distinct curriculum (an “autonomist” approach), or it can be integrated throughout existing curricula (an “integrationist” approach). Most peace educators prefer the second approach – or even to see the second approach as the only true option (Bar-Tal, 2002, p. 6; Evans et al., 1999, p. 2).

There is another approach that resembles the two mentioned above. Non-violence which is one of approaches, seeks to reach and boost or awaken the common humanity of all involved in a conflict, including one’s opponents. It tries to increase the potential for truthful communication, while seeking also to stop or prevent destructive behaviour by everyone involved (Fisher et al., 2005). The mentioned above approaches are important in the South Kivu context in reducing sexual violent among young people while negotiating safe sex.

2.3. PEACE EDUCATION

Peace education is a term which cannot easily be defined and, in fact, means many different things to different people and organisations (Catholic Education Office and New South Department of Education, 1986). Just as the term “peace” itself holds

many different meanings for different people³. In the literature on peace education the difference is apparent between educating for peace and educating about peace. Educating for peace includes the affective way of learning, and educating about peace deals more with the acquisition of Knowledge. While educating for peace deals with attitudes and a transformation of behaviour, educating about peace has more to do with presentation of information and building of knowledge. It is easier to work with information meant for knowledge building than to engage students through questions and activities that guide to a rethinking of stereotypes and a transformation of attitudes (Brock-Utne, 2009).

Other peace education researchers have also focussed on the different form of peace education takes in different contexts. Ian Harris (2002) gives an overview of peace education in Japan, Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Great Britain. Bar-Tal (2002, p. 28) looks at the United States, Australia, and Japan. In reflecting on the differences between models of peace in these contexts in terms of ideology, emphasis, aims, contents, curriculum and preparations, Bar-Tal concludes that peace education is “a mirror of the political-social-economic plan for a given society”.

Peace education can also be described as ‘a process of conflict resolution that is self-generated, self-perpetuating and long term’ (Harris 1992, p.167) and one that aims to eliminate the violence in present conflicts to continually build and rebuild socioeconomic environments which minimize new sources of violence (Kaman, 2010). The following describes what the writer proposes as the key element of this proposed peace education curriculum. The focus on a peace education curriculum begins with defining peace, the study of peace and the concept of peace education (Kaman, 2010). Peace is associated with absence of war and any overt acts of violence. This definition of peace is described as negative peace. Peace education in the developed countries focuses more on negative peace or indirect violence. The study of peace in the Third World focuses on violence, both direct and indirect or structural acts of violence and the need to critically address root causes of these types of violence to promote real peace. In the developed countries, peace education is concerned about absence of war or negative peace. Peace education in the Third

³ There is much debate around whether ‘peace education’ or education for peace’ is the most correct term.

World that is more to do with indirect or structural violence embedded in the structure of society that gives rise to violence should be changed or eliminated (Galtung 1995).

An increasingly militarised world amplifies the challenge of inculcating the values of non-violence and effective problem-solving. To counter this challenge, educators need to explore innovative ways to draw lessons from, and transmit, peaceful ways of solving problems (Hutchinson 1996; Harris 2002). For this reason, the importance of educating for peace cannot be underrated. The kind of world that we as human beings construct in the future will be based on our ability to deny violent and militaristic techniques for solving problems. Peace education should therefore be a central pillar to getting better human relations in the family, in schools, at the workplace, within countries and across borders (Murithi, 2009).

In recent decades, most critical educators as well as those in development education claimed for a more holistic structure of increasing self-awareness through peace education. Although the fact that the main difficulties of underdevelopment and worldwide inequality remain central to constructing a more peaceful environment, people must deal with a variety of other problems in cultural, political, and social life. Therefore, peace and global educators (Burns and Aspeslagh, 1996; Selby, 1993) maintain that development issues cannot be understood when isolated from other problems including militarization, human rights abuses, cultural conflicts, environmental destruction, and personal or inner peace. Peace education - provided formally in classrooms, informally in communities, as well as in room for board meetings - tries to address the globalization issues.

One of the fundamental values upon which peace education is centred on is people welfare. Reardon (1988) states that:

The value of humankind requests us to train people to be able of creating a nonviolent, just social order on this planet, a global civic order offering equity to all Earth's people, providing protection for universal human rights, just social order on this planet, a global public order offering justice to all Earth's citizens, providing safety for universal human rights, providing for the resolution of conflict by non-violent processes, and ensuring admiration for the planet that yields life and security for its people (p. 59).

This insight is more used by Reardon in association with the other fundamental standards she examines - the importance of kind relationships which commences "with connections between the human order and the natural order and emphasizing a human order of positive relationships...that make it possible for all to pursue the realization of individual and communal human potential" (Reardon, 1988, p. 59). Peace education needs to reduce the issues of the violation of human rights, environmental degradation, structural violence, and to guarantee peace in countries. Peace education can help in the development of social concord, equity, and social justice as alternatives to tensions and wars (Leistyna, 2002; UNESCO, 2002).

The empowerment element that rests in the heart of peace education instructs people to use their social, political, and economic rights (Floresca-Cawagas, & Toh, 1989). This enables people to acquire knowledge, skills, and attitudes that may liberate them from hunger, from abuses and exploitation, and from structural violence as they take greater control over the direction in which their lives are headed (Selby, 1993). Hicks (1993, p. 20) observes that peace education gives more importance on interactive and experiential methods of learning, which promote both pupil independence and the improvement of analytical thinking skills. Efficient learning is seen as deriving from affirmation of each pupil's individual worth, the development of a great selection of cooperative skills, the ability to discuss and debate issues, to reflect critically on everyday life and events in the wider world, and to act as responsible citizens". People are empowered when they are allowed to participate in the decision-making developments, especially on those that directly affect them.

There is value in examining different cultures to understand how they educate for peace. African cultures are depositories of a substantial body of knowledge on how to promote peace and maintain harmonious communities. It is just typical, then, that the continent continues to be afflicted by significant levels of violence. However, it also true that there is a need to communicate the knowledge of African cultures of peace to present and future generation of Africans (Murithi, 2009).

Hence, a deeper meaning of peace is about tackling the root causes of poverty, injustices and inequality among the people. This is what is often referred to as positive peace where the desire is to search for alternative systems or ideologies to

counteract injustices and inequalities in society to experience real peace through non-violence and human development. A further development to positive peace is Christly peace, that is, peace in view of a relationship with God or someone greater. It explores ethics, morals and values in view of not only God's Law, but the Law of Nature. Human beings are born good, and therefore they are rational beings and can make ethical decisions distinguishing right from wrong with compassion and empathy, necessary prerequisites to peace at all levels of society (Kaman, 2010). Peace education is grounded in philosophy that instructs non-violence, love, trust, equality, collaboration and respect for the human beings and all life on our planet. Skills include communication, listening, understanding different perspectives, cooperation, problem solving, analytic thinking, decision making, conflict resolution, and social accountability (Kaman, 2010).

2.4 THE CONSTRUCTION OF AFRICAN MEN

In terms of their education, broadly defined, African boys are brought up to become men in specific historical and cultural contexts, and behave to identify or to be seen and respected as masculine. Here it is important to look at the cultural aspects of masculinity that need to be challenged or deconstructed in order to make more effective interventions toward sexual health or against male violence against women (Epprecht, 2006).

Masculinity, as much a way of thinking as a characterization of society, endorses norms that men are taught to value in order to promote a social order that benefits a few men, while it oppresses many others (Harris, 1995, p. 190). Whether it is promoted by men or women, the general belief of patriarchy undertakes the control of men in a kind of "hegemonic masculinity" that aims to identify "those sorts of men who enjoy power and wealth" (MacKinnon, 2003, p. 9). Patriarchy is described as the intimate power of men over women, a power which is traditionally used within the family by the male as wage earner, property owner, keeper of women and children (Ehrenreich, 1995, p. 284). A semi-structured focus group interviews was conducted with 23 black adolescent males and females in a South African township to investigate their experiences and perceptions of domestic violence in their homes of origin and in their intimate relationships, finds that some of the predictions of the

intergenerational transmission of violence were supported by the respondents' experiences and perceptions of violence within their own relationships. There was evidence of socialised gendered notions of male power and control, where violence is used to affirm masculinity (Kubeka, 2008). Being aware of the complexity of masculinities, this study will develop a better understanding of the attitudes and behaviour of young people in heterosexual relationships and clear understanding of other influences that affect young men attitudes and behaviour towards females. Rizzo (2008) argues that one of the best ways to understand how adolescents nurture and maintain their attitudes and beliefs is to more closely explore the family and peer contexts.

Epprecht (2006) defines hegemonic masculinity as a mesh of social practices productive of gender-based hierarchies, including violence that supports these hierarchies; that is, the unequal relations between females and males as groups. Kopano (2008) argues that males become men after processes. It is in families that the process of development from babies to boys and boys to men is normally commenced; families which, with the help of available information and power, oversupply the bodies, minds, desires, and day-to-day practices of youngsters with images and ideas about masculinity.

Research has established, though, that “there are direct connections between violence and conflict with the way that manhoods or masculinities are constructed” (Barker and Ricardo, 2005, p. 24). From the body of literature the concept of hegemonic masculinity keeps on generating, it has been a way of talking about males that clearly gets resonance across many countries, a diversity of settings and disciplines. In association with the notion of masculinity, the notion of hegemonic masculinity brings more attention to, sticking to feminist thought, the understanding of manhood (as opposed to maleness) as a social practice that is developed in many forms. However, there is much to be gained in improving an analysis of male practices and experiences grounded in social conditions as well as those things to be found in the psychosocial realities of individual males. Grounding itself on this terrain, this current study supports that masculinities are better seen as created at both the social and psychological levels, something males do and establish in ongoing activity in connection with females, to other males, but also in connection with their own

personal lives. It is on this position where most researchers are challenged when answering such a question: how to examine males who are weak in relation to other males but at the same time belonging to a dominant gender group in relation to females (Kopano, 2008).

However, the possession of a penis needs to always be held separately from the achievement of masculinity, and more so from the cherished masculinity in a particular place. Given that maleness and masculinity are unlike it is understandable that males have to engage in certain activities, learn to speak in particular ways, avoid certain topics and occupy a certain position in society to be considered as successfully masculine. The activities that go towards generating or encouraging masculinity comprise such things as working outside the home, avoiding subjects such as baby-feeding in conversation, and occupying positions of leadership, supervisor, manager and critically, “official” head of household (Adomako and Boateng, 2007; Hunter, 2005). Therefore, the successful control of men over women is accessible through a number of routes, some of these being relatively easier to travel than others, and the easiest of them all being that travelled with the ticket of age. The simplest way of achieving manhood is through attaining a certain age. Researchers indicate that “age and superiority” are very significant to the configuration of gender in Africa (Miescher, 2007, p. 254). The general point to highlight as far as masculinity is concerned is that age positions males in specific bio-psycho-cultural ways and then discriminates within and between genders. That is, in certain traditions, when a boy reaches a puberty, he is allowed to go through the rites of passage (Gqola, 2007), which if effectively completed, shifts him bio-psycho-culturally; from that time on, others within the culture are obliged to regard him differently – as a man and not a boy. The association of age and manhood is common in the calculus of gender domination. The most important feature of this relationship is that one part providing to male control is a quite active achievement (masculinity) while the other (age) is passive. Masculinity induces males to do certain things in order to be a man, that is, a male cannot do much but wait until he reaches the age where society permits him to vote, attend initiation school, gain employment, drive or marry. Here then an important avenue of examining and empowering African men opens up. This avenue emerges from the combination of passive and active elements in masculinity. This combination demonstrates how males are accepted and position themselves in

becoming boys and men. On the one hand, manhood cannot but be achieved out of social, economic traditional and political forces; on the other, they strongly control their interior and get in contact with the external world. Males endorse their masculine identities by norms and regulations, and in positioning themselves consciously and unconsciously (Kopano, 2008, p. 525).

The construction of masculinity and its confirmation has its roots in everyday life. In his research conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa, Barker (2005, p. 5) writes that the chief mandate or social condition for attaining manhood in Africa, in other words to be a man is to reach at some level of financial autonomy, occupation or income, and then have a household. This social construction of masculinity, for instance, has consequences for young soldiers when they return to normal civilian life. They fear that they are no longer men. A study conducted in 1998 by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa highlights this situation, and indicates that those who served in African National Congress (ANC) forces perceived themselves as relegated to second-class status once returned to civilian life (CSVR, 1998). Peters et al (2003, p.114) also asserts that such men who have used power in settings of war are reluctant to return to normal life where they perceive themselves to be subordinate again. This situation relates to the Congo conflict, for it may be argued that some soldiers do not want peace and will continue to fight in order to carry guns and pursue behaviours that are equated with being men, though peace has been agreed upon.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed peace theoretical frameworks demonstrating how conflict resolution, conflict management, conflict transformation, and peace-building as core peaceful theories may play significant role to address the underlying factors which are sources of violence and attitudes that give rise to violence, such as unequal access to employment, discrimination, intolerance, mistrust, hostility between groups. It is therefore required to continue their application through all stages of a conflict. The conflict parties' attitudes and practices have to change in order to achieve the conflict settlement. However, peace education should deal with attitudes and a transformation of behaviour. Educating about peace has to do with presentation of information and building of knowledge. This chapter has also discussed some the literature on

masculinities and discovered that attention be given to masculinity which is a socially gendered construct.

CHAPTER 3 MALE-FEMALE ROLES, SEX IN RELATIONSHIPS AND MALE-FEMALE CONFLICT IN AFRICA AND DRC

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Sen et al (2007) have argued that gendered norms have implication in households and communities based on values and attitudes about the comparative worth or importance of girls against boys and men against women; about who controls household/community needs and responsibilities; about masculinity and femininity; who is taking decisions; who verifies that household/community order is maintained and deviation is appropriately endorsed or punished; and who has final authority in connection with the internal world of the family/community and its external relations with society. Barker and Ricardo (2005, p. 25) maintain that practices of masculinity not only damage females' physical condition but also males'.

Research with men and boys in the diverse global settings has shown how unequal and rigid gender norms endorse the way men interact with their intimate partners on a wide range of issues, including HIV/STI prevention, contraceptive use, corporal violence, domestic tasks, parenting and men's devoted to general wellbeing (Barker, 2000, Barker and Ricardo, 2005, Kimmel, 2000). Males with traditional views about masculinity (for example, by endorsing that males are more entitled to have sex than females, that males should control females, that females are in charge of household chores, among others) are more likely to report having perpetrated violence against a spouse and to have contracted a sexually transmitted infection (Barker and Olukoya, 2007). A meta-analysis of 268 qualitative studies conducted between 1990 and 2004, based on factors influencing male-female's sexual conduct corroborates that gender stereotypes and different expectations about what is right sexual behaviour are key factors provoking young people's sexual behaviour (Barker et al, in press).

Marston and King (2006) and Sen et al (2007) argue that men and women are at risk because of certain norms linked to masculinity. In some areas, for example, being a man means being tough, brave, risk-taking, aggressive and not worrying for one's body. Engagement in drug use and unsafe sex may be seen as ways to confirm their manhood. Norms of boys and men as being untouchable also shape their health-

seeking behaviour, encouraging an unwillingness to look for assistance or treatment when their physical or mental health is endangered. In some predominately male organisations such as police forces, armed forces and prisons also encounter troubles due to the fact of endorsing culture that support domination and violence. Dominant notions of masculinity may encourage men's own susceptibility to injuries and other health risks and create risks for women and girls.

In this chapter, we examine the literature on the three main themes identified in section 1.3 – the roles of women and men in relationships, sex in relationships and dealing with male-female conflicts.

3.2 MALE-FEMALE ROLES

3.2.1 AFRICA IN GENERAL

In African traditional societies, women were seen as inferior, and they were required by cultures to be first under the domination of their fathers and then that of their husbands. The exclusion of women from parenthood is deliberate and intentional to give credence to distorted image of men as the dominant sex in traditional African societies. Efforts to distort the image of African women as well as their place and roles in the society vis-à-vis their counterparts must be understood within the broader context of the tendency of colonial anthropologists and cognate professionals (Njoh, 2006, p. 87). Njoh also demonstrates that most of African societies were patriarchal prior to the European conquest, and created conditions under which the relationship between women and men reached a hierarchical character. In the pre-colonial African society, males and females played similar roles in their day life. This was more so in the case of childrearing. In fact, children are seen as belonging to whole communities as opposed to individuals.

Njoh (2006, p. 95) indicates that girls and boys in tradition African societies were brought up to perform some gender-specific tasks while girls, and only girls alone, must perform others. It is wrong to claim that certain tasks are set aside, uniquely for men while others are assigned specifically to women. Boys and girls in Africa were required to perform different roles according to their abilities. Boys were educated to

protecting their ancestral lands (in battles), herding livestock, hunting, tapping palm wine, fetching firewood and clearing the farms. Girls were expected to do cooking, hoeing and tending the farms, babysitting, and fetching water. It is difficult to deduce from this that a traditional African girl's place was in the kitchen, and a boy's place was in the hunting grounds and battlefields. It did not matter, whether one was in the kitchen or in the battlefield. What mattered to the traditional African societies was the fact that the roles played by both sexes were equally important for societal survival and maintenance. The importance of a task or function was never conditional upon the gender of person performing the task. Community roles were, therefore, essentially egalitarian. The relative downgrading of female roles in Africa is a product of European colonialism. Prior to that, African women not only worked alongside their male counterparts, but also rose to occupy prominent and highly respected positions in society. They functioned as queen mothers, queen sisters, princesses, chiefs, warriors, supreme monarchs, farmers, traders, technicians, artists, and also occupied high-level administrative roles in towns and villages (Njoh, 2006). Ojo (2001, p. 2) corroborates that the subordination of women results from the protection to the roles within the domestic sphere as well as their exclusion from the economic realm. This argument reveals unjustifiable claims to the effect that women were assigned roles or tasks that commanded less respect than those of their male counterparts in pre-colonial Africa. Women and men performed similar roles in pre-colonial Africa societies. They shared and in some cases exchanged roles in these societies. For instance, during the pre-colonial era in what is currently Western Nigeria, Yoruba women took part in trading and commercial activities that sometimes took them away from home for extended periods (weeks or months), while men were farmers, who worked close to home and were therefore responsible for executing most domestic tasks. In Ibo traditional society in the eastern part of the same country, the roles were reversed as men were traders while women were responsible for farming and daily management of the household. Njoh (2006, p. 95) maintains that the colonial era succeeded in altering gender roles and relations throughout Africa. The roots of forces that discriminate against women and help reduce their status in Africa, are located in this era. Three developments were important in this regard. The first was the introduction of capitalism as favoured way of production. The second was the integration of Africa into the macro capitalist system. Finally, there was the launch of cash crops, plantations and mines throughout the continent. These developments

aimed at facilitating men's involvement in, while excluding women from, financial remunerating activities. For example, the agricultural plantations and mines made and enforced hiring policies that discriminated against women. Women were further disadvantaged by policies that encouraged only men to participate in cash crop farming while consigning women to the roles of cultivating exclusively food crops. These policies provided men financial resources while women remained financially impoverished. The colonial policies resulted in raising the status of men while diminishing that of women. These policies also attributed men the roles that were economically more valuable, while assigned women to those activities that had no direct economic value despite their importance to society's survival and sustenance.

Gender relations and hierarchies thus seem usual and inherent when hegemonic family constructions characterised by women's homemaking and men's bread-winning power (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 201). The workplace is a critical ground shaping gendered health disparities. The gendered division of labour, characterized by division of specific tasks to men and women is widespread in all countries, despite the level of advancement, wealth, religious tendency or political power. These aspects negatively change females' social position comparative to males', and the resulting inequalities generate gender disparity in wellbeing (Messing and Östlin, 2006; Sen et al., 2007). Men's respective work spaces are traditionally claimed by women, and though this led to a "re-gendering" of the work place with men becoming more powerful, selling higher status products or taking on the more difficult or responsible parts of the business, there was at the same time a "de-gendering" of the work place, increasing cross gender interaction and co-operation, and even increasing men's involvement in household decision-making (Parkes, 2007).

Many societies endorse values that discriminate against girls and women. Girls are socialised to undertake low status and their confidence and participation are discouraged, while boys are socialised into rigid roles to take charge of females. This cultural conditioning constructs the norms behind traditional practises that harm girls, such as early and child marriage (World Vision, 2008). Krahé et al (2007) corroborate that the traditional sexual script provides the role of initiators to males and the role of gatekeepers of sexual relationship to females. It indicates that the negative response to male's sexual advances by the woman is part of this role division.

Gender systems have a variety of different characteristics, not all of which are the same across different societies. Females are often not entitled to own land and estate in almost all societies; yet have higher burdens of work in the economy of 'care' - assuring the survival, reproduction and security of people, including young and old. Girls in some societies are uneducated, and more physically limited; and women are usually employed and discriminated in lower-paid, and less secure. Gender position is based on how people live and what they think and claim to know about what it means to be a girl or a boy, a woman or a man. Females are often regarded as less capable, and in some societies seen as holders of family honour and the pride of communities. Limitations of their physical movement, sexuality, and reproductive ability are seen as natural; and in many instances, approved practices of social behaviour and legal systems ignore and even encourage violence against them (Sen et al., 2007, p. xiii).

Gender is a dynamic of human relations that reaches to the heart of society, and therefore to conflict. Yet it is often overlooked (Fisher et al., 2005). Women's lower position is reinforced from the fact of men having more education, greater resources, good appointment, greater political power, and fewer constraints on behaviour. Men use more power over females, deciding on their behalf, adjusting and constraining their access to wealth and personal agency, and endorsing and controlling their conducts through socially accepted physical force or the threat of violence. It is important to mention that not all men who use power over women; gender power relations are interconnected by age and lifecycle as well as the other social indicators such as economic class, race or caste (Sen et al., 2007).

CADRE (2003) argues that violence against women likely occurs where women are economically disadvantaged and have restricted access to employment, education, training, money and credit. Sen et al (2007, p. xiii) maintain that women are considered as properties rather than subordinates or managers in their own households and communities, and this is seen in behaviour norms, laws, and practises that maintain their status as inferiors and second class people. Even in places where severe gender differences may not exist; females often have less access to political power and lower involvement in party-political organisations from the local municipal representatives or village to the national parliament and the international arena. Much

of the above afflicts females who are often forced to live on the limits of traditional society with few material resources, who face labour market non-inclusion giving them little other than sex-work as a means of survival, and who are often excluded, abused, and dehumanized.

3.2.2 IN THE DRC

Well before wars began in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, females were considered as second class people. The law and social norms outlined the role of women and girls as subordinate to men. The Congolese Family Code expressly subordinates women in the family by instructing them to obey their husbands, who are accepted as the head of the family⁴. Reflecting the community's sense that educating boys is more important than educating girls, a higher percentage of boys attend school than girls. Some male household heads "solve" rape cases involving their daughters or sisters by accepting money payment from the perpetrator or his family, or by arranging to have the perpetrator marry the victim, thus underscoring the notion that rape was a crime against the perceived "owner" of the victim (Human Rights Watch, 2004a, p.330).

Women are not a minority group, but their lower status, their limited access to the public domain, and their political marginalisation have meant that they experience wide-scale abuse of their rights at every level and still face obstacles in obtaining redress (Fisher et al., 2005). Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of planning (2005) corroborates with these assumptions and indicates that culture weighs heavily on livelihood of South Kivu women who are considered as agricultural production tool. South Kivu women are underrepresented in institutions of decision, management of the province and the country where there is only one woman in the national government, seven in senate and parliament, and no one as mayor or provincial governor. Females are economically dependent on males and have difficult to access employment.

Braimoh et al (2004) argue that patriarchy has the power to define how women are treated and it becomes more pervasive when it is intertwined compatibly with the

⁴ Code zaïrois de la famille, art. 444. See chapter IX. on the legal framework

political, economic and legal aspects of a country. People should not exclude the fact that in the Southern African region and beyond, women have greater responsibilities of being household heads. They take care of the children and other important family chores and decisions. In addition, they also engage in productive endeavour as the majority of their husbands work in the mines, leaving all other social, marital and agricultural activities to women. Despite the responsibilities that they bear, women are, from a patriarchal traditional belief system, unproductive as far as the development of their nations is concerned. The Southern African region women's position is similar to the Congo situation where the rate of women occupying positions of responsibility at the national and provincial level is very low: no governor or mayor of the city who is woman, in South Kivu, women are not represented in politics and in the provincial administration except one woman who occupy the post of district officer on 27 districts. The representativeness of women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has never reached 30% as recommends by international resolutions (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of plan, 2005).

The Congolese woman is victim of gender discrimination and violence. The rate of women in positions of responsibility hardly exceeds 2 to 3%. Man, favoured by certain physical and biological realities implements policies that run social reality in his favour. Therefore, man has implemented everything in his favour and woman is placed under his control. The sociocultural concept transcends from sex and women with emphasis on the individual as a corporate entity which characterizes relations. Gender should not be an object of discrimination as is the case in South Kivu where a woman is not allowed to speak in public, in this patriarchal society in case of divorce. Despite the willingness to break with the tradition displayed by the government, women are still under represented in strategic decision-making institutions. At the governmental level there are 5 or (4%) women among 35 (14%) ministers and vice-ministers. At the administrators' level, women executives represent an average of 61% of women are doing menial duties despite their qualifications and experience. In the context of socio-economic crisis, the Congolese woman becomes the main provider of substance of many families in doing small business. Despite women's undeniable role in the survival of the majority of the population, women's faces many problems of access and control of resources and factors of production. The proportion of women who cannot access to economic opportunities is estimated at 1% versus

22% for men. Women represent only 2% in mining, 3% in the industry, and 8% in entrepreneurship. They are mainly concentrated in agriculture (70% in traditional agriculture and the informal sector 60%) (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of plan, 2005). It has been normally estimated that in DRC women “represent 73% of those economically operating in agriculture and harvest more than 80% of the food crops” (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2003). In South Kivu more particularly, women are in charge of such a large share of the agriculture, that they are considered as being the drivers of the whole survival economy (*Reseau des Femmes pour un Developpement Associatif*, 2005). Many Congolese households now subsist only through the resourcefulness of women, who are often involved in activities that produce insufficient income. As women mainly control the informal sector (agriculture, small animal raising and small business), they have almost no access to financial assistance. They experience exhausting workdays of 14 to 16 hours. As noted above, they always use rudimentary tools to produce, process and preserve agricultural food products. Unfortunately, they are still using manual farm tools (CEDAW, 2004). Because of discrimination, females do not have the same opportunities as males for national resources. In the small business sector, they are heavily represented, but they do not easily access the credit. The small business sector is characterised with high transaction costs, reimbursement rules and practice of corruption that discourage women. To this hindrances should add permission of the spouse who is another constraint. Culture is the barrier that hinders the promotion of gender equality in South Kivu province (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of plan, 2005). For Congolese women, the gender equality may lead to the awakening of their consciousness. This inequality extends to all aspects of daily life, including the opportunities for girls to get an education because educating boys is considered more important, and thus a higher percentage of boys attend school than girls in the DRC (Kirchner, 2007). Congolese women are traditionally seen as inferior. In Congolese society, there exists an old set of rules called the Family Code that subordinates women by compelling them to obey the husband, the accepted head of the household (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Although the Family Code has been revised and replaced by equalising amended family codes, this tradition is deeply rooted, and the status of women remains subordinate to men. The old code stipulates that a woman must live wherever her husband chooses to live and that she requires her husband’s authority to bring a case to court (Jefferson, 2004). In addition, the

management of wealth is to be entrusted to the husband. The fact that women have been moved to lower status in society does not necessarily imply lesser importance. Women's protection is crucial because of their generative importance to the community (Galleguillos, 2007).

Sexual violence hinders the livelihoods of women in South Kivu. Women victims of rape suffer bodily injuries and are unable to return to the heavy physical activities of farming. Other women are in a position to return, but they are only able to work in a reduced capacity, thus reducing their income and limiting the ability to support their families. Some sexual violence survivors are displaced from their homes and their communities either because the family home was lost in the attack, because their marriages dissolve, because they are no longer safe in their homes, because they are excluded from the community or because they move to a larger town like Bukavu to access the services they require. Regardless of the ideas behind the displacement, these women are all forced to desert their fields and to at least temporarily abandon their source of livelihood. Sexual violence survivors who are displaced to large towns and cities in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo are at a high risk of engaging in prostitution to support themselves and their families (Oxfam, 2010). Although not particularly documented for Bukavu, other underdeveloped countries have shown high rates of prostitution among young, uneducated women who move to larger cities without a means of sustaining themselves (United Nations Habitat, 2004).

3.3 SEX IN RELATIONSHIPS

3.3.1 AFRICA IN GENERAL

Men use their decision making power to give reason for their sexual coercion. Varga (2003), in her studies of Zulu speaking young people, demonstrates that most male participants agree that a girl cannot withstand her boyfriend's sexual advances. Because he is a real man, he must not allow the girl to stop him. He must win and get what he wants. Male participants also emphasise that this action is cultural; man has to take decisions and woman to follow it. A qualitative study conducted in the Durban metropolitan area among young people aged 14-22 finds that many African female respondents maintained that it was neither usual nor easy to discuss sex and sexual

issues. African female worried that if they talk of sexual issues with their partners they would be misjudged. They sometimes give sex to males as a sign of their commitment and appreciation of the relationship or to preserve levels of affection (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004).

Girls' mobility and activities are limited and they are expected to learn to become submissive and dependent. They are also expected to become self-sacrificing in relation to other family members, especially husbands and children. Women in some societies are not required to show emotion, or acknowledge their own health needs. These situations can and do translate into women keeping under control, and families not acknowledging their health needs, and men not seeking health care. "The community expectations of what men and boys do can quickly affect attitudes and behaviours linked with HIV/AIDS, sexual and reproductive health, gender-based violence and men's taking part in child and maternal health" (Barker et al., in press).

For many men, female consent to sexual intercourse is not considered. Where this attitude is the prevailing one, women are less likely to demand the right to say no. Varga (2003) indicates that 84 percent of respondents claimed the male partner as the only person who has got to make a decision when to initiate sex in a relationship. Wood et al (1998), in a qualitative study investigating Xhosa-speaking teenage pregnant women, find that male violent and coercive practices control sexual relationships. Conditions and timing of sex are fixed by their male partners through the use of violence and through the exchange of certain constructions of love, relationship, and entitlement to which the adolescent girls were expected to submit. The validity of these violent sexual behaviours was approved by female peers who reported that silence and submission were the appropriate reactions. Andersson et al (2004) maintain that women on the other hand are not expected to refuse males' sexual advances. Twenty eight percent of men report that girls do not have right to refuse sex with their boyfriend, this reflects existing notions that male sexuality is instinctive and uncontrollable. Boonzaier (2008) confirms that men put the lack of sexual activity in the relationship forward as the rationale for marital infidelity.

Qualitative studies in South Africa demonstrate that men believe they are more powerful than women and they are expected to dominate women in their relationships

(Morrell, 2002). Boonzaier's (2008) in her narrative study conducted among women and men in Western Cape, South Africa finds that men exert pressure on females to be sexually intimate with them. They do so by indicating that women do not satisfy them sexually, and thereby also condemning their lack of conformity to the traditional standards of femininity.

Andersson et al (2004) in national cross sectional study conducted among South African young people indicate that participants report when a girl says 'no' for having sex, men interpret this to 'yes.' Men have used the two assumptions to force girls who are unwilling to have sex. Varga (2003, pp. 163-164) corroborates that an urban boy in South Africa explained, "When women say "no" they mean "yes". A woman cannot "Let's do it." You need to read her facial expression... If she keeps on saying "no" and closing her eyes, she wants it "sex". Varga (2003) also demonstrates that the connection between female self-respect and sexual shyness as a strategy often encourages socially acceptable violent sexual encounters. A survey conducted in KwaZulu-Natal reveals that 36% of girls were coerced into their first sexual beginning (Manzini, 2001). Same view is widely held in South Africa that a boyfriend must use force in the first sexual encounter with a new girl (Jackson, 2002; Monson et al, 2000). Such a view may predispose men to the culture of violence, and encourage unwanted sex to take place. In the qualitative study conducted in South Africa among young males, most of participants indicated that a relationship with a woman means sex. It is quite clear that young men link sex with a relationship; both are intermingled dependent from each other; sex cannot be separated from a relationship. Once in a relationship, men consider sex as a right that a relationship has to provide (Mulumeoderhwa, 2009). MacPhail and Campbell (2001) also corroborate that young women conveyed that if they do not willingly give sex, their boyfriends would insist on it as proof of their love.

Barker and Ricardo (2005) argue that for adolescent boys in sub-Saharan Africa, sexual practice is often linked with initiation into the state of being a man and attaining a socially accepted manhood. Sex is regarded as performance, and a way to prove masculine prowess. Wood et al (1998, p. 236) indicate that young women also believe that the agreement to love is particularly associated with penetrative intercourse and being available sexually, an equation which appears to derive mostly

from the men, who report telling women that sex is the “aim” of being “in love”, and that male and female who are in relationship must have sex “as often as possible.”

In some areas, females are generally seen as property to be sold, inherited, and dominated. For example, one of respondents explains that women in Northern Sudan use the term “nihna bahaim,” meaning “we are cattle,” and describe themselves and their status as being “saleable, available for use, replaceable, not individuals but property to be acquired” (Center for Women’s Global Leadership, 1994). The groom or his family, in most sub-Saharan Africa countries, pay a “bride price” in the form of cattle to the bride’s family. The bride price is a well-known custom in many African countries. But what once has been considered as a symbol of gratitude to the bride’s family has in many circumstances become a transaction. Some parents view giving their daughters to marriages as an occasion to acquire wealth and build alliances (World Vision, 2008). A qualitative study conducted in South Africa finds that the tradition of bride price endorses the belief that females are property and can be sold and bought (Kim, 2002). Ward (2005) contends that in Sudan, as well, bride price opens a way for categorising females as males’ property. Bride price, which is practiced throughout the Eastern Central and Southern Africa region, endorses social norms that justify gender-based violence, as husbands may feel given the right of hitting or coercing their spouses into sex since they paid their bride price (Kim and Motsei, 2002; Ward, 2005). Another research from South Africa indicates that men consider sex with their partners and girlfriends as their right and approve use of force as an acceptable means of initiating it (Wood and Jewkes, 2001). Not only are women considered as property, but women also find difficulties in owning and inheriting assets because of legal and cultural conditions (Benninger-Budel, 2000). In some cases, women’s limitation to access property rights enhances their dependence on men, and encourages them to remain in abusive relationships (Strickland, 2004).

3.3.2 IN THE DRC

A quantitative study using cluster sampling conducted in the eleven provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) among 8,617 adolescents aged 15-19 years and 4,474 young adults aged 20-24 years finds that teenagers and young adults ignore the risk of contracting HIV infection in both transactional and no transactional sex.

The median age at first sex was less than 17 years for males (76%) and less than 18 years for females (52%). Boys had sex for the first time with a younger partner, while girls had their first sexual encounter with an older partner. Women want to be with older men because of their maturity, and their capacity to provide them with money or gifts. Sixty four percent of females reported that they lack skills to refuse having sex with older partners (Kayembe et al, 2008b). The demographics study of women conducted at Panzi Hospital between 2004 and 2008 requesting post-sexual violence treatment, indicates that the mean and median age was 35 years with an age range of 3.5 to 80 years. Six percent of survivors were less than 16 years of age and 10% were 65 years of age or older. A large number of women estimated at 53% were married, and 9% indicated that their husbands have abandoned them (Oxfam, 2010).

A qualitative study on sexual violence conducted among 117 adolescents (70 girls and 47 boys) in Kinshasa, the capital of the DRC and Bukavu, the capital of the eastern Province of South-Kivu, adolescents reported that sexual violence and rape are a widespread phenomenon. Reports of rape of young girls and babies by relatives and neighbours are now not uncommon (Bosmans, 2007). These findings corroborate Human Rights Watch's report in the eastern DRC indicating that alleged survival sex created a situation where violent sexual relationships between adult men and teenage girls has become a norm and 'men consider sex as a "service" easy to get.' Using the services of young prostitutes in the Congo is no longer considered as an act of sexual violence against children, but rather as a favour, supplying a means of surviving to these girls (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Women and children were once protected but have now become people to attack in the struggle for power. More reports show that the military are often associated with civilians who violently participate in the rape attacks⁵.

Most girls in the DRC are forced by their families to marry men not of their choices. Such a practice is specifically prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa. Because of poverty striking African communities, parents are unable to provide for the fundamental needs

⁵ United Nations Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict, <http://www.un.org/specialrep/childrenarmedconflict/English/DemocraticRepublicofCongo.html>. (Accessed on 19 May 2010)

of their children, thus they arrange the marriage for their daughter so they can reduce one mouth to feed. Early marriage, particularly when the girl is younger than 15, has much – and often destructive – effects on the lives of the girls involved and by extension their children and communities. A child bride is taken away from her family and taken to live with a man who is rarely of her own age or choice. Her husband and in-laws expect for quick and repeated childbearing, a task for which her body and mind may be unprepared. She faces early and unsafe forced sex, affecting her with injury and infection. In the process of birth, she is more likely than an adult woman to experience difficulties and give birth to an underweight or stillborn baby or die. She must drop out of school, retarding her intellectual growth and often isolating her from peers. Her future and the future of her children are surrendered to cycles of poverty, illness and ignorance are perpetuated. The costs of these affect different levels: families, communities, and nations (World Vision, 2008).

3.4 VIOLENCE IN SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Violence against women in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, is a complex issue that is influenced by various aspects of life, community, and society. Gender-based violence is a critical problem not only because it violates human rights but also it challenges the public health, economic and community development (USAID, 2006). Gender-based violence is “any destructive act that is done against somebody’s will, and that is based on socially approved (gender) inequalities between males and females” (IASC, 2005). Violence against women has a greater impact on women and girls as they are most often the victims, and they suffer harmful physical injury than men when victimized (WHOc, 2005). The term gender-based violence is also applied to point to the proportions within which “violence against women” takes place⁶; women’s lower status causes them to be more vulnerable to violence and “encourages an environment that allows, excuses, and even demands violence against women” (Heise et al., 1999).

⁶ The United Nations General Assembly defined violence against women as “Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering for women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (United Nations General Assembly, 1993).

Kaufman (1987/1998) argues that violence is not a result of being male. In fact, it is important to make the contrast in the biological determinism found in an expression like “male violence” and the social construction of “men’s violence.” Kaufman indicates that children are socialising into expectations of behaviour by society at a young age. Although realising that the focus of study should be on how society shapes gender identity, Kaufman and other writers are clear that men must take individual responsibility for their actions and identify the existence of societal power relations. The manifestation of those power relations is violence against women. Consistent with the feminist framework of gender-based violence is the idea that notions of masculinity greatly influence gender equality and violence (Pope and Englar-Carlson, 2001). It is worthy to mention that masculinity plays a role at the individual level for example men who perpetrate violence towards women are more likely to have negative attitudes about women, but also at the community or contextual level (Katz, 2003). Both individual and contextual factors are related to the perpetration of violence.

Furthermore, gender-based violence may eventually contribute to unwanted pregnancies. Females who undergo sexual violence during their adolescence can have more unwanted pregnancies. The reasons may however be multiple: abuse has been associated with loss of control, anxiety, and fear - all of which can contribute to risky sexual behaviour. For example, unprotected sex or forced rape; reduce a woman’s capacity to use condoms every time she negotiates their use with perpetrators. Moreover, since many cases of rape and incest go unreported, the number of resulting pregnancies can only be probable. It may be assumed that many of these pregnancies are unwanted, because access to pregnancy contraception is unavailable or restricted in many places (De Bruyn, 1999).

Violence against women is another consequence of male stereotype behaviour and symbol of unbalanced power relationships between females and males (Garcia-Moreno, 2002). It includes domestic violence, trafficking of women, and types of violence related to traditions that are particular to certain countries, such as sex discriminating abortion, killing female new-born babies, the deliberate neglect of girls, rape in war, female genital part removing, and honour killings. While causes of violence are numerous and interlinked, gender inequality and norms of masculine

behaviours that endorse violence, poverty, low education, alcohol drinking and a report of experiencing abuse and prior victimization are among those most frequently discovered (Jewkes, 2002). The indirect effects of conflict and rape may eventually expose women to the risk of becoming HIV positive. Exposure to trauma in early years gives rise to use of violence, and sexual violence, in later years including sexual risk-taking behaviour (Jewkes et al, 2006). Risk of violence is likely in societies which accepted codes of social conduct that condone and even approve violence against women (Sen et al., 2007).

Studies conducted in South Africa indicate that men believe that women are responsible of rape they claim to be victims of, and also show that rape occurs because of women's way of dressing that attracts men to have sex with them. This assumption is consistent with previous research conducted in South Africa that indicates that as many as one in five participants from both genders agreed that rape usually occurs as a result of the actions of a woman and that she can often be blamed for it (Andersson et al, 2004; Kalichman et al, 2005; Mulumeoderhwa, 2009).

Qualitative research conducted in the US among 71 young people between the ages of 8 and 17 years indicates of how discourses surrounding (hetero)sexuality and violence leave girls vulnerable to, and unprotected from male sexual violence (Barter, 2006). Krug et al (2002, p.149), in a report raising awareness about violence throughout the world, indicate that forced sex may result in sexual gratification on the part of the perpetrator, though its fundamental purpose is the demonstration of power and dominance over the victim. Qualitative studies in South Africa demonstrate that men believe they are more powerful than women and they are expected to dominate women in their relationships (Jewkes et al., 2002; Morrell, 2002). Boonzaier's (2008) in her narrative study conducted among women and men in Western Cape, South Africa finds that men exert pressure on females to be sexually intimate with them. They do so by indicating that women do not satisfy them sexually, and thereby also condemning their lack of conformity to the traditional standards of femininity. The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in 2006 reports that in eastern Congo, the incidence of rape and other types of sexual violence against women is seen as the worst in the world. Women's life has become precarious because of war. Most Congolese perceive violence against women

as normal⁷. Gaestel (2010) indicates that the world has turned its eyes to this ongoing violence. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) estimates that over 8,000 girls and women were raped in eastern Congo in 2009. The additional figure adds to uncountable earlier cases. The correct figures of people who have been raped in total are unknown, due to victims remaining silent because of stigma or fear of retaliation from their aggressors. There is some estimation of 100,000 underreported rape cases which underestimate the actual total.

Adolescents are significantly experiencing sexual encounter at an early age. In addition, young people's failure to use condoms in sexual encounters puts them at high risk of unwanted pregnancies and of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV (O'Donnell et al. 2001). Early initiation of sexual intercourse tends to be impacted by a variety of factors including perceived peer sexual behaviour (Hallman, 2004), peer norms (Kinsman et al. 1998), curiosity, peer pressure (Martin et al. 2005), coercion (Caceres et al. 2000; De Visser et al. 2003; Howard and Wang, 2005), and exposure to sexually explicit television programs (Collins et al. 2004). In her narrative study conducted among urban and rural young Zulu male and female investigating on sexual decision-making and negotiation, Varga (2003, p. 160) corroborates that young men's relationships appear to be driven by pressure from peers and partners to engage in early unprotected sex as part of trust and commitment. Monasch and Mahy (2006) argue that in sub-Saharan Africa risky sexual activity at earlier age is a public health concern, since such behaviour may increase the spread of HIV/AIDS. Cohen et al. (2006) suggest that communication looking for behaviour change is the starting point for the control of HIV. Behaviour change is a very difficult to construct since behaviour is likely to be grounded in culture and norms and is likely to be determined collectively.

Holmes et al., (1996, p. 175) stated that: "In conflict contexts, raped women are often ostracised and traumatised. In many societies, women who are victims of rape are abandoned, divorced, and regarded as unmarriageable. Additionally, many raped women were impregnated; contracted sexually transmitted infections, and suffered

⁷ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 2006, concluding comments of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against women: Democratic Republic of the Congo

gynaecological injuries that necessitate reconstructive surgery.” For instance, in South Kivu Province some Congolese young women reveal losing their virginity during sexual violence. In some of these circumstances, there are undeniable concerns that the young woman might not be able to marry as a result of the rape (Oxfam, 2010). While in case of rape it is not easy or possible to use contraception, research indicates that in the DRC, the issue of contraception is still debated and contraceptives not easily accessed (Kayembe et al., 2006, p. 15). A report from Amnesty International (2007) shows that among women who were identified as rape victims in the North and South Kivu, 40% of women were pregnant and bore children whose fathers will remain unknown. These however are not the only consequences that rape victims suffer.

In South-Kivu Province in 2005, almost 14,200 cases of rape were declared by the health services. In 2006, humanitarian organisations registered 27,000 cases of rape. And according to the *Synergie provinciale du Sud-Kivu de lutte contre les violences sexuelles*, over 12,000 sexual assaults cases and sexual violence against women and young girls were documented in South-Kivu in 2007. In North-Kivu, in 2007, Doctors Without Borders alone gave medical care to newly 250 raped women per month (Human Rights, 2008). However, Amnesty International (2007) has shown that despite the large public attention that these rape cases received, the DRC is not the only nation in which rape during war time occurs. Goodwin (2004) testifies that it was also the case for Rwanda during the 1994 genocide when the report from Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch (HRW) estimated that at least 15,000 women had been assaulted and raped during the genocide. However, what makes the case of the Eastern DRC personal and unique, according to the report from Amnesty International (2004), is the fast spread of HIV/AIDS and the fact that it has tripled from the beginning of the conflict to date. Additionally, the report from Dr Denis Mukwege, who is the director of Panzi Hospital, reveals that among those rape victims receiving treatment at this hospital 40% have HIV/AIDS (Amnesty International, 2004).

Sexual and gender-based violence in the DRC lead to severe physical consequences of sexual violence including injuries, fistulas, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases. Due to unwanted pregnancy, there is also a higher risk of unsafe abortions

(WHO, 2005b). Human Rights (2009b) notes that local health centres in the Democratic Republic of the Congo's South Kivu province estimate that 40 females are sexually assaulted every day. An estimated of 1.100 cases of rape per month between November 2008 and March 2009. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has more than one million people estimated end of 2003. In 2003 there is an estimated 100.000 Congolese who died of HIV/AIDS. The HIV/AIDS prevalence is 4.2%, compared to 7.5% in sub-Saharan Africa. High prevalence is among young people in the DRC, especially young women. Among those ages 15-24, the estimated number of HIV positive young women was roughly twice that of young men. Women account for more than half (57%) of adults estimated to be living with HIV/ADS in the DRC (UNAIDS, 2004). The Democratic Republic of Congo HIV/AIDS prevention counts on behaviour that adolescents and young adults are likely to adopt (Kayembe et al, 2008b).

In quantitative and qualitative research conducted at Panzi Hospital in South Kivu Province, 57% of women indicated that they have been raped in their own homes while sleeping with their families. If present, the husband was often executed, beaten, or brought under control while his wife was raped. An estimated 20% of women confirmed being kidnapped by the assailants and were raped over a period of 24 hours. In some situations, the rape victims were taken as "wives" by a soldier, often a chief or commanding officer. In other situations, the women were raped by many men over a period of time. Many women were in the end able to escape. Sometimes, family members gave money demanded by the kidnappers for releasing women (Oxfam, 2010). Cherie (2006) describes rape and other sexual acts of violence as warfare; as a means to humiliate shame, degrade and terrify an entire group (2006, p. 10). Rape is purposefully used to inflict shame, pain and humiliation. For raped women, the competence to care for their children and to participate in community life is greatly diminished. They realise that the potential for re-integration into their relational social association is totally reduced. Because the stigmatization and humiliation can continue for decades, rampant infliction of sexual violence may really terminate the cultural and social link that binds the entire communities together (Thomas, 2007b). The main factor in this situation is the impact that the rape of women has had on men in the victim's family and community. Sexual violence, as the fundamental demonstration of power and domination, is exercised by the opposing

force to demonstrate the weakness and incapability of the men in the under attack social grouping or community. These men understand this message, considering their powerlessness to protect women against rape as their own complete humiliation in the battle (Leaning et al, 2009). In some situations, the victim's family members were compelled to watch her being raped. These family members were most often the husband, the children or the mother/father-in-law. Most participants who were raped in the presence of their family members particularly mentioned the additional shame of having had the relatives witness the assault. Some raped women report forced sexual acts between victims, often of incestuous relationship. These narratives described young men being obliged to rape their biological mothers or sisters and fathers being forced to rape their daughters. Refusal on the part of the victim's family member to rape his relative generally led to his death (Oxfam, 2010). Sexual violence is the only crime for which the community's reply is often to label the victim as socially undesirable rather than punish the perpetrator. Many men get into the habit of enforcing gender norms and stereotypes through physical violence. They interact in violent ways (actual and intimidated) with women without sanction, and sometimes with community and government support. Such violence is often culturally, sometimes legally, approved (Human rights Watch, 2004b, 2008).

The majority of rape in eastern Congo is perpetrated in the woman's own home. The forest and fields also comprise a large proportion of assaults. The other places include the market, water sources and other people's homes, including public buildings such as hospitals, shops and offices. Sexual violence survivors indicate that the majority of assaults occurred at night (57%). Thirty four percent of women indicate that they were raped during the day, and 7% report that they were raped in the evening (Oxfam, 2010).

Pregnant women, even those in the advanced stages of pregnancy, were in no way exempt to sexual violence. Accounts of miscarriages and stillbirths caused by rape were not occasional. Some women indicated that they fell pregnant as a result of rape. For some women, sexual violence led to pregnancy and this particularly occurred due to the case of sexual slavery, where women were raped repeatedly over a period of time. Sexual slavery was frequent with some women being held captive for several years. Sexual slavery often includes young, single women. The sexual assaults are

exceptional for extraordinary brutality including genital mutilation and insertion of piece of wood, and other foreign objects into females' sexual organs. The sense of shame seemed to be intensified in women who became pregnant due to the rape; especially married women were abandoned if the rape caused in a pregnancy (Oxfam, 2010). Since abortion is a criminal offence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and since adoption is rarely taken as an alternative in Congolese society, most pregnant sexual violence survivors find themselves responsible for raising a child. Because many sexual slavery survivors are single and because of being identified as a "rape victim" usually hinders females' chances of marrying, many pregnant survivors are single parents. Not only does this hinder the survivor's aptitude to continue school or to pursue a career, but without the economic support and protection traditionally provided by men in DRC, it also increases her vulnerability (Bartels et al., 2010).

Existing evidence has also revealed that rape is the major way that increases the risks of unwanted pregnancies. According to Human Rights Watch (2002), in a country like the DRC where abortion is unlawful, therefore, in the case of rape the risks of unwanted pregnancy and unsafe abortion are very high. Carpenter (2000) investigates the problem of unwanted pregnancies and the findings reveal that, humanitarian policy records and procedures for the protection of children in conflict conditions have failed to explain how to deal with the problem of children born to rape victims. The report suggests that "these children do not inevitably experience war in the same way as child soldiers; immigrants, displaced children or war orphans do, but are rather victims of abuse, rejection and stigma during and after the war." However, it can reasonably be assumed that children born as a result of rape face high risks of infanticide, stigma, neglect and discrimination (Bosmans, 2007). A report by Human Rights Watch (2005) indicates that, some children have been called 'Interahamwe', named in connection with the Rwandan militia who had crossed the border to DRC, and are thus stigmatized for life.

Many women report the deaths of children and/or husbands at the time they were sexually assaulted. The psychological suffering resulted from losing a child or spouse is vast, especially when survivors are forced to witness their family members being raped, brutalised and killed. Some women express enormous guilt about not being able to protect their loved ones, especially young children, from a premature death.

There is also significant remorse about the inhumane manner in which family members are sometimes killed. For survivors, mourning the loss of family members is combined with physical injuries and emotional pain arising from their own experiences of sexual violence. Victims of rape also suffer from a number of physical symptoms resulting from rape, including genital, lumbar and waist pain as well as reproductive malfunctions such as barrenness and premature labour and delivery. They often express their fear of contracting infections, especially HIV, after being raped. Psychological symptoms after the rape are also common. Most rape survivors also suffer substantial losses such as the death of family members, spousal abandonment and loss of personal assets as a result of the assault (Oxfam, 2010). Two Congolese organizations, *Réseau des Femmes Pour un Développement Associatif* (RFDA) and *Réseau des Femmes Pour la Défense des Droits et la Paix* (RFDP) conducted interviews and focus groups among 500 rape survivors in 2003, find that 85% of women participating in the focus groups reported vaginal discharge, 79% reported lower waist pain and 10% reported that they became pregnant as a result of the rape (Réseau des Femmes Pour un Développement Associatif, 2005).

Violence and discrimination against women are worldwide social epidemics, in spite of the intervention of the international women's human rights movement in recognising, raising awareness about, and tackling impunity for women's human rights violations. Our responsibility should be to reveal and condemn those practices and policies that silence and subordinate women, including legal, cultural, or religious practices by which women are particularly discriminated, excluded from political participation and public spheres, isolated in their daily lives, beaten in their homes, sexually assaulted, denied equal divorce or inheritance rights, killed for having sex, forced to marry, attacked for not behaving acceptably to gender norms and pushed in forced prostitution (Human Rights, 2010).

Sexual violence for any woman is a destructive and horrific criminal act. However, it is perhaps more destructive to society as a whole for young, educated women to be particularly affected. It is this generation of Congolese women who have the opportunity to become breadwinners for their families, the opportunity to become leaders within their professions and through their success, the opportunity to improve the overall status of women in DRC. Thus, for these young women to have their

health, physical and psychological, restrained by an experience of sexual slavery, could be particularly destructive to the status of Congolese women and to Congolese society in general (Bartels et al., 2010).

During times of conflict there are sharp increases of sexual violence against women with negative effects on their reproductive health (Moffett, 2006). In South Kivu, rape is widespread, destroying women of all categories of age, marital statuses and ethnic groups. Women are sexually assaulted everywhere, even in their own homes. The sexual assaults are cruel, with shocking reports of gang rape, sexual slavery, genital trauma, forced rape between victims and rape in the presence of family members. Raped women often watch the torture and massacre of their children and husbands (Oxfam, 2010). Several international organizations have given an account of their observations from working with sexually assaulted victims in Eastern DRC. All together, they report the extraordinary cruel treatment of sexual violence in Democratic Republic of Congo, which includes gang rape, instrumentation, kidnapping, forced “marriages” and genital mutilation (Amnesty International 2004)

Some rape survivors at Panzi Hospital indicate more than one category of sexual violence such as gang rape in the presence of family members. “Other” involves anal penetration, forced oral sex, sexual abuse, forced to undress, forced rape between victims, and inserting foreign objects into the vagina or anus. Females have been kidnapped and became sex slaves; they were younger than women who described other forms of sexual brutality (aged 29-36). Single women are two and a half times more likely to be taken as sex slaves compared to married, divorced or widowed women (Oxfam, 2010, pp. 16-17).

The number of charges of rape by personnel of FARDC is rising. Sexual violence is also increasingly committed by civilians as a result of war (Human Rights, 2008). Militias are most responsible for all forms of sexual violence and civilian attackers are the least common perpetrators despite the form of sexual violence (Oxfam, 2010). The dreadful crisis of gender-based violence recorded so far is experienced in the Kivus. In 2007, the Provincial Synergy to Combat Sexual Violence in South Kivu documented 4,500 new cases of rape, of which 70% were perpetrated by the FDLR, 16% by the FARDC and National Police (PNC) and 14% by civilians; 13 per cent of

the victims were girls younger than 18 years old (Ertürk, 2008; Human Rights, 2008). However, Congolese gender violence is mostly dominated by military rape; consequently civilians are now considering rape as norms. The military rape is not the scope of the current research that mainly focuses on sexual violence perpetrated by Congolese civilians.

3.4.1 CIVILIANS AND RAPE

Wood and Jewkes (1998), for instance, noticed in their study among black young women in a South African township that few were in relationships which did not implicate physical violence. In fact, coercion and violence were so frequent that many of these young women understood it as an expression of love. In the other perspective, Bartels et al (2010) demonstrate that gang rape committed by non-military perpetrators implies a widespread acceptance of sexual violence among civilian Congolese and results from the environment of impunity that continues to exist in Eastern DRC. Ertürk (2008) corroborates that other perpetrators are ordinary men who have adopted wartime conduct simply because it is possible to do so. Clearly, the atrocities of the war, committed in absolute impunity, have hindered all social sanctions in the Congolese society, thereby unleashing an unrestrained transgression on women's bodies. As one Congolese woman's rights activist states: "In the past, armed robbers would rob a house and then leave. Today, they will first rape all the women in the house and then steal".

Congolese civilians have begun to adopt rape as a norm. From 2004 to 2008, civilian rapes increased by a shocking 1733% or 17-fold, whereas the number of rapes by armed combatants decreased by 77%. While the majority of women victim of assaults describe their assailants as being soldiers, as being in military uniform or directly recognising them as belonging to a specific military group, 6% of sexual assaults are reportedly perpetrated by civilians. Sexual violence perpetrated by civilians most often affect young women and is probably occurred in the perpetrator's home or while the victim is going to or coming back from the market, school or a friend's house. The eastern Congo's situation involves a normalization of rape among the civilian population, and deals with all practical social mechanisms that have to protect civilians from sexual violence (Oxfam, 2010). The worry is that the number of rapes

perpetrated by civilians is increasing. Reports indicate that 40 to 60 per cent of the rapes are now perpetrated by civilians.⁸ Despite the enlargement of civilian perpetrators over the four year period, armed combatants were still the main perpetrators in 2008 (52% in 2004 vs. 46% in 2008). A retrospective cohort investigation on women seeking for post sexual violence care at Panzi Hospital in 2006 finds that 23 women (2.2%) report their attackers as being civilian (Bartels et al., 2010). Of all sexual violence reported for 2004, fewer than 1% was committed by civilians versus 38% of all sexual violence reported in 2008 (Oxfam, 2010).

From the above mentioned study, Oxfam finds that the behaviours of civilian perpetrators are particularly different from those of armed combatants and non-specified perpetrators, giving rise to a distinct pattern of civilian perpetrated rape. For example, civilian perpetrators committed simple types of rape. They attack females in “other locations” such as private residences excluding the victim’s (often the assailant’s residence), the market area and public buildings as well as hospitals, shops and offices. They are also much less likely to attack in the forest or in the fields. Collectively, these differences give rise to a civilian pattern of sexual violence that is recognizable and distinct from the sexual violence perpetrated by armed combatants and non-specified perpetrators (Oxfam, 2010, p.15).

The eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo’s rape incidence indicates a kind of “normalization” of rape among the community as a result of existing sexual violence affecting many people during the conflict (Oxfam, 2010). There is some prior recognition that the number of rapes committed by civilians in DRC is increasing (Human Rights Watch, 2009a; UN Human Rights Council, 2008) and local community members in South Kivu also involve in sexual violence. Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (2009) reports that while conducting focus groups among female victims of rape in South Kivu Province, Congolese men approved that rape

⁸ Report by the Secretary-General on the DRC, 3 July 2008 (S/2008/433) and report of the International Parliamentary Expert mission addressing impunity for sexual crimes in the DRC, Justice, Impunity and Sexual Violence in the DRC, May 2008, by the Swedish Foundation for Human Rights and the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Great Lakes Region from Africa. See also Amnesty International’ report No End to war on women and children, North Kivu, DRC, July 2008, noting that an NGO network active mainly in Masisi and Goma areas recorded 224 new rape cases in the first three months of 2008, of which 30% were attributed to armed group fighters, 8% to FARDC soldiers and the rest to civilians.

had become a norm for young males who grew up during the conflict in eastern DRC. Many of these men also carefully emphasise that sexual violence was not a Congolese problem until foreign militias introduced it during the conflict. Congolese women similarly report their experiences of increased numbers of rape by local community members since the beginning of the war (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009).

Thus, after more than a decade of conflict in South Kivu, all useful social and economic mechanisms that should be protecting civilians from sexual violence have been eroded, creating an environment where civilian rape is more and more becoming a common feature of daily life. Such civilian involvement in sexual violence is quite alarming since it may well have long-term consequences that will not be easily reversed. The escalation of civilian rape speaks to the reversal of a society's norms and values and to the ongoing environment of impunity that exists within eastern DRC (Oxfam, 2010). Rape committed by armed combatants and civilians in the other part may aggravate the low valuation of women within Congolese society.

The apparent shift of sexual violence into civilian relationships between men and women increases the chance of understanding how sexual violence has increased in the period of war and now in peacetime. The situation of prevalent rape in the Democratic Republic of Congo requires many responses intending for understanding the surrounding conditions and outcomes of these practices to design policies that support civilian protection (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009).

3.5 SOCIAL REJECTION

On top of the physical and psychological traumas, rape victims in the DRC also are ostracised and rejected by their family and community, and may feel deeply dishonoured and humiliated. In a society where a woman's value is closely connected with virginity, marriage and maternity, the victim's affliction is often secondary to the humiliation and frustration inflicted upon the husband, the family and the whole community. Although public opinion may acknowledge that women and girls raped by the military are not to be blamed, the victims are likely to be driven out from their homes and ending up in the street with no means of survival (Bosmans, 2007). Most victims of rape in the eastern DR Congo have been left alone without being cared for

or supported; they are rejected by their husbands and families because of the shame and stigma related to rape (Oxfam, 2010).

A quantitative and qualitative study conducted among 45 women and 41 men seeking medical care at Panzi Hospital in Bukavu finds that women who have been sexually assaulted are regarded negatively by their communities and family. Twenty-nine percent of women indicated that they were obliged to leave their homes because of having been raped and 6.2% of women described being obliged to leave their communities because of having been raped. Fifty-eight percent of women demonstrated feelings of loneliness after their attack (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009). In their narrative explanation of rape, some describe how the rape affects their emotional wellbeing. Sorrow, suffering, fear and shame are among the emotions most commonly described by sexual violence survivors. For some women, the will to live simply seemed to have been lost (Oxfam, 2010).

The highly violent forms of sexual violence noticed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo imply that rape is used as a weapon of war in this context, helping, at least in some circumstances, to develop the strategic aims of armed groups in this region. Rape of women in the presence of their families and neighbours has resulted not only in the direct traumatization of the victim, but of communities as a whole. Rape of the very young and very old is frequent. The fear of getting HIV or Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) from rape is widespread and is an additional source of stigma for survivors of rape (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009).

Spousal abandonment as a result of sexual violence was not infrequent. Loss of one's husband was often very distressing to sexual violence survivors. Some Congolese women reported hiding the sexual violence from family members because they feared rejection. For some women, the renewal of their marriages was dependent on negative HIV testing. The psychological consequences of sexual violence were also severe for many women. In many circumstances, these seemed to be increased by pregnancy resulting from rape and by spousal abandonment being caused by rape (Oxfam, 2010).

Despite the significance of the sexual violence epidemic in eastern DRC and in spite of the number of organizations providing resources to sexual violence programs,

consistent data on sexual violence in DRC is lacking. Because rape is labelled as socially undesirable in the Congolese culture and because it is a challenging environment in which to work, little systematic research has been done on rape (Oxfam, 2010). Especially in the case of girls, rape may have wide-ranging consequences. A discussion with young HIV/AIDS peer educators revealed doubt about the acceptance of raped girls. In response to the question how they feel about raped girls, some Congolese young men responded: 'We are boys, and we gratify our physical [sexual] needs with her', 'This is our culture. One should respect our culture and there is no way that she can stay home' and 'She should be taken elsewhere' (Bosmans, 2007, pp. 6-7). Fear, shame and stigma will prevent her from completing her education. She may become the second or third wife of a married man, but her chances of getting married are seriously reduced, not to speak of the chances of her baby being accepted by her husband. Raped girls also run a high risk of being abandoned by their families. Once on the streets, with no place to go to and no one to protect them, they easily turn out to be victims of all kinds of sexual violence, left with few other means of surviving than as a sex worker. Child sex workers have no skills to negotiate condoms use for safer sex (Lawday, 2002). This kind of sexual transaction is characterised by girls providing sex in exchange for some biscuits, soap, beauty creams, shoes, clothing, pencils, and books. As a survival sex worker, she will no longer be considered as a child with specific protection needs and rights, but as a 'prostitute', detested by the community and thus treated unfairly for the third time. Sexual violence and rape are a widespread phenomenon (Bosmans, 2007).

The issue of considering a rape survivor as socially undesirable was an overarching and dominant finding: one in three women reported being rejected by their husbands and one in 15 women reported being rejected by their communities after rape. Women declare that the stigma they face as victims of rape can be extremely distressing as the assault itself. Results also prove that certain groups of women are especially vulnerable to social segregation, including women with children born of rape, women who have been raped by more than two assailants, women with fistula as a result of sexual assault, and women who contracted HIV/AIDS (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2009).

Sexual violence victims were enormously upset by spousal abandonment. Even if not completely abandoned, many survivors seemed to have lost the support of their husbands. Regardless of the reason for rejection or marital conflict, without the financial assistance and protection traditionally provided by men in DRC, women become really vulnerable. Congolese policy and socio-cultural traditions continue to discriminate against women, effectively preventing their economic advancement and independence (Oxfam, 2010).

3.6 MULTIPLE PARTNERS AND CONDOMS

Wood et al (2008) indicate in their study conducted in South Africa among young people that it was common for young people to have more than one partnership at a time whether casual or more serious (and an entire slang terminology was used to describe sexual partners positioned differentially in the hierarchy of an individual's relationships). Control and discipline by young men of their main sexual partners was an aspect of relationships that was concern to them, and it was primarily out of this that violent practice arose. Another study conducted in South Africa report that participants support the assumption of men to have multiple partners as a way of ensuring that men cannot miss having a girlfriend if one 'breaks your heart', and the fact of having multiple partners can also help men to make a nice choice in term of marriage. Young people have got the right to have multiple partners due to their unmarried status (Mulumeoderhwa, 2009).

A study using cluster sampling conducted in the eleven provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) among 8,617 adolescents, indicates that adolescents reported having at least two sexual partners; males had more partners (62.2%) than females (35.3%) (Kayembe et al, 2008b). This finding also report that close to two-thirds of young people reported prior sexual experience and among these, more than half reported having had at least two sexual partners in the last 12 months. Further, only one in ten had used a condom during first sexual intercourse. The low rate of condom use and the high percentage of young people reporting multiple sexual partners suggest that Congolese teenagers and young adults remain a group highly at risk of STI and HIV and whose behaviour may be driving the HIV epidemic. Condom use depends on the exchange of money or gifts with more frequent use being reported

for transactional sexual activity than non-transactional sexual activity (Kayembe et al, 2008b).

Various studies conducted study in sub Saharan Africa found that sex among adolescents often results in very little negotiation or communication. Condom use is the mostly difficult subject among youth since it refers to uncleanliness and unfaithfulness, and many girls describe a fear of punishment for initiating a conversation on this issue (Varga 1997; Varga and Makabulo 1996). Social and economic disadvantage situations often cause women to avoid abusive relationships and negotiate for safer sex within relationships; this is frequently when the male partner is older and the one with the greater negotiating power to impose the conditions of sexual act or relationship (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004). Due to their lower status, women are afraid to ask their husbands to use condoms to protect themselves against HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (Human Rights Watch, 2002). A quantitative and qualitative research using systematic sampling approach among 375 university students in Ghana finds that the students were involved in pre-marital sex, although this was widespread among the male than female students. They did not often use condoms and were not expected to use them when the relationship was considered as stable because of trust. Participants disclosed that they were at risk of HIV/AIDS; however, the majority of them did not know their HIV status and were unwilling to take the test for fear of stigmatization (Tagoe and Aggor, 2009).

A cross-sectional study conducted among 2638 commercial sex workers in the eleven provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) between January 2005 and March 2006 finds that 40% of the commercial sex workers have used condoms regularly and this pattern changes according to the kind of sexual partners (for instance 61.4% in the case of paying partners and 38.2% in the case of non-paying partners). Commercial sex workers who admitted to fail using condoms in every sexual intercourse during the four weeks preceding the interview were regarded as being involved in risky sexual behaviour (Kayembe et al, 2008a). There is a problem of accessing condoms in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as notes Kayembe et al (2008a), access to condoms VCT should be improved because they are likely to impact on reducing HIV/AIDS rates in the DRC. Van Rossem et al (2001) maintain

that condom use regularly depends on range of factors, including the knowledge that condoms are effective for preventing HIV infection. Kayembe et al (2008a) indicate that in the DRC, the knowledge of conventional prevention techniques is still low among commercial sex workers and that consistent condom use is not common.

Kayembe et al (2008b), using cluster sampling study in the DRC, indicate that condoms were more used in relationships in which there was exchange of gifts or money (35.3%) than in those in which there was no exchange (28.0%). Condom use depends on the exchange of money or gifts with more frequent use being documented for transactional sexual activity than non-transactional sexual activity. Teenagers and young adults may not correctly perceive their risk of getting HIV. This finding suggests that education programs should address the risk of HIV transmission and should make it clear that the potential of getting HIV infection is similar with both transactional and non-transactional sex. This differs from a South African study where African women perceived if they “wanted” to meet the man again, then the issue of condoms “becomes a nonissue and they take the risks.” But, unless they “really knew the guy,” they would oblige a condom use. Respondents argued that men often got argumentative about the use of condoms and sometimes ended up “slapping the woman around” (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004, p. 19). World Health Organization (2008) indicates that Congolese women survivors of sexual violence are concerned about STIs in general and about HIV in particular. The estimation of HIV/AIDS prevalence in the DRC varies considerably. The HIV prevalence in the DRC is estimated to be 6% among military and police. Amnesty International estimates the HIV prevalence to be 20 - 30% among women victims of sexual violence seeking medical assistance in Eastern DRC (based on reports from several health care facilities) (Amnesty International, 2004). Despite the true prevalence of HIV/AIDS, the risk of transmission is a well-founded concern during any unprotected sex. The risk of HIV transmission further rises in the situation of wartime rape because gang rape is frequent, and because vaginal tears and cutting of skin causing a deep wound with irregular edges, which often arise from the violent nature of wartime rape, further increase the risk of HIV transmission (Klot and DeLargy, 2007).

3.7 DETERMINANTS OF MALE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

3.7.1 FAMILY INFLUENCES

The family is the basic unit of society, and relating to this assumption Thomas (2007a) in his study exploring factors that contribute to violence in African American males, suggests examining the effect of family structure and parents. He argues that any malfunction within society can be traced back to its basic unit, the family. Social learning theory holds that children learn how to behave socially from their environment. With reference to aggression, the key element of modelling is at play as children learn conflict resolution skills (Thomas, 2007a).

A random sample study of 543 children conducted over 20 years in New York to test the exposure to domestic violence between parents and maltreatment of adolescent disrupting behaviour disorders finds that by the time a teenager starts his first loving experiences, interactive skills and expectations about the nature of close relationships are well established within the family. From early childhood, family relations, especially parenting and the relationship between parents, influence the capacity to manage emotions and behaviour. They also shape expectations about the meaning of romantic relationships. A number of family characteristics are related to dating violence during the adolescent years. These include parenting practices such as childhood maltreatment, low parental monitoring, and corporal punishment, as well as exposure to family violence such as domestic violence between parents (Ehrensaft et al., 2003). Thomas (2007a) also argues that if parents use physical aggressive method in form of corporal punishment to resolve conflict males adopted it while females adopted more readily the verbally aggressive methods. The absence of, or the mother's non-use of discussion as a conflict resolution skill influenced greatly the adoption of physical aggression by either sex. Cleveland et al (2003) also maintains that children first learn the emotional and moral meaning of violence from those they respect and look up to, which in turn has a deep effect on how they view the world and their relationships with people. Thus, Strauss et al (1981 p.1034) contend that the danger of being exposed to intimate violence at home is that children may learn unintended lessons such as (a) "those who love you the most are also those who hit you", (b) "those you love are those you hit" (c) "violence can be and should be used to secure good ends", and d) "violence is permissible when other things do not work". There seems to be consensus in the literature about the high correlation between

family violence and violent adolescent behaviour. While exposure to parental conflict in early life puts adolescents at risk of developing psychopathology, it also encourages violence in dating relationships (McCloskey and Lichter, 2003). Kubeka (2008) also argues that adolescents who grow up within homes characterised by parental conflict may learn this violent behaviour and, as a result, perpetuate it in their own relationships. They may develop certain attitudes towards control and submissiveness that make it difficult to break the cycle of violence. Social learning theorists indicate that this may be as a result of the intergenerational process of transmitting violence. They argue that lessons learned from violent parents may influence children's relationships with their peers. This behaviour is then reinforced from childhood through adulthood where violence is used as the legitimate means to solve interpersonal conflicts.

Individuation is a normal part of adolescent development: teenagers struggle to develop autonomy at a time when they are still dependent on their parents. As they individuate, adolescents may also begin to experiment with risky behaviour, and it is likely that they will experiment with friends. For parents, this creates two dilemmas: (a) to what extent is their child's behaviour "normal" and (b) to what extent are friends influencing their children in potentially negative ways? This may create tension between adolescents and their parents, particularly if parents believe that a particular friend or group of friends is unduly influencing their children (Werner-Wilson and Arbel, 2000, p. 268). Older people in the community should impart positive role models to young people but violence and sexual coercion of young women is widespread among older people, for example, in the common practice of 'sugar daddies' in which girls exchange sex with older men for money, clothes, food and other presents (Wood and Jewkes 1998). Such practice is also common among old men is also common in the DRC (Bosmans, 2007).

Thomas (2007a) asserts that many violent males are from single parent households or unwed households. While matriarchal families do not cause violence in these males, there is significant concern of looking at their family background. This increases the risk for the presence of a number of other such as absence of discipline, economic and social deprivation, and insufficient positive exposure. Similarly, Sampson et al. (2005) in their study conducted in the United States of America on factors of violence

among young people find that family conditions play an important role in male violent behaviour as well. Many black males are born from the female-headed household which is often identified as the cause of black male violence. The female-headed household is yet another reflection of the economic situation, as the mother struggles to keep the family afloat in the absence of the economic contribution of the economically disenfranchised father.

Similarly, experience violence between parents may instruct youth that violence is an adequate or effective approach of resolving conflicts with partners. In addition, low parental monitoring (i.e., parents' knowledge about who their children are with and where they are spending their time) has been associated with youths' greater participation in antisocial activities, more sexual risk taking, and more frequent substance use. Low parental monitoring has also been associated with dating violence perpetration (Rizzo, 2008). Kayembe et al (2008b), in their study in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, find that young people who live alone or with friends correlates with sexual experience. Compared to those living with both father and mother, either father or mother or an aunt/uncle, female participants living alone or with friends were more likely to have had sex. This finding shows to advantage of the protective role played by parents. The presence of at least one parent in the family can prevent sexual activity, since parents are likely to monitor the behaviour of children, as has previously been investigated by many authors (Romer et al, 1999; Slap et al. 2003), while their absence may explain the high prevalence of sexual activity (Kayembe et al, 2008b; Thurman et al. 2006). Parental monitoring can help diminish the effect of a high level of peer-based sexual activity on others (Cohen et al. 2006).

However, there are no statistical data on the incidence or prevalence of domestic violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The lack of information on the scale of domestic violence against women and girl in the Democratic Republic of the Congo does not mean that it doesn't have an impact on those who are exposed to it. Studies on domestic violence in other parts of the world demonstrate a significant connection between the physical abuse of women and child abuse. Children might find themselves harmed if they try to intervene during a conflict and might also suffer at the hands of their abused mothers who tend to project frustrations on them. These children are also at high risk of maladaptation within their social environment,

exhibiting problems ranging from deviant behaviour to withdrawal. They might develop psychological problems that are similar to those experienced by child abuse victims who do not come from violent homes. Symptoms such as fear, confusion and anger are common in these situations (Rubin and Coplan, 2004; Salzinger et al., 2002).

3.7.2 SCHOOL INFLUENCES

Male teachers are frequently involved in sexual coercion with their students (Abrahams et al, 2006; Wood, Maforah and Jewkes 1998). A participatory action research conducted at three schools in South Africa among 81 girls of 16 years old, teachers and other related school personnel finds that male teachers applied several strategies and opportunities to gain sexual access to student females and previous experience of victimization prevented the girls from reporting them. Sexual harassment by male teachers was reported at all schools. At one school, all girls understood it as a serious problem. Female students indicated that they 'feared' all male teachers and felt unsafe if alone with them. Male teachers applied various strategies when meeting girls alone. One of these strategies was to have (during their free period) a male colleague send a particular girl on an errand to a room where she would find him alone. He would proposition her and she would have difficulty in declining. The laboratory and the computer room were frequently used by these male teachers to meet girls. Another strategy was for the single teachers to offer their homes to the married ones as meeting places. Some girls reported that a vulnerable time for them was when they went on school excursions. Male teachers encouraged the girls to call them by their first names telling them that they were not students and teachers while on an excursion. Girls as well as teachers mentioned girls becoming pregnant by teachers. Attempts to take action were said to have resulted in unfair punishment. In one focus group, three girls indicated that they repeated a grade because they reported a teacher (Abrahams et al., 2006, p. 753). These situations weaken the educational chances of girls.

3.7.3 PEER INFLUENCES

A survey conducted in the United States of America on 2518 students from sixth-grade found specific elements of norms that influence sexual behaviour at different points in the initiation process. Perceptions about the incidence of peers' sexual behaviour were the most important peer normative predictor of purpose and initiation of intercourse. If young adolescents notice that their peers are having sex, they more likely to have and intend to initiate sex (Kinsman et al, 1998).

Although families provide the building blocks for how to manage interpersonal relationships, peers provide repeated opportunities to practice and shape interpersonal skills that will later be applied to romantic relationships. Peers are believed to contribute to a range of adolescent behaviours such as drug use, sexual activity, and delinquency. Adolescents involve in peer groups that have high levels of aggression are likely to bring that aggression into romantic relationships. Moreover, observing friends in violent dating relationships may shape norms about the acceptability of violence (Rizzo, 2008). Peers not only shape attitudes about relationship violence, but they often act as the primary sounding board for friends seeking support for abuse. Although teens are hesitant to inform their parents about their discussions of dating violence, many will reveal their experiences to peers (Rizzo, 2008). Parents worry that their values and family rules are weakened by their child's peers (Werner-Wilson and Arbel, 2000). Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) maintain that peer pressure played an important role in timing, a role that gives the impression to carry two conflicting messages. First, sex occurring before marriage was discussed as though it were a given; sex before marriage was expected and accepted among these participants. On the other hand, almost universally, boys and girls talked about the timing of sex in terms of preserving their reputation.

3.7.4 CULTURAL INFLUENCES

A triangulated research using (in-depth interviews, focus groups, narrative role play and dialogues, and questionnaires), and examining relationships between gender ideology or gender roles and the social dramatic influence of adolescent childbearing in the lives of rural and urban adolescents in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa finds that coercion plays a major role in initiating young women into sexual activity. The practice of forced sex is the norm for young African men who are driven by peers'

pressure to engage in early-unprotected sex as a sign of trust and faithfulness (Varga, 2003). Social pressure that prescribes that boys and men should have sex relations as a mark of their masculinity becomes known as a strong factor influencing males who do not have partners or cannot get sexual intercourse legitimately; then they have to get it illegitimately (Petersen et al., 2005). From these assumptions Boonzaier (2008) argues that men justify the violence towards females as an enforcement of patriarchal masculinity. In the South African context, men indicate that women are responsible for gender violence, and claim to be victims of biased legal system. They consider themselves as powerless victims of domineering partners. Men discuss this in terms of gender identity crisis and thus perceive shifts in the power dynamics of their relationships due to the new South African constitution that empowers women (Boonzaier, 2008, p. 184). Despite the shifts in the power dynamics, the reality is that women are still traditionally considered as passive, obedient, docile and performing traditional gender roles, especially in relationships (Ackermann and De Klerk, 2002; Kalichman et al, 2005). Several studies also confirm that men view women as subordinate to men and suggest that this is well understood when looking at the gender-power differentials in South African relationships (Maman et al., 2000; Wood and Jewkes, 2001; Wood et al., 1998). Boonzaier (2008) reports that men view their partners as domineering, they use violence to maintain their expected supremacy in the relation because of such assumptions.

Towns and Adams (2000) demonstrate how cultural structures of romance and 'true love' provide the value of trapping women in abusive relationships. Similarly, Wood (2001), in her study, also shows how females employ the traditional gender explanation by constructing pretexts for their partners' violence and endorsing expectations that their male partners should nurture in their romantic relationships. Wood (2001, p. 257) also claims that women construct their relationships by referring on existing repertoire of discursive means presented by the culture, and that their accounts 'reflect and embody culturally formed, maintained, and accepted accounts of gender and romance'. Morrell (2002) maintains that culturally gender roles encourage power inequality that facilitates women's risks sexual assault. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) confirm that where there is gender-power inequality that put women in subordinate roles, women have few options for exercising personal control in their sexual relationships. If sex is not willingly provided, many men in the community feel

that they can insist on it as being a necessary part of a relationship and as proof of their girlfriend's love. Violence and intimidation are frequently used on unwilling sexual partners (MacPhail and Campbell, 2001, p.1623). Consequently, women may experience difficulties in their efforts to lessen their risks for sexual violence in gender-power imbalanced relationships. Socially constructed gender roles and sexual scripts also limit the possibility for women to reduce their risks for HIV/AIDS (Ackermann and de Klerk, 2002; Maman et al., 2000; Wood and Jewkes, 2001). Deep-rooted patriarchy, male social domination, transactional sex and lack of equality in sexual relations put women at risk of undesirable pregnancy and infection especially as in many cases, it is men who fix the time of having sex, choose with whom and whether to use a condom (Friedman et al, 2006). Kalichman et al (2005) indicate that South African women do not open discussions about safer sex because it is culturally unpleasant and also because it brings their own sexual behaviour into question. In this condition the practice of safer sex activities significantly depend on men's commitment to it (Meyer-Weitz et al, 2003). Culturally approved gender roles promote inequality of power that causes women's risks for both sexual violence and HIV/AIDS (Morrell, 2002). Certain behaviours - such as forced sex - may be considered by some people as approved cultural practices, but are still perceived as violent acts (Krauss, 2006).

Baker (2007), in an article, entitled "Once a rapist" states: "For some, sex is a traded item, and if sex is a traded item, then taking it is theft...we live in a culture that rarely discusses sex as anything other than a traded item....instead, young men are destroyed by a culture that sexualises commodities and merchandises women's sexuality. Companies sell products by selling the sexuality of the women approving the product. The product and the sex are purposefully combined. Sex is also purposefully promoted ... what encourages rapists may not be particularly different from that which encourages men who go to prostitutes or buy tickets to peep shows. None of these acts involves mutual gratification or emotional intimacy and they are called sex. Thus, men are able to fulfil desire for sex without including the complexities of sexually intimate communication...this cultural endorsement of marketing of sex as a promoted good generates an increased desire for having sex, and perception of entitlement to sex."

The representative of an international agency for women's rights demonstrated that culture was the main obstacle in reducing sexual violence as it 'is part of the tradition.' An expert in gender-based violence from an international humanitarian organisation indicates that even before the war sexual violence against women was prevalent in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and culturally accepted. Some traditions, she told, the family of woman victim of rape obliges her to marry the perpetrator. Over the years, however, and as a consequence of the war, sexual violence has taken extremely inhumane expressions and has become a strategy for men to intimidate and profile themselves. In the Democratic Republic of Congo the notion of sexual violence has become very 'flexible' and is easily diminished to refer only to acts of rape perpetrated by militia, and more specifically by foreign combatants, whereby the involvement of civilians in the acts of rape is easily denied or neglected (Bosmans, 2007). Women are socially and culturally considered as 'the other', mostly as unreasonable, unpredictable, unreliable, and feeble minded by men (Hodgson and Kelly, 2004, p. 102). Additionally, Congolese institutions are patriarchal, administrated and governed by laws that are advantageous to men and contributing to "defining, controlling, and regulating women" which according to Hodgson and Kelly (2004, p. 102) such institutions are overwhelmed with male dominance that rape can be defended, perpetuated, and disregarded. Anderson (2004) complements that, culture makes use of such a power on describing what a man is and how he behaves, that the whole society requires changing in order to eradicate gender-based violence. Because women lack such power and dominance in society, they hardly ever challenge the fact that rape is a part of their existence, they just modify their behaviour in order to minimise the chances of being raped.

The impact of culture on how rape is being handled, and described as such, is a very controversial subject among the civil society in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Female activists against sexual violence revealed their dissatisfaction about how some international organisations deal with this issue without showing any esteem for their culture. In an interview with an association of women's organisations in the Eastern DRC, which fought for the law reforms and national and international advocacy, they state that these organisations should value the victims and their culture instead of 'scandalising' them. As an example, they explained that in some cultures in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, women victim of rape are not permitted to

breastfeed their infants since the widespread belief is that this will kill them. For these women before coming back to their family, they should undergo a rite of 'purification', which may include a donation of a goat as a gift. According to their belief, these purification rites should not be considered as an act of violence against women, but be acknowledged and respected as part of their tradition (Bosmans, 2007). CEDAW (2006) and Connell (2003) remark that although the Congolese culture is regarded as liberal and open-minded certain ideals and assumptions regarding gender roles persist. Specifically, a man should be strong, dominant, decisive, aggressive, and controlling as the head of a household and his wife should be submissive, quiet, nurturing and docile in his custody and charge. These roles are predominant throughout the culture and in male-female ongoing interactions. They are also, unfortunately, structural in creating an environment encouraging rape.

In a study conducted in the DRC among young females attending vocational training program in Kinshasa and Bukavu, participants revealed during interviews and focus group discussions that rejection and expulsion of the rape victim from the community was a widely accepted practice that was not being questioned. 'It is our culture' was the phrase most commonly heard as a justification. Generally in the DRC, females' rights are dependent on the honour of a husband, family and community. By bold reporting sexual assault, the victim risks being victimised once again, as she may put her marriage at risk or lose her chances of getting married (Bosmans, 2007).

3.7.5 MEDIA INFLUENCES

The occurrence of sexual pictures in the mass media exposes adolescents to numerous, often misleading, sexual depictions ranging from kissing and flirting to relatively explicit portrayals of sexual intercourse (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2003a, 2003b). Sexual descriptions are so offensive that adolescents encounter in the series of 10,000 to 15,000 sexual suggestions or jokes and case of nudity in the media each year (Strasburger, 2005). Sexual scenes come into view on television at an average rate of 4.6 per hour and the amount of sexual picture on television has increased from 56% in 1998 to 70% in 2005 (Kunkel et al., 2005). Researchers declare that media depictions frequently provide little information about sexual health, and encourage sexual stereotypes (Cope-Farrar and Kunkel, 2002; Kaiser Family Foundation, 2003a;

Kunkel et al., 2005). Content analysis research conducted in United States of America indicates that television programs frequently provide glamorized, unrealistic portrayals of sex (Anderson et al, 2003a) and portray sexual intercourse as a leisure activity (Arnett, 2002). According to another content analysis conducted in the US on 15 most popular teen shows, 75% of characters who engaged in sexual activity commonly experienced positive outcomes as a result of their sexual experience (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2003b). Anderson et al (2003a) note that adolescents are more likely to imitate the depicted sexual behaviour when they perceive that characters on Television rarely suffer from negative consequences of unprotected sexual behaviour. Research findings consistently demonstrate the link between television viewing and adolescents' sexual attitudes and behaviour (Brown et al, 2005; Brown et al., 2006; Collins et al., 2004; Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002).

A national random sampling survey of 503 adolescents aged 15-17, conducted in the United States of America reports that Television makes sexual behaviour seem normative among adolescents and influences other teenagers' sexual behaviour, and one fourth report that sexual television programs directly influence their own behaviour (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002). Adolescents are exposed to sexual television substance which encourages their introduction to sexual behaviour (Collins, et al., 2004; Ward and Friedman, 2006). Research by Ward and Friedman describes, for example, that exposure to sexual content and stronger connection with popular TV characters associates with higher levels of secondary school students' actual sexual encounter. Another national longitudinal survey conducted in United States of America among 1792 adolescents aged 12-17 indicates that participants report their TV viewing practices and sexual experience, encouraged adolescent sexual initiation. Adolescents who watched more sexual productions were ready to initiate intercourse and proceed to more highly developed sexual experiences during the following year of this study (Collins, et al., 2004). The results of this study finally reveal that viewing sexual activity on television influences adolescents' sex-related attitudes and behaviour even a year later. Another research results relating to media exposure and sexual behaviour conducted by Brown et al (2006) demonstrate that a strong relationship exists between sexual content in the mass media and adolescents' self-reported sexual experiences two years later.

3.7.6 CULTURE OF IMPUNITY

National and local laws around women and violence against women, as well as inheritance rights decrees, domestic and sexual violence laws, marriage and divorce laws, and laws around cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and early marriage are generally different. Many countries accept both constitutional and traditional legal structures, even though the two often contradict each other, and the power of and limits between the two are not always clear (Benninger-Budel, 2000). Additionally, the degree to which the laws are implemented differs, particularly at the community level. There are many reasons for insufficient implementation of woman-friendly regulations, including low political commitment or popular support at the local level, conflict between traditional and constitutional law, and lack of training for institutional staff in the policies and protocols, sometimes due to budgetary constraints. Women may not have access to the information necessary to recognize their rights and to negotiate the legal system if they feel that their rights have been violated. It is in this context that convicting perpetrators of gender-based violence is difficult (USAID, 2006).

The Democratic Republic of Congo juridical system is still far of bringing perpetrators to book. Impunity spreads to the heart of the conflict in the Congo after the transmission from the Rwanda genocide in the Congo, both wars saw massive human rights violations with civilians taking the brunt of violence. Accountability is necessary in the post conflict societies to ensure new government with 'legitimacy'⁹. Human Rights (2005) indicate that the redress and justice have been low on the Congo's agenda. Moffett (2009) corroborates that these seem low comparatively to the one of countries like South Africa and Sierra Leone. Instead the Congo has been looking to secure peace at all costs with justice and accountability being left to the international community and superficial transformations such a Truth and Reconciliation Commission which has proved ineffective due to its opposing membership and lack of funding or following as a result enforcement powers, has failed to achieve any results. Human Rights (2005) argue that the Congolese courts themselves are inadequately financed and basically weak. According to the report of

⁹ Repairing the Past: Refugees, displaced Persons, Land and Property, in International Council on Human Rights Policy, Negotiating Justice? Human Rights and Peace Agreements (2006)

the UN Secretary General on the situation in DRC, addressed in March 2007 to the Security Council, the Congolese national justice system really lacks capacity. It has never been independent and has never had the resources necessary to investigate and prosecute offenders and to ensure that court decisions are implemented. Low salaries have contributed to corruption and very few people have access to legal aid. Under 60% of the 180 courts of first instance that the country have created, laws are outdated and the judicial structures, the courts and the prisons are in a state of disrepair (Human Rights, 2008). Although the military courts have recently rendered a small number of decisions on human rights violations, the ruling culture in Democratic Republic of Congo is one of generalised impunity. In 2006, the President of the DRC officially proclaimed two laws empowering rape. However, they remain almost entirely unimplemented, as acknowledged by the former Congolese Minister of Human Rights, at a meeting with FIDH in November 2007. In the nonexistence of effective advocating campaigns, awareness of the laws amongst victims, perpetrators, actors in the justice system and the public is particularly lacking (Human Rights, 2008).

Statistics are rare, however, in 2005 in South-Kivu, of 14,200 cases of sexual violence recorded by the health services, only 287 were taken to court (UN Office for Human Rights in South-Kivu), representing under 1% of recorded cases. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in the Province Orientale has discovered that between January and October 2007 1000 cases of bail have been given to those suspected of crimes of sexual violence, in disrespect of the applicable law (providing that bail should be opposed on the following reasons: risk of escape of the accused, risk of dissimulation of evidence, risk of retaliations or threats to victims and witnesses). Among the above cases eleven received a trial. Many suspects of sexual assaults are released on bail and never reappear. The few that receive convictions generally receive very short sentences. An alarming number of perpetrators often succeed to escape from prison, though victims and witnesses are not given with protection. Police and army chiefs and local authorities keep on supporting families of rape victims to seek an amiable settlement outside the courts (Human Rights, 2008). Human Rights (2008) report that during their mission in Kinshasa in November 2007, they heard the testimony of a 10 year old girl who was stopped on her way to school, raped several times, and then abducted for several days. A complaint was filed with

the police in Kinshasa, but the accused, after being briefly incarcerated, was released while the girl was detained by the authorities. A second complaint was filed with the public prosecutor's office, but the accused was able to buy his freedom. Adding to her physical and psychological suffering, as a result of the crime the victim was rejected by her own family and for the last year she has been living in a care centre.

As long as impunity remains there will be no deterrence and will rather perpetuate further conflict as victims interests remain unaddressed by the government forcing them to restore the situation themselves. The use of rape as a weapon of war in the conflict has ensured a bitterness and horror for many women, which is only intensified by seeing their abusers act without remorse and impunity ensuring that such actions will continue until the problem is addressed (Moffett, 2009). He adds that the government and armed forces as well as rebels groups needs to face the tests of accountability in order to ensure legitimacy, the lessons learnt from Rwanda is that failure to prevent those responsible to avoid facing accountability caused the consecutive wars in the Congo as the *interahamwe* (Hutu rebel) continued their cycle of violence in the Congo in almost impunity.

Years of prolonged conflict may cause an 'ethical vacuum', as the difference between combatants and civilians becomes indistinct. In a war-affected society, traditional norms and social values concerning the status of women and children and their protection may progressively fade, the consequences of which may be disastrous for the civilian population¹⁰. Particularly in a situation where the court system fails to prosecute the offenders and to bring them to book, this situation can give rise to serious social tensions within the community. Weak, ineffective or even out-dated legal systems and the low investigative capacity of local police forces, combined with the isolation and social stigmatisation of the victims, may create an environment that is conducive to an increased incidence of sexual violence against women, children and adolescents, instead of preventing it (UNHCR, 2000). The unpredictable and uncertain political environment is another hindering factor, the impact of which should not be underestimated. Men and women representing political parties that are

¹⁰ 'ARC. Critical Issues. Abuse and Exploitation. Revision Version 04/01', <http://www.unhcr.ch>. Accessed 16 July 2010

evidently guilty of organized rape occupy high political positions. This was the case, for example, of the Minister of Women and Family Affairs, who experienced serious difficulties in proving the public opinion of her dedication to fighting sexual violence and seeking justice for the victims. She is a member of the Congolese Assembly for Democracy (*RCD - Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie*), one of the armed opposition troops involved in the war, which was also reproached of having used rape as a weapon of war (Bosmans, 2007). Perpetrators of sexual assaults perceive themselves as untouchable since impunity is prevalent. Years of war have left the country completely impoverished. The national and local authorities have been completely weakened and destroyed by the war and have little or no resources for paying salaries or cannot even supply pens to state officials working at the National Court of Justice to write their reports. There is generally lack of competence, power and backup supply among the judiciary to enforce the application of the DRC legislation on sexual violence (Pinel, 2006). A lack of confidence in the courts hinders victims from seeking justice, including the lack of care and understanding of needs and requirement from judges, lawyers, police officers and the military in dealing with issues of sexual violence. However, the situation is gradually changing and ‘examples’ are being set. In 2006 seven combatants from the RDC got life sentences at a military court for the gang rape of more than one hundred women and girls in December 2003 in Northern DRC (Pinel, 2006).

3.8 PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

Three sets of activities for gender violence and three broad approaches have been suggested: (A) designing approved agreements, laws, and policies to transform norms that disregard women’s human rights, and then put them into action; (B) approving operating plans to change norms as well as supporting women’s organisations; (C) working with boys and men to transform masculinist values and behaviour that harm women’s health and their own (Sen et al., 2007, p. xv).

In the different setting, Silberschmidt (1999) finds that men’s violence against women in Tanzania and Kenya is originated from males’ feelings of disempowerment. An important step to empowering women against gender violence and economic marginalization would therefore reasonably be to empower men. Without jobs and

realistic prospects for reaching a sense of human dignity men are less likely to feel threatened by women's needs for autonomy, dignity, and so forth. Similarly, a semi-structured interviews and focus groups conducted in rural KwaZulu-Natal find that male teachers felt threatened by gender change emphasised by the new constitution drawing on the "crisis of masculinity" discourse which encourages ideas about male dominance and legitimated defensive ideas about male power making it difficult to develop alternate patterns of gender relations (Bhana et al, 2009). Feelings of male disempowerment were also found in a similar study also conducted in the Western Cape Province, South Africa by Boonzaier (2008) who corroborates that men indicate that women are responsible for the violence, and claim to be victims of biased legal system. They position themselves as powerless victims of domineering partners. Men discuss this in terms of gender identity crisis and thus perceive shifts in the power dynamics of their relationships due to the new South African constitution that empowers women. Morrell (2002) supports that now even women are competing. Men and women are competing for work, and women are expected to contribute to the family. Barker and Ricardo (2005) maintain that men react to women's new roles, access to the labour market and education. In South Africa, for example, a handful of anti-feminist men's groups have emerged. From the above it is important to notice that the empowerment of male and female should not be on expense one to another; both genders should enjoy the same benefits.

Women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo encounter widespread discrimination actually, law, and custom before armed conflict erupted - each compounding and reinforcing the other, to women's enormous disadvantage. Although the constitution officially contains a guarantee of sex equality, provisions sanctioning discrimination in adoption, marriage, divorce, and inheritance, among other areas, invalidate this guarantee. The constitution thus legitimizes and systematises women's subordinate and second-class status. Additionally, under customary law, the system under which most women are married, women have distinctly subordinate status. Notably, a married woman is often considered a minor and as such can be represented by her husband, who has the right to prosecute and defend actions on her behalf (Human rights Watch World Report, 2004a, p.331).

There has been on-going discussion in the conflict resolution literature between those who think that the cause of conflicts is structural and those who think it to be psychocultural or psychosocial. The discussion has direct implications for praxis as structuralists focus on issues of rights, justice, and political issues, while those supporting a psychocultural perspective have called attention to relationships and the need to work on reducing the ignorance, misunderstandings, fears, and hostility among people, often through cooperative activities and encounters (Fitzduff, 2001; Gawerc, 2006). In the field of conflict resolution there has been an understanding that the two contested approaches are complementary for getting a deeper understanding of conflict, also to create detailed plan of more comprehensive approaches to deal with conflicts – approaches that consider the need for both general change and relationship change (Lederach, 1995; Gawerc, 2006).

Sen et al (2007) suggest to reduce gendered vulnerability along three dimensions: meeting differential and specific health needs for both women and men; addressing social biases that heighten vulnerability to negative health outcomes; tackling the social causes of individual behaviour that may be risky or unhealthy; and empowering individuals and communities through constructive messages and examples of effective actions tackling the social context of individual behaviour, and empowering individuals and communities for positive change.

Research conducted in Malawi between 1996 and 2003 using several research methods including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, a questionnaire and a document review finds that many NGOs approved gender mainstreaming as a strategy to address gender inequality both within their organizations and with their communities. Gender mainstreaming initiatives imply a variety of activities as well as employing more women staff members, designing policies within the organization to support gender equality and educating staff members about gender issues through training workshops. While these strategies reveal important steps forward for gender equality, it is not clear at which degree these policies and initiatives are translating into meaningful change within the organization (Tiessen, 2004). Gender mainstreaming is both a technical and a political process entailing changes in the cultures, values and practices of organizations for the purpose of confronting gender inequality. Gender mainstreaming has been approved by international agencies to

eliminate the causes of gender inequality ‘which is found in the social organizations, institutions, values and beliefs which generate and perpetuate women’s subordination’ (UNDP, 2000, p. 281). The government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has ever adopted gender mainstreaming (see section 1.2.4); however, it is still unclear how gender mainstreaming language and policy can translate into changes within public sectors, organizations and communities.

Traditional gender power is embedded in unequal access to and control over resources (both material and non-material), and inequitable divisions of work, leisure and possibilities of improving one’s life it is expressed through normative frameworks that are adopted by people and used to socialise and discipline them to tolerate and generate gender inequities in their private lives and in society. Within the health sector, gender power relations translate into unfair access to and control over health resources within and outside families, inequitable divisions of welfares and labour in formal, informal and home-based health care systems, and unfair attention (or lack of it) through health research, all justified and reinforced through potent gender norms of what actions are needed and appropriate (Sen et al., 2007). The action need to be taken both within and outside the health sector, gender relations (including reducing violence against females), give voice to females, decision-making, authority and recognition for women relative to men.

Cultural norms and perceptions play a momentous and influential role in shaping behaviour and attitudes toward women. Tiessen (2004), in her study in Malawi, finds that societal norms include a common perception of women as subordinate to men. Gender mainstreaming requires men to think about their own attitudes towards women and the behaviour they have adopted to reinforce gender inequality in the workplace and community. She also notes that commitments to gender mainstreaming at the level of policy are not a sufficient measure of gender equality. Thus, suggests that employing more female staff, and sending them to gender-training workshops can have some influence on the group’s ability to mainstream gender; however, they alone are not adequate for opposing societal gender norms and the deeply rooted gendered attitudes of males. Serious consideration needs to be placed on behavioural changes among males to ensure that gender issues are carefully thought through in all organizational initiatives. Tiessen moreover suggests that gender-training sessions and

awareness-raising workshops are an important first step in educating men about gender issues. Thus, more needs to be done to help spread information and awareness about gender issues. Gender awareness training workshops and educational material must be designed in such a way as to help individuals think critically about - and reflect on - their own attitudes towards women and gender equality. This current study backs Tiessen's theoretical approach for lessening gender inequality.

Barker (Barker, 2006) notices that there are always some boys and men in each situation of gender inequity who will oppose inequitable norms. He argues that "it is precisely these "cracks", inconsistencies or performances of resistances to traditional views about manhood that offer entry points for intervention". And also suggests several program implications: (1) the need to provide young men opportunities to interact with gender-equitable role perfect example that deserves to be imitated in their own community setting; and (2) the need to advocate more gender-equitable attitudes in small group settings and in the greater community. This research also demonstrated the need to intervene: (1) at the level of individual attitude and behaviour change, by engaging young men in a critical reflection to identify the costs of traditional versions of masculinity; and (2) at the level of social or community standard pattern of behaviour, involving among parents, service providers and others that encourage these individual attitudes and behaviour.

Tagoe and Aggor (2009) also maintain that it is necessary for students to have an appropriate education program. Peer education clubs are required to provide education on condom use. Kayembe et al (2008b) argue by giving the following suggestion: teaching Congolese young people skills to resist sex, making schools engaged in teaching values of abstinence and delayed sex, may influence the age at first sex and cause the adoption of lower risk behaviour. Oxfam (2010) suggests that to challenge this new incidence of civilian committed rape, the context of impunity in the Democratic Republic of Congo must end. Congolese sexual violence laws must be fully implemented and perpetrators must be accountable. In parallel with sustaining accountability, the mind-set of the whole society will have to be changed to accept rape as a strictly unacceptable and criminal act. The national sexual violence laws will need to be fully implemented and the capacity to investigate and prosecute crimes against women will need to be greatly improved. The process for seeking justice

should be easy and accessible for survivors, including the integration of educated female officers into investigation panels. Human Rights (2008) urge the DRC government to fight impunity for the most severe crimes committed in the country and make specific recommendation to the grave problem of crimes of sexual violence in the country.

It must be borne in mind that war-related rape in the DRC is particularly connected to gender-based discrimination against women in times of ‘peace.’ The war has destroyed gender relations and reduced women to mere objects that can be raped, tortured and mutilated with exemption from punishment, harm, and reprimand. Without addressing gender relations and supporting women’s empowerment as a priority, high levels of sexual violence will continue and present an undermining factor, even if a degree of stability, the rule of law and democratic, civilian control over the armed forces are established (Ertürk, 2008). Positively encouraging women to seek early post-sexual violence care will also necessitate that the stigma surrounding sexual violence be reduced and this will also necessitate education and awareness improving at the community level. Protection of women and girls during conflict has become a priority within the international community, particularly since the United Nations (UN) Security Council adopted Resolution 1820 in June 2008, which acknowledged that rape is often used as a military tactic and called for a response to the problem¹¹. Data on the setting and circumstances of sexual attacks are critical for the expansion and implementation of successful protection programs. Understanding that the majority of attacks are conducted on individual homes in the evening, humanitarian organizations have to work together with local communities and design new protection interventions specific for South Kivu (Oxfam, 2010).

3.9 CONCLUSION

The two chapters in this part have tried to understand the attitudes and behaviour of adolescent males towards women. In the literature review, we have looked at young people relationships and gender violence. These relationships are dominated by

¹¹ United Nations Security Council. Resolution 1820 (2008).
<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N08/391/44/PDF/N0839144.pdf?OpenElement>

oppressive masculinities and gender inequality. The literature review has also disclosed many contributing factors (including family, school, peer, media, culture and masculinity) influencing males' attitudes to violent behaviour towards females. Consequently, these attitudes and behaviours may bring women to a limited capacity of negotiating the conditions under which sexual intercourse occurs. The predominance of young people might suggest that the young - both young women and men - should have a voice in how their continent is governed. Indeed it could be said that given their numbers, they themselves should be in decision-making positions in politics and society. This is not the case though (Kopano, 2008). To constrain the recent trend of civilian perpetrated sexual violence, the environment of impunity will have to be ended and the status of women as well as women's rights will have to be advanced. In addition, the mentality of entire communities will likely have to be changed to acknowledge that sexual assault is an unacceptable and punishable offence and to accept women as equal members of society (Oxfam, 2010). The review of this literature provides valuable information in each of the above areas discussed, and reveals some of the ongoing debates to which this study may be able to make a contribution.

PART III RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Part III comprises two chapters **Chapter four** will discuss the research design and data collection methods used in this study. **Chapter five** will explore and describe the research methodology. This chapter will also discuss how the study will be conducted and will justify the choice of data collection methods used.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A research design is a presentation or plan of how the researcher plans to execute the research problem that has been formulated. The structure and particular logic of a research design is determined by the formulation of the research problem (Mouton, 1996, p. 108). This study will employ a qualitative exploratory research design which will focus on understanding and describing the problem (see section 1.2). A qualitative research design will allow me to secure in-depth data from individuals and focus groups. Specifically, qualitative research will provide an avenue to understand how young people currently think about male-female relationships and about conflicts between males and females.

4.2 QUALITATIVE DESIGN

One of the features of qualitative research is that it involves systematic discovery. Its objective is to produce knowledge of social events by understanding their meaning to people, investigating and documenting how people exchange ideas with each other and how they understand and interact with the world around them (Ulin et al, 2002, p. 26). This approach focuses on the importance of listening and is concerned with seeing the world from the perspectives of the research participants (Cohen, et al, 2000). By employing this method, I am better able understand participants' attitudes and behaviour. To achieve this research, I will apply a qualitative method to explore the understanding of male attitudes and behaviour towards females. Qualitative research has become an umbrella term including a wide range of epistemological perspectives, research strategies, and specific techniques for understanding people in their natural contexts (Denzin, 2002) and is particularly effective for studying and developing theories that deal with the purpose of meanings and interpretations (Ezzy, 2002, p. 3). The quality of the qualitative data significantly depends on the methodological ability, sensitivity, and honesty of the researcher (Patton, 2002).

To understand behaviour necessitates an approach which gives access to the meanings that guide behaviour. As researchers, we can learn the culture or subculture of the people we are studying, and learn to understand the world as they do. The most

important ideas here are that human behaviour is based upon meanings which people attribute to and bring to situations. Behaviour is not 'caused' in any mechanical way but is continually constructed and reconstructed on the basis of people's understanding of the situations they are in (Punch, 2005). The qualitative researcher, then, should make an effort to become more than just a participant observer in the setting that is being researched. He or she also has to make a deliberate attempt to put themselves in the shoes of people they are observing and studying and to try and understand their attitudes, decisions, behaviour, practices, rituals and so on, from their perspective. Qualitative researchers investigate human action from the social actors' perspective. Qualitative research is effective in studying those attitudes and behaviour within their natural settings, as opposed to the non-natural settings of experiments and surveys. The qualitative researcher's stress is on studying human deed in its natural surroundings and through the eyes of the actors themselves, together with an appreciation of the contexts in which these attitudes and behaviours are formed and played out (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 278).

In qualitative research, the approach is conversational, variable and adaptable and the objective is attained through active meeting between interviewer and interviewee around pertinent issues, topics and facts during the interview. This interactive, situational approach for collecting data typically contrasts with the more structured composition and uniform style of a survey interview. It has its roots in a kind of theoretical and epistemological traditions, which give some right to the accounts of social actors, agents, individuals, or subjects as data sources, and which assume or emphasize the centrality of talk and text in coming to understand the social world (Mason, 2002).

Qualitative methods share a combined set of ideas and methodological principles (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). Qualitative research is much more eclectic in employing multiple strategies and methods than quantitative research. Quantitative research perceives social phenomena as having an objective and scientific reality which can be expressed in numerical values and then be subject to statistical analysis. The validity of quantitative research findings is sought by statistical testing, particularly significance tests (Cresswell, 2005).

4.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Qualitative researchers examine spoken and written narrative and records of human experience, applying multiple approaches and multiple sources of data. Several forms of data collection may be applied in one qualitative project (Punch, 2005). In fact, qualitative methodologies involve several distinct approaches, the most predominant of which are in-depth interviews and participant-observation (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). The qualitative researcher needs to attentively watch incidents and actions as they occur without any action affecting them or interference (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 270). Qualitative research always includes some kind of direct meeting with 'the world', whether it takes the form of ongoing daily life or interactions with a selected group. Qualitative researchers also usually involve not only objectively measurable 'facts' or 'events', but also with the ways that people construct, interpret and give meaning to these experiences.

Apart from focus groups and in-depth interviews, this study will employ observational technique that is also one of qualitative methods. Gerson and Horowitz (2002) argue that observational techniques provide a way to collect direct information about how individuals, groups and organizations behave in a range of settings as well as a way to observe how people explain their behaviour to each other. Interviews offer a systematic way of investigating people's experiences over time as well as their perceptions, motives and accounts of these experiences and actions. Yet researchers also observe and use their observations to gather supporting information about the lives of participants.

To understand behaviour, researchers need an additional approach which gives them some access to the meanings that guide behaviour. Participant observation can provide them that access. As participant observers, they can learn the culture or subculture of the people they are studying, and learn to understand the world as people do (Punch, 2005, p. 151). While researchers within the qualitative design understand that the aim of their study is to provide an understanding of the meaning which one or two people attribute to a certain event, and not to generalise, it may be hard to convince those outside the interpretive tradition of this fact (Mouton, 2001).

Each method thus relies on strategies that are central to the other. Even if the epistemological assumptions on which each approach is based differ in theory, they often converge in practice. Good interviewers rely on observation to confirm, cast doubt on, enrich, and make unexpected discoveries, and ethnographers often find themselves probing for the significance of observed actions and interactions through conversations (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 221). Gerson and Horowitz also suggest that each approach permits the researcher to formulate new strategies as the data collection develops. A researcher may find out in the interviews a place where participant-observation may be useful to add dimension to a particular aspect of the project. A participant-observer may decide that interviews may shed light on a particular issue. Used together, these methods produce a richer, more comprehensive, and more complex view of social life than either can give on its own.

4.4 PROJECT AREA

South Kivu province is located in the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The population in this province was a little over three million people in 1997, and it is currently estimated at 3.5 million people (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of Planning, 2005). The province is limited to the East by the Republic of Rwanda (separated by the outlet of the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu), Burundi, and Tanzania - separated from South Kivu by the Lake Tanganyika. To the southeast by the province of Katanga, to the West and Northwest by the province of the Maniema, and to the North by the province of North Kivu.

Bukavu is the capital of the Sud-Kivu province, in 2009 its population was about 241,690 and in its neighbouring and villages there was an estimation of 250,000 people (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of planning, 2005). The city of Bukavu, is located in south of the Lake Kivu. Apart from its politico-administrative function, Bukavu is also a commercial, industrial, tourism, religious city. It has a subtropical weather, and has beautiful site (it is built on five peninsulas and has been labelled as "a green hand, submerged in the lake"). In the city, houses are modern and hygienic while in popular towns like Kadutu, some houses are small and having no courtyard. These houses are built on mountain flanks and are hardly accessible by car.

The city of Bukavu is overcrowded by people who moved from their territories fleeing insecurity and increase of urban poverty.

Bukavu has four districts that are namely Ibanda, Kadutu, Bagira and Kasha. Ibanda is the residential and administrative area, and it is where Mushere secondary school and Imani Panzi secondary school are located. The other two schools are located in Kavumu that is the rural area. Kavumu is located on 34 miles north of Bukavu. In this area people have difficulty of accessing rudimentary social services such as: education, sanitary drinking water, and primary health care. Most of houses are built with flat timber and others with mud and timber (Democratic Republic of the Congo Ministry of planning, 2005). Kavumu is the rural area where our two rural schools are located. These are Kabuga secondary school and Karhanda secondary school. Data collection was carried out at four schools that namely Karhanda secondary school, Kabuga secondary school, Mushere secondary school and Imani Panzi secondary school. The two first schools are in the rural area called Kavumu, and the other two are in Bukavu that is an urban area. The city of Bukavu has experienced displacement of people due to political unrest since 1996 and wars in South Kivu have severely damaged the basic socio-economic infrastructures.

4.5 THE SAMPLE

This research will focus on South Kivu male and female student participants aged between 16 and 20. Fourteen participants from each school will be selected from grades 11 and 12 to participate in single-sex focus groups. The participants of the current study will include 28 males and 28 females. The study sampling and composition is further explained in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The current study sampling and composition

| School name | Location & area | Grade | Number in focus groups | Number in personal interviews |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------|--|--|
| Fadhili secondary school | Bukavu Urban area | 11-12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One focus group of 7 male students • One focus group of 7 female students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 male respondents • 5 female respondents |
| Imani secondary school | Bukavu Urban area | 11-12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One focus group of 7 male students • One focus group of 7 female students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 male respondents • 5 female respondents |
| Kabuga secondary school | Kavumu Rural area | 11-12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One focus group of 7 male students • One focus group of 7 female students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 male respondents • 5 female respondents |
| Karhanda secondary school | Kavumu Rural area | 11-12 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One focus group of 7 male students • One focus group of 7 female students | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 male respondents • 5 female respondents |

In choosing a sample, the goal is to ‘select a group of participants who are purposefully located to express themselves on the topic under exploration’ (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p.204). The current study which focus on understanding the

attitudes and behaviour of young South Kivu men towards women in order to encourage the development of more peaceful attitudes and behaviour.

While life in the field can begin almost immediately for the participant-observer, the in-depth interviewer must spend time. Whatever the degree of advance preparation, it is both exhilarating and frightening to begin the process of directly engaging ordinary people as they go about their daily lives or reflect upon where they have been and where they are going. The excitement stems from putting a plan into practice and doing sociology rather than just consuming the ideas and findings of others. Yet the prospect of entering unknown situations, meeting countless strangers, and putting one's most valued ideas and perspectives to the test also tends to provoke anxiety, fear, and resistance. At this stage, fieldwork becomes as much an art as a science (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002).

Sampling is a fundamental issue in research and the emphasis in qualitative research is that the sample is purposefully closer to facilitate data which will help deal with the specific aims of the research (Ezzy, 2002, p. 74). In short, I attempted to collect data via a purposive sampling. Through purposive sampling, I deliberately selected schools on the basis of being generally representative of those in the area, being located in either in a rural and urban area.

4.6 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The research team comprised myself as the primary researcher, a research assistant (male) who was to deal with observation from male single-sex focus groups, and a research assistant (female) who conducted all the female single-sex focus group interviews and individual interviews.

This section discusses the phases and the tasks of the research process in the current study which are outlined, in retrospect, in Table 4.2

Table 4.2: Phases of the research

| PHASE | DATE | TASKS |
|--|-------------|--|
| One Preparation and planning | 2010 | <p>Selection of the study area based on the researcher's interest of exploring the attitudes that predispose young males to sexual violent behaviour towards females.</p> <p>I worked on my research proposal which includes literature review and research methods. I wrote the first chapters and also worked on the study questionnaire that I translated in Swahili.</p> <p>Obtained written informed consent from participants, parents, and permission from the Department of Education and ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (see appendices).</p> <p>Applied for money and preparing for phase two.</p> |
| Two Data collection: focus groups (First visit to the DRC) | 2011 | <p>I envisaged data collection on four secondary schools for about three days each; travel, accommodation and subsistence were required.</p> <p>I trained the female moderator in focus group moderation and in-depth interviews.</p> <p>In mid-June, I collected data from eight single-sex focus groups. All focus group discussions were audio-taped.</p> <p>At the end of every focus group, I held a meeting with the research team to obtain their feedback on the focus group.</p> <p>Transcription and translation of data was done by the primary researcher (myself).</p> |
| Data collection: individual interviews | 2011 | <p>I trained the female moderator in interviewing techniques.</p> <p>Participants' selection from each focus group was made where five participants were selected and invited to voluntarily participate in in-depth interviews that took place during the two weeks that followed each focus group.</p> <p>Transcription and translation of data from interviews was done by the primary researcher.</p> |
| Three Data analysis | 2012 | <p>I Analysed data collected from focus groups and individual interviews by using thematic analysis.</p> <p>then when dealing with data analysis one 'chapter' was based on each of the three themes A) how they understand traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy B) what</p> |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | | <p>males think about the roles of women and men in relationships and marriage, C) what they think about sexual relationships and D) how they male-female conflicts can be dealt with, including various type of violence, conflict management, resolution and transformation.</p> <p>From the above design a training package on male-female relationships, was built on specific peace principles (see appendices).</p> <p>Submitted the thesis</p> |
|--|--|--|

4.7 RESEARCH VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Although some researchers refer to issues of reliability and validity, there is increasing recognition that these terms apply more to quantitative studies where data facts isolated from the personal or subjective values of the researcher. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, are open to multiple interpretations of situations and therefore defend subjectivity in research (Ulin et al, 2002). On the other hand, qualitative research that aims to explore, discover, and understand cannot use the same criteria to judge research quality and outcomes (Whetherell et al 2001). I therefore used validity, reliability and transferability as essential criteria to ensure quality in my research. Credibility, dependability, and transferability are the standards for evaluating the rigour of qualitative studies that are consistent with the worldview, information sources, and methods of the interpretivist paradigm (Whetherell et al 2001).

In qualitative research, validity means that the results are close to the truth. Validity assumes correct operational measures for the concepts being studied, in qualitative research, knowledge produced by the research, particularly qualitative research, is ‘inevitably partial’ (Ulin et al, 2002).

Reliability is the degree to which findings can be replicated. The goal is not only to find the same results in a study (which, the passing of time, may not be possible) but to be able to replicate the processes used to find these results, even though they may be very different in different cultural contexts. For qualitative researchers inquiring into unique contestallations of multiple phenomena and meanings, this goal would be meaningless. In the other words, the same method is likely to produce the same results

unless the answers are prestructured to conform to definitions imposed by the research design (Whetherell et al 2001, p. 25).

The reliability and validity of any research findings depends critically on how well the research was conceptualised, planned and carried out, and how carefully the resulting data were analysed. Reliability or consistency refers to the extent to which the findings can be replicated which, in qualitative research, would require a high degree of manipulation and control of the research environment and would go against its very nature, as just described (Ulin et al, 2002). Merriam (2009) argues that for qualitative research, achieving reliability in the traditional sense is impossible and that the more important is internal validity – ‘whether the results are consistent with the data collected’. Internal validity would apply if credible and similar conclusions were reached if outsiders were to analyse the data. This would also reduce the strength of one of the major criticisms of qualitative research – that is unreliable because of its reliance on subjective interpretation by the researcher. Both reliability and internal validity can be enhanced by strategies as the use of several data collection methods, peer review of the research methods and findings and provision of detailed information about the research process which was followed. In the process of analysing the current research, we had a number of discussions concerning the beliefs and attitudes which emerged under each theme. We believe that if outsiders were to analyse our data, they would identify similar themes and reach similar conclusions.

Transferability is the qualitative analogue to the concept of generalizability. Generalizability of the findings to a broader population is a purpose of most quantitative studies as it is a statically representative sample. Although generalizability by this definition is not relevant to the goal or the methodology of most interpretive studies, it is nevertheless important to know whether the conclusions of a study are transferable to the contexts. The importance of context in qualitative studies leads some researchers to doubt that results from one context should be transferred to another, while it may lead others to apply conclusions from data too casually (Whetherell et al 2001, p. 44).

External validity is in connection with the transferability of the findings or the degree to which they can be generalised. It is true that reliable and internally valid results

may say nothing about the world beyond the small sample being studied. However, if a number of case studies come up with similar results, it is indeed possible that some general phenomena are being identified (Ulin et al, 2002). Repeating the study in another population, with similar conclusion, lends credibility to the results and findings will occur. Thus, well-documented knowledge might be extended to similar populations, but the issue of proof lies less with the original researcher than with the person trying to find an application elsewhere (Whetherell et al 2001, p. 44). The current study conducted in rural and urban areas involved a small number of participants which may not represent wider population's view or description, that is, it cannot be generalised.

4.8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the study's research methodology in broad terms, including the chosen research design and data collection methods and issues of validity and reliability.

CHAPTER 5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter will describe the data collection methods employed in the study. This study will employ two of qualitative methods for data collection which are namely: focus groups and individual interviews. It will also discuss how the study will be carried out, and provide a detailed description for the analysis of data.

5.2 DATA COLLECTION THROUGH FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups generate large amounts of qualitative data in exchange for relatively little face-to-face researcher contact (Parker and Tritter, 2006, p.23). Focus groups use more natural surroundings than some techniques (surveys) and less natural surroundings than others (participant observation). The basic goal in conducting focus groups is to hear from the participants about on the topics of interest to the researcher (Morgan and Krueger, 1993). Focus groups, as ‘structured eavesdropping’, can make a distinctive contribution, allowing the researcher to study naturalist talk elicited in relation to specific topics (Barbour, 1999). For it is only in questioning and deconstructing the sensitivity of any given research that we can begin to explore the advantages and disadvantages of particular research methods (Farquhar, 1999).

Focus groups are perfect in examining participants’ experiences, opinions, wishes and interests. The method is particularly helpful for enabling respondents to make their own questions, frames and concepts and to follow their own priorities on their own expressions, in their own vocabulary. This method also enables researchers to investigate participants’ different opinions as they operate within a social network. In fact, group work examines how explanations are expressed, censured, opposed and changed through social interaction and how this connects with peer communication and group norms (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999, pp. 4-5). Focus groups are useful vehicles for collecting data on group norms, on the conformity, agreement, censorship and dispute surrounding such norms (Kitzinger, 1994b). Focus groups involve participants in helping to define research questions and can even involve them in collaborative writing project (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). The dynamics within focus groups are announced as a useful supplement to developing ‘new politics of

knowledge' by accessing uncodified knowledge and motivating the sociological imagination in both researchers and participants (Johnson, 1996). Focus group methods expect participants not only to identify themselves to us, the researchers, as members of the population in question, but also to identify themselves to other group members. Guarantees or reassurances regarding anonymity and confidentiality are therefore key, and the necessity to provide these may encourage not only the appropriateness of adopting focus group methods, but also a number of design decisions, including how participants are contacted, the choice of discussion venue, and the way in which the data are handled and reported (Farquhar, 1999). Participants are asked to engage in focus groups because they have something in common with each other and something which the researcher is interested in - for example, a lifestyle circumstance or condition (Parker and Tritter, 2006). The conversations are likely to take a different course if the respondents knew each other before the group than if strangers come together (Vicsek, 2007). There is a danger that the researcher will not understand or will misunderstand some of what is said. On the other hand, respondents might not tell personal stories that the other members of the group already know and might not speak about things that they all take for granted even though these might be relevant for the investigation (Macnaghten and Myers, 2004). Focus group participants differ in terms of the extent, insight and forcefulness of their verbal contributions and we were alert to the possibility that a dominant individual might direct a focus group in a direction at variance with the views of the majority. The use of direct quotations from informants is one way of guarding against this, as was follow up in the form of interviews.

The defining characteristic of using focus groups for research is the use of interaction between research participants to generate data. They provide an opportunity to examine interactions on a topic, as well as provide evidence about resemblances and differences in the respondents' opinions and experiences (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 292). Writing about focus groups, Morgan points out that 'the hallmark of focus groups is the unequivocal use of the group interaction to generate data and insights that would be less easily available without the interaction obtained in a group discussion (1988, p. 12). Human experience is formed within specific social contexts: combined sense is generated, meanings negotiated and identities developed, during social interaction between people (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1990). Well organised

group interaction can help in bringing to the surface aspects of a situation which might not otherwise be exposed. The group situation can also motivate people in making clear their views, perceptions, motives and reasons.

Often a major research goal is to learn more about the range of opinions or experiences that people have. Focus groups have a strong advantage here because the interaction in the group can give an explicit basis for investigating this issue. Of course, the degree of consensus in the group may only become open to comment if the researchers make it explicit that they intend to hear a diversity of opinions, so one should never mistake the failure to disagree for the consensus (Morgan and Krueger, 1993). One of the things that frequently becomes clear in such discussions is that each individual may have several different views about the subject. This is visible in statements of qualified agreement; such as “I agree with you, as long as ...” It also shows up when apparent disagreements are resolved by discovering the presence or absence of some particular set of circumstances. This is the common understanding of how one feels or what one does rely on the particular circumstances. The advantage of focus groups is that the interaction among the respondents helps them to clarify for themselves just what it is that their opinion or behaviour depends on. Researchers can thus increase insights into both the extent of opinions they have and the sets of circumstances that will lead to one response rather than another (Morgan and Krueger, 1993, p. 18). Although, in theory, focus groups can simply reflect or monitor change, there is always the potential for the focus group process itself to initiate changes in respondents’ thinking or understanding, through exposure to the interactive process (Barbour, 1999).

The focus group uses a facilitator to moderate and deal with the course of the group discussion by setting topical areas. In the focus group, the moderator often plays the part of being a guide, but within the group, a multitude of interpersonal dynamics occur and through this group interaction data are generated (Morgan, 1993, p. 143). Parker and Tritter (2006, p. 26) argue that in focus groups, the researcher acts as ‘facilitator’ or ‘moderator’. That is, facilitator/moderator of group discussion between respondents, not between her/himself and respondents. Focus groups interaction is what count and, in this sense, facilitation is all about generating in-depth discussion via a logical series of open-ended questions that encourages universal participation

within the group (as is also the case with traditional notions of the in-depth qualitative, one-to-one interview process). This study used open-ended questions are used to facilitate discussion in the focus groups as well as to generate richer and more natural responses. To answer our research question, this study was based on the following: (a) How they understand traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy (b) What they think about the roles of women and men in relationships and marriage (c) What they think about sex in relationships, including sexual violence (d) How they think male-female conflicts can be dealt with. The fundamental ideas here are that human behaviour is shaped by meanings which people attribute to and bring to situations, and that behaviour is not 'caused' in any mechanical way, but is constantly constructed and reconstructed on the foundation of people's interpretations of the situations they are in. Therefore, to understand behaviour, researchers need an approach which gives access to the meanings that uncover behaviour. As participant observers, researchers can learn the culture or subculture of the people they are studying, and learn to understand the world as they do (Punch, 2005, p.151). From the researcher's perspective, a successful focus groups project can help to establish a human relationship between those who commission a project and those who serve as the subjects of their investigations. And, whether this helps to reduce tensions in troubled venue or simply makes people feel good about their experiences in the research process, it is a valuable end in itself (Morgan and Krueger, 1993, p. 18). The researcher organised focus groups with male adolescents to understand the attitudes of young South Kivu men towards women in order to encourage the development of more peaceful attitudes. Responses to each question helped participants justify their understandings, and opinions that they hold towards females.

Researchers should choose a venue easily accessible to participants he/she wishes to include in the research. Preferably, the place should be quiet and comfortable, free from interruptions and forbid access to those not participating in the research. Concerns about selecting a suitable venue have led several writers of focus group guidelines to recommend 'a neutral setting where participants will not feel influence by the surrounding (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999, p. 11). Thus focus group interviews, when conducted in a non-threatening and tolerant environment, are particularly advantageous when working with groups of people who have historically had limited power and influence. Of course, conducting research in the presence of a

power imbalance often implicates an ethical dimension, and the sponsors of such research should be informed of the risks associated with first empowering people to express their views and then ignoring these views (Morgan and Krueger, 1993). The current study was conducted in safe environment which was one of the class rooms away from non-participants.

Compared with most traditional methods, including the individual interview, focus groups predictably reduce the researcher's power and control. Simply by virtue of the number of research respondents simultaneously involved in the research interaction, the balance of power shifts away from the researcher. The researcher's influence is 'spread through the very fact of being in a group rather than an individual interview' (Fontana and Frey, 1994, p. 26).

There are also important practical differences between interviews and focus groups. The interviewer can go to a respondent's place at a time of his or her choice. However, focus group work often depends on research participants travelling to a public venue and organising with them. This can make people less likely to work together. Researchers may therefore need to recruit several more potential participants than are actually needed and reimburse participants' travel expenses or offer payment (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999, p. 10).

Focus groups are including people who can be nervous of being the only focus of a researcher's interest (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). To provide a forum for more private accounts may be important for research where the aim is to study the processes by which social knowledge is produced, rather than merely to collect the outcomes of these processes. Allowing participants to argue (and reflect on their own accounts as they are received by peers) provide access to how ideas are utilised by peer groups (Green and Hart, 1999, p. 28). People can feel very empowered and encouraged in group situation, surrounded by their peers or friends (Hoppe et al, 1995). Focus group work can disrupt researchers' expectations and encourage research participants to explore issues, identify common problems and suggest possible solutions through sharing and comparing experiences. Focus group respondents are in the possibility to put together the different experiences of group members; they may also perceive significant experiences in their own lives in a new

light during the discussions. Focus groups can help participants to develop a point of view which goes beyond their individual context and thus may change ‘personal troubles’ into ‘public issues.’ The group process can also nurture collective identity and provide a point of contact to initiate grassroots transformation (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999, p. 19). However, focus groups can bring a significant support to sensitive research. They can be useful in enabling access to particularly sensitive research populations, and giving voice to sections of the community who frequently remain unheard. Focus group methods and group recruitment offer a valuable opportunity for carrying out sensitive research while protecting respondent anonymity (Farquhar, 1999, p. 62).

For the current study, single-sex focus groups were conducted in four schools from which participants were recruited. Fourteen participants from each school were selected from grades 11 and 12 to participate in single-sex focus groups that included seven girls and seven boys, the group composition in every focus group was not a gender mixed. This selection of participants in the single-sex focus groups was applied the same way in the four schools. Eight focus groups were conducted with South Kivu young men and women, in single-sex groups of men and women, with a total of 56 participants - 28 women and 28 men. Each single-sex focus lasted about one hour and half. Five participants from each group were selected and invited to voluntarily participate in in-depth interviews that took place during the two weeks that followed each focus group. To ensure confidentiality and validate of data from the focus groups, individual in individual interviews were conducted among sample of young South Kivu male and female from urban and rural areas. In particular, this approach was vital to gaining access to the perspectives of participants, for those young males and females who could be ostracised by their peers or become extremely passive in the focus groups.

Table 5.3 shows in details some recent studies that have used focus in studying gender relationships.

Table 5.3: Studies which have used focus group discussions

| Location | Date | Aims of the research | Number and size of focus group | Main findings | References |
|--------------------|-------------|--|---|---|--------------------|
| Kisumu town, Kenya | 2011 | The aim is to investigate risk conditions describing the high HIV prevalence among youth in Kisumu | 4 focus groups were conducted among 150 teenagers aged 15 to 20 | For many sexually active girls, their vulnerability to STI/HIV infection is enhanced due to financial inequality, gender-related power difference and cultural norms. A considerable number of girls and young women involved in transactional sex with much older men | Njue et al (2011) |
| Western Cape | 2008 | The aim is to investigate how women and men in the Western Cape construct their gender identities and roles. | Eight single-sex focus groups with men and women with a total of 78 participants 40 women and 38 men. | - Participants indicated that traditional gender relations of male supremacy and female obedience were still manifest, - But participants have also indicated that a change in gender roles and relations have increased women power in South Africa. | Henda et al (2008) |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|---|--|--|----------------------|
| Rural and semi-urban KwaZulu-Natal | 2008 | The aim is to examine the perceptions of anal sex among a rural Zulu population and the repercussions of the introduction of a vaginal microbicide as a means of preventing HIV infection among females. | Eleven focus groups each comprised seven to sixteen participants with a total of 107 participants. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most participants demonstrated that they not sure if anal sex existed in the community. - Men maintained that there was no need for a husband to do anal sex with his wife when he could <i>shaya enkomeni</i> ('penetrate the cow' or have vaginal sex). | Ndinda et al (2008) |
| Soweto | 2002-2003 | This study explores perceptions and subjective experiences and the circumstances and meanings of heterosexual anal sex. In particular it draws attention to the uncertain meanings of anal sex: as coercive and punitive and, at the same time, as recreational and desirable, and seeks to explain these contradictions. | Six focus group with 32 participants | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some participants considered anal sex as a safe replacement to penile-vaginal penetration, - But some of them reported that anal sex increased the risk of HIV infection, and considered anal sex as inadequate and unnatural; and thought that it did not show love but hate and the desire to inflict pain. | Stadler et al (2007) |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|---|---|---|-------------|
| Northern Tshwane, Gauteng Province | 2007 | The aim of this study is to examine the factors shaping the use of condoms among youth in Northern Tshwane. | Two separate focus group discussions (one group of male and another one of female) comprising each twelve participants. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants have demonstrated inadequate knowledge about the reproductive function and consequently lack knowledge about contraception. - 60% of participants reported that they were not informed about contraceptives, no information was available in their communities and that education programmes were unavailable to their schools. - Male domination was perceived as an obstacle for condom use in cases where young girls should protect themselves against unplanned pregnancies without counting on their boyfriends. | Maja (2007) |
|------------------------------------|------|---|---|---|-------------|

5.3 THE MODERATOR

The focus group method requires the role of the moderator be given critical consideration; and many of the important matters for moderator selection and participation focus on the communication implications of the moderator's experience, communication competence, and style (Albrecht et al, 1993). A good moderator will make every effort to create an open and non-judgemental atmosphere in which everyone feels free to share her or his perspective. When participants get the message that the researches are really interested in understanding as much as possible about their experiences and attitudes, then conformity is seldom a problem (Morgan, 1993, pp. 7-8). On balance, when seeking alternatives to professional moderators, the key is to find someone who has experience working with groups (not necessarily leading groups) and who is also possible to work with both the research team and the participants in a specific project (Morgan and Krueger, 1993).

Research that deals with often taboo sexual topic must be aware of possible limitations concerning the honesty and completeness of participants' responses. Thus, a trained fieldworker who matched the gender demographics of participants conducted female single-sex interviews and focus groups. The transcripts were translated and transcribed from English to Swahili before going to the field. The focus groups were based on three main issues: gender based violence, gender roles and gender relations. Farquhar (1999, p. 51) indicates that specific sexual practices or behaviours are construed as taboo, or forbidden, within a number of cultures and societies. For example, behaviour or topics which seem taboo in mixed-gender groups may feel unproblematic, or even welcome, in single-gender groups. Mouton (1996, p. 160) argues that the cause of one of the more important researcher effects can be found in the (perceived) distance between researchers and participants. Although various factors such as context or level of motivation result in very significant degrees of distance between researchers and participants, researcher characteristics such as gender, race, age, and style of dress are some of the most critical factors that fall under this research. An evident solution to this problem is to pay attention in selection of fieldworkers. Fieldworkers who share as many characteristics of the sample as possible (for instance gender and race) should be given preference.

In the current study, I was unable to personally conduct focus groups and in-depth interviews with female participants due to sensitive issues and existing customs of taboo in South Kivu province that may cause the effectiveness of this study, especially in the case where it is a male who interviews females. This was solved through the process of employing an experienced female moderator who conducted female single-sex focus groups and interviews. I conducted male single-sex focus groups and interviews. When dealing with female single-sex focus groups and interviews, this study hired a moderator, a university law student, who matched the gender demographics of participants to conduct female single-sex interviews and focus groups. She conducted the sessions in Swahili, the language spoken by participants. The questionnaire guide was translated and transcribed from English to Swahili before going to the field. The researcher verbally transcribed the collected data from the tape recorder from Swahili to English.

However, the idea that sexuality is always a sensitive topic to discuss, is open to challenge. From a sociological viewpoint, sensitivity can be seen as located and constructed within the surrounding conditions of cultural norms and taboos (Farquhar, 1999). As individuals, we belong at the same time to a range of groups, influenced, for example, by our gender, race, religion, culture, age, sexuality, friendship patterns and so on; and we negotiate our life experience not within one, but within several, potentially dissonant, sets of norms or taboos (what may also be described as inhabiting multiple, potentially dissonant, or fractured identities) (Michel, 1999, p. 51). The perceived sensitivity of a given research project may well be influenced by who carries it out (Farquhar, 1999). Kitzinger (1994a) brings to light to the potential impact of the researcher's gender on group processes, attributing the relative success of focus group research carried out by women with women at least in part to women's deep-rooted tradition of sharing personal information with each other in group. However, it is also possible that group participants will sometimes feel more comfortable disclosing information to 'outsiders' (Michel, 1999, p. 50). There is a tendency for all research related to sexuality to be seen as sensitive. In the case of research which is seen as sensitive, it is important to consider at the beginning whether and how its potential sensitivity may be influenced by researcher identities; the appropriateness or otherwise of matching researchers with respondents, in terms of particular dimensions of identity (such as race or gender); and how researcher

identities can be incorporated into the data analysis (Farquhar, 1999). Research identities are entrenched and implicated in all stages of the research process, and this is no less true for research employing focus group methods than for other approaches. In the case of research which is regarded as sensitive, it is important to take into account the identities; the appropriateness or otherwise of matching researchers with participants, in terms of particular dimensions of identity (such as race or gender); and how researcher identities can be incorporated into the data analysis (Farquhar, 1999, p. 50).

Although it is important when facilitating sensitive discussions to be aware of the comfort level of the group, and to draw their attention at any verbal or non-cues of comfort, this does not mean that such cues should necessarily be used as a sign to change the subject (Michel, 1999, p. 58). Relatively, acknowledging embarrassment, allowing tension-releasing jokes and yet not avoiding the topic in hand, helps to demonstrate that it is important to recognise and respect personal boundaries (Zeller, 1993). The fact of participants coming together to discuss potentially taboo issues is seen as an empowering experience, which may not merely reproduce, but also actively produce and change, relationships between group members (Farquhar, 1999).

One simple way of beginning to develop group facilitation skills is to start off by conducting group discussions with your own friends, students, relatives or colleagues just to try out the method (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). Before going to the field for data collection, I had training meetings with the female fieldworker. Two training meetings were conducted, which lasted 2-hours each. Through these meetings, I provided her training and information about issues related to the overall objective and specific aims of our study, its context, clarification of the questioning way, moderating skills, possible probes and anticipated challenges.

In reality, it may be more than merely feasible to find a good facilitator from within the research team; it may in fact be preferable to do so. This is especially true when there is a real need for a facilitator who has a detailed familiarity with either the project goals or the participants' points of view. For example, when the research project's goals are in ongoing state of progress, someone who is directly involved in the project can do a better job of steering the discussion in useful directions. Or when

the participants are part of a distinctive cultural group, someone with the appropriate sensitivity may be a more effective facilitator than someone who merely has professional credentials (Morgan and Krueger, 1993, p. 5).

The role of the researcher varies in a focus group, functioning more as a moderator or facilitator, and less as an interviewer. The process will not be one of interchange question and answer, as in the traditional interview. The researcher will be facilitating, moderating, monitoring and writing down group interaction. The group interaction will be guided by questions and topics provided by the researcher. Well-moderated group interaction can help in bringing to the surface parts of a situation which could not otherwise be revealed. The group situation can also encourage people in making clear their views, perceptions, motives and reasons. This makes focus groups an attractive data gathering option when research is trying to probe those aspects of people's behaviour (Punch, 2005, p. 171). The facilitator should approach the group discussion with a basic outline of key questions. Over and above this, specific group exercises are sometimes useful (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). Farquhar (1999, p. 51) indicates that the assumption that sexuality involves a sensitive research topic is not surprising. Sexuality has long been identified by sociologists as an important site of power and resistance. In addition, specific sexual practices or behaviours are interpreted as taboo, or forbidden, within a number of cultures and societies. Michell (1999) suggests that bringing together people with shared experiences (of illness, oppression, discrimination or stigma) can actively facilitate discussion of taboo feelings and address experiences which are otherwise silenced. Morgan and Krueger (1993, p. 7) maintain that practical experience also points to a very different problem: the over disclosure of sensitive matter. This can happen when the impetus in a group leads participants to reveal details of their personal lives that they would ordinarily keep private. Too often, there is a certain excitement in the open discussion of taboo topics. If the moderator does not pull back from the first disclosure of oversensitive information, other participants may well come forth with even more personal revelations. This was the case in the current study especially in the single-sex female focus groups where girls could openly disclose their personal experiences in the course of discussions.

5.4 DATA COLLECTION THROUGH INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

5.4.1 WHY INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS?

There is an interpersonal dynamic in both focus group discussions and in individual interviews, but this dynamic is very different. In the individual interview, the dynamic is between an interviewee and interviewer. The interviewer sets an agenda in which a selected individual tell stories that provide insights into that agenda. The interviewer seeks relationship, creating sympathy, privacy, and intimacy, as a way to collect data (Morgan, 1993, p. 143). However, conducting interviews alongside the focus groups was, I believed, essential to meet the research aims that I wished to pursue. The interview is one of the most important data collection tools in qualitative research. The interview is a data collection tool of great flexibility which can be adapted to suit a wide variety of research settings. It helps gain understanding respondents' opinions, meanings, descriptions of situations, and constructions of everything that actually happen in their lives. In interviews, the approach is conversational, open and fluid, and the objective is achieved through active appointment by researcher and respondent around relevant issues, themes and experiences (Mason, 2002, p. 225). Its success depends on summoning up a range of emotional as well as analytic skills, including sympathy, support and intense concentration. The interview process also requires a willingness to put moral judgement aside, at least temporarily, in order to take on the point of view or role of the other. Indeed, the in-depth interview more closely looks like the therapeutic interview of clinical practice than the firmly controlled, closed-ended questionnaire used in social surveys. Individual interviews may follow an organized set of ordered questions, but the purpose is "to improve full disclosure in order to get to know the person as an integrated whole (rather than to recover a series of answers from a predetermined set of responses)" (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 210).

Inevitably, some interviews will provide more useful information than others. No single interview, however revealing, can provide more than limited insight into general social processes and transformations. Only by comparing a series of interviews can the significance of any one of them be fully understood. And, ultimately, each interview will add to the final story. Over time, as the number of

interviews grows, general patterns should begin to take shape out of what once seemed to be unique stories. Collective experiences begin to come out, and it becomes possible to anticipate the answers before the questions are asked. When new interviews are more likely to confirm earlier insights and to generate new findings (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 212).

Interview methodology starts from the assumption that it is possible to examine elements of the social by asking people to talk, and to collect or construct knowledge by listening to and interpreting what they say and to how they say it. Asking, listening and interpretation are theoretical project in the sense that how we ask questions, what we think is possible from asking questions and from listening to answers, and what kind of knowledge we hear answers to be, are all ways in which we communicate, pursue and satisfy our theoretical orientations in our research (Mason, 2002, p. 225). In formulating an in-depth interview, it is important to include probes that differentiate among the various dimensions of lived experience – including the actual event, the social context in which an event or experience takes place, the person's behavioural response, the person's feelings, opinions and beliefs before, during and immediately following the experience, and the person's evolving and current interpretations of the experience (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002).

In this study, five participants who were selected from each focus group were invited to participate in interviews. A single-sex interview was conducted with each participant, and each interview lasted about 60 minutes. These face to face interviews with individuals were employed to further explore their attitudes and experiences concerning sexual violence in their relationships, and especially to understand males' thoughts about the position of females in the society. Interview schedules were used with sufficient flexibility to enable the interviewer to probe responses where relevant. All individual interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the participants, subsequently transcribed and translated from Swahili into English. In-depth interviews helped to explore further and confirm themes emerging from the focus group discussions. Participants were asked to state, in some of questions in this study, whether they agree or disagree with some statements on male violent attitudes and behaviour towards females. To determine the attitudes of sample of young male and females, the following questions were asked: Have you ever had sexual intercourse

with a person when she really did not want to? Do you think that forced sex is normal in a relationship? What is your reaction when your girlfriend says no to your suggestion of having sex with her?

The traditional type of structured interview is the non-homogeneous, open-ended, individual interview, sometimes called the ethnographic interview. It is used as a way of understanding the complex behaviour of people without enforcing any a priori categorization which might limit the field investigation (Punch, 2005, p. 172). He also explains that the structured interview is a powerful research tool, widely used in social research and other fields, and capable of producing rich and valuable data. An effective individual interview has many of the characteristics of a prolonged and intimate conversation. Skill in this type of interviewing is not innate and careful preparation is required.

Individual interviews should, of course, always leave room to find out the unexpected and uncover the unknown. This is more easily accomplished by choosing a theoretically focused sample and developing an insightful and probing interview schedule (May, 2002, p. 204). Of course, there is no perfect interview that can produce the whole story or the real 'truth'. The interview method necessarily depends on people's varying abilities to recall the past, understand the present and consider the future. Some participants are able to offer great detail and insight, while others find it difficult to recollect past circumstances or think about the future possibility seriously and at length, especially in order to understand it more fully. According to some interviews will seem predictable and uninteresting, while others will prompt a new way of seeing concepts and organising principles. This experience is especially likely to happen when people offer answers that do not fit the study's presuppositions or the prevailing theoretical debates (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). Gerson and Horowitz also indicate that a well-constructed individual interview goes well beyond the more structured survey to explore a range of theoretically important dimensions, including pre-existing beliefs and outlooks, events and situations that cause or prevent action, the social contexts in which choices are made, the social and psychological consequences of contextually entrenched choices, and the longer-term interpretations that people develop as their lives proceed.

5.5 ANALYSING DATA FROM FOCUS GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Data collection and data analysis builds on the strengths of qualitative methods as an inductive method for building theory and interpretations from the perspective of the people being studied. It enables the analysis to be influenced by the participants in more basic way than if analysis is set aside until after the data collection has been completed (Ezzy, 2002, p. 61). Ezzy also indicates that the qualitative research is demonstrably honest and severe when the researcher shows that he has worked to understand the established nature of participants' interpretations and meanings. The quality of qualitative data analysis depends on well-planned techniques, and on ensuring that these techniques reveal the structures of understanding of participants.

One of the main challenges in qualitative data analysis is to guarantee that the voice of the other is heard and allowed to enter into dialogue with the prior understandings (Ezzy, 2002, p. xiii). To determine the attitudes and behaviour of male adolescents towards females and investigate the sources of these attitudes, focus groups and interview will be conducted for data collection. Individual comments and opinions will be categorised according to common selected themes from interviews and focus groups. Ezzy (2002, p. 83) argues that thematic analysis allows theories to emerge from data. When new notions or interpretations are required the researcher typically requires a more inductive methodology such as thematic analysis. Thematic analysis purposes are to identify themes within the data. Thematic analysis is more inductive than content analysis because the classifications into which themes will be dealt with are not decided before coding the data. These categories are 'induced' from the prior analysis, the specific nature of categories and themes to be explored are not predetermined. This means that this form of research may take the researcher into issues and problems he or she had not anticipated. These themes were analysed and interpreted to determine the attitudes of sample of young South Kivu men and women in rural and urban secondary schools concerning:

- a) How they understand traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy

- b) What they think about the roles of women and men in relationships and marriage
- c) What they think about sexual relationships, including sexual violence
- d) How they think male-female conflicts can be dealt with

Although analysis begins the first time an interviewer sits down with a participant, it takes a new and more directed form after all interviews have been collected and transcribed (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). One of the challenges for transcribing is distinguishing individual participants. A voice check, where the moderator simply asks people to go round and give their first names on the tape at the beginning of the session, can be very useful (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). To identify a participant's intervention in regard to the intervention of someone else, a participant chose his/her pseudonym and mentioned it each time he/she intervened. This ensured them confidentiality and anonymity (See section 5.6).

Audiotapes of the discussions were transcribed as fully as possible. Analysis of the transcripts was mainly qualitative by using thematic approach. The transcripts were examined closely to answer the above questions. The transcripts then generated recurrent themes.

Thematic analysis investigates the role of interactional factors and types of communication at the level of selected statements. It is possible to analyse the types of interactions (for example, a person changed his/her view to bring it into line with that of the others, perception overlapping/not overlapping with that of others) and kinds of exchange of information (laughter, telling stories, jokes) happening in the focus group in combination with the content of selected sentences. For example, the reactions which provoked a particular feeling from the group by a given statement can be considered (Vicsek, 2007, p. 22). Thematic analysis is the process of identifying themes or concepts that are in the data. The researcher attempts to build a systematic account of what has been observed and recorded (Ezzy, 2002, p. 86). Analysis involves, at the very least, describing and comparing debate of similar themes and investigating how these link with the difference between individuals and between groups (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999).

Qualitative research, and qualitative data analysis, involves working out how the thing that people do make sense from their perspective. This can be done only by entering into the interviewee's world. The interpretive process at the heart of qualitative data analysis involves trying to understand the practices and meanings of research participants from their perspective. Qualitative observation, and data analysis, is well carried out when the researcher becomes involved in the experiment (Ezzy, 2002, p. xii). Common understandings, with account taken of alternative viewpoints are analysed qualitatively to develop themes (Schilling 2006). Based on the statements of all interviewees and focus groups interaction, dominant (recurrent) themes will be identified within each category by sorting the statements for each category based on their semantic similarity. In this regard, Schilling (2006, p. 34) suggests that the sequence in the presentation of the themes (e.g., "analysing problems" and "generating solutions" for the category "Problem settling") can be used to suggest the rank order in the importance of the different themes (e.g., how often a certain theme is addressed in total or by how many subjects). Interpreting the data might imply looking for patterns (e.g., are there certain similarities), to cluster objects (e.g., which categories have many, which only one or two main themes?), to make contrasts (e.g., how do categories with many main themes differ from those with only few?), and comparisons (e.g., if used for an individual or a group: comparing different views on a topic). Not only the presence, but also the absence of statements can produce interesting results (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). While analysing data, I applied the above approach to deal with considerable data collected from focus groups and individual interviews.

In the analysis I did a thematic analysis, a qualitative data analysis based on themes (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). I generally structured the content of the thematic analysis in such a way that I characterised the similarities among the majority of groups regarding the individual logical criteria; then, where this is important, I studied the groups where there was a differing manifestation or trend. Occasionally I also discussed the results of the individual groups separately under the different analytical criteria. In other cases I performed the analysis by grouping together the analysis of groups of similar composition. However, it was not easy dealing with groups of similar composition together because it happened although the composition was similar; there might be considerable differences in the group dynamics. Vicsek (2007)

suggests in thematic analysis to often cite not only isolated manifestations but also a fragment of discussion containing several contributions. Under each citation I always noticed whether it comes from male or female participant including the school attending by the participant.

The analysis focuses much more at how the respondents say something and what they want to accomplish with their communication than at what they are saying (Vicsek, 2007). Analysing focus group data involves essentially the same process as does the analysis of any other qualitative data. However, the researcher needs to reference the group context. This means starting from an analysis of groups rather than individuals and uncovering a balance between looking at the picture provided by the group as a whole and recognizing the operation of individual 'voices' within it. The researcher should try to distinguish between opinions expressed in spite of, or in opposition to, the group and consensus expressed or put together in an orderly way by the group (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). It is an important experience where people like to present themselves in a good light, and they tone down their replies because they feel that they have to give a socially acceptable answer. In the section of analysis dealing with situational factors, the researcher organises opinions of the group in this respect if he/she feels it is applicable (Vicsek, 2007). In my analysis I did not only focus on the context at the level of statement, but also I considered the situation of the focus groups as a whole.

However, it is also important to consider how the free expression of opinions can be influenced by what ideas the participants have of how many persons represent the minority position in the group and who those persons are. If a minority or perhaps only one person supports an opinion, this can also influence the position of others, particularly if the members representing the divergent opinion are the reference group for the possible objects of influence or have high status and put forward persuading arguments (Vicsek, 2007). Such an observation was noticed in one of the schools where we conducted focus groups. One participant influenced the course of the discussion in such a way the other members of the group had difficult to express in some subjects. Luckily, this situation has improved during the focus group. If several persons have the same position, coalitions might be formed within some groups, and these might confront each other in the debate on different questions. Other modifying

factors might be the extent of the difference between the minority and the majority opinions and how standardised the opinion of the majority is. The determining factor here is not how many people actually have similar individual opinions but what the participants think of this; after all, some of the group members might not yet have expressed a view on the theme. What matters is what they believe the other person thinks as truthful, not what the other person's genuine internal opinion is (Vicsek, 2007). In this study during discussion groups, few participants from one of focus groups did not contribute much to the discussion. It is possible that some of the group members might not have expressed a view on the theme, as they may believe what the other person thinks is not his or her real internal opinion. Such a limitation might have been adjusted during the individual interviews where they expressed freely. It is important to listen to the tape while transcribing - especially where tone of voice and the nature of the interaction is important (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). Interactions among individuals, not individual characteristics, are more likely to form the basic units of analysis (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002).

It is important for the interpretation of the results of the focus groups to take into account that intensive activities of group dynamics take place during the focus groups. The researcher should promote a freer expression of opinion by asking the participants at the beginning of the group to state their thoughts or views even if they differ from those of the others. Understanding in what way participants express an opinion which differs from the group majority depends on many factors. Such factors can consist of the personality of the participant, the degree of consensus among the other members of the group, how strongly the differing opinion is in conflict with the norms of the group and society, to what extent the participant can expect to be given approval to by the other members, and what position the person holding a different opinion occupies in the hierarchy of the group (e.g., in the hierarchy of prestige), and so on (Vicsek, 2007). Analysis may involve, at the very least, drawing together and comparing discussion of similar themes and checking how these relate to the degree of difference between individuals and between groups (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). Vicsek (2007, p. 22) recommends that in the matter of attitudes the researcher's position should be closer to the views of the majority. There supposed to be an individual internal attitude that is not necessarily stable or focused on a fixed point, the researcher has to consider that it moves over a wider spectrum and take into

account the constraints, the fact that he or she can gain only an estimation of the individual's internal attitude as the polling, it is better to quote extracts from the discussion including several contributions. Given that different individual in a focus group will contribute differently - in quantity and strength of opinion. The researcher should note while analysing data that the opinion in the group can change in the course of the group discussion or that there is a difference of opinions in the group.

In analysis if differing, conflicting opinions appear in the group, and it can generally be assumed that this deviation also exists in the group, it can generally be assumed this deviation also exists in the area of individual views. On the other hand, if consensus is found, it could indicate strong group norms denoting behaviour or thought that is socially acceptable or expected. In another context, if the researcher wants to know the individual opinions or would like to have a clearer representation of the group processes, he/she has to explore how far the results can be the outcome of public conformity, repression, or conflict avoidance. One way of doing this is to use individual polling (for example, in the form of a questionnaire) and compare its results with what was found in the focus group. This can help to decide whether the consensus was genuine or the consequence from group pressure. If there is a distinct difference can be found between the answers given to the screening questionnaire and what was said in the focus group, this could be caused by the participants changing their real opinion under influence of the debate. The change of opinion may be only temporary, or it might even be permanent. However, in the case of certain themes it is not likely that the inner opinion will change or be modified (Vicsek, 2007). I paid attention to the above techniques while working analysing data.

Corbin and Strauss (2008) suggest doing the following when analysing data. The first step in any analysis is to read materials from beginning to end. When doing that first reading, analysts should resist the urge to write in the margins, underline, or take notes. The idea behind the first reading is to enter vicariously into the life of participants, feel what they are experiencing and listen to what they are telling us. Gerson and Horowitz (2002) highlight that there are nevertheless some identifiable steps to follow in the analytic process. The first requires a careful reading of all interview transcripts. Even interviews whose meaning seemed straightforward when conducted can take on a new resonance in the context of all the others. This is the time to ask a

set of crucial questions about each participant and about the group as whole: what general shape does each person's life take?

After careful reading the interviews, it is time to begin the more formal procedure of creating analytic categories and concepts (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). The researcher scrutinises the data in attempt to understand the essence of what is being expressed in the raw data. Then, the researcher explains a conceptual name to describe that understanding – researcher – denoted concept. Other times, participants provide the conceptualisation. A term that they use to speak about something is so vivid and descriptive that the researcher borrows it (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). While much of the work of discovering 'what is going on here?' occurs during the data collection stage, there typically remains more to do after leaving the field. Like in-depth interviews, all field notes must be read several times to develop more refined categories and connections among the categories. The major story may not become clear until all the minor themes and concepts have been developed (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). I broke the data into manageable pieces. Second, I took those pieces of data and explored them for the ideas contained within (interpreted those data). Third, I gave those ideas conceptual names that stand for and represent the ideas contained in the data. Gerson and Horwitz (2002) suggest that by subjecting each interview to close scrutiny, and by comparing it to the others, a set of categories for organizing analysis will begin to emerge. If all goes well, these categories will be quite different than the ones that seemed obvious before the study began.

So, I have reported male attitudes and behaviour towards females according to common themes from the focus groups and interviews. Vicsek (2007) advises that the researcher has to focus largely on what participants said and not how they said it or through what communication between two or more people if it occurred. This was analysed, and interpreted by concentrating largely on what participants generated. For instance, more intention has been given on how a respondent brought his opinion into line with that of others, and how his opinion coincided or not coincided with that of participants. This analysis helped characterise the similarities of opinions among the majority of participants. The analysis also helped me to examine the existence and strength of sexual beliefs and practices that influence male attitudes towards females.

When the social and demographic characteristics of the respondents are similar, this normally creates a more pleasant atmosphere, and it is easier for the group members to understand each other. Typically their vocabularies, knowledge, capabilities, and so on are closer. Their experiences and individual opinions might also be closer than they would be if their social backgrounds differed more widely. In the case of groups with heterogeneous composition, the responses of persons with greater social power can greatly influence the expressions of the other participants, and persons of lower status might be reluctant to speak (Vicsek, 2007). A number of authors have stressed that individual opinions have a tendency to appear more in homogeneous groups (Sim, 1998). In addition, the similarity can also mean that the opinions are close to each other. If there is only a small difference in these opinions, it can be easier to represent them than if the positions differ widely. The more pleasant environment, the feeling of similarity and the group cohesion can suggest greater sharing of more personal information. Together, the greater cohesion can also reinforce conformity. The individual's personality determines whether he or she is sensitive to the different social supports and how he or she reacts to them. The researcher should normally mention in the analysis whether there was a participant with a dominant character in the group who used a strong influence on the others. A participant who did not speak at all in the focus group, and there can be several reasons for this. It is possible that the person agreed with what was said but did not wish to speak, but it could also be that the person spoke relatively little because he or she did not want to represent a differing opinion in the presence of the others. If the participants in the focus group are interviewed individually, who participated in focus group, helps to uncover the reasons behind their uncommunicativeness, and if this is important for the analysis, it can also be mentioned (Vicsek, 2007). In the current study the majority of participants contributed in the discussions. The interaction characterises discussions could be estimated in how their laughter, support and disagreement.

On the part of the researcher, creative and solid data analysis requires clever and perceptive questioning, a relentless search for answers, active observation, and accurate recall. It is a process of fitting data together, of making the invisible obvious, linking and attributing consequences, of correction and modification, of suggestion and argument (Morse and Field, 1995, pp. 125-126). Attention should also be paid to the group dynamics, including examining jokes, anecdotes, agreement and

disagreement (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). Clearly the peer group discussion transcriptions may provide insight into the social processes of both belief formation (how certain beliefs are accepted, rejected or modified by peer groups) and the role of utterances about beliefs in peer groups (Green and Hart, 1999). Parker and Tritter (2006) note that analysis has to include an assessment of comparative input that different participants make to the overall discussion and the social changes likely to impact upon levels of participation.

It is important to turn attention to the question of the participants' motivational level. In the case of focus groups it is important to take into account whether the theme itself aroused the interest of the participants, whether they were excited to see how a focus group works, or participated in the group simply for the sake of the gift (Vicsek, 2007). In the analysis it is important to consider the occurrence of polarization and depolarization, if it can be seen in the groups. Depolarization is the term applied to a situation describing the processes of group influence, the opinion reflecting the position of the group falls between the individual positions held before the debate. Group polarization is used for the result where a collective position comes to light during the discussion that is more not reasonable than the individual, internal views held before (Smith and Mackie, 2000). It might be worth considering certain personal appearances of the participants in the groups in the course of the situational analysis; for example, personality, age, gender, education, their knowledge of the theme debated, their understanding, physical properties, and how they behaved in the group, how they felt there and what roles they assumed (Vicsek, 2007). It is also important to include a sense of dynamic change during the course of the group (as people shift their position, accommodate to, or challenge one another) (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). The content of the focus group is a situational factor, and at least some of its elements should be included in the situational analysis. These are features of content that do not appear in the participants' responses but can be identified in the focus group source of information itself or are presented by the moderator (the theme of the group: the main considerations of the guide; characteristics of the questions; the order, style, and language of the questions; special techniques applied in the course of the groups; and what information the participants obtained on the theme of the research). How personal or intimate information discussed was, if there are strong confident belief or hope in the society and among the participants of the group in connection

with the problem examined, and what the “correct” response to them is can all be relevant to the theme (Vicsek, 2007).

The ambiance and mood in the group can also influence what is said, so the researcher should mention it in his analysis. A point to be considered in the analysis is how far the moderator succeeded in creating a relaxed mood of trust in the group where the individual participants feel that they can freely disclose the intimate information about themselves, or feel confident enough to express opinions that might not meet social expectation. It is also important to deal in the analysis with the characteristics of the moderator. Considering his/her style and also noting to what extent he or she succeeded to cope in the various groups (Vicsek, 2007). It can be important to consider the social and demographic characteristics of the moderator to those of the participants, and we can formulate hypotheses about how this could have influenced the course of the group (Krueger, 1994). Vicsek (2007) also indicates that an important analytical relevant factor is to examine whether the moderator used various techniques during the focus groups that could have influenced the free expression of view. For example, did the moderator mention at the beginning of the group that the researchers would like to know everyone’s real opinion even though it differed from the views of the other informants?

5.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The participants were informed about the purpose of the study, that participating in the study is not to be compulsory and that they are allowed to withdraw at any time from the study if they feel uncomfortable about answering the questions during the focus group discussions and interview. Confidentiality help built an openness environment and the ethics of privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were strictly respected in both my research approach and the execution of the study. Mouton (1996) argues that respondents tend to be reluctant to provide interviewer with information on sensitive matters. A similar problem surfaces in studies of sensitive behaviour. One possible strategy to reduce the effect of such responses would be to emphasise the anonymity of responses and observations where possible. Participants in the current study will be assured that their identities will be protected. This reflected in the study’s naming system for reporting purposes, where each participant

chose a pseudonym. Participants were repeatedly assured of the anonymity of their provided information. Due to the sensitivity of this research, we ensured participants that their information will be confident and anonymous, and provided them the opportunity to choose their own pseudonyms. We also asked them to state their false name each time they spoke to ensure we record their information accurately with their false name so that the person transcribing the tape could attribute participants' false names to their specific voices as an initial point of reference. Mouton (1996, p.157) suggests that the assurance that the investigator will not identify the respondents in any way must be regarded as a minimum requirement for establishing validity. The study also applied for an ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee at the Westville campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Permission was also obtained from the South Kivu Department of Education and from the schools where the current study was conducted. The nature of the research was explained to learners and it was made clear that their contribution was entirely voluntary; in the event, there were no refusals and participants were very engaged during the focus groups and interviews. Parental permission was obtained for participants under the age of 18 (see appendices).

A major concern here is the protection of confidentiality from other members within the group. Although the research can reasonably ensure confidentiality of the official research data, the researcher cannot ensure that information will not be disclosed by other participants in the focus group (Morgan and Krueger, 1993). It is important enabling participants to participate in creation of safety and negotiate with the group how the discussion would be recorded (for example tape-recording; flip-chart records), what would happen to these records (who would listen to/transcribe tapes), and how participant anonymity would be protected, in order to reduce anxiety over self-disclosure (Farquhar, 1999).

Sexual matters generally not discussed because sensitive, personal, shameful. We needed to respect this in our research design, research methodology and data collection methods. I dealt with this in the following ways:

1. I applied for and received ethical clearance from UKZN protocol reference number: HSS/0220/011D. The application included a very precise explanation of the research processes I intended to follow
2. I emphasised to the individuals that their participation was entirely voluntary

3. A female research assistant was employed to run the female focus group discussions, undertake interviews with females (incidentally, this assisted with validity and reliability)
4. Both myself and the female research assistant were very aware of the sensitivities involved and worked hard to ensure that participants felt safe and that their contributions were valued.

Having said this, we found participants extremely willing to talk in what they perceived to be a safe environment with researchers who willing to listen.

5.7 CONCLUSION

We chose focus group discussions as a key tool of data collection because of our interest of understanding of attitudes and behaviour as a social phenomenon which are strongly influenced by peer norms. The individual interview was chosen as a supplementary technique in this study to get opinions that could be difficult to divulge in focus group discussions

PART IV DATA ANALYSIS

Part IV presents the findings from my fieldwork. The data are drawn largely from focus group discussions and individual interviews conducted at Rwabika Kabuga secondary school and Karhanda secondary school – two rural schools – two schools in the city of Bukavu – Imani Panzi secondary school and Mushere secondary school. To reflect the respondents’ arguments, their quotations are cited verbatim but their identities are protected by the use of pseudonyms. This section explains how young men’s attitudes and behaviour contribute to the rise of violence in male-female relationships in the Democratic Republic of Congo. It identifies how the relationships and behavioural practices of young people are shaped by economic, social and cultural realities.

The themes we identified arose largely from the questions asked during the focus groups and individual interviews which in turn arose from our research objective a specific aims. The quotations presented are, unless otherwise noted, representative of the views of the majority of participants. I believe that if outsiders were to analyse our data, they would identify similar themes and reach similar conclusions.

Chapter 6 focuses on gender roles, and examines the cultural beliefs and practices that encourage violence among youth. Chapter 7 explores sexual attitudes, describes male-female sexual relationship and how examines male-female conflicts can be dealt with. Chapter 8 investigates sexual violence.

CHAPTER 6 TRADITIONAL CULTURAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with specific aim 1a – to understand traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy – and also deals with some elements in specific aim 1b – what boys and girls think about the roles of women and men in relationships and marriage. It discusses four main sections which encourage conflict: the role of women, virginity, sleeping outside, and pregnancy. These illustrate the male dominance of traditional cultural beliefs and practices which impinge the development of healthy relationships between boys and girls and parents and their children. These cultural beliefs are expressed by one of female participants:

A woman should keep her children because it is a woman who takes care of children. Especially here home, there is no good relationship between a father and his daughter. We [girls] have never seen our fathers calling you for example ‘Neema I would like to tell you something. You do not have time to sit with your father, but you [girl] disclose your secrets to your mum.’ If a girl now lives with her dad, she does not have someone to disclose to. Then, she is obliged to disclose her secrets to her girlfriend or another woman who can deceive her. (Urban girls, Mushere)

This quote suggests that men do not cultivate a close relationship with their daughters and children have difficulty in approaching their fathers, who are too authoritarian. Children often have no one in the family to run to for advice or warn them about danger they may encounter during their adolescence. Culturally, it is taboo for a father to sit and discuss with her daughter issues concerning sex or her private life. Children do not feel free to disclose their worries and experiences to their parents, especially their father and may prefer disclosing these to their friends and neighbours. The father as patriarch is revealed in most of participants’ views.

Both boys and girls are uncomfortable and afraid of approaching their fathers directly, they communicate through their mothers. This type of relationship is described in Sathiparsad’s (2006) study where participants indicate that a father has a patriarchal power which entails great respect. Whenever children have got a need or problem, they are afraid to directly approach their father, and usually approach their mother.

Bhana (2002), in her study at a rural primary school in KwaZulu-Natal, observes that gender relations were constructed through dominant cultural descriptions of femininity (fearfulness of men) and masculinity (male cultural entitlement). Within the family, the father was regarded as possessing rigid and unchallenged power.

6.2 VIRGINITY

6.2.1 BOYS' PERSPECTIVES

Virgin girls built trustworthy households

Baraka: Every boy's wish is to marry a girl who is still virgin, because the household that you can build with a virgin girl is not the same as with the one who is no longer a virgin. The household which has got value is the one who was still virgin. You can at least trust this one in case you are out, but for the one who is no longer virgin you do not trust her especially whenever you are out for example in the office or you are travelling. You maybe think that she is at home with another man, because when you married her she was not virgin. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Aristote: Marrying a girl who is not a virgin is bad in which case again? For example, throughout the courtship period, she tells you that she is still virgin but when you marry her you discover that she is no longer virgin. That is very bad. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Baraka's discourse demonstrates that boys aim at marrying virgin girls because they believe that virgins are trustworthy whereas non-virgins are suspected of being likely to cheat in the future. A man who marries such a girl will often think that she is cheating whenever he is away or at work. The resulting lack of trust often generates misunderstanding, arguments and conflict between both partners.

Aristote indicates that during the courtship period, boys try to find out from their fiancées whether they are still virgin or not. In this situation, most girls attempt to please their fiancé by providing positive answer, even if they are no longer a virgin (see section 6.2.2 'girls lie about virginity').

The family's involvement in virginity issue

Clever: Virginitv is very important in the tradition because a girl who gets married and is no longer virgin, her in-laws do not respect her. That is why the husband gives an additional goat and the scarf to the mother-in-law when he finds that his wife is still virgin. These are given to the girl's parents as a sign of appreciation for keeping well their daughter. If such a girl can be find again in these days, this can bring honour to her family. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

James: We, young boys and girls, should keep ourselves from sex. Because the issue of virginitv in the household causes many trouble, and is one of causes that destroy many households. It causes many problems, oh! You were like this and that. To avoid these problems and if the girl like to be honoured to her husband's family and her biological family, she must keep from having sex so that her husband may trust her. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Bisimwa: a woman's virginitv in Africa is highly considered. In our culture if a woman is married and she is still virgin, this virginitv brings her honour and to her parents because they educated her nicely. But the woman who gets married and has lost her virginitv, she disgraces her parents. (Urban boys, Mushere)

For Clever, the practice of giving additional gifts to the mother-in-law when it is revealed that the bride was still virgin shows that virginitv brings honour and respect to the bride and her family. On the other hand, a girl who is no longer a virgin is seen as loose by the family. In fact, the family's involvement negatively impacts on the well-being of the couple. This concurs with Hampton's (2010) study conducted in India which found that parents' fear of the loss of virginitv before marriage – because of the shame upon their families – means that girls are often married early. Okonkwo (2010), in his study in Nigeria, finds that feminine normative social conduct is supposed to reflect and enhance female respondents' personal and family reputations. Therefore, a virgin bride historically conferred family pride and attracted multiple suitors.

Some participants (James, Bisimwa) are quite clear that girls who are not virgin are not well-integrated in their husbands' families. Traditionally, the community blames the girls' parents for not protecting their daughters in order to keep their virginitv. In such a situation, mothers are blamed because, it is believed they did not well handle their daughters' education. In Bashi tradition (the ethnic group of most participants of this study), when a girl gets married her husband's aunt must enter the couple's

bedroom in the morning after the wedding celebration to check the newly married couple's bed to check if there is blood on the sheet which may reveal whether she was still virgin or not (see section 6.2.2 'The family's involvement in virginity issue'). Her husband must send an additional scarf to his mother-in-law if it is revealed that she was still virgin.

6.2.2 GIRLS' PERSPECTIVES

Girls have similar beliefs and agree that 'virgin girls build trustworthy households.' The general view among both genders demonstrates that girls who are virgin earn respect and trust from their husbands. Female participants also provide their perspectives on this issue as following:

Olga: For some boys, if they do not marry a virgin it is a disappointment. Virginity is very significant to men. If a girl gets married, and is still a virgin this brings her honour and respect in her household. For instance, in case her husband is abusing her, she can tell him that she is going home but he has to bring back her virginity. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Jessica: ...by marrying a virgin girl according to African traditions you marry a good wife who deserves praises, and she is trustworthy. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Olive: A boy may hope to marry a virgin girl, but it is not every girl who still virgin. He can be happy if he finds one but most girls are deflowered. Unfortunately there is no longer virgin. Virginity is a great honour for a girl if she has got it especially when she marries a boy that boy will love her more. But because a boy cannot find such a girl anyone, he is only going now to marry a girl for her behaviour and character. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Tegra: A girl's virginity is in her heart. It is only a person herself who can better understand things that are in her heart. It often happens that a man marries a girl who is still virgin. After getting married, she starts cheating from her husband because she was used to sex. When she has sex with her husband, she feels that he does not satisfy her then she goes out with other men. You can wonder how come this one who was a virgin now is going out with other men to do what although she was a virgin. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Olga indicates that men are disappointed when they marry girls who are no longer virgin and causes them to start them. On the contrary, if girls get married when they

are still virgin, this brings them honours and respect in their households. Virginity practice is entrenched in tradition that regulates people's lives in the community.

Olive states that most men desire to marry a girl who is still a virgin, but it is difficult to find one. Based on this reality, boys can only look at girls' behaviour when they make their choice. This is discussed in the section below.

For Tegra, virginity itself is not the key for a successful household and is not a guarantee for remaining faithful in the household. A girl can be virgin at the time she marries but becomes unfaithful if she does not feel sexual gratification from her husband.

However, the family's involvement in virginity issues is clear. One female participant illustrates it as follows:

Kindja: ...a boy is not obliged to marry a girl who is still virgin. The virginity is in the person's heart. It [virginity] is not real [everybody laughs]; because you can marry a girl who is not virgin but when you love her, you report that she is still virgin because you want to hide her shame. This has become a problem: after the wedding they are now declaring that everybody is virgin. Every parent, whose daughter wed, says she is a virgin and that is a lie. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Kindja indicates that in these days most men hide their wives' shame by sending the scarf to their mother-in-law, even though their wives were no longer virgin. By sending the scarf they mean through it that their wives were still virgin. Parents are proud of their daughters' virginity and proclaim it in the community, even though their daughters were no longer virgin. This corroborates with a study conducted in Ethiopia by Dheereessa (2006), where a girl's family often rejects her after she has been abducted and deflowered. The girl's loss of virginity causes her to be socially undesirable for marriage. Akter (2007) found that in Bangladesh communities, a girl who loses virginity outside of marriage can cause disgrace for herself and for her family. Girls learn from the earlier childhood that their virginity is the precious gift for their husband.

What are the implications of the fact that many girls will not be virgins at marriage?

Here are some responses by girls.

Tina: It is not an obligation for a boy to marry a virgin, because today's girls are no longer virgins [everybody laughs]. Girls are no longer keeping their virginity. They are easily losing it that is why a boy should not say he is going to marry a girl because he has ever heard somebody talks wrongly about her. He can sometimes think that she is still a virgin although she is badly behaving more than that prostitute he previously left. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Nabintu: A man is not obliged to marry a virgin, because these days you can go everywhere and you cannot find a girl who is still virgin. It is not easy anymore to find her. If you insist on seeking such a girl, you will break down relationships every week and you will not find her. Then, if you wait to marry a virgin, you will never marry. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Christiana: A boy is not obliged to marry a virgin girl, because in these days I do not know that he can find one. I notice that we [girls] are corrupted; we are given up to boys. They have sex with us [girls] as they wish. If they marry me tomorrow, they will not say they marry Christiana because I am a virgin. In this regard, when a boy penetrates me and finds that there is nothing [everybody laughs] nothing that he is going to see. The time he says that he marries me with such an objective, he is going to be disappointed. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

For Tina, a man cannot be obliged to marry a virgin as it is difficult to find one because girls have become sexually active before marriage. Therefore, boys should not base their choices of partners on what they hear people speaking about the person external appearance. Observing a girl's behaviour is an important guide and this is also assessed by their future family in law. Girls must first be judged positive so that they may have a chance to marry. Christiana implies that if boys are good so keen to have sex before marriage, they cannot reasonably expect that the girl they marry to be a virgin.

The pressure to be a virgin and the temptation to lie about it can have very negative consequences:

Olive: For example I want to get married but my boyfriend told me that he does not like to marry a girl who is not a virgin. Then, I find myself in need of getting married; I must tell him that I am still a virgin. After marrying me on that Saturday, he discovers that I am not a virgin.

Is he going to send me back again? No, he is obliged to marry me. Now that is our business, to send me back is too late. Even if he lets me stay, he is going to neglect me because I lost my gift [virginity] that I should keep for him. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Celine: Sometimes a boy asks a girl that he wants to marry her, and insists to know if she is still a virgin. It happens that if she says yes, he is going to happy and think: 'this is the girl I am looking for'. The time she gets home, he discovers that she is no longer a virgin. It is easy to send her back because she lied to him. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Cytia: If we look at the issue of virginity we may understand that in this issue there is much violence. It always happens that the time a boy is about to marry you, he asks you if you are a virgin. You answer him that you are still a virgin; now in that night of wedding he discovers that you are no longer a virgin. It is like you violate his rights. This may even be the cause violence that occurs in households and may affect a husband to become unfaithful. It may happen because you deceived him, he did not find what he expected. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Neema: For instance if I were a boy, I meet a girl but I do not know if she is a virgin or not. After a given time I ask her if she is still a virgin or not, because boys always ask about virginity before marrying a girl. Now from that point if the girl knows that she is not a virgin, she explains him how she lost her virginity. From her honesty he may understand that she will make a good wife, and love her because of saying the truth. She does not hide anything though it is a shame for a girl to disclose her virginity lost to anyone. (Urban girls, Mushere)

For Olive, a girl who lies about virginity cannot be 'sent back' but may well be neglected by her husband. On the other hand, Celine believes that men have got a right to send their wives back after discovering their lies about this issue. Neema advises girls who are no longer virgins to be honest in telling the truth. A fiancé may understand that his fiancée can make a good wife due to her honesty.

Many girls have been subjected to rape:

Olive: ...for example during the war they raped me when I was 12 years old, I mean they deflowered me. This is the thing that you did not like; you wanted to get married when you are still virgin. Whenever a boy asks you if you are still virgin, you remember how you wished to respond to that boy that you are still a virgin but it is no more possible to answer him so. Many girls have got stress because of that problem; others may commit suicide because of stress that is due to that rape. (Karhanda girls)

Tegra: ...they rape you and you fall pregnant of child who will not know his/her father. This brings a wound in your heart when you wonder how you will respond if the child asks you who is his/her father. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Grace: Rape is something bad, and brings wound in your heart. For example, you love a boy and really trust him. He rapes you, whenever you see him you feel as if that wound becomes fresh, and will never heal. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Nabintu: ...because if we say there is rape then it may happen that someone raped a girl, and she continued to live in her parents' home. A boy wants to marry her, and discovers that she has been raped and lost her virginity. Now it depends on him, sometimes the boy can deny that pregnancy, and wants to marry a girl who is virgin. Another one can understand the situation, it depends on love that he has towards the girl. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Rape is common in a region subject to such extensive armed conflicts since the mid-1990s (see sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3). Girls who have been raped – whether by soldiers, militia, civilians or their boyfriends – find themselves in a deeply distressing situation which may well haunt them for their whole life.

There is the issue of coping with the psychological trauma of being raped (grace) and there is the issue of how to answer a boy who wants to marry you and asks whether you are a virgin (Olive, Nabintu) will he – and his family – understand if she tells the truth or will they write her off as loose and untrustworthy and reject her? If the rape results in pregnancy how do you tell the child about how they were conceived?

6.2.3 SUMMARY

Both male and female participants reported the strong societal preference that females be virgins at the time of marriage. Then they are much more likely to earn respect and trust. If girls admit to their boyfriends that they are not virgins, they face the risk of rejection. If a man discovers, after marriage, that his wife is not a virgin, it may lead him to abuse his wife and his family may add their abuse as well. Most girls, it seems, would be willing to lie because of the fear of losing their fiancés. This traditional attitude – in the context of high levels of rape – places enormous pressure on women.

6.3 'SLEEPING OUTSIDE'

6.3.1 BOYS' PERSPECTIVES

'A girl who sleeps outside is no longer a girl'

Paul: If a girl sleeps all over the night to her boyfriend's place...there is a proverb saying that if the chicken sleeps outside, it becomes a *nkwale* [a quail]. This means that if she sleeps outside her parental house, she is immediately no longer considered as a girl but she is considered as married woman. Therefore, she must return to her boyfriend's place because there is no way she could have slept with him without having sex, this is impossible. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Damas: In fact, it is ok for parents to tell their daughter who slept in her boyfriend's place to go back there. I often hear people say that a chicken that sleeps outside, becomes a *nkwale* [a quail]. It is obvious that her intention of sleeping outside means that she only wanted to remain there. She wants to become a married woman like other ladies. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Iste: There is a girl who spends a night in her boyfriend's place while she has an objective. After reaching her objective she comes back, then her parents send her back to her boyfriend's place. In so doing, they show her that they cannot keep two moms, this means that she is like her mom now. We all know that after a girl has spent a night with a boy, she is considered like a married woman. Although we know that spending a night out is wrong, there is a parent who still allows her daughter to do it. She destroys her instead of protecting her. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Traditional Bashi tradition, according to these responses is to force girls into marriage, if they spend the night with her boyfriend. According to the Bashi tradition, such a girl is no longer considered as a girl but is now a married woman. Her parents must bring her back where she spent her night and force her to marry that boy. Paul refers to the South Kivu proverb that shows that a chicken that sleeps outside has become a quail. A quail is a wild bird which looks like chicken. The difference between the birds is that one is domestic and the other one is wild. Damas maintains that parents have got a right to send back their daughter who slept in her boyfriend's place. He also compares her to a *nkwale* and indicates that she behaves like this because she wants to become a married woman. This term '*nkwale*' is used to discourage young people in involving such behaviour. This tradition has been

reported in Dheereessa's (2006) study of Ethiopian girls and women abducted for marriage; a girl who spent a night with a man – willingly or unwillingly – is considered from such an act as a woman that no other male would marry.

It is wrong if parents keep such a girl after sleeping outside because allowing her to stay home can destroy her than protect her as she may engage in repeat behaviour. There is, from such responses, little consideration of the quality of life a girl may face if she is forced to return to her boyfriend's house. This is consistent with the findings of Bosmans (2007) in Bukavu and Kinshasa rejection and expulsion of rape victims from the community was a widely accepted practice that was not being questioned. 'It is our culture' was the phrase most commonly used as a justification. Women's rights depend on their husbands' honour. In reporting rape, the victim risks being victimised once again, as she may put her marriage at risk or lose her chances of getting married if she is still single.

'Forcing a girl in marriage so that she cannot acquire bad behaviour'

The common motivation of a girl's parents in sending her back is revealed in the following quotation:

Clever: In the issue of a girl who passes a night in her boyfriend's place, parents are aware of their integrity in the community. They do not like people to think they were accomplice. They have got in mind that people are going to despise them in saying that they fail to educate their daughter, because of this situation they are going to send her back to her boyfriend's home. If they keep her in their home, people are going to gossip a lot about it. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Parents not only worry about their daughter's reputation in the community but also their own reputation. They do not like people to think that they are accomplice of their daughter's action as the community often blame the girl's parents in such a situation. People perceive girls' behaviour to emanate from their parents' failure to educate them. To avoid the community's blame and to keep their sheet clean, parents send her back to her boyfriend's place and force her to marry.

Some males had some sense of injustice of placing all blame for sleeping outside on the girl.

Baraka: If a girl can spend a night with her boyfriend outside her place, then her parents oblige her to marry him but she does not love him, her parents are doing a mistake. It happens that a boy may want to sleep with a girl, maybe because she was arrogant towards him. Now he wants to bring her down and show her that the boy is always clever than a girl. He may go out with her in the bar in the evening, and buy much beer for her till she becomes drunk. He does everything that they spend night there. He only wants reduce her proud, but he does not love her. She also does not love him so much, but because of the beer he gets advantages over her. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Some boys believe that they are superior and more clever than their female counterparts. Such an attitude may render them to perpetrate sexual violence towards females to reduce her pride (see sections 8.5.1 and 8.5.2 “girls’ arrogant attitudes’, and sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2 ‘beating to show girls they are inferior section’). So, males see themselves as teaching girls a lesson. If parents force such a girl to marry, they can destroy that couple because they [he and she] will always remember that they did not love each other but married because parents forced them to do so.

6.3.2 GIRLS’ PERSPECTIVES

Most female participants had similar attitudes to the male participants. Girls see the threat of forced marriage as a deterrent to sleeping with a boyfriend and as a way of converting bad behaviour (sex outside marriage) into acceptable behaviour.

Furaha: It depends on the girl and her boyfriend, how come she sleeps at her boyfriend’s place and she does not love him and then she goes back home. To a certain extent, parents have got right to oblige their daughter to go back to her boyfriend’s place. If they realise that she does not love him, they have to let her remain home. The practice of bringing girls back it is ok, because the girl who slept in her boyfriend’s house is considered as a married woman. She is not allowed to come back home. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Nabintu: A girl who is still living in her parents’ home, and who is really called a girl cannot sleep outside and after that she comes back home. Because people say that a chicken that sleep outside is no longer a chicken. Parents must tell her to go back there because if she knew that she is still, and her status does not allow her to sleep there. She could not sleep there even if

her boyfriend forced her. Even if it could be any time of night, she should tell him to see her off. In this case I think if she should ask her parents to forgive her; they could understand her and forgive. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Natasha: For a girl who slept at her boyfriend's place, if I were her parent I could not allow her to come back home. Because she is already married [everybody laughs], she allowed herself to sleep there. They did not sleep like trees [without having sex]. I do not know what they did but by sleeping there she has become her wife. That is why to say that the parents should let her stay home and she is already married, it is not ok. They must leave her that way as her boyfriend allowed her to sleep in his bedroom, she must stay there. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Nabintu does suggest the possibility of a girl's parents forgiving her and presumably, not sending her back, and others reflected on the circumstances of sleeping outside and the long term implications of forcing her to marry.

Despite the dominant discourse, one of the female participants remarks as following:

Faida: Maybe she slept at her boyfriend's place because he agreed to pay her money. He asked her to sleep in his place and go back home tomorrow. When she goes back home, her parents bring her back so that she marries him. It is possible that they do not love each other but he only looked for sleeping with her. When they oblige him to marry her, as he finds that there nothing else he can do, he accepts her but starts abusing her. This is not ok, parents destroy their daughter's life. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Faida indicates that parents should investigate the case before making a decision. It may happen that their daughter and her boyfriend agreed to spend that night without any love between them. In this case, if her parents force her boyfriend to marry her, he may accept her to avoid trouble but he may keep on abusing her. Human Rights Watch (2002) found that Congolese male household heads often resolve sexual violence perpetrated against women and girls outside the courts. Some have settled rape cases by agreeing to take money payment from the perpetrator or his family or by making an agreement so that the perpetrator may marry the victim. Because of the number of cases resolved in this way and because of women's fear to suffer the stigma of being known as rape victims, the cases of rape officially documented are definitely far below the number of offenses actually perpetrated. Women and girls

who are raped suffer substantial loss of social status. In cases where a woman or girl dies as a result of sexual violence, her family often accepts the equivalent to amount of a woman's bride price and does not take the case further.

Parental responsibility for the bad behaviour of their daughters was often mentioned and explains the motivation for them to act decisively. But some respondents gave examples of how parents may force or indirectly encourage the girl to engage in sex.

Olga: The fact of sleeping outside can be encouraged by her parents. Sometimes a girl sleeps outside, and negotiates with her mum while her dad is not aware of it. Her mum tells her: 'Do what you wish but we will share that money with you'. You see her going out... I can say that is not ok because such a practice can cause many things...today's girls are hypocrites. It sometimes happens for a girl to sleep outside while her parents think she is home, they may realise late that she was not home when something wrong happens to her. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Melissa: Sleeping outside is bad for a girl because if she does it, it cannot sound well. A girl who sleeps outside is a prostitute... But there are other parents who allow their daughters to sleep outside. You sometimes hear a parent telling her daughter that she has to look for money to buy food. Then, she gets in bad business and sleeps outside, and comes back home in the morning. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Some mothers, it seems, encourage their daughters to engage in sexual transaction in order to bring money home to buy food. This influences them to sleep outside their homes with men. This concurs with the study conducted in Tanzania by Wamoyi et al (2010) where some parents accepted their daughters' transactional relationships, and a few actually encouraged them if this helped maintain the household. Human Rights Watch (2002) corroborate that the struggle to survive in eastern Congo has caused women and girls exchange sex for food, shelter, or money in order to provide for themselves and their families.

6.3.3 SUMMARY

Most participants support the tradition belief of forced marriage for those girls who spend a night with their boyfriends. They vigorously supported parents who apply such a traditional belief. They perceived parents to have right to send their daughter

back to her boyfriend after spending night at his place because they now consider her as a married woman. Such a practice is also motivated by a recognition of the parents' negligence and the need to prevent future misbehaviour by confining sex to a married relationship.

There was little consideration of the circumstances under which the girl had sex with her boyfriend. It was generally accepted that it happened because she (and the boy) wanted it; therefore, they must marry.

6.4 PREGNANCY

6.4.1 BOYS' PERSPECTIVES

The boys are aware of the significance of their girlfriends falling pregnant. The following quotations contain statements of personal responsibility but also unwillingness by some boys to do the right thing by marrying her. This may be because he does not love her or does not feel ready for marriage because marriage could obstruct the plans he has for his life.

Forced marriage

Justin: The custom of forcing a girl to marry a boy who impregnates her is a good one. It may happen that a boy only seeks to sleep with a girl in order to satisfy his sexual lust while he does not love her. He does not know that pregnancy is the consequence of having sex; now he is the one to be blame. Why he could not abstain, I think that those parents are right; he must marry her if he does not marry her who is going to marry her now? Unless it is only God's grace! (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Paul: When a boy impregnates a girl her parents bring her to the boy's place and force her to marry him. We should understand that I can be in relationship with a girl, yet I do not love her. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

John: The time you are in the relationship there are many things that happen. You find yourself doing things that you are unwilling to do. For example, I am studying and have got other projects that I intend to do after studying. It may happen to have sex with my girlfriend, and she falls pregnant. This may destroy my projects, because I have to marry her. You know that these days it is not easy; though she is my girlfriend and I swore to her that I will marry

her even if I impregnate her but the time she falls pregnant I have to deny it. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Patrick: When a girl falls pregnant then her parents bring her to the boy who is responsible of her pregnancy, they do right. But there may be a problem in bringing her to the boy's place [if he does not want to live with her]. It requires God's intervention for the boy to understand that he destroyed her life and therefore he must live with her. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Gustave: If you realise that a boy cannot support you in case you fall pregnant, you must abstain from having sex with him so that he cannot destroy your life. Boys must abstain from having sex to avoid impregnating girls. When for instance you impregnate a girl and her parents bring her to your home, she is going to endure poverty; you put her life and yours in danger. That is why if parents bring their daughter to her boyfriend who impregnates her, it is ok and must be done that way. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Such attitudes are similar to those found in other countries. Okonkwo (2010), in his study conducted among Nigerian university students, finds that male respondents were concerned that their sexual conduct will get a woman pregnant and could lead to forced and/or early marriage.

Akter's (2007) research among unmarried young females in Bangladesh finds that premarital sex is practiced under the patriarchal structure of forced comprising, force by boyfriends, force by parents, force by relatives through false marriage and force by teachers. Plan (2011) argues that gender inequalities encourage early marriage through their influence on formal legal systems. Many countries with a high incidence of early marriage, including India and Niger, have unequal laws of consent for boys and girls, supporting the belief that it is right for girls to marry at an earlier age than boys. Patriarchal conventional laws and traditions provide females less negotiating ability around marriage, sexual health and human rights issues.

Gustave advises girls to abstain from sex; they should not provide it to boys if they are not sure that those boys are able to marry them in case they impregnate them. Therefore, girls need to be careful in their choice and relationship. Otherwise, she is going to endure poverty and spoil the future of both partners. Like most of participants, Gustave is supportive of the practice of forced marriage and indicates

that parents must bring their daughters to the boys who impregnate them. But there is the danger that if a boy marries reluctantly, there will be conflict and unhappiness:

Iste: Forcing me to marry a girl that I am responsible for her pregnancy, it is not ok. You can find out, for example, that my only objective was to have sex with her and leave her. If her parents force her to marry me, I can only accept for a short time to live with her because they force me to marry her while I am not ready. I can marry her but I cannot live with her more than two or three years without having conflict with her because I marry her while I do not love her. Because of this conflict I must send her back to her parents' home. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Aristote: Forcing a girl to marry a boy who impregnates her is not ok. They must first agree. Let us say the parents force their daughter to go and marry a boy who impregnates her, he can accept because he is afraid to go in jail but he does not love her. She is going to remain in his place but he will never love her, and she will remain there like a pig to only feed. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Given the complexity of the situation, Toussin urges the parties involved to make a careful decision:

Toussin: I would advise in this case that girl's parents first inquire to know their daughter's opinion; maybe her boyfriend impregnated her by mistake. They should also examine her boyfriend's situation, maybe he does not own anything or he is a street boy. Because when he realises that he has nothing, and he is unable to keep her, he is going to deny the pregnancy. But as he is afraid of going in jail, he allows her to live with him but in his heart he knows that he does it in order to avoid trouble. After few months or a year, that boy because he is a man, he is going to travel and leave her without news. She is now going to be obliged to go back to her parents' home. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Toussin indicates that the issue of pregnancy is a very sensitive issue as the girl's future depends on the outcome of that event. Parents should seek their daughter's opinion before they decide. By forcing their daughters, parents implicitly ruin their future and if her boyfriend runs away she ultimately comes back in her parental home. This is a non-tradition view, however, and Refugee Council (2004) reports that in the DRC, children are required to obey their elders and are typically not consulted on decisions made for or about them.

In view of the consequences for girls if they fall pregnant, Nshokano sounds a warning – ‘tell [the youth] that this situation can happen.’

Nshokano: ...If she refuses to sleep with me, she helps me avoid to impregnate her and later deny her pregnancy. Once she is pregnant, she can suffer because we [boys] impregnate girls fortunately nothing change on our side. But if the girl gives birth when she is still living in her parents’ house, it often happens that her boyfriend denies her, she immediately loses her value that she previously had...she loses respect and esteem that she received from boys. They [boys] look at her as *fille mère* [a girl who is mother]. If there were people who respected her, they start rejecting her. My advice to youth is to tell them that this situation can happen. (Urban boys, Mushere)

6.4.2 GIRLS’ PERSPECTIVES

The ‘forced marriage’ discussed section 6.4.1, has the potential to bring much conflict with it and to make life ‘dark’ for the girl.

Alice: A boy impregnates you your parents bring you to his home and oblige you to marry him; you know we see many things happening in our community. Sometimes, your parents bring you to the boy’s family during the day time, the boy brings the light. He brings it close to his face and says: ‘look at me well, sister, have you ever seen me before’ [everybody laughs]. Some boys accept to be responsible of that pregnancy and others deny it but they are obliged to live with these girls, and they start abusing them. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Jessica: ...it depends on parents, for some parents when their daughter falls pregnant they do not wait and ask her how about it. Immediately they bring her to the boy who is responsible for the pregnancy. They tell her: ‘go to your husband, we do not like to see you here anymore.’ When she gets there the boy denies the pregnancy. Then, she does not know what to do anymore and because of this situation she becomes a prostitute as has no food. Sometimes they bring their daughter there because the boy’s family is rich, and this is an opportunity not to miss. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Merveille: Sometimes you find that in the boyfriend’s family where they send you, no one loves you. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Olive: That is not good for those parents who oblige their daughter to marry a boy who impregnates her. Sometimes, even if he denies her pregnancy, they [parents] oblige her to go there to live a terrible life. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Olga: ...maybe he only wanted to sleep with her, unfortunately she fell pregnant. When they bring her to him, he is only going to accept because they force him to marry her. He is going to abuse her, and go out with other girls to show her that he did not love her. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Boys may deny that they are the father of the child, a girl's parents who send her to stay with boy without any concern about how she will fare and of boys and boy's families may not accept the girl. The result can be 'a terrible life.'

Not infrequently, boys run away from home just after their girlfriends' parents leave daughter at the boy's place; he runs away from his responsibility and the burden of raising the child alone is left on her shoulders. Despite the man's irresponsibility, it is still the girl who faces scorn and humiliation if the society perceives the upbringing as a failure to conform to society's expectation. Girls who find themselves in such a situation often receive support from their boyfriend's parents who encourage them to be patient in the hope that their boyfriends would come back. In so doing, parents avoid people thinking that they are accomplices of their sons and the family reputation in the community is maintained.

In keeping with the boys' opinions that 'a pregnancy requires thorough investigation' (section 6.4.1), in female participants pointed to the need for good decision-making:

Merveille: ...parents should not force those young people. When your daughter is pregnant you should not oblige her to marry a boy who impregnates her. But first ask her to explain how she came in that situation in order to understand the cause of the pregnancy. They should also have a talk with the boy before deciding whether both are going to continue their studies or they are going to get married. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Fazili: ...there is a girl that a boy proposes to have sex with her. She can agree but every time they have sex he must give her money. Now if he impregnates her, her parents will want to force her to marry him. Why should they force her? Because though she is going there the boy is going to deny the pregnancy. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Faida: Girl's parents have to meet the boy and ask him: 'now as you impregnated our daughter, do you want to marry her.' If he says that he does not like her to even come to his home, they have to let her stay home so that she gives birth there. If the boy's family like the

baby, they will pay money giving them right to own the baby in order to bring him/her up.
(Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Christiana: Sometimes a girl sleeps with a boy who she does not love because boys often force us to have sex with them. Imagine you tell me to marry such a boy, and I do not love him. My life may be destroyed... (Rural girls, Karhanda)

The circumstances related to the pregnancy and to the future relationship between the girl and boy need to be investigated. One circumstance concerns the time when the pregnancy becomes apparent to the girl's family and community. If the boy has not invited her to live with him before that, then in Kindja's opinion, he does not love her.

Kindja: ...I think that is violence because if the boy could have known that it is his pregnancy, he could have invited her to live with him before everybody acknowledges it [pregnancy]. As he waits everybody knows that she is pregnant, it means that he does not love her. If her parents bring her to his home, it means they are forcing him to marry her while he does not love her. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Parents may force their pregnant daughter marry a boy because they fear that she may otherwise never marry:

Neema: I know a girl who was in relationship with her boyfriend who became pregnant. Her parents thought: 'even if we would let her stay home and another boy finds her in this state, no one will marry her.' Then, they decided to send her to his boyfriend because they were not sure that another person could easily marry her again. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Rehema: Those parents who oblige young people to get married it is because they realise that by keeping their daughter home, especially after giving birth, there is no boy who will marry her again. That is why they oblige the one who impregnates her to marry her. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Another theme from the girls was the need for both girls and boys to face the consequences of their decisions and learn from:

Neema: A parent whose daughter falls pregnant and wants her to live with her husband so that she may experience the consequences of what she looked for. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Tegra: Her parents may send her to the boy's place so that she suffers because people say: 'a person who is not educated by his parent, the world will educate her.' She has to go there to understand how other people suffer. If it is to suffer she has to suffer so that she understands what life is all about. Then, she will come back home to ask her parents to forgive her. (Urban girls, Mushere)

But the consequences for girls, as we have seen, can be far greater than for boys, especially if he denies responsibility:

Cytia: A boy who is a student maybe does not even have anything but he keeps having sex. That is not good; he does not understand the consequences of his acts. He impregnates a girl, and he does not have a place where to bring her. He does not; he wants her to live in the street. No, it is not possible. (Urban girls, Mushere)

6.4.3 SUMMARY

Most male and female participants were supportive of parents forcing their daughters to marry men who impregnate them. Their motives include the need to maintain the family's respectability in the community and, perhaps, a fear that their daughter will otherwise never marry.

However, some female and male participants argued that each case requires careful consideration before taking any decision. This, it seems, will require a deliberate departure from tradition.

6.5 THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Aristote: A woman cannot do all jobs except those activities that require much strength... A woman is the source of education, and if she is not educated her children will be spoiled. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Gustave: A woman must do kitchen work and look after children in the family. In the community she has to get the work that facilitates her to do domestic chores because it is a woman who is in charge of supervising the family. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Pascal: ...especially here in the village, women neglect themselves and only know one thing that is to farm. If a woman adds to this one, she does business. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Leopold: I also want to say about what Pascal has just said. Females neglect themselves, and most parents often say that they cannot bring girls to school because they do not need to get degrees. When they [girls] get a matric, their parents stop them studying at university. They believe that their daughters will misbehave at university. A parent may allow her to study in order to become a nurse, but he does not allow her to study law. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

On the one hand, boys recognise that women are family well-being and shape children's education. At the same time, traditions remain a hindrance for women's development as illustrated by United States Department of State (2009) which reports that while the Congolese family code recognizes equality between spouses, it effectively renders a married woman a minor under the guardianship of her husband," by stating that the wife must obey her husband.

In addition to ways of thinking that relegate women to a position of inferiority, there are other obstacles, such as the interference of the extended family in a couple's life. Men can in indeed contribute to the household tasks as shown in Rakgoasi's (2010) study of men in Botswana. Many men contributed within the safety and limits of the household, away from peering eyes of other men who might negatively view them. Men showed that if they were to do female chores such as cleaning the house, bathing children and doing the laundry, they prefer to do these tasks in private so as not to damage their social status.

Pascal indicates that females in villages only know one or two things – especially, farming. A lack of motivation on the part of women, as well as a lack of skills. Sons are traditionally more valuable than daughters. Investing in a daughter's education is a loss because they may soon leave their parental family to join their husband. It is better to invest in boys because they do not leave the family though they get married.

6.5.1 'A WOMEN'S DEGREE WILL END IN THE KITCHEN'

Girls were very aware of the discrimination against them.

Natasha: There is much violence against women in our community...apart from forced sex there is another kind of violence that people minimise through that violence women are underestimated. Most of my boyfriends tell me: 'my wife will remain unemployed; her degree will end in the kitchen. If it is French, she will be teaching it to her children at home'. This is violence as well because they violate my right may be in life I will become a governor or somebody. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Gail: A woman is not only obliged to remain in the kitchen, but she has the right to work everywhere like others [men] and should have the same rights as men. We must have the same positions and jobs; we are not obliged to stay in kitchen but to join males as well. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Judith: There is violence in our community. Parents discriminate children in the family, where there are boys and girls; more consideration is given to boys than girls. Education is more privileged to boys than girls; I mean parents prefer to send boys to school than girls. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Most men are authoritarian and perceive a well-educated woman to be uncontrollable and difficult to impose their will upon. Connell's (2003) study found that a Congolese man is required to be strong, dominant, decisive, aggressive, and controlling as the head of a household and his wife should be submissive, quiet, nurturing and docile in his custody. Wood et al (2008) found that in the minds of South African young men, their female peers are unequivocally inferior. Young men's talk was described with comments like "a woman is someone who is left behind," "a woman is weak by nature," and "it is the way it was created."

Hierarchical sexual difference is also something that many young men described as cultural, both explicitly using the words "it's our culture," and they described it as an aspect of life in which they grew up simply "knowing." Natasha also mentions that such an attitude can hinder females' right to chart their own destiny. From a cultural perspective, men are socialised in thinking they are in charge and that women's place is in the kitchen. They are afraid of losing control of their wives if they were to engage in a career, which may cause her to engage in unfaithful behaviour.

Gail disapproves and indicates that a woman is not only obliged to remain in the kitchen. She must also apply for same job that her counterpart male applies to. Men

and women must be allowed to occupy same job positions, so a woman is not just condemned to remain in the kitchen.

6.5.2 DECISION-MAKING MAKER

The man is the head of the family and makes the decisions.

Baraka: The head of the family is the man. A woman can only respond to questions or take decision after a man has brought his opinions. It is at this stage that she can speak. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Gustave: I know that for decision-making in the household, the woman has the responsibility or she can also decide in the household, but that decision is limited. She can only decide among those who are inferior to her. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Aimer: It is the man who takes decision because for everything the man and woman can do, he is the only one who can decide. For example, for employment, if he has a nice job, he can stop his wife from working because he is able to provide her everything. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Leopold: Here in the village a woman cannot decide when a man decides. If a man decides and his wife dare oppose his decision, she risks being told to *funga miteka* [pack her stuff] and go back to her family. [In town they might] exchange ideas and conclude together, but here [in Kavumu] this is not done in this way. Men do not observe what the constitution stipulates about women. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

The Congolese Family Code articles 444 and 445 states that the husband is the head of the household, these articles conflict with article 16 (1) (c) 31 of the UN Convention, which gives the same rights and duties to wives during marriage and at its dissolution (CEDAW, 2004). Refugee Council (2004) confirms that in the DRC, males do not consider females as their equals in terms of work or decision-making. Men make the important decisions in the family and women are expected to follow them. If the husband is ruled absent by a court, or if he dies, the wife must share the running of the household with one of her husband's relatives. The situation of women within marriage is thus supported by law. Congolese family code article 322 refers to article 198 obliges a woman to be accompanied by her husband's relative in the absence of her husband when dealing with issues relating to her authority over her

little children. Sathiparsad's (2006) study conducted of rural young men in KwaZulu-Natal South Africa found that although young men demonstrate that the household should be characterised by equity, they also state that a man must come first.

Leopold indicates that in the village a woman cannot amend or contest a decision that has been taken by her husband. If she does, she risks being sent to her family. In fact, Leopold disapproves of such a practice, and suggests that women should be given the right of expressing their opinions and making decisions. The fact that they are not given this right may be found in Rakgoasi's (2010) Botswana research, where some male participants felt that equality within the household would compromise their ability to make resolute decisions and lead to impasses on important decisions.

During focus group discussions, most female participants revealed a similar opinion concerning decision-making.

Jemima: The one who must take decision in the household is the father; in case the father is no longer alive the mother can take decision. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Furaha: It is the man who should take decision in the household. A woman should only take decision in the absence of her husband. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Nsimire: The husband must decide in the household; if the husband is absent then the wife will take the responsibility. The husband should decide even though they do not agree on that decision. He will first decide then the wife will agree later. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

6.6 AN OVERVIEW OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The evidence presented in this chapter is that traditional cultural beliefs and practices dictate behaviour related to virginity, pregnancy, sleeping outside and the roles of men and women in marriage. The entire community blindly follow the tradition belief; even when it is sensible to use the intellect; it is the tradition that prevails. *It is our tradition. It must be done that way.* Parents must force their daughters in marriage because they want to demonstrate to the community that they are not supportive to their daughters' act. They are more concerned to avoid community criticism than to think through what is best for their daughter and the unborn child.

Traditional beliefs encourage men to become more dominant towards their counterpart females. From such perspectives a man thinks that he has got right to force their wife, girlfriend – any maybe woman – to do what he wants.

In sections 6.5.1 and 6.5.2, participants described how females are limited in their role and decision-making. This does not bode well for possible future education and employment of females:

Jessica: Tradition may influence women's lives in the community, as you find people think that a woman's work is to look after children. Having such thinking, when I complete my studies I cannot look for job. The tradition also dictates that a woman has no right to study, and this affects fact females and hinders their development. In these days, it still happens that a woman cannot bring a decision where men are having the meeting. This causes us [females] to continue to stand behind men; and to only follow their decision. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

There are some signs of change however.

Furaha: In the past males, women were not allowed to eat poultry meat [which was reserved for the men] and women remained far behind men contrary to these days. It is not nice to keep this practice because in these days the modernisation is breaking everything of the past. Because you cannot forbid today's woman to eat chicken or tell her to not attend a meeting where men are gathering, that is why we have to break the old practices. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

6.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown up huge levels of discrimination that girls and women suffer – and generally accept as appropriate. Females are perceived as second class people who have very limited decision – making rights in their households and community. Parents practice a form of structural violence when they force their daughter to marry a boy who has impregnated her or spent a night with her. To move in the direction of more equitable, less discriminatory society is an immense task which will take many decades.

CHAPTER 7 RELATIONSHIPS AND SEX

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the specific aim 1b – what boys and girls think about relationships, the roles of men and women in these relationships and the role of sex. It also discusses the specific aim 1d that deals with how they think male-female conflicts can be dealt with. Among the themes which emerged from focus groups and individual interviews are relationships provide an opportunity to learn, providing sex is not an obligation, ‘opening her skirt means love’, a woman’s ‘no’ means ‘yes’, women can be hypocritical, and ‘it is not rape when girls enter boys’ bedroom.’

7.2 THE BENEFITS OF A RELATIONSHIP

7.2.1 BOYS’ PERSPECTIVES

The following focus group interaction among urban boys shows some of dilemmas they face. Bisimwa is reluctant to date girls, let alone have sex with them. But his friends say that unless, he does, he may perform badly sexually, with his wife. If he does not have relationships while he is young, he may not know how to manage his wife when he marries.

Bisimwa: People think that a man must have sex before marrying, but for me I do not think so. It is going to be like I am learning bad ways before reaching that time. I find that I have currently no right to be in relationship with a girl. (Urban boys, Mushere)

Bahati: I do not agree with Bisimwa’s opinion... because one day in your life you will find yourself becoming unskilled in front of a woman and you will be ashamed. Let us say you avoid dating girls till you are 27-38 years old, when you will be in the presence of a girl you will be afraid and start shaking. She will tell her friends: ‘my boyfriend is useless; it is like this is his first time with a girl.’ (Urban boys, Mushere)

Nshokano: I would like to help my friend Bisimwa... it does not mean because you date a girl that you are learning bad things. If you say you are going to wait until you start working or when you are old enough, you may marry a woman that you did not know before, because you were not used to girls. When you are in the household sometimes the crisis may occur and you have to manage your wife. When you try to say something but because you do not know how

to manage a woman, she starts dominating you because you did not have that experience.
(Urban boys, Mushere)

7.2.2 GIRLS' PERSPECTIVES

The interactions in the girl's focus groups seem far more perceptive, and point to the benefits of being in a relationship which can be summarised as building their maturity with respect to inter-personal relationships:

Ariane: I was in relationship with a boy; this relationship provided me many advantages. Because I was not mature and more intelligent before I met him but when we start befriending with him I discovered how people should live and exchange ideas. I also learned how to disclose my secret to one I love. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Neema: ...the relationship has helped me to think clearly, because it happens to the girl who has never been in relationship with a boy thinks like a child. Such a girl cannot know how to respond or make a presentation or make a conversation; she cannot even know how to talk to her friends or boys. But when you befriend a boy, it helps you know how to talk. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Odette: I loved a boy; my relationship with him helped me very much. Because I sometimes wanted to commit mistakes in loving other boys but I thought: 'what if my boyfriend that I love so much hears about that situation, what he is going to say?' Then, I renounce it and try to behave nicely to show him that I am a respectful girl. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

It is worth noting that in Bashi culture, girls do not have boyfriends if the relationship does not have real prospects of marriage; probably because of the consequences of having sex or pregnancy, as discussed in chapter 6. This is examined in more detail in this section 7.3.

Zawadi: I loved a boy and in loving him he showed me many things that I did not know. He often advised me how I should behave. He also taught me that if a girl loves a boy, she should not show him everything, especially when she still living in her parent home. Because if she shows him everything he is going to feel gratified before he marries her. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Ariane: I can be in relationship with a boy without having sex. Why do I say it? Our relationship provides an opportunity of exchanging ideas. We are not in the relationship to

have sex. Besides I do not know if he really loves me so that I can give him my body. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Other comments pointed out that benefits such as understanding him, learning how to talk to your boyfriend, and getting his advice can be compromised if the relationship becomes sexual.

7.2.3 SUMMARY

Male participants associate relationships with sex and, in general perceive a young man in a relationship without sex as being not a man. He may therefore not know what to do when he gets married. It is interesting to note the implication that a boy can have girlfriends but later on marry someone else. By contrast, the majority of female participants perceived relationships as an opportunity for learning new stuff and for their development.

7.3. SEX IN RELATIONSHIPS

7.3.1 *GIRLS' PERSPECTIVES*

Christiana: I can be in relationship with a boy without having sex. First, I have to examine whether he loves me or not. In case he demonstrates that he loves me, then I find that the circumstance allows us to have sex, I can have it with him. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Nabintu: A girl can be in relationship with a boy without having sex; this depends on how you are taking your relationship. In the past, a boy could remain in relationship with a girl and reach the time of marrying her without having sex, but this is not the case today. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Feza: A girl can be in relationship with a boy without having sex, because if you are used to have sex with him he can neglect you. He can be gratified and later abandon you. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Feza maintains that she can be in relationship without having sex, and understands that once a girl has sex with her boyfriend, he can start to neglect her. This action may affect the relationship to the point of breaking it. Christiana also indicates that she

would need to check first whether her boyfriend loves her before she would be willing to have sex.

Sex is not an obligation

The girls did not see that providing sex to their boyfriends was an obligation. Rather, it showed, they were weak:

Judith: I should only have sex when I will get in my household. Having it before marriage, well, it is like I am giving myself up to somebody as an offering. That is why I say that it is not an obligation. When you marry, it becomes [his] rights. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Olga: It is not an obligation for a girl to have sex with her boyfriend. You can be in relationship with a boy who obliges you to sleep with him to prove how much you love him. It is only the girl who knows what to do in such situation. For my side, I cannot consider having sex as an obligation... From your heart if you do not feel to do it, do not do it... The boy asks you to have it and you cannot refuse because you are afraid he is going to leave you. That is no good; let him leave you if he wants. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Merveille: To give your sex to a boy is something that dishonours a girl. A girl who respects herself should not provide her sex to show a boy that she loves him. The fact of giving herself up to the boy proves that she is very weak. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Furaha: I disagree that it is not an obligation to have sex with your boyfriend. Sometimes you have it at the time you like to have it, and you also have it at the time you find that the boy loves you. The time you find that he does not love you, you cannot have it. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Rehema: To sleep with a boyfriend is not an obligation. Having sexual intercourse depends on time you have spent with him. He suggests me to have sex if I do not have the urge, I cannot have it. But if I do feel it I can have it. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Christiana: To have sexual intercourse is not an obligation but it is one's will. If you agree to give it to your boyfriend you can give him. He cannot oblige you to have sex. [If he insists] you have to leave the bedroom and go out. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Kaufman and Stavrou (2004), in their study conducted among adolescents in KwaZulu-Natal, found that girls provided sex to their boyfriends as a sign of their

loyalty and appreciation of the relationship and to sustain the degree of affection. Rehema, like most of female participants, does not like the idea that girls should provide sex to their boyfriends as proof of love towards them. It should be something which both the boy and the girl want at the time.

While girls did not see sex as an obligation, 'opening their skirt' to a boy is a clear statement that she loves him. This is not a small matter, given that sex before marriage is not acceptable by tradition and may have negative consequences (see 6.3).
Virginity is not to be given up lightly:

Ariane: As African women, what we possess as value is our virginity. Do you imagine if you bring it to that boy and he later disappoints you, what the value will you have? Everybody will look at you as useless; and you will lose your value in society. (Urban girls, Mushere)

When a girl says no, she means yes

An important issue (also discussed from the boys' perspectives in section 7.3.3) is whether; when a girl is asked for sex and says no, she means no. The following fairly typical responses from girls perhaps show why boys are uncertain as to where they stand we should distinguish between a no response to a 'general enquiry' made to a girlfriend about having sex and a request made in the context of an intense physical encounter. In either case, a girl might be persuaded to change her mind Mironyi:

Mironyi: I can say that when a girl says no for having sex this can be understood in two ways: there are some girls who say 'no' when they sincerely mean it. Others say 'no' by expecting boys to negotiate so that they may accept. They may say 'no' but at the end they accept. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Kindja: There are some girls who say 'no' for having sex, because they wait until boys negotiate or wait until boyfriends buy them something so that they may accept. They say 'no' although their refusal is not coming from their hearts. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Christiana: I find that when a girl says no to a boy for having sex, in refusing so it does not mean 'no'. I know one girl that a boy suggested to have sex with her, and invited her to visit his home at given time, but she responded that she could not come ... she came to his place an hour earlier of their convenient time. When her boyfriend invited her to come in his bedroom,

she pretended as if she did not like to come in. Finally, she responded 'I am coming in but I am not going to do anything', entering there her boyfriend asked her to take off her clothes she responded 'I am going to take them off but I am not going to have sex'. He also asked her to take off her underwear; she responded 'I am not going to take it off. I will do but do not expect to have anything' but he finally had sex with her. Now, we wonder why we [women] always refuse, and we cannot stand on our decision. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Given this ambiguity; it is perhaps not surprising that some boys use force to have sex after the girl says no.

Rakgoasi's (2010) research in Botswana found that men believe in gender stereotypes that encourage use of force within relationships. Half the males in his sample believed that males are sexually excited by forcing females into sex, while another 54.2% of men believed that females consider forced sex exciting. In fact, 75.6% of men believe that a woman pretends to refuse sex, but expecting the man to force her into it.

Reasons for refusing sex

A number of girls gave reasons for not having sex, at least unless certain conditions were met:

Judith: There are some girls who refuse having sex because they are afraid of consequences that may later occur. Other girls refuse because boys do not pay them, and find that they cannot give their sex for nothing. Sometimes, I refuse to have sex because I am afraid of what might come later [pregnancy, disease] that I will not be able to endure. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Zawadi: I can first refuse... because if I quickly accept he may think I am a prostitute. Maybe on another day when he asks again, I could accept. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Florence: For a girl to refuse sex, it depends on boys. Because if you agree to have sex with him it will not only be once, he will like it to happen every time he meets you. By asking you to have it with him every time and if you accept he will consider you as his prostitute, though he may have another girl who he trusts and loves more. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Girls believe that if they say yes too quickly, boys will use them (like a prostitute) whenever they want to and, at the same time, will despise them for being weak. 'That

is why you pretend you do not want it, although you long for it in your heart' (rural girls, Karhanda).

Rehema: We always refuse to have sex at the first boy's suggestion, because is shameful. You also find that if he suggests you to have sex and you quickly accept, he will despise you that is why you pretend not wanting it while you like it. The time you are refusing if he keeps touching your breast, you find yourself having sex with him. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Olive: We [girls] always refuse to have sex while we are accepting it indirectly; it is because we do not like to reveal our weakness. You find that if you show your boyfriend that you like to have it he will despise you. That is why you pretend not wanting it although you long for it in heart. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Girls understand that if they accept an invitation into their boyfriends' rooms, the boy is not going to take no for an answer:

Tegra: Sometimes a boy suggests having sex with a girl while he tightly holds her in his arms. The girl's response is as the following: 'No I don't want, my mum doesn't allow me to do it' while she is saying it she pretends to become weaker. Then he opens his zip, happens to take her clothes off and penetrates her. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Hervine: You can see a girl pretends to refuse while a boy is touching her breast. She keeps saying no, meanwhile he is opening his zip. She is only surprised when her refusal has become yes. That why I think boys have right to think so, because maybe they have experienced it with girls while they are refusing and saying: 'I don't like it, I have never done it, and you can see I'm still virgin I don't like it.' (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

A girl may refuse sex for at least three reasons – to maintain her reputation and her self-respect and to show the boy that she can make decisions and is worthy of respect.

Grace: You, as a girl, should respect yourself and let people value you, if you want boys to spoil your reputation, everybody will neglect you. This especially happens when you are in love with a boy, he asks you to sleep with him and you accept... girls can keep secret that is why I can disclose to my friend [a girl] that I slept with him, but my boyfriend cannot keep secret when he meet his friends. He may tell them: 'you know that girl, I had sex with her and I do not feel loving her anymore,' because his aim was only to have sex. This will spoil your reputation. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Grace advises girls to respect themselves by keeping away from sex. Her belief, and that of the community, is that when a girl becomes sexually active, she loses her reputation in the community. In fact, boys do not keep secret after having sex with their girlfriends and narrate their sexual prowess.

Christiana: I also disagree that it is not good for a girl to open her skirt to the boy because in doing so tomorrow he will tell everybody: 'come I am going to show you where there is food' [sex]. From that time other boys will start coming, this one comes today another one comes tomorrow and so on. You will be disappointed and find that people do not respect you anymore. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Tegra: I also disagree that a girl should not have sex with her boyfriend to show that she loves him, because when she has sex with him his love towards her will decrease. (Urban girls, Mushere)

An interesting idea is that girls can show boys that they can make decisions and are therefore worthy of respect:

Bwamungu: I would like to say that it is not by having sex with your boyfriend that you show your love to him. By saying no, you prove that you can make decisions in your life. For instance, I as a woman should take decision and bring other people to respect me. I have to show a boy that we have also got power to decide. That is why I cannot accept to sleep with my boyfriend. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Neema: A girl should not have sex with her boyfriend to show that she loves him, because if you have sex it can cause you diseases and much trouble. He will no longer consider you with respect that he previously showed you. He will look at you as an object, and think that you cannot take decision as the result he will despise you. (Urban girls, Mushere)

7.3.2 SUMMARY

Most girls maintain that she can be in relationship without having sex, and perceive sexual intercourse as a cause of deterioration of many relationships. Once a girl has sex with her boyfriend, he starts neglecting her and may despise her. However, girls indicated that there may be an opportunity for having sex with their boyfriends if the boys proved their love to be genuine. They believe that sexual intercourse should not be considered as an obligation. Most girls indicated that they would have sex when

they wanted to have it, especially after discovering that they love and trust their boyfriends. Refusing sex was a mark of self-respect and resulted in a girl maintaining her reputation in the community.

7.3.3 BOYS' PERSPECTIVES

Boys had very different views and believed that sex between girlfriend and boyfriend is normal, and a relationship without sex was abnormal. In the words of one participant, when *'a boy and a girl are in relationship without having sex, this means that one of them is sick.'* (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Aimer: If you want to have sex with her you can do it, but in this country there are many consequences that can happen in having sex, maybe people can catch you while having sex with her. You are not allowed, and young boys as us who are still 17-20 years old often date under-age girls. If you want to have sex with a girl, you can have it... (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Bahati: I agree that a boy must have sex with his girlfriend to show that he loves her. When you find that you are in good mood, you can satisfy your sexual urges. Although there are many consequences that can later happen, but both of you are gratified through your sexual act. (Urban boys, Mushere)

Frank: It is really important to have sex with your girlfriend. It is normal because you are going to discover some hidden realities [everybody laughs]. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Such views are closely linked to boys' understanding of what it means to be a man. Barker and Ricardo (2005) confirm that for young men in sub-Saharan Africa, sexual practice is often linked with initiation into manhood in order to attain a socially accepted manhood. This encourages a perception of sex as achievement, a means by which to prove manhood prowess. Aimer's comment shows that the sexual act just provides boys the power to control the relationship, because they can break it down anytime they want to do so. This same position is not given to girls after sexual intercourse because they fall under men's domination. The sexual act is seen as a way of increasing girls' love towards their boyfriends. Boonzaier (2008, p.193) comments that there is constant ambiguity between sexual love and abuse prevalent in some men's statement, and shows how their notions of manhood are intimately associated with ideas about sexual satisfaction and having other 'needs' supplied by a woman

partner. Sexuality and the control of females are connected to ideals of masculinity is a primary means by which men and women conform to prevailing gender relationship understandings. Wood et al (2008) show that sexual relationships provide a space of the daily entertainment of South African township youth. Sexual relationships are also an important showground in which selfhood is practiced and negotiated in relation to others. For young men, the importance of women to their sense of masculinity, both in terms of their own self-respect and esteem and in the eyes of others, was evident in the energy they used on acquiring and maintaining desirable girlfriends, gaining sexual access to them, seeking to establish exclusive sexual access, and attempting to control their behaviour. (See location of study). Andersson et al (2004) maintain that women are not expected to refuse males' sexual suggestions. 28.4 % of men in this study said that girls do not have right to refuse sex with their boyfriend, reflecting notion that male sexuality is instinctive and uncontrollable. Wood and Jewkes (2001) corroborate that girls in sub-Saharan Africa are used to violence and coercion, involving verbal threats and forced sex which are common characteristics of their sexual relationships.

What to think when a girl says no is a matter of some complexity and is built around the idea that negotiation is important:

Aristote: I also agree that when a girl says no she means yes ah ah! [He breaks in laughter] you cannot normally propose to have sex with a girl, and she instantly accepts, you must first argue. You must convince her so that she accepts, when she says no she is accepting. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Issa: We have investigated in the issue of suggesting a girl to have sex when she keeps saying no. We asked older people and young people about it, they all indicated that when a woman is saying no in speech but if you act on her you finally find that she accepts. Later you can laugh at her and ask yourself what pushed her to refuse although she liked to have it. Women say no while they saying yes; because I have ever heard boys say that a woman easily accepts sex. She can even like you but she is going to wait you to propose your love to her. (Urban boys, Mushere)

Nshokano: ...Oh! She just wants the boy to negotiate; she is going to reach the stage where she is going to accept. Why that 'no'? You sometimes find that she is saying no but when he convinces her she accepts, that means she already liked to have it in her mind but she waits to

see what he is going to do. Most of time when a man proposes love to a girl, just at the first day when he speaks to her she shows that she does not love him. But she loves and wants to check his mind in order to better understand if he loves her before she accepts. That is why I always say girls' 'no' cannot intimidate me if I need to do something. (Urban boys, Mushere)

We have examined the meaning of no from the girls' perspective (section 7.3.1). Boys are generally clear that there must be a good reason for a girlfriend to say no:

Aimer: It is ok for a girl to say no to sex, because she can be in the period of getting pregnancy. In this period is not nice to sleep with her that is why we boys have to leave her so that we cannot have problem in the future, let us say that it is only a pleasure for few minutes. In saying that, a girl can only refuse to have sex sometimes. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Running counter to the general view of male right of having sex, one of participants offered a thoughtful alternative opinion:

Nshokano: We, youth while being in relationship with a girl, our relationship is based on sharing ideas and it can also happens for a boy to suggest having sex with a girl. I think it is ok for a girl to say no. let us take my example; I am still a student and have nothing that I own. I am still sleeping in my parents' house; imagine if I have sex and encounter all the consequences that follow it. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Nshokano admits that girls can refuse to have sex and by doing so may save a boy from impregnating her or contracting sexual transmitted diseases. At one level, boys are afraid of having sex because of possible consequences, especially being forced to marry a girl that he impregnates.

What happens if a girl says no?

With such a general attitude, it is not surprising that forced sex with a reluctant girlfriend is generally acceptable. However, a few young men openly state that forcing girls to have sex without their consent is wrong:

If you want to have sex with a girl, do not use force. Violence does not pay out. By forcing her, she can sometimes shout then you miss what to do especially when people come in and

find you raping her. In case you want to have sex, you only need to bring the sweet-words. If she does not agree, you leave her... (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Sexual consent seems to be non-verbal action according to the African tradition. According to the tradition, girls must remain at receptive position in every move with boys. Wood (2005) indicates that South African young people legitimise their rhetoric about their own coercive practices, and turn to their advantage the fact that sexual consent is rarely voiced. Some participants admitted that they profit from girls because girls are fearful and have “nowhere to run.” Boys believe that they do not need verbal expression and can rely on ‘skilful hand ability.’

Peer pressure

It is clear from the boys’ responses that peer pressure is an important factor in encouraging sex:

Damas: I think if I advise my friend to not sleep with his girlfriend, he is going to mock me. I feel the same when he advises me. “He laughs at me because this girl thinks that I am not clever. If I leave her without having sex, she is going to neglect me and tell her girlfriends who start saying: ‘Look at that foolish one; maybe he is not normal or he is not a man?’” (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Clever: In the past I did not have a girlfriend and I did not want to have one in my life, by that time I had a friend who reproached me because I did not date a girl. He criticised me in this way: ‘It is as if you are sick, and it seems that if you love a girl you can be excommunicated from your church’... His criticism influenced me to start also dating girls because of laughing at me and avoiding my friend’s mockery. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Damas and Clever demonstrate that boys advise and encourage their peers to have sex with their girlfriends and laugh at those who do not have sex. As a result, those who are mocked, try hard to have sex with their girlfriends. Barker and Ricardo (2005) argue that men often aim at demonstrating their masculinity before their male friends and social group within restricted ideas of what it means to be a man. They describe a sense of being monitored and watched to see if they meet the standard versions of masculinity. Attaining masculinity is assessed by other men and women.

Male participants also believe that girls will not think well of them if they do not have sex:

Clever: When you are in relationship with a girl, you are obliged to sleep with her because if you do not have sex with her, she may laugh at you. Today or tomorrow she is going to say that you were not her boyfriend. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Toussin: ...if you are in relationship with a girl and you do not have sex with her, she is really going to understand that you were not her boyfriend but you were only passenger. On the other side, boys start asking themselves concerning you: 'what kind of boy or man are you? What is really going to prove that you were in relationship with that girl? How is she going to realise that you were her friend?' Boys and girls criticise you that is why you find boy during their first week of relationship seeking to have sex with the girl. I can say that the fact of not sleeping with a girl for boys is really the mockery, and for girls' side when you have sex with them, it increases love. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

In an ethnographic study conducted in North Western Tanzania, described how one of participants had a long relationship with his girlfriend which only involved talking, joking and caressing, until his male friends encouraged him to have sex with her (Wamoyi et al., 2010).

Once a girl enters a boy's bedroom, sex is going to happen

From the foregoing, there is seemingly a god deal of frustration, even anger, towards girls. They are seen as being protected from giving their boyfriends sex – which by the very real possibility of societal intervention which may force a young man to marry; by mixed message from who may say no but perhaps not really mean it, thus learning of the boy in a quandary; and – seemingly lesser importance – by the threat of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS. There is also a fear that girls entrap their boyfriends into marriage:

Issa: Sometimes you find that a girl loves a boy... wants to force him to have sex with her in order to trap him. Maybe she wants to wed with him whereas he considers their friendship as a mere relationship. She may push him to have it [sex] when he does not expect to have it. Then, she tells him: 'It because I love you, I see that you do not love me', he falls in that trap because of these words. Once they have sex for the first time, this action is going to encourage

them to have it again for the second time then they are not going to refrain from having it anymore. (Urban boys, Mushere)

If a girl enters her boyfriend's bedroom, then for most boys, there is no possibility of her refusing sex:

Josi: The fact of entering her boyfriend's bedroom means yes, and indicates her agreement to have sex [everybody agree with a yes]. But she does not like to reveal her weakness in the presence of the boy. Then, she starts using the term 'no' although she has agreed to have sex from the fact of entering that isolating corner. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Baraka: I would like to say that if they happen to get in the bedroom when he suggests having sex with her, then, she refuses this is hypocrisy. Because the fact of accepting to get in that hidden place that allows them to do such a thing, it means she agrees that she can have sex with him. Now the fact of refusing, it is to pretend so that the boy cannot think that she is a prostitute although she wanted to have sex when she enters his bedroom. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Both boys and girls agree that if a boy forces his girlfriend to have sex under those circumstances, then it is not rape:

Florence: If a boy forces you to have sex [once you have entered his bedroom], it is not rape. Sometimes you enter boy's home, and immediately you get in his bedroom. If he feels the urge of having sex and you refuse, he has to force you. Though you will complain, they will do him nothing because you meet him in his place. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Hervine: ...when a girl enters a boy's bedroom that should not be considered as rape because it is her will. While discussing with boy, she had an opportunity to tell him that I am going home and I will meet you another time. Then she should walk out. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

After sex, girls can come to be despised

James: Your love is going to decrease because you receive the thing that you were looking for before the time of receiving it. Now you find that once you have had sex with her, you cannot marry her anymore. You start considering her as an object without value. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Issa: I discovered that when two people are in love and abstain from sex, their love takes long. But when they have sex you hear boys saying: 'We chew them [girls] like bubble gum'. That means that the day she gives you her sex, you discover and compare her with another girl with whom you had sex previously. You look at this one, she is the nice one or that other one she is the bad one. Then, you say: 'I reject this *boro* [thing], and will look for another one', that is why I advise that when the relationship is still of boyfriend-girlfriend, people should not think about sex because sexual intercourse destroys many relationships. (Urban boys, Mushere)

Paul: To say that when you have sex with your girlfriend, it is going to push you to love her more, that is not true. You hate her very much right at the moment you finish having sex with her. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

This recognition by boys, which calls to mind the Old Testament story of Tamar (2 Samuel, Chapter 13), is forthright and may explain why many girls are dumped after having sex with their boyfriends. Girls are well aware this phenomenon:

Olive: I do not agree that a girl should have sex with her boyfriend before marriage because once she does it, the boyfriend can break down with her. Especially in the case where the girl does not tell the boy the truth, he can tell her that he does not like her anymore. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Jessica: Men get angry when girls refuse to have sex. Sometimes a boy suggests having sex with a girl, but she refuses and advises him to wait until they get married. This is a good idea. There are boys whose objective is to have sex with a girl, and after having it they abandon her. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

7.4 CONDOMS

Boys prefer flesh-to-flesh sex rather than use a condom. There is a widespread belief that condoms have a 'small hole' or are liable and are therefore not effective in preventing pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases.

Aristote: It is not good to use condoms, because a condom has a small hole that is invisible to the eyes. Once you use it, you should know that you put yourself in danger of getting sickness. Because disease can enter through that hole, if a man ejaculates the sperm passes through that hole and enters a woman. That is why I say that condoms cause unwanted pregnancy because once you use that condom, you expose yourself in danger. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Bisimwa: It is not ok to use condoms. It seems that research has revealed that there is a small hole; I forgot the name that scientists call it. First of all, the person who uses condoms, if we look among youth, he is not confident of himself. (Urban boys, Mushere)

Bahati: I think that it is useless to use condoms because you can put condom and you catch disease or fall pregnant. A condom is made with a soft tissue that is not strong, when the skin scratches on it, the condom can break, and diseases may occur. Concerning sexually transmitted diseases, it is difficult to protect from them, because I realised that even if you use thousand condoms at once, the way which they are built can cause cancer. That is why it is not important to use them because you get sicknesses or pregnancy though you are wearing them, they can prevent absolutely nothing. Nowadays' youth have got a principle which says: 'you cannot eat a sweet in a wrapper, which means skin-to-skin'. It is not any youth who agrees to use condoms. (Urban boys, Mushere)

A second theme concerned trust. A number of boys commented that if their girlfriend or wife asked them to use a condom, they would interpret it as a lack of trust in them or would suspect her of being unfaithful:

Espoir: If my fiancé or my girlfriend asks me to use condom whereas we always have sex without condom, I can really doubt of her. I am going to think that she cheated on me. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Another theme, partly at variance with the untrustworthiness of condoms, is that condoms encourage inappropriate sexual activity and sexual violence:

Leopold: I think that condoms encourage people to be sexually active especially here in Kavumu. I find that the condom conveys the message to people that they cannot get HIV/AIDS or pregnancy. This has become a vehicle to encourage sex. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Clever: I would like to say that condom is bad because it encourages sexual violence in the country. People are using condoms because they know that a condom protects, that is why we advise those who make condoms to reduce their production or they cease to make them. For married men the condom is not an option for them, they are not allowed to use it, because the Bible forbids pouring the sperm down [everybody laughs]. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Other boys, albeit a minority, spoke in favour of condom usage:

Bashengezi: To use a condom is ok for youth. It is not because a motorbike rider wears the helmet that means he cannot die in accident. Sometimes he may have accident but he avoids injury because of his helmet, it means that the helmet saves him but another one may occur and kill him. You can wear a condom but an accident occurs while having sex, you can be surprised and find out that it is already off, and then you get disease. That is why it is so important of wearing condom, it can protect from some diseases. From one hundred people using condoms, five people can catch disease. (Urban boys, Mushere)

7.5 MULTIPLE RELATIONSHIPS

Boys are very clear that it is appropriate for them to have more than one girlfriend. He will then – by being able to compare girls – be more able to make a good choice of a marriage partner. There is at least some implication that, when he marries, he will be faithful to his wife. Aimer's sees a benefit in having one girl for a trusting relationship and another essentially for sex. In his research in Botswana, Rakgoasi (2010) found that multiple sexual relationships were necessary if their partners refuse to have sex with them, especially if the reasons for their partner's reluctance to have sex are not clear to them. To many men, they then engage in multiple sexual partnerships which are needed to meet their need for sex at the same time; two girlfriends are enough, largely because of financial commitments.

Aimer: We must have two girlfriends at the same time... You must have one that you trust and know that she cannot deceive you, and the other girl is to have sex with her or to speak unnecessary things with her. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Toussin: It is ok to have two girlfriends. It is a must to have two girlfriends because you are going to compare them. Meanwhile, you can ask yourself: 'Is this or that other one who deserves to be married?' I think having many girlfriends depends on every individual, and according to what he likes. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Derrick: It is not ok to have more than two girlfriends... You surely encounter financial problem because nowadays' girls like boys to take them out. When your girlfriend tells you so, you are obliged to take her out...and you find spending money to all these girls. (Urban boys, Mushere)

7.6 FORCE IS THE MAJOR FORM OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Conflict can be dealt with by power, by rights or via a negotiated resolution. We have seen that there is a limited amount of negotiation between our sample of boys and girls when it comes to matters of sex. There is a reliance on non-verbal persuasion – several boys referred to ‘skilled hand moves’ – and on force.

In general, boys believe it is ok to beat a girl in order to correct her and bring about the right level of respecting her:

Paul: Hitting a girl when you are not married yet may sometimes demonstrate that you are jealous in your relationship. You do it especially when you notice that she does not love you anymore, or she has become unfaithful. You may notice that she is joking with you, and has lost the fear that she had towards you. In these cases, you can really slap her to correct her so that she starts behaving correctly as before. After slapping her, she can understand that you love her. Maybe you always blame her for doing this and that or advise her to do this and that but she does not change. She continues to be unfaithful and you do not like her to behave such a way. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Jadu: If a boyfriend beats her girlfriend, it demonstrates that he is not happy of things she is doing in his presence. Maybe he is not pleased of what she is doing and this cannot advance their relationship or build their household in case they are married because they do agree on things. Because of all these, the man is obliged to beat her a bit so that she respects him again [everybody laughs]. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

As a number of studies elsewhere in Africa have shown (e.g. Sathiparsad, 2005; Rakgoasi, 2010), boys believe that beating their girlfriend or wife shows that they love her i.e. that the boy/man really cares about the relationship. The boys also distinguished between beating and ‘slaps of love’:

Justin: Hitting a girl that I love, I can say that it really means I love her. If I hit her when she does something wrong to me, it shows that I love her. It can also happen that when we are joking then we start slapping each other, these are only slaps of love. You cannot educate a person that you do not love, a parent educate a child because he/she loves him/her. It is the same when you also love a girl if it is to hit her that can bring her to understand. I beat her so that we remain with her without any problem. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Clever: When slapping a woman does not simply mean that you love her. There is always jealousy where people love each other, that means I cannot love her while she loves another boy or I love her and she finds out that I am in love with another girl; there must always be jealousy in the relationship. This jealousy does not only bring me to slap her in order to show her that I really love her but also to advise her. I can also advise her and show her that I love her but I do not like this and that or her unfaithfulness. She ends by understanding; I do not need to only beating her so that she can understand that I love her. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Another reason to beat a girlfriend or wife is to demonstrate male superiority:

John: Since the creation, we, men are superior, and remain like this to women. Sometimes a boyfriend beats her girlfriend when she makes mistakes, he does not beat her because you love her or you want to correct her but he beats her because he wants to show her that he is superior to her, this is the first thing. Another thing that brings him to beat her is because of doing things that he does not like. Maybe she is arguing with him when he is talking to her. He has to slap, by acting so it indicates that he feels bitterness of things she does... but overall, he beats her to show that he loves her. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Most female participants approve of being beaten because it shows that they are loved. This was a matter of great debate during focus group discussions, but most participants agreed with it. There was no difference in opinions from the participants living in urban and rural area.

Jessica: I can say that a boy loves a girl when he beats her. For instance there is boy who is violent if he hears people saying: 'we saw your girlfriend with another boy', he does not leave you time to explain. He is repeatedly going to slap you at that time you start wondering what happen. Your boyfriend if he loves you, he should advise you. Hitting is not kind but there is a given circumstance if it requires hitting, he has to hit. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Florence: There is a man who beats his wife because it shows her that he loves her. This depends on how they live, he can sometimes beat her and it does not mean that he does not love her. There is also a fiancé who can beat you; it means he heard people saying things about you. He beats you because he loves you and wants to show you that you should stand like this and do not be behind him, it means you should only love him alone. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Christiana: There is a man who can beat his wife this depends on mistake that she did, and sometimes you are in relationship your boyfriend can slap you, this is a slap of love. But he

should not beat you with a stick as if you are dried beans. Yes there are slaps that your boyfriend can slap you on your cheeks, it depends on the mood in which you are. He can slap you on your cheeks or wherever he wants. There are some men who beat their wives so that they leave their houses but for fiancés, they really cannot beat their friends because they do not love them. They beat them because they love them. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Rehema: Those who say that if a husband beats his wife that means he loves her, I think they are right. Because when he reproaches her for the mistake she did and he beats her, this is to show her that it was not nice. But if he does not love her, he can let her commit mistakes. He can reproach and beat her because he loves her. My fiancé can also beat me because he loves me. He cannot beat me if I do not commit a mistake. The fact of beating me is to show me that he did not like what I did. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Olga: You can be in relationship with your boyfriend but because he shows you that he does not love you he is going to beat you. It is true that you are going to feel that it is no more love. I can really say that sometimes he can beat me to show me how much he loves me... (Urban girls, Mushere)

However, a few young women believe that while slaps of love may be appropriate in some circumstances, beating is wrong:

Nabintu: I cannot accept my fiancé to beat me. Why should you beat me? It does not mean that because you love me you have to beat me. You can slap me then I say yes this is to show me that you love me. But [if he] seriously hits you, this does not show you that he loves you. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Melissa: Somebody who loves you cannot beat you. Even if people say that there is a slap of love, the one of beating somebody until she gets in the hospital is one I do not agree with it. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Odetta: ...a slap of love is different. He cannot hit me, and I start crying then I take it as a way of showing me love. There are women who are beaten by their husbands in their households, then you hear people say: 'leave her he loves her' oh! That is not love, love of hitting somebody. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

The majority view of both boys and girls – that beating boyfriends and husbands show that they love their girlfriends/wives – is at one level not logical. Are there no other (non-violent) ways of showing disapproval – and love? Would not these be more acceptable to girls and women? Are girls and women setting a low standard for male

behaviour by classifying violence towards them as love? Could it be possessiveness, pride and a lack of self-control? Indeed, some girls saw it as clear attempt by men to demonstrate their superiority.

Neema: It does not mean that your husband loves you when he beats you. When a man raises his hand on you, do you think this is a sign that really demonstrates that he respect you? If he loves you he can correct you in another way. To beat you is to bring you down, and show you that you are under his feet. (Urban girls, Mushere)

7.7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have seen areas where boys' and girls' perspectives are quite different (e.g. sex as a right for boys to be able to have whenever they want versus the girls' attitude that they are not under an obligation to provide sex). When such differences occur, the need for discussion and negotiation is obvious – but it seems to not occur often. Men prefer to 'speak with their actions', perhaps believing that sex will show their girlfriends that they love them. However, the boys are honest enough to admit that after having sex, they may dislike and dump their girlfriends.

In other areas (e.g. the fact that boys beat their girlfriends shows that they love her) is a matter of agreement between boys and girls. Given our concern to build more peaceful gender relationships, helping girls and boys see that there are non-violent ways of dealing with conflicts is a priority. Building communication skills between boys and girls as a means of building mutual understanding is essential.

CHAPTER 8 FORCED SEX, RAPE AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the specific aim 1c – what boys and girls think about sexual violence and sexual exploitation. In this chapter, we are mainly concerned with forced sex in boy-girl relationships. However, we also recognise rape in marriage, older men raping girls, rape by militia and criminals and stranger rape. Forced sex seems to be the more appropriate term with a relationship while rape fits the second group. Sexual exploitation involves the use of non-physical power to coerce someone to provide sexual services.

A survey in South Kivu and North Kivu provinces and Ituri district among 998 Congolese males and females aged 18 years and older, found that 39.7% of women and 23.6% of men reported to have been subjected to sexual violence during their lifetime (Johnson et al, 2010). Research by Kalichman et al (2005) in South Africa reports that 23% of men indicated that they had sexually assaulted a woman, and 16% of women also reported that they had been sexually assaulted.

8.1.1 BOYS' PERSPECTIVES

Damas describes his own behaviour in forcing his girlfriend to have sex. Discussion in focus groups indicated that such scenarios were common.

I was home then my girlfriend came to visit me, I suggested having sex to her, but she firmly refused. I said ok, then we changed the topic. Then I brought her to an isolated place and suggested having it again, but she refused. Then, I strongly held her until I went over her but there was no consent from her, and forced her to have sex. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Some boys indicated that sometimes it is girls who insist on sex, although it seems that forced sex or rape are not appropriate descriptions of what happens:

Joseph: Sometimes it happens to have sex when your girlfriend surprises you. Then, you are obliged to have it but you do not have it according to your will. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

8.1.2 GIRLS' PERSPECTIVES

During the individual interviews we asked girls whether having sex with their boyfriend for the first time was their own decision:

Kindja: I had sex for the first time when I was 13 years old. Doing such an act it was not my will, because I had no knowledge of it and I did not like it. That was the age in which my life was destroyed, the age that I did not know that such a thing can happen and I was not sexually skilled. A boy forced me, and he was clever than me. He clearly knew the consequences that such an act could cause but he did not warn me before. Having sex was his will not mine. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Nabintu: I had sex when I was 17 years old. Having sex was my will because it was due to peer pressure. My friends advised me in this way: 'have it [sex], it is very nice' but when I had it I found out that there is nothing special in it. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Rehema: I had sex for the first time when I was 18 years old. Having sex was my will because we were having caresses suddenly we found ourselves doing it. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Kindja reveals how she was a victim of sexual violence as a 13 year old. It is a sad story that describes violence perpetrated on girls who have no sexual knowledge.

Rape by criminals and members of militia groups is common in this area, although none of the girls reported that they had been raped in this way:

Odette: We often hear that women are raped in the villages when you investigate that you find this is done by soldiers. They rape all women in the village; military officers are also among those who perpetrate violence in the villages. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Zawadi: I can say that there is much violence in here. Sometimes armed robbers get in homes; if they find a woman and her children they rape her in the presence of her children... (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Furaha: ...*Interahamwe* [Rwandan Hutu rebels] come when you are not expecting them. They enter homes, take girls and rape them. They make sure that they rape them so that they destroy them, and do not mind their age. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

8.2 BOYS' PERSECTIVES ON VIOLENCE AND RAPE IN RELATIONSHIPS

8.2.1 BOYS CAN JUSTIFIABLY USE FORCE TO HAVE SEX WITH THEIR GIRLFRIENDS

Paul: A boy may suggest having sex with his girlfriend, then, they agree to meet somewhere. When she meets him, he does not have two things in his mind but only have sex with her. It may happen that he suggests it to her, and he starts the process of touching her but soon he can realise that she does not like to have it. Therefore, he must use his strength so that he has sex with her by force. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

James: It sometimes happens that a boy invites his girlfriend to his place, and tells her that there is a secret that he would like to share with her. She does not think about other things while the boy is already prepared to do something. He suggests her to get in the bedroom... Once they are in his bedroom, he is going to jump on her as if she is a prey. She starts thinking: 'I am in the boy's bedroom if I scream people are going to question me how I entered here... I am going to be ashamed, [and] no one will marry me anymore'. Then, this event is going to remain in her mind and she is not going to report it to her parents, it remains as a wound in her. Whenever she sees that boy, she says: 'This is the one who has destroyed my life'. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Nshokano: There is a boy who may love a girl only for sex; as far as you [boy] have got this idea it means that she is going to be in the obligation to provide you her sex. (Urban boys, Mushere)

These quotes show that boys believe they have right to expect a positive response from their girlfriends when they ask for sex; if they do not get it, forced sex is justifiable. This is a majority view even though, as James says, it may have a profound negative effect on the girl and may cause a boy's reputation in the community to suffer:

Bashengezi: When you force your girlfriend to have sex with her, it is really something shameful when people learn about it. You are going to lose your reputation everywhere you pass in your area. When she leaves your place because she is still angry, she is going to report to her parents: 'I was at Bashengezi's home, he told me this and that but I refused. He pulled me in his bedroom'. Once they hear it... they bring you to the court which sends you immediately in jail. (Urban boys, Mushere)

One of the boys saw the dominant discourse as belonging to a past an era:

Bahati: We are no longer living in that era of our parents in which people were doing as they wanted. If a boy loved a girl and wanted to marry her, he should send his friend to wait for her when passing on the street to drag her to his home so that he may rape her and marry her. These days the world has progressed, now everything needs consent. You have to suggest her if she does not like it, you leave her but you should not force her. She has got the right to bring you to the court if you force her to have sex. (Urban boys, Mushere)

8.2.2 'RAPE DOES NOT EXIST'

John: I sometimes sit down and think how sexual intercourse starts and ends. When I hear people speaking about the word 'rape' in relationships, this must be an exaggeration because it is difficult to rape a woman, I always think that it is not true. You [girls] are the only one who control your body, how come that a boy happens to penetrate his private part in you? I often conclude that it is the girl's will. I think that forced sex does not exist, and do not also think that an adult person even if she is not strong and a boy is a giant he cannot penetrate his private part in her... There are girls here in Kavumu who willingly agree to have sex. It also happens that the girls' family send them to have sex with a boy, then, at the end they will say that he raped her whereas she did it willingly. It is wrong [repeating this word three times]. Boys do not rape girls. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Gustave: I also agree that rape does not exist, because you cannot rape a girl in one or three meter where someone else can hear you doing it. If girls say so, they are lying. If a girl can see such a situation, why she could not alert the neighbours who are there? That is why there is no rape... (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Rafa: Before having it, she informs her parent that she is going out with him. She tells her parent to meet them when they are having sex. Then, her dad monitors and catches them the time they are having it. When her boyfriend is not aware of what is happening, suddenly her dad appears and immediately imposes a fine. This has become a business. Instead of bringing this case to the court, they decide to resolve it themselves. They agree on payment for that damage, as her dad says: 'You are going to pay a certain amount for destroying my daughter'. This is the problem that we encounter here in Kavumu. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Some of the boys' frustration and cynicism noted in chapter 7 comes out in these quotes, which were widely supported in the focus groups. John believes it is physically impossible for a boy – even if he is a giant – to rape a girl. Another

asserted that ‘if you are not three boys, you cannot open her legs’ but ‘once she willingly opens them for you, this means she longed to have sex.’ Gustave asks why girls do not call out to the neighbours if they are being raped. Another says ‘...she should scream or run away. [If she does not]... and he takes her by force, I think that is not rape because she heard his intention, and did not leave. Rafa reports that rape is often the result of an entrapment set up by the girl and her family to get money from the boy and his family.

The young male participants were very critical of older men – who are supposed to reinforce morality and good practices – who rape young girls, something they clearly see as very different from sex, including forced sex, between boyfriends and girlfriends:

Bisimwa: It is true that rape is widespread in our community, but rape is widespread in villages. This is perpetrated by males of all ages; it is done by young men, adult men and older men. It happens that an old man rapes a little girl in the bush path. He may meet her in an isolated place, and rapes her although he is an older man. This problem is upsetting us [young men] so much. (Urban boys, Mushere)

Bashengezi: In rural areas, young men and older men rape girls and women when they go out to look for woods. An older man may see a girl walking by the bush, and calls her. She is going to come because she respects him as she does to her father. While coming he is going to run towards her, tightly holds her and brings her down. (Urban boys, Mushere)

8.3 GIRLS’ PERSECTIVES ON FORCED SEX IN RELATIONSHIPS

We have seen that boys feel justified in forcing their girlfriends to provide sex. Girls are in no doubt about the existence of rape:

Ariane: For a boy to have sex without the girl’s consent, he rapes her. Everybody should profit from such act. You must first find an agreement so that everybody gets profit from it, but if you are a selfish you look for your own part, that is to violate your girlfriend’s sex. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Tegra: Forcing a girl to sleep with her it is rape. People must look for an agreement; no! They should not live like animals. Boy and girl should have that urge (*tamaa*) so that they may have sex, he should not force her that is rape. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Grace: If a boyfriend forces his girlfriend to sleep with her that is rape, because having sex was not in her mind. You find him making things that you were not expecting in your life. You trusted him so much and could not believe him to do such a thing to you, but he happened to do it [forced sex] one day. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Tina: When a boy forces you to have sex, he rapes you. Because the time boy and girl want to have it, they must first agree, have caresses so that each one of them may feel ready to have it. Once a boy suggests and forces you to have sex when there is a bribe that is rape. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

‘Males are so boastful, and think that they are strong. They give us [women] a hard time.’ (Urban girls, Mushere) and of themselves for being weak and frequently giving in to boys’ persistent demands when they do not want to. It may be, as the study by Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) found that coercion and violence are so common that young women accept it as an expression of love and engage in it with very little negotiation or communication. Or they may see no way out of situations where they feel at the mercy of boys.

But women are not always compliant victims. Some female participants agreed that rape has become a business and that girls entice men to rape them so that they can then expose men as perpetrators:

Mironyi: ...even we [girls] always blame men: ‘Oh he raped me’ though you are the one who provoked that rape. That means a girl leaves her home while having in her mind to seduce a man. She seduces him after which he rapes her. She knows that it is only a question for us [women] to say ‘He raped me’ and the guy is arrested although she is the one who induced the boy to rape her. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Tegra: Nowadays many girls consider rape as a business. They give themselves up to be raped so that they bring the perpetrator to the court for getting money at the end. (Urban girls, Mushere)

8.4 WHY RAPE IS COMMON AND INCREASING

8.4.1 BOYS' PERSPECTIVES

Boys engaged in wide-ranging discussions concerning reasons why rape is common and increasing. These are presented from macro – level explanations and moving to individual – level explanations. It is interesting to note that boys did not point to any general breakdown in social norms as a result of community dislocation as a result of armed conflict, although a few boys stated that ‘rape was hardly noticed’ a decade or so ago. Part of upsurge in rape is the predatory behaviour of mature men who were previously constrained by social conventions rules.

There was a strong view that the national government, as represented by law and courts was failing and thus contributing to rape. As aspect of this which has been noted previously is that situations can be manipulated to entrap a man and his family and, because the law favours girls, it encourages such things to continue. A version of this is that money is paid by the alleged perpetrator to the victim’s family:

Damas: Rape is increasing in our homeland, because of the government’s failure to implement laws that it itself established. You find the law stipulating that a man who rapes get a fine and be imprisonment for certain years. Now it is as if the government wrote down it, and keeps silent. When people perpetrate rape it keeps silent, so people keep on perpetrating it. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Aimer: The increase of sexual violence is also due to the government no application of laws that it has elaborated. If the government can punish the perpetrators, sexual violence can diminish. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Joseph: The laws they ratified in our country, instead of eradicating rape, are increasing it. Why is that? It is the way they apply them. It now happens that when two people are in conflict, one of these persons arranges for their daughter to have sex with a son of his enemy. When he has sex with her, he hears that his girlfriend’s family has reported that he raped her. [The accused] cannot look for evidence to prove his case. The court is only going to listen to the girl’s side of story and what her family has said; anything else is ignored. So instead of seeing the rape acts decreasing, it keeps on increasing. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Iste: The girl's parents easily drop the case if the perpetrator is a married man. He negotiate with the girl's dad and beg him as the following: 'Please do not kill me, I am going to pay a certain amount for this'. That is enough to corrupt the girl's father... [He will] withdraw the case because of this amount. Tomorrow you find that man walking in the street. He is going to rape another girl tomorrow or after tomorrow because he has got money and influence. There is no justice that can track him. That is why rape is widespread here in our homeland. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Bosmans (2007) confirms that there is generally lack of competence, power and resources among the judges to make people obey the application of the DRC legislation on sexual violence. A lack of confidence in the judicial system means that rape is not often dealt with.

A second reason discussed by the boys was the influence of pornographic films in movie theatres, essentially a room with a television and a VCR:

Media and sexual violence influence

Baraka: I would like to say that today's children are sexually active. Nowadays children watch pornographic movies, and these influence sexual violence in the community. When they [children] are sent back home because they did not pay school fees, instead of going back home they enter movie theatres [essentially a room with a television and VCR] where they spend their time watching those movies; the problem is that the owners of the movie theatre do not send them home. In so doing, they do not help educate these children. These movies are destroying them because they are likely going to practice on small children of their age. The sexual violence that they commit is generated from movies that they are watching. This situation also increases rape in the community. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Joseph: Boys are watching pornographic movies, these generate in them bad ideas. For instance after watching such movies, a boy starts wondering: 'Ah! This thing also exists. Yes! I have to practice it'. When he comes out, he is going to rape a girl that he meets. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

The third theme, which generated the most energetic discussion, was a combination of girls' provocative dressing in combination with boys' lack of self-control:

Paul: Women are encouraging rape. Let us take for example a case of a woman who put on mini-skirt or that clothes that people these days call *kanga dadi* [women's t-shirt/shirt

exposing part of breast] now when she passes in front of me, I see her dressing in such a way I am going to feel the urge of having sex with her. She is the one who incites me to have sex; they themselves cause rape that is perpetrated in their lives. A well-educated woman cannot expose her body; she must put on a long skirt that does not reveal her knees. Nowadays' girls do not care...they are those who are encouraging rape. Once walking on the street in that way, maybe I can tolerate when she passes by me. But for the next male that she encounters, she must be ready because he is going to follow her. You also realise that other girls dress in such a way because they are looking for money. Therefore, women are the first ones who provoke men to rape them. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Justin: Girls cause rape. Why I am saying this? It is because we notice that these days females' attire is not decent. For example, a girl who puts on mini-skirt that reveals her thighs. Now, a man who looks at her, he is going to feel the sexual lust. If he was looking for a girl to sleep with him, and he is in the place where there are only both of them. He is going to force and rape her because she is the one who provokes it. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Toussin: I would like to say that dressing indecently can be estimated at 60% of causing rape. Because sometimes you find that a boy did not have thoughts of having sex but from the fact of looking at a woman's revealed thighs or breast, he immediately feel the urge of having sex. Psychologically, his mind is going to shift from things he was thinking to sex. Now if it is a married man who sees that situation, he is going to do all to influence her with money till he has sex with her. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Josi: Women are really the ones who influence men to have sex with them because of the way in which they manifest in men's presence. For example a girl dresses badly and walks in front of men, her attire attracts them. A boy who sees her dressing that way, he is going to be obliged to follow her. Now he is going to have sex with her where they go because she is the cause of everything. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Attributing blame for rape to the woman is common. This is consistent with a South African study, for example, as many as one in five participants across both sexes agreed that rape usually occurs as a result of the actions of a woman and that she can often be blamed for it (Kalichman et al, 2005). Another study conducted in South Africa also concurs that 15.1 % of males claimed that girls who are raped 'ask for it' (Andersson et al, 2004).

The blaming of women for provocative dressing is balanced to some degree by the assertion that men cannot control their sexual urges. This has been consistently

reported in studies across Africa (e.g. Lalor, 2004; Sathiparsad, 2005; Rakgoasi, 2010):

Iste: To force a girl to have sex, it is not ok. But you must know that once you are in your bedroom, you force her because of sexual urge you are feeling. After finishing that action you realise that the act you committed, was bad, but because the sexual urge overcame you, you could not realise that it was wrong to do it. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Patrick: Women provoke rape that is perpetrated in their lives. The clothes that they wear often provoke males' urge for having sex. You know that men do not behave the same way. There are those men who can look at females' attire, then, they feel the sexual urge. While craving for sex, they feel their minds dictating them to have sex with those girls or women; they can only be at rest when they have sex with them. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Kalichman et al (2005) find in their study among male and female patients in Cape Town that one out of three respondents indicated that females should not talk to males about sex. Friedman et al (2006) explain that sexual violence is enhanced by culturally described male and female roles in society. South Africa is traditionally a male dominated and patriarchal society, where women are not given enough power and authority and are frequently controlled or abused, supported by a culture that reinforces this. Varga (2001) maintains that young women have been socialised to accept the submissive forms of control around sexual activity. Wood and Jewkes (2001) prove that young men regard violence against women as a socially accepted expansion of male authority in the private realm.

8.4.2 GIRLS' PERSPECTIVES

The reason given by girls for the increasing prevalence of rape was partly parallel to those of the boys. Again there was no indication from them of the breakdown of community controls and moves as a result of armed conflict. The focus was on individual behaviour. The girls agreed with boys that the way some girls dress can provoke boys to rape them:

Furaha: To put on mini-skirt can encourage rape, because if you can be with your boyfriend maybe he cannot resist looking at your thighs. Especially if you are a light complexion girl,

and put on mini-skirt and *voix cassée* [shirt or blouse exposing breasts]. He must crave for sex, and starts caressing you. You find yourself getting in a situation in which you did not expect, but you are the one who provoked it. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Grace: I confirm that a girl's way of dressing can encourage a man to rape her. Sometimes, we trick our parents in wearing a decent cloth when we go out. The time we get to our neighbours or girlfriends, we change the cloth and wear a mini-skirt. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Neema: Girls are responsible of rape. We can see that some girls are wearing what really amaze. Even though you are also a girl but when you look at a girl wearing a provoking cloth, you can say: 'If I were a boy, I could court this girl. I do not court her because she dresses like this and that, but because I crave to have sex with her'. (Urban girls, Mushere)

As with boys, this was linked to the alleged incapacity of men to restrain themselves sexually. The distinction between 'cannot' (Odette) and 'do not' (Rehema) is potentially of great significance.

Odette: A man cannot hold his sexual urge, and is always running after women. Even if he is married, he cannot sexually restrain himself. He does not abstain from sex during the time of his wife pregnancy as required by the doctor, because he is used to have sex since he was young. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Jessica: There is a person I know who does not abstain from sex...I know a young boy of Nyawera. He always tells me that he can have sex with any girl, even if this one is a cripple. For him what is essential is to have sex. If he meets a girl, he has to rape her despite the attire she puts on. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

Rehema: Young boys do not hold their sexual urge. When a boy is in relationship with you, and finds that you have a friend, He will suggest your friend to have sex with him if she refuses; he looks for an opportunity to rape her. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

One different explanation was the negligence of parents, which was often linked to not providing enough money for their daughters to buy clothes, cosmetics and the like. As a result, girls seek this money in relationships, often with married men who have more money than boys. This puts men at the risk of sexual exploitation, if not rape. Parents fail to reprimand their daughters when they bring new clothes home or to enquire where they got them.

Nabintu: ...sexual violence is most caused by parents' negligence. Parents abandon their children to themselves who start going everywhere they like without them [parents] asking anything. They do not know their responsibility towards their daughters and do not even provide to their needs. Because of this, girls go out to look for money. This exposes them to rape. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Florence: Rape's cases are so many here due to parents especially when a girl finds that her parents do not buy anything for her and she receives nothing from her boyfriend then she says: "Today's boys do not offer anything". A married man goes out with her, being in such a relationship what she is going to receive from him apart from raping her because he has a wife at home. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Olive: Parents do not take their responsibility towards their children, and do not buy clothes for their daughters. Young girls look for those things that their parents fail to provide outside their home, and go out with married men who finally rape and abuse them. This case occurs in our community every day. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Faida: ...a person is educated from his family; let us take the case of a girl who goes out wearing mini-skirt. This means she is making a 'beep' to boys and married men as she walks passing them. Maybe she buys clothes and brings them home, and none [her parent] asks her where she gets money to buy them. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Mironyi: ...girls are themselves given up to married men then they [married men] profit. Married men give them money. In most families, a young girl is economically limited. For example her father does not provide to her needs, when she finds herself in such a situation a married man does not even need to tell her that he loves her. He only provides money to her, and this morally corrupts her. Because of many things that she receives from him, she decides to give herself up to him. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

8.5 SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

The participants' responses here focussed on the behaviour of those with economic resources or positions power – often married men – who used these to persuade girls to sleep with them. It is interesting to note that both boys and girls often describe this as rape, even though there is no physical force involved:

Christoph: A thing which is destroying our country is that you find that many girls are getting jobs by providing sex. A girl may only come at the office for the first day, and she gets a job.

You do not understand how she gets that job, she gets it through sexual intercourse with the manager or boss who obliges her to sleep with him. She has no choice as she needs a job; she is obliged to have sex with him. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Nshokano: Here in Congo we have got a problem; you can rape married woman, and you are not going to be judged. A married woman can be afraid of losing her job, because of that she is not going to resist. While she is in the office, her boss can tell her that he loves her and wants to have sex with her. She may not like to sleep with him, but he convinces her by telling her: 'oh! I am going to promote you', he forces her and that is rape. Because she is afraid, she refuses to bring him to the court as she thinks if she brings her there she is going to lose her job. (Urban boys, Mushere)

A second example concerns teachers in schools and universities who agree to pass students in return for sex:

Olga: There is much violence here, for example at school it happens that a teacher loves you... He waits for an opportunity. For instance when you write a test and fail to pass it... [Then he tells you] 'Oh! Because you fail then love me, we can have sex as I love you'. Because of that position in which you are, he strongly tries to influence you. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Florence: At school you sometimes find that your classmate is not strong in mathematics. You often do assignments together. She passes her assignments, but you fail although you worked with her. When you ask her how she managed to pass, she tells you that she had sex with teacher, and advises you to sleep with the teacher as well. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Nabintu: Rape is widespread in our community, for instance let us take the school's case. Teachers tell you to have sex with them; they rape you and still your rights. When you write a test and you sure that you have passed it but you find that the teacher has given zero. If you claim your marks, he invites you in the corner and starts convincing to have sex with him so that you may pass his course. Cases of rape are so many at school, secondary schools, and primary schools. They are more frequent at universities more than somewhere else. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Human Rights Watch (2002) reported that lack of money forced girls to engage in sex with their teachers (so that school fees could be met) or employed (so that jobs would be secured and retained).

Again, there was an acceptance of some responsibility by girls because of the way girls dress:

Kindja: Girls' attire can induce rape, sometimes girls look for rape. For instance, I love a teacher but I do know how to tell him so. I try to attract his attention in doing something funny, especially when I am in his presence. Finally, he falls in the trap and rapes me. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Rehema: Our way of wearing can induce rape. Most of our teachers are young men and newly married men. For instance I am a student, and go to school putting on a mini-skirt uniform. In the classroom I sit in front, while the teacher is teaching. When he looks at my thighs, you know flesh is only flesh, I do not know a teacher who can resist looking at that. He is going to be confused and even forget his lesson the time he is staring at my body. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Returning to sex between boyfriends and girlfriends, boys believe that spending money on a girl provides an entitlement for sex:

Aristote: When I date a girl, I have an objective to have sex with her. I provide her my money or buy her soap and body cream. Then, in this circumstance if she refuses to have sex with me, I can break up with her and look for another girl who can give me what I am looking for. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Baraka: If I refused to spend my money on a girl, I could not force her to have sex with me. She has got the right to accept or refuse... (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Chadu: Speaking about women's refusal of sex, most women do not refuse to have sex these days especially when men spend money on their needs. Because she calculates the amount of money that he spent since they have started their relationship, everything that she has received from him maybe equivalent of the amount that he can pay for her bride price. Then, she understands that it is difficult to say no for having sex in his presence. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Hallman's (2004) study of young people in South Africa found that both gift giving and coercion were frequently linked in boy-girl sexual relationships. The research of Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) explain that gifts play an important role in shaping the sexual terms of a relationship and may have destructive effects on the ability of women - and sometimes of men - to express their preferences for the type of sexual

activity, its initiation and the use of safe practices when engaging in sex. Gifts are often accepted indirectly and sometimes openly as a sign of imminent sex. They denote physical obligation. When female participants were asked what might be expected should money be given and received by partners early in a relationship, they declared that this would mean the right to demand sex. MacPhail and Campbell's (2001) study in South Africa found that sex is recognised as a driving force for males to engage in relationships, and money as one of the main reasons for females to have relationships. Thus all the more likely when many individuals and households are on the edge of survival (Ackermann and De Klerk, 2002; CADRE, 2007). In the study conducted in Kenya by Njue et al (2011) many of the young women understood the reception of money or gifts (like body lotion, soap, underwear and clothing) from their partners as loving signs while young men recognised that their ability to provide for their girlfriends affected both the longevity and control of their relationships.

However, a few male participants rejected the assumption that receiving gifts meant that girls were obliged to provide sex:

Christoph: ...a man comes to visit a girl and brings her something. He does not provide it in good faith, but there is something that he is looking for. It is ok for her to say no to sexual intercourse... he does not have to force her but if she feels like having sex she can have it. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

Paul: I think that for a girl who is educated, she is not obliged to have sex though she has got a boyfriend who is giving her money, body cream, clothes and other things. She is not obliged to have sex before she is joined in matrimony to that boy. If she had previously sex with him, she will miss words to say during their honeymoon. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

The role of married men in sexually exploiting girls has been noted several times. The boys were critical of these 'sugar daddies' who competed with them for their girlfriends. Again it is interesting that they describe sexual relationships in these cases as rape, even though physical force may not be involved:

Toussin: We often experience rape cases here in Kavumu where you find a married man who is 40 years old perpetrates rape because he has got money. When he meets a little girl in the community who is flourishing... she cannot think that he has got his wife and children of her age at home. Let us say that even if his daughter is older than her but because she is looking

for money. She is going to love him because of money. That is why rape is widespread here. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Aimer: Here in Kavumu we are getting rape cases. It is not easy to understand that it is rape because you do not meet them having sex. But there are here old men who are 50 years old who date girls of 13-14 years old, this is rape. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Paul: Rape was only perpetrated by young men, but in these days older men are now the ones who are raping girls. For example, you can see an older man while driving his car, he sees a girl walking on the street. He pulls over and tells her: 'sorry sister! Jump in I am going to give you a lift and take you somewhere where will have a talk'. He is going to do all his effort to have sex with her where he brings her. (Urban boys, Imani Panzi)

The economic power of older men, often in situations where household and personal survival is tenuous, is used to seduce young girls. Even when sheer survival is not an issue, girls may want more than their parents can provide. In Wamoyi et al's (2010) study in Tanzania found that girls learn from observing their older sisters and friends that essential things such as clothes, beauty products and money can be obtained from older men. Most young women want to dress as smartly as any others in their community, and transactional sex is seen as one of the easiest ways to achieve this.

The boys are aggrieved by this competition for girls from older men. Aimer states their case with some eloquence:

Aimer: Concerning this situation, I would like to say that married men are upsetting us [everybody laughs]; the way in which they are upsetting us is twofold. First, they upset us because we do not find and secure girlfriends anymore. When you date a girl, you find out that the same girlfriend that you are dating there is also a married man who is dating her. Then, you wonder what to do and do not get an answer, this is the first consequence. Secondly, you find that all damages that he causes on that girlfriend, you are the one who carry them on your head. How do you carry them? It is when he impregnates her. He is going to give her money, and tell her: 'Tell your parents that it is that boy who is the responsible of this pregnancy, you know that I have got children. Where am I going to put you? Or you will become a child among other children'. She responds that she does not like such a thing, then, he gives her some money and she involves you in that pregnancy. She tells you that... the pregnancy belongs to you. Maybe you have never seen her with that married man because he often meets her in the dark area. You are the only boyfriend that her parents know; everybody is going to confirm that you are the responsible of it. The married men really squash us so much we do

not know how to defend ourselves anymore. It is money that brings all these things; you cannot provide or buy her shoes, and body cream. She is only going to love him because he is going to satisfy her needs. You especially find that girls need many things, if she sees her friend dressing a cloth that costs US\$ 50 she wants to get it as well. In brief, I say that married men upset us much; to stop upsetting us they must not date little girls. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Boys see themselves as ‘spare tyres’, to be used in case of pregnancy. Studies elsewhere in Africa (Wamoyi et al, 2010; Silberschmidt, 2001; Hunter, 2002, 2005; Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004) confirm such competition. Boys find that they cannot compete financially with men who are earning considerable salaries. In the words of one girl, boyfriends are ‘small handbags’ while married men are ‘suitcases.’

Clever: ...girls love married men because they have got money. Girls are now calling them ‘cash money’ because married men do not look at money that they provide them. Whereas, a young man when he has got money he first plan how to use it. Even if he has got money he cannot quickly give it to the girl as the married man can provide it for simply having sex. That is why girls think that married men are nice guys because they bring out money any time. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

The anger which boys feel toward the older men motivates them, according to a number of girls, to rape their girlfriends:

Feza: Boys may rape me because they start raping girls due to their anger that they hold against married men. It happens that you are in the relationship with a boy then he learns that you love a married man; this one may have the same age of his father. Because of that he will not be kind anymore towards you, and will decide to rape and destroy you. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Tina: Young girls are given themselves up to married men...When a young boy hears about her relationship with that married man, then he [the young man] does everything possible to meet and rape her. Sexual violence is widespread here due to us [girls], we are encouraging it. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

Salima: Sometimes a boy loves you; his purpose is only to sleep with you; especially when he learns that you are dating a married man. You are in this relationship for instance because your parents do not support you financially. You hear that boy telling you: ‘How many married men you date? Now you want to show me that you are pure’. He forces you to have

sex with him. Then, you realise that you have been rape by married men and young boys because your parents did not provide to your needs and take their responsibilities. Ok dad would have provided to your needs, and bought body cream and clothes for you that married man could not corrupt you. (Rural girls, Rwabika Kabuga)

8.6 SUMMARISING THE MAIN THEMES

In drawing the perspectives of boys and girls together, several important themes emerged. First, there is a contrast between boys' beliefs that they are entitled to sex from their girlfriends and that force is justifiable in obtaining this entitlement (section 8.2) and girls' view (section 8.3) that they must agree to have sex and that forced sex is rape. Boys and girls seem to understand each other in this regard.

Second, rape is seen to be common and increasing. Boys attribute this to poor governance and law enforcement, the influence of pornography, and girls' provocative dressing. Underlying this is their assertion that boys *cannot* control themselves sexually; if they become aroused, they must have sex. Girls accept responsibility for dressing provocatively but also place blame on their parents for not controlling them and for not giving them sufficient money (section 8.4.2). As a result, they are proved to exploitation by older men and this arouses the anger of boys of their own age; the boys cannot compete economically and may men rape the girls concerned. Girls seem to generally accept that boys have great difficulty in controlling themselves sexually.

Third, sexual exploitation, where sex is secured from girls by applying non-physical power, is seen to be largely the work of older men – teachers, employers and sugar daddies – who compete with boys for young girls. This behaviour by older men represents a significant change from earlier days, when such men behaved much more in conformity with community moves. It is likely to result in anger and frustration among the young men and they may well take this anger out on their girlfriends. The social dislocation resulting, from armed conflict in the region since 1996 is a likely cause of bringing out these men's' requests and of the willingness of girls to accept them.

PART V CONCLUSION

In this final part, chapter 9 reports the findings, with reference to the specific aims presented in chapter 1. The feeling of the participants about having been involved in the research is discussed. Finally recommendations are made which have been used to develop a curriculum on building more peaceful relationships between the genders.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study with reference to the key objectives, and provides some recommendations regarding male attitudes and behavioural change.

This study has examined the attitudes and behaviour of young South Kivu men towards women in order to encourage the development of more peaceful attitudes and behaviour, drawing on a sample of boys and girls from high schools. Its specific aims (see section 1.3) were:

1. To determine the attitudes of sample of young South Kivu men and women in rural and urban secondary schools concerning:
 - 1a) How they understand traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy
 - 1b) What they think about the roles of women and men in relationships and marriage
 - 1c) What they think about sex in relationships, including sexual violence
 - 1d) How they think male-female conflicts can be dealt with
2. On the basis of these results, to design a training package on male-female relationships, built on specific peace principles, for young South Kivu men and women

9.2 RESULTS

9.2.1 SPECIFIC AIM 1A: TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES TO VIOLENCE AND PREGNANCY

A majority of male and female participants advocated such traditional behaviour according to the Bashi tradition such a girl is no longer considered as a girl but she is now become a married woman. Her parents must bring her back where she spent her night and force her to marry that boy. They portrayed her as a *nkwale* [a quail], and used a metaphorical proverb used in South Kivu province that shows that a chicken

that sleeps outside is no longer a chicken but becomes a quail. She is compared to chicken that according to the tradition must sleep in the house and cannot sleep outside. Most male and female participants reported that parents would force their daughters to marry their boyfriends if she spent a night with him and came back home because according to Bashi tradition she is no longer a girl. They would also force their daughters to marry the person who impregnates them. Despite the dominant views, some female participants disapproved this practice and advised parents to make a thorough investigation on this issue before taking any decision as this may undermine their daughters' destiny. For parents, sending her back is a question of keeping their reputation in the community. In the second case, most participants agreed that girls should marry the person who impregnates her. They understand that parents believe that they cannot keep such a girl because no single man will marry her. A girl who becomes pregnant and keeps on living in her parents' home is labelled as *fille mère* [a girl who is mother]. Such a girl is rejected and loses her esteem in the community. There is no young man who can anymore ask her hand for marriage. Therefore, she must marry a boy who impregnates her. A girl sometimes does not denounce the person who is responsible for her pregnancy, especially if he is a married man, but somebody else who had previously sex with her. Parents do not consult their daughters before bringing them to their boyfriends' place. Consequently when they bring them there, their boyfriends often deny the pregnancy. Later, a young man often marries in such a situation because they are afraid of going to jail.

9.2.2 SPECIFIC AIM 1B: THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND MEN IN RELATIONSHIPS

This study explored the attitudes of young men towards females within relationships and marriage. Most young men believed that women had a limited role e.g. domestic chores and look after children. They described women as physically weak creatures. In fact, men expected their spouses to remain unemployed though they might have degree. That said, in the family and community, a woman is regarded as the pillar that shapes children's education. There was little difference in view expressed from male participants who live in urban and rural area.

Most male and female participants considered a man as the head of the family. Being in such a position, the wife can only respond or bring her decision after a man has given his opinion. Consequently, a spouse who attempts to challenge a male decision by risks being told to *funga mikeka* [pack her stuff] and go back to her family. Opinions concerning gender roles did not differ among those participants living in rural and urban area.

9.2.3 SPECIFIC AIM 1C: SEX IN RELATIONSHIPS

The majority of male participants claimed that a relationship with a woman means sex. The sexual act in the relationship provides young men power to control the relationship, because they can lose interest and dump their partners.

Most of female participants believed that girls should not provide sex to their boyfriends as proof of love towards them nor an obligation. On the contrary, the sexual act depends on girls' will. Girls have sex when they like to have it, and especially after discovering that they love and trust their boyfriends. They did not agree that they are obliged to have sex in order to show that they love their boyfriends. Some said that a girl cannot provide sex to a man that she does not love. The fact of 'opening her skirt' clearly reveals that she loves and trusts him.

Male participants endorsed the belief such "a man must have sex even if she says no", which encourages men to neglect consent when asking for sex with their partners. Most male participants believed that a man must have sex when he feels the sexual urge.

The majority of male and female participants endorsed the belief of girls saying no while they mean yes. Girls' negative expressions contradict their behaviour while refusing sex. Therefore, young men have to convince or force them to agree to have it. They also mentioned that they cannot be intimidated by girls saying 'no' to sex. On the other hand, female participants indicated that they sometimes say 'no' for sex, for various reasons, although they long to have it which tended to confirm the boys' opinion. That no means yes.

Girls reported that when boyfriends want to have sex with them ‘all the time’ which seems to decrease girls’ honour and self-respect. Both male and female participants believed that having sex may decrease love. They perceived that after having sex, men can come to despise their girlfriend. Boys may label girls as *boro* [in Swahili literally meaning ‘thing’] and also consider them as bubble gum that they chew and throw away after having sex with them.

Peer pressure has a significant role in influencing young men’s sexual behaviour. Young men who attempted to withstand the dominant discourses of masculinity by avoiding sex were subjected to taunting and teasing: “He is not clever”, “He is sick”, “He is abnormal”, “There is something wrong in him” or “He is not a man.”

There was a good deal of suspicion and mistrust among the boys towards girls. A number reported that some girls deliberately entice boys to have sex, then claim it was rape, with the purpose either of receiving money by way of compensation or to force the boy into marriage.

The young men had various explanations for the increase in rape. The most widely held was a combination of women’s’ provocative dressing and the fact of that men cannot control their sexual urges. The wider social context of armed conflict and social disruption was not mentioned but the changed behaviour of older men who competed with boys for their girlfriends seems to be a significant change over the past decade or so. This demand side of the equation was connected to the supply-side where economic security and advancement provided a strong motive for girls to engage in sex with older men.

9.2.4 SPECIFIC AIM 1D: HOW MALE-FEMALE CONFLICTS CAN BE DEALT WITH

Negotiation about sex, or even any discussion, seems to be rare. Boys, in particular, want to speak with their actions. The threat or use of violence is a major strategy for control over relationships. Many men and women did not see anything wrong with the use of physical violence, if it is moderate and used as a means to a ‘positive’ reason, such as to correct what is perceived as wayward behaviour. The majority of

participants advocated violence as a way of resolving conflict. For example, both genders in this studies supported the belief of “a man must slap his girlfriend” to correct her. Such a beating is likely when a girl becomes unfaithful, lacks respect towards him, argues with a boy, or when he is generally unhappy of her conduct. This assumption was motivated by the belief that both male and female participants viewed the beating a woman as normal because a person cannot correct somebody that he does not love. If a boy does not love her, he may let her go on committing mistakes. The fact of punishing or beating a girl means he loves her and wants her to change. Some female participants disagreed with the above assumption although even they seemed to accept a ‘slap of love.’ Some boys mentioned that women are beaten to show that they are inferior. This perception is deep-rooted in patriarchal structures that encourage males to use violence to maintain power over females. This above assumption did not differ from both participants’ opinions living in urban and rural area.

9.3 WHAT PARTICIPANTS FELT ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROCESS

After participating in focus groups and individual interviews, we asked the participants what it meant to them to be part of this process (participating in the focus groups and individual interviews?). It needs to be said that changing participants’ minds was not an objective of the research. Nonetheless, it seems that discussions these issues did bring about some changes in attitudes.

Iste: This discussion has helped me to get new vision that I received from other guys, because I heard some advice that to have sex with a girl without her consent is not ok. Although you feel sexual urge, it is not ok to react and force your girlfriend to have sex when she refuses. I am happy to hear other people’s opinions. (Rural boys, Karhanda)

Justin: This discussion of idea has increased many things in my life. Especially, there are different questions that were asked, one of them regarding gender equality. The one was to know how to help uplift a woman. I heard an advice showing us that a woman has also a place in social life and politics. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

John: In this discussion group, I heard that a man should not rape a woman, and the other one of saying that a woman has also got her portion of inheritance in the family where she was born or she can inherit her father’s wealth and property. (Rural boys, Rwabika Kabuga)

Bahati: This discussion that I attended helped me understand many points that we discussed here. It shows me that in today's life, a person is not complete alone. Although the relationship of male-female reveals that there are more risks, but these risks enable somebody to succeed and fail. (Urban boys, Mushere)

There was a strong consensus that focus group discussions and individual interviews have changed the way from which males viewed females the communities. The consensus was that now they see females much more as their equal. They find that it is not ok to force girls for having sex, there is need to negotiate with females when it is time to have sex with them. They also indicated that media contributes in instilling sexual violence among youth.

Female participants also responded as the following:

Christiana: Participating in that discussion has increased many things in my life because I know now how I must be in relationship with my boyfriend and how we must live with him. Also in the community if somebody asked me something if I find it not ok, now I know how I must protect myself. It also taught me how a person can live in society. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Florence: Participating in that discussion has enabled me to understand that when you are in relationship with your boyfriend then he suggests you to sleep with him you do not have to agree immediately. You must refuse because you do not have to accept everything that your boyfriend asks you. Because if you always accept everything, he is going to despise you, you first need to protect yourself. It means that when he suggests having sex with him, you answer him that the relationship of having sex it is not a relationship. (Rural girls, Karhanda)

Olga: Participating in that discussion has really helped me so much, taught me to know how to live, and taught me how I must show a boy that I am special. I do not have to expose anyhow to a boy, I must not speak anyhow in his presence. I do have to show a boy how much I love him. If I show him that I love him so much, he starts boasting in your presence and telling others: 'that girl loves me so much, even if I tell her this she loves me'. As girl, I must have decision so that you can expose yourself in front of a boy. This debate provided me with many experiences. (Urban girls, Mushere)

Jessica: Participating in that discussion has helped me to change my mind, for example if I had the intention of start loving married men for gaining stuff. This discussion helped to

correct it. It often happened if you do not have anything at your place, you run to married men or boys so that they give money, then they destroy your life. (Urban girls, Imani Panzi)

There was also a strong consensus that the focus group and interview have enabled female participants to understand and discover new things that they did not know before. From participating in this study, they indicated that they now understood rape and how – if this was their decision – they must avoid sex with their boyfriends even if such a decision may end their relationships with their boyfriends. They learned to avoid wearing provocative clothes and giving themselves up to males for sex. They understood that while negotiating sex with their boyfriends, they should not quickly agree to have sex with them or accept everything that their boyfriends ask them to do. They also renounced sugar-daddies despite the poor financial situation that characterise them and their families.

9.4 LIMITATIONS, RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Given that this study took place among 56 students in four schools in one province of the DRC, it would be inappropriate to generalize its findings. It can be hoped that those concerned to reduce gender violence in the DRC and elsewhere will find the research insightful to their efforts. To the extent that the findings of this research support prior understandings, confidence in these findings (and in prior understandings) can be stronger.

In terms of validity, I have no reason to doubt what I –and my female research assistant supports this opinion – were told by the students. The themes were consistent between the students and also across rural and urban schools. Students were not inhibited by the nature of the questions asked and, as the previous section indicates, saw direct benefits from the discussions.

In terms of reliability, I have no concern that if another researcher was to in some way replicates the study that the findings would be any different. Part of this confidence comes from the careful use of well-established data collection and analysis methods, which were fully explained in chapter 4. The use of one type of triangulation – the employment of several data collection methods – supports this confidence.

9.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this research point to the need to change the attitudes of young men, including the following understandings:

1. Men can control their sexual urges.
2. While sex is good, it is possible for a person to live without it without suffering any mental or physical side effects.
3. Violence or the threat of violence against another person is never justified.
4. Rape should not be encouraged, and girls should not be blamed for encouraging it.
5. It is very desirable to talk about your sexual needs with your partner and to listen to her talk about her needs. This will build your relationship.
6. Some traditional beliefs need to be challenged and modified.
7. Older men need to be challenged concerning their sexual exploitation of young girls.

This is not the place to discuss how such attitudes could be cost effectively spread; that would require a separate study. Peacock and Levack (2004), Chege (2005) and Petersen et al (2005), among others, have reviewed various efforts of ‘constructive male involvement’ to reduce levels of gender violence. Re-educating men to treat women respectfully and non-violently require sustained inputs from government, civil society, churches and schools. This study has clearly demonstrated the need for such re-education.

From the above findings deriving from data collection, I designed a training package on male-female relationships, built on specific peace principles for young South Kivu men and women. This will form part of my future plans for post-doctoral study and will be used in a pilot study that will train a cohort of teachers to teach the curriculum, possibly as an extra-curricular-activity. Table 9.4 presents a draft of a possible peace club training package.

TABLE 9.4 A DRAFT PEACE CLUB TRAINING PACKAGE

| Lessons | Materials | Methods | Aims | Activities | Source |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| 1. What is conflict and violence | Blackboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | To differentiate conflict to violence | <p>Introduction Even though all violence includes conflict, not all conflict is violent. Conflict is a connection between two or more parties who have, or think they have, discordant goals. Conflict is a normal part of life, and can even have positive outcomes, such as teaching us new things or creating positive changes in a community or society. Violence, on the other hand, comprises deliberate harm to oneself, another person or a group of people through the use of physical force or abuse of one's power.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Would you give an example of violence according to the above definition? ❖ What do you think of when you hear the word violence? ❖ Where do you see violence around you? <p>Activity The facilitator will divide the class into groups of four or five students</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ask them to think of a conflict situation that they can act out for the class. The facilitator must propose to each group the type conflict without providing them the solution. 2. Invite groups to present conflict to the class. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The facilitator will ask question to the audience about what they felt about the role play. ❖ What violence have you seen in your community? In school? At home? How does this violence make you feel? | Section 7.6 |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|---|---|--|--------------------------------|
| 2.How to deal with conflict | Blackboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | Students will understand the three approaches (power, right, and reconciliation) to solving conflict, and learn to identify the approach that would be the most helpful in conflict situation | <p>1. Divide class into three groups. Each group stand in the corner of the class</p> <p>2. Ask the first group to think of a conflict where they display claiming something through which they display power (violence).</p> <p>3. Ask the second group to act out as if they have got right to obtain the conflict issue.</p> <p>4. Ask third group to play the role of reconciling both groups in conflict. By listening to their claims and trying to reconcile them based on their underlying interest (referring to power, rights and interests).</p> <p>Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Can you identify which approach you use the most often? <p>Are any of these approaches better or worse than the others?</p> | Section 7.6 |
| 3. Gender-based Violence | Blackboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | To change young male students behaviour regarding sexual negotiation | <p>Introduction</p> <p>This activity will relate to how young male consider young female as inferior and impose them their will.</p> <p>1. Divide class in two groups</p> <p>2. Ask the first group to act out in sex role play including condom negotiation.</p> <p>3. Ask the other one to think of a situation where peer influence sex and male does not like to take girl's 'no' as 'no.'</p> <p>4. After designing the role plays each group comes in front to perform.</p> <p>Discussion</p> <p>The facilitator will ask the audience questions: What the lesson did you learn from the scenario 1 and 2, and describe the themes that emerged from them (which will be written on the blackboard).</p> | Sections 7.3.1, 7.3.3, and 7.4 |
| 4. Gender role and sex role | Blackboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | To improve a gender relations, attitudes, behaviour, and gender equality | <p>Introduction</p> <p>This activity will enable us understand gender role. Our sex is the way we are born, while our gender is made by our culture and society. The following ideas are either</p> | Sections 6.5 and 6.5.2 |

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| | | | among young people | <p>determined by our sex or by our gender. After a student (one after another) read the line out loud, we need to determine if it is a gender role (something that our culture tells us to do) or a sex role (a role determined by the way we are born and the way our bodies naturally are).</p> <p>Activity</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read out the following lines one-by-one. 2. After each sentence, have the class decide if it determines at birth - a 'sex' role, or made by our culture and society - a gender role. If it is a gender role, ask the students to stand. If it is a statement about a 'sex' role, have the students remain seated. If there is any disagreement over whether to stand or sit, have a discussion with the class. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Women give birth, men don't. b. Men all have short tempers. c. Men are the sole income earners in the home. d. Women are naturally good cooks. e. Boys' voices break at puberty, girls' voices do not. f. Men can grow beards. g. Women have longer hair than men. h. Men are aggressive. i. Men can impregnate women. j. Women are poor decision-makers. k. Women are in-charge of looking after children. l. Women must remain in kitchen and men must work. m. Men are decision makers. n. Women should not lead men. o. Men should not work as nurses. p. Men are more intelligent than women. s. Girls are required to provide sex to their boyfriends. t. Women should not earn degrees. u. Males are solely the ones to initiate sex. <p>Discussion</p> | |
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| | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Why is it important to know the difference between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’? (Because it helps us not to limit ourselves or other people by things that are not biological - for example, if everyone realizes that women are just as good at leading others as men, they will have the opportunity to have more positions of leadership in the church, school, and government). ❖ What can we do as Peace Club members to help educate others about the difference between “sex” and gender roles? <p>What can you do this week to help educate your friends and family to differentiate both terms – sex and gender (keep this question as homework and have the students share about what they did during the week to help educate others at your next Peace Club meeting).</p> | |
| 5. Communication | Blackboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | To understand that people can listen with their bodies and learn the importance of nonverbal communication in conflict situation | <p>Activity</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Write number on small pieces of paper. For example if there are 20 students, prepare 20 pieces of paper numbered from 1 to 20. 2. Mix the papers and give one to each student. Make sure that each student hold the piece of paper and do not reveal it to the neighbour. 3. Ask the student to get in ordered row (from 1-20) without looking at the paper they received and without saying a word. Later, to form 2 teams and see which one gets in order the fastest. <p>Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ How did you feel while playing this game? ❖ What was the hardest part? The easiest? | Sections 7.2 , 7.3 and 8.4 |

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| | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ How did you manage to get into order? ❖ How did you communicate without words? Was it easy to understand each other? ❖ What are some of the barriers to communicate encountering in the group? How can we better communicate with our bodies? | |
| 6. Gender, power and discrimination | Chalkboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | Students will understand 'power,' 'discrimination,' and injustice. They will explore how unequal distribution of power between genders is a form of discrimination and injustice and some of the consequences of this power imbalance. | <p>Activity To start the class, say to the students: "Before we start, we need all of the boys in the classroom to sit on the floor. Girls, please stay in your seats. We will discuss why I've asked you to do this later."</p> <p>Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Boys, how do you feel about sitting on the floor? ❖ Girls, how do you feel? ❖ Is it fair for the boys to be sitting on the floor? ❖ What does our culture say about the way our classroom is arranged right now? ❖ Is there gender discrimination in our classroom right now? <p>Boys, you may return to your seats. Thank you for participating. Discussion</p> <p>Consequences of gender discrimination What do you think some of the consequences of gender inequality are? (The facilitator will write these provided answers on the chalkboard in the form of a brainstorm).</p> | Sections 6.5.1, 6.5.2, 6.6.1 and 8.6 |
| 7. Gender Stereotypes | Chalkboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | Students will learn what 'gender stereotypes' are, learn to identify them, and learn how to | <p>Introduction In today's lesson, we will learn that stereotypes are used by society to define what males and females are. Our communities say that females are this way, while males are that way. We make the mistake of mixing up</p> | Sections 6.3 and 6.6.1 |

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| | | | work towards undoing the injustices that they cause. | <p>someone's sex (the way they are born) with their ability, personality, and skill set.</p> <p>Definitions and Discussion</p> <p>Gender Stereotype: Set of expectations and beliefs that our culture or society tells us are appropriate to either males/men (masculine) or female/women (feminine). Like other stereotypes, gender stereotypes generally are not true.</p> <p>Sometimes, gender stereotypes are used to justify ideas that are not true. Here are some common myths about genders:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Women are passive while men should be aggressive. Girls are too shy while boys are not. Boys should not spend time in the kitchen or assist their sisters with house chores. As the head of the homes, Men are breadwinners and Women should be dependants. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Can you think of any other gender stereotypes that you have heard? ❖ What words would you use to describe a girl? A boy? <p>When you see advertisements or watch television or read a story, how are women portrayed (In other words, what do they wear, how do they talk, what activities are they doing)? How are men portrayed?</p> | |
| 8. Sexual abuse | Chalkboard and chalk | Facilitation and participatory learning | Pupils will be able to understand the motive behind the touches experienced in their encounters. | <p>Introduction</p> <p>When teaching pupils about physical and sexual abuse, it is important to describe these terms as "bad touches" and "good touches." The latter are healthy, safe, and particularly helpful for younger pupils.</p> <p>Referring to the previous lessons, we have discussed that power can be used in both positive ways and in violent</p> | Sections 7.3 7.6, 8.1, 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4 |

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| | | | | <p>ways that cause others harm. In this lesson, we will discuss how people can use their power to touch us in a positive way or in a negative. We call these touches “good touch” and “bad touch.”</p> <p>Discussion</p> <p>Good touch: Somebody feels good to be hugged and kissed by people he/she loves. Good touches are important for making us feel healthy and happy. Good touches are also those touches that keep us safe.</p> <p>Examples (will probably come from students and the facilitator will write them on Chalkboard):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ When your mom gives you a hug after you wake up ❖ When your dad gives you a good night kiss ❖ When uncle or aunt comes to visit and everyone gets a hug ❖ Holding someone’s hand to help them up when they fall down ❖ Shaking hands with a friend <p>Bad touch is an act that hurts you or makes you feel scared or nervous. Bad touches are unsafe touches because they hurt our bodies or feelings. They are a form of violence.</p> <p>Examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Hug somebody too tightly ❖ Tickling that won’t stop ❖ Hitting or beating ❖ Kisses from someone you do not like or do not feel comfortable with ❖ Squeezing a hand too hard ❖ Someone touching the private parts of a child or making the child touch their private parts <p>Activity</p> <p>The facilitator will ask class some questions. Students will</p> | |
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| | | | | <p>respond at each question with a 'yes' or a 'no', and also will discuss their responses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Your teacher pats you on the shoulder for doing well on an exam. Is this a bad touch? Why? What should you say? 2. Your mom helps clean out a cut on your knee. Is this a good touch? Why? What should you say? 3. Your boyfriend/girlfriend touches your private part. Is this a good touch? Why? What should you say? 4. Your teacher asks you to stay after class alone with him. Is this okay? Why? What should you say? 5. A grown up wants to get you a treat for not telling that he/she touched you in a way that made you feel icky and confused. Is this a bad touch? Why? What should you say? 6. A friend of your family wants you to touch his private parts. Is this a bad touch? Why? What should you say? 7. A teacher touches your hair and says that he likes your new hairstyle. Is this a good touch? Why? What should you say? <p>What should you do if the person you tell about a bad touch doesn't believe you or doesn't take any action? (Say "NO!" Tell the person that you don't like it and don't want to be touched.</p> <p>Get away from the person who is touching you in a bad way. Do not be alone with that person again. Call for help. Scream or shout for someone to come help you. Remember that you have done nothing wrong. You never deserve to be touched in a bad way. No one is ever allowed to touch you in this way. Go to another adult you trust for help. Keep telling people you trust until someone takes action).</p> | |
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| <p>9. Tradition influence</p> | <p>Chalkboard and chalk</p> | <p>Facilitation and participatory learning</p> | <p>To help young people understand the impact of the tradition on healthy relationships.</p> | <p>Activity This will relate to how young men regard girls and women as inferior.</p> <p>Divide the class into two groups and ask them to create a scenario demonstrating men's behaviour describing females as inferior (relating to tradition norms, rights, rules, virginity, forced marriage etc.). One group will value females and another one will abuse or discriminate them</p> <p>Invite both groups to perform one after another.</p> <p>After the presentation the facilitator will ask questions to the audience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Boys, how did you feel when girls/women are treated in a way? ❖ Girls, how did you feel when girls/women are treated in a way? ❖ Do males have rights to treat girls/women in this way? <p>What do you think must be done to improve female status?</p> | <p>Sections 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, and 6.6</p> |
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APPENDICES

**APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW
QUESTIONS**

APPENDIX B: LETTERS OF CONSENT

APPENDIX C: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

APPENDIX A. FOCUS GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

I promise to keep confidentially all information that you will give me, so feel free to answer questions as honestly as possible. To ensure that nobody will know your identity, I will ask you to give a false name at the beginning of this interview to enable me to distinguish what you say from what other interviewees. I am going to use a tape recorder with your permission, to ensure I record your information accurately. Before introducing yourself at the beginning of this interview, please give me a false name, and your age. Each time you speak again, please mention your false name.

| Research aims | Focus Group questions & participant gender (male, female, or both) | Individual interview questions & interviewee gender (male, female, or both) |
|--|---|---|
| 1. The role of males and females in relationships and marriage | <p>1. What is the role of a wife or girlfriend in a relationship? Male</p> <p>2. In your community, who is the decision maker in the household? Both</p> | <p>1. Let us look at the cultural expectations of women, think about the women in your family and community. Do you think that culture influences the way in which women are viewed and treated? (Explain a couple of cultural practices and beliefs – elope? forced marriage in case of a pregnant girl) Both</p> <p>Is it important to retain these practices? Explain. Both</p> |
| 2. Male-female relationships | <p>3. Is it important to use condoms? Male</p> <p>4. Do you think that, once in a relationship, it is a women's duty to provide sex for the man? Both</p> | <p>2. Some people say that if a man beats his wife or girlfriend, it shows that he loves her. What do you think of this? Both</p> <p>3. Have you ever had sex? What was your age when you had sex for the first time? Was having sex at that time your choice, or your partner's choice? Both</p> <p>4. Have you ever been in love relationship or relationships? What were these relationships like for you? (Different relationships can be explored). Both</p> <p>5. Is it OK to have more than one girlfriend at a time? Male</p> |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>3. Sexual relations between girlfriends and boyfriends</p> | <p>5. A person has to have sex with a boy/girlfriend to show that he/she loves him/her. Give reason why you agree or disagree with this statement Both</p> <p>6. When a girl says “no” to have sex, does she actually means “yes” Both</p> | <p>6. Can you have a relationship (with your boy/girlfriend) without sex? If not explain why Both</p> <p>7. Are there circumstances when it might be OK for your wife or girlfriend to refuse to have sex with you? Male</p> <p>8. If your girlfriend or wife asked you to use a condom, what would you think? Male</p> <p>9. Is it OK to force a wife or girlfriend to have sex with you? Male</p> <p>10. Is it OK for a girlfriend or wife to say no to sex on any particular occasion? Under what circumstances is this acceptable? If a woman refuses to have sex, what does it mean? Male</p> |
|---|--|---|

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>4. Sex in relationships, including sexual violence</p> | <p>7. Do you think that women bring rape upon themselves – by asking for it by the way the dress, talk, sometimes refuse to have sex, make man angry? Both</p> | <p>10. Are there circumstances when it would be OK to use violence towards your girlfriend or wife? Male</p> <p>11. Was there any time when you had sex with a girl when she did not want to – against her will? (discuss the circumstances and consequences). Male</p> <p>12. Do you think that when a boy has sex with her girlfriend without her consent is rape? Both</p> <p>If it is yes/not explain Both</p> <p>Does rape occurs in your community? Both</p> <p>Does it occur seldom/frequently? Both</p> <p>Is it common among young or older people? Both</p> |
| <p>5. Traditional cultural attitudes concerning virginity and pregnancy</p> | <p>8. A man has to marry a virgin. What do you think of this practice? Do you agree/disagree with it explain? Both</p> <p>9. If a boy makes a girl pregnant, the girl’s family has to force her to marry him. What do you think of such a practice? Both</p> <p>10. If a girl has slept out, her family has to force her to marry her boyfriend. What do you think of such a practice? Both</p> | |

APPENDIX B. LETTERS OF CONSENT

CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THE CONGO

Provincial Coordination
Of Protestant Schools in
South Kivu
Po Box: 282
Bukavu

Bukavu, 10 June 2010
No 1634/02/ECC/CP/ECP/SK/2010

Purpose: Your request of
Recommendation:
Acknowledgement of receipt

To Mr Willy Maroyi
C.C: University of KwaZulu-Natal
South Africa

Dear Sir,

Thereby, we have pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your request for recommendation that enables you to conduct your research in our schools to undertake fieldwork and collect data for your doctoral degree.

We positively approve this request and urge you to contact our services as soon as you arrive in Bukavu.

Receive, Sir, our best greetings in Jesus Christ

Provincial Coordinator of E.C.P/South Kivu

Vunanga Karhakabire

Association of Pentecostal
Churches in Central Africa
(8e CEPAC)
Po Box: 266 Bukavu/DR Congo
Po Box: 125 Cyangugu/Rwanda
E-mail: adcepac@yahoo.fr

Field of Intervention:
South Kivu, North Kivu,
Maniema, Katanga,
Kasai Occ, Kasai Or,
Bandundu, Bas-Congo,
Kinshasa

Legal Representative

Bukavu, 08 June 2010
No 075/RL/ CEPAC/2010

To Mr Maroyi Mulumeoderhwa Willy at the University of KwaZulu-Natal/ South Africa

Purpose: *Your request of conducting research in Secondary Schools of 8e CEPAC in Bukavu/South Kivu/DRC*

Dear Student,

We have received with pleasure your request of conducting your research in our schools namely: Fadhili, Imani Panzi, Kabuga/Kavumu, and Karanda/Kavumu. Your motive conveys your commitment to our nation Congo and we are happy to guarantee you that as soon as you reach South Kivu our province in DRC, you are allowed to access our schools for your interviews.

May God's grace be with you.

For 8e Association of Pentecostal Churches
in Central Africa

Rev. Miruho Ngombera
MCD in charge of Schools

C.C: University of KwaZulu-Natal/South Africa

EGLISE DU CHRIST AU CONGO.

COORDINATION PROVINCIALE
DES ECOLES CONVENTIONNEES
PROTESTANTES AU SUD - KIVU
B.P. 282 BUKAVU.

Bukavu, le 10 juin 2010.

N° 1634 /02/ECC/CP/ECP/SK/2010.

OBJET : Votre demande de
Recommandation :
ACCUSE - RECEPTION

✓
A Monsieur Willy Maroy
C/° University of
KWAZULU NATAL (South Africa).

Monsieur,

Par la présente, nous avons l'honneur d'accuser réception de votre lettre concernant votre demande de Recommandation afin d'effectuer des recherches dans nos Ecoles pour l'obtention de votre Doctorat et vous en remercions.

En effet, nous marquons notre accord de principe à celle-ci en vous priant de prendre contact avec nos Services dès votre arrivée à Bukavu.

Recevez, Monsieur, nos salutations les meilleures en Jésus-Christ.

LE COORDINATEUR PROVINCIAL
DES E.C.P./SUD - KIVU,

VUNANGA KARHAKABIRE .-





**COMMUNAUTE DES EGLISES
DE PENTECOTE EN AFRIQUE
CENTRALE « 8è CEPAC »
(E.C.C. /8è CEPAC)**

**B.P. 266 BUKAVU/RD CONGO
B.P. 125 CYANGUGU/RWANDA
E-mail : adcepac@yahoo.fr**

RAYONS D'ACTION
SUD-KIVU, NORD-KIVU, MANIEMA, KATANGA,
KASAI-OC., KASAI-ORIENTAL, PROVINCE OR.,
BANDUNDE, BAS-CONGO, KINSHASA

REPRESENTATION LEGALE

Bukavu, le 08 Juin 2010

N° 075/RL/CEPAC/2010

A Monsieur MAROY MULUMEODERHWA Willy à l'Université de KWAZULU-NATALI en République Sud Africaine.

Concerne : *Votre demande de recherche dans les écoles secondaires de la 8^e CEPAC à Bukavu, au Sud-Kivu en RD Congo.*

Monsieur l'étudiant,

Nous avons reçu avec plaisir votre demande de venir opérer vos recherches dans nos écoles secondaires notamment Fadhili, Imani Panzi, Kabuga de Kavumu et à l'Institut Karanda/Kavumu.

Votre souci exprime bien votre attachement à notre nation congolaise et nous sommes heureux de vous rassurer dès que vous aurez vos possibilités d'atteindre le Sud-Kivu notre Province/RD Congo, l'accès à nos écoles vous est accordé pour vos interviews.

Que la grâce de Dieu soit avec vous.



Pour la 8^e Communauté des Eglises de
Pentecôte en Afrique Centrale,

Rév. MIRUHO NGOMBERA
MCD Chargé de l'Enseignement.

C.C. :- University of Kwazulu-Natal/ South Africa

- ARRETE ROYAL DU 30 SEPTEMBRE 1930
- Ordonnance N° 125 du 8 mai 1964
- Arrêté ministériel N° 34 du 18 février 1967

- Ordonnance N° 72-195 DU 28 mars 1972
- Ordonnance N° 73-013 du 14 février 1993
- Arrêté ministériel N° 108 du 01 octobre 1993